Balkan and South Slavic Enclaves in Italy

Balkan and South Slavic Enclaves in Italy:

Languages, Dialects and Identities

Edited by

Thede Kahl,
Iliana Krapova
and Giuseppina Turano

Cambridge
Scholars
Publishing

Balkan and South Slavic Enclaves in Italy:
Languages, Dialects and Identities

Edited by Thede Kahl, Iliana Krapova and Giuseppina Turano

This book first published 2018

Cambridge Scholars Publishing

Lady Stephenson Library, Newcastle upon Tyne, NE6 2PA, UK

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data
A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Copyright © 2018 by Thede Kahl, Iliana Krapova, Giuseppina Turano
and contributors

All rights for this book reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without the prior permission of the copyright owner.

ISBN (10): 1-5275-0816-1
ISBN (13): 978-1-5275-0816-3

CONTENTS

Introduction viii

PART 1: ALBANIAN IN ITALY

Italian-Balkan Linguistic Interactions in the Italian-Albanian Food Lexicon: A Short History of *Tumacë* 'Home-made Pasta' from the Caucasus to the Apennines 2
Francesco ALTIMARI

Demographic and Linguistic Decline in Four Arbëresh Villages: Firmo, San Basile, San Marzano di S. Giuseppe and Spezzano Albanese 32
Giovanni BELLUSCIO

Code-switching and Borrowing in Arbëresh Dialects 48
Elvira GLASER

Word Formation of Late 19th Century Arbëresh Texts from the Village of San Nicola dell'Alto 65
Artur KARASIŃSKI

Arbëresh Syllable Pattern 75
Irena SAWICKA

Italo-Albanian from the Text Perspective: A Case Study from S. Benedetto Ullano 88
Lindita SEJDIU-RUGOVA and Emilia CONFORTI

PART 2: GREEK IN ITALY

Hommage au Balkaniste Gerhard Rohlfs 102
Petya ASENOVA

Parallels between the Greco and the Calabrian Verbal Systems..... 118
Marianne KATSOYANNOU and Zlatka GUENTCHÉVA

Greek in Southern Italy: Morphosyntactic Isomorphism and a Possible Exception 135
Eva-Maria REMBERGER

New Initiatives on the Research and Documentation of Griko and Arbëresh in Apulia 153
Thede KAHL

Lexical and Onomasiological Concordances among Greek Dialects of Magna Grecia, Ionian Islands, Epirus and South Albania 165
Doris K. KYRIAZIS

"Grecità" and Orthodox Religion in Calabria: From Linguistic Identity to Transnational Religious Space 177
Isabella SCHWADERER

The Greek Press's Contribution to the Preservation of the Grecanic Dialect 197
Christina VAMVOURI, Vassilis MESSIS and Fotis DIMAKIS

PART 3: SLAVIC IN ITALY

Slavic-Romance Linguistic Contact Revisited: The Grammaticalisation of the Indefinite Article in the Slovene Dialects of Friuli 204
Rosanna BENACCHIO

On the Influence of Italian on the Grammar of Molise Slavic and Italo-Albanian 215
Walter BREU

The Order and Placement of Clitics in (Old) Croatian and Molise Croatian 237
Amir KAPETANOVIĆ

The ND Clusters in the Croatian Dialect of Acquaviva Collecroce (Na-Našu) 249
Anna CYCHNERSKA and Irena SAWICKA

PART 4: BALKAN LINGUISTICS AND BALKAN DIALECTOLOGY

An Overview of Balkan Linguistics and Dialectology in the Past and Present 258
Helmut Wilhelm SCHALLER

Types of Possessive Structures in the Balkan Languages and in Arbëresh..... 268
Iliana KRAPOVA and Giuseppina TURANO

On the Etymology of Dairy Terminology..... 289
Corinna LESCHBER

Areal Linguistics and Dialect Boundaries: The Case of Bulgarian Dialects..... 297
Krasimira KOLEVA

Borrowing of Turkish Dialect Words in Bulgarian Dialects under Conditions of Bilingualism..... 308
Lilyana DIMITROVA-TODOROVA

INTRODUCTION

The contributions in this book originate from the conference *"Balkan" enclaves in Italy. Languages, dialects, identities*, held in Venice, Italy, from 26-28 November 2015. The conference was held on the occasion of the sixth annual meeting of the Commission for Balkan linguistics affiliated with the International Committee of Slavicists. Due to its high significance to society, the participants have set up their work so that it does not only concern linguistic matters, but also interdisciplinary and transdisciplinary ones. In this way, we tried to fully integrate the results of the work of many researchers from different universities and research institutions.

In Italy and in the Balkans, work with linguistic minorities has not been included in academic discussions for a long time. Italy is in a border situation that is located not just between political and administrative, but also between various historical realities. The turbulent geopolitics in the Balkans affects Italy and indirectly affects the minorities living in north-eastern (Slovenes, Croats) and southern Italy (Albanians, Greeks, Molise Slavs). To date, the necessary political dialogues with the opposite side of the Adria have not yet taken place, and, due to economic crises and the revitalisation of nationalistic tendencies, the concept is very difficult to promote.

Despite these complex relationships, in Balkan linguistics, there has been a recent shift in focus towards (areal) dialectology. The significance of such studies stems from the very nature of dialects/ varieties as representing recent or current contact situations, bi- or multilingual. To a certain extent, they approximate those situations which led to the emergence of the particular effects of a linguistic area, observed in the modern standards languages of the region. It is well-known that linguistic contact in the Balkans existed mainly at the colloquial level, with the predominant type of bilingualism being a dialect of the language A + a dialect of the language B; a less frequent type, characteristic mainly of the 19th-century "debalkanisation" period, consisted in the contact of standard language A + dialect of language B. The Venice meeting highlighted a number of issues relevant to the theory of language areas and areal linguistics, such as types of Balkan convergences, types of structure

transfers, borrowing of structural patterns, stages and directions of grammaticalisation, etc.

In accordance with the discussions from our conference, after an introduction about Balkan dialectology and its significance for the field of linguistics, the present book is also divided into parts and individual chapters, dedicated to the individual minorities in Italy: Albanian (Arbëresh), Greek (Grico, Grecanico) and Slavic (Molise Slavic and Slovenian).

Albanian (Arbëresh) is spoken in numerous provinces in Southern Italy and, despite the geographical fragmentation, has at least 100,000 speakers today. The Albanians' initial presence in Italy can be dated back to the late 13th century. There was a massive migration during the 15th century, due to the Turkish invasion of the region. The Albanian minority living in Italy mostly uses the Tosk dialect. Since 15 December 1999, Arbëresh has been protected in Europe through Law 482, the Law Governing the Protection of Historical Linguistic Minorities.

Calabrian and Apulian **Greek** (Grico, Grecanico) is spoken by about 12,000 people in certain communities in the provinces of Reggio Calabria and Lecce. The beginnings of the Greek settlement date back to antiquity, when the first Greek migrants settled in Southern Italy. The Greek language in the few remaining Greek communities in Southern Italy dates back to Medieval Greek. Today, spoken Greek is limited to usage within the family.

In Italy, **Slavic** minority languages are represented by Molise Slavic/ Molise Croatian and Slovenian. Molise Slavic is spoken in the communities of San Felice del Molise, Montemitro and Acquaviva Collecroce in the province of Campobasso, and is spoken by around 2,400 people. The ancestors of the Molise Slavs, who migrated from the Dalmatian coast in order to flee the Turkish advance, settled in what is now the region of Molise between the 15th and 16th centuries. There, the archaic language is spoken in a very small area and is considered to be seriously endangered. In contrast, Slovenian is spoken by around 80,000 people in the provinces of Triest, Gorizia and Udine.

Although the papers on the Arbëresh, Griko/ Grecanico, Molise Slavic, and Slovene dialects do not share the same approach to linguistic descriptions or language contacts, they do highlight important aspects of the linguistic situation in Southern and Central Italy. Some authors investigate the mutual influences between each of these "Balkan" varieties and the neighbouring Italian dialects in an attempt to pin down those areas of interference and variation, which operate in either direction; other papers study common tendencies which do not just pertain to local

contacts but have a wider significance for the history of linguistic and cultural contacts in Italy, between the above-mentioned varieties and the respective languages of the Balkan peninsula. Although the majority of the conference presentations relate to fields of areal linguistics, such as language contact and language variation, some papers published here deal with sociolinguistics and recent cultural issues.

The discussions at our conference brought forward useful comparisons which can contribute to a better understanding of the concrete dimensions of variation on the dialectal continuum inside and outside of the Balkans, as well as stimulate the search for finer points of contact between different types of languages/ varieties. However, the languages of recent migrants from the Balkans – that of the Romanians, who are, by far, the largest minority group in modern Italy, or that of Albanian refugees from the 1990's – are not taken into account in this volume. However, they would be a very worthwhile field of research in the future.

Thede Kahl, Iliana Krapova, Giuseppina Turano

PART 1:

ALBANIAN IN ITALY

ITALO-BALKAN LINGUISTIC INTERACTIONS IN THE ITALIAN-ALBANIAN FOOD LEXICON: A SHORT HISTORY OF *TUMACË,* "HOME-MADE PASTA" FROM THE CAUCASUS TO THE APENNINES*

FRANCESCO ALTIMARI

Historically, food, like music, represents one of the privileged aspects of the hybridisation and contamination between different cultures and is the result par excellence of inter-cultural exchanges and contacts between populations. Gastronomical-cultural intermingling was, and continues in today's globalised world, to be an important trend on a universal scale, as it was in the past.

In the lexicon of the Italian-Arbëresh food culture, evidence can be found of the numerous contacts made with the populations close to the Albanian community over the course of its multimillenial history, first in the Balkan context of Eastern Europe and later in the Italian context of Western Europe.

This single lexicon, linked to food and its specificities, also traces the various stages of the linguistic and cultural 'long march' undertaken historically by this community, and thus reflects the particularities of each of its temporary settlements and its continuous contacts (keeping here to the phase also documented through its dialects and the historical period: from the Albanian-speaking regions of present-day Albania, to the peninsular and islands of modern Greece, to today's Albanian-speaking areas of mainland Italy).

Thus, the dishes in the Arbëresh cuisine emblematically follow this trans-Mediterranean route and also represent several important 'junctions' in this interesting inter-linguistic and inter-cultural journey. They are, therefore, the result of continuous and reciprocal exchanges of food-related knowledge and practices between the Albanian population and the various peoples they came into contact with over the centuries.

Spurred by the prominent role food played not only in the cultural forum opened this year, but also in our country as the central theme of Expo Milan 2015, we set out to analyse in this paper its material and anthropological implications via several lexemes that refer to three dishes in our material and spiritual culture, namely *tumacë*, 'home-made pasta', *lëkëngë* 'sausage' and *kulaç*, 'traditional cake'.

The choice was due to the natural co-existence of the above-mentioned dishes in the food culture typical of the Albanians of Italy, but also of other Albanian communities in the Balkans, such as the Greek Arvanites, so we have tried, on a linguistic and cultural level, to collate the network of contacts, loanwords and exchanges that emerge with respect to food, a field that is one of the most susceptible and most exposed to hybridisation and contamination.

In an attempt to reconstruct a comprehensive history in the time allotted to us instead of three rushed histories that also ran the risk of being 'affected' and fragmentary, I had to focus on a single lexeme in this presentation and leave the treatment of the specificities linked to the other two lexemes - *lëkëngë* and *kulaç* - to the publication of the records or other discussion forums, since it would be an ill-considered undertaking to tackle their long linguistic history here and in the space allocated for a single paper.

This analysis, albeit focused solely on *tumacë*, will take us back in time to the late-Mediaeval period in European and Eastern Mediterranean history characterised by an era and a cultural and linguistic space formed by more sharing with respect to the present-day (and not 'traditional'!) contrasts between different ethnic-nationalist alliances, thus giving us a new and *ante litteram* 'global' picture of this part of Europe stretching from the Caucuses to Italy. It will also enable us to re-discover the originality as well as the beauty of being fundamentally interwoven in a single pattern composed of many and varied polychromatic strands that reflect the multiple identities that form and define us.

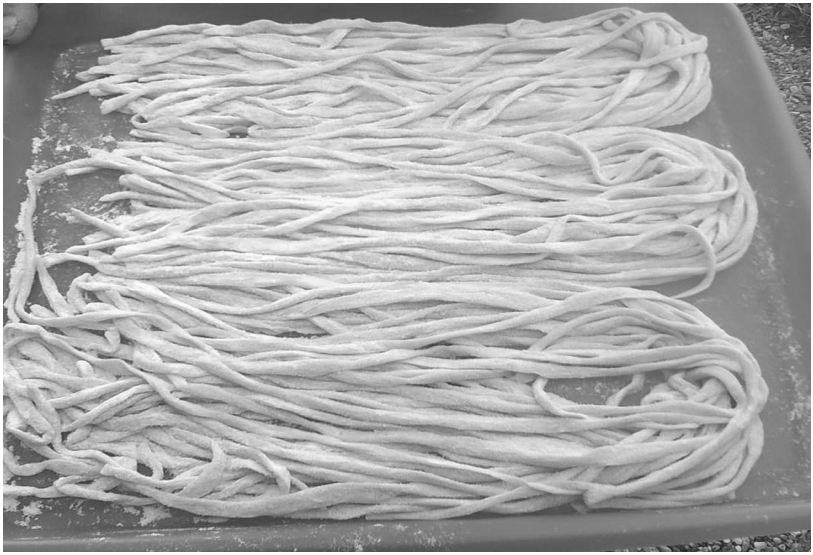
However, even from this perspective, it makes little sense to try and unravel the threads of such rich and complex patterns which, from the standpoint of history and identity are polychromatic, in a vain attempt to regain 'purity' and monochromatic homogeneity, which would in any case be artificial, and which, besides showing no respect for our authentic compositional identity, would impoverish our way of being citizens within large and small communities that, by inclusion and certainly not by exclusion, have historically created the beautiful - linguistic and cultural - mosaic that is the Europe of today: let us remember when we do this kind

of research, as per the title of the famous work by the American anthropologist, James Clifford, that 'pure fruits go crazy' .....[1]

We shall now begin our inter-cultural and inter-linguistic journey via the names of dishes and with the dishes from East to West, from the Caucuses to the Apennines, starting with a lexeme like *tumacë*, which means 'a kind of home-made pasta"[2], and studying it first inside and then outside the Albanian-speaking area.

[1] *I frutti puri impazziscono. Etnografia, letteratura e arte nel secolo XX*, Bollati Boringhieri, Torino, 1993 (edizione originale: *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art* (Harvard University Press, 1988). The title of the work in the Italian version is taken from a poem by Williams Carlos Williams: "The Pure Fruits of America Go Crazy".

[2] Other types of home-made pasta in the Arbëresh context: *dromsa-t* 'sf.pl. home-made pasta'; *polenta* (GIORDANO 1963: 84) or *dromca* 'crumbs, pieces of pasta' (ÇABEJ 2017: 121); *droqe-t* 'sm. p. *maccheroni*, home-made pasta' (GIORDANO 1963: 84); *cavatelli* (MASSARO 2010: 44); *fletaz-it* 'sf.pl *tagliatelle'* (SCUTARI 2002: 21); *fircùll-i* 'sm. *Fusillo'* (SCUTARI 2002: 21); *shtrydhla-t* 'sf.pl. home-made pasta' (GIORDANO 1963: 485). This last is a type of pasta specific to the Arbëresh community and is characteristic of the entire Albanian area of both Calabrian and Lucan Pollino. Giordano's denomination needs further specification as *shtrydhlat* – taken from a definition given to us by Scutari – is 'home-made durum wheat pasta the size of *bucatini*, but not hollow, which requires special preparation'. We shall try to explain what this preparation consisted of, as *shtrydhlat* is the result of patient kneading to make the pasta into a long roll that becomes thinner and thinner as it is pressed by the fingertips until it forms a consistent rope of pasta. Once it has the required shape – as thin as possible – it is cut up and added to boiling water, and when cooked, is served with a sauce boiled with kid's meat ("high-class" version) or with a sauce and legumes ("lower-class" version). Given the complexity of the work required, *shtrydhlat* was not an everyday dish and was only prepared for important family or community feasts.



Shtrydhëlat (Lungro) – photo by Maria Iaconianni

*Fletazit **me** klumësht* **‘**tagliatelle with a milk and cinnamon sauce’ (San Costantino Albanese)

I find the lexeme *tumacë* particularly interesting from the standpoint of the linguistic history of the food culture in the Mediterranean area, not least for the reconstruction it gives us of the relationship between the languages in the Balkan context (and elsewhere!) in the 15th century: it is an ancient loanword introduced through Turkish into Albanian and brought by the Arbëresh from the Balkan peninsular to Italy during the 15th and 16th centuries.

It is no mere coincidence: in the 14th and 15th centuries, the Ottoman Empire conquered the entire peninsular and exerted great influence over the administrative, cultural and spiritual life of the populations there over the next five centuries. As Skok (1935) observed, the Turkish conquest paved the way for numerous Turkish loanwords in the Balkans, but a great many too from other languages (Persian, Arabic, Armenian, Greek, Latin and Italian) that entered the Balkan languages via Turkish, to the point of being incorrectly considered Turkisms.

One such is *tutmaç*, which means in Turkish, though only in a few areas of Anatolia, 'pasta cut into small squares and cooked in yoghurt, seasoned to taste with various condiments and a lot of black pepper, with or without pieces of meat, mainly lamb, but always with yoghurt'. However, these days, the dish (and its name) is not only common in Turkey, but in various countries of Turkish culture too – Azerbaijan, Turkmenistan and Gagauzia, a region in Moldavia inhabited by Orthodox Christian Turkish speakers. The same dish is also found in populations whose language and culture is Mongolian, who cook it in water instead of yoghurt and add meat, onions, garlic and vegetables, according to the tastes and traditions of each[3].

The Albanian-speaking Area: Italy

The starting point for this analysis is the Albanian-speaking area of Italy,[4] where, today, *tumacë* is attested in almost all of the Albanian dialects from

[3] This useful information was kindly provided by Mrs Semahat Osman, a Turkish-speaking scholar of Turkology as well as psychologist and journalist, who was born in Istanbul and now lives in Skopje, whom I was able to interview via the web thanks to a mutual friend, Mrs Diana Ibrahimi Rexha, for whose invaluable collaboration I am extremely grateful.

[4] For this area we now have numerous descriptive texts, but systematic 'ad hoc' studies on the food lexicon are still missing. We have only one in-depth study, mainly focusing on the Arbëresh area of Lucan Pollino, but it is incomplete owing to the untimely and tragic death of its author, the young scholar, Clelia Sessa. The study was part of her doctoral thesis and was published in honour of her memory:

Molise to Sicily, although, depending on the dialect spoken, it can variously mean ‘home-made pasta’ in general, ‘maccheroni’ or ‘tagliatelle’.

tumacë me fasule

tumacë me lëng

Clelia SESSA, *Itinerari di cultura alimentare arbëreshe*, Arcipelago Edizioni, Milano (2004). We should point out, however, that Sessa’s work does not mention the lexeme *tumacë*, not even in the paragraph dealing with terms possibly influenced by Turkish (pp.103-106).

tumacë shpie

We based this research on a series of lexical texts on Arbëresh in order to document its distribution in the different Albanian-speaking areas of Italy, and found parallels in almost all the Italo-Albanian dialects. For reasons of time, we shall mention only a few:

Frascineto/*Frasnita:* GIORDANO (1963: 507): *tumacë*-t 'home-made pasta, *maccheroni'*

Santa Sofia d'Epiro/*Shën Sofia:* BAFFA (2009: 109): *tumacë*-t 'tagliatelle'

Portocannone/*Porkanuni* and Ururi/*Ruri:* PIGNOLI; TARTAGLIONE (2007: 214); *tumàc*~t 'kind of home-made pasta similar to *tagliatelle*'

San Costantino Albanese/*Shën Kostandini:* SCUTARI (2002): *tumàc*-t '*maccheron*e' (p. 99); *flètaz*~it '*tagliatelle*' (p. 21)

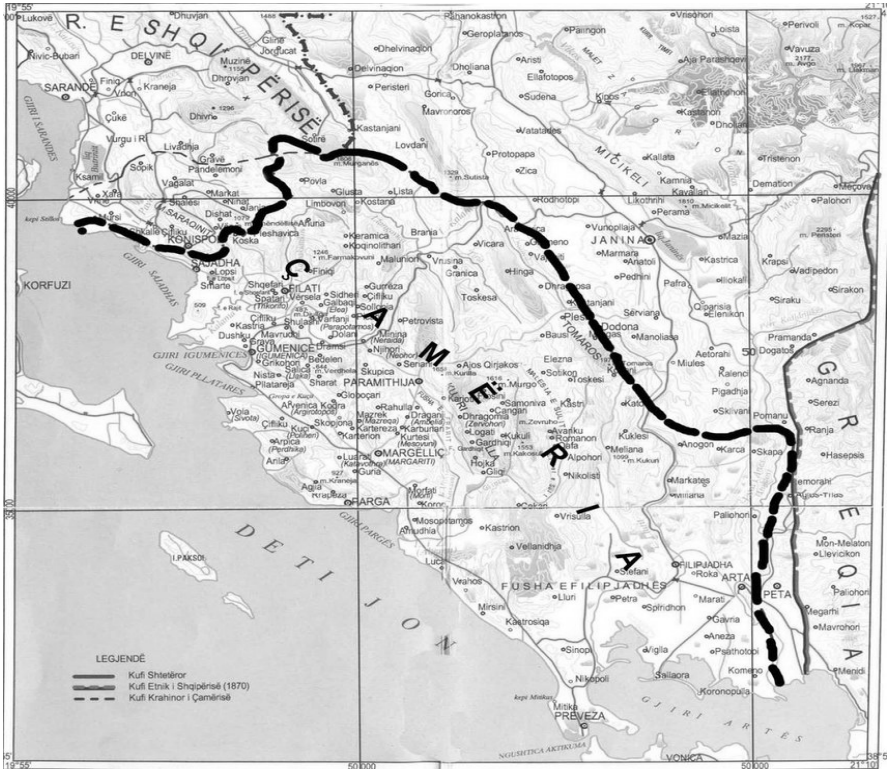
Firmo /*Ferma:* RUSSO (2006: 14): t*umacë*-t '*tagliatelle*'

Casalvecchio di Puglia/*Kazallveqi* and Cheuti/*Qefti:* MASSARO (2010: 169): *tumàce*-t 'kind of short home-made pasta'
Piana degli Albanesi/*Hora e Arbëreshëvet*: GERBINO (2007: 121): *tumacë*-t 'home-made pasta'

Pallagorio/*Puhëriu:* GENTILE (in press): *tumàce-t* ‘home-made pasta, *maccheroni’*

The Balkan Albanian-speaking Area: Greece and Albania

Introduced into the Balkan Albanian-speaking area, nowadays it exists in the Tosk dialect of Ciamuria[5] as *tumaca-t* ‘makarone shtëpie që bëhen të gjëra si taljateli*’*, which has been recorded by Albanian-speakers in the Cham community of Mazrrek, today part of Greek Epirus.



The first scholar to attest the term *tumacë* in a Greek Albanian-speaking context was Karl Reinhold (1834-1880) in his renowned work *Noctes*

[5] Cf. Qemal HAXHIHASANI (1071: 118-193).

Pelasgicae[6], published in Athens in 1855, in which he recorded the lexeme that reflects the Arvanitika of the Islands of Poros, Hydhra and Spezia, namely *tumatse* with its meaning in Greek ('είδος πέμματος') and German (*Blätterteig* 'puff pastry'). It was then used by Gustav Meyer in his famous *Etimologisches Wörterbuch der Albanesischen Sprache*, Strasburg 1891, p. 451: *tumáts* m.'Nudeln' cal. sic. *tumatš* 'Blätterteig' gr. Rhd. Sic. cal.*tuma* piem.*toma* prov.*tumo*'frischer Käse' sic.*tumazzu* 'Käse'.

Reinhold's attestation for Arvanitika is confirmed for the Island of Hydhra by Panajot Kupitori (1821-1881) in his *Dictionnaire Grec-Albanais*, datable prior to 1881 and recently published by Titos Jochalas[7], where they are recorded as corresponding to the Greek *χυλόπητται* and as the synonyms: "*τουμάτσε-τε*, *δρόμσα-τε*".

Today, the same lexeme is also attested in the Arvanitika of Morea, Greece (Jochalas 2011), in the form *tumacë-t* 'oi culop…tej' (tagliatelle) attested in Demethrioj and in the form *tumaca-të* 'oi culop…tej' (tagliatelle) at Μιδέα, in the Argolide region (p. 880), but *tumaçë-të* ''oi culop…tej'' (tagliatelle) recorded at Lampòkampoj in the region of Laconia (p. 624).

These two separate attestations - *tumacë-t* e *tumaçë-të* – demonstrate different phases in the relationship between the languages in the Balkan context and therefore a different outcome as regards linguistic contact: in the first case, between Turkish and Albanian with the phonetic mediation of Modern Greek, and in the second, directly between Turkish and Albanian, with the adaptation of the Turkish loanword into the phonological structure of Albanian.

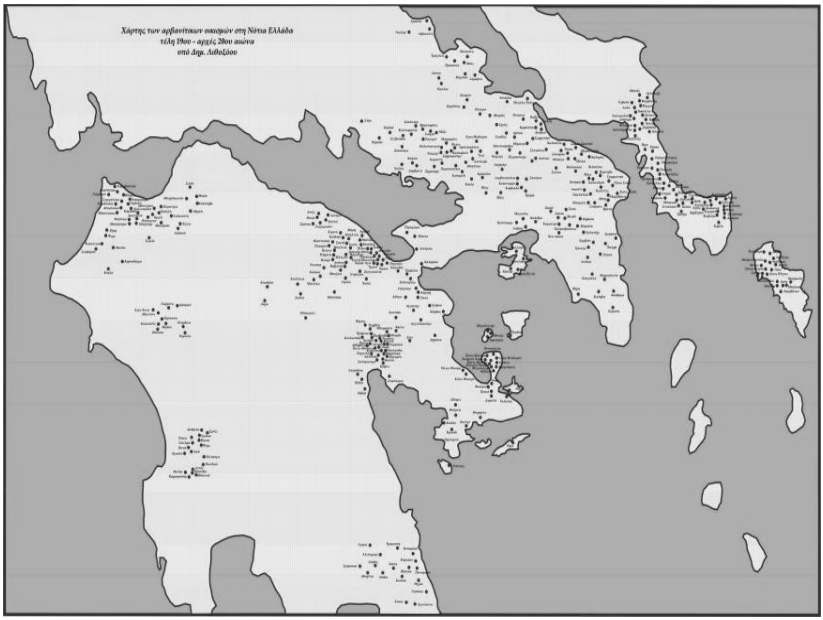
In this specific instance, *tumacë* represents an ancient loanword already present in Turkish and introduced into Albanian via the Modern Greek - a language from which it has disappeared, surviving only, according to the information referred to me by Katerina Papatheou, in the later Greek-Cypriot dialect, perhaps precisely because of its geographical proximity to the Anatolian area of origin – in the Albanian brought to Italy by the Arbëresh in the 15th and 16th centuries.

The influence exerted by Turkish, especially in the lexicon of the Balkan languages it had strong contact with for centuries, was utterly pervasive. Each and every language that came into contact with Turkish in the Balkan area, including Albanian, was exposed to all the diastratic varieties of Ottoman Turkish, particularly the so-called *kaba türkçe*, or 'popular Turkish' (Skok 1936: 476).

---

[6] Caroli Heinrici Theodori REINHOLD (1855: 59). I am grateful to my dear friend and distinguished Greek Albanologist, Titos Jochalas, for this important information.

[7] Cf. The critical edition of the manuscript by Panaiot KOUPITORIS (2006: 423-854).



The lexeme we are analysing is important evidence of the broad-ranging influence exercised by Turkish, whether directly or through other linguistic varieties, on the languages of the area it was historically in contact with in the Balkans. These languages were clearly in close proximity, that is, in a situation in which the speakers of two or more languages come into contact and develop forms of bi- (or pluri-) lingual fluency. Naturally, the stronger the contact, the more pervasive are its effects on a linguistic plane.

If Turkish had been the direct lender language, without the mediation of Modern Greek, it would not have been difficult for Albanian to adapt the Turkish loanword to exactly the same phonetic form (and to its morphology), in which case, it would have entered directly as *tumaç* and not as *tumac*, as routinely happened in the Arvanite dialect of Laconia, as previously mentioned.

It is therefore necessary to assume that in some of the Arvanite dialects of Morea linguistic contact was direct, since, as recorded by Jochalas, attested in these Albanian-speaking areas alongside the form *tumacë*, mediated by the Greek, is the direct form *tumaçë*, which came directly from the Turkish into Albanian, although both have the meaning in Greek of ‘oi culop…tej’, i.e. ‘tagliatelle’.

The Greek Area

Today, the lexeme *τουμάτσα* [toumatsa] exists only in Cypriot Greek, with the variants *τουμάτσια*, *τομάτσια*, *τεμάτσια*, *τομάτσιν* (diminutive) *τουμακκούδκια*, and, as attested for the Island of Mikonos,[8] *μάτσι* e *μάσι*[9], in the form probably deriving from it and always in local usage, which indicates home-made barley pasta[10] and χυλοπίτα (tagliatelle).

However, this has not been attested, as previously stated, either in Standard Greek or continental Greek dialects, since it appears in no Standard Greek or dialectal dictionaries, at least in none of those we consulted personally, not even in the Epirote one by Giannina. The same food is indicated in Modern Greek by the plural neuter gender term *λαζάνια* [lazána], calqued from the Italian *lasagne*.

As regards Cyprus, we found it recorded by Konstantinos Giankoullìs, *Μικρός ερμηνευτικός και ετυμολογικός θησαυρός της Κυπριακής διαλέκτου (από το δέκατο τρίτο αιώνα μέχρι σήμερα)*, Βιβλιοθήκη Κυπρίων λαϊκών ποιητών [series no. 58], Λευκωσία 1997, p. 320 *s.v. τεμάτσια* e *τουμάτσια*, and p. 329 *s.v. τουμάτσια*.

[8] Kostas KARAPOTOSOGLOU (2005: 89-120) mentions the term *μάτσι* e *μάσι* on p. 109. The term is derived, according to Katerina Papatheou, from the mediaeval Greek *μάτσι*, a type of pasta originating from the Turkish *tutmaç*, fresh pasta cut into strips and cooked with meat and yoghurt. For the derivation from *tutmaç*, cf. KARAPOTOSOGLOU (2000: 105-106).

[9] The term comes from the Gr. mdv. *μάτσι*, a kind of pasta that derives from the Turkish *tutmaç*, fresh pasta cut into strips and cooked with meat and yoghurt.

[10] In Greek one says: *σπιτικό χειρόποιητο κριθαράκι*.

Giankoullis himself hypothesised an improbable derivation from the Gk. a. *τεμάχιον*, 'slice of salted fish"[11], perhaps due to the popular etymology of the Greek word *τεμάχιο* 'small piece"[12], whilst in an on-line dictionary of Greek juvenile slang, *τουμάτσα* is actually explained as being the result of the phonetic assimilation into Modern Greek of the Anglicism 'too much"[13]!

The mediation exercised by Greek is inferred here by the /τΣ/ > /τσ/ phonetic adaptation undergone by the Turkish loanword *tutmaç* in 'neo-Hellenic' mouths: analogous to *tutmaç*, and perfectly integrated phonologically in Modern Greek, recording the same variation from the voiceless alveo-palatal sibilant to the voiceless dental fricative - /τΣ/ > /τσ/, are other Turkisms like *καραγάτσι το*, *s.n.* [karaγátsi] [Turkish *karaağaç* + desin. -ι], *χαράτσι το*, *s.n.* [xarátsi] «poll tax imposed under Turkish rule» [Mdv Gr. χαράτσι < turc. *haraç* (dall'arabo) + desin. -ι], *κουρμπάτσι το*, s.n. [kurbátsi] whip [τουρκ. kırbaç -*ı*].

In other words, Turkish and Modern Greek co-existed in the same territory, and as the phoneme /τΣ/, namely the voiceless alveo-palatal sibilant, did not exist in the Greek phonetic index, the Turkish lexeme adapted to the Greek phonological system, replacing the /τΣ/ phoneme with the voiceless dental fricative phoneme /τσ/, to become *tumats*.

I would point out that, in Greek-speaking environments, the word *τουμάτσια* of probable Turkish origin is not attested on the Greek peninsular, and can only be found there today through the loanwords

---

[11] I am indebted to Katerina Papatheou, highly esteemed lecturer of Modern Greek at the University of Catania, whose accurate and in-depth analysis on the spread of *τουμάτσια* in the Greek-speaking context allowed me to examine in detail an issue that is extremely complex from a linguistic point of view and one that is not easily tackled by someone who is not intimately acquainted with the linguistic developments of this area. Katerina's assistance was fundamental in providing an initial answer to the passages of this Turkism in the Greek-speaking context. As my friend, Titos Jochalas advised, consulting the Historical Dictionary Archive at the University of Athens would prove conclusive for a comprehensive study on the spread of this Turkism in a Greek dialect-speaking setting.

[12] Hypothesis proposed by Titos Jochalas; my thanks for the suggestion.

[13] 1. τουματσιά Εκ του «too much», υπερβολικό. Θηλυκού γένους. Συνοδευόμενο από επιθετικό προσδιορισμό «μεγάλη», «έντονη», δηλώνει πλεονασμό. 2. τουματσιά Ελληνοποιημένη σύνθεση των αγγλικών λέξων *too much*, δηλαδή πάρα πολύ. Δηλώνει το υπερβολικό, την πάνω από τα όρια κατάσταση. Χρησιμοποιείται πολύ από τους Έλληνες του εξωτερικού, από τους οποίους και προέρχεται. In ***http://www.slang.gr/lemma/4573-toumatsia.***

introduced into the Albanian linguistic varieties present on Greek territory (Cham and Arvanite dialects).

In the Peloponnese, we find, lastly, the lexeme *τουτουμάκια*, which indicates '*small squares of tagliatelle'* and which may have entered, albeit at a later date, from the same lexeme, even if linguistically mediated, but with a different phonetic outcome. We can surmise that *τουτουμάκια* possibly came after *τουμάτσια* chronologically, then vanished from the Greek peninsular, although today it is attested in the most conservative dialect of Cyprus, perhaps as a result of mediation by another Balkan language (Romanian or a Slavic variety?); that would explain the greater semantic proximity of the term to present-day Turkish.

The Bosnian Area

Bosnia has always been part of the Balkan area, a region particularly exposed to Ottoman-Turkish linguistic and cultural influence, not least because of the wide diffusion of the Islamic religion. One of the spheres most affected by the influence of Turkish culture in the Bosnian region was cuisine and food, and many dishes of Ottoman-Turkish origin were introduced to this area of the Balkans from the 15th century onwards.

Amongst these dishes is a particular Oriental soup called *tutmać*, which means '*a kind of pasta cut into squares and added to a soup made with yoghurt'*. *Tutmac*, with its style of preparation and its Turkish name, passed into Bosnian culture (Hadžıosmanovıć 2007: 46)[14].

Unlike *tumacë*, however, which entered Arbërisht through the mediation of Greek, *tutmać* passed directly into Bosnian Slavic from Ottoman Turkish in both the phonetic and original semantic forms.

[14] Cf. Fatih Ðyiyol (2010: 469-474).

The Bulgarian Area

We are indebted to the distinguished Balkanist, Petya Assenova, for the information she provided on the presence in the Bulgarian linguistic area of the dish *tùtmanik* [in Bulgarian: *тутманик*] on the very occasion of the presentation of our paper at the *Balkan 'enclaves' in Italy* (2015) conference in Venice, and although it is not identical to home-made pasta, because of its natural ingredients and, obviously, its preparation techniques, as well as its referential link to the root of the lexeme *tutma*/tuma**, namely the subject of our paper, it also completes the picture of the attestation in the Bulgarian context of this term[15].

Therefore, in addition to Bosnia, another Slavic-speaking area of the Balkans is involved, namely Bulgaria, where the masculine gender noun

[15] The well-known Bulgarian linguist, Моско Москов (cf. his article in Известия на института за български език книга XVI, Книга XVI, Издателство на Българската академия на науките, София 1968, pp. 185-186) connects *тутманик* to the Turkish verbal noun TUTMA, erroneously making it derive from the verb TUTMAK 'hold, take'. The same etymology is given in *A dictionary of Turkisms in Bulgarian*, edited by Alf Grannes, Kjetil Rå Hauge, Hayriye Süleymanoğlu (2002).

tùtmanik denotes a traditional loaf made with butter and cheese and cooked in a baking pan, or a cake or cheese cake. It is midway between ordinary bread and the famous ‘banitza’, a kind of traditional pizza made primarily with puff pastry and ‘sirene’, a white cheese similar to Greek feta, and one of the most popular dishes in Bulgaria, whether for breakfast, lunch or dinner.

Tutmanik is part of the Bulgarian culinary tradition, which often uses the Balkan pickled white cheese 'sirene' (*сирене* in Bulgarian). It is this white cheese that makes this traditional Bulgarian bread unique. From an etymological point of view, we believe that the origin of *tùtmanik* is directly related to the Turkish *tutmaç*, with the addition to the Turkish root *tutma* of the suffix *–nik*, which is very productive in Bulgarian[16].

In line with what occurred with Bosnian Slavic and Bulgarian, as we have seen in the direct derivation from the Turkish *tutmaç* [τυτματΣ], loanwords that are present in Russian, *тукмачи* [tukmačĭ], and Romanian, *tocmagĭ*, should be considered, although it is likely that the latter did not enter directly from Turkish, but was borrowed through linguistic contact with neighbouring Slavic linguistic varieties.

The Russian Area

In the Russian area, *тукмачи* [tukmačĭ], which indicated a soup dish with green *fettuccine* made from wheat flour, chickpeas and hemp oil, and which became a Russian dish from the 16th century after the conquest of Kazan (1552), was already attested in *Domostroj*[17], 'Housekeeping', dating from the 15th-16th centuries, a codex of rules and regulations concerning family life and behaviour valid in Russian society for all classes, whether masters or servants. We find it again in the DAL[18] of 1882 with the meaning *родъ салмы, лапши, изъ мучнаго тѣста съ горохом*, 'a kind of pasta (used by the Tartars, the Baškiri and several other populations), pasta, maccheroni (in a generic sense) made from flour dough and peas'. Finally, it is attested by the German linguist, Max

[16] We find *tùtmanik* attested for the first time in in Найден Геров, *Речник на българския език*, т. 5 София 1978, p.386 (фототипно издание на Речника, издаден в Пловдив 1904) – (it is a Photostat edition that appeared in Sofia between 1975 and 1978 of the Bulgarian language dictionary previously published in Plovdiv between 1895 and 1904). My warm gratitude to my colleague, Asenova, for the accurate reconstruction that, thanks to her crucial contribution, I have been able to make of the lexeme *тутманик* in the Bulgarian linguistic area.

[17] Домострой. По рукописямъ Императорской Публичной Библіотеки / В. Яковлевъ. — Санктпетербургъ: Изданіе Д. Е. Кожанчикова, 1867. Su Тукмачи cf. capit.65, p.162.

[18] Толковый словарь живого великорусского языка. Второе издание. Том четвертый, P-V, исправленное и значительно умноженное по рукописи автора. — С.-Петербургъ—Москва: Изданіе книгопродавца-типографа М. О. Вольфа, 1882, P.452. I am very grateful to Walter Breu for the detailed information on the attestation in the Russian context of the term.

Vasmar (1886-1962), in his dictionary of Russian etymology, published in German in Heidelberg between 1950 and 1958, and re-printed more recently in a four-volume Russian edition[19]: on page 117 of volume IV, we find тукмачи, as *pluralia tantum*, giving the meaning 'суп с лапшой' (soup with pasta) and etymologically comparable with the Turkish *tutmadž*.

The Romanian Area

In the great *Dicţionarul limbii romane* (DLR) published by the Romanian Academy in 1983, *tocmági* is attested for "tăiţei" (*fettuccine, tagliatelle*) with diffusion in Transylvania and Moldavia[20]. Here we find other attestations documented in various regional indices of the lexeme: *tocmáji, togmáji, tocmáci, tomnáci, togmági, tomági, tomnági, tojmági, tojmáci, tojmăgi, toşmági*. With regard to a non-specified regional dialectal variety – subsequently identified in the Moldavian variety in Suciu's dictionary of Turkisms - *tocmág***i** indicates "*Bucătele de aluat fierte în apă şi care se consumă apoi cu brînză, cu magiun etc*. (.['Petits morceaux de pâte bouillis, que l'on consomme avec du fromage, de la marmelade,etc.'].

The first scholar to have correctly identified the origin of *tocmagi* as coming from the Turkish *tutmaç* was Vasile Bogrea in a review of his etymological contributions published posthumously in *Dacoromania* at Cluj in 1927[21]. Omitted from the index of 'Orientalisms' by Lazăr Şaineanu (1900) but included by the Turkologist, Emil Suciu, in his recent and up-dated dictionary of Turkish loanwords in Romanian[22], which

---

[19] *Etimologiceskij slovar' russkogo jazyka: v cetyrech tomach Maks Fasmer, perevod s nemeckogo i dopolnenija Oleg Nikolaevič Trubačev, pod redakciej i s predisloviem B.A. Larina,* Moskva, Progress 1986-1987.

[20] Academia Română, *Dicţionarul limbii romane* (DLR). Serie nouă. Tomul XI. Partea a 3-a. Litera T (Tocăna – Twist), editors: Iorgu Iordan, Alexandru Graur şi Ion Coteanu, Bucureşti, Editura Academiei R.S.R., 1983: 380.

[21] "*Tocmagii* româneşti sânt turc.-pers. *toutmadj* 'pâte coupée en rubans étroits, espèce de vermicelle' (Barbier de Maynard, I, 496), 'espèce de pâte taillée en long qui se prépare en potage avec du lait caillé' (p. 854) in Mr. adoară (pp. 786-856) in *Dacoromania*. Buletinul 'Muzeului Limbei Române' condus de Sextil Puşcariu, Anul IV, 1924-1926, partea 2, Cluj 1927.

[22] Emil Suciu, *Influenţa turcă asupra limbii române*, II, Dicţionarul cuvintelor româneşţi de origine turcă, Editura Academiei Române, Bucureşti, 2010, pp. 763-4. Suciu correctly traced the etymology of *tocmági* back to the popular Turkish *tutmaç, tutmac*" (foaie de) aluat uscat; mici bucăţi dreptunghiulare de aluat, fierte şi amestecate cu iaurt; mâncare preparată cu astfel de bucăţi de aluat; supă cu tăiţei şi iaurt"('pâte très fine pour faire des mets; [mets, potage fait avec des]nouilles ou

attests *tocmági* with the meaning "tăiţei" (fettuccine, tagliatelle) as a widely used regional term from 1805 for a Romanian-speaking area that comprises Moldavia, Northern Serbia and Northern Transylvania.[23]

More recently, after illustrating the distribution within Romanian (and within neighbouring languages) of the lexeme *tocmág, tocmág.(-gi)***,** m.s. «Pastă făinoasă, tăiţel» and the different dialectal variants traced back to it, namely *togmag, tumagiu, tocmăgel, tocmăgel, togmăgel,*etc., Alexandru Ciorănescu, records in his etymological dictionary (cf. *Dicţionarul etimologic al limbii române*, Bucureşti 2001), but does not confirm the theory put forward, albeit with reservation, by August Scriban in *Arhiva, sub titlul Dicţionarul limbii româneşti* (*Arhiva,* 1913: 237), and today considered completely unfounded, of an origin from the Hungarian *tögmag*, "sămînță

morceaux réctangulaires de pâte de farine'), rightly cross- referencing with the Albanian *tumats*, taken, even if not directly, from the etymological dictionary of Albanian by Gustav Meyer, published in Strasberg in 1891.

[23] The Arbëresh form *tumatsţ* recorded by Emil Suciu clearly indicates the Meyerian stamp of the source (Theodor Capidan?) he used.

de dovleac" (pumpkin seeds),[24] perhaps influenced, we think, by the approximate 'homographic' equivalence.

We have already mentioned that the Romanian *tocmági* probably did not derive directly from Turkish but through the Russian loanword *тукмачи* [*tukmačĭ*] or some other Slavic variety similar to Romanian (Ukrainian?) via linguistic contact. Our hypothesis could be corroborated by either linguistic (e.g. the phonetic form of loanword adaptation) or extra-linguistic motivations, the latter being linked to the areal distribution of Turkisms in the Romanian area, because, as reliably confirmed to me by the Romanist, Rodica Zafiu, the extensive use of Turkisms - as in the case of *tocmági* - is quite a rare linguistic phenomenon in Transylvania and Moldavia, though not in Wallachia, since Turkish loanwords in Romanian usually spread in the opposite direction[25].

[24] In Hungarian, this type of pasta is, however, called *túrós tészta* and indicates a «type of square-shaped pasta, often home-made, and eaten with a kind of ricotta cheese and sour cream (plus browned smoked ham)». Sincere thanks to my colleague, Beatrice Tottossy (University of Florence), whose invaluable advice helped me to understand how things really stand in Hungarian and to give a rational explanation in order to confute once and for all the hypothesis hazarded by Scriban, and, as I anticipated, based merely on 'homographic' considerations.

[25] Thanks to Prof. Rodica Zafiu, currently full professor of the Romanian language at the Faculty of Arts at the University of Bucharest and since 2003 researcher at the "Iorgu Iordan-Alexandru Rosetti" Linguistics Institute of Bucharest, for her invaluable collaboration and her comprehensive documentation on this subject.

The Turkish Area

The lexeme *tutmaç*, which indicates a kind of home-made pasta cut into strips, is widely used today in Turkey, mainly in certain parts of Northern and Central Anatolia (the area north of Sivas towards the Black Sea), the Eastern area of Erzurum, and the Anatolian South-West. Originally – and to a certain extent today too – it was in common use not only on the Anatolian peninsula and in the nearby Armenian Caucuses, but also in other Middle Eastern and Asiatic countries of Turkish culture and language, in Russian territories like the Volga Valley and by the Karaites, a small community of Turkish origin and Hebrew religion present also in the Crimea and the Ukraine, as well as by the Arabs and Persians[26].

[26] Cf. Charles Perry, "Grain foods of the early Turks" (pp. 11-22) in Alan Davidson (1983): *"tutmach*: 'noodles'. Found at the extreme ends of Turkish territory, in the North-East and the South-West. In Central Asia found in the Volga and among the Qaraim, strangely missing in the central and south-eastern languages of the Central Asian group (…). This word was in common use in Persian and Arabic during the Middle Ages." (p. 15).

As I have already mentioned, it indicates strips of fresh pasta cut into squares and made from wheat flour, eggs and water and then cooked in a soup with meat and yoghurt: namely, the so-called *tutmaç çorbasi*.

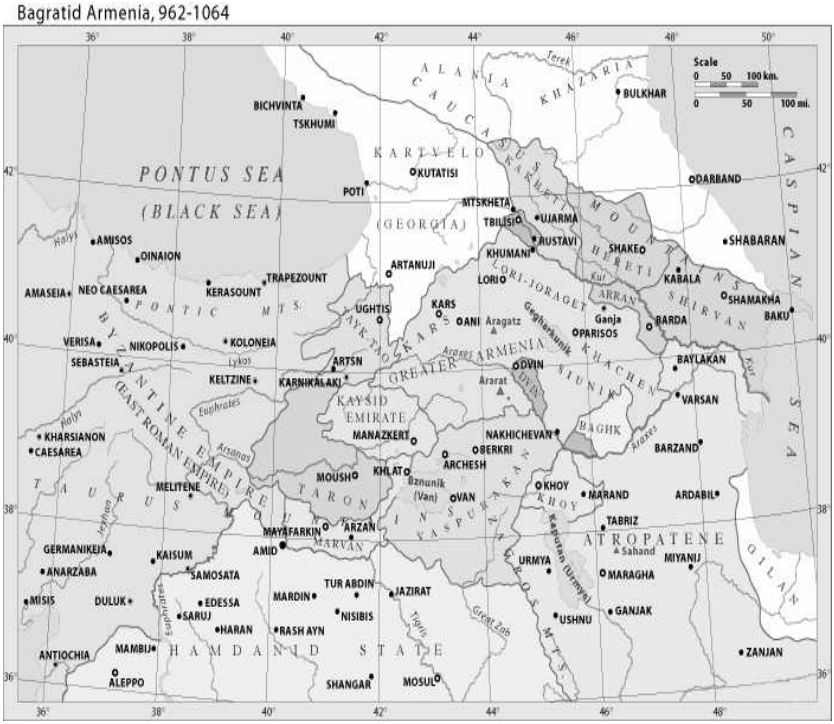
It is a very rich and nutritional dish which, from the 11th century onwards, gradually became popular in Turkish cuisine as one of the staple foods[27], first during the Seljuk dynasty and increasingly so under the Ottomans, keeping its place of honour in the Ottoman cuisine until at least the 15th century[28], after which it was supplanted by *pilaf*[29], which was not

[27] Cf. Reşat GENÇ, "Turkish Cuisine in the 11th Century", in *Turkish Cultural Foundation* (www.turkish-cuisine.org).

[28] Cf. Alan DAVIDSON (1999: 840). In this complete gastronomical encyclopedia, as regards the etymology of *tutmaç*, we find mention of Mahmud al-Kashghari who, in his XI century dictionary of Turkish dialects, referring back to the *Dīwānu l-Luġat al-Turk* dated 1072-74, associated it with a fanciful tale that, certainly today, is completely untenable in linguistic research, and which attributed the origin of the word in popular etymology to events that actually occurred during the military campaigns of Alexander the Great: "In his 11th c. dictionary of Turkish dialects, Mahmud al-Kashghari recorded a pleasant and quite unbelievable folk-tale about how tutmach was invented at the behest of Alexander the Great, whom he refers to by his Koranic name, Dhu al-Qarnain: When Dhu-al Qarnain emerged from Zulumat [the Land of Darkness where the sun disappears when it sets, and the Fountain of Youth is to be found], his people had hardly any food and complained to him of hunger, and said to him, 'Bizni tutma ach', that is, 'Do not

originally an integral ingredient of classical Ottoman cuisine, but rather traditionally Persian.

This position of prestige, though it subsequently became less so, would also account for the extraordinary way the term spread during the expansion of the Ottoman Turks in the 15th and 16th centuries in Eastern Europe and especially in the Balkan linguistic context, where it was acquired and appropriated by the Arbëresh who later immigrated to Italy.



Within the sphere of the influence strongly exerted from the 18th century onwards by Western culture on Ottoman Turkey, which began to be felt

keep us here hungry, let us go so that we can return to our homes'. He consulted the wise men on that subject so that this food might be produced, tutmach*"*. Alan Davidson (1924 –2003) was a British diplomat and historian, best known for having written and published many works on foodstuffs and gastronomy.

[29] The etymology of *pilaf* traces back to the Persian: *pilāu* / *palāv* / *pilav* ((پلـــو). This rice-based dish from Persia became common in much of the East and throughout the world.

not only in architecture and the decorative arts but also in music, literature and the theatre, the cuisine too was not immune to this westernisation, mainly by France but also by Italy, which exported a dish like *maccheroni* from 1780.

As we have seen with *tutmaç*, pasta was not unknown in traditional Turkish cookery, but *maccheroni* was included in Turkish eating habits from the end of the 18th century thanks to the influence of Western cultures, and grew enormously as a result of industrial production and the factories introduced from Italy during the 19th century[30].

Thus, industrial pasta entered the cuisine and the lexicon of the Turks with a neologism, *makarna*, adapted into the Turkish language directly from the Italian *maccheroni.*

So, we have the paradox that in Italy, the land of *maccheroni*, a linguistically minority community like the Arbëresh brought from the Balkans approximately six centuries ago and then retained until the present day, a lexeme like *tumacë* borrowed from Turkish, even if through Greek mediation, the same term that is used today, albeit with limited regional usage, in certain areas of Turkey to indicate home-made *maccheroni*. Commonly used in Turkey to denote industrially produced *maccheroni* is the loanword more recently introduced from Italian: *makarna*.

But are we absolutely sure that *tumacë* really did originate from the Turkish language?

The Armenian Area

We shall try to answer this question starting from the fact that the term *tutmaç*, 'sheet of pastry', is widespread in the remote NE and SW areas of modern-day Turkey, once part of historical Armenia. But also – and we do not know if it was the direct influence of Armenian or mediation from Turkish – in other communities, Turkish-speaking and non-, outside the area and commonly used during the Middle Ages by neighbouring populations speaking Persian[31] and Arabic.[32]

---

[30] Priscilla Mary IŞIN, "A Mirror of Society: Cuisine, Looking West", in *Turkish Cultural Foundation* (www.turkish-cuisine.org).

[31] The Dictionaire encyclopedique/Loghat-naameh-ye, edited by Mirza Ali Akbar Ghazvini, better known as Demkhoda, published in 1956 in 50 volumes, in the Faculty of Letters of the University of Tehran, the most important lexical index of Persian Farsi available to us and a mighty work by the distinguished Iranian linguist, Ali Akbar Demkhoda, refers to the lexeme *totmaj* (تتمـــاج), which indicates a kind of soup typical of Turkish populations, made from yoghurt or curdled milk. In the index of lexemes in the Persian language with Turkish and

It therefore has a wide regional diffusion, used, as it is today, in the Northern-Central area of Anatolia Tokat-Turhal-Niksar, the area north of Sivas towards the Black Sea and the area of Erzurum.

According to the invaluable information provided by my friend, the Turkologist and Armenologist, Sivazliyan Baykar[33], *tutmaç* may have originated not from Turkish but from Armenian, where it means ‘strips of pasta prepared by adding a certain amount of yoghurt to the flour, then cut into squares and left to dry’. The final product has a sourish taste, "*ttuash*" in Armenian, from "*ttù*" sour.

Mongolian origins by Gerhard DOERFER (1963-1975), card no. 876, gives *tutmāğ* (تتمـــاج) as a Turkism. I am indebted to my colleague, Paola Orsatti (University of Rome), for the very useful information on the presence of our lexeme in the Persian-language context. Also Wolfgang Schweickard, of the University of Saarbrücken, refers us of a previous attestation in the dictionary by Francis Joseph Steingass (1992). At page 282 it gives "thin slices of paste, vermicelli " for *tutmāğ*.

[32] The book, *Al Wuşlah Kitab Waşf*, gives ‘kneaded flour’ for ‘*tutmaj*’ in those recipes where the pasta was stuffed, thus implying that the sheet used for *tutmaç* was a different dough, thinner and simpler than the one used by the Arabs for their strips of pasta (cf. Charles Perry, “Grain foods of the early Turks”, art.cit., p.15).

[33] Sivazliyan Baykar, expert in Turkology and Armenology and resident in Italy, is currently lecturer of Armenian at the State University of Milan. Heart-felt thanks to him for his invaluable collaboration, which was crucial to identifying the exact etymology of *tumacë* and to reconstructing the long linguistic history of this ‘Anatolian’ loanword of Italian Albanian.

This kind of square-cut pasta, as recounted to me by Baykar, is called "*ttmatch*" in Armenian dialect. On page 181 of the second volume of his esteemed etymological dictionary of the Armenian language, Hrachia Adjarian[34], noted linguist, etymologist and philologist, extended the primary meaning of this word in dialectal Armenian by adding the meaning of the terracotta or wooden bowl used to prepare the pasta. In other words, Acharian uses the same word to indicate both product and basin, thus container and contained.

A propos of this dish which, according to Adjarian, was originally part of the Armenian food culture, it is worth noting that the Armenian cuisine was certainly one of the most exposed to this kind of reciprocal interference, having given but also received from the eating habits and customs of the neighbouring populations with whom the Armenians co-existed during the 1,500 years they lived in Anatolia, despite differences in the religious beliefs and traditions they came into contact with, because of the community of agricultural and pastoral products offered by the historical settlement territory.

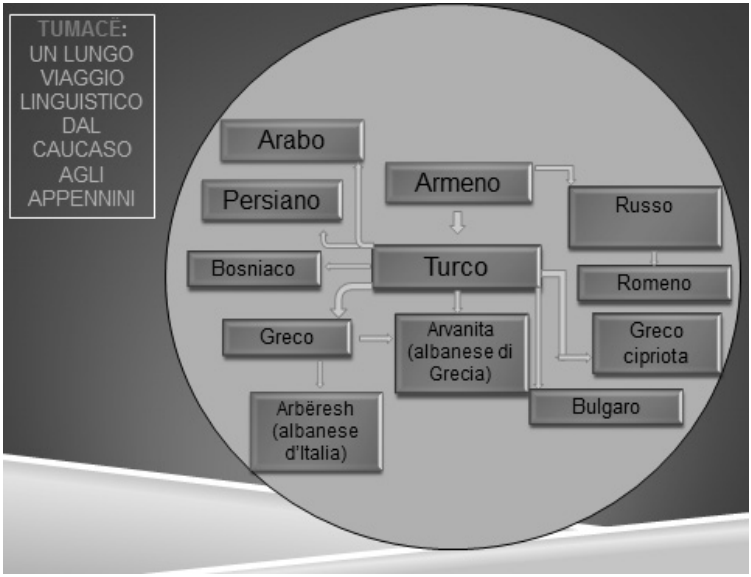
As to the passage of the term from Armenian to Turkish, it is not so difficult to explain, bearing in mind that it concerns two peoples – Armenian and Turkish – who shared the same land for approximately 1,000 years, each giving and receiving hundreds of words from their respective languages, all of which were happily used by both communities up to the present day. Even though it is necessary to take into account the changes in the ethnic geography of Anatolia following the appalling 'ethnic cleansing' – which had all the traits of downright genocide – of indigenous inhabitants (Armenians first of all, but also Greeks and Assyrians) adopted and perpetrated by the Ottoman Empire in the final stage of its history, and more precisely in the early decades of the 20th century as a result of the Pan-Turkish project pursued by the Young Turks.

---

[34] Hrachia Adjarian (Armenian: Հրաչեայ Աճառեան (classical) *Hračʿeay Ačařean*; Հրաչյա Աճառյան (reformed) *Hračʿya Ačařyan*; March 8, 1876 - April 16, 1953) was an Armenian linguist, etymologist, philologist, professor, Academic at the Armenian Academy of Sciences, member of the French Linguistic Association and the Czechoslovakian Institute of Oriental studies. He studied at the Sorbonne with Antoine Meillet and at Strasbourg University. Acharian worked as a teacher for the Ejmiatsin Gevorkian seminary, Shusha and Tehran. A survivor of the Armenian Genocide, he came to Yerevan in 1923, where he taught foreign languages, comparative grammar, and the history of the Armenian language at the Yerevan State University, where he headed a chair. He is the author of more than 200 scientific publications on Armenology, the Armenian language and Oriental Languages. The Armenian State Institute of Linguistics is named after him.

As to dating when this word probably entered the Turkish language, we can consider the *ante quem* limit as being at least the 11th century, since the *Dīwānu l-Luġat al-Turk*, the first Turkish lexicon by Mahmud al-Kashghari where *tutmaç* was first attested, dates back to 1072-74. Thus, we can confidently assume that *tumacë* entered the Albanian lexicon, mediated by Greek, before the Arbëresh migration to the Italian peninsular in the 15th century.

In our extraordinary linguistic journey, now coming to an end, from the Apennines to the Caucuses to the root of *tumacë*, around this lexeme which, starting from the Italo-Albanian context, we then re-discovered in the food lexicon of many peoples and communities bordering the Mediterranean, we have tried to retrace the cultural history of this very common but very distinctive food inherited from the Arbëresh, a history that I feel is particularly emblematic of the many cultural and ethnic hybridisations that have characterised, and still characterise, the identities of each linguistic community, including the Albanian, in the Italo-Balkanic and Mediterranean context.


TUMACË:
UN LUNGO
VIAGGIO
LINGUISTICO
DAL
CAUCASO
AGLI
APPENNINI
Arabo
Persiano
Armeno
Russo
Bosniaco
Turco
Romeno
Greco
Arvanita
(albanese di
Grecia)
Greco
cipriota
Bulgaro
Arbëresh
(albanese
d'Italia)

LA LUNGUA MARCIA DI «TUMACË»: DALL'ARMENIA IN ARBËRIA
OCEANO
ATLANTICO
NORVEGIA
MARE DEL NORD
MAR BALTICO
MAR NERO
MAR CASPIO
1 Armeno, 2a Turco, 2b Arabo, 2c Persiano, 2d Albanese arvanita, 2e Bulgaro, 2f Bosniaco, 3a Russo, 3b Romeno,4a Greco, 4b Greco cipriota, 4c Albanese ciamo, 4d Albanese arbëresh

References

ADJARIAN, Hrachia (1971-1979): *Hayeren Armatakan Baram* [Armenian Etymological Dictionary], 4 vol. Yerevan: Yerevan University Press.

BAFFA, Giuseppe (2009): *Dizionario arbëresh di Santa Sofia d'Epiro. Fjalor arbëresh i Shën Sofisë.* Università della Calabria: Fondazione Universitaria "Francesco Solano".

CIORĂNESCU, Alexandru (2001): *Dicţionarul etimologic al limbii române*, Bucureşti.

DAVIDSON, Alan Eaton (1999): *The Oxford Companion to Food A-Z*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

—. (1986): *Food in Motion: the migration of foodstuffs and cookery techniques: proceedings.* London: Prospect Books Ltd.

DOERFER, Gerhard (1963-1975): *Türkische und Mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*, 4 vol. Wiesbaden: Steiner Verlag.

ĐYIYOL, Fatih (2010): *The Effect of Turkish Culture on Bosnian Culture Exemplified by Food Culture.* **I**n: 2nd International Symposium on Sustainable Development, June 8-9, 2010. Sarajevo: 469-474.

GENÇ, Reşat: *Turkish Cuisine in the 11th Century.* In: Turkish Cultural Foundation (www.turkish-cuisine.org).

GENTILE, Carmine (forthcoming): *Fjalori jonë.*

GERBINO, Gaetano (2002): *Fjalori arbërisht-italisht i Horës së Arbëreshëvet. Dizionario arbëresh-italiano della parlata di Piana degli Albanesi.* In: Quaderni di Biblos. Piana degli Albanesi.

ГЕРОВ, Найден [Gherov, Nayden], Речник на българския език, т. 5 София 1978 [Rechnik na balgarskija ezik. Sofia 1978], (фототипно издание на Речника, издаден в Пловдив 1904].

GIORDANO, Emanuele (1963): *Fjalori i Arbëreshvet t'Italisë*. Dizionario degli Albanesi d'Italia. Bari: Edizioni Paoline.

GIAGKOULLÌS, Konstantinos (1997): *Μικρός ερμηνευτικός και ετυμολογικός θησαυρός της Κυπριακής διαλέκτου (από το δέκατο τρίτο αιώνα μέχρι σήμερα)*, Βιβλιοθήκη Κυπρίων λαϊκών ποιητών [collana n. 58], Λευκωσία.

JOCHALAS, Titos P. (2011): *Η Αρβανίτικα στο Μοριά,* χρονικάπορείας, τόμ Α΄-Β΄. Αθηνα: Εκδοσεις Πατακη.

GRANNES, Alf; HAUGE, Kjetil Rå; SÜLEYMANOĞLU, Hayriye (2002): *A dictionary of Turkisms in Bulgarian.* Oslo: Novus.

HAXHIHASANI, Qemal (1971): *Vështrim i përgjithshëm mbi të folmen e banorëve të Çamërisë*. In: Dialektologjia shqiptare 1: 118-193.

IŞIN, Priscilla Mary *A Mirror of Society: Cuisine, Looking West*. In: Turkish Cultural Foundation (www.turkish-cuisine.org).

KARAPOTOSOGLOU, Kostas (2005): *Γλωσσικά Μυκόνου*. In: *Ελληνικά* 55/1: 89-120.

KARAPOTOSOGLOU, Kostas (2000): *Ετυμολογικές παρατηρήσεις στη μεσαιωνική ελληνική*. In: Νεοελληνική Διαλεκτολογία 3.

KOUPITORIS, Panaiot (2006): *Dictionnaire Grec-Albanais*. In: JOCHALAS, Tito (Ed.), Ύδρα. Λησμονημένη γλώσσα, Α΄, Β΄. Αθηνα: Εκδοσεις Πατακη: 423-854.

MASSARO, Mario (2010): *Dizionario comparato delle parlate arbëreshe di Casalvecchio e Chieuti.* Apricena: Malatesta editrice.

PERRY, Charles (1986): *Grain foods of the early Turks*. In: DAVIDSON, Alan Eaton (Ed.), Food in Motion: the migration of foodstuffs and cookery techniques: proceedings. London: Prospect Books Ltd:11-22.

PIGNOLI, Maria Luis; TARTAGLIONE, Guido (2007): *Dizionario Albanese Molisano (Parlate di Portocannone e Ururi)*. Rende: Università della Calabria.

REINHOLD, Karl (1855): *Noctes Pelasgicae vel symbolae ad cognoscendos Dialectos Greciae Pelasgicae.* Collatae cura Dr. Caroli Heinrici Theodori Reinhold. Athenis: Typis Sophoclis Garbola.

RUSSO, Anna Maria (2006): *I cibi nella tradizione linguistica e culturale arbëreshe della comunità di Firmo* (CS). Thesis. Università della Calabria.

ŞĂINEANU, Lazăr (1900): *Influenţa orientalia asupra limbei şi culturi române.* Introducerea–Limba-Cultura-Resultate-Conclusiune-Bibliografia. Bucuresci.

SCUTARI, Pasquale (2002): *Il lessico della parlata arbëreshe di San Costantino Albanese.* Rende: Università della Calabria.

SESSA, Clelia (2004): *Itinerari di cultura alimentare arbëreshe.* Milano: Arcipelago Edizioni.

SKOK, Petar (1935): *Restes de la langue turque dans les Balkans*. In: Revue internationale des études balkaniques. Beograd: 247-250.

STEINGASS, Francis Joseph (1992): *A comprehensive Persian-English dictionary*, *including the Arabic words and phrases to be met with in Persian literature.* New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal.

EMIL, Suciu (2010): *Influenţa turcă asupra limbii române.* In: II, Dicţionarul cuvintelor româneşti de origine turcă. Bucureşti: Editura Academiei Române.

Толковый словарь живого великорусского языка. Второе издание. Том четвертый, P-V, исправленное и значительно умноженное по

рукописи автора. — С.-Петербургъ—Москва: Изданіе книгопродавца-типографа М. О. Вольфа, 1882.

VASMAR Max, *Russisches etymologisches Wörterbuch,* 3 vls., Carl Winter, Heidelberg 1950-1958 [new edition in Russian: *Etimologiceskij slovar' russkogo jazyka: v cetyrech tomach Maks Fasmer, perevod s nemeckogo i dopolnenija Oleg Nikolaevič Trubačeva, pod redakciej i s predisloviem B.A. Larina,* Moskva, Progress 1986-1987].

Academia Română (1983): *Dicţionarul limbii române* (DLR). Serie nouă. Tomul XI. Partea a 3-a. Litera T (Tocăna – Twist), redactori responsabili: Iorgu Iordan, Alexandru Graur şi Ion Coteanu. Bucureşti: EdituraAcademiei R.S.R.

* At the end of this long but exciting linguistic journey in search of the lexeme *tumacë* in the different geographical, cultural and national contexts where it is documented, even though I am convinced that there is still a long way to go in order to be able to complete it, I feel duty-bound to express my sincere thanks and my personal acknowledgement to all the friends and colleagues who provided the collaboration and documentation that enabled me to realise it. In addition to the informants and the editors of the lexical indices of the Arbëresh area whom I consulted, I should especially like to thank: Petya Assenova (Sofia), Sivazliyan Baykar (Milan), Walter Breu (Constance), Titos Jochalas (Athens), Carla De Bellis and Paola Orsatti (Rome), Katerina Papatheu (Catania), Diana Ibrahimi Rexha and Semahat Osman (Skopje), Wolfgang Schweickard (Saarbrücken), Elton Prifti (Mannheim), Beatrice Tottossy (Florence), Rodica Zafiu (Bucharest).

DEMOGRAPHIC AND LINGUISTIC DECLINE IN FOUR ARBËRESH VILLAGES: FIRMO, SAN BASILE, SAN MARZANO DI SAN GIUSEPPE AND SPEZZANO ALBANESE

GIOVANNI BELLUSCIO

It is well known that there is an intimate relationship between the demographic evolution of a community of speakers and the (positive or negative) development of its linguistic varieties. In the case of the Arbëresh community, which settled in Italy six centuries ago (Hamp 2000, Belluscio 2010), this has been well documented for the last thirty years, since during this period there has been a demographic decline with a subsequent depopulation of villages. As a result, the continuity of minimum population replacement with younger speakers has not been ensured. When we look at the research carried out during the last decades we see that, unfortunately, these dynamics have been studied only and always as separate from their parallel linguistic development. Based on a recent set of linguistic data, cross-referenced with the demography of this context and with the maintenance/loss of most representative cultural characteristics (including the assessment of an index of "identity"), it is possible to draw a substantially real and fair picture of the current status in the four Arbëresh communities here investigated. They fall into two different areas/provinces of Southern Italy and even they have a different history and cultural heritage, although in some aspects, as we shall see, they are linked by a common evolution during recent years.

1. The Context

We are dealing here (see Fig. 1) with four communities with genetically similar dialects whose origins[1] date from the late 15th century to the first

[1] For the general history of Albanian communities we have at our disposal a good deal of literature from the second half of 18th century onwards. However, for the

half of the 16th. According to the historical and linguistic features, the three Calabrian communities fall into one common dialect area while S. Marzano belongs to the so-called conservative or archaic area[2]. We can also consider Firmo, San Basile and Spezzano separately if we look at the total population figures as given in Fig. 2; in fact, while the first three villages are suffering an evident reduction of inhabitants, San Marzano seems to go against this trend by showing a constant increase over the last few years. This situation is also confirmed by the trend towards a balance between births and deaths (Fig. 3). From a demographic point of view, however, San Marzano and Spezzano go together as two densely populated communities. In the following section we shall analyse aspects related to demographic trends linked to the natural loss of local language use.

Fig. 1. Geographical distribution of the investigated communities

2. Population and surviving language

According to national censuses in Italy from 1861 to the present day and up-dated discussion on the scientific contributions made by such as Gambarara (1980) and De Bartolo (1989), the official population trend in the Arbëresh communities (see Fig. 2 and 3) shows, in the case of San

history of the Arbëresh of Calabria see ZANGARI (1941) and for San Marzano D'ANGELA & CARDUCCI (1992).

[2] For these specific aspects refer to SOLANO (1979) and SAVOIA (1991) which offer precise information and details on the dialect subdivision of the fifty Albanian-speaking communities in Italy.

Basile, a substantial and continuous decline of about 48.09% over a sixty-year[3] period (the highest peak of increase being the 1951 census) while between 2001-2015 there was a further decrease of 17.25%. A quite different situation is shown for Firmo where the negative trend started at the beginning of 1991 and had dropped to –19.85% by 2011, while in the period 2011-2015 there was another significant decrease of –5.87%, i.e. a total decrease of –25.72%, which corresponds to a quarter of the overall population. A different situation was found in Spezzano Albanese, where, even if from a historical point of view we have the same situation as in Firmo (with a maximum increase in 1991), the graph shows two different trends during the period 2001-2015, a positive one until 2010 (with a visible drop in 2006) followed by negative one. All in all, there was a 7.8% decrease from 1991 to 2015. This low percentage drop may also be due to the influx of foreign immigrants, which is helping to curb the local demographic decline (= +5.2% on January 1st, 2016). The group of newcomers who settled in Spezzano mainly comprises people coming from Romania and Albania.

Statistical evidence shows that the Arbëresh context remains within the figures of the overall situation of the province of Cosenza, where the trend over the period 2001-2015 is of about –20% in population. This means that the decrease in population is affecting not only the Arbëresh villages but is now a general trend in Italy. Finally, we find a completely different situation at San Marzano (province of Taranto) where the trend is positive both since 1861 and in the last fifteen years (i.e. the same as the general trend of Apulia, whose diagram shows a drop in 2011 and 2012 and another small one in 2015). However, while the birth & death rate reached its cross-over point for Apulia in 2011, when deaths exceeded births, for San Marzano the number of births remained higher than deaths during the whole period. If we consider the fact that in 1861 S. Marzano was a little village with 1,771 inhabitants, such an increase looks surprisingly high, bearing in mind that the number of foreign immigrants does not exceed 2% of the population[4]. The explanation for such a situation is to be found in internal migration since the territory of S. Marzano and its economic activities remain attractive to the surrounding villages.

[3] We must remember that the figures here refer to officially registered residents, so the number of real living inhabitants is even lower.

[4] It is useful to recall here, as an example, the town of Piana degli Albanesi in the province of Palermo, which has had more than 7,000 inhabitants since 1861 and this average has been maintained over time.

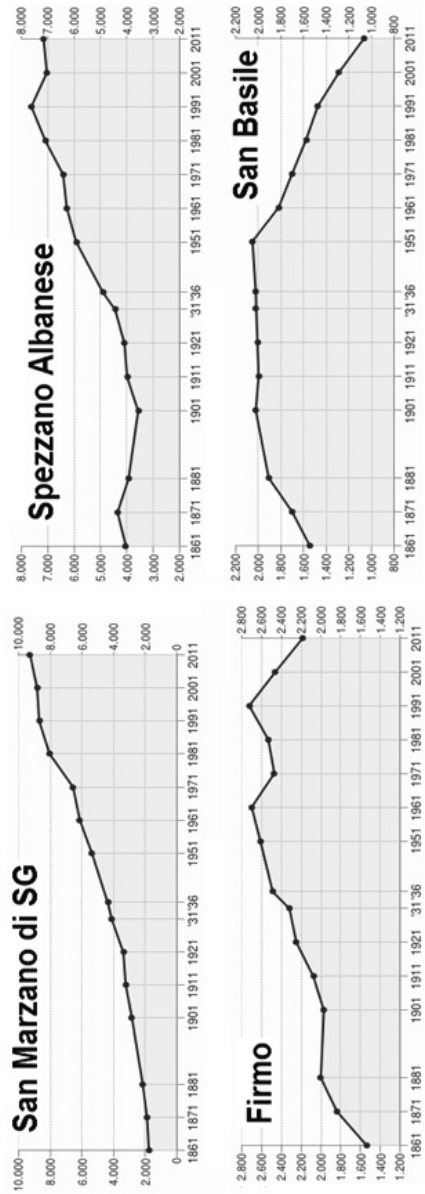


Fig. 2. Demographic trend during the last 150 years

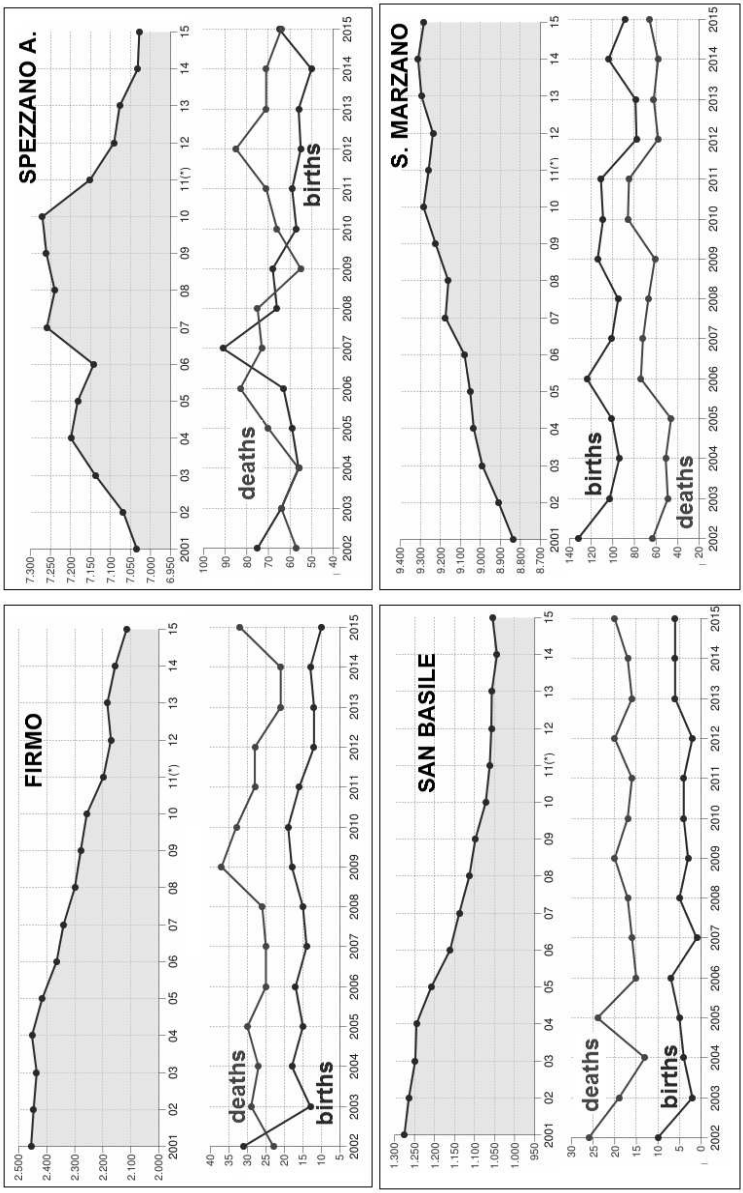


Fig. 3. 2001-2015 Demographic trend (plus birth & death rates)

As we have seen, the demographic decline may appear in different ways; the main cause is obviously due to declining birth rates and the increase in death rates owing to an ageing population. Another important cause is emigration, a phenomenon that mainly affects Southern Italy and which partly continues today in a more extended form throughout Italy, particularly among young graduates.

If we now analyse a micro-context like a village street chosen randomly (in the community of S. Basile), we can clearly observe at least two trends that are closely linked one to the other: a) the abandonment of houses, b) depopulation and the resulting decrease of Arbëresh speakers. As shown in Fig. 4, over almost half a century (1970-2015), the sample of "Via Verdi" (although this is typical of most of the historical Arbëresh urban settlements) has lost 17 out of 29 formerly inhabited houses[5] (= –58.62%) plus a consequent decrease of 19 families (–65.51%) with speakers under 25 years of age (many of whom were 10 years old or under) whose mother tongue in 1970 was Albanian. This means that nowadays there is no generational turn-over and that in view of the negative percentages recorded, cultural and linguistic continuity cannot be guaranteed in the future.

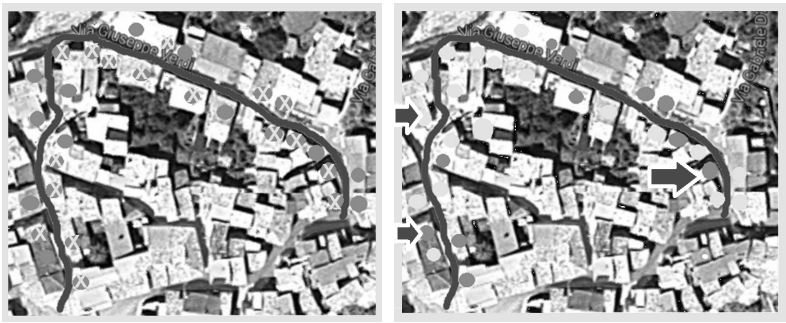


Fig. 4. Real sample of demographic transformation in San Basile (1970-2015) considering a random street. On the left: houses inhabited in 1970; marked with an X, the empty houses in 2015. On the right: in yellow: houses with Albanian speakers < 25 y.o. in 1970; 3 red arrows indicate houses with people < 25 y.o. (not all Albanian speakers).

[5] In most cases the abandonment of old houses was due to death or emigration, while in a very few case it is the result of families moving to newly built houses in recently urbanised areas.

According to recent field research (the only recent one at our disposal) carried out in S. Marzano and involving a series of interviews with inhabitants between 15–89 years of age (average = 50 years old), Fritiofsson (2013) says she did not include children[6] under 15 because there were no speakers there of that age and also because she found "nobody younger than 20 who could speak Albanian". This situation was also confirmed by her interviewees who were asked if they knew of any young Arbëresh speakers under 20, but very few gave her a positive answer. A similar situation is found at Spezzano but not at Firmo, where I have data collected by direct observation which confirms that in a restricted number of local families the Arbëresh variety is still spoken to and by children; however their code is exposed to strong Italian cultural and linguistic pressure as we shall see in the following section.

Moreover, mixed marriages should also be considered as another indicator that better defines why in recent years there has been a decrease in the everyday usage of Arbëresh varieties. Mixed marriages, especially when the mother-to-be is of non-Albanian origin, bring about a change in familial linguistic communication, so the use of the Italian language or its dialects tends to become more extensive in everyday communication[7]. The

[6] It is useful to report here the case of Caraffa di Catanzaro and Vena di Maida in the province of Catanzaro. There, the status of the Italo-Albanian linguistic variety among young people is under severe threat by both Italian and the Calabrian dialect and, as described by Mazzei (2002), it shows a significantly compromised situation. In 2002, at the Caraffa di Catanzaro primary school, only 16% of the children could understand Italo-Albanian (while 58% of the parents stated they still spoke it) and at Vena di Maida, 38% of the children answered that they could understand Italo-Albanian (while 53% of their parents still spoke it). According to other data by S. Maiorana in 1989, which refer to the primary school of Caraffa di Catanzaro, in May 1987 the situation was: 196 pupils of whom 15.3% were Italo-Albanian speakers, 32% non-Italo-Albanian speakers and 52.4% both Italo-Albanian and Italian speakers; while at the lower secondary school there were 105 students, of whom 36.19% were Italo-Albanian speakers, 20.95% non-Italo-Albanian speakers and 41.90% both Italo-Albanian and Italian speakers. The investigator himself stated that Arbërishtja was going to be in a precarious situation since 52% of pupils had a very little lexical competence and it was used very occasionally. Furthermore, if applied statistically to the whole Arbëresh community, the trend could provide a general overview of the situation where there was a lack of real solid data.

[7] Regarding this issue, some good (even if not fresh) official real numbers exist from the village of Frascineto (province of Cosenza) that were made public by the parish priest and describe the demographic situation on December 31st, 2003 and which may also be indicative of the situation in other communities. At Frascineto, with a total population of 1,960 inhabitants, there were then 477 families of which

population trend seems to be clear, as does the breakdown of language use and traditional cultural practices, brought about by the on-going increase of non-Italo-Albanians inside the communities.

Since the fall of the Berlin wall, there has been a surge in immigration, a social phenomenon that brought large foreign population groups from Eastern Europe (and also from Albania) to the West, and, during this last decade, from Africa and Asia, too. A small number of those people have also re-populated the Arbëresh villages. Today, as I have already stated, this presence accounts for about 8-10% of the resident local population[8].

It is now clear how problematic and complex the social fabric is in these communities which, for five centuries, have had and maintained a cultural, linguistic and social uniformity, but which today are facing drastic transformations as a result of globalisation. The relevant question now, to paraphrase the title of Colin Crouch's book, is: "How much globalisation can Arbëria withstand?" My outlook may well be considered totally pessimistic, but I think it will be extremely difficult to achieve and maintain any equilibrium in the present situation. The dominant culture has played and continues to play a levelling role leading to ~~a~~ linguistic and cultural homogenisation; on the other hand, over the past few years we have seen government financial support reduced again and again and the de-funding of important educational activities like teaching, of administrative linguistic support, of local press, publications and so on. So the effects of globalisation are evident and they are causing a consistent social, cultural and linguistic loss which, most likely, will continue in the near future.

3. What is Arbërishtja today

The second phase of my analysis will be a general socio-linguistic description of the four communities, an aspect already studied by Maddalon

---

233 (= 48.8%) were mixed couples or couples with both parents of non-Albanian origin (25 = 5.4%). The children of the mixed couples formed 22.1% of the total number of inhabitants, while the children of couples with both non-Albanian parents totalled 66 (= 3.8% of the population). So the overall percentage of children born to mixed couples or to couples made up of non-Albanian parents was 25.5%. That figure is just over a quarter of the total population, with 17.55% of its inhabitants coming from outside the Arbëresh area. It is worth noting here that this situation was considerably better compared with other communities, where the number of immigrants of non-Albanian origin was much larger than the above figures.

[8] In Fig. 4, for example, the two red arrows on the left side of the right map refer to two families whose young members are all from foreign European countries.

& Belluscio (2002). Today it can be said that Arbërishtja (the Italo-Albanian variety) is a mixed-language code with frequent and normal code-switching. From a socio-linguistic point of view its speakers are described as diglossic, i.e. they speak *Arbërishtja* in familial or community contexts, but use standard regional Italian at school, outside their community or with newcomers living inside their community, and they can also speak the Italian dialect of neighbouring Italian villages[9]. Adult speakers have also done a relatively good job of retaining a reasonable level of both its syntactical and morphological structures but part of its phonetic and lexical integrity has been lost. However, according to our data, we have seen that a linguistically dangerous collapse is now affecting not only the phonetic/phonological level but also the morphological level owing to the strong structural pressure exerted by the Italian language which, as a result of school education and its cultural and prestigious relevance, has become more pervasive over recent decades.

As an initial step in this linguistic transformation, we have to consider the abandonment of the Albanian local variety in communication between parents and children, and also between grandparents and grandchildren. This linguistic deformation, as it is known, started during the 1970s and became increasingly evident after the 80s-90s. However, we must also take into account the movement of families with young children to larger neighbouring Italian cities, a phenomenon that has contributed to the decrease in young speakers inside the communities. According to Hagège (2009), all these social aspects may make it difficult for this lesser-used language to survive over the next 3-4 decades, especially since it is now classed as an endangered language by UNESCO[10] which considers the Italo-Albanian dialects as "Definitely Endangered", and this means that within the communities "children no longer learn the language as their mother tongue at home". Yet another confirmation of this predicament is given by applying Fishman's (1991) 8-stages "Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale". According to this Scale the Arbëresh situation falls within the penultimate stage, namely:

[9] Standard Albanian, the official language of Albania, Kosovo and Macedonia, is known only by those speakers who have studied and learnt it for their job or for personal cultural interest.

[10] Data on global linguistic situations are available at www.unesco.org/languages-atlas/index.php. However, it seems to me that some information recording specific linguistic situations in Italy does not entirely correspond to reality, but the description of Arbëresh communities appears to be demonstrably correct.

7. Most users of Xish [i. e. Arbëresh dialect] are a socially integrated and ethno-linguistically active population but they are beyond child-bearing age"

This means that young speakers are no longer interested in their language, culture and identity, even if they are considered "socially integrated", so they prefer to speak Italian since their parents chose to speak Italian with them, having deemed it more useful and prestigious.

As a result of this negative approach towards their own language and culture, the remaining speakers belonging to the young generation today adhere to a precarious code that is definitely changing its original structure. Such a situation, as mentioned above, is the result of a previous lack of interest and of linguistic control by family members, who tended to speak more Italian than Albanian and in many cases with absurd and ridiculous results[11].

4. Language: New linguistic attitudes and dialect innovations

I have already outlined some linguistic and dialectological details for all four linguistic varieties, but since I shall not deal further with dialect fundamentals, please refer to Belluscio (2005, 2015 and 2015b) for more information on San Basile, Spezzano Albanese and San Marzano, and to Solano (1983) regarding the dialect of Firmo. In this last section I shall give a summary of the linguistic/dialectological analysis based on first-hand material collected during my field work at Firmo and San Basile[12]. Real examples of structural collapse will be given for phonetics (phonology), morphology, syntax and lexicon both from a synchronic and diachronic point of view, with particular reference to preview studies and analyses (for these, see the linguistic section in Jochalas 1996 and the up-dated list in Belluscio 2015a).

[11] During the 1970s, I personally heard grandmothers speaking boldly to their grandchildren like this: "*Vai nel* katoqo *a prendere la trasta*" (words in italics are Italian while *katoqo* 'basament' and *trasta* 'bag' are Arbëresh "Italianised" words that were difficult to translate into Italian. This is a clumsy attempt to speak a "foreign language" by people who were not sufficiently fluent in that language and this helped to undermine the precarious situation of the dialect.

[12] Dialect material and discussions related to Spezzano and San Marzano can be found in the above-mentioned bibliographic titles. Interviewees for Firmo belong to 20-35 age group and spontaneous conversations were recorded in a public context; linguistic targets taken into account are marked with bold letters. The materials for San Basile come from a 14 y.o. boy recorded in 2014.

As regards phonetics, apart from the evident loss of vowel length, which has occurred in all four varieties, and the normal contextual neutralisation of /ə/ both in stressed (at San Basile /ə/ > [ɔ]) and unstressed positions, the following phenomena concern only the consonant system.

1. /ʎ/ >[j]. The Arbëresh class of liquids in the four dialects is made up of /l/ and /ʎ/. Among the very few young speakers I interviewed at San Basile, the neutralisation of /ʎ/ with /j/ occurred (/ʎ/ being realised as [j] or [ʝ]) with a consequent neutralisation of minimal pairs such as:
/lip/ 'water moss' ~ /ʎip/ 'ask for!' ~ /ʝip/ 'give!',
/mal/ 'nostalgia, love' ~ /maʎ/ 'mountain' ~ /maj/ 'May',
/lam/ 'food for pigs' ~ /ʎam/ 'we left (a thing, a person)' ~ /jam/ 'I am',
/ʃal/ 'shawl' ~ /ʃaʎ/ 'thigh' ~ /ʃaj/ 'I offend'

This merge seems to be extensive in contemporary Italian too, considering that /ʎ/ > /j/ is a regular merge nowadays both in some Italian dialects and also in other regional contexts.

Here are some examples from my recordings: [ʃiŋvaˈsiji] *Shën Vasili* 'San Basile', [fjaj] *fjalë* 'word', [ʦijin ˈdo] *cilin do?* 'which one do you want', [ai ˈdːɛj] *ai del* 'he goes out' (but *dej* is also an adverb meaning 'after tomorrow'), [uˈjipiŋ] *u lipënj* 'I ask', [ŋkɔnˈʤij] *një konxil* 'advice' (also [kɔnʤiˈjaɾim] 'advise me'), [uˈjɔ] *u lë* 'I leave (somebody)' (a perfect neutralisation with *u jo* 'not me'); my material for Firmo shows only one case: [ˌjamɛ 'ipɛm jaɾt] *jam e **h**ipem **l**art* 'I am going upstairs'.

2. /r/ > [ɾ] / /ɾ/ > 0. The trend of merging /r/ with /ɾ/ seem to be less common in San Basile than in Firmo. For the first dialect, I have only few examples: [u ˈndɾɔŋ] *u ndërronj* 'I change', [miɾ] *mirr* 'take', [ɾuʃt] *rrushtë* 'grapes', while in Firmo the merge with [r] appears more evident: [ˌsasɛɪsˈɾɪtɪ] *tha se i thë**rr**iti* '(s)he told (s)he called it/her/them', [vɛmɛ ˈɾɪmɪ ʊˈnɪtːʊ] *vemi e **rr**imi unitu* 'we will go to stay (=live) together', [vɛtɛ ˈmɛɾ ndɔŋˈvʊˑɬ] *vete e me**rr** ndonjë vull* '(s)he can fall', [ˈɾɪmɪ ɟɪθ dɪtɪn ɛ'dɪts] ***rr**imi gjithë ditën e ditës* 'we will stay all day long', [ˈkam ɛ ɾəmˈbɛŋ] *kam e **rr**ëmbenj* 'I have to catch him/her/it', [mɪɾɛʊ'zaːɾɛː] *mi**rr**e e uzare!* 'take it and use it!'. As extreme neutralisation in a certain number of samples, total deletion also appears both in the original /ɾ/ and secondary /ɾ/ as a result of /r/ > /ɾ/: [sɔndɛ ŋˈgɛðaʊ] *sonde ng' **e**rdha u* 'this evening I did not come', [ˈŋᵍɛðɛktʊ] *ng' **e**rdhe këtu* 'you did not come here', [ˈmɪm ʊna ˈskɛːda] *mi**rr**më una skeda* 'take a calling card for me', [mɔsɪˈmɪnɪ vɛʃ aˈtɪɾɛ] *mos i mi**rr**ni vesh atir**ve*** 'do not listen to them'. This phonetic trend is also common in contemporary Standard Albanian.

3. /θ/ > [s]. Concerning the class of fricatives, there is a merge of the phonemes /θ/ and /ð/, segments which are unknown in Italian, with /s/ and /d/, and this may well be a result of the structural pressure of Italian. As in the case of the liquids (see 1 above), here the merge may also produce a neutralisation of fundamental minimal pairs like the following:

/θa/ 'he said', /ða/ 'he gave', /sa/ 'how much, how many'
/θe/ 'you said', /ðe/ 'you gave', /se/ 'that'
/ði/ 'goat', /di/ 'two', /si/ 'eye'
/θot/ 'he says', /sot/ 'today'

Here are some examples for San Basile showing at least three different realisations of /θ/. In very few cases our interviewees articulate it as [θ]: [ˈɔm ɟiθˈsej] *ëm gjithësej* 'give me everything', [iʃaˈθɔja] *isha thoja* 'I was saying'; in other cases we note a kind of double articulation, or an articulation mid-way between [θ] and [s] that we indicate with [θˢ]: [ʦa pjɛc a ˈθˢɔjin] *ca pjeq e thojin* 'some old person said it' [ˈzɔti θˢa ˈmɛʃa] *zoti tha meshën* 'the priest said (celebrated) the liturgy', [ɟindjat ˈθˢɔjin] *gjindjat thojin* 'people said'; but the most common and natural articulation is [s]: [ˈsɔmɪ] *thomi* 'we say', [ai ˈsa] *ai tha* 'he said'. Unfortunately, besides the cases of [ˈuθˢul] *uthull* 'vinegar' and [ɟiθˢaˈparu] *gjithëparu* 'everywhere', the whole corpus has only examples with the verb *thom* 'to say', so it is not yet possible to verify and describe the real distribution of the three different articulations of /θ/. A similar situation may be found at Firmo among 30-35 year olds and younger: [ʊ ŋgɪ tɛ ˈsɔm] *u ngë t'e **th**om* 'I will not tell you', [t sanˈtrɛːmɛ] *të **th**anë të **rr**eme* 'they told you lies', [mɛˌsaˈɪkˈtjɛ] *m' e **th**a ai këtje* 'that man over there told it to me', [msɾɪtɪ ɲmɛnd̪] *më **th**ërriti njëmend* [(s)he just called me', [jɪːniˈɟɪs] *jini gji**th**ë?* 'Is everyone here?,' [ʧsɛ] *çë **th**e?* 'what did you say?', [ɪˌsaʃ nbɪnɛˈɪja] *i **th**ashë ndë bën e **h**ija* 'I asked him/her if (s)he could let me in'.

4. /ð/ > [d]. In the case of /ð/ we have for San Basile fewer but more diverse examples: [mbi ˈdɛ] *mbi dhe* 'on the earth', [i ˈmaq̣] *i madh* 'big', [ˈtmada] (instead of) *të mbëdhenj* 'big (masculine plural)', [dˈjɛt] *dhjetë* 'ten', [mdˈɔmb] *më dhëmb* (= më dhemb) 'it hurts', [jaˈda] *ia dha* '(s)he gave it him/her' (but also [ai ma ˈða] *ai ma dha* 'he gave it to me'). It is worth noting that with [d], speakers of previous generations borrowed it from Italian (calque) to pronounce with [ð]: [ˈdːestɾa] It. *destra* 'right hand', [m dˈispiɻˈcɛn] *më dhispëlqen* 'I'm sorry!', [fastiˈdjuʒ] It. *fastidioso* 'annoying'. In only two cases did my interviewee articulate [ð]: [ilˈkɾɛðo] It. *il Credo* 'the prayer I believe…' and [ɛðɛˈu a ˈdi] *edhe u e di*

'I know it, too'. Here are the examples for Firmo: [a'ɪ na bəɾɪˈʊdet] *ai na bëri u**dh**ët* 'he opened for us the paths', [ɪ'd:əndɾɪ] *i **dh**ëndrri* 'his son-in-law', [mda dˈɪpaˈkɛtɛ] *më **dh**a di pakete* '(s)he gave me two packets of cigarettes', [saiˈdɛ] *sa i **dh**e?* 'how much did you give him/her?', [ŋgimiˈdˈa] *ngë m'i **dh**a* '(s)he didn't give those to me'.

5. /h/ > 0. This last phonetic aspect seems to be typical only of the dialect of Firmo, although it is shared by many dialects in Albania and by Standard Albanian. It is unknown to the other three dialects. Here is a list of examples: [ˈmɔzd:ɔtaʃ̈tʊ] *mos do të **h**ash **k**ëtu?* 'would you like to eat here?', [sɪɛˈapɪn] *si e **h**apin?* 'how can you/(s)he open it?', [patˈprɪsɪmˈtaˈpnɪ] *pat(ëm) të prisim t' **h**apnij* 'we just had to wait for him to open', [ˌnəŋ bɪnɛˈɪnɛj] *ngë bën e **h**inej* '(s)he didn't let him/her enter', [ˈmɔs:anˈɛˈa:n] *mos **j**anë e **h**anë?* 'are they eventually eating?', [ɪˌsaʃ nbɪnɛˈɪja] *i thashë ndë bën e **h**ija* 'I asked him/her if (s)he could let me in', [ʧɛːɾ] *çë **h**erë?* 'what time?', [ɟɪzˈɲɛɾa] gjthë një **h**ere 'suddenly', [jam ɛ ipɛm jaɾt] *jam e **h**ipem lart* 'I am going upstairs'.

Concerning morphology and syntax, the situation seems to be extremely compromised in different inflectional contexts, such as verb tenses, pronouns, adjectives, nouns. Here are some examples where syntax is also involved. For San Basile I found: a) noun inflexion: [ata ˈgɾua] instead of *ato gra* (but soon after: [di ˈgɾa] 'two women'), [ˈzɔti θˢa ˈmeʃa] instead of *zoti tha meshën* 'the priest said (= celebrated) the liturgy', [ˈvata pɔʃt ˈmakna] instead of *vate poshtë maknës* 'he went under the car, (i.e. he was hit by a car)', [ɲiʎˈtiɲ] instead of the singular *një lëti* 'a foreigner' (a non-Arbëresh, literally 'a Latin'), [di ˈmuja] instead of *di muaj* 'two months'; b) adjectives: [cɔ ˈdɾu ɔ a ˈdjɛguɾ] instead of *ki dru ë(shtë), i djegur*, [ˈtmada] instead of *të mbëdhenj* 'big (masc. pl.)', [a ˈdi ajɔ ˈfjaj] *e di atë fjalë* 'I know that word', [ˈvam mɛ biʧˈikˈlɛtin jɔn] *vamë me biçikletën tone* 'we went with our bike'; c) pronouns: [ˈcɔ ŋga di] instead of *këtë ng'e di* 'I do not know this', [miɾ ˈki] instead of *mirr këtë* 'take this'; d) verbs: [a ˈjɛva] instead of *(u) e le* (= unë e lashë) 'I left it'.

Firmo presents the same situation: [dua aˈjɔ ʧvɛta ɪn ʧɛɾkaˈʊ] *dua atë çë veta in çerka u* 'I want what I am looking for', [vʊɾ vɛt ajɔˈɪm] *vër vet' atë timën* (*ajo* refers to a picture) 'put only mine', [ɛˈd:ɪ vɾɛʃt ɪˈmaðɪˈʧəː] *e di vresht e madhe ç'ë(shtë)?* 'do you know what a large vineyard it is?', [ɛ əɾˈdɪa ə kʃtʊ ɪˈvɪkɪɾ] *e ërdhia ë(shtë) kështu e vikërr* 'and the vine is so small', [ɛ vʊm ɪnˈmɔtɔ kjɔ ˈmakɪn] *e vum in moto këtë makën* 'we turn on this car', [ˈ makna tmˈdɛɲa] *makëna të mbëdha* 'big cars', [mɛ , kɔmbɪn ˈjɔt] *me këmbën tënde* 'with your foot', [pəɾpaɾa kaˈmʊa] përpara meje

'before me', [, həŋtɪn at kɔrnɛt ɪˈmaðɛ] *hëngtin at' korrnet të madh* 'they ate that big *cornetto'*.

What we have shown is evidence that such morphonological transformations seem to concern no particular dialects but rather they appear to be a widespread phenomenon which presents, with high percentages, virtually the same situation, i.e., dialects are undergoing the same phonetic, morphological, syntactical and lexical changes.

One could speculate that the corruption of syntax may have started in contexts in which mixed-language elements entered the system, i.e. in those places where an Italian segment is appropriated for naturalness, to imply a section similar to that expected in the language which lends. Here are four examples from Firmo that illustrate the situation:

Italian: **Faccio la mia vita** > faccio la vita mia = [e ˈbəɲ la vitaˈiːmɛ] *e bënj la vita **time*** 'and I live my life' instead of *e bënj jetën time*;
Italian: **Con il mio codice** > con il codice mio = [mɛ ɪl ’kɔdɪʧɛ ɪm] *me il kodiçe **tim*** 'with my code', instead of *me kodiçin tim* (which indicates greater pressure from the Albanian system);
Italian: *Mi va cercando* > va in cerca di me = [ˈvɛta ɪn ʧɛɾka’ʊ] *veta in çerka **mua*** '(s)he is looking for me' instead of the most regular *vete ture më kërkuar mua*;
Italian: Qui aveva il posto buono > aveva il posto buono qui = [kɪʃ ɪl ˌpɔstɔ mɪɾ k’tʊ] *kish il posto mirë këtu* '(s)he had a good place here' instead of *kish postin **e** mirë këtu.*

5. Conclusions: Out of fashion, lack of interest, waste of energy?

With regard to language death, it is known that this is a process that affects speech communities where the level of language usage has decreased, resulting in the complete absence of native or fluent speakers of that language. The most common process that causes language death is one in which a community of speakers of one language starts to become bilingual and gradually shifts allegiance to the second language until they cease to use their original (inherited) language. In the case of Arbëreshë, this is a voluntary process of assimilation, i.e., speakers are deciding to abandon their native dialect on economic or utilitarian grounds, in favour of the Italian language, deemed to be more useful or prestigious. As linguists, we can do no more than describe and study human processes and, where and when we are required, offer our scientific expertise to promote the survival of minority languages and cultures, as designated by the European Union.

References

BELLUSCIO, Giovanni (1995): *Albanian in the Albanian communities in Italy*. In: A. Dekkers (Ed.), Teacher Training of Minority Languages for Primary and Secondary Education. Mercator-Education, Vol. II: 443-462.

—. (2005): *L'aspetto fonetico della parlata arbëreshe di Spezzano Albanese (CS)*. In: GENESIN M., MATZINGER J., Albanologische und balkanologische Studien. Hamburg: Dr. Kovać Verlag: 1-11.

—. (2010): *Albanian: the Albanian language in Education in Italy*. (Regional dossiers series). Leeuwarden/Ljouwert: Mercator European Research Centre on Multilingualism and Language Learning.

—. (2015):*The Arbëresh Dialect of San Basile from the Dottrina (1834) to the present: some relevant (socio-)linguistic phenomena.* In: DEMIRAJ Bardhyl (Ed.), Sprache und Kultur der Albaner. Zeitliche und räumliche Dimensionen. Akten der 5. Deutsch-albanischen kulturwissenschaftlichen Tagung (5.-8. Juni 2014, Buçimas bei Pogradec, Albanien). "Albanische Forschungen" 37. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag: 344-369.

—. (2015a): *Bibliografia degli studi linguistico-dialettologici sulle parlate albanesi d'Italia, 1994-2014*. In: DEMIRAJ Bardhyl et al. (Eds.), Studi in onore del prof. Francesco Altimari in occasione del 60° compleanno. Tirana: Albpaper: 71-87.

BELLUSCIO, Giovanni; GENESIN, Monica (2015): *La parlata arbëreshe di San Marzano di San Giuseppe*. In: L'Idomeneo 19: 221-243.

D'ANGELA, Cosimo; CARDUCCI, Giovangualberto (1992): *San Marzano tra antichità e età moderna.* San Marzano: Cassa Rurale di S. Marzano di S. Giuseppe.

DE BARTOLO, Giuseppe (1988): *La demographie des minorites Albanaises de Calabre. Premiers resultats*. In: Genus 44/1-2, Rome: 177-193.

—. (1989): *Aspetti dell'evoluzione demografica della minoranza albanese di Calabria*. In: Zjarri 33, San Demetrio Corone: 16-33.

DE BARTOLO, Giuseppe; STRANGES, Manuela (2008): *La minorité Arbëreshë en Calabre: aspects démographiques et sociaux*. In: Actes du XV Colloque International de l'Association Internationale des Démographes de Langue Française (AIDELF), Montreal, Québec, Canada, 25-28 August 2008. Montreal: 1177-1196.

FRITIOFSSON, Josephine (2013): *Shën Marxani* (Sic!) *San Marzano di San Giuseppe - uno studio sulla lingua e la cultura arbëreshë* (on-line thesis for Bachelor degree). University of Lund. Petra Bernardini, supervisor.

FISHMAN, Joshua A. (1991): *Reversing Language Shift. Theoretical and Empirical Foundations of Assistance to Threatened Languages*. Clevendon: Multilingual Matters.

GAMBARARA, Daniele (1980): *Parlare albanese nell'Italia unita*. In: Zjarri 27, San Demetrio Corone: 49-67.

HAGÈGE, Claude (2009): *On the Death and Life of Languages*. Yale University Press.

HAMP, Eric P. (2000): *An identificatory listing of the Arbëresh settlements of Calabria today*. In: John B. TRUMPER, A. MENDICINO, M. MADDALON (Eds.),Toponomastica calabrese. Roma: Gangemi Editore: 55-67.

JOCHALAS, Titos P. (1996): *Albano-Italikà. Thematí bibliographia*. Athina.

MADDALON, Marta; BELLUSCIO, Giovanni (2002): *Albanian and Italo-Albanian a difficult case of (socio-)linguistic contact*. In: L. RAPP (Ed.), Akten des 34. Linguistischen Kolloquiums, Germersheim (7-10 Oktober 1999, Vol. 1). Mainz: Peter Lang: 193-202.

MAZZEI, Concetta (2002): *Scuola e promozione culturale nel comprensorio arbëresh di Catanzaro*. In: BELLUSCIO Giovanni; LENTINI Vita (Eds.), La minoranza linguistica italo-albanese: Aspetti educativi e culturali. Catanzaro: 125-141.

SAVOIA, Leonardo (1991): Alcuni elementi per una classificazione dei dialetti arbëreshë. In: La lingua albanese nell'Italia meridionale. Salerno: Università di Salerno: 13-52.

SOLANO, Francesco (1979): *I dialetti albanesi dell'Italia meridionale, I. Appunti per una classificazione*. In: Quaderni di Zjarri.

—. (1983): *La parlata albanese di Firmo*: *schema grammaticale e testi*. In: Quaderni di Zjarri. Castrovillari.

TRUMPER BASSETT, John; MADDALON, Marta (2002): *Identità e lingua*. In: V. ORIOLES (Ed.), La legislazione nazionale sulle minoranze linguistiche. Problemi, Applicazioni, Prospettive. Special edition of the magazine: Plurilinguismo. Contatti di lingue e culture 9: 125-150.

ZANGARI, Domenico (1941): *Le colonie italo albanesi di Calabria. Storia e demografia sec. XV-XIX*. Napoli: Casella.

CODE-SWITCHING AND BORROWING IN ARBËRESH DIALECTS

ELVIRA GLASER

1. Introduction

In several previous articles (Glaser 1987; 1991; 1997), we dealt with lexical borrowings in Italo-Albanian (Arbëresh) dialects. On the basis of oral discourse collected in fieldwork since 1978 in Frascineto (province of Cosenza/Southern Italy), it was possible to identify several strata of elements borrowed from Italian or with an Italian dialect as the donor language. The findings concerning the shape, origin and behaviour of the loanwords, as well as their quantities, were based on a small initial corpus. Later on, however, these first findings were verified and supplemented by the analysis of further texts, also from other communities. Moreover, there are several studies by other authors, e.g. Turano (2012), Savoia (2008a; 2009), Stassi (1983) and Di Sparti (1983) following earlier studies on the topic by such as Camaj (1973), Castellano Marchianò (1978).

In the present paper, I shall give a more comprehensive perspective to the phenomenon of language mixing, taking into consideration other-language items of various lengths and forms and also those showing an *ad hoc* character. In the first part, I shall start with a short presentation of some typical examples from the various categories of borrowings with respect to parts of speech and morphological adaptation. In the second part, I shall focus on texts from Frascineto with heavy mixing, looking at the textual integration of the other-language items.

2. A short overview on borrowing

The percentage of borrowed lexical items varies considerably with respect to parts of speech. In the analysed Frascineto data the percentage of loans turned out to be lowest within prepositions (20%) and highest within adjectives (71%) with small numbers in both categories (Glaser 1987: 178).

The percentage of loans among nouns was somewhere in between (40%).[1] With respect to the representation of parts of speech among the loans, however, it is categorically always the nouns that dominate (Glaser 1991). The analysis of lexical borrowings in these studies focused almost entirely on single word items showing a certain degree of habituality and morphological integration. Nevertheless, it is not always easy to ascertain the habituality of a lexical item in a non-standard variety, and *ad hoc* borrowings may also show similar linguistic behaviour. This is why there is some debate about the nature of single word loans and their role in the overall concept of borrowing. We shall come back to this discussion later.

Now, let us have a look at rather clear-cut cases of lexical loans as discussed in Glaser (1987; 1991; 1997). I shall present some examples for the various categories of borrowed elements involving parts of speech and morphological integration. I shall not comment on phonological adaptation as another criterion.

Normally, borrowed nouns are morphologically integrated with respect to number and definiteness, as we can see in the following nouns in (1), showing the indefinite plural form (i.e. without a definite article), or in (2), showing a definite singular form (with a postposed definite article):

(1) *abitande* (abitanti)[2] 'inhabitants'; *kambanja* (campagne) 'fields'; *nigodze* (negozi) 'shops'.
(2) *çitata* (la città) 'village, town'

Due to the corresponding *e*-ending in Arbëresh and Italian, it is however not always easy to decide whether a noun shows a borrowed ending or an Arbëresh one. Sometimes there is variation, as with the borrowed noun *skola* (sg.f.def.) 'school', showing a plural ending *–e,* matching the Italian plural together with an integrated form, showing a feminine *a*-plural, as in (3):

(3) *skolet ~ skolat* (le scuole)

[1] These numbers refer to lexical types. Regarding tokens, the numbers are significantly lower for some categories, namely verbs, conjunctions and prepositions, due to some low frequent loans among them.
[2] I put the corresponding Standard Italian form in brackets, which does not necessarily mean that the loans are borrowed exactly from these forms. The loans mostly have a regional Italian shape which can be due to borrowing from dialect, regional Italian or even Standard Italian, in the latter case with analogical adaptation, cf. BREU (1991).

In some cases, minimal morphological integration with respect to the expression of definiteness by the postposed article, as shown in (3), is lacking. In turn, the Italian noun is borrowed together with the Italian article, as in (4):

(4) *luniversità* (l'università) 'the university'

Borrowed verbs show regular morphological integration with respect to all accompanying functional categories (person, number, tense, mood and voice) by taking the corresponding Arbëresh inflection,[3] cf. (5):

(5) *studjarjen* (studiare) 'they study'; *u sistemartin* (sistemarsi) 'they settled'

While borrowed verbs show regular morphological integration, adjectives mostly lack explicit integration, especially the preponed (linking) 'article' characteristic for most adjectives belonging to the inherited vocabulary. Moreover, borrowed adjectives often show a generalised ending in *-u* or, with younger loans, in *-o,*[4] such as in (6), or they remain uninflected, losing the Italian final vowel, as in (7) or even together with a linking article indicating gender, in (8)[5]. Integration with respect to gender is, however, possible with bare adjectives, as in (9).

(6) *belu* (bello) 'nice'; *gialo* (giallo) 'yellow'
(7) *forestjer* (forestier-)[6] 'foreign'; *superjor* (superiore) 'higher'; *debul* (debole) 'weak' (sg./pl.)
(8) *i/e brut* (brutto/a) 'bad, ugly' (sg.m./f.)
(9) *tedesk, tedeske* (tedesco/a) 'German' (sg.m./f.); *simbatik, simbatike* (simpatico/a) 'pleasant'[7]

[3] For details on the inflectional classes used for the integration of Italian verbs in Frascineto Arbëresh cf. BREU & GLASER (1978). ALTIMARI (2011) provides an overview of the various types of morphological basis for the integration of Italian verbs in the Arbëresh dialects in the province of Cosenza.

[4] These are petrified original masculine endings used in a generalised way. On the generalised use of *-u* in other Arbëresh dialects cf. SAVOIA (2008a, 11–12; 2008b, 103–106).

[5] The same integration holds for San Nicola dell'Alto, cf. TURANO (2012).

[6] I left out the obligatory gender marked ending *–o/-a* of Italian, because which form provided the model for the borrowed adjective cannot be decided. Following BREU & GLASER (2015, 114), in the present case the gender of the governing noun *gjind* is most probably neuter, which does not have an equivalent in Italian.

In some cases, the adjectives remain with no sign of morphological integration, i.e. with retained Italian inflection, as in (10)

(10) *medje* (medie) 'middle' (pl.f.);
elemendari (elementari) 'primary' (pl.)

A closer look at the data shows, however, that the unintegrated adjectives in (10) occur together with adjacent borrowed nouns forming a small borrowed phrase. Examples are (11) and (12), with the latter even showing an unintegrated noun with a clear Italian plural ending:

(11) *skolet elemendari* (le scuole elementari) 'primary schools' (def.pl.f.); *skolet medie* (le scuole medie) 'middle schools'
(12) *çibi ange buoni* (cibi anche buoni) 'also good food'

We shall come back to (12) in the context of the discussion on code-switching. In (13), we can see a combination of a partially (with respect to definiteness, but not number) integrated loan (*skolet)* with an uninflected adjective, cf. also (7), which as such can be considered morphologically integrated.

(13) *skolet superjor* (le scuole superiore) 'higher schools'

In addition to morphologically unintegrated loans among the major parts of speech, we find regularly used uninflected items, like adverbs, cf. (14), conjunctions (15), and prepositions (16), as well as the frequent discourse elements formed by one or more words (17) borrowed from Italian or a local variety.[8] The loans can be more or less integrated with respect to their pronunciation.

(14) *dhopu* (dopo) 'then'; *puru* (pure) 'also'; *kuazi* (quasi) 'nearly'

---

[7] Although *simbatik* seems to be equivalent to the Standard Albanian *simpatik,* it is most certainly a more recent loan. Given the great amount of Italian loans in Albanian, it is sometimes difficult to determine the exact source and time of borrowing. In the present case, it is however the difference in word stress (Arbëresh stresses the second syllable, Standard Albanian the last one) that clearly indicates a more recent borrowing, as one reviewer remarked.

[8] I am aware of the fact that there is some overlapping in the classification of the uninflected loans that can also be used in different functions. It is however certain that there are examples for every type.

(15) *ma* (ma) 'but'; *inveçi* (invece) 'however'; *kuindi* (quindi) 'therefore'
(16) *tra* (tra) 'between'
(17) *çoe* (cioè) 'that is (to say)'; *vabene* (va bene) 'okay'; *dungue* (dunque) 'well'; *dakordu* (d'accordo) 'all right'; *eko* (ecco)[9] look!'; *magari* (magari) 'even, possibly'.

With some of these examples we are departing from the field of classical borrowing, leaving the single word loans. In the main, the occurring multi-word items, like *va bene* or *l'università,* are lexical units, although the latter does not form a regular unit, as nouns do not normally occur together with the Italian determiner. The above mentioned NP *çibi ange buoni* (12) differs in one crucial aspect. It is not a conventional multi-word item but an *ad hoc* combination of lexical items, the insertion of which is a clear case of code-switching. On the other hand, there are completely Italian NPs containing numbers referring to time (18), date (19) or units of currency (20) which may still be considered a case of borrowing with respect to the high frequency of these structures.

(18) *versu le tre* (verso le tre) 'around 3 o'clock';
ale çingue (alle cinque) 'at 5 o'clock';
in çinguanda sekondi (in cinquanta secondi) 'in fifty seconds'
(19) *il kuindiçi agosto* (il quindici agosto) 'on the fifteenth of August'
(20) *novanda soldi* (novanta Lire) 'ninety Lire'

3. Borrowing and code-switching

It is these last examples especially that show the difficulty of making a clear distinction between borrowing and code-switching (CS). Unfortunately, the terminology concerning the use of other-language elements differs greatly, depending on the various perspectives, from traditional contact linguistics to sociolinguistics and research on bilingualism. While some authors have a wide concept of CS including borrowings, like Myers-Scotton (1993), others distinguish CS from code-mixing (Muysken 2000), and still others make a strict distinction between CS and borrowing, based e.g. on the extent of the borrowed elements (Poplack & Dion 2012) and the degree of their phonological or morphological integration. Sometimes, it is also the habitual character of a loan that is taken as a distinctive

[9] The borrowed particle does not show the geminate of its Italian source. This is a general feature of Arbëresh, which also shows up in further loans.

feature for defining borrowing. There has been a lot of discussion on this point since the Seventies (cf. Muysken 2000: 69–77 and recently Zenner and Kristiansen 2014: 3–4), when the issue of CS as a typical phenomenon of bilingual speech became the focus of linguistic research (e.g. Poplack 1980, Myers-Scotton 1993). Muysken (2000: 1) uses "the term **code-mixing** to refer to all cases where lexical items and grammatical features from two languages appear in one sentence. The more commonly used term **code-switching** will be reserved for the rapid succession of several languages in a single speech event" [original emphasis]. Treffers & Daller (2015: 59) holds that "instances of CS and transfer can be seen as similar in that they involve the occurrence of elements of language A in stretches of speech of language B."

The examples discussed so far, based on data from Frascineto, were considered in Glaser (1987; 1991; 1997) to be cases of borrowing mainly because of their habitual character in every day conversation, also among conservative speakers. The findings with respect to "lone other-language items" (Poplack & Dion 2012, 297) presented here largely correspond to the above-mentioned studies on other Arbëresh communities, e.g. on S. Nicola dell'Alto (cf. Turano 2012). The focus of the earlier investigations was on the integration of the more or less habitual 'lone other-language items' in the grammatical system of the Arbëresh dialects. The documentation of their use in everyday conversation and especially together with longer passages of "bilingual speech" (Muysken 2000) was not intended, and those elements showing no integration were mostly put aside. Glaser (1987: 180) explicitly mentions the differing behaviour of younger bilingual speakers with respect to CS. There are very few studies up to now dealing with CS in Arbëresh communities, for example Savoia (2008a) and Di Sparti (1983). After an in-depth theoretical discussion, Savoia focuses on borrowing and grammatical convergence, effectively restricting his analysis of mixed expressions ("enunciati mistilingui") to only three cases of indefinite Italian noun phrases, e.g. *nu misə* (< it. *un mese* 'one month'), in the dialect of Vena di Maida (2008a: 47). Di Sparti (1983: 199–202) presents some examples from Piana degli Albanesi, stating that his findings match the characteristics known from studies on other language pairs. Along with examples like (4) above, showing the entire NP (noun and article) in Italian/Sicilian, partly within a PP, cf. (21), he points to switched emphatic particles ("particelle enfatiche") as a characteristic of mixed Italo-Albanian speech, like (22).

(21) *vajta me LA MAKINA* (Di Sparti 1983: 202)[10]
went.1SG with the car
'I went by car'

(22) *PROPRIU U, çë ng'e ha ka vete e ble? NO, MAI.* (Di Sparti 1983: 202)
Just I, that not it eat have go and buy? No, never.
'I of all people not eating it should go and buy? No, never.'

4. Forms of code-switching in Frascineto

In this section, I shall focus on texts from Frascineto with similar cases and heavy, repeated mixing[11] such as we find for example in (23), where the only Arbëresh items are the verb and the preceding negation particle, with the verb itself being a morphologically integrated Italian loan. The sentence was uttered by a young female speaker (A) in a discussion with a relative (male, slightly older, B) who normally uses Arbëresh in his daily conversation. I shall present several turns of their conversation in order to give an idea of the mixed discourse and the similarities and differences in the two speakers' linguistic behaviour.

(23) A: *Negli ani sesanda* **nëng esistirjen** *questi scambi di uova e roba del genere*
In.the years 60 not existed these transactions of eggs and things of.the kind.
'In the Sixties barter transactions with eggs and similar things did not exist (any more)'

[10] The marking of the switched phrase by capital letters follows Di Sparti's usage in other examples, e.g. (22), not adopted, however, by Di Sparti with respect to (21). Glossing and translation have been added by me.

[11] The following examples are taken from an unpublished (orthographic) transcription of recordings by Walter Breu in 1995. The Italian parts are written in standard orthography, except for those showing regional pronunciation. The glosses and translations are mine. The glosses mostly present lexical equivalents, giving a preliminary insight into the constructions together with the translations. Additional grammatical information in the glosses is restricted to specific cases, primarily in order to clarify word internal morpheme structure by using dots (cf. The Leipzig Glossing Rule nr. 4). The Arbëresh parts are in bold.

The answer of speaker B is also in a bilingual mode. In the following utterance (24), however, it is mainly the number phrases referring to date showing up in Italian, together with the discourse elements *ma, cioè:*

(24) B: *Ma nel cinguanda* **ë**. – *Cioè* **një** *nel cinguanda* **kish pulat e bënej vet e i shit e ja jip njarin**.[12]
But in.the 50, yes. – That.is one in.the 50 had chicken.the and he himself made go and them sold and him.it gave other.the
'But in the 50s it existed. That is to say in the Fifties someone had chicken and went to sell them himself and gave them to somebody else.'

In the next passage (25) the younger speaker A continues switching, with large parts in Italian. As before, the first sentence only shows an Arbëresh verbal form, the rest being in Italian. She continues in Italian, then switches again with the negated verb and the following predicative noun *verteta* 'truth, true' in Arbëresh. The following causal clause is again in Italian, and, then, the speaker herself comments in Arbëresh on her tendency to express herself in Italian.

(25) A: *Nel 50 già* **zu** *il boom dopoguera*. *E dopoguera* **nëng ë fare verteta,** *perché nel dopo la guerra, hanno, cioè,* **u folenj italjan, nëng dit[13] folenj arbresh.**
In.the 50 already began the boom after.war. And after.war not is at.all true, because in.the after the war, had.3PL, that.is, I speak Italian, not know.to speak.1SG Arbëresh.
'In the Fifties, already the after-World-War boom began. And after the world war it is not true at all, because after the world war they, that means, I speak Italian, I don't know how to say it in Arbëresh.'

Again, when it is speaker B's turn (26), the Arbëresh parts dominate:

(26) B. *Nel dopoguerra* **zu e van ndë Xhermanjet.**
In.the after.war took and went.3PL to Germany.
'In the after-war time, they began to go to Germany.'

[12] The transcription *njarin* instead of *njërin* is based on the pronunciation of a back low vowel by the young speaker.
[13] As for the orthographical transcription *dit* instead of *di t* and similar cases, I follow the principles discussed in BREU (1994).

In her answer (27), speaker A takes up the Arbëresh sentence continuing with another Arbëresh verb phrase, but then again quickly switches to Italian for the rest of her utterance:

(27) A. **Nëng van gjë ndë Xhermanjet. Zun e bëjen** *un giro di soldi o roba del genere. Cioè le persone cominciarono a stare meglio*
Not went.3PL at.all to Germany. Took.3PL and make.3PL a turnover of money or something of.the kind. That.is, the persons began to stay better.
'They did not go at all to Germany. They began to make money or something like this. That means, people began to gain some prosperity.'

Speaker B denies in (28) what A said before, again expressing himself in Arbëresh, but using two nouns of Italian origin: *krizi* and *mizerje.*

(28) B. **Ktu ish** *krizi*, **ish** *mizerje*.
Here was the crisis, was poverty.
'Here there was the crisis, there was poverty.'

In the course of the following discourse, speaker A utters another sentence showing the typical type of code-switching with very few Arbëresh items (29).

(29) A. *Negli ani 20* **ish** *l'emigrazione ma* **jo** *verso la Germania, ma verso* **Merken** *o verso altre nazioni*, **Merke, Brazili**, *o roba del genere*
In.the years 20 was the emigration, but not towards the Germany, but towards America.the or towards other countries, America, Brasil.the, or things of.the kind.
'In the Twenties there was emigration, but not to Germany, but to America or to other countries, America, Brasil, or such like.'

The highlighted (in bold) clearly Arbëresh items, an inflected verb, the negation marker and inflected toponyms show the grammatical basis of the sentence despite the predominating Italian word forms. In Myers-Scotton's (1993) terminology, it is still Arbëresh, being the matrix language.

The discourse continues along these lines, with the younger, female speaker A using heavy code-switching and long passages in Italian, whereas, although speaker B also uses code-switching, the Arbëresh parts dominate, and the switches into Italian mostly comprise discourse structur-

ing elements, time references and other more stereotyped elements. There are, however, examples of the same speaker B using other types of CS with longer and less stereotyped Italian insertions when he tells stories from earlier times or reports an interesting event.[14] Example (12), mentioned above as a possible case of borrowing a multi-word unit, shows this type together with (30) from the same story.

(12) *Comungue* **ishen** *cibi ange buoni*[15]
However was.3PL food.PL also good.PL
'There was, however, good food, too'

(30) **vam** *con pulman*
went.1PL with bus
'we went by bus'

(31) **ish shum** *monduoso* **si** *tutti i paesi del nord*
was very mountainous like all the countries of.the North
'it was very mountainous, like all the northern countries'

The next example (32), coming from a woman of nearly the same age as speaker B, shows that CS with only short parts in Arbëresh, sometimes only the verbal form, is common in the Arbëresh community of this generation[16].

(32) *ma* **jan me** *un tono* **më** *alegro*
but are.3PL with a tone more cheerful
'But they [songs] sound more cheerful'

The following examples are taken from a narration about marriage in earlier times[17].

(33) **mund bëjen** *la fuga*
could make.3PL the escape
'they could flee'

[14] The recordings were made in 1978 by Walter Breu and Elvira Glaser.
[15] This recording is about a trip to Switzerland.
[16] In our recording from 1978, the young woman talks about the traditional Easter ceremony in Frascineto.
[17] They are taken from an unpublished transcription of recordings in 1995 by Walter Breu. The speaker is identical to speaker B from 1978.

(34) **kisht ishen** *sembri akombanjati*
had were.3PL always escorted
'they always had to have somebody with them'

(35) *fina diversi ani fa, fina* **tsa vjet prap dhopu kur zu e magari diljen vet**
until several years ago, until some years ago, later when took and even went.out.3PL alone
'until some years ago, when they, later on, even began to go out alone'

The next example (36) from the same account is an interesting one-word-switch for an adverbial construction following the Italian type with modal *alla* (cf. *all'antica* 'old fashioned', *alla chetichella* 'secretly' etc.)

(36) **e van e u martuan edhe** *ala* **fshehura**
and went.3.PL and REFL married.3PL also in.the secret
'and they also married secretly'

The Italian *alla,* phonologically integrated with a singleton consonant, is combined with an Arbëresh participle *fshehur* 'hidden' showing an *a*-ending normally marking plural in Arbëresh, but also showing up as a – quite rare – adverbial word formation (Shkurtaj 2006a: 155). The *a*-ending has perhaps functioned as a trigger for mixing it with the Italian adverbial construction introduced by *alla.*[18]

To sum up, our short presentation of code-switching in everyday speech in Frascineto[19] indeed shows the wide-spread use of different kinds of switching between Italian and Arbëresh. Following Muysken's (2000: 230–231) terminology, we can certainly characterise some of the examples showing equivalent structures in the two languages at issue as cases of congruent lexicalisation ((29), (31), (32), (36)). We find the typical non-constituent switches, non-nested *a b a* switches, switched function words

[18] Actually, this exact combination is already documented at another Arbëresh-speaking village, Piana degli Albanesi in Sicilia, cf. SHKURTAJ (2006b, 64).

[19] This refers to the situation of the recordings analysed. Certainly, the people recorded then still use Arbëresh and Arbëresh-Italian code-switching nowadays as well. But it is also true that fewer and fewer people use Arbëresh for regular everyday communication. Once Italian is used regularly, switches between the two varieties become rarer, as the number of people with passive knowledge alone increases. Such individuals only rarely use some still remembered Arbëresh items for special purposes.

and several switches in a sentence. Other examples, with longer passages and several constituents in Italian, doubling and/or peripheral discourse elements, can be characterised as alternational CS ((23), (26)–(27), (30), (33)–(35)). Also (24) and (25) with complex and partly peripheral constituents show some characteristics of alternational CS.

Most of the Italian elements cited in section 2 above, as well as the borrowings in (28), are inserted.[20] The formulaic insertions in (18) and (19), however, may also be indicative of alternational CS. Example (12), too, can be analysed as a product of alternational CS, starting with Italian and, after a switch to an Arbëresh verb, ending again in Italian. The rapid switch and the non-nested *a b a* structure of (12) may also be seen as a case of congruent lexicalisation, although there is no equivalence with respect to the existential construction. Arbëresh uses the bare existential verb form *ishen* ('to be' Imprf.3pl), whereas Italian, in addition to the verb, requires the existential particle *ci*, having no equivalent in Arbëresh. According to Muysken (2000: 244), examples like (34) with an auxiliary in Arbëresh and a participle in Italian also suggest congruent lexicalisation.

In conclusion, the examples of CS presented here mostly follow the alternational type with a strong portion of insertional CS and some quite clear cases of congruent lexicalisation. Thus, the Arbëresh-Italian CS is typologically localised somewhere near the Alsatian-French contact at Strasbourg in the triangle of alternation, congruent lexicalisation and insertion, as analysed by Muysken (2000: 246). This is a typical picture for a longer-lasting bilingual setting.

5. Lone other-language items reconsidered

In this final section, I wish to return to the problem of lone other-language items. Cases like the last one in (36), as well as (28), may illustrate the difficulty in determining the character of lone other-language items, such as *krizi* and *mizerje*. Based on a comparative study, Poplack & Dion (2012: 297) argue that "lone other-language items tend to be borrowed" and are not to be considered code-switches. According to Poplack & Dion (2012: 310), such nonce items, especially when they show the grammar of the recipient language, should be judged borrowings. While phonological adaptation is no longer considered a valuable criterion for this decision,

[20] This is not evident in section 2 above, as the examples are not presented within the Arbëresh context, but it holds for all examples with the exception of (12), discussed again in section 4. Most of the examples are analysed in GLASER (1987).

the preservation of donor-language grammar still plays an important role in the discussion. There are, however, many cases, like those in (28), where it is hard to decide which grammar is used. In this case, neither noun has any specific grammatical features and only *mizerje* shows some phonological integration compared to Italian *miseria*. Judging from other attestations of the word *krizi,* it can be interpreted as *kriz-i,* showing the Arbëresh postposed definite article.

Despite such cases where it is hard to determine by formal means whether it is code-mixing or borrowing, Muysken (2000: 70) suggests keeping the principal difference on the basis of the idea that borrowing means adoption in the lexicon. More precisely, it is 'listedness', referring "to the degree to which a particular element […] is part of a memorised list which has gained acceptance within a particular speech community" that plays a central role (Muysken 2000: 71). Although he holds that there is a strong association between borrowing and insertional code-mixing, he points out that there are several types of borrowing, also involving the alternation type and congruent lexicalisation.

Backus (2014) maintains that the debate on the character of particular examples as CS or borrowing is misguided, "because a foreign-origin word can be both: borrowing and code-switching are not mutually exclusive like that" (2014: 29). He defines borrowing as a diachronic notion and that therefore it can be combined with the study of synchronic language mixing (2014: 23). His underlying hypothesis is that words starting as code-switches can become loanwords after a while, which is quite a convincing idea with respect to habituality or listedness as a defining characteristic of loanwords.

This development is, however, exactly what Poplack & Dion (2012, 279) contest: "Code-switches are not converted into borrowings." On the basis of long-term research on CS in Quebec, they concluded that there is no evidence for a transition from CS to borrowing, in the sense that foreign elements would start as non-integrated elements and they would become better integrated later on. In their corpus, they noticed only two cases of lone other-language items with clear donor-language morphology, which could count as one-word code-switches, and they did not find an increase in linguistic (grammatical) integration over time. Their conclusion is that nonce items have more in common with established loanwords than with CS (defined by donor-language grammar). In their corpus, speakers seem to avoid single-word CS. As a possible explanation they offer the cognitive costs that are "appreciably greater than those incurred by simply allowing the grammar already activated to continue operating, handling native and etymologically foreign forms the same way" (Poplack

& Dion 2012, 309). In order to judge the universal character of the mechanism of loanword integration, they ask for further empirical studies (Poplack & Dion 2012, 310). Treating nonce borrowings and CS together requires two types of CS. If I am not mistaken, this is what Muysken (2000) proposes by means of the differentiation of insertional CS, alternational CS and congruent lexicalisation. It is clear that the reasons for this differing assessment have to be studied further. For the moment, however, separate treatment of nonce items seems advisable. Example (28) nicely shows the integration of two foreign items without clear grammatical features belonging to the donor language or to the recipient language. What is perhaps crucial is the neutral shape compatible with the matrix language. According to Poplack & Dion (2012) these are, of course, borrowings. Muysken (2000) considers them insertional code-switches. In any case, as far as I can see, they are not traditional loanwords belonging to the lexicon of Frascineto Arbëresh. Such a claim is, however, difficult to prove in a language with no grammatical and lexicographical tradition[21].

There is a special need for studying the diffusion of foreign words within a language community (Backus 2014: 31–32). This, however, requires the availability of bilingual corpus data from spoken everyday interaction. As I explained before, such data are almost completely lacking for the Italo-Albanian communities. The study at issue represents a small contribution to this large research topic.

References

ALTIMARI, Francesco (2011): *Sui prestiti dell'italiano e dei dialetti italoromanzi nel sistema verbale dell'albanese di Calabria*. In: BREU, Walter (Ed.), L'influsso dell'italiano sul sistema del verbo delle lingue minoritarie. Resistenza e mutamento nella morfologia e nella sintassi.

[21] In fact, there is a dictionary of Italo-Albanian (GIORDANO 1963) we could use to underpin such statements. Concerning the integration of borrowings, Giordano declares (1963, XIII) „Ho creduto inutile inserire migliaia di vocaboli tecnici o scientifici moderni, presi da altre lingue e migliaia di barbarismi, provenienti dai dialetti dell'Italia meridionale e penetrati nel popolo „arbëresh", purchè non siano di uso troppo comune. [...] escludo ad es. dutúr *(dottore),* amàrënj (*amo),* çitàtë (*città*) ecc." (I didn't consider it necessary to include thousands of modern technical or scientific words from other languages and thousands of barbarisms from the dialects of Southern Italy that have entered the Arbëresh people, unless they are in common usage. [...] I except, for example, dutúr *(doctor),* amàrënj (*I love),* çitàtë (*city*) etc. Translation E.G.). As expected, *krizi* and *mizerje* are not listed.

Atti del 2º Convegno internazionale Costanza, 10–13 dicembre 2008. Bochum: Brockmeyer: 1-16.

BACKUS, Ad (2014): *A usage-based approach to borrowability*. In: ZENNER, Eline; KRISTIANSEN, Gitte (Eds.), New Perspectives on Lexical Borrowing. Onomasiological, Methodological and Phraseological Innovations. Berlin: De Gruyter: 19-39.

BREU, Walter (1991): *System und Analogie bei der Integration von Lehnwörtern: Versuch einer Klassifikation*. In: Incontri linguistici 14: 13–28.

—. (1991): *Abweichungen vom phonetischen Prinzip bei der Integration von Lehnwörtern*. In: HARTENSTEIN, Klaus; JACHNOW Helmut (Eds.), Slavistische Linguistik 1990. München: Otto Sagner: 36-70.

—. (1994): *Forme verbali perifrastiche arbërisht*. In: ALTIMARI, Francesco; SAVOIA, Leonardo M. (Eds.), I dialetti italo-albanesi. Studi linguistici e storico-culturali sulle comunità arbëreshe. Roma: Bulzoni: 365-385.

BREU, Walter; GLASER, Elvira (1979): *Zur sprachlichen Situation in einer italo-albanischen Gemeinde*. In: Münchner Zeitschrift für Balkankunde 2: 19–50.

BREU, Walter; GLASER, Elvira (2015): *Probleme der morphologischen Segmentierung und Glossierung des Italoalbanischen*. In: DEMIRAJ, Bardhyl; MANDALÀ, Matteo; SINANI, Shaban (Eds.), Edhe 100! Studime. Në nderim të Prof. Francesco Altimarit me rastin e 60.vjetorit të lindjes. Studi In onore del Prof. Francesco Altimari in occasione del 60º compleanno. Tiranë: Albpaper: 101-124.

BULLOCK, Barbara; TORIBIO, Almeida Jacqueline (2009): *The Cambridge Handbook of Linguistic Code-switching*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

CAMAJ, Martin (1973): *Il bilinguismo nelle oasi linguistiche albanesi dell'Italia meridionale*. In: Bilinguismo e diglossia in Italia. Pisa: Pacini Mariotti: 5–13.

CASTELLANO, Marchianò, Angela (1978): Infiltrazioni calabresi nelle parlate arbëreshe. In: Zjarri 10: 6–16.

DI SPARTI, Antonino (1983): *Diaspora nel televisivo: lingue minoritarie e mass media*. In: GUZZETTA, Antonino (Ed.), Etnia albanese e minoranze linguistiche in Italia. Atti del IX Congresso Internazionale di Studi Albanesi. Palermo: Istituto di Lingua e letteratura albanese: 177-258.

GIORDANO, Emanuele (1963): *Dizionario degli albanesi d'Italia*. Bari: Edizioni Paoline.

GLASER, Elvira (1987): *Lexikalische Entlehnungen im Italoalbanischen der jüngeren Generation*. In: Balkan-Archiv, NF 12: 167–182.

—. (1991): *Zur Struktur des Lehnwortschatzes im Arbrisht*. In: ALTIMARI, Francesco; BIRKEN-SILVERMAN, Gabriele; CAMAJ, Martin; ROHR, Rupprecht (Eds.), Atti del Congresso Internazionale di studi sulla lingua, la storia e la cultura degli albanesi d'Italia (Mannheim, 25 –26 giugno 1987*).* Rende: CELUC: 129-142.

—. (1997): *Osservazioni sulla struttura dei prestiti nell'arbëresh*. In: ALTIMARI, Francesco (Ed.) Atti del 2° seminario internazionale di studi albanesi. Roma: Herder: 185–198.

MYERS-SCOTTON, Carol (1993): *Duelling languages: grammatical structure in codeswitching.* Oxford: Clarendon Press.

MUYSKEN, Pieter (2000): *Bilingual Speech: A Typology of Code-mixing*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

POPLACK, Shana (1980): *Sometimes I'll start a sentence in Spanish y termino en español: towards a typology of code-switching*. In: Linguistics 18: 581–618.

POPLACK, Shana; DION, Nathalie (2012): *Myths and facts about loanword development*. In: Language Variation and Change 24: 279–315.

SAVOIA, Leonardo M. (2008a): *Variazione e mescolanza linguistica nei sistemi arbëreshë: code-mixing, prestiti e convergenza in condizioni di bilinguismo*. In: SAVOIA, Leonardo M. (Ed.), *Studi sulle varietà arbëreshe*. Cosenza: Università della Calabria: 1-62.

—. (2008b): Micro-variazione nella morfosintassi del sintagma nominale arbëresh. In: SAVOIA, Leonardo M. (Ed.), *Studi sulle varietà arbëreshe*. Cosenza: Università della Calabria: 63-109.

SAVOIA, Leonardo (2009): *Variazione linguistica e bilinguismo: la mescolanza linguistica nell'arbëresh di Ginestra*. In: CONSANI, Carlo; DESIDERI, Paola; GUAZZELLI, Francesca; PERTA, Carmela (Eds.), Alloglossie e comunità alloglotte nell'Italia contemporanea. Teorie, applicazioni e descrizioni, prospettive. Roma: Bulzoni: 121–141.

SHKURTAJ, Gjovalin (2006a): *Parafjalët në të folmet arbëreshe të Italisë*. In: SHKURTAJ, Artjon (Ed.), Ligjërimet arbëreshe. "Gjuha e bukës" dhe "gjuha e zemrës" (Shqyrtime dialektologjike dhe sociolinguistike në ngulimet arbëreshe të Italisë). Tirana: 149-157.

—. (2006b): *Anketa dialektologjike në Horën e Arbëreshëve dhe në Kuntisë*. In: SHKURTAJ, Artjon (Ed.), Ligjërimet arbëreshe. "Gjuha e bukës" dhe "gjuha e zemrës" (Shqyrtime dialektologjike dhe sociolinguistike në ngulimet arbëreshe të Italisë). Tirana: 59–67.

STASSI, Laura (1983): *La cultura siciliana nella parlata di Piana degli Albanesi*. In: GUZZETTA, Antonino (Ed.), Etnia albanese e minoranze

linguistiche in Italia. Atti del IX Congresso Internazionale di Studi Albanesi. Palermo: Istituto di Lingua e letteratura albanese: 97–105.

The Leipzig Glossing rules (2015): [https://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/resources/glossing-rules.php]

TREFFERS-DALLER, Jeanine (2009): *Code-switching and transfer: an exploration of similarities and differences*. In: BULLOCK, Barbara; TORIBIO, Almeida Jacqueline (Eds.), The Cambridge Handbook of Linguistic Code-switching. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 58–74.

TURANO, Giuseppina (2012): *Strategie di assimilazione lessicale e morfosintattica nei dialetti arbëreshë: regolarità e devianze*. In: RUGOVA, Bardh (Ed.), Studime për nder të Rexhep Ismajlit në rastin e 65-vjetorit të lindjës. Prishtinë: Koha: 729-747.

ZENNER, Eline; KRISTIANSEN, Gitte (2014): *New Perspectives on Lexical Borrowing. Onomasiological, Methodological and Phraseological Innovations.* Berlin: De Gruyter.

WORD FORMATION OF LATE 19TH CENTURY ARBËRESH TEXTS FROM THE VILLAGE OF SAN NICOLA DELL'ALTO

ARTUR KARASIŃSKI

The paper constitutes a short word formation analysis of Arbëresh texts and songs from the end of the 19th century from the village of San Nicola dell'Alto in the Calabria region in the province of Crotone and becomes part of a much broader deliberation devoted to the development of the Albanian word formation system, which is realised in the project *The development trends of Albanian word formation from the 16th to the 21th Century in time and space,* which is carried out at the Institute of Slavic Studies in the Polish Academy of Sciences[1]. The aim of the study is to determine the trend of development of the Albanian language word formation from the 16th to the 21th century, a period in which the Albanian language is certified in writing.

The present analysis covers the period of the 19th century. It was conducted on Arbëresh texts: *Le tre sorelle* (La Calabria 1891 n. 2), *Il medicante* (La Calabria 1892 n. 8), *Lazzaro* (La Calabria 1891 n. 4), *Canzoni Albanesi di S. Nicola dell'Alto* (La Calabria 1889 n. 3), *Gli sponsali in S. Nicola dell'Alto* (La Calabria 1892, n. 7), *Il matrimonio del vecchio* (La Calabria 1895, n. 2), *Costantino* (La Calabria 1892, n. 11), *Konstantini fidhighi im* (La Calabria 1892, n. 11), *Il testamento dell'asino* (La Calabria 1892 n.1), *Salve Regina* (La Calabria 1892, n. 1), *La gelosa* (La Calabria 1892 n. 1) which were scientifically drawn up in *Tratti Linguistici e Culturali dell'Arbëria Crotonese.*

This publication by the University of Calabria from 2001, which was prepared by Giuseppina Turano, is very valuable for the language of Arbëresh people, their culture and their identity in the southern areas of Italy, but it is also significant for today's Albanology, as pointed out by Francesco Altimari (Turano 2001).

[1] The project was financed by the National Science Centre allocated on the basis of the decision number DEC-2013/D/HS2/02779.

The examined material was first collected and published by Luigi Bruzzano in the *La Calabria*[2] magazine in 1888 – 1895. Giuseppina Turano briefly analyses the above texts in terms of phonetics, lexis, morphology and syntax, and in the third – main part of the work - *Concordanza dei Testi*, provides a detailed, complete list of lexical units occurring in all the analysed texts. The *Tratti Linguistici e Culturali dell'Arbëria Crotonese* is also a very valuable edition because it contains full versions of the selected texts in the Arbëresh language and their translations into Italian and, in some cases, transcription in the Greek script. They are reprints of original texts from *La Calabria* from 1888 – 1895. The article briefly supplements this compendium with word formation aspects, which are often omitted.

For the word formation analysis, a set of semantic word formation categories was assumed, as proposed in the word formation model by Viara Maldjieva in the contrastive Bulgarian-Polish grammar (Maldjieva 2009). In this model, description proceeds from content to form. The approach is well-founded methodologically and gives a clear description of the structure of derived words in terms of patterns underlying the relations between the various morphemes which constitute the word form. These relations reflect clausal syntactic relations. Such an approach to word formation is perfectly compatible with the definition of syntax as understood by Polish scholarly work on semantic syntax, such as that of Grochowski (2011: 302).[3] Naturally, both syntactic description, as well as the proposed description of the word-formation, rest on the premise that the form of each linguistic expression, including the morpheme, is the exponent of a contentful unit.

The analysis presented here is synchronic. Foreign elements incorporated into the morphemic system of the dialect considered here, i.e., Arbëresh, are treated on a par with domestic ones. The only exceptions are those cases in which the whole word is borrowed and the word-formation formant is not found in other items. Such elements are treated as quotations from a foreign language and are not considered in this analysis.

In Arbëresh, we can distinguish at least four kinds of what Maldjieva calls Argument word-formation categories. These comprise the suffix **–ar** which refers to the Agent, the suffix **-atë** referring to the Theme, the suffix

[2] Luigi Bruzzano was the founder and director of the literary magazine *La Calabria* between 1888 - 1902.

[3] "Podstawowym zadaniem składni jest ustalenie zasad łączenia wyrażeń prostych w wyrażenia złożone … , a także ustalenie zasad budowy wyrażeń złożonych (GROCHOWSKI 2011: 302).

-er referring to the Experiencer, and the suffix -**ar** referring to the Instrumental function:

bujar 'landowner' < *buj*, *-ta*, *-tur* 'to live, to dwell'
Gharghoheni ju bujar!!... (Costantino, *La Calabria* 1892, n. 11)

mughinar [4] 'miller' < *mughi* (alb. *mull/i*, *ri*) 'mill'
Më të tre mughinarët (Il matrimonio del vecchio, *La Calabria* 1895, n. 2)

duratë, -a 'gift, present' < *duroj* (alb. dhuroj) 'to present, to donate'
E paçin duratat e sa jan me si. (Lazzaro, *La Calabria* 1891, II, n. 4)

krishter 'Christian' < *Krisht*, *-i* 'Christ'
Edhe i miri krishter na rrëmben (Lazzaro, *La Calabria* 1891, I, n. 4)

krohar 'comb' < *kreh* 'to comb'
Me kroharin e kroharith (Gli sponsali in S. Nicola dell'Alto, *La Calabria* 1892, n. 7)

Predicative word formation categories comprise polarity suffixes like **-e** and **-një,** as well as those indicating size such as the diminutive ones **-(ë)z(ë)** and **-th.**

pjak/e, -a 'old woman' < *pjak* 'old man'

Nj' dit perço srritin nj' pjake, e kjo sogirihj (Le tre sorelle, *La Calabria* 1891, n. 2)
Më përçok zonja pjake (Costantino, *La Calabria* 1892, n. 11)
- Ti ku vete, zonja pjake? -Tehu prapt, zonja pjake (Costantino, *La Calabria* 1892, n. 11)

zonj(ë) 'madam, lady' < *zot*, *-i* 'sir'

Ngreu, ti zonj, e vrei ngë bijë ke (Lazzaro, *La Calabria* 1891, I, n. 4)
Pa një mëkat p' tihj, Zonj (Salve Regina, *La Calabria* 1892, n. 1)

[4] In Albanian word-formation, category of agent is represented in this lexeme by the suffix *-tar* (*mullitar*).

Nusa zonj si bora e malit. (Gli sponsali in S. Nicola dell'Alto, La Calabria 1892, n. 7)
More zonja... (Gli sponsali in S. Nicola dell'Alto, *La Calabria* 1892, n. 7)

motrëzë, -a 'little sister' < *mot/ër*, *-ra* 'sister'

Paçme hjè, motrëza ime, (Gli sponsali S. Nicola dell'Alto, *La Calabria* 1892, n. 7)

kupilëzë,-a 'little young girl' < *kupil/e*, *-a* 'young girl'

E rrëmbeu, kupilëzën (Gli sponsali, *La Calabria* 1892, n. 3)
T' bie lark, kupilëzën (Gli sponsali, *La Calabria* 1892, n. 3)

qishëzë, -a 'small church' < *qishë*, -a 'church'

Vati dhin e qishëzës (Costantino, *La Calabria* 1892, n. 11)

shkaghëz, -i 'small ladder' < *shkagh* 'ladder'

Pra çë rrun ka shkaghëzit (Konstantini fidhighi im, *La Calabria* 1892, n. 11)

i vogelith 'tiny' < *i vogël* 'small'

Konstantini i vogëlith (Costantino*, La Calabria* 1892, n. 11)

brumthi 'cookie' < *brum/ë*, *-i* 'cake, baking'

Na bomi brumthit; (Gli sponsali in S. Nicola dell'Alto, *La Calabria* 1892, n. 7)

malethi 'hillock, top floor' < *mal*, *-i* 'mountain'

Frin vurea ka malethit (Konstantini fidhighi im, *La Calabria* 1892, n. 11)

cukarith 'candy, sweeties' < *cukar*, *-i* 'sugar'

Cukarith ç' na shron, (Salve Regina, *La Calabria* 1892, n. 1)

Since our text corpus of the San Nicola variety (in the province of Crotone) is relatively small we cannot draw general conclusions concerning the comprehensive properties of the word formation system at the end of the 19th century; however, it is necessary to point out that relatively few word formation argument categories are realised by Arbëresh affixes. Most formants, mainly suffixes, are exponents of word formation predicative categories. Predicative word formation categories of size and polarity are precisely the ones whose expression and representation relies on more word formation exponents as opposed to the other categories. All of the above suffixes are in fact productive in standard Albanian.

The comparison between the several Arbëresh texts we have studied with Albanian reveals an obvious lack of Turkish suffixes in the former. In Albanian on the other hand convergence with Turkish in the domain of word-formation has taken place since the 15th century. There are, however, a lot of Italianisms in Arbëresh some of which at least can be analysed synchronically only to the extent that the source lexeme still exists in the language[5]. Lexicological and statistical research on the Arbëresh-Albanian dictionary (Kamsi 2000)[6] conducted by Orjeta Baja and Merita Hysa shows that the amount of Italianisms in Arbëresh vocabulary is almost 20%.

> Vëllimi i huazimeve italiane në të folmet e arbëreshëve Nga rreth 8600 lema që përmban leksiku i këtij fjalori, rezulton se 1568 prej tyre janë huazime italiane, pra afro 20 % e leksikut të arbërishtes. Huazimet italiane që gjenden në këtë Fjalor, studiuesi Kamsi i ka ndarë në dialektet përkatëse: friulan, napolitan, siçilian, venet, kalabrez; të gjithë këto dialekte të lidhur ngushtë me njëritjetrin, por jo plotësisht të kuptueshëm reciprokisht. Ndër to (1568 it.), 960 i përkasin gjuhës standard. E bëjmë këtë pohim duke iu referuar faktit se në Fjalor nuk i është shënuar krahas dialekti, siç ndodh me fjalët e tjera, por vetëm përcaktimi si italiane (it.); 591 i përkasin dialektit kalabrez; 31 i përkasin dialekteve: friulan (1), napolitan (11) (2 prej tyre kanë edhe përcaktime prejardhjeje të tjera): sicilian (17) (12 prej tyre kanë edhe përcaktime prejardhjeje të tjera), venet (2). (BAJA & HYSA 2011: 652).

As expected, there are many Italian (Calabrian) elements that constitute an integral part of the Arbëresh word-formation system. Several cases are to be considered in this respect.

---

[5] i.e. *xheghuzi, -a* < it. *gelosia*.

[6] *Fjalor arbërisht – shqip* (KAMSI: 1960)

1. The whole word can be borrowed from a local Italian variety. This is the case when the Italian formant is practically identical to its Arbëresh parallel and maintains the same function as in e.g. a) and b) below:

a) the suffix **–i**, which nominalises an adjective
xheghuzi 'jealousy' < *xheghuz* 'jealous' (it. *gelosia*)

nj' sentiment xheghuzije, odì e mbidhje u mpatrunir (Le tre sorelle, *La Calabria* 1891, n. 2);

b) the suffix **-inë** which derives feminine from masculine nouns

rexhin/ë, -a 'queen', (it. *regina*) < *rregj*, -i 'king', (it. *re*)

Sarva, Rexhin e gjas, (Salve Regina, *La Calabria* 1892, n. 1)
Pa te thami, Xhuzepina diventarti rixhin (Le tre sorelle, *La Calabria* 1891, n. 2)

2. The Arbëresh formant is attached directly to the Italian stem. Such is e.g. the privative prefix **sh-** as in

shpaçenxiartur 'impatiently' < *paçenxiartur* 'patiently' (it. *pazientare*)

ma tre e katr. E pra kupila e shpaçenxiartur (Il medicante, *La Calabria* 1892, n. 8),

3. The whole word is borrowed since the formant does not make part of the Arbëresh lexicon and its word-formation system. Such is the case of the prefix **un-** borrowed from Calabrian:[7]

unutughe 'useless' < *utughe* 'useful, purposeful' (it. *utile*)

Asht unutughe sat thami paghurin (Il medicante, *La Calabria* 1892, n. 8)

4. In other cases, the suffix borrowed from Italian is adapted according to Arbëresh (morpho-)phonological patterns, as e.g. the Agentive suffix **-er,** the locative suffix **-icë** or the negative prefix **dizh-:**

[7] On the basis of the examined texts, it was impossible to tell whether these are really isolated examples.

a) qanker 'butcher' < dial. Ital. *chianchiere* < *chianca* 'butcher's shop'

Kish lon asaja gjith ata çë i bizonjarhj pë një vit e kish nkarkarikatur një qanker sat i bij tri her te java misht, (Il medicante, *La Calabria* 1892, n. 8),

Qankeri bohj divirin e tija e tri her te java bij misht të bijes t' markantit. (Il medicante, *La Calabria* 1892, n. 8).

b) vakarice[8] 'the herd or flock on the farm' < *vakar*, *-i* 'cow'

Kahj vakarice e lop. (Lazzaro, *La Calabria* 1891, A3 III, 6, s. 25)

c) dizhghustarj 'disgusted' < *ghustare* 'taste good'

E ngë dej ka nulu pic sat e dizhghustarhj ja (Il medicante, *La Calabria* 1892, n. 8)

In a number of cases it appears difficult to make a distinction between Italian and Albanian elements of the same or similar sound with the same function, as in Albanian most formants are of Latin origin, consequently parallel Albanian and Italian formants very often have the same origin.

Some Latinate affixes in Albanian[9] are given below:

Prefixes	**Suffixes**
de- < **de-*	*-al* < * *-alis*[13] */ -ual* < *-al* < **-alis*
dis- < **dis-*[10]	*-an*[14] < **-ānus m. / -ian* < **-iānus*[15]
i- < **i-*	*-ant* < **-āns*, *-āntem,*
in- < **in-*	*-ar / ar*[*e*] < **-arius, arium*
inter- < **inter-*	
pas- < **post-*[11]	
ri- < **rĕ-*[12]	

[8] Borrowed from Calabrian *vaccarizzu*.
[9] See SIHLER:1995.
[10] *dis-* < **dis-* < IE **dis-*
[11] *pas-* < **post-* < IE **post*
[12] *ri-* < **rĕ-* < IE **ure-*
[13] m., f. sg. *-ālis* m., f. (n. *-āle*) used to create adjectives from nouns, numerals.
[14] Asenova gives a different etymology, i.e., Slavic origin *-an* < **-анъ* < **-янъ* (ACEHOBA: 2002).

super- < **super-*
ultra- < **ultra-*

-azh[16] < **-aticum*
-ent < **-ent* (*-ens*)
-er / *-ier* < **-ārius*, *-ārium*
-i < **-ia*
-ist < **-ista*[17]
-iv < **-ivus*
-izëm < **-ismus*[18]
-onjë / *-ojë* < **-onia*[19]
-or < **-or*[20]
-ore < **-or* (*abl. sg. -or*)
-osh < **-ōsos*[21]
-(ë)tor / *-ator* < **-torius*[22]
-or < **-torius*
-(ë)tar / *-atar* < **-torius*
-tore / *-ore* < * *m.sg. -tōrium, n.sg. -tōrius*
-urë < **-ūra*

A detailed comparison of the different stages of the Albanian word-formation system is currently being prepared within the framework of the above-mentioned word-formation project, *The development trends of Albanian word formation from the 16th to the 21th century in time and space*. It presupposes a much larger corpus of Arbëresh texts, but also gives specific information about Latin, Greek and Turkish influences on the word-formation system of Albanian. The analysis also leads to the conclusion that there are much less nominalisations, which is very typical for convergence of the Sprachbund type, and generally the number of formant elements is relatively small (at least in the examined texts).

---

[15] "*-iānus*" on page 817/1 of the *Oxford Latin Dictionary* (1st ed., 1968–82).
[16] Late Latin or even French *–age*.
[17] Greek equivalent *-istes*.
[18] Greek equivalent *-ismos*.
[19] *-onjë* < early Albanian * *ādjā* (OREL: 2000)
[20] *-or* < LAT **-or* < IE *-ōs*.
[21] Adjective suffix *-osh* < **-ōsos* < **-ōnt-to-s* < IE **-o-wont-to-s*.
[22] Vulgar Latin **-torius* (f. *-toare* < **-toria*) < IE **-tōr*.

References

AJETI, Idriz (1969): *Historia e Gjuhës Shqipe, Morfologjia historike*, Prishtinë: 105-123.

ALTIMARI, Francesco (1980): *Le parlate arbëreshe d'Italia nella struttura dialettale dell'albanese.* In: Zjarri XII: 27.

BOKSHI, Besim (1980): *Rruga e formimit të fleksionit të sotëm nominal të shqipës*, Prishtinë.

BAJA, Orjeta; HYSA Merita (2011): *Italianizmat e arbëreshëve të italisë sipas fjalorit të Kamsit në përqasje me italianizmat në gjuhën shqipe.* In: Journal of Institute Alb-Shkenca.

BUXHELI, Ludmila (1981): *Emrat e veprimit me prapashtesat -im dhe -je në gjuhën letrare shqipe.* In: Studime Filologjike 4. Tiranë.

—. (1984): *Emrat foljorë me prapashtesat -esë, -më, -imë, -atë, -i.* In: Studime Filologjike 1. Tiranë.

—. (1986): *Rreth fjalëve të përngjitura në gjuhën e sotme shqipe.* In: Studime Filologjike 4. Tiranë.

—. (2008): *Formimi i foljeve në gjuhën e sotme shqipe.* Tiranë: Akademia e Shkencave e Shqipërisë.

CAMAJ, Martin (1966): *Albanisiche Wortbildung. Die Bildungsweiese der älteren Nomina.* In: Albanishe Forshungen 6. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

CIPO, Kostaq (1972): *Studime mbi leksikun dhe mbi formimin e fjalëve në gjuhën shqipe I.* Tiranë: 61-66.

ÇABEJ, Eqrem (2008): *Skicë e gramatikës krahasuese të gjuhëve indoeuropiane.* In: Hyrje në indoeuropianistikë. Leksionet e Prishtinës, Tiranë: 215-220.

DANČETOVIĆ, Voislav (1960): *Sufiksi diminutiv i emrave të gjuhës shqipe.* Prishtinë.

DEMIRAJ, Shaban (1976): *Gramatika e gjuhës shqipe, vëllimi I morfologjia.* Tirana.

—. (1994): *Gjuhësi ballkanike*, Skopje: Logos.

GROCHOWSKI, Maciej (2011): *Między składnią semantyczną a asemantyczną, czyli o wpływie Henryka Misza i Zygmunta Saloniego na poglądy składniowe Krystyny Kallas.* In: Linguistica Copernicana 1(5), Wydawnictwa Naukowe Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, Toruń: 301-311.

HYSA, Enver (1973): *Disa çështje të parashtesimit në gjuhën shqipe.* In: Studime Filologjike 3. Tiranë.

—. (1970): *Formime ndajfoljore me prapashtesa në shqipen e sotme letrare.* In: Studime Filologjike1. Tiranë.

—. (1997): *Parashtesat me kuptim mohues në gjuhën shqipe.* In: Studime Filologjike 4. Tiranë.

KAMSI, Kolë (2000): *Fjalor arbërisht - shqip*, Shkodër.

KARASIŃSKI, Artur (2010): *Albańskie odczasownikowe derywaty przymiotnikowe.* In: Slavia Meridionalis 10: 125-134.

KOSTALLARI, Androkli (1972): *Mbi disa veçori të fjalës së përbërë në gjuhën shqipe.* In: Studime mbi leksikun dhe mbi formimin e fjalëve në gjuhën shqipe I, Tiranë: 141-147.

MALDJIEVA, Viara (2009): *Gramatyka konfrontatywna bułgarsko-polska*, Słowotwórstwo, tom 9, Warszawa.

OREL, Vladimir (2000): *A concise historical grammar of the Albanian language: Reconstruction of Proto-Albanian.* Brill, Leiden, Boston, Köln.

SCHALLER, Helmut (1975): *Die Balkansprachen. Eine Einführung in die Balkanphilogie*. Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag.

SIHLER, Andrew L. (1995): *New Comparative Grammar of Greek and Latin.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

THOMAI, Jani (2006): *Fjalor i Gjuhës Shqipe.* Akademia e Shkencave e Shqipërisë, Instituti i Gjuhësisë dhe i Letërsisë, Tiranë.

TOPALLI, Kolec (2011): *Sistemi i fjalëformimit*. In: Bazat e gramatikës historike të gjuhës shqipe. Tiranë: 277-283.

TURANO, Guseppina (2001): *Tratti Linguistici e Culturali dell'Arbëria Crotonese.* Rende: CELUC.

XHUVANI, Aleksandër (1980): *Kompozitat.* In: Vepra I, Tiranë: 348-354.

ARBËRESH SYLLABLE PATTERN

IRENA SAWICKA

Introductory remarks

The analysis is based on the sonority theory. In the sonority theory, the constitutive part of the syllable is its central part, the nucleus – the so-called syllabic element. This is the part with the highest degree of sonority. Sonority in the syllable gradually rises towards the nucleus and falls after the nucleus. The framework in which the syllable structures are analysed is the prosodic word, i.e., the orthotonic word with its clitics. According to the sonority theory, certain positions in the syllable should be filled with segments, whose inherent sonority corresponds to the requirements of the position. This entails determining the acoustic characteristics of individual segments, which means that we have to determine the so-called sonority scale. This was already done at the very beginning of the 20th century (Jespersen 1904). According to the sonority hierarchy, the most sonorous are vowels, followed by glides, and then liquids and nasals. Obstruents are the less sonorous sounds. Certain differences in the degree of sonority between obstruents are not found in European languages. In the so-called "sonorous syllable pattern", sounds are arranged in order from the lowest to the highest sonority and vice versa after the nucleus (in other words, the division into syllables is such that it satisfies this condition). When the distribution of sounds is in conflict with this rule, the sonority of a sound may undergo contextual modification and, depending on the position, it may be strengthened or weakened or the segmental content of the word is re-formulated. Such a syllable pattern is, among other things, characteristic of European languages. The majority of European languages observe the following order of sonants and obstruents in consonantal clusters: obstruent(s) + sonant(s) in the syllable onset and vice versa in the coda. The nucleus is represented by vowels or, in a great number of languages, also by sonants, but, as far as European languages are concerned, usually only in less sonorous environments. The order of segments in multi-sonantic clusters is usually also strictly defined.

If, as a result of historical development, derivation or borrowing, these principles are violated, the segmental composition of the word is re-formulated automatically (consonant clusters are simplified or changed, sonants become syllabic or a non-etymological vowel is inserted, or, in rare cases, segment metathesis occurs). Certain deviations in the sonorous pattern appear in Eastern Europe and the Balkans – in Rumanian and Albanian.

The loss of unstressed short vowels is a frequent phenomenon in the history of Albanian. As a result, non-acceptable consonantal clusters emerge – clusters that violate the sonority principle. This conflict is usually solved by the introduction of a new, non-etymological vowel - it is inserted in the space left by the lost vowel or elsewhere in the cluster, or after the cluster. An example could be the Albanian development of the Greek/Latin *theatrum*: after the loss of the final consonant and unstressed short vowel in Albanian, it became **teatr* in which the form of the final syllable could not be accepted and a vowel had to be inserted or added to avoid the "non-sonorous" coda. This gave *teatër.* Another example is *cikël,* which comes from the Latin *cycle* (through the phase of **cikl*). See also the allomorphic forms *-ëzm/-zm*, the distribution of which depends on the segmental context (e.g. the indefinite form ***realizëm*** ~ the form with the definite article ***realizmi***). Nowadays such processes are characteristic, first of all, of the end of the word.

Albanian syllable pattern

In Standard Albanian, obvious deviations from the sonorous syllable model occur, which means that sometimes the order of sonants and obstruents in the cluster is "wrong". These situations involve the distribution of nasal consonants in word-initial positions, where groups of the type "nasal sonant + stop" are very frequent (e.g. *mbret* 'king'*, ngushtë* 'tight'*, nga* 'from, of'*, nxënës* 'student', etc.). The same examples are found in the local Slavic dialects [mbleko] 'milk', [mbravja] 'ant' (examples from Southern Albania); in Greek, in emotionally marked utterances [mbes epitelus] 'come in at last', [ndisu ipa] 'dress up' instead of the standard [disu ipa]; in Italian dialects, cf. *mpetrunitu* < *impadronito* 'mastered'*, mbrellu* > *ombrello* 'umbrella'; in some Aromanian dialects: *ndreptu* 'to straighten'*, mpartu* 'to impart'*, ndires* 'interest', as well as in the Slavic dialect of Molise: *ndzalata* 'salad'. In these languages or dialects, there are no initial groups with other sonants before an obstruent. We can therefore assume that in Standard Albanian, there is, among other things, a sonorous syllable pattern, but nasal sonants are included in the distributional class of

obstruents, at least where the word-initial position is concerned. Other sonants do not occur in this position, thus we have *mbret* ‘king’, *nder* ‘respect’, but *lëkur* ‘skin’*, lëbardhë* ‘white’, *rrëgjull* ‘barley’ (although in older dictionaries, forms such as *lbardhë*, *lkur, rrgjull, lter* < lat. *altare* can be found). The reverse order of sounds in the final position is not acceptable. Obstruents and sonants in the final position are always separated by a vowel, usually an Albanian schwa *ë* (rarely, and mainly in dialects, also by [i], [e] and [u]), cf. *reazlizëm, teatër*, etc.

More deviations appear in dialects, especially the Geg dialects, where we find forms such as *lpenël* ‘small feather’*, lshon* ‘to let go, to give up’*, rrqeth* ‘to shiver’*, rrcoka* ‘gizzard, furuncle’ with non-syllabic initial liquid (the regions of Shala and Bajgorës, Mulaku 1968). Such groups are extremely rare in the Tosk dialect and relatively frequent in Geg, where they sometimes function as facultative or combinatory variations of forms without such initial clusters (as in *lishoja/ lshoja* ‘to leave’*, lëpenë/ lpenël* ‘small feather’*, rrëshit/ rrshit/ ërrshit* ‘to slide down’, etc.). As combinatory variations, forms without an inserted vowel occur only after the final vowel of the preceding word, thus their occurrence depends on the context - after the final consonant they do not appear (as in the villages of Morava e Epërme, Halimi 1978). However, in many Geg dialects, such initial clusters are accepted in any context.

Only “sonorous” clusters are permissible at the end of the word in all Albanian dialects. However, before the initial vowel of the following word, non-sonorous facultative combinatory-facultative variations may also sometimes occur, cf. *ditn e verës* ‘in the day of spring’ instead of *ditën e verës*. Generally speaking, I find no absolute differences between Tosk and Geg, but at first glance, differences in the frequency of certain types of non-sonorous syllables seem to be significant. Despite the simplification of the ‘nasal sonant + stop’ clusters in Geg, groups of this kind do exist at the beginning of the prosodic words as a result of vowel reductions, for example, *n' pyll* ‘in the forest’, *n' kopsht* ‘in the garden’ (for more details on this topic, see Sawicka 2014; 2015). On the other hand, contrary to popular opinion, simplification of these groups and various options in their pronunciation also occur in Tosk, cf. *ndënjtur* and *dënjtur* ‘to stay, to stand’, (the village of Leshnja, Юллы; Соболев 2002). Moreover, in both main Albanian dialectal groups, syllabic consonants are possible, for example in *t' mdhoja, s' m' dhe* (Kavaja, Çeliku 1974).

Relevant to the subject is the problem of *ë* [ə]. If in a dialect the vowel [ə] appears in several different contexts, we have to assume that it represents a separate phoneme, even in a context such as *t' bëjmë* ‘let’s do’ - the phonetic form [t'bəjmə], the phonological form /tə'bəjmə/. Although

[ə] is not physically present, the distributive consequences of its occurrence do usually follow, as the lack of assimilation in voicing/devoicing in this case. While in the majority of the Tosk dialects, regardless of a certain optionality, /ə/ is an independent phoneme, in Geg dialects [ə] constitutes only a part of the combinatory pronunciation of sonants in word-final syllables and between consonants. Final clusters of an 'obstruent + sonant' are not allowed and they regularly undergo adaptation to the sonorous syllable pattern by the insertion of [ə] (cf. *realizëm, teatër*, etc.). In Geg [ə] does not appear in contexts that are not motivated by syllable structure, thus [ə] in Geg dialects forms part of the combinatory realisation of sonants. Thus, sonants appear in the combinatory variations [S]/ [əS][1] and sometimes [Sə], for example *motër* 'sister', *lopën* 'cow acc.sg.', are pronounced ['motər], ['lopən], but the phonemic representation is /motr/, /lopn/. Similarly, when a liquid appears between two less sonorous sounds (cf. *mërzit* 'to bother'), the phonetic form is [mər'zit], the phonemic - /mrzit/. In the majority of Geg dialects, these contexts (-*ë*S# and O*ë*SO) are the only ones in which [ə] appears. Only in one Geg dialect does *ë* not exist either as phoneme or as a sound (the dialect of Lugu i Drinit të Bardhë, Zymberi 1978). Moreover, in the region of Kaçanik, /ə/ is found in all possible contexts and its occurrence does not depend on the syllable pattern, so it is a separate phonological unit (Raka 1978). In the majority of Geg dialects, however, its appearance depends on the word/syllable pattern. In the remaining positions, traces of reduced vowels disappear. Furthermore, [ə] often appears in contexts in which it does not continue any etymological vowel. Its emergence solves any disorder in the syllable pattern, as in *theatrum* > *teatër* (Dargiel 2012).

Arbëresh syllable pattern

In the Arbëresh dialects, syllabic structures are the same as in the Balkan Albanian dialects, but they also have some special features. As a result of the disappearance of short unstressed vowels, Arbëresh syllables can also consist of a single consonant. This happens mainly in proclitics. The articulation of such contexts depends on the rate of speech – in careful pronunciation, such consonants form a separate syllable, in rapid speech they join onto the first syllable of the orthotonic word. This applies to forms such as *nd' çert, m' rrëmbjan, m' dirguan*, etc. (examples from Vicchio Janone 1989). In examples such as *nd' çert, nd' tavulat*, the

[1] S – sonant, O – obstruent.

syllabic pronunciation of the proclitics prevents devoicing before the next voiceless consonant.

Also in the Arbëresh dialects, the segment [ə] is often used to rectify the structure of syllables. In most Arbëresh dialects, an unstressed [ə] is eliminated in almost all contexts, except in closed pretonic syllables. In some morphologically marked positions, [ə] is replaced by a full vowel. However, certain differences do exist between particular positions that may be summarised as two types of options: 1. [ə] / [ø], and 2. [ə] / [full vowel]. The first type of option is more characteristic of stems, for example [kə'mi:ʃ]/ [kmi:ʃ], [kə'saj]/ [ksaj] (Macchia Albanese); [kə'ta]/ [kta] (Vaccarizzo Albanese); [bə'gat]/ [bgat] (Portocannone). The unstressed [ə] appears very rarely at the end of words, cf. ['dritə]/ [drit] (Portocannone); ['derə], ['ditə] (Chieuti). In this particular case, we can perhaps note the influence of Italian and the local Calabrian dialect in which prosodic words usually end with a vowel. The second type of option, less frequent, is especially characteristic of inflectional endings, for example, ['zemrən]/['zemren], ['bukən]/ ['buken] (Ejanina); ['ditən], ['θikən], but ['maʒ͡ʃen], [nata'relen] (Chieuti). Inflectional endings usually undergo morphological unification, thus [e] is often found instead of [ə] in all cases, e.g. in Vaccarizzo Alb. ['vaʃes], ['mat͡ses], ['motres], ['bukes], [fi'nestren]. Besides the *ë/e* option, other options are also found in inflection, very often *ë/i*, e.g. ['katin], ['derin] (San Basile), and, *per analogiam*, we have [i] in other endings, e.g. ['uðis] (Civita); ['uðis]/ [uðs] (Marcedusa). Such options also appear in morphological themes, cf. [pər'para]/ [pir'para], [pər'ne]/ [pir'ne] (Ejanina). Somewhat less frequent is the option [u]/ [ə]. [u] appears mainly immediately next to a labial consonant, but in other contexts it is rare, cf. [stu'pi] (Marcedusa, Andali); [pu'rala], [kum'bor] (S. Nicola dell'Alto); [ʃur'ben], [ku'ʎiʃ], [dur'goi] (S. Sofia); [ku'put͡s] (Pallagorio). In inflectional endings [a] also occurs, cf. ['bukan].

Key positions are those in which the loss of an unstressed vowel creates a 'non-sonorous' syllable, a non-sonorous combination of sounds. Such clusters are not accepted at the end of the word in Albanian dialects. In inflection, such a position is found in the acc. sg. form of definite inflection, where vowel reduction created the *[-On] cluster, and in the nom. sg. form of indefinite inflection, mainly in [-Or/l] clusters. Thus, in these positions, a vowel is required. In other case-endings, the loss of an unstressed vowel did not create "wrong" contexts, therefore a re-formulation of final syllables is not necessary and we sometimes have forms such as dat. sg. [buks], [dits] etc., but acc. sg. ['bukən], ['ditən] (in the same dialect - Firmo). More often, however, we find options, as, for

example, in Portocannone, where there are forms [uðs] but ['jəməs], though in acc. sg., of course, only forms with a vowel occur - ['derən], ['məmən].

So, to summarise, in dialects, the syllable coda, i.e. the end of the word, has the same structure in Arbëresh as in the Balkan Albanian dialects. This means that in this position 'non-sonorous' syllables are not accepted. The same applies to medial structures – clusters of a sonant between two obstruents usually receive a vowel to accompany the sonant, e.g. *përzoj*, *përgjegj*, *këndoç*, *dërtuan*, *pëlqen*, *kërkon* (region of Catanzaro).

However, there is a region where the situation is different. In the Catanzaro area, the non-sonorous coda is a common phenomenon; thus, we have *njetr* (S. Nicola dell'A.); *nietr, vogl* (Marcedusa); *njetr*, *motr* (Vena di Maida); *njetr, katr* (Zangarona); *njetr*, *hëngr*, *ikr*, *gjegjr*, *hipr*, *lisr*, *zgjodhr* (Andali)[2]. However, I have not found similar examples with nasal sonants in these dialects. Such examples can be found in older works concerning other regions (e.g. *vetm*, *ndritm* - examples from Camarda 1866, Bonaparte 1890), although no information about the context and pronunciation is included. In the region of Catanzaro, final sonants in such contexts, according to the information received, are not only non-syllabic, but often voiceless, irrespective of the type of the initial segment of the following word. Similar structures were recorded by researchers in San Marzano, e.g. *kkambr, mještr* (De Padova 1987). Similar examples were also recorded in Southern Italian dialects, cf. *sembr, ńatr* (Abruzzo, Wędkiewicz 1920). These structures are very rare as far as Europe is concerned. Nowadays, the non-syllabic (and often voiceless) pronunciation of final sonants in such contexts is still present in some languages/dialects of South-Eastern Europe, including the Italian dialect of Bari, e.g. *sepuolcr, Cipr*.

Such contexts usually arise after the reduction of unstressed vowels. In time, these contexts are usually subject to "repair" – they receive an additional vowel (certainly after the stage of the syllabicity of the sonant). This kind of process is known in the history of many languages. The same happens in loans, see, for example, Alb. *idealizëm, teatër,* and also Arbëresh adaptations: *Cipro* (Badessa); *Ciper* (Barile, Frascineto, San Demetrio etc.); *Cipre* (Contessa Entellina); *Cipri* (Palazzo Adriano, Piana degli Albanesi), but in Carfizzi (a region of Catanzaro) we have *Cipr*. In the domestic lexicon, the process has the following phases: 1. the unstressed vowels undergo reduction; 2. reduced vowels disappear and a non-sonorous combination of consonants emerges; 3. sonants in a "wrong"

[2] All examples from Catanzaro come from MIRACCO (1984) and TURANO (2001).

position become syllabic; 4. the syllabicity of the sonant is reinforced, thus a quasi-vocalic element develops before or after the sonant; 5. this secondary vowel becomes a full vowel. Metathesis rarely occurs in Albanian. I did not find any examples of the simplification of the cluster. A secondary vowel usually, but not necessarily, develops in the place where an etymological vowel once stood before it was lost. Obviously these new sounds are shorter vowels, typically [ə], [i] or [u], cf. *lëkur / ëlkur / likur* 'skin', *vetëm / vetum* 'only', etc.

Therefore, as we can see, the Arbëresh dialect of the Catanzaro and Crotone regions differs fundamentally from other Albanian and Arbëresh dialects and, in general, from most European languages. It seems particularly unusual too in the context of the Italian language, especially the dialect of Calabria, where the majority of words usually end with a vowel. In most Italian dialects, consonantal endings are eliminated (e.g. *lapisse, tramme* - examples from Rohlfs 1966). Apart from the Arbëresh of the Catanzaro and Crotone regions and the village of San Marzano, such non-sonorous codas exist in Polish, rarely in Russian and Ukrainian, very rarely in the Northern Greek dialects, and in some Italian dialects (they are recorded in Abruzzo, the region of Bari, Terra d'Otranto and perhaps other regions - therefore not very far from Crotone, but I have found no information as to whether they also exist in Italian dialects near Catanzaro). As far as the syllable onsets are concerned, Arbëresh dialects, including those of the Catanzaro and Crotone areas, do not differ from other Albanian dialects. There are many non-sonorous initial clusters with nasal sonants like *mbsonja* (Pallagorio); *ngulur* (Andali); *mbjedhur* (Caraffa); *nxjerr* (Carfizzi); *mpret*, *mpesoshe* (Palazzo Adriano); *mpsuar* (San Demetrio), etc. Such clusters are also common in Southern Italian dialects, where they usually emerge as a result of vowel reduction or spontaneous pre-nasalisation, e.g. *mbrellu* (*ombrello*), *mpamu* (*infame*), *nzertare* (*insertare*), *mposta*, *mbiatu* (*beato*), *mbumba* (*bombo*), etc[3]. Clusters with initial liquids appear very rarely, as in [Rvuan] from the Italian *arrivano*, and they are also found in Geg. Some clusters of this type also occur in Arbëresh material, cf. [Rɲal], [Rɲar] from Contessa Entellina, but Guzzetta (1981) claims that such examples are pronounced with the syllabic [R]. Unfortunately, these examples are given without their contexts.

To sum up, we have to agree that most of the Arbëresh dialects have the same syllable pattern as Balkan Albanian. However, we find significant differences in two regions – Catanzaro and Terra d'Otranto -

[3] Examples from ROHLFS (1966), D'ANDREA (1886), SCERBO (1886).

where non-sonorous codas are accepted. This is an absolutely unique structure as far as European languages are concerned. These dialects are distinguished too by other distributional properties that are also due to the Italian influence. Namely, in the dialect of San Marzano geminate consonants occur (with no phonemic value); they appear even at the beginning of words (cf. *kkambr*) (perhaps it is the same phenomenon as *raddoppiamento fonosintattico* – examples are given without the contexts). I have found one such example in Zangarona (region of Catanzaro) – *ddrasa*, again no context was given. And in three Catanzaro villages, as in Italian dialects, clusters with lateral sonants are not tolerated, cf. *frutur, prak, fras* (Vena di Maida) – in Caraffa di Catanzaro, for example, we have clusters with [j] instead, e.g. *fjasë*, *pjaku*. The form *urk* is found in many Southern Calabrian Arbëresh dialects and in San Marzano.

Pronunciation of 'non-sonorous' clusters

In none of the sources is there any information on the pronunciation of the 'non-sonorous' clusters. My investigation has produced conflicting results. According to the information received, such final clusters (-OS clusters) are pronounced with a non-syllabic sonant. I have discussed the problem with a professor from S. Nicola dell'Alto (Crotone), who is a linguist herself and a native speaker. However, she pronounces such clusters as voiced in any position[4], with a precisely articulated final sonant, which may be due to the influence of Italian as she lives and works in Northern Italy. There is one sound source – Altimari (2011). On this disc, I found only two examples of the clusters in question, both in Caraffa: *ngushr* 'stingy', pronounced as an isolated word, which means that the cluster occurs before the so-called absolute end of an utterance, and *motr e vullezër* 'sisters and brothers', where the occurrence of the cluster [-tr] may be motivated by the context before the initial vowel. A significant fact is that most of the words with the [-OS] clusters were recorded earlier: at the end of the 19th Century (Turano 2001), and the second half of the 20th Century (Miracco 1984). In the latter recordings (Altimari 2011), the same words are usually represented by forms with final –OVS or –OSV clusters, e.g. in Zangarona, we have *katr* 'four' (Miracco 1984) but *katrë* (Altimari 2011) and *katru* in Andali (Altimari 2011). Such a development is natural.

[4] I have checked (heard) the pronunciation of the words *vogl* and *katr* before the vowel, sonant, voiced and voiceless obstruent, as well as at the absolute end of the utterance (i. e. before a pause).

We assume that the letters in these sources correspond to auditory perception. The problem as to whether the sonant in these positions is syllabic or non-syllabic is difficult to assess by ear as well as visually. In the pronunciation of liquids, a vocalic element can often be detected – before or after the consonantal segment, or on both sides – sometimes even in proximity to a vowel (see, for example, Savu 2011, 2012, 2014; Stolarski 2011 or Sawicka 2015b). Assessment may depend on phonology. If, in a dialect, there is an independent schwa-like phoneme, then we shall interpret the clusters as belonging to the type -OS as /-OəS/. The problem, however, is whether we can identify such a quasi-vocalic segment with a vocalic phoneme existing in the given system. If the schwa-like segment does not occur in positions other than between a sonant and a pause after an obstruent or between a pause and a sonant before an obstruent and by a sonant between two obstruents, then this schwa-like segment has to be interpreted as a part of the combinatory representation of the sonant.

Physically, we understand the syllable as a section between the two minima of volume. Consequently, it should be relatively easy to recognise whether the pronunciation of the sonant in the clusters in question is syllabic or non-syllabic. However, it is not. Ambiguous cases are those where there is a rise in volume, but not one high enough to give a clear answer. We are never sure which degree of volume (*mutatis mutandis*, sonority), or rather a relative difference in volume in a given context, is needed to form a syllable. I have had no opportunity to hear how native speakers divide such words into syllables. Attached below are the spectrograms of *ngushr* and *motr e vullezër* with the extracted line of volume (the final [r] is barely visible).

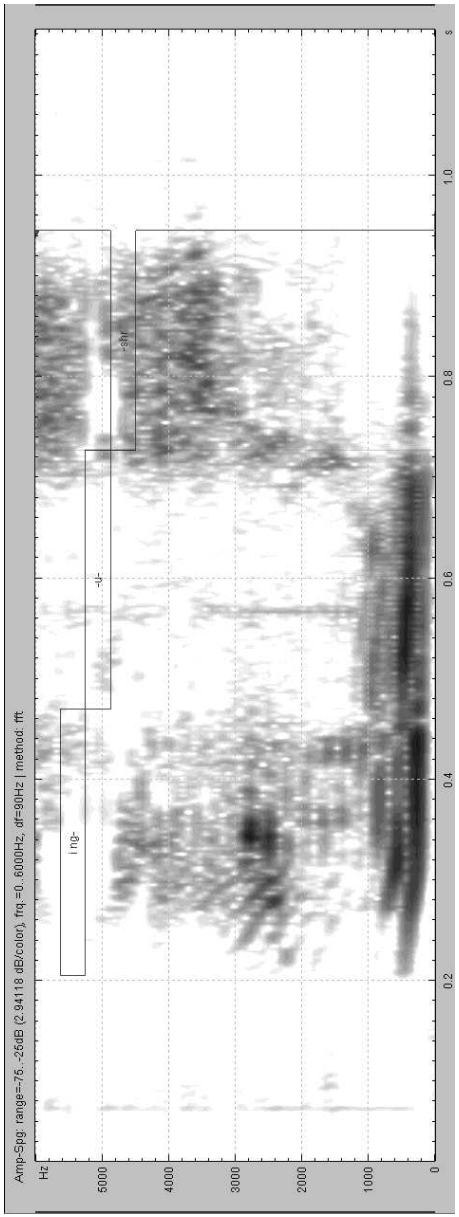


Fig. 1. The spectrogram of *ngushr*.

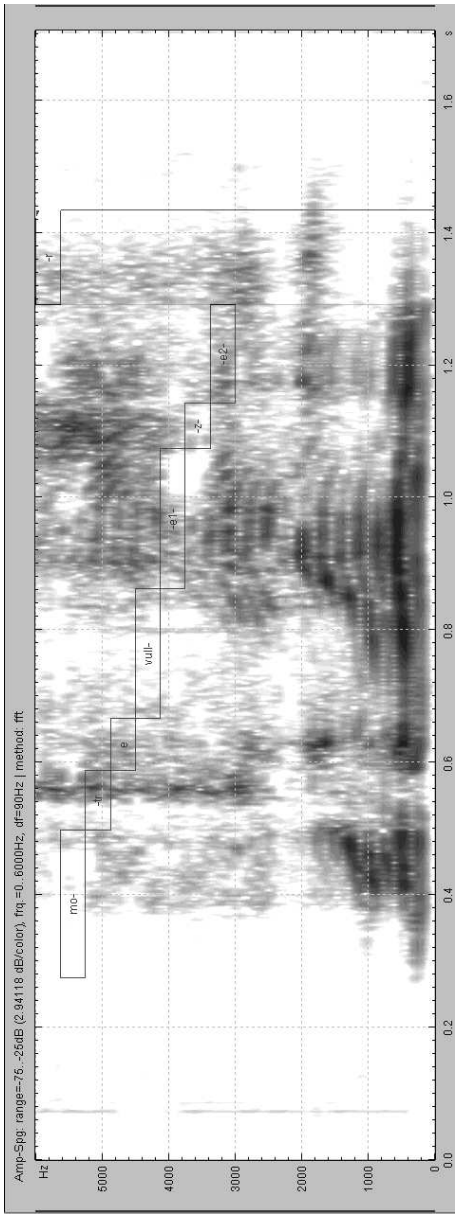


Fig. 2. The spektrogram of *motr e vullezër*. The final [-tr] in *motr* looks and sounds as [tʧ].

References

ALTIMARI, Francesco (Ed.) (2011): *Lessico delle parlate albanesi del catanzarese*, Ufficio di Presidenza –Catanzaro. Università della Calabria - Cosenza.

BONAPARTE, Louis Lucien (1890): *Albanian in Terra d' Otranto.* London.

CAMARDA, Demetrio (1866): *Appendice al Saggio di grammatologia*, Prato.

ÇELIKU, Mehmet (1974): *Të folmet e Kavajës.* In: Dialektologjia shqiptare II: 133-223.

D'ANDREA, Antonio (1886): *Saggio di nomenclatura Calabro-Italiana ad uso delle scuole elementari di Calabria Citeriore*. Cosenza.

DARGIEL, Karolina (2012): *Struktura sylaby w albańskich dialektach Kosowa.* PhD dissertation, unpublished, Nicolaus Copernicus University, Toruń.

DE PADOVA, Carmine (1987): *Anketa gjuhësore për të folmen e San Marcanos.* In: Dialektologjia shqiptare V: 372-414.

GUZZETTA, Antonino (1981): *Descrizione fonematica della parlata Arbëreshe di Contessa Entellina di Sicilia*. In: Atti del IX Congresso Internazionale di Studii Albanesi: 51-74.

HALIMI, Mehmet (1978): *Disa tipare të së folmes së Moravës së Ëpërme.* In: Studime gjuhësore I. Dialektologji: 353-401.

JESPERSEN, Otto (1904): *Lehrbuch der Phonetik.* Leipzig: Teubner.

MIRACCO, Elio (1984): *Osservazioni sulle parlate delle comunità Albanesi Della provincia di Catanzaro.* Cosenza.

MULAKU, Latif (1968): *Govor Albanaca Bajgorske Šalje*, Priština.

RAKA, Fadil (1978): *E folmja e qytezës së Kaçanikut.* In: Dialektologjia shqiptare V: 503-543.

ROHLFS, Gerhard (1966): *Grammatica storica della lingua italiana e dei suoi dialetti*. Torino: Einaudi.

SAVU, Carmen Florina (2011): *Another look at the structure of the rhotic tap: constricted intervals and vocalic elements.* Paper presented At the -Ratics 3 Workshop", Free University of Bolzano, December 2-3, 2011.

—. (2012): *An acoustic phonetic* perspective on the phonological behaviour of the rhotic tap, paper presented at the ConSOLE XX, University of Lipzig, January 4-8, 2012.

—. (2014): *More on the rhotic tap and the implication of its structure.* In: Academic Journal of Modern Philology 3: 75-89.

SAWICKA, Irena (2007): *Struktura e rrokjes së shqipes kosovare*. In: Gjurmime albanologjike, Seria e shkencave filologjike 37: 55-63.

—. (2014): *Фонетските проблеми во ареална лингвистика*, Македонска академија на науките и уметностите, Скопје.
—. (2015): *Syllabic patterns in South-Eastern Europe.* In: Slavia Meridionalis XV.
—. (2015a): *Syllabic patterns in the Albanian dialects.* In: Sprache und Kultur der Albaner, Albanische Forschungen 37: 232-242.
—. (2015b): *Inne spojrzenie na system fonologiczny języka białoruskiego*. Paper presented at the conference "Białoruś w dyskursie naukowym", Warsaw University, December 3-4, 2015.
SCERBO, Francesco (1886): *Sul dialetto Calabro.* Firenze.
STOLARSKI, Łukasz (2011): *Vocalic elements in the articulation of the Polish and English /r/.* Paper presented at the conference "Languages in contact", Wrocław, June 11-12, 2011.
TURANO, Giuseppina (2001): *Tratti linguistici e culturali dell'Arbëria crotonese.* Rende: CELUC.
VICCHIO JANONE, Francesco (1989): *Observations sur le système phonetique du parler arbëreshe d'Aquaformosa.* In: Studia Albanica 2: 147-155.
WĘDKIEWICZ, Stanisław (1920): *Przyczynki do charakterystyki narzeczy południowo-włoskich I*, Kraków.
ZYMBERI, Avdi (1978): *Vëzhgime mbi të folmen e fshatravet të Lugut të Drinit të Bardhë.* In: Dialektologjia shqiptare V: 481-501.
ЮЛЛЫ, Джелал, СОБОЛЕВ, Андрей (2002): *Албански москский говор села Лешня (краина Скрапар)*, Biblion Verlag, Marburg an der Lahn.

ITALO-ALBANIAN FROM THE TEXT PERSPECTIVE: A CASE STUDY FROM SAN BENEDETTO ULLANO

LINDITA SEJDIU-RUGOVA
AND EMILIA CONFORTI

Linguistic communities are one of the riches of the European cultural heritage, and most of them have been transmitted for generations. Arbëresh linguistic minorities are among the historically rooted minorities that did not retain any territorial continuity with their original homeland. They are true linguistic islands of ancient oral tradition and each has handed down a linguistic, cultural and religious legacy over the centuries.

Italo-Albanians have kept their identity and cultural history alive even if they have been living in isolated rural villages. Although the majority of the populations co-existing with them spoke another language, they have maintained a strong sense of national identity.

Altimari, Badallaj, Belluscio, Berisha, Camaj, Conforti, Genesin, Guzzetta, Hamp, Jubani, Mandalà, Savoia, Shkurtaj, Solano, Topalli, Trumper, Turano are some of the scholars who contributed to the diachronic and synchronic description of Italo-Albanian from different linguistic and cultural perspectives. Savoia (2015: 9) points out that it is mainly the Arbëresh language that incorporates Romance morpho-syntactic features and that different language variations within Italo-Albanian depend on the level of the acquisition process related to the conditions of bilinguism and the different linguistic processes involving code-mixing and code-switching.

The present study looks at the language of Italo-Albanians in Italy from the perspective of Text Categories and Text Idioms (Werlich 1983), a typical analysis from the Text Grammar viewpoint.

Analysing text grammatical structures and functions by taking into account their co-text and context features gives a more inclusive description of text grammar categories in the Arbëresh folk corpus;

sentences are not analysed as isolated examples and several semantic and pragmatic concepts, which are crucial to understanding the text as a piece of coherent writing or a passage of coherent speech, are viewed differently.

Some of the text categories to be analysed within the corpus selected are: Composition (which includes sequence forms, text structuring and text units), Point of View (which includes the categories of person, tense, presentation, aspect, voice and mood), as well as Text Idioms, which include different sentence patterns typical of the texts analysed.

The current structural and functional elements in the folk stories of an Italo-Albanian-speaking village will be treated co-textually.

The research question that our paper focuses on is related to the way Albanian and Romance languages interfere in Italo-Albanian (Arbëresh) texts. What is the organisation of the text in Italo-Albanian? Does it resemble more Albanian or Italian dialects?

For the purpose of this article, our analysis will concentrate on the folk stories collected in San Benedetto Ullano. Twenty seven folktales and fables belonging to the Italo-Albanian folk tradition, still observed within the Arbëresh community, were recorded, transcribed and translated into Italian by Emilia Conforti, herself a resident of San Benedetto Ullano and therefore fluent in the dialect of the village located in the region of Calabria, in the foothills of the Appennino Calabrese mountains, which form the village's western border. San Benedetto Ullano covers an area of 19 square kilometers, mainly hilly and mountainous terrain, and today has around 2,000 inhabitants. Its socio-economic configuration could be defined as an urban type in a rural environment.

More on the socio-cultural aspects of the Italo-Albanian population and the Arbëresh language in general can be found in the works of Altimari (1988), Hamp (1997), Savoia (2015).

Folk Tales Text Analysis

Folk tales in general belong to the narrative text type combined with the descriptive text type. They are a part of folk prose, and according to Labov & Waletzky (1997), most of them appear to have the same global structure (schematic structure in terms of Labov); however, different cultures come up with a different structural organisation of folk tales due to various experiences and different mental schemes.

Most of them begin with an abstract, or summary, continue with the story (narration), which is divided into background information or context

and episodes or segments of the story. Episodes can then be analysed in terms of actions and results.

Brinker (2005: 70-71), however, considers that such a schematic structure should be modified and defines three thematic bases within their narrative structure: Thematic expansion, Representation and Summary. The Category of Thematic Expansion, according to Brinker, is a pure thematic category. Process-based or action-based Representation consists of several event phases. Each of these phases contains a nucleus sequence of a process or an event, whereas the Summary category assigns the summative point of view from a specific timepoint of the story (usually the present timepoint). Brinker uses the more neutral term CODA for Labov's term Summary and Van Dijk's term Moral (1980:42).

According to Werlich (1983: 39), a narrative text type is a textual communication in which the encoder deals, more or less selectively, with factual or conceptual phenomena *in time*. For the current analysis of folk tales, we mostly took into consideration the theoretical ingredients of Werlich's proposal which we illustrate with examples from the collection of folk tales compiled by Conforti (2002-2004).

According to Werlich (1983: 39), the text base of a narrative text type can be reduced to the length and structural constituents of the simple (non-continuous) action-recording sentences. The term "action" in this context refers to all kinds of changes that are recorded by verbs of change in contrast to verbs of non-change. Traditionally, they refer to verbs of action or verbs denoting processes. A typical structure of simple action-recording sentences in our folk tale text corpus has the following representation and can be illustrated with the excerpt from Conforti (2010: 17) given below:

[S (NP) + V (verb of change of state in the past) +A (AdvP$_{loc}$ + A (AdvP$_{temp}$)].
S = Subject, V – verb, NP – noun phrase, A – Adjunct, AdvP Adverbial Phrase

> *Nj' hèr nd' sheshe ish nj' burr çë s'rritej Ndon, e nga vit vëj maqe me mullune çë mëngu ai e që mëngu shish me si. Një mbrëma di trimarjele, nj' thërritej Karl, nj' Pullun, proxhetartin, penxuan sat' vejn ti vidhin mullun. (Ata çë vidhin mullune)*
>
> "C'era una volta in piazza, un uomo che si chiamava Antonio, e ogni anno piantava meloni, talmente tanti che gli occhi non erano in grado di poterli vedere tutti. Una sera, due giovani, uno di nome Carlo e l'altro Apollone, idearono, pensarono di rubargli i meloni." (Standard Italian)

[*Nj' hèr*] – Adverbial phrase with a NP structure;
[*nga vit*] – Adjunct with a Prepositional Phrase (PP) structure;

[*Një mbrëma*] – Adverbial phrase with a NP structure;
[*nd' sheshe*] – Adverbial phrase with a PP structure;
[*Vëj maqe*] – Verb of change.

It can clearly be seen that the verbs are mainly used in the simple past, which is typical for a narrative text type. The encoder, in this case the storyteller, presents changes in the story from the point of view of subjective selection and subjective emphasis. Moreover, the storyteller records actions and events from the point of view of subjective impressions in time:

Nj' her, ish i jati e e bija, e ishin pecendi ng' kishin faregjë. Kishin vet nj' cik dhé ç' shurbejin (nje pak dhe qe e punonin). Nj' dit van sat' shurbejin, e ture rrëmuar i jati gjeti nj' mortar i art, mori e i tha të bijës: oj çë gjeta, bir. Nani vem e ja qellim regjit. Mori e bija: ta, çot, ti vete ja siall regjit e ai ng' t'thotë mëngu tandi graxi. U mbjodhtin mbrënda, la pullarin, lan dhinë, mbullitin derën, muarrtin mortarin e vanë. Kur arvuan arriten te pullas i regjit e bija tha: ta, u rri prapa derës, ti hipu.[1]

'C'erano una volta un padre e una figlia; erano poveri, non avevano nulla. Avevano soltanto un po' di terra e la lavoravano. Un giorno erano lì a lavorare, e il padre, zappando, trovò un mortaio d'oro. Lo prese e disse alla figlia: guarda cosa ho trovato, figlia. Ora lo portiamo al re. La figlia disse: padre tu lo porti al re ma lui neppure ti ringrazierà. Tornarono a casa, lavò l'asino, lavarono la capra, chiusero la porta e uscirono con il mortaio. Quando arrivarono al palazzo del re, la ragazza disse: padre, io resto dietro la porta, tu sali'.

However, generally speaking, the selected corpus contains other text types incorporated into the narration, too. Although minor in comparison to the narrative type, the second most dominant is the descriptive text type, expressed mainly by impressionistic description text form.

Descriptive text type is that type of textual communication in which the encoder deals, more or less selectively, with factual phenomena in space related to the cognitive process of perception in space (Werlich, 1983: 39).

In surface structure, the text base of a descriptive text can be reduced to the length and structural constituents of the simple phenomenon-recording sentence, containing the verb "to be" or another verb of non-change (*seem, contain, consist of*, etc.) in the Present or Past tense and an adverbial of place in the Adverbial position. Its structure is given below:

[1] All the corpus texts are taken from Conforti (2010) and represent the Arbëresh variety of San Benedetto Ullano (Calabria).

[S (NP) + V(non-change verb in the present or past) + A ($AdvP_{loc}$)

The following example taken from the folk tales *Mortar' i regjit*, *Ata çë vidhin mullune* dhe *Trimi çot e trimi i shpejt* (Conforti 2010) could be considered as a vivid, suggestive mental picture or as a relatively short descriptive text type, which is to some extent clearly distinguished from the common narrative text type:

Mori regji e tha: allura ku rri kjo, te ku kan shpin, se kjo ket'jer ndonj vajzë e urrt. Ashtu bën, panë te ku vanë të hijin. Ish një kazele shkarpje e rrij mbrënda i jati e e bija.

'Il re disse: allora, dove abita questa, dov'è la loro casa, perchè questa sarà certamente una ragazza intelligente. Così fecero: controllarono dove entravano. Era una piccola casetta di sterpi, e lì vivevano, padre e figlia'.

Muarrtin një llindern, ai kish bënur një xhoje shpiarele me gur ndë mest maqave me mullunë e vej e fjëj mbrënd shpi e onji shtrush çë gjegjej merr duibotin e shkrehej një kartuç .

'Presero una lanterna; lui aveva costruito una bella casetta di pietra in mezzo al pezzo di terra dove aveva piantato i meloni e andava a dormire lì e ad ogni rumore che sentiva sparava una cartuccia con il fucile.'

Moreover, descriptive text type structures can involve a comparative structure as part of the impressionistic description:

Paskali ish nj' cikëz më i urt' e Xhùani ish nj' cikës më çot.

'Pasquale era un po' più intelligente e Giovanni era un po' più scemo' (standard Italian)

Specific text-form functional coherence is determined mainly by the personal point of view, and the narrator usually speaks from either the third-person point of view (indirect speech sentences), when the phenomena appear to be related to persons in the spatio-temporal context outside the sender–receiver communication process (Werlich 1983: 136):

Ai burr mbeti nj' cik e iku.
'L'uomo restò un po' lì e poi se ne andò'

or from the first-person point of view (sentences in direct speech), sometimes explicitly labelled (as in most stories):

- *Ma ti je çot? Jam u, ne se është njeri.*
  'Ma sei scemo? Sono io, e nessun altro'

- *Eh, tha, të shoqes, njet cik kisha të vrar.*
  'Eh, disse, alla moglie, stavo per ucciderti.'

Regarding presentation as a text category, it is characterised by a subjective attitude on the part of the speaker towards the major contextual factors; both scenic and summary presentation are used, as well as direct and indirect speech presentation. The dominant focus of these tales in general is of the "narrowing down" type, starting from the widest angle of vision and condensing it into a shorter period of time:

Nj' her nd' nj' katund, ish nj' monak e ish mb' gjim' anxjan(gjysme plakur), e gjith nga ata anë e thërritin "Cu Monak", "cu monaku", "cu monaku".
U nis nj' dit' sat'vej ndë një markat sat'vej e shitij nj' shkall, çë kish bënur ai, ma ish kaqë e gjatë çë di o tre veta nëng (nuk) mund e sillin! Ture vat (duke shkuar) nd' markat, ngau, ngau, ngau e arvoi. Arvoi këtjé e shiti shkallën. E kat'bjej (do ta blej) një viç sa të sillij mbrënda.

'Una volta in un paese c'era un frate; era un po' anziano e tutti lo chiamavano zio Monaco, zio Monaco, zio Monaco. Un giorno partì per andare al mercato a vendere una scala, che aveva costruito lui, ma era molto lunga che era difficile da trasportare anche per due o tre persone. Andando al mercato, camminò, camminò, camminò e arrivò. Arrivò lì e vendette la scala. E doveva comprare un vitellino per portarlo a casa.'

It is worth noting that anticipation, as a way of introducing of long sequences in a text that refer to the time after the past axis of orientation (phenomena presented after the past axis of orientation) is not used at all. However, some flashback elements (referring to events which occurred before the past axis of orientation in Werlich's terms) were identified, too. So, the flashback effect is mainly realised by the pluperfect, but is used only in the beginning of short sequences:

Vate la lexhi e ng' dijin se kush e kish vrar e kush nge kish vrar.
'Andò a lasciare la lana e non sapevano chi l'aveva ucciso e chi non l'aveva ucciso'

"In all the fairy tales, the speaker/encoder views phenomena in relation to the past axis of orientation in the continuum of time and the speaker locates phenomena before the past axis of orientation." (Werlich, 1983:)

The Italo-Albanian fairytales follow the same pattern and do not make an exception to the general rule:

Një mbrëm, ki çë thërriti Karl e Pullun, vanë çë menxanot njera çë vidhin mullunet me nj' par thas e me di o tre gadhjure e vanë.

'Una sera, questi che si chiamavano Carlo e Apollone, andarono a mezzanotte per rubare i meloni con due sacchi e con due o tre asini e andarono'.

Thus, within the analysed texts, the axis of orientation is signalled by the past tense verbs (simple past), combined with the pluperfect, mainly in indirect speech, in order to establish a long sequence in the text:

Ture shkundur dardh'n gjith delet ndan. Paskali tha, u përgjegj deleve: Ju ng' m' lëni nj' dardhë e kur kallarem ju vras gjith. Nj' dhij'i vate nj' karroçe mb' bri e kaq çë bëri çë ng' mund e skuli. Kur u kallar Paskali mori topën e i preu gjith've krien deleve, e la vet ai dhi se n'ng kishin i lënur mëngu nj' dardh. Mori, vat t'srriti' Xhuanin e i tha: Xhuà u vrava gjith' delet se ato ng' më lan mangu nj' dardh. Vet nj' dhi leva që ajo më la nj' karroçe.

'Scuotendo le pere tutte le pecore restarono lì. Pasquale disse alle pecore: se non mi lasciate neanche una pera quando scendo vi uccido tutte. Un rametto restò tra le corna di una capra e non riuscì a toglierlo. Quando scese Pasquale, prese l'ascia e tagliò tutte le teste delle pecore perchè non gli avevano lasciato neanche una pera. Lasciè in vita soltanto quella capra. Andò a chiamare Giovanni e gli disse: Giovanni, ho ucciso tutte le pecore perchè non mi hanno lasciato neanche una pera. Ho lasciato solo una capra che mi ha lasciato un rametto.'

In direct speech presentations, the speaker mainly uses the simple present tense when referring to futurity, (a), instructions (b), or to events happening at the moment of speech (c), as well as to factually valid statements (d):

(a) - *Oj mo, bëj di makarrune se na vem poshta e shkundim atë dardh se ësht e pjekur.*
'Mamma, fai dei maccheroni che noi andiamo in campagna a scuotere quel pero che è maturo'

b) *Këtjè mbrënda la Paskali e Xhuani u nis me ata sat' vej a kaça, i tha Paskalit: ti bëj nj' fritat me ve se u e Xhuani vem' a kaça.*
'Lì dentro lasciò Pasquale e Giovanni e andò a caccia, disse a Pasquale: tu fai una frittata con le uova che io e Giovanni andiamo a caccia'

c) *E Xhuani kish ndë kushall nj' rrazuall me çë bëj miekr' vate ai, lat'r u qas këtje i tha atire: ç' jin'e bani ati? Jem'e mbiedhim k'ta solde çë na vuadhtin latrat.*
'Giovanni aveva un rasoio in tasca, col quale si radeva; andò dai ladri e gli disse: cosa state facendo qui? Stiamo raccogliendo questi soldi che ci hanno rubato i ladri'

d) *Ki ësht nj' ciap, jo një viç.*
'Questo è un caprone non un vitellino.'

Regarding aspect as a point of view category, the encoder relates changes in the text to definite segments in time, as in

Ime shoq vrau njeriu.
'Mia moglie ha ucciso quell'uomo',

or to indefinite but limited segments in time:

Ture vat nd' markat, ngau, ngau, ngau e arvoi. Arvoi këtjé e shiti shkallën.
'Andando alla fiera, camminò, camminò, camminò, e arrivò. Arrivò lì e vendette la scala.'

As regards the category of voice, the dominant active viewpoint of the encoder presents changes in sentences as resulting from phenomena, and the referent in the Subject slot is viewed as an agentive participant, effecting the whole action performed by the verbs from an outside context:

Kumbà Ndoni çë kish kridirtur (pohuar) se ish njeri çë vej e i vidhij mullunet, mori e shkrehu njet kartuç nga ku gjegji rumur e i shkrehu propiu nj' këmb. E shoqja vate ra nga pagura e thërritij të shoqin e i thoj:
- *Ma ti je çot? Jam u, ne se është njeri.*
- *Eh, tha, të shoqe, njet cik kisha të vrar.*

'Compare Antonio, che aveva pensato che ci fosse qualcuno a rubargli i meloni, sparò col fucile lì dove aveva sentito rumore. Gli sparò proprio a una gamba. Sua moglie svenne per la paura; chiamò il marito e gli disse:
- Sei scemo, io sono, e nessun altro
- Eh, disse alla moglie: stavoper ucciderti'

As regards mode as a text category, we observed that in all tales the narrator speaks from the standpoint of factual mode assigning thus actual existence to phenomena:

Ime shoq vrau njeriu.
Ndë çdo nj' viç dreq t'e jap u, e ti më jep këtciap se mua me beznjan, se kam dhitë!
U mbiodh mbrënda cu monaku me gjithë ata solde e ja dha të jëmës. E ashtu u finir'.

'Mia moglie ha ucciso qualcuno.
Se vuoi un vitellino te lo do io, e tu mi dai questo caprone che mi serve, perchè io ho le capre.
Il frate tornò a casa con tutti i soldi e li diede a sua madre. Così è finita.'

Thus, by correlating the co-textual and contextual fields of semantic reference in the communicative situation, the speaker/encoder can grade the degree of truth (validity) that sentences have (Werlich, 1983: 228). The corpus analysed mainly consists of factual statements, which are evidently true on the basis of immediate co-textual and contextual referential evidence, sometimes however combined with fictitious mode:

Ai burr mbeti nj' cik e iku. E kur u kallar e arvoi tek e bija prapa derës i tha: kishnje ligë bij', se regji ng' m' thoj mëngu "tandi graxi".
'L'uomo aspettò un po' e poi andò via. Quando scese e arrivò dalla figlia dietro la porta, le disse: avevi ragione figlia, il re non mi ha detto neanche 'grazie'.'

Regarding text structuring, the most frequent types observed are those of temporal text structuring combined with spatial text structuring and climatic text structuring ('climatic' referring to that kind of structuring in which the speaker and the listener view the items of the text in a sequence of increasing importance), whereas regarding text units, the composition of the tales relies on action-recording sentences with reference to time (sentential surface formula SPAA) and phenomenon-recording sentences with reference to space (sentential surface formula SPA):

Nj' hèr nd' sheshe ish nj' burr çë s'rritej Ndon, e nga vit vëj maqe me mullune çë mëngu ai e që mëngu shish me si. Një mbrëma di trimarjele, nj' thërritej Karl, nj' Pullun, proxhetartin, penxuan sa t' vejn ti vidhin mullun.
'C'era una volta in piazza, un uomo che si chiamava Antonio, e ogni anno piantava meloni, talmente tanti che gli occhi non erano in grado di poterli vedere tutti. Una sera, due giovani, uno di nome Carlo e l'altro Apollone, idearono, pensarono di rubargli i meloni.'

Clause expansion in most of the action-recording sentences is signalled by a temporal clause,

Nj' hèr nd' sheshe ish nj' burr çë s'rritej Ndon, e nga vit vëj maqe me mullune çë mëngu ai e që mëngu shish me si.
'C'era una volta in piazza, un uomo che si chiamava Antonio, e ogni anno piantava meloni, talmente tanti che gli occhi non erano in grado di poterli vedere tutti'

as well as by adverbial modification within the verb phrase,

Ato di muarrtin nj' linderrn e ngarrkuan tre gadhjure me mullune e kumbà Ndoni fjëj sikuru mbrënd kalive. Menatet menxanote dezi lindernën e vate xhirionj.pa se mullunet mangojin u nis e vate mbrënda.
'Quei due presero una lanterna, caricarono di meloni tre asini e compare Antonio dormì tranquillo nella casupola. Quando era mezzanotte, accese la lanterna e uscì a fare un giro, si accorse che avevano rubato i meloni e tornò a casa.'

whereas in phenomenon-recording sentences, it is mainly spatial group expansion or relative and participle constructions, as well as adjectival complementation[2] that marks the short impressionistic description within a longer narrative:

Nj' dit' van sat' shurbejin, e ture rrëmuar i jati gjeti nj' mortar i art, mori e i tha të bijës: oj çë gjeta, bir. Nani vem e ja qellim regjit.
'Un giorno andarono a lavorare e lavorando il padre trovò un mortaio d'oro; lo prese e disse alla figlia: guarda cosa ho trovato, figlia. Ora lo portiamo al re.' (the participle structure, used as a premodifier of a noun, could very easily be paraphrased as a relative construction)

I jati, i cili, ishte duke punuar token gjeti nje llaç i ari.
'Il padre, che stava lavorando la terra, trovò un mortaio d'oro.'

Dualltin serviturt e ai i tha: njo i solla kët mortar i art regjit se e gjeta ture shurbier. (participle structure).
'Uscirono i servi e lui gli disse: guarda ho portato questo mortaio d'oro che ho trovato lavorando.'

*Për ndet të bijës, për urrtësia çë kish e bija u bugati të jatin e u bugat edhe ajo. (*relative construction*).*
'Per merito della figlia, per l'intelligenza che ella aveva entrambi diventarono ricchi.'

[2] On the properties of deadjectival nouns such as *i nëmuri* see Savoia (2015:105).

*I jati, i nëmuri, kuasi rrij sembri i sëmurm, e me gjith këtë i sillij përpara ata fumij e i thoj çë ket' bëjin e çë ngë ke t' bëjin, ng' vejn dakordu. Ma fumija vritshin njer me jetrin e i jati ish i dhispërqier i nëmuri. (*an adjective being used in a pre-head position, however very easily paraphrased to a relative construction: *i nëmuri që ishte i dhispërqier).*

'Il padre, poveretto, era quasi sempre ammalato, e con tutto ciò, cresceva i figli e diceva loro cosa fare e cosa non fare, perchè loro non andavano d'accordo. Litigavano molto e il padre era molto dispiaciuto.'

Conclusion

It is well-known that borrowings from the Romance dialects and from Standard Italian have greatly influenced the morpho-syntactic and phonological structure of Italo-Albanian. The folk corpus selected and described in terms of text properties illustrates this. However, instances of older Albanian structural and lexical forms are present, too, such as, for example, the subjunctive and the pluperfect tense.

sat' vejn 'in order to go(pres. subj.)'*; që të shkojnë* 'in order [for them] to go(pres. subj)'*, që të shkonin* 'in order [for them] to go (past subj); *m'u desh që të shkoja* 'it was necessary for me to go(past subj)', *pash venja* 'I had gone', *pata vajtur* 'I had to go'.

The text analysis conducted shows that, on a macro-structural level, the Arbëresh folk stories resemble many Albanian tales. Nevertheless, it is Italian syntax that has made an impact on the flow of sentences and, very often, on word order.

In some of the folk stories it is the Italian dialects that lexically interfered more in the language itself than did Standard Italian, due to close proximity with the Italian population; e.g. *manku/mangu* 'neither', from the Calabrese dialect *manco* (in Standard Italian *neanche*).

The preservation of dialects and their thorough research would ensure the continuity of the Arbëresh identity and its culture, too. The written collection of Arbëresh folk traditions, *Fiabe popolari di San Benedetto Ullano,* is a prime example in this respect.

References

ALTIMARI, Francesco (1984): *Rassegna bibliografica degli studi sui dialetti albanesi dell'Italia Meridionale (1970- 1983).* In: Zjarri XVI(28): 22-30.

—. (1988): *Studi linguistici arbëreshë*. In: Quaderni di Zjarri 12.

BRINKER, Klaus (2005): *Linguistische Textanalyse.* Berlin: Erich Schmidt Verlag.

CONFORTI, Emilia; JUBANI, Aljula (2004): *Alla Ricerca delle funzioni narrative di Propp nelle fiabe popolari di San Benedetto Ullano.* Universiteti i Prishtines, Seminari 23/2: 169-183.

CAMAJ, Martin (1971): *La parlata albanese di Greci in provincia di Avellino*. Firenze: Olschki.

—. (1971): *Zur albanischen Mundart von Barile in der Provinz Potenza*. In: KOLIQI Ernest (Ed.), Dissertationes albanicae, in Honorem J. Valentini. München: 127-140.

—. (1977*): Die albanischen Mundart von Falconara Albanese in der Provinz Potenza*. München: Tröfenik.

—. (1993): *La parlata albanese di San Costantino Albanese in provincia di Potenza*. Rende: CELUC.

GUZZETTA, Antonino (1978*: La parlata di Piana degli Albanesi. Fonologia.* Palermo.

HAMP, Eric Pratt (1997): *An Identificatory Listing of the Arbëresh Settlements of Calabria Today.* In: Quaderni del Dipartimento di Linguistica 15. Università della Calabria: 246.

JUBANI, Aljula; CONFORTI, Emilia (2004*: Tiparet akustike të theksit – krahasim i sistemit zanor të shqipes standarde dhe i të folmes së Shën Benëdhitit, në Calabri. Studime filologjike*.

LABOV, William; WALETZKY, Joshua (1997): *Narrative analysis: oral versions of personal experience.* In: Journal of Narrative and Life History 7/1-4: 3-38.

SAVOIA, Leonardo (2015): *La parlata Albanese di San Marzano di San Giuseppe, appunti fonologici e morfologici*. In: Zjarri XII/27: 8-26.

—. (1981): *Studime në gjuhësinë shqiptare*. Prishtinë: ASHAK.

SOLANO, Francesco (1972*): Manuale della lingua Albanese*. Corigliano Calabro.

—. (1983): *Le parlate albanesi di San Basile e Plataci*. In: Quaderni di Zjarri. Castrovillari.

TURANO, Giuseppina (2015): *Quando caso e accordo sono disgiunti: soggetti accusative e dative nell'albanese e nei dialetti arbëreshë*. In: Hylli i Drites 1-2: 129-154.

TRUMPER John (2007): *Identità: cultura, storia e lingua, in quale ordine?* In: BRUNETTI, Mario (Ed.), Atti del convegno Passato e Presente. Gli arbëreshë nel ventennio del silenzio. Soveria Mannelli: Rubbettino: 201-231.

WERLICH, Egon (1983): *A Text Grammar of English*. Stuttgart: Quelle & Meyer.

http://www.uta.fi/yky/yhteystiedot/henkilokunta/mattikhyvarinen/index/Chapter%2026.pdf (Analyzing Narratives and Story-telling)

PART 2:

GREEK IN ITALY

HOMMAGE AU BALKANISTE GERHARD ROHLFS[1]

PETYA ASENOVA

Le linguiste allemand Gerhard Rohlfs (1892-1986) est un romaniste illustre du siècle dernier, dont les mérites sont incontestables dans les domaines de toutes les langues romanes.

Ses recherches menés sur la structure linguistique de l'Italie méridionale lui ont octroyé également une place spéciale dans la linguistique balkanique aussi.

A propos de la situation linguistique en Italie méridionale

Dans le Sud de l'Italie, les dialectes italiens ont coexisté avec les dialectes grecs, albanais et slaves. G. Rohlfs considère que les dialectes italiens en Sicile de Sud et en Calabre représentent « une couche linguistique récente», (Rohlfs 1936/1952 N.11: 126), qui résultent d'une néo-romanisation médiévale après la domination arabe, lorsqu'affluaient des populations latines (« gente latina ») venues de toutes les provinces italiennes (Rohlfs 1952 N. 9: 100). Selon G. Rohlfs, l'action de différents substrats ethniques (osque, celtique, normand (et par son intermédiaire – français), germanique (goth et lombard)) ont contribué à la formation des zones linguistiques en modifiant les dialectes italiens. Mais le rôle le plus décisif a été joué par le grec. (Rohlfs 1952 N. 9: 102-105).

Au milieu du XVème siècle, la conquête des Balkans par les Turcs avait provoqué un exode d'Albanais (Tosques) et de Slaves (Serbo-croates) vers les provinces de l'Italie Méridionale, où avaient été fondées dès l'Antiquité des colonies grecques (notamment en Molise, en Apulie, en Calabre, en Basilicate, en Campanie, en Sicile). Il y eut encore deux vagues migratoires albanaises parties de régions à population mixte, grecque et albanaise, l'une en 1532-1533, provenant du Péloponnèse

[1] This article was published in *Zeitschrift für Balkanologie*, band 53, N 1, 2017. The editor Harrassowitz Verlag has generously granted permission for republication.

(Morée) et l'autre en 1744, provenant cette fois de la région de la ville de Saranda en Albanie du Sud-ouest (Desnickaja 1972: 310). Ne pourrait-on imaginer que ces Albanais aient parlé aussi le grec et aient donc été bilingues?

Ce bref aperçu historique de la situation ethnolinguistique de l'Italie méridionale rappelle celle existant dans les Balkans qui peut être considérée comme un reflet de l'union linguistique balkanique, d'autant plus que deux de ces langues, le grec et l'albanais, y sont parlées.

Le grec en Italie méridionale

Le point fondamental de la théorie de G. Rohlfs sur la grécité (*Griechentum, Gräzität, grecità*) sud-italienne repose sur la conviction que le grec a existé sans interruption dans ces régions depuis l'époque de la *Magna Graecia* (Rohlfs 1936/1952 N. 11: 126; Rohlfs 1938/1952 N. 10: 112, 108-110). Il s'y élève contre l'opinion selon laquelle ces localités grecques datent de l'époque byzantine (cf. par ex. ROHLFS 1924 :70-79 IV. Die Theorie Morosis).

> Selon la théorie de G. Rohlfs, la grécité sud-italienne est autochtone. Les dialectes grecs en Calabre de Sud (Bova) et en Apulie (Terre d'Otrante), comme les autres dialectes du grec moderne, tirent leurs origines de la *koiné* grecque. Mais ils conservent plusieurs traits archaïques et des particularités originales qui n'existaient plus en grec byzantin, ce qui peut laisser supposer qu'ils remontent à l'Antiquité. (Rohlfs 1938/1952: 112; Rohlfs 1936/1952: 126-127).

Par comparaison avec les autres dialectes grecs modernes, ceux de la Calabre et de l'Apulie apparaissent comme extrêmement conservateurs (« ganz besonders konservativ ») tout comme les parlers de la Crète, de Chypre et de la Cappadoce (Rohlfs 1938/1952:121). Certains archaïsmes présents en Italie méridionale ne se rencontrent que dans les dialectes pontiques et ceux de la Tsakonia / Τσακωνιά (dans le Péloponnèse Orientale), qui se distinguent par leur conservatisme.

En ce qui concerne l'Antiquité balkanique, on peut voir un exemple très illustratif dans la présence des mots contenant un *α* dorien au lieu du *η* ionien-attique en Calabre (par ex. à Bova : *lanò*, forme dialectale dorienne *λανός* pour l'attique *ληνός* 'cuve, récipient pour presser les raisins'), un phénomène apparaissant aussi en Messénie et dans les îles de Crète, Rhodes, Corfou et Kalymnos (Rohlfs 1936/1952 :129). On retrouve également des éléments doriens parmi les emprunts albanais faits au grec

ancien (par ex. *mokër /mokën* ‘meule’ < dor. *μαχανA*, i.-att. *μηχανή* ; *drapër/ drapën* ‘faucille’ < dor. **δραπανον*, mais i.-att. *δρέπανον*. Ce dernier mot albanais est à relier au sud-italien *trápano, Trápani* en Sicile, signalés par G. Rohlfs et à la forme *δράπανι* (Rohlfs 1924:122-123) employée en Céphalonie, en Crète et en Morée (ÇabeJ 1964: 86-87). Pourrait-on postuler l’existence d’une glosse dorienne unissant les îles grecques ioniennes et le Nord-Ouest des Balkans avec le Sud de l’Italie ?

Les correspondances des traits archaïques entre les dialectes grecs en Grèce et ceux dans le Sud de l’Italie trouvent dans la thèse de G. Rohlfs une explication dans l'optique de la géographie linguistique, les zones périphériques d’un territoire linguistique sont plus conservatrices et plus archaïques que celles du centre. La Calabre est dans la périphérie grecque, au même titre que la Crète, Chypre et la Cappadoce (Rohlfs 1938/1952: 121). En effet, selon les *normes aréales* (*norme areali*) de M. Bartoli (1873-1946), les dialectes grecs en Italie relèvent de *la norme des aires latérales* (*norma delle aree laterali*), qui ne participent pas toujours aux innovations émanant du centre. Ils relèvent dans le même temps de *la norme de l’aire moins exposée aux communications* (*norma dell’area meno esposta alle communicazione*). Ce sont donc des dialectes isolés qui, en règle générale, sont plus conservateurs (Bartoli 1925).

Adepte de la géographie linguistique, G. Rohlfs lance l’idée de l’élaboration d’un Atlas linguistique du grec qui présenterait la place des dialectes de la périphérie, tant en Grèce qu’en Italie, parmi les autres dialectes grecs. (Rohlfs 1938/1952: 122). De cette façon G. Rohlfs s’engage involontairement dans le débat sur la création d’un Atlas linguistique des Balkans, débat apparu au cours des années trente du siècle dernier et toujours d’actualité surtout depuis l’édition du « Petit Atlas linguistique balkanique » (*Малый балканский лингвистический атлас* sous la direction de A. N. Sobolev)

Les méthodes de la géographie linguistique, appelée volontiers aujourd’hui *linguistique aréale*, appliquées dans ses recherches par G. Rohlfs se sont révélées utiles également pour l’étude de l’union linguistique balkanique (ULB), formation, elle aussi, de type aréal.

Son intense pratique dialectologique sur le terrain, ses « errances » (*Streifzüge*) à travers la Romania ont permis à G. Rohlfs de conclure que les frontières entre les langues ne coïncident pas avec celles des états et que certains aspects des dialectes d’une langue ressemblent à une autre langue voisine (Rohlfs 1947:13-15). Cette conclusion nous conduit à étudier plus attentivement la répartition inégale des balkanismes sur l’aire balkanique, ainsi qu’au-delà des Balkans.

G. Rohlfs opère avec les « strates » lancés par la néo-linguistique italienne. La théorie des strates en général et le rôle du substrat en particulière ont été critiqués avec verdeur et rejetés non pas sans raison. Rappelons ici l'opinion dominante durant la première période de la linguistique balkanique selon laquelle les traits communs des langues balkaniques étaient dus à l'influence d'un substrat non identifié, associé habituellement à l'une des langues autochtones. Disons que la théorie du substrat est une idée aujourd'hui dépassée dans la linguistique balkanique. La faiblesse de cette théorie réside dans sa difficulté à interpréter le système d'une langue à l'aide de l'influence d'une langue assimilée non attestée, dont le système est complètement inconnu et les traces minces. Mais G. Rohlfs, lui, connaît ceci. Le substrat grec des dialectes italiens méridionaux est une langue connue.

Les dialectes grecs et italiens dans le Sud de l'Italie. « La balkanisation » des dialectes italiens.

Selon G. Rohlfs il y a deux choses à distinguer dans la grécité sud-italienne: la grécité figée dans le latin de la *Magna Graecia*, dans le latin vulgaire, dans les parlers contemporains du Sud italien; et la grécité encore vivante (Rohlfs 1938/1952:108). Les deux lui sont connues et il les envisage de façon réaliste. Les traits particuliers aux dialectes italiens méridionaux sont dûs à l'influence grecque exercée dans le cadre du processus du bilinguisme. De tels traits auraient pu se propager dans les dialectes italiens des provinces méridionales, où pendant de longues siècles habitait une population grecque ou, au moins, une population bilingue qui à part l'italien, parlait aussi le grec ou vice-versa (cf. Rohlfs 1958: 733).

Je voudrais mettre en évidence les spécificités communes dans la structure grammaticale des dialectes italiens et grecs en Italie de Sud, qui en même temps se réfèrent aux principales caractéristiques des langues balkaniques, ou aux soi-disant balkanismes.

Le remplacement de l'infinitif

Dans les recherches de G. Rohlfs, *le remplacement de l'infinitif* dans les dialectes grecs et italiens constitue l'un des traits de la structure grammaticale auquel il attache un intérêt marqué. Mais il envisage aussi ce problème dans un cadre balkanique (Rohlfs 1958, Rohlfs 1967).

Les données des dialectes italiens méridionaux montrent que l'infinitif est en recul, et qu'il est remplacé par des formes personnelles: au lieu de

volio venire en Calabre de Sud, on trouve *vogghiu mu vegnu* ‘ich will, dass ich komme’ (‘je veux que je vienne – je veux venir’) et *vorria mu sacciu* ‘ich möchte wissen’ (’je voudrais que je sache – je voudrais savoir), *non pozzu mi vivu senza mi ti viju* ‘ich kann nicht leben ohne dich zu sehen’ (‘je ne peux pas que je vive – je ne peux pas vivre sans te voir’) (*mu / mi* < lat. *modo*, it. *mo* ‘= ora ‘maintenant’); en Apulie de Sud – *vogghiu cu bbegni?* (*cu* < lat. *quod*) qui correspond au grec *θέλω νά έλθω* et *tocca cu sentu* ‘ich muss hören. (‘je dois que j’entende, je crois entendre’).

G. Rohlfs définit la frontière septentrionale de la disparition de l’infinitif: en Calabre c’est la ligne Nicastro – Sersale – Cotrone, et dans la Terre d’Otrante – Taranto – Francavilla Fontana – Brindisi (autrement dit l’ancienne Via Appia). Ces lignes coïncident avec les frontières de l’aire où domine le lexique grec (Rohlfs 1924:64).

Un demi-siècle après G. Rohlfs, l’aire balkanique de la répartition inégale de l’infinitif peut également être tracée de cette manière: à partir d’un centre de disparition totale de l’infinitif (le grec, le bulgare, l’aroumain), l’infinitif est cependant de plus en plus fréquent vers le Nord, le Nord-Est et le Nord-Ouest. La frontière orientale de l’emploi de l’infinitif sur le territoire des langues slaves méridionales se trouve sur la ligne Džakovica (Đakovica) – Priština (Prishtinë) (Цыхун 1981:130).

G. Rohlfs souligne le fait que les dialectes romans utilisent soit le subjonctif présent latin, soit l’indicatif présent ou le subjonctif imparfait pour remplacer l’infinitif. Cela correspond au grec (et en même temps aux autres langues balkaniques). Il semble donc que le matériel linguistique italien aurait été «arrangé» d’après le modèle grec. G. Rohlfs trouve un renfort de cette affirmation dans les langues balkaniques, c.-à-d. dans les langues parlées dans les régions où l’influence grecque était puissante (cf. Rohlfs 1924:65; Rohlfs 1938/1952:11).

Bien que les dialectes italiens de la Calabre et de la Terre d’Otrante aient remplacé l’infinitif par une construction conjonctive, dans les dialectes grecs des mêmes provinces, l’infinitif, au contraire, s’est bien conservé. Certes, on dit en Calabre *έχω να πάω, πάω να την ηύρω, θέλω να πίω*, mais après certains verbes modaux tels que *pouvoir*, *savoir*, *faire* (= *laisser*), c’est toujours l’infinitif qui est utilisé et on dit aussi: *σώννει φάει* ‘er kann essen’ (‘il peut manger’), *δεν σώννω πίσει* ‘ich kann nicht trinken’ (‘je ne peux pas boire’), *ttseri grattsi* (ξέρει γράψειν) (‘il sait écrire’), *me kanni klattsi* (μέ κάννεις κλάψειν) (’tu me fais pleurer’). La même chose vaut pour la Terre d’Otrante (Rohlfs 1924:65). Donc, concernant l'infinitif, les dialectes grecs sud-italiens vont de pair avec les autres dialectes grecs périphériques tels que les dialectes pontiques où l’infinitif est toujours vivace.

Ce qui est cependant frappant, c'est que le remplacement de l'infinitif, qui est lui-même considéré comme l'un des principaux balkanismes, se trouve plus développé dans les dialectes italiens que dans les dialectes grecs qui leur ont pourtant donné l'impulsion initiale.

Évidemment, dans les conditions du bilinguisme, il est possible qu'un modèle emprunté de la langue source de l'interférence soit si bien infiltré dans le système de la langue cible, qu'il finit par être assimilé et développé au-delà des limites de l'original. C'est le cas, par exemple, du système vicésimal en italien, dû à l'influence des Normands, (à l'époque, XIIème s., déjà romanisés), qui est allé plus loin en Sicile qu'en français (fr. *quatre-vingt* = it. *ottanta*, mais en Sicile *quattru vintini*, et encore *tri bbintini* 'sessanta' (v. ROHLFS 1952 N.9 :104)., *du vintini* 'quarente', cf. en Abruzzo *du ventanə* '40', *quattrə ventanə* '80' (Rohlfs 1952 N. 18 : 243).

La formation des numéros cardinaux de 11 à 19 en roumain et en albanais, calquée d'après le modèle slave (bulg . *един-на-десет*, roum. *un-spre-zece*, alb. *një-mbë-dhjetë* '11' = lat. « *unus-super-decem* » trouve un parallèle qui élargit son application en aroumain et continue de 21 à 29: *un-spră-yínġiţi* '21', *nouă-spră- yínġiţi* '29' = lat. « *unus-super-viginti* » (*yínġiţi* < lat. *viginti*).

G. Rohlfs est parmi les rares balkanistes à attirer l'attention sur le rapport entre le remplacement de l'infinitif et la modalité, en développant l'observation de Kr. Sandfeld (Sandfeld 1930 :173-174, concernant le bulgare et le roumain) selon laquelle le phénomène ne touche que plus tard certains verbes, le verbe *pouvoir* étant le dernier à céder à cette nouveauté. A l'aide d'un questionnaire de 14 constructions modales avec les verbes *pouvoir*, *vouloir*, *savoir* (être apte à), *faire* (provoquer), *laisser* (permettre, donner la possibilité), *sentir* (entendre) il compare l'état de la substitution de l'infinitif dans les langues balkaniques et dans les dialectes grecs et italiens en Italie du Sud. Parmi ces comparaisons figurent notamment celles entre un dialecte grec et deux dialectes italiens parlés dans la Terre d'Otrante, entre un dialecte grec et deux dialectes italiens de Calabre, en y ajoutant l'albanais tosque parlé à Aquaformosa de Cosenza, en Calabre, qui ne diffère pas de l'albanais balkanique. En conclusion, l'auteur constate que la situation dans les dialectes grecs et italiens est fort semblable et que le dernier rempart de l'infinitif est le verbe *pouvoir* tout comme dans les Balkans, cf. en bulg. moderne *Кой ли <u>може</u> неволя клетнишка <u>изказа</u>* (inf. abrégé)*?* (Яворов) 'Qui pourrait décrire la misère des pauvres ?'; *Не мога ти <u>каза</u>* (inf. abrégé) (langage parlé) 'Je ne peux pas te dire.'

La modalité stimule la persistance de l'infinitif, une forme dépourvue d'indices verbaux, une forme qui n'exprime qu'une «verbalité» Il est remplacé par une construction modale, bien qu'après les verbes modaux, l'expression de la modalité, semble-t-il, ne soit pas indispensable. Cela peut expliquer pour quelle raison l'infinitif s'est maintenu si longtemps dans les formes du futur en grec (jusqu'au Bas Moyen âge, v. Browning 1969:83) et en bulgare (après le XVIème siècle, v. Мирчев 1978:234-235), développées à partir des syntagmes des verbes modaux.

D'après G. Rohlfs, en dehors des territoires où l'infinitif a totalement disparu (le grec, le bulgare, l'aroumain), il existe une zone où celui-ci a conservé une certaine vitalité après quelques verbes. Il désigne cette zone sous le nom d'*anfizona* (amphizone 'zone limitrophe') qui regroupe notamment le grec de l'Italie méridionale et les territoires des dialectes italiens où, au Moyen âge vivait une population bilingue ou hellénophone (ROHLFS 1958 :740-744).

L'aire du remplacement de l'infinitif, décrite de cette façon par G. Rohlfs, dépasse le territoire des langues de l'union balkanique pour y inclure l'Italie de Sud. Selon certaines opinions, *ce serait le but ultime d'un futur Atlas linguistique des balkanismes.*

Ce balkanisme qui est diffusé dans le Sud des deux péninsules – celles des Apennins et celle des Balkans – présente des parallèles importants au niveau des détails, notés par G. Rohlfs. On sait que les langues balkaniques distinguent deux conjonctions pour introduire la construction subordonnée remplaçant l'infinitif : une conjonction modale (alb. *të*, bulg. *да*, gr. *να*, roum. *să*) et une conjonction déclarative (alb. *se*, bulg. *че*, gr. *πως*, roum. *că*). G. Rohlfs note une distinction identique en Calabre: *vulimu* ***mu*** *veniti* 'nous voulons que vous veniez' en face de *pensamu* ***ca*** *vèni* 'nous pensons qu'il viendra' et en Apulie: *vulimu* ***cu*** *ssapiti* 'nous voulons que vous sachiez' en face de *pensamu* ***ca*** *torna* 'nous pensons qu'il retournera' (Rohlfs 1967 :172).

Dans les langues balkaniques, cette différence est neutralisée après les *verba sentiendi*: les deux conjonctions sont synonymes. G. Rohlfs signale un exemple semblable dans le dialecte de Sinopoli, province de Reggio di Calabria : après le verbe *sentire* ('intendere') on emploie la conjonction *chi*: *'n ntisi chi veniva* 'l'ho sentito venire' ('J'ai entendu qu'il venait, je l'ai entendu venir') (Rohlfs 1958:741), qui, traduit en bulgare donnera *чух го да/че идва.*

On peut trouver une explication de la disparition de l'infinitif dans les langues balkaniques, selon Kr. Sandfeld, dans l'influence du grec. Cet auteur soutient l'affirmation que «l'unité» des langues balkaniques est dûe au rôle spirituel et culturel de Byzance dans les Balkans (Sandfeld 1930).

G. Rohlfs partage cette opinion de Kr. Sandfeld en y ajoutant comme argument *la comparaison entre « le substrat vivant» (le grec) et la langue ayant survécu au processus du bilinguisme vu de près (l'italien)*. Les observations de G. Rohlfs confirment les hypothèses sur le rôle du grec dans l'apparition des constructions subordonnées remplaçant l'infinitif dans les langues balkaniques. Le mécanisme des contacts linguistiques suppose que les conditions internes à une langue pourraient être renforcées par le contact avec une autre langue où le remplacement de l'infinitif serait assez avancé, telle le grec (Joseph 1983 :211). Les conditions internes au vieux bulgare consistent dans le fait que la conjonction да correspondait parfaitement aux fonctions finales et objectives de la conjonction grecque *ινα*. A l'époque des premières traductions, elle s'est avérée singulièrement apte à traduire les fonctions de l'infinitif grec et à transposer les constructions grecques de *ινα* (Минчева 1987:106-138).

Aoriste et parfait (Passato remoto e passato prossimo)

Dans le contexte des langues indo-européennes, les langues balkaniques contrastent avec leur opposition conservée entre les prétérits simple et composé. Le premier à s'en apercevoir fut sans doute G. Rohlfs. Kr. Sandfeld dit quelque part que la prédominance de l'aoriste sur le parfait en aroumain est due peut-être à l'influence grecque, ayant en vue des phénomènes identiques en Italie de Sud, signalés par G. Rohlfs (Sandfeld 1930 :105).

Le mélange formel et fonctionnel entre l'aoriste et le parfait dans la *koiné* grecque a pris fin pendant le IVème siècle. Les fonctions du parfait se sont alors complètement déchargées sur l'aoriste. Cet état est figé dans les dialectes grecs de l'Italie de Sud. Ceux-ci, ne connaissent pas les formes descriptives du parfait du grec moderne du type *έχω γράψει* et *έχω γραμμένο* ; pour les exprimer, ils font recours à l'aoriste *egrattsa* (έγραψα). Les dialectes italiens dans l'aire grecque, en Sicile et en Calabre de Sud (Reggio et Catanzaro), ne connaissent pas non plus le parfait du type *ho cantato* et utilisent le passé simple *cantai* (< *cantavi*), alors que, partout ailleurs en Italie, la distinction est clairement faite entre *passato remoto* et *passato prossimo* et que, d'une manière générale, les langues romanes préfèrent aujourd'hui le passé composé. Donc, au lieu de dire *sono venuto, hai mangiato, sono andato* 'je suis venu, tu as mangé, je suis allé', en italien du Sud en Sicile et en Calabre de Sud (Reggio et Catanzaro), on dit *venni (venini), mangiasti, andai (jivi)*, ce qui correspond aux aoristes grecs *ήρθα, έφαγες, πήγα*. (ROHLFS 1938/1952:11). Dans des exemples provenant

de Reggio *comu mangeastivu* ‘wie haben Sie gegessen? (‚comment avez-vous mangé?’), *unni durmistivu* ’wo haben Sie geschlafen? (‚où avez-vous dormi?’) G. Rohlfs n'y voit qu’une influence grecque (Rohlfs 1924 :68) Selon lui, on est en présence du phénomène nommé «calque linguistique» ou encore «traduction sous forme d’imitation ou d’emprunt», qui est «extrêmement fréquent chez les populations habituées à parler deux ou trois langues l’une à côté d’autre, comme cela est très normal dans les Balkans» (Rohlfs 1967:170-171).

Le rapport entre les prétérits simple et composé dans les Balkans est inégal (Асенова 2002:240-274). En omettant les détails, on pourrait dire qu’en fonction de l’affaiblissement progressif de l’emploi de l’aoriste, trois zones principales se dessinent : la zone méridionale, la zone médiane et la zone septentrionale. En effet, selon J. Sedláček (Sedláček 1958 :68), l’aoriste ne domine le parfait que dans la zone méridionale qu’il nomme «zone du type grec». Cette zone embrasse, dit-il, outre le grec, le bulgare en Macédoine de Sud, l’aroumain méridional, l’albanais tosque et elle atteint l'Italie méridionale. Cette zone n’est pas homogène: le grec va de pair avec l’albanais du Sud (le tosque), les deux langues connaissent des emplois de l’aoriste que l’on ne rencontre pas en bulgare. L’aoriste grec est cependant plus fréquent que l’aoriste albanais, c’est un temps verbal qui peut exprimer tous les temps albanais du passé, c’est le temps principal du récit dans le passé (Asenova 1997). Les dialectes balkaniques qui se manifestent comme un centre de la diffusion des balkanismes tels le remplacement de l’infinitif, la prédilection pour l’aoriste, sont à rattacher à la zone méridionale. Ce centre balkanique forme de nouveau une aire commune avec l’Italie méridionale, dont la frontière septentrionale, déterminé par G. Rohlfs, est la ligne Nicastro – Sersale en Calabre de Sud (Rohlfs 1924 :68).

Les perspectives de recherches dans le domaine de la linguistique balkanique

Le présent égal au futur

Le futur du grec ancien *γράψω* ne représente donc que le présent du thème aoristique (c.-à-d. présent perfectif), tout comme le futur en vieux bulgare, conservé dans les langues slaves modernes, par ex. russe *напишу* ‘j’écrirai’.

Les formes descriptives du futur dans les langues balkaniques modernes du type grec *θα γράφω /θα γράψω* est inconnu en grec de Calabre et de la Terre d’Otrante où on emploie le présent (neutre, non

marqué), par ex. ‘morgen werden wir gehen’ (‘demain nous irons’) s’exprime à l’aide de *avri pame* (αύριον πάμε) (Rohlfs 1938/1952: 116).

Parmi les langues balkaniques, seuls le bulgare, et le grec connaissent l’aspect verbal. Mais son fonctionnement diffère dans les deux langues. En Grèce, tout comme dans les dialectes grecs en Italie, le présent imperfectif peut exercer les fonctions du futur lorsqu’on exprime une demande polie, par ex. *Μου δίνεις ένα ποτίρι νερό;*, tandis que le bulgare exige ici le futur perfectif : *Ще ми дадеш ли чаша вода?* ‘Me donneras-tu un verre d’eau ?’ (Марков 2012: 84-89).

Pourrait-on envisager que des recherches approfondies puissent à l’avenir révéler des aspects inconnus des rapports aspectualité / temporalité dans les dialectes grecs, soit en Grèce, soit en Italie et dans les langues balkaniques?

Les fonctions hypothétiques de l’imparfait

G. Rohlfs signale qu’en Calabre et dans la Terre d’Otrante la fonction du conditionnel en grec moderne *θα έγραφα* est simplement rendue par l’imparfait *έγραφα* ‘ich würde schreiben‘ (‚j‘écrirais‘), *έλεγα* ‘ich würde sagen‘ (je dirais‘), *ετρώγεσε(ς)* ‘du würdest essen (‚tu mangerais‘).

Dans la langue italienne écrite, tout comme dans les autres langues romanes, l’imparfait a la fonction stylistique de conditionnel Rohlfs 1938/1952:116).

La modalité de l’irréel du présent que recèle l’imparfait, attestée en latin et en grec ancien, permet d’utiliser ce temps verbal comme mode de conditionnel en grec moderne, ainsi que dans les dialectes grecs et italiens en Italie méridionale.

Mais G. Rohlfs souligne surtout le fait que l’imparfait, tout comme en grec ancien, apparait dans les deux parties de la période du conditionnel: dans l’apodose (la place régulière du conditionnel), ainsi que dans la protase. Citons quelques exemples de G. Rohlfs lui-même: en grec moderne *αν είχα ψωμί, έτρωγα* ‘si j’avais du pain, je mangerais’, dans la Terre d’Otrante *se io sapia… io šia* ‘wenn ich wüsste, würde ich gehen‘ (Galatina) (‘si je savais, j’irais’); *an ecino ton affine, o patrestu apethene* ‘αν εκείνος τον άφινε, ο παρέρας του απέθαινε’ (Bova) (‘si celui-là le laissait, son père mourrait’), *a se tòronne, s’esfaza* (Otranto) ‘wenn er dich sähe, würde er dich töten’(‘s’il te voyait, il t’égorgerait’) (Rohlfs 1924 : 66-68).

On rencontre des constructions similaires où l’imparfait exprime une action hypothétique et non réalisée dans le passé, dans toutes les langues

de l'ULB : bulg. *Ако ме благословеше* (impf.) *мати, взимах* (impf.) *я за жена веднага*. 'Si papa me bénissait, je l'épouserais tout de suite.'; gr. *Αν τα είχα* (impf.) *τώρα αυτά τα λεφτά, αγόραζα* (impf.) *ένα σπίτι*. ,Si j'avais maintenant cet argent, j'achèterais une maison'; roum. *În locul lui Vodă, eu nici nu vă mai judecăm* (impf.) (C. Petrescu) ,(Si j'étais) à la place du voïvode, je ne vous jugerais jamais'; alb. *Për perëndinë, s'e besonja* (impf.) kurrë *sikur të mos e kisha parë* (plpf.) *vetë me syt'e mi* (J. Xoxe) ,Mon Dieu, je ne le croirais jamais, si je ne l'avais pas vu de mes propres yeux.'.

Le parallèle débattu entre les langues des Balkans et de l'Italie de Sud mène vers des problèmes plus généraux, tels que la transition imperceptible entre modalité et temporalité, abordée par G. Rohlfs dans son ouvrage sur le futur et le conditionnel dans les langues romanes. G. Rohlfs analyse les fonctions impératives et optatives du futur dans les témoignages écrits du latin des VIIème et VIIIème siècles. Il se demande si la temporalité du futur ne tire pas ses origines du sens du potentiel. Ni le futur roman, ni le conditionnel roman ne sont des formes temporelles indépendantes, chacun d'eux exprime toute une série de fonctions modales: le futur recèle les sens suivants : potentiel, optatif, impératif, dubitatif et concessif; le conditionnel, lui, comprend les modalités suivantes : irréel, dubitatif, jussif et potentiel. Selon l'auteur, l'évolution de modalité en temporalité est loin d'être terminée dans les langues romanes (Rohlfs 1922 : 130-139, 148-149). On rencontre la même chose dans les langues de l'ULB: les mêmes raisonnements y sont en vigueur pour les mêmes catégories verbales. Les conclusions théoriques de G. Rohlfs sur le domaine roman peuvent apparaître utiles et peuvent être adaptées au domaine balkanique.

En guise de conclusion

En conclusion, on pourrait résumer les contributions de G. Rohlfs à la linguistique balkanique de la façon suivante :

1) *L'apport à la théorie de contact des langues*

En s'appuyant sur des phénomènes linguistiques concrets, G. Rohlfs a démontré *le rôle du bilinguisme* dans l'évolution des langues. La particularité des dialectes italiens du Sud réside dans leur *façon grecque de parler l'italien*. Ceci est dû à l'assimilation des Grecs en Italie méridionale, autrement dit à une *«réhabilitation» du substrat*. J'oserais défendre cette hypothèse peut-être hérétique en me basant sur quelques parallèles balkaniques :

- Les parlers serbes de la région de Prizren et de la rivière du Timok (Serbie de l'Est) sont définis par le slavisant polonais Fr. Sławski comme « dialectes de type bulgare » et ce à cause de leur structure grammaticale, pareille à celles des langues membres de l'ULB (Sławski 1955 : 103-111). Dans cette région fut assimilée une population bulgare compacte.
- Selon le slavisant et phonétiste roumain E. Petrovici, le roumain est une langue romane mais dotée d'une prononciation slave (Petrovici 1958 : 5-11). La grande masse des éléments lexicaux en roumain ont été introduits par les Slaves assimilés en Dacie, explication orale, fournie par Maxim Sl. Mladénov.
- La modification de la syntaxe (et ultérieurement – de la morphologie) du dialecte albanais tosque parlé dans le village de Mandrica en Bulgarie méridionale est influencée par celles des Bulgares des localités voisines, qui se sont installés à Mandrica suite à un mariage et se sont retrouvés obligés par les circonstances de communiquer en albanais tout en utilisant la structure du bulgare.

Cette liste n'est pas exhaustive.

Les études de G. Rohlfs sur les dialectes italiens méridionaux ont attiré l'attention des chercheurs sur *l'influence que joue la langue minoritaire sur la langue majoritaire* dans un milieu bilingue, une chose sous-estimée par la contactologie linguistique.

Les recherches de G. Rohlfs stimulent l'intérêt envers les contacts entre les dialectes de deux langues différentes. Le type dominant de bilinguisme dans les Balkans est le suivant : dialecte de la langue *A* + dialecte de la langue *B*, la base de l'interférence étant avant tout la communication orale.

2) *L'apport à la linguistique aréale*

G. Rohlfs a étudié en profondeur les dialectes grecs isolés dans la périphérie occidentale de la *Magna Graecia.* Il explique la persistance du grec en Italie du Sud comme « une image symbolique de la force indestructible du peuple grec. L'étrusque, le messapien, le ligurien, l'illyrien, le celtique, toutes ces langues qui ont été autrefois parlées en Italie ancienne – dit-il – se sont éteintes. Seul le grec a été en mesure de se maintenir. » [„Dieses Griechentum, das sich aus der Zeit der *Μεγάλη Ελλάς* bis heute erhalten hat, ist ein Sinnbild für die unzerstörbare Kraft des griechischen Vollkes. …Das Etruskische, das Messapische, das Ligurische, das Illyrische, das Keltische: alle diese Sprachen, die einst im alten Italien gesprochen wurden, sind untergegangen. Nur das G r i e c h i s c h e hat sich halten können." (Rohlfs 1938/1952:124)]

Son éloge passionné du grec n'est pas en contradiction avec la méthodologie de la description exacte d'un dialecte isolé, laquelle–peut servir en tant que modèle d'approche de la spécificité des dialectes isolés partout dans les Balkans actuels.

Le meilleur exemple de ceci réside dans le parler des héritiers des anciennes colonies grecques en Bulgarie qui sont apparues sur le littoral de la Mer Noire à partir du VIIIe s. av. J.-C. Tout comme le grec en Italie méridionale, ce parler couvre à la fois une aire latérale et une aire isolée du grec et est depuis longtemps en contact avec le bulgare, langue analytique comme l'est l'italien. Mais il présente aussi une continuité aréale avec les dialectes grecs du Nord et possèdent les traits spécifiques à la même zone dialectale, parmi lesquels on peut signaler *l'expression du contenu du datif à l'aide de l'accusatif renvoyant à un complément indirect* : *pali θa* ***se*** *po* (Sozopol) 'je te dirai encore une fois', *ama* ***me*** *δóne* (Pomorié) 's'ils me donnent', *i zuí* ***me*** *tá fere aftá* (Pomorié). 'la vie m'a apporté cela'.

Dans les langues de l'union balkanique, le syncrétisme du datif et du génitif est un trait spécifique: il est effectué, en bulgare, en roumain et en albanais, en faveur de datif, et en grec, en faveur de génitif. G. Rohlfs considère que ce balkanisme résulte de l'influence grecque, étant donné que les patois italiens de la Calabre (dans les montagnes de l'Aspromonte) « où le grec a réussi à survivre », la préposition *di* (appartenant à la sphère du génitif dans les langues romanes, remarque Petya Assenova) permet d'exprimer des relations remplies et par le datif et par le génitif : *di mè frati* 'à mon frère' et 'de mon frère'(Rohlfs 1967 : 172-173).

Les parlers grecs en Bulgarie et les dialectes grecs du Nord recourent plus volontiers aux constructions analytiques: l'expression casuelle (avec génitif) de l'objet indirect alterne avec la construction analytique *σε* + acc. Cette innovation vers l'analyticité pourrait être interprétée aussi bien comme une réalisation des ressources internes des dialectes grecs septentrionaux que comme une influence du bulgare qui les a stimulées.

En revanche, le grec isolé dans le Sud d'Italie (le gréco), est resté plus conservateur que le grec parlé en Grèce-même: en gréco, c'est le génitif qui rend l'objet indirect, (Katsoyannou 1995**:**172, Baldissera 2013 :36 et sv.).

Envisagés sur l'axe synchronique, les dialectes grecs de l'extrémité orientale balkanique au Sud de l'Italie, font partie de l'espace exotérique de leur propre langue. Sur l'axe diachronique, ils restent toujours identiques à l'histoire ésotérique de la *Magna lingua graeca* (v. Цивьян 2005 :213-214).

3) *L'apport à la base théorique de la linguistique balkanique*
G. Rohlfs a abordé des problèmes conceptuels de la linguistique générale qui consolident les fondements théoriques de la linguistique balkanique. Le rapport modalité / temporalité joue un rôle de premier plan, car les langues balkaniques, de type verbal, sont très riches quant à leurs systèmes modaux-temporels.

* * *

Les œuvres de G. Rohlfs relatives aux problèmes de la linguistique balkanique datent des années vingt et trente du siècle dernier et sont souvent éparpillées dans des revues devenues presque inaccessibles. Il est grand temps de rééditer certains de ces travaux qui restent d'actualité.

Bibliographie

ASENOVA, Petya (1997) : *Observations sur l'emploi de l'aoriste en grec et en albanais.* In: Zeitschrift für Balkanologie 33/2: 137 - 147.

BALDISSERA, Valeria (2013) : *Il dialetto grico del Salento: elementi balcanici e contatto linguistico*. Venezia: Università Ca' Foscari .

BARTOLI, Matteo (1925) : *Introduzione alla neolinguistica (princìpi–scopi–metodi).* Genève: L.S. Olschki.

BROWNING, Robert (1969): *Medieval and Modern Greek.* London: Hutchinson University Library.

ÇABEJ, Eqrem (1964): *Einige Grundprobleme der älteren albanischen Sprachgeschichte.* In: Studia Albanica 1964, N.1: 69-89

DESNICKAJA, Agnija V. (1972): *Gjuha shqipe dhe dialektet e saj.* Prishtinë: Enti i teksteve i mjeteve mësimtore i Krahinës Socialiste Autonome të Kosovës.

JOSEPH, Brian (1983): *The Synchrony and Diachrony of the Balkan Infinitive.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

KATSOYANNOU, Marianna (1995): *Le parler gréco de Gallicianò (Italie): description d'une langue en voie de disparition.* Thèse de 3e cycle, Université de Paris 7.

PETROVICI, Emil (1958): *Le roumain a-t-il hérité du roman commun la corrélation palatale des consonnes.* In : Die slawische Sprachen. Band 7: 5-11.

ROHLFS, Gerhard (1922): *Das romanische habeo-Futurum und Konditionalis.* In: Archivum romanicum. Nuova rivista de filologie romanza 6: 105-154.

—. (1924): *Griechen und Romanen in Unteritalien. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der unteritalienischen Gräzität*. Genève: Leo S. Olschki.

—. (1936/1952): *Vorbyzantinische Elemente in der unteritalienischen Gräzität* (forme abrégée d'une conférence tenue le 25.IX. 1936). In: ROHLFS, Gerhard (Ed.). *An der Quellen der romanischen Sprachen* [Vermischte Beiträge zur romanischen Sprachgeschichte und Volkskunde]. Halle (Saale) 1952. Max Niemeyer Verlag. 125-148.

—. (1938/1952): *Das Griechentum Unteritaliens* (forme élargie d'une conférence tenue le 13. X. 1938) In: ROHLFS, Gerhard. *An der Quellen der romanischen Sprachen* [Vermischte Beiträge zur romanischen Sprachgeschichte und Volkskunde]. Halle (Saale) 1952: Max Niemeyer Verlag. 108-124.

—. (1947): *Sprachgeographische Streifzüge durch Italien* In: Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften**.** (Sitzungsberichte d. bayerischen Akademie d. Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse. München. Jahrgang 1944/46, Heft 3.)

—. (1952):. *La struttura linguistica dell'Italia* In: ROHLFS, Gerhard. *An der Quellen der romanischen Sprachen* [Vermischte Beiträge zur romanischen Sprachgeschichte und Volkskunde] Halle (Saale) 1952.: Max Niemeyer Verlag. 89-107.

—. (1958): *La perdita dell'infinito nelle lingue balcaniche e nell'Italia Meridionale.* In: Omagiu lui Iorgu Iordan cu prilejul implinirii a 70 de ani. Bucureşti: Editura Academei Republicii Populare Romîne: 733-744.

—. (1967): *Problèmes de linguistique balkanique et ses rapports avec l'Italie méridionale.* In: Studia Albanica 1: 169-175.

SANDFELD, Kristian (1930): *Linguistique balkanique. Problèmes et résultats*. Paris: Edouard Champion.

SEDLACEK, Jan (1958): *Gramatické kategorie a otážka blískosti jazyků*. In: K historickosrovnávocímu studiu slovanských jazyků. Praha: 68-69.

SLAWSKI, Franciszek (1955) : *Ugrupowqnie języków południowo-słowiańskih.* In: Biuletyn polskiego towarzystwa jęnzykosnawczego. XIV: 103-111.

АСЕНОВА, Петя (2002): *Балканско езикознание.* Велико Търново: Faber.

МИНЧЕВА, Ангелина (1987): *Старобългарският език в светлината на балканистиката.* София: Наука и изкуство.

МИРЧЕВ, Кирил (1978): *Историческа граматика на българския език.* III изд. София: Наука и изкуство.

ЦИВЬЯН, Татьяна В. (2005): *Magna lingua graeca* In: ЦИВЬЯН Татьяна. В. *Модель мира и ее лингвистические основы.* Москва: 212-217.

Цыхун, Геннадий А. (1981): *Типологические проблемы балканославянского языкового ареала.* Минск: Наука и техника.

Κοντοσοπουλος, Νικόλαος (1981): *Διαλέκτοι και ιδιώματα της νέας ελληνικής.* Αθήνα.

PARALLELS BETWEEN THE GRECO AND THE CALABRIAN VERBAL SYSTEMS[*1]

MARIANNE KATSOYANNOU
AND ZLATKA GUENTCHÉVA

0. Introduction

The data presented here were collected in the small rural community of Gallicianò, located in southern Calabria in Italy. Its inhabitants, former speakers of *Greco*, a dialect of Greek origin, have progressively abandoned their language over the last few decades in favor of *Calabrian*, a local dialect of Romance origin, which is now the language of daily interaction. The aim of this article is to show how the contact between Greco and Calabrian has led, on the one hand, to the reorganisation of the verbal system within each language, and, on the other hand, to the emergence of a strong tendency to construct a common model, integrating some traits from Greek and Romance. We shall illustrate the consequences of this tendency observed in synchrony by examining in more detail: 1) the loss of a specific form for the future; 2) changes in the use of the aorist in Greco and the *passato remoto* in Calabrian, which have also evolved to express, depending on the context, events or resultative states; 3) the presence of a verb form introduced by *mi* in Calabrian, which is used in the same way as *na*-forms in Greco: *mi parru*, like *na plates:o* 'that I speak'.

* We are grateful to Margaret Dunham for her careful translation and to Nikos Koutsoukos for his helpful comments. Of course, responsibility for the content rests solely with the authors.

[1] Abbreviations: 1: 1st person; 2: 2nd person; 3: 3rd person: ACC: accusative; AOR: Aorist; DEF: definite; GEN: genitive; Indef: indefinite; IMP: Imperfect; Impers: impersonal; Interr: interrogative; NEG: Negation; NOM: nominative; PASS: passive; REM: Passato Remoto; Pl: plural; POSS: possessive; Pr: Pronoun; PRES: present; RL: relator; REFL: reflexive; Sg: singular.; CAL: Calabrian; GR: Greco; IT: Italian; M.G: Modern Greek.

Greco and Calabrian show many differences compared to the grammatical systems of Modern Greek and Standard Italian respectively; in contrast, there is a notable convergence towards a shared model, with typological traits adopted from both Greek and Romance. Let us consider the following example, from a conversation with one of the last speakers of Greco:

(1) Question (asked in Greco): And yourself, how did you learn "Italian"?

CAL.	*lu*	*mp^{h}arai* (REM)	*ci*	*jivi*	*pe*	*Rriggiu*
GR.	to	mat^{h}ea (AOR)	ti	ipia	ja	Riji
	Pr.3Sg	learn. 1Sg	that	go.1Sg	RL	Reggio

CAL.	*poi*	*ndaviva*	*li*	*me* (POSS)	*soru*
GR.	apoi	içe	te	leḍ:aðe	mu (POSS)
	then	have.IMP.3Sg	DEF	sisters	

CAL.	*ddha*	*a*		*Riggiu*	*undi*	*jia*	nta	la	scola
GR.	ci	s	to	riji	pu	piɣa	s	ti	sxolia
	there	RL	DEF	Reggio	where	go.IMP.1Sg	RL	DEF	school

'I learned it because I went to Reggio... Then there were my sisters there in Reggio, where I went to school.'

This example highlights the strong structural affinity between Greco and Calabrian: in this impersonal construction, the use of the verb *to have* is mandatory. In contrast, this impersonal construction corresponds to a personal construction built on the verb *to be* in Modern Greek and on a form of the verb *to be* that agrees with the post-verbal nominal constituent in Italian (i.e. it is a personal construction). Schematically:

IT.	*c'erano le mie sorelle*	→	be (personal use)
CAL.	*ndaviva li mi soru*	→	have (in impersonal use)
GR.	ixe te leḍ:aðe mu	→	have (in impersonal use)
M.G.	itan i aðelfes mu	→	be (personal use)

This is only one example among many others of this converging tendency between these two dialects in contact - a tendency that other researchers have also observed, notably with regard to phenomena linked to complementation (Ledgeway 2013, Lekakou & Quer 2016), which we shall see in more detail below.

1. Organisation of the Greco and Calabrian verbal systems

The convergence between Greco and Calabrian can primarily be observed in the organisation of their verbal systems. The two tables below show the similarities between the verb forms in each of the varieties while also presenting the differences between Modern Greek and Standard Italian: Greco and Calabrian are illustrated using the verb "speak" (always in the 1st person singular); for Modern Greek and Standard Italian, we simply note the label of each corresponding verb form.

<table>
<tr><th colspan="4">I. Tenses of the verb "speak": Gr. Plateɣo; Cal. parrari</th></tr>
<tr><th colspan="3">Simple tenses</th><th>Tempi dell'indicativo</th></tr>
<tr><th>Modern Greek</th><th>Greco</th><th>Calabrian</th><th>Italian</th></tr>
<tr><td>Present</td><td>plateɣo</td><td>parru</td><td>presente</td></tr>
<tr><td>Imperfect</td><td>eplateɣa</td><td>parrava</td><td>imperfetto</td></tr>
<tr><td>Aorist</td><td>eplates:a</td><td>parrai</td><td>passato remoto</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Compound tenses</td><td>—</td><td>futuro</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">Perfect
Pluperfect</td><td rowspan="2">—</td><td>—</td><td>passato prossimo</td></tr>
<tr><td>—</td><td>trapassato prossimo,
trapassato remoto</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="3" colspan="2"></td><td>—</td><td>futuro anteriore</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Tempi del condizionale</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">parrar(r)ia</td><td>condizionale presente</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>condizionale passato</td></tr>
</table>

Particle tenses		***Tempi del congiuntivo***	
Form in *na* (labeled subjunctive aorist)	na plates:o	*mi parru* (form in *mi*)	congiuntivo presente / imperfetto
			congiuntivo passato / trapassato
na + Present, Imperfect, Aorist, Perfect, Pluperfect	—		
θa + Present, Imperfect, Aorist, Perfect, Pluperfect	—		
as + Imperfect, Aorist, Pluperfect	—		

II. Other verb forms			
Modern Greek	***Greco***	***Calabrian***	***Italian***
Imperative (present stem) Imperative (aorist stem)	plates:e	*parra*	imperativo
Gerund (present stem)	plateɣonda	*parrandu*	gerundio presente
	plates:onda		gerundio passato
—	plates:in	*parrari*	infinito presente, passato
Medio-passive participle	platem:eno	*parratu*	Participio presente, passato

These tables clearly illustrate the restructuring of the verbal system of each dialect, both through verb form reduction and in the reorganisation of tense, aspect and mood distinctions. In Greco, the morphological distinction between present stem/aorist stem is only relevant in the framework of past tenses (imperfect and aorist), which has led to a considerable decrease in the aspectual values expressed by the verb form itself (Katsoyannou 1995); since Greek is a language which favors aspectual filtering in the expression of aspect and tense values, this trait is a significant innovation as compared to the set of dialects as a whole. In Calabrian, one notes in the table above the entire absence of compound tenses and synthetic forms in the subjunctive; moreover, the conditional has only one form and does not allow for opposition between past and present, contrary to Standard Italian.

Furthermore, in both dialects, one observes the development of a series of periphrastic constructions composed through association of two verb forms (V1-V2), where the first may be either a grammaticalised verb or a verb undergoing grammaticalisation. By way of illustration, let us take a construction where the semantic value is similar to that of the pluperfect in Romance languages. In Greco, this construction is formed with the auxiliary *be* followed by a gerund, which sets it apart both from Standard Greek and from all other varieties that use *have*. Similarly, Calabrian, which uses the auxiliary *be* followed by a participle, differs from Standard Italian. For example:

(2) "I had said"

IT.	*avevo*	*detto*	→	have
CAL.	*eru*	*ðet^{h}u*	→	be - participle
GR.	immo	iponda	→	be - gerund
M.G.	ixa	pi	→	have

The comparison between Modern Greek and Standard Italian shows that in all similar cases this is indeed an areal feature shared by both dialects in contact. According to Falcone (1973: 289-290), the construction *be - gerund* should be attributed to influence from the ancient Roman substrate in the Reggio Calabria region but, from our perspective, this is a case of what we call an "intervento simbiotico", a trait having its origins in language contact.

The emergence of verbal constructions with a V2, which always takes the form in *na* in Greco and in *mi* in Calabrian, could be linked to the weakening of aspectual distinctions in Greco and to the loss of the mood category in both varieties. In other words, we observe a dynamic reorganisation of the verbal system which should be viewed as a new arrangement for expressing modal and aspectual meanings. This restructuring is what led to the appearance of the V1-V2 constructions, which do not form any system that can be directly compared to that of the compound (periphrastic) tenses; these constructions correspond to numerous aspect and mood values (process, resultative, deontic...) that cannot be expressed by grammatical tenses alone. At this level, the resemblance between Greco and Calabrian is striking. We shall return to this topic in section 2.3 below.

2. Parallels in the verbal system

In what follows, we briefly present the functional (syntactic and semantic) similarity between various Greco and Calabrian verb forms.

2.1 Absence of a future form

The first table below highlights that, from a morphological perspective, both Greco and Calabrian lack a specific morphological form for the future. Unlike Modern Greek, Greco has no particle *θa* for the 'future' and, because of this, it is the present form that serves the purpose and has become heavily charged, semantically speaking. Concerning Calabrian, unlike Italian (and most Romance languages), it has no synthetic form to express the future, thus the present tense form can refer, depending on the context, to an ongoing process, a habit or a future event. Consequently, in these two dialects lacking a specific form for the future, the present has taken on a certain number of different semantic values, in particular, expression of the future: Greco *plateyo* and Calabrian *parru* can mean 'I am speaking' or 'I will speak'. The following example illustrates this use:

(3) Context: 'My mother went to Reggio to see my father, because he is not well.

CAL.	*Ora*	*veni*	*ed*	*eu*	*aju*
GR.	arte	erkete	tʃ	eγo	exo
	now	come.PRES.3Sg	and	Pr.1Sg	have.PRES.1Sg

CAL.	*mi*	*facciu*	*lu*	*mangiari*
	na	kamo	to	fai
	mi/na	make.1Sg	DEF	food

'Now she will come back, so I have to prepare (something) to eat.'

The prospective value of the present is practically mandatory when the sentence contains temporal specifications indicating the future (generally an adverb). Thus a sentence such as 'I will go tomorrow' will be rendered by the present form and the adverb:

(4)

CAL.	*Domani*	*vaju*
GR.	avri	pao
	tomorrow	go.PRES.1Sg 'I will go tomorrow.'

Of course this use of the present is commonly found in most Romance languages as well as in all Greek varieties, but it has become more productive in Greco, which is the only variety among Greek dialects not to have a morphological verbal marker for the future.[2]

2.2 The aorist in Greco and the *passato remoto* in Calabrian: eplatessa / *parrai* 'I spoke'

The different semantic values of the Greco aorist are generally considered equivalent to those of the Calabrian *passato remoto.* However, descriptions show that the Greco aorist and Calabrian *passato remoto* do not have the same uses (cf. Bertinetto 1986 and 1991 on Italian, Mackridge 1987 and Seiler 1952 on Greek), although they are still used by speakers in the village of Gallicianò[3] when it is a case of presenting a process as an event, i.e. as a *transitional occurrence across two states.*

a) An event located in the past, that is to say prior to the enunciation act (in reference to which it is situated): this is the use of the aorist and the *passato remoto* as they are generally described in traditional grammars, and whose most important feature is reference to a "completed action that took place in the past", i.e. a process considered globally, as an indivisible whole. This use can be seen in examples such as:

(5)

CAL.	*ora*	*venni* (REM)	*lu*	*mbernu*
GR.	art^{h}e	irt^{h}en (AOR)	o	cimona
	now	come.Past.3Sg	DEF.	winter

'Now, winter has come.'

(6) Context: My mother went to Reggio to see my father because he is not well.

CAL.	*Me* (POSS)	*mamma*		*jiu* (REM)	*a*		*Rriggiu*
GR.	I	mana	mu (POSS)	ejai (AOR)	s	to	riji
	DEF	mother		go.3Sg	RL	DEF	Reggio

'My mother went to Reggio.'

[3] On this issue, it is interesting to note that other Greek varieties such as Cypriot and Griko express 'futurity' by the paraphrase *en:a* (< *exo* 'have' + *na*) + perfective non-past (on Griko cf. BALDISSERA 2013: 115-117).

[4] Like all oral tradition languages, Calabrian has several local variants and the use of the *passato prossimo* can vary across sub-regions (also see BERTINETTO & SQUARTINI 1996; SQUARTINI & BERTINETTO 2000). The data presented exclusively concern the variety present in the Greek-speaking region.

(7)

CAL.	*Cuntu*	*nu*	*fattu*	*chi*	*mi*	*succediu* (REM)
GR.	ikunt^{h}éγo	ena	fát^{h}o	po	mu	sutʃéðesene(AOR)
	tell.PRES.1Sg	Indef.	fact	RL.	Pron.3Sg	happen.PAST.3Sg
CAL.	*fa*	*tantu*				
GR.	pai	po| :í				
	go.PAST.3Sg	much				

'I'll tell (*lit*. I tell) an event that happened to me long ago.'

b) An event that can be situated in relation to a previously determined reference or a series of events that can be situated in relation to one another. Thus, an event can be situated either in relation to a temporal reference explicit in the sentence or provided by the context, or within the frame of a succession of events. In the following example, the temporal adverbs Cal. *jornu* and Gr. *imera* 'one day' serve as reference points:

(8) Context: When I was a young fiancée, my husband-to-be was not allowed to be alone with me (…)

CAL.	*nu*	*jornu*	*mi*	*capitò* (REM)	*ch'*	*ero*
GR.	man	imera	m	ekapites:e (AOR)	t	immo
	Indef.	day	Pr.1Sg	fall_on_s.o.3Sg	that	be.PRES.1Sg
CAL.	*sula*					
GR.	manaçi	mu				
	alone	Pr.1Sg				

'One day he found me alone (*lit*. he fell on me that I was alone)'.

When the referent is not present in the utterance, the event can be included in a discursive succession created in the context of a narrative, as in example (8) above. In other cases, one has a series of events that are situated in relation to each other:

(9)

GR.	mas	epare	s	to	spitin	di	‖
	Pr.1Pl	take.AOR.3Sg	RL	DEF	house	Pr.3Sg	
	mas	ekratie	tes:eres	imere	‖ ðopu	tes :eres	
	Pr.1Pl	keep.AOR.3Sg	four	days	after	four	
	imere	exoristim:a					
	days	leave.AOR.1Pl					

'She took us into her home, she took care of us for four days; four days later (*lit*. after four days), we left'.

In the case of Greco, as in the case of other peripheral Greek varieties that have no specific form for the perfect, a sentence in the aorist can imply that the consequences of the event are relevant to the speaker's present, as in (10), or can be interpreted as experiential, as in (11):

(10)

GR.	estuðies:a	ma:	en	ingan:o	skóla
	study.AOR.1Sg	but	NEG	do.PRES.1Sg	school.ACC

'I did studies but I don't work as a teacher.' (lit. I studied but I do not do school)

(11)

GR.	*ejase*	*s*	*te*	*skafe ?*
	go.AOR.2Sg	RL	DEF	Scave.ACC

'Have you ever been to Scave?'

However, these interpretations do not stem from the fundamental value of the Greco aorist (or the Calabrian *passato remoto*), namely the notion of an event that refers to a transition between two states (one before and one after). Indeed, by introducing a change across two states, the one created by the occurrence of the event remains potential and can be manifested according to verbal semantics and context. It is noteworthy that even in Modern Greek, where the perfect and aorist coexist and compete in certain contexts, a sentence in the aorist can have a 'current relevance interpretation', but it is not the resultative state concomitantly linked to the act of speech that is targeted, as would be the case with the perfect, but the complete event, which, before its utterance, had a certain relevance to the speaker's present, as in (10).[4] Let us mention that in many languages the aorist is used to express entrance into a state, as argued by Comrie (1976: 19), who mentions Ancient Greek, where the aorist *ebasíleusa* 'I have reigned, I reigned' (in contrast to *basilévo* 'I reign') can refer either to the reign as a whole (*ebasíleusa déka étē* 'I reigned for ten years') or to the beginning of the reign and thus signify 'I became king, I acceded to the throne'

[5] On this topic, see the discussion on the interpretation of the passive aorist in the two M.G. examples below in DAHL; HEDIN (2000):

(i) Pjástike énas ándras ja to fóno tu Pálme
arrest.AOR.PASS a man for the murder of Palme
'A man has been arrested for the Palme murder.' (= *he is still under arrest*)

(ii) Pjástike xtes énas ándras ja to fóno tu Pálme
arrest.AOR.PASS yesterday a man for the murder of Palme
'A man was arrested yesterday for the Palme murder.' (= *he may have been released later*)

(ingressive meaning for Comrie). In other words, contrary to the perfect, the resultative state is not one of the aorist's fundamental meanings.[5]

2.3 The Greco form in *na* and Calabrian form in *mi*: *na plates:o* / *mi parru* 'that I speak'

In Calabrian, the verb form introduced by *mi* functions in the same way as the Greco form in *na*: Cal. *mi parru* Gr. *na plates:o* "that I speak". Since their main function is to participate in forming subordinate clauses, most linguists analyse *na* and *mi* as complementisers (Rohlfs 1977, Ledgeway 2006). Let us further note that when it is a case of final or temporal subordinates, the verb forms in *na* and *mi* can be preceded by a subordination marker; in contrast, this is not the case with completive clauses (see also Ledgeway, 2013). It is important, however, to remember that this use of forms in *mi* and in *na* in subordinate clauses distinguishes them from all other grammatical tenses that cannot appear within subordinates without the presence of a specific marker. Examples (12) and (13), presented in their contexts, illustrate the use of these forms in complementation.

(12) Context and free translation: If the whole family agreed to the marriage, it was made known to the matchmaker that he could transmit a message to the future fiancé requesting his visit to their home; otherwise he couldn't.

CAL.	*quandu*	*tornava*	*nci*	*davanu*
GR.	san	ejiridze	tu	ðonna
	when	come.back.IMP.3Sg	Pr3Sg	give.IMP.3pl.

CAL.	*l'*	*ambasciata*	*mi*	*vai*
GR.	tin	ambaʃata	na	pai
	DEF	message	that	go.3Sg

'When he (=the matchmaker) came back, they informed him that he (=the future fiancé) could come.' (*lit.*) When he came back they gave him the message to go.

[6] This is why the study of the Greek aorist by SEILER (1952), despite having been published over 60 years ago, has lost none of its value: "The aorist simply notes a fact that took place. It is a statement that the speaking subject and agent makes about himself. And it is from this different way of presenting the actions that one obtains the impression of a cut |...]." (SEILER 1952: 63); "The function of the aorist is to note absolute facts." (ibid. p. 74) [Translations by M.D.].

(13) Context and free translation: It's that I was born too early. I should have been born later so that I would be fifteen or twenty now. In my time, to go see a girl, I had to walk two-three kilometers and to be able to meet, I had to go in secret.

CAL.	*Ora*	*ndaviva*	*mi*	*nasciu,*	*mi*	*ndaju*
GR.	art^{h}e	ixa	na	naʃesso	na	exo
	now	have.IMP.1Sg	that	born.1Sg	that	have.1Sg

CAL.	*quindici*	*anni,*	*vinti.*
GR.	ðekapende	xronu	ikusi
	fifteen	years	twenty

'I should have been born these days, have fifteen or twenty years'

CAL.	*Tandu*	*nenti.*	*Tandu,*	*mi*	*vaju*	*mi*	*trovu*	*na*
GR.	tote	tipote	tote	na	pa	na	trovesso	man
	that time	nothing	that time	that	go.1Sg	that	find.1Sg	indef.

CAL.	*fimmina,*	*na*	*signurina,*	*aviva*	*mi*	*caminu*
GR.	jineka	ma	siniorina	ixa	na	porpatio
	woman	indef.	young.lady	have.1Sg	that	walk.1Sg

CAL.	*dui*	*tri*	*chilometri*	*mi*	*vaju*	*mucciuni*	*mucciuni*
GR.	ðio	tria	cilometra	na	pao	krifa	krifa
	two	three	kilometers	that	go.1Sg	in secret	in secret

CAL.	*mi*	*ndi vidimu*.
GR.	na	fanime
	that	see each other.1Pl

'So, nothing. So, to go get a woman, a young lady, I had to walk two-three kilometers, (I had to) go (there) in secret (so) that we see each other.'

If only the uses presented above applied, one could speak of a subjunctive, as do most Greek grammars for the form in *na*, as well as a large number of more recent analyses (see e.g. Lekakou & Quer 2016). However, this form's polyfunctionality (and, at least as far as our corpus is concerned, its high frequency) has led to greater semantic scope. We have shown elsewhere (Katsoyannou 1998) that, as far as Greco is concerned, the meanings of the form in *na* are linked to the realisation of a modalisation operation, which makes it possible to situate a process within a temporal frame of reference which is different from the frame of speech,

and to express events that are neither present nor current. In the following example, the forms in *na* and *mi* appear in independent clauses with injunctive meaning:

(14) Context: A young man asks his fiancée's grandmother to make him some coffee in order to get her out of the room. The dialog goes as follows: Grandmother, would you make me some coffee?

CAL.	*Eu*	*non*	*vaju*	*mi*	*fazzu*	*lu*	*caffè*.
GR.	o	m	ba	na	kamo	to	kafe
	Pr.1Sg.NOM	NEG	go-Ø	that	make.1Sg	DEF	coffee.

CAL.	*Mi*	*va*	*la*	*tu*	*zzita !*	
GR.	na	pa	i		ts^{h}ita	su
	that	go.Ø	DEF	Pr.2Sg	fiancée.NOM	Pr.2Sg.GEN

'Me, I am not going to make the coffee! Your fiancée (has to) go (make it)!'

A series of other examples highlights the close links between the use of the form in *na* and the speaker's attitude towards the propositional content of the utterance, such as will, wishes or desires, or the speaker's assessment of the referenced action presented as certain or strongly contested. In other words, the essence of the semantic purpose of these forms is to express a meaning that situates a process in the modal domain. The term 'optative' could be used here, as chosen by G. Rohlfs: "La proposizione ottativa è introdotta da *na*, cfr. bov. να ζήση 'che tu possa vivere', να πεθάνω [...] 'che io possa morire!'" (Rohlfs, 1977: 203).

Let us also mention the use of this form in questions:

(15) Context: - I kept the shuttles from my mother's weaving loom and I still have them.
- And what do you do with them?

CAL.	*Chi*	*mi*		*fazzu ?*		*Non*	*fazzu*	*nenti*.
GR.	ti	na	ta	kamo	‖	en	ganno	tipota
	Interr.	that	Pr.3Pl.ACC	do.PRES.1Sg		NEG	do.1Sg	nothing

'What should I do with them? I don't do anything with them...'

Here, too, it is a case of a modalisation operation that distinguishes *na kamo* from the present tense form *kan:o* "I do". Let us note that it is not necessarily a rhetorical question: *ti na kamo* can mean "what should I use

them for", "what could I use them for", etc. The precise meaning depends on the question's context.

Let us now come back to the forms in *mi* and *na* as constituents of a verbal series V1-V2. It is important to note, from a quantitative perspective, that this use is far more frequent than all others in the Calabrian corpora. By way of example, let us take formations where the auxiliary *have* is in V1 position. These constructions, which are extremely common, can be considered grammaticalised as they have their own distinct meaning and the semantic effect of the association between the two verb forms is permanent. At first glance, the association *have*-V2 seems to have deontic meaning. But the study of a large number of examples shows that there is a broader range of meanings, from coercive (example 16) to future (example 17) via the habitual present (example 18):

(16)

CAL.	*Aju*	*mi*	*facciu*	*tri*	*viaggi*	*lu*	*jornu.*
GR.	exo	na	kamo	tria	viadʒi	tin	imera
	have.PRES.1Sg	that	do.PRES.1Sg	three	times	DEF	day

'I have to go back and forth three times a day.'

(17)

CAL.	*Aju*	*mi*	*maritu*	*la*	*figghia.*
GR.	exo	na	prandes:o	tin	dixatera
	have.PRES.1Sg	that	marry.PRES.1Sg	DEF	daughter

'I am going to marry off my daughter (*lit.* the daughter).'

(18)

CAL.	*Non*	*ndaviti*	*mi*	*ndiciti*	*pet^{h}ero*	*in*	*greco ?*
GR.	en	exete	na	ipete	pet^{h}ero	in	greko ?
	NEG	have.PRES.1Pl	that	say.PRS.1Pl	father-in-law	RL	Greek

'You don't say (*lit.* don't you have to say) [pet^{h}ero] in (Modern) Greek?'

One last remark on the use of the auxiliary when it is followed by several verbs, as in (19), where one can consider that the modalisation has scope over all the verbs in the construction:

(19)

CAL.	*Ndaviva*	*mi*	*vaju*	*nta*	*li*	*professuri*
GR.	ixa	na	pao	s	tu	profes:uru
	have.IMP.1Sg	that	go.PRES.1Sg	RL	DEF	teachers

CAL.	*mi*	*ðiskurru*	*mi*	*parru*
GR.	na	ðiskur:es:o	na	plates:o
	that	discuss.PRES.1Sg	that	speak.1Sg

'I had to go see the teachers, discuss, speak...

The *have*-V2 construction also exists in Modern Greek, but its use is not as extensive as in Greco. In Modern Greek, deontics are usually expressed with impersonals such as *prépi* "must" or *xriázete* 'it is necessary', absent from Greco.[6] Again, one observes the structural proximity between Greco and Calabrian, the latter also having a construction with *have* – whereas Italian uses an expression with *must*. Compare:

(20) 'I must speak'

IT.	*devo*		*parlare*	→ must.PRES.1Sg speak.Inf
CAL.	*aju*	*mi*	*parru*	→ have.PRES.1Sg that speak.1Sg
GR:	exo	na	plates:o	→ have.PRES.1Sg that speak.1Sg
M.G.	prepi	na	miliso	→ must.PRES.Impers. that speak.1Sg

To conclude, we can say that the core of the semantic function of forms containing the segments *na* and *mi* pertains to the modal value attributed to the verbal phrase:

> "[…] avec *vα* nous nous situons dans le domaine de l'événement représenté […] *Nα* marque ainsi une opération complexe par laquelle on construit un domaine notionnel qui sera visé à partir de cette position décrochée, autrement dit à partir d'un repère fictif. Ce renvoi à l'événement représenté se trouve à l'origine de l'ensemble des valeurs de *vα*."
>
> […with *vα* we get situated in the domain of a represented event [...] *Nα* thus marks a complex operation by which one construes a notional domain that will be targeted from this position at a remove, in other words from a fictitious reference point. This referral to the represented event is at the origin of the meanings of vα.] (Delveroudi *et al*., 1993: 7).

[7] That being said, it is difficult to tell whether the construction has Greek or Romance origins. Late Latin used constructions with *habeo*, Medieval Greek also had a periphrastic future with *have* (BROWNING 1983: 79), which probably dates back to the 4th century koiné where one finds the construction *have*-infinitive replacing the former future (BROWNING 1983: 33).

3. Conclusion

In this article, we briefly re-examine the most striking linguistic effects of the restructuring of the verbal system due to intense contact between Greco and Calabrian: the absence of a future form whose functions are fulfilled by the present; the use of a single verb form, both in Greco (aorist) and in Calabrian (*passato remoto*) to express a completed event and a resultative state; the functions of verb forms introduced by *mi* in Calabrian and *na* in Greco used in the construction of subordinate clauses. However, our understanding of how forms in *mi* and *na* function is as yet incomplete as regards relationships with constructions where it can always be replaced by the infinitive (e.g. CAL. *voggiu mi vaju*, GR. *selo na pao* 'I want that I go' vs. CAL. *voggiu jiri*, GR. *selo pai* 'I want to go'), but with restrictions in use that remain to be analysed in depth.

References

ALTIMARI, Francesco (2010): *Sui prestiti dell'italiano e dei dialetti italo-romanzi nel sistema verbale dell'italo-albanese*. In: Bollettino linguistico campano 18/2: 7-20. Napoli: Liguori.

BALDISSERA, Valeria (2012): *Conservative and innovative tendencies in Griko infinitive complements*. Paper presented at the 5th International Conference on Greek Dialects and Linguistic Theory, University of Ghent, 20-22 September 2012.

BERTINETTO, Pier Marco; SQUARTINI, Mario (1996): *La distribuzione del perfetto semplice e del Perfetto* Semplice e *Composto nelle diverse varietà di italiano.* In: Romance Philology 49/4: 383-419.

BERTINETTO, Pier Marco (1991): *Il verbo*. In: RENZI, Lorenzo ; Salvi; CARDINALETTI, Anna (Eds.), Grande Grammatica Italiana di Consultazione. Vol. 2. Bologna: il Mulino: 13-161.

COMRIE, Bernard (1976): *Aspect: An introduction to the study of verbal aspect and related problems*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

DAHL, Östen; HEDIN, Eva (2000): *Current Relevance and Event Reference.* In DAHL, Östen (Ed.), Tense and Aspect in other Languages of Europe. City: Mouton de Gruyter: 385-401.

FALCONE, Giuseppe (1971): *Testi bovesi (Gallicianò di Condofuri) in trascrizione fonetica*. In: Parole e metodi", Bolletino dell'atlante linguistico italiano, 2: 151-166.

—. (1973): *Il dialetto romaico della Bovesìa*. In: Memorie dell'Istituto Lombardo di Scienze e Lettere (Classe di Lettere), 34.

—. (1974): *Note per un lavoro di sintesi sul rapporto 'lingua-dialetto' in Calabria*. In: Studi linguistici Salentini, 6: 3-19.

GUENTCHEVA, Zlatka (1990): *Temps et aspect. L'exemple du bulgare contemporain*. Paris: Editions du CNRS.

HEINE, Bernd; KUTEVA, Tania (2005): *Language contact and grammatical change*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

HOLTON, David; MACKRIDGE, Peter; PHILIPPAKI-WARBURTON, Irene (1997/2004): *Greek: A comprehensive grammar of the modern language*. London & New York: Routledge.

KATSOYANNOU, Marianne (1995) : *Le parler gréco de Gallicianò (Italie); description d'une langue une langue en voie de disparition*. PhD dissertation, Université Paris VII - Denis Diderot.

—. (1998): *Aspects grecs: le cas d'une variété méridionale.* In: Actances 9: 43-62.

ΚΑΤΣΟΓΙΑΝΝΟΥ Μαριάννα. «Ελληνικά της Κάτω Ιταλίας: μορφολογία των ονομάτων και εξέλιξη του κλιτικού συστήματος», *Πρακτικά της 17ης ετήσιας συνάντησης του Τομέα γλωσσολογίας του Πανεπιστημίου Θεσσαλονίκης*. Θεσσαλονίκη, 328-341.

LEDGEWAY, Adam (2013): Greek Disguised as Romance? The Case of Southern Italy. In JANSE, Mark; JOSEPH, Brian; RALLI, Angela; BAGRIACIK, Metin (Eds.), Proceedings of the 5th International Conference on Greek Dialects and Linguistic Theory. UPatras: Laboratory of Modern Greek Dialects, University of Patras, 184-228.

—. (2006): *The dual complementiser system in Southern Italy: Spirito greco, materia romanza*? In: LEPSCHY, Anna Laura; TOSI, Arturo (Eds.) Rethinking languages in contact: The case of Italian. Oxford: Legenda: 112–126.

LEKAKOU, Marika; QUER, Josep (2015): *Subjunctive mood in Griko: A micro-comparative approach*. In: Lingua: 65-85.

LOMBARDI, Alessandra (1998): *Calabria greca e Calabria latina da Rohlfs ai giorni nostri: La sintassi dei verbi modali-aspettuali*. In: RAMAT, Paolo; ROMA, Elisa (Eds.), Sintassi storica. Atti del XXX congresso internazionale della Società di linguistica italiana, Pavia, 26–28 settembre 1996. Roma Bulzoni: 613–626.

RALLI, Angela (2006): *Syntactic and morphosyntactic phenomena in Modern Greek dialects. The State of the Art*. In: Journal of Greek Linguistics 7: 121–159.

ROHLFS, Gerhard (1950): *Historische Grammatik der unteritalianienischen Gräzität*, *Verlag der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.* Italian translation: Rohlfs Gerhard. 1977. (1950). *Grammatica storica dei dialetti italogreci (Calabria; Salento)*, München, Beck.

SEILER, Hansjakob. *L'aspect et le temps dans le verbe neo-grec*, Paris, Les Belles Lettres.

SQUARTINI, Mario & BERTINETTO, Pier Marco (2000): *The Simple and Compound Past in Romance languages.* In: DAHL, Östen (Ed.) Tense and Aspect in the Languages of Europe, Mouton De Gruyter: 403-439.

WIBERG, Eva (2011): *Passato remoto*. In: Simone, R. *(direttore), Enciclopedia dell'Italiano*, vol. 2, Roma, Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana, 1078-1081.

GREEK IN SOUTHERN ITALY: MORPHOSYNTACTIC ISOMORPHISM AND A POSSIBLE EXCEPTION

EVA-MARIA REMBERGER

1. Introduction

The traces of the symbiosis of Greek culture first with Latin and then Romance in Southern Italy are both well-known and clearly visible. Studies on linguistic influences in the area to date have focused principally on the apparent influence of Greek on the local Romance dialects:[1] features attributed to this influence include the (partial) substitution of the infinitive (cf. Lombardi 1998), shared features in the temporal and modal verbal system (cf. Trumper & Lombardi 1998), the position of possessives, the lack of adverbial affixes, Greek toponyms and the abundance of Greek loans in the Romance dialects (cf. also Ledgeway 2013 and references therein).

One aim of this paper, however, is to explore the possible influence of Italian and the Calabrian Romance dialects on the neo-Greek dialects spoken in Calabria, whose speakers are all bi- or trilingual, insofar as they also speak Italian and/or the Calabrian dialect. Calabrian Greek is now a highly endangered language, used in ever fewer situations by an ever lower number of speakers living in the Aspromonte area of the province of Reggio Calabria (for an early sociolinguistic study of this community, cf. Martino 1979). There are only a few more systematic descriptions of the Romance influence on Calabrian Greek (cf. Remberger 2011a, b, Katsoyannou & Guentchéva 2015), and the only analytical study of note is Katsoyannou's (1997) work. Among the phenomena that could be attributed to Romance influence, several developments in the verbal system are of particular interest, including the tense-aspect system, the periphrastic passive with 'to come' and 'to want', the progressive with 'to

[1] See mainly the work of Rohlfs, e.g. ROHLFS (1947; 1950) and many others; see the references at the end of this paper.

stay', the integration of verbal loans into the system of verb classes (cf. Ralli 2013), and the use of the infinitive versus the use of the "Balkan infinitive", i.e. the construction with the subjunctive particle plus finite verb form.

As it stands, the Southern Italian Greek-Romance language contact situation is somewhat unusual, because the varieties in contact, namely the Greek and the Calabrian (and Salentino) dialects, show a very strong isomorphism due to their long-standing shared cultural and linguistic history. Thus, in some cases, establishing the origin of a feature shared by the two varieties in contact is by no means straightforward. However, Ledgeway (2013) has shown that the characterisation of the Calabrian Romance varieties as "Greek disguised as Romance" ("spirito greco, materia romanza", i.e. *Griechischer Sprachgeist in Süditalien*, cf. Rohlfs 1944) is untenable as a valid generalisation: Borrowing of Greek forms and constructions (= "patterns" in the sense of Johanson 2008) often includes re-shaping and re-analysing so that "the convergence through grammars in contact does not necessarily lead to simple borrowing and transference through interference, but more frequently gives rise to new hybrid structures born of re-analysis" (Ledgeway 2013: 207–218; cf. also Guardiano & Stavrou 2014 for the position of the adjectives within the noun phrase and Mackridge 1996, Frassanito 2010, Baldissera 2013a: chapter 3, and Baldissera 2013b for the preservation of the infinitive in modal and aspectual constructions).

This paper will discuss the question of Greek-Romance language contact in Southern Italy from the perspective of Greek. I will show that a particular idiosyncrasy of the Greek varieties in contact must be interpreted as a language internal development, since it cannot be traced back either to the interference of the surrounding Romance varieties, or to developments in the history of Greek. To describe and interpret these idiosyncratic Greek data in the context of their particular socio-historical situation provides many valuable insights for similar discussions within Balkan linguistics.

The paper is structured as follows: In the next section I briefly outline the historical and sociolinguistic situation of the Greek dialects in Calabria (§2), before describing the structural features of the Calabrian-Greek isomorphism (§3). In the central part of this paper (§4), a particularly interesting construction within the morphosyntax of the tense-aspect system is discussed in more detail: this is the development of the analytic pluperfect in Calabrian Greek, which is formed by the imperfect form of the verb 'be' + the active participle of the aorist. The construction might

seem to represent an exception to the Greek-Romance isomorphism. A short conclusion will summarise the findings of this article (§5).

The data I present are in part taken from studies carried out by other researchers and in part collected in my own fieldwork. Most of them stem from Calabrian Romance and Calabrian Greek (cf. Remberger 2011a, b), but these are accompanied by some data from Salentino Greek (for the Romanisation of Salentino Greek, cf. also Parlangèli 1953; 1960, Profili 1985, as well as Baldissera 2013a, b).

2. The historical and sociolinguistic situation

Calabrian Greek has been documented from the mid-19th century (cf. the extensive bibliography at the end of this article). According to Katsoyannou (1995: 26-27)[2], three separate situations must be distinguished in the Calabrian Greek speech community. Firstly, there are the traditionally Greek-speaking villages in Aspromonte, in the province of Reggio Calabria, which are quite small in number: today, Grecophones can be found in Bova, the old centre of the Aspromonte Greeks, the village of Condofuri, particularly in the locality of Gallicianò, and in the village of Roghudi and its hamlet Chorìo di Roghudi[3] (the indigenous area: zone A). In the past, however, there were far more Grecophone villages where the Greek language has unfortunately died out either over the last few centuries or quite recently. Secondly, there is the "diaspora locale" (cf. Katsoyannou 1995: 25), i.e. groups of Grecophones who left the mountain villages to settle near the coast (Bova Marina, Melito di Porto Salvo, Condofuri Marina) or to move to Reggio Calabria (the main town of the province), either for economic reasons or, more frequently, as a result of landslides and other natural disasters that had destroyed their original settlements (the local diaspora: zone B). And thirdly, there is the migratory movement found across Southern Italy, which has led people to leave their birthplace to work in Northern Italy, Switzerland, Belgium or Germany. Thus, there seems (or seemed) to be a consistent group of Grecophones who emigrated to Domodossola in Piedmont (European emigration: zone C; cf. Martino 1979: 329).

[2] KATSOYANNOU (1995) gives the most exhaustive documentation of Calabrian Greek; the data stem from fieldtrips to Gallicianò in 1984–1995. Thus, the data quoted from her work are from this variety. For more recent data, see the project mentioned in fn. 12, as well as LEDGEWAY (2013).

[3] However, the village of Roghudi – Chorìo di Roghudi included – is now deserted, except for some shepherds.

Calabrian Greek is often called Grecanico in the documentary literature and also in present-day Calabria. The speakers themselves, however, call their language *Greco* (cf. Rohlfs 1962: 165, Martino 1979: 305, fn. 1; Katsoyannou 1995: 5). *Grecanico*, however, is also a name for the geographically defined area where the influence of Greek culture and history is felt to be alive and which is far larger than the Grecophone area in Aspromonte.

Greco is a dying language (cf. A.I.D.L.C.M. 1975:70, Rossi Taibbi & Caracausi 1959: XVIII, Manolessou 2005: 105). In some villages, for example Roccaforte del Greco, Calabrian Greek died out in the 1970s.[4] The numbers of Greco speakers cited in the research literature by Pellegrini (1874: 14; ca. 7.800) and Lombroso (1898:10; ca. 8.500[5]) and the somewhat higher numbers given in Merlo (1935; ca. 11.000, quoted by Telmon 1992: 45) are consistently decreasing.[6] Katsoyannou (1995: 31) refers to no more than 500 speakers for Zone A in the 1990s; the number of speakers is surely no higher today, although there are a few younger native speakers (cf. also fn. 7). All speakers are bi- or trilingual, i.e. they speak Greco, the Calabrian dialect and Italian, and not all speakers have a hundred percent competence in Greco. This situation of trilingualism or triglossia is very problematic, cf. Manolessou (2005: 107): "The linguistic roles that confer high prestige are assumed by Italian, whereas the covert prestige belongs to the local Romance dialect, which is the main instrument of everyday communication and social integration. This leaves no specific role for the Greek dialect to play, except in extreme situations of 'secret' communication." As stated by Katsoyannou, the phenomenon of "semi-locuteurs" or "locuteurs terminaux", i.e. speakers with an incomplete or partial competence, is quite widespread (cf. Katsoyannou 1995: 68–69). In Gallicianò, a village that has resisted complete Romanisation more than others because of its isolated location, she notes that practically no one born after 1969 has Greek as his or her first language (Katsoyannou 1995:

[4] Nowadays, there are no speakers left (cf. FALCONE 1973: 370); cf. also KATSOYANNOU (1995:17); ROHLFS (1950:14) could still note that Greco in Roccaforte was "kurz vor dem völligen Aussterben" [close to complete extinction]; for Cardeto, where Greco died out at the end of the 19th Century, MOROSI's (1878) documentation is fortunately still available.

[5] These numbers are quoted by KATSOYANNOU (1995: 28); I could not consult LOMBROSO (1898) myself. Lombroso seems to have visited the Greek villages in Calabria even earlier, cf. LOMBROSO (1863) mentioned by PELLEGRINI (1874: 15).

[6] Cf. SPANO (1965: 153, 162): 1901: 10.694; 1911: 8.535; 1921: 3.639; 1964: 3.900; cf. also ROHLFS (1950: 14); CLAUSS (1982: 422); MARTINO (1979: 308); see also the overview in REMBERGER (2011a: 127).

49).[7] This matches Martino's (1979: 306) report, which states that at the time of his visit, a sociolinguistic inquiry in elementary schools was unnecessary, since children younger than ten years old did not have even passive competence in Greco. That means that (nearly) all competent native speakers must be at least in their fifties by now (but see fn. 7).

Hence, Greco must be seen as seriously endangered. Language attrition is operational on all levels (cf. Thomason 2001: 227): the number of native speakers is diminishing (it loses speakers), the speakers use their language in fewer and fewer situations (it loses domain) and in addition, Calabrian Greek is under pressure structurally from the Romance system (it loses linguistic material): if bilingualism (or multilingualism) was a historical constant in the linguistic history of Calabria, it is now an unexceptional norm for all speakers of Calabrian Greek.

With regard to its sociolinguistic status, the situation of the Greco speech community has been extremely precarious for a long period of time. In the days of repressive school politics, which aimed to Italianise the mainly dialect-speaking Italian population following national unification in 1861 (cf. De Mauro 1963), children were punished when they spoke Greco in school (A.I.D.L.C.M. 1975: 100, fn. 12, Martino 1979: 324). For monolingual speakers, who usually only came into contact with Italian at school, the illiteracy rate was high. Calabrian Greeks were traditionally called *paddhecchi* 'fools, ignoramuses' (cf. also Martino 1979: 324), and they were highly stigmatised and ashamed of their own language (no language loyalty, cf. A.I.D.L.C.M. 1975: 100). If the socio-economic situation in Calabria was one of the worst in Italy, then that of the Greeks was the worst in Calabria. However, it seems that in places where the economic situation was most precarious (no water, no electricity, no asphalted roads) the language was able to survive the longest (cf. Clauss 1982: 430, who also attempts to establish a correlation between the number of speakers of Greco and the altitude of the Greek villages).

Of course, Greco has no standardised orthography and displays some diatopic variation (cf. the historical grammar by Rohlfs 1950). The original Grecophones were not familiar with the Greek alphabet and,

[7] This seems to have changed: VIOLI (2005: 48, 54) tells us about a ten-year-old girl who speaks Greco because her mother is the linguistically conscious Grecophone daughter of an important Grecophone poet. According to Filippo Violi (p.c.) there are about 50 young people who have learnt Greco as L2. Furthermore, one of the authors of SCHIFANO, SILVESTRI & SQUILLACI (2014) speaks Greco as her 'father' tongue, as she puts it [http://www.mml.cam.ac.uk/mos26 <30.10.2016>].

furthermore, Greek letters are not appropriate to the sounds of Greco: Greco is written in Latin characters, sometimes with the addition of Greek letters like <χ>. Calabrian Greeks started to become conscious of their language as a cultural heritage worth defending in the 1970s. A cultural association, *La Ionica*, was founded and the A.I.D.L.C.M. report was initiated (cf. A.I.D.L.C.M. 1975). The more the number of speakers diminished, the more initiatives to safeguard its cultural heritage were introduced (e.g. *Jalò tu Vua, Apodiafazzi*).

In recent years, the cultural heritage has been re-discovered owing to new European interest in its minority languages and cultures in a globalised world, and new local institutions and initiatives concerned with the promotion of the Greek language and culture in Calabria have been founded (such as the *Cum.El.Ca. - Cumunía tos Ellenófono tis Calavría,* or the music festival *Paleariza*, which has now become an annual festival of World Music taking place mainly in the old Grecophone villages). There are various didactic initiatives, conferences on the Greek minority have been (and are still) held, and cultural exchange with Greece has increased. Because of language politics in the European Community and recent legislation, some funding has also been made available for the promotion of Greco on a systematic level. The *Legge Statale* of December 1999, n. 482 "Norme in materia di tutela delle minoranze linguistiche storiche", which instantiated the protection of the Italian minority languages provided in article 6 of the Italian Constitution, was followed by the *Legge Regionale* of October 2003, n. 15 "Norme per la tutela e la valorizzazione della lingua e del patrimonio culturale delle minoranze linguistiche e storiche di Calabria." This law led to the institution of the IRSSEC (*Istituto Regionale Superiore di Studi Ellenofoni in Calabria*) in Bova Marina, the installation of some Greek place name signs[8] and attempts to provide Greco language courses. The problem is that, although bilingual teaching is now provided by law, there is a lack of qualified teachers (who should be native Greco speakers). Modern Greek is structurally more different from Greco than the surrounding Calabrian dialects are, and in any case, it is written in the Greek alphabet. Thus, there are some who now learn Greco as a second language (cf. Katsoyannou 1995, and the textbooks by Violi 2001; 2004; cf. also fn. 7). In 2006, with

[8] These place name signs, however, seem to be in Modern Greek: the main square in Bova, *Piazza Roma*, is transcribed as *Platía Romi*, whereas the Greco word for square is *cÓázza* (also written *kiátsa*) with the phonetic realisation of a palatal voiceless affricate, ['cattsa] (cf. e.g. CARACAUSI 1979:356), which corresponds to the Calabrian word.

funding from the E.U., a new journal was founded, *I Fonì Dikìma*, 'Our (proper) Language', a biennial publication providing information about activities in and around the Greek-speaking villages and the Grecanico area; it tried to publish as many articles as possible in Italian and in Greco.[9] In some villages of the Grecophone area and in Reggio Calabria, an initiative known as *sportelli linguistici*, i.e. linguistic counters, was established. In May 2016, a museum was opened in Bova, the *Museo della Lingua Greco-Calabra*, dedicated to the memory of the great expert on the Greek and Calabrian varieties, Gerhard Rohlfs.

3. The structural features of the Calabrian-Greek isomorphism

As Rohlfs stated in his exhaustive work on the Calabrian and Calabrian-Greek dialects (cf. Rohlfs 1924; 1929; 1944; 1950; 1964), Calabria is divided geolinguistically into two areas of Greek influence: The northern part of Calabria (north of the Nicastro–Catanzaro isogloss) became completely Romance speaking during the Roman Empire; the Latinity found there is older (cf. e.g. North Cal. *cras* for 'tomorrow' vs. South Cal. *dumani*), and the Greek influence found in the Northern Calabrian dialects can be attributed to a Byzantine superstrate (for a linguistic history of Southern Italy, cf. Parlangèli 1960, Mosino 1987/1989, who, however, do not share Rohlfs's view[10]). In contrast, the Greek influence in Southern Calabria is much older and comprises multiple layers. This can be attributed – at least according to Rohlfs – to the fact that the Grecanico area has never been totally Romanised (but cf. Fanciullo's 1994 bilingualism thesis), and the Greek language has been continually present (at least in a situation of diglossia) since the time of Magna Graecia; thus, the Greek influence in these dialects is due to substrate and superstrate

[9] This journal was available on the internet where several issues had been published. Unfortunately, the archive is no longer available on-line; only issue N° 2, from Oct. 2007 can be retrieved from another web site [http://www.24grammata.com/wp-content/uploads/2011/11/IFONIDIKIMA-24grammata.com_.pdf <6.11.2016>]

[10] ROHLFS is the most prominent advocate of the thesis that Greek speakers have constantly been present in Southern Italy since the Magna Graecia period. However, his theory met with significant disagreement (e.g. BATTISTI 1927, ALESSIO 1934), which should be seen in the context of the nationalistic aspirations of the time, when the idea that there was not a continuous period of Latinity from the Roman Empire to the formation of the Italian state would not easily have been accepted (cf. also FANCIULLO 1994: 674–677).

influences. Residual evidence of this Greek dominance can be seen in the historical Greek minorities in Aspromonte.

Rohlfs repeatedly remarked on a "Greek linguistic spirit in Southern Italy" (Rohlfs 1944): many properties of Southern Calabrian and the Greek dialects in Southern Italy are characteristic of the Balkan Sprachbund (cf. Sandfeld 1968, Solta 1980, Tomić 2004), a group to which Greco and Southern Calabrian dialects must also be considered to belong. The strongest evidence for the Greek-Romance symbiosis (cf. Rohlfs 1950: 244; "inner dynamic force", Rohlfs 1947: 56) is found in the following features:[11]

- 'Dual complementiser system' (cf. Ledgeway 2006), i.e. two 'conjunctions', one for the complement clauses of epistemic verbs and one for the complements of desideratives (and which corresponds to the subjunctive particle mentioned above); Cl. *ca* vs. *(m)i/(m)u*, Cg. *ti* vs. *na* (Rohlfs 1947: 25).
- Substitution of the infinitive: in the surrounding Calabrian dialects, as in Greco, the infinitive is often substituted by a subordinating particle followed by a finite construction: Cl. *vogghiu mu vaiu* 'I want to go'; Cg. *θélo na pao* (Rohlfs 1947: 12–13; however, in both, the substitution of the infinitive is not total – in contrast to Modern Standard Greek, cf. also section 5.3.3; (cf. also Ralli 2006: 12; Joseph 1990 on the distribution of the infinitive in Early Modern Greek); also interesting in this context is the loss of the present subjunctive forms and the use of the subjunctive II forms or indicative instead (Rohlfs 1947: 22–24); see also Baldissera (2013a, b).
- Deontic verbal periphrasis with 'have': Cl. *ndaiu i vaiu* 'I have to go', Gc. *eho na tu hhúo, prita na peθano* (Falcone 1973: 220) 'I have to bury them before I die'.
- Reduced tense system: one verbal form for the perfective past in Calabrian (*passato remoto*) as well as in Greco (Aorist), which fulfils the function of both the perfect relevant to the present and the remote past (Rohlfs 1947: 17–18); no future tense in Calabrian or Greco (cf. Remberger 2011a; Katsoyannou 1997; Katsoyannou & Guentchéva 2015).
- In Southern Calabrian we also find postnominal possessives of the type *sora ta* 'your sister' (as in Greek; however, this is not found in Bova Calabrian because of the influence from Reggio Calabria). For further convergences, and some exceptions concerning the nominal phrase, see e.g. Guardiano & Stavrou (2014).
- No marker for adverbial forms like the Italian *-mente* in Calabrian; no particular adverbial form in Greek (forms in *-a* have emerged fairly

[11] The abbreviations used throughout this article are: Cg. = Calabrian Greek; Cl. = Calabrian Romance; BCl. = Bova Calabrian Romance; Sg. = Salentino Greek; Gr. = Modern Greek.

recently); adverbial meaning expressed by adjectives inflected for person and number: Cl. *sórma nun stai bbona* 'my sister-F.SG doesn't feel good-F.SG', Cg. *stèi kalì?* [to a woman] 'do you feel good-F.SG' (Rohlfs 1947:27), cf. also Ledgeway (in press).

- Greek loanwords are uncountable in Calabrian, e.g. *catoio* < κατώγειον 'hut', *zichaliari* < ψιχαλίξει 'to drizzle', *ceramidi* < ερεμίδιον 'tile', *zafráta* < σαυράδα 'lizard', *axxeri* 'rag' < ἐγχείριον etc. (cf. Rohlfs 1964); also Greek toponyms are highly frequent in Southern Calabria (cf. Rohlfs 1962:191).

As mentioned in the introduction, Ledgeway (2013) offered a systematic approach to the Calabrian Greek isomorphism in a modern grammar-theoretical framework, where he discusses the general theory that the Calabrian dialects surrounding the Calabrian Greek language area are structurally Greek, although they wear Romance clothes.[12] He shows that in some areas of grammar (such as the Greek style dative, complementation, the definite article, verb movement) this metaphor is not appropriate, since the Romance varieties do not follow the Greek pattern exactly, but often introduce additional options, resulting in new micro- and nano-parametric settings (Ledgeway 2013: 218).

The various stages of multilingualism in Calabria constitute a rather intricate situation: multilingualism is first attested between Ancient Greek and the Oscan substrate (cf. Poccetti 1994 for the evidence that the Brutians were bilingual), then later between Greek and Latin, probably based on the common Pre-Romance/Pre-Greek substrate (cf. Fanciullo 1994), then between the Romance varieties, the Calabrian Greek varieties and Byzantine Greek in the Middle Ages, and today between Greco, Calabrian and Standard Italian. Greek can be seen in the role of both a substrate and a superstrate at one and the same time. All this led to a "structural isomorphism" (Heine & Kuteva 2005: 220), i.e. a situation where the typological distance between the two languages in contact, here the Calabrian Italo-Romance varieties and Greco, has become very narrow, but not completely neutralised.[13]

[12] Adam Ledgeway is also running the *Leverhulme Major Research project* 'Fading voices in Southern Italy: Investigating language contact in Magna Graecia' (2015–2018).

[13] The most evident macroparametric structural differences between Greco and Calabrian are that Greco (as standard Modern Greek) has a neuter gender, a dative/genitive case, and a middle voice verb form (even if it is morphologically derived from the passive) as well as some distinct phonological features and processes.

4. Morphosyntactic isomorphism and a possible exception

As previously mentioned, the morphosyntax of Calabrian Romance and Greek is generally highly convergent. One of the most important features of the Balkan Sprachbund, the loss of the infinitive (cf. Solta 1980: 210), is incomplete both in Calabrian Greek and in Calabrian Romance; there is instead considerable variation with regard to the verbs that allow infinitival subordination. As has been shown in Katsoyannou (1997), Remberger (2011a) and Katsoyannou & Guentchéva (2015), the tense systems look structurally alike and, moreover, both varieties share further verbal periphrases. The tense system of Greco has been reduced even further than that of Standard Modern Greek. In Greco, there is no future tense, neither synthetic nor periphrastic (cf. Rohlfs 1950: 214), while in later Mediaeval Greek a number of co-occurring periphrastic future forms could still be found (cf. Browning 1983: 79–81). This is in line with what we see in the Calabrian dialects, which also lack a future tense. Furthermore, Greco has maintained the aorist, i.e. a synthetic form for the past, but not the synthetic perfect (cf. Rohlfs 1950: 217). Parallel to the surrounding Calabrian dialects, it has not created an innovative periphrastic tense form for the perfect either, so the aorist now performs both functions, that of a remote past tense as well as that of a perfective past relevant to the present, in the same way as the descendant of the old Latin perfect fulfils both functions in Southern Calabrian Romance. However, both varieties have a periphrastic pluperfect, although it is implemented in different ways:

(1) Cg. ìmmo ìponda
be.PST.1SG say.PTCP.ACT
'I had said' (Katsoyannou 1995:351)

(2) Cg. a. ìmmo èstonda
be.PST.1SG stand.PTCP.ACT
'I had been'

b. ìsso èchonda
be.PST.2SG have.PTCP.ACT
'I had had' (Violi 2004:70)

(3) Cg. ma o Coccodrìllo ito cumbiànda ciòla
but the crocodile be.PST.3SG devour.PTCP.ACT also
mia svèglia
an alarm-clock
'But the crocodile also had devoured an alarm clock' (Fattùci 2005:11)

In (1–3), from Calabrian Greek, the auxiliary used to form the pluperfect is the verb BE in imperfect tense plus an active aorist participle.[14] This formation is not found in Modern Greek (cf. Mackridge 1987, cf. 4) or in other Greek dialects[15], or in Salentino Greek (cf. 5):

(4) Gr. είχα γράψει
have.PST.3SG write.INVARIABLE[16]
'he had written'

(5) Sg. ícha gráfsonta / ícha thelistonta
have.PST.1SG write.PTCP.ACT / have.PST.1SG wanting.PTCP.ACT
'I had written / I had wanted' (Rohlfs 1950:218/Tondi 1935:57ff)

The development of a pluperfect with BE plus active participle in Greco seems to be a language internal development.[17] With regard to earlier stages of Greek, Browning (1983: 32ff) observes that "εἰμί + active perfect participle replaces the missing perfect […]. The same function is often performed by εἰμί + aorist participle […]. Common in classical Greek in subjunctive and optative, this periphrasis is extended by Koinè to the indicative, but never becomes really common. The aorist participle is more common than the perfect, and the auxiliary verb is most often imperfect, i.e. the periphrasis is a pluperfect substitute." So at least in Mediaeval Greek, there seem to be traces of this kind of pluperfect.

The surrounding Calabrian dialects use an imperfect form of HAVE plus the perfect participle to form the pluperfect (cf. 6) (as in Standard

[14] There is also an active present participle in Greco, but no passive participle. Both active participles often are called gerund ("gerondif", cf. KATSOYANNOU 1995, 1997, KATSOYANNOU & GUENTCHÉVA 2015).

[15] No trace of this form is found in RALLI (2006): even Tsakonian has other periphrases. According to Ralli (p.c.), Cretan has a form *ixa grikitondas*, literally, 'I had understanding', meaning 'I had understood', "however, this structure is rare, even in Cretan, and without the verb 'to be'."

[16] The "perfect formant", cf. MACKRIDGE (1985), which originally stems from a finite form.

[17] Cf. also ROHLFS (1950:218 & fn.1): "Es hat sich also in Italien ein eigenes Plusquamperfekt entwickelt, dem sich in Griechenland nichts Ähnliches an die Seite stellen läßt. […] Dagegen kannte die altgriechische Sprache ἔχω mit dem Part. des Aorists […] Das Imperfektum von εἶναι mit Part. Aor. begegnet als Plusquamperfekt in der Sprache des Neuen Testaments […]" ['Thus in Italy a separate pluperfect developed that cannot be paralleled with anything similar in Greece. […] Old Greek had ἔχω with the aorist participle. […] The imperfect of εἶναι with aorist participle can be found in the Old Testament […].']

Italian, where, in addition, we find auxiliary selection depending on the argument structure of the main verb, cf. 7):

(6) Cl. ndavía dittu
have.PST.3SG say.PTCP
'he had said'

(7) It. a. ero stata b. avevo avuto
be.PST.1SG be.PTCP.F.SG have.PST.1SG have.PTCP
'I had been'' 'I had had'

Turning to the Calabrian dialects in general, Northern Calabrian has a compound perfect, which features auxiliary selection (except in the Lausberg area), whereas the other Calabrian dialects do not have a perfect tense proper[18], but use the old synthetic Latin perfect (*passato remoto*). However, the Calabrian dialects all have a pluperfect: north of the Nicastro–Crotone isogloss this features auxiliary selection (except in the Lausberg area), but it occurs only with the auxiliary HAVE south of this isogloss.[19] That is, Calabrian Greek and Calabrian Romance have identical patterns in the distribution of tenses, but differ in that the periphrastic pluperfect is formed by different means.

However, there seems to be one exception amongst the Calabrian dialects to this observation regarding the already exceptional behaviour of the Calabrian Greek dialects: Only in the Calabrian dialect of Bova do we find a generalised pattern for the pluperfect, which is 'to be' in the imperfect + past participle (with no agreement):

(8) BCl. a. Maria nd'era dittu a verità.
M. us be.PST.3SG say.PTCP the truth
'Maria had told us the truth.'

[18] There are compound forms of the type HAVE + participle, but they have another and different functional meaning, i.e. they convey aspectual values, similar to what happens in the Sicilian dialects, cf. ROHLFS (1969: 48, SQUARTINI & BERTINETTO (2000: 413), e.g. experiential or inclusive values (see the following example from the *Enciclopedia Treccani*, s.v. *passato prossimo* = WIBERG (2011): *'amu circatu tutta a mattinata* [= 'we have been looking for it all morning and we continue to do so']).

[19] Cf. TRUMPER & LOMBARDI (1998: 222): "From the isogloss S. Eufemia – CZ [= Catanzaro] – KR [= Crotone] downwards, as in the archaic area [= Lausberg area], only one auxiliary is known, which is only used in the pluperfect since these dialects only use the Passato Remoto [= the synthetic perfect]: cfr. CZ *avia scindutu* vs. CS [= Cosenza] *era scinnutu*."

b. Maria non c‘ era parratu.
M. not him/her be.PST.3SG talk.PTCP
‘Maria hadn‘t talked to him/her.’
c. A crasta era cadutu.
the flower-pot be.PST.3SG fall.PTCP
‘The flower-pot had fallen down.’
(Schifano, Silvestri & Squillaci 2014)

This means that, while the common isomorphism in verbal morphosyntax observed in Calabrian Greek has one exception, namely the formation of the pluperfect with a past form of ‘to be’ plus the active participle, in the area of Bova the isomorphism is re-established, probably due to the influence of Greek on the Calabrian Romance variety spoken there: while all the other surrounding Calabrian dialects do use ‘have’ as an auxiliary of the periphrastic pluperfect, Bova Calabrian now takes ‘be’ – as does Bova Greek.[20]

5. Conclusion

In this paper I have described the historical and sociolinguistic situation of Calabrian Greek (§2) and the resulting Greek-Romance isomorphism (§3). The core section of this paper was concerned with the case study of a phenomenon that shows only partly shared linguistic features: the form of the pluperfect in Calabrian Greek, which seems to be a separate development independent from the surrounding Romance dialects. The specific form of the pluperfect periphrasis in Calabrian Greek might be an archaic feature, only in part influenced by Romance. However, at least in the area of most recent contact, as in the town of Bova, it is Calabrian Greek that seems to have influenced the Calabrian dialect of Bova in this particular idiosyncrasy. So here we find an even more isomorphic micro-area within a general area of Greek-Romance isomorphism.

References

A.I.D.L.C.M. (*Association Internationale pour la Défense des Langues et des Cultures Menacées*) (1975): *La situation des communautés linguistico-culturelles de la Région de Calabria. Rapport établis par la*

[20] KATSOYANNOU (1995: 252), quoting FALCONE (1973: 289–290), maintains that the Calabrian Romance dialects surrounding the Greek area have ‘be’ as an auxiliary for the pluperfect.; this, however, is only correct for Bova, but not for the other Calabrian Greek dialects, cf. TRUMPER & LOMBARDI (1998: 822).

Commission Internationale d'Information et d'Enquête designée par l'A.I.D.L.C.M. Perpignan / Reggio Calabria.

ALESSIO, Giovanni (1934): *Il sostrato latino nel lessico e nell'epotoponomastica della Calabria meridionale*. In: L'Italia dialettale 10: 111–190.

APODIAFAZZI [www.apodiafazzi.it <30.10.2016>].

BALDISSERA, Valeria (2013a): *Il dialetto grico del Salento: elementi balcanici e contatto linguistico*. Tesi di dottorato, Università Ca' Foscari di Venezia.

—. (2013b): *Conservative and innovative tendencies in Griko infinitive complements*. In: JANSE, Mark; JOSEPH Brian; RALLI Angela (Eds.), Current Issues in Modern Greek Dialects and Linguistic Theory. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing: 35–43.

BATTISTI, Carlo (1927): Appunti sulla storia e sulla diffusione dell'ellenismo nell'Italia meridionale. In: *Revue de Linguistique Romane* 3: 1–91.

BROWNING, Robert (1983): *Medieval and Modern Greek.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

CARACAUSI, Girolamo (1979): *Testi neogreci di Calabria. Indice lessicale.* Palermo.

CLAUSS, Jan Ulrich (1982): *Sprachminderheiten in den EG-Staaten am Beispiel von acht Fallstudien aus Italien und Belgien.* Dissertation. Europäisches Hochschulinstitut, Badia Fiesolana / Firenze.

DE MAURO, Tullio (1963): *Storia linguistica dell'Italia unita*. Bari: Laterza.

FALCONE, Giuseppe (1973): *Il Romáico della Bovesia*. Milano: Istituto Lombardo di Scienze e Lettere.

FANCIULLO, Franco (1994): Latinità e Grecità in Calabria. In: SETTIS, Salvatore (Ed.), Storia della Calabria antica. Età italica e romana. Gangemi Editore: 671–703.

FATTÚCI (2005) = GRECOLANDIA (2005): *Pemu ena Fattùci/Raccontami una Favola.* Reggio di Calabria: Kaleidon.

FRASSANITO, Anna (2010): *The fossilised infinitive in the Griko dialects of Sternatia and Calimera*. In: Quaderni del Dipartimento di Linguistica – Università di Firenze 20 : 15–33.

GUARDIANO, Cristina; STAVROU, Melita (2014): *Greek and Romance in Southern Italy: history and contact in nominal structures*. In: L'Italia Dialettale 75: 121–147.

HEINE, Bernd; KUTEVA, Tania (2005): *Language Contact and Grammatical Change*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

JALÒ TU VUA [http://www.jalotuvua.com/ <5.11.2016>].

JOHANSON, Lars (2008): Remodelling Grammar. Copying, Conventionalization, Grammaticalization. In: SIEMUND, Peter; KINTANA, Noemi (Eds.), Language Contact and Contact Languages. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

JOSEPH, Brian (1990): *Morphology and Universals in Syntactic Change: Evidence from Medieval and Modern Greek.* New York / London: Garland.

KATSOYANNOU, Marianne (1995): *Le parler gréco de Gallicianò (Italie): Description d'une langue en voie de disparition.* Paris.

—. (1997): *Interventi simbiotici tra greco e romanzo nell'area linguistica calabrese*. In: BANFI, Emanuele (Ed.), Atti del II Convegno Internazionale di Linguistica Greca. Trento: Dipartimento di scienze filologiche e storiche : 513–531.

KATSOYANNOU, Marianne; GUENTCHEVA, Zlatka (2015): Eléments de comparaison des systèmes verbaux gréco et calabrais. Talk at the conference *Balkan dialectology. "Balkan" enclaves in Italy: languages, dialects, identities*, Università Ca' Foscari di Venezia, 27.11.2015.

LEDGEWAY, Adam (in press): P*arameters in Romance Adverb Agreemen*t. In HUMMEL, Martin; VALERA, Salvador (Eds.), Adjective-Adverb Interfaces in Romance. Amsterdam: Benjamins.

—. (2006): *The Dual Complementiser System in Southern Italy: Spirito greco, materia romanza*? In: LEPSCHY, Anna Laura; TOSI, Arturo (Eds.), Rethinking Languages in Contact: The Case of Italian. Oxford: Legenda: 112–126.

—. (2013): *Greek Disguised as Romance? The Case of Southern Italy*. In: JANSE, Mark; JOSEPH Brian; RALLI Angela (Eds.), Current Issues in Modern Greek Dialects and Linguistic Theory. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing: 184–228.

LEGGE STATALE 15 Dicembre 1999, n. 482 "Norme in materia di tutela delle minoranze linguistiche storiche" [http://www.camera.it/parlam/leggi/ 99482l.htm <6.12.2016]

LEGGE REGIONALE 30 ottobre 2003, n. 15 / Regione Calabria [http://www.gazzettaufficiale.it/atto/regioni/caricaDettaglioAtto/originario;jsessionid=T9klBpeBk20xfuAyxiHzyQ__.ntc-as1-guri2a?atto.dataPubblicazioneGazzetta=2004-02-14&atto.codiceRedazionale=003R0799 <6.11.2016>]

LOMBARDI, Alessandra (1998): *Calabria greca e Calabria latina da Rohlfs ai giorni nostri: la sintassi dei verbi modali-aspettuali.* In: RAMAT, Paolo (Ed.), Atti del XXX Congresso Internazionale di Studi della

Società di Linguistica Italiana (SLI), Sintassi storica. Roma: Bulzoni: 613–626.

LOMBROSO, Cesare (1863): *Tre mesi in Calabria*. In: Rivista Contemporanea 35, 401.

—. (1898): *In Calabria.* Forni: Sala Bolognese [Ristampa anastatica].

MACKRIDGE, Peter (1985): *The Modern Greek Language. A Descriptive Analysis of Standard Modern Greek.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

—. (1996): T*he medieval infinitive in the light of modern dialectal evidence*. In: Costas N. Constantinides et al. (eds.): ΦΙΛΕΛΛΗΝ: Studies in honour of Robert Browning: 191–204.

MANOLESSOU, Io (2005): *The Greek Dialects of Southern Italy: an Overview*. In: Cambridge Papers in Modern Greek 13: 103–125.

MARTINO, Paolo (1979): *L'isola grecanica dell'Aspromonte. Aspetti sociolinguistici.* In: ALBANO LEONI, Federico (Ed.), I dialetti e le lingue delle minoranze di fronte all'italiano. Roma: Bulzoni: 305–341.

MERLO, Clemente (1935): *Lingue e dialetti in Italia.* In: Terre e nazioni – Italia. Milano.

MOROSI, Giuseppe (1878): *Dialetto romaico di Cardeto Calabro*. In: Archivio Glottologico Italiano 4: 99–116.

MOSINO, Franco (1987/1989): *Storia linguistica della Calabria.* 2 Vol. Rovito: Marra Editore.

PALEARIZA [http://www.paleariza.it/ <4.11.2016>].

PARLANGÈLI, Oronzo (1953): *Sui dialetti romanzi e romaici del Salento*. In: Memorie dell'Istituto Lombardo di Scienze e Lettere 25-26, II/III: 93–198.

—. (1960): *Storia linguistica e storia politica nell'Italia meridionale.* Firenze: Le Monnier.

PELLEGRINI, Astorre (1880): *Il dialetto Greco-Calabro di Bova.* Torino: Loescher.

POCCETTI, Paolo (1994): *Il quadro linguistico della Calabria fino all'epoca romana*. In: SETTIS, Salvatore (Ed.): Storia della Calabria antica. Età italica e romana. Roma: Gangemi Editore: 221–240.

PROFILI, Olga (1985): *La romanisation d'un parler grec de l'Italie du sud par les parlers romans environnants*. In: Actes du XVIIème Congrès International de Linguistique et Philologie Romanes (Aix-en-Provence, 29 août – 3 septembre 1983). Aix-en-Provence: Université de Provence: 129–139.

RALLI, Angela (2006): *Syntactic and morphosyntactic phenomena. The State of the Art.* In: Journal of Greek Linguistics 7: 121–159.

—. (2013): *Romance verbal loans in modern Greek dialects*. In: JANSE, Mark; JOSEPH Brian; RALLI Angela (Eds.), Current Issues in Modern

Greek Dialects and Linguistic Theory. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing: 430–444.

REMBERGER, Eva-Maria (2011a): *Morfosintassi verbale dei dialetti neogreci in Calabria*. In: BREU, Walter (Ed.), L'influsso dell'italiano sul sistema del verbo delle lingue minoritarie. (Resistenza e mutamento nella morfologia e nella sintassi). Bochum: Brockmeyer (Diversitas Linguarum): 123–148.

—. (2011b): *The verbal morphosyntax of the neo-Greek dialects in Southern Italy*. Talk at the Cambridge Italian Dialect Morpho-Syntax Meeting (CIDSM VI). Cambridge, 17.6.2011.

ROHLFS, Gerhard (1924): *Griechen und Romanen in Unteritalien. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der unteritalienischen Gräzität*. Genf [= Bibl. dell'Archivum Romanicum II, 7].

—. (1929): *Autochthone Griechen oder byzantinische Gräzität?* Halle [before in: Revue de Linguistique Romane (1928), 118ff].

—. (1931): *Zur kalabresischen Gräzität*. In: Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie 51: 303–309.

—. (1944): *Griechischer Sprachgeist in Süditalien.* München: Verlag der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.

—. (1950): *Historische Grammatik der unteritalienischen Gräzität.* München: Verlag der bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.

—. (1962): *Neue Beiträge zur Kenntnis der unteritalienischen Gräzität.* München.

—. (²1964): *Lexikon Graecanicum Italiae inferioris. Etymologisches Wörterbuch der unteritalienischen Gräzität.* Tübingen: Niemeyer.

—. (1966): *Grammatica storica della lingua italiana e dei suoi dialetti. Fonetica.* Torino: Einaudi.

—. (1968): *Grammatica storica della lingua italiana e dei suoi dialetti. Morfologia.* Torino: Einaudi.

—. (1969): *Grammatica storica della lingua italiana e dei suoi dialetti. Sintassi e formazione delle parole*. Torino: Einaudi.

—. (1977): *Nuovo dizionario dialettale della Calabria*. Ravenna: Longo.

—. (1977a): *Grammatica storica dei dialetti italogreci*. *Nuova edizione interamente rielaborata ed aggiornata.* München: Beck.

—. (1984): *L'antico ellenismo nell'Italia di oggi. Sostrati e riflessi.* In: Von Rom zur Romania. Aspekte und Probleme romanischer Sprachgeschichte. Tübingen: 117–138.

ROSSI TAIBBI, Giuseppe; CARACAUSI, Girolamo (1959): *Testi neogreci di Calabria.* Palermo.

SCHIFANO, Norma; SILVESTRI Giuseppina; SQUILLACI Maria Olimpia (2014): *Auxiliary selection in Greko and Calabrese of Bova*. Paper

presented at CIDMS *8*, Università Ca' Foscari di Venezia [see also SCHIFANO, Norma; SILVESTRI Giuseppina; SQUILLACI, Maria Olimpia (in press): *Auxiliary selection in Greko of Bova: A Greek-Romance comparison.* In: Acts of the VI International Conference on Modern Greek Dialects & Linguistic Theory. Patras: University of Patras, 2016].

SPANO, Benito (1965): *La grecità bizantina e i suoi riflessi geografici nell'Italia meridionale e insulare.* Pisa: Libreria Goliardica.

SQUARTINI, Mario; BERTINETTO, Pier Marco (2000): *The simple and compound past in Romance languages*. In: Östen Dahl (Ed.), Tense and Aspect in the Languages of Europe. Berlin: De Gruyter – Mouton: 403–439.

TELMON, Tullio (1992): *Le minoranze linguistiche in Italia*. Alessandria: Edizioni dell'Orso.

THOMASON, Sarah G. (1998) (ed.): *Contact Languages: A wider perspective.* Amsterdam: Benjamins.

TONDI, Domenicano (1935): *GLOSSA – La Lingua Greca Del Salento.* Edizioni Alberto Cressati.

TOMIĆ, Olga Mišeska (2004): *The Balkan Sprachbund morphosyntactic properties. An introduction*. In: Balkan Syntax and Semantics. Amsterdam: John Benjamins: 1–55.

TRUMPER, John; LOMBARDI, Alessandra (1998): *Il ruolo della morfologia verbale nella determinazione di eteroglosse calabresi significative*. In: RUFFINO Giovanni (Ed.), Atti del XXI Congresso Internazionale di Linguistica e Filologia Romanza. Tübingen: Niemeyer: 815–826.

VIOLI, Filippo (2001): *I Glossa Dikìma jà ta pedìa. Il greco di Calabria per i bambini.* Soveria Manelli: Calabria Letteraria Editrice.

—. (2004): *Grammatica sintassi e lessico della lingua greco-calabra.* Reggio Calabria: Iiriti.

—. (2005): *I nuovi testi neogreci di Calabria. Antologia della letteratura grecocalabra.* 2 Vol. Reggio Calabria: Iiriti.

WIBERG, Eva (2011): *Passato prossimo*. In: Enciclopedia Treccani [www.treccani.it].

NEW INITIATIVES ON THE RESEARCH AND DOCUMENTATION OF GRICO AND ARBËRESH IN APULIA

THEDE KAHL

1. The Phenomena of Language Loss and Language Death

Minorities can lose differentiation, validity and vocabulary due to the major influence of national and administrative languages. This is especially true for smaller language communities. Languages which are cultivated and promoted through standardisation, literacy, administration, schools and media have much greater chances of continuing to exist than a poorly-developed written and administrative language. Language loss can be primarily observed where the communities of speakers are not interested in maintaining their language or, due to economic reasons, no measures can be taken to maintain the language. Just as languages can be maintained through numerous institutions and measures, it is also possible to speed up the loss of a language through bans, oppression or neglect. Yet without any politically-motivated abolition of languages and dialects, there can still the loss of language in certain situations.

Most authors understand the term language *death* to be a process that begins long before the actual disappearance of the language (Thomason 2001: 223-225). It is therefore more accurate to speak of the *dying out* of a language or *loss* of a language. According to Sasse's theory of language death, which is based on the remnants of Albanian in Greece and Gaelic in East Sutherland, the loss of minority languages can be described as follows (1992: 19).

1. The *first stage* is ascribed to external factors which led to an uneven distribution of individual languages. In doing so, there is pressure on the minority population and there is a negative attitude towards the minority language. In turn, this leads to the willingness or actual decision to give up one's own language in favour of the majority language.

2. In a *second stage*, the historical circumstances dictate a restriction on the languages spoken in the respective society: in an increasingly differentiated way, an individual decides when he speaks which language and with whom. The continuing, negative stigmatisation of the minority language drives the minority to improve their language skills in the majority language. By doing so, the majority language becomes more widespread amongst the minorities, who urgently need the majority language in an increasing number of areas of their lives. Accordingly, the parents are no longer in a position to pass their ethnic language along to their children, so its use is limited to older generations. The majority language also clearly dominates the area in which the other languages are used until then. The situations in which it is used become less frequent, until no one uses it in everyday situations any more. Finally, only a few people retain knowledge about the old language, which, as a rule, is limited to certain areas and in fragments, and serves as a secret language or as a designation for religious objects.
3. The *third stage* is the loss of vocabulary and the inability to create words in the areas in which the majority language has already pushed through. Even if the minority language is regularly used in some areas, it will not stop the process of borrowing an increasing number of elements. The rejection of vocabulary and syntactic and morphological structures increases the more speakers of the minority language become fluent speakers of the majority language. By no longer transmitting the language to children, the continuous reduction of knowledge is also inevitable, even for *semi-speakers*. If the minority language has religious or social significance, the words and fragments will be preserved. Within the monolingual community, the *loss* of the minority language can result in a variety of the majority language with influences from the minority language.

The general literature on the loss of language has become so extensive that not all of it can be known by an individual researcher; the following texts are recommended as an introduction to the topic: Austin and Sallabank 2011; Brenzinger 2000; Dressler 1988, Evans 2014, Haarmann 2004, Lüdtke 1980, Thomason 2001, Thomason 2015.

2. The Documentation, Long-Term Archiving and Popularisation of Field Material

The examination of threatened linguistic and general immaterial cultural heritage is not just a component of linguistics, but is relevant to all disciplines which deal with ethnically- and linguistically-complex spaces. Yet it is predominantly linguistics which takes on the challenge of the documentation of threatened languages. In the past, documentation of languages assumed that the pool of data being documented could be expanded upon at any time through additional studies. However, this is not the case with languages which will soon die out. The documentation of a threatened language is often the final possibility for a comprehensive survey of the language (Seifart 2000; 2008). Therefore, even perfunctory field studies can be of great significance and, to a certain extent, have a definitive nature. The awareness of this has led to researchers viewing appropriate forms of documentation, annotation, archiving and further processing as an urgent task, in addition to concrete documentation initiatives.

Traditions which are passed on orally are often subject to great changes and *ars combinatoria*. Due to this, they are living forms of expression which are still highly fragile, because their viability depends on whether a generation grows up and passes it on. The initiatives presented here therefore strive to collect and document the immaterial cultural heritage of disappearing language communities. By doing so, the entire palette of immaterial cultural heritage can basically be taken into consideration – especially the oral traditions and expressions and, therefore, a wide variety of spoken (more seldom: sung) forms, such as sayings, puzzles, stories, ballads, legends, myths, epic songs and poems, prayers and popular theatre, but also social actions, rituals, festivities, transmitted world views, knowledge about nature, crafts, and art (Puchner 2016). Oral traditions play a decisive role in keeping cultures alive and passing along cultural and social values within the collective memory. Some types of oral expression can be found in entire communities; others are limited to certain social groups (e.g. men, women, older people, occupational groups). In many societies, oral traditions are highly specialised and were originally carried out by professional performers.

2.1. Initiatives to Date

Initiatives to date can be organised based on their function; that is, depending on whether they would like to be a repository, laboratory or

documentation platform. The most comprehensive attempt to make linguistic field materials in the form of video and audio recordings through a web-based repository for a wide circle of users was undertaken by the Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics in Nijmegen, the Netherlands, with assistance from the Volkswagen Foundation. For the purpose of comparison, in the following section, the home pages of various institutions that are dealing with these problems will be presented. This section is by no means complete, however.

A Function: Archive (No Public Access)[1]

- *Cultural history information system* http://pro.geo.univie.ac.at/projects/chis/ contains, among other things, V[2] material that can be viewed by registered researchers.
- *Documentation of Endangered Languages* www.dobes.mpi.nl at the Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics contains excellent and extensive APV corpora on the topic, but it does not include many European languages and there is only a small selection of publicly-accessible material.
- *Endangered Languages Archive* www.elar-archive.org/index.php at the Linguistics Department of the School of Oriental and African Studies at the University of London offers excellent possibilities for archiving and documentation in accordance with certain standards, but it is not *open access*.
- *Open Language Archives Community* www.language-archives.org/ archives around 100,000 recordings in hundreds of languages. Here, there are also materials collected by the Max Planck Institute, but they are not available to the public; much of the data is not from the area of language loss and cultural change.
- *Our languages* http://ourlanguages.org.au/ contains collections on Aborigines in Australia.
- *PARADISEC* www.paradisec.org.au/collections/ offers a catalogue of materials from almost 400 collections in over 1,000 languages, with a specialisation in languages from the Pacific. Most are not available to the public.
- *Rare Library* https://rare.library.cornell.edu/collections offers collections of rare manuscripts and A material.

[1] Date of access of all internet links cited: 26 December 2017.
[2] Abbreviations: A – Audio; P – Photo; V – Video.

- *Smithsonian Archive* www.folkways.si.edu/browse-collection/smithsonian contains musical AV collections, including V with living people.

B Function: Archive + Academic Documentation (Tiered Access)

- *Jews in Eastern Europe* www.yivoencyclopedia.org/media.aspx combines AVP.
- *Sorosoro* www.sorosoro.org/ offers examples of publicly-accessible materials via YouTube, from South America, in particular.
- *Speaking place* www.speakingplace.org offers excellent possibilities for archiving and documentation in accordance with certain standards and with little public access; the focus is on indigenous languages in the USA.

C Function: Archive + Academic Documentation (Open Access, *External* Sources)

- *Centropa Archiv* www.centropa.org/search-our-database-jewish-memory offers numerous AV recordings on Jewish history, *open access*.
- *Endangered Language Alliance* http://elalliance.org/languages offers extensive language material in a number of languages spoken to New York, which are linked to V material on YouTube.
- *Lakhota* http://lakhota.org/ focusses on the Lakota language and links to AV material saved on YouTube.
- *Language Hotspots* www.livingtongues.org/hotspots.html offers the collective AFV data from the Living Tongue Institute for Endangered Languages in *open access*, typically with YouTube embedding.
- *Oral Literature Collections Online* www.oralliterature.org/collections/amacfarlane001.html offers AV data on oral literature for open use.

D Function: Archive + Academic Documentation (Open Access, *Own* Resources)

- *Cambridge collection* http://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/1208896 contains V materials with extensive documentation and annotations.
- *Center for Interdisciplinary Research and Documentation of Inner and South Asian Cultural History* CIRDIS www.univie.ac.at/cirdis publishes field studies from South Asia, including recordings from living people who are of political relevance.

- *Language contact* http://languagecontact.humanities.manchester.ac.uk/ELA/ provides APD data from living people with *open access*; the focal point is A material on Romani.
- *Vlaski Zejanski* www.vlaski-zejanski.com/Comunity-voices/Cumse-face on Istro-Romanian in Croatia provides a lot of APV data from living people, with *open access* to its own pages.

E Function: Archive + Laboratory

- *Labor für linguistische und anthropologische Forschung* http://lacito.vjf.cnrs.fr/ offers field researchers possibilities for post-processing work, with a focus on oral traditions.
- *LAZAR* http://lazar.gbv.de/ is a web platform for processing and the long-term archiving of research data for regional studies. The topic of the loss of language is not explicitly thematised.

F Function: Popularisation, Sensitivisation, Maintaining the Language

- *Endangered Languages* www.endangeredlanguages.com offers a compilation of publicly-accessible materials, mostly from YouTube, often without a clear copyright.
- Ethnologue www.ethnologue.com considers itself responsible for all of the languages in the world and connects researchers and institutions. Among other things, there is a focus on the loss of language; no collection of materials.
- *Foundation for Endangered Languages* (FEL) www.ogmios.org/index.php encourages the recording and documentation of threatened languages; no APV material.
- *Gesellschaft für bedrohte Sprachen* http://gbs.uni-koeln.de raises awareness about language death and presents numerous small projects that it supports.
- *Language & Culture Archives* www.sil.org/resources/language-culture-archives/about-the-archives would like to help ethnolinguistic minorities preserve their language; it is striving for *open access* but does not offer it yet.
- *Language conservancy* www.languageconservancy.org raises awareness about language death.
- *National Geographic* http://travel.nationalgeographic.com/travel/enduring-voices offers general information on regions with high linguistic diversity and

threatened languages, collection of P data and texts, but does not directly aspire to be academic.

- *UNESCO Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger* www.unesco.org/languages-atlas offers a compilation of publicly-accessible materials with a map series; general information on the languages and their endangerment (see also Moseley & Nicolas 2010).

Two new initiatives which are being led by the author, *Vanishing languages and cultural heritage* (VLACH) and *Langzeitarchivierung regionalwissenschaftlicher Forschungsdaten Langzeitarchivierung regionalwissenschaftlicher Forschungsdaten* [Long-Term Archiving of Research Data in Regional Studies] (LAZAR) will briefly be presented here. In the sense of the Berlin Declaration on Open Access to Knowledge in the Science and Humanities, both initiatives feel obligated to offer digital sources as computer-readable objects, without limitation, and make them available fully citeable worldwide, as is permitted within the legal and ethical framework. Therefore, both initiatives have the goal of guaranteeing access to these data through the development of the appropriate infrastructure for the processing of long-term archiving of the research data – in LAZAR, for the academics involved; in VLACH, for the widest possible circle of users and the representatives from the minority communities. LAZAR and VLACH fulfil two clearly separate yet complementary tasks: LAZAR offers an online laboratory and repository for the long-term archiving, annotation and post-processing of field research data for academics from the fields of regional studies, ethnology and linguistics. VLACH is an academic commission that advises about the phenomena of language loss and, as one of its first steps, decided to put together an academically-documented online platform for the presentation of selected, disappearing varieties and, in a second step, would like to open the platform up to language communities for joint activities. LAZAR is available as an instrument for field researchers, while aspects of popularisation only take place in the future. VLACH receives material from a variety of sources and, in addition to documentation in the form of data with subtitles, annotations, and metadata, tries to keep the amount of *open access* as high as possible, in order to contribute to knowledge about the loss of languages and contribute to their protection, and also make the material available to future generations.

2.2. LAZAR (http://lazar.gbv.de)

LAZAR is an initiative supported by the German Research Foundation (DFG), within the framework of Scientific Library Services and Information Systems (information infrastructure for research data). The project has been carried out since 2015 in cooperation with Slavonic Studies at Jena University (first applicant: Thede Kahl, collaborators: Andreea Pascaru, Elguja Dadunashvili) with the GVB Common Library Network in Göttingen (co-applicant: Reiner Diedrichs), the TIB Leibniz Information Centre for Science and Technology University Library in Hannover (co-applicant: Uwe Rosemann) and the data software programming company Programmfabrik in Berlin. It has the goal of making this data more accessible to a wider circle of researchers through the development of appropriate infrastructure for the processing and long-term archiving of regional studies research data (for further information, see Dadunashvili & Voss 2017). For this purpose, a concept is being developed which makes cooperation between representatives between the humanities and computer science possible, as well as with library scientists, in accordance with the principles of eHumanities.

To conceptualize the documentation and indexing standards of research data, various models of formal cataloguing are being developed. The standard for key word cataloguing developed by the German National Library is being used as the basis for this. In order to make the contents of the repository permanently available for research and academia, over the long term, it is planned to develop schemata mapping for the research data/ meta data, based on existing ontologies and development systems, to make a uniform and precise description possible. Therefore, in addition to the metadata model for the documentation and indexing, a software module was developed for the processing of the research data (web laboratory). There, there is a repository available for saving, researching, and post-processing, and due to the involvement in the library network, archiving in a proven, long-term archiving system is guaranteed.

For the recording and preparation of data, initially, only the authors of the files, who have precise knowledge about the consent of the individuals and groups recorded, will participate. Also, in the case of oral or written consent, graduated access cannot be avoided. If data contains one or more sensitive segments that are not appropriate for release which have to be blocked, hidden or anonymised, they will be classified into segments, to which the respective access rights can be assigned.

2.3. VLACH (www.oeaw.ac.at/vlach)

On 1 July 2016, the *Vanishing languages and cultural heritage* (VLACH) commission was approved at the Austrian Academy of Sciences (ÖAW). The commission would like to contribute to the academic awareness, analysis, documentation and protection of the various linguistic heritages by examining selected endangered languages and varieties. In terms of content, the commission is examining subject areas like the variation between languages, the variation within a language, variation between language families, language change, language transfer and all phenomena of disappearing, threatened languages, varieties and identities. The commission is principally interested in the worldwide phenomenon of language loss and, therefore, potentially interested in all threatened languages.

In the first phase of their work, they would like to use regional competences which already exist at the ÖAW. It will determine which language varieties are especially threatened, what the causes of this threat are and the effects that they have. The main goal is to preserve the practices, performances, expressions, knowledge and abilities which help communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals be recognised as a part of their cultural heritage. Heritage such as this can be expressed in areas such as oral traditions, performances, social practices, rituals, festive occasions, knowledges and practices about nature and the universe as well as in traditional handicrafts. The most important method of protecting oral traditions is in the protection and strengthening of its daily role in the society. To do so, there needs to be a dialogue between the researchers and individuals being researched, young and old, highly-educated and uneducated, which has, to date, never taken place.

Until now, the occupation with immaterial cultural heritage has been strongly shaped through *collection* and *documentation*. Considering the quick loss of language, it seems more urgent to collect data rather than interpret it, as long as the post-preparation of the data is taken care of at a later point in time. VLACH would like to take innovative paths in order to examine the *effect* of the academic conflict on the affected communities and the *potential* of the communities of speakers, to contribute to research. It has to do with individual initiatives to protect cultural heritage with regard to public perception and revitalisation, but the representatives of the communities are seldom included. In doing so, using the communities, seriously endangered languages or varieties can be examined from the members' areas of competence, the extent to which representatives of the affected communities can be included in the academic collection and documentation. Therefore, from the very beginning, the construction of the

VLACH presentation should be created so that the impact on the community, with representatives from the communities, is taken into consideration. In this context, the extent to which the requirements in the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages have been realised should also be discussed, as should the success that UNESCO and other organisations' recommendations to protect threatened languages has had, from the perspective of the communities and the experts. By doing so, the members of the commission do not just hope to make a contribution to the examination of individual disappearing languages and cultures, but also have a positive effect on the communities, especially with regard to the higher acceptance of academic pursuits and an improved status of the threatened immaterial cultural heritage.

3. Existing and Planned Materials in LAZAR and VLACH

The collections presented here are currently maintained and processed as main bundles are maintained and processed in LAZAR. Excerpts from the collections are currently being prepared for the documented online publication on VLACH.

Grico

Recording period: 2000-present
Recording locations: Calimera, Lecce, Martano, Sternatia, Zollino
Format: Video / Audio / Photo
Current Scope: Eight hours video / six hours audio / 220 photos
Contents: The collection contains:

- Everyday language
- The description of winter practices
- Orally-transmitted songs and revisions, presented by groups of lay people
- Ethnic texts in multiple dialects
- Songs and poems
- Death and burial rituals

Initiators: Francesco Giannachi, Thede Kahl, Andreea Pascaru

Arbëresh

Recording period: 2017-present
Recording location: San Marzano di San Giuseppe
Format: Video / Photo
Current Scope: At present: three hours video / 16 photos
Contents: The collection contains:

- Sociolinguistic discussions on the status of the language
- Traditional recipes
- Everyday language
- Descriptions of traditional clothing
- Memories of traditions over the course of the year

Initiators: Monica Genesin, Joachim Matzinger

These first materials are the beginning of an academic collection and documentation which will be continued and which will take into account the impact on the involved group, in cooperation with representatives from the Grico and Arbëresh communities and with the *Centro Minoranze Linguistiche Storiche di Puglia* at the University of Salento and the *Casa museo della cultura grika* in Calimera. The two initiatives presented want to contribute to the examination of selected endangered languages and varieties and to the academic knowledge, analysis, documentation and protection of the immaterial cultural heritage of two minority groups in Italy.

References

AUSTIN, Peter; SALLABANK, Julia (2011): *The Cambridge handbook of endangered languages,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

BRENZINGER, Matthias (ed.) (2000): *Language diversity endangered,* Bad Godesberg, Germany: Mouton de Gruyter.

DADUNASHVILI, Elguja; VOSS, Jakob (2017): Webplattform für die Bearbeitung, Publikation und Langzeitarchivierung von regionalwissenschaftlichen Forschungsdaten (LAZAR). *EVA Berlin 2017 Conference.* 8-10 November 2017, Kunstgewerbemuseum (Museum of Decorative Arts), Berlin.

DRESSLER, Wolfgang U. (1988): Language Death. In: Neumeyer, Frederick J. (ed.): *Linguistics. The Cambridge Survey Language: The Sociocultural Context.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

EVANS, Nicholas (2014): *Wenn Sprachen sterben und was wir mit ihnen verlieren,* Munich: C. H. Beck.

HAARMANN, Harald (2004): *Lexikon der untergegangenen Sprachen,* Munich: Beck.

LÜDTKE, Helmut (1980): Sprachwandel als universales Phänomen. In: Lüdtke, Helmut (ed.): *Kommunikationstheoretische Grundlagen des Sprachwandels.* Berlin, New York: De Gruyter.

MOSELEY, Christopher; NICOLAS, Alexandre (eds.) (2010): *Atlas of the world's languages in danger,* Paris: UNESCO Publications.

PUCHNER, Walter (2016): *Die Folklore Südosteuropas: Eine komparative Übersicht,* Vienna: Böhlau.

SASSE, Hans-Jürgen (1992): Theory of language death. In: Brenzinger, Matthias (ed.): *Language Death. Factual and Theoretical Explorations with Special Reference to East-Africa.* Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 7-30.

SEIFART, Frank (2000): *Grundfragen bei der Dokumentation bedrohter Sprachen,* Cologne: Institut für Sprachwissenschaft der Universität zu Köln.

—. (2008): On the representativeness of language documentations. In: Austin, Peter K. (ed.): *Language documentation and description 5.* London: SOAS, 60-76.

THOMASON, Sarah G. (2001): *Language Contact: An Introduction,* Washington.

THOMASON, Sarah Grey (2015): *Endangered languages: an introduction,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

LEXICAL AND ONOMASIOLOGICAL CONCORDANCES AMONG GREEK DIALECTS OF MAGNA GRECIA, IONIAN ISLANDS, EPIRUS AND SOUTH ALBANIA

DORIS K. KYRIAZIS

0. Introduction

The objective of this paper is to reveal hitherto unknown information that reinforces the idea that the provinces of Southern Italy, the Ionian Islands, the coastline of Epirus and South Albania are part of a language continuum with separate lexical, onomasiological and grammatical isoglosses. Through language continuum, we understand a broad geographical area characterised by a language tissue; however, this does not exclude the presence of various elements (continuum in the non-continuum).

Bearing in mind that Balkan Sprachbund was probably formed during the medieval period, the history of the contacts of the two Ionian shores may be divided into a pre-Balkan and a Balkan period. Consequently, in order to approach these two periods, we must keep this methodological issue in mind.

The examination of the linguistic material of the Greek (and occasionally supplemental of the Albanian) language in these areas indicates that there is a diachronic continuum[1] with pockets of partial discontinuity/diversification, resulting from the network of contacts of the west and east coasts of the Ionian Sea.

Besides the common and barely traceable 'Mediterranean' substratum (see the place names *Maja e Karosit* in the Qeparó region of Chimara (Sotiri 2001: 269), which survives as a common noun in Southern Italy: κάρρος "cerro" (attested by 1056), see also καρρός· φυτόν found in

[1] "Wenn wir mit Genauigkeit die Geschichte der griechischen sprachlichen Präsenz in Unteritalien beschreiben wollen, dürfen wir nicht einfach von einer Kontinuität sprechen, sondern von einer 'dynamischen Kontinuität'" (TZITZILIS 2004: 481).

Hesychius as well as the noun *kárru* "cerro" in Bova, that Caracausi 1990: 198[2] considers as "termine del sostrato"), there is also a shared Doric substratum.

Although we have a more complete picture of said substratum regarding Magna Grecia (Rohlfs 1964, Καραναστάση 1988, a.o.), related data on the coastline of contemporary Southern Albania has neither been exhaustively collected, nor systematically studied.

1. Lexical and/or onomasiological concordances

Before we go on with the presentation of the material, it is necessary to clarify that, as we shall see, it is hard to distinguish between common nouns and place names, since in one area they may be saved as common names and in another as place names.

For instance, the word βράχλο (< βλάχρον, Hesychius) is found either as a common noun or as a place name in Southern Italy: *to láhri*, *Lahríto* (Rohlfs 1964: 87, w. βλάχριον, and *λάχριον 291, Rohlfs 1972: 96); in Arta-Avlona: βράχους ο· in the village of Chimara: βράγχνα η (Μπόγκας 1966: Β΄ 82); in Corfu: το βράχλο, η βλάχλα, η βράχλα· in the islands of Paxi: ο βράχλος (Andriotis 1974: 177, w. βλάχνον); in Othoni and Ereikoussa (near Corfu): βράχλο and βραχλαριά / βραχλιά / αβραχλιά (Λουκάτου 2012: 170, 393, 396); in Politsiani, Pogoni and Douviani, Dropoli: Βράχλα (Κουλίδας 2005: 73, 168); in Droviani: Βλαχούρια (Κουλίδας 2005: 264); in Divri: Βλάχουρας (Κίτσιος 2006: 186); in Kakodiki, Delvino: βλάχαρος (Shiko 2006: 116).

The word κνύζα is also traced to a particular area in types that originate in the Doric κνῦζα "Flöhkraut" (Rohlfs 1964: 257, w. κόνυζα), such as *kliza*, *kriza*, *klisa* (Southern Italy, Rohlfs ibidem), γρούζο, γρούζα in Epirus and κρούζα in Corfu (Tzitzilis 1997: 204). It is also found in Albanian-speaking villages close to Chimara as *grúzë*, *krúzë* (Qeparó) as is *onogrúzë* (< *ονόγρουζα < *ονόκνυζα, Κυριαζής 2007: 208). See also the place name *Kriza* in Shalës, Konispol (Rrapaj 1995: 124).

In this way, the two characteristic plant names indicate to us one of the directions future research will take regarding the idioms under examination. Additionally, the existence of words that may possibly retain the digamma in the village of Chimara and in Arta-Avlona: βρόζος "ρόζος/knot" and βράγα "ρώγα σταφυλιού/grape", which are also found

[2] See also κάρ-ρο ο (*κάρρος) "type of large oak". (ΚΑΡΑΝΑΣΤΑΣΗ 1988: 85).

respectively in Macedonia[3] and Southern Italy[4], suggests the archaic character of these idioms.

In general, in the case of the place names of a specific region, G. Rohlfs's observation on the material of Southern Italy (Salento), which states that place names accented on the last syllable derive from the existing Greek linguistic substratum[5], usually applies. See for instance, the name Παγά (a Doric form of πηγή "spring", Alb. *Pagá*), which is found in three different points along the coastline of Chimara (Bajrami 2004: 262) and on the island of Kefalonia (Μηλιαράκη 1890: 19).

At the Qeparó village of Chimara, apart from the name itself with the suffix –ηρός, there is a plethora of oxyton place names such as: *Argilé* < αγριλιά < αγριελαία, *Cparté* < σπαρτιά < σπαρτέα, *Goné* < γωνιά < γωνέα, *Kakoná* < Κακωνάς, *Kastrí* < καστρί, *Litharé* < λιθαριά < λιθαρέα, *Lizikó* < *ριζικό*, *Ngallatá* < γαλατάς, *Orotó* < αροτός etc. (Sotiri 2001: 250, 255, 258, 259, 261, 267, 268, 272, 272 respectively).

The place name *Strakëná*, which appears in the Albanian folk songs of Chimara and refers to the islands of Ereikoussa and Othoní, is also found in Kallarat: *Vafsh në Strakëna!* and in Drymades: Να πας σ(τ)α Σ(τ)ραχνά! (Go to hell/Go to the place where there is no coming back!). The attested type Αστακονήσι, which is another name for the island of Othoni, allows us to reconstruct a Doric type *Οστ(ρ)ακονάσιον[6], from which *Strakëná* (< **Strakoná*) may derive, as in the case of the place name *Karavastá* < Καραβοστάσιον (SW Albania). Another etymological approach to this name is based on the plural of the adjective οστρακινόν / οστρακινά, which most probably expresses one of the qualities of these islands. The plural form confirms indirectly that "… the small islands of Othoni and Ereikoussa … in the area of Chimara are known by the names Dymal [two mountains] and Strakëna."[7]

---

[3] See TZITZILIS (2008: 234), where, based on the word βρόζος in the idiom of mountainous Pieria, the issue of retaining the digamma is discussed.

[4] ROHLFS (1964: 435), w. ráξ (ráγα), notes the words *vráva*, *vrá*, *grá* "chicco di uva" (Otranto), relating them to anc. Gr. *βράγα (vielleicht aus ϝράγα ?). See also ROHLFS (1972: 99).

[5] "Fra gli elementi più sicuri che parlano in favore di un sostrato greco nella toponomastica del Salento si possono citare i toponimi con accentuazione ossitona." (ROHLFS 1972: 41).

[6] "Τα λέγανε [τους Οθωνούς] φιδόνησα και αστακόνησα." (ΛΟΥΚΑΤΟΥ 2012: 284).

[7] "… ishujt e vegjël grekë Erikusa e Othonus (që në krahinën e Himarës njihen me emrat Dymal e Strakëna), përkatësisht 18 e 20 milje larg brigjeve tona të Jonit." (ANDONI 2001: 147).

The place names *Hostón* ("the eastern part of the coast, where the rocky part emerges") < χωστός, -ή, -όν "made by earth thrown up" (Liddell & Scott 1968), *Orotó* "a place with vines in the past and olive groves today" < αροτός, -ή, -όν "arable" (Liddell & Scott 1968) in Qeparó, *Petastó* "mountain located between *Krórëza* /Ακρόρριζα and *Kakomé*/Κουκαμιά" (< *πεταστός < πετάζω), *Plakotó* "flat" (< πλακωτός) in Hundecovë, and many other oxytones (*Hamalló*, a mountain in Ag. Saranda, < ομαλός "smooth", *Soronė*[8], Greek Σορωνιά, Σορωνέα "a place full of oaks close to Ag. Saranda", etc) confirm the presence of the Greek language in these regions.

The place name Σορωνιά is also found in Corfu (Χρυσικόπουλου 2009: 281[9]), probably in Crete (*Sagrogna*, dating from 1590, Αρακαδάκη 2000: 116) and in Rhodes (Σορωνή, η) meaning "forest of holm oaks" (Παπαχριστοδούλου 1951: 66), and is linked to the ancient σορωνίς, ή, and σαρωνίς, -ίδος "old holm oak with a hollow", see Hesychius **σαρωνίδες**· πέτραι. ἢ αἱ διὰ παλαιότητα κεχυνυῖαι δρύες, **σορωνίς**· ἐλάτη παλαιά, as well as to the ancient place name Σόρων, -ωνος, ὁ "oak forest in Arkadia" (Συμεωνίδης 2010: Β΄ 1292-93, making reference to Pape–Benseler 1911).

The place name Σορωνιά (Soroniá) in Douviani, Dropolis, is remarkable given that the village name Δούβιανη (Douviani) refers to the Slavic **Dǫbjane* "residents of an area with holm oaks" < Old Slavic *dǫbъ* "holm oak", see econyme Δουβιανά (Douviana) in Nikopolis and Parga (Συμεωνίδης 2010: Α΄ 487). It should be added that the name of the village next to Douviani, Φράστανη (Frastani), goes back to the Slavic **chvrastino* "with holm oaks" (Συμεωνίδης 1992: 47).

The western foot of the Μπουρέτο (Buréto) Mountain forms the natural eastern border between Dropolis and Pogoni, and there we find the place name Οψέλλα[10] "name of the second mineral water spring and of the place around it, north of the village' (Glina 57[11]), whereas on the eastern side of Bureto there used to be a village rich in waters, Οψάδα (Sopikí). These place names referring to springs or places with waters are most probably related to the names of other springs in a broader area: Κάκοψος (Theologos, Ag. Saranda), Κάλοψος (Theologos, Ag. Saranda), Καλόψη

[8] See Albanian popular verses *Vetëtin në Sorone*, / *merre brucin, mos e le*. / *Vetëtin në Amallo*, / *merr qetë, ec e puno*. (RRAPAJ 1991: 64).

[9] In a document of 1557, from Corfu, we read that "έδωσεν ένα κομμάτι τόπον άγριον και λογκώδη … εις την περιοχήν χωρίου Σπαρτερού εις τόπον λεγάμενον εις το Σορωνιά…" (ΧΡΥΣΙΚΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ 2009: 280).

[10] We keep the orthography of cited works.

[11] References on ΚΟΥΛΙΔΑΣ 2005.

"a very beautiful and green place full of fruit-bearing trees and spring water, between the church of Ag. Andreas and Kontorachio" (Ag. Andreas – Ag. Saranda, Kourtis 2009: 73), Κάλοψον, Κάκοψον (Chimara, Βαγιακάκος 1983: 19, without distinguishing whether it is about sources or fields), but also Σανερό (a spring in Paliassa), Εφτάβρυσος (Βαγιακάκος op.cit.) and Αφτάς[12] (σον Αφτά), probably Φιτάς as well, if we consider an Albanian folk song of the area[13].

The above names most probably refer to the verbs ἔψω and ὀπτάω, and more specifically to the ancient adjectives *κάλοψος (καλός + ἔψω, Andriotis 1974: 292), *κάκοψος, and ὀπτός (Andriotis 1974: 413), included in Modern Greek idioms. So, in Cephalonia, they use the adjectives κάκοψος "δύσβραστος/not easy-to-boil" and κάλοψος (place) "the soil producing easy-to-cook legumes and cabbage" (Τσιτσέλης 1875: 211, 214 respectively), whereas in Corfu, κάλοψος means "tasty, nutritional", and the substantive κάκοψος means "dry nut with tasteless nut and hard shell" (Χυτήρης 1992: 69, 71 respectively). To interpret the place name Σανερό (<*οψανερό) we are assisted by the adjective ψανός "easy-to-boil, tender, good quality" (Lefkada, Λάζαρη 1970: 206). The word οφτός (πτ > φτ) is found in medieval texts (Κριαράς XIV 21), as well as in Modern Greek idioms (Andriotis 1974, w. ὀπτός). As for the meaning of the roots οψ- and οφτ- in the previously mentioned place names, it most probably denotes the "hardness" of spring water or the "easy-to-cook" produce cultivated. As regards the water, in the areas of Ag. Saranda and Delvino, the word χωνευτικός "digestive" is frequently used: Καλλιστάς 'spring with excellent digestive water' (Divri, Kitsios 2006: 20).

The case of the place name *Palortó*, which is the name of a suburb in the city of Gjirokastër, is also of interest. Starting from the fact that the other suburbs have names such as *Cfákë* (< σφάκα) and *Granícë* (Bulg. *granitsa* "type of oak", see name γρανίτσα "type of tree [=oak]" in Droviani of Epirus, Μπόγκας 1966 : Β΄ 17), both being place names based on plant names, we can assume that *Palortó* refers to the Greek word παλιουρωτό. The place name Παλιουρωτός (< παλιούρι + -ωτός) is found in Corfu (Καρύδης & Τζιβάρα 2009: 119), but also in a document in the Ali Pasha archives, which refers to the city of Gjirokastër (doc. 1500, date 28.4.1804, of the 5th volume, publication forthcoming). Moreover, in the nearby Greek-speaking villages of Dropolis, we find the place names

[12] For place names with suffix –άς see AMANTOS (1903: 35).
[13] …*për ujë të Fitait*. (VEIZI 1998: 192).

Παλιουριά and Παλιουρίδα (Κουλίδας 2005: 52, 63), thus reinforcing the suggested etymology.

2. Some special cases: suffixal concordances

All the above reveal the relationship between the Ionian Islands and the opposite coasts of Epirus and, more specifically, Chimara, Delvino and Ag. Saranda. Their close contacts with Corfu and other nearby islands is also known. They are conclusive to this observation along with other comprehensive place name suffixes such as -ήλας/-ίλας[14], found exclusively in Corfu and on the opposite coast of Epirus: Dropolis (Κουλίδας 2005): Ντριζίλας < Alb. *drizë* 'undergrowth' (Kossovitsa 131, Longos 156), Vourkos, Delvino: Κοκκίλας, Γραβίλας, Σπαρτίλας (Krania, Αναγνώστης 2007: 209, 210), Γραβίλας, Κοκκίλας, Μποτσίλας (Divri, Κίτσιος 2006: 186), Αγρίλας "was the name for Agrilas and the numerous agriliá" (Divri, Κίτσιος 2006: 125), Ετίλας "place with willows" (Germa Ag.Saranda). Also see Αρίλας, Σπαρτίλας (Corfu, Amantos 1903: 7)· -ωνιά: Μελισσωνιά in Droviani, Βατωνιά in Corfu and Ροδωνιά in Cephalonia, etc. (Andriotis 1974: 613).

Special note should be taken of the comprehensive place name suffix –έος, which, as we have stated (Κυριαζής 2007: 205), is found exclusively in the three Greek-speaking villages of Chimara and is one of the particular characteristics of the local idiom. In modern interpretation, comprehensive place names, such as Δραλέος, Ελατέος, Κασανέος, Παπρέος "place with, respectively, oaks, fir trees, chestnuts, papyrus" etc., are considered to be nominatives and are usually found in the accusative: σον Κασανέο, σον Δραλέο, which, in turn, were the basis forming the types of *Kastané* and *Dhralé* of the local Albanian idiom.

This interpretation should be reviewed in the light of new data we came across recently. A wealth of the place names offered by

> Πρακτικόν της αγιωτάτης επισκοπής Κεφαληνίας εκτεθέν και πληρωθέν επί άρχοντος μεν κόντε Ρεκιάρδου, αρχιερατεύοντος δε Ενρίκου τινός το όνομα από κτίσεως κόσμου έτει εξακισχιλιοστώ επτακοσιοστώ εβδομηκοστώ δευτέρω ινδικτιώνι εβδόμη δωδεκάτη ισταμένου ιουλίου μηνός

through which, as Miklosich and Müller (V 16-67) note,

[14] I. THOMOPOULOS (Θωμόπουλου 1986: 196-200) refers to the ancient Doric suffix -ῆλος. SYMEONIDIS (Συμεωνίδης 1992: 41) and initially adopted this view but later on he suggested a different etymology (ΣΥΜΕΩΝΙΔΗΣ 2005).

> comes Palatinus Ricardus Orsini dominus Cephaloniae, Zacynthi' et Ithacae confirmat possessiones ecclesiae Zacynthi ad instantia episcopi Henrici.

The diachronic approach to the matter is thus feasible. In the text of Praktikon[15], dating from the middle of the 13th Century, (mainly) place names based on plant names appear with unusual frequency in the genitive, such as του Σπαρτέως, του Δαφνέως and, apparently, the ασυνίζητον/asynizeton was widespread in the Ionian Islands; then, it progressively receded and was preserved in peripheral areas (S. Italy, Chimara). We can assume as much from the uses of του Δραλέως, του Κασανέως, του Παπ(υ)ρέως, του Μυρτέως, and through re-analysis, we came up with types such as σον Δραλέο, σον Κασανέο, σον Παπρέο, σο Μυρτέο and then formed their nominatives in -έος.

We believe that other proprietory place names fall into the same category, such as Λογαράς, found in Praktikon (Τζαννετάτου 1965: 151) and in medieval documents in S. Italy (Caracausi 1990: 342, attested by the year 1102). The latter allows us to interpret the place name Λογαράς/Λογοράς (Alb. *Llogará*, *Llogorá*) in the area of Chimara, as well as other place names that will be the object of a later special study.

For instance, Praktikon confirms the existence of the common name δρυάλιο, appearing to be a place name (χωράφιον του Δρυαλίου)[16] and the Κριαράς Lexicon refers to it as "αμάρτυρο/non attested"[17]. This substantive is found in the place name Δραλέος/*Dhralé* in Δρυμάδες/Drymades Chimara. Same for the place name Βιγλατόριον (Praktikon, Τζαννετάτου 1965: 142), plural Βιγλατόρια, appearing in Chimara as Βλατόρια (< σα Βλατόρια) and also found in the Albanian version as *Bregu Avllatójt* (Asllani 1999: 159).

In the area of Dropolis, Gjirokastër, we find the place names Ταρανίδα (Vrissera 50, Pepeli 165), Ταρανίδες "narrow places that do not produce much" (Vodhino 28), Ταροΐνα "name of fields in the plain" (Ano Episkopi 81, Radates 176), Τραγανή "small hill with trees around, kermes oak and elms" (Longos 159)[18], etc. Furthermore, the above names, Ταρανίδα, Ταρανίδες, Ταροΐνα, Τραγανή, appear simultaneously as Τράχωνας in

[15] See, i.e, το μεν αρμάκιν καλείται του Δαφνέως, εν τη θέσει του Θρομβέως, του Μαρανθέως, του Μυρτινέως, του Πρινέως, του Πτερέως etc. (ΤΖΑΝΝΕΤΑΤΟΥ 1965: 144, 146, 152, 153, 156, 157 respectively).

[16] ΤΖΑΝΝΕΤΑΤΟΥ 1965: 144.

[17] δρύαλος (ο) "(prob.) holm oak" < s. δρυάριον (found in Ευστάθιος) < *δρυάλιον and magn. suffix –ος. (ΚΡΙΑΡΑΣ Ε΄ 223).

[18] References on ΚΟΥΛΙΔΑΣ 2005.

Chios, Τράχωνες in Attica (Amantos 1903: 25), Τραχώνιν in Cyprus (Andriotis 1974: 557, τραχών o sgr. Rauhe, steinige Gegend), Ταγών [Ταγόή] in Samothrace (Katsanis 1996: 236), *Trahè* in S. Italy (Rohlfs 1964: 509, τραχύς "felsig"), Τραχεία "dry rock" in Mathraki (Λουκάτου 2012: 107), Ραχώνες (<σ(τ)Ραχώνες, changing st > s) in Chimara, where we can also find the place name Κακο[τ]ραχώνες. We believe that Ταρανίδα is the basis of the Alb. place name *Taronínë* (definitive form *Taronína*), found to the north of Dropolis at the village of Fushëbardhë (*Burimi i Taroninës* "spring of T.", *Qafa e Taroninës* "passage/narrow mountain pass of T."), whose name (fushë "plain", e bardhë "white") is most probably due to the rocky ground (Muho & Norra 2009: 8, 62). This etymology is also founded on the existence, around the area of Fushëbardhë, of place names such as *Stavrói/Stravói* (< σταυρός), *Pillói* (< πηλός) and *Luadhëró*, *Luvadhorói* (< λιβαδερό).

Regarding the suffix –ίδα of Ταρανίδα, we note that it is found in other place names in Dropolis as well (Παλιουρίδα "place with dense palourus spinus" Sofratika 241, and Droviani 266), but also in the Albanian-speaking area of Rrëzómë (Ριζά, Ριζώματα), NW of Delvino: Te Rrapi në *Platanidhë* (Kondi 1986: 57).

3. Diachronic lexical concordances

As regards the relationship between the two coasts, it is worth noting the findings from Arta-Avlona concerning the words μάχτρα "utensil for the preparation of bread" (Hesychius, Andriotis 1974: 364, w. μάκτρα) and βρούκουλους "grasshopper" (βροῦκος· ἀκρίδων εἶδος. Hesychius, Andriotis 1974: 188, w. βρούκος), which, according to current data, exist only in the Greek dialect of Southern Italy and not in the rest of the Greek idioms of the broader region (Κυριαζής 2012). Similar lexical concordances exist between Chimara and Southern Italy, such as: αθέρας "beard of the wheat", θερμός "boiled water" (Μπόγκας 1966: Β΄ 80, 84 respectively) and *aθéra* "id." (Rohlfs 1964: 16), *termó* "id." (Καραναστάση 1988: Ε΄ 139), *onogrúzë* "γρούζο" (*ονόκνυζα) Chimara, see w. *anápodo* "Art hohe Distel" (< ονόπορδον, Rohlfs 1964: 363), as well as *gruzëgomáre* "*ονόγρουζο" (Qeparó), and *fëndëdosë* "kind of grass" (fëndë "πορδή/fart" + dosë "γουρούνα/sow"), see also γουρνιόπο[ρ]δας "kind of plant" (Corfu) < Anc.Gr. κορωνόπους (Κρεκούκιας 1982: 100).

Regarding the diachronic contacts of the Greek and Albanian languages, mention should also be made of the Albanian word *puhí/-a* "αύρα/aura", which probably derives from the Greek απογεία (αύρα), and is found in the types *puía*, *pujía* etc. in Southern Italy (Rohfs 1964: 47).

On the other hand, the word άχαλα (τα) "vagliatura di grano", which is traced to Southern Italy and Corfu and whose source remains unclear (Rohlfs 1964: 72), seems to be associated with the Albanian *hála-t* "beards", which derives from the IE root **skolnā* (Çabej SE IV 1996: 350). The same word is also found in the Greek-speaking villages of Delvino as άχαλα, and in the Thesprotia region as τσάχαλο (Μήτση 2002: 139).

Finally, the occasionally common historical heritage of the two coasts is illustrated, for instance, by the traces of Arabic not only in Southern Italy, but also in the Greek and Albanian idioms of South-West Albania. The appellative *harcë-a* "sharp rock, or sharp stones" is probably of Arabic descent and is also found as a place name in Piqeras, *Maj' e Harcës*. We find the same root in the word *harcale -ia* "place with sharp rocks", which is also found as a place name *Harcále* (*Kadafiqi me Harcale*, Çorraj). This last word is comparable with the Greek idiomatic χάρτσαλο "place with rocks and stones" (Delvino, Argyrokastro), which was probably formed from the w. *χάρτσο and the suffix –αλο (Ανδριώτης 1983: 14). We connect the Albanian word *harcë* to its counterpart χαρσία [or χάρσια] in the Greek of Sicily (attested by 1141), "terreno roccioso, non coltivabile" < Arab. *haraš* "scabrosita", *harš* "bosco, foresta" (Caracausi 1990: 618). Alternatively, Çabej (1996: 355) interprets the word by relating it to the Alb. verb *harr*, *har* "sarcler, émonder, leaguer".

Another word, this time of Italian-Venetian origin, is Alb. *rrumpállë* "noise, mess", mainly found in the area of Chimara, which corresponds here to the local Greek idiom ρούμπαλα "mess, catastrophe". The two words in both the Greek and the Albanian idiom of Chimara are very likely related to the word ρουμπαραρούμ in Corfu "expressing catastrophe, turmoil, demolition, upside down" (Αγγελόπουλος 2008: 256), and most probably go back to the Italian verb *rubare* "plunder".

Among the aforementioned idioms, certain grammatical isoglosses are observed, which we intend to present in a separate paper.

References

ΑΓΓΕΛΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ, Μάριος (2008): *Η Παλιά Κορφιάτικη Γλώσσα. Γλωσσάρι κορφιάτικης ντοπιολαλιάς*. Κέρκυρα: Ενημέρωση.

AMANTOS, Konstantinos (1903): *Die Suffixe der neugriechischen Ortsnamen*. München: Verlag von Louis Finsterlin.

ΑΝΑΓΝΩΣΤΗΣ, Γιάννης (2007): *Η Κρανιά Αγίων Σαράντα*. Άγιοι Σαράντα: Milosao.

ANDONI, Kleanthi (2001): *Himara në breg të detit. Shënime historike dhe kujtime*. Tiranë: Shtëpia Botuese Baça.

ANDRIOTIS, Nikolaos (1974): *Lexikon der Archaismen in neugriechischen Dialekten*. Wien: Verlag der ÖAW.

ΑΝΔΡΙΩΤΗΣ, Νικόλαος (1983): *Ετυμολογικό Λεξικό της Κοινής Νεοελληνικής*. Θεσσαλονίκη: ΙΝΣ.

ΑΡΑΚΑΔΑΚΗ, Μαρία (2000): "Σταμάτη Φασιδώνη (λιμενάρχη Χανίων): 'Περιγραφή των ακτών της Κρήτης' (1590 ci.)". In: *Τα κρητικά τοπωνύμια. Πρακτικά Επιστημονικού Συνεδρίου* (Ρέθυμνο, Νοέμβριος 1998), τ. Α΄: 109-158, Ρέθυμνο: Ιστορική-Λαογραφική Εταιρεία Ρεθύμνης.

ASLLANI, Ali (1998): *Vidi – vidi pëllumbeshë. Poezi të zgjedhura*. Tiranë: Toena.

ΒΑΓΙΑΚΑΚΟΣ, Δ. (1983): *Γλωσσικά και λαογραφικά Χιμάρας Β. Ηπείρου και Μάνης*. In: Πρακτικά Β΄ Συμποσίου Γλωσσολογίας Βορειοελλαδικού Χώρου (Θεσσαλονίκη, Απρίλιος 1978), Θεσσαλονίκη: ΙΜΧΑ, 9-26.

BAJRAMI, Eglantina (2004): *Pas gjurmëve të këngës*. Tiranë: Albuena.

BOERIO, Giuseppe (1867): *Dizionario del dialetto* veneziano. Venezia: Reale tipografia di G. Cecchini.

CARACAUSI, Girolamo (1990): *Lessico Greco della Sicilia e dell'Italia Meridionale (secoli X-XIV)*. Palermo: Centro di Studi Filologici e Linguistici Siciliani.

ÇABEJ, Eqrem (1976-2014): *Studime Etimologjike në fushë të shqipes*. Tiranë: Akademia e Shkencave.

FANCIULLO, Franco (2001): *On the Origins of Modern Greek in Southern Italy*. In: RALLI, Angela; JOSEPH, Brian; JANSE, Mark (Eds.), Proceedings of the First International Conference of Modern Greek Dialects and Linguistic Theory. Patras: University of Patras.

ΚΑΡΑΝΑΣΤΑΣΗ, Αναστασίου (1988): *Ιστορικόν Λεξικόν των Ιδιωμάτων της Κάτω Ιταλίας*. Αθήνα: Ακαδημία Αθηνών.

ΚΑΡΥΔΗΣ, Σπύρος; ΠΑΝΑΓΙΩΤΑ, Τζιβάρα (2009): *Ιερά Μονή Αγίων Θεοδώρων Κέρκυρας*. Αθήνα: Αυτοτελής Έκδοση.

ΚΑΤΣΑΛΙΔΑΣ, Γρηγόρης (1994): *Η περιοχή Θεολόγου Αγίων Σαράντα*. Ιωάννινα: ΙΒΕ.

ΚΑΤΣΑΝΗΣ, Νικόλαος (1996): *Το γλωσσικό ιδίωμα της Σαμοθράκης*. Θεσσαλονίκη: Δήμος Σαμοθράκης.

ΚΙΤΣΙΟΣ, Χαράλαμπος (2006): *Λαογραφικά θησαυρίσματα της Δίβρης Β. Ηπείρου*. Άγιοι Σαράντα: Εκδόσεις Ήπειρος.

KONDI, Mitat (1986): *Këngë popullore nga rrethina e Kardhiqit dhe e Rrëzomës*. Tiranë: Akademia e Shkencave.

ΚΟΥΛΙΔΑΣ, Κωνσταντίνος (2005): (επιμ.) *Τα τοπωνύμια των πανάρχαιων ελληνικών χωριών του νομού Αργυροκάστρου*. Ιωάννινα: Σύνδεσμος Συνταξιούχων Ελληνοδασκάλων Εθνικής Ελληνικής Μειονότητας Νομού Αργυροκάστρου.

ΚΟΥΡΤΗΣ, Πέτρος (2009): *Ο Αγ. Ανδρέας (Αγ. Σαράντα). Η Μαιανδρία μας*. Αθήνα: Διόρασις.

ΚΡΕΚΟΥΚΙΑΣ, Δημήτριος (1982): *Αρχαιοπινή στοιχεία από το φυτικό λεξιλόγιο της Κέρκυρας*. In: Κερκυραϊκά Χρονικά XXVI.

ΚΡΙΑΡΑΣ, Εμμανουήλ (1969):. *Λεξικό της Μεσαιωνικής Ελληνικής Δημώδους Γραμματείας*. Θεσσαλονίκη.

ΚΥΡΙΑΖΗΣ, Δώρης (2007): *Η σχέση του ελληνικού γλωσσικού ιδιώματος της Χιμάρας με τα άλλα νεοελληνικά ιδιώματα*. In: Μελέτες για την Ελληνική Γλώσσα, Θεσσαλονίκη: ΙΝΣ, 198-209.

—. (2012): *Το ελληνικό γλωσσικό ιδίωμα της Άρτας Αυλώνα.* In: Πρακτικά 10ου Διεθνούς Συνεδρίου Ελληνικής Γλωσσολογίας (Κομοτηνή, Σεπτέμβρης 2011), Κομοτηνή: ΔΠΘ, 890-898.

ΛΑΖΑΡΗ, Χριστόφορου (1970): *Τα λευκαδίτικα: Ετυμολογικόν και ερμηνευτικόν λεξιλόγιον των γλωσσικών ιδιωμάτων της νήσου Λευκάδος*. Ιωάννινα.

LIDDELL, Henry; SCOTT, Robert (1819): *A Greek-English Lexicon*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

ΛΟΥΚΑΤΟΥ, Δημητρίου (2012): *Λαογραφική αποστολή στα Διαπόντια Νησιά (Ερείκουσα – Μαθράκι – Οθωνοί)*. Αθήνα: Ακαδημία Αθηνών.

ΜΗΛΙΑΡΑΚΗ, Αντώνη (1890): *Γεωγραφία πολιτική, νέα και αρχαία, του νομού Κεφαλληνίας*. Αθήνα: Τυπογραφείο Αδελφών Περρή.

ΜΗΤΣΗ, Παναγιώτη (2002): *Θεσπρωτικό γλωσσικό ιδίωμα*. Φοινίκι: Λαογραφικό Μουσείο Φοινικίου.

MIKLOSICH, Franz; MÜLLER, Joseph (1860-1890): *Acta et Diplomata graeca medii aevi sacra et profana*. 6 Bdd. Wien: C. Gerold.

ΜΠΟΓΚΑΣ, Ευάγγελος (1964-1966): *Τα γλωσσικά ιδιώματα της Ηπείρου*, τ. Α΄, Β΄. Ιωάννινα: Εταιρεία Ηπειρωτικών Μελετών.

MUHO, Qamil; NORRA, Laze (2009): *Fushëbardha. Historia në vite*. Gjirokastër: Argjiro.

ΠΑΠΑ, Κατίνα (1971): *Στη συκαμιά από κάτω*. Διηγήματα, β΄ έκδοση, Αθήνα: Εστία.

ΠΑΠΑΧΡΙΣΤΟΔΟΥΛΟΥ, Χριστόδουλου (1951): *Τοπωνυμικό της Ρόδου*. Ρόδος.

PAPE, Wilhelm; BENSELER, Gustav Eduard (1911): *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*. Braunschweig: Verlag von Friedrich Viemeg und Sohn.

ROHLFS, Gerhard (1964): *Lexicon Graecanicum Italiae Inferioris*. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag.

—. (1972): *Nuovi Scavi Linguistici nella Antica Magna Grecia*. Palermo: Istituto Italiano di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici.

RRAPAJ, Fatos Mero (1991): *Këngë Popullore të Labërisë*. Tiranë: Akademia e Shkencave.

—. (1995): *Fjalori Onomastik i Epirit*. Tiranë: Eurorilindja.

SHIKO, Thoma (2006): *Kakodhiq. Ballkon legjendar mbi Delvinë*. Tiranë.

SOTIRI, Natasha (2001): *E folmja dhe toponimia e Qeparoit*. Tiranë: Konica.

ΣΥΜΕΩΝΙΔΗΣ, Χαράλαμπος (1992): *Εισαγωγή στην ελληνική ονοματολογία*. Θεσσαλονίκη: Αφοί Κυριακίδη.

—. (2005): *Μια νέα θεώρηση του νεοελληνικού επιθήματος –ίλα*. In: Όσο κρατάει η ανάγνωση. Μια έκδοση αφιερωμένη στη μνήμη της Αντωνίας Κατσιαντώνη-Πίστα, Θεσσαλονίκη, 234-241.

—. (2010): *Ετυμολογικό Λεξικό των Νεοελληνικών Οικωνυμίων*, τ. Α΄-Β΄. Λευκωσία-Θεσσαλονίκη: Κέντρο Μελετών Ιεράς Μονής Κύκκου.

ΘΩΜΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ, Ιάνκου (1986): *Η τοπωνυμική κατάληξη –ήλας*. In: Onomata 10: 196-200.

ΤΣΙΤΣΕΛΗΣ, Ηλίας (1875): *Γλωσσάριον Κεφαλληνίας*. Ιν Νεοελληνικά Ανάλεκτα Παρνασσού Β΄, φυλλάδ. Γ΄, Δ΄ και Ε΄, 145-368.

ΤΖΑΝΝΕΤΑΤΟΥ, Θησέως (1965): *Το Πρακτικόν της Λατινικής Επισκοπής Κεφαλληνίας του 1264 και η Επιτομή αυτού*. Αθήνα.

TZITZILIS, Christos (1997): *Zur Problematik der griechischen Lehnwörter im Albanischen*. In: Zeitschrift für Balkanologie 33/3: 200-214.

—. (2004): *Das Mittelgriechische in Süditalien und das Problem der Herkunft der neugriechischen Dialekte Süditaliens*. In: Wiener Byzantinistik und Neogräzistik XXVI: 464-481.

ΤΖΙΤΖΙΛΗΣ, Χρίστος (2008): *Τα αρχαία μακεδονικά στοιχεία στο ιδίωμα της ορεινής Πιερίας*. In: Μαρία Θεοδωροπούλου (επιμ.) Θέρμη και Φως. Αφιερωματικός τόμος στη μνήμη του Α.-Φ. Χριστίδη. Θεσσαλονίκη: ΚΕΓ, 225-244.

VEIZI, Fane (1998): *Bregu i Detit në këngë*. Tiranë: Arbri.

ΧΡΥΣΙΚΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ, Μιχάλη (2009): *«...πρακτωρίας λεύχιμου...». Έρευνα περί των τοπωνυμίων της Νότιας Κέρκυρας*. Λευκίμμη.

ΧΥΤΗΡΗΣ, Γ. (1992): *Κερκυραϊκό γλωσσάρι*. Κέρκυρα.

"GRECITÀ" AND ORTHODOX RELIGION IN CALABRIA: FROM LINGUISTIC IDENTITY TO TRANSNATIONAL RELIGIOUS SPACE

ISABELLA SCHWADERER

In the South Italian region of Calabria, on the southern slopes of the Aspromonte mountain region facing the straits of Messina, a Greek linguistic minority has survived the vicissitudes of history.[1] This paper examines the linkage between language and religious identity in the so-called *area grecanica* as well as the development of a transnational religious space between the Balkans and Italy.

Around the turn of the millennium, the Greek language and culture in South Italy was struggling hard to find a place in modern times, but now has been able to benefit from a revival. Parallel to the preservation of the language, significant efforts have also been made to restore the spiritual legacy of Orthodox Christianity, which led to the (re-)opening of several monasteries, thus enhancing the specific identity of the region. This illustrates how new transnational religious spaces emerge from the interactions of historically established Grecophone communities challenged by modernisation and new communities of immigrants from Eastern Europe.

Theoretical questions

Studies of the Mediterranean area are constantly faced with cultural interactions and hence the fragmentation, fluidity and hybridity of identities as essential traits of social contexts and cultural spaces. Microstudies of Mediterranean regions present the stimulating opportunity

[1] I am grateful to Sebastian Rimestad for his invaluable comments and corrections of an earlier draft of this paper, as well as to Dragan Šljivić for bibliographical remarks.

to elaborate on the heterogeneous character of human groups, cultures and civilisations coping with constant interchange whilst avoiding the essentialist and, so to speak, 'metaphysical' national narratives. Writing a history of this peculiar space implies that

> … the definition of a Mediterranean that is a region or environment, and not just a sea, must involve creation as well as discovery - creation by indigenous people perhaps, rather than their imperialist neighbours: a synthesis of the material and the mental, the discursive and the down-to-earth (HORDEN 2005).

Hence, it is necessary to include in the historical work the aspect of the *longue durée* (Braudel 1958) for a broader understanding. In the specific case of a culturally mixed area with quickly changing political circumstances alongside somehow resilient cultural structures. What we are aiming at in this paper is, on the one hand, to correlate some observations made during field trips in the *area grecanica* in the South Aspromonte region in 2007 and 2015 with a broader historical background of the Greek Orthodox presence in South Italy and, on the other hand, to analyze the phenomenon of a changing awareness of religious affiliation in a time of shifting allegiances from a nation-state model towards a broader perception of supranational religious spaces. This may not add any particularly new insights in matters of linguistics, but it might – hopefully – help to explain the necessity of not only preserving, but also adopting seemingly anachronistic identity-shaping features like a Medieval Greek dialect or the attachment to a religion that historically ceased to exist in this region at least three centuries ago.

Therefore, the broader theoretical background of this paper is the discussion around the place of religion in the late-modern world and second, how religion works as a marker of identity in a context where nation and language have lost their prominent function in creating identity for individuals and groups. The main object of this article is to show how, in a post-national world, parameters of identity-shaping through differentiation change, and how modernisation, although not necessarily leading to a privatisation of religion, nevertheless offers more individual choice in matters of religious practice (Stark and Finke 2000). This effect is even more evident in a region where cultural boundaries have constantly been porous and where periods of fluctuation have interchanged with phases of restriction and tendencies towards homogenisation.

The community of *lingua grecanica* speakers is situated along the demarcation line that has separated the Latin and Greek spheres of influence over at least the last two millennia. In this area where the

boundaries are constantly contested, drawing a clear line of exclusion is difficult. In the peripheries, the adhesion to the respective center is ambiguous, irregular and slow. Instead of absolute distinctions, subdivisions become more frequent and in these spaces of transition the phenomenon of Diaspora is common, especially when it is accompanied by supranational migratory movements. Hence, the notion of space in culturally mixed areas is relative and does not necessarily coincide with national territories.

> The boundaries to which we must give our attention are of course social boundaries, though they may have territorial counterparts. If a group maintains its identity when members interact with others, this entails criteria for determining membership and ways of signaling membership and exclusion. Ethnic groups are not merely or necessarily based on the occupation of exclusive territories; and the different ways in which they are maintained, not only by a once-and-for-all recruitment but by continual expression and validation, need to be analysed (BARTH 1969: 15).

Additionally, in these "liminal" areas, religious, linguistic or national identities are not mutually exclusive. Given the broader range of possibilities to choose from, different identities can be adopted according to the situational requirements. This is the case when different languages are used in public and private surroundings, or, as I will try to show in this paper, when one religious subdivision is preferred to the mainstream.

Religious identities in Calabria – oscillating between East and West

The Greek presence in Italy dates from the foundation of Greek colonies in the Occident, and specifically in the so-called Magna Grecia, beginning in the 6th century BC, and continuing throughout the history of the Roman Empire (Musti 2005). With Christianisation, the Greeks kept their language in the liturgy too, a fact that perpetuated the cultural division between predominantly Greek and Latin speakers living in the same territory. The presence of the Eastern Church in South Italy began at the time of Emperor Justinian, who added the Italian peninsula to the Eastern Roman Empire. It increased with Emperor Leo III who separated the dioceses of Capetanate Calabria from the jurisdiction of the Roman Church, placing it under the control of the Patriarchate of Constantinople (Falkenhausen 1967: 6). This political event was followed by migratory movements of the Greek population to Italy, including monks, fleeing from Persian and Arab invasions into Eastern Roman territories. Moreover,

internal religious conflicts such as monotheletism[2] and iconoclasm[3] were reasons for conservative monks who were expelled as heretics to seek peace in the periphery of the Empire, mostly in Sicily, where they could cling to their traditional doctrines and erect new monasteries. The sparsely populated area was also a good place to lead a monastic life after the loss of the traditionally monastic regions of Syria and Egypt to the Arab invaders in the 7th Century.[4] The Arab invasion of Sicily in the 9th and 10th Centuries forced the monks to settle in Calabria, where so-called Basilian monasticism subsequently thrived, a form that derived its name from the rules of Basil the Great (330-379), which the monks followed (Lorusso 2014: 65).

The political division of two distinct Roman Empires, and consequently two churches, was a long and checkered process. Most Greek monks who had moved to Italy had settled in territories that were canonically Latin in the first place, but had stayed culturally and liturgically Greek. They had been subjected to the Eastern Empire and the Patriarch of Constantinople only from the time of the aforementioned Emperor Leo III to the Norman Conquest in the 11th century, which ended the Byzantine *interregnum* over the Italian provinces (Bayer 2004: 25-27). Naturally, all the attention the Byzantines paid to the efficient organisation of their dioceses in accordance with Greek rite can be explained in terms of the centuries-old struggles between the Empire and the Papacy. Both strove to maintain jurisdiction over the dioceses they possessed in an on-going contention between the Roman and the Eastern rites, while each sought to gain sway over the other.

The principle of "canonical territory" as the basis of the Church's organisation, which had developed historically from the early Church, was

[2] Monothelitism is a Christological doctrine developed in the last third of the 6th Century and was declared heretical in 681 in the Third Ecumenical Council. Specifically, monothelitism is the view that Jesus Christ has two natures but only one will and is related to Monophysitism, the Christological doctrine of the Eastern Churches throughout Armenia, Syria and Egypt (MEYENDORFF 1989)

[3] Iconoclasm refers to a period in Byzantine history of roughly 120 years beginning around 720 when the veneration of religious images ("icons") was banned by the temporal authorities, i.e. Emperor Leo III (717-741) and his successors, as well as by religious leaders within the Byzantine Orthodox Church (BRUBAKER; HALDON 2011).

[4] Domenico Minuto, Byzantinist and passionate researcher of Greek Calabria, relates the Basilian monasticism in the Aspromonte to its predecessors both in Syria and Umbria in Early Christianity (MINUTO 2016). See also ČEMUS 2010: 45.

already regulated in the 4th century[5] and is thus a relic of the structures of the Roman Empire, which ceased to exist politically in its Western section in the 5th century. The Church, however, which had taken over not only parts of the organisational structure of the Empire but also many of its political functions, was still working according to these principles. This led to a partially contradictory situation in which a culturally Greek ethnic group continued to follow the Eastern rite to some extent while the Church structure was under Latin jurisdiction. Except for the relatively short period of Eastern Roman domination in Calabria, in spiritual matters according to canon law, i.e. the legislation of the Church, the Greek population belonged to the flock of Rome. The most evident divergence, also in everyday life, was the use of Greek as the language of the Liturgy, as opposed to Latin, and some differences in religious practices due to local traditions.

Since the Greek presence in the Roman Empire had existed for centuries, the use of a different liturgical language in single dioceses, especially in the liminal area between the Eastern and the Western sphere of the Roman Empire, such as Crete, Sardinia, South Italy and Sicily, was not perceived as a problem before the Schism, even if it did not coincide with the liturgy and the canonical prescriptions of the patriarchate they were assigned to (Peri 1987). The reason for this indifference might be that, despite the political fact that in 800 a second Roman Empire had been proclaimed in the West, the idea of a necessarily single Roman Empire and a single Church, saint, catholic and apostolic, as stated in the Nicene Creed, still remained. The organisation within the political framework of the former Roman Empire, involving a system of five patriarchates, each with its respective sphere of competence regarding jurisdiction, ecclesiastical autonomy and hierarchical subdivisions such as dioceses and metropolis, continued to exist in the general consciousness of most Christians (Peri 1987: 444).

During most of the Middle Ages, the Byzantine communities in Calabria were liturgically dependent on papal authority, which meant that priests and bishops were nominated by the Latin Church and thus the tendency towards a Latinisation seems more than natural. Although Greek priests in Latin territories were explicitly mentioned in legal texts over the centuries, this legislation should be understood more as care for the pastoral needs of the Byzantine communities "than as the recognition of a group separate and canonically distinct from the Latin Church." (Soule

[5] Relevant is Canon 9 of a synod in Antiocheia shortly before the Council of Serdica in 343, in a slightly different form in the Apostolic Canon 34, text in HÜNERMANN (2004: 202).

2012: 129). In contrast to the situation of the monasteries – the Normans had already enforced their distinct religious policies by supporting Italo-Greek Basilian monasticism in Sicily and South Italy on the one hand, but Latinizing the bishops' sees on the other hand (Enzensberger 1973) - the lay population became part of the Roman Church, although this did not bring the existence of Greek clergy and Greek religious traditions to an end (Enzensberger 1973: 1141). This situation changed radically during the massive Church reforms of the Counter-Reformation (Viscardi & Leroux 1996: 32).

Acknowledging diversity inside the Roman Catholic Church: The distinction of rites

Although the liturgical practices were clearly distinct, this did not lead to a canonical separation of Church structures creating a specifically "Greek" Church, since "Greek" in this context was limited to the adherence to the Eastern rite and did not imply a distinct, independent Church. Such a development would only occur later, as the example of the *Byzantine Catholic Church* shows with regard to another ethnic group of Eastern tradition, the Albanians. The *Byzantine Catholic Church* was established in South Italy and Sicily following the migratory waves of Albanian Orthodox believers driven to settle in Italy after the Ottoman Turkish conquests in the Balkans during the 15th century. By that time, the differences between the Eastern and Western Empires were already exacerbated and serious attempts to bring about a Union of Churches had failed.

Therefore, it became increasingly obvious that there were two Churches, a Latin Church under the guidance of the Pope and a "Greek" Church ruled by the Patriarch of Constantinople. Thus, from the 16th century onwards, liturgical peculiarities like the use of Greek liturgical language could no longer be tolerated without clarification. An accord was reached in 1536, and the "Italo-Greeks" (i.e. "Orthodox", because in this context "Greek" did not refer to the language, but to the denomination) of Sicily, Apulia and Calabria elected a person called Giacomo to be ordained as their bishop by the Archbishop of Ohrid, with the consent of the papal authorities.

> The instauration of a mixed and unanimous jurisdiction between the two ecclesiastical hierarchies within the same diocesan territory was established in a fluid political context in which, notwithstanding the failure of the Union, epistolary communication between the Pontifices and the

oriental hierarchy continued, given the rapid advancement of the Ottomans in the Eastern Mediterranean (FALCETTA 2014: 66-67).

But subsequently, the fluid political context in the Mediterranean shifted towards a more definite situation when the Counter-Reformation following the Council of Trent called for explicit juridical decisions. The canons promulgated by the *Concilium Tridentinum* were not aimed at the communities in South Italy in the first place. However, the existence of an episcopal hierarchy and a clergy that dispensed sacraments and held jurisdiction over papal territory, while at the same time taking orders from the Patriarchate of Constantinople, was a scandal (Peri 1997). The Counter-Reformation had a deep impact not only on Church administration but also served as "a profound process of catechetic and devotional acculturation." (De Rosa 1998: 197). In 1564, Pope Pius IV intervened directly, abrogating all dispensations and privileges granted to the oriental communities in his jurisdiction by his predecessors (Bullarium 1839: 8-10; Varnalidis 1981). Nevertheless, the Greek community of the *area grecanica* kept its ambiguous status as a nominally Roman Catholic denomination, while keeping some traits of its Byzantine legacy, even after the period of strong re-catholicisation during the Counter-Reformation. A striking example is the veneration of Saint Leo (12th century), hermit and patron saint of Bova (the most important city in the *area grecanica*), who is commemorated in both the Byzantine *synaxaria* and the Roman Catholic *martyrologium* and celebrated on May 5th.[6] The cathedral of the diocese of Bova was the last one to switch from the Greek to the Latin rite in 1573, while in rural regions the Greek rite is said to have survived in smaller parishes of the *area grecanica* until the 18th century with married priests and the Greek liturgy (Russo 1982: 548-549).

Nonetheless, the need to create clear-cut identities led to the establishment of a separate Church, the so-called *Byzantine Catholic Church* in Italy under the jurisdiction of Rome but following the Eastern rite, which today comprises the three ecclesiastical districts of Lungro (Cosenza), Piana degli Albanesi (Palermo) and the monastery of Grottaferrata near Rome. The eparchy of Lugro today spans approximately 500 square kilometers and has no territorial contiguity, but stretches over the whole of the South of the peninsula and reflects the minority status of the believers. The liturgy in the *Byzantine Catholic Church* is held

[6] *Vita Sancti Leonis*, Acta Sanctorum, May 5th, vol. 2, 48-49. The cult of Saint Leo dates back to the 12th century. According to legend, Leo saved the local population from starvation by transforming tar pitch, which in this region used to be harvested from trees, into bread. For the legend see MINUTO (2002: 80-82).

partially in Greek and in Albanian in order to convey the ethnic and traditional peculiarities of the parishes.

In the Catholic Church, diversity is expressed through the distinction between different rites – the "liturgical, theological, spiritual and disciplinary patrimony, culture and circumstances of history of distinct people, by which its own manner of living the faith is manifested”.[7] A church *sui iuris* is "a community of the Christian faithful, which is joined together by a hierarchy according to the rule of law and which is expressly or tacitly recognised as *sui iuris* by the supreme authority of the Church"[8]. The term has been coined only in modern times in order to confirm the peculiar status of the *sui iuris* churches inside the Roman Catholic Church and thus allows the various Oriental Catholic Churches to protect their patrimonial autonomous nature on the one hand, while ensuring that the flock of the Roman Catholic Church is not at risk of being handed over to a competing Church, in this case, the Eastern (Byzantine) Church. On the other hand, this also means that the autonomy of these *sui iuris* churches is relative in the sense that they remain under the legislation of the Pope.

This status as a distinct Church *sui iuris* was acknowledged in the case of the *Byzantine Catholic Church* in Italy for an ethnic minority with its own needs of special sacramental ministration. Its establishment became necessary in the context of “confessionalisation”, a term used by German historians for the parallel processes of “confession-building” taking place in Central Europe between the Peace of Augsburg (1555) and the Thirty Years' War (1618-1649) (Schilling 1988). The differentiation of the two denominations shaped not only their mutual contact but also reinforced vertical authority in society in general. The concept of *mutatis mutandis* applies to South Italy too, where the foundation of a *sui iuris* Church served to ensure disambiguation and subsequently eliminated popular traditions.

---

[7] CCEO (Codex Canonum Ecclesiarum Orientalium / Code of Canons of the Oriental Churches), promulgated by Pope John Paul II in 1990, c. 28, § 1: "Ritus est patrimonium liturgicum, theologicum, spirituale et disciplinare cultura ac rerum adiunctis historiae populorum distinctum, quod modo fidei vivendae uniuscuiusque Ecclesiae sui iuris proprio exprimitur." In the CCEO the common law of portions of the Canon Law for the 23 of the 24 *sui iuris* Churches in the Catholic Church are codified. It is divided into 30 titles and has a total of 1,540 canons.

[8] "Coetus christifidelium hierarchia ad normam iuris iunctus, quem ut sui iuris expresse vel tacite agnoscit suprema Ecclesiae auctoritas, vocatur in hoc Codice Ecclesia sui iuris." (CCEO c. 27).

Latinisation of the former Greek areas and the challenge of modern society

The autonomous status of Church *sui iuris* was not granted to the Greek-speaking believers themselves in the *area grecanica*, and the reasons can only be inferred through conjecture – such as the fact that, for fear of social downgrading, the Greek nobility and clergy seemed to be more inclined towards Latinisation, leaving the usage of the Greek language and customs to the laymen (Castagna 2014: 15).[9] Thus, after the Norman period, a slow but steady decline of Byzantine culture began, as the Greek speakers were, mostly, illiterate peasants unable to manage religious and economic structures. The once dominant culture became subordinate and eventually existed only in an entirely oral world of shepherds and farmers. Until the Greek speakers were "discovered" by folklorists, their presence had virtually been overlooked for centuries since the inaccessible and isolated territory of South Aspromonte had preserved a closed and, in a way, autarchic survival economy until the 1960s. The endurance of the local Greek language triggered the interest of scholars during the second half of the 20th century when the Calabrian-Greek world was already on the path to extinction. The social and economic changes of modernity challenged the rural style of living, emigration depopulated the region and finally, landslides and floods destroyed the material foundation of the traditional communities and the remaining population dispersed into anonymous coastal dormitory towns. Given the resistance of the inhabitants of several inland Greek-speaking villages, some aspects of "Greek-ness" have survived almost miraculously and finally gained the support of the European Union, the Greek government and, not least, the Patriarchate of Constantinople, which, respectively, granted structural funds, cultural centers and patronage to newly consecrated Greek Orthodox churches and monasteries. Today the "Greek-ness", be it linguistic, cultural or religious, has become the salient feature of the region (Castagna 2014).

But despite the considerable efforts made by various actors to enhance the economic performance of the region, South Aspromonte still remains on the fringes with little prospect of integration either on a national level in Italy or on a supranational level in the European Union. However,

[9] An example that illustrates this theory is the sculpture group of the Annunciation in the Church of S. Teodosio in Bagaladi. It was commissioned in 1504 by Iacopo Virducio, a Greek monk, who chose the "Latin" artistic expression of the finest Renaissance artist of in the region, Antonello Gagini (FAENZA 2016).

modernisation has brought significant changes to the formerly tight-knit society of the *area grecanica*. The migration of labor to coastal towns and the cities in the North has depopulated the rural settlements, but massive migratory movements from Eastern Europe to Italy have changed the religious landscape not only in the whole nation in general but also in its remotest periphery. Eastern Europeans also brought with them their own – Eastern Orthodox – denomination, adding one more nuance of religious diversity to the area.

Migration and diversification inside the Eastern Orthodox Church: The Case of the Diaspora

The Eastern, or Orthodox Church after the Schism of 1054, has existed in Italy for many centuries, mainly in the South. In more recent times, joint European legislation allowing freedom of travel and work have initiated several larger migratory waves to Italy from Eastern Europe, namely Romania and Serbia. This has an enormous impact on the structure and legislation of the Orthodox Church in the West, and is called "Diaspora". This aspect of the Orthodox Churches has gained increasing attention since WWII, but it is closely related to the changes beginning in the 19th Century, or even much earlier. One effect of this transformation is that today Orthodox tradition is no longer limited to Eastern Europe, but has spread into those territories traditionally dominated by Western European culture and religion. The dispersion of Orthodox believers outside the canonical territory of their churches of origin …

> ... leads to the reorganisation of the entire Orthodox cultural universe, forcing it to confront social, cultural, religious, and juridical contexts that are quite different from those that pertained in their home countries (GIORDAN 2013: 57).

The Orthodox community in Italy is the third largest after Catholics and Muslims and its number has increased rapidly since 2000, as three in four parishes were established after this date (Giordan 2013: 58). Unlike the Roman Catholic Church the …

> ... Orthodox Church has a decentralised and flexible way of organizing. Rather than an institution, it is "Ekklesia", a spiritual unity and essence. In terms of organisation, the trend in the Orthodox world has been "centrifugal" and towards the formation of churches on a regional or national basis. There are churches that recognize each other and form a

communion; however, in terms of internal organisation and administration, they are autonomous (IHLAMUR 2009: 67).

While in the Roman Catholic Church, as stated above, diversity is reflected in the ritual differences, in Orthodoxy it is reproduced in fractions of ethno-phyletic divisions (Papathomas 2006: 3). In contemporary Italy, where migrants from Eastern Europe changed the cultural and religious landscape, cross-interaction between Orthodox and Catholic Christians also became detectable. This has noticeable consequences in a region where a certain bias towards Greek and/or Orthodox traditions has always been a subcutaneous phenomenon. The fact that the population already felt somehow "culturally Greek" and simultaneously had a very loose relationship with the centralised Italian nation state made it easier for the Orthodox Church to re-install Orthodox spirituality by consecrating old and new churches and founding monasteries in Calabria and Sicily after 2001.

Alternative or supranational religious identities in a modern age?

The questions that arise in this context can be summarised as follows: In what sense did the Grecophone minority keep its liminal status between the Roman Catholic and the Byzantine Catholic Church? What role does "Greek-ness" play once the language is dying out? How do members of a specific social group on the fringes of Italian society, in this case the inhabitants of the *area grecanica*, define their identity in a sphere contended by Italian citizenship, Roman Catholic or Orthodox Church, and modern world?

Attempting to overcome the essentialist representations of groups and their identity, post-structuralist historiography and social sciences have emphasised the fluidity of religious frontiers and linguistic, political and social barriers, and the mutual dependence of social networks and individual identity. In liminal conditions, as we would define the focused group, which geographically and historically stands at the edges of Europe, marginalised in different senses, situated in a structurally weak area and plagued by natural disasters, unemployment and organised crime, identity is fluid and flexible. Lacking "trust […] [the] essential component of social capital" (Putnam 1993: 170), the political establishment in Rome is unable to offer any identity markers related to the nation state. On the other hand, this by no means implies that the collective attributions and the linguistic, religious and political distinctions are completely aleatory. In

times of crisis and conflicts, this differentiation is utilised to claim certain rights, while in other contexts those same distinctions are overcome and identities are reconstructed on a completely different basis. This observation by Falcetta (2014: 385) regarding Greek communities in South Italy in early modern times is still applicable.

Case Study: Religious Identities in the *area grecanica*

In the following section I shall correlate a small case study with the theoretical considerations above. The small village of Gallicianò, which I visited in 2007 and 2015, is part of the complex territory of Condofuri on the Ionic versant of the Aspromonte, which is composed of the settlements of Condofuri Superiore and Condofuri Marina, San Carlo, Amendolea and Gallicianò. Today, the population of this region is mainly concentrated in Condofuri Marina on the coast, while the administration remains in the mountains, in Condofuri Superiore. Gallicianò is accessible and frequented, at least during the summer months, by locals who spend their holidays in their home town but live and work in bigger cities, as well as by visitors who are mostly attracted by the Greek heritage of the so-called "Acropolis of Magna Graecia in Calabria". According to many sources, Gallicianò seems to be one of the last places where the Grecanico language is actually spoken, although my own research offers a different picture.[10]

Even though the Griko language seems to have almost died out in the *area grecanica*, the need to adopt a "Greek" identity inside Italy has not come to an end, as the following examples show. It is noteworthy that instead of a linguistic connection to Greece now, religious ties to the

[10] A relatively recent example is KATTENBUSCH 2006: 1852: "Nur in Gallicianò wird grecanico von Jugendlichen verwendet." Kattenbusch's information seems to be slightly outdated since Gallicianò is listed in his article as having 237 inhabitants and 186 speakers of Grecanico. Generally, today the number of inhabitants is around 60, see e.g. the official site of the municipality of Condofuri at: http://condofuri.asmenet.it/index.php?action=index&p=577 [Accessed 15.11.2016]. Domenico Minuto recalls Gallicianò as a Grecophone village in the late 1960s (MINUTO 1977: 192). During my own - short - visits in both 2007 and 2015 not even one person in Gallicianò was willing to speak in Grecanico with me. Castagna's information seems to be more realistic: "Today, Greek is spoken in Calabria by the older generations of Bova and in a more fragmentary manner in Gallicianò and Roghudi Nuovo where it [is] rarely used in public. In Condofuri and Amendolea we find some sporadic cases, whereas it can be considered as having died out in Roccaforte." (CASTAGNA 2014: 21 sqq.).

Eastern tradition are emphasised, although it is not clear if this orientation towards "Greece" necessarily leads to conversion to the Greek Orthodox Church. It is worth noting that in this context "Greece" does not refer to the neighboring nation-state, but to a rather blurry notion of a cultural, linguistic and predominantly spiritual concept. In any case, more than one possibility seems to be conceivable.

Most of the examples I have collected come from around the village of Gallicianò, which over the years has witnessed the (re-)birth of two spiritual developments: the revival of a more or less extinct genuine Byzantine Catholic tradition and the arrival of a new denomination, the Greek Orthodox Church, prompted by the efforts of the Patriarchate of Constantinople and the increasing number of migrants in the region. Since 2001, a tiny, but fully-fledged Orthodox chapel is in use. In 1999, the construction of the small Orthodox Church "Panaghia tis Elladas" was completed. The small, rustic Byzantine chapel was built by restoring a stone house in the upper part of the village. It is open for services and is testimony to a new climate of ecumenism and the return of Orthodox pilgrims to sites of Greek cult (Foti 2014). In his memoirs, Domenico Minuto recalls this church, the Chapel of Santa Maria di Grecia, only as pitiful remains when he visited in 1965 and 1970. He states:

> Almost nothing exists anymore of this church, even if several inhabitants of Gallicianò recall it standing; there is a rectangular trench of 4 x 2,50 m, approximately half a meter in depth and partly buried, with small sides to the East and the West. (MINUTO 1977: 193-194).

The Ecumenical Patriarch, Bartholomew I, consecrated the temple during his pilgrimage to Calabria in March 2001, as documented on an inaugural plaque. Today, the reconstruction of the building is complete and wall frescoes in the Orthodox style have recently been added to parts of the church. According to my sources, these wall paintings were done by an Athonite monk named Kosmas in 2008. He tried to revive the monastery in "Grecia" ("Greece"), a deserted village high in the mountains whose buildings are now only used periodically by shepherds. Day after day, Kosmas travelled down to Gallicianò to decorate the altar wall of the church with a fresco of three Orthodox saints. The painting itself is unfinished since Kosmas had to leave the village after internecine ecclesiastic quarrels.[11]

[11] Oral testimony by Giovanni, a local man in his late thirties, who takes care of the chapel and guides pilgrims and tourists, on 26.09.2015.

The church holds services and a liturgy is celebrated on high religious feast days by the Greek Orthodox protopresbyter of Reggio Calabria, Daniele Castrizio, a local convert.[12] The services are attended by local people and pilgrims – mostly Russians and Romanians. The liturgy cannot be held more frequently since local psalmists cannot be found. Moreover, the sacred space is occasionally shared with Russian or Romanian clerics who celebrate baptisms or marriages for residents from their respective backgrounds.[13] Given the fact that not even one resident of the village belongs to the Greek Orthodox Church, the construction of the church was obviously more than a mere restoration; it was the erection of a symbolic space in the heart of the *area grecanica*. This led to the existence of two Churches that do not form a communion, namely the Roman Catholic Church – with the temple of Saint John the Baptist in the center of the village - and the Orthodox Church in a minuscule settlement of only a handful of families. But in actual fact, the situation is even more complex.

Masses conducted according to Eastern rites by a Catholic cleric have occasionally been held inside the Roman Catholic Church of San Giovanni since at least 1968. No testimonies could be found for earlier times, but obviously this does not mean that there have never been Masses in the Eastern rite. Again, Minuto (1977: 192) remarks:

> Father Giacomo Engels, Benedictine monk from the monastery of Chevetogne and economus of the Pontifical Greek College in Rome, celebrates Mass in the Greek rite from time to time.

The dedication of Father Giacomo and his continuous efforts to re-establish the Byzantine Catholic rite in the *area grecanica* with the help of both Filippo Curato, the protopapas of the traditionally bi-ritualistic cathedral *Cattolica dei Greci* in Reggio Calabria at the time and the Italo-Albanian Byzantine Catholic community of Lungro, finally led to the foundation of the small, but officially recognized Byzantine community (Engels 1995). Minuto (2006) recalls in a very touching and personal way the history of the small community from 1968, which he had witnessed from within as one of the most active lay members. This congregation, called *San Cipriano of Reggio*, has in Mario Casile, an officially appointed

[12] The official website of the "Sacred Orthodox Archidiocese of Italy and Malta" attests altogether four sanctuaries in Calabria. One of them is the church of Gallicianò:
http://www.ortodossia.it/w/index.php?option=com_content&view=category&layout=blog&id=50&lang=it

[13] Testimony by Giovanni, 26.09.2015.

bi-ritualistic deacon – i.e. ordained for both the Catholic and the Byzantine rite (Minuto 2006: 21). The community is under the legislation of the (Roman Catholic) bishop of Reggio Calabria. This small community began its efforts to revive both the Greek culture and religion in Gallicianò in 1968, but after a period of migration between various churches and chapels in the *area grecanica*, a permanent home was finally found in Reggio Calabria, the capital of the province (Minuto 2012).

The practice of Mass in the Greek rite celebrated by a Catholic cleric is relatively widely used today in the Grecophone area and has become a commonly accepted feature of the region. Services are offered in different Catholic churches of the area, approximately four per month. The religious Masses are attended by a small nucleus of 30 locals (Minuto 2006: 22) but reinforced by a number of migrants of Orthodox background. Celebrations of the local culture are accompanied by a Holy Mass[14] and the salient local feature is increasingly perceived as "Greek" linguistically, culturally and spiritually. In my conversations with locals, almost all of my interviewees repeatedly confirmed that they were Roman Catholics and Italian citizens but felt *culturally* Greek. This tendency is also palpable on websites on culture and tourism in the regions (e.g. www.paleariza.it) and personal blog posts (Spirlì 2014). On the other hand, my research has not attested many conversions to the Orthodox Church by Catholic residents. Minuto recalls three conversions to Orthodoxy, mainly priests (Minuto 2006: 21).

But, given the on-going immigration from Eastern Europe, the number of members of this community will probably increase, namely in favor of the Romanian Orthodox Church.

In summary, it can be stated that Gallicianò is characterized by a very broad variety of rites and denominations, despite its small community. Its inhabitants can and do occasionally follow not only Roman Catholic Church services but also Eastern rite worship because they feel culturally Greek and the Greek rite gives them a deeper feeling of belonging. Of course, this rite is exactly as Catholic as the Roman rite, but the participants enjoy an enhanced spiritual experience, especially when singing and listening to the Byzantine chants. Interestingly enough, the renewal of Greek spiritual life increased when the language had already ceased to be a marker, and the beginning of this tendency can be traced back to 2001, when the Ecumenical Patriarch Bartholomew completed the pilgrimage he made to Calabria in order to revive Orthodox spirituality and monastic life in the once Greek area – the Resurrection is one of the

[14] See the "Giornata di studi sulla tradizione greca" held in Bova, September 17th, 2016, account online: http://www.ntacalabria.it/area-grecanica/a-bova-giornata-di-studi-sulla-tradizione-greca.html.

most frequent metaphors in his homily to the population of the *area grecanica* (Bartholomew II 2001).

Preliminary conclusion

Since this study is based on relatively limited material from two very short field trips, it is impossible to draw final conclusions. Although it is a very important aspect, the investigation into the revival of Orthodox monastic life in the region has deliberately been left out owing to lack of space. Nevertheless, some tentative results can be mapped out. The parallel existence of two Catholic rites and additionally at least two Orthodox Churches (Romanian and Greek) in one and the same territory leads to consequences that are partly intended and partly not. The case of the Calabrian Greek population indicates that the installation of Catholic parishes of Eastern Rite is a possible way of allowing diversity inside the Catholic Church, thus keeping the believers from completely changing their denomination by converting to the Greek (or any other) Orthodox Church.

According to the theory of religious economy, religious persons and organisations interact as suppliers and consumers within a market framework of competing groups and ideologies (Stark and Finke 2000). The increasing demand for a new spiritual "home" in a pluralised, late-modern society has been answered by the creation of a local community (e.g. the community of *San Cipriano of Reggio)* that offered the possibility of a connection to the idealised Greek past of the region without leaving the realm of (Catholic) tradition. The desire for an alternative identity in South Italy stems from a certain diffidence in relation to the model of mainstream identity that is Italian citizenship. Since local and national governments are perceived as corrupt and inefficient (Putnam 1999 : 81), social capital is attributed to alternative, or even merely imagined, institutions. This shows that in this case "institutional fictions gain the power of creating reality" (Rehberg 1998 : 407), and the connection to the Greek past offers an alternative to the omnipresent challenges of everyday life in a structurally weak area.

Moreover, taking part in a church function serves multiple goals, and it is not necessarily limited to a single community. Believers can attend the Catholic Mass where they reside, as everybody does because they belong to that particular community, but they can also have a profound spiritual experience when attending a service of Eastern rite (Minuto 2006: 20). It is even possible that parishioners attend the Byzantine service because it is taking its turn in that Roman Catholic church and they patiently endure the

longer ritual (Minuto 2006: 20). Again, it should be stressed that for a Catholic, going to Roman and Eastern rite Mass is absolutely justified. What is important in this context is that the cultural differences expressed in the liturgical language and chants seem to reverberate positively in the community and eventually help to fulfill the wish for an alternative spiritual identity.

The increasing presence of Orthodox churches of various nationalities in the area is the consequence of different circumstances. Orthodox communities gain momentum from the new flexibility of frontiers in Europe. This evolution can therefore be explained through the phenomenon of diaspora and the creation of supranational religious spheres (Ihlamur 2009). Nevertheless, conversions to Greek Orthodoxy occasionally occur in the region, mostly among clerics, and this could hint at broader developments.

In the contested field of religious denomination and national identity, the specific nature of borderline communities in pluriethnic and multi-religious regions offers a wide range of options to choose from according to personal needs. However, Mass then becomes the type of social context where cultural categories of identity are articulated, reproduced and challenged. The revival of old religious communities and the emergence of new ones in liminal areas is thus part of religious individualisation in late modernity.

References

BARTH, Frederik (1969): *Introduction.* In: Ethnic groups and boundaries. The social organization of culture difference, Oslo/Bergen: Universitetsforlaget: 9-38.

Batholomew II (2001): *Omelia di S.S. il Patriarca Ecumenico Nel corso della Sua Visita a Bova Marina*, 23.03.2001, available at: http://www.ortodossia.it/w/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=225:discorso-di-sua-santita-il-patriarca-ecumenico, -bartolomeo8&catid=15:omelie&lang=it. [Accessed 15.11.2016].

BAYER, Axel (2004): *Spaltung der Christenheit. Das sogenannte Morgenländische Schisma von 1054*, Köln/Weimar/Wien: Böhlau.

BRAUDEL, Fernand (1958): *Histoire et Sciences sociales: La longue durée*. In: Annales 13/4: 725-753.

BRUBAKER, Leslie; HALDON, John (2011): *Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era, c. 680-850. A History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

BULLARIUM PONTIFICUM SACRAE CONGREGATIONIS DE PROPAGANDA FIDE (1839). Roma.

CASTAGNA, Ettore (2014): *The Riza. The Greek-Calabrian People's Ancient Roots.* In: Pucambù: A guide to sustainable Tourism of the Graecanic Area, 2nd ed., Reggio Calabria: Calabria Letteraria Editrice: 7-23.

DE ROSA, Gabriele (1998): *Tempo religioso e tempo storico: saggi e note di storia sociale e religiosa dal medioevo all'età contemporanea* [=Storia e letteratura. Raccolte e testi, 199], Roma: Edizioni storia e letteratura.

ENZENSBERGER, Horst (1973): *Der "Ordo Sancti Basilii", eine monastische Gliederung der römischen Kirche (12. - 16. Jh.).* In: La Chiesa Greca in Italia dall'VIII al XVI secolo. [Italia Sacra, 22], Padova: 1139 – 1151.

ENGELS, Giacomo (1995): *Un tentativo di ravvivamento della spiritualità bizantina.* In: POLIMENI, Giuseppe (Ed.), Calabria bizantina. Il territorio grecanico da Leucopetra a Capo Bruzzano. Soveria Mannelli: Rubbettino: 85-88.

FAENZA, Pasquale (2016): *Radio Interview*. In: Volti e voci della Calabria Greca, RAI Radio 3, 26.09.2016, available at: http://www.passioni.rai.it/dl/portaleRadio/media/ContentItem-dce7cb53-94ec-4afc-8300-586afc071855.html [Accessed 15.11.2016].

FALCETTA, Angela (2014): *Ortodossi nel Mediterraneo cattolico: comunità di rito greco nell'Italia del Settecento.* PhD thesis, University of Padova, available at: http://paduaresearch.cab.unipd.it/6385/1/Falcetta_Angela_tesi.pdf, [Accessed 15.11.2016].

FOTI, Filippo (2014): *Gallicianò: il borgo più greco d'Italia nel cuore della Magna Grecia dell'Aspromonte* [blog] Profumo di mare, available at: http://profumodimare.forumfree.it/?t=68788528 [Accessed 15.11.2016].

MUSTI, Domenico (2005): *Magna Grecia: Il quadro storico*, Bari: Editori Laterza.

GIORDAN, Giuseppe (2013): *A World in Motion: The Plurality of Orthodox Churches in Italy.* In: Religion & the Social Order 23: 57-74.

HORDEN, Peregrine (2005): *Mediterranean excuses: Historical writing on the Mediterranean since Braudel.* In: History and Anthropology 16/1: 25-30.

HÜNERMANN, Peter (Ed.) (2004): *Die Dokumente des Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzils. Konstitutionen, Dekrete, Erklärungen*, Freiburg: Herder.

IHLAMUR, Suna Gülfer (2009): *The Romanian Orthodox Churches in Italy: The Construction of Romanian-Italian Transnational Orthodox Space*, 2009 Ph.D. thesis, University of Trento, available at:

http://eprints-phd.biblio.unitn.it/74/1/PhDThesisSGI.pdf, [Accessed 15.11.2016].

KATTENBUSCH, Dieter (2006): *Alloglotte Sprechergruppen in den romanischen Sprachräumen: Italoromania*. In: ERNST, Gerhard; GLEßGEN, Martin-Dietrich; SCHMITT, Christina; SCHWEICKARD, Wolfgang (Eds.), Romanische Sprachgeschichte, vol. 2, Berlin/New York, Walter de Gruyter: 1849-1856.

FALKENHAUSEN, Vera von (1967): *Untersuchungen über die byzantinische Herrschaft in Süditalien vom 9. bis ins 11. Jahrhundert*, [Schriften zur Geistesgeschichte des östlichen Europa, 1] Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

LORUSSO, Lorenzo (2014): *Il diritto particolare delle circoscrizioni ecclesiastiche bizantine in Italia.* In: Kanon XXIII: 64-87.

MEYENDORFF, John (1989): *Imperial unity and Christian divisions: the Church, 450-680 AD*, [= The Church in history, 2], Crestwood (NY), St. Vladimir's Seminary Press.

MINUTO, Domenico (Ed.) (2002): *Profili di santi in Calabria.* Reggio Calabria, Pontani.

MINUTO, Domenico (2006): *La Comunità Bizantina di Reggio Calabria.* In: Odigos 1: 20-22.

—. (2012): *Riconoscimento Comunità Bizantina*, 17.01.2012, available at: http://www.grecanica.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=217:riconoscimento-comunita-bizantina&catid=1:ultime&lang=it, [Accessed 15.11.2016].

—. (2016): *Radio Interview.* In: Volti e voci della Calabria Greca, 25.09.16, RAI Radio 3, available at: http://www.passioni.rai.it/dl/portaleRadio/Programmi/Page-5f6a383c-7e48-4074-9b27-115f3e971eb2.html?section=Main, [Accessed 15.11.2016]

PAPATHOMAS, Grigorios D. (2006): *Au temps de la post-écclesialité.* In: Kanon XIX: 3-21.

PERI, Vittorio (1984): *L'unione della Chiesa Orientale con Roma. Il moderno regime canonico occidentale nel suo sviluppo storico*. In: Aevum 58/3: 439-498.

—. (1997): *Il Concilio di Trento e la Chiesa greca*. In: ALBERIGO, Giuseppe; ROGGER, Iginio (Eds.), Il Concilio di Trento nella prospettiva del terzo millennio. Atti del Convegno tenuto a Trento il 25-28 settembre 1995. Brescia, Morcelliana: 403-441.

RUSSO, Francesco (1982): *Storia della chiesa in Calabria dalle origini al concilio di Trento.* Soveria Mannelli: Rubbettino.

SCHILLING, Heinz (1988): *Die Konfessionalisierung im Reich. Religiöser und gesellschaftlicher Wandel in Deutschland zwischen 1555 und 1620.* In: Historische Zeitschrift 246: 1-45.

SOULE, W. Becket (2012): *Canonical Status of Eastern Catholics and the Drafting of the Code of Canons of the Eastern Churches.* In: Kanon XXII: 127-142.

PUTNAM, Robert D. (1993): *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy.* Princeton: Princeton University Press.

REHBERG, Karl-Siegbert (1998): *Die stabilisierende “Fiktionalität” von Präsenz und Dauer. Institutionelle Analyse und historische Forschung.* In: BLÄNKER, Reinhard; JEUSSEN, Bernhard (Eds.), Institutionen und Ereignis. Über historische Praktiken und Vorstellungen gesellschaftlichen Ordnens, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht: 381-407.

STARK, Rodney; FINKE, Roger (2000): *Acts of Faith. Explaining the Human Side of Religion*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

SPIRLÌ, Nino (2014): *Gallicianò. Quei greci di Calabria antichi di 3000 anni*, [blog] Il giornale, 15.12.2014, available at: http://blog.ilgiornale.it/spirli/2014/12/15/galliciano-quei-greci-di-calabria-antichi-di-3000-anni/?repeat=w3tc#, [Accessed 15.11.2016].

VARNALIDIS, S. V. (1981): *Le implicazioni del Breve "Accepimus nuper" di Papa Leone X (18 maggio 1521) e del Breve "Romanus Pontifex" di Papa Pio (16 febbraio 1564) nella vita religiosa dei Greci e degli Albanesi dell'Italia meridionale.* In: Nicolaus 9/2: 359-382.

VISCARDi, Giuseppe Maria; LEROUX, Paule (1996): *La pietà popolare in Italia, vol. 1: Calabria.* Paris/Roma, Letouzay & Anet/Edizioni di storia e letteratura.

THE GREEK PRESS'S CONTRIBUTION TO THE PRESERVATION OF THE GRECANIC DIALECT

CHRISTINA VAMVOURI, VASSILIS MESSIS AND FOTIS DIMAKIS

"I was given Greek as a mother tongue...
A humble house on the sands of Homer...
My only worry is my language on the sands of Homer..."
Odysseas Elytis in *Axion Esti*

These lines from Nobel Prize-winning poet Odysseas Elytis render the connection between the language, history, Greece and Hellenism perhaps better and more accurately than any other passage. They describe Hellenism which, as a cultural value, brings together numerous coastlines, aside from those of Homer. The beaches of Egypt and southern Italy (Calabria and Apulia) are among the centres of the Greek language outside of Greek territory, even today. They include the cities of Lecce and Calimera, as well as about ten more villages. There, the Grecanic dialect is spoken. However, there is the question of how, why and when did these territories start speaking the Grecanic dialect, and the role that Grecanic plays in society today, especially in the media.

There are two main theories about the history of Grecanic. The first was formulated by George Hatzidakis in the late 19th century. He claimed that the Grecanic dialect comes from the Doric Greek that was spoken in Grand Magna Grecia, since it has many Doric idioms that are found in no other Greek dialect except for Tsakonian, in Peloponnese. This theory was supported and spread mostly by the German linguist Gerhard Rohlfs. The second version is presented by the linguist Giuseppe Morosi. He claimed that the Grecanic is the offspring of the Byzantine Greek from the Greek-speaking parties that moved from Peloponnese to southern Italy after the Ottoman conquest of the Greek territory.

However, no matter where Grecanic's origins lie, in recent decades, the topic of the Grecanic dialect has frequently been in the media. We will

focus on how the Greek press presents the Grecanic dialect and promotes the necessity of its preservation. Due to the constraints in space, we shall only discuss a few articles, with the aim of shedding some light on the main trends of each period.

Grecanics themselves, who preserved their dialect and their special culture for centuries, assisted by their geographical isolation and marriages among people of the same descent from the 1930's onwards, came face to face with two strong enemies: Benito Mussolini's fascist regime, which prohibited Grecanics from learning their dialect, and the new post-war way of life, which involved reducing the role of the dialect, as the younger Grecanics attempted to evolve socially and merge into Italian-speaking social circles.

During the decade after the Second World War, numerous Greek newspapers believed that the Grecanics' activities to preserve their language and culture were very interesting and, as a result, make the Greek culture aware of them. These activities took place immediately after the war and in the post-war years. Grecanics contacted authorities, they fraternised with various municipalities in Greece, they printed the Grecanic grammar, the journals and magazines they published appealed to foreign organisations, they organised cultural clubs with Greek names and they helped international conferences about language and civilisation. For instance, there are numerous articles and comments about Grecanic-speaking people visiting Greece. As a matter of fact, in April 1954, the newspaper *Eleftheria* mentioned the arrival of 100 people from Lecce and Calabria arrived in Greece, led by the Italian classics professor Paolo Stomeo. The visitors were pupils from a high school in Lecce and were the first to visit from the Greek-speaking areas during that particular summer. According to the article, most of the visitors had Greek ancestors, and many of them spoke distorted Greek. The aim of the visit was to exchange views on the preservation of the dialect.[1]

At the same time, the newspapers prompted and urged the Greek people to become acquainted with and contribute to the preservation of the Grecanic dialect.

According to an editorial about the origin of the dialect in the newspaper *Macedonia* in 1957, the newspaper recommended that their readers read and study a review by Professor Stulianos Kapsomenos from the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, "From the Vocabulary of the Greeks in Calabria," which had been published in 1949. The author proved that the Greek language of the residents of Calimera, Lecce and the Greek-

[1] *Eleftheria*, 3/4/1954, p. 6.

speaking villages emerged from the ancient Greek language and not from the contemporary Greek.[2]

The press became even more interested in Italo-Greek relationships in the 1960's. In 1961, the *Postman of Egypt* printed an article by an assistant professor of Neo-Hellenic literature at the University of Palermo, Margaret Dalmati, which mentioned a "valuable edition which was edited by the distinguished Hellenist and manager of the Sicilian Institute of Byzantine and Neo-Hellenic Studies, Professor Bruno Lavanin, assisted by two of his former students, Joseph Rossi and Joseph Karakaouzi". It was referring to a massive and remarkable collection of passages in Calabrian Greek that had been published in 1961 by the Sicilian Institute of Byzantine and Neo-Hellenic Studies in Palermo. The article also focussed on the care that should be taken by the Greek state regarding the study of the linguistic material and the preservation of the bonds between the Greek-speaking population and the Greek state.[3]

The press focused on the foreign academics' attempts to preserve the culture, not just with regard to an excavation that was taking place in Calabria and Apulia, but also with regard to the preservation of the dialect and the promotion of Greek-Italian relations. For instance, the newspaper *Eleftheria* published the news about the start of Grand Greece week, which had been inaugurated by the Italian senator Uberto Grianotti Bianco in Athens in May 1962.

The event was organised by the Italian Institute of Athens, thanks to the effort of the head of the institute, Giacomo Alberti. The article mentions that large sums of money had been raised for the research of archaeological sites of Grand Greece, thanks to the efforts of Bianco. According to the author, the Greek state should also show some interest in restoration and preservation[4].

A year later, the newspaper *Macedonia* published a letter from the British resistance writer Patrick Leigh Fermor, a local resident and passionate about Greek culture. With his letter, Leigh Fermor brought the issue of the Greek-speaking people of southern Italy and the preservation of their dialect into the limelight. He also claimed that there were still many possibilities to preserve the Grecanic dialect in southern Italy. His arguments were based on a recent tour that he had taken throughout southern Italy. Until then, he believed that there were only a few residents who spoke the Greek language. However, he met numerous Greek-speaking people who spoke with a strange accent. This dialect consisted of

[2] *Macedonia*, 15/9/1959, p. 2.
[3] *Postman of Egypt*, 5/2/1961, p. 3.
[4] *Eleftheria*, 10/5/1962, p. 5.

a few Italian words and many Greek ones, particularly words which were no longer in use in modern Greek. In the end, Leigh Fermor claims that it is necessary for the Greek state to take measures towards the preservation of the different variations of the Grecanic dialect.[5]

At other points during the decade, the Greek press published news about the research that was being conducted by foreign academic institutions about the Greek dialects spoken in southern Italy and Sicily. As a matter of fact, in 1965, *Macedoniai* announced that the Mary Duke Biddle Foundation was planning to donate a respectable amount of money, in order to show its appreciation towards College of Brooklyn Professor of Greek Prokopias Konstas. Konstas had managed to grow the Greek language program and was interested in studying the Greek dialects of Sicily. The aim of the study was to determine the status of the Grecanic dialect in the area. Apart from the linguistic, literature, historical and cultural study, the professor recorded the language, music and poetry of the Greek-speaking areas.[6]

In addition, newspapers of that period were specifically interested in Grecanic descriptions of voyages in the Mediterranean and the exhibition of ancient Grecanic artefacts and works of art. These news articles would always urge the Greek state to show an active interest in the offspring of ancient Greeks, as they were called. In 1962, in the Greek-language *Postman of Egypt*, it was stated that "the Mediterranean is full of Greece", especially in cities like Reggio, where the residents managed to maintain Greek customs and to speak the Greek language, despite the persecutions against them and the pressure to stop.[7]

In 1972, when Greece was under a dictatorship, there was yet another very interesting article. The newspaper stated that in some parts of Calabria, the inhabitants spoke the language of their ancestors, which is the Greek language. It is also clearly stated that it is not an Italian dialect in which there are some Greek words but clearly a Greek one in which there are some Italian words. "It was a misfortune", the article says, "the fact that these spoken traditions that had been preserved for centuries were on the brink of vanishing, even though the scientists of the Institute of Byzantine and Neo-Hellenic Studies in Palermo and many other [academic institutions] have done a great job." The writer continued, mentioning that it is a duty and responsibility of the Greek state to take care of the preservation of the Grecanic dialect instead of impassively watching the extinction of that affluent cultural wealth. One comment from journalists

[5] *Macedonia*, 3/12/1963, p. 2.
[6] *Macedonia*, 22/8/1965, p. 7.
[7] *Postman of Egypt*, 25/11/1962, p. 3.

and readers comes after another and they point out that the Ministry of Education should intervene drastically, in collaboration with the Italian government.[8]

Due to the development of printed and, later, electronic journalism, up to and including the present, the news and the comments in the media about the Grecanics and their dialect have become so widespread that the issue could be the object of special research within the framework of modern history, in both Greece and Italy.

There are a number of representative articles about this. In 1982, the newspaper *Rizospastis* mentioned that the Greek Minister of Culture, Melina Mercouri, had visited the National Museum of Reggio, met some representatives from the Greek-speaking community in Calabria and had a discussion about their problems.[9]

Since there was a fear that the Grecanic culture may disappear, after a long period of indifference about the problems of Greek-speaking people in Calabria, in 1995, the Greek state established a foundation for Grecanic studies in Bova Marina, in an attempt to preserve the Greek language. This was widely publicised by the Greek press.

Similarly, there was great enthusiasm in the news about organizations in Greek municipalities with Grecanic villages[10] or that the Greek Ambassador in Rome, Michael Kampanis, visited Calabria for three days in September, 2010. The Ambassador and Consulate General in Naples, Emmanuel Apostolakis, met with local authorities and delegates from Greek-speaking villages with the aim of assessing the possibilities for further collaboration between Greek and Grecanic authorities as well as the recording of the situation in the Grecanic areas. Mayors and town council members from the Grecanic areas, local authorities, representatives from the cultural and educational clubs from the Grecanic people of Calabria and local Greek teachers took part in the discussions. During this visit, they managed to stress the Greek interest in the preservation and continuation of Greek dialects and the cultural heritage of the Grecanic areas in Calabria. They also pointed out the various benefits the area may have thanks to the preservation of its unique cultural heritage.

Also in 2010, there is a noteworthy description about a visit to Crete made in December 2010 by the councils of the Apodiafazzi and Ulysses cultural club councils, as well as the band Grand Greece. The article also discussed the clubs' contact with the government and local people. It is mentioned that 13 cultural clubs in Calabria, including Ulysses, are trying

[8] *Macedonia,* 31/5/1970, p. 2.
[9] *Rizospastis,* 5/3/1982, p. 4.
[10] *Ta Nea,* 27/9/1997, p. 4.

to preserve the Grecanic dialect and culture through dictionaries, grammar and syntax books. The article also states that the Greek and Italian government need to support their efforts, so that they can be as effective as possible. Activities recommended include exchange programmes for students or the promotion of post-graduate studies about the Grecanic.[11]

Last but not least, we would like to make it clear that the Greek press maintained a unanimously positive attitude about the preservation of Hellenism in southern Italy and promoted and supported various efforts and initiatives about the preservation of the Grecanic dialect. Indirectly, it was shown through the press that although the country of Greece has clear geographical boundaries, it is a country with no linguistic boundaries and that Greek citizens are people of the world with a number of relatives, at least linguistically. It is also a contrast to Constantinos Cavafy's famous poem "Poseidonians," in which he mentions that "the Poseidonians forgot the Greek language / after so many centuries of mingling / with Tyrrhenians, Latins, and other foreigners." After all, the Poseidonians were once Italian, themselves.

We sincerely hope that the interest in the Grecanic way of life continues in the future and also that the efforts to preserve the Grecanic dialect and culture succeed.

[11] *Patris of Heraclion,* 19/12/2010, p. 4.

PART 3:

SLAVIC IN ITALY

SLAVIC-ROMANCE LINGUISTIC CONTACT REVISITED: THE GRAMMATICALISATION OF THE INDEFINITE ARTICLE IN THE SLOVENE DIALECTS OF FRIULI

ROSANNA BENACCHIO

1. Introduction

It is known that the indefinite article generally develops from the numeral 'one' through a process of 'semantic bleaching', which progressively causes the original form to lose its numerical value whilst maintaining its "individualising" characteristic, that is, expressing a 'specific' meaning; this meaning will then be lost and, as a result, we arrive at a 'non-specific' meaning, including its function as the marker of "any" member of a class (Givon 1981). This was the course of development that both Romance and Germanic languages followed (Renzi 1976, Nocentini 1996, Ramat 1986).

The same considerations are also true for those Slavic languages (or linguistic varieties) which nowadays, at least at some levels, have an indefinite article.

In this respect, it is interesting to note the remarkable results of P. Weiss's research, which, on the basis of Macedonian material, lent credence to Givón's account of the grammaticalisation of the indefinite article (Weiss 1996).

The same procedure was subsequently adopted by W. Breu (2003), who applied the analysis to two Slavic languages in contact with Italian and German: Molise Slavic and Lusatian Serbian, respectively.

We now intend to turn to another Slavic language area in contact with Romance: the Slovene dialects of Friuli, namely, those of Resia [Res], Torre [Tor] and Natisone [Nat]. The analysis will be extended to the colloquial variant of Standard Slovene where, despite the different position taken by normative grammars, the indefinite article form is widespread.

Finally, we shall make a comparison with Molise Slavic, which shows a very similar situation to that of the Slovene dialects of Friuli.

2. The indefinite article in the Slovene area

In the Slovene dialects of Friuli, together with the accented forms of the numeral (*dyn, dnö, dnä; dny, dne*), we also have the corresponding clitic forms, in proclitic position, before the noun phrase. These forms mostly lack the initial phonetic element –d (*din/ni, nö/nu, na; ni/ne*).

These forms no longer have a quantitative function, but confer an indeterminate value to the noun phrase, evidence that the referent is unknown to the listener.

More precisely, such clitic forms cover all the typical functions of the totally grammaticalised indefinite article and express both specific and non-specific meanings, including the generic one, much like Italian and Friulian.

However, it is worth pointing out that such forms are not fully grammaticalised since their use is not obligatory and they are subject to several variations and exceptions.

On the other hand, if we consider other Slovene dialects, spoken further away from the Romance 'contact' area, or if we take the colloquial variety of Standard Slovene, we immediately notice the following remarkable difference: the forms we are dealing with are used only in reference to a specific object; if the referent is not specific or generic, such use is not allowed.

2.1. Specific reference

Let us analyse a typical case of sentence final rheme in presentational sentences where the article clearly has a specific meaning, such as "Once upon a time there was ***an*** old lady", which corresponds to the Italian *C'era una volta una donna*[1]. In such a context, the dialects of Friuli make always use of the indefinite article, as shown by the examples in (1):

(1) a. *Onde nur jë bila **na** stara žanä* [Res]
b. *Dan bot na živiela **na** stara baba* [Tor]
c. *Je bla ankrat **na** stara žena* [Nat]

[1] For every example, the Italian translation will be given in order to show possible influences of this language on the Slovene varieties under discussion.

Colloquial Slovene too uses an indefinite article, as do other linguistic varieties of Slavic origin in contact with Romance such as Molise Slavic

(2) *Nekoč je živela **ena** ženska* [Coll Sln]

(3) *Biša nu votu **na** žena stara* [Mol Sl]

In contrast to (1)-(3), Standard Slovene [Slv] has mostly zero in the relevant position or, in rare cases, uses an indefinite pronoun:

(4) *Nekoč je živela **(neka)** ženska.*

This different distribution also shows up in contexts requiring the specific value of the indefinite article, as in (5):

(5) *She'd like to marry **a** millionaire, but he doesn't want to*
Lei vorrebbe sposare un milionario ma lui non vuole (Italian)

In such contexts, the Slovene dialects of Friuli make use of the indefinite article (see (6)) as do both colloquial Slovene (7) and Molise Slavic (8):

(6) a. *Onä ma wöjo užinet **noga** miljonarja, ma un an ni ćë* [Res]
b. *Ona na bi tjela oženiti **naa** miljonarja, ma on u nejće* [Tor]
c. *Ona će oženit **nega** miljonarja, ma on jo neće* [Nat]

(7) *Ona bi se poročila z **enim** miljonarjem, ma on noče* [Coll Sl]
(8) *Ona bi tila sa udat z **jenime** miljonarjam, ma on neče* [Mol Sl]

Standard Slovene on the other hand uses an indefinite pronoun and the latter is only optional:

(9) *Ona bi se poročila z **(nekim)** miljonarjem, a on noče*

Another context is given in (10). Here too Resian, Torre and Natisone use an indefinite article with specific reference. This is true for colloquial Slovene (12a) and also Molise Slavic (12b) though not for literary Slovene where the indefinite pronoun *neki* is used, again optionally:

(10) A *coach arrived from Milan*
E' arrivata una corriera da Milano (Italian)

(11) a. *Na paršlä* ***na*** *korijera taz Milana* [Res]
b. *Na paršla* ***na*** *koriera od Milana* [Tor]
c. *Je paršla* ***na*** *koriera taz Milana* [Nat][2]

(12) a. *Je prišel* ***en*** *avtobus iz Milana* [Coll Sl]
b. *Je dola* ***na*** *pošta do Milana* [Mol Sl]
(13) *Prišel je* ***(neki)*** *avtobus iz Milana* [St Sl]

Finally, let us consider the following example which illustrates another use of the specific meaning of the indefinite article:

(14) *I'm looking for* a *friend. He was here earlier*
Cerco *un* amico. Era qui poco tempo fa [It]

Comparable usage is observed both for Resian as well as for the dialects of Torre e Natisone.

(15) a. *Jišćën* ***noga*** *amïga. An bil izdë to nï muć tïmpa* [Res]
b. *E ledan* ***naa*** *znanca. U bi kle malo timpa nuzat* [Tor]
c. *Gledan* ***nega*** *pariatelja. Je biu tle malo cajta od tega* [Nat]

This usage is shared by colloquial Slovene (16a) though not by literary Slovene (16b):

(16) a. *Iščem* ***enga*** *prijatelja. Je bil tu malo prej* [Coll Sl]
b. *Iščem prijatelja. Je bil tu malo prej* [St Sl]

Once again, Molise Slavic patterns with the Slovene dialects of Friuli, as well as with colloquial Slovenian:

(17) *Ja jiskam* ***na*** *mičicij*

2.2. Non-specific reference

The indefinite article has been fully grammaticalised in the Slovene Friulian dialects, probably under influence from the contact Romance area

[22] It is worth observing that in all the dialect varieties that make use of the definite article (BENACCHIO 1998; 2002), if the referent is known to the listener, the definite article (even if it is not obligatory) will appear: *Na paršlä (ta) korijera od Čedada* [Res], *Na paršla (ta) koriera od Čedada* [Tor], *Je paršla (ta) koriera doz Čedada* [Nat].

(not by chance this property is shared by Molise Slavic!). Colloquial Slovene on the other hand, contrary to what we saw above, behaves on a par with with Standard Slovene.

Let us consider a typical example, (18), illustrating the non-specific meaning of the English and Italian indefinite article:

(18) *She wants to marry **a** millionaire, but she can't find one*
*Lei vuole sposare **un** milionario ma non ne trova* [It]

A similar use of the indefinite article can be observed in the Slovene dialects of Friuli, as well as in Molise Slavic. This is evident from the respective translations of (18) given in (19) and (20):

(19) a. *Onä ma wöjo užinet **noga** bogataga moža, ma na ni ga nalaža* [Res]
b. *Ona na bi tjela oženiti **naa** boataa moža, ma na a ne obrienće* [Tor]
c. *Ona će oženit **nega** miljonarja, ma ga na ušafa* [Nat]

(20) *Ona hoče sa udat z **jenime** miljonarjam, ma ga ne nahoda* [Mol Sl]

In the same context, colloquial Slovene, much like Standard Slovene, must use a bare noun. See (21):

(21) *Ona bi se poročila z Ø miljonarjem, pa ga ne najde*

Another instance of a non-specific reference for the indefinite article is presented in (22):

(22) I'd like to have **a** friend
*Vorrei avere **un** amico* [It]

As in the case of (18), the Slovene dialects of Friuli in contact with the Romance area require the indefinite article in translating (22):

(23) a. *Ba tël radë mët **noga** amïga* [Res]
b. *Bi tieu mieti **naa** znanca* [Tor]
c. *Bi tiela miet **nega** pariatelja* [Nat]

In contrast to (23), (24) shows that the indefinite article is unavialble for non-specific usage in colloquial Slovene and Standard Slovene.

(24) *Rada bi imela prijatelja* [Coll Sl/St Sl]

As expected, Molise Slavic patterns with the Slovene dialects of Friuli. See (25):

(25) *Ja ču jimat* ***na*** *mičicij*

Hypothetical sentences also trigger the non-specific value of the indefinite article in languages like English and Italian:

(25) *If* ***a*** *policeman hears you, he'll put you in prison*
Se ti sente ***un*** *poliziotto, ti chiude in prigione* [It]

The three Slovene dialects of Friuli we are considering here (see (26a-c)) regularly use the indefinite article in hypothetical contexts and Molise Slavic behaves in a parallel way (26d). Once again, colloquial Slovene and Standard Slovene stand apart in prohibiting such a use, see (27).

(26) a. *Ći te čüjë* ***dan*** *kribinir, an će te ⍰at w paražun* [Res]
b. *Ći te čuje* ***dan*** *policiot, u će te zaprieti tou paražon* [Tor]
c. *Če te čuje* ***an*** *policiot, te zapre u paražon* [Nat]
d. *Si ta čuje* ***na*** *polidzjot, ta meče pržuna* [Mol Sl]

(27) *Če te sliši Ø policaj, te da v zapor* [Coll Sln = Sln]

The same distribution of the indefinite article over non-specific contexts is observable in examples such as *What do you want me to buy you:* a *dog or* a *cat?* (It. "Cosa vuoi che ti compri: *un* cane o *un* gatto?"), which express a choice question where reference is made to non-specific entities as objects of choice. The paradigm in (28) presents the respective translations:

(28) a. *Koj ći da ti küpin:* ***noga*** *päsa aliböj no tuco*? [Res]
b. *Kuo ćeš ke ti kupi:* ***naa*** *učićja ali naa mačka*? [Tor]
c. *Kaj ćeš de ti kupim,* ***nega*** *pisa al no mačko*? [Nat]
d. *Što mam ti kupit:* ***na*** *kučič oš na mačič?* [Mol Sl].
e. *Kaj naj ti kupim: Ø psa ali Ø mačko*? [Sln Coll = Sln]

Another example which can be used to test non-specificity are questions like *Is there* a *doctor among you*? (It. "C'è *un* medico tra voi?"), which question the existence of a referent evidently non-specific for both the

speaker and listener. In colloquial Slovene (and in exactly the same way in Standard Slovene), this use of the indefinite article is again disallowed so the existential meaning must be expressed by an indefinite pronoun. In the Slovene dialects of Friuli, on the other hand, as well as in Molise Slavic, the indefinite article is obligatory:

(29) a. *Jë **dan** midih ta-mi wami*? [Res]
b. *U je **dan** mjedih med vami kle*? [Tor]
c. *Je **an** miedih tle?* [Nat]
d. *Je tukaj kakšen zdravnik*? [Coll Sln = Sln]
e. *Di sta vi je **na** medik*? [Mol Sl]

Finally, in exhortations like *Call for **a** doctor!* (It. "Chiamate *un* medico!"), where the referent is evidently non-specific, we find the same distribution of the indefinite articles. The latter are regularly used in the Resia, Torre and Natisone dialects, and also in Molise Slavic. Once again, colloquial Slovene disallows the use of the indefinite article thus behaving like Standard Slovene in this non-specific context, too:

(30) a *Pukličita **noga** midiha*! [Res]
b. *Pokličite **naa** miediha*! [Tor][3]
c. *Pokličta **nega** miedha*! [Nat]
d. *Pokličite Ø zdravnika*! [Sln Coll/Sln]
e. *Zov **na** medik*! [Mol Sl]

We shall further analyse the use of the indefinite article to express generic non-specificity in relation to a class of objects. We'll also distinguish the case in which the article combines with a noun phrase in the predicative position from the one in which it combines with the subject.

2.3. Generic meaning

2.3.1. Predicative position

In predicative positions, the indefinite article is regular in those Slovene dialects of Friuli that have been most influenced by contact with Romance-speaking areas, while it does not appear in colloquial Slovene,

[3] Incidentally, the native speaker we interviewed pointed out that a sentence like (39b) cannot be used in the valleys where he lives, in which the doctor is a person everybody knows: in this case they would use the definite article: *Pokličite* ta *miediha*! Our informants living in Resia and Natisone valleys also confirmed this.

which in this domain too patterns with Standard Slovene. Once again, Molise Slavic is similar to the dialects of Friuli thus confirming that the role of contact has been crucial for the grammaticalisation of the indefinite article across the entire contact area. Compare the examples in (31) and (32):

(31) *A lion is* an *animal* (It. "Il leone è *un* animale"*)*
- a. *Lajun to jë* ***dan*** *braw* [Res]
- b. *Leon u je* ***na*** *divja živau* / ***na*** *diviačina* [Tor]
- c. *Lev je* ***na*** *žvina* [Nat]
- d. *Lev je Ø žival* [Sln Coll = Sln]
- e. *Tigra je* ***na*** *nimaldža* [Mol Sl].

(32) *A cowslip is* a *flower* (It. "La primula è *un* fiore")
- a. *Piskalica to jë* ***na*** *roža*[Res]
- b. *Bužarica na je* ***na*** *roža* [Tor]
- c. *Piskulina je* ***na*** *roža* [Nat]
- d. *Trobentica je Ø roža* [Sln Coll = Sln]
- e. *Primula je* ***na*** *hjur* [Mol Sl]

2.3.2. Subject position: prescriptive function

Subject positions present another case of regular (and obligatory) use of the indefinite article in the Slovene dialects of Friuli ((33a-c)/(34a-c)). However, this applies only to (generic) subjects of a prescriptive predication. If on the other hand the predication is descriptive the generic subject must be definite since it refers to the class as a whole rather than to a "token" of the class. In that case, the indefinite article cannot show up. It is interesting to note that the same restriction exists in Italian. It is therefore not surprising that Molise Slavic presents the same property (33e). Different is the case of colloquial Slovene, which in both cases disallows the definite article in exactly the same way as does Standard Slovene. See the examples (33d) and (34d).

(33) A *Resian doesn't lie* (It. "*Un* resiano non mente!")
- a. ***Dan*** *rozajän an ni läžë*! [Res]
- b. ***Dan*** *slovenj/ barjen u ne laže!* [Tor]
- c. ***An*** *benečan na laže*! [Nat]
- d. *Ø Slovenec ne laže*! [Coll Sln = Sln]
- e. ***Na*** *Slav ne goriva laž*! [Mol Sl]

(34) A *good boy doesn't lie* (It. "*Un* bravo bambino non dice bugie!")
  a. ***Dan*** *döbri otrök an ni bužarja*! [Res]
  b. ***Dan*** *pametan otrok u ne bužarja*! [Tor]
  c. ***An*** *pridan otrok ne laze*! [Nat]
  d. *Ø Priden otrok ne laže*![Coll Sln = Sln]
  e. ***Na dobri dita ne govore laž***! [Mol Sl]

3. Conclusion

In analysing the grammaticalisation process of the indefinite article in the Slovene linguistic area, we found a remarkable difference.

Further away from the zone influenced by Romance contact, we find, in colloquial Slovene, the specific meaning (corresponding to the 1st level of grammaticalisation of this form) but neither the non-specific, nor the generic one. In other words, further from the contact zone, Slovene functions in the same way as the other Slavic languages, where the indefinite article grammaticalisation process started, but only reached the first level of its grammatical development. This occurs, for example, in Macedonian (Topolińska 1981-1982; Weiss 1996), partly in Serbian (Ivić 1971), and in Croatian (Kreisberg 2007), etc.

On the other hand, in the Slovene dialects of Friuli, the grammaticalisation process has nearly been completed and the indefinite article expresses both the specific meaning and the non-specific (including the generic one), exactly like Italian and Friulian.

The situation of the Slovene dialects in Friuli is not typical for the Slavic languages, but it is characteristic of those linguistic varieties that have spent centuries in "absolute" contact with Romance languages (Molise Croatian) or with German (Sorbian), (Breu 2003; 2008).

Different again is the situation of the definite article, which is homogeneous in the whole of the Slovene linguistic area. This form, too, is the result of a grammaticalisation process (in this case, from the deictic pronoun for the medium-distance object), but it is found both in Slovene dialect areas that are situated far from Romance contact (Kolarič 1960 и 1961-1962) and in colloquial Slovene (Trovesi 2004, Bažec 2008; 2011, Marušič & Žaucer 2007).

In this entire area the definite article covers all the functions (although with some variations in use) typical for the definite article cross-linguistically, namely to express the 'definiteness' of the referent in terms of anaphoric reference, shared knowledge (familiarity) and class (generalizing function) (Renzi 1976, Nocentini 1996, Benacchio 1998, 2002, Trovesi 2004). See: "*te* lipe maškire", "*ti* stari nu *ti* mladi"," *te* stare

žane, po *ti* növi modi" (Steenwijk 2002 – Res); "s *temi* starimi judami" (Dapit 1996 – Tor); "po parpovedanju *te* starih" (Baudouin de Courtenay 1988 – Nat); "Vzemi *ta* novi auto!", "Obleci *ta* rdečo obleko!" (Bažec 2008: 252) (Coll Sl).

Finally, the results of this research confirm, firstly, the claim that linguistic contact plays an important role in grammaticalisation processes (Heine & Kuteva 2002, Hopper & Traugott 2003); secondly, they re-confirm the generally accepted claim according to which the grammaticalisation process of the indefinite article is more recent than that of the definite article (Bažec 2011: 20, Weiss 1996: 427, Breu 2003).

References

BAUDOUIN DE COURTENAY, JAN (1988): *Materiali per la dialettologia e l'etnografia slavo-meridionale,* IV, *Testi popolari in prosa e versi raccolti in Val Natisone nel 1873/ Materiali za južnoslovansko dialektologijo in etnografijo,* IV, *Ljudska besedila v prozi in verzih, zbrana v Nadških dolinah leta 1873*, a c. di L. Spinozzi Monai, Trieste - S. Pietro al Natisone.

BAŽEC, HELENA (2008): *Sull'articolo determinativo sloveno.* In: A. Trovesi (Ed.), Le lingue slave tra innovazione e conservazione: grammatica e semantica, Incontro di linguistica slava. Bergamo, 4-5 maggio 2007 ("Filologia e linguistica", 26), 235-258.

—. (2010): *Inquadramento diacronico e sincronico di* en *in sloveno.* In: R. Benacchio, L. Ruvoletto (Eds.), Lingue slave in evoluzione: studi di grammatica e semantica, II Incontro di Linguistica slava. Padova, 14-15 novembre 2008, Padova, Unipress, 3-16.

—. (2011): *La nascita degli articoli nello sloveno*. PhD Dissertation, Università Ca' Foscari Venezia.

BENACCHIO, ROSANNA (1998): *K voprosu ob opredelennom artikle v slavjanskich jazykach: rezjanskij govor.* In, Jazyki malye i bol'šie (in memoriam acad. Nikita I. Tolstoi), pod. red. A.D. Duličenko, ("Slavica Tartuensia", IV), 76-78.

—. (2002): *I dialetti sloveni del Friuli tra periferia e contatto.* Udine: Società Filologica Friulana.

BREU, WALTER (2003): *Der indefinite Artikel in slavischen Mikrosprachen: Grammatikalisierung im totalen Sprachkontakt.* In: Slavistische Linguistik 2001, Referate des XXVII- Konstanzer Slavistischen Arbeitstreffens, hrsg. von H. Kusse, München, 27-67.

—. (2008): *Razvitie sistem artiklej v slavjanskich mikrojazykach v absoljutnom jazykovom kontakte.* In: S. Kempgen, k. Gutschmidt, U.

Jekutsch, L. Udolph (Eds.), Deutsche Beiträge zum 14. Internationalen Slavistenkongress Ohrid 2008. München: Sagner: 75-88.

DAPIT, ROBERTO (1996): *Cultura materiale dell'alta Valle del Torre.* In: *Tarcint e valadis de Tor.* Udine: Societat Filoilogjiche Furlane: 209-220.

GIVON, TALMY (1981): *On the Development of the Numeral 'one' as an Indefinite Marker.* Folia linguistica historica, t. II, 1: 35-53.

—. (1984): *Definiteness and Referentiality.* In: *Syntax. A Functional-Typological Introduction*, I. Amsterdam: John Benjamins: 387-435.

HOPPER, TRAUGOTT (2003): *Grammaticalization.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

KOLARIČ, RUDOLF (1961-1962): *Določni in nedoločni spolnik v slovenščini.* Zbornik za filologiju i linguistiku, 4-5: 170-174.

KREISBERG, ALINA (2007): *Ancora a proposito dell'articolo slavo-molisano. Un tentativo di raffronto con altre lingue slave*. In: P. Consani (Eds.), Minoranze linguistiche. Prospettive, strumenti, territori. Roma: Carocci.

NOCENTINI, ALBERTO (1996): *Tipologia e genesi dell'articolo nelle lingue europee*. Archivio glottologico italiano 56: 3-44.

RENZI, LORENZO (1976): *Grammatica e storia dell'articolo italiano.* In: Studi di grammatica italiana Accademia della Crusca V. Firenze: 5-42.

STEENWIJK, HAN (1992): *The Slovene dialect of Resia. San Giorgio.* Studies in Slavic and General Linguistics 18. Amsterdam: GA.

TROVESI, ANDREA (2004): *La genesi degli articoli determinativi: modalità di espressione della definitezza in ceco, serbo-lusaziano e sloveno.* Milano: Franco Angeli.

TOPOLINJSKA (1981-1982): *Мак.* еден – *неопределен член*?. Македонски јазик, XXXII-XXXIII: 705-716.

WEISS, DANIEL (1996): *Die Geburt eines Artikels: zum Status von makedonischen*. In: Girka W. (Ed.), Slavistische Linguistik 1995. Munchen: 421-455.

—. (2004): *The rise of an indefinite article: the case of Macedonian.* In: W. Bisang, N. P. Himmelmann, B. Wiemer (Eds.), What makes Grammaticalisation? Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter: 139-165.

ON THE INFLUENCE OF ITALIAN ON THE GRAMMAR OF MOLISE SLAVIC AND ITALO-ALBANIAN

WALTER BREU

1. Introduction

This paper deals with contact-induced change in two non-Romance micro-languages in Southern Italy: Molise Slavic and Italo-Albanian.[1] Following some general remarks on contact-induced change in isolated linguistic communities, I shall give a short introduction to the extra-linguistic setting of these two varieties. Sections 2 to 4 will be devoted to the more or less parallel development in their future tenses and to the differences and parallelisms in the areas of verbal aspect and irrealis mood. In section 5, some additional contact-induced developments in morphosyntax and syntax will follow: case and definiteness, the characteristics of the clitic pronouns and the ways of introducing complement and relative clauses in both micro-languages.

Italy on the whole is rich in non-Romance varieties of different language families. Apart from Albanian and Slavic, there are several Germanic micro-languages in the North, e.g. Cimbrian, Mocheno and Walser, and Greek (in Apulia and Calabria) in the South. As for Slavic, we also find several Slovene-based minorities located in the North-East, of which the isolated linguistic enclave of the Resia valley, and to a lesser extent the nearby territories of Torre and Natisone, show a situation similar to that of Molise Slavic.[2] See figure 1 for an approximate

[1] For a first comparison of the grammatical developments of Molise Slavic and Italo-Albanian see BREU (1993).

[2] These are only some examples of a great number of Slavic micro-languages in the western and southern periphery of the Slavic language area. Cases from outside Italy are the well-established literary languages Lower and Upper Sorbian in Germany, but also include lesser known varieties such as Burgenland Croatian and Carinthian Slovene in Austria as well as Balkan Slavic varieties in Greece; see ADAMOU *et al*. (2013) for fully glossed and downloadable oral texts of such micro-

geographic overview of where these language families are represented throughout Italy.

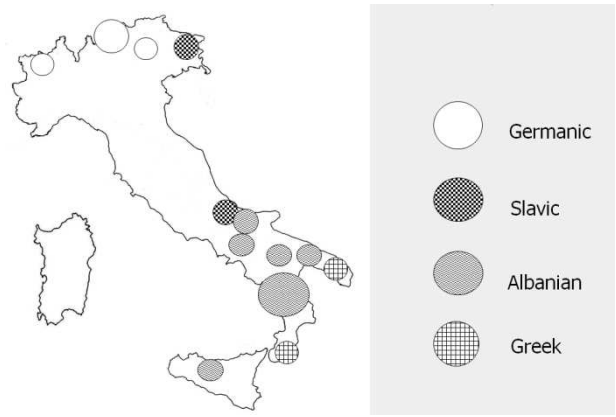


Figure 1: The geographical distribution of non-Romance minorities in Italy

1.1. Theoretical background

From a genetic or diachronic point of view, the languages of these non-Romance minorities are sometimes considered "varieties" or "dialects". But in synchronic and typological terms they all constitute language systems of their own with characteristic structures just like generally acknowledged "languages". The micro-languages in question have been in situations of language contact for centuries and have now entered a stage of "total" (or "absolute") language contact. This means that all of their speakers are fully bilingual with Italian as their only umbrella language. As a result of the historical and current influence of the dominant languages and varieties, many contact-induced changes have manifested themselves in the micro-languages on all linguistic levels.

It is in such situations that the concept of a common "diasystem" or "diagrammar" of the two (or more) languages in question becomes evident.[3] The concept of "diagrammar" is a theoretical model based on the hypothesis that multilingual speakers do not strictly separate the grammars

languages in language contact, including also Molise Slavic. For a comparison of the extra-linguistic situation of Molise Slavic, Upper Sorbian and Burgenland Croatian, see BREU, BERGHAUS & SCHOLZE (2016: 58–70).

[3] For the terms used here, see also BREU (2011: 440) and the introduction in BREU (forthcoming).

of their two or more languages but rather combine them in the most economical way possible. One could argue that the grammars of the individual languages in contact are synchronically derived from such a diagrammar, in terms of a common deep structure, by means of language-specific rules. The fewer the rules, the more economical the management of the languages is. Therefore, the reduction of the rules by means of a more and more comprehensive diagrammar is the overall object of language change in total contact situations.

The two main procedures leading to such a favorable diagrammar are the "adaptation of the semantic structure" of the replica language to that of the dominant model (semantic calquing) and the "loan translation" (formal calquing) of periphrastic elements from the dominant language system. Both types of contact influence may be addressed as "pattern-borrowing", as opposed to "matter-borrowing" (borrowing of forms), which in a grammatical respect is far less important; see Madras & Sakel (2007).

In Molise Slavic, we find contact-induced changes in the oppositions and functions of the grammemes of almost all grammatical categories of the verb and the noun, making this micro-language, in many respects, distance itself from what could be called the common Slavic basis and bringing it closer to typically Romance structures. As for the developments themselves, even some Slavic "diachronic constants" of language change have been cancelled out by Romance diachronic constants. By "diachronic constants" we mean evolutionary tendencies in a language family that ideally are observed by all its members with respect to a certain linguistic phenomenon.

In Italo-Albanian, contact-induced changes are less evident, due to the fact that the Albanian language family as a whole is, in many respects, closer to the Romance structure than the Slavic phylum is. Typical differences such as the absence of an infinitive are not directly accessible to contact influences and only lead to rather implicit adaptations.[4] Nevertheless, Italo-Albanian differs from the Albanian varieties in mainland Albania and in other countries of the diaspora in several features, doubtlessly harking back to the role Italian and its dialects played in its development.

[4] For possibly contact-based innovations or at least expansions in this field, see the particle constructions in BREU (1994b), especially the causative construction, allowing for a parallelism in the contact situation by shifting the inflection from the auxiliary to the main verb, with the particle remaining just as uninflected as the infinitive in the model language, e.g. in Frascineto *u* ***bën*** *e partir****ti*** *mëma* <=> Ital. *io fec****i*** ***partire*** *la mamma* 'I made mother leave', literally "I CAUSE and mother left" (1994b: 381). For a typology of Italo-Albanian causatives see SAVOIA (2008).

1.2. The current and the historical situation of Molise Slavic

Molise Slavic or "Na-našu"[5] is still spoken in the coastal hinterland of the Province of Campobasso, about 35 kilometers from the Adriatic Sea, in the southern Italian region of Molise.[6] Nowadays, this Slavic-speaking area, having been larger in the past, is restricted to the territory of three neighboring municipalities with the villages of Acquaviva Collecroce, Montemitro, and San Felice del Molise at their centers. There are only about one thousand people left who actively use Molise Slavic, or are at least able to understand it, out of an overall number of less than two thousand inhabitants of these villages.[7]

Language knowledge and behavior differ from one village to the next, with the smallest village, Montemitro, being the most conservative with respect to both the influence of language contact and language usage. In San Felice only very few older people still use the language, while Acquaviva, historically considered the cultural center of the Molise Slavs, is situated between these two extremes.

From a genetic point of view, Molise Slavic belongs to the Štokavian-Ikavian dialect group of Southern Slavic with the Protoslavic *ě (jat')* > *i* (and not *e, je, ije*) in examples such as *rič* 'word', different from the Croatian Jekavian standard *riječ* and the Serbian Ekavian standard *reč,* and likewise *tit* 'to want', contrary to the Croatian *htjeti* and the Serbian *hteti*. These and other linguistic characteristics[8] show that the ancestors of the Molise Slavs migrated to Italy from the Neretva valley in the 16th century.

After the migration, their Southern Slavic variety came under the influence of the Italian dialects of Molise. Standard Italian acquired its role as an additional donor language due to Italy's unification in 1861. As for grammar, most contact-induced changes in Molise Slavic seem to hark

[5] The term *Na-našu* is the local denomination used by speakers of Molise Slavic, originally an adverb meaning "in our manner". In the dialect of Montemitro it has the form *Na-našo* with a secondary adverbial ending *-o*, going back to the internal reorganisation of the case system connected with the loss of the locative (BREU 2008: 83). The traditional ethnonym for the inhabitants is *Škavun* < Ital. *schiavone* 'Slav'. In Croatia the term *Moliški Hrvati* 'Molise Croats' is preferred.

[6] The description of the Molise Slavic characteristics in the present chapter partially overlaps with BREU (forthcoming), where they are embedded in a more detailed description of contact-induced change in Molise Slavic.

[7] For a description of the historical situation of the Molise Slavs around a century ago, see REŠETAR (1911).

[8] An important criterion is the development of the syllable-final *-l* to *-a,* while in the Bosnian-Croatian-Serbian standard varieties it became *-o,* e.g. in the masculine *l*-participle *učija* vs. *učio* < **učil* 'taught'.

back to the first centuries after the Slavic settlement in Molise as they can best be explained from dialectal models.

Italian (together with its southern varieties) has always been the only umbrella language for Molise Slavic, while Slavic standard varieties, for example standard Croatian, have never played any substantial role in everyday life in the Molise Slavic villages.

1.3. The current and the historical situation of Italo-Albanian

Italo-Albanian, or *Arbrisht,*[9] shares similar contact conditions with Molise Slavic, also spoken by minorities in southern Italian enclaves. Furthermore, the language of the original homelands had no substantial influence on the development of this micro-language, either. Nevertheless, there are considerable differences between the numbers of speakers and the territories inhabited. While Molise Slavs live in a small compact area, there are almost fifty Italo-Albanian villages, spread across several regions from Molise via Campania, Basilicata, Apulia, and Calabria down to Sicily, with a concentration, however, in the northern Calabrian province of Cosenza.

Moreover, the Italo-Albanian immigration was a process consisting of several waves from the 15th to the 18th century, including also additional migration inside Italy. Linguistic evidence like the shift of the intervocalic *n* to *r* (the Tosk rhotacism) and the lack of an infinitive points to Southern Albania and Greece, with their Tosk dialect, as being the original homelands of the Italo-Albanians. Contrary to Molise Slavic, Italo-Albanian shows some Greek influence that continued even after the emigration period due to Greek being the liturgical language for a considerable number of the Italo-Albanian parishes and – to a certain extent – the language of higher education in the institutions dominated by the clergy.

The total Italo-Albanian population can only be estimated, with numbers running from some tens of thousands up to one hundred thousand. Due to the extension of the Italo-Albanian territories, many southern Italian dialects have played a role in the contact-induced development of the Italo-Albanian dialects; but just as in the case of

[9] "Arb(ë)risht" is the term used for the denomination of the language in most varieties, while "Arb(ë)resh(ë) is the ethnonym referring to the people. This means that in Italy the original naming for the Albanians was preserved, while it was lost in mainland Albanian where *Shqip* refers to the language and *Shqiptar* to the people. For an overview of the historical situation of the Italo-Albanians and their language around a century ago, see e.g. LAMBERTZ (1914).

Molise Slavic, standard Italian is nowadays the main source of foreign influence.

2. Contact-induced developments in the future tense

2.1. The development of a double future in Molise Slavic

The Molise Slavic verb *jimat* has extended its original Slavic meaning 'to have' to include the modal meaning 'must', replacing in this respect other candidates like the corresponding forms *morati, treba* in Bosnian-Croatian-Serbian. The model for this change is the polysemy of *avé* in Southern Italian dialects, meaning both 'have' and 'must' (Giammarco 1968: 282). In the given contact situation this model was copied by the Slavic replica language. This "adaptation of the semantic structure" may be symbolised by the two-stage scheme in Figure 2. The historically initial stage IS before the change shows the asymmetry between the polysemy in the dominant language L_2 and different expressions for the two concepts (meanings) in the minority language L_1. RS symbolizes the resulting situation after the polisemisation in the minority language, having been changed this way to an L_1'. The Bosnian-Croatian-Serbian form *treba* 'must' is inserted here as a "dummy", since we have no information as to the exact form used in earlier Molise Slavic.

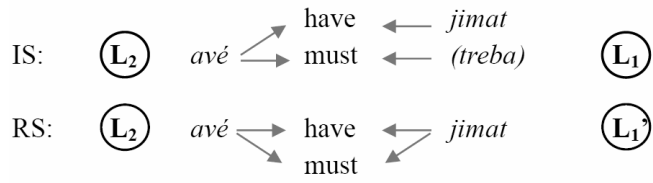


Figure 2: Polisemisation of Molise Slavic *jimat* 'have'

The polysemy of *avé* in Italian dialects was the reason for changes in the grammar of Molise Slavic, too, namely in the future tense. Actually, *avé* does not only mean 'must', but also functions as an auxiliary in the de-obligative future tense based on this meaning. Molise Slavic copied this additional polysemy, too, with the effect of *jimat* expressing a parallel future of "necessity and obligation" in the micro-language.

Traditionally, Molise Slavic had a volitive future of the type *ču dokj* 'I will come' formed by means of the clitic present of *tit* 'to want, will'. However, contrary to the volitive future in the Bosnian-Croatian-Serbian standards languages, the *tit*-future is restricted to situations marked for

"possibility or probability" as in example (1) with *ča* 3SG.PRS. For all other cases, its opposite, the de-obligative *jimat*-future, is used, e.g. in (2) with *mam* 1SG.PRS.

(1) *Drugu votu **ča** hi čini veča bolje!*
'Next time, she will (probably) make them better.'

(2) ***Mam** po nama-gor, zgora onga brda.*
'I will (necessarily, as planned) go up there, on the hill over there.'

The development of the given modal opposition of "probability" vs. "necessity" in the future is, of course, a direct result of the contact-induced emergence of the necessitative *jimat*-future, reducing the former comprehensive *tit*-future to a modally restricted one for those functions not covered by the new contact-induced grammeme. The adaptation of the semantic structure behind this development is symbolised in figure 3:

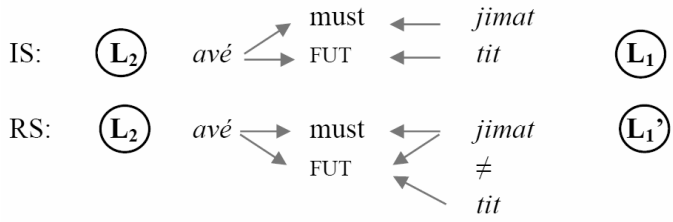


Figure 3: Development of the modal opposition in the future

2.2. The de-obligative future in Italo-Albanian

In Italo-Albanian dialects we find a similar situation to that of Molise Slavic, here with respect to *kam* 'to have'. By a semantic calque parallel to the Molise Slavic, as illustrated in figure 2 above, *kam* adapted its meaning to the polysemy of Southern Italian *avé*.[10] Thus, it has also come to mean 'must' and has become the auxiliary for a necessitative future of the type *kam* + subjunctive[11] as well. See example (3) from a Molise Albanian text with the particle *kat,* derived from *ka* 3SG.PRS + subjunctive particle *t*:

[10] For an alternative explanation of the *kam*-future in Italo-Albanian as an ancient balkanism, see ALTIMARI (2011).
[11] Like standard Albanian, Italo-Albanian replaces the missing infinitive in verbal complexes by the subjunctive.

(3) *Pse ato forsu xha kan prugramuor si* ***kat bënjën****, si* ***kat jerë*** *gjella.*
'Because they perhaps already have programmed how they will do [it], how their life will (necessarily) be.'

There is actually a *kam*-future in mainland Albanian too, but only in the northern Geg dialects, additionally combined with the infinitive missing in Tosk dialects. On the other hand, (modern) Tosk dialects in Southern Albania and Greece form the future tense with the auxiliary *do* 'to want, will'. Such a general volitive future is, however, unusual in Italo-Albanian; and contrary to the case of Molise Slavic, it has not become a modal future of probability.[12] We cannot even be sure that it existed at all during the emigration period. In any case, Italo-Albanian in principle follows Southern Italian dialects in referring to future states of affairs without a connotation of necessity or scheduling by means of the simple present, which is much rarer in Molise Slavic due to the existence of the future of probability.

3. Contact-induced developments in verbal aspect

3.1 Derivational and inflectional aspect

Molise Slavic features a double aspect system consisting of the typically Slavic "derivational type", the so-called opposition of perfectivity, expressed in all verb forms, and an "inflectional type", restricted to the past tense, traditionally based on the opposition of imperfect vs. aorist but transformed in Molise Slavic into a morphosyntactic opposition of (inflected) imperfect vs. (analytic) perfect, as a consequence of the loss of the former aorist.

There is, however, a "Slavic diachronic constant" whereby if only one component of the old inflecting opposition of imperfect vs. aorist is lost, it is always the imperfect. On the other hand, a look at the history of the Romance languages shows that there, whenever one of the two opponents

[12] In Italo-Albanian the total range of *do* as an auxiliary is still unclear, including in terms of dialectal differences. In Frascineto (Calabria) the particle *dot,* derived from *do* 3SG.PRS + subjunctive particle *t,* in combination with the subjunctive always expresses a speculative future, e.g. *dot jet* 'he will be, I strongly suppose'. In the imperfect, the particle *dojt,* derived from *doj* IPRF.3SG, + subjunctive particle *t,* has a necessitative meaning like the particle *kisht,* derived from *kish,* the imperfect 3SG of *kam*, but again with a speculative connotation, here in the sense of 'should'. Both of them are part of the paradigm of the presumptive mood (BREU 2015: 222–223), at least in Frascineto, see below.

of the inflectional aspect category was lost, it was always the aorist. Thus, we could call this type of reduction a "Romance diachronic constant". The neighboring Italian dialects of Molise Slavic had this type of reduction and influenced the Slavic minority language in such a way that – instead of following the Slavic diachronic constant of losing the aorist first – it copied the Romance reduction type.

On the other hand, the derivational aspect category, expressed by pairs of perfective (pf.) and imperfective (ipf.) verbs, has been preserved. All the morphological methods needed to form aspectual pairs continue to exist. We find, for example, prefixation in *brat/nabrat* (ipf./pf.) 'to harvest', suffixation in *ubit/ubivat* (pf./ipf.) 'to kill', and suppletion in *reč/ govorat* (pf./ipf.) 'to say'. Even in loan verbs, the derivational aspect is fully productive. All telic verbs are integrated as perfectives, forming an imperfective partner with the help of the suffix *-iva-*, e.g. Ital. *decidere* 'to decide' → *dečidit* (pf.) => *dečidivat* (ipf.). The reason for the stability of the opposition of perfectivity may be found in the very absence of such a category in the dominant varieties, thus being responsible for the lack of a model for calques.[13]

Italo-Albanian, just like Albanian as a whole, does not have a derivational verbal aspect. However, in most Italo-Albanian dialects there is an inflectional opposition of the imperfect with the aorist, functionally corresponding to the opposition of the imperfect vs. the analytical perfect in Molise Slavic and going back to the same threefold opposition of imperfect : aorist : perfect.

The opposite development with respect to the once threefold opposition in the two minority languages harks back to Italian dialectal differences with a clear dominance of the aorist in the southern dialects influencing Italo-Albanian, contrary to its above-mentioned loss in the northern and eastern dialects. Interestingly enough, Molise Albanian has the same predominance of the aorist that we find in Calabria, despite being located in the same area of Lower Molise as Molise Slavic with no aorist in the surrounding Italian dialects. The reason for this situation may be found in an internal migration of the Molise Albanians from their first places of settlement (Breu 2011: 177–180).

[13] See BREU, BERGHAUS & SCHOLZE (2016: 88–113) for more details about the Molise Slavic aspect system and for a comparison with those of two other Slavic micro-languages in situations of total language contact, namely Burgenland Croatian and Upper Sorbian. For the different role of prefixation in the aspectual systems of Molise Slavic, Upper Sorbian and Resian, probably going back to language contact, see BREU, PILA & SCHOLZE (in press).

3.2. Aspectual periphrases

In Italian, there is a periphrastic progressive formed by the auxiliary *stare* 'to be, to stay' and the gerund, of the type *sta arrivando* 's/he is arriving', while Southern Italian dialects prefer other constructions, the most widespread being the combination of the grammaticalised particle *mo* 'now' in combination with the present. Molise Slavic has copied this model through syntactic calquing (word-by-word loan translation), by rendering *mo* with its own corresponding particle *sa* 'now', cf. *sa gre* 's/he is coming'.

A periphrastic model was also copied in the case of the "imminentive", expressing actions at the point of being realised or in their very initial phase, formed in Italian by the present or the imperfect of the auxiliary *stare* + *per* 'for' + infinitive. It was copied word for word in Molise Slavic, for example in (4), where *stojaša za si ga pokj* corresponds exactly to the Italian periphrasis *stava per andarsene* 's/he was about to leave':

(4) *Stojaša za si ga pokj, kada je čula jena bahat.*
'She was about to leave when she heard a crackling sound.'

As for Albanian, it features aspectual periphrases in its Balkan varieties as well, see for example the Standard Albanian progressive, formed with the particle *po* + indicative as in *po vij* 'I am coming (right now)', and a synonymous construction *jam duke ardhur*, formed with the auxiliary *jam* 'to be' + gerund. However, Italo-Albanian progressives are formed differently. In Portocannone and Frascineto we find constructions of the type *jam e vinj* 'I am coming', literally "I am and I come" and *isha e thoja* 'I was saying', literally "I was and I said". In other areas, different constructions are used, for example *jam ç vinj,* literally "I am that I come", with the relativiser *ç* instead of the copula. As both constructions are different from those we find in mainland Albania, they have probably been induced by language contact. Just as in Molise Slavic, the Italian gerund construction cannot be the model for these periphrases. Actually, they can best be explained by Southern Italian models such as *stare a* + infinitive (Rohlfs 1969: 133).

There is also an imminentive of the type *jam po t vinj* in Arbrisht, at least in Frascineto, corresponding to the Italian *sto per venire* 'I am coming', with the particle *po* rendering *per* and the subjunctive *t vinj* replacing the missing infinitive in Albanian.

4. Contact-induced developments in the field of irreality

4.1. The counterfactual function of the imperfect

Within the category of mood, the most important changes have taken place in the field of irrealis. Like other Slavic languages, Molise Slavic has an analytic conditional, formed with the auxiliary *bi* and expressing, among other things, both potential and counterfactual situations. In addition, it has copied an Italian model by adapting the semantic structure. I am referring to the imperfect, which in colloquial Italian, besides its aspectual-temporal indicative function, expresses counterfactual situations. This polysemy of the model language is regularly conferred to the Molise Slavic replica, by expanding the functions of the imperfect from the indicative into the field of irrealis.

It is worth noting that this new means of expressing irrealis has become just as polysemic as the traditional *bi*-conditional in expressing both counterfactual and potential states of affairs (Breu 2011: 172–175). For example, a perfective imperfect like *dojahma*[14], meaning in its indicative reading 'we used to come', is synonymous with the conditional *bima dol* in both the potential reading 'we would come' and the counterfactual one 'we would have come'.

Just like Molise Slavic, Italo-Albanian copies the Romance model of the imperfect expressing counterfactuality in addition to its aspectual-temporal functions in the indicative:[15]

(5) *Ndë viji, vejëm te çinami.* (Portocannone)
'If she had come, we would have gone to the cinema.'
(6) *Ndë vije dje, hajem bashk. Pse s'erdhe?* (Frascineto)
'If you had come yesterday, we would have dined together. Why didn't you come?

[14] In Molise Slavic, the imperfect and the perfect appear in both a perfective and imperfective form. While the imperfective imperfect in its indicative reading expresses, among other things, on-going actions and durative states, the perfective imperfect is utilised in iterative contexts. However, both of them appear in potential and counterfactual predicates. For more details see BREU (2015).

[15] These counterfactual sentences correspond to colloquial Italian with the indicative imperfect in both the protasis and the apodosis: (5) *Se veniva, andavamo al cinema* (literally "If she came, we went to the cinema"), (6) *Se venivi ieri, mangiavamo insieme* (literally "If you came yesterday, we dined together".

The initial situation was, however, somewhat different from Molise Slavic, as the imperfect generally expresses conditions in other varieties as well, including Standard Albanian, though mainly in the protasis, while the apodosis normally shows the conditional of the type *do të shkonte* 'he would go'. In spite of the fact that in Albanian, as well as in Italo-Albanian, there is also a certain tendency to mix up potential and counterfactual irrealis, counterfactual constellations can always be expressed unambiguously by means of the past perfect.[16] On the other hand, there is also a specific protasis expressing only potential conditions, at least in Frascineto, more precisely by means of the optative in conditions such as *ndë mbetsha* 'if I were' (referring to events in the future). It is in these optional possibilities of distinguishing different types of irrealis that Italo-Albanian clearly differs from Molise Slavic.

Yet, given these facts, the counterfactual function of the Italo-Albanian imperfect should be attributed to a semantic adaptation to the polysemic model of the imperfect in colloquial Italian, too. All the more so since this is a fairly recent development: older people in Portocannone[17] will in cases like (5) still prefer the more explicit construction *ndë kish ardhur, kishëm e vajtur te çinami,* with the past perfect in both parts of the hypothetic period. A similar situation is found in Molise Slavic, where conservative speakers still prefer the traditional Slavic conditional to the imperfect, though here, of course, for both types of irrealis (potential, counterfactual).

On the other hand, this evidence of a relatively new influence on both micro-languages confirms the assumption that the model language for the adaptation of the micro-languages in this case was colloquial (Standard) Italian, and not the local dialects responsible for contact-induced developments in earlier times.[18]

[16] Italo-Albanian expresses counterfactuality unambiguously by a traditional construction with the past perfect in both parts of the complex sentence. For example, in Frascineto an alternative to (6) would be: *Ndë* ***kishe ardhur*** *dje,* ***kishem hëngur*** *bashk. Pse s'erdhe?*

[17] My thanks go to Maria Luisa Pignoli for the information about the counterfactual usage of the imperfect in the Molise Albanian village of Portocannone.

[18] This holds true in spite of the fact that the counterfactual usage of the indicative imperfect is also found, in principle, in some Southern Italian dialects. See ROHLFS (1969: 141–151) for an overview of the forms used in the different types of irrealis in Italian dialects, with particular regard to the imperfect on pp. 146–147.

4.2. The presumptive perfect in Italo-Albanian

While Molise Slavic has preserved or acquired the exact same functions of the analytic perfect that we find in Italian, the situation is much more complex for the corresponding form of *kam* 'have' + PPP in Italo-Albanian, both in terms of its functions and their geographic distribution.[19]

There is a relatively small area where the perfect has the same functions as it does in colloquial Italian in the north-eastern part of Italy, including the coastline of the Adriatic Sea down to Apulia. I am referring to the Italo-Albanian varieties in the southern part of Apulia (province of Taranto) and in the eastern part of Calabria (province of Crotone) where the perfect has replaced the aorist *(passato remoto)*, thus becoming a past tense in temporal opposition with the present and in aspectual opposition with the imperfect, i.e. just like in Molise Slavic.

However, more surprising is the development of the functions of what was once a perfect in the other parts of the Arbëria, namely in Molise, Basilicata, Campania, Northern Apulia, North-Western Calabria (Province of Cosenza) and in Sicily. Once again, this is not a homogeneous area. In its southern part, consisting of the provinces of Catanzaro and Palermo, we find an aspectual perfect, restricted, however, to its experiential function, while its resultative function has been absorbed by the aorist, thus adapting to the usage of the perfect in the Italian dialects of the extreme South.

The more extended "northern" part shows a completely different development. In fact, the perfect here has abandoned the realm of tense and aspect and has become the nucleus of a new category of mood, which can best be classed as "presumptive", thereby belonging to the field of epistemic modality. For example, in Frascineto, the *kam*-perfect *ka rat*, that, contrary to the mainland Albanian *ka ratë (~ ka rënë) shi* 'rain has fallen'[20], exclusively expresses a presumption of the speaker like, for

[19] See BREU (2015: 227–229) for an isogloss map and its interpretation.

[20] In view of the discussion during the Venice conference, nor can we exclude presumptive interpretations for the perfect in mainland Albanian. But, it seems, those are cases of pragmatic inference in the existing temporal or aspecto-temporal perfect based on its complex indicative meaning of presenting a present state as the result of an action in the past. JUSUFI (2016: 144) explicitly mentions modal functions of the perfect in the Macedo-Albanian dialect of Zajaz, corresponding mostly to the Macedonian renarrative, but not excluding epistemic assumptions of the presumptive type: "E kryera në Zajaz ka poashtu funksion evidencial apo kuotativ ('Evidentialis', 'Quotative'), duke shprehur një veprim, të cilin folësi nuk e ka përjetuar vetë, por e ka dëgjuar, pa dashur ta vë atë në pyetje. […] Ose në bazë të rezultatit që sheh, se nuk e ka përjetuar vetë." A comparative study of Italo-

example, 'it has probably rained', 'it must have rained', upon noticing that the street is wet.[21]

Contrary to the Bulgarian and Turkish evidential, likewise historically based on a perfect, the Arbrisht presumptive perfect never adopts a quotative function, nor does it have the function of an Albanian admirative. Considering the way the future is constructed in Arbrisht, we could claim that the presumptive perfect is derived from an epistemic future perfect of the type 'will have rained' or rather 'must have rained', with the omission of the perfect auxiliary in the subjunctive: *ka (t ket) rat* 'must (have) fallen'.

Beginning with the presumptive perfect, a whole paradigm of presumptive forms has since developed, including a presumptive present, future and conditional. Besides *kam,* the auxiliary *do* ('will, want'), having lost its function in forming the future, has also been integrated into this paradigm.[22]

5. Language contact in other fields of grammar

5.1. Case and Definiteness

As far as nouns are concerned, the most salient development is the contact-induced merger of the case forms indicating "place" and "motion towards a place" in Molise Slavic, which, among other things, has led to the loss of its former locative. This merger is based on the corresponding Italian polysemic model with, for example, *in Italia* meaning both 'in Italy' and 'to Italy'. In Arbrisht there was no place for a similar development, as it probably showed the same merger from the very beginning, as do mainland Albanian and most other Balkan languages.

But in general, the case systems of both micro-languages suffered no substantial influence with respect to case oppositions. Only in Molise Slavic is there a certain tendency towards a more analytical means of expression, especially in the genitive with its optional preposition *do* 'of, from' and in the instrumental, which can no longer express the verbal agent without the preposition *s* 'with'. In Arbrisht, at least in Calabria,

---

Albanian could be interesting, especially with regard to the role of language contact in both cases.

[21] For more examples, including presumptive functions outside the *kam*-perfect, see BREU (2015: 216–221).

[22] This is true, at least, for Frascineto, while for the other dialects detailed research still needs to be done. See the above discussion about the Arbrisht future and BREU (2015: 222) for a table with the paradigm of the Frascineto variety.

even the old locative of the type *ndë Taljet* 'in/to Italy' has been preserved and is still used with many place names for both the location itself and the motion towards it. The same is true for the special form of the indefinite ablative in *-sh,* though it now tends to be restricted to special functions, for example, to the case governed by quantifiers as in *shumë grash* 'many women'.

The reason for the stability of the case systems is certainly due to the overall lack of a case system in Italian nouns. Thus, contrary to what one might think in terms of pressure to merge all cases, the very absence of a model for the reduction of individual case oppositions (except for the functionally based loss of the locative, see above) has made the category as a whole "invulnerable", apart from pure syntactical calquing by copying the (additional) use of prepositions.[23] The conservatism of the derivational type of verbal aspect may be explained in the same way (see above): Since there was no model for a restructuring of this Slavic category in Italian, apart from its complete abolition, the opposition of perfective vs. imperfective remained substantially untouched.

On the other hand, new grammatical oppositions in the minority languages could not develop directly. Where they came into being, it occurred as a secondary effect of other developments, as happened in the case of the modal differentiation within the Molise Slavic futures, based on the polysemy of *avé* 'have, must' in the model language and copied in Molise Slavic. Another such case is the rise of an indefinite article in Molise Slavic, which eventually became the basis for a fully-fledged article system. It is based on the obvious polysemy of the Italian *uno,* expressing both the cardinal number 'one' and indefiniteness. Molise Slavic copied this polysemy by expanding the functions of *(je)na* 'one'. The result of this influence was the creation of an indefinite article with exactly the same usage as its Italian counterpart. As a consequence, bare

[23] Conservatism, when there is no corresponding category in the dominant language, is a typical property of language contact of the adstrate type, i.e. when L_1 (the mother tongue) is meant to be changed to L_1' in language contact. The situation is completely different in the substrate case, i.e. when L_2 (the dominant contact language) is changed by speakers trying to learn this language. In this case oppositions existing in L_1 are easily transferred, giving rise to similar oppositions in L_2'. The same is true for the lack in L_1 of oppositions or grammatical categories as a whole, which is also transferred to L_2. This could account for the loss of the category of case in Balkan Slavic (where Balkan Romance was an L_1) compared with its preservation in Molise Slavic (with Romance L_2-varieties). On the other hand, new oppositions in the L_2' of substrate speakers are more probable than they are in L_1' in adstrate situations. For the different directions of language contact and its effects in the affected languages see BREU (1994a).

nouns were interpreted as being in opposition with indefinite nouns. In this way a "definite zero-article" came into existence, with, for example, *Ø hiža* 'house' meaning 'the house', as opposed to *na hiža* 'a house'.[24]

In Italo-Albanian, once again, there was no need for such processes, as a definite article had already developed in the Balkans earlier. The same is probably true for the indefinite article *një*, though there are some differences in usage with respect to the indefinite article in mainland Albanian, where certain non-referential functions are excluded. In Italo-Albanian, due to its full adaptation to the usage of its Italian counterpart, the indefinite article covers this sphere, too, as in the following example, where in Standard Albanian *ndonjë* 'some' would be used:

(7) *Ka ju ë **një** jatrua?* (Frascineto) ≠ *A ka **ndonjë** mjek tek juaj?* (Alb.)
'Is there a doctor with you (where you live)?'

5.2. Language contact and syntax

Molise Slavic has, in many respects, adapted to the Italian word order. This syntactical change is especially evident in the case of the position of adjectival attributes as compared with other Slavic languages, including Standard Croatian as its closest relative. In Molise Slavic, as in Italian but not Croatian, "differentiating" attributes are placed after the noun, for example color adjectives like *bili* 'black' or *crnjeli* 'red', as in *tartuf bili* 'the white truffle'. However, descriptive adjectives, in accordance with Italian usage, continue to be placed before the noun, e.g. *lipi* 'beautiful', for example *na lipa žena* 'a beautiful woman'.

The different positions of the attributes have in some cases led to oppositions of the type *Je na **brižna** žena* 'She is a poor woman' (pitiable, because something awful has happened to her) ≠ *Je na žena **brižna***. 'She is a poor woman' (she has no money) consistent with Italian: *È una **povera** donna* ≠ *È una donna **povera***.

[24] Once again, the article system of Balkan Slavic based on the development of a definite article seems to go back to the substrate type of language contact. In the Molise Slavic adstrate situation, such a development was blocked by the contact varieties, showing no model for a semantic calque. Since, in Italian, demonstratives and definite articles do not share a common form, Molise Slavic could not derive a definite article from a demonstrative pronoun. Even a universally possible development of this kind outside the areas of total language contact was blocked by the overall tendency towards a uniform diagrammar with parallel structures in both languages of the bilinguals (BREU 2012: 307–309).

Italo-Albanian, like mainland Albanian, traditionally shares the general postposition of attributes with Italian. This is why language contact could not lead to dramatic changes in this field. On the other hand, the formal difference between pure adjectives like *i mirë* 'good', indicating a prefixed adjective marker, and denominal adjectives like *arbëresh* has been retained, despite the lack of such an opposition in Italian. We could claim that the adjectival marker is considered an integral part of the adjectives themselves, as a type of inflection, untouched by language contact.

Even in the realm of clitic pronouns, Albanian as a whole has much in common with Southern Italian dialects whose rules for clitic doubling far exceed those valid for Standard Italian. But, although there are many exceptions to obligatory clitic doubling in all varieties of Italian, Italo-Albanian doubling rules are very strict. For example, the dative of nouns and accented pronouns is always doubled by clitics, even in the ordinary subject-verb-object order. It seems that a decline in these rules has not yet happened, as in the case of the attribute being used much more frequently in postposition than in Italian, even with "descriptive" adjectives like *i mirë* 'good' and *i bukur* 'beautiful'.

Things are different in Molise Slavic. On the one hand, it also shows a predominance of postponed attributes in proportion to Italian, excluding, for example, an opposition of pre- and postposition in the case of the adjective *novi* 'new', unlike the Italian *nuovo*. This preference can be interpreted here as an over-generalisation of this contact-induced feature. On the other hand, Molise Slavic clitics have, to a great extent, become aligned with Italian rules. The most important point in this instance is the complete loss of Wackernagel's law of "second position", in contrast to Standard Croatian where clitics are slotted in immediately after the first fully accented word of a sentence. In Molise Slavic, this traditional phonologically motivated position of the clitics has been replaced by a verb-adjacent one. Thus, as in Italian, the normal position of Molise Slavic clitics is before the verb, while in the imperative they are postponed. There is not even a restriction on placing clitics at the very beginning of a sentence.

Yet there is, indeed, one difference with respect to the position of clitics between Standard Italian and Molise Slavic, namely when they are attached to the infinitive. In that case, Italian prefers postposition, which is excluded in Molise Slavic, for example, *andar=se=ne* vs. *si ga pokj* 'go away, leave', with the dative of the reflexive pronoun *(se//si)* and the partitive pronoun *(ne//ga)* located predominantly after the infinitive in Standard Italian, but always before it in Molise Slavic. This is, however, a property Molise Slavic shares with local Italian dialects (as its model), at

least in modal infinitive constructions where clitics are attached to the modal auxiliaries preceding the infinitive (Rohlfs 1968: 173–174).

Clitic doubling of fully stressed pronouns and nouns, again in contrast to Croatian, is very frequent in Molise Slavic and follows the rules of Southern Italian varieties, too. This means that it is by no means restricted to the non-canonical word order *object-verb* as it is in standard Italian.[25]

5.3. Complementisers and relativisers

The last case of contact-induced change we shall briefly be dealing with in this chapter is the behavior of semi-grammatical units introducing complement and relative clauses. In this field of complementisers and relativisers, we find both matter-borrowing and pattern-borrowing. We shall confine ourselves in the following section to the Italian *che* (dialectal *chə*) as a source of contact-induced changes in both Molise Slavic and Italo-Albanian.

In Molise Slavic, the loanword *ke* serves as a complementiser, with its phonetic variant *ka.* Although the traditional Slavic complementisers continue to exist as word forms, they have lost their complementizing function and are restricted to other functions: *da* has specialised as an optative particle for wishes and curses, and *što* is restricted to its function as an interrogative pronoun.[26] With respect to Italo-Albanian, the situation is more complicated. While the Molise Albanian dialects agree with Molise Slavic in having borrowed the complementiser *ke*, it is absent in Calabria. Here, the inherited particle *se* has been preserved. This difference seems purely accidental, with no motivation based on the internal structure of these dialects or on differences in the dominant contact varieties in question.

On the other hand, *ke* is in both groups of Italo-Albanian, albeit excluded as a relativiser. Here, only *ç* is possible, different from the Standard Albanian relativiser *që* and formally identical with *ç* 'what'. For this situation, Italian could be the model, since the Italian *che* (as well as the dialectal *chə)* is also an interrogative pronoun. We could therefore argue that this polysemy of *che* has been copied by adapting the semantic

[25] For a more detailed description of the contact-induced changes in Molise Slavic syntax dealt with in this paragraph, see BREU (forthcoming). Another syntactical phenomenon dealt with in this paper, is the (optional) adaptation of the Slavic double negative to Italian rules in Molise.

[26] To be more precise, we have to differentiate between attributive and free relative clauses. The loanword *ke* is restricted to the first case, while in free relative clauses the interrogative pronoun *(što)* is also used as a relativiser.

structure of the Albanian *ç* to the Italian *che.*[27] Molise Slavic did not follow this path. Here, again, the relativizing *che* was borrowed directly as *ke ~ ka,* different from *što* 'what'.

The real question is why Molise Slavic has not borrowed *che* complete with all its polysemies, including its function as an interrogative pronoun. In actual fact, pronouns have not been borrowed at all in Molise Slavic, unlike the lexemes of all other parts of speech.[28] In other words, the ban on borrowing pronouns made it impossible for *che* to keep its interrogative function when it entered the Molise Slavic system.

The complex situation of matter-borrowing and pattern-copying in the sphere of the Italian *che* and its counterparts in Molise Slavic and Italo-Albanian is summed up in the following table. As a point of comparison for the Italo-Albanian varieties, Albanian with its threefold opposition is added, too. Shadowing refers to matter-borrowing, while brackets symbolize existing and contact-induced homonymies:

	Italian	Molise Slavic	ARB Molise	ARB Calabria	Standard Albanian
what?	*che*	*što*	***ç***	***ç***	*ç(ka)*
REL	*che*	*ke*	***ç***	***ç***	*që*
COMP	*che*	*ke*	*ke*	*se*	*se*

Table 1: The functions of the Italian *che* and its counterparts

6. Conclusion

Both Molise Slavic and Italo-Albanian show the strong influences exerted by their contact varieties (local and Standard Italian). Apart from matter-borrowing (loanwords), two main principles are at work in order to create parallel structures as a prerequisite for a common diagrammar of the micro-languages and their dominant model: the adaptation of the semantic structure (semantic calque) and the rearrangement or loan translation of

[27] In view of the fact that *ç(ë)* 'what' also functions as a relativiser in Arvanitika (Albanian in Greece; SASSE 1991: 309) we cannot therefore exclude that this polysemy already existed prior to the immigration of the Italo-Albanians. In this case the Italian polysemy would simply have strengthened the traditional distribution.

[28] In Molise Slavic the only candidate for a borrowed pronoun could be the particle *ne (~na)* in partitive constructions like *ga na je* 'there is (of it)', corresponding to the Italian partitive particle *ne.* But there are also arguments in favor of a language-intrinsic development of this particle.

elements (syntactical calque). While the former has caused, for example, the development of a de-obligative future and a counterfactual imperfect in both micro-languages, the latter is responsible for the development of aspectual periphrases and changes in the syntax of clitics and adjectives. A necessary condition for semantic calques in the replica languages is the existence of a corresponding grammatical category in the model languages. This is the reason why the derivative category of verbal aspect of Molise Slavic and the case systems of both micro-languages have remained basically unchanged. On the other hand, new oppositions in the micro-language could develop only as a secondary effect of other semantic calques. Therefore, Molise Slavic could not copy, for example, the formal contrast between potential and counterfactual irrealis.

The structural differences between the two recipient languages were the main reason for their different behavior with respect to individual changes, for example, the greater similarity of the pre-existing Albanian structure to that of Italian on a syntactical level or regarding the category of definiteness. The emergence of the Italo-Albanian presumptive could also be mentioned here, since the existence of a *habeo*-perfect, missing in Slavic, was a necessary condition for it. But the different behavior of Italo-Albanian dialects in this field shows that differences in the Romance model languages (dialects) are responsible for divergent changes, too.

Finally, the case of the Italian complementiser, relativiser and interrogative pronoun *che* demonstrates that matter- and pattern-borrowings interact in giving different results both in the two micro-languages and also within the individual Italo-Albanian varieties.

Bibliography

ADAMOU, Evangelia; BREU, Walter; DRETTAS, Georges; Lenka, SCHOLZE (2013): *Elektronische Datenbank bedrohter slavischer Varietäten in nichtslavophonen Ländern Europas (Deutschland – Italien – Österreich – Griechenland):* http://lacito.vjf.cnrs.fr/archivage/index.htm#europe

ALTIMARI, Francesco (2011): *Il 'futuro necessitativo' dell'albanese d'Italia: Influenza italo-romanza o arcaismo balcanico?* In: BREU, Walter (Ed.), L'influsso dell'italiano sul sistema del verbo delle lingue minoritarie. Bochum: Brockmeyer: 1-12.

BREU, Walter (1993): *Italoslavo ed italoalbanese nella zona di contatto linguistico del Molise*. In: LANDI, Addolorata; DEL PUENTE, Patrizia (Eds.), Atti del 3° Convegno Internazionale di studi sulla lingua albanese. Università degli Studi di Salerno: 87-103.

—. (1994a): *Der Faktor Sprachkontakt in einer dynamischen Typologie des Slavischen*. In: MEHLIG, Hans Robert (Ed.), Slavistische Linguistik 1993. München: Otto Sagner: 41-64.

—. (1994b): *Forme verbali perifrastiche arbërisht*. In: ALTIMARI, Francesco; SAVOIA, Leonardo M. (Eds.), I dialetti italo-albanesi. Studi linguistici e storico-culturali sulle comunità arbëreshe. Roma: Bulzoni: 365-385.

—. (2008): *Der slavische Lokativ im Sprachkontakt. Ein Beitrag zur Binnendifferenzierung des Moliseslavischen*. In: KOSTA, Peter; WEISS, Daniel (Eds.), Slavistische Linguistik 2006/2007. München: Otto Sagner: 59-102.

—. (2011): *Il verbo slavomolisano in confronto con altre lingue minoritarie: mutamento contatto-dipendente, resistenza e sviluppo autonomo*. In: BREU, Walter (Ed.), L'influsso dell'italiano sul sistema del verbo delle lingue minoritarie. Bochum: Brockmeyer: 149-184.

—. (2012): *The grammaticalization of an indefinite article in Slavic micro-languages*. In: BJÖRN, Wiemer; BJÖRN, Hansen; WÄLCHLI, Bernherd (Eds.), Grammatical Replication and Borrowability in Language Contact. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton: 275-322.

—. (2014): *Брой, Вальтер, "Функции настоящего и имперфекта совершенного вида и перфекта несовершенного вида в молизско-славянском микроязыке"*. In: Scando-Slavica 60/2: 321–350.

—. (2015): *Der Präsumptiv im Arbrisht: Formen und Funktionen, Entwicklung und grammatische Klassifikation*. In: DEMIRAJ, Bardhyl (Ed.), *S*prache und Kultur der Albaner. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz: 205-231.

BREU, Walter; BERGHAUS, Jasmin; SCHOLZE, Lenka (2016): *Der Verbalaspekt im totalen Sprachkontakt. Moliseslavisch, Obersorbisch und Burgenlandkroatisch im Vergleich*. In: BREU, Walter; REUTHER, Tilmann (Eds.), Slavistische Linguistik 2014. München: Otto Sagner: 55-116.

BREU, Walter; PILA, Malinka; SCHOLZE, Lenka (in press): *Видовые приставки в языковом контакте (на материале резьянского, молизско-славянского и верхнелужицкого микроязыков)*. In: Бенаккьо, А. Муро, С. Славкова (Eds.), Роль префиксов в процессах формирования категории аспектуальности. Вопросы грамматикализации. Firenze: University Press.

BREU, Walter (forthcoming): *Morphosyntactic Change in Slavic Microlanguages: the Case of Molise Slavic*. In: DANYLENKO, Andriy; NOMACHI, Motoki (Eds.), Slavic in the Language Map of Europe. De Gruyter.

GIAMMARCO, Ernesto (1968): *Dizionario Abruzzese e Molisano. Volume Primo. A–E.* Roma: Edizioni dell'Ateneo.

JUSUFI, Lumnije (2016): *Zajazi dhe e folmja e tij*. Prishtinë: OM.

LAMBERTZ, Maximilian (1914): *Albanische Mundarten in Italien (Mit einer Kartenskizze)*. In: *Indogermanisches Jahrbuch* 1913/1: 1–30.

MATRAS, Yaron; SAKEL, Jeanette (2007): *Grammatical Borrowing in Cross-linguistic Perspective*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

REŠETAR, Milan (1911): *Die serbokroatischen Kolonien Süditaliens.* Wien: Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften.

ROHLFS, Gerhard (1969): *Grammatica storica della lingua italiana e dei suoi dialetti.* Torino: Einaudi.

SASSE, Hans-Jürgen (1991): *Arvanitika. Die albanischen Sprachreste in Griechenland. Teil 1.* Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.

SAVOIA, Leonardo M. (2008): *Alcune caratteristiche del causativo arbëresh.* In: ALTIMARI, Francesco (Ed.), *Leonardo M. Savoia, Studi sulle varietà arbëreshe. Versione digitale in occasione del 60º compleanno dell'autore.* Arcavacata di Rende: CELUC: 323-380.

THE ORDER AND PLACEMENT OF CLITICS IN (OLD) CROATIAN AND MOLISE CROATIAN[1]

AMIR KAPETANOVIĆ

1. Introduction

By comparison with other world languages about which little or almost nothing is known today, the Croatian language, like all other Slavic languages, has been fairly well described and documented. This is also true for the Slavic Molise Croatian language as compared to other endangered world languages: it can be considered fairly well documented and basically described since it has its own grammar and dictionary (Piccoli & Sammartino 2000; Breu & Piccoli 2000; Sammartino 2004). Despite this, many issues involving Croatian and Molise Croatian have not been brought to light, not even in studies over the past two decades that have been of great interest to researchers, e.g. the issue of the order and placement of clitics in Slavic languages (e.g. Jakobson 1967, Zwicky 1977, Franks & King 2000, Kosta 2003; 2009; 2009a, Zimmerling 2008a; 2008b). The Croatian language and the other South Slavic languages are especially important in this context, as they are distinctive in their development of verbal enclitics and in their retention of enclitic pronouns, which have (nearly) died out in some Slavic languages (cf. e.g. Croatian enclitic forms of personal pronouns and reflexive pronouns versus those in Russian and Old Russian, see e.g. Зализняк 2008; Zimmerling 2009).

Not much information exists about Croatian clitics from a diachronic perspective in studies on Slavic literature. Nor does information exist about their order and placement, which may have been different once upon a time, or about whether this order is present today in Molise Croatian, a language that separated from its parent Štokavian dialect and began to develop as a Slavic linguistic island surrounded by Romance languages (these days, it comprises only three local dialects).

[1] This work has been fully supported by Croatian Science Foundation under the project DOCINEC (2698).

This paper will compare the placement and order of clitics (and especially that of enclitics) in Modern Croatian, Old Croatian, and Molise Croatian in order to determine differences between Croatian today and in the past (in other words, to ascertain whether or not any linguistic property has been lost in the diachronic perspective), and to determine what has influenced the linguistic status of clitics in Molise Croatian.

2. Croatian, then and now

Although word order is relatively free in Standard Croatian, there are strict rules and limitations for the placement and ordering of enclitics in a sentence. This is apparent in the following text sentences:

(1) ***Je li***$_{(Q)}$ *to tvoj kišobran? – upitah* ***ju***$_{(Asg,f)}$ *pokazujući* ***joj***$_{(Dsg,f)}$ *kišobran. Dok* ***me***$_{(Asg.)}$ ***je***$_{(3sg.)}$ *gledala i smiješila* ***mi***$_{(Dsg.)}$ ***se***$_{(R)}$*, razmišljao sam o tom da* ***li***$_{(Q)}$ ***će***$_{(3sg)}$ ***me***$_{(Asg.)}$ *prepoznati, ali ona je prepoznala samo svoj žuti kišobran. Dopustio* ***sam***$_{(1sg.)}$ ***joj***$_{(Dsg,f)}$ *da* ***mi***$_{(Dsg.)}$ ***ga***$_{(Asg.m)}$ *uzme iz ruke, iako* ***mi***$_{(Dsg.)}$ ***ga***$_{(Gsg.m)}$ ***se***$_{(R)}$ *nekako teško bilo odreći.*[2]

"Is this your umbrella? – I asked her, showing her the umbrella. While she looked at me and smiled at me, I wondered whether or not she would recognise me, but she only recognised her yellow umbrella. I let her take it out of my hand, although it was somehow hard for me to let it go".

These examples lead to the following conclusions:

a. as non-accented words enclitics are placed after an accented word, i.e., they are never found at the beginning of an independent or dependent clause (the orthotonic *je* 'is' stands at the beginning of interrogative sentences)[3] and never after negative particles and certain conjunctions (*i* 'and', *a* 'but') in independent compound sentences;
b. when enclitics are grouped following the accented word, the interrogative enclitic *li* takes precedence;

[2] This text has been composed for the purposes of this article. Abbreviations: *Q* (interrogative particle), *D* (dative), *G* (genitive), *A* (accusative), *R* (reflexive particle/pronoun), *sg*. (singular), *pl.* (plural), *m* (masculine), *f* (feminine), *n* (neuter).

[3] On the orthotonic status of *j*□, see Ivšić 1967: 89–90.

c. verbal enclitics,[4] except for third person singular *je*, take precedence over enclitic pronouns;
d. enclitic pronouns are placed according to case, starting with dative[5] and followed by genitive or accusative;[6]
e. enclitic pronouns are followed by the reflexive particle/pronoun[7] *se* 'self' or the verbal enclitic *je* 'is' (when *se* is present, the verbal enclitic *je* is omitted).

These rules, which do not contradict Wackernagel's rule on the placement of non-accented words in the second position of the clause (i.e., after the first accented word), were operative also in Old Croatian Mediaeval texts, especially Čakavian ones, as the following examples illustrate:

(2) a. *Otvoriti* ***će****$_{(3sg.)}$* ***se****$_{(R)}$ tadaj grebovi* (HSP 2010: 190)
"The graves will then open"
b. *Kuda* ***li****$_{(Q)}$ to, sinče, hodiš?* (HSP 2010: 537)
"Where are you walking to, son?"
c. *Čusmo da* ***ga****$_{(Asg.m)}$* ***je****$_{(3sg.)}$ Osip shranil...* (HSP 2010: 71)
"We heard that Osip stored it..."

(3) a. *A oni počaše praviti ča* ***jim****$_{(Dpl.)}$* ***se****$_{(R)}$* ***je****$_{(3sg.)}$ zgodalo putem...* (ZL 34b)
"And they began to say what had happened to them along the way..."
b. *To* ***sam****$_{(3sg.)}$* ***vam****$_{(Dpl.)}$ govoril s vami pribivajući* (ZL 38a)
"I told you this when living with you"
c. *Hvaliti hoću jime tvoje vsaki dan i pohvaliti* ***ću****$_{(1sg.)}$* ***ga****$_{(Asg.n)}$ uspovidu! (...) Izbavil si mene od pogibeli i obaroval* ***si****$_{(2sg.)}$* ***me****$_{(Asg.)}$ od vrimena zaloga* (ZL 90a)
"I shall bless your name every day and praise it in confession! (...) You saved me from death and protected me from harsh times"

---

[4] These are: *bih, bi, bi, bismo, biste, bi* 'would'*; sam, si, smo, ste, su* 'be'*; ću ćeš, će, ćemo, ćete, će* 'will'.
[5] These are the dative forms of personal pronouns: *mi, ti, mu, joj, si, nam, vam, im.*
[6] These are the accusative forms of personal pronouns: *me, te, ga, je, ju, nas, vas, ih*.
[7] The particle *se* is used in impersonal, passive and unreal reflexive sentences, while the pronoun *se* is used in true reflexives, i.e., in transitive events which affect the object.

(6) *Učiteļu dobro* ***si****(2sg.)* ***mi****(Dsg.)* *odgovoril i prosvetil* ***si****(2sg.)* ***mi****(Dsg.)* *misal moju...* (LucSi 38b)
"Teacher, you have answered me well and enlightened my thought..."

Simultaneously, however, especially in Štokavian texts, a *different*, stylistically unconditioned order and placement of enclitics was also possible, in which enclitic pronouns came before verbal enclitics, as well as after the conjunction *ni* 'neither':

(7) a. *Neće gladovati ni žajati veće, ni* ***jih****(Apl.)* ***će****(3sg.)* *poraziti znoj* *ni* ***jim****(Dpl.)* ***će****(3sg.)* *sunce nauditi jere* ***jih****(Asg.)* ***će****(3sg.)* *vladati milosardnik ńih i na vrutkih vodenih napajati* ***će****(3sg.)* ***jih****(Asg.)* (BL 33b)[8]
"They shall not go hungry or thirsty anymore, nor shall they be oppressed by heat, nor shall the sun harm them, because they shall be ruled by a merciful man, and he shall give them water from springs…"

b. *Prija nego peteh zapoje, trikrat* ***me****(1sg.)* ***ćeš****(2sg.)* *zatajati* (BL 39b)
"Before the rooster crows, you will deny me three times"

(8) a. *Kada pade, neće se razbiti zašto Gospodin poduhititi* ***ga****(Asg.m)* ***će****(3sg.)* *rukom svojom* (DPs 24b-25a);

b. *I zatoj obratiti* ***se****(R)* ***će****(3sg.)* *puk moj ovdi*…(DPs 49b)[9]
"When it falls, it shall not break, because the Lord will catch it with his hand; And so my people will convert here…"

(9) a. *Gospodine Bože, što* ***mi****(Dsg.)* ***ćeš****(2sg.)* *dati*? (DBibl 39)
"My Lord, what will you give me?"

[8] This last attestation points to the possibility of the enclitic order as attested today in Modern Croatian. The same order has also been retained in a Štokavian transcription known as the *Leipzig Lectionary* (*Neće gladovati ni žeđati veće, ni* ***ih će*** *poraziti znoj ni* ***im će*** *sunce nauditi jere* ***ih će*** *vladati milosrdnik ńih i na vrutkih vodenih napajati* ***će ih*** (LL 83b).

[9] The *Dubrovnik Psalter* contains 137 attestations of the older order *se će* and only 5 attestations of the newer *će se*.

b. *Združiće se sa mnom moj muž zašto* ***mu****(Dsg.m)* ***sam*** *(1sg.) porodila tri sina* (DBibl. 135)
"My husband will join with me because I have borne him three sons"

(10) *... nego* ***ga****(Asg.m)* ***će****(3sg.) nihdar ojti* (OH 72b)
"… and he will never abandon him"

(11) *U izašastju s jutra i [u] večer nasladio* ***se****(R)* ***si****(2sg.), pohodio si zemļu i napojio* ***ju****(Asg,f)* ***si****(2sg.) (*VHM 134a)
"You enjoyed greatly going out in the morning and in the evening, you walked the land and watered it"

(12) a. *Nijesi li me kako mlijeko muzao i kako sir ožimao* ***me****(Asg.)* ***si****(2sg.)? Kožom i mesom odio* ***me****(Asg.)* ***si****(2sg.), kostmi i žilami spregnuo si mene. Život i milosrdje dao* ***mi****(Dsg.)* ***si****(2sg.) i pohođenje tvoje čuvalo je duh moj* (ADM 74b)
"Did you not milk me like a cow and drain me like cheese? You clothed me in skin and meat, hitched me with bones and tendons. You gave me life and mercy, and your coming saved my spirit"

b. *Veseliti* ***se****(R)* ***će****(3pl.) sveti u slavi, radovati* ***se****(R)* ***će****(3pl.) pribivališteh svojih (*ADM 26b)
"The holy will rejoice in glory, they will be joyful in their homes"[10]

Ivšić (1967: 123) considers this different order (enclitic pronouns > verbal enclitics) to be older since enclitic pronouns such as *mi*, *me* are older than verbal enclitics such as *sam* 'am', *si* '[you] are': "when *sam* established itself as an enclitic, it started appearing before the enclitic pronoun because the verbal enclitic precedes the enclitic pronouns (cf.: on *bi mi,* ti *bi nam* etc.)".[11] Insight into current discussions and the available

[10] W. Browne noticed that the 1st and 2nd person of accusative and genitive clitics in Burgenland Croatian precede the clitic *se*, while the 3rd person accusative and genitive clitic generally follow the clitic *se*. He mentions the examples *Boju me se* (*They fear me*) and *Boju te se* (*They fear you*), *Boju se ga* (*They fear him*) alongside the (possible) *Boju ga se* (Browne 2014: 90, see also Browne 2010).

[11] "[ ] kad se pak *sam* utvrdilo kao enklitika, onda je počelo dolaziti pred zamjeničku enklitiku, jer glagolska enklitika dolazi ispred zamjeničke" (ispor.: on *bi mi,* ti *bi nam* itd.).

Old Croatian sources from which we took these examples leads us to assume that the spread of the newer (modern) placement of enclitics (verbal enclitic > enclitic pronoun) began in the South Slavic north-west and spread towards the south-east, because the "older" order (enclitic pronoun > verbal enclitic) appeared in Čakavian texts rarely or less frequently than the "newer" order (e.g. *Zadar Lectionary*, *Žića svetih otaca*), while the "older" enclitic order dominates, with a few exceptions, in the oldest prose from Dubrovnik (Rešetar 1952: 92). This is also typical of the *Ranjina Lectionary* (early 16th Century), in which, however, "the newer and older orders are mixed only in the future tense" where the so-called older order dominates (see Rešetar 1898: 189–190). Attestations of the older word order can be found in texts written as late as the 17th Century (e.g. Gundulić, Divković).

In Čakavian,[12] the short verb form *si* can come at the beginning of (interrogative) sentences, since these auxiliary forms are not just clitics, as in Štokavian, but orthotonic words as well: *sãn*/ *sãm*, *s□, j□, sm□, st□, sù*; *ćù, ć□š, ć□, ć□mo, ć□te, ćẽ* (*tẽ*) (Ivšić 1967: 67). The following are Old Croatian examples from the same Čakavian text:

(13) ***Si li*** *videl ča*? (ŽSO 17v) / ***Jesi li*** *vidil ča?* (ŽSO 113r)[13]
"Did you see anything?"

The examples below also confirm the placement of the particle *li* in the second place in the sentence.[14] Apart from this, it should be noted that the clitic *se* can come before both the enclitic pronoun and the verbal enclitic (14a,b), and that the verbal enclitic *je* (3rd person singular) is most often present (i.e., is not dropped) when it follows the clitic *se* (14b), and that a negative particle can come between the auxiliary and main verb, as confirmed by (15):

[12] In the Kajkavian dialect, "zamjeničke i glagolske klitike mogu biti enklitike i proklitike" ["clitic pronouns and verbal clitics can be both enclitics and proclitics"] (LONČARIĆ 1994:138; RAMADANOVIĆ & VIRČ 2013).

[13] The same has been attested both in Čakavian poems by 20th century Croatian poets (e.g. Nazor's *Galiotova pesan*: *Si l cela mi, kuća bela? Si l mi, majko, prebolela?; Si l se, drevo, osušilo? Si l se, sunce, ugasilo?*) and in modern Čakavian dialects (*Mu pomažu delati; Je jo xiti na tla, Je bila užanca* (see LISAC 2009: 41, 59, 82.)

[14] In Old Croatian, there is also an accented adverbial *li*, *le*, or *lje* ("only") which too can appear at the beginning of a sentence.

(14) a. *Ki ne behu videli Aleksandra, ošće* ***se****(R)* ***ga****(Asg.m)* *bojahu*…(TkCvet 73b)
"Whoever did not see Alexander still feared him..."

b. *I rasrčio* ***se****(R)* ***je****(3sg.)* *gnjevom Gospodin na puk svoj i omrze mu djedina svoja* (DPs 74b)
"And he grew angry with the rage of the Lord at his people, and he began to despise his heritage"

(15) a. *Uč(i)t(e)ļu, ja* ***bim****(1sg.)* ***ne*** *prestupil zapovedi B(o)žje* (LucSi 49v)[15]
"Teacher, I do not want to overstep the Lord's commandments"

b. *neka da* ***bih****(1sg.)* ***ne*** *vidila / smarti i rane tvoga tila* (HSP 6444)[16]
"Let me not see / death and the wounds of your body"

3. Molise Croatian

The Slavic language of the Croatian minority in the Italian region of *Molise* (the towns of Montemitro and Acquaviva Collecroce) has a Štokavian substructure; however, after several centuries of discontinuity from its parent dialect, it took its own developmental path within Romance surroundings. The placement and order of clitics do not correspond entirely to that of both Standard Croatian and Štokavian dialects.

The modern Croatian standard language (and Štokavian dialects in general) and Molise Croatian share the same clitic order, since verbal enclitics (except for the 3rd person singular *je*)[17] come before enclitic pronouns, which are ordered according to case (D, G/A). On the other hand, enclitic pronouns[18] (when the latter are not placed after an

[15] Cf. *Uč(i)t(e)ļu, dam ti viditi da togo* ***ne bim učinil****...* (LucSi 57v)

[16] The same goes for Kajkavian: "Niječnica *ne* u primjerima sa zanijekanim kondicionalom najčešće stoji ispred glagolskoga pridjeva radnog, a ne ispred punoga oblika kondicionala (pomoćnoga glagola)" ["The negative particle *ne* in examples with the negative conditional most often stand before the active verbal adjective, not before the full conditional (modal verb)"], which confirms Habdelić's statement: *Boļe bi ti bilo da bi nigdar* ***ne*** *bil ni videl škole...* (RAMADANOVIĆ & VIRČ 2013: 618).

[17] In Molise Croatian, the 3rd person singular *je* comes before all enclitic pronouns, whereas it comes after them in the Croatian standard language.

[18] These are: *me, mi, te, ti, se, si, mu, ga, joj, ju, nam, nas, vam, vas, hi, njim.*

imperative) and verbal forms[19] in proclisis (i.e., appearing in front of tonic words) show a different syntactic behaviour: they are placed in the beginning of the sentence (Sammartino 2004) and therefore not in accordance with Wackernagel's[20] rule whereby non-accented words in Indo-European languages tend towards the second position in the sentence (after tonic words):

(16) a. *On* ***je****(3sg.)* ***mi****(Dsg.)* *rispunija* (MK 8)
"He answered me"
b. *Mali kraljič* ***je****(3sg.)* ***hi****(Apl.)* *gleda* (MK 38)
"The prince looked at them"
c. ***Je****(3sg.)* *proprja naka ka ja ju hočahu*! (MK 10)
"It's exactly the way I wanted it!"
d. *A* ***je****(3sg.)* ***mi****(Dsg.)* *sa stisknija srca kada* ***mu****(Dsg.)* ***ju****(Asg.)* *dajahu...* (MK 47)
"And my heart ached when they gave her to him..."
e. ***Mi****(Dsg.)* *servi jena ovca* (MK 9)
"I need a sheep"
f. ***Ču****(1sg.)* *jiskat sigura za čit dizenja...* (MK 14)
"I shall certainly try to make my portraits..."
g. ***Bi****(3sg.)* ***mi****(Dsg.)* *bila draga reč* (MK 13)
"I would be pleased to say"
h. ***Smo****(1pl.)* *zabral jena misto / za novu hižu...* (Petrella 26)
"We chose a place / for a new house"[21]

Considering these structural possibilities and the examples confirming them, it can be claimed that Molise Croatian has not retained the characteristics of the "different" ("older") Old Croatian word order, which means that, by the time the first Croats migrated to Molise, the "newer" enclitic order was already fairly widespread throughout their Štokavian homeland (part of which bordered on a Čakavian region). As far as the placement of short pronoun and verb forms at the beginning of an accented

[19] These are: *se*, *si*, *je*, *smo*, *ste*, *su* (forms of the *be* paradigm), *ču*, *češ*, *će*, *čmo/mo*, *šte*, *te* (forms of the *will* paradigm), *bi*, *bismo/bimo*, *biste* (forms of the *would* paradigm), *mam/am*, *maš/aš*, *ma*, *mamo*, *mate*, *maju* (forms of the *have* paradigm).
[20] WACKERNAGEL (1892). For more on this in Croatian scientific literature, see PETI-STANTIĆ (2007).
[21] In 2015, W. Breu informed me that he had noticed a variation in clitic placement in Molise Croatian that was mainly connected to the conditional *bi*: in addition to the main variant *Ja bi mu ga da* (standard Cro. 'Ja bih mu ga dao'), the secondary variant *(Ja) mu bi ga da* is also occasionally used.

whole is concerned, Molise Croatian developed as a language in which it is possible to place a clitic both in the first position of the sentence and before tonic words (in enclisis). Thus, Molise Croatian distanced itself from Štokavian, and in doing so – at least in the formal syntactic sense, regardless of the prosodic characteristics of short pronoun and verb forms - moved closer to Čakavian, Kajkavian, and Slovenian in the west of the South Slavic linguistic region and Bulgarian in the east. [22] Attestations of clitics in the first/accented position of the sentence or in front of a tonic word certainly cannot be interpreted as an archaism from Old Slavic times[23] in a Štokavian dialect that the Croats brought to the Apennines, because this was not typical of late 15th and early 16th century Štokavian, as is apparent from texts of the time. It would be difficult to interpret convincingly this linguistic feature as an influence from neighbouring Čakavian dialects on the Štokavian in their homeland. Thus, the logical conclusion is that sentence order such as *Mi servi...* and *Su rekl...* (cf. *L'hanno detto...*) resulted from Romance influence on Molise Croatian. This is additionally supported by the fact that the verbal enclitic *je* (3rd person singular) comes before enclitic pronouns in Molise Croatian, something that is (and was) impossible in Štokavian.

Conclusion

The goal of this paper was to point out the different ("older") order of verbal enclitics and enclitic pronouns present in Old Croatian texts – especially Štokavian ones – and to shed light on the order and placement of enclitics in Molise Croatian. The analysis has shown that the usage of the "older" and "newer" orders of enclitic pronouns and verbal enclitics differs in Old Croatian Čakavian and Štokavian texts (15th and early 16th century Čakavian texts show mostly the "newer" order, while Štokavian texts show the "older" order). As far as Molise Croatian is concerned, the analysis has shown that the order of enclitics in Molise Croatian corresponds to the "newer" order, and not to the different ("older") order that was dominant in Štokavian texts when the Croats migrated to Molise. Thus, we can conclude that, at the time of their migration, the Slavic language of the ancestors of the Molise Croats predominantly used the "newer" enclitic order, and that the placement of short pronoun and verbal

[22] IVŠIĆ (1967: 67) lists examples from Slovenian according to Murk (***Si*** *mi prinesel?*), in Bulgarian according to Ivanov (***ти*** *дотегна*). In the Kajkavian dialect, it is also possible to place a clitic in the initial position: ***Su*** *beli kak jadra na ladi.* /***Se*** *vrnul?* (according to RAMADANOVIĆ-VIRČ 2013: 619).

[23] E.g. *i* ***mę*** *vъzljubilъ esi* (Ivšić 1967: 72). See also VEČERKA 1989.

forms at the beginning of accentuated wholes in Molise Croatian is the result of Romance influence.

References

BARIĆ, Eugenija; LONČARIĆ, Ivo; MALIĆ, Dragica; PAVEŠIĆ, Slavko; PETI, Mirko; ZEČEVIĆ, Vesna; ZNIKA, Marija (2005): *Hrvatska gramatika*, 4. Zagreb: Školska knjiga.

BREU, Walter; PICCOLI, Giovanni; SNJEŽANA Marčec (2000): *Dizionario croato molisano di Acquaviva Collecroce. Dizionario plurilingue della lingua slava della minoranza di provenienza dalmata di Acquaviva Collecroce in Provincia di Campobasso. Dizionario, registri, grammatica, testi*. Campobasso.

BROWNE, Wayles (2010): *Syntactic studies in Burgenland Croatian: the order of clitics*. In: Balkanistica 23: 21–42.

—. (2014): *Groups of Clitics in West and South Slavic Languages.* In: KACZMARSKA, Elżbieta; NOMACHI, Motoki (Eds.), *Slavic and German in Contact: Studies from Areal and Contrastive Linguistics.* Sapporo, Slavic Research Center, Hokkaido University.

FRANK, Steven; KING, Tracy Holloway (2000): *A Handbook of Slavic Clitics.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

IVŠIĆ, Stjepan (1967): *Enklitike, osobito njihov namještaj u staroslovenskome jeziku s obzirom na ostale slavenske jezike*. In: Rad JAZU 348: 61—140.

JAKOBSON, Roman (1962): *Les enclitiques slaves.* In: Selected Writings II. The Hague: Mouton: 16-22.

KOSTA, Peter (2003): *Syntaktische und semantische Besonderheiten von Adverb und Negation im Slavischen (unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Tschechischen, Russischen und Südslavischen*. In: Zeitschrift für Slawistik 48: 377-404.

—. (2009): *Sentential Negation, Adverbs and Pronominal Clitics in Slavic (and some Romance languages) – global vs. local tendencies of language contact*. SLE 42nd Annual Meeting. Lisboa, 9th-12th September, 2009. *Global Languages Local Languages*. Universidade de Lisboa. Faculdade de Letras. Portugal.

—. (2009): *Targets, Theory and Methods of Slavic Generative Syntax: Minimalism, Negation and Clitics*. In: KEMPGEN, Sebastian; KOSTA, Peter; BERGER, Tilman; GUTSCHMIDT, Karl (Eds.), *Die slavischen Sprachen / The Slavic Languages.* Berlin, New York: Series: Handbücher zur Sprach- und Kommunikationswissenschaft /

Handbooks of Linguistics and Communication Science / [HSK] 32/1. Article 33.

LISAC, Josip (2009): *Hrvatska dijalektologija 2: Čakavsko narječje*, Golden marketing. Zagreb: Tehnička knjiga.

LONČARIĆ, Mijo (1994): *O kajkavskoj sintaksi*. In: Rasprave ZHJ-a, 20/1: 137–154.

PETI-STANTIĆ, Anita (2007): *Wackernagelovo pravilo – norma ili mogućnost.* In: Sintaktičke kategorije, Zbornik radova znanstvenoga skupa s međunarodnim sudjelovanjem. Kuna, Branko (ur.), Osijek – Zagreb: Filozofski fakultet – Institut za hrvatski jezik i jezikoslovlje, 173–187.

PICCOLI, Agostina; SAMMARTINO, Antonio [with S. Marčec i M. Menac-Mihalić] (2000): *Dizionario dell'idioma croato-molisano di Montemitro*. Montemitro – Zagreb: Fondazione Agostina Piccoli – Matica hrvatska.

RAMADANOVIĆ, Ermina; VIRČ, Ines (2013): *Redoslijed nenaglašenih sintaktičkih jedinica u kajkavštini*. In: Rasprave 39/2: 603–630.

SAMMARTINO, Antonio (2004): *Grammatica della lingua croato-molisana*, Montemitro – Zagreb: Fondazione Agostina Piccoli – Profil international.

VEČERKA, Radoslav (1989): *Altkirchenslavische (Altbulgarische) Syntax. I. Die lineare Satzorganisation*. Freiburgi Br. : Weiher.

WACKERNAGEL, Jacob (1892): *Über ein Gesetz der IG Wortstellung*. In: Indogermanische Forschunge: 333–436.

ЗАЛИЗНЯК, Андрей А. (2008): *Древнерусские энклитики*. Москва: Языки славянских культур.

ZIMMERLING, Anton W. (2008a): The *Emergence of 2nd Position Clitics and the Order of Cliticization*. In: The 3rd Annual Meeting of the Slavic Linguistic Society, SLS 3. Columbus, Ohio, June 10-12, 2008.

—. (2008b): *Poryadok slov v slavyanskih, germanskih i romanskih yazykah*. In: Slavo-Germanic studies. 3: 165-239.

—. (2009): *Klitiki v prostranstve drevnerusskogo yazyka*. In: Review of Zalizniak 2009. *Russkij jazyk v nauchnom osvesjchenii*.

ZWICKY, Arnold M. (1977): *On Clitics*. Bloomington: Indiana University.

Sources

ADM / VHM / ZL = Malić, Dragica (ed.) (2002): *Najstariji hrvatski latinički spomenici (do sredine 15. stoljeća)*. 2004. Uvodne tekstove napisale Dragica Malić i Dunja Fališevac, Stari pisci hrvatski XLIII, HAZU, Zagreb.

BL = Maretić, Tomo (ed.) (1885): *Lekcionarij Bernardina Splječanina po prvom izdanju od god. 1495*. Djela JAZU 5, JAZU, Zagreb.

DPs = Fancev, Franjo (ed.) (1934): *Vatikanski hrvatski molitvenik i Dubrovački psaltir: dva latinicom pisana spomenika hrvatske proze 14 i 15 vijeka*, Djela JAZU 31, JAZU, Zagreb. [It also contains the addition Najstariji štampani hrvatski molitvenik, ed. Ciro Giannelli.]

DBibl = Dubrovnik's translation of the Bible (Liber genesis & Liber exodus), 16th Century, manuscript in the Franciscan monastery, No. 260 in Brlek's catalogy.

HSP = Kapetanović, Amir, Malić, Dragica, Štrkalj Despot Kristina (2010): *Hrvatsko srednjovjekovno pjesništvo: pjesme, plačevi i prikazanja na starohrvatskom jeziku*. Biblioteka Hrvatska jezična riznica, Niz Starohrvatska vrela. Institut za hrvatski jezik i jezikoslovlje, Zagreb.

MK = Saint-Exupéry, Antoine de (2009): *Mali kraljič: s dizenjami do autora*, transl. W. Breu, and Nicola Gliosca, Tintenfass, Neckarsteinach.

LL = Schütz, Joseph (1963): *Das handschriftliche Missale illyricum cyrillicum Lipsiense*. Erster Band: Philologisch-Linguistiche Monographie; Zweiter Band: *Phototechnische Reproduktion des Kodex*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.

LucSi = Nazor, Anica (ed.) (2001): Prijevod 'Lucidara' Honorija Augustodunensisa u glagoljskom prijepisu, *Godišnik na Sofijskija universitet "Sv. Kliment Ohridski*", Cent'r za slavjano-vizantijski proučvanija "Ivan Dujčev", tom 89 (8) za 1997, Sofija, 85–112.

OH = Osor-Hvar songbook (1533): Arhiv HAZU, manuscript sign. I a 62.

Petrella = Sammartino, Antonio (ed.) (2007): *S našimi riči: zbirka literarnih ostvarenja na moliškohrvatskome* 2, Zaklada Agostina Piccolli, Montemitro.

TkCvet = Sambunjak, Slavomir (ed.) (2001): *Tkonski zbornik: hrvatskoglagoljski tekstovi iz 16. stoljeća*, Općina Tkon, Tkon.

ŽSO = Malić, Dragica (ed.) (1997): *Žića svetih otaca: hrvatska srednjovjekovna proza*, Matica hrvatska – Institut za hrvatski jezik, Zagreb.

THE ND[1] CLUSTERS IN THE CROATIAN DIALECT OF ACQUAVIVA COLLECROCE (*NA-NAŠU*)

ANNA CYCHNERSKA AND IRENA SAWICKA

The main topic of our research concerns consonantal clusters of the type 'sonant nasal + occlusive' (ND). Particular aspects of the occurrence of such groups can be found in the Modern Greek, Albanian and Aromanian languages, and also in the southern dialects of Macedonian and Southern Italian. The special functioning of ND clusters (nasal sonant + homorganic stop) constitutes the most striking phonetic Balkanism. This most significant property of Balkan phonetics is also found in the *na-našu* dialect - evidently under the Italian influence. This is a very complex Balkanic feature. It consists of several different phenomena of various origins. They all fuse, contributing to the enormous frequency of these clusters and many options and hesitations in pronunciation.

Each Balkan dialect has its own set of partial features of this property, and different aspects of it prevail in each. Greek and Albanian are the languages most marked by ND clusters. The feature is also present to a lesser extent in other dialects of the Central Balkanic Area (which overlaps more or less with the so-called Western Balkans).

Greek and Latin are the two main sources of ND clusters, but other Balkan dialects also contributed. Partial phenomena of this feature are:

- Functional equivalence of ND clusters and the corresponding voiced stops, or at least a tendency towards it, leading to the monophonemic value of ND (cf. Greek vernacular [lampa]/[lamba]/[laba]);
- The occurrence of ND clusters in word initial position (e.g. Alb. *mbret* from the Latin *imperator*, *ngushtë* from *angustus*, Arumanian *nklidu* from the Latin *includere, mpartu* from *impartire* etc.,

[1] N – nasal sonant, D – voiced stop or affricate, T – voiceless stop or affricate, C – consonant, V - vowel.

vernacular, emotionally marked Greek: [mbes epitelus] instead of [bes epitelus]).

- Voicing of stops after nasal sonants (Greek, Northern Albanian, Southern Italian), e.g. It. *quandu* from *quanto*.
- Other assimilations, e.g. Italian gemination (as a result of progressive assimilation) or simplification of these clusters; for example, in Northern Albanian where simplification follows gemination: *imperator* > *mpret* > *mbret* > *mmret* > *mre*t. Italian gemination occurred later than voicing, because the new ND clusters did not change into geminates, e.g. Calabrian*, quannu* from *quando* but *quandu* from *quanto.* The most regular is assimilation in place of articulation, e.g. Northern Greek *ton pono* (acc. sg.) > [tombono].
- Preservation of the Old Slavic nasal vowels before stops, under the influence of the Greek properties of this feature;
- Insertion of a stop in certain types of consonant clusters, which may contain a nasal sonant, e.g. Northern Greek [χamomilo] > [χamomlu] > [χamomblu], [pukamiso] > [pkamsu] > [pkampsu] (see Newton 1972), Alb. [dimbri], [embri], [numbri], [zəmbra] from *dimri*, *emri*, *numri*, *zëmra*, Macedonian of Southern Albania *мблеко*, *умбри*, *мбрамор*, *мбравја*, Molisan *mbrenna* (< *merenda*). In Italian and Albanian this phenomenon is restricted to *ml*, *mr* clusters that shift into *mbl*, *mbr*;
- As a consequence of all these phenomena, a number of double forms appear (with ND~NT~N~NN).

Some aspects of the functioning of ND clusters can be found in Greek and Arumanian, several others in Southern Macedonian. Initial ND clusters appear in Albanian, in most of the Arumanian dialects, in Southern Italian dialects, and in emotionally marked utterances in Greek. The voicing of T after N appears in Greek, Northern Albanian, Southern Italian (not, however, in secondary clusters that emerged after the loss of high unstressed vowels in Northern Greek). Gemination of ND appears in Southern Italian; it is also the stage leading to the simplification of *mb* and *nd* into *m* and *n* in Northern Albanian (*ŋg* gave *g* or *k*). In vernacular Greek, there is neither functional, nor even a perceptive difference between ND, NT and D). Such functional equivalence often spreads to other dialects in a less regular form (for more details about ND clusters in the Balkan languages, see Савицка 2014).

Greek is the main source of functional and often perceptive equivalence of the clusters in question with corresponding groups with

voiceless stops and with single voiced stops in intervocalic position – in loans, intervocalic voiced stops, as well as NT clusters, automatically shift into ND in colloquial speech, e.g. [paŋganini], [lamba] instead of [paganini], [lampa]. On the other hand, in a great part of Greece, ND clusters were simplified into D, the process that additionally contributed to said morphonological equivalence. Because of the appearance of various phonetic representations of the same word in different dialects of the same language, not only in Greek, but also in Albanian and Italian, and sometimes Arumanian, such equivalence is often present in vernacular speech, at least partially. As a result, options appear and may be transferred to any dialect of a given language, e.g. Calabrian *sumportare*/ *suportare*, *rimbresjun/ ripresjun*, *bumba*/ *mbumba*, Macedonian from Greece [baraŋga]/ [baraka], [juŋguslavija]/ [juguslavija], [fambrika]/ [fabrika], Arumanian [amintu]/ [amindu], [aprintu]/ [aprindu], [munte]/ [mundi], [dilikat]/ [ndilikat], [burire]/ [mburire], etc.

All the phenomena listed are in fact complex partial characteristics of different origins, which are often combined, mixed and matched. We should bear in mind that different phenomena can produce the same results, for example, initial *mb, nd, ng* clusters may be due on the one hand to the reduction of unstressed short vowels in Romance dialects, and on the other hand to the functional and perceptual equivalence of these groups with a single occlusive in colloquial Greek.

Croatian does not belong to the Balkan Sprachbund and neither does the dialect of Acquaviva Collecroce. However, paradoxically, it evidently obtained this highly important Balkan phonetic feature thanks to the influence of the local Molisan dialect.

The Croatian dialect *na-našu* is spoken in three neighbouring Molisan villages: Acquaviva Collecroce, Montemitro and S. Felice. It belongs to the Štokavian ikavian dialects of Dalmatia. Slavic speakers date from the 16th century in Italy.

The aim of our research was to find out which of the elements of this multifaceted feature appear in the *na-našu* dialect, in other words, to establish whether or not and how the structure of consonant clusters in the Croatian dialect has been modified under the influence of the local Italian dialect. The question is, which elements of the investigated phenomenon are present in the dialect of the Italian province of Molise and which of them were accepted into the Croatian dialect of Acquaviva Collecroce.

The main source of our corpus material was the dictionary: *Dizionario inglese molisano di Acquaviva Collecroce* by Walter Breu and Giovanni Piccoli (2000). Some additional examples were drawn from the book *Język diaspory molizańskich Chorwatów* by Krzysztof Feruga (2009). Comparative

Italian (Molisan) material is taken from the descriptions (grammars) and dictionaries of the local Romance dialect: mainly from *Grammatica delle parlate d'Abruzzo e Molise* (1960) and *Dizionario Abruzzese e Molisano* (1968-1979) by Ernesto Giammarco. We also consulted other works (Finamore 1893, Verratti 1968), as well as general dialectal descriptions of Italian and Croatian (mainly Rohlfs 1966, Ивић 1985 and others).

Generally, as far as consonantal clusters are concerned, in Molisan Croatian we do not observe as many changes as in Čakavian – a Croatian dialect that has been significantly influenced by Italian. In the Čakavian dialect, consonant clusters are generally simplified, mainly in syllable codas, and certain types of combinations are prohibited, namely, there are no clusters of two stops or clusters of a stop + a fricative (Савицка 1998). Such clusters are not present in Standard Italian either. *Na-našu* has none of these features, although it assimilated other features characteristic of the Southern Italian dialects. This difference is probably due to the different properties of Italian dialects in contact with Čakavian and *na-našu*. Neither Čakavian nor *na-našu* assimilated consonantal gemination as a functional property. These are properties typical of Standard Italian and some Italian dialects. Usually, gemination is the last feature to be adopted in the process of creolisation – for example, we do not find gemination in the Arbëresh (Albanian dialect) that has been spoken in Italy since the 15th century. However, gemination is already observed in the dying stage of a dialect, as in the Arbëresh dialect of San Marzano, where, however, it has no functional value. The same happens in the dialect *na-našu.* According to the information obtained from Walter Breu, geminates occur in Aquaviva Collecroce, but they play no linguistic function – they just imitate Italian pronunciation[2].

As Late Latin is one of the main sources of the feature in question, the phenomenon is also present in Italian dialects. ND clusters occur in Italian and Albanian dialects in word initial position as a result of the loss of short unstressed vowels – a phenomenon probably inherited from or shared with vernacular Latin.

In the local Italian, the following aspects of this property appear:

- The occurrence of ND clusters in word initial position, cf. *npalca/ mbalca* < *impalcatura*, *ndiligende*, *mbaccia, mmecə/ nvecə/ mbecə* (< *invece*), *nvernə* (< *inverno*), *nseniare* (< *insegnare*), *mbaccia/nfaccia* (< *in faccia*), *mbresə* (< *imprese*), *nʒalata* (< *insalata*);

[2] This is a typical situation in a Sprachbund: a multilingual speaker tends to pronounce similar sounds of various languages in the same way. He or she often tries to imitate the general pronunciation.

- Gemination, i.e. progressive assimilation in ND, e.g. *mmecə/ mbecə/ nvecə* < *invece, cannele* < *candela*), *piomme* (< *piombo*);
- Other assimilations (place and manner of articulation) within such groups, e.g. *in faccia* > *nfaccia* > *mbaccia*;
- Insertion of non-etymological N before D in word initial position, e.g. *mbolle*;
- Insertion of *b* into *mr* and *ml* clusters, e.g. *mbrenna* (< *merenda*);
- Less regularly, voicing of T after N, e.g. *ndiligende*.
- Unmotivated nasal sonants before stops often appear *per analogiam* in word initial position. They calque onsets in which an initial nasal comes from the preposition/prefix *in* as in *nseniare* (< *insegnare*), *nfaccia* > *mbaccia* (< *in faccia*). In this way, we also acquired *mballe* (*balla*), *mbolle* (*bolla*), *mbbaccia, mbjatu* (< *beato*), etc. In connection with such examples, Giammarco (1960) and Verratti (1968) talk about the prosthetic nasal consonant. This became possible as a result of an enormous number of such clusters constantly bombarding the ears of language users. This may also lead to the functional equivalence of D and ND, the more so because in words in which N is absorbed from **in*, the preposition/prefix has lost its original prepositional (spatial/temporal) function. The main source of the initial ND clusters was, of course, the loss of short unstressed vowels in VNC-and NVC- contexts.

Nevertheless, the lexical material in the dictionaries we have consulted shows that some of the listed phenomena are not consistent; at least, as it seems to us, they are less consistent than similar phenomena in the Balkans.

Southern Italian shares all these features with Albanian. Some of them are common to Greek phenomena (such as the voicing of stops after nasal sonants), others are different.

The following can be found in Molisan Croatian:

- Initial ND clusters, e.g. *nganjat sa, ndrndat, mbrizata, ndičip* (= *anticipio*)*, ndakat* (= *intaccare*)*, mburmat* (= *informare*)*, mbreštat* (= *imprestare*). Some of them, as in Molisan Italian, contain neither an etymological nasal sonant, nor the one absorbed from the Italian preposition *in* (also in words of Slavic origin, as in *ndrndat*). Such clusters occur mainly in loans from local Italian (as *ndomina, mbrizata*, etc.), but sometimes they are also encountered in Slavic words where they are completely unmotivated (e.g. *nganjat sa, ndrndat*). In spite of the fact that these clusters are mainly

borrowed, we have to conclude that the occurrence of ND in word initial position is a systemic fact, because they were not deleted in the Slavic phonotactic system; on the contrary, they were accepted and even transferred to Slavic words.

- Unlike Molisan Italian dialects, in the Croatian of Acquaviva Collecroce there are no NC clusters whose elements would differ by place or manner of articulation. We found only one such example in the dictionary compiled by Breu and Piccoli: *nvendivat*.
- We do not find gemination of ND (> NN) in Acquaviva Collecroce (as in Molisan and other Southern Italian dialects in primary ND clusters), although other assimilatory processes in these clusters are much more consistent than in Molisan Italian – N and D usually have the same place and manner of articulation in the Slavic dialect, e.g. *mburmat* < *informare*. The simplification of geminates in loans is a regular fact, e.g. Molisan *cannitə*, *na-našu - kanit*.
- The voicing of stops after nasal sonants is a highly consistent phenomenon in the Croatian dialect in question (e.g. *dendišt, kandata, pundura, spunda, mboštivat*). In Molisan Italian, it is only a tendency. Giammarco (1960) and Verratti (1968) write that in Molisan and Abruzzi there is only a tendency for progressive voicing in NT clusters. Giammarco formulates this as a tendency to convert *nt* into *nd*, *mp* into *mb*, and *nf* into *mb*. In our sources, the forms with voicing prevail, e.g. *pundificatu, sembrecce* (< *semplice*), *ggende, nʒilinʒisu* (< *silenzioso*); however, forms without voicing are also found: *Antoniu, nfacce, campà*. In the Breu and Piccoli dictionary of *na-našu* (2000) we found only one example without voicing: *zeleŋka* (but also *zeleŋga*).
- There are many words with the so-called "buffer consonant"[3] in *mr, ml* clusters in Acquaviva Collecroce (cf. *mblad, mblika, mbrava*).

While it is true that the majority of examples are loans from local Italian, there are also some Slavic words among them. An important fact is that Slavic accepted initial ND clusters, *ergo* changed its own syllable pattern and did not assimilate it according to Slavic distributional properties. Only the "buffer consonant" seems to be much more a Slavic (and Albanian) feature than an Italian one. As it seems to us, all *mr*, *ml*

[3] 'Buffer consonant' is a term used by Brian Newton to describe an occlusive consonant inserted into certain types of consonantal clusters in Greek dialects (NEWTON 1972).

clusters in Slavic words have been replaced by *mbr*, *mbl*[4]. The only possible explanation is that there are many more such examples in Molisan than we have found in our sources.

References

BREU , Walter; PICCOLI, Giovanni (2000): *Dizionario croato molisano di Acquaviva Collecroce.* Campobasso: Arti grafiche la regione.

FERUGA, Krzysztof (2009): *Język diaspory molizańskich Chorwatów*, Akademia Techniczno-Humanistyczna, Bielsko-Biała.

FINAMORE, Gennaro (1893): *Vocabolario dell'uso Abruzzese*, Castello; Rocco Carabba.

GIAMMARCO, Ernesto (1960): *Grammatica delle parlate d'Abruzzo e Molise*, Pescara: Tipografia Istituto Artigianelli.

—. (1968-1979): *Dizionario Abruzzese e Molisano*, Roma (vol. I – 1968, vol. II – 1969, vol. III – 1976, vol. IV – 1979).

NEWTON, Brian (1972): *The Generative Interpretation of Dialect. A Study of Modern Greek Phonology.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

ROHLFS, Gerhard (1966): *Grammatica storica della lingua italiana e dei suoi dialetti*, Torino: Einaudi.

—. (1972): *Studi e ricerche su lingua e dialetti d'Italia*. Firenze: Sansoni.

VERRATTI, Vittore (1968): *Fonologia e morfologia del volgare Abruzzese.* Lanciano: Cooperativa editoriale tipografica,.

ИВИЋ, Павле (1985): *Дијалектологија српскохрватског је*зика, *Увод и штокавско наречје*, Матица Српска, Нови Сад.

САВИЦКА, Ирена (1998): *Влияние итальянского языка на славянскую фонетику*, Acta Universitatis Nicolai Copernici, Studia Slavica II, 41-46.

—. (2014): *Фонетските проблеми во ареална лингвистика (врз основа на јазичната ситуација во југоисточна Европа),* Македонска академија на науките и уметностите, Скопје.

[4] It greatly resembles the situation of Macedonian dialects in Southern Albania where the same examples appeared in the past (now they are dwindling).

PART 4:

BALKAN LINGUISTICS AND BALKAN DIALECTOLOGY

AN OVERVIEW OF BALKAN LINGUISTICS AND DIALECTOLOGY IN THE PAST AND PRESENT

HELMUT WILHELM SCHALLER

Prior to the late 19th century, there was very little evidence of a coherent and systematic endeavour to formally study dialects. Before then, there had been literary references to differences between dialects. Pronunciation specialists, dictionary compilers, and grammarians merely warned people to not use non-standard forms. Between 1550 until 1840, there were also some general remarks on Slovene dialects in the Balkan region (Toporišič 1962: 383-416). However, true studies of dialectology in the Balkan region first began around 1840. These studies from 1840 through the present day will be the primary focus of this text.

It is the 1840s when Izmail Ivanovič Sreznevskij (1812-1880), a towering figure in linguistics in the 19th century, published his fundamental treatise on Slovene dialects *O narečijach slavjanskich* [*About Slavic dialects*] (St. Petersburg, 1841). In 1849, Franz Miklosich (1813-1891) was named the first professor in Slavic philology at the *University* of Vienna, and he is remembered for his important publications: *Die slavischen Elemente im Rumunischen* [*Slavic Elements in Romanian*] (Vienna, 1861), *Albanische Forschungen* [*Albanian Research*] (Vienna, 1870), *Ueber die Mundarten und die Wanderungen der Zigeuner Europa's* [*On the Dialects and Migration of Europe's Gypsies*] (Vienna, 1872-1873), *Die türkischen Elemente in südost- und osteuropäischen Sprachen* [*Turkish Elements in Southeastern and Eastern European Languages*] (Vienna, 1884) and finally, his *Rumunische Untersuchungen. I. Istro- und Macedo-Rumunische Sprachdenkmäler* [*Romanian Examinations: I. Records of Istrian and Macedo-Romanian*] (Vienna, 1881-82).

By the 1880's, there were the beginnings of the academic study of minor Slavic languages. In 1883, the Austrian linguist Gustav Meyer (1850-1900) started his series of *Albanesische Studien* [*Albanian Studies*] with *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der in Griechenland gesprochenen albanesischen Mundarten* [*Contributions to the Knowledge of the Albanian Dialects Spoken in Greece*], published in Vienna in 1896. In 1897, the Viennese

Slavist Vatroslav Jagić (1838-1923) dealt with the problem of the description of South Slavic dialects, shown by the relationship between literary Serbo-Croatian and Bosnian-Herzegovinian dialects (Jagić 1897).

Vatroslav Oblak (1864-1896), one of the members of the younger generation of grammarians and philologists, worked on *Macedonische Studien* [*Macedonian Studies*] of the Slavic dialects of southern and northwestern Macedonia, published after his death in 1896, edited and expanded by Jagić. Oblak was a Slovene dialectologist and Slavist, but also known for his linguistic research in South Slavic languages. He was one of Vatroslav Jagić's students at the University of Vienna and also followed and corresponded with the Polish Slavist Jan Baudouin de Courtenay. In 1891 and 1892, Oblak completed field studies in Macedonia, where he investigated Macedonian Slavic dialects. In 1892, Oblak additionally studied the Čakavian dialects of some Adriatic islands, specifically those of Vis, Lastovo, Korcula and Krk (Veglia). A few years later, Jan Baudouin de Courtenay (1845-1929), who is associated with the beginnings of structural linguistics, published *Rezjanskie teksty. II. Obrazy jazyka na govorach terskich slavjan v severovostočnoj Italii. III. Rezjanskij pamjatnik 'Christjansko učilo'* between 1904 and 1913 within a series of materials on South Slavic dialectology and ethnography (Stankiewicz 1972: 3-48).

It was amazing how the linguistical horizon was suddenly opening up with the end of the 19th century. But it was not until scholars began to react to the work of the 19th-century Neogrammarians that serious and focused dialectological work research began. The Neogrammarians had argued in favour of the exceptionlessness of sound change, a view that sparked interest in dialectology because of the wealth of evidence it might bring to bear on this important question.

Early work was largely in the form of dialect atlases – Georg Wenker's *Sprachatlas des Deutschen Reiches* [*Language Atlas of the German Empire*] in 1881 was the first one published in German-speaking Europe, and was shortly followed by Jules Gilliéron's *Atlas linguistique de la France* [*Linguistic Atlas of France*], published in volumes from 1896 to 1910. The Italian linguist Bernardino Biondelli (1804-1886) was the first European linguist to publish a European language atlas, *Atlante linguistico d'Europa* [*Linguistic Atlas of Europe*], in Milan in 1841.[1] He included

[1] Biondelli published a number of other texts, including about Vegliotic: Sulle studie dialetti gallo-italici [On Gallic-Italian Dialect Studies] (Milan, 1853-1856), Sullo svolimento delle lingue indoeuropee [On the Development of Indo-European Languages] (Milan, 1841), Studii linguistici [Studies in Linguistics] (Milan, 1856),

some facts concerning the dying Vegliotic language, one of the two branches of Dalmatian language, which appears to be one of his personal interests. Subsequently, dialect atlases were produced for most countries in Europe, not to mention the USA and beyond. At this time, the focus was predominantly on rural areas, which were considered both to be the home of language varieties which were more traditional than those found in urban areas, as well as more sheltered from the influences of social mobility and consequent dialect contacts.

Dialectology, the study of dialects of Balkan languages inside and outside the Balkan peninsula, especially as they differ geographically, is older than the concept of a linguistic area, as it was defined by Nikolaj Trubetzkoy (1890-1937) in 1928 (Schaller 1975: 49-59). It was the Viennese Academy of Sciences which promoted the study of Balkan dialects, with the result of Olaf Broch's (1867-1961) description of the dialects of southern Serbia in 1903 (1), followed by Milan Rešetar's (1860-1942) work on Štokavian dialect in 1907 and his very important book on the Serbo-Croatian colonies in southern Italy, published in 1911 under the title *Die serbokroatischen Kolonien Süditaliens* [*Southern Italy's Serbo-Croation Colonies*] as the ninth volume of the series *Schriften der Balkankommission/Linguistische Abteilung* [*Writings of the Balkan Commission/Linguistic Department*].[2] In 1907, Rešetar had the chance to

---

Saggio sui dialetti gallo-italici (Milan, 1853-1856) and Osservazioni generali (Milan, 1839).

[2] "Milan Rešetar hatte im Jahre 1911 in den Schriften der Wiener Balkankommission eine zusammenfassende Darstellung der serbokroatischen Kolonien in Süditalien herausgegeben, als das Ergebnis von Forschungen, die er an Ort und Stelle gemacht hatte. Diese serbokroatischen Kolonien befinden sich in Molise, der südlichsten Gegend der Abruzzen, unmittelbar an der Grenze nach Apulien und Campagna, einer Gegend, die früher einmal zum Königreich Neapel gehörte. Die slawischen Kolonien konzentrieren sich heutzutage nur noch auf drei Dörfer, Acquaviva colla Croce, serb. Krûč oder gelehrt Živa Voda, dann San Felice Slava, serb. Štifljič und Montemitro, serb. Mundimitar. [...] Diese Serbokroaten waren zusammen mit Albanesen Ende des 15. Jhds. vor den Türken aus ihrer Heimat geflohen, und zwar aus dem festländischen Dalmatien, genauer der Küstengegend zwischen den beiden Flüssen Cetina und Narenta, etwa mit dem Mittelpunkt Makarska. Das Molisanisch-Serbische, wie der Dialekt genannt werden kann, ist štokavisch-ikavisch, zum Teil vermischt mit čakavischen Elementen."

["In the year 1911, Milan Rešetar published a comprehensive depiction of the Serbo-Croatian colonies in Southern Italy in the journals of the Viennese Balkan Commission, the results of research that he had done on location. These Serbo-Croatian colonies are located in Molise, in the southernmost part of Abruzzo, close to the borders of Apulia and Campania, a region that once belonged to the

visit the Serbo-Croatian colonies in southern Italy. In Italy, there are Slavic people living in two regions, near Udini, Friuli (in the northeast), and in three settlements in the province of Campobasso, Molise, in the former kingdom of Naples. Rešetar's work was followed by Ljubomir Miletič's (1863-1937) publications on the Eastern Bulgarian dialect and the dialects of Rhodopes, in southern Bulgaria (Miletič 1903).

A number of other texts were also published about Balkan dialects in other areas where Romance languages are spoken. In 1909, the *Linguistischer Atlas des dacorumänischen Sprachgebietes* [*Linguistic Atlas of the Daco-Romanian Language Area*] was published by the famous Leipzig Romanist and Balkanologist Gustav Weigand (1860-1930), edited with the financial support of the Romanian Academy in Bucharest. Prior to that, in 1892, Gustav Weigand published *Vlacho-Meglen*, an ethnographic-philological enquiry which was the result of a longer stay that the author had made in the region, with the aim of investigating the language and ethnography of the Makedo-Romanians. In the Karadscha mountains, Weigand found a Walachian population of about 14,000 people, who differed from the Aromanians in terms of traditional costumes and way of life. Other Balkan dialects were also described by Gustav Weigand, such as *Der Banater Dialekt* [*The Banat Dialect*] (Leipzig, 1896) and *Die rumänischen Dialekte der kleinen Walachei, Serbiens und Bulgariens* [*The Romanian Dialects of Oltenia, Serbia and Bulgaria*] (Leipzig, 1899). Here, there are ethnographic observations, folk songs, and other examples of the language of the Aromanian people, which were practically unknown at the time. This book was followed by *Die Dialekte der Moldau und Dobrudscha* [*The Dialects of Moldavia and Dobruja*] (Leipzig, 1902), *Die Dialekte der großen Walachei* [*The Dialects of Muntenia*] (Leipzig, 1902) and finally, *Die*

Kingdom of Naples. Today, the Slavic colonies are concentrated in three villages: Acquaviva colla Croce (Serbian: Krûč or, officially, Živa Voda), San Felice Slava (Serbian: Štifljič) and Montemitro (Serbian: Mundimitar). […] In the late 15th century, these Serbo-Croatians fled the Turks in their home country, along with the Albanians. Specifically, they left mainland Dalmatia; to be more precise, the coastal area between the Cetina and Narenta rivers, with Makarska roughly in the centre. Molise Serbian, as the dialect can be called, is Shtokavian-Ikavian, partially mixed with Chakavian elements" (Reichenkron 1934: 325).]

Rešetar also collected and investigated material relating to Molise Serbian. Rešetar also lists some peculiarities, as there are nominatives/plural forms of substantives and adjectives, the coincidence of dative/accusative/locative with the nominative, the omission of prepositions before substantives, the use of imperfect and perfect as composed tenses and also a future structure.

Dialekte der Bukowina und Bessarabiens [*The Dialects of Bukovena and Bessarabia*] (Leipzig, 1904).

It 1896 there was the very important event, when some members of the Austrian Academy of Sciences in Vienna presented a petition with the following text:

> Die historisch-archäologische und philosophisch-ethnographische Erforschung einzelner Gebiete der Balkanhalbinsel mit Einschluss des geographisch dazu gehörenden Dalmatiens mit den Inseln scheint uns ein in der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien würdiges, an sich naheliegendes, in dem Bereich unserer nächsten Culturaufgaben sich haltendes Unternehmen, das durch mehrere Jahre eine Reihe inländischer und ausländischer Gelehrten beschäftigen und, unter der Leitung und Controlle der dazu berufenen Kräfte, über welche unser Institut verfügt, mit Erfolg betrieben, das Ansehen unserer Akademie nur heben könnte.
>
> [To us in the Academy of Sciences in Vienna, the historic-archaeological and philosophical-ethnographical research of individual areas of the Balkan peninsula, with the inclusion of Dalmatia – which, with its islands, geographically belongs to the area – seems to be an obviously worthy undertaking in the scope of our next cultural tasks. For many years, it has occupied many academics, from both Austria and abroad. Under the leadership and supervision of the qualified workers, which our institute has, operating with some success, could only improve the standing of our academy (Schriften der Balkankommission 1900).]

The members of the Academy succeeded in creating a Balkan Commission with two departments, focused on antiquity and linguistics. In the linguistics department, some important questions concerning languages and ethnography were to be discussed, especially as they pertained to the Balkan countries and their bordering countries. In addition to the Slavic languages in the Balkans and the investigation of their dialects, modern Greek, Romanian, Spanish, Italian, Albanian, and Turkish as well as their local dialectical representations were also studied. Because of these languages' contact with each other, influences and borrowings were found, resulting in new approaches to general problems of dialectology and the mixture of languages.

The first results of the Balkan linguistics department after the start of the 20th century were overwhelming. The Croatian linguist Milan Rešetar, lecturing at the University of Vienna, received support from the academy

for research stays in Crna Gora and Dalmatia (Rešetar 1908-09: 597-625).[3] This resulted in the description of deviating intonations, a contribution to the original intonation of Serbo-Croat, Proto-Slavic and Indo-European. In 1900, Rešetar published these results under the title *Die serbokroatische Betonung südwestlicher Mundarten* [*The Serbo-Croatian Emphasis on Southwestern Dialects*], the first volume of the series, followed in 1903 by *Das Ostbulgarische* [*Eastern Bulgarian*] by the Bulgarian linguist Ljubomir Miletič and *Die Dialekte des südlichsten Serbiens* [*The Dialects of Southernmost Serbia*] by the Norwegian linguist Olaf Broch. The following volume of this series was published by Matteo G. Bartoli (1873-1946), a student of the Viennese Romanist Werner Meyer-Lübke. It describes Dalmatian and old Roman remnants from Veglia down to Ragusa and discusses their position in the Appennino-Balkan Romania. An introduction to and ethnography of Illyria were published in 1906 (3)[4].

Dalmatian was a language destined to die out. The last speaker was Antonio Udina, on the island Krk. With him spoke Matteo Bartoli before he died in 1898. Dalmatian was spoken along the eastern coast of the Adriatic Sea, especially in the historical region of Dalmatia.

Other publications by the department were studies on modern Greek dialects by Paul Kretschmer (1866-1956) and Karl Dietrich, southern

[3] The reason for this was the publication of A. Belić's dialect map of the Serbian language in St. Petersburg in 1905. The issue disputed had to do with the Serbo-Croatian language area, as opposed to the Slovenian in the northeast and the Bulgarian in the southeast. In Belić's opinion, the Kajkavian dialects were not Serbo-Croatian; according to Belić, Kajkavian was a mixed Slovenian-Serbian dialect based on Slovenian. A wide stretch of the Bulgarian language area as well as the northern part of Macedonia were distinguished by Belić as not belonging to the Serbo-Croatian language area. For Belić, the matter that was decisive was the origin and not the actual status of a language area. Rešetar was of the opinion that there was no basic difference between mixed and transitional dialects.

[4] Bartoli defines it as follows: "Das Idiom, das den Gegenstand der vorliegenden Untersuchung bildet, wird hier dalmatisch (abgekürzt: DALM) genannt werden: es ist das in Dalmatien entstandene Romanische, das von dem später (aus Venedig) importierten Romanischen scharf zu trennen ist. Das letztere ist das Venet(ische) Dalmatiens. Der Name 'Altdalmatisch' für das erstere würde ein 'Neudalmatisch' voraussetzen; dieses aber existiert nicht, denn das neue Romanische Dalmatiens ist nicht eine neue Phase des eingeborenen Romanischen." ["The dialect that makes up the content of this present examination is called Dalmatian (abbreviated DALM) here: it is the Romanic language that occurred in Dalmatia, which is to be clearly separated from the later-imported Romanic (from Venice). The latter is the Dalmatian of Venice (Venetian). The name 'Old Dalmatian' for the former would require that there is a 'New Dalmatian', which does not exist, because the new Romanic Dalmatian is not a new phase of the indigenous Romanic."]

Slavic dialectal studies by Milan Rešetar and texts on the Serbo-Croatian colonies in southern Italy and the Rhodope dialects in Bulgaria by Ljubomir Miletič. After World War II, the publications of the department were continued by Dimităr Dečev's *Die thrakischen Sprachreste* [*Remnants of Thrakian*] in 1957 and Anton Mayer's *Die Sprache der alten Illyrer* [*The Language of the Ancient Illyrians*], containing a dictionary of the Illyrian language remnants and an etymological dictionary of the Illyrian language, published from 1957 to 1959. In the linguistic department of the Balkan Commission, there was also a series entitled Romanische Dialektstudien [*Studies of Romanic Dialects*], with two publications: Max Leopold Wagner's *Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Judenspanischen von Konstantinopel* [*Contributions on the Understanding of Spanish Jews in Constantinople*] (Vienna, 1914), and a collection of Albanian tales under the title *Albanische Märchen (und andere Texte zur albanischen Volkskunde)* [*Albanian Fairy Tales (and Other Texts on Albanian Folklore)*], collected, translated and edited by Maximilian Lambertz (Vienna, 1922).

In 1930, the Polish Slavist Mieczysław Małecki published an overview of the Slavic dialects in Istria, *Przegląd słowiańskich gwar Istriji* (Cracow). The book was published by the Polish Academy of Sciences. The author added six dialect maps. In the following years, Małecki published his research on two Macedonian dialects, *Dwie gwary macedońskie. Suche i Wysoka w Sobińskiem. 1-2* (Cracow, 1934-1936). The Munich Romance linguist Gerhard Rohlfs (1892-1986) pointed out that in Southern Italy, Greek influences on Balkan dialects had been found, marked by "Balkanisms" like the substitution of infinitives by subordinated sentences:

> Auf dem Balkan fällt auf, dass der Einfluss des Griechischen sich in sehr vielen sehr charakteristischen Merkmalen (z.B. in dem Verlust des Infinitivs, in dem Zusammenfall von Genitiv und Dativ, in der Entstehung eines neuen Futurums) bis zu den Rumänen ausgewirkt hat. Aber ganz ähnlich liegen die Verhältnisse in Süditalien. Auch hier hat sich der griechische Einfluss in vielen Erscheinungen bis in die inneren und nördlichen Gebiete Unteritaliens erstreckt, die nie von einer griechischen Bevölkerung bewohnt gewesen sind. Die Expansionsmacht und Infiltrationskraft einer Sprache ist gewiss bedingt durch die politische Macht des betreffenden Volkes.
>
> [In the Balkans, it is striking that the influence of Greek has had an impact on a large number of very characteristic features (e.g. in the loss of the infinitive, in the collapse of the genitive and dative, in the creation of a new future form), all the way to the Romanians. But the relationships are very similar in southern Italy. In many different ways, the Greek influence

has spread to the interior and northern parts of southern Italy that were never inhabited by a Greek population there as well. The force of expansion and power of infiltration of a language is certainly contingent on the political force of the people affected (Rohlfs 1947).]

Therefore, it is possible that Latin conquered large parts of Europe, but Greek has a dynamic spirit, *δύναμις της γλώσσης*. Therefore, the Balkan linguistic area is not only present within the boundaries of countries in which primarily Balkan languages are spoken, but also outside, as shown by the example in Italy.

In recent years, attention has turned to Arbëresh, T'arbrisht and Arvanitic, spoken by the Albanian ethnic and language group by linguistic minorities in Italy and Greece. For example, in Italy, Arbëresh is spoken in Apulia, Calabria, Molise and Sicily. Arbëresh and Arvanitic have retained many archaisms from medieval Albanian, from the time before the Ottoman invasion of Albania in the 15th century. It also retains some Greek elements, including vocabulary and pronunciation.

The importance of dialects, as can be gleamed from this short overview, is often considered to be a part of national identity and, in particular, personal identity. A person's identity can be reflected through the use of dialect, regardless of his or her geographical distance from the relevant dialectal environment.

The 1960s saw the beginning of sociolinguistic enquiries into dialects, and with it came a new set of theoretical orientations and also a new set of methods. From a modern perspective, early data collection in dialectology seems to have been rather rudimentary, with a host of methods being used that would be judged unreliable today. For example, in the early days, isoglosses were derived from the analysis of single words based on single responses from a single speaker in a single location, have more recently been replaced by transition zones. This demonstrates that the areas between regions are characterised by gradations of interdialectal diversity rather than sharp boundaries.

Today, dialectology is a diverse field. In some ways, dialectology has begun to converge with and penetrate a number of sub-disciplines of theoretical linguistics, to the extent that dialectological practices have been absorbed into the agendas of those other fields. Other recent developments have been technology-driven. Advances in computerised cartography and the application of quantitative methodologies to dialectological data have had exciting results in the computer modelling and processing of variable dialect data as well as the development of visually-appealing and multidimensional dialect atlases and other forms of dialect map-making.

This has also played a role in Balkan dialectology in the present day. In 1999, in Marburg, we began a *Kleiner Balkansprachatlas* [*Little Balkan Language Atlas*] project, with the support of the German Research Foundation where we published rich new material about the Balkan languages and their dialects in two series, edited by Biblion (Marburg) and Otto Sagner (Munich), *Studien zum Südosteuropasprachatlas* [*Studies on the Southeastern Europe Language Atlas*] and *Materialien zum Südosteuropasprachatlas* [*Materials on the Southeastern Europe Language Atlas*]. After six years of very fruitful work and despite more than a century and a half of Balkan dialect research behind us, it was impossible to continue the project because the Slavic Studies programme in Marburg was discontinued. There is only little hope that this project can be continued under entirely new conditions.

Sources

BARTOLI, Matteo G. (1906): Das Dalmatische. Altromanische Sprachreste von Veglia bis Ragusa und ihre Strellung in der Apennino-balkanischen Romania. Wien.

BROCH, Olaf (1903): Die Dialekte des südlichsten Serbiens. Wien.

COURTENAY, Baudouin de (1875): Opyt fonetiki rez′janskich govorov. Varšava, Sankt-Peterburg.

—. (1896): Reza i Rez′jane. In: Slavjanskijk sbornik 3. Sankt-Peterburg, 223-271.

JAGIĆ, Vatroslav (1897): Die Aufgabe der Erforschung der südslawischen Dialekte, erläutert an dem Verhältnis der serbo-kroatischen Schriftsprache zur bosnisch-herzegowinischen Mundart. Wien.

MILETIČ, Ljubomir (1903): Das Ostbulgarische. Mit einer Karte. Wien: Balkankommission der Wiener Akademie der Wissenschaften.

—. (1912): Die Rhodopenmundarten der bulgarischen Sprache. Wien: Balkankommission der Wiener Akademie der Wissenschaften.

REICHENKRON, Günter (1934): Serbokroatisches aus Süditalien. In: Zeitschrift für Slavische Philologie 11: 325-339.

REŠETAR, Milan (1900): Die serbokroatische Betonung südwestlicher Mundarten. Schriften der Balkankommission, Linguistische Abtheilung. I. Südslavische Dialektstudien 1. Wien.

—. (1909): Zur Frage über die Gruppierung der serbokroatischen Dialekte. In: Archiv für Slavische Philologie 30, 1908-1909: 597-625.

ROHLFS, Gerhard (1947): Griechischer Sprachgeist in Süditalien (Zur Geschichte der inneren Sprachform). Vorgetragen am 11. November 1944. München (Sitzungsberichte der bayerischen Akademie der

Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Abteilung, Volume 1944/46, no. 5).

SCHALLER, Helmut W. (1975): Die Balkansprachen. Eine Einführung in die Balkanphilologie. Heidelberg.

STANKIEWICZ, Eduard (1972): Baudouin de Courtenay: His Life and Work. In: Baudouin de Courtenay Anthology: the beginnings of Structural Linguistics. Bloomington, London: 3-48.

TOPORIŠIČ, Jože (1962): Die slovenische Dialektforschung. In: Zeitschrift für Slavische Philologie 30: 383-416.

TYPES OF POSSESSIVE STRUCTURES IN THE BALKAN LANGUAGES AND IN ARBËRESH

ILIANA KRAPOVA AND GIUSEPPINA TURANO

1. Introduction: what is possession?

Possession is usually defined as a relation that holds between a Possessor/Owner/Holder and a Possessee/Possessed, as in *John has a car,* which means 'John possesses a car'. But this definition does not fit the whole range of the constructions usually referred to as possessives. Consider a sentence like *John has my book* where the possessor *John* is not the owner of the object. The same is true for Italian sentences like *Gianni ha sonno* 'John is sleepy' [lit. John has sleep] which seems an instance of possession but actually feelings cannot be possessed. Thus, both the *possessor* and its counterpart the *possessee* are more abstractly related to the prototypical notion of possession (ownership) as it is intuitively understood.

A major divide has been established in the literature between alienable and inalienable possession (Heine 1997; Herslund & Baron 2001). Inalienable possession involves an inseparable relation between a possessor and a possessee (Barker 2011). Typical representatives of this type refer to: a) kinship terms (*John has a brother*); b) body parts (*John has blue eyes*); c) physical traits or abstract properties (*John has a bad character*); d) part-whole relations (*The table has four legs*). As the examples show, this categorisation is independent of the nature of the possessor (both animates and inanimates can be coded as inalienable possessors) but depends on the nature of the possessee (it must be some type of relational noun which has an implicit argument, the possessor, as part of its semantic structure.

The opposite properties characterise alienable possession. While this type necessarily involves animate possessors, the possessee is relatively autonomous from the possessor: it can be concrete or abstract but it needn't be relational. The literature distinguishes two basic alienable types: a) temporary possession: the possessor can dispose of the possessee

for a limited time, but cannot claim ownership to it (*John has my book*); b) permanent possession: the possessee is the possessor's property, i.e. it belongs to the possessor (*John has a house*).

Many languages model their possessive constructions on the split between alienable and inalienable possession, as can be seen from some syntactic differences which oppose these two classes (a detailed discussion can be found in Stolz *et al* 2008). For example, in English, alienable possession can appear in the post-copular position. This is not possible for inalienables (Alexiadou 2001; Partee and Borschev 2001). See the contrast between (1b) and (2b).

(1) a. *John has a book*
b. *The book is John's*

(2) a. *John has blue eyes*
b. **The eyes are John's*

Nevertheless, data from a large number of languages have shown that this split (alienable vs. inalienable) is not sufficient to cover the entire domain of what is called possession. Stassen (2009) offers four models for a typological description of the predicative structures in the languages of the world. Besides the classical split between 'alienable' and 'inalienable', he introduces two additional categories: temporary and abstract possession:

(3) Alienable: *John has a car*
Inalienable: *John has brown eyes*

Temporary: *That guy has a knife!*
Abstract: *Bill has a cold/strange feeling*

Stassen (2009: 17) considers alienable possession (ownership) as the prototypical form of possession that human languages can express. He posits two (informal) features to describe its content: "control"[1] and "contact":

[1] This feature has been recognised in typological literature for a long time: "For X to control Y means that X has Y under its control, that X is prior to Y and that Y is dependent on it" (LEHMAN 1998). This is especially true for physical ownership (of concrete, inanimate objects), The feature of control brings possessors closer to Agents of transitive structures and motivates the predominant usage of HAVE in many Indo-European languages.

(4) A prototypical case of possession is characterised by the presence of two entities such that:

a. the possessor and the possessed are in some relatively enduring locational relation;

b. the possessor exerts control over the possessee (and is therefore typically human).

Inalienables, on the other hand, are characterised by a locational relation between the two entities involved in the possessive relation but not by control. The features in (4) are also relevant for the two additional categories introduced by Stassen. Temporary possession differs from permanent possession in that control over the possessee is limited in time, whereas the label 'abstract' covers relations where the possessee is a concept that is not visible or tangible, like a disease, a feeling or some other (psychological) state related to (or located in or on) the possessor though not controlled by him.

The four subdomains outlined by Stassen are relevant for the languages we are going to analyse (Albanian, Bulgarian, Modern Greek, Arbëresh) since the syntactic structures associated with predicative possession encode all four subtypes: there are contexts where the temporary/transient and the abstract dimensions of possessive relations affect syntax get distinguished construction-wise, so these two categories will figure prominently in the comparison we would like to offer.

2. Attributive vs. predicative possession

From a syntactic point of view, two types of possession structures can be recognised: *attributive* vs. *predicative* (Herslund & Baron 2001: 1-15). In **attributive** possession, possessor and possessee form a noun phrase (NP) together, as in genitive constructions of the type *Mary's book*, where we find an NP-internal possessive relation. The genitive is of course not the only way of coding attributive possession cross-linguistically. Relevant for this paper are phrases expressing the possessee via a preposition typically used in many Indo-European languages for accompaniment or association, i.e., the comitative P *with*, e.g. (English) *the boy with the red hair,* (Italian) *l'uomo con la barba rossa*.

In **predicative** possession, the possessee is part of the verb phrase (VP) whereas the possessor is outside the VP, as in transitive constructions of the type *Mary has a book*, where the possessor represents the external argument or the subject of the verb *have*, while the possessee represents the internal argument or the direct object.

3. The Balkan languages

We shall discuss the predicative possession system in languages such as Albanian, Bulgarian, Greek, which belong to different families of the Indo-European macro-family, and in dialects such as Arbëresh, which is related to Albanian but behaves differently in many respects.

The languages we are going to analyse show an interesting split in their predicative possession structures in that they exploit a functional verb corresponding to the English *have,* as well as a construction involving the copula BE + a preposition. Such constructions are relatively rare outside Indo-European languages (Stassen 2009). Also rare is the switch from HAVE to BE-predication in a single language (Freeze 1992) since, as is well known, most Indo-European languages have evolved into *have*-languages (Isačenko 1974).[2]

Our paper is thus relevant a) for the areal distribution of certain less prominent (among Indo-European languages) models of predicative possession and b) for the loss of such models under contact, as is the case of Arbëresh.

3.1. Albanian

In Albanian, predicative possession can be expressed in two different ways: through a transitive HAVE construction and through a copular construction containing a prepositional possessee.

The first strategy involves the verb *kam* 'have'. *Kam* is a transitive verb taking an object in the Accusative case (5a). It can also be used as an auxiliary verb in periphrastic constructions (5b).

(5) a. *Beni ka një punë interesante*
Ben has a job interesting
'Ben has an interesting job'
b. *Beni ka pasur një punë interesante*
Ben has had a job interesting
'Ben had an interesting job'

Kam has a large functional domain that covers different kinds of possession: it can be used in structures including kinship relations (6a),

[2] For example, older Indo-European languages (Latin, Greek, cf. BALDI & NUTI 2011; BENVENUTO & POMPEO 2012) used exclusively BE + Dative or Genitive case, while the modern Romance languages and Modern Greek have transitive HAVE-constructions only.

temporary possession (6b), permanent possession (6c), body-parts (6d), part-whole relations (6e), physico-psychological states (6f).

(6) a. *Beni ka një vëlla*
'Ben has a brother'
b. *Beni ka çelësat tuaj*
Ben has keys.DET your
'Ben has your keys'
c. *Beni ka një shtëpi*
'Ben has a house'
d. *Beni ka sy gështenjë*
Ben has eyes brown
'Ben has brown eyes'
e. *Pema ka shumë degë*
tree.DET has many branches
'The tree has many branches'
f. *Beni ka frikë/uri*
Ben has fear/hunger
'Ben is scared/hungry'

So, the verb *kam* 'have' can be used to express all of the predicative subtypes identified by Stassen: alienable possession (6a), temporary possession (6b), inalienable possession (6d-e), abstract possession (6f). Nevertheless, the *kam*-construction does not extend to all the types of abstract possession: it can be used when the possessee denotes a psychological or a physical state but not when it denotes a disease.

(7) **Beni ka grip*
'Ben has flu'

The second strategy involves a copular construction in which the possessee appears as the complement of the preposition *me,* corresponding to the English 'with'. Following Stassen (2009), we shall label this predicative structure "comitative possession" since it employs the same preposition as the one more generally used in comitative structures. The possessor is constructed as the grammatical subject, while the possessee is marked with Accusative case by the preposition. This strategy can be used when the possessee refers to a body-part (8a), a part-whole relation (8b) or when it expresses a disease (8c).

(8) a. *Beni është me sy gështenjë*
Ben is with eyes brown
'Ben has brown eyes'
b. *Pema është me shumë degë*
tree.DET is with many branches
'The tree has many branches'
c. *Beni është me grip*
Ben is with flu
'Ben has flu'

Other types of alienable (9a) and inalienable possession (9b) or structures where the possessee refers to a psychological state (9c) are excluded in Albanian.

(9) a. **Beni është më shtëpi*
Ben is with house
'Ben has a house'
b. **Beni është me vëlla*
Ben is with brother
'Ben has a brother'
c. **Beni është me frikë/uri*
Ben is with fear/hunger
'Ben is scared/hungry'

Nor can this strategy be used to express temporary possession (10a) of concrete objects or physical ownership (10b).

(10) a. **Beni është me çelësat tuaj*
Ben is with keys.DET your
'Ben has your keys'
b. **Beni është me libër*
Ben is with book
'Ben has a book'

From the above data we can conclude that the two predicative constructions of Albanian, the *kam*-construction and the *jam* + *me* construction, are partially in complementary distribution: kinship nouns only allow the *kam*-construction and exclude the copular one (cf. (6a) vs. (9a)); temporary and permanent possession can only be realised through the *kam*-construction (cf. (6b) vs. (10a) and (6c) vs. (9a)); psychological or physical states that allow the *kam*-construction exclude the *jam* + *me* construction (cf. (6f) vs. (9c)) and

inverse physical states that allow the *jam* + *me* construction exclude the *kam*-construction (cf. (8c) vs. (7)). On the other hand, the two strategies overlap in the expression of the more general part-whole relation: body-parts of human possessors (cf. (6d) and (8a)), as well as inherent parts of inanimate possessors (cf. (6e) and (8b)).

To summarise, the Albanian system of predicative possession shows two splits: one that cuts across the class of inalienables distinguishing between kinship and body-parts/part-wholes, and another one that cuts across the class of abstract possessees, distinguishing between diseases and other types of psychological/physical states.

3.2. Bulgarian

Bulgarian too can be claimed to be a mixed language with both HAVE and BE possessives, the latter quite frequent in colloquial speech. The second strategy is parallel to that of Albanian and is realised by BE + the preposition *s*/*săs* 'with'.[3] The two possessive constructions express a wide variety of possessive relations: inalienable/part-whole, ((11), (12)), and alienable, (13):

(11) a. *Ivan ima sini oči*
Ivan has blue eyes
b. *Ivan e săs sini oči*
Ivan is with blue eyes
'Ivan has blue eyes'

(12) a. *Dărvoto ima mnogo kloni*
'The tree has many branches'
b. *Dărvoto e s mnogo kloni*
the tree is with many branches
'The tree has many branches'

(13) a. *Ivan ima nova kola*
'Ivan has a new car'
b. *Ivan e s nova kola*
Ivan is with new car
'Ivan has a new car'

[3] *Săs* is the reduplicated version of *s* 'with', used when the following word begins with the same consonant.

The functional domains of HAVE and BE possessives thus seem to largely overlap rather than being complementary as in Albanian. However, there are restrictions on the use of either construction but as we shall see, these have to do with the grammatical encoding of the possessee and the syntax of the construction itself rather than with a semantic distinction in terms of alienable/inalienable possession. In fact, the only relevant semantic distinction in Bulgarian turns out to be that between temporary and permanent possession.

First, possessive relations of ownership require the HAVE construction if the possessee is a weak indefinite (marked by a zero article in Bulgarian). And the same applies to inalienable possessees:

(14) *Ivan ima apartament/kola/magazin*
Ivan has apartment/car/shop
'Ivan has/owns an apartment/car/shop'
Cf. **Ivan e s kola/apartament/magazin*
Ivan is with car/apartment/shop

(15) *Ivan ima brat/sin*
Ivan has brother/son
'John has a brother/son'
Cf. **Ivan e s brat/sin*
Ivan is with brother/son

Weak indefinites are precisely the class of syntactic objects that can appear also in the existential construction, which in Bulgarian requires the impersonal *have* (*Ima kniga na masata* 'There is a book on the table'). This shows that the syntax of *imam* is modelled after that of the existential verb. The WITH-construction on the other hand, while also available with weak indefinites, requires additional modification: (14) and (15) become grammatical if N is accompanied by a numeral or an inherent non-restrictive adjective[4] or both. See (16):[5]

[4] Inherent adjectives in possessive contexts typically refer to age or physical condition.

[5] The reason is probably related to the syntax and the semantics of the preposition itself: it cannot be used with a bare noun unless the noun refers to the class as a whole rather than to a token of the class (kind-referring usage), e.g. *pătuvam s kola* 'travel by car'. In all other cases, the preposition requires a definite noun. This point obvioulsy needs further research.

(16) *Ivan e s dvama văzrastni roditeli/trima bratja/malki detsa*
Ivan is with two old parents/three brothers/small children
'Ivan has a sick mother/two old parents/three brothers/small children'

Note that the corresponding examples of Albanian are ungrammatical regardless of whether the noun is bare (indefinite) or modified.

(17) a. **Beni është me vëlla/ shtëpi*
Ben is with brother/house
'Ben has a brother/house'
b. **Ai është me tre vëllezër/shtëpi*
he is with three brothers/houses
'He has three brothers/houses'

The ungrammaticality of (17) confirms our previous observation that the *jam* + *me* 'be with' construction of Albanian is constrained semantically: as mentioned in the previous section, it may apply only to a subdomain of inalienable possession, namely to body parts, as well as to abstract properties such as diseases or indispositions as long as they can be interpreted (by metonymy) as associations of the human body (see (8c)). Thus, the Albanian comitative possessive is semantically closer to the more literal sense of comitativity as referring to attributes (associates) of the human body or of some other indivisible whole.[6]

Bulgarian too can express abstract bodily properties like diseases or indispositions via the WITH-construction. In such cases, the noun must be "kind-referring" (see fn. 5), i.e., it must refer to a particular kind of disease. So, the indefinite (bare N) is compatible with the semantic and syntactic requirements of the preposition, as well as with those of the verb

[6] With body part expressions the *jam me* 'be with'-construction of Albanian appears to require modification by an adjective (see 11a) above) and also (i)-(ii) below. However, this is a universal property. Body parts expressions are typically relational nouns so the presence of an adjective (typically inherent or restrictive, e.g. *long, short, small, big, colour*) is required. Otherwise, the predication would express an obvious state of affairs, e.g. *I have a head/I am with a head* (BALDI & NUTI 2011:9):

(i) *Xhoni është me flokë të verdha/me sy të kaltër/me mjekër të zezë*
John is with hair blond /with eyes blue /with beard black
'John has blond hair/blue eyes/black beard'

(ii) *Ivan e s dălga kosa/ goljama glava/malki răce*
Ivan is with long hair/big head/ small hands
'Ivan has long hair/big head/small hands'

imam, which explains why such nouns are compatible with both constructions:

(18) a. *Ivan ima grip/treska/ glavobolie*
'Ivan has flu/fever/headache'
b. *Ivan e s grip/treska/glavobolie*
Ivan is with flu/fever/headache
'Ivan has flu/fever/headache'

Compared to Albanian, Bulgarian exhibits a much more extensive use of the WITH-construction, imposing no semantic restrictions on it and exploiting the resources of the category of definiteness to distinguish possession from other comitative meanings. The following pairs illustrate this for alienable and inalienable objects, respectively: when the object is definite, as in (19a), (20a), it can only be interpreted as a means or accompaniment; when it is a weak indefinite, (19b)/(20b), it can only be interpreted in terms of possession (ownership).

(19) a. *Te sa tuk s dvete koli*
they are here with two.DET cars
'They are [have come] here with both of their cars'
b. *Te sa s dve koli*
they are with two cars
'They own two cars'

(20) a. *Deteto e s edinija si roditel*
child.DET is with one.DET refl parent
'The child is with (accompanied by) one of his parents'
b. *Deteto e s edin roditel.*
child.DET is with one parent
'The child has only one parent'

Finally, as regards part-whole relations involving an inanimate possessor both Albanian and Bulgarian employ either the HAVE- or the WITH-strategy. See examples (12) and (21) below from Bulgarian and (6e), (8b) and (22) below from Albanian.

(21) a. *Vratata ima brava/drăžka*
door.DET has lock/handle
b. *Vratata e s brava/drăžka*
door.DET is with lock/handle
'The door has a lock/handle'

(22) a. *Dera ka bravë/dorëz*
door.DET has lock/handle
b. *Dera është me bravë/dorëz*
door.DET is with lock/handle
'The door has a lock/handle'

The use of the WITH-possessive in this case is, at first sight, more surprising for Albanian due to the semantic restrictions we mentioned in 3.1., but may receive a natural explanation under a more generalised notion of 'comitative possession' as a cover term for all part-whole relations. According to Stassen (Stassen 2009: 55) WITH-possessives include a spatial/locational relation between a "contained" (and hence, semantically 'uncontrolled') element and its "container" (the whole of which the 'contained' is a part). From this point of view animate possession, as found in Bulgarian and Albanian, can be considered an extension, to a greater or lesser extent, of this more basic locational relation.

To summarise so far, the primary function of the respective verbs HAVE in the two language is to express possessive relations that involve some (higher or lesser) degree of 'control' on the part of the possessor. As mentioned above, this is the prototypical form of possession, also labelled 'alienable' possession.

The second outstanding property of Bulgarian regards the expression of temporary possession. Many languages split their possessive systems along the lines of a distinction between permanent and temporary possession. Often, the encoding of temporary possession is achieved without changing the possessive verb used for permanent possession but by manipulating the morpho-syntactic features of the possessee. For example, HAVE-languages like Albanian, English or Italian mark temporary possession by "adding" a definiteness feature to the object of HAVE: cf. (Albanian) *Beni ka çelësat tuaj* 'Ben has your keys', (English) *John has the knife now,* (Italian) *Gianni ha le tue chiavi*.

As discussed above, this strategy is unavailable in Standard Bulgarian (see (23a)). For the expression of temporary possession this language resorts to a different construction, namely BE + *u* 'at'. This construction, locative in its categorical nature, is identical to the one we find in Russian (see (24)) and has a Slavic origin. In Old Church Slavonic, it occurred (somewhat rarely) as one of several competing possessive constructions

(McAnallen 2011, Grković-Major 2010).[7,8,]

(23) a. *Ivan ima ključove/*ključovete ti*
Ivan has keys/keys.DET you.DAT
'Ivan has keys'/*'Ivan has your keys'
b. *Ključovete ti sa u Ivan*
keys.DET you.DAT are at Ivan
'Ivan has your keys'

(24) a. *U Koli mašina/černye volosy*. (Russian, Jung 2011: 40, ex. (6,7)
at Kolja.GEN car/black hairs
'Kolja has a car/black hair
b. *Vase pis'mo u sekretarja* (Jung 2011: 39, ex. (4))
your letter at secretary.GEN
'The secretary has your letter'

Like permanent possession, temporary possession involves the notion of 'control' ((23b), (24b)) but there is no entailment of an enduring locative relationship between the possessor and the possessed object (Levinson 2011). This makes it possible to specify a time interval during which the relation exists. In fact, the locative possessive *u*-construction of Bulgarian, though not its HAVE-construction, allows for the addition of a temporal adverbial or some other element specifying the time span.

---

[7] Old Church Slavonic had two other predicative possession constructions (GRKOVIĆ-MAJOR 2010) – one in which the possessor appears in the dative case, similar to the Latin *mihi est liber* 'to-me is book', and another one with *iměti 'have'* (MCANALLEN 2011). The former construction was used primarily with kinship terms and abstract states and concepts, while the latter was the default possessive construction. The *u*-locative construction has been maintained in Russian and has evolved into an all-purpose predicative possessive construction supplanting the other constructions and in particular the HAVE construction, which in the contemporary language can refer to abstract properties only. In Bulgarian on the other hand it was the HAVE construction that supplanted the locative/prepositional one without, however, causing its total loss. In this way, the original locative specialisation of the construction could be retained.

[8] According to MCANALLEN (2011), the *u*-possessives of OCS, cf. (i), were used predominantly with concrete, countable objects located in close proximity to the speaker/possessor.

(i) *ašte bǫdetŭ ou eter-a člověk-a 100 ovecĭ…*
if be-fut.3sg at certain-gen.sg person-gen.sg 100 sheep-gen.pl
'If a man have an hundred sheep' (Mt 18:12)) (*Cod Assem*, MCANALLEN 2011, ex. (3))

(25) a. *Ključovete ti bjaxa u Ivan cjala godina*
keys.DET you.DAT were at Ivan whole year
'Ivan had your keys for the whole year'
b. **Ivan imaše ključove cjala godina*.
Ivan has keys whole year

Note that the word order in the *u*-possessive construction mirrors that of the HAVE-possessive: in (25a), the possessor is coded as the object of the preposition while the possessee appears as the subject of the construction. This reversal of word order w.r.t. (25b) affects information structure: the subject has the properties of a topic, while the prepositional object carries new information (focus). Thus, Bulgarian resorts to syntax and information structure in order to resolve relevant semantic contrasts pertaining to the domain of alienable possession, which is most probably due to the loss of case in its nominal system.

3.3. Modern Greek

Although in this paper we cannot discuss Modern Greek in detail, due to lack of reliable statistical data, we wish to mention a few facts which might turn out relevant for a future comparative analysis. First, the HAVE-construction seems to be the dominant model of predicative possession in Modern Greek for both inalienable and alienable possession, whether permanent and temporary:

(26) a. *O Yannis ehi makria malia*
the Yannis has long hair
'Yannis has long hair'
b. *O Yannis ehi dhio ksadelfia*
the Yannis has two cousins
'Yannis has two cousins'
c. *O Yannis ehi ghialia*
the Yannis has glasses
'Yannis has glasses'
d. *O Yannis ehi dhio avtokineta*
the Yannis has two cars
'Yannis has two cars'
e. *O Yannis ehi kriologhima*
the Yannis has cold
'Yannis has a cold'

These sentences become ungrammatical if one tries to model them as comitative structures unless specific pragmatic conditions occur. For example, a sentence such as (27) seems possible according to our informants. However, it is better analysed not as an instance of a true comitative possession but as a structure with an elliptical head noun, as also indicated by the English translation of (27):

(27) *O Yannis ine me makria malia*
the Yannis is with long hair
'Yannis is the one with the long hair'

In some cases, it appears plausible to use the WITH-construction predicatively in a neutral context as well. For example, our informants find both of the following examples acceptable:

(28) a. *To diamerisma ehi 5 domatia*
'The apartment has 5 rooms'
b. *?To diamerisma ine me 5 domatia*
the apartment is with 5 rooms
'The apartment has 5 rooms'

With other inanimate possessors however this is not possible even though the two elements of the predication are in a part-whole relation.

(29) a. *To trapezi ehi tessera podhia*
'The table has four legs'
b. **To trapezi ine me tessera podhia*
the table is with four legs
'The table has four legs'

While it appears difficult to generalise which contexts allow the possessive BE + WITH in Modern Greek, judging from these very few examples, it seems that this language exploits only the prototypical meaning of the construction as a relation between a "container" and "contained". It is not entirely clear what semantic categorisation underlies this relation in Modern Greek as compared to Bulgarian and Albanian, which as we saw above, use the BE + WITH construction for other types of possessive relations. More data are needed to draw a more secure conclusion about the status of the comitative possessive in Modern Greek.

3.4. Arbëresh

Arbëresh is an Albanian variety spoken in Southern Italy, in villages where all the speakers also speak Italian, the language of state education and the media. The Arbëresh speakers migrated to Italy from Southern Albania in the mid-15th century so their dialect had many centuries of intensive contact with Italian and Romance dialects.

Although closely related to Albanian, Arbëresh has a quite different possessive system. Unlike Standard Albanian, which has both a HAVE-possessive and a comitative possessive, Arbëresh is homogeneous as it employs only one construction to cover all kinds of possession. Indeed, in Arbëresh, predicative possession can only be expressed with the transitive verb *kam* 'have', whereas the comitative WITH-strategy is non-existent. As we can see in (30), *kam* covers all predicative types: kinship nouns (30a), inalienable possession (30b), part-whole relations (30c), temporary possession (30d), permanent possession (30e), psychological/physical states (30f), diseases (30g).

(30) a. *Xhani ka nj ghua*
'John has a brother'
b. *Xhani ka si çelesti*
'John has blue eyes'
c. *Lisi ka shum deg*
tree.DET has many branches
'The tree has many branches'
d. *Xhani ka nj makin*
'John has a car'
e. *Xhani ka nj shpi*
'John has a house'
f. *Xhani ka etje*
John has thirst
'John is thirsty'
g. *Xhani ka frevin*
John has flu
'John is feverish'

Arbëresh thus has one generalised use of *kam* 'have', whereas there are no instances of the comitative possession constructions of Albanian.

(31) a. **Xhani osht me (nj) ghua*
John is with (a) brother

b. **Xhani osht me si çelesti*
John is with blue eyes
c. **Lisi osht me shum deg*
the tree is with many branches
d. **Xhani osht me (nj) makin*
John is with (a) car
e. **Xhani osht me (nj) shpi*
John is with (a) house
f. **Xhani osht me etje*
John is with thirst
g. **Xhani osht me frevin*
John is with fever

Despite genetic closeness, Arbëresh differs from Albanian. We will try to capture this difference in terms of language contact. In fact, the possessive system of Arbëresh follows the pattern typical of Italian, which is a standard HAVE-language. All of the Italian examples below become ungrammatical under the comitative strategy of predicative possession irrespective of whether they express alienable or inalienable possession:

(32) a. *Gianni ha una sorella*
'John has a sister'
b. **Gianni è con (una) sorella*
John is with a sister

(33) a. *Gianni ha occhi azzurri*
'John has blue eyes'
b. **Gianni è con occhi azzurri*
John is with blue eyes

(34) a. *L'albero ha molti rami*
'The tree has many branches'
b. **L'albero è con molti rami*
the tree is with many branches

(35) a. *Gianni ha un'auto*
'John has a car'
b. **Gianni è con (un') auto*
Gianni is with a car

(36) a. *Gianni ha una casa*
'John has a house'
b. **Gianni è con una casa*
Gianni is with a house

(37) a. *Gianni ha sete*
John has thirst
'John is thirsty'
. b. **Gianni è con sete*
Gianni is with thirst
'John is thirsty'

(38) a. *Gianni ha la febbre*
'John has fever'
b. **Gianni è con (la) febbre*
Gianni is with fever
'John is feverish'

Arbëresh thus converges with Italian as regards the ban on the use of the comitative construction to express possession in a predicative context. The Arbëresh-Italian parallelism can be viewed as a contact-induced change in the grammar of Arbëresh, namely at a certain stage this dialect must have lost the BE-construction typical of Albanian and must have shifted towards the general HAVE-pattern of Italian. The intensity of contact with Italian and Romance dialects is the crucial factor for this syntactic change in the domain of possession.

4. By way of conclusion…

As shown in the study by Stolz *et al*. (2008), Indo-European languages use prepositional comitative phrases more extensively as clause-level adjuncts than as arguments in attributive possession structures (see (39a) vs. (39b)).

(39) a. *People wander around with dragon balls.*
b. *The boy with the red hair came.*

If a comitative phrase is defined along the lines of Arkhipov (2009), namely as an ***asymmetrical*** construction introducing a non-obligatory participant with the same role as that of the core participant, then (39a) is not a true comitative: the two arguments do not form a participant set that can be interpreted as a coordination structure or as a way of pluralising the

participants:

(40) ***Ann*** *went to the party* ***with Mike*** **= Ann and Mike went to the party**

Nevertheless, under a looser definition of comitativity, the comitative-like expression in (39a) (for which Stolz *et al* use the term "confective") is largely available among the Indo-European languages, while (39b) (for which Stolz *et al* use the term "ornative") is typical for "Indo-European languages spoken in more eastern regions of the continent <…> than [for] those spoken in the west and the vast majority of the non-Indo-European languages." (p. 413). Romance languages for example disfavour the use of a comitative phrase for ornatives whereas Rumanian as a Balkan language displays a preference for comitative-based constructions, which is in line with the behaviour of the other members of the Balkan Sprachbund (Albanian, Greek, Bulgarian and Macedonian) (*ibidem*). This can be illustrated with the following example from Modern Greek:

(41) *dipla ston psēlo me ta kokkina mallia.*
at_side in.det:acc long with det:nt.pl red:nt:pl hair:nt:pl
'Beside the tall one with the red hair.' (Stolz *et al* 2008: 410, ex. [B 410.4]

While the study shows that language groups within the Indo-European family are divided in preferences for coding (39a, b) via a comitative construction, making a genetic account look improbable, data from Balkan languages, all of which make consistent use of comitatives in attributive possession corresponding to (39b)/(41), point to an areal interpretation of the phenomenon, possibly related to the distinction between alienable and inalienable possession, as well as between permanent and temporary possession.

As far as predicative possession is concerned, the Balkan languages that employ the WITH-possessive (Albanian and Bulgarian, and to a much lesser extent Modern Greek) pattern only with two other Indo-European languages: Icelandic and Portuguese. The highest degree of grammaticalisation of the comitative construction is seen in Icelandic since this language restricts the functional domain of *hafa* 'have'. Thus, while *hafa* requires the specification of a location, e*iga* 'own' is preferred for the specification of ownership, while *vera með* is reserved for temporary possession without a location (Levinson 2011, Stolz *et al* 2008). These three constructions

compete for the expression of predicative possession according to semantic criteria:

(42) *hun átt-i jepp-a* (Stolz *et al* 2008: 154, ex. [B113.1]
she own.pret-3SG jeep-acc
'She has/owns a jeep'

(43) *Jón hefur margar bækur í herberginu sínu* (Levinson 2011, ex.(12))
John.NOM has many books.ACC in room-the.DAT his
'John has many books in his room.'

(44) a. *Hún er með bækurnar fimm*. (Levinson 2011, ex. (14))
she.NOM is with books-the.ACC five
'She has five books.'

b. *Jón er með kvef*
John is with cold
'John has a cold'.

c. *Jón er með gleraugu*
John is with glasses
'John is wearing glasses' / 'John has glasses'

The Icelandic *vera með* construction is used mostly with temporary possession (e.g. diseases, portable objects, accessories, Levinson 2011) but it may also combine freely with NPs that represent concrete objects (in the proximity of the speaker). It can also be used to denote inalienables such as body parts.

Portuguese on the other hand uses alongside the *ter*-'have' construction also *estar com* 'be with'-for abstract concepts *qua* possessees (feelings, physico-mental states and bodily ailments such as illnesses experienced by the possessor at the reference time) and NOT with body parts or current physical possessions.

(45) *Fred e George estavam de novo com ar carrancudo*
Fred and George be:imperf:3pl of new with air grumpy
'Fred and George looked grumpy again.' (Stolz *et al* 2008: 425)

Of course, these languages have different functional domains for each of the alternative modes of expressing predicative possession, and there are statistical differences in the distribution of their respective prepositional constructions.

While the Balkan languages do not show such variation in the use of the comitative construction with respect to the default HAVE- construction, it is still a significant fact that these languages exploit alternative (WITH-

or other) prepositional structures, albeit to a varying degree, at least in the following instances: a) abstract and/or temporary possession (Albanian and Bulgarian), and b) locational relations involving inanimates (Bulgarian, Albanian, Modern Greek). In neither language are such alternatives available for the expression of the core possessive relations, i.e., ownership, which is usually taken to be the prototypical instance of permanent possession. This may point to a more general split between temporary and permanent possession in the remote areas of the Indo-European boundaries, comprising not only the Balkan languages but also Portuguese and Icelandic, as well as Lithuanian/Latvian (which belong to the Circum-Baltic area interfacing with Slavic and Finno-Ugric[9]). This split is instrumental for rendering distinctions pertaining to the inalienable domain and may well turn out to be more important than the classic alienable-inalienable split.

References

ALEXIADOU, Artemis (2001): Some notes on the structure of alienable and inalienable possessors. In: COENE, Martine; D'HULST, Yves (Eds.) From NP to DP. Vol. II The structure of possession in noun phrases. Amsterdam: John Bemjamins Publishing: 167-188.

ARKHIPOV, Alexandre (2009): *Comitative as a cross-linguistically valid category*. In: EPPS, Patience L.; ARKHIPOV, Alexandre (Eds.), New Challenges in Typology: Transcending the Borders and Refining the Distinctions. Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter: 223-246.

BALDI, Philip; NUTI, Andrea (2007): *Possession*. In: CUZZOLIN, Pierluigi; BALDI, Philip (Eds.), Constituent Syntax: Quantification, Numerals, Possession, Anaphora. Berlin: De Gruyter: 238-387.

HERSLUND, Michael; BARON, Irène (2001). *Dimensions of Possession*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing: 1-15.

BENVENUTO, Maria Carmela; POMPEO, Flavia (2012): "Expressions of predicative possession in Ancient Greek: "εἶναι plus dative" and "εἶναι plus genitive"constructions". In: ANNALI del Dipartimento di Studi Letterari, Linguistici e Comparati. Sezione linguistica AIΩN: 77-104.

BARKER, Chris (2011): *Possessives and relational nouns*. In: MAIENBORN, Claudia; VON HEUSINGER, Klaus; PORTNER, Paul. Semantics: An international handbook of natural language meaning. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.

[9] It is very probable that the predominance in Russian of the locative construction is due to an areal influence from the Finnish substrate (TIMBERLAKE 2014).

FREEZE, Ray (1992): *Existentials and other locatives*. In: Language 68: 553 − 595.

GRKOVIĆ-MAJOR, Jasmina (2011): *The development of predicative possession in Slavic*. In: HANSEN, Bjorn; GRKOVIĆ-MAJOR, Jasmina (Eds.), Diachrnic Slavonic syntax: Gradual changes in focus. Munich: Sagner [Wiener Slawisichers Almanach, 74]: 35-54.

HEINE, Bernd (1997): *Possession: Cognitive Sources, Forces, and Grammaticalization*. Cambridge-New York: Cambridge University Press.

ISAČENKO, Alexander V. (1974): *On 'have' and 'be' languages. A typological sketch.* In M. FLIER (Ed.). Slavic Forum. Essays in Linguistics and Literature. The Hague-Paris: Mouton: 43 – 77.

JUNG, Hakyung (2011): *The Syntax of the Be-Possessive. Parametric variation and surface diversities*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing.

LEHMANN, Christian (1998): *Possession in Yucatec Maya.* Munich: LINCOM Europa.

LEVINSON, Lisa (2011): *Possessive WITH in Germanic: HAVE- and the Role of P*. In: Syntax 14/4: 355-393.

LYONS, John (1968): *Introduction to Theoretical Linguistics*. London: Cambridge University Press.

MCANALLEN, Julia (2011): *Predicative possession in Old Church Slavic Bible translations*. In: Oslo Studies in Language, III: 155 − 172.

PARTEE, Barbara H; BORSCHEV, Vladimir (2001): *Genitive Modifiers, Sorts, and Metonymy*. In: Nordic Journal of Linguistics 24/2.

STASSEN, Leon (2009): *Predicative Possession*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

STOLZ, Thomas; KETTLER, Sonja; STROH, Cornelia; URDZE, Aina (2008): *Split Possession*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

TIMBERLAKE, Alan (2014): *The simple sentence*. In GUTSCHMIDT, Karl; KEMPGEN, Sebastian; BERGER, Tilman; KOSTA, Peter (Eds.), Die Slavischen Sprachen. Ein internationales Handbuch zu ihrer Struktur, ihrer Geschichte und ihrer Erforschung. Band 2. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter: 1675 – 1698.

ON THE ETYMOLOGY OF DAIRY TERMINOLOGY

CORINNA LESCHBER

The importance of the Neolithic period for ancient European linguistic strata

The Neolithic period started on the European continent with the introduction of agriculture and animal husbandry in South-East Europe. Originating in Mesopotamia and Asia Minor, the Neolithic revolution reached Greece around 6,500 BCE, where the beginning of the early Neolithic period was established. A few centuries later, it reached the territory of modern-day Bulgaria, where the Karanovo period was initiated. The domestication of cereal plants began around 10,000 BCE in the Middle East, and the husbandry of sheep, goats and cattle around 8,000 BCE in the southern Levant. This led to a sedentary lifestyle, population growth and demographic expansion – mainly towards the North-West of the European continent. Since the Neolithic revolution was accompanied by a demic diffusion, it is still possible to prove a gene flow in the genes of the European population, decreasing in intensity towards the North-West. At the same time, the new cultural techniques of agriculture and livestock also spread among the native European hunter-gatherer population, whose subsistence strategy was assigned to an earlier stage, the Mesolithic period. According to Haarmann (2011), early farmers from Anatolia introduced dairy farming via South-East Europe.

We know very little about the languages of the Neolithic immigrants and their influence on the linguistic substrata in Europe. An agricultural population generally grows five times faster than a population with a different subsistence strategy. Furthermore, agricultural vocabulary can be reconstructed in many of the continent's proto-languages. Neolithic cultures spread from the so-called Fertile Crescent area in the South Caucasus, stretching towards the West through the Mediterranean area and up to Iberia and Britain, and in towards the South-East as far as Southern India.

Furthermore, the later immigration - approximately 3,500 years ago - of Eurasian farmers from the Middle East to Africa can be proved with the help of genetic research (Gibbons 2015: 149).

The shape of migration streams in Neolithic times provides us with a possible explanation as to the distribution of etymologically difficult word material, which can be found in a widely documented pattern in the Basque region, Iberia, the Mediterranean and Balkan regions and the Caucasus, as well as in parts of South Asia. A similar geo-linguistic pattern can be found in the example of the distribution of ancient calls and lures for farm animals, or for individual lexical elements of livestock terminology (Leschber 2016).

The identification of linguistic substrata in Europe must be carried out carefully and with caution, because the large time span may have led to there being a large number of mutual influences and an admixture of potential strata. The ancient Eurafrican substrate is generally of great importance, especially for the Mediterranean area.

Kroonen (2012: 239f.) shows the importance of word material, adapted during the Neolithic revolution, for Europe's prehistoric linguistic situation. In his view, these words are cultural key words that can throw light on etymologically unexplained linguistic layers in European vocabulary. Kroonen (2012: 255) indicates the probability of the relative linguistic uniformity of the European agricultural substrate, with a possible relationship between Germanic substrate words, such as **arwīt* "pea", and Pre-Greek substratum elements.

Pereltsvaig/Lewis (2015: 139), however, argue in their book, *The Indo-European Controversy: Facts and Fallacies in Historical Linguistics*, that pre-Indo-European substrate languages were linguistically highly diverse.

The genealogical linguistic assignment of the European agricultural substrate remains controversial. The pre-Indo-European language Hattic, once one of the most important languages of Asia Minor, displays features reminiscent of North-West Caucasian languages. Schrijver (2011) describes how the Hattic language might have influenced ancient European languages during the Neolithic revolution.

Anthony (2007: 139-143) is convinced that some of the Neolithic settlers in South-East Europe can be identified with the bearers of the Criş-Culture – the oldest Neolithic culture originating in the Western Carpathian mountains (6,200-5,600 BCE), subsequently crossing this mountain range towards the East. It is possible that they were speakers of an Afro-Asiatic/Semitic language.

In Europe, we can distinguish several linguistic strata as follows:

1. The oldest Eurafrican stratum, originating from Palaeolithic times (see de Dardel 1982: 21).
2. The European agricultural stratum resulting from the Neolithic, introducing, presumably, the oldest terminology in the domain of agriculture and animal husbandry (see, e.g., Kroonen 2012).

According to Anthony (2007: 139-143), around 5,800-5,700 BCE, Neolithic settlers introduced animal husbandry to the North Pontic area, possibly speaking a language of Afro-Asiatic assignment (Militarev 2002: 135-150). This assumption is based on the central notion of **tawr-* resp. **tawro-s* with a Semitic etymology (Nichols 1997: 122-148). Latin *taurus* and Greek *ταῦρος* ("bull") are later loanwords from this same source (Beekes 2010: 1455-1456, de Vaan 2008: 607).

And finally:

3. The Indo-European stratum: originating from their North Pontic, proto-Indo-European homeland, settlers reached Europe in three waves of expansion (during the period 4,500-2,900 BCE).

In the reconstructed Indo-European vocabulary, there are many words that belong to the spheres of animal husbandry, wool processing and dairy production. The domestication of horses was an important prerequisite for the expansion of Indo-Europeans. In the Proto-Indo-European lexicon, we can find expressions for "cow", "bull", "ox", "sheep" and "sheep wool", "ram", "lamb", "goat" and "horse". In addition, there are reconstructed expressions for "dog" (domesticated earlier than the above-mentioned animals), as well as "ducks" and "geese", "pigs" and "piglets"; words for "dairy products from cows, goats and mares", "thick or sour milk", "butter", "cottage cheese", a verb for "milking", but curiously, no unitary Proto-Indo-European word for "milk" (Mallory/Adams 2006: 260-262).

As regards the Italian peninsula, Latin was initially one among many other tribal languages in central Italy spoken primarily by the pastoral tribes of Indo-European origin that lived in small rural settlements. Italic races populated the peninsula from 1,000 BCE. Sicily and the South were experiencing the different cultural influence of Aegean peoples by, roughly, 2,500 to 2,000 BCE; from about the 8th Century BCE, this region was being settled by Greek colonists. Much more recent is the settlement of Albanian minorities on the Italian peninsula. The complex evolution of animal husbandry and the shepherding culture is reflected in its complex terminology and not always unequivocally interpretable etymologies. This is true for words of undoubtedly Indo-European origin, but also for

terminology of as yet unclear origin. This can be seen in examples of dialectal words in Southern Italy from the domain of the pastoral culture, as well as in milk processing terminology, which are attributable to the minority languages of Arbëresh and Grico.

In what follows I provide three examples of dialectal words and a comment on their etymology.

a) an Indo-European word:

Grico (Otranto) *σqυέροϛ* "whey" (Rohlfs 1964: 467-468),

cf. Albanian *hirr*, *hirrë* "whey" (Huld 1984: 75, Orel 1998: 149, Demiraj 1997: 202-203, Giordano 2000: 158, Rohr 2000: 38, Mallory/Adams 2006: 262), Old Norse *skyr* "whey"; according to Hamp 1981: 49 Albanian *urdhë* "white cheese" < Indo-European **u̯er-*/**u̯er-H-*[1] "to boil, to burn, to be hot", cf. Slavic *variti* "to boil", IEW 1166, LIV 689; Orel 1998: 483 Romanian *urdă* "whey cheese" < Albanian *urdhë*, (pl.) *urdha* "sort of white cheese" (< **u̯rda* etc.), Klepikova 1974: 142-144, Ciorănescu 2001: 819, No. 9078, Vasmer/Trubačev IV 167 Russ., Ucrain. *úrda* I "goat's cheese" < Romanian -≠ lat. *serum* "whey and similar liquids", de Vaan 2008: 558, Old Greek *ὀρός* "whey", Beekes 2010: 1108-1109, Albanian *gjízë* "goat's cheese, whey cheese, milk mixed with rennet", … according to Mallory/Adams l. c. < Indo-European **ser* "to flow".

b) a word of unclear origin:

Arbëresh *kazi* is a loanword in the Albanian dialect of Southern Italy, cf. Birken-Silverman 1997: III 54-55 *káz-i* "cheese", Calabrese *cásu* "cheese" < Latin *caseu*, a contamination of which is *kàzerikót-a* "a kind of soft cheese, similar to ricotta cheese and made with sheep's milk", cf. Northern Calabrese *casërëcottë* (Oriolo), *casuricuotto*, *-cottu* (Ajeta).

De Vaan 2008: 96-97 comments on the origin of the Latin *cāseus,* "cheese":

> "the discussion in Schrijver (1991: 251f.) shows that no etymology can be found which does not require some poorly founded assumptions…the etymology of *cāseus* must still be regarded as unknown; it may well be a loanword".

See Bengtson (2015 n. pag.), (2016: 81, 323) for possible links to Basque *gasta-na* "cheese", *gazi* "salty, sour" < **gac*, **gasi*, and North Caucasian languages.

c) a word belonging to the Neolithic agricultural substrate:

Albanian *berr* "small livestock, sheep, ram, goat", or rarely, "male goat", Giordano (2000: 24) cites Arbëresh *bèrr-i* "lamb, young goat, ram, wool producing animal" (Orel 1998: 21-22, Demiraj 1997: 95-96, Hubschmid 1955: 194-196).

Formally and semantically similar words occur in all Romance languages, in Basque (where it is not a loanword from Romance languages), in the Balkans, in German, Baltic and Slavic languages, in northeastern Caucasian, in the Himalayas (Dumāki, Nepali) and in the Afro-Asiatic sphere, showing an impressively wide distribution.

Conclusion

It is obvious that unclear etymologies need to be carefully examined in each individual case. The etymological explanation of an increased number of words, belonging to compact substrate layers in different European regions (particularly the Mediterranean and South-East Europe), has proved difficult and time-consuming (Leschber 2015).

In order to illustrate the complex - and partly hypothetical - etymological inter-relationships between words forming real networks, the broad lines of these arguments were transferred into etymological organigrams. Such organigrams are powerful tools for responding to an increasing amount of data, and they appear to be applicable to macro-comparative views on etymology, as outlined in Leschber (2015: 205).

Today, a large number of etymologically unclear words present a challenge for historical linguistics. The collection, systematisation and comparison of word material and its specific geo-linguistic configurations should precede linguistic analysis in order to trace ancient substrata languages on European territory.

References

ANTHONY, David (2007): *The Horse, the Wheel and the Language. How Bronze Age Riders from the Eurasian Steppes shaped the modern World*. Princeton.

BEEKES, Robert (2010): *Etymological Dictionary of Greek. Leiden Indo-European Etymological Dictionary Series* 10. Leiden/Boston.

BENGTSON, John D. (2015): *Possible Vasconic or Euskaro-Caucasian Substratum in Latin. Discussion draft* (August 2015).

—. (2016/draft): *A Study in Basque Etymology and Phonology from a Euskaro-Caucasian Perspective*. Manuscript 456 pages.

BIRKEN-SILVERMAN, Gabriele (1997): *Sprachkontakt Italienisch-Albanisch in Kalabrien* 1-3. Frankfurt/M. etc.

ÇABEJ, Eqrem (1996): *Studime etimologjike ne fushe te shqipes* IV. Tirana.

CIORĂNESCU, Alexandru (2001[2]): *Dicţionarul etimologic al limbii române*. Bucureşti.

D`ANDREA, Ferdinando (2003): *Vocabolario greco-calabro-italiano della Bovesia*. Reggio Calabria.

DE DARDEL, Robert (1982): *Romance studies in Switzerland*. In: POSNER, Rebecca, John N. GREEN (eds.) *National and Regional Trends in Romance Linguistics and Philology. Trends in Linguistics 15*. The Hague, 9-39.

DEMIRAJ, Bardhyl (1997): *Albanische Etymologien: Untersuchungen zum albanischen Erbwortschatz*. Amsterdam.

DE VAAN, Michiel (2008): *Etymological Dictionary of Latin and the other Italic Languages*. Leiden/Boston.

DIAMOND, Jared; BELLWOOD, Peter (2003): *Farmers and Their Languages: The First Expansions*. Science 300, 5619: 597-603. www.jstor.org/stable/3834351

FOWLER, Chris; Jan HARDING; Daniela HOFMANN (2015): *Introduction*. In: FOWLER, Chris et al. (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Neolithic Europe*. Oxford, 3-23.

FOWLER, Chris et al. (eds.) (2015): *The Oxford Handbook of Neolithic Europe*. Oxford.

GERBINO, Gaetano (2007): *Fjalori arbërisht-italisht i horës së Arbëreshëvet*. Palermo.

GIBBONS, Ann (2015): *Prehistoric Eurasians streamed into Africa, genome shows*. Science 350, 6257:149.

GIORDANO, Emanuele (2000): *Dizionario degli Albanesi d`Italia*. Castrovillari.

GREENHILL, Simon (2015): *Demographic correlates of language diversity*. In: BOWERN, Claire, EVANS, Bethwyn (eds.) *The Routledge Handbook of Historical Linguistics*. London, New York, 557-578.

HAARMANN, Harald (2011): *Das Rätsel der Donauzivilisation – Die Entdeckung der ältesten Hochkultur Europas*. München.

HAMP, Eric (1981): *On the distribution and origin of (h)urda*. In: Linguistique Balkanique XXIV/3, 47-50.

HUBSCHMID, Johannes (1955): *Haustiernamen und Lockrufe als Zeugen vorhistorischer Sprach- und Kulturbewegungen*. In: Vox Romanica XIV: 184-203.

HUGHEY, Jeffery R. et al. (2013): *A European population in Minoan Bronze Age Crete*. Nature Communications 4, 1861 <http://www.nature.com/ncomms/journal/v4/n5/full/ncomms2871.html>

HULD, Martin (1984): *Basic Albanian Etymologies*. Columbus/Ohio.

IEW: POKORNY, Julius (1959-1969): *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*. Bern.

KLEPIKOVA, Galina P. (1974): *Slavjanskaja pastušeskaja terminologija – ee genezis i rasprostranenie v jazykach karpatskogo areala*. Moskva.

KROONEN, Guus (2012): *Non-Indo-European root nouns in Germanic: evidence in support of the Agricultural Substrate Hypothesis*. In: *A linguistic Map of Prehistoric Northern Europe*. Mémoires de la Société Finno-Ougrienne, 266: 239-260.

LESCHBER, Corinna (2015): *Archaische Schichten in der Viehhaltungsterminologie Südosteuropas*. In: Linguistique Balkanique LIV 2-3, 2015, 205-213.

—. (2016): *Zu bulgarischen Lockrufen für Tiere des Hofes*. In: Zeitschrift für Balkanologie, 52/1, 116-119.

LIV: RIX, Helmut (2001[2]): *Lexikon der indogermanischen Verben*. Wiesbaden.

MALLORY, James P., ADAMS, Douglas Q. (2006): *The Oxford Introduction to Proto-Indo-European and the Proto-Indo-European World*. Oxford.

MEYER, Gustav (1891): *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der albanesischen Sprache*. Strassburg.

MEYER-LÜBKE, Wilhelm (2009[7]): *Romanisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*. Heidelberg.

MILITAREV, Alexander (2002) *The prehistory of a dispersal: The Proto-Afrasian (Afro-Asiatic) farming-lexicon*. In: BELLWOOD, Peter, RENFREW, Colin, *Examining the Farming/Language Dispersal Hypothesis*. Cambridge, 135-150.

MÜLLER, Johannes (2015): *Movement of Plants, Animals, Ideas, and People in South-East Europe*. In: FOWLER, Chris et al. (ed.) *The Oxford Handbook of Neolithic Europe*. Oxford, 63-80.

NICHOLS, Johanna (1997): *The epicentre of the Indo-European linguistic spread*. In: *Archaeology and Language I* Vol. 1. Roger BLENCH, Matthew SPRIGGS (eds.). London, 122-148.

NIL: WODTKO, Dagmar, IRSLINGER, Britta, SCHNEIDER, Carolin (2008): *Nomina im Indogermanischen Lexikon*. Heidelberg.

OREL, Vladimir (1998): *Albanian Etymological Dictionary*. Leiden.

PERELTSVAIG, Asya, LEWIS, Martin W. (2015): *The Indo-European Controversy. Facts and Fallacies in Historical Linguistics*. Cambridge.

ROHLFS, Gerhard (1964): *Lexicon Graecanicum Italiae inferioris*. Tübingen.
ROHR, Rupprecht (2000): *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Arbresh in Acquaformosa*. Mannheim.
SCHRIJVER, Peter (1991): *The reflexes of the PIE laryngeals in Latin*. Amsterdam/Atlanta.
VASMER/TRUBAČEV: VASMER [FASMER], Maks, TRUBAČEV, Oleg (1986-87): *Ėtimologičeskij slovar' russkogo jazyka* 1–4, Moskva.

All online materials were most recently accessed in Oct. 2016.

AREAL LINGUISTICS AND DIALECT BOUNDARIES: THE CASE OF BULGARIAN DIALECTS

KRASIMIRA KOLEVA

For Bulgarian areal linguistics, the dialectal division of the Bulgarian language continuum into micro-areas is a basic question, the clarification of which must precede work on generalising the data from regional atlases and publications on this topic, based on comparative studies from fieldwork.

In his seminal work on the Eastern Bulgarian dialects (1903), Miletich divides the language of the local Bulgarian population into two basic types, the **o-dialect (the North-Eastern Dialect)** and the **ът-dialect (the South-Eastern Dialect)** on the basis of the masculine article morpheme. Miletich produced an integral study of the North-Eastern dialects. He had already studied the Cherged Prayers of the Transylvanian Bulgarians. For him the o-dialects in the Danube Plain, in the Shumen district, Surta and others are old, indigenous, having previously encompassed the whole of Moesia – from the Black Sea to the River Iskar in the west. He considers the spread of the o-dialect to Southern Bulgaria towards Edirne and Strandzha to be a new phenomenon and refers to it as the „Zagore Wedge" (zagorski klin) in Strandzha and Thrace.

Miletich returns to the Eastern Bulgarian dialects two years after the appearance of „Das Ostbulgarische" (Милетич 1905) following the publication by B. Tsonev of „Диалектни студии. Поправки и допълнения към Милетичевата книга „Das Ostbulgarische" (Цонев 1904). The discussion between the two dialectologists about the border between the Eastern and Western Bulgarian dialects and their characteristic features focused attention on the question of the fundamental dialectal division of the Bulgarian language, on the migration processes, on the Bulgarian language territory and the corresponding language changes.

G. Popivanov takes up Miletich's and Conev's classification and in his addendum to Miletich's work he uses the term **Shumen Dialect** (Попиванов 1940).

On the basis of the data from the Bulgarian Dialect Atlas (БДА 1966), some of Miletich's and Conev's views on this topic have been revised. It is no longer possible to talk of „Rupchos features“ („rupalanshtini”) in Northern Bulgaria (according to B. Conev) or of a „Zagore Wedge“ (zagorski klin) in Southern Bulgaria (according to L. Miletich), of immigrants from the south in the north or of immigrants from the north in the south, since the North-Eastern Bulgarian and the South-Eastern Bulgarian o-dialects are not separated from each other, but rather, given the o-dialect of the villages that are located in the Balkan passes, they form an unbroken unity – a continuum - throughout the entire area of the Eastern Bulgarian o-dialect, which can scarcely be separated either from the Balkan or from the Thracian dialects (Кочев 1991: 77-78).

In his summary work on Bulgarian dialects of 1968, St. Stoykov supports Miletich's classification. In characterising the Moesian dialects, he identifies a narrow area of these North-Eastern dialects without providing a detailed classification. As their basic representative, he names the Shumen dialect on the borders described by Miletich – „the Shumen district, Surta in the east, the villages of Kaspichan, Kyulevcha, Markovcha and so on“ (Стойков 1993: 105). Stoykov stresses that „as a typical Moesian dialect it preserves best of all its old characteristic features“ (ibd.) The Shumen dialect is identified as a Surt and essentially Shumen dialect.

Ivan Kochev's monographic study „Гребенският говор в Силистренско” appeared in 1969 г. (Кочев 1969). In it he identifies the borders between the Greben and Kapan dialects in the Moesian area – but these are ethnographic, not territorial characteristics.

In the complex study of Dobrudzha in 1970-71, M. Sl. Mladenov creates a classification of the dialects in the area of the Moesian type, noting four subtypes: **Greben, Kapan,** (ethnographic terms), **Shikovski** (in the Silistra district) and the **Shumen-Silistra** subtype in the villages of Nova Cherna (Tutrakan district) and Sokolovo (Dobrich district) (Младенов 1974: 397). This classification is illustrated with the characteristic features at all linguistic levels on a comparative plane, without describing these dialect subtypes individually. There is no information about the settlements from which these Moesian inhabitants immigrated. It is known, however, that the name Shikovci (which is derived from the future particle), mentioned by Miletich, designates the immigrants from Surta in the north-east (Касабов 2012: 37-50).

For the first time in dialectology, Mladenov describes a separate Shumen-Preslav subtype, which is different, apparently, from the Surta dialect.

M. Sl. Mladenov also outlines the area of the Kapan dialect in the Razgrad district in his subsequent complex study of North-Eastern Bulgaria, 1974-1977, which was dedicated to the Kapanci (Младенов 1985: 311-312).

The summarising volume of the Bulgarian Dialect Atlas includes: an introduction (БДА 1988) and three parts – Phonetics, Accentology and Lexicology with 367 maps, commentaries and indices (БДА 2001). It gives a spatial model of the Bulgarian language at a dialectal level. That is an exact, detailed and precise picture of the Bulgarian dialects across the entire language territory, and not an approximate, very general picture, such as existed before the creation of the BDA.

In the latest map on the dialectal division of the Bulgarian language (Карта БАН 2014), today's Moesian dialects are specified as **Eastern Moesian**, which refers to the older and broader territorial picture in the geographical region of Moesia, which also stretches to the west of the *jat'* zone. From north to south the dialect types are as follows:

- **Greben dialect** – along the lower reaches of the River Danube (Ruse and Silistra districts);
- **the Kapan dialect** – in Ludogorie (Razgrad district);
- **Shumen dialect** – from the Shumen plateau to the Preslav Balkans (Shumen and Preslav districts);
- **Surt dialect** – in the Surta/Surtovete – Madara district – the Provadiya district (Novi Pazar and Provadiya districts).

The dialects on the southern slopes of the Eastern Balkans are marked as sub-Balkan. The presence of a Moesian population in the Northern Karnobat district (so-called *zagortsi*) is not especially noted.

From studying meticulously and at length not only each point in the centre of the Moesian area - the Shumen district (the territory that includes geographical regions with clear borders) – but also the language and culture of the population, I am able to offer a more detailed description, based on the conviction that the linguistic and internal linguistic borders are also natural borders. The migration processes, even if they are not documented, can be established using data from the patriarchal language (memories of the clan, the inherited anthroponymical system, traditional practices described within the repertoire of the home/native language). These data can easily be discovered in interviews with elderly people.

The natural borders in the region under consideration are the high plateaux and the large rivers, whose valleys are densely populated.

The eastern part of the Danube Plain has the largest area by comparison with the other two parts and is distinguished from them by its varied plateau-like and hilly relief and its greater height above sea level (the Lilyak Plateau - 517 m, the Shumen Plateau– 502 m, the Madara Plateau – 431 m, the Provadiya Plateau– 389 m).

The border between the Danube Plain and the Sub-Balkans also runs along the watershed between the River Golyama and the Cherni Lom and its watershed in relation to the left tributary of the River Vrana – the River Lilyak. East from here is the northern slope of the Preslav Mountain, after that, following the southern periphery of the valley of the River Kamchiya, one reaches the Black Sea. In this area there are two large rivers – the Kamchiya, the only river that rises in the Balkan Mountains, which flows into the Black Sea, and the River Vrana, which is its left tributary.

The Kamchiya is formed by the confluence of the Golyama (left) Kamchiya and the Luda (right) Kamchiya. It flows in an easterly direction in the wide valley between the Avren (Momino) Plateau in the north and the Kamchiya Mountain in the south. Through its valley runs the border between the Danube Plain and the Sub-Balkan Mountains. The basin of the river in the north-west and north borders on the basin of the Rivers Rusenski Lom and Provadiyska Reka, in the west on the basin of the River Yantra, and in the south on the basin of the River Tundzha and the Aitoska, Hadzhiyska, Dvoynitza and Fundukliyska, which flow into the Black Sea. The Kamchiya basin includes parts of six regions in Bulgaria – the southern parts of the Varna and Shumen regions, the northernmost parts of the Burgas region (the Karnobat and Sungurlare districts), the eastern part of the Targovishte region (a part of Gerlovo and the course of the River Vrana), the north-eastern part of the Sliven region (part of Gerlovo) and the southernmost areas of the Razgrad region (the Ludogorie).

The River Vrana cuts a deep gorge through the western part of the Preslav Plain in a north-easterly direction. After the gorge, the valley of the River Vrana widens and gradually turns south-east. Its lower course runs along the southern foot of the Shumen Plateau. It flows from the left into the River Golyama Kamchiya near the village of Khan Krum.

In the centre of the area is the Shumen Plateau. To the north is the Lilyak Plateau, to the south-east the Kaspichan-Provadiya Surtove (< Tk. *sırt* ‘rıdge’). To the south-west is the Preslav Mountain, and to the north-west, Mount Vărbica. Between them flow the Vrana and the Kamchiya (the Kamchiya Valley). The basin between the Preslav and Varbica Mountains is

Gerlovo, which is linked to the Rish Basin, through which the migration of the Zagortsi took place (Географски речник 1980).

This is the macro-area of the Shumen dialect. The concentration of the old local population in the Surtove and between the Shumen Plateau and the Preslav Mountain provides the foundation for distinguishing two micro-areas – the Surt and Shumen-Preslav micro-areas without a definite border between them.

If one classifies the Shumen dialect, taking into account the micro-areas to the west-north-west, one can use the territorial division according to water borders, which are clear. The Moesian dialects within these broader perimeters, where there is a mixed population, can be defined as Kamchiya (Upper Kamchiya and Lower Kamchiya) dialects. This is a possible classification by analogy with the south-western Bulgarian dialects along the course of the River Vardar into Upper and Lower Vardar dialects, which is espoused by Stoyan Romanski in his study *Долновардарският говор*, published in 1932.

With regard to terminological unity on a synchronic plane, I espouse the established binary division of the Shumen dialect into Shumen and Surt, but I believe that the **centre** of the macro-area should be defined more precisely as the **Shumen-Preslav type**.

In 10 points of the so-called „Zagore Wedge“ (zagorski klin) in the southern part of the Eastern Balkan Mountains, the dialect of the Bulgarian population is a Moesian o-dialect.

The complex research in 2006 into the villages between Karnobat and Sungurlare Zimen, Sigmen, Nevestino, Iskra, Ognen, Lozarevo, Kosten, Klimash, Prilep and Podvis offers the possibility of analysing today's language situation half a century after the field trip for the first volume of the Bulgarian Dialect Atlas (БДА 1964). Here, most of them are studied as settlements with an old Bulgarian indigenous population according to data provided by Lyubomir Miletich, who, at the end of the 19th c., „mainly on the basis of the dialect“, observes that these are „immigrants from the Provadiya and and Shumen districts“ and ranks them among the settlements of the so-called „Zagore Wedge“ in a north-easterly/south-easterly direction (Милетич 1903, 1989). According to Miletich, to the east of the jat' border there are two types of dialect, differing first and foremost by the pronunciation of the article morpheme for the masculine: **Moesian o-dialect** to the north-east and the **Balkan ът-dialect** to the south-east. The occurrence of the o-dialect in Southern Bulgaria towards Edirne and in Strandzha is new and highlights the so-called „Zagore Wedge“ in Strandzha and Thrace. It began in the 15th-16th c. (Гандев 1972) with the migration of the Polyanci from the Danube Plain to the

Trans-Balkan Plain, where they came to be known as Zagortsi. After the publication of „Das Ostbulgarische", a dispute developed between Miletich and his opponent, Benyo Conev (Цонев 1904; Милетич 1905). On the basis of the data in the BDA, it has become clear that there can be no „Rupchos features" („rupalanshtini") in Northern Bulgaria (according to Conev) or a „Zagore Wedge" in the South (according to Miletich) or of southern immigrants in the north or northern immigrants in the south, since the north-eastern Bulgarian and the south-eastern Bulgarian **o-dialects** are not separated, but rather, through the o-dialect in the villages along the passes in the Eastern Balkan Mountains, form a continuous area of the eastern Bulgarian o-dialect. It can barely be separated from the Balkan or Thracian dialects either. Contemporary scholarship demonstrates that a number of features that were in dispute between the two dialectologists were not analysed by them as an expression of a more general law that was characteristic in the past of earlier periods in the development of the language, namely the interaction of vowels and consonants (Кочев 1991: 76-78). Modern areal linguistics, developing the fundamental studies by the two diachronic linguists and dialectologists, has been able to establish a more exact classification of the dialects in the Bulgarian dialect continuum, thus making it possible to describe the characteristic features of the Zagortsi dialect group in the contact zone of the north-eastern and the south-eastern dialects (Бояджиев 1991; Сакар 2002), to reveal their inner-dialectal differences (БДА 1964) and draw a parallel between the remaining Bulgarian dialects (БДА, 1-3 2001).

Having taken into account published studies and data that I collected from 2000-2006 during field trips in the Shumen district and the settlements with Zagortsi in the Karnobat and Sungurlare districts and in Strandzha, and by applying an interdisciplinary approach, I can effectively describe the Zagore micro-area between Sungurlare and Karnobat as the continuation of the Shumen dialect to the north of the Balkan Mountains.

The data from the three synchronic sections (end of the 19th c. – mid-20th c. – end of the 20th c./beginning of the 21st c.) – show both dynamic and static elements in the dialect, which shares the tendencies of the Bulgarian language throughout its entire territory, and at the same time there is an internal development. On the threshold between the two centuries (and millennia) the trend is especially interesting. It is significant not only for the description of phenomena in the micro-area but also in the macro-area, if one takes into account the specific demographic and sociolinguistic characteristics of this region. The linguistic facts mirror the results of the migration processes in the Balkans and answer a wider range of questions connected to the inner-linguistic borders, interference,

transitional and mixed dialects. They are the key to finding solutions to vexed questions and as yet inadequately explained problems from the sphere of ethnology and cultural anthropology.

The settlements in the study have an **old mixed population**. They arose as a result of forced mass migrations from the **Moesian area** during the first centuries of Turkish rule. The causes were: uprisings, the uninterrupted wars conducted by the Ottoman Empire against European countries and the Turkish colonisation of the Ludogorie and Tozluka, which led to their de-Bulgarianisation. There were gradual and uninterrupted migrations to the south through the Balkan passes near the village of Asparuhovo (Chenge) and near the village of Rish (Chalukavak) and many emigrants from the Shumen and Provadiya districts settled in Thrace and even as far afield as the Edirne and Burgas districts and in Strandzha. These are the so-called Zagortsi and they can be found in the Karnobat and Aytos districts along the route they took when migrating from north to south. The linguistic and ethnological analysis (БДА 1964; Стойков 1993) proves that in the 15th and 16th c. a compact group of Bulgarian Polyantsi moved from Northern Bulgaria along the easily negotiable roads in the Eastern Balkan Mountains and settled in the Karnobat district (Podvis, Prilep, Kosten, Lozarevo, Klimash, Nevestino, Sigmen, Iskra, Ognen and Terziysko), in the **Sliven district** (Trapoklovo, Dragodanovo and Gorno Aleksandrovo), in the **Yambol district** (Strandzha, Zimnitsa), in the **Burgas district** (Karanovo and Rusokastro) and along the northern slopes of Strandzha (Chernomorets, Rosen, Izvor and Zidarovo).

Two villages were included in the studies of the Karnobat region for the Bulgarian Dialect Atlas: Skala (2,579) in the Sungurlare district and Sigmen (2,599) in the Karnobat district. The differences between them and the Zagore settlements are a fact that indicates the borders of the so-called „Zagore Wedge“ (zagorski klin) to the west and south. Some villages (Venec, Vălchin and Zimen) remained outside the scope of the Atlas, but today we have ethnological data that establishes the presence there of Zagortsi.

Until the middle of the last century, the demographic picture of the northern Karnobat villages and the characteristics of their oicolects were preserved. The centripetal tendency is reinforced by **two types of factors**:

1. The conditions of the **relief**, which is characterised by a complex structure. The Karnobat basin is part of the Central-Tundzha sub-Balkan district of the Thracian-Strandzha region of Southern Bulgaria. The natural borders of the Trans-Balkan Plain, which are delineated by the River Luda Kamchiya and its tributaries, divide

the Eastern Balkan Mountains into two micro-areas: the north-eastern, including the Kotel-Vărbica and Karnobat-Kamchiya Mountains; and the south-eastern, consisting of the Minor Karnobat and the Aytos-Emine Mountains (Географски речник 1980). The Moesian north-eastern and the trans-Balkan south-eastern areas are connected and continuous.

2. **Sociolinguistic and sociocultural aspects** - weak migration processes; predominant Bulgarian population with diverse economic activities; the traditional chain, school – reading room – church. Some villages (e.g. Klimash) were moved in olden times from the old Roman fortress to lower-lying places near the forest, so that the population could survive in troubled times. The reflection of these processes on the language is mainly in the sphere of micro-toponymy.

Changes in the parameters of the two groups of factors are a process and they were a fact even before the beginning of studies into the oicolects, but at that time they took place more slowly.

A comparison of the data in L. Miletich's studies (end of the 19th–beginning of the 20th c.) with the maps from Vol. 1 of the Bulgarian Dialect Atlas (mid-20th c.) on the Sungurlare villages: Podvis (point No. 2573), Prilep (2574), Lozarevo (2589), Klimash (2590), Kosten (2591), Terziysko (2601) and the Karnobat Zagortsi points Nevestino (2596), Ognen (2600), Devetintsi (2601), Iskra (2602) shows continuous areas of the basic phonetic and morphological features that characterise the north-eastern Moesian dialects. The Zagortsi dialects in the northern Karnobat ethnographical region are **ъ**-dialects in relation to the development of the back nasal vowel (*къшта, дъп, зъп*) and the back yer (*дъш, сън, лъжица*) and **о-**dialects for the masculine article morpheme. The reduction of unstressed vowels (*зилѐну*) and the paroxytone stress type (*мòмче, òфци*) also confirm the unity of the dialects.

The analysis of the 277 phenomena that have been mapped on all language levels in the Zagortsi villages (Колева 1994: 133-138) shows that in 128 of them there are inner-dialectal differences, mainly in the most dynamic links in the language system – the phonetic and lexical ones. Phonetic variants are a regular occurrence in dialects. But those that excite especial interest are the lexical differences, above all in everyday vocabulary. The differentiation in the case of half of the everyday objects on the basis of 80 lexemes points to the **north-eastern group** (Podvis, Prilep, Lozarevo, Klimash, Kosten, Ognen, Iskra, Nevestino) and the

south-eastern group (Terziysko, Devetintsi). Apparently, the villages of **Podvis** and **Prilep** form the centre of this micro-area.

In the studies of the Karnobat region for the BDA, two villages were included: Skala (2,579) in the Sungurlare district and Sigmen (2,599) in the Karnobat district. The differences between them and the Zagortsi villages are a fact that demonstrates the limits of the so-called „Zagore Wedge" to the west and south. Some villages remained outside the scope of the BDA, but we have ethnological data confirming the presence of Zagortsi: viz. Venec, Vălchin and Zimen.

During the second half of the 20th C., the great social changes in Bulgaria had an aggressive impact on the indices that affect the Bulgarian language.

The north-eastern district of the micro-area in the study underwent inner-territorial changes after the River Kamchiya was diverted in order to build the largest dam in Bulgaria, the Ticha Reservoir. The populations from the villages that were submerged moved to some of the villages under consideration.

A characteristic feature of the region is the land without settlements, the so-called natural, non-urbanised areas with few towns. The distance from the regional centre of Burgas is a favourable sociolinguistic factor in that the influence of the standard language on the dialects is limited.

With this micro-area, the reach of the Shumen dialect is increased, and the areal characterisation of Moesia is complete and precise (Колева 2014).

References

БДА 1964: *Български диалектен атлас. Т. I. Югоизточна България. Част I. Карти. Част II. Статии, коментари, показалци.* София: БАН, 1964.

БДА 1966: *Български диалектен атлас. Т. II. Североизточна България. Част I. Карти. Част II. Статии, коментари, показалци.* София: БАН, 1966.

БДА 1988: *Български диалектен атлас. Обобщаващ том. Встъпителна част.* София: БАН, 1988.

БДА 2001: *Български диалектен атлас. Обобщаващ том. Т. I-III. Фонетика. Акцентология. Лексика.* София: БАН, 2001.

Бояджиев 1991: Бояджиев, Т. *Българските говори в Западна (Беломорска) и Източна (Одринска Тракия)*. София: БАН, 1991.

Гандев 1972: Гандев, Хр. *Българската народност през XV век. Демографско и етнографско изследване.* София: Наука и изкуство, 1972.

Географски речник 1980: Мичев, Н., Михайлов, Ц., Вапцаров, И., Кираджиев, Св. *Географски речник на България.* София: Наука и изкуство, 1980.

Карта БАН 2014: *Карта на диалектната делитба на българския език.* София: АИ „Марин Дринов", 2014.

Касабов 2012: Касабов, Й. *Шиковци като хърцои в Южна Добруджа*. – В: Народна култура на балканджиите. Ред. А. Гоев. Габрово: АЕК „Етър", p. 37-50.

Колева 2014: Колева, Кр. *Шуменският говор.* Шумен: УИ „Еп. Константин Преславски", 2014.

Кочев 1969: Кочев, Ив. *Гребенският говор в Силистренско.* Трудове по българска диалектология, кн. V, София: БАН, 1969.

Кочев 1991: Кочев, Ив. Любомир *Милетич и проблемите на българското езикознание*. – Македонски преглед, 1991, № 2, p. 73-79.

Милетич 1903: Miletič, L. Das Ostbulgarische. – In: Südslavische Dialektstudien. Wien: Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1903, p. 65-145.

Милетич 1905: Милетич, Л. *Източнобългарските говори*. – Сборник за народни умотворения, наука и книжнина, 21. София: Българско книжовно дружество.

Милетич 1989: Милетич, Л. *Източните български говори.* София: БАН, 1989.

Младенов 1974: Младенов, М. Сл. *Характеристика на говорите* [в Добруджа]. – In: Добруджа. Етнографски, фолклорни и езикови проучвания. Ред. М. Василева. София: Наука и изкуство, 1974, p. 396-426.

Младенов 1985: Младенов, М. Сл. *Характеристкка на капанския говор*. - В: Капанци. Бит и култура на старото население в Североизточна България. Етнографски и езикови проучвания. Ред. Д. Тодоров. София: БАН, 1985, с. 311 - 338.

Попиванов 1940: Попиванов, Г. *Особености на шуменския говор. Допълнение към описанието му в „Das Ostbulgarische" на проф. Л. Милетич.* – Сборник на БАН, 34, с. 329 - 468.

Сакар 2002: *Сакар. Етнографско, фолклорно и езиково изследване.* Ред. Е. Мицева. София: АИ „Проф. Марин Дринов", 2002.

Стойков 1993: Стойков, Ст. *Българска диалектология.* София: БАН, 1993.

Цонев 1904: Цонев, Б. *Диалектни студии. Поправки и допълнения към Милетичевата книга „Das Ostbulgarische”*. – В: Сборник за народни умотворения, наука и книжнина, 20. София: БАН, 1904.

Translated from the Bulgarian by Peter M. Hill

BORROWING OF TURKISH DIALECT WORDS IN BULGARIAN DIALECTS UNDER CONDITIONS OF BILINGUALISM

LILYANA DIMITROVA-TODOROVA

A large number of processes in the development of the Bulgarian lexical system can be attributed to the co-existence of Bulgarian- and Turkish-speaking populations over the course of several centuries. A significant influence was the Ottoman rule from the first half of the 14th Century to the end of the 19th Century. During this period, in many areas of the Bulgarian language territory, people who spoke Bulgarian and Ottoman Turkish (which, in this study, will simply be referred to as Turkish) lived together for several centuries. The fact that many of those who spoke Ottoman Turkish were Islamised Bulgarians, who accepted Ottoman Turkish as their native language, should be taken into account. For five centuries, complex language contact took place in a relatively continual and diverse fashion. As a result of this long-established contact between the Bulgarian- and Turkish-speaking populations, interaction between the two genetically different languages and their dialect forms was necessary. Long-term bilingualism arose from the mutual contact of these two populations, speaking different languages (in this case, Bulgarian and Ottoman Turkish). Such bilingualism can take on one of two forms – unilateral or bilateral contact bilingualism. In bilateral contact bilingualism there is mutual influence, leading to interference, i.e. to interpenetration of the language systems during the language contact.

In many areas of Bulgaria, the language of the Turkish-speaking population in the settlements (where both Bulgarian- and Turkish-speaking people lived) was learnt by the Bulgarians to enable them to co-exist and communicate. As the Turkish language was the main means of communication in the Ottoman Empire, it was necessary for the Bulgarians to adopt it in order to communicate with the Turks. The Bulgarians primarily came into contact with traditional Turkish dialects. They practically spoke two different language varieties: the Bulgarian territorial dialect, through which the Bulgarians communicated with one

another, and the Turkish language (or a Turkish territorial dialect), spoken by the Turks and the Islamised Bulgarians, with which the Christian Bulgarians found themselves in immediate contact. This was also the official language of the administration.

Given those circumstances, the Bulgarian language, and more notably its dialects, borrowed many Turkish words, a great proportion of which are dialect words. After the liberation of Bulgaria, the Turkish language lost its social prestige in Bulgarian language society once and for all and became merely an everyday, colloquial language belonging to an ethnic group that remained in Bulgaria for various reasons. Thus, most of the Turkish dialect words adopted by the Bulgarian dialects had been borrowed before the liberation of Bulgaria and persisted thereafter in the linguistic memory of the people. Some of the borrowed words have usurped the native language words and have become part of the active vocabulary, while the native Bulgarian words have either passed into the passive vocabulary or continue to exist alongside the borrowed terms as synonyms.

Many Turkish words did not change during the borrowing process, but some underwent phonetical, morphological or word-formative transformations. Often the loanword passed into the Bulgarian language phonetically unchanged and with the same semantics. Below are some examples of Turkish dialect loanwords that have remained phonetically and semantically unchanged.

The word *къзлàч* 'red soil' (region of Silistra) was borrowed without any changes from the Turkish dial. *kızlaç* 'kind of red soil; infertile sandy soil' (Тодоров 1994: 211–212).

The word *тайлàк* 'small male horse up to three years of age' (Alfatar, region of Silistra) was borrowed without change from the Turkish dial. *taylak* 'one-year-old horse; still an unbroken horse' (БЕР 7: 757).

The word *фàйка* 'woman's cotton blouse with sleeves (region of Sevlievo); top with sleeves; cardigan; shirt (region of Veliko Tarnovo); kind of top (region of Gabrovo); woman's blouse (region of Montana); coat (region of Targovishte)' < Turkish dial. *fayka* 'woman's top' (Димитрова-Тодорова 2003–2004: 259).

In some Bulgarian dialects, the exact borrowing of Turkish dialect words into Bulgarian dialects resulted in the preservation of the homonymy in both languages. This is the case with the dialect homonyms *сан* 'dregs, ooze' (Панчев 1908) < the Turkish dial. *san* 'sand, carried along by flowing water, silt' (БЕР 6: 475, *сан*[2]) and *сан* 'disease in wheat when it is still green' (region of Shumen) < the Turkish homonym *san* 'kind of disease in corn'(БЕР 6: 476, *сан*[4]).

In some cases, homonyms are created by borrowing homonyms in the recipient language without changing them, as in the example above, whilst in other cases phonetical changes occur during the borrowing of different words and, as a result of these changes, homonyms arise. Examples of the latter are the dialect words *сулàн* 'wet soil, keeping moisture' (region of Krumovgrad) from the Turkish dial. *sulan* 'marshy place' (БЕР 7: 564, *сулàн*[2]) and *сулàн* 'unspun cotton (yarn)' (Gabrovo, Troyan, Pirdop; region of Kazanlak and Targovishte) from the Turkish dial. *sulağan, sulaan* '(for thread, fibre) twisted, twirled' (БЕР 7: 564, *сулàн*[1]). In the latter case, the Turkish fricative consonant *ğ* has been dropped (a common phenomenon in Turkish and Bulgarian dialects) and a contraction *a–a* > *a* has occurred.

There are also some cases in which the loanwords have an unchanged borrowed phonetical form in Bulgarian dialects, but undergo an accent shift. Such is the case with the forms of the words *сòя* 'small knife (Suhindol; region of Sevlievo); crooked knife (region of Lovech); small knife with a crooked handle (region of Veliko Tarnovo)' and *соя̀* 'kind of small folding knife' (region of Troyan) < Turkish dial. *soya* 'folding knife' (БЕР 7: 380).

The cases in which the loanwords have unchanged phonetics and the same semantics are fewer than those in which the loanwords have various phonetic and semantic changes. It is important to mention that during the phonetical adaptation, the names are assimilated with their dialect form in the donor language and are influenced by the dialect in the recipient language, i.e. Bulgarian.

In some dialect forms, during the borrowing, some sounds or syllables are dropped at the beginning, in the middle or at the end of the word, as in the examples below.

a) At the beginning of the word: the Bulg. *катмà* 'big pancake, baked on the domed metal lid of a clay pot (region of Pirdop); big pitta bread from bread pastry, which is baked on a special round earthen plate (region of Devin and Haskovo); small pitta bread with butter, honey or thick fruit syrup with sugar spread on it (region of Ardino, Devin and Dedeagach)' with dropped *a-* < Turkish dial. *akıtma* 'kind of pastry cake, baked on the domed metal lid of a clay pot' (БЕР 2: 274); the word *лук*, used in a secret Masonic dialect meaning 'a Turk, hated by the Bulgarians', is borrowed from the Turkish dial. *uluk* 'dirty, nasty, a bugger; lazy (person), slothful (person)' (Тодоров 1994: 232–233) from which *и-* (*у-*) has been dropped.

b) In the middle of the word: the Bulg. *кортмàч* 'meal from milk, boiled with colostrum' (region of Gyumyurdzhina) < the Turkish dial.

koyurtmaç ‘meal from boiled thick autumn milk’ with an elision of *-yu-* (*-ю-*) (БЕР 2: 647).

c) At the end of the word: the Bulg. dial. *каз* ‘edge at the bottom of a cauldron’ (Veliko Tarnovo, Teteven) < the Turkish dial. *kazı* ‘carving on metal, wood, etc.; engraving’ (Тодоров 1994: 226) with an elision of the final *-ı*; the Turkish dial. loanword *махта-куш* ‘woodpecker’ (Visoka, region of Solun) derives from the Turkish dialect izafet word combination *tahta kuşu* ‘woodpecker’ (БЕР 7: 851) with an elision of the genitive-accusative case ending *-и*.

During and after borrowing, some of the words underwent a reduction of the unstressed vowels under the influence of Bulgarian dialects.

The Bulg. *пърдѝя* ‘reed mat’ (Kukush) < the Turkish dial. *pardı (otu)* ‘reed’ (БЕР 6: 79, *пърдѝя*[1]) and the Bulg. *съчлъ̀к* ‘extended hair’ (region of Sevlievo) < the Turkish dial. *saçlık* ‘false hair’ (БЕР 7: 705) demonstrate a reduction *-a-* > *-ъ-*, and the Bulg. *куру(д)жѝя* ‘animal keeper’ (region of Elena) < the Turkish dial. *corucu* ‘forest ranger’ (БЕР 2: 649) demonstrates a reduction *-o-* > *-y-*.

Other loanwords have undergone the opposite process – clarification of the unstressed vowels, often as a result of over-exertion. For example, the dialect loanword *тангъ̀р* ‘domed metal lid of a clay pot’ (region of Kazanlak) underwent a change from the Turkish *-ı-* > the Bulgarian *-a-* in the borrowed Turkish dial. *tıngır* ‘tin; any pot, made of sheet metal, iron or zinc’ (БЕР 7: 799–800). The same change also occurred in the Bulg. *сапкъ̀н* ‘metal trident, used for fishing at night’ (Bansko; region of Razlog and Strandzha), which originally derives from the Turkish dial. *sıpkın* ‘iron pitchfork; fisherman’s trident; harpoon’ (БЕР 6: 489).

In the Turkish dialect, loanwords often experience a phonetic adaptation (a substitution of phonemes) in cases where phonemes, existing in a given word in language A, are substituted with the phonetically closest phonemes in language B. For example, the Turkish fricative *ğ* is, in some cases, substituted with the Bulgarian *г*, e.g., the dialect word *лъгѝя* ‘pit, ditch, trench (for water)’ < the Turkish dial. *yalağı* ‘pit, ditch, trench; puddle’ (Тодоров 1994: 214–215) has undergone a substitution *-ğ-* > *-г-*. During the borrowing process, however, this word underwent two more changes: the initial *уа- (я-)* was dropped and a morphological adaptation *-и* > *-ия* occurred, as in *бургѝя* from the Turkish *burgu.*

In the loanwords of the Central Balkan dialect, the Turkish affricate *c* (*дж*) is substituted with *ж* as, in the Bulgarian Balkan dialects, the affricate *дж* barely exists. This can be seen by comparing the words *жамѝл* ‘masonry stove’ (region of Gabrovo, Dryanovo and Troyan),

coming from the Turkish dial. *camal* too, *жанѓазà* ‘quarrelsome, nagging person’ and its derivative, influenced by the Bulgarian language, *жанѓазѝ се* ‘to nag, to quarrel’ from the Turkish dial. *cangaza* ‘quarrelsome, spoilt person’.

During the process of borrowing words from the Turkish dialects, phonetic phenomena like assimilation, dissimilation and metathesis of phonemes frequently occur.

a) Assimilation: the dialect form *каврàк* ‘silk headscarf (region of Ihtiman); thin colourful headscarf (region of Velingrad); bridal veil (region of Panagyurishte and Pirdop)’ < the Turkish dial. *kıvrak* ‘woman’s headscarf of thin cloth; bridal veil for the face of red crape; woman’s silk headscarf; veil; kind of cloth’ (БЕР 2: 125) through *і(ъ)–а > а–а.*

b) Dissimilation: the Bulg. *кàберици* (pl.) ‘thin metal circlets for decoration’ (Boboshevo) originates from the root of the Turkish dial. *kabara* ‘bracelet, object with the shape of a circlet’ (БЕР 2: 116) through dissimilation *а–а > а–е,* and the Bulg. *конлȕк* ‘part of an ox wagon (region of Gyumyurdzhina); wooden support of a cart (region of Plovdiv)’ is derived from the Turkish dial. *kolluk* ‘wooden support of an ox wagon or cart’ (БЕР 2: 591) through dissimilation *л–л > н–л.*

c) Metathesis: the word *копанàр*, meaning ‘child’s woollen coat (region of Razlog); long winter coat (Bansko)’ is derived through metathesis from the Turkish dial. *koparan* ‘kind of top clothing’ (БЕР 2: 609–610). Through metathesis too, the loanword *енджȉчиче* ‘garden snowberry’ (region of Botevgrad) is formed from the Turkish dial. *inceçiçeği* ‘the flower lily of the valley’, literally ‘pearl flower’ (БЕР 1: 498).

A very common phenomenon in Turkish dialect loanwords in Bulgarian dialects is the dropping of the initial *y* in front of *e* (Turkish *ye-*), which, in the Turkish language, is a separate sound. Compare the dialect form *емелȉк* ‘food’ (region of Pirdop) < the Turkish dial. *yemelik* ‘cereal’ (БЕР 1: 495) and the loanword *ермȉк* ‘kind of flour’ (region of Razgrad) < the Turkish dial. *yermiik* ‘kind of weed in cornfields’, from the older meaning ‘flour ground with this weed’ (БЕР 1: 507).

Some of these loanwords are included in the Bulgarian word-formation system and, as a result, they form derivatives via Bulgarian word-formation methods – prefixes, suffixes and other morphological forms, indicating their complete adoption into the recipient language.

From the Bulg. dial. *сусмà* ‘embroidery down the sleeve of a woman’s shirt’ (region of Svishtov, Nikopol, Razgrad and Provadiya) < the Turkish

dial. *susma* ‘something woven from silk in the shape of a triangle or a tetragon; woven belt; band attached as a decoration on a headscarf’, adjectives are formed following the Bulgarian pattern, such as *сȕсмен* in the phrases *сȕсмен бод* ‘kind of embroidery stitch’, *сусмѐният бод* ‘kind of embroidery stitch’ (region of Razgrad) and *сусмя̀ну* ‘sewn with long stitches’ (region of Lovech).

The Bulg. *фа̀йшѐ* ‘whore’ (Zlatograd) < the Turkish dial. *fayşe* ‘prostitute, whore’ has become the basis of the Bulgarian word *фа̀йшетȉна* ‘whore’ (region of Montana), which was formed with the Bulgarian expressive suffix *-ети- на* in analogy to words like *лудѐтина, развалѐтина, съборѐтина,* etc., with an accent shift (Димитрова-Тодорова 2003–2004: 259–260).

The Bulg. *петмѐз* ‘a thickened boiled fruit juice’, used in different areas of the country, was borrowed from the Turkish dial. *petmez* with the same meaning, and has become the basis for many derivatives, mostly adjectives – for example, *петмезȁрка, петмѐзев, петмѐзен, петмѐзов, петмѐсов* and *петмесчȉйски* (БЕР 5: 202).

One of the typical transformations during the process of borrowing Turkish dialectal expressions is the abbreviation through ellipsis of the second component. As a result, the first component of a sentence remains to function as a noun, for example, the noun *сюрѐн* ‘a shooting party’ (Dervent, region of Dedeagach) derives from the Turkish dialect phrase *süren avı* ‘shooting party for searching’ (БЕР 7: 714) with the *avı* part dropped. In the same way, the noun *фандъ̀к* ‘chilli pepper’ (region of Karnobat) also originated from the Turkish dialect phrase *fındık biber* ‘small but very hot pepper’ with the *biber* part dropped (Димитрова-Тодорова 2005: 157–158).

As mentioned above, there are many Turkish loanwords in Bulgarian dialects that have undergone various degrees of transformation. Some have undergone small changes, while others have changed beyond recognition. From some basic forms a large number of phonetic variants are created. There are several reasons for their formation. The words change: a) under the influence of language laws; b) owing to unclear pronunciation of the names by individual participants in the communication process and depending on what is heard by the person recording; c) as a result of the accumulation of multiple different languages; d) as a result of a lack of knowledge or insufficient knowledge of the foreign language from which the word originates. In some cases, it is very difficult to define the basic form of the word. For the etymology of such words, the intermediate variants through which the word passes from its original form to the final borrowed version are very helpful. Quite often, the etymologist encounters

great difficulties in interpreting words with many variants which, through the process of language communication, have been modified under the influence of one word or another in the local dialects. Below are some examples of the formation of a large number of variants.

Borrowed from the Turkish dial. *ayat* 'yard, place in front of the house; vestibule, porch' is the Bulg. dial. *аѝт* 'vestibule; storeroom; shelter, covered place; penthouse; covered place for keeping small animals in the village; covered place with a fence outside a settlement for keeping livestock during winter; living room'. Also deriving from the same etymon is the stressed variant *àят* 'shelter for keeping wood' (region of Tetovo), as well as the phonetic variants (with the alterations to the Turkish *ya-* > the Bulgarian *e-*) *àет* 'small balcony of a village house (region of Dupnitsa); bed of wooden beams (region of Kyustendil)', *аѐт* 'covered rear yard of a house' (region of Smolyan), *айѐт* and the form with a definite article *айѐтье* 'penthouse; covered rear yard of a house' (Elhovo, Dospat; region of Goce Delchev). Especially interesting are the following neuter forms: *аѐ* 'storeroom; vestibule, porch' (region of Kyustendil) and *àе* 'balcony, small balcony (region of Kyustendil); terrace (region of Dupnitsa)', as well as the feminine form *àя* 'part of an upper floor in a house' (region of Vidin). The forms *аѐ* and *àе* probably originate from the forms *аѐта* and *àета,* regarded as neuter plural, following the pattern of *момчѐ – момчѐта, хàле – хàлета,* etc. The form *àя*, which is from the initial **ая̀* with an accent shift, probably derives from the masculine form with a definite article **ая̀та* with a deglutination of *-та*, regarded as a feminine definite article *-та* (Димитрова-Тодорова 2009: 88–89).

Originating from the Turkish dial. *teknefes* 'one who gets tired and out of breath quickly', and distinct from the unchanged dialect loanword *текнефѐс* 'one that has asthma, so breathes with difficulty and often coughs (referring to horses)', are the following phonetic, accentual and word-formative variants: *тѐкнефес* 'kind of horse disease' (Ohrid), *текнефѐсь* 'having a heart disease (referring to horses)' (region of Pazardzhik), *текнефез* 'emphysema in horses' (region of Smolyan), *текнифѐс* 'having a cough (referring to horses)' (region of Kazanlak), *тьекньѝфьес* 'one who suffers from asthma (region of Asenovgrad), *текнофѐс* 'having a heart disease (referring to horses)' (Boboshevo), *тикнефѐс* with the same meaning (region of Goce Delchev), *тикнифѐс* with the same meaning (region of Sliven), *текмефѐс* with the same meaning (region of Smolyan), *текмявѐс* 'one who is constantly coughing' (region of Blagoevgrad). The different phonetic variants become the basis for a number of derivatives, for example: *текньефѐзуф* 'having a heart disease (referring to horses)' (region of Smolyan), *тьекньефѐзува са*

'coming down with a heart disease (referring to horses)' (region of Madan) and *тьекмявѐзва са* with the same meaning (region of Smolyan) (БЕР 7: 907–908).

The processes that the Turkish dialect loanwords undergo during their adaptation into the Bulgarian dialects are manifold, for example, the prosthesis of vowels, the prosthesis of *x (h)* at the beginning of the word, the appearance of epenthetic consonants between two vowels, the alteration of *а* > *е* after the consonants *ч, ж(дж),* the labialisation of *е* or *и* in *у* after *дж, ж* or *ч,* the de-voicing of voiced consonants at the end of the word, the substitution of a consonant *ф (f)* > *в,* the violation of the law regarding vocal harmony in the Turkish language leading to the substitution of the Turkish vowels *ı (ъ)* or *и (у)* with the Bulgarian *и* or of Turkish *i (и)* with the Bulgarian ъ, etc.

The multiple processes that occur during the borrowing of Turkish dialect words by Bulgarian dialects show the deep integration of Turkish loanwords into the Bulgarian language under conditions of bilingualism. The conclusion is that all loanwords, in some way and to some extent, have been adapted to the Bulgarian language and are used as Bulgarian words.

References

БЕР: *Български етимологичен речник*. София, 1971–.

ДИМИТРОВА-ТОДОРОВА, Лиляна (2003–2004): *Неко- торые турецкие и арабские заимствования в бол- гарском языке*. In: Балканско езикознание XLIII, 2–3: 259–260.

ДИМИТРОВА-ТОДОРОВА, Лиляна (2005): *Некоторые балканские заимствования в болгарских наречиях.* In: Балканско езикознание XLIV, 1–2: 157–158.

ДИМИТРОВА-ТОДОРОВА, Лиляна (2009): *Една бъл- гарска диалектна дума: произход, варианти*. In: Studia etymologica Brunensia 6, Praha: 87–92.

ПАНЧЕВ, Тодор (1908): *Допълнение на българския речник от Н. Геров.* Събрал, наредил и изтълкувал Т. Панчев, Пловдив.

ТОДОРОВ, Тодор Ат. 1994: *Етимологични етюди. Произход на български думи*, София.