

THE ROMANCE BALKANS
Collection of papers



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ETYMOLOGY AND LANGUAGE HISTORY

LANGUAGE CONTACT

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THE ROMANCE BALKANS: INTRODUCTION

The Romance Balkans resulted from a conference held from 4 to 6 November 2006 in Belgrade by members of the Commission on Balkan Linguistics of the International Committee of Slavists and attended by Balkanologists and Romanists dealing in various aspects of the Romance languages. The meeting brought together linguists from separate Balkan-related areas and scholars in other fields of the humanities in an effort to help the linguists move towards an interdisciplinary approach as a sine qua non in Balkan Studies. Notwithstanding the “Romance” title of this collection, and although English, French and German are the meta-languages, the link with Slavistics remains the common thread running through almost all contributions, including this Introduction.

The Balkan Romance languages, from the current synchronic aspect, include (Daco-) Romanian as spoken in Romania and Moldova and the Aromanian and Megleno-Romanian of the Central Balkans. The papers collected here expand this to the maximum by adding, along with Daco-Romanian dialects, Ladino and contemporary contacts between Balkan and non-Balkan Romance languages.

From the diachronic aspect, this volume does not pretend to give a systematic overview of Balkan Romance. However, Balcania Romana, Orthodoxa, Islamica and Judaica are all represented.

It also takes account of a revision of the theory on the Roman origin of Balkanisms (Lindstedt 2000) as a “mutual reinforcement of change”. The convergence model is corroborated by the fact that the Balkan Sprachbund properties are most numerous in those parts of the Balkans where the greatest number of languages are co-territorial. The epicentre of Balkanisms seems to be in the area around the southern parts of the lakes of Ohrid and Prespa, where Greek, Albanian, Macedonian and Aromanian intersect. The

structures of local dialects of the languages spoken in this area are actually very perspicuously similar to each other (Mišeska Tomić 2004).

Nonetheless, these are only papers collected from the conference (with minimal subsequent editorial intervention), and the objective is not to offer a representative overview of the present situation in European Balkan linguistics. The Commission on Balkan Slavic Linguistics of the International Committee of Slavists, founded in 1993, holds regular meetings in various Balkan studies centres as part of topic-focused scholarly conferences. The official Commission meetings were held in April 1997 in Marburg (Germany) under the title “Current Problems of Balkan Linguistics. Basic questions of the Balkan Linguistic Atlas”; May 2001 in St. Petersburg (Russia) — “Current Problems of Balkan Linguistics and Questions of Elaboration of the Balkan Linguistic Atlas”; October 2002 in Sofia (Bulgaria) — “Current Problems of Balkan Linguistics. Aspects of research of a Common Balkan Lexicon”; August 2003 in Ljubljana (Slovenia) as part of the 13th International Congress of Slavists, in June 2004 again in St. Petersburg — “The Languages and Dialects of Small Ethnic Groups in the Balkans”, and in November 2006 in Belgrade (Serbia) — “The Romance Balkans”. The Romance Balkans conference was organized by a research team from the Institute for Balkan Studies, Belgrade, engaged on a multidisciplinary project called “Ethnic and Social Stratification of the Balkans” financed by the Ministry of Science of the Republic of Serbia.

This international linguistic conference focused on the diachronic and synchronic dimensions of Romance languages in the Balkans, the historical influence of Latin and the Romance languages on other Balkan languages, and the current state of linguistic research (Romanian dialects, Sephardic Spanish). The papers presented covered comparative linguistics, etymology, onomastics, geographical linguistics, socio- and anthropological linguistics, applied linguistics, theoretical and methodological issues, while addressing various questions and phenomena linked to the presence of Romance languages and culture on the Balkans. Many were described and elucidated from different scientific standpoints. The variety of topics and approaches suggests that both Romance and Balkan studies should be broadened and adapted to meet the exigencies of contemporary study.

The beginning of the 21st century in Balkan Studies saw growing interest in the vernaculars of “small ethnic groups” in the Balkans, evident at the previous conference of the Commission on Balkan Linguistics, held in St. Petersburg in June 2004 (a collection of papers appeared in 2005, six dealing with Aromanian issues). The interest in Aromanian studies continues in this volume (Xhelal Ylli: “Aromunische Interferenzen in den

slavischen Minderheiten Albaniens”, Andrej N. Sobolev: “On some Aromanian grammatical patterns in the Balkan Slavonic dialects”, Kleanti Anovska: “Sociolinguistic aspects of Aromanian folk tales”, Thede Kahl: “Does Aromanian have a chance of survival? Some thoughts about loss of language and language preservation”).

As in modern Slavistics, current Balkan linguistic research is interested in non-standard varieties, especially from the point of view of a combination of functional and typological approaches: each non-standard variety is a self-contained system. The fundamental postulate of linguists working in Balkan dialectology today is that any dialect is as good and systemically complete as any other, whether standard or non-standard. A key difference is that a standard is the object of conscious intervention, whereas a non-standard is not. In recent years, there has been too much emphasis in Slavistics on standards and not enough on “dialects” as non-standards (as opposed to the sense of “systemic language variant” be it standard or non-standard).

There is a long and rich tradition of Balkan linguistics, but it has by and large focused on historical issues and mainly dealt with phonology and morphology. Traditionally, far less attention has been directed toward the syntax of the Balkan languages per se or to its place in Universal Grammar (Rivero/Ralli 2001). The situation can be compared to that of Slavic linguistics which has deep roots in its philological origins. While the study of linguistic systems has diverged considerably from theories of literature in recent decades, Slavic linguistics remains firmly committed to the pursuit of synchronic and diachronic knowledge that often simply cannot be captured by formalist approaches. In fact, Slavic linguists continue to engage in diachronic studies where many linguistics departments do not.

As the next feature of this collection, we would point to a new approach to the now classic but rare 17–18th century sources on the Balkans. Maslina Ljubičić in a paper called “Geosynonyms in the 17th Century Croatian dictionary. About some Italianisms” analyses Ivan Belostenec’s Latin-Croatian and Croatian-Latin two-volume dictionary, written in the 17th century and edited more than sixty years after the author’s death. Belostenec’s lexicographic approach is defined as tridialectal, so his dictionary, consisting of kajkavian, čakavian and štokavian components offers many geosynonyms. The paper focuses on some Italianisms found among Dalmatian words of the *Gazophylacium*. Anna Kretschmer reexamines the historical beginnings of “scientific” etymology, especially in examples of “Romance” toponyms and ethnonyms in the study “Djordje Branković as etymologist: ethnonyms and toponyms in the Balkans”.

This volume draws particular attention to Daco-Romanian vernaculars in the diaspora, with as many as four studies devoted to Romanian Bayash speech patterns across an extensive geographical area stretching from Croatia through Bosnia-Herzegovina to Bulgaria (Petya Assénova, Vassilka Aleksova: “Observations sur la ‘romanité balkanique’ en Bulgarie” ; Biljana Sikimić: “Karavlahs in Bosnia and Herzegovina Today”; Annemarie Sorescu-Marinković: “The Bayash in Croatia: Romanian vernaculars in Baranja and Medjimurje” and Corinna Leschber: “Romanian-Serbian code-mixing phenomena”). These anthropological and socio-linguistic articles endeavour to avoid the traps of inventing new ethnic myths in the construction of small ethnic groups, or the myth of Roma “nomadism” in opposition to the myth of “territory” among sedentary peoples.

The stress on the “Romance”, apart from traditional Balkan linguistic fields and a diachronic approach (etymology, onomastics, folk-etymology), points to current research in Balkan linguistics, whether mutually coordinated or not. This is a new anthropologically oriented approach to fieldwork, and consequently more care has to be paid to research ethics. Extensive audio material gathered during field research has enabled a growing interest in dialect syntax, which correlates to a growth of interest in these topics in Europe.

The volume further points to the notion of the *boundary* as important for modern Balkan studies and to the role of religious language in identity construction. Certain Balkan specifics have been observed in contact-linguistics, and possibilities of applying the results of cognitive linguistics. In the light of this re-examination of the boundaries of Balkan linguistics, it is the editors’ desire to contribute to moving on from the present situation in the humanities on the Balkans (a period which we might characterise as “post-Todorova”, an era of reinventing the Balkans and of post-colonialism).

The collection begins with some contributions to the diachronic, theoretical in nature, such as Klaus Steinke’s “Contribution of Latin to the *Balkansprachbund*“, etymological (Ljiljana Todorova, Todor T. Todorov, Maja Kalezić) and onomastic research such as the work of Xhelal Ylli referred to above: “Aromunische Interferenzen in den slavischen Minderheiten Albaniens“, and Alexander Falileyev: “Roman and Pre-Roman: the Balkans and Hispania. A case of *mal*”.

Papers on anthropological linguistics follow: Anna A. Plotnikova: “Russian-Romanian contacts in folk culture in the Balkans”, and socio-linguistics. Christian Voss, in his theoretical paper: “Romanisch-slavische Sprachkontakte: Balkanisierung, Akkommodation oder Gegenakkul-

turation?” discusses with Uwe Hinriks the issue of creolisation of Balkan languages, with the acceptance of Dieter Stern’s views, developed more recently in the *Zeitschrift für Balkanologie* magazine. Voss proposes to the Balkanologists the *Matrix Language Frame* model of Carol Myers-Scotton, an expert in Africanistics.

Marijana Petrović-Rignault explores a very interesting linguistic micro-phenomenon, the grammatical influence of the Serbian language on the Vlach dialect spoken in Valakonje, a bilingual village in eastern Serbia. The transcripts she collected show that a verbal prefix *do-*, conveying a variety of spatial and abstract meaning in Serbian, is used in Vlach as a marker of aspectual transformation or aspect-related intentionality: it denotes that a process in question is accomplished or the speaker’s objective is to accomplish it. It should be noted that a similar phenomenon has been observed in Romanian dialects in some Banatian villages situated on both sides of the Serbo-Romanian border. The prefix is mainly found in verbs of motion and mental states, for which the aspectual information is extremely relevant. However, the author emphasizes that this type of prefixation is still contextually constrained and occasional: it is much more common in dialogues than in narratives (in which the aspectual opposition perfective-imperfective is still expressed by verbal tenses). A very important theoretical question raised by the paper is whether this dynamic grammatical process, exclusively due to a superposition of two languages, will affect the way the Vlach articulates the category of aspect in general, and consequently restrict the procedural information encoded by the verbal tenses in Vlach.

The paper by Ana Jovanović and Marija Matić investigates the role of exposure to Hispanic *telenovelas* (soap operas) in the acquisition of Spanish. The starting point of the research was a multiple choice test (based on a model of an on-line Spanish placement exam) given by the authors to a group of *telenovela* viewers, all native speakers of Serbian having had no formal instruction in Spanish, and to a group of native speakers of Serbian attending Spanish courses at A1 and A2 levels. The results show an advantage on the part of instructed learners over *telenovela* viewers in the language test. However, while instructed learners generally had difficulties in the fluent reproduction of spontaneous speech, most of the *telenovela* viewers were able to participate actively in meaningful conversation. This suggests that the input received through *telenovelas* was processed by the viewers, that it helped them to improve their pragmatic competence and hence was creatively used in language production. Besides the immediate implications for language instruction (con-

cerning the significant role of the interlingual caption), further research on this subject may offer additional insight on second language acquisition.

The problem of non-guided and informal acquisition of a second language is also treated in a paper by Tijana Ašić and Veran Stanojević. This study (based on field work in Eastern Serbia in 2006) examines the usage of verbal tenses in French in the discourse of Serbian, Vlach and Gypsy Gastarbeiters. They all acquired French in an entirely spontaneous way – by living and working in France and interacting with people. As methods to evaluate the informants' linguistic knowledge, the authors used dialogues, narratives and questionnaires. The findings show that the process of natural acquisition generally results in two types of linguistic competence: a) The system of verbal tenses in French is mastered to a larger extent. Naturally, there are some irregularities but they do not destabilize the system. b) The system of verbal tenses is absent in the informants' discourse. The reduced and deformed verbal forms they use give only conceptual information about the type of action but do not encode any temporal and aspectual information. The temporal reference is either given by adverbs or has to be contextually inferred. The question raised by authors is how to account for these substantial differences in linguistic competence. According to Ašić and Stanojević, three groups of factors are responsible for it: innate linguistic exposition (talent for language), propensity (motivation, attitude towards language and the environment in general, the desire to make a good impression etc.) and exposure to a foreign language (both quantitative and qualitative). The outcome of this research is twofold: on the one hand it should stress the essential role of motivation in language acquisition and apply this finding to didactical methods in the teaching of foreign languages, and on the other, it concerns some psycholinguistic issues by challenging the Critical Period Hypothesis.

In fact, both this paper and the one on the acquisition of Spanish through watching Hispanic telenovelas raise an extremely important theoretical question: Does the natural acquisition of language really stop at a certain age or can adults master language similarly to children, since they do not lose access to the language acquisition device?

The complex relation of language to identity among the Sephardim in the territories of the former Yugoslavia is the topic of Jelena Filipović and Ivana Vučina Simović's paper, in which they investigate the process of the disappearance of Judeo-Spanish. The analysis (based on relevant data from periodicals, books and some unpublished archival documents) suggests that a specific language ideology has played a crucial role in the language shift in favour of the majority languages in the region. The general social context, historical circumstances, along with a set of ne-

gative attitudes towards the ethnic language (a belief that Judeo-Spanish was “degenerate” Spanish, inferior to the dominant language) opened the way to a language shift which affected all Sephardic communities in the Balkans in the second half of the 19th and the first half of the 20th century. This linguistic process facilitated social progress and interethnic cooperation. This paper not only treats an important sociolinguistic topic (the factors causing language shift in a certain community) but also addresses the larger culturological and sociological problem of the importance of language for preserving ethnic identity. The study confirms the hypothesis that the preservation of ethnic identity among Jews over the centuries has often been strengthened by cultural (religious, traditional, literary, etc.) rather than linguistic criteria.

In her paper entitled “On francophonía and francophilia in Serbia”, Tatjana Šotra gives a brief chronological overview of the main factors that contributed to the promulgation of French language and culture in Serbia. Among many historical and sociological data that the author presents, two stand out as the most significant: first of all, the fact that in the 19th century many young intellectuals from Serbia went to French universities to develop and deepen their knowledge in various fields. As a result of this, French became a language of the intellectual and cultural elite in Serbia and also a sign of prestige.

Julijana Vučo’s paper “Foreign Language Policy: The Italian Language in Serbia and Montenegro” analyses the language policy underlying the study of foreign languages in Serbia and Montenegro, rarely based on any identifiable feeling or clear strategy. The place of the Italian language and the motivation for studying it have changed in the last twenty years: besides traditional reasons for learning this language relating to cultural needs, there are also those of a communicative type, relating to the uninterrupted political and cultural and — to a certain extent — economic ties, as well as a response to contemporary motives and migrations: emigration to Italy (the Požarevac area) and the need for work contacts (Vršac, Kragujevac).

In examining existing linguistic knowledge of the Balkans and opening up new topics for research, the *The Romance Balkans* collection of articles becomes an integral part of a series of editions dedicated to marginal, ethically challenging or urgent issues of very widely understood Balkan linguistics (*Hidden minorities in the Balkans*, Belgrade 2004; *Bayash in the Balkans*, Belgrade 2005; *Refugee Kosovo*, Kragujevac 2004; *Life in the enclave*, Kragujevac 2005; *Torac, metodologia cercetării de teren*, Novi Sad 2006; *Kurban in the Balkans*, Belgrade 2007), part of the

project “Ethnic and social stratification of the Balkans”, by the Institute for Balkan Studies, Belgrade.

Biljana Sikimić and Tijana Ašić

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Klaus Steinke, Erlangen

THE CONTRIBUTION OF LATIN TO THE *BALKANSPRACHBUND*

Abstract: Substantial doubts have been formulated in recent decades against traditional approaches in Balkan linguistics focusing exclusively on the *Balkansprachbund* as an explanatory model. New theoretical discussions are connected to recent progress in linguistics, which offers a broader perception of Balkan problems. Sociolinguistics and contact linguistics in particular opened up new horizons for the interpretation of *balkanisms*. *Ethnolinguistic vitality* is a new parameter, recently developed and discussed in sociolinguistics to characterize the different surviving forces and techniques of endangered languages in perilous situations. In this regard the fate of Romance languages in Southeast Europe described by R. Solta (1980) seems to be somehow abnormal. It is an enigma why a Latin idiom survived in the remote and only briefly occupied province of Dacia, but lost its solid position in the west on the Dalmatian littoral, where contacts with the Neo-Latin world were never interrupted.

Key words: Balkan linguistic league, balkanisms, Latin, ethnolinguistic vitality

1. Introduction

Before discussing the essential contribution of the Latin language to the *Balkansprachbund*, a brief general remark about the present situation of the corresponding discipline seems to be called for. The *Balkans* or *Southeastern Europe* represents an important area not only of language contacts,¹ which for a long time attracted the attention of many linguists,

¹ At the end of the 20th century, this area again became the focus of European politics and a battleground for various wars as it had been in the 19th century. Old prejudices about the Balkan peoples were revived, as M. Todorova (1997) showed in her well-known

beginning in the 19th century with B. Kopitar and Fr. Miklosich. It is mainly to their names that the emerging branch of knowledge is linked, its final denomination deriving from the fundamental work of Kr. Sandfeld (1930) *Linguistique balkanique*. Interest in this matter was based on certain structural similarities in Balkan languages such as *Albanian*, *Bulgarian*, *Romanian*, and, at least partially, *Greek*. It has never totally diminished, but there has been a complete change of emphasis in recent decades.

The first theoretical concept for explaining the linguistic features claimed the influence of a distinct *substratum*², which seemed to supply a satisfying answer to the question of the origin of specific Balkan elements: the *balkanisms*.³ This substratum was considered to be the starting point for establishing the *Balkansprachbund* and later dominated scientific discourse. Quite early on, however, St. Mladenov (1929 : 3) criticized the use of the substratum as an adequate explanation of all common features in the Balkan languages, because as he formulated it, in this case *x* is replaced by *y*, i.e. one largely unknown by another.

At the same time linguists also looked for other and more convincing arguments to elucidate the origin of *balkanisms* and thought they had found them in a *superstratum* or *adstratum*, chiefly Greek and Latin, which seemed to have caused or at least influenced the development of the *balkanisms*. This argumentation is based on the long and enormous cultural dominance of these languages in Southeast Europe. The Roman Empire in particular for several centuries covered the main parts of the Balkans, and Latin was from the outset the language of the administration and the army in the newly occupied territories. After the extensive Romanization of the local population, it went on to fulfill the function of a mother tongue. Together with Greek it became the language of culture, religion and theology (of the latter from the very beginning). The southern and eastern Slavonic tribes in the territory of the later Bulgaria and of Kievan Russia were converted and acculturated mainly from Byzantium.

Finally, more substantial doubts have been formulated in recent decades against traditional approaches in Balkan linguistics focusing exclusively on the *Balkansprachbund* as an explanatory model. New theoretical

and detailed study of the image of the Balkans in public opinion, and even in academic circles in the western world.

² In fact, different languages were introduced into the discussion, such as Thracian, Illyrian, Dacian etc., but factual knowledge of them is very fragmentary and therefore the argumentation, lacking adequate and convincing linguistic material, remains unsatisfactory.

³ This term was neither invented nor introduced by M. Todorova, as some recent comments on her book suggest. It comes from a much older tradition, especially in linguistics.

discussions are connected to recent progress in linguistics, which offers a broader perception of Balkan problems. Sociolinguistics and contact linguistics in particular opened up new horizons for the interpretation of *balkanisms*. One of the most serious critics turned out to be N. Reiter (1994) whose book, *Grundzüge der Balkanologie*, placed him in the vanguard of the argument against established, traditional Balkan linguistics. He removes the restrictedness from the Balkan linguistic issue and indicates a way out of an awkward situation:

sie führen sogar aus der Balkanologie selbst hinaus, indem sie die balkanischen sprachlichen — und sonstigen — Verhältnisse in einen größeren Zusammenhang einbetten. Für mich ist er zunächst der gesamteuropäische (689).

His line of criticism finds firm support in several articles in the *Handbuch der Südosteuropa-Linguistik* edited in 1999 by U. Hinrichs. Incidentally, the different denomination given to the particular area of study additionally illustrates these diverse approaches to linguistic research (Steinke 1999).

2. Balkan linguistics vs. Südosteuropa-Linguistik

This differentiation between two theoretical concepts, the one of *Balkan linguistics* and the other one of *Südosteuropa-Linguistik*, has some close connection with the subject of this paper, because the position of the Latin language, or more precisely of her descendants in the *Balkansprachbund*, remains a matter of controversy (Steinke 1999: 69). Romanian philologists especially frequently object to the use of the term *Balkan language* for their own mother tongue, and therefore have for some time now favored terms such as *studii sud-est europene* or *lingvistică sud-est europeană* for this domain. Long before M. Todorova (1997) wrote her famous book *Imagining the Balkans*, for them the term already had a distinct and rather negative connotation. Usually, their disagreement is based on a geographical argument: they simply consider their country is not part of the Balkan Peninsula which starts further to the south, from the mountains of the Haemus.⁴ This is only part of the truth, however, because they also want to underline their Roman descent and do not want to be confused, as often happens, with their Slav neighborhood. This is one of the crucial points, why, for instance, the Slavonic influence on Romanian

⁴ The inflationary use of this term, losing its initial restricted sense, is demonstrated by the recent formula “the Western Balkans”, used by politicians to include Albania, Macedonia, Serbia etc. in their agenda.

is often discussed and variously evaluated, and the role of Latin on linguistic contacts or the contribution made by the Roman element in the *Balkansprachbund*, is not always appreciated as it should be. Independently of how the role of Latin is evaluated in the context of *Balkan linguistics* or *Southeast European linguistics*, the importance of that language for this area cannot be neglected and remains one of the most important elements in the linguistic landscape of the region. Naturally, if we take Romanian in consideration, any unilateral approach to this complex problem should be avoided. Of course the fact that Latin has without a doubt contributed much to the *Balkansprachbund* does not mean that Romanian has taken nothing from neighboring languages.⁵ On the contrary, the numerous parallels with Albanian and with Bulgarian are too apparent and cannot be reduced to the influence of Latin alone. The long symbiosis of the Balkan languages has left evident traces in their physiognomy.

3. Balkan Latin

Without any reservations, many Romanists since Kr. Sandfeld, G. Weigand, P. Skok, G. Reichenkron etc. have participated very actively in the development of Balkan studies. G. Weigand, P. Skok (1926ff) and R. Solta (1980) even introduced the central term *Balkanlatein* (Balkan Latin). A very profound description of *Balkan Latin*, with a wide-ranging and extensive discussion of its position in the context of Roman languages, was provided recently by R. Windisch (1998) in his exhaustive article for the voluminous and fundamental encyclopedia *Lexikon der Romanistischen Linguistik*. In its peripheral position Romanian⁶ has on the one hand some evident and surprising parallels with Spanish and on the other more substantial ones with Italian, which forms a bridge to the other central Neolatin idioms in the west. The common features with extinct Dalmatian idioms are important, because these were direct neighbors before the Slav invasion of the Balkan began.

However, despite the numerous achievements, the participation of Romanists in Balkan linguistics has always been quite restricted. A rather skeptical attitude to these studies characterizes mostly Romanian philologists, who sometimes completely deny the “membership” of Romanian in the *Balkansprachbund*. In his extended polemic with A. Rosetti against the relevance of *Balkan linguistics* and against the classification of Roma-

⁵ The various elements of the lexicon are analyzed e.g. in M. Sala (1998: 35ff).

⁶ Cf. also M. Trummer 1998: 165.

nian as a *Balkan language*, I. I. Russu (1969: 214ff.) uses similar arguments to support his criticism from A. Meillet, G. Anagnostopulos, Al. Graur and A. Belić. In his book about the language of the *Thraco-Dacians* he qualifies the common characteristics of the Balkan languages as too insignificant to establish *Balkan linguistics* as a new discipline with its own specific problems:

Die gemeinsamen Züge sind zu gering, als daß man von einer ‘Balkan-linguistik’ sprechen könnte. ...Die Einordnung des Rumänischen als ‘Balkansprache’ sagt nichts und erklärt nichts von alledem, was seinen nichtlateinischen, vorrömischen Inhalt ausmacht (Russu 1969: 218/221).

Certainly this is a very extreme and unilateral position, which accepts only genetic explications as relevant in the history of languages. But without any doubt, the divergence presents only one aspect in the development of languages, and in its favor convergence as an evident result of language contact should never be neglected.

4. Nature of linguistic contacts

Independently of what we think about the diverse possibilities of Balkan linguistics in explaining frequently mentioned, very specific phenomena, many characteristic linguistic features detected in Southeastern Europe demonstrate sufficiently that the Latin element has an extraordinary significance for the creation and evolution of intensive linguistics links in this area. Linguistic contacts always have social reasons and depend mostly on extra-linguistic factors. The direction of influence is primarily determined by differences in social power among the affected groups in the contact zone. H. Becker (1948) created for the giving part in this process the term *Master languages* (Meistersprachen) and for the taking part *Pupil languages* (Schülersprachen) in his generally unknown book: *Der Sprachbund*. As a striking example of the first category, Becker pointed to Latin.

In current sociolinguistics, his idea matches the related term *prestige* and therefore in modern, more sociolinguistic orientated terminology, the terms *dominant* and *dominated languages* could be used in this case (Steinke 2007), because the influence is controlled and directed less by pedagogic than by political reasons. The different political, social, and cultural prestige enjoyed by the languages in direct contact determines the direction and extent of influence between them. In general, languages in contact do not have equal rights. Usually, only one language is *dominant* and the others are *dominated*. Southeast Europe saw several dominant

languages that followed one another in history, e. g. Greek, Latin, Turkish and, in fact, English. They all left deep traces in the linguistic landscape of the Balkans.

Contact linguistics was inaugurated as a distinct discipline by the fundamental work *Languages in Contact* by U. Weinreich (1953), which has meanwhile attracted the attention of many researchers. A fundamental state-of-the-art report for this discipline appeared recently in two volumes of the international handbook *Contact Linguistics*. They indisputably enlarge the theoretical base for Balkan linguistics. In recent articles, U. Hinrichs (2006) uses an interesting theory to explain the origin of *balkanisms*. He recognizes oral speech as the main place for generating similar linguistic features and in this context discovers remarkable parallels with the development of Creole. Probably he is right, that the origin of *balkanisms* does not always have to be connected with one distinct language as the giving part. The processes are more complex and new solutions should be sought also in other disciplines:

Die Balkanlinguistik/Südosteuropa-Linguistik muss sich in der Zukunft stärker Disziplinen zuwenden, die auf den ersten Blick weiter entfernt liegen; hier müssen Scheuklappen abgelegt werden, insbesondere in den Ländern des Balkans selbst. Die BL muss sich auf den kreoliden, kontaktinduzierten und oralen Grundcharakter ihres Objektbereichs besinnen (Hinrichs 2004b: 169).

5. Roman Empire on the Balkans

The influence of Latin on the Balkans throughout history was manifold, long-lasting and massive. For several centuries large parts of Southeastern Europe were under the rule of the Roman Empire. Roman culture left deep vestiges here and Latin became the primary instrument of communication in this area (H. Mihăescu 1978). By the second century BC, Rome had conquered the Illyrian coast and some centuries later Dacia was taken by Trajan. However, this province in fact remained for only a short time as an integral part of the Empire. The Roman period of Dacia began after the final victory in 106 and ended in 270 with the complete withdrawal of the Roman army and administration under Aurelian. It remains a mystery why this short period was sufficient to romanize the territory completely, a status that never changed. The very controversial discussion about the enduring presence of a Romanized population in Dacia, i.e. north of the Danube, continues. Fortunately, in the meanwhile the political dimension of this question has become less significant.

Incidentally, at the outset Latin was the mother tongue of only a small part of the Balkan population, the officials and settlers coming from the capital. Very quickly the process of acculturation amplified the assimilation of the indigene population on a large scale. Development was not homogeneous in this large region, as the neat subdivision into a Roman and a Greek cultural zone shows, and as has been detected by C. Jireček. The Jireček line separates the more Latinized from the more Hellenized area on the Balkans, which is not congruent with the subdivision into Eastern und Western Rome.

For a long period the links of the “Western Balkan” — especially of the Adriatic coast — with Rome were very close. It will be sufficient to recall that Diocletian built his famous residence here. Even in the history of Italy the area preserved its significance and the Adriatic was considered to be an inland sea. Later, however, this part was given up completely and the new Slav states took solid, long-lasting root.

6. Latin and Balkanisms

Inquiring into the contribution of Latin to the creation of *balkanisms* in this historical context, H. Haarmann (1999) comes to the surprising conclusion that, despite all the cultural, political and religious influences, the part played by Latin in the creation of common linguistic features in the grammatical structure of Balkan languages cannot be proved: “Hat das Lateinische in nennenswerter Weise auf die Formation balkanischer Sprachstrukturen eingewirkt? Diese Frage ist wohl negativ zu beantworten” (573). Obviously, the problem of finding a convincing origin for *balkanisms* remains open, and the role of Latin as a master language in this context has to be reexamined in the light of modern contact linguistic procedures.

Formerly, G. Cychun (1981) persuasively showed in his areal-typological study that the development of diverse *balkanisms* began at different times and places. Therefore one substratum, adstratum or superstratum cannot be sufficient to explain all the common features. Furthermore the predominantly or almost exclusively oral character of communication on the Balkans from antiquity to more recent times makes the development of creolized features very plausible. In these circumstances, to exclude Latin from the mixing and amalgamating of linguistic structures would appear precipitate.

Another problem is the reduction of the common features to the oldest period. Certainly language contact is a perpetual phenomenon and therefore the formation of a *Balkansprachbund* or more precisely of diffe-

rent *balkanisms*, i.e. of common features in the Balkan languages, can hardly be reduced to one factor or one period.

One particular aspect in this context seems to us very surprising. We have a stronghold of Latin in Dacia, a far distant part of the Roman Empire. On the other hand, the eastern coast of the Adriatic Sea, in the immediate vicinity of Rome, became almost completely Slav. This peculiarity was remarked on by R. Solta (1980):

Es gehört zu den größten Merkwürdigkeiten der Weltgeschichte, daß jenes Gebiet, das am längsten einem roman. Einfluß ausgesetzt war, nämlich die dalmat. Küste mit ihrer Stadtkultur, völlig slavisiert wurde, daß aber in dem Gebiet, das nicht einmal zwei Jahrhunderte zum Röm. Reich gehörte, wo die Städte keine Bedeutung hatten bzw. nicht existierten ...daß ausgerechnet dort sich eine rumän. Sprache und eine rumän. Nation entwickelt haben (66).

7. Ethnolinguistic vitality in Romania and Dalmatia

Ethnolinguistic vitality is a new parameter, recently developed and discussed in sociolinguistics to characterize the different surviving forces and techniques of endangered languages in perilous situations. In this regard the fate of Roman languages in Southeast Europe described above by R. Solta (1980) seems to be somehow abnormal. It is an enigma why a Latin idiom survived in the remote and only briefly occupied province of Dacia, but lost its solid position in the west on the Dalmatian littoral, where contacts with the Neo-Latin world were never interrupted. In spite of more favorable conditions for survival, the colonies in the west became completely Slavic.

The reconstruction of the main factors for the continuation of Latin in isolated linguistic islands, and its decline in the immediate neighborhood of Rome is an interesting question for the future. The prestige of Latin was higher here than in the east, where for a long time Slavonic was the language of the church and administration.

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BALKANROMANISCHER EINFLUSS AUF DAS BULGARISCHE

Abstract: The adstratal languages like Balkan Latin and Greek have been in a long-lasting contact with other languages in South-East Europe, especially South Slavic languages. Even languages which are today quite distantly located, without genetic relationship, may come to converge to such an extent that they form a group of languages structurally quite distinct from their surrounding. Such groups of languages are commonly referred to as a 'Sprachbund' i.e. 'language league' or a 'convergence area'. One of the most famous examples of 'Sprachbund' is the area of the Balkans in South Eastern Europe, where Latin and Greek had a large influence on South Slavic languages — Bulgarian, Macedonian and Serbian, but also on Albanian, as the only representative of the 'Illyric group' of Indo-European languages.

Thus it can be assumed that there was a general Romance influence of Balkan Latin on Bulgarian which led to the development of some 'Balkan' features e.g. peculiarities of analytical inflection of nouns, formation of the future tense and the comparison of adjectives, while the constructions that replace the infinitive in Balkan languages by subordinate clauses can be reduced to Greek influence. The influence of Balkan Latin was attested in the north of the so-called 'Jireček-line', through Albania, Macedonia and Bulgaria, while in the south Greek was used as 'Verkehrs-' and 'Umgangssprache' in the terms of the German philologist Günter Reichenkron. Parallel to these Balkan features, we find Romance borrowings in Bulgarian alongside with Romance elements in onomastics, e.g. *pogan/paganus*, *koleda/calendae*, *banja/balneum*, *komin/caminus*, *ocet/acetum*, geographical names like *Ursulica*, *Timok* or *Cibrica*.

Key words: Balkan Latin, onomastics, Balkan linguistic league

Bei der Entstehung der Übereinstimmungen der Balkansprachen im Rahmen des „Balkansprachbundes“ dürfte neben dem Griechischen das

Lateinische die größte Bedeutung gehabt haben. Beim Lateinischen als einer „Adstratsprache“ auf der Balkanhalbinsel handelte es sich um eine der Vertretungen des Vulgärlateinischen oder um das „Altostromanische“, wobei einer der wichtigsten Züge der Entwicklung des Lateinischen zum Vulgärlatein bzw. zu einer lateinischen Verkehrssprache der Übergang von einer synthetischen zu einer analytischen Nominalflexion war. Demgegenüber blieb aber das lateinische Verbalsystem weitgehend erhalten. So hat das Ostromanische in der Deklination einige alte synthetische Formen entsprechend dem Lateinischen erhalten, Genitiv und Dativ fallen jedoch in einer Form zusammen, womit sofort die Parallele zum Bulgarischen deutlich wird. Andererseits wurde das lateinische Zahlensystem von 11 bis 19 grundlegend verändert und dem „balkanischen Typus“, der möglicherweise auf das Slawische zurückgeht, angepasst. Alleine schon diese wenigen Tatsachen legen die Vermutung nahe, dass das Altostromanische nicht nur andere Balkansprachen beeinflusst hat, sondern selbst auch in bestimmten Bereichen beeinflusst wurde, so dass hier die wechselseitige Einwirkung der Balkansprachen aufeinander deutlich wird. In seinen Veröffentlichungen hat Günter Reichenkron von dem Ausdruck „Vulgärlatein“ Abstand genommen und dafür die beiden Begriffe „lateinische Verkehrssprache“ und „lateinische Umgangssprache“ eingeführt, wobei er mit dieser Benennung nach eigener Aussage Ernst Gamillscheg folgte. In seiner richtungweisenden Abhandlung zum „Ostromanischen“ hat Reichenkron auch auf die zentrale Bedeutung des Romanischen und Slawischen neben dem Griechischen für die Herausbildung der Besonderheiten der Balkansprachen hingewiesen, wenn es bei ihm heißt: „Wenn unter diesem Gesichtspunkt das Türkische als nächste Sprachgruppe ausfällt, so deshalb, weil zur Zeit der Osmanenherrschaft in Südosteuropa die sogenannten „Balkansprachen“ in ihrem Aufbau fertig vorlagen und höchstens noch, dann allerdings beträchtliche Einflüsse auf dem Gebiet des Wortschatzes, der Phraseologie, bisweilen auch auf dem der Syntax erfahren konnten. Somit bleiben das Latein-Romanische und das Slawische als die ausschlaggebenden Faktoren übrig.“ (Reichenkron 1959: 153; vgl. hierzu auch Reichenkron 1966: 26).

Sprachkonvergenz hat immer wieder weitreichende Ergebnisse in Gebieten gezeigt, wo Adstratsprachen wie „Balkanlatein“ und „Balkan-griechisch“ in einer langandauernden bilingualen Phase auf andere Sprachen Südosteuropas gewirkt haben. Dies gilt besonders für südslawische Sprachen, insbesondere das Bulgarische. Sogar Sprachen, die weit voneinander entfernt beheimatet sind, zeigen strukturelle und lexikalische Unterschiede, die von der sprachlichen Umgebung völlig abweichen. Solche Gruppen von Sprachen wurden bisher mit dem Terminus „Spra-

chbund“ erfasst, in der englischen Terminologie „language league“ oder „convergence area“, in der russischen sprachwissenschaftlichen Terminologie „jazыkovoј soјuz“. Das bekannteste Beispiel für das Modell des Sprachbundes war bisher und wird auch weiterhin noch der „Balkan-sprachbund“ bleiben, wie Latein und Griechisch einen langandauernden Einfluss auf die südslawischen Sprachen Bulgarisch, Makedonisch und Serbisch hatten, ebenso aber auch auf das Albanische, in der indoeuropäischen Sprachfamilie einziger Vertreter der „illyrischen Sprachgruppe“. Ein romanischer Einfluss aufgrund des „Balkanlatein“ oder „Balkanromanischen“ kann an einigen Besonderheiten, „Balkanismen“ des Bulgarischen gezeigt werden, so die Besonderheiten der analytischen Flexion der Nomina, Bildung des Futurs und analytische Steigerung der Adjektiva, während die bulgarischen Ersatzkonstruktionen für den verlorengegangenen Infinitiv wie auch in anderen Balkansprachen auf griechischen Einfluss zurückgeführt werden können. Der Einfluss des Balkanlatein, welches nördlich der sogenannten „Jireček-Linie“, die als Verkehrs- und Umgangssprache nach der Auffassung von Günter Reichenkron sich durch Albanien, Makedonien und Nordbulgarien zog, stand dem griechischen Einfluss südlich dieser von West nach Ost verlaufenden geographischen Linie gegenüber (Reichenkron 1966b).

Parallel zu diesen strukturellen Besonderheiten der Balkansprachen und damit auch des Bulgarischen findet sich eine ganze Reihe romanischer Entlehnungen zusammen mit romanischen Elementen in der Toponomastik, so z.B. die Lehnwörter *pogan//paganus*, *koleda//calendae*, *banja//balneum*, *komin//caminus*, *ocet//acetum*, geographische Bezeichnungen wie *Ursulica* weisen ebenfalls auf romanischen Einfluss hin, geographische Namen wie *Timachus//Timok* oder *Cibrica* weisen zumindest lateinische Endungen auf. Sowohl das lexikalische als auch das onomastische romanische Erbe im Bulgarischen zeigt uns den bedeutenden Einfluss des Balkanlateinischen, besonders auch dann, wenn sich in einigen bulgarischen Dialekten eine besonders große Zahl solcher Entlehnungen findet, wobei die romanischen Namen im Norden Bulgariens häufiger als im Süden sind (Zaimov 1958; vgl. hierzu Schaller 1982: 41–49).

Hellenisierung und Romanisierung der Balkanländer sind zwei historische Erscheinungen, die in großem Ausmaß die ethnischen und damit auch sprachlichen Verhältnisse auf der Balkanhalbinsel verändert haben. In Zusammenhang mit diesen Gegebenheiten stehen nicht nur die sprachlichen Übereinstimmungen der Balkansprachen im lautlichen, morphosyntaktischen und lexikalischen Bereich, sondern auch onomastische Gegebenheiten, die in ihrer Gesamtheit noch keineswegs durchgehend

erforscht worden sind. Der Jahrhunderte andauernde Kampf um die Beherrschung der Balkanländer war bereits um das 6. und 7. Jahrhundert vor Christus mit dem griechischen Vordringen zur Schwarzmeerküste, dann nach Thrakien und nach Mösien eingeleitet worden und ging erst mit dem Vordringen der Südslawen auf die Balkanhalbinsel und dem damit zugleich erfolgten Zurückdrängen der römischen Herrschaft zu Ende. Am stärksten war sicher die Wirkung der Hellenisierung auf die Balkanländer und ihre Bewohner, während die Romanisierung weitaus weniger Spuren zurückgelassen hat. Ein wichtiger Faktor für die Verbreitung der lateinischen Sprache im Osten des Römischen Reiches war auch der Handel. Überall, auch in kleineren Städten, fanden sich nämlich die „conventus civium Romanorum“.

Bereits 1907 hat Ludwig Hahn von dem gewaltigen Kampf zwischen „Romanismus“ und „Hellenismus“ auf der Balkanhalbinsel berichtet, wobei die Zahl der römischen Bürger im Osten wie im Westen durch die Erteilung des Bürgerrechtes an Soldaten und Veteranen vermehrt wurde. Das römische Heer war ganz offensichtlich der Grundstein römischen Wesens. Dem Militär folgten die römischen Kaufleute. In welchem Ausmaß der romanische Einfluss im Osten der Balkanhalbinsel zunahm, lässt sich am sichersten an den Sprachzeugnissen beobachten:

Jedem, der die Sprachenkarte Europas überblickt, fällt wohl ein von einer Bevölkerung romanischer Zunge bewohntes, aber von den übrigen romanischen Ländern weit entferntes Gebiet auf, das im Osten, im sogenannten Halbasien, zu finden ist, Dasselbe umfasste bekanntlich Rumänien, das östliche Ungarn mit Siebenbürgen, die Bukowina, Bessarabien und einige Landschaften südlich der Donau auf der Balkanhalbinsel, die von den sog. Zinzaren oder Kutzo-Wlachen bewohnt sind... Trotz der kurzen, nicht zwei Jahrhunderte dauernden Besetzung Daciens durch die Römer, trotz der Stürme der germanischen und dann der slawischen Völkerwanderung hat sich an der unteren Donau die lateinische Sprache als Mischsprache bis auf den heutigen Tag erhalten und gewinnt noch an Terrain. Noch jetzt heißt sie die rumänische, d.h. römische Sprache und, die sie sprechen, nennen sich stolz Rumuni d.h. Romani. (Hahn 1907).

Das hohe soziale und kulturelle Prestige einer hochentwickelten Standardsprache wie dem Lateinischen hat sicher dazu geführt, dass Merkmale des Lateinischen in die in der Entwicklung stehenden Balkansprachen übernommen wurden. Andererseits muss man auch davon ausgehen, dass umgangssprachliches Latein und Griechisch regionalen Einflüssen unterworfen waren. Die Notwendigkeit, sich gegenseitig zu verständigen, die passive und die aktive Kenntnis von Sprachen hat zu einer Instabilität der lautlichen, morphologischen und syntaktischen

Verhältnisse und letztendlich auch zu einer Vereinfachung einer Sprache wie dem Bulgarischen geführt, denkt man nur an das Deklinationssystem in seiner Entwicklung vom Altbulgarischen zum Neubulgarischen. Als weitere Faktoren, die eine gegenseitige Beeinflussung der Balkansprachen förderten, ist die Transhumanz, die Wanderungsbewegungen, der Wechsel der Weidegebiete, wirtschaftliche Kontakte sowie auch die Folgen militärischer Besatzung zu sehen. Die Grenzen der Übereinstimmungen der Balkansprachen, der „Balkanismen“, sind keineswegs mit den Sprachgrenzen der heutigen Standardsprachen Bulgarisch, Makedonisch, Serbisch, Albanisch und Rumänisch übereinstimmend, sondern spiegeln spätere soziale, ökonomische und kulturelle Entwicklungen wieder. Eine genaue historische Untersuchung von balkanischen Konvergenzen vor dem Hintergrund des Lateinischen und des Griechischen ist wohl nur auf der Grundlage sowohl der historischen als auch der synchronischen Dialektologie möglich.

Ein besonders interessantes Beispiel für den parallelen griechischen und romanischen Einfluss im Wortschatz und in der Toponomastik ist Bulgarien, vor allem auch deswegen, weil sich durch das heutige Bulgarien die bereits erwähnte alte griechisch-lateinische Sprachgrenze zog. Die lateinischen Lehnwörter im Bulgarischen machen nicht mehr als etwa hundert aus und zeugen damit nur von der vorübergehenden Herrschaft der Römer in diesem geographischen Bereich. Zudem sind noch viele Wörter lateinischen Ursprungs über das Griechische in das Bulgarische gelangt, andere lateinische Lehnwörter sind auch über das Italienische, Albanische und über das Türkisch-Osmanische in das Bulgarische gelangt. Hieraus kann man folgern, dass keine direkte Aufeinanderfolge der Übernahme romanischer Elemente im Zuge der Romanisierung in den fraglichen Gebieten erfolgte, vielmehr war der griechische Einfluss weitaus stärker. Dass der Grad der Romanisierung des Bulgarischen im heutigen Bulgarien relativ niedrig geblieben ist, dürfte auch durch die Tatsache bestätigt werden, dass die Zahl der Toponyme lateinischen Ursprungs relativ gering ist. Die Zeit, während der romanische Elemente in der Balkan-toponomastik auftreten, lässt sich allerdings nur schwer bestimmen. So gibt es auch keine sicheren Hinweise auf charakteristische Merkmale des Lateinischen der Balkanhalbinsel gegen Ende der römischen Herrschaft. Für die Zeit vom dritten Jahrhundert nach Christus bis zur slawischen Landnahme der Balkanhalbinsel können keine genaueren Angaben dazu gemacht werden, wann ein Ortsname erstmals auftritt und durch welche sprachliche Vermittlung er für das betreffende geographische Objekt zur Anwendung kam.

Eine erste Abhandlung, die sich mit den Lehnwörtern lateinischen Ursprungs im Bulgarischen befasste, geht auf den bulgarischen Sprachwissenschaftler Stojan Romansky zurück, der unter der Anleitung von Gustav Weigand in dem von diesem herausgegebenen „Jahresbericht des Instituts für Rumänische Sprache zu Leipzig“ 1909 seine Dissertation zu diesem Thema veröffentlichte. In einer zusammenfassenden Übersicht schreibt er:

Die hier besprochenen Wörter geben uns ein ziemlich deutliches Bild, auf welchen Wegen lateinische Wörter ins Bulgarische gelangt sind. An erster Stelle kommt eine Anzahl von interessanten Wörtern im Bulgarischen, die direkt aus dem Balkanlateinischen oder Balkanromanischen, wie man es auch nennt, stammen. Die meisten von diesen Wörtern, existieren auch im Rumänischen und Albanesischen, wodurch die Existenz der Wörter im Balkanlateinischen bestätigt wird, aus lautlichen, semasiologischen oder sachlichen Gründen aber müssen sie direkt aus dem letzteren stammen. Es gehören vor allem einige Wörter hierher, die mit dem Christentum, das die Slaven bei der Einwanderung auf die Balkanhalbinsel zunächst von den romanischen Kolonisten auf der Balkanhalbinsel kennen gelernt haben, in Zusammenhang stehen: *komka*, *oltar*, *patja*, *kum*, *poganin*, *koleda*, vielleicht auch altbulgarisches *raka*. (Romansky 1909)

Romansky führt weiter aus, dass auch Völkernamen als Entlehnungen in Betracht kommen, so z.B. *Grak* oder auch *Latinin*, ferner der Terminus *car* und auch *koruna*. Andere lateinische Lehnwörter werden von Romansky dem sachlichen Bereich der Gefäße, der Tiere und Pflanzen zugeordnet, ferner werden von ihm auch einzelne Begriffe, die Getränke oder Kleidung bezeichnen, angeführt. Unsicherheiten ergeben sich bei der Frage, ob romanische Elemente des Bulgarischen erst aus dem Rumänischen oder Albanischen entlehnt wurden. Eine größere Zahl von Wörtern romanischen Ursprungs scheint aber auch durch griechische Vermittlung in das Bulgarische gelangt zu sein, eine geringere Zahl romanischer Elemente ist sicher über das Türkisch-Osmanische in das Bulgarische gelangt (Romansky 1909: 133–134).

Das Zentrum sprachlicher Übereinstimmungen auf der Balkanhalbinsel Bereich ist ohne Zweifel in Makedonien zu suchen. Das Vorkommen sowohl flektierter als auch isolierender Nominalformen kann zum Beispiel in zentralen bulgarischen Dialekten beobachtet werden. In den Rhodopendialekten finden sich weit mehr Flexionsendungen neben den isolierenden Formen, z.B. *staru* (*starom*) *čuleku/na starek čuleka*. Auf der anderen Seite findet man in der bulgarischen Deklination auch Belege für einen romanischen Einfluss auf das Bulgarische. Demgegenüber verfügt das Rumänische über fünf Flexionskasus, die zum Teil auch durch

nachgestellte Artikelformen oder durch die Präpositionen *a, de, la, pe* bezeichnet werden können. Damit werden im Rumänischen fünf Kasus verwendet, nämlich Nominativ, Genitiv, Dativ, Akkusativ und Vokativ. Man kann von einem slawisch-romanischen Einfluss ausgehen, wenn man z.B. an den rumänischen Vokativ auf *-o* denkt, der nur aus dem Slawischen übernommen worden sein kann. Man kann sogar annehmen, dass das gesamte Deklinationssystem des Rumänischen nach dem Muster des Slawischen erhalten blieb, während es sich in anderen romanischen Sprachen vom Synthetismus zum Analytismus entwickelt hat. Es scheint so zu sein, dass die bulgarische Deklination mehr einem romanischen Einfluss unterworfen war als einem griechischen, da im Neugriechischen Genitiv und Dativ in einer Form zusammenfallen, während Nominativ und Akkusativ durch unterschiedliche Formen vertreten sind (vgl. hierzu Schaller 1974/75). Ausschlaggebend könnten ethnolinguistische Vermischungen von Rumänen und Bulgaren in der Epoche des „Zweiten Bulgarischen Reiches“ als grundlegender Faktor für die Entwicklung des „Balkansprachbundes“ gewesen sein. Schriftliche Zeugnisse, u.a. die wlachobulgarischen Urkunden des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts zeigen deutlich analytische Züge im Gegensatz zu schriftlichen Zeugnissen Südbulgariens in dieser Epoche, hinzu kommt noch die Verbreitung von Verbalkonstruktionen mit *da* als Folge des Verlusts des Infinitivs, die Verdopplung von Objekten. Analytische Formen finden sich in diesen Denkmälern für den Akkusativ, den Genitiv, Instrumental, Lokativ und Dativ. In seiner richtungweisenden Darstellung der bulgarischen historischen Dialektologie hat der russische Sprachwissenschaftler Samuel Bernštejn eine Reihe von Beispielen angeführt, die deutlich den Übergang von der synthetischen zur analytischen Flexion in Nordwestbulgarien zeigen (Bernštejn 1949):

1. Akkusativ: *Kogy natovarit kola s ribq.* (S.249)
I poslali mi ste kniga kraleva. (S.249)
2. Genitiv: *ot vola ili ot kravq.* (S.255)
3. Instrumental: *učinite nad glave im* (S.269)
i namertili su nekoje žene sirote sās kola. (S.258)
4. Lokativ: *da prebivate sǎ mirom i u dobrom volju.* (S.271)
kolika koni u kola. (S.271)
5. Dativ: *i po vašemu volju* (S.264)
po vašech mesta i po vašu dǎržavu. (Sprachliche Belege nach Bernštejn 1949, S.264)

Verglichen mit der Manasses-Chronik finden sich dort noch viele synthetische Formen der bulgarischen Nominalflexion, z.B. für Genitiv, Dativ, Akkusativ, Instrumental und Lokativ:

1. Genitiv: *i v tomi otoce bešq vitezi nektora krale.* (Sprachliche Belege nach: „Die Slavische Manasses-Chronik“, München 1966, S.59)
2. Dativ: *iskaza bratu svoemu agamenu carju* (S.55)
3. Akkusativ: *da naideši čisti i sramotq da ostaviši.* (S.55)
4. Instrumental: *az tečachu svoima nogama.* (S.57)
5. Lokativ: *i v tomu otoce bešq pirog krasen* (S.56)

Gerade dieser Vergleich zwischen Sprachdenkmälern aus dem Nordwesten und dem Süden Bulgariens macht deutlich, dass bereits im 13. Jahrhundert die Flexion der *a*-Stämme genau so ausgesehen haben muss wie heute. Sicher gab es auch einen griechischen Einfluss auf die Entwicklung der bulgarischen Nominalflexion, die sprachlichen und geographischen Tatsachen weisen jedoch hier auf einen stärkeren romanischen Einfluss hin.

Wie bereits angedeutet, haben sich im Bulgarischen auch andere sprachliche Beeinflussungen durch das Lateinische gefunden, insbesondere im Wortschatz, ebenso aber auch in der geographischen Terminologie. Weitere Beispiele für Entlehnungen aus dem Lateinischen sind bulgarisch *bivol* // zu lateinisch *bubalus*, *bufalar*, über griechisches *boufalos* oder bulgarisch *vula* zu lateinisch *bullā*, griechisch *boullā*. Ohne griechische Vermittlung findet sich im Bulgarischen *koleda*, kirchenslawisch *kolęda*, *kalandu* zu lateinischem *calendae* neben einem slawischen *božič*, *božin* für „Weihnachten“ mit der Verbalbildung *koleduvam*, „Weihnachtslieder singen“ oder auch *koledar*, der „Sänger von Weihnachtsliedern“. Ein Sonderfall dürfte das Wort für „Altar“ sein, das sich in allen slawischen Sprachen findet, nämlich bulgarisch als *oltar*, ebenso serbisch *oltar*, auch *otar*, slowenisch *oltar*, tschechisch *altář*, polnisch *oltarz*, sorbisch *voltar* und russisch *oltar*. Dabei muss es sich um eine elementare Wort gehandelt haben, das erst nach der Christianisierung übernommen wurde. Auf der Balkanhalbinsel muss das Wort aber später übernommen worden sein, da das Christentum dort erst nach der Einwanderung der Südslawen angenommen wurde.

Lateinische Lehnwörter finden sich nicht nur im Bulgarischen, sondern auch im Albanischen und im Neugriechischen, im Makedonischen und im Serbischen. Zum Teil sind diese lateinischen Lehnwörter über das Mittellgriechische als „sekundäre Lehnwörter“ in die Balkansprachen, damit auch in das Bulgarische gelangt. Im Albanischen ist im Gegensatz zum Bulgarischen der Anteil lateinischer Lehnwörter so hoch,

dass man diese Balkansprache verschiedentlich sogar als eine „halbromanische Mischsprache“ bezeichnet hat.

Im Bereiche der Onomastik finden sich Bildungen mit *banja*, abgeleitet von lateinischem *balneum* als *Gorna Banja*, *Dolna Banja*, *Banica*, *Bansko* u.a. Der Frauenname *Domna*, abgeleitet von lateinischem *dom(i)na*, griechisch *domna*. Romanischen Ursprungs ist sicher der Ortsname *Bunovo*, der sich mit Ortsnamen im rumänischen Bereich vergleichen lässt, wo sich u.a. *Bunoaica*, *Bunaiul*, *Buni*, *Bunila* finden lassen. Eindeutig romanischen Ursprungs sind der Flussname *Negarstica*, der sich mit rumänisch *negru* zusammengestellt werden kann, mit einem bulgarischen Suffix versehen, als „Schwarzwasser“ verstanden werden muss. *Ursulica* als Bezeichnung für einen steilen Bergabhang, lässt sich mit rumänisch *ursul*, dem Wort für „Bär“ zusammenstellen, wobei ebenfalls ein bulgarisches Suffix angefügt wurde. Der Name bezeichnet ganz offensichtlich einen Ort, wo Bären vorkamen. Dementsprechend finden sich auch bulgarische Namenbildungen wie z.B. *Mečka*, *Mečkarica* oder *Mečkarnica*. Ein besonders interessanter Fall von romanischer Namengebung ist mit der Flussbezeichnung *Valesek*, *Velessek*, *Valesek dere*, *Velessek dere* gegeben, einem Gewässer, das in der Stara Planina entspringt. Der Name lässt sich als *vale sec*, „trockenes Tal“ deuten. Der Wandel von *Valesek* zu *Velessek* dürfte später auf türkisch-osmanische Beeinflussung zurückzuführen sein, indem hier die türkische Vokalharmonie wirksam wurde (vgl. hierzu Schaller 1978).

Es hat sich gezeigt, dass der romanische Einfluss auf das Bulgarische sich vor allem in der morphosyntaktischen Struktur des Bulgarischen nachweisen lässt, wo die heutige Substantivdeklination mehr dem romanischen Muster gefolgt ist, Lehnwörter und geographische Bezeichnungen gehen aber ebenfalls auf das Romanische zurück. Als Aufgabe für weitere Forschungen in diesem Bereich ergibt sich die Frage nach der geographischen Verteilung dieser romanischen Elemente und nach ihrer Chronologie, d.h. es lassen sich aufgrund der historischen Tatsachen und aufgrund der Gegebenheiten der heutigen bulgarischen Dialekte sicherlich in Zukunft noch genauere Ergebnisse zur Frage des romanischen Einflusses auf das Bulgarische erzielen.

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ROMAN AND PRE-ROMAN: THE BALKANS AND HISPANIA. THE CASE OF *MAL*

Abstract: Attention is paid to a theory put forward quite recently by Spanish scholars. A prominent role in this theory is played by the data of the Balkans. It aims to clarify certain issues relevant to the early linguistic history of the region. Illustrated with some examples from the *Balkansprachraum*: *mal* 'hill, shore' and its Aromanian and Istrorumanian congeners.

Key words: Balkans, Hispania, Paleobalkan languages, onomastics

Latin linguistic influence in the Balkans and Hispania has been thoroughly studied, and this is quite understandable: in both these regions of the Roman world the Latin impact was so overwhelming that it gave birth to Romance languages, Spanish, Catalan and Portuguese in the West, and Romanian, Aromanian, etc., in the East. Needless to say that there exists a certain amount of publication in the domain of Romance philology in which the grammatical structure, vocabulary, etc., of the West Romance languages are contrasted with that of the East Romance ones. The impact of Latin in the Balkans is not confined to the formation of the Romance languages in this part of Europe. As it was also claimed in several papers offered to this conference, the traces of the influence may be seen in the other languages of the so-called *Sprachbund*. It should be also noted that the Latin of the Balkans and that of Ancient Hispania itself have been studied contrastively. These studies are normally based on the analysis of epigraphy, and as a result we have at our disposal observations on the peculiarities of Latin spoken in the Balkans and Hispania.

In this paper I would like to go beyond this historical level. I am going to draw attention to a theory put forward quite recently by our Spanish colleagues. A prominent role in this theory is played by the data

of the Balkans. And this is of course quite important for Romance and pre-Romance studies of the Balkan peninsula, as it aims to clarify certain issues relevant to the early linguistic history of the region. I will address the theory a bit later; I will start rather with some examples from the *Balkansprachraum*.

Romanian *mal* ‘hill, shore’ and its Aromanian and Istroromanian congeners (see Kalužskaya 2001: 125) have been studied for quite a time. It turned out that they cannot be traced back to Latin or Common Romance vocabulary. The exact match was found in Albanian *mal* ‘hill / forest’ by Miklošich as early as 1861, and since then this pair appears in all collections of Albanian / Romanian correspondences. In 1875 B. Hasdeu compared this pair with the ancient name of a region of Dacia, *Dacia Maluensis*. Later on G. Meyer added Illyrian place-name *Dimallum*; and discussed their connection with Latvian *mala* ‘shore’, Middle Irish *mala* ‘eye-lash’, etc. Most of the forms are collected by J. Pokorný in his *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (IEW: 721; cf. LIV: 433–4 for **melh₃*- ‘hervorkommen’; see also Mihăilă 2006) in the entry **mel-*, *mġ-* ‘to rise up, rising land’; there the Albanian word is derived directly from the PIE root (“alb. *mal* ‘Berg’ (**mol-no*); [...] alb. *mol* ‘Wald’ (‘Bergwald’) aus **mġlo-*”).

A more popular view is to see in the Albanian and Romanian word a borrowing from an early language of the Balkans. The most recent analysis of the two words within this framework was offered by I. Kalužskaya (2001: 125–129). She has reminded us that Romanian *mal* should go back to **mal-l*, and the Albanian counterpart — to **mal-* + C(onsonant) (*u/v, l, n, s*). In fact, the Balkans have preserved ancient place names of this configuration, e.g., *Malva* in Dacia and *Di-mallum* in the territory of modern Albania, although one would expect a reverse distribution. Therefore such an approach is permissible, with the only caveat that it should be noted that there are two distinct underlying forms to which the history of Albanian and Romanian words is traced, and not a single one. The question is now from which language were these two words in fact borrowed.

According to the majority of scholars, the idiom in question is of course an ancient “Paleobalkan” language, and a Thracian (*resp.* Dacian) appellation **mal-* has been reconstructed by I. Duridanov (1987) out of the ancient onomastics of the area; see further comparanda and references collected by I. Duridanov (1969: 45) s. v. *Malva*. However, there are — as always — some dissenting views. Already in 1928 Karel Oštir suggested that these words are in fact non-IE. He thought that the items in question are related to Iber. *Malodes mons* and Basque *malda* ‘shore’. Oštir was not of course alone, and later this example has been used to demonstrate a

pre-IE substratum; see e.g., Paliga (1999: 134), where a spurious Pre-IE form **m-l*, **m-r*- ‘hill, mountain’ is reconstructed on the basis of *Malva*, Alb. *mal*, Basque *malda* ‘hill-side’, etc. There is no need here to analyse the methodology on which this study is based; it may be just mentioned that the author includes in this entry the oikonim *Moldova*, and thinks that “-dova rather reflects the typical Thr. word *dava*, *deva*, *dova* ‘fortress, township’”, which deserves no further comments.

It is evident why these attempts to explain seemingly fine Indo-European, be it Dacian or pure Albanian, developments as a result of a pre-Indo-European influence do exist. Ancient and Modern Hispania supplies us with forms, which are at face value nearly identical, both formally and semantically. We know, of course, about coincidences of the type English *bad* / Persian *bad*; or in onomastics a river-name, perhaps of Celtic origin in France, *Samara* and *Samara* in Russia; see, e.g., the chapter aptly entitled “The Long Arm of Coincidence” in a comprehensive study of Celtic place-names in ancient Europe by P. Sims-Williams (2006: 27–37). Here, however, we are facing a more complicated question, because certain areas of ancient Hispania do indeed attest an unprecedented amount of geographical names in *mal-*. And here comes a necessity to talk a bit about the recent hypothesis.

There were quite a few languages spoken in Hispania before the Roman arrival. Some of them were definitely Indo-European, such as various forms of Hispano-Celtic, the most famous being of course Celtiberian. Another distinctive Indo-European and non-Celtic language was spoken in the Western part of the peninsula, and it is Lusitanian, which is possibly connected with the Italic languages. On top of them there are attestations of a language labelled Tartessian, which is considered by some scholars as Celtic, and by some as non-Celtic Indo-European, and by some — as non-Indo-European. On the non-Indo-European side we have Iberians and proto-Basques. There are also some claims that the “Old European” traces were around as well, although there is no place for this concept in modern linguistics, cf. Isaac 2005: 189–190. Quite recently F. Villar (2000, 2001, also in Villar, Prósper 2005) has argued in favour of a distinct Indo-European language (different from “Old European”) or even a new language family spoken in pre-Roman Hispania — the oldest Indo-European layer in the Peninsula.

Villar’s theory is based on a study of ancient toponymy. At first glance it is quite consistent from geographical point of view — the clusters of geographical names are mainly attested in the South of the Peninsula. Eventually, however, the geographical distribution within Spain becomes really chaotic, with some examples in the north-west of the area, and some

on the north-east (see, e.g., Villar 2000: 226 for the place-name element *uc-*). As Villar is looking for distinctive new IE language family, he tries to put it into an Indo-European context by postulating isoglosses with other families. He finds plenty of those in the Baltic languages and also in those spoken in Italy (Villar, Prósper 2005: 97–117). However, he works with the place-names only, and of course, spotting parallels in Balticum he cannot but point to similarities elsewhere. And here our *mal-* problem comes back in question.

Villar discusses *mal-* place-names in a chapter dedicated to a “pre-roman toponym” *Malaca* (Villar, Prósper 2005: 45–71, cf. Villar 2001: 261 and 277) which has been analysed as Phoenician (see García Alonso 2003: 40–41, bibl.), and offers a map of the distribution of geographical names in *mal-* across Europe, Asia and Northern Africa (F. Villar, B. M. Prósper 2005: 60). The immediate problem is that the many items he lists may be in fact just similarly looking entities, coined in given languages spoken in antiquity in the given areas. And sometimes the entries he discusses need reconsideration. For example, Villar’s map has *Malaca* (marked as 5) in the territory of Modern Scotland. This form is indeed found, but only in the late (and unfortunately corrupt) Ravenna Cosmography. The earlier attestation has *Μαλεός* (Ptolemy) and its correctness is confirmed by the medieval Irish sources (*Maleam* in Adomnán’s *Vita Columbae*, see Isaac 2005: 197). The etymology of the place-name is Celtic: G. R. Isaac aptly traces it to our IE root (**melh₃-*, LIV: 433–434) and refers to other IE cognates, including Albanian *mal*; for a different (and hardly justified) approach — to Irish *maile* ‘evil’, therefore the ‘evil one’ (see De Bernardo Stempel 2000: 105).

It should be also observed that Villar does not consider all similar looking forms. For example, we do not find on his maps *Malliacum* (modern Luynes in Central France), perhaps because it was viewed as a Latin-Celtic formation, an *-āko-* derivative of a Latin personal name *Mallius*. More surprising is that in this survey Villar did not include a number of place- and river-names from the territory of what is now Poland; however, some place-names in *mal-*, perhaps of pre-Slavic origins are found there as well; see Babik 2001. I will turn to the Polish evidence a bit later.

What is happening? Villar postulates an Early Indo-European linguistic subgroup with affinities with Italic and Baltic. He makes this exclusively on the basis of toponymy. This by default brings into its orbit the data from the Balkans. Now, the Dacian / Thracian data is normally compared with that of Baltic (cf. Duridanov 1969; Toporov 1973; 1977) — it has been noted by several scholars that these parallels are striking not just due to their number, but because they involve entire derivations, as in the

famous pairs represented by Thracian $\text{K}\acute{\upsilon}\psi\epsilon\lambda\alpha$: Lithuanian *Kupš-ël-iai*, *Scret-isca* : *Skrēt-iškè*, etc. However, this conglomerate has — due to obvious reasons — never been compared with that of early Italy. Then, Dacian / Thracian is considered to be quite a distinctive entity from what is known as Illyrian. However, the data from these two areas are again used indiscriminantly for comparison.¹

Technically speaking, this looks like a going back to a certain update of *Alteuropäisch* hypothesis. We remember that a century ago the similar looking forms — from Hispania to Balticum — were claimed to be Illyrian in origin. Later on this data was re-labelled as *Alteuropäisch*; and its traces are found by certain scholars nowadays as far as Finland. This is not the view favoured by IE scholars as there is no place for “*Alteuropäisch*” in the prehistory of IE subfamilies. Although certain scholars still keep this idea going, I think the tremendous blow against this theory was offered by T. Vennemann (see e.g., Vennemann 2003) who used the data of *Alteuropäisch* to show that this data is in fact proto-Basque.

Although Villar, also in case of *mala-*, shows varieties of derivational patterns and variations in vocalism, these inherited patterns are used in all known Indo-European languages, therefore a coinage of each place-name may be well rooted in the time the actual language was spoken there. Regarding vocalism, it should not be forgotten that apart the full grade, zero grade could offer the results which were looked for by Villar (particularly for *mal-* see Isaac, forthcoming; and Falileyev 2003). Therefore bringing the *mal-* place-names under one common umbrella (if it is not a reference to common Indo-European IE origin or borrowing from one language into another) does not seem to be justified. However, the possibility of Mediterranean “traces” in onomastic landscape of the Balkans and further afield should not be ignored. A recent reconstruction of the face of the woman buried in Little Poland (late La Tène period) by D. Zaidel (see Rudnicki 2005), or archaeological evidence for the movements of Celtic aristocracy from Dacia to the Mediterranean and back home (Rustiou 2006; for a wider context see Adam 2006), does beg questions on the aspects of the “Mediterranean” presence in this part of the world. This does not affect of course the prehistory of the Eastern Romance and Albanian words, as there is no need to search for their “Mediterranean” links for they could be easily explained as local coinages. If they are to be

¹ It could also be mentioned in parenthesis that Messapic and “Illyrian” linguistic data, which is evidently different from that found in the eastern Balkans, is also sometimes compared with the Baltic data (see e.g., Rădulescu 1994), and this undermines the validity of Thracian / Dacian — Baltic parallels; and of course a morphological segmentation of a Thracian (Dacian) place-name may be a matter for discussion.

traced to a common substratum, the problem is that the underlying forms for each group will be different, which does not seem to be acceptable. A more possible explanation — provided that the Albanian form may be inherited from Common Indo-European — is that the Eastern Romance item was in fact borrowed from Albanian. Such views have been already expressed (see, e.g., Orel 1998: 243, who postulates Proto-Albanian **mala*; cf. Demiraj 1997: 254, who starts with *mall-*); the place and time of this borrowing remains disputable.

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DJORDJE BRANKOVIĆ AS ETYMOLOGIST: ETHNONYMS AND TOPONYMS IN THE BALKANS

Abstract: The paper gives examples of etymological solutions for the names of some Slav and Balkan peoples and explanations of the origin of their languages contained in the *Chronicles* of Djordje Branković from the early 18th century. The work includes fragments from the *Chronicles* in the Old Church Slavonic, explaining the origin of the Vlachs and Vlach-Slavs.

Key words: Vlach, 18th century etymology, chronicles

In this paper I would like to pay homage to one of the greatest and most interesting works of Serbian literature, the *Chronicles*, and to their author, Djordje Branković. This monumental work was written exactly three hundred years ago while its author was a prisoner of the Austrian government. The author, Djordje Branković, was a member of one of the oldest, wealthiest and most respected Serbian families of the time. He was born about the year 1645 and died in 1711. He spent the last years of his life under house arrest because his influence upon Serbian subjects was regarded as ominous by the authorities of the Austrian empire. In the course of the many years of his arrest he wrote the *Chronicles*.

The original manuscript is deposited at the Library of the Serbian Patriarchate in Belgrade (Nr. R90). It is a substantial work, consisting of about 2700 pages in five volumes. There are no known copies of the *Chronicles*, only a few later redactions on the original manuscript with considerable changes to the language.

The *Chronicles* form part of the Old Slavonic Orthodox historical tradition and at the same time bridge the way to the emergence of the new Serbian historiography. It is usual for Serbocroatian studies to identify the new tradition with the name and works of J. Rajić, that is, with the last

years of the 18th century, although in fact, Dj. Branković's *Chronicles* were perhaps the most important source of Rajić's own historical writings.

Dj. Branković was certainly one of the best educated Serbs of his time, proficient in several languages: Greek and Latin in addition to German, Hungarian, Romanian, Turkish, and — like every educated Orthodox Slav — in Old Church Slavonic. For many years he pursued a career as a diplomat and was well acquainted with European historiography, from the old Greek and Latin authors to European works of the 16th and 17th centuries. His sources are among others Procopius of Caesarea, Herodotus, Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus and Georg Kinnamos, Blond of Forli, Martin Cromer, George Kedrenus, Mauro Orbini.

Dj. Branković was also well acquainted with the Slavic authors — e.g., with the Priest of Diokleia (Pop Dukljanin) and the Archbishop Daniel II, Slavic hagiography and the various *Chronicles*. He approached sources in a critical spirit, endeavouring to maintain a level of seriousness in his historical work.

Certainly, this work was also an attempt at legitimizing his claim to being — as he saw it — the last real descendant of the old Serbian royal dynasty of the Nemanjićs. In this aspect, the *Chronicles* are quite subjective, but in his interpretation and presentation of the History of the Slavs and other nations in the Balkans and Central Europe we can consider his work to be a serious document of early European historiography of modern times.

The information on the Slavs and their neighbours in the Balkans contained in the first four volumes of the *Chronicles* is very extensive: the first selection I made covered about 50 pages. The *Chronicles* have not yet been edited and are, in fact, unavailable to the academic public. However, the first volume of the first edition has been prepared for publication by the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Belgrade.

The dominant themes of the first volume of the *Chronicles* are early Christianity and the history of the Seven Ecumenical Councils, the origin of the Slavs and their settling in East and South-East Europe. The second volume deals with three main themes: the etymology of Slavic ethnonyms, the common history of the Slavs, and the history of Serbs and the Nemanjić dynasty. The third volume is dedicated mainly to the history of the Medieval Serbian state. It begins with the early 13th century, i. e., the time of Stefan Prvovenčani, son of the founder of the dynasty and first king of the Serbs, Stefan Nemanja, and of his brother Sava, who is revered as the greatest Serbian saint. It finishes with the end of both the dynasty and the Serbian state in the late 14th century.

The small selection presented below contains the following themes: the origin of the Slavs, both anthropological and geographical; the first mentions of the Slavs; Slavic settlement in East and South-East Europe; Slavic ethnonyms and other etymological items; the origin of the Serbs and some other Slavic nations; the first Serbian royal dynasty; the oldest Slavic history; the Slavic pagan pantheon; the origin of the Romanians.

The original text of the *Chronicles* is rendered in modern Serbian Cyrillic. The first (Roman) numeral in brackets corresponds to the volume of the manuscript, the second (Arabic) numeral to the page(s).

The language of the *Chronicles* has not yet been described, indeed, neither has the entire period of the 17th and early 18th centuries in the history of Serbian literature. For this reason, and because of the deliberate and artificial complexity of Branković's syntax, a literal translation is not given but the fragments are followed by some kind of short comments in English (in brackets).

First, we present the etymological interpretations given in the *Chronicles* for Slav ethno- and glottogenesis, and later for the Romanians and/or Vlachs.

Etymological speculation on the origin of Slavs and other related peoples

/I-16/ Theory of the Vandalic origin of the Slavs:

От нии же прворождени бив Вандал; сеи Висле текуштои води, и Лехом име ваздав, да Вандали нарицаваеми бивајут

(Of those the firstborn was Vandal; from him came the name of the river Visla as well as the name Vandals)

/I-18/ Theory about the Sauromatic origin of the Serbian ethnonym:

Србско же име пронаречено бист от савроматиискаго имена, Филип Мелантон ... тако сведетелствуе ... Ини же србскому имену зачетие бити васхоштут от народа називаемие Сирес иже ва асииску Скитију бивајут, ва них же Сиреси /19/ свиловским подобием вуна, произраставателним восплодием бивает ...

(The Serbian name comes from the Savromat name, as Philipp Melancthon testifies... According to a second version the Serbian name comes from the Sires people who used to live in the Asian part of Scythia. Among the Sires, wool grew in the same way as silk)

/I-19-20/ Etymological interpretation of the ethnonym *slav-* as coming from 'glory', and the theory of *slov-* as original ethnonym that later became the toponym, too:

отсуду же убо подо/20/бно бивает нами знати, Словени и Славни рекоми откуду тако називаеми бивајут, јако убо име Словеном и Славним рекомим, прежде Прокопија и — Иорнанда ... и — Иустиниана цара времена, нигде ни ва латински ни ва гречаски саписатели еште не приоброетохом ... откуду сеи словенски род или народ подобним пособствием, именем називаеми да зрим бивает. Словенска же област убо от Словени, а не от словенскои държавнои области, Словени именем називателно нарицание васприели сут, доволно бити естествоно суштаство саматраваеми, јако убо от склоневанија називателнаго имена, тако и от деиствија сија иже више преваспоменуема сут

(The origin of the name Slavs or Slavni should be known, since before the time of Procopius, Jordanes and the Emperor Justinian this name is not found among either Latin or Greek authors, whence comes the name for the Slav tribe or people. So the Slav country was named after the people and not the reverse, and we consider this to be a natural thing)

/I-20-21/ According to the theory mentioned above, the original sense of the ethnonym *slav-* was 'word', 'language', while *slav-*, i. e. 'glory' came later:

Словеном же убо етимологија сиреч: правоизглаголинием, ва првее Словени себе име от словеснаго изгл[а]голанија васприели сут, јако убо наравним похождением, кроме /21/ учителнаго художества рождени биваху, ... пованегда же убо дела превеличаиша, јасноизвестнеиша и преславнеиша, супротив Римскои области и супротив васачаскими народими, окрст ограниченија ими биваеми изследствовали сут, вторицеју себе от префалнои слави, име Славним бити васприели сут, и таковим Славним именем ва западни и ва полуноштни странах, даже и до сего времена називаеми бивајут, тачију ва восточни и ва полуданни странах, првонареченним именем рекомим, Словесним или Словеним садржаваеми бивајут, иже диалекта ради единым словом изгл[а]голание сакраштаваеми бивает, и ваистину подобним сапособствованием, сичевоју етимологиеју единославно паче бивает, [vs. Greek resp. Latin interpretation of the ethnonym *slav-* as coming from *sklav:*] нежели Грци неци и — Италиани иже ради своего им ... им мекчаишаго сагласователнаго езика ради, иначшим изгл[а]голанием сабеседование садевајут, јако же нарицавати обичаи имејут сиче рекшим Склави и — Скла/21/вини, ми же убо пребиванием садржавати имеем ... првонаприимателним именем рекомим нам бити, названним Словесним и Словеним бивајущим

(The Slav name comes from the word for 'word' ... but later, when they became famous for their deeds against Rome and other peoples, they named themselves again and that from the word 'glory' [Serb. *slava*] — Slavni — and that is what they are called to this day in the western and northern countries. However, in the eastern and southern countries they are

still called as they originally were, i.e. Slovesni or Slavs [Serb. Sloveni] — one sound being omitted for the sake of easier pronunciation. This etymology is much better than with the Greeks or Italians who pronounce it as Sclavi or Sclavini. We will adhere to the original name Slovesni or Sloveni)

/I-33–34/ Once more the interpretation of Slav as coming from ‘glory’:

тако убо /34/ иже подобно бивает от тиижде словенские народи, потом ... словенские народи не тачију самују тују Мисиу, на еште Дакиу, Пиониу, Дарданиу, Ливурниу, Иллириу, Далматиу, и — Истриу ... присвоили сут; Тракиу, Македониу, и Гречаску област пленителному запуштениу предали сут, и гречаски език васачаско истреблением конечно разрушим биваше ... себе словенославно име от префалнои слави васприели сут.

/I-23/ The ethnonym *morav-* being interpreted as coming either from the king’s name *Marot* or the hydronym *Morava*

ново н[и]нјашне име ест и Моравом, или от Марота кралја иже много мимошадшими временми, по Атилиова времена бист, или от Мораве текуштои води називаеми били сут

(Today’s name of Moravljani comes either from the name of King Marot or — much earlier, at the time of Attila — from the name of the River Morava)

/I-23–26/ (1) Origin of the toponym *moskov-* as coming from *modok-*, *mos(k)ch-* as well as from the name of Japhet’s son Moschim (Mesech); (2) the chronology of the different East-Slavic ethnonyms and (3) the relativ youth of the name *moskov-*:

(1) Модоки такожде народи ва Савроматију асииску бити, Птоломеи ... сведетелствуе, Мосхииские планини ва Каппадокиу, или ва Армениу бити, тоижде Птоломеи ... и — Плиние ... сведетелствујуштим ... московские народи и държаву Московску, тоижде ... приваспоменуе. Стравон географ такожде ... московские народи са колхииским народом, краиним ограничеванием суседствујушtimi се бити пишет, Иосиф же убо Евреин ... москхииские народи, потом каппадокииским нареченним бити, от Мосхим, или Мосоха сина Јафетова ... походи-телним зачинанием им бити списано оставив, и модокиискому народному имену, маншим подобием слично бивает, московскими же народими паче велми слично бивает, онеми убо народими иже нинја ва еурописку, такожде и ва асииску Савроматиу, предлаишеју и широтоју преразпространнеишеју честију, ва повелителну своју им област садржавајут, словенским глаголателним езиком сажителствујут, и Москхи или Мошци латински, Мошковите немачски, словенски же

убо Москва или Москвали називаеми бивајут, и от многих убо веков они пребивателни тие столици садржавајут ...

(2) обаче же убо сие име Москвалими, прежде сих немного минувшими временми, обично називати их зачели сут, ни же ва првее васу област ими тако именовали сут, на убо единой држави народ, от вазграниченија многими народими, от текуштои води и престолнаго града, тамо бивајуштаго Москва рекомаго, тако нарица/24/вати се зачет бист, ва нем же престолному и великотржиштному Московскому граду ... при лету... 1323 Први Иоан син Даниила Келете ... месту тому окрстной држави, господарствујуштеи обладател бив и престол свои тамо вадрузив, јако убо Кромер тако и Иоан Лудовик Архонтологиу Козмику саписујуштеи ... сведетелствујут. Ему же по ним бивајуштеи санаследници, егда начелство свое присачетавшим себе са ближайшими некими, тогожде народа и езика начелствујуштими кнезовими, ва длготу и ва широту разпространеванием разширили се сут, та же ва скончаванију и прочи русииски народи, далече превеличаиши, предревнеиши и благороднеиши биваху, нежели Москвали до того дна били сут, јако же ваистину сут владимирски, новоградски, јарославски, тверски, можаиски, суздал/25/ски, псковски, резански, северски, и прочии, иже васи езици ва тоижде области присачетавани били сут, ва Москвалем име приваменени били сут,

(3) обаче же тако убо иже васи такожде, русииским народом име са радостију, даже и до ниња припознавајут, ... и сам патриарха московски сију русииску титлу, јако пречастнеишу и превисоко велми славнеишу, неже московску, себе присвоившему сажителствует, и ваистину и сами они московски начелствујуштеи обладатели, не ватолико Московскои јако васои Русии господарство, ва надписанијах себе присвојавајут, отнуду же зримо бивает, јако име Москвалем древне не бивает, и јако русииским народом чест бивает, и јако единого некоего народа ими бити подобно бивает, от града и тржишнопрестолнаго места, иже превеличаишими землјами особлеванием удалечеваеми бивши, от древни иногда биваемим Москвалем, или москхиискими народими бившими, иже прежде сих немно/26/го минувшими временми, називателно ими име привазаимоваемо васприетие бист

(The Modok people were also a people of Asian Sarmatia — according to Ptolemy... Ptolemy also tells us, as does Pliny, too, that the Moschean mountains lie in Cappadocia and in Armenia... he also mentions the Muscovite people and state ... In the same way, according to the geographer Strabo, the Muscovites settled alongside the Kolchida people... According to Joseph the Jew (Iosephus Flavius), the Moschi (later called the Cappadocians) originate from Moschim or Moscha, son of Japhet — the similarity to the name Moschi is much less than to the Muscovites, and thus to those peoples who today hold very extensive territories in both Asian and European Sarmatia, use the Slav language and call themselves the

Latin *Moschi* or *Mošci*, the German *Moškoviti*, and the Slav *Moscow* or *Moskvali*, and who have possessed these lands for many centuries... (3) But they have been calling themselves *Moskvali* only lately and their region as a whole did not bear that name before. In the beginning only one people on a limited territory bore that name — after the name of the river and city of Moscow)

/I–30–36/ Origin of the ethnonym/toponym *rus-/ros-* — interpreted as coming (1) from the legendary *Rusin* (brother of Lech and Czech), (2) from the old state *Rosea* — that is the interpretation by Russian people while Greeks and Latins called them *Sauromates* or *Scythians*; (3) from the legendary *Sauromatic* people of *Roksolani/Roksi* — what author of the *Chronicles* seems to concern to be the best interpretation:

(1) јако убо Георгие Хорние ва свою Историю ... рекше; О русиискому источнозачинателному похожденију, различна изложенија предавајут саписатели, тоижде рекоми Петар Лукари глаголет јако именем називаеми Русин, брат биви Леху и Чеху Словеном народно лјудство, приселением ва Роксоланиу привазносив, от них же Руси источнозачинателним похождением, себе влекомо име присвоением восприели сут,

(2) Сами же они Руси привазвештавајут, јако држава име древним називанием Росеа рекома бист, и народ таи ва многа мала кнежевства разделен бист; Ни ва чем же убо ва уди/31/вление не бивает, јако ва првее нијаково летописание ва народе варварском обретаваемо не биваше, иже последним временом по восприемшему, верователнаго закона христијанскаго, едва зачетием от свои Блгари слова восприев, вамале прежде того времена гречаским подобием, приобретаема била сут, ими же сажителствовати зачинание сатворив, и сапособствием сажителствуует. По том же непознаваем бивши Грцим и Латинном таи народ, јако же такожде и полуноштние народи непознаваеми биваху, их же обштим нарицателним именем, или Савромати, или Скити им бити називали сут, егда убо ради между себе предлажаишими землними удаленми, особлјаваеми обретаваеми биваху, и пребивателним уподоблением држави ти неустроени бивши, и ради неупитомленними немилосрдними, и варварскими бившими ими обичаими, ни ва что са ними вадружевание не имевајушними;

(3) Аште же убо Роксаном или Роксоланом име, иже Русом или Русом биваему имену, не вел/32/ми неслично бивает, древними историчаствујушними незнаемо не бивает, јако убо и Птоломеи ... и Плинии ... роксоланииские народи ва Савроматиу, при бедру Миотиискому езеришту вамештавајут, и — Корн[елие] Такит ва Летписанија ... римскаго кесара ... Силвија Отто време ... тако о них пишет рекше ... толми убо дрзновеннише Роксолани савроматииски народ ... ва Мисиу нападателно вахождение сатворили сут; Стравон географ ... тако пишет, Роксани убо паче ка северу имеми бивајут, намежду те-

кушними водами рекоми Танаис, и Нипар ... /33/ ... супротив воевождоначелников, Митридата цара Понтииской области ва Асиу биваемой ... брантворение изследствовали сут. ... усрдствујуште чатител, јако убо тиежде пребивателние столице, толико древни и целомудрни биваеми саписатели, ванимајут бити Роксоланом или Роксаном и Тракиом по рекшаго ... Стравона географа ... јако под именем Тракиом садржаваеми бивајут, Гети, Даки, и ... Раксии от них же ва Србску област, држава Рашкова називаема бивает; Сими же убо васеми ... народими ... Срблем, Блгаром, Роксоланом, Тракиом, и прочими ... Словеними места, Руси даже и до сего дна пребиванием садржавајут, и они уже тогда ... Отгону кесару, Римской области ... Мисиу ва ограничение ими бившу, ишташевaniem разрушити зачели сут ... /36/ тачију убо оние иже ва рождено свое место пребиванием /36/ остали сут древним Роксиом име садржавали сут, ими же Роксиом нетрудно склоневание бити вазможет, ва нарицателно име Русиом, и — русиискими бити; откуда же и ва кое време Словени ва преее ва Вандалиу, ва Саксониу, ва Немачску, ва Далматииску, и — ва Иллиричаски областех пришли сут, то знаемо бивает јако от Киммериисаго Восфора, и Танаиской води, Киммерион ... место ... между, Миотиисаго езеришта и между мора, Ексинопонтиисаго ... васи географи ... Роксаном или Роксоланом и — Савроматиом бити ванимавајут

/I-36-37/ Origin of Russians — up to the biblical Book of Ezekiel — legendary *Tovel*, *Mesech* and *Rosh*:

аште же убо некто вазискати хоштет, ва преее Руси ва кое време ва Савроматиу пребивати зачели сут, и откуда тамо пришли сут, и откуда себе русииско име васприели сут, ваистину известуем, јако аште убо нам и усрдно искусити понуждение приложихом, на убо незнајуштим нам обретаваем биваем. Обаче же убо приобретаваем ва /37/ Езекила пророка ... васпоменуему бившу начелствујуштому име, Рос, Мосох и Тувал, по сведетелству Кромера ... сиче писанију предавашаго, тако убо чатенију предали сут Евсевие Кесарииски, Теодокион, Симмахос ... о Тувалу, и Мосоху, о них же нами више речено бист, Рос, аште убо народу име бивает, и тоежде русиискому имену суседствујуштому се, единосагласуемо зримо бивает, отнуду же разнственно васприемлемо бити вазможет, јако Русом или Роксаном источнозачинателно похождение, от тогожде Роса или Рос рекомаго привазводимо бити вазможет, јако же убо и ва том јавставно зримо бивает иже русииским именем, ва државу Новоградску тџиштно пребивателно место тако називаемо бивает;

(It is still unknown from where the Slavs have come as well as the time of their coming to Sauromatia; nor do we know anything about the origin of the name Rus'. But in the Book of Ezekiel there are Rosh, Mesech and

Tovel mentioned (so by Cromer and other historians) which can be considered as ancestors of the Russian people)

/I-38-40/ Theory about the Gothic origin of the Slavs — while *gothic* coming from *gost-* i. e., *guest*:

По више же ... указавшим нам јако словенски народ, от многоразлични народи разумеваеми бивајут, ва првее убо ва Скитииску област, ... обретаваеми били сут, именем називаеми Алани иже Татари древни сут, иже потом ва Еуропиу разпространившим се, словенскога езика глаголанием себе Гости бити наз/39/вали сут, ва поругание онеми ими же преодолеванием, пребивателниие земле ва своју област притворили сут, тии же рекоми Гости от Греков по вишереченному, мегчаишаго им диалекта изглаголанија ради, скитииски Готи ими бити нарекли сут, их же и Латини таковим нарицанием сапособствовали сут, Готи же или Гости рекоми словенски народи разумеваеми сут, по сведетелству ... презвитера Диоклитиискога ... сии же Гости или Готи вамежду инеми народими, приобштением имели сут и пафлагонииски народ именуеми Енети, Пафлагониа же разумеваема бивает асииска држава, даже и до Витиние та же и до Каппадокие от иние же страни до Ексииниискога мора ... при границу Българскои държави ... васи же убо си вишеречени народи вадружени бивши Българими, Срблыми, Тракиими, и Роксаними и по минувшими временими пованегда јако гости приваселившим се, Тракиу, Македониу, и /40/ васу Иллириу ва своју им област притворившим, такожде и они Словени иже при Савроматиски планинах били сут, јако гости приваселившим се, ва Ливониу и ва Прусиу ва првее пребивајуштим, потом же и ва Вандалиу тиижде словенски Гости приваселили се сут

(The old Tatars and Alans, since they have come from the Scythia and settled in Europe, used to name themselves (in Slavic language) as *Guests*; then Greeks named them Scythian Goths, so Latins, too. This name has then been spreaded among the other Slavic tribes — they have coming to the new settlement areas as guests, too)

/I-208/ Etymological interpretation of the toponym *Srem/Sirmium* as coming from the name of the Gethic king *Sirmo*:

Велики бо Александер не велми далече от острова ... латински рекомаго Пеуце иже ... више Византиискога града ва Дунавски устах биваеми, тамо саразително борение сатворив са царем гетииским, именуемим СИРМО от него же Сремска землја називаема бист

/I-215/ Origin of the ethnonym *Shokach-*:

царски питроп латински рекоми тутор именуеми Штиллико ... супротив тогда биваеми Готи и Французи привлекав ва Французску област, бургундиискиие, швевиискиие по нашему глаголанију шокачскиие, јако о того народа биваеми епископи отслава римски папа, да блгарски народ

крстити будут ва латински закон, Его же ради прочи окрестние народи латински закон васприемлјуште, Шокцими бити назвали суг от крштавајуште их епископи швевииски

(Stilicho, the tutor of the emperor, has brought catholic priests in the land, which were called *shokach* priests — then, all the catholic people used to be named so)

/II-3/ Etymological approach to the ethnonym *Serb-* as coming from the toponym *Sauromat-*:

... от имена же сауроматијакаго ... бист учинено име Срби ...

/II-6/ the etymology of the Serbian, Bulgarian and Russian ethnonyms: (1) *Serb-* as coming from *Sauromat-*, (2) *bulgar-* (*bugr-*) from the hydronym *Volga* (> *Vlgari* > *Blgari*), (3) *Russ-* from *roks-*, i. e., from the name of a Sauromatic people:

(1) јавставно знаемо ест бити исхождение србско, блгарско, и роксијско сиреч русијско, от них же и рашковско ва Србској земли именовани суг, сији васи народи сауроматиски суг:

(2) Срби, јако же прежде рекохом от Сауроматиској држави именовани суг,

Бугри, сиреч Блгари, от жилишта при зовомој реке Волга пребиваниа им јаже прежде Рха наречена бисть ва првее от воде Волга /7/ Вугри или Бугри потом и Влгари и Блгари именовани суг:

(3) Роксани же названи от гречаски и латински даскали, јако от Птолемеја и Плинија, тако и от Стравона и Корнелија Такита, роксијскога народа ва Сауроматијској држави, при морскому езершту Миотис вамештавајуг, от нии же росииски народи именовани бише иже и до данашнега дна Сауроматију обладајуг, и росиискем именомъстаровременно названо место имејуг

/II-11/ Etymological explanation of the ethnonym *Slov-* as coming from *slovo*, i. e. ‘word’ (= ‘upright, sincere’) and later on from *slava* which means ‘glory’, too:

и тако ... от слова, им же ... слово свое ваздали сугь и непременно глаголелателнаго слова своего преступити не васхотевше, тогда того дела ради себе Словеном бити нарекоше, и васехфалноју славоју своеју веселеште се, паки потом от велике славе имејугу им назваше се и Славни, отнугу /12/ же латинским езиком и до нинешнега дна Славони именујуг се

/I-35 II-12-13/ Different theories about the origins of Slavic ethnonyms — as built from the names of the tribal leaders, from the landnames, from the original inhabitants of these lands, as neologisms, and so on:

... друго ими ... оплчение ... /35/ ... и васу ... Немачку страну ... от Висле ... до Сала и Алби ... даже и до вамежду Карпатииской планини, до Дунавской води и до окејана Немачкаго ... присвоившим ... Егда убо тижде области ... от народи ... празни биваху, от ... непрестанна брантворенија, и ва иние пребивателние столице приваселеванија ради, и тижде народи васкоро областими особлеванми, различними еште нарицателними именми називаеми били сут, тако убо иже честију единою от воевождоначелников, другоју же честију от тамо биваюшти местах, иноју же честију от прежде тамо пребивајуштих, вапоследи же и от ученија, и привикнути обичаеви биваеми, или от прихажителнаго случеванија, некаја новоназивателна имена себе васприели сут;

(After their settlement in East and Central Europe, where a lot of areas were uninhabited, Slavs used to name themselves either after their leaders or after the old place names or the old inhabitants etc.)

многоразличними именми потом себе нарекоше, тако иже некие чести от вождајушти их воиводах именоваше се, друзи же от поместние предели назваше се, ини же от прежде ва тих државах преби/13/вајушти нарекоше се, и от ва них имејуштаго между собоју обичај, или новоизмишлена имена себе васприеше, тачију они Срби, Блгари, и Роксани, иже своим именем от рожденија своего из Китские Сауроматие, и езера Миотискаго исхождение сатворише, ва роде своем имена своја придржаше, и от сих вишеречени три родов прочи народи словенски васи исхождение свое имејут

(Some of them have named themselves after their leaders, the other after the former inhabitants or after some old tradition there; but Serbs, Bulgars und Roxans have kept their old names they have brought with from Scythian Sauromatia; from these three all the other Slavic people come)

/II-42-43/ (1) Interpretation of the Slavic and Hungarian name *Bela* as coming from the legendary son of the emperor Licinius; (2) high frequency of the Slavic stem *bel-* which means 'white' and which was used to be name for areas and people as well:

(1) на ... паче мнју бити, сего Бела Уроша лозом влекомим от Ликиниа,

(2) јако же убо сему подобна многа места и мнози чловеци обретајут се ва прочех слове/43/нских наших народах сице именовани бити првее же ва Московской, и Лешской области даже и до сего часа зрима и зовома ест Росииска држава, Бела Росија, и Црна Росија, ва Алеманской же области иде же словеносрбски народ приселение свое ваместише при текуштие реки, јуже и до н[и]нја латинским езикомь Алба именует се, по нашему же Бела разумет се, Кромеру тако ва свою Историју сведетелствујуту: Ва Словеноугрские же земли и три

кратева Бела именовани биде, Бонфинију тако сведетелствујуту: се убо тако бивше, иже старовременним обичаем ва различни словески народах јако места тако и чловеци мнози именовани били сут

/III-111/ Interpretation of the ethnonyms *Rasa-* / *Raksa-* / *Roksa-* / *Rashka* as Sauromatic ones:

блаженопаметно тело его ... принесено бист ва место рекомо Раса, по старовременному же Ракса именованна, при текуштие реки тим же именем названно, јако убо народ раксииски или роксииски, ванегда приселение себе сатвори от сауроматииски ва тих илиричаски странах пребивателна места себе вадрузише, и тако от того раксиискаго народа, место то са текуштом реком Ракса именована бист ...

(His body was brought to the place named Rasa or, in elder manner, Raksa which lies by the river with the same name — so named by the Slavs after their coming to these Illyric area from Sauromatia)

/III-159/ Serbian origin of a Hungarian phrase/expression:

сице васклицаху, Кто хоштет дати вештшу цену, /160/ да му ваздам болшаго Агарена и богатеишаго Персијана, отнуду же между различными народи иже ва кралевско воинство биваше, обретајуте се и Угри от србскаго васклицанија ванимајуте себе јако бл[а]гонарочита васклицанија имејут бити сија, и тако тогда навикоше и Угри победителноју славоју васклицати гл[агол]јуте, Котъие ветъие Котъие ветъие Котъие ветъие Таи же тогда навикнути, обичаи ва угърском народе даже и до данашнега дна пребивает, ванегда вазхиштену плен продавати и раздавати хоштут, бл[а]гонарочитим гласом Котъие ветъие Угри васклицајут

(After a fight against Persians, there were a lot of prisoners of war which were sold. So one used to ask with this occasion for a higher price. Hungarians still use this Serbian phrase when selling something)

/III-369/ Origin of the Serbian king names *Urosh* and *Stefan*: *Urosh* interpreted as coming from the biblical name *Ur* (son of *Hur* — s. biblical Paralipomenon-Book) and *Stefan* as Greek ‘crown’:

Дозде ... лозу рода Стефана ... Првовенчаннаго ... сина Прваго Стефана Немане ... са васеми ... кралеви и цареви србски биваеми саписујуте их, ... јавставно видимо ест, јако кралеви /370/ и цареви србски двема именими себе именовати привикли беху, сиреч Урошем и Стефаном, подобает убо ведети чесо ради сие биваше ... Урош преродител Прваго Немане ... от Георгиа кралја словенскаго бист поставлен бити, великим жупаном Захлмскои држави ... сеи Урош, преродител вишеименуемаго Немане; аште ли же ... хоштет кто знати, сего ... рекомаго Урош, похождение егово обрести имеет, ва првои книги Паралипоменон ... рекше, /371/ јако потом Хур роди Ура, и Ур

роди Веселеел, Ур же халдеиским езиком јако и евреиским езиком, разумеет се бити оган господан, халдеиски бо език, са евреиским много единасаглашение имејут: второ же име рекомо Стефан, привикли беху имети србски кралеви и цареви, двочислним тазоимствованием, крштением или на кралевство венчаванием, его же обичаја от Греков ради елинскога езика ... васприеше, елинским бо езиком стефанос именует се венац, им же кралеви и цареви венчаваеми биваху, и того ради наши србски кралеви и цареви сија два старовременна имена, или ва време крштенију им, или ва време венчанију им себе именовавше садржаваху

In the *Chronicles* the history of neighbouring nations of the Serbs is also an important subject: of the Hungarian state, Byzantine Empire and the Romanians. The following fragments show how the origin of the Vlachs and of their ethnonym are interpreted by the *Chronicles*:

Etymological speculation on the origin of the Romanians (Vlachs):

/I–19/ On geographical position of Vlachs:

Ва полуноштну же страну даже и до Истриискои страни, Дакии садржавали сут, иже н[и]нја запланински Влахи, и молдовски, и седмоградски бивајут, даже и до Чешскои области продлжаванием садржавали сут

(In the North until Dacia belonged to the peoples who are now named Back-mountain Vlachs and Moldavian Vlachs, those of Sedmograd, too; they hold the whole area even up to the Czech region)

/III–248–250/ (1) Personal name giving among Vlachs; (2) the etymology of personal name *Basaraba*; (3) the origin of ‘Slavic-Valachian’ people:

(1) Басараба воиводи сародствие ... от полуноштни странах пришедшим Словеном и ва Нижну Мисију при Експонтииском месту иде же ... Дунав ва морско езериште ваходит, неци от словенскога народа тамо васелившим се ... и првоначелствујущеи народу тому обичаи имеху, /249/ чеди свое родившие се именоваху, рекше неци, Богослав, ини ... Богодан, ... ини ... Божидар, друзи ... Божираб,

(2) от них же и ... предедови сего ... Басараба воиводи рождени бише, и лозом влекуште се до времена Ираклија цара ... един от них ва супружницу себе вазем даштер ... рода Ираклиа цара ... и гречаски его сародници ради гречаскога танкословителнаго им езика, нека слова применивше ваместо Божираб именујущте его Бесираб глаголаху, отнуду же не тачију таи басарабски род назва се от Греков Бесираб, на и васа државна поморска област рода того Бесирабија наречена бист, јаже и до сего времена тако зо/250/вет се, ва неи же ... нинја Татари

Нохаиски и Бужачски пребивајут; Влахи же дебелеише словителнаго им езика ради, такожде изменением неким словам,

(3) рода сего от него же таст бист Четвртаго Уроша кралја србскаго именовати навикоше Басараб Влахи убо сији смесивши се между словенским народом жителством своим пребиваху, его же смесителнаго пребивания ради и Словеновлахи наречени бише, о сем же словеновлахииском народе ... Кромер ... историк .. по нижнему изложенију саписујуште сведетелствует. Словеновлахииски народ ва првее от Италиански странах рекомие Римские области, принесен бистъ ва землју Дакииску, Трајану кесару римскому, тогда војујушту ...

(The name Basarab is interpreted as coming from the old tradition of the Vlachs to give their sons the (Slav) names Bogoslav, Bogodan etc. After one of the Vlach dukes has married a girl from the Byzantin emperor's family, the Greeks have changed the name to Besirab because they could not pronounce it; this name was then applied to the whole area and now it is still called like that. The Vlachs then called themselves Basarab. Because of contact and the life together with Slavs, they are also called Slav-Vlachs — so mentioned by Cromer)

/III–253–261/ (1) Origin of Vlach people by mixing of Goth people and remnants of Roman people; (2) the Slavic influence upon the language of Vlachs; (3) meanings by different historians about Vlachs and their lands; (4) different theories about the meaning of the ethnonym Vlach (i.e. as 'servant') as well as different variants of their ethnonyms (different names for Vlachs are given in *Italic*):

(1) ... вапоследи же Готи Дакију ва своју област притворивше обладали били сут, ва време Гратијана кесара римскаго, и тако от смешенија ва Дакију оставши римскаго народа обитајуштеји вакупе са готским и прочим варварским народом, единожителствујуштим и брачним сачетанием самесившим се, от того смесителнаго исхождениа влахииски народ битија своего зачетие вазет,

(2) от того же старовременнаго варварскаго и римскаго езика самешеннаго изглаголанија нови езык себе имети навикоше, обаче аште убо руски и словенски езык ва них име|ти навикли сут, обичаја сего имети /254/ имејут суседствујуштаго ради между собою обштаго жителства, или јако и таи народ от Словенов зачетие свое вазел бист, јако же и прочи народи ва тои страни биваимие предели иже от Миотинскаго езеришта морскаго ва Скитскои држави и Ексипонтиискаго даже и до Адриатиискаго рекомаго Венедичскаго морскаго езеришта, престоештеи се држави под своју област притворили беху,

(3) Словени же васе Латине или Италиане, римские народе *Влахом* именоваху јако же и до н[и]нја именујут; иногда бо неведоми и незнаеми биваше народ сеи влахииски, јако убо прежде обрете се ва

Угърску Историју тачију ва време више писаннаго Карола кралја угрскога, бран творештаго супротив Басараба воивоуду, више речени /255/ Кромер историк, по вишеизложеному подобију сведетелствуе ... Готофред же земљу Седмоградску саписујуште Дакију на 6 чести и државах разделјајуште некогда, ва која места васелени биваху, гл[агол]ет *Влахи* рекоми *Лайџини* или *Иџалијани* римски народи, ванегда преселение свое твораху от одинаго ва друго место, иноплеменнаго ради борения ратију супротив им и Римскому ими кесарству, обаче же неци гл[агол]јут јако Дакија и Мисија от Седмоградские земље особити се имеет, ини же по Птолемееву разнствију Дакију особлјајут от Дунавскога брега, јаже и Брежна Дакија наречена бист; Еутропие же саписујуште житие Аурелиана кесара ... гл[агол]ет, државу /256/ рекомују Дакију јуже Трајан кесар обон пол Дунава победноју силоју своеју беше сатворил, оставив — ју именем назвав бити Дакија, сија же Дакија разделјае две Мисииские области, сиреч Вишу и Нижну Мисију, Вишу Мисију обладали сут словеносрбски народи, Нижну же Мисију словеноблгарски народи обладали били сут; Луцие же латински историк ... јако о словенском тако и о влахиском народе, изложение предания своего последовавши, по сему подобију гл[агол]ет рекше: ванегда же убо Словени Илирију ва своју област притворили беху,

(4) и тамо пребивателнаго римскога народа обретајуштаго се ва поддану служителну чест себе приваменили /257/ беху велефално вазвештено име оно римско ва словенском народе обнаженим зраком ва подданно служително пособствие вамени се, и ванегда кого *Влахом* нарицаху, того подданнаго служабника раба бити разумеваху, иже потом ва томжде словенском народе скотскога стада пастирие и нижаишаго лика влахиски лјудие разпространени пребиваху; Того ради *Влахи* ва словенском народе от смешенија смесителнаго езика римскога народа же латинскога или италианскога бити разумеет се, от лика пастирскога ва планински горах обитајуштеи пребиванием, иже словенским езиком *Бели Влахи* именовати се наречени бише. *Влахи* же иже ва србски, босански, и — хрватски планински горах пребивајут, римскога народа остав/258/ши се наследници бити мнози тако саматрајут и ва време егда Словени Далматију ва своју област васприели сут ва планински горах прибегли сут, са презвитером диоклитииском тако бити разумејут: Гречаски же вивлиографи сиреч книгам саписатели, Зонара, Никита, Лаоник, влахискога народа ва многоразлични странах пребивателнаго бити гл[агол]јут рекше, ва Булгарију, ва Тракију, ва Тесалију, и ва странах Мисииски странствујуштеји *Власи* пребиваху ва невавштена себе престолна места такожде же и ва западни странах Моглену државу, Кедренох саписуе окрст же Касторие Анна Комнена Алексиадос ва пету книгу своју указуе гл[агол]јуште, потом Алексие *Влахе* ваместив; хрватска планинска гора и /259/ иногда Бела Гора именованна, н[и]нја Морлаха речена, и

Грци некие влахијские народи именовани нарицаху *Морлахи*, ини еже називаху *Мавровлахи*, јако же Кодин историк сведетелствуе, ини же речени бише *Коцовлахи*, иже гречаским езиком *Ромивлахи* бити разумејут се ратију побиваеми бившим. по Акрополитову сведетелству; ва латински же историков Луитпранд, Лонгин, или по нашему рекше Логин Микховита и Кромер гл[агол]јут, ва пръвее *Влахи Пециноге* и *Пециноге* именовани беху ради скотом пастирие бившим, и при огњу парештим се ва горах *Пециноге* наречени бише, потом влахијско име себе приобретоше, и вишеречени историци своим сведетелством, са руским народом /260/ суседствујущта се их вамештајут, и супротив лешскому народу војујущтеи, Руси ва дружство свое пециногскаго народа ваземше бран вакупе сатворили сут тако гл[агол]јут: Лонгин или Логин са Кедреном — и Зонаром единослагасует, јако царством гречаским царствујущту Иоану Цимисхију, Руси вративши се от Българские земли пленом от пециногскаго народа поприани били сут тако вештајут; Логин же изложением своим предав, јако Руси са воиводом своим именованним Бура, ва лето (972) тогожде Цимисхија царствујущтаго от Гречаски држава обремененним пленом вратившим се, от пециногскаго народа побеждени били сут, плен от них ваземше и воиводе им сам/261/ртију предајущте убиен бист, пованегда же вишеречено варварско смешение или смесителнаго езика рекоми *Пециноге* Словени *Влахом* бити нарекли сут, Грци же многоразличним *Влахом* именујущте по вишереченному разнствију *Мавровлахом* и *Морлаком* и проч, такожде — и Италиани Греком пособствујущтим некие *Влахе Морлаком* рекше *Црним Влахом* именујут, сиреч *Црни Лайшани* или *Ийталиани*. Словеновлахискаго сего народа господарством обладајущтаго Басараб воиводе, и бивши таст Четвртому Урошу реченному и Дечанскому кралју сръбскому

/IV-609/ Relationship and spread of the Basarab family and ‘Slavic-Valachian’ people to the Slavs which were settled in the area between Black and Adriatic sea:

зде о Влахомолдавски првообладателев, нечто пространнее ... васхотехом, ... о Басарабском сародствију и родословија Словеновлахискаго народа, јако заче/610/тие битија своего вазет, от смешенија прочи словенские народи, иже от Миотиискаго и Експонтиискаго езеришта, разпространени биваху, даже и до Адриатијскаго рекомаго Венедичаскаго морскаго езеришта Мартину Кромеру тако сведетелствујущту; Басарабски же род са Експонтиискими примор(с)кими државама име свое вазет, јако же прежде рекохом, ва дни Ираклија цара васеленскаго

/IV-614-617/ (1) Valachian and Moldavian countries; (2) the etymology of the name *Moldova*; (3) the foundation of the despot Basarab family branch in the 14th century and later division of the state territory

into an eastern resp. northern part and one southern part which then were ruled by two kings, brothers Stefan and Peter:

(1) Антоние же Бонфиние, са Мартином Кромером, купно и са Георгием Хорнием, известнеише јавставно сведетелствујут, јако Влахииска и Молдовска землја кралевскоју, тогда Греком рекома деспотскоју титлоју обдржима била ест, ва лето 1300 ... Влахииски же народ откуду и когда себе влахииско име васприет, не обретаем зачетија имени того, тачију Кромеровим сведетелством гл[а]големими истино тако бити, јако же ва историчаству сво/615/ему саписав, рекше, иже васи словенски народи не тачију сего влахиискаго народа, на и васего италианскаго народа Влахом именујут, его же ради са прочим сведетелствујуштим веруем бити Влахом италиискаго рода;

(2) Молдова же названа бист, от реки текуштеи посред држави тои именуемие Молда,

(3) отнуду же старовременно влекуште се Басарабскаго рода лоза, влахииски први крал васпоменует се, именуеми Влаико Басараба, тои же крал Басараба бив ва лето ... 1320 и ва лето (1330) от того же ... рода Басарабскаго, ва Молдовску землју, или паче ва Басарабску ... гречаским езиком рекше први деспот, нашим же словенским ... први крал бист именуеми /616/ Дргич или Драгое, ва лето 1340 сему же молдовскому кралју Драгоју, наследник бивает син его именуеми Сас, ва лето ... 1358. Сеи же влахомолдовски крал рекоми Сас, ва последнја времена, влахииски народ единаго биваемаго, ва два господарства обладаема бити сатворив, и тако на двое разделеним бившим, на две стране именовати се начинајут, тако убо иже ва страну восточну, и ва полуноштну склонена сут, и са Подолскоју държавоју себе ограничајут, Влахомолдовско господарство назвати се зачинает, ва полуданну же страну биваемо господарство и Седмоградскому боку, присезајуштим се Влахозаплинским именем звати се зачетие васприет; ва област же Влахиискаго кралевства, по кралју рекомому Сас, наследствујушту Сте/617/фану Басарабу кралју, и по самрти еговои два сина ва кралевству оставшим се, именуеми Стефан и Петар

/IV–633/ The division (mentioned above) of the Valachian region into Basarabia and Vlahomoldavia, with *Belgrade* and *Suceava* as capital cities:

крал посланники свое отслава ка ним ради самирителнаго ходатаиствија, и по ниже изложенному подобију, Влахииска област между ими разделена бист, сичевим пособствием, јако нижна и приморска ограничителна држава, јаже по више изложеннаго Словенобасарабскаго рода, и народа ради, Басарабија зовома бити именуе се област та, ва неи же обретае се именуеми град Басарабски Белград, и Килија, господарства области тои Стефан да имеет, вишу же чест земли Влахомолдовскои, иже ва западнју страну, и са руским народом

суседствуема ограничуе се, купно са престолним градом именуемим Сучава, Илија ва област господарства своего да иимее

/IV–635/ Slavic origin of the title of Vlach dukes — vojvods — as coming from Polish tradition resp. from common Slav tradition (as a result of long-lasting cohabitation life with the Slavs — and under Slav rulers):

... отнуд Леси по вишеваображенному, ва своју област иимевши влахиискога народа, по своему им обичају, јако же ва лешскому кралевству начелнеиши устроители воиводами, именујут се, тако и влахииские обладатели именовати навикоше рекше, /636/ воивола влахииски, иже разумеет се бити, второначелствујуштеи обладател: Друзи же гл[агол]јут, јако влахииски начелници воиводами именујут се еште от времена словенотскии и словенотсарабскии народи, ванегда и словенотосански народ са прочими илиричаскими и тракиискими Словени от Експонтниискии страни, приселение сатворили сут, по старовременним бо историчаствујуштим, и словенотосански народ словенотсарабски народ именуе се, и ва та времена јако же више пространнеише ваобразихом, влахииски народи бракосачетателним пребиванием, и между собоју прекуплением тргујушта се самесивши се са словенскими и са прочими варварскими народи, не тачију купно едино жителство иимејаху, на и начелнике влахиискии, словенским езиком воиводами називајуште, именовали их сут, /637/ отнуду же јавставно зрит се јако еште ва прва времена словенским кралем бившим влахииски народи второначелнии свое воиводи, под словенскога кралевства област иимели сут

/IV–679–680/ Turk origin of the name of the *Karabogdan* country as coming from the name of ‘Slavic-Valachian’ ruler *Bogdan*, called ‘Black’, in the Vlach language *Negru*:

При сему же времену по Кромерову све/680/детелству, Словенотвлахиискии обладател именуеми Богдан бив, Орбин историк сведетелствуе, јако сеи Богдан прорицателним презименом своим наречен бист Црни, его же Влахи своим влахииским езиком Негру воивола именујут, от имена же еговаго Турци земљу Молдовску, турским езиком рекше Карабогдан назвали сут, турско бо глаголение кара, по нашему црни разумеет се

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GEOSYNONYMS IN THE 17TH CENTURY CROATIAN DICTIONARY: ABOUT SOME ITALIANISMS

Abstract: Based on the lexicographic data from Ivan Belostenec's Latin-Croatian and Croatian-Latin two-volume dictionary (17th century) the author analyzes several geosynonyms (words with the same meaning, used in different geographic areas within the same language). Italianisms/Venetianisms were found in large numbers among words from Dalmatia. They should be distinguished from other words of Balkan Latin origin and also from Dalmatoromanisms, which derive from the words of Latin origin that entered the Croatian language directly from Romance idioms spoken on the Adriatic coast. Some of Dalmatoromanic words entered also the Venetian language when it spread on the East Adriatic coast. The diatopic variants of Dalmatia are present in the dictionary but not many of them are Italianisms.

Keywords: geosynonyms, Italianisms, Venetianisms, loanwords

Ivan Belostenec's Latin-Croatian and Croatian-Latin two-volume dictionary was written in the 17th century, but the manuscript was kept in the Paulist monastery in Lepoglava for more than sixty years after Belostenec's death. Before the beginning of work on publishing the manuscript, Ivan Krištolovec in his *Brevis relatio* of 1721 testifies that both parts were kept in Lepoglava. He writes about Belostenec "Qui florente adhuc aetate composuit Ditionarium Latino Croaticum et contra Croatico Latinum, opus plane pro natione eximium sed adhuc hodie ob defectum expensarum in tenebris haerens".

Doubts about Belostenec's authorship of the *Gazophylacium* arose first of all because of its tridialectal nature.¹ It was really hard to imagine

¹ The doubts increased because of the fact that the *Gazophylacium* contains some proverbs from Vitezović's *Priručnik* and words from Della Bella's dictionary, both of which appeared after Belostenec's death.

how a born Kajkavian speaker (born probably in Varaždin), who lived in the region between Međimurje on the one side and Vinodol and Istria on the other side, could have included in his dictionary words from Slavonia and Dalmatia, which were then under Turkish and Venetian occupation respectively.

On the basis of Hadrovicz's study it turns out that Belostenec had been familiar with the *Dictionarium quinque nobilissimarum Europae linguarum* of Faust Vrančić (1595),² and was also able to use Mikalja's *Blago jezika slovinskoga* (1649)³ in his lexicographic work. These books furnished him with a significant quantity of words from Dalmatia. On the other hand, refugees from Slavonia brought him into contact with Slavonian words, among them Turkisms. Living in Svetice near Ozalj, Belostenec was part of the so-called Ozalj Circle (P. Zrinski, F. K. Frankopan and others), which — on the basis of the linguistic strivings of the Glagolitic writers of Pokuplje (15th century), of the Croatian Protestants (16th century) and of Franjo Glavinić — sought to form a literary language by weaving all the dialects together. This concept, which Belostenec applied in his *Gazophylacium*, was particularly successful in the Pokuplje region, where mixing of dialects occurred in everyday speech. Belostenec's sermons (published in 1672) testify that he used a mixed language not only in his dictionaries.

After the liberation of Slavonia from the Turks, Belostenec's manuscript grew in importance, since it could assist better understanding between the areas separated until recently but now increasingly coming into contact. A patron was found to finance its printing, and the two editors added some material from Della Bella's dictionary,⁴ but without altering the conception of the work. They also changed the name of the language (Croatian) into Illyrian, which better suited the official name of the region at that time, "Regnum Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae".

² Faust Vrančić, *Dictionarium quinque nobilissimarum Europae linguarum Latinae, Italicae, Germanicae, Dalmaticae et Ungaricae*, Apud Nicolaum Morettum, Venezia, 1595.

³ Jakov Mikalja, *Blago jezika slovinskoga ili Slovník u Komu izgovarajuse rijeci slovinske latinski, i Diacki. Thesaurus linguae illyricae sive Dictionarium Illyricum, In quo verba Illyrica Italice, et Latine redduntur*, Romae: et sumptibus sacrae congregationis de propaganda fide impressum, Loreto, apud Paulum et Io, Baptistam Seraphinum, 1649.

⁴ Ardelio della Bella, *Dizionario Italiano-Latino-Ilirico cui si premettono alcuni avvertimenti per inscrivere e con facilita maggiore leggere le voci illiriche scritte con caratteri italiani, ed anche una breve grammatica per apprendere ... la lingua illirica*, Presso Cristoforo Zanne, Venezia, 1728 (2nd edition *Dizionario Italiano-Latino-Ilirico a cui si premettono alcune brevi istruzioni grammaticali necessarie per apprendere la lingua e l'ortografia illirica*, nella stanperia privilegiata, Ragusa, 1785).

Belostenec's dictionary was edited in 1740, more than sixty years after its author's death (Zagrabiae, Typis Joannis Baptistae Weitz, Inclyti Regni Croatiae Typographi), under the title *Gazophylacium, seu Latino-Illyricorum onomatium aerarium, selectioribus synonymis, phraseologiis, verborum constructionibus metaphoris, adagiis, abundantissime locupletatum, item plurimis authorum in hoc opera adductorum sententiis idiomatice Illyrico delicates illustratum*.

According to the author, who wrote it in the preface, the first part (Latin-Croatian) was completely finished in 1674 (58 years after he entered the Paulist order). The fact that the second part is much smaller than the first part should be explained. Namely, the first volume has 1,288 pages, while the second only 690. Towards the end of Belostenec's work on his dictionary manuscript, Juraj Habelić's *Dikcionar* (1670) appeared.⁵ Belostenec used Habelić's list of Croatian words and extended it with his own material. Because of the short time he had at his disposal, he never completed the second part of the dictionary (*Gazopylacium Illyrico-Latinum*), which thus remained much smaller than the first part. This is the reason I decided to base my analysis on the corpus from his first volume.

Belostenec's lexicographic orientation is defined as tridialectal; therefore his dictionary, consisting of Kajkavian, Čakavian and Štokavian components, offers many geosynonyms. By geosynonym (It. *geosinonimo*), term used in Italian linguistics, we mean words with the same meaning, used in different geographic areas within the same language.⁶

My intent was to analyze some Italianisms/Venetianisms, which I expected to be found in large numbers among words from Dalmatia. They should be distinguished from other words of Balkan Latin origin and also from Dalmatoromanisms, which derive from the words of Latin origin that entered the Croatian language directly from Romance idioms spoken on the Adriatic coast. Some of Dalmatoromanic words entered also the Venetian language when it spread on the East Adriatic coast.

Examples:

Like *vino* (< Lat. *vinum*) and *ocat* (< Lat. *acetum*), the word *mast* derives from the Balkan Latin *mustum*. It is registered in Dalmatia, e.g. in

⁵ Juraj Habelich, *Dictionar ili Réchi szlovenszke zvxega ukup zebrane, u red postaulylene, i Diachkemi zlahkotene trudom Jurja Habelicha*, Graz, 1670.

⁶ Cf. Tullio De Mauro, *Il dizionario della lingua italiana*, Paravia Bruno Mondadori Editori, Milano, p. 1035: *geosinonimo*, "vocabolo che ha lo stesso significato di un altro, ma che è usato in un'area geografica diversa all'interno della stessa lingua".

Šibenik, Poljica, Hvar, and is still used. Its allotrope is the Kajkavian form *mošt*, a Germanism which belongs today to the standard Croatian language.

The Croatian equivalents of Lat. *hora* proposed by Ivan Belostenec are words of Latin origin *vura*, *ora*, *ura* and a Turkism *szat*. The mentioned allotropes of the same Latin etymon have entered Croatian from two different giving languages, German and Italian. Belostenec gives also a restricted collocation: *fatalis hora* — *smrtna vura*, *smrt*.

We can quote some fish names from Belostenec's dictionary:

Lat. *aurata* — Cr. *lovrata*. The word *lovrata* is a Dalmatoromanism, different from the form *orada*, which is the largely used Venetian loanword.⁷

Lat. *spigola* — Cr. *luben*. Today we use the word *lubin* in the standard language. The word is the semantic calque of Gr. *λύκος* > late Lat. *lupus* with the suffix *-inus*. In some places on the Adriatic coast there can be found also a reflex of *ljub-*. In that case the Dalmatoromanic lexeme was changed under the influence of the verb *ljubiti*, paretymologically motivated by the fact that *lubin* is a highly valued kind of fish (cf. Skok's Etymological dictionary).

Some Venetianisms in the Gazophylacium:

- The malakonym *ostriga*, which translates Lat. *ostrea*, *concha*, *ostreum*.
- There is also *trilja*, *trilya* for Lat. *muscus*, *musculus*.
- The ichthyonym taken from Venetian is Cr. *arbun* (Ven. *arboro*), equivalent of Latin *erythinus*.
- The equivalent of Lat. *celox*, a kind of ship, is also derived from Venetian: the Gazophylacium *frigada*. Belostenec quotes more Croatian terms: *čun*, *frigada*. *lađa kruto brza i hitra*. The word *frigada* is a Venetianism because of the intervowel *-d-*, as opposed to the internationalism *fregata*, from Italian *fregatta*.
- Lat. *pinna*, translated by Belostenec as *lastura*, *riba morska*. The Croatian word *lastura* is quoted as an equivalent of the Latin malakonym *pinna nobilis*. It is an interesting back wanderer: Cr. *loštura*, *loščura* entered the Venetian dialect, where it gave *stura* (syn. of *pinna*, *nacchera*, cf. Boerio) because the first syllable was interpreted as the definite article. This is the only case of

⁷ Cf. Pavao Tekavčić, *Uvod u lingvistiku za studente talijanskog jezika*, Sveučilišna naklada Liber, Zagreb 1979, p. 252.

falling of the first syllable in Venetian, where it exists in other variants in addition to *stura*, keeping the first syllable — *lastura*, *lastore*. Petar Skok says that it is the only example of such an interpretation known to him. In fact, usually in Croatian Italianisms/Venetianisms the initial *l-*, *la-*, *lo-* derive from the Italian article. Such an interpretation testifies for the intensity of Romanic-Slavic symbiosis (*simbiosi slavo-romanza*, cf. Skok). The initial syllable of the word *lastura* is *la* and not *lo* because it came back into Croatian as a back wanderer.

As we have already seen, Italianisms in Belostenec's *Gazophylacium* can be found in the semantic field referring to ships or parts of the ship, such as Lat. *prora* — Cr. *kljun*, *prvi kraj broda* and *prova* (It. *prua*, Ven. *prova*).

Lat. *gubernaculum* is explained as *korman*, *vezlo* and *timun* (It. *timone*, Ven. *timon*). The word *timun* contains the common reflex of the Romance and Italian suffix *-one*, in Croatian *-un* (cf. Skok).

Lat. *remulus* is explained as *mala lađa ka je svigdar polag velike* and then the obvious Italianism *batel* is added (It. *battello*).

As in the case of the already mentioned word *ura*, the models of Cr. *figa* are to be found in two giving languages. In Kajkavian dialect that word is a Germanism (< Germ. *Feige*) and in the Adriatic dialects it is a Venetianism (< Ven. *figa*, It. *fica*).

The same two possibilities giving the same result in Croatian northern and southern dialects can be noticed in Cr. *štala* (Germ. *Stall*, Ital. *stalla*).

Therefore in *Gazophylacium* we can find allotropic geosynonyms. Belostenec gives as equivalents of Lat. *magister* both a Germanism and an Italianism, *majster* and *meštar*. Lat. *magistra* is explained as *majsterica* and *meštrica*.

Nevertheless, being himself Kajkavian, Belostenec included in his dictionary less Dalmatian words than words coming from his first dialect. Paradoxically, we do not find in his dictionary a very common Venetianism *gardelin*. The only equivalent of the Latin ornithonym *carduelis* is *štiglić*, *štiglec* (*Fringilla carduelis*), *češljugar*.

Lat. *filius naturalis* — translated as *kurvin sin*, *pankrt*, *fačuk*.⁸ That is to say, after the Croatian term the lexicologist quotes the Germanism and the Hungarianism and does not mention the Italianisms *mulac* and *mulica*.

⁸ In the second volume of the *Gazophylacium* s.v. *pankèrt* — Lat. *nothus*, *incerto patre natus*, *de pellicle gnivus*, *manser*; cf. also ss.vv. *fachuk*, *kopile*, *fofiv*.

Among many geosynonyms registered in *Gazophylacium* which do not have Italian equivalents we can quote Lat. *forfex*, with the German equivalent *škarje*, the Turkish one *makase* and the Slavic word widely used in Dalmatia, *nožice*.

In *Gazophylacium* we do not find Croatian Italianisms for the names of the months. For example, the name of the month March is not *marac*, *marač*, the word which exists in Dalmatia,⁹ but the Dalmatian word of Slavic origin is given, *ožujak*, which prevailed and is nowadays used in the standard language. Here are the equivalents of 'March' and 'June': Lat. *martius mensis* — Cr. *gregurščak*, *sušec*, *ožujak*, Lat. *junius mensis* — Cr. *klaszen*, *ivanščak*, *lipanj*.

Some examples with Italian loanwords:

The Latin term *oenophorum* is translated as *vinska posuda* and the Italianism *baril*, from Italian *barile*. The feminine form *barila* appears after *poszuda vinska* as an equivalent of Lat. *cadus salsamentarius*.

Lat. *panis martius* is translated as *marczepan*. This word of Arabic origin changed paronymologically into *Marci panis* 'Markus's bread'. The word used in the standard language today is *marcipan*, a Germanism. In the 15th century in Dubrovnik and in Marin Držić's works we find a clear Italianism *marcapan* (< It. *marzapane*). In Belostenec *marcepan*, in Andrija Jambrešić — Franjo Sušnik dictionary published in 1742 *Lexicon Latinum interpretatione Illyrica, Germanica et Hungarica locuples et index illirico sive croatico-latinus* the word appears as *marcopan*.

Lat. *lupastrum* — Cr. *burdely*, called by Skok 'international Italianism'. Also the Latin word *lupanar* — Cr. *burdelnica*, *kurvarnica*.

Lat. *castellum* — Cr. *kaštel*, *grad*, *gradich*, *tvergja*

Lat. *castitia* — Cr. *turni*, *kuce*, *kaštel*

Lat. *carminatio* — Cr. *gargašanje*, Lat. *carminator* — Cr. *gargašar*

Cr. *gargaše* — *pectin lanaris* < It. *scardassare* (*s*)*cardare*. (Lat. *cardo* — *techaj vratni*, *stožer*).

Lat. *larva*, syn. *facies histrionica*, *persona ficta* — Cr. *preobrazje*, *nalichje*, *maskara*, *krinka*. If we consider the etymologia proxima, which is contactologically relevant in the study of loanwords, we find out that *maškara* is an Italianism of oriental origin.¹⁰ We can add that in the second volume of *Gazophylacium* we find also the entry *maskara*

⁹ There is also a derived adjective, *marčan* 'of March', much heard in the syntagm *marčana bura* 'storm in March'.

¹⁰ Cf. also the derived adjective which exists in Dalmatian Croatian dialects: *maškarast* — lat. *larvatus* and the idiom *maskaru dole uzeti* (both quoted in vol. II).

‘laughing’, which is a Turkism, together with the adjective *maškardžija*. Its synonym *šalec* is obviously a Kajkavian word; the third quoted, *veseljak*, is today largely used in the standard language (Lat. equivalents are *joculator*, *nugator*, *gelotopaesus*).

Lat. *anabathra*, *-arum*, n. is translated as *loytre*, *štenge po kojej se gore ide*, *listve*, *gradichi*, words belonging to different Croatian dialects. The last of them is an adapted Italianism (It. *gradino*).

The Latin phytonym *nasturcium* — Cr. *hren*, *garbach*, *torman*¹¹ (*Nasturtium officinale*, *agretto*). *Garbač* is derived from the Italian adjective *garbo* ‘sour’ (Langob. *karw* x Lat. *acerbus* > Lomb. *garb*).

The spelling system of the printed *Gazophylacium* is fairly unified, based on the system developed in Northern Croatia, i.e. following the Hungarian practice. With negligible exceptions, the *Gazophylacium* writes all words (Kajkavian, Slavonian and Dalmatian) in the same manner. Hence, it represents an important step towards the final reform of Latin — alphabet spelling system which helped bring speakers of different dialects together.

The history of the Croatian language shows a frequent tendency of fusion of lexical and grammatical elements belonging to different diatopic variants. Lexicologists and writers therefore establish many series of synonyms. The contact synonyms are put into practice particularly in Belostenec’s sermons.

As Belostenec put it in the preface to his dictionary, he collected in the *Gazophylacium* “quicquid in feracibus Illyrij littoribus, Dalmatia, Croatia, Sclavonia, Istria et vicinioribus inibi insulis ... quicquid inquam colligere potui, abunde in hoc *Gazophylacium* congeSSI ...”. After its publishing in 1740, Belostenec’s dictionary exerted a strong influence on the development of the literary language, particularly in bringing together writers from the Kajkavian regions and from Slavonia.

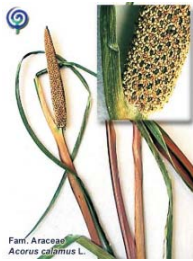
The diatopic variants of Dalmatia are present but not many of them are Italianisms (cf. especially names of the months, of Slavic origin, which after became standard Croatian). The same is concluded by linguists studying Ivan Tanzlinger Zanotti’s *Vocabolario di tre nobilissimi linguaggi, italiano, illirico e latino* (1699) and we can add that this attitude is present up to our days: much more Germanic words have entered the standard language than Italianisms.

¹¹ *Torman* is the adaptation of the Hungarian word *torma* (attested for Virovitica).

mentations) Latin (Romance) ancestry as well as for further recognition of Romance elements (whether (in)conspicuous calques or other 'linguistic copies' such as loanwords) in the domain of the Serbo-Croatian folk botanical nomenclature.

Key words: etymology, loanwords, botanical nomenclature

1.0. Botanical identification and description of Calamus



Calamus or *Common Sweet Flag* is a perennial, rhizomatous, iris-like herb, which belongs to the plant genus of the family Araceae, order Arales, subclass Arecidae. It has erect, sharp-pointed, sword-shaped leaves that fan-out from a pinkish base and grows to 5 feet in length. The leaves produce a sweet, tangerine-like scent when bruised. A flower stem or scape arises from the base of the outer leaves. A spathe extends beyond the scape. A single, cylindrical spike, or spadex, angles upward at this union. During the summer months (from May to July), the spadex is crowded with small yellowish-green to brown flowers. A thick subterranean stem, known as the rhizome, enables the propagation of sweet flag by producing shoots and root systems that develop into new individuals. The rhizomes, roots and leaves yield a light brown to brownish yellow volatile oil known as Calamus oil. The plant flourishes in low, wet, swampy places, and along ditches. It is found across Europe, in southern Russia, northern Asia Minor, southern Siberia, China, Japan, Burma, India, Sri Lanka, and northern USA.¹



2.0. Historical and ethnographical data on distribution, cultivation and medicinal use of Calamus

The history of medicinal use of Calamus is not very well documented. The plant is probably indigenous to southeastern Asia where its rhizome has been used as a spice for centuries. It appears that Calamus has been introduced into Europe by Tatars in 13th century. The earliest record of its cultivation in European gardens seems to be that of the famous Austrian botanist Clusius in 1574, who was the first to cultivate it at Vienna, from a root obtained from Constantinople. Clusius distributed it to other botanists in Belgium, Germany and France. It is not recorded as abundant in Germany until 1588. In England, it was probably introduced

¹ For more detailed information see the website: <http://plants.usda.gov/>.

about 1596, being first grown by Gerard, who looked upon it as an Eastern plant. Finding application mostly as an aphrodisiac, elixir and stimulant, and in magic rituals, it was very popular plant in Europe from the middle ages, right through today. Its presence in North America before European settlement is uncertain, but its use as a stimulant and hallucinogen since then has been well documented (A Modern Herbal by M. Grieve [e-version]²; Marzell 1: 110; Vajs 2003: 318). In modern herbal medicine, the plant is used in treating stomach cramps, gas, gastric ulcers, and lack of appetite. In excessive doses, it is known to induce strong visual hallucinations. The intoxicating properties may be due to its active ingredients as α -asarone and β -asarone, but the chemistry and pharmacology of the plant are still poorly investigated and not yet fully understood.³

3.0. The earliest records of *Calamus* found in classical Greek and Roman medical and botanical documents and medieval nomenclatures

Botanical terms used by classical writers as well as the Pre-Linnaean Latin names in medieval nomenclatures were thoroughly analyzed and identified according to the Linnaean systematic (works by Strömberg, André, Carnoy, Marzell, see bibliographical references below). Nevertheless, in some cases, determining which particular plants the phytonymic references to apply to is still a great problem. André (1956: 16–17) assumed that the generic name *acorum* (/ -us), i n. (/ m.), borrowed from Old Greek ἄκρορον⁴ was used by classical writers to designate three different plant species, but never the one that appears in Linnaeus' nomenclatural system under the name *Acorus calamus*: a) *Iris pseudacorus* (Celsus, *De re medicina* 5, 23, 1 B, etc., Plinius, HN 25, 157; 26, 28, Dsc. *De materia medica* 1, 2, Ps. *Apul.*, *Herbarius* 6, 11), b) *Ruscus aculeatus* (Plinius, HN 15, 27, Dsc. *De materia medica* 4, 144) and its rhizome (Plinius, HN 25, 158), c) *Anagallis arevensis* (Plinius HN 1, 25, 92; 25, 144, Dsc., *De materia medica* 2, 178) (cf. also Carnoy 1959: 7). On the other hand, according to the same scholar (André op. cit.: 65; cf. Carnoy op. cit.: 59–60), the specific name *calamus*, -i m. (the Latin reflex of the Greek prototype κάλαμος⁵) that had a function of a hyperonym resp. generic

² <http://www.botanical.com/>.

³ To find out more on this subject search referent articles on Wiley InterScience.

⁴ For the etymology of the word ἄκρορον see IED-project on the website: <http://www.indo-european.nl/ied/index2.html>.

⁵ See the previous refernece.

name, was used to denote Calamus plant if appeared in syntagmatic form with the determinative adjectives *aromaticus* / *odoratus* (resp. ἀρωματικός / εὐώδης). In the Pre-Linnaean nomenclatures, the plant *Acorus calamus* is mentioned under the names *calamus* (*aromaticus*), *canna persidis*, *ciparus* Fischer, Pflkde 257, *acoreus verus*, *acorus legitimus* Bauhin, Pinax 34 (Marzell 1: 110). S.-Cr. *kalmus* (from 18th-century, Š.) and *kulmiš* (Zagreb, Š.) are of Latin descent. On the latter one Vinja (JE 2: 113) records: “Očito je da ... Šulekov fitonim ... nastavlja lat. calamus”. S.-Cr. *kulmiš* Skok (2: 231) equalizes with (Slov.) *kolmeš* also attested in Šulek’s dictionary. Šulek took the phytonym *kolmeš* over the famous Freyer’s manuscript well known by its great significance for the Slovenian folk botanical terminology (cf. Karlin 5). There is no mention of this name in Bezljaj’s or Snoj’s dictionary. However, both of the scholars give the reference on Slov. *kolmež*. According to Bezljaj (2: 58) it is borrowed from Vulgar Latin *calmus* via Germ. *Kalmus* (older *Kalmes*). Snoj (248) derives it from Austr. Germ. *kōlmās*. As for S.-Cr. *kalmus* Šulek refers to Germ. *Kalmus*.

4.0. S.-Cr. *vodeni čemin*, ~ *kmin*, *žuti ljiljan*, *mantumin*, *manturin cvit* and *balad* as Latin continuants [?] designating Calamus plant in Serbo-Croatian language

4.1. S.-Cr. *vodeni čemin*, ~ *kmin* and *žuti ljiljan*

According to Skok (1: 266; cf. also Vajs 2003: 319) S.-Cr. *čemin* and *kmin* are two different reflexes of the same Latin phytonym — *cumīnum*. Lat. *cumīnum* (*cym-* / *cim-* / *com-*) (n.) was used by classical writers to designate a low-growing annual herb of the carrot family — *Cuminum cyminum*. The word was borrowed from Greek κύμινον (τό). Its further origin may be Semitic, cf. Old Hebrew *kammon* [כַּמּוֹן], Egyptian *kamnini*, Akkadian *kamūnu* (André 1956: 108–109; Carnoy 1959: 100; Marzell 1: 857). In the pre-Linnaean botanical books, *Cuminum cyminum* was denoted as *cuminum sativum*, *c. officinarum*, *c. romanum*, *c. aethiopicum*, *c. carnabadium* Bauhin, Pinax 146 (Marzell 1: 1266). The plant is well known all over the world mostly by its aromatic seeds being extensively used for flavoring various foods. It is widely cultivated in the Mediterranean region of Europe and in India. Cumin is frequently confused with caraway (*Carum carvi* L.), which it resembles in appearance though not in taste (cf. homonymous designations for these two plants that appear in most of the European folk botanical nomenclatures, Marzell 1: 856–862, 1266–1268). The word entered Serbo-Croatian via Italian, Greek and German.

With the determinative adjective *vodeni*, S.-Cr. *čemin* and *kmin* denote Calamus plant: *vodeni čemin* (Lambl, Š.), ~ *kmin* (attested in famous herbariums from 18-th century found in Dubrovnik, Š.)⁶. Without the determinative adjective *vodeni* — *kmin* designates the following plant species: *kmin* gladiolus, liliium coeleste, iris (18-th century's Dubrovnik herbariums), Carum carvi (Š.). Identical or similar transfer of naming unit:

Cuminum cyminum resp. Carum carvi → Acorus calamus ↔ gladiolus, liliium coeleste, iris ← Cuminum cyminum resp. Carum carvi

is not found either in Latin (resp. Italian) or in Greek (and German).⁷ Only two causes could provide logical sense for such occurrence in Serbo-Croatian:

- a. the (same) usage of the referred plants as a flavoring agents (in the case of the transfer direction Cuminum cyminum resp. Carum carvi → Acorus calamus), or
- b. the phonetic level-crossing of **cuminum*⁸ and S.-Cr. *mač* “sword” (in the case of the transfer direction Cuminum cyminum resp. Carum carvi → gladiolus, liliium coeleste, iris): *kimin* Carum carvi, (with syncopa in protonic probably via *b* > *ø*, Skok I. c.) *kmin* Carum carvi, *čmin* [?] (Mikalja, *divlji, vodeni* ~ gladiolus, liliium coeleste, iris), (with metathesis [?], Skok I. c.) *mčin*⁹ [?] acorus.

As for the transfer pattern Acorus calamus ↔ bulbous plants (gladiolus, liliium coeleste, iris), it appears in the most of the European folk botanical nomenclatures as a result of morphological similarities between the referred plants (cf. Marzell 1: 112–113); the iconymic structure of S.-Cr. compound phytonym *žuti ljiljan* (Š.) (< Lat. *lilium* > S.-Cr. *lilj*, (with ending *-an* by *bršljan* and assimilation *l* — *lj* > *lj* — *lj*) *ljiljan*, Skok 2: 303) that denotes Calamus plant is explained exactly on that base. The use of S.-Cr. *čemin* also approve this pattern: with adjective *vodeni* it designate Calamus plant, but as a generic name it comes in Tanzlingher's *Vocabolario Italiano-Ilirico* in the meaning hyacinthus and

⁶ In the same herbariums it also comes to denote the plant *Iris pseudacorus*.

⁷ According to the relevant phytonymical sources available to us in this moment, there is no occurrence of the similar concept in (Balkan-)Slavic or other European languages.

⁸ * = Romance continuant or loanword from different sources.

⁹ The name has disputable etymology: it could be related to *mač(k)in* adj. poss. (“of a cat”), but on the other hand, the connection with *mač* “sword” (< *мъчь*, gen. *мъча* → *mča*), on account of a lancet shape of calamus, iris and gladiolus leaves, cannot be excluded (Vajs 2003: 319; cf. Skok 1: 266). The same conceptualization — “sword”, has the names for iris in other languages: Lat. *gladiola* (< *gladius*), Germ. *Schwertel*, Ital. *spade*, *spadella*, *spadoni*, Slov. *mečika* (Marzell 2: 1022).

in Jurin's *Calepinus trium linguarum* in the meaning leucanthemum [= Hemerocallis, Lilium croceum] (Vajs 2003: 359, 363).¹⁰

The reconstructed onomasiological procedures seem complicated enough to endanger validity of the hypothesis of Latin origin of the phytonyms (*vodeni*) *čemin*, (*vodeni*) *kmin* meaning Calamus plant. On the other hand, the sound and formal structure both of the names steer our reflection around to the possibility of their idioglottic origin. The form *čemin* refers to the stem *čem-* (for the suffix *-in* see Sławski 1974: 120) that appears in S.-Cr. *očemunjati* "to peel, to husk" cited by Skok (2: 130–131) s. v. *kom*¹. Skok is of the opinion that *ko-* > *če-* should be considered as a result of the phonetic level-crossing with S.-Cr. *čehnuti* (cf. *česmin* [?]) rather than as apophony like in the case of Lit. *kėmuras* "bunch, cluster". As for denominative motive which the name was constructed out of, it could be found in characteristic appearance of the *fruit* of the plant *Acorus calamus* that conspicuously looks like husked corn (cf. S.-Cr. *komuš* Sablj. Goljak (Š.) and Slov. *komuš* unless we accept Skok's and Bezljaj's interpretation of these names as the continuants of Lat. *calamus* (Skok 2: 18; Bezljaj 2: 58)).

4.2. S.-Cr. *mantumin*, *manturin cvit*

The name *mantumin* was recorded by two Croatian lexicographers Micaglia and Vitezović (Vajs 2003: 319). In Micaglia's *Blago jezika slovenskoga* as well as in Vitezović's *Lexicon* it appears only as the designation of the plant *Iris pseudacorus*. Phonetically the closest form to this one is S.-Cr. *mantumjen* that appears in Micaglia's and Stulli's dictionaries as the name for the plant species *Hyoscyamus albus* (Skok 2: 380). Another attestation of *mantumjen* comes from Nikolajević's word collection from Dalmacija and Hercegovina quoted by PCA, where it is defined as "a kind of grass growing in water". Although being without precise botanical identification, there is no doubt that it cannot refer to the plant *Hyoscyamus albus* that rather prefers dry soil. In the same entry PCA records about the forms *mantumen*, *mantumenat* comparing them with *mantim(j)enat* *Hyoscyamus albus* (spoken in Dubrovnik) and *manturin* *Acorus acalamus* (quoted from Popović's dictionary). Skok and Vinja also refer to *mantimjenat* *Hyoscyamus albus* (Skok 1. c.; Vinja JE 2: 170) along with *mantimient* (Vinja, 1. c.). The compound *manturin cvit* meaning *Acorus calamus* appears only once in an old Dalmatian herbal manuscript (Š.).

¹⁰ The same name also appears in Tanzlingher's and Della Bella's dictionary s. v. *gelsomino*. According to Skok (1: 759) S.-Cr. *jasamin*, *jelšamin*, *jelžemin*, *đelsamin* and *česmin* [sic!] are reflexes of Ital. *gelsomino* *Jasminum sambac* (< Turk. *zambac* "lily") that continues Lat. *jasminum* (cf. Vajs 2003: 363).

Budmani was the first who assumed a foreign origin of the phytonym *mantimjenat* and conferred it with S.-Cr. *mantranje*, *mantilo* (RJA 6: 446). Skok (l. c.) brings it in connection with *martir* and describes it as substantivum abstractum on Lat. *-mentum* besides *-men*, gen. *-minis* (**martyrimentum* > *mantimjenat*). Vinja (l. c.) is of the opinion that Skok's explanation is acceptable only in order to interpret the secondary motivation of the word (as paronymological leaning on *mantilo*, *mantranje*). According to Vinja, it would be easier to explain sound structure of *mantimjenat* by setting out Latin *adamantis* (> Ital. *adamantida* "specie di erba nota nell'antichità" < gr. ἄδαμας, -αντος) as the designation for *Hyoscyamus albus*. Finally, he concludes that S.-Cr. *patimjenat*, being synonymous to *mantimjenat*, approves such interpretation of the name. Both of the mentioned scholars agree in assuming for *mantimjenat* Latin provenance but proposing different prototype. S.-Cr. *mantimjenat*, *mantumjen*, *manturin cvit* Skok (l. c.) considered as the reflexes of the same Latin ancestor not explaining their different formal or semantic realizations. On the other hand, Vinja (l. c.) makes no record of S.-Cr. *manturin cvit*. In other words, he ignores the possibility of deriving *mantimjenat*, *mantumjen*, *manturin cvit* from the common original. Lacking of the equivalent pattern of the designations transfer *Hyoscyamus albus* ↔ *Acorus calamus* ↔ *Iris pseudacorus* in other European folk botanical nomenclatures as well as of the capable reason for the appearance of such different realia to which the same phytonymic reference is assigned to¹¹ induced us to analyze the phytonyms *mantumin* *Iris pseudacorus* and *manturin cvit* *Acorus calamus* separately from those that denote the plant *Hyoscyamus albus* (not excluding the possibility of their crossing).

Putting aside re-analysis of the supposed etymology of the cited designations for the plant *Hyoscyamus albus*, we keep thinking about following solutions regarding the origin of the names *mantumin* *Iris pseudacorus* and *manturin cvit* *Acorus calamus*:

- a. assuming Ger. *Mattumich*¹² *Carum carvi* for being the prototype of *mantumin* and *manturin cvit* is acceptable from the aspect of morphonology, but rather questionable from the aspect of onomasiology (see § 4.1);

¹¹ There is one feature common for both of these plants — ability to induce hallucination, but the semantic bound PLANT (SPECIES) ~ ANOTHER PLANT (SPECIES) based on general perception (the origin of the plant, the time of blossoming, growth, etc. and its efficiency for human beings: edibility, inedibility, medicinal properties, toxicity, etc.) is of very rare type.

¹² Ger. *Mattumich* is the compound word whose second part is traced back to Latin *cuminum* (Marzell 1: 856–861).

b. there are two plants of swamp species that are similar to *Calamus* by appearance of (overground) shoot *id est* the shape of flowers cluster: *Typha* and *Scirpus* (cf. synonymous designations S.-Cr. *loč Typha*, *T. latifolia*, Slov. *loč*, *ločje T. latifolia*, *sivi / široki loček Acorus calamus*; S.-Cr. *šaša Acorus calamus*, *Typha*, *T. latifolia*, *šašika Scirpus radicans*) (see also § 5.0). Both of the plants have the names probably derived from S.-Cr. *bat* < psl. **bъtъ*, cf. Slov. *bet* “stem of mushroom; corncob”, Russ. *бom* “stem and leaves of bulbous plants; an onion” (EPCJ 2: 254–255; for the word formation cf. Sławski 1974: 26): *baturak*, *baturica Typha latifolia*, *botur Typha*, *T. latifolia* (Симоновић), *Scirpus palustris* (Š.) (cf. S.-Cr. appellatives *batur* “kočanj, okomak kukuruza”, *baturak* “manja cvast u obliku klipa; kočanj” (PCA), *baturka* “stabljika kukuruza” Leskovac (Митровић)) (see also ЭССЯ 1: 140 s. v. *bъtarъ II*, *bъturъ*, *bъtyръ*). The onomasiological impulse for their denominations comes from the cluster of flowers in the shape of corncob. It is easy to find the same onomasiological motivation in the phytonym *manturin cvit* (see § 4.1, 5.0), but could it be also derived from the same word stem (with different phonetic realization and similar formal structure)? Such interpretation would approve once again the fact that for the words from this lexical segment is not only typical complex bonds with realia they refer to but also relatively high phonetical variability so as their primary form is usually misty.

5.0. S.-Cr. *balad*

S.-Cr. *balad* “calamo aromatico, calamo odorato” was recorded in 18th-century in the botanical lexicon of Dubrovnik physicians P. Aquilla and K. Buć and in Pizzelli’s herbariums (Š.). Skok (1: 98) s. v. *balad* cites S.-Cr. *babad* (Kuzmić, Š.) and *baban* (Kuzmić, Anselmo da Canali, Š.) — the names synonymous to *balad* (both of them without an accent and definite areal distribution), with no idea for revealing their mutual relation, finds the whole matter to be ‘unripe’ for the etymological analysis and considers comparison with S.-Cr. *palud*, *babad* and *iđirot* by Daničić unnecessary. Eventual derivation from S.-Cr. *baba* “an old woman; grandmother” is pointed out in EPCJ (2: 27). However, Daničić’s opinion should not be rejected too. S.-Cr. *palud divji* was first recorded in the famous Venetian Codex *Liber de simplicibus Benedicti Rinii, medici et philosophi Veneti* (cod. Marc. Lat. VI, 59 = 2548) in the following meaning: acorus, spatula, gladiolus. It was identified by de Toni and Šulek as *Iris pseudacorus* (Šugar 2002: 117). The same phytonym is used today in Istra to designate the plants *Phragmites communis*, *Juncus* and *Carex* — the species found in wet areas. According to Šugar (2002: 22) the name comes from Ital. *palude* < Lat. *palus* “swamp, marsh”. Semantic development “marsh > the plant that grows in marshy places” that appeared by the synecdoche rule is shown also in Friul. *palût* “marsh; strame, giunchi ed

altre erbe che crescono nelle paludi”, cf. Slov. *palûd*, *paluda* “abgeschwemmter Unrat, Binse, scirpus”, *paludnica* “*caltha palustris*” (Skok 2: 594; Bezljaj 3: 6). If the name *balad* is the reflex of the same Italian appellative, the initial *b-* as well as ending *-ad* could be explained by secondary leaning on *babad*.

There is also another equally possible interpretation of the name: in our previous researches we have already brought in connection the S.-Cr. phytonym *palad* P. vera (Š.; RJA) (together with formally and semantically close S.-Cr. appellatives *palika* “grozd, bajam, rogač i svaki drugi plod koji ostane na stablu i poslije berbe” Vis (Roki-Fortunato), *polik(a)* “Nachlese, Nachernte” (ČDL), *palike* pl. tant. “berba maslina koje su ostale nakon redovnog branja” (Vuković)) with the verb **pelti* proceeding from the fact that all S.-Cr. names for P. vera just as the Latin name *pistacium* were founded on perception *strictissimo sensu*, i.e. the visual physical property of the plant → pod, seedcase (Kalezić 2007: 237). Morphologically the phytonym *balad* seems close to the phytonym *palad*. As for denominative motive, it can be of the same type (regarding the grape-like cluster with sitting flowers on the thick axis *id est* corncob) (see § 4.1.).

Instead of conclusion

In the lack of sufficient numbers of adequate attestations of the phytonyms *čemin*, *kmin*, *manturin cvit* and *balad* it would be too rash or too hasty to give a final judgment on their origin. However, re-examining previously supposed etymologies as well as making new attempts to incorporate these names into the particular lexical families could be an important clue on a way toward revealing their definite etymologies.

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SUR L'ÉTYMOLOGIE DE QUELQUES MOTS D'EMPRUNT ROUMAINS EN BULGARE

Abstract: This study introduces some new conceptions in the etymologic analysis of the words that two Bulgarian parlances (the parlance of Novo Selo in the Region of Vidin and the parlance of some villages in Banat) borrowed from Romanian. It especially focuses on the process of phonetic and morphological adaptation of the Romanian words in the linguistic system of the Bulgarian language. Interestingly, some of the loan words are Bulgarian by origine and hence were re-borrowed from Romanian.

Key words: Romanian loanwords, etymology

L'influence linguistique du bulgare sur le roumain et vice-versa, en tant que résultat des contacts continus entre les deux peuples voisins, a été maintes fois analysée. Elle a été étudiée par des savants bulgares et roumains sur différents plans: interférence, assimilation (phonétique, morphologique, lexico-sémantique, syntaxique), étymologie, phraséologie, etc.

Dans la présente étude, je me propose de n'ajouter que quelques conceptions nouvelles concernant l'étymologie de certains mots d'origine roumaine empruntés par le bulgare, tout en apportant certaines corrections à des hypothèses étymologiques ou en indiquant certains processus d'adaptation lors de l'incorporation des mots roumains dans le système linguistique bulgare. La plupart de ces mots appartiennent aux systèmes lexicaux du parler du village de Novo selo, région de Vidin, en Bulgarie, et du parler bulgare du Banat, dont la partie nord est située en Roumanie. Ils ont fait l'objet d'analyse des ouvrages de St. Stojkov („Банатският говор“, С., 1967; „Лексиката на банатския говор“, С., 1968) et de M. Sl. Mladenov („Говорът на Ново село, Видинско“, С., 1969). Tous les deux parlars ont évolué en contact étroit avec une population roumaine dans des conditions de bilinguisme.

Pour certains mots d'emprunt roumains dans le parler du village de Novo selo, région de Vidin, M. Sl. Mladenov émet l'hypothèse d'une formation ou d'une transformation intervenue sur le terrain linguistique bulgare. Par exemple il range le mot *сокъчѐл* 'petite rue étroite, venelle' dans le paragraphe 6.63 (ТБД 6: 178) sur le même plan que celui de mots d'origine bulgare formés à l'aide du suffixe diminutif *-ел*, du roum. *-el*: „Интересно е да се посочи, че в говора на Ново село може да се отдели деминутивният суфикс *-ел*, с който предимно от домашни думи се образуват умалителни имена: *войничѐл* от *войник* + *ел*; *момъчѐл* от *момък* + *ел*; *сокъчѐл* от *сокък* + *ел*...и др.“ („Il est à noter que dans le parler de Novo selo on peut relever le suffixe diminutif *-ел* qui sert à former des substantifs diminutifs, en s'ajoutant surtout à des mots bulgares: *войничѐл* de *войник* + *-ел*; *момъчѐл* de *момък* + *-ел*; *сокъчѐл* de *сокък* + *-ел*..., etc.“). Dans le dictionnaire du parler, sous le mot *сокъчѐл* il manque la note concernant son origine, analogue à celle qui figure après les mots d'origine roumaine. M. Mladenov ne prend pas en considération le fait que dans les dialectes roumains du Banat le mot est attesté sous sa forme toute faite *socăcél* au même sens (cf. le texte suivant: *Plecai pe un socăcel, Mă-nîlnii c-un școlărel*) qui est dérivé selon le DLR (X: 1158) du roum. *socác* 'rue' + *-el*, et qui peut être un emprunt au roumain. Dans tout parler roumain où l'on trouve le mot *socác*, il est naturel de former un diminutif *socăcél*, à cause de quoi cette forme n'est pas léxicographiée par les dictionnaires. Bien sûr, dans le parler de Novo selo ce mot aurait pu être formé aussi comme diminutif du bulg. *сокък* (emprunté au turc *sokak* 'rue', lui-même à l'arabe — note de l'auteur).

Dans le dictionnaire du parler en question, M. Sl. Mladenov a enregistré le mot *сорѐч* 'couenne flambée, bonne à manger' (ТБД 6: 280), et dans le chapitre de son ouvrage intitulé „Фонетична характеристика на заемките“ („Caractéristiques phonétiques des mots d'emprunt“), sous le paragraphe 6.52 (ТБД 6: 177), il le fait dériver du roum. *sorit*, sans signification indiquée, avec le changement de *m* (*t*) en *ч*. Les dictionnaires roumains citent deux mots *sorit* aux sens tout à fait différents: *sorit*¹, terme philosophique au sens de 'syllogisme complet', et *sorit*², adjectif au sens de 'ensoleillé'. Du reste, le mot de Novo selo *сорѐч* vient du roum. *sorici* ayant le même sens (DRL X: 1249; DLR XI: 162, sous le mot *șorici*).

Le dictionnaire du parler de Novo selo, région de Vidin, cite un autre mot aussi: *стѐва* 'étoile en carton que les enfants arborent à Noël pour chanter des chansons' que M. Sl. Mladenov explique par le roumain sans en indiquer l'étymon (ТБД 6: 282). Le même mot est employé dans la langue source sous la forme flexionnelle dans l'expression *пѐм стѐву* 'participer à la célébration de la fête de Noël'. Le mot est emprunté au

roumain *stéaua*, forme articulée de *steá* 'étoile de Noël (en papier coloré)', avec *в* au lieu de *у* (roum. *и*) sur le terrain linguistique bulgare. D'ailleurs, l'emprunt des formes articulées roumaines par le parler bulgare est un phénomène constant que M. Mladenov a analysé de façon plus détaillée dans son étude du parler (ТБД 6: 178–178), en citant plusieurs exemples à l'appui, mais sans *у* avoir en vue le mot *стява*. Sous l'influence du bulgare, la diphtongue roumaine *ea* (accentuée) se substitue à 'а (*я*) (accentuée), cf. *сокотяла* < roum. *socoteálă*, *флякуре* < roum. *fléacuri*, etc. (ТБД 6: 176).

Dans son étude sur le parler du Banat, St. Stojkov (ТБД 4: 225) cite le mot *сукачыца* 'cuisinière' sans indication étymologique. C'est un emprunt au roumain vieilli et dial. *socacířă* = *socăciřă* au même sens (DLR X: 1158), avec réduction du *o* non-accentué en *у* sous l'influence du parler bulgare du Banat. Le mot *socacířă* est dérivé du roum. *socáci* 'cuisinier' qui d'après Цонев (1934: 25) est emprunté au vieux bulgare **СОКАЧИИ** au même sens. Selon DLR (X: 1157–1158), le roum. *socáci* vient du hongrois *szakács*. Cf. la variante phonétique *сакачыца* 'femme qui prépare le repas de noce; cuisinière' du Banat au même sens (ТБД 4: 208) enregistré dans БЕР (6: 431) comme *сакачыца* et interprété comme dérivé de *сакач*² 'cuisinier', emprunté au hongrois *szakács* au même sens, cf. Алексиева (1995: 162). Le mot hongrois est sans doute de la même origine et vient du vieux bulgare **СОКАЧИИ**, sur l'étymologie duquel v. Miklosich (1886: 313), Vasmer (REW 2: 688, sous le mot *сокал*), Menges (1973: 19).

Dans le vocabulaire du parler du Banat, on signale de même l'adjectif *фалòс* 'fier, vantard, beau' dont l'origine roumaine est notée par St. Stojkov (ТБД 4: 258), sans indication d'étymon. Le mot est du roum. *fălòs* qui a le même sens. Il faudrait noter que ce mot est formé du roum. *fălă* 'fierté, gloire; fanfaronnade, vantardise' à l'aide du suffixe *-os*, *fălă* venant du vieux bulgare **ХВАЛА** (bulg. *хвала*, bulg. dial. *фàла*, *фалá* au même sens) (v. DLR 11: 35, 41) ou du bulg. dial. *фàла* qui est de *хвала* avec changement de *хв* en *ф* comme dans *фàт* au lieu de *хват*, *фойнак* au lieu de *хвойнак*, etc. Cf. aussi le roum. vieilli *rohřalòs* 'pompeux, magnifique, splendide' dérivé du vieilli *rohřală* 'splendeur; vantardise' = *rohřalá* au même sens, qui est du vieux bulgare **ПОХВАЛА**, v. DLR (II: 41). Sur *фалòс* sont formés l'adverbe *фалòсу* 'fièrement, téméраirement' (ТБД 4: 258) et les formes verbales *фалусèя се*, *фалушèя се* 'se donner des airs d'importance, s'enorgueillir' (formés sur les verbes du même parler *гурдèя се*, dérivé de l'adjectif *горд*, et *големèя се*, dérivé de l'adjectif *голем*) et *фалусъ се* 's'enorgueillir'. Dans toutes les formes mentionnées ci-dessus, dérivées de *фалòс*, s'observe la réduction *o* > *у* en position inaccentuée.

Il y a un autre mot appartenant au roumain et attesté dans les parlers bulgares, ainsi que dans le parler du village de Novo selo, région de Vidin, mais qui n'est pas enregistré dans le parler du Banat. C'est le mot *фа̀ша* 'large bande de cuir' (Samokov), 'bande de cuir de porc dans laquelle on confectionne les mocassins' (Novo selo, région de Vidin; Ме́чка, région de Pleven; Resen, région de Veliko Tărnovo; Kesarevo, région de Gorna Orjahovica; Dobri dol, région de Montana; Šiškovci, région de Kjustendil; Kărnalovo, région de Petrič), 'morceau de cuir étroit et long' (Dolni Bogrov, région de Sofia), 'bande coupée dans du cuir, de l'étoffe' (Žeravna, région de Kotel; BANSKO; Gabare, région de Bjala Slatina; Govedarci, région de Samokov), 'morceau séché étroit et oblong de cuir de buffle ou de bœuf' (région de Botevgrad), 'bande de peau ou de lard' (région de Sofia), 'bande de cuir de porc, de bœuf ou de buffle pour en faire des mocassins; morceau oblong de lard' (région de Strandža), 'bandes d'une largeur de 17 ou 18 centimètres de cuir de porc ou de bœuf' (Berievo, région de Sevlievo), 'cuir long de 25 centimètres et large de 20 centimètres' (Rajkovo, région de Smoljan), 'mocassin' (Raduil, région de Ihtiman), 'bande étroite de terre' (Kesedži čiflik, région de Valovišta), dans la combinaison *фа̀ша царвула* au sens probable de 'cuir à mocassins', dans les chansons folkloriques: *Като са в опасност видиши,/ със стремене ще го удариши (коня),/ фа̀ша царвула от гърба му ще откъснеш,/ ще те от зло избави.* (Lik, région de Vraca), 'large bande de cuir dans laquelle on coupe des mocassins' (région de Dolni Vardar), 'torchon' (Koprivštica), 'fichu de jeunes femmes et filles pour se couvrir la tête' (Čepino, région de Velingrad; Vălkosel, région de Blagoevgrad), *фаши* (pl.) au sens probable de 'bandes de cuir', dans les chansons folkloriques: *Малу сме мѐсце стòриле,/ — от жàба нòга пàстарма;/ ми се научила гь̀дия,/ та шчо ми ук̀рал двѐ фаши!* (Ohrid), *фа̀ша пинци* au sens probable de 'bande à mocassins' dans le texte suivant: *да му сь изваде ут гь̀рут една фа̀ша пинци* (région de Voden).

Le mot *фа̀ша* possède des variantes accentuelles, phonétiques et morphologiques dans certains parlers bulgares: *фа̀шь* 'longue bande pas très large de cuir à mocassins' (Vojnjagovo, région de Karlovo; Kostel, région de Elena), 'bande de cuir à mocassins, longue et étroite' (Zarovo, région de Solun), 'bande de peau tannée et préparée pour la confection de mocassins' (Krăvenik, région de Sevlievo; Enina, région de Kazanlăk; Strahilovo, région de Svištov; Široka lăka, région de Smoljan)), 'morceau, bande de cuir' (Trojan; Patreško, région de Trojan; Tihomirovo, région de Stara Zagora) 'bande de cuir de porc à mocassins; morceau de coupure' (Trăstenik, région de Pleven), *фашиъ* 'bande de cuir' (Ruhovci, région de Elena), 'morceau de peau humaine' (Gabrovo), *фа̀ше* (fém.) 'bande de

cuir à mocassins, longue et étroite' (Strandža), *фàшьѣ* (fém.) 'bande de cuir à mocassins' (Pavelsko, région de Smoljan), *фаши* 'morceau' (Balčik), *вàшь* 'bande de cuir à mocassins, longue et étroite; morceau de cuir' (Săčanli, région de Gjumjurdžina).

Le mot *фàша* au sens figuré de 'bande étroite de terre' est employé aussi dans la toponymie, cf. les toponymes *Асàно(вата) фàша* et *Дъл-гите фàши* près du village de Kesedži čiflik, région de Valovišta (Иванов 1982: 71, 113, 210).

Ce mot a aussi des dérivés formés sur le terrain linguistique bulgare: *фашилàк* 'partie de cuir' et *фашиляк* 'morceau de cuir'.

Le mot *фàша* et ses variantes sont empruntés au roum. *fășă, fășe* 'bande, pansement; ruban à langes; peau de porc' qui vient du lat. *fascia* 'faisceau de branchages', v. Romanski (1909: 103). Ст. Младенов (1941: 660) tire le bulg. *фàшь* directement du lat. *fascis* 'faisceau, faisceau de branchages'. Selon Romanski (op. cit.) le mot bulgare aurait pu être un emprunt à l'albanais *faše* 'lien, lange'¹ qui vient de l'ital. *fascia* au même sens. Dans son dictionnaire du parler de Strandža, Горов (1962: 150) a mis la remarque „turc“ après le mot *фàшьѣ*, mais ce mot n'est pas cité par les dictionnaires turcs. La forme *фаши* est de *фàша* 'morceau de cuir' conçue comme un substantif masculin articulé, ou bien elle a été créée sur la forme du pluriel *фàши* conçue comme un substantif masculin au pluriel. La forme *вàшь* vient de *фàшь* avec changement de *ф* en *в*, cf. le dial. *васул* au lieu de *фасул*, *вѣртѹна* au lieu de *фѣртѹна*, etc.

On trouve dans les parles bulgares un autre mot de la famille de *фàшь* qui, à ma connaissance, n'a pas fait l'objet d'analyse étymologique. C'est le mot *фàшия* 'morceau de cuir à mocassins large de 20 ou 25 centimètres' (Novo selo, région de Trojan). Il vient du roum. dial. *fășie* 'pansement, bande; bande de cuir longue et étroite', dérivé de *fășă* au même sens (DLR II: 71). Au Banat est attestée la forme *фашия* 'ceinture en grosse étoffe'. Elle vient du roumain *fășie* 'ceinture, pansement'; longue bande de cuir de mocassin', dérivée de *fășă* (DLR II: 71). Toutes les deux formes sont adaptées en bulgare sur des substantifs en *-ия*.

On peut donc constater, d'après les mots présentés ci-dessus, qu'une partie d'entre eux sont empruntés sans changement au roumain (*сокъчел*, *сорич*, *фàша*, *фàше*), que certains gardent la forme articulée en roumain (*стява*), tandis que d'autres sont soumis à divers processus — phonétiques, morphologiques ou structurels — sous l'influence du bulgare (*сукàщица*; *фалòсу*, *фалуcèя се*, *фалушèя се*, *фалуcъ се*; *стява*; *фаши*,

¹ Cf. d'autres significations aussi de l'alb. *fašë*: 'pansement', 'morceau', 'bande', 'morceau de cuir à mocassins'.

в̀ашъ, ф̀ашия, фашѝя, фашѝлак, фашѝляк). Certains d'entre ces mots sont d'origine bulgare ou vieux bulgare et sont réempruntés au roumain en bulgare.

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TROIS MOTS D'EMPRUNT ROUMAINS DANS LES PARLERS BULGARES: *КОРНИЦА, ПЪЙ, ТРАНТУВАМ*

Abstract: This paper enlightens the puzzling etymology of three Balkanic loan-words in Bulgarian: *корница* ('braid'), *пъй* ('yes', 'it is', 'there you are') and *трантувам* ('to serve', 'to prevent to', 'take care of'). It analyses the phonetic, morphological and semantic transformations that occurred in these three words, changes that drifted them from their etymons.

Key words: Romanian loanwords, etymology

La position centrale qu'occupe la langue bulgare parmi les autres langues balkaniques favorise ses contacts actifs avec chacune de celles-ci depuis les temps les plus reculés jusqu'à nos jours, particulièrement dans le domaine lexical. La diversité linguistique des Balkans qui résulte de la diversité ethnique, rend extrêmement variée et intéressante la matière lexicale accessible à l'étymologiste. Une grande partie des mots d'emprunt balkaniques dans la langue bulgare pose de sérieux problèmes étymologiques. Certains d'entre eux représentent de vrais rébus étymologiques dont le décodage exige de bien grands efforts. Dans beaucoup de cas les mots d'emprunt balkaniques en bulgare témoignent, sur le plan phonétique, sémantique, etc., d'un décalage assez important de leurs étymons étrangers.

Les mots d'emprunt roumains en bulgare, en tant qu'une partie des mots d'emprunt balkaniques, partagent beaucoup de leurs caractéristiques. Ils ont fait déjà l'objet de plusieurs études. Lors des années dernières, à Bucarest ont paru trois ouvrages scientifiques importants: „Împrumuturi lexicale românești în limba bulgară literară“ („Mots d'emprunt lexicaux Roumains dans la langue littéraire bulgare“) par Mariana Manguilea (2000), „Contacte lingvistice interbalcanice. Elemente românești în limba bulgară“ („Contacts linguistiques interbalkaniques. Eléments roumains dans

le bulgare“) par Virgil Nestorescu (2002) et „Raporturi lingvistice româno-bulgare. Cuvinte de origine română în graiurile bulgare“ („Rapports linguistiques roumains-bulgares. Mots d’origine roumaine dans les parlers bulgares“) par Maria Osman-Zavera (2002). Je ne me propose pas de faire ici une appréciation détaillée des ouvrages cités, je me bornerai à ajouter encore trois mots d’emprunt à la liste des mots d’emprunt roumains dans la langue bulgare.

КОРНИЦА

Pour le mot *корница* ‘natte, tresse de jeune fille’, attesté à Novo selo, région de Vidin, dans le БЕР (II: 643) on trouve l’explication étymologique suivante: „Probablement du roumain *corniță* ‘petite corne’.“ Sans doute dans le БЕР le mot est-il emprunté à Mladenov (1969: 239) où son origine n’est pas mentionnée.

Králík (1995: 110–116) admet que le bulg. dial. *корница* ‘cheveux nattés, natte’ et le slovaque dial. *kornica*, au même sens, aux variants *kórnica* et *korňica*, peuvent être empruntés au roumain *corniță*. Il compare avec le slovaque dial. *kornuta* ‘brebis à cornes’, un emprunt au romain *cornúta* ‘cornue’, dérivé du roumain *corn* ‘corne’. Selon lui, le slovaque dial. *kornica* „peut être caractérisé comme une partie de la couche lexicale relativement récente liée à la colonisation valaque“. Il cite aussi le slovaque dial. *korna* ‘natte, tresse’, en soulignant que le rapport entre les formes *korna* et *kornica* n’est pas très clair du point de vue de la chronologie relative et que l’une et l’autre pourraient aussi bien être primitives. Or, malgré „l’attrait indubitable“ de l’étymologie roumaine, Králík juge indispensable d’essayer de donner „une interprétation étymologique du slovaque *kornica* et du bulg. *корница* dans un contexte slave.“ Il rapporte à l’ie. **(s)ker-* ‘couper’ et ‘tourner; tricoter’ en signalant le syncrétisme primitif de ces significations. Sur le rapport du sens ‘tresse’ au sens ‘tourner; tricoter’, il établit une parallèle sémantique en se servant de l’étymologie du slovaque *vrkoč* ‘natte, tresse’ (dérivé de l’ie. **werk-*: **work-*: **wřk-* ‘tourner; tricoter’). Selon l’auteur, le bulg. dial. *корница* ‘natte de jeune fille’ et le bulg. dial. *корница* ‘pâte feuilletée’ (dérivé de *корà*, v. le БЕР II: 643, sous *корница*¹) peuvent être considérés comme des mots congénères [*корà* étant accepté comme hérité de l’ie. **(s)ker-* ‘couper’]. Il faut bien souligner le caractère convaincant des suggestions de l’auteur. Le savant inspire le respect par son érudition, par l’abondance de faits bien choisis. Cependant je suis d’avis que l’étymologie roumaine qu’il admet mais qu’il finit par ne pas accepter n’est pas à rejeter. Bien sûr, certaines précisions doivent y être apportés.

Le roumain *corniță* ne signifie pas seulement ‘petite corne’, comme le note le BEP (II: 643). C’est un diminutif de *corn*, qui en dehors du sens ‘petite corne’ et d’autres significations, possède aussi le sens dialectal de ‘partie de la coiffure de femme’, cf. dans le DLR (I/II 1940: 795) le roum. dial. *corn* au sens de ‘partie de la coiffure des paysannes’ et le texte roumain de Banat dans le DLR (I/II 1940: 797), pour *corn*, avec la forme du pluriel *córni*: „În cap [femeile] au corni care se împletesc cu părul“ („Sur la tête [les femmes] ont des cornes qui sont tressées avec les cheveux“). Le sens premier de *corniță* — ‘petite corne’ — est logique: la tresse des cheveux en tant qu’élément d’une coiffure de femme peut rappeler une petite corne et peut donc s’appeler petite corne.

La présence d’un mot roumain dans le parler de Novo selo est tout à fait naturelle. Králik lui-même parle de la possibilité d’incorporation de mots roumains en slovaque. En ce qui concerne la forme slovaque *korna* ‘tresse’ (du féminin), on peut dire ceci: *korna* est créé d’après la forme du pluriel, mentionnée ci-dessus, *córni*.

Je me permets de penser que, par suite des précisions apportées, l’origine roumaine du bulg. dial. *корница* ‘tresse de jeune fille’ (attesté à Novo selo, région de Vidin) et du slovaque dial. *kornica* ‘tresse’ (aux variantes *kórnica*, *korňica*) doit être considérée comme incontestable. Je trouve exagérée la constatation de l’origine slave d’un mot qui s’explique très bien comme un emprunt au roumain sur le plan phonétique, sémantique, géographique et de par sa formation.

ПЪЙ

Le BEP (VI: 39) donne l’explication étymologique suivante du mot dialectal bulgare *пъй* attesté au sens de ‘oui, c’est ça, voilà’, à Draganovo et à Džuljunica, région de Gorna Orjahovica, et, en tant qu’interjection exprimant l’étonnement, le regret, à Veliko Tărnovo et dans la région de Elena: „Peut-être une variante phonétique de *пък* (v.), avec renforcement de l’élément affirmatif du sens, cf. une évolution sémantique pareille dans le mot d’emprunt en roumain *ipák* par rapport à son étymon bulgare *пак* ‘de nouveau, etc.’ (v.). La substitution de -к par -й à la fin du mot trouve sa correspondance chez le pronom *пъй* (v.)“. Je dirai entre parenthèses que dans l’explication donnée ci-dessus *ipák* est faussement composé au lieu de *ipác*.

Le lien étymologique établi précédemment entre *пъй* et *пък* se heurte à des difficultés de caractère aussi bien phonétique que sémantique.

À mon avis, le bulg. dial. *пъй* est emprunté au roumain *păi* à la sémantique assez riche qui comprend aussi d’ailleurs les significations du

bulg. *нѣ* (à l'exception d'une seule). Pour le sens 'oui, c'est ça' du bulg. *нѣ*, cf. le DLRLM (1958: 593, sous *păi¹*) où l'on trouve l'explication suivante: „Exprimă o afirmație, o aprobare“ („Exprime l'affirmation, l'approbation, l'accord“) et où sont cités les synonymes *desigur* 'bien sûr, oui', *se înțelege* 'bien sûr, s'entend', *se putea astfel* 'se peut ainsi', de même que le DLRLC (III/1957: 348, sous *păi¹*) où il y a l'indication suivante: „De obicei întârit prin « da », « desigur », « că », exprimă o afirmație, sau o aprobare“ („D'habitude renforcé par *da* 'oui', *desigur* 'bien sûr, oui', *că* 'que', exprime l'affirmation, l'approbation, l'accord“) et sont cités les synonymes *desigur* 'bien sûr, oui', *se înțelege* 's'entend'. Pour l'expression d'étonnement par le bulg. *нѣ*, cf. dans le DLRLM (1958: 593, sous *păi¹*) l'indication pour le roum. *păi*: „Exprimă mirare“ („Exprime l'étonnement“) et dans le DLRLC (III/1957: 348, sous *păi¹*): „...exprimă mirare“ („...exprime l'étonnement“). Je n'y ai pas trouvé d'indication pour l'expression du regret par le roum. *păi*, bien qu'on puisse citer des exemples d'un tel emploi de *păi*, cf. le bulg. *ax* pour exprimer le regret (la compassion), par exemple dans la phrase „Ах, колко си изстрадал!“; tout comme pour exprimer le regret (le repentir), par exemple dans la phrase „Ах, сбърках!“; d'une part, et pour exprimer l'étonnement, d'autre part.¹

Ajoutons encore un détail sur le roum. *păi*. C'est une variante du roum. *pói* 'eh bien, mais' (à d'autres sens aussi), *apói* et *apăi* 'après, après cela, ensuite' (à d'autres sens aussi) et d'autres formes (aux équivalents dans les autres langues romanes), qui héritent du lat. (*ad*) *post* (de *ad* 'à' et 'post', 'derrière, après, ensuite').²

L'emprunt du bulg. dial. *нѣ* au roumain doit être considéré comme certain. Il est à noter que *нѣ* est attesté dans des localités dont les habitants ont maintenu dans le passé des contacts animés avec une population roumaine.

Pour plus de détails sur *нѣ*, v. T. At. Todorov (СъпЕЗ XXIX/3, 2004: 37–39).

ТРАНТЪВАМ

Le verbe dialectal *трантѣвам* aux sens de 'servir' (à Trudovec, région de Botevgrad),³ 'prévenir les désirs, les besoins de qn' (à

¹ Cf. РСБКЕ (I/1995: 27) où *ax* est cité comme une interjection pour exprimer le regret, la compassion, la douleur, la frayeur, l'étonnement, la compréhension, etc.

² Sur l'étymologie du roum. *păi*, *pói*, *apăi*, cf. Cioranescu (I: 29–30, IV: 593).

³ V. С6НУ (XXXVIII/1930, la part de G. Popivanov, 142).

Radovene, région de Vraca),⁴ ‘prendre soin de qqn’ (à Iskrec, région de Svoge),⁵ ‘être esclave, servir’ (dial.),⁶ est créé sur un substantif **тpанта* emprunté au roum. dial. *trântă* ‘femme inculte, ignare’. Le mot emprunté a pu développer le sens de ‘serviteur; servante’ dont a pu dériver un verbe *тpантѹвам*, sur le modèle des verbes *слугѹвам* (dérivé de *слуга*), *робѹвам* (dérivé de *роб*). Variantes attestées de *тpантѹвам*: *тpънтѹвам* ‘prendre soin de qn’ (région de Sofia)⁷ et *таpантѹвам* ‘prendre soin de qqn, perdre son temps à le soigner’ (à Trăstenik, région de Pleven).⁸

* * *

Le bulg. dial. *кoрнѹца* ‘natte, tresse de jeune fille’ n’est donc pas un mot d’origine slave, il est emprunté au roum. *cornița*; le bulg. dial. *пѹй*, particule au sens de ‘oui, c’est ça’, et interjection exprimant l’étonnement, la compassion / le regret n’est pas une variante phonétique du bulg. *пѹк* mais provient du roum. *păi*; le bulg. dial. *тpантѹвам* ‘servir’ est un dérivé du mot d’emprunt roumain non enregistré **тpанта* (du roum. *trântă* ‘femme inculte, ignare’).

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ROMANISCH-SLAWISCHE SPRACHKONTAKTE: BALKANISIERUNG, AKKOMMODATION ODER GEGENAKKULTURATION?

Abstract: The discussion developed in Creole Studies (i.e. *Matrix Language Frame Model* by Carol Myers-Scotton) is applied to the field of Balkan linguistics. Based on the data coming from Aromanian and non-Aromanian contact language situations, the cliché of the Balkans as a mixture of languages and peoples is deconstructed. Concepts such as languages in contact, hybridity and ethnic mimicry are exemplified on linguistic data coming from Bulgarians in Romania, and both Aromanians and Slavic speaking Pomaks in Northern Greece.

Key words: Creolistics, hybridity, ethnic mimicry, iconization, fractal recursivity

Einführung

Ein häufig anzutreffendes Klischee über den Balkan ist das eines „Völker- und Sprachgemisches“: Die Balkanvölker seien vielsprachiger, zugleich aber kulturell ähnlicher. Mit dem Dekonstruktivismus hat diese Position kurioserweise Verstärkung bekommen und wird verwissenschaftlicht: Wenn nämlich die modernen Standardsprachen als kulturelle Artefakte und sprachpolitisch geschaffene Nationalsymbole des 19. Jahrhunderts gesehen werden (etwa Riedel 2005), erliegt man leicht dem Schluss, vorher habe es keine ethnische Differenzierung von Sprache gegeben. Dies trifft so nicht zu.

Im Fall der Balkansprachen, die eine singuläre grammatische Konvergenz aufweisen, wird erst in letzter Zeit der größere kontaktlinguistische Zusammenhang gesucht, der neuerdings auch die Kreolistik mit einschließt. Diese Diskussion geht auch um Ethnizität, um sprachliche Taktiken, ethnische Grenzen zu bewahren oder abzuschwächen. In der

Genese des Balkansprachbundes spielen die Aromunen eine prominente Rolle, so dass es lohnenswert erscheint, die aktuelle Kreol-Diskussion bezüglich des Balkansprachbundes in den aromunischen Kontext zu rücken. Wir werden sehen, dass die sprachliche Ausverhandlung von Gruppengrenzen in aromunisch-nichtaromunischen Kontaktsituationen, wie wir sie hier aus Stern 2006 weiterentwickeln, ein schlüssiges Erklärungsmuster für die morphosyntaktische Struktur der Balkansprachen bietet.

Die historische Perspektive: Kreolisierung?

Hinrichs hat 2004a/b die Balkansprachen als Kreolsprachen bezeichnet, also zur Muttersprache gewordene Pidginsprachen. Pidgins sind kontaktinduzierte Behelfssprachen, die ihre Entstehung dem zunächst auf Tauschhandelsbeziehungen beschränkten Kontakt zwischen Gruppen unterschiedlicher sprachlicher Zugehörigkeit verdanken (typischer-, aber nicht notwendigerweise zwischen Kolonisatoren und indigener Bevölkerung). Es wird nicht ganz deutlich, wie weit Hinrichs mit dem Vergleich geht. Einerseits ist ihm kulturwissenschaftlich zuzustimmen: Der Balkan ist ein Raum synkretistischer Kulturkontakte. Andererseits führt dies nicht automatisch zu Kreolsprachen: Die Balkanvölker sind nie in einer Fremdheit aufeinander getroffen wie die europäischen Seefahrernationen seit dem 15./16. Jh. und die Eingeborenen Amerikas. Einer schwachen Kreolthese Hinrichs' ist also zuzustimmen:

Balkanismen sind zustande gekommen als Resultat multipler, pidginoider und kreoloider Prozesse, aus deren jahrhundertelangen Verflechtungen und ihrer großräumigen Ausbreitung unter den Bedingungen von Oralität, Multilingualismus und chronisch defizitärem Fremdsprachenverstehen. (Hinrichs 2004a: 25).

Hinrichs will den Eurozentrismus der Sprachwissenschaft überwinden, die bis heute auf Schriftlichkeit, Linearität und ein antikes Grammatikideal fixiert sei. An ihre Stelle setzt er die optimale Ökonomie sprachlicher Strukturen in der oralen/auralen Sprachverarbeitung. Hinrichs vergleicht etwa die Partikeln der Balkansprachen mit denen in Kreolsprachen. Wenn er Formen wie *bi* für irrealen Konjunktiv oder Partikeln wie bulg. *šte* bzw. makedon. *k'e* als kreoloid aufführt, ist dies nur eine Seite der Medaille, da die Balkansprachen ihr komplexes Aspekt- und Tempussystem bewahrt haben. Die Balkansprachen sind also einerseits stark umgebaut worden in einem Konvergenzprozess, der durch Sprachkontakt bedingt ist, andererseits sind sie „steckengeblieben“ in archaischen Sprachzuständen. Es muss also zeitgleich eine Gegenbewegung gegeben haben, die bereits deutlich wird, wenn wir uns den Bestand an Tempuskategorien im Südslawischen

und im Nordslawischen anschauen, wobei im letzteren radikal vereinfacht wurde, im Südslawischen so gut wie gar nicht.

Dies betont auch Stern 2006: Der entscheidende Unterschied zwischen Kreol- und Balkansprachen liegt im Fehlen ererbter morphosyntaktischer Paradigmatizität und Formanten bei den Kreolsprachen. Diese negative Evidenz ist aussagekräftiger als die positive: Positive Übereinstimmungen zwischen zwei Sprachen sind typologischer Natur und können zufällig sein. Ererbte strukturelle Besonderheiten hingegen weisen historisch-genetisch auf den evolutionären Ausgangspunkt hin und haben somit andere Beweiskraft.

Schauen wir etwa auf den indogermanischen Aorist, der in allen Balkansprachen noch vorhanden ist – entweder als formale Restklasse oder als verallgemeinerte Form. Die Balkansprachen transportieren diesen Ballast – die Existenzbedingungen sind dysfunktional – bis heute mit und erweisen sich als extrem konservative Sprachen: Sie funktionieren in Teilbereichen extrem „unkreolisch“.

Wie können wir dies motivieren? Stern stellt die These auf, dass der partielle sprachliche Konservatismus als sozialer/ethnischer Marker im Sinne einer traditionsorientierten Aufrechterhaltung von Gruppenkohärenz funktionieren kann, die möglicherweise durch die gerontokratischen Strukturen gefördert wird. Dies ergibt sehr viel Sinn, wenn wir an die Situation der Ethnien im Osmanischen Reich denken, die kontinuierlich Assimilationsbewegungen fürchteten und gleichzeitig gezwungen waren, sich in ihrer multiethnischen Umgebung zu arrangieren und dem ethnischen Gegenüber – und sei es nur für das kurze Gespräch auf dem Markt – entgegenzukommen.

Es empfiehlt sich hier, nicht von L1 und L2 (Erst- und Zweitsprache) zu reden, da es hier nicht um das Maß der Sprachbeherrschung oder die Relevanz der Sprache für den einzelnen Sprecher geht. Stattdessen ist die Paarung L_{trad} vs. L_{nov} eher im Sinne eines rechtsähnlichen Verhältnisses zu verstehen, im Sinne einer Ausverhandlung zwischen traditionellen Sprechern bzw. deren traditionaler (autochthone?) Sprache und den Novizen in einer Sprachgemeinschaft bzw. deren neue Sprache (Allochthone?).

Die Balkansprachen befinden sich nach Stern 2006: 214ff auf einer Skala mit den Extrempolen innovativ vs. traditional im Mittelfeld: Kreolsprachen sind nur L_{nov} orientiert, wobei L_{trad} inexistent ist. Balkansprachen sind L_{trad} und L_{nov} orientiert. Entlehnungssprachen sind L_{trad} -dominant und hierbei L_{nov} -marginal. Isolierte Sprachen ohne erneuernd wirkenden Sprachkontakt sind nur L_{trad} .

Das demographische Verhältnis zwischen L_{trad} - und L_{nov} -Sprechern ist entscheidend. Wenn zu viele „Novizen“ beteiligt sind an der Kontaktsituation, kippen die Verhältnisse und die ererbten Strukturen des traditionellen Repertoires können vollständig aufgehoben werden. Dies ist auf dem Balkan nicht der Fall gewesen: Es besteht ein konservativer Kern an Sprechern, der mehr oder weniger erfolgreich über die traditionellen kommunikativen Ressourcen wacht (L_{trad} -Dominanz). Wichtig ist aber nicht das numerische Verhältnis, sondern Faktoren wie Prestige und Attraktivität.

Die Spezifik der Sprachen, die wir zum Balkansprachbund zählen, besteht also im Antagonismus zwischen Auflösung traditioneller gesellschaftlicher Muster und gegen-akkulturierender Selbstbehauptung eben dieser in Auflösung begriffenen traditionellen Gemeinschaften. Im Sprachbund bewegen sich bilinguale Mitglieder verschiedener L_{trad} -Gemeinschaften als L_{nov} -Sprecher von Sprachen anderer Gemeinschaften regelmäßig über ihre eigenen Gemeinschaftsgrenzen hinaus und partizipieren marginal an anderen Gemeinschaften:

Die transhumanten, d.h. halbnomadischen Aromunen/Vlachen, die über den ganzen Balkan zogen, sprachen also saisonweise albanisch, griechisch, bulgarisch. Sie hatten in diesen Gemeinschaften aber kein Verhandlungsrecht über kommunikative Ressourcen, und dennoch hat dieser Sprachkontakt in der Weise gewirkt, wie Hinrichs ihn beschrieben hat in der Vereinheitlichung mündlicher Strukturen. Jedoch haben die Halbnomaden nicht wirklich die Struktur der Kontaktsprachen verändern können, da sich die Träger dieser Kontaktsprachen der Assimilationsperspektive bewusst waren und gegengesteuert haben – im Sinne von intralingualen ethnischen Markern: So schreiben Giles/Sachdev 2004: 358:

divergence can be regarded as a very important tactic of intergroup distinctiveness for bilinguals wishing to feel good about their ethnicity, and thereby about themselves.

Giles erwähnt eine Studie von 1989 zu Katalonien: Hier galt (und gilt?) die Auffassung, dass nur Katalanen Katalanisch sprechen sollen. Wenn also ein Kastilisch-Sprecher versucht, Katalanisch zu sprechen, antwortet ihm der Katalane auf Kastilisch. Ähnliches können wir uns für den Balkan vorstellen: Der Südslawisch- oder Albanisch- oder Griechischsprecher will dem Aromunen, der sie in ihrer Sprache anspricht, verdeutlichen, dass diese Sprachkompetenz nicht die Gruppengrenzen schwächen oder überwinden kann, und redet ihn daher in seiner Sprache an. Auf diese Weise haben beiden Seiten ein Motiv, kurzfristig die Sprache des anderen zu reden, wodurch wir die massiven Interferenzen erklären können.

Der Prozess von *intergroup distinctiveness* (Giles/Smith 1979: 52–53) ist in soziolinguistischen Versuchen nachgestellt worden. Grundsätzlich ist es so, dass Mitglieder unterschiedlicher Gruppen in einer Kontaktsituation sich mit dem Gegenüber vergleichen in Dimensionen, die ihnen wichtig sind (Fähigkeiten, Eigenschaften, Besitz u.ä.) — auf der Suche nach für die eigene Person positiven Merkmalen. Man will positive Distinktivität der eigenen Gruppe wahrnehmen, und hierfür ist sprachliche Divergenz ein sehr geeigneter Weg. In Wales etwa hat man Waliser, die stolz auf ihre ethnische Identität sind und dabei sind, Walisisch im Sprachkurs zu lernen, unter dem Vorwand, bei einer Umfrage zu Spracherwerb mitzuwirken, in ein Gespräch mit einem Engländer verwickelt. Dieser hat irgendwann im Gespräch sehr arrogant die Bemerkung fallen lassen, er verstehe nicht, warum sie eine „sterbende Sprache ohne Zukunft lernen wollten“. Schlagartig hat sich das Sprachverhalten der Waliser geändert als Reaktion auf diese Beleidigung ihrer ethnischen Identität: Der Tonfall wurde aggressiv, der walisische Akzent wurde deutlich verstärkt, z.T. sogar walisische Wörter und Floskeln eingebaut. Ähnlich kann es auf dem Balkan abgelaufen sein — und vergessen wir nicht, dass die mobile Gruppe in der Kontaktsituation, die Aromunen/Vlachen, zumindest innerhalb des christlichen *millet* die wohlhabendere Gruppe war. Sprachliches Beharrungsvermögen bei Albanisch-, Griechisch- und Bulgarischsprechern als Divergenz könnte also ähnlich funktioniert haben wie bei den Walisern.

Diese Weiterführung von Hinrichs 2004a/b und Stern 2006 geht davon aus, dass Akkommodation und Gegenakkulturation in interlingualen wie auch in intralingualen Konstellationen ethnischen Kontakts gleich funktionieren und kann so in den größeren Rahmen von Labovs Phasenmodell 1975 für soziolinguistisch erklärbaren Sprachwandel gestellt werden: Labov unterscheidet „Wandel von unten“, wenn eine Sprachgruppe sich partiell an einen prestigeträchtigeren Sprachgebrauch annähert, von „Wandel von oben“: Wenn sich die sozial schwächere Gruppe zu stark an die dominante Gruppe anpasst, kann es vorkommen, dass diese sich neue Sprachcharakteristika gibt, um die Distinktivität, d.h. den Abstand zur sozial schwächeren Gruppe zu sichern. An diesem Punkt reiht sich die teils hochsynthetische, teils analytische balkanische Morphosyntax in das dialektische Sprachwandelmodell von Keller 1994 ein, der das Spiel zwischen Anpassung und Abgrenzung, zwischen Orthodoxie und Innovation in Anlehnung an die pragmatischen Kommunikationsmaximen als statische Maxime („Rede so, dass Du als Gruppenzugehöriger zu erkennen bist.“, d.h. „Rede so, dass Du nicht auffällst.“) und dynamische Maxime („Rede so, dass Du als nicht zu der

Gruppe gehörig erkennbar bist.“, d.h. „Rede so, dass Du beachtet wirst, rede amüsan, witzig usw.“) bezeichnet hat. Hier wären wir wieder beim Begriff der „Akkommodation“: Die Balkansprachen verdanken ihre Balkanizität dem interethnischen Austausch unter den Bedingungen, wie Hinrichs 2004a/b sie beschrieben hat, als kontinuierliches „Falschsprechen“ der jeweils anderen Kontaktsprache. Auf der anderen Seite — und dies entkräftigt die konstruktivistische Sicht auf die Ethnien des Balkans (vgl. etwa Riedel 2005) — haben die Balkansprachen einige aussagekräftige Merkmale bewahrt, die sie weit in die Vergangenheit verorten und sprachliche Kontinuität belegen.

Aktuelle Kontaktsituationen: Hybridität und ethnische Mimikry

Das dominante Paradigma, das für viele Modelle der Grammatik und Sprachverarbeitung aufschlussreich sein kann, ist das sog. *Matrix Language Frame*-Modell der Afrikanistin Myers-Scotton. Es besagt, dass jedem gemischten Satz eine Matrixsprache zugeordnet werden kann, die eine bestimmte Gruppe der grammatischen Morpheme sowie ihre syntagmatische Anordnung vorgibt. Myers-Scotton 1993 hat so gewissermaßen eine Grammatik der Sprachalternation innerhalb eines Satzes erarbeitet, die durch einige zentrale Beschränkungsregeln, die *constraints*, determiniert ist. Das Äquivalenzprinzip meint die Nichtverletzung der syntaktischen Regeln beider Sprachen. Bei der von Mladenov 1993 beschriebenen bulgarisch-rumänischen Sprachpaarung — zwei syntaktisch weitgehend vergleichbaren Balkansprachen — greift die Äquivalenzregel so gut wie nie: Man beachte in (1) die Form *oriti*, wo der postponierte rumänische Artikel *-le* in *orele* problemlos durch sein bulgarisches Pendant *-ti* substituiert wird. Zweite zentrale Regel ist das *Free Morpheme Constraint*, das die Suffigierung einer phonologisch nicht slawisierten Wurzel mit einem gebundenen slawischen Morphem untersagt. Diese Regel wird andauernd gebrochen, da die ostslawischen Dialekte verbindliche Integrationsmodi für jeden rumänischen und neugriechischen Worttyp gefunden haben.

(1) L1 Bulgarisch — L2 Rumänisch:

Dúpă țe (rum. *Dupa ceeă*) *termînăm ńriti* (rum. *orele*) *șă dă ńem domă, pă kutu maj ńmă tîmp șă ńzatăm* (rum. *ajutăm*) *i pă măm i pă tătă*.

„Nachdem ich die (Unterrichts)Stunden beendet habe, gehe ich nach Hause, und wenn ich noch Zeit habe, werde ich helfen bei Mama und bei Papa.“

(2) *Dăpačé* (rum. *Dupa cee*) *dîă nă škólătă ăskúltăm profesorite săs atencie i năpkom kugă šă dim făf rekrácie* (rum. *recreație*) *igrăa i urătă săs mói koléci*.

„**Nachdem** ich in die Schule gehe, **höre ich** den Lehrern mit **Aufmerksamkeit** zu, und nachdem ich in die **Pause** gegangen bin, spiele und rede ich mit meinen Mitschülern.“ (Mladenov 1993: 370–371).

Das moderne Verständnis von Ethnizität betont die subjektive Funktionsweise: Dasselbe gilt, wie wir im Folgenden sehen werden, auch für die Sprachlichkeit von Gruppen. Gerade muslimische Kleingruppen, denen ihre Muttersprache ein lästiges Anhängsel, ein letzter Beweis für eine ungeliebte Ethnizität ist, belegen eine hohe Flexibilität im Umgang mit der eigenen Sprache. Denn, vergessen wir nicht: Real ist nur das, was wir als real wahrnehmen (wollen). Alles ist eine Frage der Perzeption!

Stellen Sie sich vor, Sie möchten jemand anders sein. Hierfür müssen Sie alle Spuren Ihrer alten Zugehörigkeit beseitigen. Dies ist im Falle von Sprache nicht leicht möglich. Es ist leicht, eine Nationalsprache umzuformen, wenn Sie die entsprechenden Voraussetzungen wie staatliche Schulsysteme u.ä. unter Ihrer Kontrolle haben. Aber in kurzer Zeit die Muttersprache dahingehend zu ändern, dass man auch von der Umgebung in der neuen Identität akzeptiert wird, ist ein nahezu aussichtsloses Unterfangen. Was tut man, wenn man die Realität nicht ändern kann? Man ändert die Wahrnehmung: So möchte ich hier zwei namhaften Vertreterinnen der amerikanischen *linguistic anthropology* (Gal und Irvine) zitieren, die nach der Rolle von Sprachideologien bei der sozial konstruierten Grenzziehung zwischen Dialekten und Sprachen fragen. In diesem Prozess der Nationalstaatsbildung, der angeblich kulturelle Einheiten in politische Gebilde überführt hat, ist z.B. der die slawischen Balkanmuslime betreffende Inklusionsdiskurs exklusiv auf sprachlicher Basis geführt worden. Es geht also einerseits um den Diskurs der nationalen Mehrheit, zugleich aber auch um die Reperkussion divergierender Inanspruchnahmen seitens der Minderheit, die ihre eigene Ideologie ausformt.

Gal/Irvine (1995: 972–975; 2000: 37–39) nennen drei semiotische Prozesse, durch die Sprachideologien auf sprachliche Ausdifferenzierung ablaufen: Den ersten nennen sie *Iconization* und meinen die Umwandlung von sprachlichen Fakten in ikonische Repräsentationen der jeweiligen Gruppe, wobei diese Beziehung aufgrund der Ikonizität als zwingend und notwendig erscheint. Der zweite Prozess, die sog. *fractal recursivity*, projiziert gewisse partiell existierende Oppositionen in einer Weise, dass innerhalb der eigenen Gruppe Differenzen verschwinden, während die Außengrenze der Gruppe verstärkt wird: Ein Beispiel wäre etwa die

Stilisierung von Turzismen als national und exklusiv Bosnjakisches. Am wichtigsten scheint der dritte Prozess zu sein, die sog. *erasure*: Die „Rasur“ meint die Ausblendung von sprachlichen Fakten, die nicht mit der Sprachideologie in Einklang zu bringen sind. „Erasure“ finden wir häufig im Falle von Minderheiten: So können die Windischentheorie zu den Kärntnern, die russ. Sprachpolitik in Karelien ebenso wie die griechische Ideologie des „scheinbar slawischen Idioms“ in Nordgriechenland als Paradebeispiel für derartige Sprachideologien angeführt werden, die sich weit vom Faktischen entfernen. Im Ergebnis ist es so, dass die Minderheit selbst zur Festigung von neuerworbenen Identitäten derartige Ideologien mitträgt. Im Endergebnis sehen wir etwa bei den Pomaken, dass sich überlagernde Sprachideologien von drei Nationalstaaten (Griechenland, Türkei und Bulgarien), die die Gruppe als Teil ihres Volkskörpers einklagen, die Wirksamkeit des „erasure“-Prozesses noch potenziert wird: Indem Sprache von mehreren Seiten manipulativ als Argument missbraucht wird, verliert die Sprache bei ihre Sprechern selbst endgültig ihre Rolle als Indikator für Gruppenzugehörigkeit.

Ähnlich verhalten sich die Aromunen, wie Kahl 2003 sie beschrieben hat: Auch die Aromunen, die weitgehend ein Eigensprachlichkeitsbewusstsein verloren haben und ihr Idiom als einen korrumpierten Dialekt des Griechischen ansehen, entsprechen dem Phänomen der *erasure*. Die heutige Situation der meisten Aromunen in mehreren südosteuropäischen Staaten ist durch nationale (Über-)Assimilierung gekennzeichnet. Diese Art der ethnischen Mimikry war während des 17.–19. Jh.s nicht ohne weiteres möglich, da Ethnizität vor allem durch kulturelle Arbeitsteilung festgelegt wurde und die Gruppengrenzen zwischen verschiedensprachigen Ethnien sehr viel „sichtbarer“ waren als dies heute auf dem Balkan der Fall ist. Daher verstellt die heutige Situation den Blick auf die interkulturellen Realitäten in Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit und somit auf die Entstehungsbedingungen des Balkansprachbundes.

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AROMUNISCHE INTERFERENZEN IN DEN SLAVISCHEN MINDERHEITEN ALBANIENS

Abstract: The paper presents some of the data collected during fieldwork among South Slavs in Albania. The analyzed onomastic data, covering three compact Slavic regions, enabled the author to put forward the theory of a possible Aromanian linguistic influence.

Key words: onomastics, South Slavs, Aromanians

Entlang der östlichen Staatsgrenze Albaniens findet man drei Gebiete, in denen es heute kompakte südslavischsprechende Bevölkerung gibt.

I. Im Südosten, im *Prespagebiet* Albaniens befinden sich neun Dörfern. In zwei Dörfern *Vërnik* und *Boboshtica* leben ungefähr 4500 Südslavischsprechende, die orthodoxen Glaubens sind.

II. Mittleren Osten, *Gollobordagebiet*. Die früheste historische Quelle für dieses Gebiet ist das türkische Register aus dem Jahre 1467. Diesem Register zufolge umfasste *Golloborda* 46 Dörfern. Diese wurden damals, wie es scheint, mit einem noch nicht fest verankerten Namen *Dulgoberdo* genannt. Schon zu dieser Zeit wurden fünf von diesen Dörfern als verlassen bezeichnet. Seitdem jedoch hat sich die Situation geändert.¹ Im Norden ist *Golloborda* als Gebiet schmaler geworden, da die Dörfer nördlich der Linie *Smollnik-Tërbaç* nicht mehr zu diesem Gebiet zugehören. Die andere Änderung ergibt sich aus den Grenzkorrekturen von 1922, wodurch die Dörfer *Hotišan*, *Žepišť*, *Manastirec*, *Drenok*, *Modrič*, *Lakaica*, *Lukova*, *Jablanica*, *Preskupština*, *Bezova*, *Nerez*, *Bigor*, die

¹ Es bleibt unklar, ob es nach dem 15. Jh. wirklich zu einer Verengung der Grenzen von *Golloborda* im Norden des Gebiets gekommen ist, oder ob die Verbreitung dieses Gebiets im türkischen Register nicht der damaligen Volkstradition entsprach.

man heute zum „debarski Drimkoll“ Gebiet zählt, ausserhalb der Staatsgrenzen Albanien blieben.²

Nach der jüngeren Volkstradition umfasst das Gebiet von Golloborda in Albanien 24 Dörfer, die heute verwaltungsmäßig zu drei verschiedenen Gemeinden gehören:

1. Die Gemeinde Ostren umfasst 13 Dörfer³: Südslavisch wird in den folgenden neun Dörfern gesprochen: *Ostreni i Madh (Gol'emo Ostreni/Ostreni Gol'emo)*, *Kojavec (Kojovci)*, *Lejçan (L'ešničani)*, *Lladomerica (Ladomerica/Ladimerica/Vladamerica)*, *Ostreni i Vogël (Mal'o Ostreni/Mal'astreni/Ostreni Mal'o)*, *Orzhanova (Oržanova)*, *Radovesh (Radoveš/Radoeš/ Radoešt)*, *Tuçep (Tuçepi)*, *Pasinka (Pasinki)*. In diesen neun Dörfern sind 1322 Familien bzw. 4585 Einwohner registriert.⁴ Davon sind nur acht Familien orthodoxen Glaubens.

2. Die Gemeinde von Trebisht umfasst vier Dörfer: *Trebisht (Trebišta)*, *Gjinovec (G'inovec/G'inec)*, *Klenjë (Kl'en'e)*, *Vërnice (Vërnica)*. Die Zahl der Einwohner liegt heute bei 1145.⁵ Gegenwärtig gibt es nur zwei orthodoxe Familien in *Gjinovec* und eine in *Vërnice*.

3. Die anderen Dörfer von Golloborda gehören zur Gemeinde von Studna. Es sind *Stblevë*, *Zabzun*, *Borovë*, *Sebisht*, *Llangë*. Heute sind im Gemeinderegister 1666 Einwohner eingetragen. Zweisprachige Bevölkerung gibt es nur in *Stblevë (Stblo)* wo heute rund 20 Familien mit 214 registrierten Einwohnern leben (es wurde uns gesagt, dass im Dorf tatsächlich nicht mehr als 60 Einwohner leben). Im Jahr 1989 waren es 195 Familien mit 1037 Einwohnern. Die Mundart beherrschen passiverweise auch zwei bis drei Familien aus *Sebisht* und *Smollnik*, deren Hausfrauen aus anderen slavischprechenden Dörfern Gollobordas abstammen.

In mittleren Osten befinden sich auch die Dörfer *Herbel (Ĥrbel'e/Hërbel'e)* und *Kërçishti i Epërm (Gorno Kërçišta/Gorna Kërçi-*

² Palikruševa/Stojanovski 1969. S. 42: „Vo sostavot na vilajet Dolgo Brdo vleguvale segašnite predelni celini Golo Brdo i debarski Drimkoll. Vo nego imalo 46 naselbi so 340 domakinstva, odnosno so okoly 1500–2000 žiteli.“

³ *Ostreni i Madh, Kojavec, Lejçan, Lladomerica, Okshuni i Madh, Okshuni i Vogël, Oreshnja, Orzhanova, Ostreni i Vogël, Pasinka, Radovesh, Tërbaç, Tuçep.*

⁴ In diesen neun Dörfern gab es nach der Volkszählung von 1989 — 5494 Einwohner.

⁵ Der Vorsitzende der Komune Trebisht nennt im selben Jahr (2002) andere Zahlen: „Në komunën e Trebishtit banojnë 458 familje të cilat kanë 2168 banorë...“ Balla (2005: 27). Auch hier scheint eine Diskrepanz zwischen tatsächlichen Einwohnern und registrierten Einwohnern zu existieren. Im Jahr 1989 lebten in den Dörfern dieser Gemeinde 3202 Einwohner.

šta), in denen jeweils sechs orthodoxen Familien leben, die Südslavisch sprechen. Alle anderen Familien sind Muslime und sprechen nur Albanisch.

III. Nordosten Goragebiet. Das Goragebiet umfasst insgesamt 38 Dörfern. Davon befindet sich nur die Hälfte, 18 Dörfer, innerhalb der Staatsgrenzen Albaniens. Alle Einwohner sind Muslime. Der Teil des Goragebiets in Albanien befindet sich im Kukësibezirk und wird von drei Gemeinden, *Shishtavec*, *Zapod* und *Topojan* verwaltet. Eine slavischsprechende Bevölkerung lebt nur in den ersten beiden Gemeinden.

1. Die Gemeinde von Shishtavec umfasst sieben Dörfer mit insgesamt 7000 registrierten Einwohnern (*Shishtavec*, *Novosejë*, *Borje*, *Cërralevë*, *Oreshkë*, *Kollovoz*, *Shtrezë*). Slavisch spricht man nur in den folgenden vier Dörfern: *Shishtavec* (in der Mundart *Šištaec/Šišteec*), *Borje* (*Borje*), *Cërralevë* (*Cërnolevo/Cërneleve*) und *Oreshkë* (*Orešek*). Diese Dörfer haben 3700 registrierte Einwohner.

2. Die Gemeinde von Zapod umfasst ebenfalls sieben Dörfer mit insgesamt 3650 registrierten Einwohnern (*Orgjost*, *Kosharisht*, *Pakisht*, *Zapod*, *Orçikël*, *Bele*, *Lojme*). Slavisch wird nur in fünf Dörfern gesprochen, in denen 618 Familien mit 2251 Einwohnern leben: *Orgjost* (*Orgosta*), *Kosharisht* (*Košarišta*), *Pakisht* (*Pakiša/Pakišča*), *Zapod* (*Zapod*) und *Orçikël* (*Orčikl'e/Očikl'e*).⁶

Im Rahmen unseres Projekts über die südslavischen Minderheiten in Albanien, das vom DFG finanziert und von Prof. Dr. Klaus Steinke geleitet wird, interessieren uns in erster Linie neben der Verbreitung und der

⁶ Seiner 1922. S. 54–56. Angaben aus der Gemeinde Gora: Dörfer, in denen „sonstige“ Einwohner registriert sind:

Ortschaften	Einwohner	Albaner	Serben	Bulgaren	Sonstige	Muslime	Katholiken
Borje	426	—	—	—	426	426	—
Cërralevë	132	—	—	—	132	132	—
Kosharisht	64	—	—	—	64	64	—
Orçikël	74	74	—	—	—	74	—
Oreshkë	88	—	—	—	88	88	—
Orgjost	176	—	—	—	176	176	—
Pakisht	127	—	—	—	127	127	—
Shishtavec	554	54	—	—	500	549	5
Zapod	142	3	—	—	139	142	—
Insgesamt	1783	131	—	—	1652	1778	5

heutigen Zahl dieser Minderheiten auch verschiedene socio-linguistische Aspekte und namentlich die Sprache bzw. die Mundart dieser Minderheiten. Diese Untersuchung hat im Allgemeinen einen synchronischen Charakter. Unsere Arbeit im Terrain mit verschiedenen Informanten aus den drei obengenannten Gebieten sowie mit der entsprechenden Literatur hat unsere Aufmerksamkeit auf einige Sachverhalte gelenkt und gleichzeitig einige diachronische Fragen vor uns gestellt. Eine von diesen Fragen lautet: Was für eine Rolle haben die Vlahen in den von uns untersuchten Gebieten gespielt? Stellen sie eine Komponente, sei es auch kleinere, in der Bildung dieser ethnographischen Gebiete dar? Um diese Fragen endgültig zu beantworten fehlt uns eine solide Analyse, insbesondere des Sprachmaterials. Zudem sind relevante historische Fakten sehr spärlich. Deshalb werden wir uns hier nur auf die Darstellung dieser Angaben begrenzen.

I. Im Südosten, im Dorf Boboštica können wir heute vier bis fünf Leute treffen, die die alte Mundart beherrschen oder nur teilweise beherrschen. Nicht nur unsere Informanten, sondern auch die meisten der Informanten von Mazon haben keine eindeutig slavischen Namen. Bei uns waren es *Kuneška*, *Bambulli* und *Maņo*. Bei Mazon: *Canco*; *Kuneška*, *Bambulova*; *Mileci*; *G'ermanova*; *Gogof*; *Filto*.⁷ Ebenfalls wichtig ist, dass das Hauptemigrationsziel der Bobošćani immer Rumänien gewesen ist, obwohl Bulgarien, sprachlich gesehen, viel leichter wäre. Könnten wir es im Falle von *Kuneška*, *Bambuli*, *Canco* mit slavisierten Aromunen zu tun haben, die übrigens in diesem Gebiet verbreitet sind?

II. Mittlerer Osten, Gollobordagebiet. Die Mazedonier Palikruševa und Stojanovski (1969, S. 46) haben die Angaben des Türkischen Register von 1467 analysiert und sind zur Schlussfolgerung gekommen „i vo Golobordo, iako sosema neznatno, preovladuva slovenskoto naselenie.... Neslovenskoto naselenie go sočinuvaat vlaškiot i albanskiot element.“ Sie geben auch den Dorfnamen *Vlasić* und den PN *G'on Vlasić* an (S. 45–46). Der FN *Ermenin* ist gleichermaßen ein Indiz für Vlahen.

Früher hat Filipović 1940, S. 20, die folgende Beschreibung für Steblevo gegeben: „Majka starog popa Milenka iz Stebleva, koji sada živi u Lakaici, pripovedala je da su oni, Srbi iz Stebleva, išli sa stokom samo do pod šumu, a na „planini“ bili su sami Vlasi, koji su tu planinu smatrali

⁷ RLF1 320: Maņo < Maņo < Emanuel.

RLF1 136: Gogof < Gogo < Georgi.

RLF1 131: G'ermanova < German < Lat. *Germanus* "bliznak", Thrak. *Germ* "gorešt". Katalina < Katerina???

Kašari, Kovači, Zoto für Drenove.

svojom imovinom“ sowie den Toponym *Vlaške Sol'išča* (S. 21). Desweiteren behauptet er, dass die Dörfer Steblevo und Drenok von Hirten, Vlachen, gegründet waren „Po predanju, sela Steblevo i Drenok su osnovali stočari: prvo su osnovali neki stočari iz Magareva, a drugo iz Trnova (u Golom Brdu). Pošto je danas Magarevo cincarsko naselje, a pošto su osnivači Drenka imali odeću sličnu 'vlaškoj', misli se da su i osnivači tih sela mogli biti 'Vlasi'“ (S. 22). Das Toponym und die Erzählung über den Berg von Steblevo findet man auch in den Materialien von unseren Informanten.

Der Gollobordane H. Sadikaj, aus Trebišt (1999, S. 72) nennt das andere Toponym alb. *Guri i Shqipes*, arom. *Peteril*, bulg. *Orlov kamen*. Ferner nimmt er die Anwesenheit von Vlachen in den Bergen von Gollobordo an (S. 155) und fügt hinzu (S. 181), dass die zweisprachigen Vlachen während ihrer Sommerweidezeit in Gollobordo, Jahrzehnte- und Jahrhundertlang zur Verbreitung der südslavischen Mundart beigetragen haben. Er nennt auch einige Beispiele über den Einfluss des Aromunischen im Bereich der Wortbildung, wie die Deminutiva *sofrule*, *tikvule* usw. Derartige Bildungen findet man auch in unseren Materialien, z.B. aus Steblevo *vodule*, aus Orzhanova *mesule* usw.

Der andere Gollobordane Hoxha (2003, S. 21 und S. 31) bestätigt das Toponym *Kucova* und erwähnt ferner zwei Sippen von Vlachen in Steblevo, *Grujaj* und *Rade*.

Erwähnen wir hier auch einen Kirchennamen oder Toponym aus Kërçišti i Epërm: *Ova estit Sveti Dimitrija, imame eno onamu go vika te Vljase, na Vljase*.

III. Nordosten, Goragebiet. Auch in Gora, auf beiden Seiten findet man Spuren von Vlachen sowohl in der Toponymie als auch in der Antroponymie.

Mladenović 2001, S. 51 erwähnt die Toponymen *Vlaški-potok*, *Barbula* usw. sowie die FN *Jankulofci*, *Mandakofci* usw., und fügt hinzu (S. 53): „Gorani pripadaju posebnoj etnokulturnoj grupi muslimanske konfesije u čijoj je osnovi slovenska pravoslavna populacija koja je bila u dugotrajnom kontaktu sa balkanskim neslovenskim stanovništvom – Vlasisima i Arbanasima, a posle primanja islama, i sa orijentalnim uticajem. To ima za posledicu preplitanje tri sloja u goranskom etničkom biću: slovenski, starobalkanski i orijentalni.“

Auch der Gorane Dokle, aus Borje (2002, S. 57–58) nennt eine Reihe von Toponymen wie *Vllahinica*, *Shundinci*, *Lupanovci* (Borje), *Vllani sad* Cërnelevë, mit Fragezeichen auch den Dorfnamen *Shishtavec* als **Shishtofci*, die FN *Vllača*, *Lupan*, den Gesang „srce zajde mudžu dve

planine, a ja legna mudžu dve vllahine”, sowie einige Entlehnungen in dem Wortschatz, wie *čula*, *čučulica*, *skut*, *šlakul* usw.

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ON SOME AROMANIAN GRAMMATICAL PATTERNS IN THE BALKAN SLAVONIC DIALECTS

Abstract: The author searches for new interbalkan language parallels and for source languages of particular phenomena in the Balkan Slavonic languages which cannot be explained by internal Slavonic development. The absence or shortages of written historical language sources for some Balkan languages may be compensated by using areal methods of linguistic research. A dialectal structure of the Balkan linguistic area, distinguishes within the Balkan language continuum different language subareas; an example are the Western Balkan Linguistic Area and the Eastern Balkan Linguistic Area. The first area consists of Eastern Serbian, Macedonian, Albanian and Aromanian dialects, while the second one is comprised of the dialects of Bulgarian and Greek. The linguistic appearance of the Western Balkans does not seem to be identical to that of the Eastern Balkans. Some structural innovations in Eastern Serbian and Macedonian dialects which are not present in the Eastern Balkan area may have Aromanian as their source language. Some of these supposed grammatical aromanianisms (recent loan-translations or calques) are prepositional direct object, peripheral functions of instrumental, "to be" as a transitive verb.

Key words: Aromanian, dialect, recent loan-translations

As is well known, the similarity of structural patterns between Aromanian and Balkan Slavonic dialects is very striking. It can be illustrated with some examples from the description of the Aromanian dialect of Kruševo in Macedonia by Zbigniew Gołąb (Gołąb 1984: 6–8), as compared to Macedonian dialectal facts:

Features	Aromanian	Macedonian dial.	Translation
1. The future tense	<i>va-s-do'armə</i>	<i>k'e da spie</i>	'he will sleep'
2. The future in the past	<i>va-s-durn'a</i>	<i>k'e da spieše</i>	'he would sleep'
3. The optative-subjunctive mood (present)	<i>s-do'armə</i> , cf. Pres. Ind. <i>do'arme</i>	<i>da spie</i>	'may he sleep, etc.'
4. The optative-subjunctive mood (imperfect)	<i>s-durn'a</i>	<i>da spieše</i>	'may he have slept, etc.'
5. The compound perfect	<i>are durn'itə</i>	<i>ima spieno</i>	'he has slept'
6. The compound pluperfect	<i>ave'a durn'itə</i>	<i>imaše spieno</i>	'he had slept'
7. The futurum exactum	<i>va-s-'ajbə durn'itə</i>	<i>k'e da ima spieno</i>	'he will have slept'
8. The lack of infinitive and its identical replacement by the subjunctive clause	<i>mi b'ag^u s-do'rmu</i>	<i>legnuvam da spijam</i>	'I am lying down to sleep'
9. The postpositive definite article	<i>'om-lu mul'are-a</i>	<i>čovek-ot žena-ta</i>	'the man' 'the woman'
10. Dative-Possessive	<i>k'alu a 'omlui a 'omlui l'i-ɜ'ək^u</i>	<i>konjot na čovekot na čovekot mu velam</i>	'the horse of the man' 'I tell the man'
11. The analytic gradation of adjectives	<i>b'un^u k'ama b'un^u n'aj-bun^u</i>	<i>dobar po-dobar naj-dobar</i>	'good' 'better' 'the best'

According to Gołąb "Thus, there is no doubt that the Balkan languages, in our particular case Arumanian and Macedonian, show a set of common structural features in their grammars, which leads any Slavist knowing the earlier or the oldest stage of Macedonian, i. e. the Old Church Slavonic, to the following question: what is the source of these structural features in the ... South Slavic languages?" The deep contention of Gołąb was "that this was continental Balkan Romance, or more specifically in the case of Macedonian, the primary Arumanian" (Gołąb 1984: 9).¹

¹ Similarly, Günter Reichenkron and Georg Solta stressed the role of Balkan Romance in emergence of common Balkan features (Reichenkron 1962; Solta 1980).

At the contemporary state of research it seems to me premature to make these kinds of strong generalizing statements concerning the role of Balkan Romance languages and especially of Aromanian in the formation of Balkan Slavonic or common Balkan language structures. Such statements are now and will be in the future speculative in the same way as their opposites. For example, Harald Haarmann concludes in his substantial article “Der Einfluß des Lateinischen in Südosteuropa”, published in the authoritative “Handbuch der Südosteuropa-Linguistik“, that „eine Beteiligung der lateinischen Determinante am Prozeß der Ausbildung balkanischer Sprachstrukturen ist nicht nachweisbar“ (Haarmann 1999: 573). In her recent book on the Balkan morpho-syntactic features, Olga Mišeska-Tomić expresses doubts on the possible role of Aromanian as a source language for Balkan phenomena: “But why should a language spoken by a limited number of inhabitants of the peninsula be the source for these calques? Moreover, since the Balkan *Sprachbund* features are not typical for all Romance languages, their provenance in Aromanian would still be in need of explanation” (Mišeska-Tomić 2006).

However that may be, searching for new interbalkan language parallels and for source languages of particular phenomena in the Balkan Slavonic languages which cannot be explained by internal Slavonic development remains as one of the main goals of Slavistics and Balkanology. The absence or shortages of written historical language sources for some Balkan languages may be compensated by using areal methods of linguistic research. We can speak about a dialectal structure of the Balkan linguistic area, distinguishing within the Balkan language continuum different language subareas; an example are the Western Balkan Linguistic Area and the Eastern Balkan Linguistic Area. The first area consists of Eastern Serbian, Macedonian, Albanian and Aromanian dialects, while the second one is comprised of the dialects of Bulgarian and Greek; the linguistic appearance of the Western Balkans does not seem to be identical to that of the Eastern Balkans (Соболев 2003). I also believe that some structural innovations in Eastern Serbian and Macedonian dialects which are not present in the Eastern Balkan area may have Aromanian as their source language. Some of these supposed grammatical aromanianisms (recent loan-translations or calques) will be presented in this paper. I am above all referring to the prepositional direct object, the reformation of the periphery of the instrumental case meanings, and the direct object taken by the verb “to be”. Along with mutual lexical borrowings, this common grammatical patterns may bear witness for the former and contemporary symbiosis of Slavs and Aromanians in the Western Balkans. Our material comes mainly from the “Small Dialectal Atlas of

the Balkan Languages”, as presented in the first volume of its grammar series “The Categories of Substantive” (МДАБЯ 2005); it is the content of this volume that imposes some restrictions on the facts under consideration.

Prepositional direct object

The expression of a direct object prepositionally, i. e. with help of the preposition *na* “on, over; to”, is beyond all question one of the most surprising structural innovations in some Macedonian dialects. This feature was registered by Božidar Vidoeski, Blaže Koneski and Olivera Jašar-Nasteva in the late 1960s: “Á Kostur et Kajlar ... on constate aussi l’emploi de la construction avec la préposition *na* pour l’objet direct (*go vidov na petreto*). Cette construction est également courante en aroumain (cf. *’l vidzui pi tak’i*). Il est intéressant de constater un autre foyer de ce phénomène, lui aussi très limité notamment à la région de Debăr. Pour l’amorce des processus d’expansion des balkanismes, le cas est très instructif. Comme pour les autres innovations linguistiques, il est possible que les centres d’irradiation ne soient pas géographiquement reliés les un aux autres. Cela n’a pas été non plus un cas exceptionnel dans les processus qui ont lieu dans le passé et qui ont contribué à une expansion générale de certaines structures grammaticales. Au sujet du phénomène discuté, il est à souligner qu’on le rencontre aussi dans le parler de certains représentants de la génération la plus jeune de Skopje. Il ne faut pas sous-estimer ici l’influence du parler des immigrés des régions mentionnées, ce qui fait penser aussi à une autre possibilité d’expansion de certains traits nouveaux” (Koneski, Vidoeski, Jašar-Nasteva 1968: 521). Whereas the three Macedonian authors, not specializing the source language of this innovation, limited themselves to the pure constatation of the fact, that this pattern is present both in Macedonian and Aromanian, Zuzanna Topolińska supposes, that „Целата слика сугерира дека *na* во акузативна конструкција се шири во говори кои трпат поголема интерференција од страна на несловенските балкански јазици, пред сè на грчкиот“ (Тополињска 1995: 95). Why didn’t the Macedonian authors point out the Aromanian language as the source for this pattern?

In my opinion, the reason is as follows: In sources on Aromanian one frequently meets the incorrect statement that Aromanian, as opposed to Daco-Rumanian, does not use prepositions to express the direct object. “În ce privește acuzativul, cea mai importantă trăsătură a aromânei (comună cu celelalte dialecte sud-dunărene) este exprimarea obiectului direct individualizat fără *pe*” (Caragiu Marioțeanu 1975: 237). “Vor dem

Substantiv im Akkusativ steht nicht die Präposition *pe*, wie es im Dakorumänischen der Fall ist: *u ved feata (dakorum. o văd pe fată)*” (Atanasov 2002: 80; cf. Нарумов 2001: 646).

Consequently, since Aromanian is missing this structural feature, it could never have been the source for it in Macedonian. But one should be more exact: the lack of prepositional direct object is typical for only a part of Aromanian dialects, like that of Kruševo in Macedonia (Goļab 1984: 78–81), which was surely the one better known by Macedonian linguists. On the contrary, other dialects of Aromanian, like that of Kranea/Turya in Greek Western Macedonia (Бара, Каль, Соболев 2005: 43–44), do really use the prepositional strategy to mark the direct object, combined with the preposition *prā // pri // pi* “over, on; to”. In Kranea/Turya we stated this usage with proper names, animated substantives and (demonstrative) pronomina:

aṭ'el'i fāṭe'a liturγ'iia di lu γ'urtuse'a pi 'aγ'u tr'iḡon.
ies^u dinā'indi tra si me'askā prā kānāt'ārlu akl'oči.
l'-ark'arā ḡil'aua di g'uṣi al^u pap^u, agud'irā prā m'lulā.
u m'esku pri nve'astā tu-ac'a o'arā.
v'ai si turn'a al'anṭ furi di vātām'a pri ac'el' ṭi spune'a pri aci'olu ṭi vātām'a.

The Aromanian Dictionary of Tache Papahagi also contains examples of the same usage: *vātāmai pi fur. avdži s' pi cucuveauă. s' nu u diṣclidă s' pi nîsă. pri mine s' mi furaṭ? pri mine?* (Papahagi 1974: 971, 1010).

It is the contact with the Aromanian dialects of this second type that explains the emerging of the same structure in some Western and Southern Macedonian dialects in the two above mentioned geographically unconnected areas of Kostur and Debăr.² The data on South Macedonian dialects, collected by Blagoe Šklifov and Zuzanna Topolińska (cf. Тополињска 1995: 93–98), reflects completely the same distribution rules in Macedonian and Aromanian: the Macedonian preposition *na* is used with proper names, animated substantives and (personal) pronomina:

jaska gu v'idu na stēfo də s'ēci dərva.
gu uteplaja na dētto zə ičn'iščo.
gu vj'ahum na k'onut.
i v'iduh na nih.

² Since 2006 we have evidence for this feature also in the 'nashta'-dialect of Liti (Ajvaiti) near Thessaloniki: *da-ašfaljat na 'moma-ta. daj me na 'lenka-ta.* “En nashta, c'est le critère d'humanité qui régit l'emploi de la marque *na*” (Adamou 2006: 64, 30).

There is no doubt that we have to deal with a calque from Aromanian here.

Peripheral functions of instrumental

At the earliest stages of Southern Slavic, the instrumental case was an indivisible category with a defined set of meanings: instrumental in the core instrumental meaning with transitive verbs; the same but with intransitive verbs; instrumental as means; comitative in the modifying meaning; agents in a passive construction; instrumental of cause; instrumental of aggregate; instrumental of limitation or restriction with intransitive verbs; instrumental of place; instrumental of time. In Macedonian and Eastern Serbian dialects those functional and semantic spheres which are in the periphery of Slavonic instrumental (for example, reason and restrictive usage) are often represented by constructions with an ablative-agentive preposition “of”³, as:

mi umbl'ui di l'apti. ~ se 'iskapif' od mlékoto.
ury'i di 'okl'i. ~ ok'orovex od bči.

The analogical spread of the instrumental case with various verbs in the Slavonic languages of the Balkans was not just restrained by the Balkan influences, but even reversed. The reformation of the Slavonic instrumental within the Balkan context agrees with the rules of the semantic hierarchy of the case and affects both the nucleus and the periphery of the corresponding semantic and functional field, which leads to splitting of the formally comprehensive semantics and formation of previously unknown structural oppositions. In my opinion, it was the influence of the Balkan Romance languages, especially that of Aromanian, that generalized the ablative-agentive means in the reformation of the periphery of the instrumental meanings in Macedonian dialects, cf. *Co-bolev*, in print (a). This became possible by copying Aromanian verbal rection in the number of specific cases.

“To be” as a transitive verb

Extremely notable against the Slavonic background are the Western Macedonian existential constructions with the interrogative *kamo* “where”, demanding common oblique case (accusative) of the substantive to denote the subject of existence, and of the doubling clitic. This is noted

³ Cf. agrammatical examples **oblilsja ot moloka*, **zabolet' ot bolezni*, **oslepnut' ot glaz* in Russian.

in the Western Macedonian village of Peštani: *kamo go r'adeta?* ‘Where is Rade?’ Similar patterns were witnessed in Eastern Serbian dialects: *di ga je stojan? kamo ga jezdimir?* (Ракић-Милојковић 1995). Nedeljko Bogdanović noted them in Kamenica, the Eastern Serbian point of our “Small Dialectal Atlas of the Balkan Languages”: *kam ti ga br'atət?* ‘Where is your brother?’ Specifics of Eastern Serbian construction is the nominative form of the substantive, denoting the subject of existence. A full structural parallel to this can be found in the above-mentioned Aromanian dialect of Kranea/Turya in Greece: *iu l-e'asti sp'irlu?* ‘Where is Spiro?’ In this way, the verb “to be” can be transitive in Serbian, Macedonian, and Aromanian dialects.

In Aromanian, that kind of usage is a particular case of a more common rule, concerning the verb of existence *h'iu* “to be”. Denoting the specific existence of a subject that is known to participants of the speech act and expressed, for example, by a definite substantive (in utterances like “*x* is in...”), the personal verb *h'iu* “to be” consequently requires the accusative of the redoubling object clitic:

ș-bārb'a-n'u lu-ar'a la l'ukru ku k'a:l'i.
am^u ȳrāps'itā k'artea, u i'asti au'a.
'agrili a me'ali li s'untu ng'āmburi.

I therefore consider the interrogative transitive patterns “Where is *x*?” in Eastern Serbian and Macedonian to be calques from Aromanian *iu l-e'asti sp'irlu?* (cf. Соболев 2007).

Two other facts

Due to lack of time, I will only mention two other facts which can be ascribed to Aromanian influence over the Balkan Slavonic, especially Macedonian:

The ablative-agentive rection by the verb “to be” in construction meaning “he is *x* year(s) old”: *od kōlku gōdini si? ~ ave'am^u 'unā s'orā ma n'ikā... ș-ar'a di d'oi tr'ei an'.* (cf. Greek *o jani's 'ine triōn xronōn.*; Bulgarian *d'ettō nA d'ēsēd' gud'inī v'ēči.*); and

The obligatory usage of only one definite article in appostive constructions: *pōpot s'āško. ~ pr'eftul i'ani.* (cf. Greek *o jatrb's o jani's. ~ o jani's o jatrb's.*; Bulgarian *pop Andrēj. kārstan kexajē.*).

* * *

In conclusion, I will mention the surprizing growth of interest towards the matters of dialectal syntactical variation everywhere in

Europe. Aside from dialectology itself, it is a common study for functional and areal typology, which are also interested in the field (WALS 2005). The further accumulation, systematization, and confrontation of dialectal South Slavonic, Balkan and cross-linguistical data will undoubtedly widen the factographical base of these disciplines and will help to formulate more relevant explanatory models. One of the important aspects of Balkanology is to bring to light the role of the Aromanian language in the formation of the linguistic landscape in most of the Eastern part of the Western Balkans.

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DOES THE AROMANIAN HAVE A CHANCE OF SURVIVAL? SOME THOUGHTS ABOUT THE LOSS OF LANGUAGE AND LANGUAGE PRESERVATION

Abstract: Of the four living varieties of Balkan or Southeast European Romance — Daco-Romanian, Aromanian, Megleno-Romanian and Istro-Romanian — only Daco-Romanian has been able to form a national language. Despite a written tradition dating back to the 18th century, most Aromanians today do not write their language. Due to the smaller number of speakers, the situation of Megleno-Romanian and Istro-Romanian is even more difficult. According to UNESCO (1999), (Daco-) Romanian is classified as *not endangered*, Aromanian as *endangered* and Istro- and Megleno-Romanian as *seriously endangered*. The paper analyzes impact of the following factors on Aromanian preservation: Lifestyle and patterns of settlement, Intensity of the contact, Religion, Linguistic prestige, Code function of minority languages, and Economic dependencies.

Key words: Aromanian, language death, obsolescence, minority language

How and why do languages die?

Languages can lose complexity, meaning and vocabulary under the massive superstratic influence of the language of administration. This is especially true of smaller language communities, the minority languages. The absorbing language does not in the long term possess sufficient integrative power among speakers of the younger generation to borrow the corresponding lexeme of the superstratum in a morphologically modified form. Languages which are cultivated and fostered through standardisation, a written form as well as through public administration, schools and the media, have far greater chances of permanent survival than do minority languages with a less highly developed written and administrative

language. But just as a language can be cultivated by diverse institutions and measures, it is equally possible to hasten the disappearance of a language through prohibition, suppression or neglect. However, even without any politically motivated repression of languages and dialects, languages can dwindle naturally in certain situations. Processes such as transformation and globalisation can influence the changeable variables of identity and culture, thus impacting on the language. Depending on age, the location of the town or village, the ethnic composition of the local population and the level of education of the relevant informant, it frequently degenerates into a language that is used only within the family circle.

A huge number of languages and dialects spoken today will die out during this century. The term *language death* is regarded by most authors as a process which starts long before the actual disappearance of the language (Thomason 2001: 223–225). It is therefore more accurate to speak of a *language dying*. According to Sasse's theory of language death (1992: 19), which is based on studies of Albanian speech fragments in Greece and Gaelic in East Sutherland, the disappearance of minority languages can be described as follows.

1. The *first stage* is attributable to external factors which lead to the uneven distribution of individual languages. The resulting pressure on the minority population produces a negative attitude toward the minority language, which in turn leads to a willingness or decision to give up one's own language in favour of the majority language.
2. In a *second stage*, historic conditions dictate a restriction of the languages spoken in the respective society. Speakers differentiate even more clearly when and with whom they speak which language. The continuous stigmatisation of the minority language drives the minorities to improve their knowledge of the majority language. This results in an increased prevalence of the majority language among the minorities, who have an urgent need of the majority language in ever increasing areas of their lives. Accordingly, parents are no longer able to pass on the ethnic language to their children, so that the use of the language remains restricted to the older generation. The majority language also increasingly dominates those areas of life in which the old language had previously been used. The situations in which it is used successively decrease, until finally it is no longer used in everyday situations. Ultimately, only a small number of people retain their knowledge of the old language, which is generally restricted to a few areas

and preserved only in meaningless phrases which serve as a secret language, or in the area of religion.

3. The *third stage* consists of the loss of the vocabulary and the inability to form words in those areas in which the majority language has already gained acceptance. Even if the minority language is regularly used in a number of areas, it will be unable to avoid borrowing an increasing number of elements. The borrowing of words and syntactic and morphological structures increases as the number of speakers from the minority become fluent speakers of the majority language. Once the passing of a language to the children has been interrupted, the progressive reduction of knowledge, also among the semi-speakers, becomes unavoidable. If the minority language possesses religious or social importance, words and phrases will be preserved. On the other hand, due to the death of the minority language, the monolingual society will also witness the emergence of a variety of the majority language which features influences from the minority language.

Experiments on the loss of the degree of differentiation of individual vocabularies (Labov 1976: 237) testify to the speed of language attrition in an advanced stage. Lexical borrowing is not usually associated with just one language, but is widespread in several languages. Examples of mutual borrowing in specialist terminology (e.g. Kahl 2007) show that the interferences never take place in one direction only.

A variety of factors influence the intensity of the language attrition and the speed at which a language dies.

Factor 1 “Lifestyle and Patterns of Settlement”

In a diachronic perspective, factors which lead to rapid linguistic change or language death include the establishment of the nation state with the accompanying enforcement of linguistic homogeneity, the establishment of an education system in the national language, increasing urbanisation, industrialisation, migration to the cities, and economic innovations, especially with regard to the media. Depending on the country and the dominant state ideology, standard languages are asserted at different speeds and with different degrees of consistency. Other accelerators are resettlements, mixed marriages and the dissolving of traditional communities. The preservation of old ways of life (e.g. arable farming, live-stock farming), on the other hand, tends to have a conserving effect on the language.

In peripheral areas of settlement, the languages of small ethnic groups still survive today, apparently untouched by modern written culture, despite globalisation and the dominance of television and the mass media. Especially in the specialist terminologies, the vocabulary remains stable and the innovative vocabulary (as measured by the areas of everyday life which are subject to the technological changes) insignificant. At the same time, the level of an individual's knowledge varies according to how strongly that person is still linked with the old branch of economic activity.

In the case of nomadic populations (migrant workers, nomads etc.), it can be observed that as long as they travel in closed communities, they preserve their traditions and languages longer than do sedentary populations, but as soon as they become sedentary, they very quickly become willing to turn away from their culture and toward a different culture with greater prestige (see the factor 4, "Linguistic Prestige"). Urban cultures in particular, which to some extent are also adopted by the rural population, can also shape languages.

Factor 2 "Intensity of the Contact"

According to Sala (1997: 33), regions with a linguistically mixed population are characterised by direct *contact* situations, which in comparison with *indirect* linguistic contacts as a result of economic or political relations, have a stronger impact on the speaker, due to the intensity of the everyday encounters. Social and professional dependencies can lead to contact situations which create a basis for connecting elements in the folk culture which are reflected in identical or similar designations. Consequently individual terms can sometimes be comprehensible cross-linguistically and also across the boundaries of completely different languages, at least in economically important areas, permitting a certain degree of communication. The more intense ('more direct') the form of the linguistic contact, the greater the number of mutual borrowings will be. The numerous loan translations resulting from interference reinforce the lexical polysemy. At the same time, a tendency to bundle the meanings of a lexeme in a similar manner can be observed.

The co-existence of innovative and conservative linguistic features can be seen in connection with the demographic development of ethnic groups, namely as a linguistic tactic to preserve or weaken ethnic boundaries. Partial linguistic conservatism can function as an ethnic marker for the purpose of a tradition-oriented preservation of group coherence. This is especially true of ethnic groups which are permanently exposed to assimilation and which are forced to come to terms with their

multi-ethnic environment and to accommodate speakers of other languages, even if only for a short business discussion.

The parallel existence of two languages which enjoy equal standing leads to a mutual rapprochement (bilingualism, sprachbund), while the existence of a dominant educational and standard language threatens the non-standardised form and can lead to assimilation.

At the same time, it must be remembered that as soon as two or more languages are regularly used within the same social system, they start to differ substantially from the same languages spoken in separate social systems (Gumperz 1982: 66, 99).

Factor 3 “Religion”

Religious affiliation and the intensity of practical religiosity also provide an answer to the question of the use of regional and minority languages. It is generally easier to identify with adherents of the same religion than with members of different faiths. Hamp (1978: 155–162) noted that the greater the religious difference between a group and the surrounding society, the greater the chances of survival for the minority language. Religious affiliation can, therefore, in terms of language attrition play a crucial diachronic sociolinguistic role. In countries in which religion represents an important element of integration, groups of the same faith and differing languages have a greater tendency to give up their own language than in countries where the minority follows a different religion.

Factor 4 “Linguistic Prestige”

Speakers of the dying language avoid those forms which have a “negative sociolinguistic evaluation” in the dominant language, replacing them instead with a variant which enjoys greater prestige (Hamp 1989: 197–201). In many cases, this reveals the low social esteem in which ways of rural work and life are held. Consequently, speakers no longer view their cultural heritage with pride. On the contrary, they often regard it with shame and start giving preference to ‘modern languages’. In the evaluation of a language by its speakers, cultural and mental characteristics, archaism, correctness and purity can all play a role. It is very frequently the case that the actual or supposed antiquity of a language or its separateness from other languages, are, in the eyes of the speakers, reasons for holding it in special regard.

The distasteful overtones, which since the end of the 19th century at the latest, have been attached to every mixture or hybridisation (Kremnitz 1994: 21), continue to cling strongly to the minority languages. Some

people even regard bilingualism as a disadvantage instead of as a potential advantage.

The negative attitude of the younger generations to the language of their ancestors is to a large extent responsible for language death. Dressler and Wodak-Leodolter (1977: 33–44) point out that negative stereotypes and prejudices generate inferiority complexes among the minorities, whose members want to give up their defamed role. While gender, ethnic origin and appearance cannot be changed, abandoning or limiting the use of a language represents the easiest way of solving this problem.

Factor 5 “Code Function of Minority Languages”

The question why minority languages, despite suffering from low prestige in many cases, are able to survive at all and continue to serve as a reference point in many communication situations can be explained, at least in the past, by their code function and their importance for communication within the family. The dramatic reduction in language use evidently does not prevent the continued use of the minority language in certain types of speech, such as storytelling, small talk and family greetings, song and proverbs, i.e. in specific situations.

Minority languages can fulfil the following communicative functions:

- As a *solidarity code* between members of the community in contrast to the state language (*power code*).
- As a means of setting themselves apart from monolingual people. In particular, the cryptolalic function of the local language served as a means of protection against gossip, abuse or conspiracy, as Kazazis (1976: 50) showed in his study of Arvanitika in Corinthia. This function is no longer of importance among the younger generation or has been reduced to short greetings in the minority language.
- As an *emblematic instrument* and symbol of belonging to an ethnic group. The language can be easily concealed vis-a-vis strangers, but emphasised at any time it is deemed expedient to do so.
- As a *vocational* or *secret language*. Tailors, bricklayers, beggars, thieves and individual trade guilds used to have codes which they used among themselves and which were inaccessible to members of other professions. The deliberate borrowing of words from another language for the purpose of remaining incomprehensible to outsiders can be observed in situations of political uncertainty.

Factor 6 “Economic Dependencies”

Affiliation to state entities, international alliances, economic pacts, political and ideological blocks can influence communities of speakers. Languages and dialects which play no economic role within these unions have a hard time preserving their significance other than as local or family languages. People will cultivate the language in which they earn their living for existential reasons alone. Depending on the condition and status of the minority languages, the ‘bread-and-butter language’ is able to displace other languages. If a language is given up more or less consciously, a cost-benefit logic is mobilised, although the speaker must first be convinced that the language is suitable for effective communication and will benefit him. To this extent, language death may be regarded as a competition between two structural forms for dominance in the performance of certain functions.

Where is Aromanian in this Process?

Of the four living varieties of Balkan or Southeast European Romance — Daco-Romanian, Aromanian, Megleno-Romanian and Istro-Romanian — only Daco-Romanian has been able to form a national language. Despite a written tradition dating back to the 18th century, most Aromanians today do not write their language. Due to the smaller number of speakers, the situation of Megleno-Romanian and Istro-Romanian is even more difficult. According to UNESCO (1999), (Daco-) Romanian is classified as *not endangered*, Aromanian as endangered and Istro- and Megleno-Romanian as *seriously endangered*.

In the case of the Aromanians, with up to half a million potential speakers in South East Europe, numerically the strongest group among the Southern Danubian Romance peoples, increasing activities to cultivate the language provide cause to believe that their languages can be preserved in individual locations. Their main problem is of a political nature and has been fittingly described by Peyfuss (1974) as the ‘Aromanian question’. In areas where they have lived and worked for generations, the Aromanians are regarded by the majority populations there as part of the community. Their important role in the history, politics and economies of the countries of South East Europe and their dispersal propels them into a dilemma. Whenever the ‘great men’, be it Georg Sina in Greece, Pitu Guli in the Republic of Macedonia or Andrei Şaguna in Romania, are called members of a minority — the outrage is the same everywhere.

Nowhere, except in the Republic of Macedonia, does Aromanian receive state support as a minority language, which is why the majority of

Aromanian activities (television and radio programmes, tuition in schools, festivals) take place in this country. In Albania and Greece, Aromanian is the living language used for colloquial speech by large minorities, but it is neither taught nor used in church, except for optional Aromanian tuition in Divjakë in Albania. In Serbia, Bulgaria and Romania, Aromanians are a small immigrant community, whereby in Romania after 1990 Aromanian radio programmes were launched and the possibility of optional Aromanian tuition created at two schools in Bucharest and Constanța.

In the case of the Aromanians, the impact of the factors referred to above can be described as follows:

Factor 1: Lifestyle and Patterns of Settlement

The turn away from old forms of economic activity such as long-distance pastoralism rapidly accelerates the pace of linguistic assimilation. Previously socially self-contained pastoral societies have modernised themselves, in some cases becoming urban societies with a large number of mixed marriages. The scattered pattern of Aromanian settlement also contributes to assimilation into majority communities. The insular distribution of these settlements over broad swathes of South East Europe has resulted in a loss of contact between individual population groups, in many places pushing relationships with larger neighbouring peoples into the forefront. Moreover, both main dialects, *rrãmãnești* (Farsherot in the larger sense) and *armãneaști* (Aromanian spoken in the Pindos), can be found scattered in a wide area. Identical dialects exist in places that are hundreds of miles apart, while villages which are adjacent to one another have completely different forms of speech.

The increase of sedentary localised settlement and the resulting greater access to education and administration explains both the high level of assimilation of the Aromanians by Greek-speaking population groups who were urbanised earlier, as well as the assimilation by Romanian-speaking arable farmers of the non-Romanian groups who became sedentary at a later date.

Factor 2: Intensity of the Contact

Both the *par excellence* employment of the Aromanians as pastoral nomads and their activities as traders and transporters of goods require a maximum degree of mobility. Many traders spent most of their time far away from their language area. Over time, trading relations to the Greek market, upon which many Aromanians were economically dependent, intensified. In language use between three generations of family members,

situational code switching occurs, while the extent of *conversational code switching* (Gumperz 1982) varies greatly according to the ethnic and political identity of the speaker. In contact with other peoples the respective official languages are used, while today Aromanian plays no role in interethnic communication and is thus largely restricted to use within the family.

Factor 3: Religion

We assume that a minority language has greater chances of survival if the religion of its speakers differs to those of the surrounding society. In the case of the Aromanians in Albania, it would not, therefore, be surprising if in the long-term, the awareness of religious difference to the predominantly Muslim Albanians did not have a conserving effect on their language. In Greece, however, where the Greek Orthodox religion is an important element of integration, following the same faith encourages assimilation. The situation is similar in other predominantly Orthodox countries.

Factor 4: Linguistic Prestige

Speakers of Aromanian, especially in Greece, frequently disparage their language as an impure mixture of various languages, with this 'bastardisation' being the most common argument for its worthlessness and the absurdity of learning it. Assuming that Aromanian would present an obstacle to learning Greek, Albanian etc., their incompetence in the official languages (which has since been overcome) in the past provided a reason for giving up their own language in favour of the official language. The reason for the strong willingness to abandon Aromanian in Greece is to be found in the factor of linguistic prestige. In the long term, the language will have no chance of survival if in the near future it is not given greater appreciation and a form of support is not found that is also favoured by its speakers. In Albania, Aromanian enjoys greater prestige than is the case in Greece and therefore, despite the speakers of the language being widely dispersed, has a certain chance of survival if measures are taken to preserve it. In Romania, Aromanian is regarded with sympathy, because despite the great geographical distance to Romania, the Aromanians have, to some degree, preserved a kind of Romanian cultural heritage due to their language. The desire for recognition for a separate Aromanian language is therefore met with incomprehension. The Aromanians' association with the anti-Communist Legionary movement continues to influence the regard in which they are held in Romania. However, the dominant cliché

immediately links them with shepherds in the minds of all ethnic groups in South East Europe. The association with a coarse pastoral language is correspondingly widespread, a stereotype which has an extremely negative impact on the Aromanians' self-confidence.

Factor 5: Code Function of Minority Languages

For bilingual persons, divergence can serve as an important tactic for maintaining inter-group distinction and affirming identity (Sachdev & Giles 2004: 358), which is why language can act as an ethnic marker. As the language is economically irrelevant and is also increasingly losing ground even within the family circle, none of the code functions described above is now so important as to make the language indispensable for its speakers. Code functions are therefore no longer so attractive that they play any role in preserving the language. If in the future, the prestige of the language and the self-confidence of its speakers are raised, this will also have a positive effect on the code role.

Factor 6: Economic Dependencies

The main reason for the decline in Aromanian is that the language is economically unattractive. It appears to offer no advantage in any modern, future-oriented profession. Accordingly, Aromanians show the following patterns of communication: In most Aromanian villages, people over the age of 60 are active (generally bilingual) speakers, those over the age of 40 are passive or potential speakers, while the younger generations are already making their careers with no knowledge whatsoever of the minority language. It is not rare to find families in which the oldest members have only a poor knowledge of the standard language and the youngest no knowledge of the minority language. The language is now only rarely acquired during childhood and thus no longer plays the role of a mother tongue in the true sense of the word. The original consecutive bilingualism has therefore been abandoned, what was formerly the first language is now the secondary language within the family. Cases of simultaneous, early bilingualism are extremely rare. Nowhere today does Aromanian have the capacity to assimilate other groups of speakers. Until the 18th century, it seems to have exerted a strong assimilatory pull in the prosperous mountain villages. As the density of interferences declines with rising levels of education, complete linguistic assimilation to the economically more significant official language with the corresponding diatopic exclusion, diastratic and diaphasic differentiation (Haarmann 1979: 284f.), is not far off.

The discussion of the Aromanians and their language is dominated by three major controversies.

Controversy 1: Are the Aromanians a minority or members of the respective titular nation? If they are the latter, then which state can regard itself as the mother country of the Aromanians?

After the 1860s the Romanian state tried to develop and promote a school system with a strong Romanian character in the Aromanian settlements of the Southern Balkans. Around 1900, there were a good 100 Romanian schools in operation in Macedonia and Epirus. However, as Romania did not aim to establish Aromanian as a literary language, instead intending to turn their linguistic relatives into Romanians, the movement did not find many adherents among the Aromanians. The result was a conflict of principles which actually even furthered the Hellenisation of many Aromanians. In most towns and villages, attendance was higher at Greek schools. The lowly status of (Daco-) Romanian among Aromanians in Greece and the deep rooted fear there of 'Romanian propaganda' will hamper any initiative on the part of Romania to nurture Aromanian today. That West European institutions are not exactly welcomed by Aromanian associations in Greece is shown by the regular letters of protest from the Association of Pan-Hellenic Aromanian Cultural Societies to European politicians and scholars (see <http://vlahos.xan.duth.gr/>). Bearing these reactions in mind, it is hard to avoid the impression that a dissociation from Romanian would ensure better chances of survival for Aromanian.

There is a clear answer to the question as to which state may regard itself as the "mother country" of the Aromanians: While responsibility for the preservation of the Aromanian language rests primarily with the Aromanians themselves, it is the duty of *every* state to do what it can to protect the cultural heritage that is present on its territory. Given their small numbers today, but above all because of the historic loyalty that Aromanians have repeatedly shown to their home states, countries with Aromanian minorities have absolutely no reason whatsoever to fear irredentism and can therefore really be encouraged in their efforts to preserve the Aromanian language. On this note, it would be desirable if politicians, especially in the two countries which are most vocal in laying claim to the Aromanians, were to adopt a rather more relaxed attitude with regard to the search for an Aromanian identity. This applies especially to politicians of Aromanian descent, who were always stronger advocates of their own assimilation than the political representatives of the majority populations.

Controversy 2: Is Aromanian a language or a dialect?

Aromanian is regarded by many scholars (above all, by those from Romania, such as Papahagi 1974, Caragiu Marioțeanu 1975, 1977, Carageani 2002, Turculeț 2002, Saramandu 1984, 2003), as a Romanian dialect. However, today, due to its parallel separate development and structural differences, it is increasingly regarded as a language in its own right (inter alia Černjak 1990, Bara 2007).

With at least the same intensity that Aromanians have in recent decades come to regard Aromanian as a separate language, criticism of this point of view has grown among Romanian linguists and politicians. In this context, it is frequently overlooked that this is ultimately a matter of simple definitions, which are merely being exploited for political purposes. It is easy to find any number of examples of standardised languages which are closer to one another than are Aromanian and Romanian (e.g. Macedonian and Bulgarian), but equally there are plenty of examples of dialects of one and the same language which are further apart (e.g. Cypriot Greek and Black Sea Greek). Aromanian will certainly find it easier to prevail in the long term as a recognised minority language with a standardised form of speech.

However, decisions need to be made with regard to the existence of diverse dialects and sub-dialects and the different degrees of assimilation. On the one hand, rare linguistic forms should be studied and documented, on the other, individual dialects should not be overrated, because ultimately only the advance of a standardised literary language in an international consensus can contribute to preserving the language.

Controversy 3: Which orthography should be used for Aromanian?

Despite the existence of Aromanian writing, Aromanian has mainly survived since the 18th century as a language which is used within the family circle, which is why it has not been institutionalised and systematically standardised as were the official languages. Even the very earliest attempts to raise Aromanian to a literary language (18th century) suffered from a conflict of ideas. On the one side, there were authors such as Daniel of Moschopolis and Theodoros Kavalliotis, who merely used Aromanian to spread the Greek language and therefore wrote it using the Greek alphabet; on the other, authors such as Michail Bojadshi and Georg Roja, who, conscious of the Romance origins of their language, used the Latin alphabet and soon developed romanophile tendencies. Due to the parallel existence of several schools, there is to the present day no shared

consensus regarding Aromanian spelling. However, the many Aromanian publications (see Kahl 2005) provide reason to believe that Aromanian has long since begun to develop from an unwritten folk language into a standardised general language. In this respect, the orthography of the Aromanian language remains a point of contention. The prevailing view in Greece is that Aromanian cannot be written and that anybody who tries to do so using Latin letters has immediately outed themselves as a romaphile, whereas in Romania, deviation from the Romanian standard alphabet is met with incomprehension, even outrage.

With regard to the question of the 'correct' orthography, it can be said that surely no other alphabet appears more suitable for writing a Romance language than the Latin alphabet. Those who advocate the use of the Romanian alphabet to render Aromanian can be reminded that there is a long tradition of using this alphabet without Romanian diacritics, as was done by Boiagi as early as 1813. After all, alternative combinations of letters are possible in other languages, without it becoming a political issue. It should be borne in mind that it troubles no one when, for technical reasons, German words such as *Maßeinheit*, *Märchen*, *Mörder* and *München* are spelt as *Masseinheit*, *Maerchen*, *Moerder* and *Muenchen*. A similar tolerance that would permit the parallel use of *ş* and *sh*, *ț* and *ts*, *n'* and *nj*, and *l'* and *lj* has not yet been achieved among the Aromanians of South East Europe. No matter whether people write Aromanian using the Romanian orthography, the Boiagis alphabet, Albanian orthography or even Greek or Cyrillic letters, they generally have one thing in common: They all have a concern for the written form of the Aromanian language and its preservation. Where there is a genuine interest in preserving a dialect or language, definitional problems cannot be allowed to pose an obstacle. The prime objective should be a common, uniform written form; but those who challenge individuals or groups who use diverging systems, forget that they are all basically pursuing the same objective. The simplest solution would surely be to implement the form agreed at the conference of Bitola (Cunia 1999) as the standard.

However, the main emphasis should be on raising the language prestige, its public standing and the self-confidence of its speakers. Existing written documents, especially the valuable examples of early Aromanian writing from the 18th and 19th centuries should be made accessible to a broad public. In the long term, their circulation would weaken clichés about the 'unwritable', 'poor idiom'. Subsequently, on the basis of a uniform written form, textbooks should be drawn up, optional tuition permitted and cultural events (reading competitions, literary evenings, readings of fairy tales etc.) should be organised. In order to gain maximum

acceptance, these initiatives would have to be carried out by local residents and not imposed by outsiders.

Other Approaches

A modest approach which remains close to the truth is always to be recommended when attempting to protect minority languages. The urge to prove the longest possible written tradition and an ancient and glorious history can spawn comical and even dangerous results. With no regard for content or linguistic quality, literature is produced in the dialect or language to be preserved simply so that it can be said that the Bible, the Odyssey, Shakespeare or Goethe are available in translation. At the same time, it is forgotten that there is perhaps a lack of much more basic works (primers, comprehensible grammar, geography, history) which could make a far more effective contribution to spreading the language. The poor condition of the language creates a temptation to take hasty action for which it is far too early. How should the Aromanians in Greece (where most Aromanians live) read the Bible in Aromanian, when, for example, the attempt at a translation by Cuvata (UCAM 2004) obsessively avoids the use of liturgical Graecisms which have naturally entered the Aromanian language? Just as the religious terminology of (Daco-)Romanian is influenced by Old Church Slavonic, the Aromanians have borrowed all key terms from Greek and this quickly comes apparent by taking a brief look at the dictionaries by Daniel of Moschopolis (1802), Kavalliotis (1770) and Nikolaidis (1909). Equally, publications on the supposed Pelasgic or ancient Macedonian origins of the Aromanians will, first and foremost, provoke aggressive reactions on the part of other ethnic groups, and are therefore hardly likely to represent a successful instrument for bolstering Aromanian self-confidence.

The tendency to absorb foreign elements, which Aromanian speakers perceive as linguistic insufficiency, certainly does not have to be an expression of weakness in the area of morphology, it can also be used to enrich and consolidate a language. This is easily demonstrated at the start of a conversation when Aromanians, depending on their origins, are unable to understand the statement “I understand” or “I do not understand.” The reason for this is the numerous transferences of abstract vocabulary from neighbouring languages. Among the words derived from Latin, there is a choice of *prindu* (< Lat. *apprehendere* apprehend), *acațu* (< Lat. **accipere* conceive, grasp, comprehend), *(a)ñțilegu* (< Lat. *intelligere* understand), which is frequently heard in Metsovo, *l’au* (< lat. *levare* take, comprehend) and *l’au di hābari* (< Lat. *levare* + Trk. *haber* literally, to take in news). The widely used *duhescu* is related to the Albanian words

ndjek (follow), *dukem* (think; Papahagi 1974: 505) and dialectic Greek *δοκάω*, *αδοκώ* and *δοκειούμι* (recall, understand). The neologism *cuptescu* (< Alb. *kuptoj* understand), heard among the Aromanian community in Albania, is derived from Albanian. In contrast, *achichasescu* (< Greek *απεικάζω* comprehend), which is used in the Aromanian spoken in the Grammos Mountains is derived from Greek. Finally, I would like to mention *angāldāsescu* (< Trk. dialect *angıldamak*, to call the buffalo), a word which to my knowledge has not been lexicographically recorded. This is used by the Aromanians known as Varghareni, who immigrated to Romania via Bulgaria. I have already said that this ability to absorb is not a linguistic weakness. The weakness is that the different varieties are not spread and taught, and are therefore unknown to many speakers.

The peripheral location of Aromanian areas of settlement and the poor political and economic conditions for research have ensured that Aromanian remains inadequately studied to the present day. In Greece, where the largest number of Aromanians live, the lack of Romance studies and the widespread rejection of an Aromanian written form has meant that the language has not, with few exceptions, been studied. The populations in the countries concerned are barely conscious of the existence of Aromanian. The low level of general knowledge about the Aromanians means that in many areas of their history and culture it is amateur scholars who have become their spokesmen. Greater interest on the part of scholars and the spread of general knowledge about the Aromanians would therefore be another important contribution.

Relations between the Aromanian communities in the diverse countries are also in need of improvement. When Aromanians from different countries and political camps meet, it should always be remembered that this background of coming from a different state cannot be simply ignored, and that almost no one defines themselves solely in terms of their Aromanian identity. It is precisely this identification with other nations which makes the international discussion among minorities so problematic; it will only be possible to work together successfully when this additional identity of the other is also accepted and valued.

It is surely beyond question that a number of factors which contribute to language attrition either cannot be influenced or that it would be utterly futile to try. Thus fundamental determining factors such as settlement forms, geographic distribution, social structure, international trade links, and the increasing importance of English will contribute to the disappearance of Aromanian with no possibility to counteract these natural processes. One should not therefore be tempted to attribute the sole

blame for the loss of minority languages to the majorities, and thus the speakers of the titular languages, the educational systems or the states. Speakers of dying languages are all too quick to complain of suppression – without considering that assimilation and language attrition are both natural processes which can occur even without any repressive measures. Day after day, languages disappear for the simple reason that in the peripheral locations inhabited by their speakers, it is not possible to institute a system which could ensure the survival of the dialect, because the endangered language offers its speakers no economic advantage or a different language simply has greater prestige, until in the end, they are willing to give up their own. Thus despite its status as the fourth official language in Switzerland, even Rumantsch is endangered. Aggression against the majority is not therefore a productive alternative. Ultimately, nor can the fears of the majorities be ignored. Majority languages can also become minority languages within only a few years. While today we discuss the difficult situation of Aromanian on the Balkans or Rumantsch in Switzerland, it is possible that the pressure of globalisation, assimilation and adaptation to English will, in a few generations, endanger one of the official languages. Then no one will be worried about preserving the small languages, for which it will anyway be too late, but with preserving Romanian and Albanian etc.

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SOCIOLINGUISTIC ASPECTS IN THE AROMANIAN FOLK TALES

Abstract: This paper attempts at applying some sociolinguistic analytical procedures to the corpus of folklore texts published in the Anovska anthology (1995), while remaining aware of all the limitations inherent in using oral texts transcribed in accordance with the requirements of folkloristics, not sociolinguistics. The Aromanian folklore text has certain genre-conditioned limitations and specific features when compared with oral discourse, but still demonstrates the basic elementary patterns of any other text produced by a bilingual speaker in the process of language shift. This is a case of metalinguistic awareness and code-switching. For a bilingual storyteller to communicate successfully a 'double bilingualism' is necessary on the part of both the narrator and the audience.

Key words: Aromanian, language of folklore, narratives, story-telling

Because of the specific social status of the Aromanians and their language, a study of their folk storytellers' repertoire from a sociolinguistic aspect is of great importance. A sociolinguistic approach may help clarify numerous problems directly related not only to sociology, but to other fields in the humanities such as folklore studies, linguistics and the ethnology of diasporic peoples.

Language as a product of society is an integral part of culture, but to a certain extent it can also create it. We may begin with the ideas of Dell Hymes (1971: 44) that language is not simply passive or automatic in its relation to culture, even where there is only one language to consider, and much of the world being multilingual. Speaking is itself a form of cultural behaviour, and language partly shapes the whole, its expression of the rest of culture is partial, selective. According to Hymes (1971: 49), the role of language is not only to enable persons to adapt to new situations with

novel utterances but also to do so with familiar utterances. As is well known in the study of folklore — the familiar has to be explained as well as novelty of utterance.

The social side of language refers to the fact that it represents a way of collective communication among members or group within the society. In other words, language serves as a means for connection, mediation and integration or disintegration within the society. Apart from the relationship between language and society, we will underline some aspects of sociolinguistic interest on which we will focus while analysing the repertoire of the Aromanian narrators. As this type of analysis requires an interdisciplinary approach, we will touch on some significant segments relevant for a sociolinguistic approach to folk tales, as for example: the language and occupation, terminology and limited code of the individual social group, language and context, analysis of the text of the story, dialogue structure, linguistic contact between narrator and audience and narrator and researcher, interference, loan words, bilingualism and multilingualism, how the narrators make use of the second language, how bilingual narrators compose a story, beginning with the native language and translating it to the other language and vice versa, how they weave verse into narration, as well as personal names, toponyms, stereotypical phrases etc.

The Aromanians are spread all over the Balkan Peninsula (scientific research into their existence began with Weigand 1894/95). The co-existence of an ethnic group with other ethnic groups speaking different languages in the same territory usually gives rise to bilingualism. This is the case with the Aromanian population in several regions of modern Greece, Albania, Macedonia, Bulgaria, Romania, Serbia and other countries. Aromanian storytellers should not be treated only as simple bilinguals because most, especially the more senior among them, are multilingual. Beside the Aromanian vernaculars, they usually speak some Macedonian, Greek, Albanian or Turkish vernacular. Due to a lack of media or educational support, today the Aromanian family is still the most important transmitter and guardian of the Aromanian language. As in any other traditional society, Aromanian children become accustomed to the tradition, norms and values of their community within a family (Ановска 2000: 140).

In this paper we shall attempt to apply some sociolinguistic analytical procedures to the corpus of folklore texts published in the Anovska anthology (1995), while remaining aware of all the limitations inherent in using oral texts transcribed in accordance with the requirements of folkloristics, not sociolinguistics. Besides the author's original field notes there are other field materials preserved in the Archive of the Institute of

Folklore in Skopje.¹ Contemporary written records of Aromanian texts intended for dialectological analysis (cf. e.g. Bara, Kahl, Sobolev 2005) are equally unsuited to sociolinguistic analysis. In this respect a list of desiderata for future Aromanian studies (Kahl 2005) is very useful, comprising 'localised' texts, local dictionaries, documentation of everyday speech, providing a better insight into Aromanian syntax and paying attention to language contact, sociolinguistic aspects, bilingualism, onomastics and the development of Aromanian as a written language.

A sociolinguistic analysis of the collected Aromanian folk tales shows that, regardless of the narrative abilities of each individual narrator, all of them tell the story in pure and fluent Aromanian (Ановска 1995: 34–91). This is very important in view of the fact that as Aromanian has no place in the educational system, their education was in Greek, Albanian, Romanian, Bulgarian, Serbian or Macedonian.

The importance of linguistic interference for sociolinguistics is crucial, as it points to the presence of ethnic groups of varying linguistic origin in the same territory (Gołąb 1984; Παπαγεωργίου 1984; Παπα-ζηση–Παπαθεοδωρου 1996). The sociolinguistic approach of dialect contact (elaborated in more detail in Milroy 2002 following Peter Trudgill's concept) has the capacity to illuminate a varied set of major sociolinguistic issues: stories narrated in Macedonian by bilingual story-tellers use the local dialect. Storytelling as a performance art is directly related to the personality of the narrator and the orally transmitted folktales depend on his or her imagination, ability for artistic narration, momentary disposition and so on. As in contrast to singers the narrators never narrate only for themselves, it must be stressed that the equally bilingual audience is one of the most important factors influencing changes to the structure of the tales. According to Duranti (1986) the interdependence between someone's words, the audience's response and the interpretation must be the point of departure for any hermeneutic enterprise.

Having analysed this corpus of narrators of Aromanian folktales we can conclude:

On the macro level of the story, the narrator usually tells one part of the folktale in two languages, depending on the audience. This practice requires an active knowledge of both languages, enabling the narrator to translate the tales from his or her native language to the other and vice

¹ A comparable corpus of Bayash folk-tales, written down in a non-mother tongue (Serbian) by children at an elementary school was published in Радич 2005. The mother tongue of the Bayash in the Strižilo settlement — a Daco-Romanian dialect of the Romanian language in which the elders told the children fairy-stories — exists only in oral form.

versa. The narrator is relating a story with the same content, but in two different narrative styles.

This bilingual repertoire is divided into several parts: tales narrated in two languages, mixed-language tales narrated only in one language, and tales that come from one language culture but are narrated in the other (and, indeed, in the vernacular). The bilingual narrators considered here do not directly translate from one language to the other. The same folktale is reproduced again and again by retelling its basic structure (Попвасилева 1987). In some tales belonging to the repertoire of certain narrators, we may note the lack of certain elements or even whole episodes in the variant told in the second language.

Nevertheless, they narrate fluently and vividly in both Aromanian and Macedonian, which means they do not translate the story during the narration process, but that both language variants co-exist. If translation were to take place during the narration process, there would be pauses for correction and searching for the right word, which might detract from audience interest in the performance (Ановска 1995; 2002; 2004). Faced with the difficulties of transferring verse or other folklore clichés into another language, certain bilingual narrators cite them in the language in which they have learnt them.

Sociolinguists have already noted the way in which bilingual/bicultural speakers perform, transforming the voices of the characters across multiple tellings of the same personal experience, and have analysed the systemic changes the “same” quotations undergo from one telling to another, when each time it is recounted in a different language (Koven 2001): the speakers construct dialogue from consistently different pragmatic resources in their two languages.

Micro-level analysis

Code-switching can be related to and indicative of group membership in particular types of bilingual speech communities, so that the regularities of the alternating use of two or more languages within one conversation may vary to a considerable degree between speech communities.

Common lexical borrowings will not be analysed here, but the narrator’s ability and need to translate with ease a lexeme borrowed from one language into his or her own is indicative in the following sequence of the text:

Cai va z-ină ta s-aducă cartea *na месѝо* su-l vătămats! Păn z-in mine din păzare, lucrulu s-ibă bitisit! S-lu vătămats *la loc!* (Ановска 1995: 190) [He

who comes bearing the letter — kill him *on the spot!* By the time I return from the market, the thing is to be done! You are to kill him *on the spot!*]

Discourse markers

This folklore corpus has shown that certain discourse markers are individually coloured or characteristic of the individual story-teller, this being the case of e.g. the marker *znači* [so, that means, meaning, in other words]. The following examples come from one narrator, Kosta Dinov (1904), recorded in 1970 (the corpus contains several other examples):

1. Shi lja ficiorlu sh-lu-arucă tu pădure, noaptea, ta s-cheară, *значи*, s-nu s-toarnă. (Ановска 1995: 123) [And he took the child and cast it away into the woods at night so that it would perish, *in other words*, it would never return.]
2. S-duse aclo lj-u deade cartea; cara u mutriră cartea, *значи*, numtă s-facă. (Ановска 1995: 123) [He went there and gave him the letter; when they saw the letter, *that meant* they were to prepare a wedding.]

On the other hand, in his analysis of bilingual discourse markers from Croatian-English code-switching, Hlavac (2006: 1897) stresses the absence of data which measure frequency of and *znaš* [you know] forms in comparable samples from both languages:

As a marker that establishes or confirms consensus between interlocutors, *you know* can denote shared and assumed knowledge between both parties and even save the speaker effort of giving extra details. Such a marker has some currency in a semi-formal interview situation, where informants may prefer to give hedged responses and refer to an assumed common knowledge as part of their response. As such, *you know* seems to be oriented to assumed or intended solidarity. A secondary function of *you know* is that it can encourage backchannelling.

For more detail on *znaš*, obviously South-Slav discourse marker, see Milosavljević 2004.

Onomastic lexicon

The onomastic layer of the folklore text follows a special pattern during the code-switching process. The Macedonian first name *Naido* in the following text indicates the non-Macedonian origin of the corresponding subject of folklore in the repertoire of the Aromanian narrator.

We would mention here that in the Aromanian language it is possible to create an appropriate first name by using an etymological figure with the verb *a afla* > *Aflatu*, as has been confirmed in Romanian folklore (AaTh 930):

Lu duse acasă, criscu mare, dzatse-tsisprădz di-anj shi l-băgă la căpri shi-lj-băgară numa Naido. Dzăcă lu-aflară Naido lji băgară numa. (...) Căndu a Naido aoa, a Naido aclo, lu ntrebă, dzăse: — A bre, aestu, ficiorlu, cătse ahtare numă lj-găgat? — Са наиден. (...) A bre, dzăse, *lu-avem aflată*, tr-atsea, lj-băgăm ahtare numă. (Ановска 1995: 123–124)

[He took the child home and it grew big. From its tenth to its fifteenth year, he put it with the goats and gave it the name *Naido* (=Found) They said that they found him and therefore they gave him the name Naido. (...) When, Naido here, Naido there, they asked him, he says: — Well, then, this child, why did you give him such a name? — Because *it was found*. (...) Well then, he says, *we found him*, that's why we gave him such a name].

Onomastic lexic acts differently when it is not contributing to the key element of the subject, as in the story of the rich man (AaTh 570B + 570IVb): Va s-tritsem pi la *puntea a iepurlor* (Ановска 1995: 154) [We'll carry him over the Rabbit's Bridge]; sh-mini va mi treacă la *Puntea a iepurlor* (Ановска 1995: 154) [I too will be carried over the Rabbit's Bridge]. The same story has been told in the Macedonian vernacular by the same story-teller, and the „rabbit's bridge“ was translated as *Заечки мост*. (Ановска 1995: 157). The female name *Sevdalina*, of oriental origin, remained unchanged (as etymologically insufficiently transparent for both South Slavs and Aromanians to be translated by the narrator): *Sevdalină, feată njică / Севдалино, малој моме*. (Ановска 1995: 153, 155).

Reported speech

The narrator quotes a swear-word as a part of reported speech in the Macedonian language, but in another context he uses the same swear-word in Aromanian:

Кажн, мајку ѿе ебам, кој го зема волот? Cai lj-lo boilji? (Ановска 1995: 131)

[Tell me, curse your mother, who took the ox? Who took the oxen?] Brea, *fută-lj mă-să*, dzăse (Ановска 1995: 130) [Well, curse his mother, he says] the texts also confirm other variants of the same swear-word in Aromanian (Ановска 1995: 129, 123).

Koven 2001 examines how speakers perform and transform the voices of the characters across multiple tellings of the same personal experience. He has shown that speakers construct dialogue from consistently different pragmatic resources in both their languages and that the speaker being quoted need not resemble any 'original' speaker, but rather resembles images of locally imaginable kinds of speakers. The

ideological function of quotations from the text of direct speech in another language is analysed by Petrović 2006: 202–206.

Asună iara. — *A, bre, vlagaj, рече, кој си? Vlagaj vnaṭre!* (Ановска 1995: 291)]

[Knocks again. — Ah, *bre*, come in, he says, who are you? Come inside]

O komiṣi, o komiṣi! — Tsi iaste, *bre?* (Ановска 1995: 291) [Oh, neighbour, oh, neighbour! — What is it, *bre?*]

Sh-lji-asună pi ushe: — *Bam, bam.* — *Haṭred.* Nu-are cai s-intră. (Ановска 1995: 290)

[And he knocks at the door. — *Bam, bam!* — Come in. Nobody enters.]

Căndu, un di vitsinlji: — *Добро уṭро, komiṣi.* — *Добро уṭро.* — *A, bre tsi lunjină noapte aistă aveai tine?* (Ановска 1995: 338) [When along comes one of the neighbours — Good morning, neighbour. — Good morning. — Well, *bre*, why was the light burning in your house last night?]

Metalinguistic awareness

The corpus yielded several examples of metalinguistic awareness on the part of the narrator, all of them concerning the Macedonian language. The narrator comes from the Arumanian town of Kruševo, and in the following example the origin of a specific, local expression has been marked:

Sh-aistu, *душа mila*, **cum dzăc Macedontsi** căndu (Ановска 1995: 313)

[And that, *duša mila*, {dear soul} **as the Macedonians say**, when...].

The following two examples suggest the Macedonian origin of the entire text. This, of course, applies only to the particular narrator, not to the genetic origin of the folklore motifs (AaTh 1255 + 1525P + 1525 E; 212 + 2015):

E, *bre lale*, dzăse, dzua tută, mi minduescu, cum, ari cu un bou, dzăse? Că sh-**pi vărgăreshce** spuni „*седам и се чудам како ореш со еден вол?!*“ (Ановска 1995: 130) [Well, *bre*, old man, he says, all day I’ve been thinking of you ploughing with one ox, he says. While in Macedonian he says: “I’ve been sitting wondering how you plough with one ox?!”]

The second example stresses the narrative code switch and interpolation of other-language folklore formula: “The kid goat said these words in Macedonian” **Pi vărgăreshce** tsaplu li dzăse atseale zboară: — *Ja сум жив / жив не жив / дран не дран / зуби ми се као колац, / ќе ѿе скинам као конац!* (Ановска 1995: 219). [I’m alive/alive not alive/skinned not skinned/my teeth like a stake/ I’ll bite you like a thread!]

Concluding remarks

We can agree with the famous American balkanologist Victor Friedman (1986: 287) that the Balkans constitute a unique ‘living laboratory’, both because of the great diversity of languages and ethnic groups and because the processes which led to and continue to affect the formations of the modern literary languages are well documented, relatively recent, and ongoing.

The Aromanian folklore text, on which we have attempted to focus in this short contribution, has certain genre-conditioned limitations and specific features when compared with oral discourse, but still demonstrates (admittedly to a varying degree) the basic elementary patterns of any other text produced by a bilingual speaker in the process of language shift. This is a case of metalinguistic awareness and code-switching. For a bilingual story-teller to communicate successfully a ‘double bilingualism’ is necessary on the part of both the narrator and the audience. Today, bilingualism poses itself as a necessity for the researcher of any such folklore texts, regardless of his or her own particular discipline.

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RUSSIAN — ROMANIAN CONTACTS IN FOLK CULTURE IN THE BALKANS*

Abstract: The author presents the results of her fieldwork among Russian Old Believers (Lipovans) in Romania. The answers to the questionnaire used for the Balkan Linguistic Atlas concerning *Baba Dochia*, the Romanian ritual protective adornment *mărțișor*, and some popular beliefs have been transcribed.

Key words: ethnolinguistics, Old Believers, Lipovans

The field investigation of Russian villages in Romania was undertaken in the summer of 2006 in order to discover the archaic features in local folk tradition and to define the main directions of contact in the folk culture and folk language between two different ethnic groups, Russian and Romanian.

Villages of Russian Old Believers (or Old Ritualists — Russ. *старообрядцы*) on the Balkans, named “Lipovans”, belonging to the Orthodox Oldrite church, were in geographic, confessional and social isolation from the original Russian territory for 300 years, so people were able to keep their tradition in almost all spheres of life, including archaic folk beliefs and magic rituals. Romanian influence on local Russian folk culture and corresponding vocabulary was facilitated, on the one hand due to direct contacts between people (nowadays in mixed marriages or neighbourhood in the same village), and through the media (TV, radio etc.) and school education on the other. Lipovans speak two languages, on some occasions even in family communication. There are no Russian schools nowadays in these villages, children study Russian once a week in kindergarten, three

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or four times a week in elementary school. Romania passed a law on education in the native language in 1949, but this law was of short duration, so that some people I spoke with during my field research had attended one or more classes in Russian many years ago.

Romanian families also live in all the villages researched, most of all in Slava Rusă (half of the population); in Slava Cercheză and Jurilovca approximately a quarter are Romanians, and least of all in the great village of Sarichioi (only a few Romanian families). Lipovans note that Romanian people living in Russian villages very often speak Russian very well and when crossing from language to language they say: *я буду гаварить¹ па-нашиму — значит, па-липаваньски, СЧ²* [I will speak in our language, that means in Lipovian]. Romanian people know the ceremonies and rites of the Russian Orthodox Oldrite church and even follow them: *пирикристились, пиришли в нашу церкѣфь, СЧ* [they have converted, they have joined our church], they wear the same dress as the Lipovans, and also build bath-houses in their vegetable-gardens (*мы ни можем биз нашэй бани* [we cannot do without our bath-houses] according to the observation of Russian narrators, СЧ). Thus we see that these contacts are very, very close.

One of my informants, a Romanian, said: “Without knowing two languages, you can’t understand anything”: *Тут, если ни знаеш два езыка, ни можешь разабрать ничё, што гаворють, патаму шть адно слóва такое, два това, три това, апать адно такое, большэ ни можэш разабрать, нима то́га разговор, или липавански большэ, или румынски, адно слова такая, адно такая...(С)*. [Here, if you don’t know two languages, you can’t understand anything that’s being said. Because one word is this way, two are that way, three this way, and again one that way, you can’t understand anymore, there is no such conversation, it’s either more Lipovian, or Romanian, one word this way, the second that way...] It is true for the situation within the community but it is not quite true for me as a foreigner, because nevertheless in conversation with Russian people from Russia, the Russian language is used (with some rare Romanian interpolations) and in conversation with Romanian people Romanian is used.

¹ Here and below in this paper we mark the South-Russian sound [ɣ] by [z].

² Here and below we use the following abbreviations of the names of villages explored: СЧ — Russ. *Слава Черкезэ* (Slava Cercheză), С — Russ. *Сарикѣй* (Rom. Sarichioi), СР — Russ. *Слава Русэ* (Rom. Slava Rusă), Ж — Russ. *Журиловка* (Rom. Jurilovca). All these villages are in the region of Tulcea, Dobrogea.

The situation of a mixture of two languages within the community is also reflected in the Lipovan folk tradition. I have noted many stories about water demons (Russian *водяной*) and to my question — how did the *водяной* speak to people — I heard the following confident answer: “He knew all languages, spoke Russian, spoke Romanian”. (*Гъварил па-нашэму. Знал ўсе языки, гъварил и па-руски, и па-рамынски* [He spoke our way. He knew all languages, spoke Russian, spoke Romanian]). And here is one of the stories (The fishermen caught a lot of fish that day, but they didn’t burn their net as the water demon told them. The water demon was angry and turned over the whole net by causing a wind to rise): *А так сказал: “Паймаите заўтре стольке рыбы, ама далян спалитя!” Хто спалит далян! А гаварил: “Заўтре паймаите стольке вагоноў рыбы». А штоб яго, тую посуду спалили. А как ты можэши яго спалить, там васимсот килаграм пласы, вирёвък. Расёрдился, а чё яму дельть. Раза два дал ветру, тиривирнул далян и калы, две нидели нужнь работъть назат, апять. Ну, он сваю дель исполнил. Наказал (С)* [And this is what he said: “Catch as many fish tomorrow, but burn the net.” But who would burn their net? And he said: “Tomorrow catch so many cartloads of fish. And burn the tackle.” But how could you burn it, there are eight hundred kilograms of net there, rope. He was angry, what could he do. Twice, he let loose the wind, overturned the nets and sticks, it took two weeks of work to fix it. But, he had done what he said he would. He punished them.] Here the narrator uses the Romanian word *plasa* ‘net’, this word is regularly used in everyday conversation by my narrators and in folk stories too.

In another Russian folk story, the dead grandfather came to his granddaughter and said in Romanian: “Ancuța, s-nu spun nimeni, ca am venit, с-арои те умор” (CP). (*Если каму-нибуть скажэши, што я был, я тибя убью* — translation by the narrators themselves. [Ancuța, don’t tell anyone that I came, or I’ll kill you.]) In response to my question as to why he spoke in Romanian they said the grandfather and Ancuța had spoken Romanian when he was alive.

People clearly realize the difference between the two cultural systems and that is the reason for using the Ethnolinguistic Questionnaire that was created to explore Balkan dialects (published in the Small Balkan Dialect Atlas). The Questionnaire contains more than 400 questions on vocabulary and idioms in various spheres of folk traditional culture: the calendar, family customs, agricultural customs, mythology and demonology. Many of them are of universal character, but the majority comprise Balkan peculiarities in folk tradition with the corresponding vocabulary. Answers to typical “Balkan” questions were very often strictly determined:

(1) “We have no X, that is a Romanian custom/belief/ image” (for example, an image of demons predicting fate: Rom. *ursitoare*) or (2) “We have taken X from the Romanians, formerly we had no X”.

The first type of answer.

(1) Question about *Baba Dochia*. There are many variants of this legend in Romania. The version about an old woman who went up into the mountains with her sheep, dressed in 9 coats and froze there, is the most famous one, the Russians know it very well. *Баба Докия — эта румыни, наши ни саблюдаютъ эта. Эта у румын, эта 14-га марта, када зима борица ис висной. Гаворють, шо баба Докия там надиваеъ 9 чи 12 кожукоф, и трисеъть йими.* [*Baba Dochia — Our people don't respect that, the Romanians do. That is with the Romanians, it's on 14 March, when winter struggles with spring. They say that baba Dochia then dresses in 9 or 12 coats, and shakes them.*]

Another interesting variant of this legend was registered during our research. *У баба Докия естъ и другая лигенда. Докия была систра Дэчибала. Дэчибал — эта был первый царь Дачии, Румынии. Ф прошлѣм Румыния называлась Дак'ия. И две тысячи гадоу, лет назат, Дэчибал, он был *paratul*, был царь Румынии. Ромэния, ана называлась Дачия. И у него была систра. И романы, римляны, када пришли в Румынию, в Дачию, хатели её акупировать, увидали систру етага самагъ Дэчибала, и главнѣму римлянѣ панравилась ана, очинь панравилась. Он сказал: «Я тибѣ зделаю царицѣй, только уежжжай са мной в Рим». Ана гаварить: «Я лучше привратюсь ф кáминную фигу́рину, но я в Рим не паеду». И так прасила Бога, утикала ат него и залезла аж на адну гару, и так прасила Бога, и Бог йиё привратил в эту, статую. И так гаварят: *Baba Dochia*. У нас естъ *babele*. *Munții biseț*.³ Знаем мы, каторые учились, каторые читали. Прастой чилавек, если Вы спросите, знаютъ за Баба Докия, а лигенду а ней нет. Ат румын знают, патаму шта на тиливизари 8 дѣн напирѣд, 8 послѣ гаворять.* [There is another legend about *Baba Dochia*. *Dochia* was *Decebal*'s sister. *Decebal*, he was the first king of *Dacia*, Romania. In the past Romania was called *Dachia*. And two thousand years ago, *Decebal*, he was the emperor, he was king of Romania. Romania was called *Dacia*. And he had a sister. And Romanians, Romans, when they came to Romania, to *Dacia*, they wanted to occupy it, they saw the sister of this

³ *Munții Bucegi* are the famous Romanian mountains (in the form of three rocks), the origin of which is linked with the legend of *Baba Dochia*.

Decebal, and the chief Roman took a fancy to her, he liked her very much. He said: “I will make you empress, only come with me to Rome.” And she says: “I would rather be turned into a stone statue than go to Rome”. And so she prayed to God, she fled from him and went into a mountain, and so she prayed to God, and God turned her into that statue. And so they say: Baba Dochia. With us it’s the old women. Bucegi Mountains. We who have studied about it, read about it, know. If you ask a simple man about Baba Dochia, he will have heard about her but not about her legend. And the Romanians know because on TV they talk about it eight days previously and eight days after.]

The second type of answer.

(2) Question about Romanian ritual protective adornment *mărțișor*. *На первъгъ марта фсяк чилавек, фсяк рибѣнак носит мартѣшор*. [On 1st of March, every man, every child wears a *mărțișor*] (And what about your grandmothers? — Author’s question.) *Если нивестка привизѣт, е татис, мартѣшор тибѣ прицепят. Носятъ. Висенний симвъл. Нѣту никакова значеня. А у румын мають значение: белъя вировъчка — адно, краснъя — другое*. [If the wife brings it, or the father, he will tie a *mărțișor* on you. They wear it. A symbol of spring. It has no meaning. And with the Romanians it has a meaning: the white thread means one thing, the red — another] (And what is your kind of this thing?) *Носим краснинькие и белинькие, пиралитѣнѣе. Ну, што-нибудь там, сѣрца, кóник, цвиточик, параходик*. [We wear red and white, intertwined. Well, something like, a heart, a pony, a little flower, a little boat] (СЧ).

The situation is the same with the formal influence on winter calendar ceremonies — at Christmas and New Year. *Да, да, вот прázнавъють Новый гот, прázнавъють калядú румынскую — colind. И на пример, и не ўсе прázнувъють Новый гот румынский: 31-го дикабря маладѣшь прázнувѣть. Ни сафсем мы маладѣшь, хачу сказать, мы прихватили ужэ, эта делаим. А калиду я ни саблюдаю. К миня, кагда дети приходять, я гаварю: «Извините, дети, вы чѣ пришли? А заўтра же Ражэство, 25-го декабря». Я гаварю: «Вы не папали ф той дом. Прихадите 7-го января, я вас приму». Я это не пачитаю. ...Ани гаворють: Primiți cu colindul? Я гаварю: «Не, вы не папали ф той дом, вон там colind есть». А у нас там румын адин живѣт* [Yes, yes, they celebrate the New Year, they celebrate the Romanian *colind*. And, for instance, not everyone celebrates the Romanian New Year: on 31st December the young people celebrate. We who are quite young, I mean to say, we have accepted it, we do it. And I don’t celebrate *colind*. With me,

when the children come, I say: “Excuse me, children, why have you come? Well, it’s Christmas tomorrow, 25th December.” And I say: “You haven’t come to the right house. Come on January seventh, I will see you then.” I do not celebrate this... They say: Can we come to you to make colind? And I say: “No, you haven’t come to the right house, look there is *colind* over there.” And there is only one Romanian living among us] (СЧ). So on 25th of December Russian and Romanian children go “with *colind*” and on the 14th of January, at the Russian New Year, more Russian and some Romanian children go together from house to house and recite: *Сею-вею, пасиваю, с Новым годѣм прыздравляю...* [I sow, I snow, I sow, I wish you a happy New Year] in the village of Slava Cercheză.

Question about the wedding ceremony, specifically about the “wedding tree”: *Прызнывають ёлку на фтарой день свадьбы, и с ёлкой идуць на силу. На фтарой день свадьбы рубяць кусок ёлки и нарижають ийё там лентѣми, калачами, и канфетѣми, и идуць на силу и с ёлкэй танцуютъ. Эта румынский абычай, ни наши.* [The fir-tree is celebrated on the second day of the wedding, they take the tree around the village. On the second day of the wedding they cut off a part of the fir-tree and decorate it with ribbons, cakes and sweets and they go around the village, dancing with the fir-tree. This is a Romanian custom, not ours.] (СЧ). This Romanian wedding ceremony is carried out in some Lipovan villages, more often in cases of mixed marriages.

The processes of simplifying and modernizing family ceremonies are interpreted by narrators as being a Romanian influence as well. *И маладѣшь типерь и свадьбу взяли ат румынь.* [And the young people have now also taken over the wedding from the Romanians] (And what have they taken over?) *Гуляють адин день, гуляють уси зараз.* [They celebrate for one day, they all celebrate together] (С); *И крэдвѣють маладую ва время свадьбы, возють ийё где-нибудь, на дискатеку, становяць на стол, ана танцуетъ на стале. А патом маладой выкупляетъ яе, даётъ там пиво, шампанское...* [And they steal the bride during the wedding, they take her somewhere, to a club, put her on a table, she dances on the table. And then the bridegroom buys her back, pays for the beer there, champagne...] (СЧ).

The same situation can be observed in birth rituals. Simplification and modernization are universal features in this sphere as well: *Раньшэ мушчины ни прихадили на радину, типерь приходють, жэньцины и мушчины гуляють, тада гаварили, чи грех, чи шо, што плахая примета, если рибѣнѣк народица и будет гармонь играть, и гуляють, как на свадьбе. Нада, ишобы тиха було и спакойнѣ.* [Before, men

didn't attend the birth, and now they come, women and men celebrate, it used to be said that it was a sin, that it was something, that it was a bad sign if a child was born and there was an accordion playing, and they make merry just like at a wedding. It should be quiet and peaceful] (C).

The Romanian influence on ceremonies of birth is also evident: *И тинерь, кагда гот рибёнък исполница, ани беруть вуот luare din moş, как бы режуть волсьы и приходюють сватья, што... крёсные, крёсные приходюють и гуляють анять. А ета ат румынь взяли, ат румынев взяли. [And now, when the child is one year old, they take luare din moş they cut the hair, and guests come, godfathers, godfathers come and make merry again. And they have taken this from the Romanians, taken it from the Romanians] (C). Luare din moş. Пышку делали. Беруть эту пышку, разламывьють йиё... Режуть крёсная валосья, кладёт манету... кладёт разные игрушки, карандаши, чего он выберить дитёнък, чего он выберить. Ани ужэ думають... выберить карандаш, он будеть учёный, и книшку, тожэ будеть учёный. Маладэш тинерь делаеть так. Ат румынь. [Luare din moş. They make a bread roll. They take a bread roll, break it in half... The godfather cuts the hair, places a coin... places various toys, pens, what the child chooses, what it chooses. They already think... if it chooses a pen, it will be a scholar, and a book, it could be a scholar. That's what the young people do now. From the Romanians] (C). This rite is carried out not only in mixed families but in Russian families also where both mother and father are Russian Lipovans.*

The process of influence is easier in the case of close or similar structural links in cultural and confessional systems. This is the situation with celebrating Easter in Christian Orthodox tradition: In the Romanian ritual, bread *cozonac* replaced Russian ritual bread *paska*: *Ну, а тинерича и на Паску уже дети даже ни знают, што этъ паска, панимаите. Ни гаворятъ: мама будеть печь паску; мама пикётъ cozonac, панимаите? Патирылься эта слóва — паска. [Well, and at Easter now too the children don't know any more what the paska is, you see. They don't say: mother will bake the paska, mother bakes cozonac, you see? The word paska has been lost]. Women bake this bread the Romanian way: in the form of a thick oblong braid with candied fruits (formerly it was a round loaf as in Russia).*

The same may be observed in popular mythology, as far as the common old European idea of a snake living in the house is concerned, Romanian *şarpele de casă* is interpreted as *змея домовая* instead of Southern Russian and Western Russian *дворовая змея*, and both terms exist now. Rapprochement of beliefs of different people (nationalities)

about a snake that protects the house is reflected in the exchange of information between neighbours. A woman whom I talked to explained such beliefs about a house-snake through her contact with a Romanian woman who had showed her in a corner of the basement of her house a snake rolled up on the carpet (litter), she had touched the snake with her hand and said in Romanian: “Nu face nimic, e șarpele de casă”. These words were interpreted in the following way: *Эть значит — змия дамавая, ана ничиго ни зделает*. [This means it’s a house snake, it won’t do anything]. The narrator also stated her own opinion on this subject: *Дваравой как змей адин был ф хати. И кагда взлюбит какую скатину, какогъ каня, и косъчки плёл им, всё, а другой, ни любит какой, той пагибал. Вот так называли — дваравой. Я знаю, што есть дваравые такие, што фсякий чилавек имеет у себе дваравую змию. Ни видит фсяк, а ана есть у чилавека, есть, дваравая. Веть ана как адна хазяйка, хазяйка дому* [*Dvaravoj* is like a snake that was in the house. And if it grew to like a domestic animal, a horse, it would plait its mane, everything, and another, if it didn’t like it, that animal would die. There, that’s how they called it the *Dvaravoj*. I know that such *Dvaravoj*s exist, that everyone has a house snake. Not everyone sees it, but it exists with the person, it exists, the house (snake). It’s like a housewife, the mistress of the house.] (Ж). Similar beliefs about a snake in the house are well known in Southern Russian and Western Russian regions.

In some cases we can observe cultural cross-coding transitions and their reflection on the language. One of my narrators, a Russian woman, had some problems with her daughter’s unhappy marriage, and a house demon in the form of a little man began to visit her at nights and pull her under the bed: *...лампатик засвितю, а он миня тянеть, тянеть пат кровать* [I turn on the lamp, and he is pulling me, pulling me there under the bed] (Who was it? Who is pulling you?) *Этай самый, дьявол, гаворим и дамавой на него, и domestic...* [The very devil, we also call him *damavoj*, and *domestic*] (CP). The term *Domestic* is her own translation into Romanian.

Corneliu Popescu, a Romanian from the village of Sarichioi, gave his own observation of a demon, originating from a dead man: *Упырь проста и на рамынском, и здесь — эта галава чалавечья. И ночу вот идёшь, и он тебе на дароги являеца. Чалавечья галава без ничаво, толька — moroi. ...in limba romîna v-spinet moroi, in limba locala — упырь. Moroi — vine de la cuvîntu mort, care muril, што намёр.* [A vampire is simply both in Romanian and here — it is a man’s head. And you are walking at night, and it appears before you on the road. A man’s head without anything else, only the *moroi*... in Romanian we say *moroi*,

and in the local language upir. *Moroi*, comes from the word died, one who has died, one who has died.] (C).

And then my question was: “And what about *ved'ma* (witch) in Romanian?” His answer: *Ведьма — vrajituare*. *В нашем селе кому скажу, штъ эта ведьма. А ф другом селе ни панимають, ани знаютъ vrajituare*. [A witch is called *vrajituare*. In our village if I tell someone that means a witch. And in another village, they don't understand, they know *vrajituare*.] (C).

The influence under consideration is not the same in all Russian villages. But there are constant components in this process. Funeral ceremonies are hardly subject to Romanian influence,⁴ elements of living tradition in wedding and birth ceremonies are sometimes borrowed together with the corresponding term (Rom. *luare din moț*), and sometimes without a term (Russ. *ёлка* instead of Rom. *brad, bradul*). Borrowings in calendar customs are not numerous, but corresponding calendar terms are also borrowed (Rom. *colind* in the meaning of ‘song’, ‘Christmas custom’; Rom. *mărțișor, cozonac*).

Russians are only aware of non-native images from the sphere of demonology, but do not borrow them, and this is a common process for both communities. Rom. *ursitoare, baba Dochia, babele* are alien images for Russians in Dobrogea, and, for example, Russ. *dvorovik, domovik* are alien mythological components for Romanians in spite of their close contact with Russians: *А-а дваравик — эта я яго ни видел. Все говорятъ, но он был большэ для пристрашки* [Ah, *dvaravik* — I never saw him. Everyone talks about it, but he was more for scaring (people/children) with] (C) — this is the answer of a Romanian narrator; while for Russian Old Ritualists in Dobrogea *domovik, dvorovik* as ‘house demons’ are absolutely living traditions, and a great deal of folk stories about their appearance were registered.

⁴ Even nowadays graves of Old Ritualists in cemeteries have no signs at all; there is only grass on the graves in the Russian part of cemetery.

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OBSERVATIONS SUR LA « ROMANITÉ BALKANIQUE » EN BULGARIE

Abstract: This paper describes and discusses three types of Balkan-Romance vernaculars in modern Bulgaria, the first one being based on the Aromanian and the two others, on the Daco-Romanian dialect. It especially focuses on the balkanisms (such as the usage of the aorist tense, the form on the future tense and the conditional) in these dialects and the effect of bilingualism on their linguistic systems. The thorough linguistic analysis shows that the existence of balkanisms in these dialects should not be seen a consequence of their interference with the Bulgarian language.

Key words: balkanisms, code switching, Romanian vernaculars

Nos observations se basent sur trois types de parlers balkano-romans en Bulgarie actuelle, deux d'entre eux relèvent du daco-roumain, le troisième — de l'aroumain.

Les dialectes daco-roumains sont parlés par les habitants des villages dans la région de Vidin et Nicopol (les Valaques), situés au Sud du Danube, et par la population tzigane du village de Krouchéto (les Roudares) dans la région de Veliko Tarnovo. Le parler aroumain est représenté dans certaines localités (Pechtéra, Dorkovo, Rakitovo) de la partie occidentale des Rhodopes. Les locuteurs de ces trois dialectes romans sont bilingues, mais étant de confession chrétienne-orthodoxe, ils font preuve de monolingualisme. Bien qu'ils ne soient installés en Bulgarie que depuis 100 — 150 années, ils sont bien intégrés dans la société bulgare grâce à leur éducation, aux mariages mixtes, à leur participation active à la vie économique et politique, etc. La population d'expression romane en Bulgarie n'est pas autochtone — elle s'y est installée suite à différentes migrations dès la seconde moitié du XVIII^e s. à partir de leurs contrées autochtones :

— les Valaques, originaires des régions Nord-Danubiennes, parlent un dialecte monténien du daco-roumain et se situent dans une continuité géographique et linguistique avec la Roumanie ;

— les Tziganes — Roudares, émigrés eux aussi de Roumanie, à cause de leur mode de vie nomade dans le passé, ont introduit dans leur parler un certain nombre de traits des parlers de Monténie, Krichana (roum. *Crișana*) et du Banat ;

— les Aroumains des Rhodopes occidentaux, provenant principalement de la ville de Gramoste (située dans les ramifications septentrionales de la montagne de Pindos) en Grèce, ainsi que ceux de la ville de Voskopoja (Moskopolis) en Albanie du Sud et de la ville de Krouchévo en Macédoine, parlent le dialecte septentrional de l'aroumain.¹

L'objectif de cet article est :

1) d'indiquer les traits qui leur sont propres vis-à-vis des autres dialectes de même parenté ;

2) d'analyser l'état des balkanismes en comparaison avec les dialectes balkaniques isolés non-romans ;

3) d'évaluer la sensibilité du système linguistique à l'effet du bilinguisme.

1. Les phonèmes

Les trois types de dialectes connaissent le balkanisme le plus marquant, à savoir la réduction des voyelles atones :

chez les Valaques — *dumàti, pătladjenì, trèburili, slănînili, coàstili* (Nestorescu 1998: 138, 146, 147, 158) ; *lăptili* (Mărgărit, Neagoe 2000: 16), *oàmini* (tN) chez les Roudares — *fətìli, òili* (tKr.) ;

chez les Aroumains — *mùti, àlti, muràr, ubuàri* (P./B.)

Dans la mesure où les dialectes en question relèvent des parlers monténiens du daco-roumain et des parlers aroumains du type "A" (d'après la classification de M. Caragiu-Marioțeanu 1997: XIX), cette réduction ne représente rien de particulier.

Un phénomène proche de la réduction — la chute des voyelles non-accentuées (ou la syncope) — qui est caractéristique de l'aroumain, est aussi attesté dans le parler des Roudares : cf. aroum. *ar(u)mân', m(u)șàt, vișn(u)lu* ; et chez les Roudares *neàmur(i)li, lingur(i)li, pîznàr' < buzunàr* (tKr).

¹ La description du temps et des lieux d'apparition des dialectes, objet de notre intérêt, s'appuie sur des études bien connues, essentiellement celles de G. Weigand (cf. les références chez Алексова 2004: 127–134).

Ainsi, les deux parlers s'intercalent dans la continuité de l'aire balkanique de la syncope qui commence avec les dialectes de l'Albanie Centrale, s'étend à travers les parlers grecs septentrionaux et les parlers bulgares du Bas-Vardar (les régions des villes de Guevguéli, Koukouch / Kilkis, Voden / Lerine) pour atteindre la région des villes de Charmanli et Chaskovo dans le Sud-Est de la Bulgarie (Холиолчев 1969: 30), par ex. :

alb. *bag(ë)tin(ë)*, *àk(u)lli*, *flut(u)ra* (Gjinari 1970: 36–37)

gr. *βουλ'κός* < *βολικός*, *μ'δούλ'* < *μεδούλι* (Παπαδοπούλος 1926: 13–16, Newton 1972: 182)

bulg. *дунсѝ* < *донесѝ*, *лòзту* < *лòзето*, *бàн'ца* < *бàница*, *рàптѝ* < *рàбота* (Д. Иванов, Ст. Романски, В. Друмев sur Bas-Vardar, cités chez Холиолчев 1969).

Par conséquent, nous pouvons penser à une glosse balkanique méridionale de la syncope.

Le système des sons des dialectes en question présente des phénomènes qui méritent d'être spécialement mentionnés.

1) Le mélange des voyelles moyennes *ă* et *î*, qui caractérise l'aroumain septentrional, est également attesté en Bulgarie. Cependant, leur distribution dans les parlers des Rhodopes nous fait penser qu'il s'agit de deux allophones facultatifs, cf. *vătămără* 'ils tuèrent', *vî şuirî* 'il jouera', *gaidî* 'cornemuse', *meturî* 'balai' (les exemples sont tirés des textes enregistrés par Katia Atanassova en août 1994); *k'atrî*, *houră* / *hoarî* (P./B. 119, 120). Cette opposition instable n'est-elle pas due à un rapprochement du nivellement des deux voyelles en aroumain méridional ?

2) Dans le parler des Roudares on observe un phénomène pareil à la transition *j* (*ž*) > *z* et *ş* (*š*) > *s*, très caractéristique du dialecte des Banjaši en Serbie (et d'autres dialectes daco-roumains) et qui ont été analysés d'une façon approfondie par O. Hedešan (Hedešan 2005: 37–42). Il s'agit des formes comme *zoc*, *zoaci*, *zos*, *azuti*, *azunji*, *vrăzător* 'médecin' ; *usă*, *cămasă* au lieu de *jos*, *joace*, *ajute*, *ajunge*, *vrăjitor* 'magicien', *uşă*, *cămaşă* (tKr). (Chez les Roudares, le passage inverse est aussi possible : *s* > *ş* : *bişerică*, *ştea* au lieu de *biserică*, *stea*.) Le passage des prépalatales aux sifflantes, ainsi que les cas de métathèses *crapă/capră* ; *bătîr*, *bătîrn/bătîrîn* (tKr) chez les Roudares, observés aussi chez les Banjaši (Hedešan 2005: 43) sont deux phénomènes qui plaident en faveur de la supposition que les deux groupes de Tziganes d'expression roumaine avaient eu autrefois une vie en commun.

3) Dans tous ces parlers sous l'influence bulgare, la consonne *l* a perdu son caractère roman dorso-apical et ne diffère plus du *l* bulgare coronal. Le même changement a été subi par les parlers grecs en Bulgarie (Asenova 1993: 184–185). En revanche, les parlers bulgares en Roumanie ont adopté, dans certains cas, la façon roumaine de prononcer la consonne *l* (Младенов 1993: 329).

2) La morpho-syntaxe

2.1. Les noms

Dans les parlers isolés, certaines tendances de la langue-mère s'avèrent souvent plus développées. C'est le cas de l'analytisme. Les dialectes roumains en Bulgarie préfèrent les constructions prépositives avec *la / a* pour exprimer la possession et l'objet indirect au lieu des constructions casuelles. Parfois, les deux sont employées en parallèle :

și pe urma părinți la copil să duc să spuie la părinți fetii ; ei predlojesc la părinț. E datoriat la femei, la gospodina casei să facă o piine (V. — Nestorescu 1998: 120, 123)

mama la doi copii ; am spus la prieteni en face de fratele lu tate, colacul ceșmelei ; N'ajunge banii la lume; Pensia la lumea noastră e mică. (tN);
răcovoditel la ansambăl, zicem na bulgari en face de țara lu turcilor, barbatu fetii

et avec les *verba dicendi* — une autre préposition :

zicem căță (< către) mamă, Io-i spus pă (= pe) iel. (tKr)

Dans les mêmes cas, le dialecte grec septentrional des Karakatchans emploie aussi des constructions analytiques.

La situation aroumaine semble surprenante: l'objet indirect et la possession s'exprime seulement par des constructions casuelles :

soia a featiei ; dzisi a k'atrei, deadiră a pădurloru foc (P./B. 125, 127).

Ce parler ne connaît même pas les constructions analytiques qui, soumises à certaines restrictions, sont attestées en aroumain méridional dans la montagne de Pindos (Соболев 2005: 191, 192), les constructions du type *casa a vișinlu* (P./B. 120), étant sporadiques.

L'influence du bulgare

L'interférence du bulgare dans le système de la langue est restreinte. Elle est présentée par deux phénomènes communs à tous les dialectes :

— l'expression du superlatif absolu à l'aide du gradant calqué sur le bulgare *много* 'beaucoup' (*mult* au lieu de *foarte* en daco-roumain) :

mult greu, mult frumos, mult e bolnav (V. Nestorescu 1998: VIII) ;

mult bine, mult frumos, mult bun (tN) ;

cf. chez les Banjaši en Serbie *mare bolnauă, mari bani* calqué d'après *veliki* 'grand' (Hedešan 2005: 44)

multu strîmbu, multă bună (P./B. 121)

(Dans ce cas, nous pouvons supposer aussi qu'une tendance héritée du latin se trouve soutenue par le bilinguisme romano-bulgare.)

La formation du superlatif relatif dans le parler des Tziganes-Roumains à l'aide de la particule bulgare *hai* rappelle l'aisance avec laquelle le romani balkanique emprunte des formants pareils à ceux des langues du milieu dans lequel il évolue — *mai* en Roumanie, *ūo* et *hai* en Bulgarie, cf. à Krouchéto *āl hai bîtir* = *cel mai bătrân* (tKr) en romani de Bulgarie *po-šukâr borî, naj-šukâr borî* '(la) plus belle jeune mariée' (Костов, Илиев 2004: 96). Dans ce dernier village, la phrase comparative se construit à l'aide de la préposition *dă* (= *de*), préposition qui dans la même fonction correspond à la préposition bulgare *oū*, au lieu de *decît*: *Mai mult credeam dă bulgari*. 'Nous sommes plus croyants que les Bulgares.'; *Mai mult știi dă copiii dă bulgari*. 'Ils savent / connaissent plus de choses que les enfants des Bulgares.'(tKr). Ce phénomène est également connu en aroumain avec la préposition *di*- et la disparition des pronoms de politesse, par ex. *Voi gândiți că...* au lieu de *Dumneavoastră gândiți că ...* (V.- Nestorescu 1998: VII).

On peut s'interroger si le changement relatif à l'ordre des mots relève de l'interférence dans la langue ou interférence dans la parole : celui-ci est superficiel dans le système, mais suffisamment affirmé dans la parole. Il s'agit d'un contraste avec les langues romanes — le déterminant est précédé par le déterminé (comme en bulgare) :

armasu și asudatu omu, rași k'atrî, estu omu, an'ei părinți = părinții mei, mșate căsurî, mari ubuari, n'a hoară = satul meu, astu permislu = această povestire, anoști armîn' (P./B. 119, 120, 121).

De exemples de ce type en aroumain de Bulgarie l'emportent sur des exemples tels que *istoria vârgărească* (P./B. 121).

Cet ordre des mots, caractéristique du grec aussi, nous conduit à penser à une possible influence grecque, bien que nous n'ayons trouvé aucun phénomène de ce type signalé dans la partie consacrée à l'ordre des mots en aroumain de Pindos de la récente étude de Bara, Kahl, Sobolev (2005, cf. *Порядок слов*). Mais on rencontre quand même des constructions comme *aroșă meari*, à moins qu'elle n'imité le modèle proposé *κόκκινα μύλα* (Bara, Kahl, Sobolev 2005: 275).

2.2. Le verbe

Deux balkanismes verbaux se manifestent dans ces dialectes : la vivacité de l'aoriste, archaïsme conservé de l'indo-européen, et la formation du futur, une innovation balkanique.

L'emploi de l'aoriste dans le parler aroumain des Rhodopes ne s'écarte pas de la fréquence habituelle qui place l'aroumain des contrées autochtones dans l'aire balkanique où l'aoriste est dominant par rapport au parfait. En effet, l'aoriste est le temps principal dans le récit du passé qui équivaut à *perfectul compus* en roumain.

Selon V. Nestorescu, le parler de Vidin privilégie *perfectul simplu* (Nestorescu 1998: VII), mais dans les enregistrements réalisés par M. Budiş dans la même région, *perfectul compus* est aussi bien représenté (Budiş 2001). Certains occurrences permettent d'affirmer que le parfait (*perfectul compus*) est employé pour exprimer des procès, tandis que l'aoriste (*perfectul simplu*) et surtout le présent sont utilisés pour décrire des actions plus concrètes :

...*am visat* (parfait) *noaptea că de la o ploaie rea s-a înecat* (parfait) *o femeie... mă deşteptai* (aor.) *şi spusei* (aor.) *că o să aibă necazuri* (V.- Budiş 2001: 296).

'Cette nuit j'ai vu dans mon sommeil qu'une femme s'était noyée dans une pluie méchante ... je me suis réveillé et j'ai dit qu'il allait y avoir des ennuis.'

Aici a fost (parfait) *şi magazii multe de grâu... A scris* (parfait) *la toată magazia "Naţul popii". Vin* (prés.) *româniei... Scrie* (prés.) *la toată lumea Naţu' al popii* (V.- Budiş 2001: 185).

'Ici, il y a eu aussi beaucoup d'entrepôts de grains. On a écrit sur chaque entrepôt "Natsul du pope". Viennent les Roumains.... On écrit à tout le monde Natsu du pope. *După ce trece* (prés.) *la bataia... dogoru' ăla cu San Stefano a spus* (parfait)... (V.- Budiş 2001: 185).

'Après le déroulement (de la bataille), le traité avec San Stefano a stipulé...' Dans le parler des villages de la région de Nicopol, les deux temps du passé sont en opposition fonctionnelle — l'aoriste exprime des actions récentes par rapport à l'acte d'énonciation, par ex. *cum vă spusăi adinenea* ; *nali vă spusăi*, tandis que le parfait décrit des événements plus éloignés par rapport à ce moment (Mărgărit, Neagoie 2000: 10–27), par ex. *Şi-a făcut sală, cum spusei, din leamne şi a trecut la deal*. (V.- Budiş 2001: 314). Mais dans le village de Băical, qui n'a pas fait l'objet d'investigations par les chercheuses roumaines, nous avons constaté un emploi fréquent de l'aoriste, même pour exprimer des événements plus éloignés,

par ex. *multă ploaie fusă* ; *pierdurăm vorbă cu iei* ; *pe urmă nămăliram* (< bulg. *намаля/намалявам*) ‘et après, nous diminuâmes’(tN).

Dans le parler des Tziganes-Roudares, seul le parfait (*perfectul compus*) est utilisé.

Les formes du futur sont des formes attendues :

Dans les parlers des Valaques de la région de Vidin et des Tziganes-Roudares, il nous semble qu’une seule forme est employée : *o să* + conj. présent, par ex. *o să aibă*, *o să fie* (V.- Budiş 2001: 296, 236), *O să-ți întorc la Paștile Cailor* (V. — Nestorescu 1998: 153) ; *o să zărăcesc* (< bulg. *заръчам / заръчвам*) ‘je commenderai’ (tKr).

Dans le parler aroumain des Rhodopes les formes du futur et du conditionnel sont du type septentrional: la forme du futur conserve le morphème conjonctif *să* (disparu en aroumain de Sud) : *vă s cadz* ‘tu tomberas’, *vă t-să dau* ‘je te donnerai’ (tRh), *nu va s-mi ia* (P./B. 122) ; le conditionnel se forme à partir de l’imparfait du verbe auxiliaire *volo*: *Vrea s-moară di foame. Cîndu earam la mari, vrea s-cadu, S-aveam lucrată, vrea s-amintu* (tRh). Dans les localités des Rhodopes, c’est la forme unique du conditionnel qui est utilisée, il est isomorphe avec le *conditionalis irrealis* du bulgare du type *цял да ѝадна* qui existe dans les parlers grecs du littoral bulgare de la mer Noire (Asenova 1993: 185).

3. L’interférence (le bulgare — langue-source)

3. 1. Phénomènes attestés dans les autres parlers balkaniques

Les interférences dans les parlers romans en Bulgarie feront objet d’une étude spéciale. Nous nous bornerons ici à signaler certaines observations plus générales.

L’interférence dans la langue ici, comme dans les autres dialectes balkaniques isolés (Asenova 1993, Asenova 2001, Асенова 2005), de même que partout où le bilinguisme existe, touche primordialement au niveau du lexique et se manifeste par des emprunts faits à la langue du milieu (le bulgare dans notre cas). Ces emprunts sont liés à la vie contemporaine socio-politique et culturelle. Leur « aspect étranger » est neutralisé à l’aide des morphèmes de la langue maternelle : *am reșit*, *smenesc*, *spomenesc*... Les moyens les plus efficaces de l’adaptation grammaticale sont les déterminants, tels que les articles et les éléments déictiques. Un seul exemple curieux : le lexème bulgare étant accepté dans sa forme déterminée, se voit déterminé par des moyens aroumains — cf. ... *cînd eara s-h’ibă bulcăta di largu*... et *Di sara eara la bulcătăș-clo durn’èa* (P./B. 118).

On trouve encore des emprunts dans un groupe lexical considéré résistant à l'influence étrangère — les noms de parenté indiquant une relation directe, tels que: aroum. *afendi, măle* (employés aussi comme appélatifs, par ex. *Unu dzisi: lele, măle / Altu dzise: lel, fende...* chant populaire cité par P./B. 138). Ici, également dans les parlers bulgares isolés en Albanie (Asenova 2001: 164), et dans les villages valaques de la région de Nicopol, la dénomination empruntée est rendue alternativement par les dénominations héritées de la langue-mère, cf. aroum. *Măle, mi tai..* 'maman, coupe-moi...' et dans le même texte *Mă-sa-i dzîsi* 'sa mère lui a dit' (P./B. 122) ; *diado* à coté de *bît, bunic, baba* et *bunică, cicio* (tN). Dans le parler des Tziganes-Roudares on trouve le calque *preamoșâl meu* d'après le bulgare *ïрадядо* 'arrière-grand-père' au lieu du roum. *strămoș*.

Dans les parlers romans, les cas de mélange des codes (*code-mixing*) et d'alternance des codes (*code-switching*) observés dans les autres dialectes balkaniques isolés, ne manquent pas. On peut voir un signe clair que la compétence dans la langue maternelle commence à s'atténuer dans le mélange emblématique des codes (*emblematic code-switching*) — des mots non rattachés à la structure syntaxique (*tags*) de l'énoncé, non dirigés (*ungouverned*) par les restrictions du mélange, tels que les interjections, les adverbes, les particules interrogatives, s'intercalent facilement dans la phrase (Appel, Muysken 1992: 124) :

Обаче carne nu mâncăm pân-la Paști. (138) Și face sobe, sobele sânt pornite, значе. (166) ...are tingere frumoasă или nouă (129) Bine ма, când s-a dus într-un sat (87) Voi aveți ceva ïпрошуве treburili аșтия (124) (V. — Nestorescu 1998) ;

Дали еști viu, дали еști mort. ... Дали te saturi, дали nu te saturi... нали e mai bătrîn. ... нали vă spusai... еми nevastă e bulgaroaică ... значи că voi nu vă întoarceți... даже бăiatу lu смету (tN).

Nous pouvons affirmer que le mélange emblématique des codes confère un caractère universel aux langues en situation de bilinguisme.

Dans les groupes syntaxiques dépendants (les cas de « government » selon Appel, Muysken 1992: 125), le mélange des codes est généralement restreint. Nous avons constaté cependant que cette restriction est très souvent éliminée dans le groupe prédicatif, tout comme dans les parlers grecs isolés en Bulgarie (Asenova 1993: 189), cf. : *Sîntem аicia родени. Este puțin измислен* (tN).

3. 2. Phénomènes spécifiques

L'interférence au niveau de la sémantique grammaticale se manifeste par les phénomènes suivants :

— certains verbes actifs se transforment en verbes médio-passifs (réflexifs) calquant le modèle des verbes respectifs bulgares : chez les Aroumains *nu ti rîdi featî nicî = ne ce смеѝ, мала моме* (chant de noces, enregistré par Katia Atanasova); chez les Valaques *ne râdem = смеем ce* (tV, tN) ; chez les Tziganes-Roudares *ne muncim = тpyдum ce* (tKr) ;

— l'expression de l'existence à l'aide des verbes *avoir* ou *être* d'après le modèle bulgare :

— v. *avoir* au lieu du v. *être* : aroum. *Avea un kiro doi soț = roum. Erau într-un timp doi prieteni* (P./B. 120) ; *Avea muncitori săraci în România., La noi acuma ari o orbă* (tKr).

— v. *être* au lieu du *avoir* : *Sînt 56 de ani ; 44 de ani sînt ; la cîți ani ești?* (tN) ;

— dans les villages de la région de Nicopol on ne recourt pas souvent au redoublement de l'objet dans les cas où ce phénomène est obligatoire en roumain : *Și pă iel [îl] dărește ca pe nașu* 'On lui offre un cadeau comme au parrain/témoin.' On peut supposer qu'il s'agit d'une influence du bulgare. En effet, on n'observe pas de cas d'anticipation pronominale dans le parler des Aroumains en Rhodopes, phénomène caractéristique du bulgare littéraire : *Năpîrtica dzisei a k'atrei = Vipera îi zise pietrei.* (P./B. 120), mais dans les cas de l'ordre subjectif des mots — *Numta o fățeam acșe* (P./B. 118).

4. L'interférence (le bulgare — langue-cible)

Les particularités dans le bulgare des locuteurs de différents dialectes balkaniques n'avaient jamais fait l'objet de recherches spéciales. Ce manque d'intérêt est dû au fait que les sujets d'origine non bulgare maîtrisent le bulgare littéraire mieux que le parler maternel.

Nous avons constaté, quand même, des changements dans le bulgare en tant que langue-cible de l'interférence. Le changement le plus fréquent est de nature syntaxique et concerne l'ordre des mots — les clitiques apparaissent au commencement de la phrase, par ex.

aroum. *Му даде четири катъра, товарени със злато. Се напълни черквата с хора. Тя реве — я боли.* (enregistrement de Katia Atanasova) ; *Си видял, бре?* (tN)

Nous avons aperçu un emploi incorrect de l'aspect verbal qui apparaît rarement : *Не можех да казвам* (au lieu de *кажа*) *никаква дума. Иеи България п-о ат аша сѝ, ни пот с-о да я приемам* (au lieu de *приема*) *като така, моя кръвна държава.* (tN).

5. Interférence dans la culture

Rappelons que les locuteurs romans en Bulgarie bien que bilingues, font preuve de monoculturalisme. Dans ce qui suit, nous souhaitons attirer l'attention sur les cas où le mélange de cultures a trouvé une expression linguistique.

Les dénominations des fêtes orthodoxes et les noms des saints chez les Valaques de la région sud-danubienne apparaissent sous une double forme : latine et bulgare. On rencontre par ex. *Sîn Medru* 'Saint Démétrius', *Sîntă Marie* 'Sainte Marie', *Sămți, Sîn Văsii* 'Saint Basile' à côté de *Sveti Gheorghe* = bulg. *Свету Георгу* 'Saint Georges', *Sveti Duh* = bulg. *Свету Дух* 'Saint Esprit'.

Chez les Aroumains qui ont vécu suffisamment longtemps parmi les Grecs, on constate la co-existence de l'héritage latin *Sunk'etru* / *Sunk'ietru* 'Saint Pierre', *Stîmarie mare* / *Stîmarie țe mari* litt. 'Sainte Marie la Grande (c.-à-d l'Assomption fêtée le 15 août)', *Stîmarie nicî* / *Stîmarie țe nicî* litt. 'Sainte Marie la Petite (La fête de la Nativité, le 08 septembre)' et d'emprunts faits au grec, tels que *Tafota* / *Tafoti/Foti*, (gr. *Τα Φώτα*) 'Epiphanie', *Vanghelizmo*, (gr. *Ευαγγελισμός*) 'Annonciation', *Vailu*, (gr. *Τα Βάγια*) 'Dimanche des Rameaux, Pâques fleuries', *Stîvrulu*, (gr. *σταυρός* 'croix') 'Le jour de la Sainte Croix', ainsi que des hybrides romano-grecs, tels que *Iutodorlu* = *Αγιος Θεόδωρος* 'Saint Théodore', *Iiorghie* / *Iuori* = *Αγιος Γεώργιος* 'Saint Georges', *Iudimitri* = *Αγιος Δημήτριος* 'Saint Démétrius', *Iminazi* = *Αγιος Μηνάς*, *Iumihail* = *Αγιος Μιχαήλος* 'Saint Michel'. Sur ce mélange se sont superposés probablement par la suite des éléments bulgares tels que *Eanevden* = *Еньовден* / *Tîiani* 'La fête de Saint Jean' et des calques faits au bulgare *Stîvinerea* = *Света Петка*, *Babili sîrbîtoari* = *Бабини дни*, *Sîrbîtori di luk* = *Вълчи празници*, etc.

Les dénominations des mois reflètent la transhumance pratiquée par les Aroumains et qui les a mis en contact avec toutes les populations des Balkans. Elles permettent de situer l'aroumain au sein de l'aire balkanique où les noms des mois puisent leurs sources dans les activités agricoles saisonnières et les particularités de son atmosphère (Asenova 2001: 165). Cette aire balkanique comprend le grec, l'albanais et les dialectes bulgares du Nord-Ouest, du Sud-Ouest et du Sud — Sud-Est (Займов 1954). On y trouve des dénominations d'origine latine *florar* (parallèlement avec *mai(u)lu*) 'mai' et *brumarlu* 'novembre' (cf. fr. *brumaire*), des calques du grec *sînmedrulu* 'octobre' (chez les Karakatchans *aidmitr(i)s*), c.-à-d. 'Saint Démétrius', *undreauă* / *îndrei* 'décembre' (chez les Karakatchans

andrias), c.-à-d. ‘Saint André’ (cf. Höeg 1926: 201) ainsi que des emprunts *şcirtu* / *şcirtulu* < alb. *shkurt* ‘fevrier’ et *flivar* < gr. populaire *Φλεβάρης*, *cirişar* ‘juin’ < bulg. dial. *чепешар* c.-à-d. ‘le mois des cerises’, *lunarlu* ‘juillet’ < gr. chez les Karakatchans *alunars* < *αλώνη* ‘aire’, c.-à-d. ‘le mois du battage’.

Nos conclusions

Nos observations prouvent que les parlers romans sur le territoire bulgare ne présentent pas de particularités qui les distinguent des dialectes auxquels ils appartiennent. Certaines différences constatées entre les parlers de la région de Vidin et de Nicopol ne vont pas à l’encontre de cette conclusion principale. La réalisation des balkanismes — tels que l’emploi de l’aoriste, les formes du futur et du conditionnel, etc. — correspond à son état dans les dialectes monténiens du daco-roumain et en aroumain de Nord. Nous ne supposons pas que l’interférence avec le bulgare ait joué un rôle décisif.

Parmi les parlers, objet de notre intérêt, l’aroumain est le mieux étudié dans sa diffusion générale et moins dans son état actuel en Bulgarie. Les parlers des Valaques sud-danubiens sont aussi bien étudiés, principalement par les linguistes roumains. Sur ce fond, le parler des Tziganes semble négligé par la linguistique romane, les Tziganes -mêmes faisant l’objet de l’intérêt des tzigantologues, surtout du point de vue ethnographique.

D’après nous, les parlers romans en Bulgarie demandent des études comparatives dans le cadre des études sur les autres dialectes balkaniques pratiqués en milieu linguistique étranger. Ce n’est que de cette façon que les processus communs du mélange des codes dûs au bilinguisme, le degré de maîtrise du parler maternel par les sujets de différentes couches sociales, etc., pourront être évalués.

Abréviations

P./B. — Popescu, R., T. Balkanski 1995 *Aromânii din Rodopii Bulgariei și graiul lor*. Craiova.

tRh = nos enregistrements sur le terrain de la montagne des Rhodopes

tN = nos enregistrements sur le terrain de la région de Nicopol

tKr = enregistrements de notre étudiante Téodora Dontchéva sur le terrain du village de Krouchéto.

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THE BAYASH IN CROATIA:
ROMANIAN VERNACULARS IN BARANJA
AND MEDJIMURJE¹

Abstract: In the Balkans, apart from the Romanian communities historically inhabiting the countries which border on present-day Romania, the Romanian language is also spoken by other groups, one being the Bayash — small Roma-like communities speaking different vernaculars of the Romanian language and dispersed throughout Serbia, Croatia, Hungary, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Bulgaria, with smaller numbers in Macedonia, Greece, Ukraine, Slovakia and Slovenia. They do not speak Romani and the vast majority are bilingual, actively using their native vernacular and the idiom of the local community in which they live.

This paper offers an anthropological linguistic perspective on the Bayash from Croatia, namely on the communities from Baranja and Medjmurje, on the basis of the material audiorecorded in 2006 during two sessions of fieldwork researches. The linguistic material recorded in Baranja amounts to almost 20 hours. There we visited three Bayash settlements (Darda, Beli Manastir and Torjanci), whose inhabitants are divided into *Munteni* and *Ardeleni*, on a mainly, but not exclusively, linguistic basis, with the *Munteni* group being much better represented and their *Muntean* idiom having a great influence on the *Ardelean* one, spoken in Torjanci. The linguistic material from Medjmurje (recorded in the locality of Kuršanec) is more reduced than the one from Baranja, but the main linguistic comparison in the paper is between the *Muntean* vernacular from Baranja and the *Ardelean* one from Medjmurje.

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Making use of anthropological linguistic and perceptual dialectology methods, we tried to determine the existence of a Bayash continuum along the River Drava in Croatia and also to assess the degree of tolerance and flexibility of their language system, which has developed for centuries without the normative instances of the Romanian language, in a permanent contact with the surrounding Serbo-Croatian dialects.

Key words: Bayash, Romanian vernaculars, perceptual dialectology, anthropological linguistics

1. The Bayash of the Balkans

In the Balkans, apart from the Romanian communities historically inhabiting the countries which border on present-day Romania (Serbia, Bulgaria, Hungary, the Ukraine), the Romanian language² is also spoken by other groups, one being the Bayash. The Bayash are small Roma-like communities speaking different vernaculars of the Romanian language and dispersed throughout Serbia, Croatia, Hungary, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Bulgaria, with smaller numbers in Macedonia, Greece, Ukraine, Slovakia and Slovenia. They do not speak Romani and the vast majority are bilingual, actively using their native vernacular and the idiom of the local community in which they live.³ The terms used to refer to the Bayash in different countries may vary greatly (see Sorescu Marinković 2008b), the word *Bayash* being in many cases only a construct employed by academics to refer to these groups, many of which do not use or even know the term.⁴ These *other* groups of Romanian language speakers, “hidden, marginal and problematic”, as Hedeşan (2005: 17) puts it, have intrigued Romanian researchers from almost all the humanities (anthropologists and classic ethnographers tending to predominate), from the beginning of the 20th century onward,⁵ despite the fact that the actual volume

² I will leave aside Aromanian, Meglenoromanian and Istroromanian and focus solely on Dacoromanian (which, in the following, for the sake of brevity I will simply label ‘Romanian’) and its dialects.

³ For details about the Bayash in the Balkans, see Sikimić 2002, 2005a; in Serbia, see Petrović 1938, Hedeşan 2005, Sikimić 2005b, c, 2006a, b, c, e, Sorescu Marinković 2005, 2008a, b; in Croatia, see Saramandu 1997, Radosavljević 2007; in Hungary, see Orsós 1997; in Bulgaria, see Dorondel 2007, Şerban 2007, Assénova/Aleksova in these proceedings; in Slovakia, see Agócs 2003; in Bosnia and Herzegovina, see Filipescu 1906 and Sikimić in these proceedings; in Romania, see Chelcea 1944, Stahl 1990, Calotă 1995, Kovalcsik 2007.

⁴ For a detailed sociolinguistic discussion on exonyms versus endonyms see Vučković 2008. In Bulgaria both members of the community and academics use the term *Rudari*.

⁵ For a detailed analysis of the existing literature in Romanian see Hedeşan 2005: 16–24.

of studies has never been impressive. Today, with the advance of Romani studies, we are witnessing a general interest in the Bayash in most of the Balkan and European countries where they live, with political studies tending to prevail over humanistic studies.

2. The Bayash in Croatia

The Bayash and their language in Croatia have not engaged the interest of scholars until recently. However, their presence has been mentioned sporadically, but for more than a century, by linguists and ethnographers who remarked the presence of these intriguing ethnic groups in nearby Serbia or Bosnia. The ethnographer Teodor Filipescu, in an early 20th century study about Romanian colonies in Bosnia, asserts that the *Karavlahs* (Rom. *Caravlahii* or *Coritarii*) from Slavonia (north-eastern Croatia) must have arrived there around the end of the 17th century and settled in the Požega and Bjelovar-Križevac region (see Map 1), after crossing Transylvania, Banat, Serbia and Bosnia (Filipescu 1906: 210). However, it seems that the first one to have mentioned the group of *Koritari* in Slavonia was Ferdo Hefeľe, in an article published in the Zagreb magazine *Vienac*, no. 46, in 1890 (quoted by Filipescu 1906). Only a couple of years after Filipescu, the linguist Gustav Weigand draws attention to the Romanians living in Bosnia,⁶ and also mentioning those from Croatia. In 1938, the Romanian linguist Emil Petrovici, talking about a group he called “the ‘Romanians’ from western Serbia”, mentioned again the existence of this community in Croatia, “in the provinces on the rivers Drava and Sava” (Petrovici 1938: 244). Almost thirty years later, the Serbian ethnographer Barjaktarović, in his description of the “Gypsy oasis” of Apatin (north-western Serbia),⁷ which he had researched between 1960 and 1962, also mentions that Romanian Gypsies are to be found in Croatia, in the villages of Darda, Bolman and Karakaš (Osijek–Baranja county), and in Dalj in Slavonia (Barjaktarović 1964: 191).

Up to this date, the only solid linguistic study of the Bayash in Croatia is that of the Romanian dialectologist Nicolae Saramandu, who in 1996 studied dialects in the Bayash community of Medjimurje, in the extreme north of the country, near the border with Hungary and Slovenia,

⁶ At that time part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

⁷ Barjaktarović mentions that the Apatin Gypsies, around 190 houses, declare themselves Romanian, but in informal conversations say they are Gypsies. The settlement is divided in two, *Ardiljeni* and *Munčeni* (according to his phonetic transcription), like in Sonta and Bogojevo, based on a distinction between vernaculars, the author providing a contrastive index of lexemes used by the two groups (Barjaktarović 1964: 193).



Map 1. Croatia and its counties.

- | | |
|---------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1. Istria county | 11. Virovitica – Podravina county |
| 2. Rijeka county | 12. Osijek – Baranja county |
| 3. Karlovac county | 13. Sisak – Moslavina county |
| 4. Zagreb county | 14. Brod – Posavina county |
| 5. Krapina – Zagorje county | 15. Vukovar – Srijem county |
| 6. Varaždin county | 16. Lika – Senj county |
| 7. Međimurje county | 17. Zadar county |
| 8. Koprivnica – Križevci county | 18. Šibenik – Knin county |
| 9. Bjelovar – Bilogora county | 19. Split – Dalmacija county |
| 10. Požega – Slavonsija county | 20. Dubrovnik – Neretva county |
| | 21. The City of Zagreb |

in the localities of Pribislavec, Čakovec and Kotoriba (see Map 3). The author, after briefly introducing the communities, their economic situation, social organization, physical aspect and ethnic identification of the inhabitants, compares their vernacular with those of the *Coritari* (as presented in Petrovici's 1938 study) and of *Rudari* (according to Calotă's 1995 investigations from Romania), concluding that all the "Romanian speaking Gypsies" today speak a "relatively unitary idiom, which is explained by their common origin, by geographic factors and by the historical circumstances in which they adopted the Romanian language" (Saramandu 1997: 109). Saramandu goes on to identify the region the Bayash had inhabited in Romania before they started moving towards their present settlements and the main directions of migration, and at the end offers a corpus of 33 short texts – phonetically transcribed fragments excerpted from the discussions with the interlocutors.

In 2007, one more article about the Bayash from Croatia and their language was published, signed by the young Croatian linguist Petar Radosavljević. Although the study is not exhaustive, it makes a good point in discussing contrastively the *Muntean* and *Ardelean* vernaculars spoken by the two main Bayash groups in Croatia. Radosavljević 2007 draws attention to some phonetic and morphologic characteristics of these vernaculars, but in contrast to Saramandu 1997, who used his own field recordings from Medjimurje, he uses, as an *Ardelean* corpus, the Catholic Catechism translated into “Bayash” (Miljak 2005), while the *Muntean* corpus is represented by audiorecordings made as part of a project of the *Open Society Croatia (Otvoreno društvo Hrvatska)* Institute, in which the author took part (Radosavljević 2007). Unfortunately, he does not mention the localities where the recordings took place.

Nonetheless, in present-day Croatia, it is mainly sociologists and educational specialists who engage in Romani studies. This is the reason why solid linguistic, dialectological or ethnological research about the Bayash is so rare, as ethnolinguist Biljana Sikimić notes in an oral exposé in 2006.⁸ The above-mentioned sociologists and education specialists note that large Roma groups arrived in Croatia in the 19th century from Romania, and that their members “belonged to the *Koritari* Roma, were manufacturing wooden products and inhabited the regions of Medjimurje and Podravina” (Hrvatić 2004: 370). But a lack of linguistic knowledge also led the same author to make unfounded statements, such as that the Bayash idiom from Croatia⁹ is a Romani dialect. However, other authors note that the Bayash in Hungary are “Roma who settled here from Romania at the end of 19th and beginning of the 20th century and speak a variant of the Romanian language” (Nikšić 2004: 392), and, further, that groups of Bayash also inhabit Croatia, namely Medjimurje and Baranja.

Although, as we can see, relatively little is known about the language of the Bayash in Croatia, the year 2005 saw one of the Romanian idioms spoken by the Bayash in Croatia published in its own alphabet for the first time in the form of a Catholic Catechism (Miljak 2005). Preparations for a Bayash dictionary were also scheduled to start in 2004. A system for transcribing Bayash vernaculars has emerged, based on the

⁸ *Banjaši u Hrvatskoj: rumunski, ljimba d'bjaš ili ciganski jezik?* [The Bayash in Croatia: Romanian, Bayash language or Gypsy language?], presented at the international symposium *Banatul: Trecut istoric și cultural* [The Banat: Historical and cultural past], held in Novi Sad, Serbia, in 2006.

⁹ The term used in the Croatian studies dealing with the Bayash is *ljimba d'bjaš*, spelled according to the rules of Croatian orthography.

orthographic rules of Croatian as used in some periodicals which host this kind of text. However, as in the case of other unstandardized languages, wide oscillations in the use of certain verbal forms along with bad orthography is noticeable in these publications, due to the lack of a norm and knowledge of the language structure (Radosavljević 2007: 513).

2.1. Fieldwork material

This contribution is based on field research which took place between 18 and 20 May 2006 in Baranja,¹⁰ a geographical region of eastern Croatia between the rivers Danube and Drava. During this short field trip, three Bayash settlements were visited: Darda, Beli Manastir and Torjanci (see Map 2). The inhabitants of Darda and Beli Manastir say of themselves that they are *Munćani* and Orthodox by religion. Their own guesstimate puts their number at 3,000. They also claim that their original settlement was Novi Bezdán (Rom. *mai bătárnă țágănie* ‘the oldest Gypsy settlement’). It seems that from Novi Bezdán they moved to Bolman and from there spread out to their current settlements: Darda, Beli Manastir, Jagodnjak, Kozarac, Čeminac. The inhabitants of the small village of Torjanci on the Hungarian border say of themselves that they are *Arđel’eni*,¹¹ Catholics by religion and that they number around 120. According to the statements of those we spoke to, the original settlement of *Arđeleni* was Orešanci, but in the mid–20th century they were moved to Bistrinci, on the periphery of Belišće, and to Valpovo. There are many members of various Evangelist churches in both groups, mainly Adventists and Jehovah’s witnesses. The traditional occupation of both Bayash groups was manufacturing wooden objects, chiefly spoons, troughs and tubs, but it seems that the women, unlike most of the women from the Bayash communities

¹⁰ The field trip was organized by a team of researchers from the Institute for Anthropological Research in Zagreb, Croatia, who carried a series of studies as to assess key characteristics of living conditions and health in the Bayash Roma population in Baranja and identify possible demographic and socio-economic sources of variance in self-reported health and reproductive profile (see, for example, Škarić-Jurić et al 2007) and to whom we owe a great debt of gratitude for inviting us to join them, for their generosity and constant support. As well, we are greatly indebted to all our interlocutors, who happily accepted us in the community and helped us carry on our research. Two ethnolinguists from the Institute for Balkan Studies in Belgrade were also engaged in this research: Biljana Sikimić and Annemarie Sorescu Marinković.

¹¹ In the followings, for the sake of brevity and in order to avoid unnecessary cumulation of different phonetic variants for these two groups, we will only use the terms *Munteni* and *Arđeleni*. The distinction *Munteni-Arđeleni* is also a linguistic one, as we will show in detail later on.



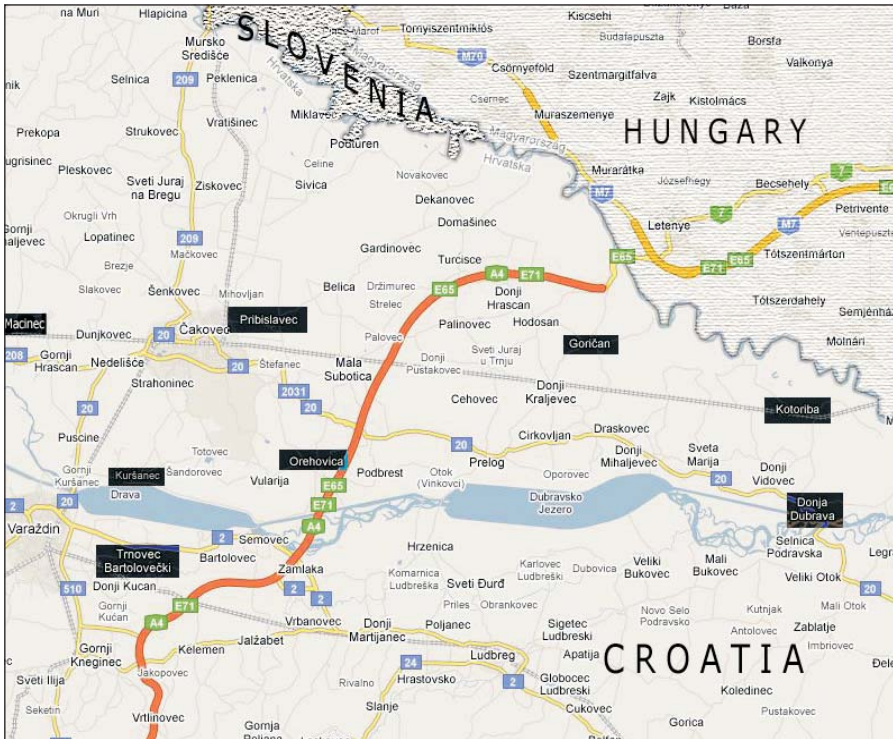
Map 2. Part of the region of Baranja, with the contemporary Bayash settlements marked in black.

in Serbia, have never made spindles. They also produced charcoal and bricks and lately even wickerwork (Sikimić 2006: oral exposé).

During our fieldwork research in Baranja, we interviewed mainly older members of the Bayash community and audiorecorded all interviews (the material, amounting to around 20 hours, is preserved in the audio archive of the Institute for Balkan Studies from Belgrade). Most of the interviews were semi-directed, the conversations generally aimed at reconstructing the traditional culture, but we also made use of a dialectological questionnaire and at the same time recorded the free conversation of the participants, in order to have as much samples of free speech as possible.

This study makes additional use of the almost 3 hours of audio recordings from a one-day field trip to the Bayash community of Kuršanec in Medjimurje, on 20 January 2006,¹² a decade after Saramandu. The Bayash here live in a satellite settlement completely isolated from the town which they call Lug, and most of them struggle on the verge of subsistence. They are all Catholics, have strong connections to other

¹² With the help of the Croatian ethnologist Toni Marušić, whom I wish to thank once again for introducing me to the Bayash community, for his invaluable help in carrying out the research, and precious first-hand information about the settlement.



Map 3. Part of the region of Medjmurje, with the contemporary Bayash settlements marked in black.

Bayash communities in Medjmurje, in Hungary and even – rarely – in Serbia. They estimate their number as being 900. As opposed to the Bayash in Baranja, who do not use this term to refer to themselves, they say of themselves that they are *Băiași*,¹³ calling the language they speak *l'imbă dă băiaș*. Their traditional occupation is also the manufacture of wooden products, but this seems to have vanished today; most of them are unemployed and many of them collect and return plastic bottles as a means of subsistence. Both the Bayash in Baranja and in Medjmurje make a clear-cut distinction between their group and the Roma, to whom they refer to as *Lăcățari*, calling their language *Lăcățăreașce*.¹⁴ Interestingly enough, only the Bayash in Medjmurje have the institution of

¹³ This term is known and partly used in the Serbian Banat and western Serbia, near the border with Croatia, but is almost completely unheard of south of Danube.

¹⁴ This terms are also used by the Bayash in Bačka while referring to Romani speaking Roma.

Romani kris, which they call *l'eže dă băiaș*, also common in Hungary, but unknown to the Bayash in Serbia.¹⁵

2.2. An attempt at mapping

The mapping of the Bayash settlements from Croatia is a very problematic attempt, obstructed by all sorts of limitations which we will discuss below. In spite of the hindrances, we have drawn a preliminary network of Bayash settlements in Croatia,¹⁶ based on our research in Baranja and Medjmurje. This network was conceived following the *snowball sampling* principle, starting from the initial data found in the ethnographic studies to get to the community and then using the information provided by the members of the community to build upon and develop it. All this information was obtained with the use of perceptual dialectology, relying upon the subjective attitudes of the Bayash towards the language of their community and of other Bayash communities they know. This snowballing followed the *mental continuity* of the Bayash communities, which exists in spite of the physical distance between them (Sikimić 2005b: 249).

Speaking of limitations, it should be said that on the one hand, data from the older ethnographic studies can hardly be taken as a reference point for modern research. The dissolution or reduction of rural settlements mainly due to the persecution of the Roma in the Second World War, the dislocation of village communities and the consequent movement of the Bayash to urban areas where they tend to form peripheral satellite neighbourhoods, the fact that those to whom we spoke avoided providing us with micro-toponyms when asked about the places the Bayash communities live and offered macro-toponyms instead, all this makes any attempt at mapping Bayash settlements a most difficult task. Furthermore, today the Bayash do not appear as a separate community from the Roma in Croatia. The official censuses provide only data on the Roma in general, without regard for sub-categorization or spoken language. Thus a subjective attitude towards the Bayash communities in Croatia and their language, fragile though it may seem as a method, coupled with an attempt to obtain as exact a localization as possible of the settlements the speakers mention, were the main means used to sketch an approximate inventory of contemporary Bayash settlements.

¹⁵ We base this conclusion on our personal research, so we must admit it might not be a definitive or accurate one.

¹⁶ For a list of Bayash settlements in Serbia, see Sikimić 2005a: 10–12.

The column on the left of Table 1 gives the places where the Bayash still live today. Some of these are followed by the Romanian name used by the Bayash instead of the Croatian toponyms, in brackets and marked with *. In some cases, we have not been able to identify the place and used only the Romanian toponym mentioned by the speakers. This first column was formed only using the data we collected personally, and not combining it with other sources which, we must admit, might have drastically changed the register of localities. One must notice that, the more distant the places the interlocutors speak about, the more macro-toponyms they tend to use. Micro-toponyms are obtained only from interlocutors from Medjimurje and Baranja, but they are not crossed. Following this logic, if we were to use data obtained in other identified Bayash centres, like, for example, Slavonija, we would have achieved a clearer and more precise register of Bayash settlements around those centres. We must also add here that, in spite of the fact that perceptive onomastics or anthropological geography does not take into account the new state borders, the information obtained in Baranja about places inhabited by Bayash in Bačka was extremely precise (not shown in the table).

The next three columns of Table 1 give the places which had a predominantly Bayash population up to World War II. This evaluation was made mainly from lists of Roma Holocaust victims from Croatia, reprinted in *The History of the Roma Holocaust* (Djurić & Miletić 2008). As on these lists of executed persons there is no mention of Bayash, all of them being treated as Roma, the method we used to ‘reconstruct’ the Bayash settlements along the Drava river and in Croatia in general was onomastic. Two categories of family names were considered — Hungarian, mainly characteristic of the *Ardeleni* group of Bayash (Oršoš, Kalanjoš, Lakatoš, Balog, Horvat, Bogdan etc), and Serbian ones, chiefly characteristic of the *Munteni* group (Djurdjević, Djordjević, Petrović, Kostić, Mišković etc)¹⁷ — and then we tried to determine in which localities the majority of the victims went by these names. The result was astonishing and, at the same time validated our assumption: the ‘map’ we obtained was that of River Drava counties (Bjelovar–Bilogora, Koprivnica–Križevci, Osijek–Baranja, Medjimurje, Varaždin, Virovitica–Podravina and Vukovar–Srijem counties), which goes to show that a Drava Bayash

¹⁷ Names characteristic of the Romani speaking Roma in Croatia are: (H)udurović, Šajn, Šajnović, Fan, Parapatić (Poropatić) etc. Skok suggests the following etymology: *Poropatić* < Rom. *fără pat* (‘without bed’), one of the remains of the lost language of the Istroromanians (ERHSJ s.v. *Čiribiri*). The fact that the surname *Poropat* can be also found in nowadays Romania opens up a whole series of questions and makes Skok’s hypothesis at least fragile.

continuum, like the Danube or Sava Bayash continuum in Serbia, really existed in the past, even if this is today barely perceptible. We are aware that this method might not be entirely accurate, but believe that it can offer at least a sketch of the past distribution of Bayash in Croatia.

If we are to compare the data provided by Djurić & Miletić 2008 with information from other sources, our hypothesis proves right. Hefele, in 1890, noticed that *Koritari* live close to Sava and Drava, mentioning the settlements Peteranac, Gušće, Stružec and Lonjsko polje (Filipescu 1906: 239–240); the first three can be also found in Table 1. The only paradox is that, as far as Peteranac is concerned, Hefele collected folk texts from interlocutors with Hungarian surnames (Balog and Bogdan), while the execution register only mentions Djordjević's, thus *Munteni* according to our theory.

Past and present Bayash settlements in Croatia			
Inhabited today	Inhabited in the past		
	<i>Munteni</i>	<i>Ardeleni</i>	Roma and Bayash together
<i>Bjelovar – Bilogora county:</i>			
Bjelovar	Bjelovar Dežanovac Djurdjići Ivanovo Polje Jakopovac Kapelski Kašljavac Kobasičari Mala Pisanica Malo Korenovo Medjurača Nevinac Nova Rača Pavlovac Predavec Prespa Sokolovac Utiskani Veliki Grdjevac	Ķolarevo Selo Čazma	Daruvar Narta Velika Pisanica Veliko Trojstvo
<i>Brod-Posavina county:</i>			
Slavonski Brod			
<i>Koprivnica-Križevci county:</i>			

Ludbreg	Cubinec Križevci Miholec Peteranec Zamladinec	Koprivnica Djurdjevac Donjara Lijepa Greda Molve Podravske Sesvete Popovec Kalnički Reka	
<i>Osijek-Baranja county:</i>			
Beli Manastir Belišće Bilje Bistrinci (displaced from Orešanci (*Rašanŭ) in the middle of the 20 th century) Bolman (*Bulmanu) Čeminac Darda (*Tarda) Jagodnjak Kozarac Novi Bezdán Torjanci (*Turianŭ) Valpovo	Aljmaš Bistrinci Bočkovac Dalj Harkanovci Ivanovci Josipovac Osijek Podgorac Selci Djakovački Valpovo Viškovci Koška Kučanci Nard		Dopsin Kapelna
<i>Medjimurje county:</i>			
Donja Dubrava Kotoriba (*Cuturiba) Kuršanec (*Lug) Goričan Macinec Orehovica (*Oraviŭa) Pribislavec (*Pislouŭ) *Strimouŭ *Șcarie		Čakovec Donje Brezje Kotoriba Macinec Strukovec	Martin na Muri

Požega-Slavonija county:			
	Budimci	Bujavica	
Sisak-Moslavina county:			
Dubica Garešnica Kutina Novska Sisak (the out- skirts called Capraške Poljane) Slatina		Donja Gračenica Gornja Jelenska Gušće Jasenovac Krapje Kratečko Kutina Lipovljani Piljenice Puska Stružec Velika Kraljeva	Lonja
Varaždin county:			
Trnovec (*Târnouț)	Vidovec	Trnovec Bartolovečki	
Virovitica-Podravina county:			
Djurdjevac Pitomača Virovitica	Crnac Slavonske Bare	Naudovac Sopje Starin Virovitica	
Vukovar-Srijem county:			
	Gunja Podgajci Posavski Stari Mikanovci Šiškovci		
Zagreb county:			
		Martin pod Okićem Novo Čiče Velika Gorica	

Table 1. Past and present Bayash settlements in Croatia.

What can be deduced from this table? First of all, the picture resulting from this ‘double mapping’ — one present, one past — shows a

visible reduction of Bayash settlements along the River Drava. Today, the most populated regions are the two counties located at either end of the river in Croatia: Baranja and Medjmurje. This is only a seeming paradox. If we take a closer look at the history of the region around the middle of the last century, we can understand why the Bayash managed to survive in these two counties. In 1941, Yugoslav Baranja was occupied by Hungary and returned to Yugoslavia only in 1944; between 1941 and 1945, Medjmurje was under Hungarian occupation. Thus, these two regions did not belong to the Independent State of Croatia (*Nezavisna Država Hrvatska* – NDH) in 1941–1944, the period when most of the executions were carried out in the extermination camp at Jasenovac. Even if Table 1 also registered executions of Bayash from these regions (according to the data provided by Djurić & Miletić 2008), it might be that they were residing in places other than their native ones.

Secondly, we can see that the *Munteni* Bayash group was better represented in Bjelovar–Bilogora, Osijek–Baranja and Vukovar–Srijem counties, closer to the Serbian border, while the *Ardeleni* prevailed in Medjmurje in the extreme north of the country near the Hungarian border. Even if Zagreb is not part of the Drava continuum, the presence of Bayash groups (*Ardeleni*) there is easily explainable by the fact that, as an important urban centre, Zagreb attracted large groups of population at all times throughout history. According to Table 1, Sisak–Moslavina county also hosted relatively large groups of *Ardeleni*, whose original settlement might have been the northern region of Croatia, maybe Medjmurje. These groups might have moved in search of work to Sisak, which features both the largest metallurgical factory and the largest oil refinery in Croatia. This movement of population might have taken place sometime before World War II, but the lack of any written documents makes us believe it could have happened either before or later.

2.3. What the statistics say

The complexity of the various endonyms (ethnonyms and professionyms) of the Bayash, as well as the strong mimicry they practice as a social strategy for acceptance, plagues much of the research. It is almost impossible to obtain even an approximate figure or a picture of geographical distribution from the information and figures provided by official censuses, where the Bayash do not appear as an ethnic minority. However, if we correlate the official statistics with knowledge of the origin and language of this group, as well as possible ways of self-designation, we get a possible estimate of the dimension of the group.

Development of the population in Baranya (Ćurčić & Kicošev 1993) contains the results of different censuses in Baranja from 1910 to 1992, with the ethnic structure of this region. Thus, we can see that in 1910 out of a total of 20,757 inhabitants of Baranja (before the division of the province between Hungary and Yugoslavia), only 2 were Romanians (although the number of 'others' was as high as 8,725). General state statistics of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia in the census of 31 January 1921, however, revealed that out of the 49,173 inhabitants of Baranja, 452 were Romanians and their distribution was as follows: Bolman — 253, Darda — 50, Jagodnjak — 48, Novi Bezdán — 33, Torjanci — 60. These statistics, together with claims by the speakers (in the lack of any other historical or statistical document) that their original settlement was Novi Bezdán, from where they moved to Bolman and then onward, might point to the fact that they arrived in Baranja somewhere after WWI. The following census of 1953 is irrelevant for establishing the dynamics of the Bayash population: Romanians do not appear anymore, while the number of 'others' is very small. Nevertheless, the 1981 census comes with a new column: Gypsies. In the case of bigger settlements such as Beli Manastir or Darda, it is difficult to assess the number of Bayash (Beli Manastir — 48 Gypsies, 248 'others', Darda — 5 Gypsies, 294 'others'), but as far as Torjanci is concerned — a small settlement of only 509 people in that year — the figure of 132 Gypsies (and 15 'others') is more than relevant. As our research indicates, in Torjanci today the 'Gypsy' population is formed exclusively of Bayash, who live in a satellite settlement in the vicinity of the village proper, with no connection to the Croatian population after the ethnic conflict between the Serbs and Croats during the '90s, which preceded Croatia gaining independence and in which the Bayash were on the Serbian side, despite being Catholics.

Figures in the recent 2001 Croatian census can help to map Bayash 'centres' there. According to ethnicity, there are 475 Romanians and 9,463 Roma in Croatia (out of a total of 4,437,460 inhabitants). Of course, the Roma are a large category which also includes Romani-speaking Roma, but wherever the influence of Roma NGOs is strong, the Bayash declare themselves to be Roma. The largest number of Romanians can be found in the Osijek-Baranja county (223), where there are also 977 Roma. As for the county of Medjmurje, there are only 37 Romanians and 2,887 Roma (Croatian census 2001 — section ethnicity). This data supports our own observations from Medjmurje, where the Romanian identity of the Bayash hardly exists. However, the results of the census by mother tongue give a new insight in the 'Bayash question'. In the county of Osijek-Baranja, 342 people speak Romanian as their mother tongue, while 711

speak Romani (which approximately coincides with the ethnicity of the population), in Medjmurje 156 people speak Romanian and there are 2,751 Romani (the same situation), but in the county of Slavonski Brod – Posavina, where there are only 12 Romanians, 334 people declared that Romanian is their mother tongue (the number of Roma in this province is 586, of which 312 claim that Romani is their mother tongue – according to the Croatian census 2001 – section mother tongue). Thus we may assume that in the Slavonski Brod – Posavina county there is also a large Bayash community.¹⁸ In Serbia at least, during our fieldwork research, one of our work hypotheses almost always proved to be right: If the official statistics show Romanians in a locality where members of the Romanian or Vlach minority are not supposed to be, Bayash live there, usually in a much larger numbers than those given in the statistics.

Other Croatian statistics on the Roma population alone differentiate among Roma groups according to the language they speak: *Romani chib* and *ljimba d' bjaš*. Thus, a field study from 2004 shows that *ljimba d' bjaš* is more widely spread than *Romani chib* in the following counties: Sisak–Moslavina: 10.6 – 3.3, Varaždin: 16.1 – 1.4, Brod–Posavina: 9.0 – 3.8, Osijek–Baranja: 14.5 – 2.8, Medjmurje: 38.7 – 2.3 (Mišetić 2005: 350). The author further differentiates among these language groups, saying that the members of the dialect group *Romani chib* are followers of Islam and are usually to be found in the counties of Istria, Zagreb and on the Adriatic Sea shore, as well as in the city of Zagreb, being more inclined to migrate and having richer migratory experiences, while the dialect group *ljimba d' bjaš* are mostly Christian (Catholics with some Orthodox) and usually live in the Medjmurje district, generally in the continental northwest part of the country and in eastern Croatia; most live in their place of birth, showing a reduced tendency to migrate (Mišetić 2005: 351).

As we have seen, official censuses in Croatia give a total number of over 9,000 Roma. However, estimates suggest a significantly larger figure of between 30,000 and 40,000 (Škarić-Jurić et al 2007: 709), the discrepancy being due mainly to ethnomimicry. As for the Bayash, the estimates put them at around 3,000 in Baranja, 5,000 in Medjmurje and between 10,000 and 13,000 in the entire Croatia.

¹⁸ Some Croatian scholars, unaware that the first language of a great part of the Roma population is Romanian, cannot explain the large number of Romanians registered by the censuses and of Roma “becoming” Romanians, as they put it, other than as a “census error or a miscalculation in the statistical analysis of census data” (Pokos 2005: 265).

2.4. Construction of identity

Saramandu, using data obtained from his dialectological research in 1996 in Medjimurje, asserts that even if the Croats call them Gypsies, the Bayash consider themselves Romanian because Romanian is their first language and because they do not know Romani (Saramandu 1997: 99).¹⁹ Meanwhile, our anthropological and linguistic field research in January 2006 amongst schoolchildren and the younger population in the Bayash settlement of Kuršanec showed no awareness of the local vernacular as a clearly Romanian language, nor any clear idea of Romania as their country of origin. This attitude on the part of the younger generation can be explained by the fact that modern Croatia has no border with Romania and no ethnic Romanian minority (except for very few and very specific ethnic groups of Istroromanians). Thus, in time, consciousness of their Romanian identity (if it ever existed) faded and gradually vanished (for more details see Sorescu Marinković 2007). Perhaps a more logical hypothesis is that it did not exist, as the places they had come from were probably, back then, part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. We must also mention here the powerful impact of Romani NGOs, which support and encourage the Bayash to declare themselves as Roma. However, most of the Bayash from Medjimurje use the self-designation *Băiași*, as do those from Hungary. Nikšić, talking about the latter, noticed that “it is interesting that the Hungarian Bayash call themselves neither Roma, nor Gypsy” (Nikšić 2004: 392) — and we might add ‘nor Romanian’ — assuming a completely Bayash identity.

As opposed to this group, even if the Bayash in Baranja are organized in Roma NGOs and many of them declare themselves at official censuses as Roma, they call their language *româneșce* (Romanian) or *țigăneșce* (Gypsy), leaving, however, the question of their identity open in discussion with the researcher.²⁰ Nevertheless, within this macrogroup, the distinction between the two dialect groups *Munteni* and *Ardeleni* is there and forms the basis for identification.

¹⁹ However, we think that Saramandu’s findings may be plagued by the fact that in Pribislavec he only had one informant from whom he obtained all the 17 texts given at the end of his paper. Based on these texts, we suspect that his informant, aged 34 at the time of the field research, is probably one of the local ‘pro-Romanian’ activists (as opposed to ‘pro-Roma’ or ‘pro-Bayash’, the Bayash community being a fragmented one at an organizational level) who had recent contacts with Romania, his use of Romanian neologisms being difficult to account for otherwise.

²⁰ As we can see from the first transcript at the end of the paper.

3. The language of the Bayash in Croatia

Saramandu, after showing the differences and similarities between the vernacular of the Bayash from Medjimurje, *Coritari* in Serbia (using Emil Petrović's material from 1937) and *Rudari* in Romania, concludes that the former originate in south-eastern Crişana, north-eastern Banat and south-western Transylvania, which is the zone where the main transition idiom within the *Crişean* dialect is spoken. In this area, the palatalization of *t* and *d* and also the pronunciation of the palatals *k'* and *g'* is the same, namely the affricates *ć* and *đ*. Furthermore, *ć* can appear as a result of palatalization of *p* in some words, such as in *ćept* (Rom. *piept* 'breast'),²¹ *ćáptăn* (Rom. *pieptene* 'haircomb'), and *m* becomes *mń* in *amńáză* (Rom. *amiază* 'afternoon'), *a mńóu* (Rom. *al meu* 'mine', pron) (Saramandu 1997: 109). Saramandu also suggests that the Bayash in Medjimurje arrived in their present habitat by crossing Banat, Serbia (Vojvodina), eastern Bosnia and eastern Croatia (Slavonija) (Saramandu 1997: 110).

Filipescu, back in 1906, claimed that at least some of the Karavlahs in Slavonia were emigrants from Banat and Transylvania. His arguments were their Hungarian names and the fact that they were speaking the *Bănăţean* dialect (Filipescu 1906: 210).

In the following, we will focus on the distinction between the *Munteni* and *Ardeleni* Bayash in Baranja, and then present a few phonetic, morphological and lexical characteristics of the Romanian vernaculars spoken by the Bayash in Baranja and in Medjimurje.

3.1. Baranja: *Munteni* and *Ardeleni*

The *Munteni-Ardeleni* distinction among the Bayash is mainly a linguistic one, but it can also point to the religion of these two groups, as we have seen before. If we consider it a linguistic distinction, we must stress that these vernaculars do not overlap with present-day Romanian dialects, as mapped by the Romanian linguists. Even if the *Munteni* group preserves some dialectal features of the vernaculars spoken today in the Romanian region of Muntenia, and the *Ardeleni* have linguistic features in

²¹ The standard Romanian equivalent is in brackets, followed by the English translation. However, we must always bear in mind that we cannot compare contemporary Romanian, be it standard or dialectal, with idioms which lost contact with the Romanian spoken continuously in Romanian lands more than 200 years ago, and which developed in a Slavic language environment. The only valid corpus for such a comparison would be Romanian linguistic material from the 18th century.

common with idioms from Transylvania,²² their vernaculars also present many other features common to different dialectal regions in Romania. Because of their nomadic way of life,²³ the Bayash ‘picked up’ numerous linguistic features from the regions they passed through on their way to the present settlements, and only a detailed linguistic analysis can account for the route they followed.²⁴

As far as the *Munteni* and *Ardeleni* from Baranja are concerned, the separate migrations scenario is more likely than the *in situ* differentiation scenario. It is clear that in the 20th century a Bayash continuum existed along the main river basins, regardless of the state borders of that time. Their geographical disposition followed the logic of *river continuums*, where they could find water and the wood they needed for their traditional occupation. In Serbia, the south-Danube continuum has already been accounted for (Sikimić 2005a, 2005b). The Bayash must have formed a River Drava continuum, from Baranja to Medjmurje, even if this is no longer obvious today because of large population dislocations and recent migrations, as we have shown at the beginning. Sikimić also speaks of a *Bayash Catholic continuity* north of the Danube and along the River Drava, a continuity which “bears witness to a bygone common territory before the changing of the borders in central Europe, something that happened several times during the 20th century” (Sikimić 2006c: 107). Catholic Bayash in Serbia live east of Danube in the region of Bačka, in the settlements: Bački Monoštor, Apatin, Sonta, Bogojevo, Vajska, Plavna, also in Slana Bara (a satellite settlement of Novi Sad) and Adorjan (near the river Tisa) (idem: 106). After the Serbo-Croatian conflicts of the 90’s, many Bayash families from Baranja (today’s Croatia) moved to Bačka (today’s Serbia) and thus contributed even more to mixing the already complicated map of this community. The *Munteni* of Apatin are only very recent settlers from Darda, as our fieldwork research from Apatin (still unpublished) shows. Torjanci (in fact a community displaced from Orešanci) might also have had connections with Bayash groups from

²² We must say here that there is no *Ardelean* dialect mapped by Romanian dialectologists, this zone (Ardeal, also known as Transylvania) being the region where several dialects of the Romanian language meet.

²³ We should not underestimate the role the different armed conflicts played when it comes to ‘Bayash nomadism’, which was not only an idyllic ‘wood nomadism’, as Chelcea 1944 puts it, or a willfully assumed way of life, as many authors are inclined to believe. For more details on this issue see Sikimić in these proceedings.

²⁴ Petrovici also noticed that the *Coritari* in Čokešina (Western Serbia) do not speak a unitary language, but one characterized by a mixture of dialectal features, “which can be explained by their nomadic life” (Petrovici 1938: 229).

present-day Hungary, but this has not been retained in the memory of today's generations.²⁵ The inhabitants of Torjanci, because of their relative isolation and very small number, are under the strong influence of the *Muntean* idiom spoken by the surrounding villages. It must be stressed that the Drava continuum was on both sides of the river, and therefore in present-day Croatia and Hungary.²⁶ It can be speculated that the *Munteni* group (of Orthodox religion) formed a wedge between the *Ardeleni* (Catholics) of Baranja and those from Bačka, but only historical evidence and extensive fieldwork research in Hungary can bear out this hypothesis.

It must be mentioned that the vernacular of the *Munteni* group is a mixed idiom *par excellence*, possessing archaic Romanian characteristics, intermediate phases, lexemes from different Romanian dialectal areas and from the regional Baranja idiom they speak. It is likely that this group lived for an extended period in the south of Romania, where the *Muntean* dialect is spoken. As for the Slavic idiom spoken in the region of Baranja, which is inhabited by both Serbs and Croats, see Miloradović 2000 for a detailed discussion. In the followings, when referring to this particular contact idiom, we will call it the 'Baranja Slavic contact idiom', and for etymological purposes, use the abbreviation 'Sr./Cr.', unless indicated otherwise.

3.2. Medjimurje

Although our recorded material from Medjimurje amounts to only three hours, we were still able to sketch the main phonetic and morphologic features of this Bayash group. Most of the phonetic features characteristic of the Bayash in Medjimurje have been already noticed and described by Saramandu in his study (Saramandu 1997). We must again point out that we visited only one settlement (Kuršanec), thus our findings cannot be generalized to include the region because of the differences which exist between the Romanian vernaculars spoken in the various villages, so even if we use *Medjimurje* as a cover term, it must be borne in mind that we are referring only to this settlement. A note must be made here: as in Baranja, the contact idiom is not the literary Croatian language, but the local variety, namely the Kajkavian dialect (remote enough from the one used in Baranja), and spoken chiefly in the northern and western

²⁵ This border was established in 1918, Baranja having shared the fate of Banat in being divided between three states.

²⁶ Knowledge about a territorial Bayash continuity in the Balkans is still quite limited in the literature, in spite of the existing knowledge of the territorial disposition of the Bayash alone (see Sikimić, oral exposé).

parts of Croatia (for a description of this dialect see Brozović & Ivić 1988: 90–99).

3.3. Some linguistic remarks on the Bayash vernaculars from Baranja and Medjmurje

In view of the fact that there is only one published linguistic study that mentions the Bayash of Baranja (Radosavljević 2007), we would like to draw attention in what follows to some peculiarities of the idiom spoken by the *Munteni* in Baranja, in a contrastive manner with that used by the *Ardeleni* in Medjmurje, and at the same time to assess the degree of tolerance and flexibility of their language system. Even if a triple linguistic comparison (the *Muntean* vernacular from Baranja, the *Ardelean* vernacular from the same region and the *Ardelean* vernacular from Medjmurje) would represent a momentous one, we will not focus here on the *Ardeleni* group in Baranja, as the material recorded in Torjanci is very reduced and their vernacular is strongly influenced by the neighbouring *Muntean* vernacular and by the big number of *Munteni* Bayash, who overcomes by far the *Ardeleni*. Even if we focus mainly on the *Muntean* vernacular spoken in Darda and Beli Manastir, whenever the collected material allows it we will resort to examples from the *Ardelean* vernacular from Medjmurje. As well, in order to compensate the lack of Baranja *Ardelean* material, we will include lexemes from Torjanci in Table 3.

We must point out that during our research we have mainly used the qualitative method of linguistic anthropology, so the linguistic material we obtained was not always complete, nor was systematic use made of the dialectal questionnaire.

3.3.1. Phonology²⁷

The differences between the two vernaculars — the *Muntean* Bayash from Baranja and *Ardelean* Bayash from Medjmurje — are most obvious at phonological level. One of the main phonetic differences between them is the lack of palatalization of dentals — *dinte* ('tooth'), *frúnte* ('forehead'), *déget* ('finger') — and labials — *piépten* ('haircomb') — in Baranja (a characteristic of standard Romanian too), as opposed to the palata-

²⁷ In this paper, due to reduced technical possibilities, we used a simplified system of phonetic transcription. We have consequently marked the stressed syllables, the palatalization of consonants; the *ø* and *ɛ* were used to signalize the open character of these vowels, which come from an initial diphthong; *e* was used to mark an intermediary sound between *e* and *i*. In the transcripts at the end of the paper the stressed syllables were not marked anymore, in order for the texts to be easily readable.

lization of dentals and the treatment of the affricate consonant in words such as *žézet* (Rom. *deget* ‘finger’)²⁸ in Medjimurje.

As far as consonantism is concerned, we can notice in Baranja the disappearance of initial *v* in words such as: *urbim/orbim* (Rom. *vorbim* ‘we speak’), *órbă* (Rom. *vorbă* ‘word’), *reádnică* (Rom. *vrednică* ‘diligent’ adj, sing, fem), or even of whole sequences starting with *v*: *ńic* (Rom. *voinic* ‘little boy’), while in Medjimurje one can observe the opposite phenomenon, namely the appearance of the prothetic consonant *s*-at the beginning of some words, such as *scáldări* (Rom. *cáldări* ‘buckets’). While in Baranja the palatal element is anticipated as in *óik’* (Rom. *ochi* ‘eye’) and *róik’a* (Rom. *rochia* ‘dress’ n.), in Medjimurje the palatal *k’* is transformed into *ć*: *óc* (Rom. *ochi* ‘eye’), *ćámă* (Rom. *cheamă* ‘(he/she) calls’), *ćar* (Rom. *chiar* ‘even’, adv), *uráci* (Rom. *ureche* ‘ear’). Both in Baranja and in Medjimurje, the ‘depalatalization’ of labials can be noticed: *mélu* (Rom. *miel* ‘lamb’) in Baranja, *fěrbă* (Rom. *fiarbă* ‘boil’ vb, conjunctive, III) in Medjimurje, for example.²⁹ In Medjimurje, the pronunciation of initial *h* in words starting with a vowel was recorded: *hásta* (Rom. *asta* ‘this’ pron, fem), *huşcunít* (Rom. *ostenit* ‘tired’),³⁰ as well as the palatalization of *c* into *k’* when followed by a medial vowel: *k’it* (Rom. *cât* ‘how much’), *k’ítre* (Rom. *către* ‘towards’).

Another phenomenon characteristic to both regions is the very high frequency of phonetic accidents, the following examples, however, being taken from the vernaculars of the Bayash in Baranja — metatheses: *uneáua* (Rom. *nuiáua* ‘stick’), *pitvíi* (Rom. *piftii* ‘aspic’), *băţárni* (Rom. *băţráni* ‘old’ adj, pl, masc); dissimilations: *lúntă* (Rom. *nuntă* ‘wedding’), *laínte* (Rom. *nainte* ‘before’ adv); assimilations: *mămíca* (Rom. *nimica* ‘nothing’), *mămílea* (Rom. *nimenea* ‘nobody’).

As far as vocalism is concerned, the main tendency in Baranja, to put it bluntly, is to make diphthongs of certain vowels in certain positions, while in Medjimurje the opposite occurs and diphthongs are turned into monophthongs. Thus, in Baranja we notice the diphthongization of stressed *e* when followed by a syllable containing *e* (> *i*) or *i*: *meáрге* (Rom. *merge* ‘walks’ vb, present, III, sg), *vreáme* (Rom. *vreme* ‘time’), *l’ámńe* (Rom. *lemne* ‘wood’), *feáte* (Rom. *fete* ‘girls’), *zeácilea* (Rom.

²⁸ Recorded by Saramandu as *žéžit* (Saramandu 1997: 102).

²⁹ Also observed by Saramandu in words such as: *fer* (Rom. *fier* ‘iron’), *ferb* (Rom. *fierb* ‘boil’ vb, pres, I, sg), *perd* (Rom. *pierd* ‘lose’ vb, pres, I, sg), *ver* (Rom. *vier* ‘boar’), *zber* (Rom. *zbier* ‘cry’ vb, pres, I, sg) (Saramandu 1997: 103).

³⁰ But as Saramandu also noticed, its pronunciation is individual.

zecilea ‘tenth’ nr, masc), *biseárică* (Rom. *biserică* ‘church’),³¹ and the diphthongization of stressed *a*: *veárză* (Rom. *varză* ‘cabbage’), *freát* (Rom. *frați* ‘brothers’). On the other hand, in Medjimurje, the stressed *a* is pronounced *ɛ* in words such as *vérză* (Rom. *varză* ‘cabbage’)³², while non-stressed *a* transforms into *e* in the word *áie* (Rom. *aia* ‘that (one)’ pron, fem).³³ In Baranja, the closing of non-stressed *o* to *u* may also be observed: *cupíl* (Rom. *copil* ‘child’), *culác* (Rom. *colac* ‘bread-like cake’), and the unexpected phenomenon of reduction of the stressed diphthong *oa*: *sócră-sa* (Rom. *soacră-sa* ‘his mother-in-law’), *jócă* (Rom. *joacă* ‘play/dance’ vb, present, III, sg).

A characteristic feature of the Medjimurje Bayash vernacular is also the monophthongation of the diphthong *oa* > *o*, as in: *móre* (Rom. *moare* ‘dies’ vb, present, III, sg), *nóstră* (Rom. *noastră* ‘our’ pron, fem), *omórá* (Rom. *omora* ‘kills’), *jórdă* (Rom. *joardă* ‘stick’), and *ea* > *ɛ*, as in: *vorbém* (Rom. *vorbeam* ‘(I/we) spoke’), *sfăté* (Rom. *sfătea* ‘(they) spoke’). The only diphthongization we recorded in Medjimurje was that of stressed *u* > *oa*: *joárá* (Rom. *jură* ‘(he/she) swears’), but the quality of the diphthong can vary from person to person.

In the same vernacular we registered the closing of non-stressed *o* to *u*, as in: *luvéšte* (Rom. *lovește* ‘(he/she) hits’), *bucozát* (Rom. *botezat* ‘Christianized’ adj, masc), *burásc* (Rom. *borăsc* ‘(I) puke’), as well as the closing of final non-stressed *e* to *i*, as in *béri* (Rom. *bere* ‘beer’).

A predominant feature of the Bayash vernacular in Baranja is stressing the labial character of *o* or *u* alone or in the diphthongs *uă*, *ua* and *oa*: *štivút* (Rom. *știut* ‘known’), *dóvă* (Rom. *două* ‘two’ fem), *ghivóc* (Rom. *ghioc* ‘shell’), *vólă* (Rom. *oală* ‘pot’), *lăvíta* (Rom. *lăuta* ‘violin’), *vóia* (Rom. *oaia* ‘sheep’).³⁴

Finally, we must also mention the pronunciation of final *u* in non-articulated nouns, as in *mélu* (Rom. *miel* ‘lamb’),³⁵ in Baranja, and, in

³¹ Petrovici noticed the same phenomenon with the Bayash in western Serbia (Petrovici 1938: 228–229).

³² Saramandu recorded the standard pronunciation *várză* (Saramandu 1997: 105).

³³ Also attested among the Bayash in Hungary (see Orsós 2003).

³⁴ There is evidence of this phenomenon in the Romanian Banat and also in the Hungarian Banat (for the latter see Marin & Mărgărit 2005: LVII–LVIII). Petriceicu-Hasdeu, back in 1886, in his monumental encyclopaedic dictionary of the Romanian language, which unfortunately remained unfinished, in the entry *băiaș* (pl. *băieși*), also mentioned that the Gypsies “or even non-Gypsies” from Banat and Hațeg who manufacture wooden products (spindles, spoons, troughs, shovels etc.) “mistake *v* with *ű*, for example they say *ziva* instead of *ziua* (‘day’), *űa da* instead of *va da* (‘will give’, III, sg)” (Petriciceu-Hasdeu 1976: 396).

³⁵ Also noted in Čokešina by Petrovici in the word *albu*, without the definite article (Petrovici 1938: 229).

Medjimurje, the dropping of the last syllable in the word *acá* (Rom. *acasă* ‘home’ adv) and the transformation of initial *î* into *i*: *încă* (Rom. *încă* ‘yet’ adv).

3.3.2. Morphology

3.3.2.1. The verb

Unlike other Bayash groups studied in Serbia, Croatia and Bosnia, which, under the influence of the local idioms, lost most of the past tenses and only preserved the past simple, the Bayash from Baranja preserved, in addition to the past simple, the imperfect (past progressive), which is very frequently used in their speech. Even the questions of the researcher, formulated in the past simple, are answered in the imperfect:

Au făcút (make, vb, past simple, III, pl) *și cărbúni din lemn?*
Da, făceásă. (make, vb, imperfect, III, pl)

The imperfect, extensively used, has two synthetic forms: the usual one and a hybrid, deviant form, made from the usual one + the particle *-să*:

făceá — *făceá-să* (make, vb, imperfect, III, sg or pl)
duceá — *duceá-să* (take, vb, imperfect, III, sg or pl)
jucá — *jucá-să* (play, vb, imperfect, III, sg or pl)
erá — *erá-să* (be, vb, imperfect, III, sg or pl)

We have only recorded this variant of imperfect in the third person, singular or plural, but this does not mean it is not in use in the first and second person. The two forms of imperfect (with and without the particle *-să*) have almost the same frequency and can be found even in the same sentence, with the same function:

Niveástili, feátili dáspleteá páru, máre a fost, ș-așá să l'egásă (tie, vb, imperfect, III pl, impersonal + *-să*) *în păr, în c-amândouă cosáțe să l'egásă, áia, plantíci, în păr. Așá și ireá* (be, vb, imperfect, III sg, impersonal) *mánt'e mândreátă. Fórte mândră ireásă* (be, vb, imperfect, III sg, impersonal + *-să*) *omladína. C-amândouă părț făceásă cosáțile-álea, páru, ș-atúncea plantícili-álea l'egá-n* (tie, vb, imperfect, III sg, impersonal) *păr.*

The wives, the girls would unplait the hair, long hair, and **would tie** their hair like this, they **would tie** in both tails, that, ribbons, in the hair. Before **it was** beautiful. The youth **was** beautiful. They would make tails on both sides, the hair, and then **would tie** those ribbons in their hair.

It must be noted that the productivity of this hybrid form is remarkable, for borrowed verbs from the Baranja Slavic contact idiom are also creolized with its help:

*E, atúncea bătrâanii nóști-n mîltă ránduri a fost bălț, mári bălț, ápă, șî-pucá péști șî duceá pân sáte sã vîndă. E, da iále **prosásă** (< Sr./Cr. *prostiti* ‘beg’, vb, imperfect, III, pl + -să).*

But our old men, back then there were ponds, large ponds, water, they would catch fish and walk through villages to sell it. And they {the women} would beg.

*Șî atúncea pandúri-i dásă l’ámne, lucrá el svašta la pandúri, pázá șî vácili, șî **obilázásă** (< Sr./Cr. *obilaziti* ‘go around’, vb, imperfect, III, sg + -să) [ilénii]...*

Then the forest rangers would give him woods, we would work everything for the foresters, he watch over the cattle and go around the [ilénii]...

*E-atúnci când a inít p-urm-acásă el dâncoló, el cu áia **să baveásă** (< Sr./Cr. *baviti se* ‘engage in’, imperfect, III sg + -să) *cât éu ștú.**

Then, when he came back home, he was engaged in that, as far as I know.

Even if this ‘deviant’ variant of the imperfect (with the particle -să) might have us believe that it is an analogical form of pluperfect (past perfect), created from a ‘normal’ variant of the imperfect, its function in use, mainly denoting an action that was happening, used to happen, or happened regularly in the past and was on-going, still indicates that it is an imperfect.

Sikimić 2005d discusses the use and function of another verbal particle, -ră, in the idioms of the Bayash in Vojvodina (Serbia). These vernaculars are characterized by a high frequency of the suffixal particle -ră in the morphology of the verb (especially perfect and present), whose use is optional and which has no evident functional or stylistic utility: “*Care cum vreau-ră.* [Which how want-ră.] *Ce vreau duce-ră.* [What want take-ră.] *Care cum vrea.* [Which how wants.]” (Sikimić 2005d: 158–159). The use of this particle was extremely localized in Romania (a zone around Bucharest) and has no correspondent among other Bayash idioms in Serbia, being preserved only in those localities which are not under the influence of more prestigious Romanian vernaculars or of the mass media in Romanian, which would ‘correct’ this deviation (Sorescu Marinković 2008b). Analogically, the above-mentioned ‘deviant’ variant of the imperfect might have existed at a certain period in a limited area of Romania, but it has not been recorded by dialectologists. It is highly improbable that the Bayash made such innovations in the relatively short period of time they spent in Croatia.

The preservation of this ‘deviant’ form might have been supported by the existence of imperfect and aorist in the Baranja contact idiom (imperfect forms: *čitah, čitaše, čitaše, čistasmó, čitaste, čitahu*; aorist forms:

pročitah, pročită, pročită, pročitasmă, pročitaste, pročitășe). Analogically to many other similar phenomena from Balkan linguistics, it might be that the frequent *-șe* endings of aorist and imperfect in the third person singular and plural, as well as the fact that Romanian does not make any distinction between perfective and imperfective verbs, helped to preserve and intensify the use of these forms,³⁶ but we must admit that we are far from offering a definitive solution to this question.

In Baranja, we also noted great instability of conjugation, which goes as far as to create a new paradigm, on the basis of a new infinitive, most often formed by analogy with the third person singular:³⁷

iștém ('we are') > *iștî* ('to be'), instead of standard Rom. *fi*
știém ('we know') > *știá* ('to know'), instead of standard Rom. *ști*
audém ('we hear') > *audea* ('to hear'), instead of standard Rom. *auzi*
lă ('takes') > *la* ('to take'), instead of standard Rom. *lua*

At the same time, there is great variation and instability of the forms of the verb *to be* in the present, where *Bănățean* and *Muntean* forms are mixed:

mi-s/mi-sc ('I am')
iáști ('(you) are')
îi, iáște ('(he/she) is')
îs, iștém ('(we) are')
iștêț ('(you) are')
iáște, îs ('(they) are')

In Baranja, past tense forms for the third person, singular and plural, are made with the auxiliary *a*, as in Muntenia, as opposed to other dialectal areas where the past tense is formed with *o* and *or*: *a făcút* ('(he/she/they) made/did'), *a mers* ('(he/she/they) went'), *a lucrát* ('(he/she/they) worked'). We can also notice the identity of the third person singular and plural past tense forms of the verb, a feature characteristic to Muntenia, as well as the identity of the third person singular and plural, for the present verbal forms.

³⁶ As Lindstedt notices, "a strong second language of a bilingual individual may and does influence the first language even when it is used in a monolingual setting" (Lindstedt 2005: 240) and, as a consequence, "even complicated subsystems, such as the Balkan verb system with several past tenses, can be retained if there is sufficient structural overlap between the languages" (idem: 205).

³⁷ Also encountered in the Romanian vernaculars spoken in Hungary. For this comment and many of the following explanations I am greatly indebted to dialectologist Maria Marin, from the "Iorgu Iordan — Al. Rosetti" Institute of Linguistics in Bucharest, who read the transcripts, used in this paper and made useful suggestions.

A common feature of both Baranja and Medjmurje vernaculars is that many verbs from the local contact idioms are inflected with the help of Romanian affixes. However, in Medjmurje, verbs borrowed from Croatian are inflected in a different manner than in Baranja and in the Bayash communities of Serbia:

Medjmurje	Baranja & Serbia	
să iavlěšće	să iavěšće	< Sr./Cr. <i>javljati/javiti se</i> (perfective and imperfective forms) ‘send word, give a sign of oneself’, vb, refl, present, III, sg or pl
închinăcelím	(în)chitím	< Sr./Cr. <i>kititi</i> ‘ornament’, vb, present, I, pl
pantelěšće	pan(m)ćěšće	< Sr./Cr. <i>pamtiti</i> ‘remember’, vb, present, III, sg or pl
să slavalěšće	să slăvěšće	< Sr./Cr. <i>slaviti</i> ‘celebrate’, vb, refl, present, III, sg
să poiavlé	să poiăveá	< Sr./Cr. <i>pojaviti se</i> ‘appear’, vb, refl, imperfect, III, sg

Table 2. Serbo-Croatian verbs accommodated to the system of Romanian language in Medjmurje, Baranja and Serbia.

It might be that the differences in inflection between Medjmurje, on the one hand, and Baranja and Serbia, on the other, more exactly the *-l-* particle which appears in the Croatian verbs accommodated to the system of Bayash vernaculars, represent an influence and a reflex of Kajkavian phonetics of the verb (see Brozović & Ivić 1988: 91–97).

In Medjmurje we also noted the frequent use of the imperfect (see Transcript 4 at the end of the paper), even if the Kajkavian dialect spoken there practically does not make use of the imperfect nor of the aorist.

In Medjmurje we encountered the use of the infinitive as direct object, as well. It must be said that no such a construction was registered among the Bayash in Baranja or Serbia, ‘*da + present*’ being preferred instead. This might be due to the influence of the local Kajkavian dialect, where the infinitive is used in situations where Serbian and its dialects prefer the ‘*da + present*’ construction: *nu šćii sfătí* (‘you can’t talk’), in Medjmurje, as opposed to *nu šćii să sfăćěšć*,³⁸ in Serbia.

³⁸ This is only a presumptive example, because *nu šćii să sfăćěšć* can hardly be heard in Serbia, where the verb *vorbi* (‘to speak’) is used instead of *sfătí*. The former is characteristic of *Muntean* vernaculars, while the latter for *Ardelean* ones.

The reduction of the infinitive in Romanian, which is by no means total, is usually considered a Balkanism (Steinke & Vraciu 1999: 120), however Assenova 2002 believes that not the lack or narrowing of the infinitive must be considered a Balkanism, but the substitution of the infinitive in an identical way in all the Balkan languages with subordinate constructions which alternate with the infinitive and assume its functions, until finally they replace it. The same author makes the following note: “The replacement of the infinitive with analytical constructions in Serbo-Croatian completes the pattern of a typically Balkan area of an unequal distribution: a compact center of full (or almost full) replacement of the infinitive (Bulgarian, Greek, Aromanian) emerges, and moving away from that center toward the north and northwest, the infinitive construction becomes progressively more widespread” (Assenova 2002: 319). Thus, the preservation of the infinitive with the Bayash from Medjimurje can be explained as the influence of the contact idiom, the Kajkavian dialect, which is far away from the above-mentioned center of replacement of the infinitive.

3.3.2.2. The article

In Baranja, nouns in the genitive are declined by the use of both preposed and postposed genitival article, which, in standard and dialectal Romanian, is an *either-or* option:

múchea lu săcúrii (Rom. *múchea securii* ‘the sickle’s handle’)
múma a lu feátii (Rom. *mama fetei* ‘the girl’s mother’)
múma a lu ficióru lui (Rom. *mama feciorului* ‘the groom’s mother’)

Petrovici, during his 1937 fieldtrip among the Bayash in Čokešina, also noted this type of genitive — *burícu a lu žážitului* (‘the fingertip’) — among others, such as: *dósu mînîi* (‘the backhand’), *ósu-al úmirului* (‘the collarbone’), *mucu-al řířîi* (‘the nipple’), *gura lu cămășîi* (‘the skirt’s collar’), but made no comment on it (Petrovici 1938: 231).

For the indefinite article singular, masculine and feminine (Rom. *un* and *o*), the archaic Romanian variants *unu* and *una* are used (this phenomenon has also been registered in other regions inhabited by Romanians outside Romania):

úna vreáme (Rom. *o vreme* ‘a period’)
úna órbă (Rom. *o vorbă* ‘a word’)
únu cupíl (Rom. *un copil* ‘a child’)
únu cal (Rom. *un cal* ‘a horse’)

In Medjimurje, this archaic form of the indefinite article is used only sporadically, much more rarely than in Baranja:

úna sórá (Rom. *o soră* ‘a sister’)

3.3.3.3 The adjective

In Baranja, we recorded the use of the adjective *alt/alta* (‘another’, masc and fem) with the meaning of ‘next, second, following’, in the expression:

álta zî (Rom. *a doua zi* ‘the next day’)³⁹

As for the degrees of comparison of adjectives (and adverbs), we must mention the formation of the comparative of superiority with the help of the element *dă*, as in the Aromanian, Istroromanian and Meglenoromanian dialects,⁴⁰ an archaic feature of the Romanian language (today, in standard Romanian, *decât* totally replaced *dă*):

mái bătárñ dă míne (‘older than me’)⁴¹

The superlative of superiority is formed, as in Istroromanian, in the same way as the comparative of superiority: with the help of the adverb *mái* plus the positive form of the adjective (or adverb), but the stress is not on the adjective (or adverb) anymore, but on *mái* (Caragiu Marioțeanu 1975: 200):

mái bătárñ (‘the oldest’)

The Romanian vernaculars spoken by the Vlachs of north-eastern Serbia, which belong to the Dacoromanian dialect, also preserve this form of superlative.⁴²

3.3.3.4. Other

Both in Baranja and in Medjmurje, frequent use of the particle *god/god’/gode/godea/gođ* (< Sr./Cr. *god* ‘ever’) is noted, mainly (but not necessarily) with adverbs and (undetermined) pronouns, which emphasizes the indefinite value:

³⁹ This might also be due to the influence of the Croatian language, where the two are expressed with the help of the same word: *drugi/druga/drugo* (‘second, following, another, next’).

⁴⁰ For details on the formation of degrees of comparison in these three dialects, see Caragiu Marioțeanu 1975; for the present state of the degrees of comparison and their use in Aromanian, see Bara, Kahl & Sobolev 2005: 126.

⁴¹ This example was recorded in Darda.

⁴² For a detailed discussion on the formation of degrees of comparison in the Balkan languages, see Assenova 2002: 117–123.

ce góde-o záce ('whatever he might say')
pánã god nu sã plãteáscã mult ban ('as long as they don't pay a lot of money')
cáre god ('whoever')

The use of this particle in the speech of Romaniaphone populations is nothing new, being also registered in other regions inhabited by Romanians who live in a Slavic or Hungarian environment, such as the Romanians in the Serbian Banat, the Vlachs in northeastern Serbia or the Romanians in Hungary, as well as in the Romanian vernaculars spoken in the Romanian Banat (Boldurean 2007: 500 gives examples of the use of this Slavic element in the Banat dialectal literature).

3.4. *Munteni vs Ardeleni*: a lexical comparison

In Table 3, we give a list of lexemes recorded in the Bayash communities in Croatia we have visited so far (similar to the one Barjaktarović published in 1964). We have grouped together the *Muntean* localities Darda and Beli Manastir in Baranja, because the lexical differences between them are minor. Even if we believe that the *Ardelean* vernacular spoken in Torjanci (Baranja) is under the strong influence of the neighbouring *Muntean* one, we also included in the table lexemes registered here, for a possible lexical comparison with the *Ardelean* vernacular from Kuršanec (Medjimurje). Some of the words were obtained as answers to the linguistic questionnaire, which, as we mentioned before, was only sporadically used, while other terms were mentioned in spontaneous conversations. Due to inconsistency in using the questionnaire, some of the terms are missing.

Kuršanec (Ardeleni)	Darda and Beli Manastir (Munteni)	Torjanci (Ardeleni)	
o țără	oleácã / leácã	–	'a little'
bęri	pívã	–	'beer'
cliștári	par	–	'glass'
nóuru	cériu	–	'sky'
ínã(i)mã	ímãna	ímãna	'stomach'
poplãn	–	iórgan	'comforter'
l'ip'idóu	cearșáp	l'ipidóu	'bed sheet'
ródã	bãrzãncã	cucustríc	'stork'
udvár	avlié	udvár	'courtyard'
sřãtí	*urbí	–	'speak'

cánva	mánte / curánd	–	‘long ago’
bírcă	mélu	mel	‘lamb’
–	vóia	bírcă	‘sheep’
înapói	îndărát	–	‘(in the) back, behind’
cucurúz	porómb	cucurúz	‘corn’
–	golómb	porómb	‘pigeon’
oblóc	pingér	oblóg	‘window’
țúcur	șechér’u	țúcur	‘sugar’
sçon	scáunu	–	‘chair’
urándi	súdnițile	–	‘the Fates’
omórá (pórcu) (pres, III, sing)	înjunghiái (pórcu) (imperf, I, sing)	–	‘slaughter (the pig)’
–	iabucítă	părădícă	‘tomato’
băiáš / țágán	țágán / rumán	–	‘man / husband’
băieșáță / țágáncă	țágáncă / rumáncă	–	‘woman / wife’
băișášce	țágăńește / romăńește	–	the language they speak

*We recreated the infinitive.

Table 3. Lexemes registered among the Bayash in Baranja and Medjmurje.

We observe a fairly clear distinction between south-Romanian (or *Muntean*) and north-Romanian (*Ardelean*) lexemes, the former being in use mainly in Darda and Beli Manastir, the latter in Medjmurje and the small *Ardelean* village of Torjanci.

Apart from this, we should also draw attention to some Romanian archaisms, such as *custá* ‘to live’ and *cust* ‘life’ (used both in Baranja and in Medjmurje)⁴³ and *mánte* ‘before, long ago’ (used only in Medjmurje). The verb *custá* (< Lat. *consto, -are*) represents, on the territory of Romania, an archaism encountered in old texts from the north (Moldova) and south-west (Banat) and used today only dialectally in Bihor and the Apuseni Mountains. As for *mánte* (< Lat. *magis ante*), this form is found in Maramureș north of the River Tisa, but also among Romanians in Hungary and in the Istroromanian dialect.

⁴³ Not shown in Table 3, because it has the same form in all the communities studied.

Due to close contact with the Serbian and Croatian dialects and to the fact that all Bayash are bilingual, the Romanian vernacular they speak encompasses many words from the contact idioms which are often (though not always) accommodated to Romanian phonology and phonotactics, as, for example: *șechér'u* (< Sr./Cr. *šećer*), *avlíe* (< Sr./Cr. *avlija*), *ródă* (< Sr./Cr. *roda*).

We can also observe the use of regionalisms from the Baranja Slavic contact idiom in Darda and Beli Manastir, for example: *iabucíță* (< *jabučica* 'tomato'), used mainly in the region of Slavonia.

Even though they have not preserved the tradition that they came from Hungary, the language of the Bayash in Medjmurje is characterized by the presence of Hungarian words, as, for example: *ișcola* (< Hung. *iskola* 'school'), *udvár* (< Hung. *udvar* 'courtyard'), *chișártóu* (< Hung. *kísértet* 'phantom').⁴⁴

In Medjmurje we have recorded the word *urándi* ('Fates') also specific to the Bayash in Hungary (Kovalcsik 2007: 118). In Serbia, only the terms *ursători* and *ursodice* are in use.

3.5. Perceptual dialectology

Perceptual dialectology, one of the sub-areas of investigation in 'folk linguistics', was the method most employed by our research team in the Bayash communities. In view of the dearth of any linguistic studies, the opinions of ordinary people belonging to these communities about the distribution of language varieties in their own and the surrounding speech communities may be a good starting point for further linguistic investigation and can provide a sketch of an approximate network of Bayash communities. Sometimes, people's approximations confirm what we suspected or expected of a certain dialect or idiom, but in some cases there are surprising divergences from professional results or suppositions. The dialect boundaries, as they are perceived by the Bayash in Croatia, do not always overlap with the observations of the linguists and it is quite intriguing to find out why, and whether the folk can be wrong or whether we have missed something.

As we said before, the differences between the Baranja localities Darda and Beli Manastir, on the one hand, and Torjanci, on the other, are minimal from the dialectological point of view, but the inhabitants of these localities emphasize their membership of two different groups, a distinction based in their subjective perception of speaking two different

⁴⁴ Radosavljević also noted the presence of Hungarian lexical elements in the speech of the Bayash from Medjmurje (Radosavljević 2007: 512).

Romanian vernaculars: *Muntean* and *Ardelean*.⁴⁵ As in most cases when asked to detail the actual differences between groups and/or vernaculars, people refer only to lexical differences. Thus, a participant from Darda mentioned the following lexemes which individualize the two vernaculars: *avlie* ('yard'), used in Darda, a *Muntean* term, as opposed to *udvár* (used in Torjanci, thus an *Ardelean* one), *cicl'a* – *lúntră* ('boat'), *şechér'u* – *ţúcur* ('sugar'), *víno-ndăráť* – *víno-napóí* ('come back'), with the observation that in Darda *napóiu* means 'food for pigs'.⁴⁶ Another participant from Beli Manastir points to other terms that differ in the two vernaculars, namely *cuřát* ('knife') in Beli Manastir as opposed to *bríscă* in Torjanci and *marámă* ('headscarf') as opposed to *chingióuă*, while a man from Torjanci points in turn also to lexical differences but giving other terms: *troácă*, as used by the community in Torjanci, as opposed to *álbie* ('trough'), used by the *Munteni*, *porómb* – *golómb* ('pigeon'), *cucurúz* – *porómb* ('corn').⁴⁷

The Bayash in Croatia, and from all over the Balkans, are aware of the existence of other Bayash communities in their surroundings and elsewhere, and despite physical distance have various connections with them, thus forming a *mental network*, or *mental continuity* (Sikimić 2006e). This mental continuity is a trans-border phenomenon, as new borders are drawn in the Balkans and massive transplantations of whole Bayash settlements

⁴⁵ Willy Diercks, commenting on the linguistic-geographic daily knowledge (the 'mental maps') of his subjects, argues that: "Dialect boundaries, as parts of a filter that contributes to the delimitation of close surroundings, are particularly dependent on the dialect competence of the speaker/listener and on his or her ability to perceive linguistic differences. This ability to perceive linguistic differences, however, is not primarily associated with dialect competence. It is partially based on personal experience with various dialects but also includes popular opinions about the linguistic area (identifying words, identifying sounds). The concepts which are handed down and sanctioned by the group are of great importance. For example, it is possible to discover opinions of a neighboring region which refer to previously existing economic differences between the two areas – differences, for example, which, through advances in agrarian technology or political intervention, no longer exist. The opinions survive longer than the actual existence of the cause of the attitude toward the neighbor's language/dialect; the language cliché stays the same" (Diercks 2002: 52–53).

⁴⁶ *Otherness* is most of the times also marked by pointing to differences in the ways of speaking or pronunciation.

⁴⁷ Emil Petrovici considers this to be a key-term which indicates the *Muntean* origin of the Romanian speaking *Coritari* from western Serbia: "Even if they haven't kept the tradition that they came from Muntenia, they cannot have left the Romanian lands too long ago. Thus, they use the word *porombi* (plur. tant.) for 'corn'. As corn started being cultivated in Muntenia towards the end of the 17th century, in the beginning of the 18th century these Gypsies must have still been in the places where they had been Romanized" (Petrovici 1938: 228).

take place into the countries of Western Europe. However, the further away the Bayash communities are, the more distorted and faint the perception or real knowledge of the vernaculars spoken by them. For example, the Bayash from Medjmurje talked about *Bulmani* and *Munteni* as two different groups, but did not know exactly where they live, nor could they point to specific differences in their vernaculars. Some of the participants expressed the opinion that *Bulmani* and *Munteni* are two names for the same group, others said there are two different groups, both of which live “beyond Zagreb”. As for the *Bulmani*, some said they don’t know either *Lăcătăreșce* (Gypsy), nor *Băișășce*, but speak a mixed idiom, others just said that they can’t speak proper Bayash (again, the ethnonym *Băiaș* is only common to those from Medjmurje). Saramandu’s informants from Pribislavec (Medjmurje) also mention the *Bulmani/Bulumani* and *Munceni* living in the Sisak — Maslovačka county, Baranja and Slavonija, saying that their language is closer to that of the Romanians from Bosnia and Vojvodina, and so to the language spoken by the researcher (Saramandu 1997: 116–119). His informants distinguish three groups whose first language is Romanian — *Băieși*, *Munceni* and *Bulumani* — but cannot explain the differences between the last two. It is interesting to note how, at a distance of less than 300 km, the gentilic derived from the toponym *Bolman* has lost its meaning, but lived on and came to denote a particular group of Bayash which, in fact, does not exist as a separate entity. As the *Munteni* from Baranja say, their original settlement was Bolman — hence the gentilic which, in fact, is synonymous with *Munteni*.⁴⁸

Nevertheless, many times the perceptions of other groups of Bayash living at great distances are not distorted and coincide with the researchers’ observations. Thus, the Bayash from Baranja say that those from Bosnia, *Karavlasî*, speak the same vernacular as theirs (*isto ca șî nôi*), while the differences between the Romanian spoken in Baranja and in Medjmurje are significant and impede communication, this being the reason why they refer to Croatian. Furthermore, one participant from Darda even said that they cannot properly communicate in Croatian either, because those from Medjmurje “have their own language, Kajkavian”.⁴⁹

⁴⁸ Lacking an umbrella ethnonym to encompass all the Bayash groups, toponyms are frequently transformed into gentilics which are further used as a substitute for ‘people speaking the same language as ours’. A participant from Kuršanec, for example, speaking of her daughter who married in Serbia into a Bayash community, calls the Bayash community living there *Crușuvl’eni* (meaning ‘from Kruševac’, even if they do not actually live in Kruševac proper but in the villages in its surrounding).

⁴⁹ See section 3.2. before for details on the Kajkavian dialect of the Croatian language.

When asked to provide detail on the Romanian idiom spoken by the Bayash in the far north of the country, he said that they *mai mult ardeléni vorbeáște* ('speak more Ardelean'), as do those from Hungary and also from Torjanci. But, as mentioned before, the vernacular spoken in nearby Torjanci is strongly influenced by the *Muntean* vernacular spoken in the surrounding localities and does not differ significantly from it, the exceptions being mainly lexical. In their turn, the Bayash from Medjimurje also said they can understand those from Hungary and are in contact with them, some of them even mentioning that they came from Hungary. It is important to notice that even when the participants could not point to specific linguistic differences between idioms, they would say that the community they were asked about speaks *almíntrilea* ('differently') or even that every village has its own vernacular (*în tot sátu almíntrilea*). It appears that almost each and every village has its own idiom, which differs only slightly from the ones surrounding it but is perceived as different by the members of the local community. This is also supported by Saramandu, who noticed differences in pronunciation between the *cumpaéne* in Medjimurje.⁵⁰ In Serbia, idiom mixing is so pronounced that reliable linguistic conclusions can only be drawn by analyzing the idiolects of the interlocutors (Sikimić 2005d: 158), which might also be the case in Croatia, but further investigation is needed.

There exists a set of variables according to which the researcher is 'evaluated' and 'categorized' by the participant, such as social status, age, gender and place of origin (Sorescu Marinković 2007). The language or dialect spoken by the researcher is, especially in the Bayash environment, another important factor according to which the members of the community try to 'build up' the researcher, as "perceptions of dialect are, in essence, nothing more than perceptions of people" (Martínez 2003: 39). In Medjimurje, it turned out that similarities between the vernaculars we and our interlocutors were speaking were more important than differences in defining my identity, in 'humanizing' me, in the proper sense of the word, because *Băiaș* among the Bayash in Medjimurje and *Ţágan* among those in Baranja mean the same thing, that is: 'human, man/woman'. Thus, after a discussion about Bayash and *Munteni*, I asked them: *Ió ce sânt, munteáncă sáu băieșáță?* ('What am I: Muntean or Bayash woman?') *Băi-*

⁵⁰ Saramandu believes that these differences are due to the isolation that exists between the *cumpaéne* of Croatian Bayash, which, in his opinion, are "relatively closed communities" (Saramandu 1997: 100). Our opinion differs: as we have shown before, the Bayash communities are connected by a strong *mental continuum*, thus the existing differences are not due to isolation, but to the different places of origin of these groups in the Romanian lands.

eșăfi. Să nu fii măritată atunce n-ai fi băieșăță. ('Bayash. If you were not married, you would not be Bayash woman.') *Dar cé-aș fi?* ('What would I be then?') *Fătă.* ('Girl.') Questions I was asked in Medjmurje, such as: 'Is everybody in Romania Bayash?', have their equivalent in Baranja, but with much less frequency: *E máre țâgănie-n România?* ('Are there many Gypsy quarters in Romania?') However, in Baranja I was once included in the other dialectal group, the *Munteni*, by an *Ardelean* participant from Torjanci, from my way of speaking: *Ti bi bila Munceniță.* ('You would be a *Muntean* woman.')

4. Conclusions

4.1. If we are to determine the place of the *Muntean* vernacular spoken in Baranja in the Bayash vernaculars of the Balkans we can find similarities with those from Serbia, south of the Danube. Thus, it would not be too venturesome to say that vernacular belongs to the Bayash Sava continuum, while the one spoken in Medjmurje belongs to the Bayash Drava continuum. However, this division is very approximate and the recent dislocations of the population and migrations have caused major changes in the ethnic profile of the region. It would be interesting to see what lies in between these two geographical extremes, Baranja and Medjmurje, and what Romanian vernaculars are spoken by the Bayash in the other regions of Croatia, even if, as we have mentioned before, these communities were greatly affected during WWII, some of them scattered away, others completely exterminated. Thus, in their place might have settled Bayash colonists from other regions of Croatia, Serbia or Bosnia.

4.2. As regards the Romanian vernaculars spoken in Baranja, we may observe that the lack of normative instances and contact with the Croatian language allowed them to develop in a direction which is partially unknown to the other Romanian dialects in Romania. Furthermore, the 'norm' of this linguistic system is very flexible and tolerant, the system being extremely elastic and permitting the parallel coexistence of more units with the same function.⁵¹ In normal communities, the expectation is that adults act as brakes on the innovations produced by children so that analogical and other deviant forms are corrected and do not persist. In the case of dying, pidgin and some minority languages it may be that children have greater scope to act as norm-makers due to the fact that a great deal of variability exists among the adult community (Romaine

⁵¹ Unfortunately, the reduced material from Medjmurje does not permit us to make the same statements about the vernacular spoken there.

2001: 372). At the same time, the absence of corrective pressure or a model has made it possible to preserve some archaic characteristics which in Romania have already disappeared. It is not out of place to say that today only dialectological investigations conducted outside of Romania, in Romaniaphone communities, can offer an accurate image of the Romanian dialects, or of what they might have transformed into were it not for the normative power of the standard Romanian language.

4.3. The Bayash of Croatia, like those of the Balkans, form an authentic community of practice. Even if they are scattered all over the country, their group cohesion is relatively strong. Additionally, their remarkable group endogamy has been pointed out repeatedly. They can marry hundreds of kilometers away, in communities which inevitably speak an understandable, but nonetheless different idiom. Because of this, they need a very high communicative competence which can only be attained by a relaxing of the linguistic rules and putting understanding between the members in the first place. The *Munteni* group is aware of the fact that their idiom is different from that of the *Ardeleni* and they stress this all the time, pointing to the features that are different. However, this does not lead to exclusion, but to a widening of their lexicon and the enhancement of their communicative competence, the most important being understanding between members of the community, not the linguistic rule.

Transcripts:⁵²

⁵² The system of transcription, as mentioned before, will be a simplified one, for the texts to be easily readable. We have only marked the stressed syllables in the linguistic parts of the paper proper. The researchers' questions are put in brackets and are preceded by the initial of their name: A — Annemarie Sorescu Marinković, B — Biljana Sikimić, T — Toni Marušić. As for the interlocutors, in order to protect their identity, women were marked with W, men with M and boys with B. If there were more interlocutors we added figures to these letters (e.g. W1, W2, M1, M2 etc.). We must notice that the pronunciation is not consistent with any of the interlocutors. In the first column, where the original recording is presented, we marked the words or fragments in Croatian in *Italic*, but in the English translation, in the second column, we used all the toponyms and anthroponyms in Croatian, regardless of the original. We used the following graphic markers, meaning: [***] — completely incomprehensible, [word] — unintelligible word, [-] — pause, {...} — essential explanation, in the English text, which lacks in the Romanian one or the meaning in the original text is not complete without it, /reaction/ — interlocutors' or researchers' reactions. Last but not least, we must express our gratitude to Biljana Sikimić, who carefully listened to all the recordings, read all transcripts, made very useful suggestions and transcribed the fragments in Kajkavian.

1) Darda, 18 May 2006:

(B: Și când s-au născut țigani
aici? În sat.)

M: Mulț ai, mulț ai, mulț ai,
aici a fost tri frați, aicea, în Darda,
aici-n Zlatnița, ca *bivša* Zlatnița
când *gode*-a fost.

(A: Trei frați?)

M: Tri frați. Steva, Iova și
mai unu... Nu mai știu cum îl
cheamă, am uitat *već*. Ei tri frați. Și
dân ăia tri frați aicea s-a... Atuncea
dân Bulman *isto*, Bulmanu ș-asta
isto a fost. E, da. Tri frați, da, a fost
ș-aici s-a născut it ș-atuncea
s-a-născut *dabome* și dân *Bačka*,
dân Monoșturu *Bački* și dân, dân
Turianț și... Bine, Turianțu ei n-a
fost mai atuncea, știi, el a fost
Bulmanu. A, da. Aia mare *naselje*-a
fost acia. Țăgănie mare-a fost.
Mante, acuma noi zăcem țăgănie că
zăce ei toți că țăgăni ș-atunci [***]
că țăgăni. Ce *gode*-o zăce ei să
iștem, noi am iști. Nu putem, nu
știem ce iștem. *Da ri* iștem rudari,
da ri iștem...

(B: Băieși.)

M: Băiaș! E, nu, nu știu, nu
știu.

W: Io gândesc că iștem râmâni,
nu?

M: A nu știu. Matematica
noastră e rumânașă, nu? Da cum
zăce că iștem rumâni, atuncea nu ne
priznăiască rumâni.

W: Pa alta ce noi iștem râmâni,
da custăm în *Hrvatska*, al nu
ni priznăiaște România, zăce *bar*
așa că nu ni priznăiaște. *Al nikad*

(B: When have the Gypsies
settled here? In the village.)

M: A lot of years ago, there
were three brothers, here, in Darda,
here in Zlatnica, former Zlatnica.

(A: Three brothers?)

M: Three brothers. Steva,
Iova and another one... I can't
remember his name, I forgot it.
Three brothers. And from those
three brothers... Then from Bolman
the same, Bolman was the same.
Yes. Three brothers, yes, they
settled here and then married
{girls} from Bačka, from Bački
Monoštor and from Torjanci...
Well, Torjanci did not exist back
then, you know, it was Bolman. It
was a big settlement. A big Gypsy
settlement. Before, now we say
Gypsy settlement because
everybody says they are Gypsy and
then [***] Gypsy. Whatever they
tell us to be, we would be. We
can't, we don't know what we are.
Are we Rudari, are we ...

(B: Bayash.)

M: Bayash! Well, no, I don't
know, I don't know.

W: I think we are Romanians,
right?

M: But I don't know. Our
mathematics is Romanian, right?
But if we say we are Romanians,
Romanians do not recognize us.

W: It's different, we are Ro-
manians, but live in Croatia and
Romania doesn't recognize us, or at
least it's said it doesn't recognize

noi n-am mers încolo s-audem *da li* ne priznăiaște or nu ne priznăiaște, aia lumea zăce că nu ne priznăiaște. Șî noi îs rumâni. *Ali* custăm în *Hrvatska*, nu? Mai curând a fost asta *pod Jugoslavijom*, acu îi *Hrvatska*. *Ali* noi știem... noi aia limbă ce zăce romii, noi a lor limbă nu știem mămica, ni una orbă.

M: Ni n-am știut, ni nu știem, nu prișipem, iaște care știe.

W: A dă râmâni *već* știem. Râmânaște orbe. *Ali* zăce că nu ni priznăiaște Râmânia, *da u stvari* noi n-am mers încoloi, dântre noi mămilea să-ntrebăm să știem *da li* ni priznăiaște. Aia nov [auți] zăce că nu ni priznăiaște, nu vrea să ne prihvătească. *Al možda* șî vrea. Noi n-a mers mămil dântre noi să-ntrebăm.

M: La námț iștem țigoineri, la ăia iștem iară gipsi, la ăștialanț iștem *Cigani*, *pa ne znaš kome se da opredeliš*, *nemam pojma*, nu știem să ne-opredelim să zăcem asta-i limba noastră și țara noastră. Noi n-avem țară. Noi iștem așa, *nacionalna manjina*. Da *nacionalna manjina* io nu știu, n-am poimă cum. Nu știu, io gând'esc că n-ar trebuia să iștem *nacionalna manjina* c-a noastră-i orbă rumânaască orbă. Acuma ce noi îș l'acă prănesâm *više srpski ili hrvatski*, *to je đe živiš tako i razgovaraš*. Pricepi tu acuma ce zăc?

(A: Da, pricep.)

us. But never have we travelled there to hear whether they recognize us or not. It's only people talking. We are Romanians. But live in Croatia, right? Before it was under Yugoslavia, now it's Croatia. But we don't know the language Roma speak, at all, not a single word.

M: We didn't know it and we don't know it, we can't understand it, there are people who can.

W: But we understand Romanian. Romanian words. But they say Romania doesn't recognize us, but, in fact, nobody went there to ask, to know whether they recognize us. They [***] say they don't recognize us, they don't want to accept us. But maybe they do. Nobody went there to ask.

M: For Germans we are Gypsies, for the others we are again Gypsies, for those we are Gypsies, you don't know whom to commit to, I have no idea, we don't know to commit and to say this is our language and our country. We have no country. We are a national minority. But I don't know in which way national minority, I have no idea. I don't know, I believe we shouldn't be national minority, because our language is Romanian. But now we speak more Serbian or Croatian, you speak the language of the country you live in. Do you understand now what I'm saying?

(A: Yes, I do.)

M: E, pa.

W: Ei vrea s-audă cum a fost mante la noi lumea, cum s-a naselit lumea.

M: La noi a fost *tradicija* almintrilea. *Pravo ono* rumânaşce a fost. Ardil'anii şî muncanii. Nouă zâce muncanii, da-n *Bačka* ardil'anii. Pa da. [–] Da, da. [–] Nu ştiu să zâc alta.

(B: Sânt şi ard'eleani aici la *Baranja*?)

W: Care cum s-a-nsurat ş-a vinit dân altilea sate, dân Apatin, dân *Bačka* şî iaşte ardil'ani, *ali* mai mult noi iştem muncani. Dă noi să zâce că noi iştem muncani. Acuma alta care cineva s-a-nsurat, s-a măritat, şî mai p-urmă încoce are porodiţă, cupii, *i to je ondak nastanjeno*. Nu e atuncea aia dâncoce. *Ipak* aia-i *došljaci*, ce-a vinit dân altă parte.

M: Nu orbeaşte *ni* tot satu *jednako*. Bulumanu *već* almintrilea ol'acă aia orbă. Darda *već* almintrilea.

2) Darda, 18 May 2006:

W1: Ş-atuncea lunta când e la noi, nu? La noi, ce şciu, nu şciu cum la voi lunta, *ali* la noi merge şî prosaşti pă fată... Soră, spuŃ tu?

W2: Spune *samo* tu.

W1: Merge şî prosaşte pă fată, ş-atuncea să pogodeaşte cât. *Na primer, sto kila* dă pâne, *dvaest*

M: Well, good.

W: They want to hear how it was before here with us, how people settled here.

M: We had a different tradition. It was a real Romanian one. *Ardeleni* and *Munteni*. We are called *Munteni* and those in *Bačka* *Ardeleni*. Well, yes. [–] Yes, yes. [–] I don't know what else to say.

(B: Are there *Ardeleni* also here in *Baranja*?)

W: If they got married and came from other villages, from Apatin, from *Bačka*, and there are also *Ardeleni*, but more *Munteni*. It's said we are *Munteni*. It's different if they got married here and have family and children, it means they have settled. It's not the same. Still, it means they are newcomers, they came from somewhere else.

M: They don't speak the same everywhere. In Bolman it's already different. Darda already different.

W1: Then the wedding with us, right? With us, what do I know, I don't know how the wedding is with you, but with us they go and propose to the girl... Sister, will you describe?

W2: You go on.

W1: They go and propose to the girl, and then they strike a bargain about it. For example, a

litara dă rachiu, asta-şa *samo* zâc *najmanje*, *al to*, *to sve najviše* mearge, nu? Atuncea cinci-şasă porci, cinci-şasă, aştea, voi, nu? Ş-atuncea culacii, tortil'i, nu? Salatiţa, tot aia, ş-atuncea viñe şi ceare pă fată şi puñe *rok* în care datung, în care zî lunta aia, nu? E, atuncea a lu feati luntaşi, pozivaci, pă cine cheamă, la ea vini. Ş-a lu ficiorului, toţ să sastăneaşce la fata aia. Ş-atuncea acia faci una ca vecera, nu, faci mâncari, bea, cântă, ş-atuncea cu muzică o lă pă fată pân la uşă. Acuma fata trebu să să scot-afară. E, da *neki*, care mai bătârñ om, bariacu îl puñe pă uşă, îl înţapă pă uşă bariacu, şi al'bia cu banii, al'bia-n jos, apă-nuntru. Şi toţ mora să vârlească bani mărunţ în apa aia. E, da pă nivastă nu slobodi-afară. Până *god* nu să plătească mult bañ. E-atuncea când vine... Aia *dugo* ei să chiţcheaşce, nu dă fata, la noi aşa luntă.

W2: Să pogodeaşte.

W1: Pogodeala. Cât zâce ăsta mai bătârñ Ńăgan, *na primer ako* zâce *sto jevra ili petsto jevra ili iljadu jevra, primer*. Când *mi damo iljadu jevra* atuncea fata mear-acas. Asta zâce: Nu pot să-ţ dau io Ńie-atita, io-ţ dau Ńie, *na primer, dvesto jevra*. A, pa nu poţ să-mi dai tu mie *dvesto jevra*, fata nu mearge, fata rămăñe la noi până *god* nu-mi dai *iljadu jevra*. E, atuncea ăsta lă şi scote *iljadu jevra*, atuncea aia ca

hundred kilograms of bread, twenty liters of brandy, and I'm giving the smallest figures, but everything is the biggest, right? Then five-six pigs, five-six oxen, right? Then the wedding cakes, right? The salad, everything, and then they come and propose to the girl and set a term, what date, the day the wedding will take place, right? Well, then, the girl's guests, her wedding callers, those she chooses to invite, they come to her. And the groom's, they all meet at the girl's. Then here they have dinner, eat, drink, sing, then accompany the girl with music to the door. Now they have to take the girl out. But a man, the oldest, puts the flag on the door, sticks the flag on the door, and puts down the trough with water and money inside. And everybody must throw coins in the water. But they don't let the bride out. As long as they don't pay a lot of money. When that happens... They haggle for a long time, they don't let the girl go, and this is the wedding like with us.

W2: They agree upon.

W1: The agreement. How much this oldest Gypsy says, for example if he says a hundred euros or five hundred euros or a thousand euros, for example. When you give me a thousand euros, then you can take the girl home. This one says: I can't give you that much, I'll give you, for example, two hundred euros. Well, you can't give me two hundred euros, the girl is not going, the girl stays with us until you give

bariacu ăla cu bota aia să lă și muzica cântă șă fata merge. Da tu, soră-mea, poți spune mai bine. Că io [mă-mpletesc și d-ai-așa].

W2: Pa bine-ai zăs. Iaca, când să prosaște, aia *prosto, ali* când să fură fata, atuncea-i mai almintrilea. Când prosaște pă fata, atuncea așa cum ea zăce, merge și să pogodeaște cât carne, pâne, tot să pogodeaște. *U stvari nekad* face *zajedno, nekad* face *posebno*. Ș-atunci când vine rându și duce pă fata aia dă la ea d-acasă, o duce pân sat, *okolo*, cu caii. Fucă câtă cincisășă cucii. *Ili* carli, cum mante ireasă. Caii, câtă doi cai: doi negri, doi vânăț, doi roșii, doi al'bi, zavișaste li pareaste care mai mândre cai, care păru ăla, coma aia mare. Ș-atuncea l-închiteaste cu mărâmi dă cașmir, cu flori, cu rujite l-închiteaste. Și în cucii'l'e-al'ea șade deverușili. Iaște șasă deverușe, iaște novă deverușe. Și nivasta-i a zeacilea, nu? Dovă, dovă deverușe, tote câte dovă, alini are *jednako*. Lungi, ca și nivasta. *Ali boja drukčije*. Dovă roșe, dovă vânăte, dovă vearde, dovă galbine. Și are buchetu-n păr și a lor deverii cu featili-alea *isto*, are *isto* buchetu în pânșari, ei su gătiți în ruvă năgră, cămașă albă...

W1: Cravatna la gât...

me a thousand euros. Well, then this one takes out a thousand euros, then they take off that flag with that stick and the music plays on and the girl walks. But you, my sister, you can tell better. Because I [***].

W2: You told everything right. Look, when one proposes, that's simple, but when the girl is stolen, then it's different. When they propose to the girl, then it's as she says, they go and agree on how much meat, bread, they agree upon everything. In fact, sometimes they make it together, sometimes separately. Then when the time comes and they take the girl from her house, they drive her through the village, all around, with horses. They pull five-six carriages. Or carts, as before. The horses, two by two: two black, two brown, two red, two white, it depends, the nicest horses, which have that big hair, big mane. Then they adorn them with Cashmere scarves, with flowers, with roses. And the bridesmaids sit in those carriages. There can be six or nine bridesmaids. And the bride is the tenth, right? Two by two bridesmaids, they wear identical gowns. Long, like the bride. But the colour is different. Two are red, two blue, two green, two yellow. And they have a bouquet in their hair and the groomsmen with these girls the same, they also have the bouquet in their pocket, they wear black costumes, white shirts...

W1: And a necktie...

W2: Și țâpela mândru ágră ca și mante cum ireasă, nu? Cu știț, c-așa c-acu *ponovo* ce să duce. Și-atuncea ei șade în carle-alea unde mai mândru, unde pișchirile-alea mândre albe, și cașmirurl'e-alea, acia șade *omladina* care su mai mândre gátiț.

W1: Și nivasta.

W2: Și nivasta cu muzica. În unu *posebno* nivasta și *đuvegija* cu muzica. Și-atuncea mearge car dăpă car pân leate [?]. *Ali* laintea lu carli lora, unu copil, care mândru, care tânăr, el șade pã unu cal. Calu-ála, *isto* pãstã el iaște *ćilim* unu, *ćilim* unu pãstã el pã ce el șade. Nu e *sedlo*, *nego ćilim*. Și-închitit cu pișchire, calu ála. Și cu flori. Și cupilu ála tânăr *isto* gátiț în ruvã nágrã...

W1: Și muzica.

W2: Și el are *zastava*, bariacu, ș-în sus pã *koplje* măru.

W1: Măru-n sus pã *koplje*.

W2: Și el mearge lainte, mearge, *primer*, dânceoce pânã la [comb-ela] ș-încolo stã. Pânã nu vine carli. Așa cã el carli-al'a nu slobode sã meargã laintea lui, el îi *stalno* lainte. Și cât-ol'acã l-întorce calu ála, jocã.

M: Pã doamna asta știe, și-n Sârbia așa, *isto*.

W1: Cum *godea* cântã muzica, așa cã calu ála jocã. *Sa strane* mearã calu ála și jocã.

W2: And nice black shoes, as it was before, right? With a peak, it's modern again. They sit in those carriages where it's the nicest, where there are those white and nice towels and those Cashmeres, here the best dressed youth sit.

W1: And the bride.

W2: And the bride with the music. In a special carriage there is the bride and the bridegroom with the music. And then carriage after carriage. But before their carriage, a boy, a nice and young one, he rides a horse. And on that horse there is also a rug, he sits on it. There is no saddle, but a rug. Adorned with towels, that horse. And with flowers. And that young child is also dressed in black...

W1: And the music.

W2: And he has that flag, and on the spear the apple.

W1: The apple up on the spear.

W2: And he goes ahead, he goes for example from here to [that van] and there they stop. Until the carriages appear. So he doesn't allow those carriages to go ahead him, he always goes in front. And he turns that horse over a little bit, he dances.

M: The lady knows, it's the same in Serbia.

W1: The horse dances on the music. It goes on the side and dances.

W2: Îl jocă pă cal. Calu jocă.

W2: He makes the horse dance.

W1: Atuncea limuzinili, dâpă carli-al'a ce-nchitite cu tânereamea aia, cu nivasta și cu *đuvegija*, atuncea colona cu limuzânili. *Isto-nchitiț*. Iaște lume și tânără și mai bătrână, *svakako*. Atunci când vine-n *centar*, acia stă, *ili* icea, *primer* baș ici la noi a stat...

W1: Then the limos, behind those adorned carriages, with that youth, with the bride and the bridegroom, then the convoy of limos. Also adorned. There are both younger and older people, all sorts. Then when they arrive in the center, they make a halt here, for example here at us they made a halt...

W2: La bisearică.

W2: At the church.

W1: Unde-acu dugheana asta aici a stat, încolo stă și muzica cântă, da *omladina* pă *cesta* jocă. Atunci *isto* la bisearică *već* unde să cunună, *da li-n* opștină *ili* în bisearică încolo *isto* stă.

W1: They made a halt right in the place of this store, they stop and the music plays on, but the youth dance in the street. Then the same in the church or wherever they get married, in the townhall or in the church, it's the same.

3) Beli Manastir, 19 May 2006:

M: Ici a fost casa lu pandurului, nu? A lu lugarului a fost. Și-acu el scriasă cart'e, n-avut pă cine trimeat'e. *Nego-l* trimetea pă ăla, aide, șáz în car și du cartea asta la ăsta și la ăsta. Și-așa, atuncea făcea [albiașchii], făcea l'amne, metere, în cubicuri, nu?

M: Here it was the house of the forest ranger, right? The forester's house. And now he wrote a letter, didn't have anybody to send it with. But he would send that one, come on, get in the cart and take this letter to this and that. Like this, and he would also make [***], he would cut wood, cubic meters, right?

(B: Da, da.)

(B: Yes, yes.)

M: Făceasă l'amne și vin-deasă, cu-aia custasă. Da bătrânili noște, babă-mea ea veasă trastă, pă spat'e, ea mărgeasă la námț, în Lașcapalba, în *Novi Čeminac*, în Sairiciu și mărgea și lucra pă la lume. E, atuncea bătrânii noști-n

M: He would cut wood and sell it, he earned a living like that. But our old women, my grandmother, she had a big bag, wearing it on her back, she would go to the Germans, in Lașcapalba, in *Novi Čeminac*, in Sairiciu, and work for

multă rânduri a fost bălț, mari bălț, apă, și-puca pești și ducea pân sate să vindă. E, da iale prosasă.

(B: Îhm, îhm.)

M: Pă trastă, nu?

(B: Da.)

M: Cum să spun, bătrânii noșt-a fost păduraș.

(B: Îhm.)

M: Pân păduri, nu?

(B: Îhm.)

M: Bine, aia, *to*, bătrânii, nu noi.

(B: Bătrâni, bătrâni, da, istoria.)

M: În pădure, noi *većim* în pădure-am custat. A io mi-s în pădure și făcut.

(B: Coliba?)

M: E, iac-aicea-n rât, la *Jagodnjak*. Io nu mi-s făcut în sat, *nego* baș la Benta la pădure. Încolo mi-s făcut eu. Tat-meu el lucrasă, ăla ce Ț-am spus, pân a fost lumea vie, el lucra la panduri, el a fost pismănoș. Și atuncea panduri-i dasă l'amne, lucra el *svašta* la panduri, păza și vacili, și obilăzasă [ilenii] și... Cum să spun, a fost el [***] sluga lu pandurului, nu?

people. But our old men, back then there were ponds, large ponds, water, they would catch fish and walk through villages to sell it. And they {the women} would beg.

(B: I see.)

M: With the bag, right?

(B: Yes.)

M: How should I put it, our forefathers were people of the woods.

(B: I see.)

M: In the woods, right?

(B: Yes.)

M: Well, our ancestors, not us.

(B: The ancestors, the ancestors, the history.)

M: In the woods, we have lived in the woods most of the time. I was also born in the woods.

(B: In a hut?)

M: No, here in the swamp, in *Jagodnjak*. I was not born in the village, but right in Benta, in the woods. That's where I was born. My father worked, as long as he lived, for the forest rangers, he was litterate. Then the forest rangers would give him woods, we would work everything for the foresters, he would watch over the cattle and go around the [***] and... How should I say, he was [***] the forester's footman, right?

4) Kuršanec, 20 January 2006:

W: *Ali așa căn mure șineva, postoji aie că să iavleșce, acă. Auz ševa ca signalu, ca znacu. Io am văzut. Io am mers isto-napoiu-stă, cum s-o făcut sara, dok ide devet sati, io točno am văzut-u c-așa șădeș ę, cu l'ip'idou mare, în cap. Io nu șciu šine era aia, nu șciu šine era aia, a baș o murit Mira lu Indre-n zâl'e-l'e. Io cu ę vorbem. Še, zác, faš tu aiše? Nímic nu-m zâše. Iară zác io: A še faš aiša? Nu šcii sfāti, zác, nu šcii vurbi⁵³? Ší šcii še e, pã miń m-a suzburât peł'e, m-am spãriet ceva, m-am întors dă chitri ę, pã fugă am al'ergat înontru, în casă, la el. Am spus a lui. A el n-o văzut. Am mers cu el afară să vadă, nu väd pã nimea, zâše. Aie io numa sângur-am văzut. Mare.*

(T: A unge ast-a fost, aici?)

W: *Aiś. Aiše, dă-napoi. Odma otraga. Za ovom kućom, otraga. Da. E, onda su bili strahi. Men se sve koža ježila. Bežala sam vnutri. Pa znaš da nisam imala više da govorim nit reč. Nisam mogla kazati ništa od straha. E, vidiš. Znači, postoji aia, postoji duh.*

(T: Ţi-i frică?)

W: Pă, pa cum nu.

B: *Mene je bilo strah, odjedamput vam se netko pojavi na cesti i naprimjer, pričate s njim.*

W: But when somebody dies, it can be that something appears to you. You hear something like a signal, like a sign. I saw it. I went out in the back, in the evening, it was nine in the evening, I saw her sitting with a big bed sheet over her head. I don't know who she was, but Indre's Mira had just died those days. I was speaking with her. What are you doing here? No reply. I repeat: What are you doing here? Can't you talk, can't you speak? And you know what, I got goose-pimples all over, I got scared, I turned away from her and rushed into the house to him. I told him that. He didn't see it. I went outside with him to see her, I don't see anybody, he says. It was just me who saw it. It was big.

(T: Where was that, here?)

W: Here. Here, in the back. Right behind. Behind this house, yes. Well, that was scary. I got goose-pimples all over. I ran inside. You know I didn't want to say any word anymore. I couldn't utter a word, that's how scared I was. You see. It means that something exists, some apparition.

(T: Are you scared?)

W: How could I not be?

B: I was also afraid, out of nowhere something appears on the road and, for example, you talk to it.

W: *A ja sam govorila [***].*
 A aia ai măi auzât, chișărtou, șcii
 še-i aia chișărtou?

(A: Chișărtău? Nu.)

W: Chișărtou. Aia-i foc. Așa
 mare para, focu.

(A: A, îhm.)

W: E, aia e.

B: Chișărtou?

W: Chișărtou, da. Ala-i cân
 mure kad nije dete kršćeno. Znaš?
 Židov. Dok umre. Onda se to
 pokaže. To je chișărtou sã zãše p-a
 nõstrã. Ako ideš pravo na njega on
 te uzima i s puta i vodi te, što bog
 zna kamo, di luta. Ako ideš direktno
 u njega. Uvek moraš stati na mesto
 dok ti se on makne, ta vatra. Ta
 vatra. Onda imaš prednost da ideš.
 A da ti ideš direktno na onu vatru,
 ne daj bože. To ti je jako opasno.
 Onda moj tata je zalutal, znaš da
 skoro kaj nije došiel vnútri vu vodu,
 tu peskaru veliku, a on je hodal na
 posal. To se najčešće događa dok je
 bila, za vreme magle, dok je vani
 velika magla. Da, onda se to
 događa. A on je bil, na posel je išel,
 u pet sata ujutro. Delal je v
 Varaždinu. To mu se pojavilo na
 putu. On je stal na mesto, pa kaže,
 išel pri njeg je, al nije on mel strah,
 nikad. On je takav bil, kad je v
 polnoći nekam išel. Već je stari
 čovek bil. Išel bi negde i rekel. Sam
 si je spominal, onda je, tam se je
 zadržal neko vreme, evo ti ta vatra
 dalje, dalje od njega. Gleda za onu
 vatru. Tak je veliki plamen bil /she
 shows with her hands/. Dalje, dalje,
 dalje, onda je on išel ravno.

W: I spoke [***]. But have
 you heard of *chișărtou*, do you
 know what *chișărtou* is?

(A: *Chișărtău?* No.)

W: *Chișărtou*. It's a fire. A
 big flame, a fire.

(A: Oh, I see.)

W: Yes, right.

B: *Chișărtou?*

W: *Chișărtou*, yes. When a
 nonbaptized child dies. Do you
 know? Jew. When it's dying. Then
 it appears. It's *chișărtou* in our
 language. If you go straight to it, it
 sweeps you off the road and takes
 you away, God knows where,
 where it wanders. If you go straight
 to it. You must always stay where
 you are until it goes away, that fire.
 That fire. Then you are free to go.
 But if you go straight into that fire,
 God forbids! It's very dangerous.
 Then my father lost his way, you
 know that he almost stepped into
 the water, into that big place for
 digging sand, he was going to his
 workplace. This happens mostly
 when the weather is foggy, when
 there's a lot of fog outside. Yes,
 then it happens. He went to work, at
 five o'clock in the morning. He was
 warking in Varaždin. It appeared to
 him on the road. He stopped on the
 place, he said, it was walking in
 front of him, but he was never
 afraid. That was him, when he was
 going somewhere at midnight. He
 was already an old man. He would
 go somewhere and said. He
 understood (himself) and then he
 spent there some time and that fire

Chișărtou-i ăla. Jâdof copilul. O murit *al* nu-i bucozat. *Nekršćeno dete bilo. Ili dete ili odrasli koji nije kršćen i to se pojavi. Da.*

(A: Și cine vede focu ăla, chișărtou? Muierile numa?)

B: Care *god. Nije važno.*

W: *Bilo što. Ili muško ili je žensko, uglavnom nekršćeno koji je. Îl poče viđe tođ, îl poče viđe cari umblă așa p-acolo. Ali svako večer. Io când eram în ișcolă dă umblam, umblam în hasta ișcolă, io în toță sara mama îm viňa și tata înainće, că io avem u kasnim satima, viñem șesti razred. Io viñem, avem mulći șasuri, sedam sati po neki put sam znala imati, a zimski doba, već je noć. Mama și tata viñe-nainće la miñe. Ali mama și tata uvek îl viđe, nu să-ndura să-m spuii še-i aie. Ali uvek întrebam: Mamă, še-i aie? Nu să-ndura să-m spuie. Să nu mă baže-n frică, că po neki put nu-m puće să-m vie-nainće, sângură viñem io aca. Când avem šest sati, șćii, sângură viñem. Mi-i mare frică, de-ie nu-m spuňa ei mie še-i aie. Ali uvek să poiavle aie pă căra-rea asta baș. Da. Cum îi, peskara asta, șćii. Kak je ova peskara. Uvek na istom mestu.*

moved away from him, further and further. He gazes at that fire. It was a big flame like this /she shows with her hands/. Further, further, further, then he went on. That's *chișărtou*. A Jewish child. It died, but was not baptized. It was a non-baptized child. A child or an adult person who was not baptized. That can also happen. Yes.

(A: And who can see that fire, *chișărtou*? Only women?)

B: Anybody. It's not important.

W: Whatever. Be it male, be it female, but non-baptized. Everybody can see it, people who pass by can see it. But every evening. When I was a pupil, going to school, to this school, my mother and father would come every evening to meet me, because I would have classes till late, I was in the sixth grade. I would come, I'd have a lot of classes, sometimes even seven, and in winter it's already dark. My mother and father would come to meet me. Mom and dad would always see it, but didn't have the heart to tell me what it was. But I would always ask: Mom, what is that? She wouldn't have the heart to tell me. Not to get afraid, because sometimes they couldn't come to meet me, so I had to turn back home alone. When I had only six classes, you know, I would turn back home alone. I was very scared, that's why they didn't want to tell me what it was. But it would always appear on this very road.

(A: *Ș-îl vedăț șî voi.*)

W: *Șî io-l viđem. Întrebam pă mama: Șe-i aia focu-la, șîne fașe Țocă foc? Nu-i níme, nu-i nímic aie, zâșe. Nu mă băga-n frică. Ali ei sfățe. Dășpre zăuă, cân să scula. A io auzem cum sfățe ei. Mama șî tata. Vorbe: focu-la. A io puňam io formă, mă culc, n-aud. E, cân mă sculam: N-am auzăt iu, mardoilor, zâșem. Marđoală, am auzăt io, tu pă miňe mă minșuňei? /she laughs/ Șcii še-i minșuňeșć? Minț.*

(A: *Da, da, lagati.*)

W: *Tu pă miňe mă minșuňei. [Ba c-acu] șćiu še-i aie. Acu taș, că nu-i nímic aie, îm zâșe mama. Nu-i nímic aie.*

Yes. On these places where you dig sand up, you know how they look like. Always in the same place.

(A: And you would also see it.)

W: I would see it too. I would ask my mom: What's that fire, who lights a fire in the evening? It's nobody, it's nothing, she would say. Not to scare me. But they would talk. In the morning, when they would wake up. And I would overhear. Mom and dad. They would say: that fire. But I would just pretend to be asleep, not to hear. Well, when I wake up: I didn't hear anything, jokesters, I would say. You, jokester, I heard you, are you trying to lie to me? /she laughs/ Do you know what *minșuňeșć* means? To lie.

(A: Yes, yes, to tell a lie.)

W: You're lying to me. [But now] I know what it is. Now you shut up, it's nothing, my mom would reply. It's nothing.

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KARAVLACHS IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA TODAY

Abstract: This paper attempts to provide an anthropolinguistic insight into the Romanian vernaculars spoken by Karavlahs in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Karavlahs of Bosnia — all Orthodox Christians, sometimes considered Gypsies by locals — and their network of settlements have been the subject of several ethnographical studies since the end of the nineteenth century. Following the civil wars of the 1990s in the former Yugoslavia, the network of settlements changed drastically. Fieldwork conducted in June 2006 in the town of Bijeljina and the village of Lopare showed that today the Karavlahs live in several scattered enclaves in the north of Republika Srpska: Batković (Bijeljina region), Lopare (Mt. Majevisa), Ostružnja (Doboj region) Sitnež and Devetinja (Banjaluka region), and to the northeast in small settlements near the town of Vlasenica. The inhabitants of the fair-sized Maoča settlement — about 150 houses — in the Mt. Majevisa area moved to the village of Batković or fled to Serbia. On the other hand, Batković village has a long-standing tradition of seasonal workers or *gastarbeitsers* in Austria and Sweden. Local Romanian vernaculars (*ludărește*) have never been supported by the school system or media and today have a restricted home usage or are employed as a sort of secret language. Within the same Romanian vernacular, Karavlahs have developed several secret words to replace local ethnonyms easily understood by other groups, outsiders (e.g. Muslims > *Cârstaț*, Croats > *Șoacăț*, Serb > *B'otu*). Linguistic analysis of collected folklore texts connected to the traditional custom of “Lazarica”, sung in Serbian, sheds some light on the road possibly travelled by the Karavlah from the Romanian language regions to Bosnia.

Key words: Romanian vernacular, ethnic mimicry, perceptual dialectology, secret language

This paper forms part of the discussions and field reports on the ethnolinguistic vitality of the small ethnic group of the Bayash, submitted at the Balkan linguistics conferences in Sofia in 2002 and St Petersburg in 2004 (Sikimić 2003, 2005a). Here we present a brief insight into the current situation of Romanian vernaculars spoken by the Karavlahs of Bosnia and Herzegovina, based on fieldwork conducted in 2006 in the village of Lopare. The Karavlahs of Bosnia — all Orthodox Christians, sometimes considered Gypsies by locals — and their network of settlements have been the subject of several ethnographic studies, if very few linguistic ones, having been ‘discovered’ by the academic public in the late nineteenth century. The most comprehensive — and controversial — is an ethnographic study by Teodor Filipescu, published in 1907 in a reliable scientific journal of the time: the *Glasnik zemaljskog muzeja u Sarajevu* (the Herald of the National Museum in Sarajevo).

The scientific dispute over Karavlach ethnicity began in the early 20th century between Serbian ethnologist Tihomir Djordjević (1907, 1907a) and Romanian researcher, Isidor Ieșan, over data contained in the latter’s monograph of 1906:

Mr Ješan mentions Orthodox Romanians in the Vlasenica district and their well-preserved nationality. They moved to this region a long time ago, perhaps during the time of the Romanian struggles against the Turks on the left bank of the Danube... But Mr Ješan should know that these are not Romanians but Romanian Gypsies, of whom there are many in Serbia and Bulgaria. Weigand personally discovered them 1889 in Albania, somewhere between Elbasan and Berat.

Tihomir Djordjević here refers to a well-known study by Gustav Weigand “Die Aromunen” (1888). According to another Romanian author, Teodor Filipescu (1907: 239), Bosnian Karavlahs of the early 20th century would not agree to being described as Gypsies, and this firm opinion on the Karavlahs’ ethnic origin is shared by Filipescu himself (“The Karavlahs are Romanians by origin and not Gypsies”). Linguist Gustav Weigand (1908: 174–175) also disputes the opinions of Ieșan and Filipescu, partly because of a long conversation he had with a Karavlach from Maoča. The debate on the ethnic origin of the Karavlahs and Bayash continued at intervals throughout the 20th century. This debate has recently been analysed from the Romanian perspective by anthropologist Otilia Hedeșan (2005: 16–24).

Post-war ethnologists call the Karavlahs “Gypsies”, “Romanian Gypsies”, “Vlach-speaking Gypsies” etc. (cf. Pavković 1957; Filipović 1969: 47, Radovanović 1994: 183–184, 191, 198 etc. *passim*), but lately authors refrain from explicit ethnic attributes (Popović 2002; on the

tinkers of Čipuljić, Drljača 2005). Nevertheless, as they had declared themselves in the census as Serbs and not as Roma, Karavlahs were mentioned as such by some Bosnian NGOs in 2000: (<http://www.aimpress.ch/dyn/trae/archive/data/200011/01105-006-trae-sar.htm>)

There are several other Roma communities in Republika Srpska. The Mauro–Vlahs are Orthodox Christian Roma of Romanian origin. They have been living in what is now Republika Srpska for over 300 years. They are fairly well integrated into the local community and have their own homes and stable settlements. The survey shows that one member of each family works in Western Europe. They are quite well off and their children attend school. The largest communities are at Mali Sitneš near Srbac, Devetina near Hrvaćani, Batković near Bijeljina, and Ostružnja near Doboj [mistakes in the names of Bayash settlements have been corrected].

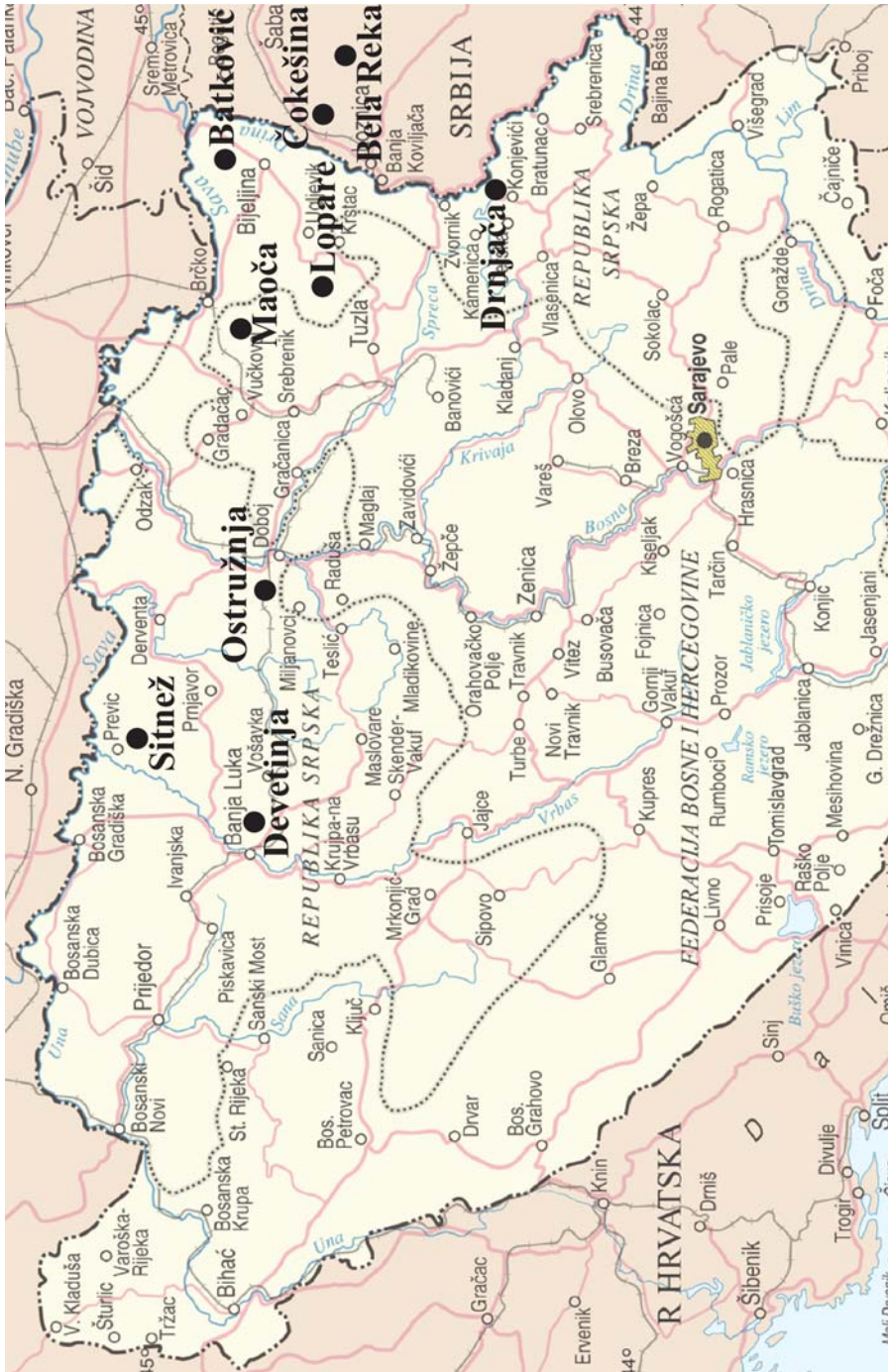
This paper will consist of three sections:

1. The current ethnolinguistic situation of Romanian Karavlah vernaculars and a reconstruction of the Karavlah network of nodes, based on data obtained by the methods of perceptive dialectology.
2. The usage of the Romanian vernacular as a secret language and even a developed lexical subsystem to cover several ‘salient’ terms (in this case — ethnonyms)
3. The linguistic analysis of collected folklore texts connected to the traditional custom of “Lazarica”, sung in Serbian, which sheds some light on the road possibly traveled by the Karavlah from the Romanian language regions to their present settlements in Bosnia.

1. Karavlahs in Northern Bosnia

Filipesku (1907) mentions nineteen Karavlah settlements in Bosnia, most of them in the north and some not easily identifiable today, over a hundred years later. Some of Filipesku’s settlements were very small even in his time, the majority just neighbourhoods of some larger non-Karavlah settlements and known under different names.¹

¹ Filipesku’s list of Karavlah settlements in Bosnia (1907): *Purkovići* (probably close to Kalesija); *Simići* (an hour’s walk from Vlasenica, close to the river Tišća); *Knežina* (close to the river Bioštica, Vlasenica region), *Jadar* (south of Srebrenica, close to the villages of Brežani and Čičevac), *Kusonje — Ljeskovica*; *Kamenica* (close to Kusonje, by the river Drinjača); *Lopare*; *Modran*; *Batković*; *Maoča* (these four settlements are in the Bijeljina region); the following seven settlements are in the Tešanj region: *Špionica*; *Nemila*; *Vozuća*; *Ostružnja*; *Prača*; *Stanari*; *Pribinić*; the village of *Slatina* (close to Banjaluka) and *Sitnjež* (Srbac region).



These diffuse speech communities were seen as such even later, in the mid-twentieth century, by the famous Bosnian romologist Rade Uhlik (1955: 58):

One small migration wave of Romanian Gypsies reached Bosnia. These newcomers, known as Karavlası, or Kalavrası established about twenty settlements in northern and eastern Bosnia, mainly in the Tuzla and Banjaluka districts. They were never a numerous population, until World War II about one thousand and few hundred people. After the war, less than a thousand remained in the Bijeljina region as a compact community, and the rest, scattered in small communities, have almost disappeared. Although Karavlası dislike Gypsies and want to draw a clear line between them, they are nonetheless considered Gypsies.

Ethnographer Milenko Filipović (1969: 47–48) in his study of the Majevica Mountain region mentions a small group of “Romanian Gypsies”, called Karavlası in the village of Lopare. According to his 1966 field research they came from the Ardeal region (*Erdelj*), their ancestors being *lingurari* (wooden spoon makers) and *gonari* (wooden tub makers). Filipović (1969: 48) cites the year 1725, under the Austrian occupation, as the first historical mention of Karavlası in the Bijeljina region. According to one item of information provided by Teodor Filipescu (1907: 350), the Karavlası settled in the Vlasenica region in 1804, when one of their ancestors crossed the River Sava at Mitrovica, therefore from Austro-Hungary. The linguistic data we obtained in the village of Lopare indicate that the settling would have certainly taken place in several waves and from various directions, which is also a view shared by Filipescu (1907: 339).

According to field research by anthropologist and geographer Vojislav Radovanović from 1947 to 1949, there were Karavlası in northwest Serbia who had been moved there from Bosnia. These are to be found at Čokešina: the families of Krajišniković, Kostić, Marinković, Mitrović, settled there from Bosnia in 1876 as they fled from the war raging near Bijeljina, and from the settlement of Bela Reka — the families Mitrović — “Vlach Gypsies from Lopare village” — and Jovanović “from Lopare”, settled there in the second half of the 19th century (Radovanović 1994: 184, 198, 199).² For these anthropological and geographical reasons, the dialectological description of the Romanian speech of Čokešina village given by Emil Petrovici (1938) is entirely relevant to at least some of the

² Historian Milorad Ekmečić (1996: 281–284), in his study on the Bosnian uprising (1875–78) mentions the attack of the Serbian army on the town of Bijeljina during July 1876. The war operations of the Serbian army in northern Bosnia lasted till the middle of September 1876. On refugees from Bosnia and attempts to forced return from Serbia during 1877 see Ekmečić 1996: 312–313.

Karavlach speech variants in Bosnia. There is a certain limitation as a published transcript of the Petrovici interviews speaks of their moving there from the town of Šabac in northern Serbia. Thanks to the colonization of the Banat by the Bayash/Karavlahs following World War II, the Romanian speech variants of Čokešina can nowadays be studied in the south Banat village of Omoljica (Sikimić 2007b).

After the civil wars of the 1990s in the former Yugoslavia, the network of Karavlach settlements again changed drastically. Some remnants of scattered groups from Bosnia were recently studied in the outskirts of the town of Priboj, in southwest Serbia (Sikimić 2006).³

Our fieldwork took place on 7–8th June 2006 in the town of Bijeljina and in Lopare in the Mt. Majevisa area. The Karavlach community in the suburb of Lopare practically disappeared in the Holocaust of World War II. Some who were small children at the time survived to later rebuild the settlement (Filipović 1969: 48). In June 1944, as a plaque at the entrance to the settlement testifies, 58 Karavlahs were killed in the village of Lopare. Forty years ago, while ethnologist Milenko Filipović was doing research there, there were 14 houses, including some more recent settlers from Ostružnja near Doboj and Maoča on Mt. Majevisa.⁴

The Karavlahs in the suburb of Lopare today say that Karavlahs live in several scattered enclaves in the north of Republika Srpska, the first and the largest being the village of *Batković* near Bijeljina; the second, a small community of only seven houses in *Lopare* near Mt. Majevisa, *Ostružnja* near Doboj, the two villages of *Sitnež* and *Devetinja* in the Banjaluka region, and several settlements to the northeast near the town of Vlasenica, the largest settlement now being *Drinjača*. The inhabitants of the former sizeable settlement of *Maoča* (Mt. Majevisa) — about 150 houses — moved to *Batković* or fled to Serbia. *Batković* village and the Banjaluka region also has a long tradition of seasonal guest workers (*gastarbeiters*) in Austria and Sweden.

³ In recent years many papers and one collection of works appeared (*Bayash in the Balkans, Identity of an ethnic community*, Belgrade 2005) based on fieldwork between 2002 and the present. The research data are still not available to the academic public because they were published only in Serbian, but contain transcriptions of conversations in Bayash Romanian vernaculars translated into Serbian (Sorescu Marinković 2005, Sikimić 2002, 2003, 2005, 2006, 2006a, 2006b, 2007, 2007b). Sorescu Marinković 2007, Sikimić 2005a, 2006c, 2007a are available in English.

⁴ The field research of the Karavlahs was initiated and organized by historian Zdravko Antonić, to whom the author of this work is especially grateful. Linguistic analysis of Karavlach speech patterns is based on six hours of audio material.

The Bayash/Karavlach migrations, therefore, must be viewed as a consequence of local conflict and wars and not only of the nomadic and semi-nomadic way of life of this community.

2. Perceptual dialectology data

From a dialectological point of view, the Karavlach vernaculars in Bosnia belong to the group that we can call ‘Balkan Bayash Romanian vernaculars’, described for the first time by Romanian linguist Emil Petrovici in 1938. His description of the Čokešina vernacular in Western Serbia, close to the border with Bosnia, is likely to be valid for all the Bosnia Karavlach contemporary vernaculars. According to Asenova/Aleksova (this volume), Balkan Bayash or Rudari vernaculars are mixed; there is a variance of opinion among Romanian linguists and anthropologists as to their dialectological origin (cf. Radić/Tomici 1986; Calota 1995; Sarmandu 1997; Hedešan 2005).

The reliability of perceptive dialectology data obtained through interviews with the members of this small community is borne out by the observations of Filipesku (1907: 352):

Karavlahs from the village of Purkovići do not marry women from their own village, they take girls from other Karavlach settlements, this is the reason why all the families have relatives throughout the Karavlach settlements in Bosnia.

The reliability of the trans-border knowledge the Karavlach and Bayash community had of themselves, without any media or institutionalized support, was in some measure due to the great mobility of members of these groups, strict endogamy — until very recently — notwithstanding territorial dispersion — and the tradition of seasonal migrations, defined as semi-nomadic.

From fieldwork since 2002 among Romanian-speaking groups in South Slavic vernacular surroundings, we can reconstruct a sort of Bayash continuum along the River Sava, similar to the River Drava continuum described by Sorescu–Marinković in this collection. For the Karavlahs (we use this name for the Bayash group from Bosnia) the Sava is not a boundary, the same Bayash ethnolinguistic type being found on both sides of the river which forms the border between the now two separate countries: Croatia on the one side and Bosnia and Herzegovina on the other. The case with the River Drina is similar, with Karavlach/Bayash settlements being found on both sides, but only in its northernmost regions, today two different countries, Serbia and Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The following discussion was held in the small Karavlach community of *Gudura* on the outskirts of Lopare, today consisting of less than twenty people. The speakers are a man [M] born in the settlement of Lopare and a woman [W] from Kalesija, approximately 30 km to the southeast. The informants, as might be expected of spontaneous statements from the perceptive dialectology aspect, see local differences as lexical (*scaunu* vs. *stol*; *vița* vs. *baira*). In this interview, the researcher raises a lexical question (the term for ‘comb’) which is key for the classification of Bayash vernaculars (Weigand 1908: 175; Petrovici 1938: 228). However, this perceptive distinction of two local speech patterns is spontaneously initiated at the outset by the informants though a dialectologically significant difference in the stressed *-e-*, when the following syllable contains an *-e-*, or *-i-* (*<e>*): *lemne* vs. *l’amni*, cf. Petrovici 1938: 228 and Soresku–Marinković in this volume. (The researcher’s interventions are in round brackets):

[1]

W: Ali između nas ima razlike, priče. Između, ja ovo odakle sam ja, mi drukčije pričamo. Oni kažu l’amne, **lemne**, a mi kažemo **l’amni**.

(Aha, pa to je velika razlika.)

M: Ona kaže, znaš šta je drvo?

(Lemn.)

M: E, lemn. Dobro, **ti kažeš u originalu**. A mi kažemo **l’emn. L’**.

W: A vidiš, oni kažu stolci **scaunu**, a mi kažemo **stol**. Drukčije imamo dosta riječi.

(Kako kažete ‘češalj’?)

W: **T’aptenil’i**.

(A vi?)

M: **P’epteni**.

W: Oni kažu užetu **vița**, a mi kažemo **baira**. Baira, ja.

[W: But there are some differences among us, how we talk. Between, me, where I’m from, we talk differently. They say **lemne** for *l’amne* (wood), but we say **l’amni**.

(I see. That’s a big difference.)

M: She says, do you know what ‘wood’ is?

(Lemn.)

M: Right, *lemn*. Good, you say that in original. But we say **l’emn. L’**.

W: But you see, they call a chair **scaunu**, and we say **stol**. We have a lot of different words.

(How do you say ‘comb’?)

W: **T’aptenil’i**.

(And you?)

M: **P’epteni**.

W: They say **vița** for rope, and we say **baira**. *Baira*, yeah.]

The two existing variants of Karavlach speech mentioned in the conversation are perceived by local speakers as variants confronting a third variant. The Romanian vernacular of the researcher (given in round brackets), is perceived as ‘the original’, despite the fact that the researcher was not a native speaker of Romanian and was always trying to adjust to the local Romanian vernacular. Possession of the ‘original’, ‘true’, ‘authentic’ Romanian language is automatically attributed to the person of prestige status, such as a researcher from Belgrade in a small Karavlach community. This linguistic prestige was not accorded to the same researcher in the compact, autochthonous Romanian communities in Serbia, and especially not in the Banat (Sikimić 2006d).

Here we would like to point out the implications of recognised socio-linguistic opinion, especially for small, diffuse language communities, that dialect or language contact often leads to the structural assimilation of one variety into the other, or the assimilation of both. There are various ways of explaining which linguistic structures undergo such convergence and which do not. One predicts that what is perceived by the speakers as ‘salient’ in one variety is taken over more easily and faster by the other than what is perceived as ‘less salient’, while ‘more salient’ features of the assimilating variety may be given up more readily than ‘less salient’ ones. With the other words, dialect features which are perceived by the speakers as ‘salient’ are taken up and given up more easily and faster than those which are perceived as ‘less salient’ (Auer/Barden/Grosskopf 1998: 163).

3. Romanian as a secret language

The local Romanian Karavlach vernacular, under the endonym *ludărește*, is a relict of the old ethnonym *Rudari*, now unusual because it is a homonym for a S/Cr word meaning ‘miners’. It has never been supported by the school system or media and today has a restricted home usage or is employed as a sort of secret language. (The term is still present among the Bulgarian Bayash.) Within the same vernacular, the Karavlachs also developed several secret words to replace easily understandable local ethnonyms (e.g. Turks > *Cârstaț*, Croat > *Șoacă*, Serb > *Bl’otu*). The complex ethnic situation in Bosnia is precisely defined at lexical level, in contrast to the identification of Serbs in Serbia as the *sel’as*, peasants, in opposition to the Bayash.

This special lexicon is used in socially delicate situations, mainly conspiratorially but also with an expressive function. The Karavlach secret term *bl’ot* has been confirmed as regional in Romanian, cf. Bulgăr/Con-

stantinescu-Dobridor 2003, 2003 (s.v. *bleot*, *bleatǎ*) in the meaning of ‘stupid person, fool, boor’. Semantically comparable data come from Aromanian sources (Liaku-Anovska 2000: 52). The Aromanians call Bulgarians and Macedonians *zdangǎnj* ‘boor, rude person, impudent person.’ (The single term for Bulgarian and Macedonian is *vǎrgǎreshce*, Liaku-Anovska 1995: 219). Other testified Aromanian terms are: *subtsǎri* Greeks: ‘thin, shallow brain’; *portsi shi lǎvoshi* Serbs: ‘pigs and loathsome’; *purintsǎ*: Muslims: ‘those who do not eat meat.’ (For the etymology of the lexeme and its prevalence in south-Slav secret languages see Вучковић 2004); *mocani* Romanians: ‘shepherds, boors, rude people, impudent people.’

[2] A fost o țără promienă, că toți era **cârstaț**. Știi ce e **cârstaț**? — Turci. — Știi? Nu știi ce e **cârstaț**? (Nu.) Pa, turci. — Muslimani. (Așa se spune?) Ludărește. — La noi zici ludărește **cârstaț**. **Cârstaț** să zăce. — **Cârstațâl’i**, Turci. — Nu put’em s-zăcem **turci** că dă ce tu știi turci când zăcea, ca între noi, zăce, uite **cârstatu**. **Cârstatu**. Razumești. [...] Ș-acuma, vezi, Bilja, a fost și **șoacăț**, normalno. (**Șoacăț** e Hrvat?) Ja, ja. — Hrvatska, da. (Și cum spuneți la sârbi? **Sel’aci**, sau?) **Bl’otu**. **Bl’otu**. (A bl’otu e sârb?) Da. **Bl’otu**. [...] **B’otu** zăce la sârb. (Dacă spui sârbu el razumește.) Da, razum’este, da zăce **bl’otu**, nu știe. Și noi, acuma, știi, o țără a fost samo **sârbi**, a fost, dă ajută, Stano, Bosanski Novi. Noi am fost jedno patru-cinci **bl’oț**. Știi, cu **bl’oți** lucram în brigadă noi, a fost un **cârstat** cu noi, jedno șasă a fost.

[It was a small change, all of them were **cârstaț**. Do you know what **cârstaț** means? — Turks. — Do you know? You don’t know what **cârstaț** means? (No.) Well, Turks. — Muslims. (You say it like that?) In Ludari language — We in Ludari language say **cârstaț**. **Cârstaț** we say. — **Cârstațâl’i**, Turks.—We can’t say Turks because you understand when someone says ‘Turks’, among us we say **cârstatu**. **Cârstatu**. You know. [...] And now, you see, Bilja, there were **șoacăț**, all right. (**Șoacăț** is Croat?) Yes, yes. — Croatia, yes. (And how do you call Serbs? **Sel’aci**, or...?) **Bl’otu**. **Bl’otu**. (And **Bl’otu** is Serb?) Yes. **Bl’otu**. [...] **B’otu** we say for a Serb. (If you say Serb he will understand?) Yes, he will understand, and if you say **Bl’otu**, he doesn’t know. And we now, you know, there were just Serbs, they were, help me, Stana, Bosanski Novi. We were about four-five **bl’oț**. You know, we were working in a brigade with **bl’oți**, and there was one **Cârstat** with us, about six of us.]

Although perceived as ‘secret’, the term *Šokac* is in fact a common regional term for a specific Croat group (for a detailed cultural interpretation of this ethnonym see Filipović 1967). In the next example, in the same utterance the secret term for Serbian women (*bl’oatǎ*) and the usual one for Croat women (*Rvatiță*) are used. The local term for a

Muslim woman is *cadână*, which cannot be perceived as being ‘secret’ either; it is also registered by Filipescu (1907: 236) with the meaning ‘Turkish girl’. From the sociolinguistic standpoint the local perception of the term *Șoacă* as a ‘secret’ one is important, it fits into the system. This is an example for the expressive function of the secret lexicon. The words in bold letters are recent lexical borrowings which illustrate the level of hybridization in Karavlach Romanian speech:

[3] Io mă uit, întreb io, pă **rețepție**, o bl’oată, era bl’oată **pravo**, nu era rvatiță, **nego** bl’oată. Avea **možda**, **u ono vreme**, **a jedno** cinzăci și doa și trei d-ai, așa. **Možda** așa **doba** mea era atunci.

[I am looking, I am asking, at the reception, bl’oată, she was a real bl’oată, she was not a Croat, but bl’oată. At that time, she might be about fifty two, three years old, something like that. Perhaps about my age at that time.]

Serious social insecurity is a good context for using the codes of conspiracy. The Karavlach system is obliged to hide the recently borrowed term *milicija* (police) as a ‘salient’ one and considered to be not secret enough, although phonetically adapted to the Karavlach system. Because the secret term *poieni* ‘policemen’ — registered only in the plural — is denied by our informants as being polysemic, it can be interpreted as a semantic shift meaning ‘keeper of the field’ > ‘policeman’. (In S/Cr the terms *poljak*, *poljar*, a person who works in the fields in the meaning ‘keeper of the field’, comes from the same base). A similar semantic equation has been confirmed with the Bayash in Baranja, Croatia (*pandur* ‘policeman’ = *lugar* ‘forester’, cf. Sorescu–Marinković in this volume, transcript number 3) and is certainly connected to the traditional craft of the Bayash, which is the making of wooden objects.

[4] Aia, sora mea mândră, a-nceput pl’iznăla, a-nceput aia, prva pomoć, itna, noi zăcem **poieni** mil’ițâia, **poienili**, mil’ițâia, da. (N-am auzit.) E, **poieni**. Nu zăcem: ete viñe mil’ițâia, znači i oni znaju, nego **poienili**, aia să știe. (A šta bi to inače značilo vama, jel ima još neko značenje?) Znaš šta znači? Da-t kažem. Kad kažeš — evo milicije, znaš, isto milicija. A **poieni** — mil’ițâia. (A da li ta reč poieni još nešto znači?) Ništa više. (Nema neko drugo značenje?) Da ne bi oni doznali to. — Da ne bi oni znali. — Da se priča o-njima, da oni idu vamo. — Zăcea: vin **poienili**, mil’ițâia.

[That, my beautiful sister, the shooting started, this started, first aid, emergency squad, we say **poieni**, police, **poieni**, police, yes. (I haven’t heard it.) Yes, **poieni**. We don’t say — here come the police, that would mean they could also understand, we say **poieni**, we understand. (What might it also mean to you, does it have any other meaning?). You know what it means? I will tell you. When you say — here comes the police, you know, the same, police. But **poieni** — police. (But this word **poieni** does it have any other

meaning?) Nothing else. (No other meaning?) So that they don't find out. — So that they don't know. — That we're talking about them, that they are coming this way. They say: here come the **poieñi**, police.]

As is usual for semantic information obtained from field work, this term is explained in context, quoted as it is used, thus marking the necessity of concealing its true meaning: *ete viñe mil'iñâia; Kad kažeš — evo milicije* ' [‘Here come the police; when you say — It's the police’].

In all these examples, it is clear that this is not the use of Romanian as a secret language within the family (as is the case in those Bayash communities in Serbia where it is used only by the older generation to hide something from the children), nor its use in public, as a secret language not understood by the non-Bayash. The opportunities to use Romanian in this way in Serbia are limited to communities where there are no other Romanian language speakers (Romanians, Vlachs). On the other hand, they are almost unlimited in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia.

4. Tracing the Karavlach road to Bosnia: ethnolinguistic evidence

Filipesku gives a detailed description of Romanian traditional customs still existant in 1907. He noted the custom of pouring water for the dead after 40 days only in Maoča, where water is poured over a hempen ligature used to bind the deceased's legs. Among customs of the calendar cycle mentioned by Filipesku 1907, we should point out a fragment related to Đurđevdan, when a piece of turf — a clump of earth with grass — is dug up and then stood on. This custom is practised at Easter in numerous Romanian speaking communities in Serbia. The same custom is practiced among the Vlach Roma communities of some Serbian Banat settlements: as a field research of June 2008 showed, in the Romanian villages of Ritiševo i Straža it is today practiced only by the Vlach Roma; in the Serbian village of Bavanište it is also practiced only by the Vlach Roma (Sikimić 2007c: 164). This custom, which is still linked by calendar to Đurđevdan, has been preserved in Lopare to this day, under the common Romanian term *brazdă*.

From the ethnolinguistic point of view, Karavlach girls and women are well known to practise the traditional custom of “Lazarica”, but sing only in the local Serbian vernacular.

Linguistic analysis of this reduced and deformed fragment of the Lazarica song yields a form of the instrumental atypical in the local vernaculars of Lopare. In fact this form *Da nas lepo daruje, sas belice parice* is typical of the Prizren Timok zone and some vernaculars of the

Kosovo-Resava dialect spoken in northeast Serbia. We can assume that the entire text was adopted somewhere in that region and transferred to north and northeast Bosnia.⁵ I must add that the Bayash in northeast Serbia living among Romanian-speaking Vlachs still remember and even practice *Lazarica* or the *Lazara* custom in Romanian language.

[5] Lazarițil'i iaște. Iaște, i asta a jocat. [...] Pă postu Paștului. — Pă postu Pașcului, majke. (Se pazește običaj?) Ja, da, da. P-aicea iaști, običaj. (Și ce cântă?) Ova kuća bogata. (În sârbește cântă? Poți să cânti?) Nu cânta ea, cânta doi inși alți. A ea jocă. (Cu ce?) Cu, dân tambură cântă. — A-a, ea jocă așa, sângură jocă. — Ea joacă așa. A mumă să cântă dân gură. Și tat-su, eti. Și dân tambură cântă tat-său. A ea joacă. Mumă-sa și tat-su cântă dân gură și dân tambură. — Ova kuća bogata, puna ramna dukata. Ponajviše goveda, okreni se, lazarko. [...] Ovom gazdi za zdravlje, da su živi ove gazde, i ove gazde gazdarice. [...] Da nas lepo daruje, sas belice parice. — Da nas lepo daruje, sas berice jajce i bijele parice. (Se merge la Lazareva subota?) Mearge tot postu pașcului. — Ii pl'acă tot postu pașcului. (Când se începe?) S-înceapă la. — La Todorova subota. — La Todorova subota. Aića tot postu pl'acă. Do Lazara. Lazardan je zadnji dan. Lazarke. E, ea-a jocat svi pet sedmica.

[There are *lazarițil'i*. There are, this one too was dancing. [...] During Lent. — During Lent, my son. (Do you still keep this custom?) Yes, yes, yes. Over here there is this custom. (And what do they sing?) Let this house be rich. (Do you sing in Serbian? Can you sing this?) She doesn't sing, two other people sing. She dances. (To what?) To, they play the tambură. — No, she dances just like that, she dances by herself. — She dances like that. And her mother sings. And her father, so. And her father plays the *tambură*. And she dances. Her mother and her father sing and play the *tambură*. — This house is rich, filled to the top with gold coins. Even more cattle, turn around, lazarko. [...] For this lord's health, long live this lord and lady, and this lady of the house. [...] To make us a fine present of white coins. — To make us a fine present of a white egg and white coins. (They go on St Lazarus's Saturday?) They go during all of Lent. — They go during all of Lent. (When do they start?) They start on. — On St Theodor's Saturday. — On St Theodor's Saturday. Here they go during the whole of Lent. Till St Lazarus's day. St Lazarus's day is the last day. *Lazarke*. She was dancing all five weeks.]

The transcript continues to show consistent phonetic differences in the speech of the two informants in Lopare village. The folklore text is conservative in linguistic terms. The transcript shows that the folklore text, in this example — the “Lazarica” song — tends to be translated from

⁵ A dialectological picture of Serbian speech patterns on Mt. Majejica is provided in Radovanović 1999, 2000 and 2002.

one dialect into another, here from ekavian into jekavian (*belice parice / bijele parice*). There is also important supporting information from Donja Tuzla in 1904, reported by Filipescu (1907: 224), that the Karavlach women as Lazaricas [women singing the Lazarica songs] “sing very beautiful folk songs and dance folk dances, for the most part old-Serbian”.

5. Whose tradition?

To study the intangible heritage of a mobile group such as the Karavlachs is to see the customary analytic methods of Slav ethnolinguistics and ethnolinguistic geography in an entirely different light. Information obtained from the Karavlachs of northern Bosnia tend to make the established isoglosses of traditional ‘south Slav’ rituals and customs rather relative.

[6] Ona je, jedna, ali bań și bań zarad’aște. Dă lumea bań, nakiće, marama, krpe, așă dă mâncare, svega. [...] (Și când pleacă lazarițiĭi, la fiecare casă? La svaka kuća?) La svaka kuća ide. Toată casa joacă, und’e go viñe. — Pl’acă în Priboi, pl’acă în Tobut, pl’acă L’ipoviț. Pl’acă Iablañiță. (Cum pleacă atunci, cu auto?) Cu autobusu. — Pl’acă, autobuzu pl’acă. — Cu caru, neko kola uzima pa sjedaju, pa. — Da, ea și tat-su și mumă-sa. Eto. (Și svako dan se face asta? Sâmbata, duminică?) Da, da. Toată zua pl’acă. Ide svaki dan. Donese para najviše. (Jel to i ranije tako bilo?) Ja, od starine. — Da, i prije, da. (Ali prije nije moglo da se ide, peške se išlo, kako se išlo?) Prije, a sad, eto malo. — Eto, sad ide. (A vi kad ste bili dete, jeste išli?) Ja sam igrala. — Da, i ja sam igrala, e da sam ovde mrtva igrala, kam pusta sreća.

[Poor thing, but she earns a lot of money. People give her money, jewelry, scarves, clothes, something to eat, a bit of everything. [...] (And when the Lazaricas go round, they go to every house? To every house?) To every house she goes. She dances in each house, wherever she comes. — They go to *Priboi*, they go to *Tobut*, they go to *L’ipoviț*. They go to *Iablañiță*. (How do they go, by car?) By bus. — They go, they go by bus. — By car, someone takes a car, they sit, so. — Yes, she and her father and her mother. That’s it. (And they do this every day? Saturday, Sunday?) Yes, yes. She goes every day. Goes every day. She gets a lot of money. (This was the same in the past?) Yes, since olden times. — Yes, even then, yes. (But long ago you couldn’t go, people used to go on foot, how did they go?) Then, but now, it is so. — You see, she goes. (And you, when you were a child, did you go?) I danced. — Yes, I danced too, eh, and if I could only dance dead here, wouldn’t that be great]

It is evident that the “Lazarica” custom, with its emphasis on the quantity of money the Lazarica-girl usually gets, means one thing for the

Karavlahs and another for the local Christian Orthodox. This may also be the reason for the extended duration of the custom to 5 weeks instead of only a day.

In the Karavlach settlement of Slatina, near Banja Luka:

The spring custom called Lazarica in the Slatina region coincides with the time of the settling of Karavlahs in the village of Slatina. They brought this custom with them and started practising it immediately. The autochthonous people in the villages of this region accepted the Lazarica custom as their own (Popović 2002: 125–126).

Tihomir Djordjević (1907: 380), points out that the Karavlahs of Slatina are “settlers from Serbia”. Another local monograph of the region north of Banjaluka mentions that the Karavlahs from the village of Sitneš practised the “Lazarica” custom for decades in all the villages of the region, and that “this way of earning money” was maintained until 1970 (Košutić 1995: 27–28).⁶

According to map II–1–15 in a comprehensive study by Plotnikova 2004 (“Ethnolinguistic Geography of South Slavia”) the “Lazarica” custom in Bosnia is attested in four settlements, and each time described as a “ritual performed by Gypsy women”.⁷ Similar ethnolinguistic conclusions on the relatively recent introduction of the “Lazarica” custom to Bosnia are evident from other studies aimed at reconstructing cultural isoglosses of Balkan spring rituals ‘against snakes’ (Plotnikova 2006, Sikimić 2001). From our fieldwork in Bosnia, from Karavlahs currently living in Serbia and some recent local or regional monographs, new nodes may be entered on this map for northwest Bosnia, while following Plotnikova’s idea that the “Lazarica” custom is practised only by Karavlach girls (cf. Kajmaković 1974: 96, village of Sitnež, Košutić 1995: 95–96).

6. Concluding remarks

To describe the current situation and reconstruct the genesis of the speech and traditional culture of diffuse speech communities such as the Bayash/Karavlach in the fragmented Balkans remains a complex task for

⁶ On Bayash and Roma girls practicing “Lazarica” custom in Serbia cf. Ilić 2005, Golemović 2002.

⁷ The settlements are: point 37 Vučjak (Filipović 1969a: 80) “ritual procession of Gypsy women”; point 38 Bosnian Posavina (Serbs), Filipović 1969a: 140, “ritual procession of Gypsy women”; point 39, Majeveca, Serbs, Filipović 1969a: 183, “ritual procession of Gypsy women”; point 40 Spreča near Zvornik (Serbs) Filipović 1969a: 30, “ritual procession of Gypsy women”.

Balkan linguists. It stands in direct correlation to the reconstruction of voluntary and involuntary displacements of the Bosnian Karavlahs in the 20th century, some of them across the ocean to North and South America, internal migrations (Sikimić 2006 has already described the linguistic situation of Bosnian Karavlah secondary settlements in Serbia — Priboj and Koceljeva), seasonal worker migration to Western Europe beginning in the early 1960s, and finally displacement due to the civil wars of the 1990s.

The compendious analysis of data from fieldwork among Romanian-speaking communities outside Romania in the Balkans enabled the introduction of the concept of ‘mental continuity’, aimed at defining Bayash group endogamy and their distant group awareness, all influencing the exogamy of small settlements. Research in the field followed the logic of ‘private’ chaining of separate settlements, the logic of mental continuity in the Bayash community in Serbia today that exists regardless of the individual physical distance dividing their members. This mental continuity, in the light of the new borders now being drawn in the Balkans and of massive movement by entire Bayash settlements to the countries of Western Europe, is seen as trans-border (Sikimić 2005, 2005a, 2006c, cf. also, from the sociological point of view, recent studies by Dorondel 2007, Şerban 2007). Knowledge of one’s fellow countrymen is shown through recognition and knowledge of members of the same small ethnic group, even those working temporarily in foreign countries. Nowadays marriages between members of settlements hundreds of kilometres from each other are very common, some of them living in different countries, including Romania, after the collapse of Yugoslavia. In reconstructing the possible Karavlah roads to Bosnia and the annual roads of semi-nomadism, one more thing should be observed: active exogamy in quite small communities could support various lexical, phonetic or even morphological innovations without the moving of the community as a whole.

While very much aware that the ethnographic truth surrounding the Karavlah may become a matter of dispute and that the results of field research may be misused, or seen at the present juncture as just another cleaving of the Roma ethnos, the author remains convinced that each transcript of a true conversation is a great contribution, a ‘research obligation’ in the ethical sense. Any further analysis and interpretation will reflect the current degree of knowledge and awareness of both scholars and the public. Today, the articulation of language rights is a significant issue in sociolinguistics. Language policy and planning are developing in three different but closely related academic directions: the language ecology movement, the linguistic human rights movement and minority lan-

guage rights in national and international law. The exercise of a language right in a real life context is connected to its implications for wider social and political stability, the disjuncture between legal arguments in favour of minority language rights and the actual language policies of many nation states, and the disjuncture between claims for macro-language rights and micro-language practices. May 2005: 320 points out that:

the micro-language claims necessarily require the codification and homogenisation of language groups and related languages and thus ignore the often far more complex, fluid, and at times contradictory, micro-language practices of individuals from within those groups.

The lack of academic (not only linguistic) interest in the Karavlach is just a reflection of the lack of interest on the part of the parent country (if this parent country is also parent to its official language), local minority organisations, both Romani and Romanian language scholars, and Romanists in general. This may be due to personal prejudice or to the real complexity of the task, primarily for linguists who need to be proficient not only in South Slavic and other Balkan and/or Hungarian languages and Romanian dialects, but also to be thoroughly grounded in Roma Studies.

The Bayash/Karavlach roads traversing the Balkans are far from being reconstructed; there is a serious lack of historiographical research that might shed new light. Purly linguistic data and classical dialectological and sociolinguistic research are insufficient for the study of nomadic and seminomadic peoples. Thanks to recent fieldwork among the Rudari of Bulgaria by Asenova/Aleksova (in this volume) and Bayash guest-workers in Germany (Leschber, this volume) we can hope that this challenging task will be finally achieved.

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ROMANIAN–SERBIAN CODE-MIXING PHENOMENA:
DOCUMENTATION OF A ROMANIAN
EXTRA–TERRITORIAL VARIETY SHOWING EXTENSIVE
ROMANIAN-SERBIAN CODE-MIXING PHENOMENA

Abstract: The data collecting process took place in 2005–2006 and resulted in six hundred hours of digital recordings. Our main male informants were around 50 persons, immigrated to Germany in their childhood. All informants are of Romany origin, so called Bayash. We have found in the recordings simple code-switching phenomena as well as numerous code-mixing phenomena and singular features of ‘Fused Lects’. The linguistic in-group variety used by the ‘middle generation’ is without doubt a temporarily used variety, heavily endangered by obsolescence and language death, since the youngest generation does not know this variety and never showed any interest towards learning or even understanding it. The peer-groups of the youngest generation — already born in Berlin — differ from these of the middle or older generation to an extreme extent. The third generation has been socialized in Berlin in multicultural peer-groups among ethnic boundaries. As a consequence, the respective self-definition has changed fundamentally: from a clearly defined ethnic-based rural self-definition of an in-group, being once of fundamental importance for the survival of the group — it has changed to a more relaxed modern urban self-definition of youth-culture, mostly based on common social features of the respective peer-groups.

Key words: code mixing, obsolescence, Romanian vernaculars, immigrants

Definition and properties of code-mixing

Bhatia/Ritchie (1996) explain the difference between code-mixing and code-switching as follows:

Code-mixing refers to the mixing of various linguistic units (morphemes, words, modifiers, phrases, clauses and sentences) primarily from two participating grammatical systems within a sentence. In other words, CM is *intrasentential* and is constrained by grammatical principles and may be motivated by social psychological motivations.

Code-switching refers to the mixing of various linguistic units (words, phrases, clauses and sentences) primarily from two participating grammatical systems across sentence boundaries within a speech event. In other words, CS is *intersentential* and may be subject to some discourse principles. It is stimulated by social and psychological motivations.

Generally spoken, code-mixing varieties show a high level of linguistic creativity. This is valid to the same extent for the mixed varieties recorded in Berlin. From a sociolinguistic point of view we can define the function of code-mixing varieties as in-group languages.¹ Romaine (1995) emphasizes that attitudes to code-mixing from the point of view of persons not being part of the in-group have generally been found to be negative. Kotik-Friedgut (2004) suggests psychological factors (contextual and personal factors) which determine code-mixing in communication of trilinguals. Contextual factors according to Kotik-Friedgut include the fact that knowledge of a specific language has to be shared by interlocutors, the feeling that semantic connotations of some term or expression in the other language can describe more exactly a situation or express a certain emotion or concept; some specific terms are relevant for a specific reality. As personal factors she describes the ‘level of mastery of a specific language’ by each participant of the interaction which determines the relative frequency of code-switching and code-mixing. Furthermore an “insufficient proficiency influences code-switching and mixing especially in cases of reduced energetic recourses like in stress, or due to fatigue”.

Detailed research about code mixing has been conducted by Pfaff (1979), Auer (1999) and others. According to Auer “stabilized mixed varieties should be called ‘Fused Lects’. The transition from language mixing to ‘Fused Lects’ is primarily an issue for grammatical research; essential ingredients in this transition are a reduction of variation and an increase of rule-governed, non-variable structural regularities”. About the ‘state of the art’ of the code-mixing research see Poplack (2000) and for a detailed discussion about ‘the mixed languages debate’ see the contributions in Matras/Bakker (2003).

¹ Data analyzed for example in Lawson/Sachdev (2004) support the notion that code-mixing is an in-group communication strategy, cf. also Lawson/Sachdev (2000), Myers-Scotton (1993).

Background to the data-collecting process and the informants

The data collecting process took place from the middle of November 2005 till the end of May 2006. As a result we obtained around six hundred hours of digital recordings.² The speakers did not know that their speech was being recorded. As a consequence authentic speech was recorded.

Our main male informants were Z. and D. and their relatives (around 50 persons). Z. and D. immigrated to Germany in their childhood. All informants are of Romany origin. They have no knowledge of the native language of their ancestors, the Romany language. The speakers are so called Bayash³, they refer to their local variety of Romanian as *rumân(i)eşće*. The main informants were born in Varvarin near Kruševac (Serbia), some of their older relatives (as uncles, cousins of the grandmother) were born in Strižilo and Suvaja (Serbia).



Fig. 1: The area of Kruševac in Serbia

Use and function of the in-group variety

The older generation of the grandparents and the older relatives speak a Romanian dialectal variety almost exclusively, while the youngest generation (children and teenagers, born in Germany) use mostly Berlin dialect. In one exceptional case, a 13-year-old girl talked Romanian, exclusively with elder female family members. Her Romanian variety was strongly

² The first four months the author analyzed about 400 hours of the recordings. The last ten weeks a Romanian native speaker, a native of Romanian Banat (Jimboalia), analyzed around 30 % of the recordings.

³ Sikimić (2005a, b), Hedešan (2005).

influenced by standard Romanian, presumably due to contacts with standard Romanian-speakers in Berlin. No example of the use of Serbian in the speech of the teen-aged children could be found. So the trilingual code mixing phenomena are mainly found in the speech of our main informants Z. and D., the ‘middle generation’ in the thirties. So this middle generation is in our case the most interesting one, being perfectly trilingual. Several of their conversations were conducted exclusively in Berlin dialect, with some traits, typical for Berlin local ‘foreigner talk’ — mostly while talking to Germans or Turks or Arabs. The main informant Z. was fluent in Serbian colloquial language, although he left former Yugoslavia in the age of three years. He was able to talk colloquial Serbian without any switches or mixing phenomena. Both male informants, aged 33 and 38 years, were able to talk an extraterritorial Romanian local dialect, which was distinguished from Standard Romanian mostly by phonetic and lexical differences and by switches with Serbian. Z. has an active knowledge of Serbian, while D. can understand the Serbian insertions of Z. in a conversation, but he never used extensive Serbian insertions in his discourse; with the exception of the frequently used Serbian formula *găde si?* at the very start of a telephone call, but then D. switched mostly to Romanian, more rarely to German. The two main informants talked in this language variety with conspiratorial aims and they talked it with elder relatives. While using this variety as a kind of secret-language to confirm an in-group identity, the informant D. showed in his conversations with elder relatives sometimes a kind of euphoric happiness. The use of extreme dialectal features was often accompanied by his giggling and laughter. Several times he underlined, that only his family-members are able to understand *rumân(i)eşce*.

The in-group variety was used mainly:

- a) in every-day family communication with elder relatives
- b) in conversations with conspiratorial aims — with emphasis on the use of an extreme dialectal relatively unmixed Romanian variety with traits of a secret language for the promotion of criminal objectives. These conversations were held exclusively with (elder) male relatives.

Auer (1999) stated that speakers, using code mixing may also contrast a language mixing mode with other (mixing or ‘monolingual’) modes within their repertoire, and to select a certain mixing mode from the repertoire may signal group identity.

Features of the extraterritorial Romanian dialect can be found above all on the phonetic and the lexical level. There can be stated strong interferences with Serbian and the morphological integration of Serbian words into the dialect, also syntactic interferences and mixing.

The creation of new multilingual varieties can be seen as effect of a surrounding heterogeneous speech-community. After their emigration the speakers of an already mixed Romanian-Serbian variety mixed again their variety with a third language (Berlin local dialect)

Scheme of the variety, using material from three languages:

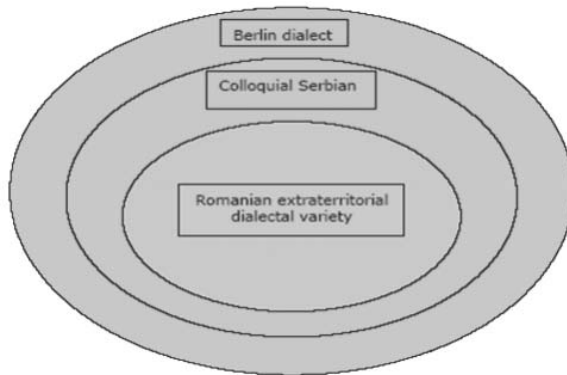


Fig. 2: The constituents of a trilingual code-mixing variety in Berlin, used by the informants Z. and D.

In 2004 we had the opportunity to make recordings of a Romany group, natives of Belgrade. They were the second generation to have lived in Belgrade. Later, the whole families moved to Berlin. The grandmothers used a variety consisting of even four components, as follows:

Scheme of the variety, based on the mixing of four languages:

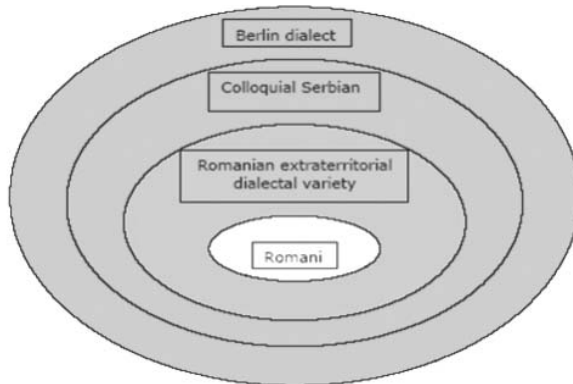


Fig. 3: The constituents of a quadrilingual code-mixing variety, recorded in Berlin in 2004

Types of code-mixing

Muysken (2000: 3–6, 95) [according to Kamwangamalu (2001)] defines three types of code-mixing: insertion, alternation, and congruent lexicalization.

Both ‘insertion’ and ‘alternation’ focus on structural constraints on mixing. The former views constraints in terms of the structural properties of one language, the matrix language; the latter (alternation) views constraints in terms of structural equivalence between the languages involved (i.e., switching is possible only where it does not violate the structural integrity of either of the participating languages).⁴ ‘Insertion’ is said to be akin to spontaneous lexical borrowing and, depending on languages, it may consist of single bare nouns, bare noun phrases or adverbial phrases. ‘Alternation’ entails a true switch from one language to the other, and involves both grammar and lexicon. ‘Congruent lexicalization’ refers to a situation where the participating two languages share a grammatical structure which can be filled lexically with elements from either language.

According to Muysken (2000) insertions tend to be: (a) content words rather than function words, (b) morphologically integrated constituents, (c) selected elements (for example objects or complements) rather than adjuncts, (d) nested (the fragment preceding the insertion and the fragment following are grammatically related), (e) single, unique constituents.

As for the ‘bilingual verbs’, Muysken (2000) distinguishes four types of bilingual complex verbs: (a) inserted verbs: a guest verb is inserted into a position ordinarily reserved for a host, native, verb, (b) nominalized verbs in a compound: a guest verb is a nominalized complement to a causative helping host verb, (c) adjoined verbs: a guest verb is adjoined to a helping verb, (d) infinitive verbs: a guest verb is an infinitive and the complement of a host auxiliary.

Muysken concludes, that in terms of dominance in use, it is suggested that in migrant communities, styles of code-mixing will develop from insertion to alternation to congruent lexicalization. In this case, there is possibility for shift from one matrix language to another across generations.

Examples from the code-mixed variety, using material from three languages (Romanian, Serbian, German):

1. *iavéşće máine la míne ókolo déset, jedínájset sáate, und dann treffen wir uns, kein Problem*

⁴ Poplack (1980).

“Call me tomorrow at ten, eleven o’clock, and then we will meet, no problem” (alternation of bilingual mixing (*iavéşce* !) with Serbian and German)

2. *nu am vişe zu tun cu el*
“I am not concerned with him anymore” (‘double embedding’ of a Serbian and a German insertion in a Romanian sentence)
3. *iél acúşa⁵ m-adús sámó — im Prinzip — viertausend*
“Now he brought me only four thousand” (= money) (‘double alternation’: switch to Serbian, than to German)
4. *am mâncát veşéria (< večerja), gerade*
“I have just had my dinner” (see No. 3)

With the insertion of a Serbian reflexive particle:

5. *móže să plecá se später, mai vorbím*
“We can leave later, we will talk about it” (switched matrix language to Serbian?)

Examples from the code-mixed variety, using material from two languages (Romanian/German):

6. *is vorbei Mann, mă trág îndărápt⁶*
“It’s all over, man, I’m getting out of it” (alternation)
7. *mă duc kurz dahin*
“I will go there for a short time” (alternation)

Use of components of German separable prefixed verbs:

8. *kannste bitte să iéi container heute ab?*
“Please can you take the container away, today?” (Matrix language German) (confirming answer: “*kann isch machen*”)
cf. Rom. (mixed) **a luá ab* “to fetch, to take away” — according to the German separable prefixed verb “abholen” — “to collect”
9. *ţi-a luat Geburtstagsgeschenk weg*
“He/she took away your birthday present” — cf. Rom. (mixed) **a luá weg* “to take away” according to the German separable prefixed verb “wegnehmen” — “to take away”

⁵ Dicţionar de arhaisme şi regionalisme (2003: 12) Rom. (pop.) *acúşi* (adv.) “imediat, îndată”.

⁶ Glosar dialectal Muntenia (1999: 241) *îndărápt* (adv.) “înapoi”.

Integration of German verbs into the Romanian discourse:⁷

10. *măine o fac abschleppen*
“Tomorrow they will tow my car away”
11. *o fac begleiten*
“I will accompany her”
12. *fac ausräumen*
“I move ... out (of)”
13. *ai făcút überstehen*
“You have come through”

Examples from the code-mixed variety, using material from two languages (Romanian/Serbian):

14. *sáada am plăcít rádnicii*
“Now I have paid the workers” (alternation, loan form Serbian)
15. *mă duc, da níšta rádim*
“I’ll go away and do nothing” (alternation)
16. *príčam pe úrmă*
“I will tell it after that” (alternation)
17. *da, móra ... vrei nu vrei, móra*
“Yes, it is necessary whether you want to or not, it is necessary” (insertion)

Numerals etc. are often loaned from Serbian (or from German):

18. *kaním de nópciu, dévet*
“We will leave at night, (at) nine o’clock”
19. *vii dévet dúpă míne și me(r)gém*
“Come at nine o’clock to me and we will go”

⁷ An intense morphological adaptation of German verbs into the Romanian discourse [congruent lexicalization, according to Muysken (2000: 6) refers to “a situation where the participating two languages share a grammatical structure which can be filled lexically with elements from either language”] was observed while recording the speech of a bilingual Romanian-German control group in autumn 2003, examples:

1. **a beșteluí* < German *bestellen* “to order”, in:
...și la șase numai *m-adúce medicaméntele álalálte* că *trebúți beșteluíte* — *a fost tótuși drágúță ásta cu farmácia, că a zis, că mi le beșteluíește répede, să mi l-aduc ástăzi*
2. **a chindigăní* < German *kündigen* “to cancel (a contract)”
m-am chindigănit apartaméntul
“I cancelled the rental contract for my apartment”

20. *de nópcé, sedam sáate*
“In the evening, at seven o’clock”
21. *dácă sînt tóți u uósam sáate, wa?*
“...If everyone will be there at eight o’clock?” (with German dialectal confirmation particle)
22. *do šést sáate sînt acásă*
“I will be at home until six o’clock”
23. *do šést trébe să fie gáta*
“It has to be ready before six o’clock”

But not exclusively, cf.:

24. *sápće/ ... sápće ceásuri?*
“Seven/ ... seven hours ?”
25. *...cînd noi avém do sápće ceásuri, aícea, /...cît, cum — do opt?*
“...If we have the time we shall stay here until seven o’clock, / how much, what...until eight?”

Examples for loan adverbs from Serbian

26. *bîne, sóra, slóobodno vîne!*
“Ok, sister, come along!”
27. *...te iavésće prvo la míne*
“Call me first”
28. *nu e tátşno*
“this is not right”
29. *nu e vájno*
“this is not important”

Examples for dialectal features on a phonetic level:

30. *pīšát* < Serb. *péčat* or Rom. *pecéte* “stamp”
e. g. in: *m-am luát um pīšát acólo*
“There I received a stamp”
31. *sápće* instead of *şápte*
32. *mún’ e, mán’ e* instead of *máine* “tomorrow”
33. *-a-* instead of Standard Rom. *-ea-*
e. g. in: *nu dozvolésće sára*
“In the evening it’s not allowed”
34. *-ć(e/i)(-)* instead of *-t(e/i)(-)*
e. g. in: — *unde mérgi?*
— *la caráće*
instead of *la caráte* “to the karate(-lessons)”

35. (-)ść- instead of (-)št-
e. g. in: śći? instead of štii? “do you know?”

Accent

The accent is often moved in an initial position according to the position of the Serbian accent:

36. *pícere*⁸ instead of *picioáre* “feet”
(with vowel assimilation in an unstressed position)

Examples for dialectal features on the lexical level:

37. *acá* “aici”
e. g. in: — *eu sînt la dvájset minúta/ .. sînt acá*
— *ie arábu acá?*
“Is the Arab (guy) there?”
38. an other dialectal variant of *acá* “aici” is: *aşéa*
e. g. in: *za déset minúta sînt aşéa*
39. *acúşa* instead of *acúm*
e. g. in: *iel acúşa m-adús sámó — im Prinzip — viertausend*
“Now he brought me only four thousand”
40. *măligă* instead of *mămăligă*
41. *rădnicii* (n. pl. art.) “the workers”, *rădnic* (n. sg.) “worker” < Serbian *radnik*
42. *eu căniésc* instead of standard Romanian *eu plec*
e. g. in: *că ódma căniésc*
“I will leave soon”
43. *a se iaví* “to call” < Serbian *javiti (se)*
iavésće! “call me!”
e. g. in: *um sechzehn Uhr iavésće!*
e. g. in: *te iaví se pe úrmă pe míne*
“Call me after that”

But also could be as follows:

44. *háide, zóvi die Tage mich*
“Come on, call me in the next few days” (with German reflexive particle)
45. *am telefonít* < Serbian *telefonirati*,
not related to the standard Romanian *am telefonát* “I called”

⁸ See in Glosar dialectal Muntenia (1999: 209) *pícere* “picioáre”.

46. *lânce* (cf. *înaince*) “before, at the beginning”
e. g. in: *nulă ieşce lânce*
“‘zero’ is at the beginning”
47. *vâlie* “down”
e. g. in: *vin în vâlie*
“I will come downstairs”
48. **a chetá* “to want”
am chetát instead of “am vrut”
< Rom. *a căută* ?
49. **a dozvólí* < Serbian *dozvoliti* “to permit”
e. g. in: *nu dozvolésce sára*
“In the evening, it is not allowed”
50. **a răzumí* “to understand” < Serbian *razumeti*
e. g. in: *mă răzumésce?*
instead of: *mă înţelégi?* “do you understand me?”⁹
51. **a căprí* “to understand” < Serbian *kapirati?*
instead of Standard Romanian *a înţelege*
e. g. in: *mă căprésce?/ mă căprésce?*
instead of: *mă înţelégi?* “do you understand me?”
52. **a puşí* “to smoke” < Serbian *pušiti* “to smoke”
instead of standard Romanian *a fumá*
e. g. in: - *ce fáce Náida?*
— *púşe ţigári?* “(she) smokes cigarettes”
53. **a izvíní* < Serbian *izviniti* “to apologize”
instead of standard Romanian *a scuzá*
cf. *izvínésce* for: *scúză-mă*
54. **a mislí* “to think, to guess” < Serbian *misliti* “to think”
e. g. in: *ai mislít-o* “you guessed it”

Examples for curses:

55. (*ásta*) *moróiu*¹⁰ *de şef* “strigoi, vârcolac” ‘damn the boss’
56. *mârzálă* “hate”
‘damn the boss’ < Serbian *mrzeti* “to hate” + Rom. suffix *-ală*

Curses from Serbian are integrated into the Romanian dialectal discourse, for example:

⁹ Hedeşan (2005: 30–33).

¹⁰ Dicţionar de arhaisme şi regionalisme (2003: 304) Rom. (pop.) *moroi* “strigoi, vârcolac”.

57. *píčku máterinu* (phon.: *máterju*)
 58. *kúrac*
 59. *béla putána* (< Ital. *bella puttana*?) e. g. in: *gđe si, béla putána?*
 (mostly in the very beginning of a telephone call, conducted by two male speakers, in the sense of ‘where did you get to?’)

Several constructions, characterized by formal ambiguity, as for example:

60. *ești femeie, nu ești oámenii, ómă*
 in the sense of “you are a woman, not a man”

Several phenomena, result of a new semantic development, e. g.:

61. *se cúlcă* “he sleeps” — not: “he goes to bed” as in standard Romanian! Furthermore, numerous dialectal features could be quoted, e. g. metathesis phenomena¹¹; like:
 62. *mai bătrâna aia*
 “the older (f.) one”

Concerning dialectal features (phonetic, morphologic and lexical) of several Bayash varieties, cf. Hedešan (2005), Petrovici (1938) and Saramandu (1997: 102–108).

Observations

In some of the examples given above, Romanian is the dominant language, the matrix language; in other examples Serbian is the matrix language. Embeddings are made from Serbian, Romanian and/or German. Congruent lexicalization could be proven. Alternation and insertion are frequent: insertions can be found as single words and also as larger constituents. The matrix language often defines the grammatical frame of the sentence. It could be observed and confirmed that simple insertions can be treated according to the rules of the embedded language.¹² In the case of the embedding of German separable prefixed verbs it seems that the Romanian verb *a lua* has been furnished with a supplementary prefix in the case of Rom. (mixed) **a luá ab* “to fetch, to take away” and Rom. (mixed) **a luá weg* “to take away” (Examples 8 and 9), probably with the aim of allowing a higher semantic differentiation. In these cases it is difficult to decide which language defines the grammatical frame. Matrix languages can switch, but in the present case it rather seems to be a feature

¹¹ Petrovici (1938: 231), Saramandu (1997: 98, 115 etc.).

¹² Cf. Auer (2006).

of a ‘Fused Lect’, as Auer (1999) defines it. In the case of the examples 10–13, *măine o fac abschleppen* “tomorrow they will tow my car away”, *o fac begleiten* “will accompany her”, *fac ausräumen* “I move ... out (of)”, *ai făcut überstehen* “you have come through”, the Romanian verb *a face* is used in order to accommodate German infinitival verbs in a Romanian sentence frame. This is a kind of simplification strategy: instead of expressing himself in Romanian with the required Romanian conjugated verb, the speaker combines a simple Romanian *a face* (*fac* and so on) with a simple German infinitive. This method of simplification could be observed several times, and it worked very well in the communication process, which indicates again the presence of traits of a ‘Fused Lect’.

Language and self-definition

As a result, it can be stated, that we can find in the recordings simple code-switching phenomena (for example: several telephone calls are started in German and continued in Romanian) as well as numerous code-mixing phenomena and singular features of ‘Fused Lects’. The linguistic in-group variety used by the ‘middle generation’ of the two main informants Z. and D. is without doubt a temporarily used variety, heavily endangered by obsolescence and language death, since the youngest generation does not know this variety and never showed any interest towards learning or even understanding it. The peer-groups of the youngest generation — already born in Berlin — differ from these of the middle or older generation to an extreme extent. So the effort of the grandmother of the teen-aged son of the main informant Z. to limit the contacts of the boy to ‘Gypsy girls’, while she threw his German girl-friend out of the apartment, can be seen as a desperate attempt from the side of the older generation to conserve a situation, not anymore corresponding to the actual reality of the third generation, a reality which has undergone already changes. The third generation has been socialized in Berlin in multicultural peer-groups among ethnic boundaries. As a consequence, the respective self-definition has changed fundamentally: from a clearly defined ethnic-based rural self-definition of an in-group, being once of fundamental importance for the survival of the group — it has changed to a more relaxed modern urban self-definition of youth-culture, mostly based on common social features of the respective peer-groups.

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DO- : ÉTUDE D'UN PRÉFIXE VERBAL EN VALAQUE

Abstract: *Do-* is a verbal prefix the Valach idiom has taken from Serbian. This article is based on examples produced spontaneously by native speakers during my fieldwork in Valakonje. Moreover, some tests were added to complete the linguistic work.

Describing the semantic properties of this prefix used in natural speech has been quite a hard task: the meaning of the morpheme just slips through the linguist's fingers. There is every indication that this morpheme is undergoing grammaticalization. The occurrences of *do-* are analysed in context, which helps the hearer, and the linguist, to decide what kind of semantic value(s) can be ascribed to the morpheme. The basic meaning seems to be "completion" and/or "goal of completion" ("achèvement et visée d'achèvement") according to the terminology and theories developed by Zlatka Guentcheva (1990) and Jean-Pierre Desclés and Zlatka Guentcheva (1997, 2003). Of course, the Valach idiom does not have a complex morphological system for verbal aspect such as Serbian's; there is no systematic opposition between perfect and imperfect verbs. Nevertheless, in some situations, the speaker may choose to use this prefix and thereby add aspectual meaning. The instances analysed belong to the following types:

1. *Domanînc asta pa o să văd.*
I will eat this up and see if I eat more.
2. *Douspii să domătur.*
I managed to sweep. / I finally managed to sweep up.
3. *Ei nu dobiau apă dină.*
They don't drink much water from here.

The first example would be typical of pure completion, the second includes the goal of completion, and the third has a quantitative reading. The tests demonstrate that only stative verbs are closed to this kind of prefixation. Telic, momentary, modal and phrasal verbs admit the prefix. The last part of the article shows that when

Balkan varieties of Romanian (Romanian, Istroromanian, Meglenoromanian and Aromanian) evolve through contact with a South Slavic language the same kind of phenomena take place, even though the morphological or semantic possibilities may differ. Thus, verbal aspect appears to be a very sensitive element when contact between Romanian and Slavic languages is involved.

Key words: Romanian, Valach, description, aspect, verbal prefixation

Les parlers roumains de Serbie sont extrêmement intéressants pour des études de linguistique générale et de dialectologie. L'une des pistes à creuser est celle de la variation : les données que je présente sont fondées sur mes recherches de terrain effectuées à Valakonje, et mes analyses comptent pour ce village. Valakonje est un village de Serbie orientale d'environ 1500 habitants, majoritairement valaques, tous bilingues.

Do- est un morphème grammatical emprunté au serbe par le valaque. Il sert de préverbe. Inutile de dire que cette préfixation n'est pas imaginable en roumain standard. *Do*, en serbe, est d'abord une préposition qui signifie « jusqu'à, vers ». Utilisé en tant que préverbe, *do-* marque le perfectif. D'une façon générale, son sémantisme est clair en serbe, il marque l'atteinte d'une limite. En valaque, la préposition signifiant « jusqu'à » est toujours *până*. Par contre, *do-* en tant que préverbe est emprunté. Dès ce premier abord, une question se pose : *do-* est-il un morphème grammatical transparent pour les locuteurs valaques ? Les Valaques sont aujourd'hui tous bilingues, de ce fait, le sémantisme de ce préfixe *do-* emprunté au serbe est connu. Ce préverbe est quasiment le seul productif en valaque. Les deux autres sont *pro-* qui marque une action refaite (comme *re-* en français), et *des-/dis-* qui marque l'éloignement (comme *dé-* en français). *Do-* peut accompagner la grande majorité des verbes.

Je vais d'abord analyser des exemples attestés, tirés de mon corpus ou bien entendus dans la vie quotidienne. Néanmoins, pour affiner mes analyses, j'ai aussi construit quelques exemples. Effectivement, il était nécessaire de revoir ces données sous l'éclairage du système linguistique plus complet. Dans la deuxième partie, je présente quelques tests portant sur le sémantisme interne, notamment sur les traits : +/- dynamique, +/- télique ou +/- momentané. Dans un troisième temps, j'ai mis en perspective mes faits avec le serbe et d'autres variétés de roumain dans les Balkans.

L'analyse des exemples est très complexe pour ce préfixe. Le sémantisme réel semble échapper, sans doute parce que les faits décrits sont en cours de grammaticalisation. L'impression qui se dégage est que *do-* donne quelques pistes sémantiques qui sont à chaque fois corrélées au

contexte. Le sémantisme de base véhiculé par *do-* est l'achèvement ou bien la visée de l'achèvement. Concernant les notions de l'aspectualité, je me base sur les travaux de Zlatka Guentchéva (1990) et de Jean-Pierre Desclés et Zlatka Guentchéva (1997, 2003).

Dans son ouvrage sur le temps et l'aspect en bulgare, Zlatka Guentchéva (1990) développe l'idée que les formes « imperfectives secondaires expriment non pas un achèvement réalisé mais seulement un *achèvement visé*. » (Guentchéva 1990 : 66) ; puis : « L'opposition passe donc entre l'imperfectif et le couple {PF, IS¹} puisque le premier exprime l'absence d'achèvement, tandis que le second exprime une notion d'achèvement. L'autre opposition passe, d'un côté, par un achèvement seulement visé mais non atteint et, de l'autre, par un achèvement atteint. » (Guentchéva 1990 : 66–67). Le valaque ne possède pas un système aspectuel aussi complexe morphologiquement que les langues slaves, et la préfixation avec *do-* est encore assez récente *a priori*. Nonobstant, je postulerais l'hypothèse que le verbe non préfixé n'est pas marqué d'un point de vue aspectuel, et que par opposition, le verbe préfixé exprime soit une visée d'achèvement, soit l'achèvement. Mais voyons ces faits plus en détail.

1. Analyse d'exemples attestés

La valeur aspectuelle qui domine est celle de l'achèvement. Une nuance apparaît parfois avec cette valeur aspectuelle, puisque *do-* peut être la marque d'une action achevée, ou dont l'achèvement est visé, malgré une pause au cours de cette action. Je donnerai quelques énoncés où, à mon sens, *do-* a plutôt une valeur de visée d'achèvement. Il est pertinent parfois de se demander si le préfixe ne porte pas une nuance modale aussi. Finalement, *do-* avec une négation donne une lecture quantitative.

(1) Valaque

<i>Domanînc</i>	<i>asta</i>	<i>pa</i>	<i>o sã vãd.</i>
PRÉF.manger. PRES.1.SG	ceci	puis	voir. FUT1.1.SG

Je **mange** ceci puis je verrai.

Quelqu'un propose au locuteur de finir le plat : l'énonciateur répond qu'il veut d'abord manger son assiettée et qu'il réfléchira après. Nous avons une action en cours, le fait de manger. L'énonciateur pense à la borne finale de son action qui est pragmatiquement limitée à son assiettée, exprimé par *asta*, « ceci ». C'est effectivement l'énoncé entier qu'il faut

¹ PF : perfectif, IS : imperfectif secondaire.

analyser. *Domanînc asta* « je mange ceci » exprime ici clairement un achèvement. Ajouter de la nourriture dans son assiette signifie pour le locuteur recommencer la même action ; il aura fini sa première assiettée, mais il aura peut-être encore faim.

(2) Valaque

Să	<i>doumplit</i>	<i>cuofa</i> ?
REFL	PREF.REMPLIR.PART.PAS ²	seau.FEM.SG.DEF

Est-ce que le seau s'est **rempli** ?

L'achèvement est exprimé dans cet exemple. L'alambic est en train de couler, il ne s'agirait pas de perdre de la marchandise. On aurait pu avoir la même phrase sans ce préfixe. *Do-* dans cet énoncé trahit-il l'impatience de l'énonciatrice ? Ou est-ce plutôt l'atteinte de cette borne qui est mise en valeur grâce à ce morphème ?

(3) Valaque

(M : *Bajka, gde je* ?

Bo : *Da se presvuče Gospođa* [phrase en serbe])

Ma :	<i>O dofacu</i>	<i>Gospođa</i>	<i>biće</i>
	3.F.SG PREF.faire.PS.3.SG	Madame	bien

(M : Bajka, elle est où ?

Bo : Madame se change [en serbe])

Ma : Madame l'a bien **fait** jusqu'au bout !

Deux femmes d'un certain âge reviennent d'une promenade en ville, alors qu'il fait chaud. Les deux femmes sont fatiguées, et les autres les attendent pour se mettre à table. L'énoncé qui nous concerne ici est doublement ironique. D'abord, l'énonciatrice (Ma) reprend le terme *Gospođa* de son allocutaire, « Madame » en serbe, pour se référer à l'autre femme qui est partie se changer. Le *o* est ici un pronom féminin vide : il s'agit d'une expression quasiment figée, où le verbe « faire » est accompagné de ce pronom sémantiquement vide pour signifier « faire une bêtise ». Le terme « Madame » amplifie ainsi le contraste entre le verbe et le sujet, d'autant plus que le verbe est préfixé. L'énonciatrice souligne par ces procédés la « folie » qui les a prises de faire un très long chemin par cette chaleur et à leur âge : l'achèvement est atteint.

² Dans certains cas, le réfléchi et l'auxiliaire « avoir » s'amalgament, du coup le participe passé seul vaut pour un parfait composé.

(4) Valaque

(Bre atîta *se* *deparce* la Mosoruoni-ia, *și* miersăi *și* miersăi, *zîc* da *se* drac mă !)

Să	<i>do</i> <i>dus</i> ă	la	<i>cî</i> <i>mpu</i>	la	Oprîșan,
RÉFL	PREF.partir.PS.3.PL	à	champ	à	Oprishan
<i>zîc</i> ,	<i>se</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>asta</i> .		
dire.PRES.1.SG	quoi	être.PRES.3.SG	ceci		

(Que c'est loin chez les Mosoruon, j'ai marché et j'ai marché, je me dis, mais diable, qu'arrive-t-il ?)

Ils sont **partis** jusqu'au champ d'Oprishan, je me dis, que se passe-t-il ?

Dans cet énoncé, l'énonciatrice raconte sa longue marche jusqu'à la maison de ses amis assez éloignée de chez elle. Comme elle vieillit, marcher est devenu plus difficile, mais la locutrice inverse l'image avec beaucoup d'humour : c'est la maison de ses amis qui s'est déplacée plus loin, et qui est partie jusqu'à un autre repère spatial à l'évidence encore plus éloigné. Le verbe « partir » préfixé montre l'achèvement de cet éloignement, que l'énonciatrice constate sur son chemin.

(5) Valaque

(Ž : *Copilo-la nu veîni ! Da l' să dus la șcuolă, da l'-*

Ve : *S-a fi însurat ! [rires]*

Ž : *N-a măi veînit de -*

Ve : *Va veîni cu govîia*

Ž : *Da de unde șciu iuo. Are în comșii o fată*)

Ve :	<i>Fie</i> ci <i>l'i</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>al'arg</i> ă	<i>după</i>	<i>el</i>
	filie.F.PL.DEF	qui	courir.PRES.3.PL	après	3.M.SG

<i>îl</i>	<i>prind</i>	<i>el'e</i>	<i>acuma</i>	<i>îl</i>
3.M.SG.ACC	attraper.PRES.3.PL	3.F.PL.NOM	maintenant	3.M.SG.ACC

doprind

PREF.attraper.PRES.3.PL

(Ž : L'enfant n'est pas venu [elle parle de son fils] ! Est-ce qu'il est parti à l'école, est-ce que-

Ve : Il s'est peut-être marié ! [rires]

Ž : Il n'est pas rentré depuis-

Ve : Il va peut-être rentrer avec la mariée

Ž : Qu'est ce que j'en sais. Il a une copine dans le voisinage)

Ve : Les filles qui lui courent après, elles vont l'attraper, maintenant elles vont l'**attraper** pour de bon !

Dans ce dialogue, une femme se moque gentiment de l'autre. La première s'inquiète du fait que son fils d'une vingtaine d'années n'est pas rentré depuis une fête la veille. Elle suppose qu'il est parti directement à

l'école. En revanche, l'autre femme la taquine en lui disant qu'il est parti chez une fiancée, et dans le cas contraire ce sont les filles qui vont l'attraper ! La préfixation peut être ambiguë dans cet exemple. *A priori*, les filles sont intéressées depuis longtemps par ce jeune homme, mais cette fois-ci, et pour rassurer la mère, les filles l'auraient attrapé. Plusieurs tentatives pour avoir ce garçon ont échoué, mais ici, l'achèvement est atteint.

(6) Valaque

(Sv : *Până ia la snimañe, ăla, ia a pus taşna aşıia, vrundî-va pe vr-o stol'îă, pe vr-o... şî ii fură novčaniku. [xxx] Şî iuo nu o întrebai cum să întuarsă*

Ž : *Da unde a fuost ia, în Zăiser? [xxx] Că fură...*)

Sv : *Că ia acuma să dođuše*

Que 3.F.SG.NOM maintenant REFL **PREF**.partir.PRES.3.SG
u... u aut.

dans [serbe] dans [serbe] « out » [anglais]

(Sv: Pendant qu'elle passait son examen, elle a mis son sac là, quelque part sur une chaise, sur une... et on lui vole son portefeuille. [xxx] Et je ne lui ai pas demandé comment elle était rentrée.

Ž : Et où est-ce qu'elle était, à Zaječar ? [xxx] puisqu'il y avait...)

Sv : Parce que là, elle va **craquer** pour de bon...

La locutrice explique que sa sœur s'est fait voler son portefeuille pendant son examen médical. Celle-ci avait déjà beaucoup de soucis, et la locutrice a peur qu'elle craque pour de bon : l'achèvement est rendu par la préfixation. L'expression est curieuse en soi, puisqu'il s'agit d'un emprunt depuis le serbe (lui-même étant un emprunt de l'anglais *out*), « partir en vrille ».

(7) Valaque

(Ve : *audz Majo, miie îm veñi suomnu [Vl : rire]*

M : *Bun, Bajko. Pa da produţimo, Bajko, samo malo, nema, Bajko, puno vişe, joş petnaest reći ima. [phrase en serbe]*)

Vl : *Pa da dopuñi l'e*
Eh bien **PREF**.mettre.IMPER.2.SG 3.F.PL

(Ve : écoute Maja, j'ai envie de dormir maintenant [Vl : rire])

M : Bon, Bajka. On continue juste un peu, il n'y plus beaucoup à faire, il y a encore quinze mots. [phrase en serbe])

Vl : Eh bien, **donne**-les jusqu'au bout !

Lors d'un questionnaire dialectal, l'une des informatrices dit qu'elle a envie de dormir. L'enquêtrice comprend ce besoin ; pour autant, elle se rend compte qu'elle n'a plus beaucoup de mots à traiter, et elle commence à négocier le prolongement de la séance pour quelques minutes. L'autre informateur voit que la fin du questionnaire est proche et utilise le verbe « mettre » préfixé à l'impératif pour bien insister auprès des autres sur le fait qu'il veut aller jusqu'au bout. D'un point de vue sémantique, il s'agit d'un achèvement.

Les exemples exposés précédemment correspondent à la notion d'achèvement. Les contextes en général explicitent cette lecture. Dans les exemples qui suivent, la visée de l'achèvement domine. Parfois, malgré tout, l'ambiguïté demeure.

(8) Valaque

<i>Babi</i>	<i>nu</i>	<i>măi</i>	<i>dau</i>	<i>numa</i>
grand-mère.F.SG.GÉN.	NÉG	encore	donner.PRES.3.PL	mais
<i>dopică.</i>				
PRÉF.tomber.PRES.3.PL				

Elles [les dents] ne poussent plus chez grand-mère, mais elles **finissent de tomber.**

La locutrice parle à un enfant qui vient d'avoir ses premières dents, au contraire d'elle qui perd ses dernières dents. Je crois que la grand-mère dans cet extrait souligne cette dernière phase, ses dents vont tomber jusqu'à ce qu'elles ne puissent plus tomber, parce qu'il n'y en aura plus. En ce sens, je parlerais ici de visée d'achèvement. Remarquons que le verbe « tomber » est au présent, et qu'il porte sur lui le préfixe verbal, ce qui, *a priori*, lui donnerait une valeur d'achèvement. Or, si on doit traduire cet énoncé en serbe, ce n'est pas la forme perfective que l'on mettrait, mais la forme imperfective :

(9) Serbe

<i>Babi</i>	<i>više</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>rastu,</i>	<i>nego</i>
grand-mère.GÉN.F.SG	plus	NÉG	pousser.PRES.3.PL	mais
<i>ispadaju.</i>				
tomber.IMPERF.PRES.3.PL				

Elles [les dents] ne poussent plus chez grand-mère, mais elles **tombent.**

Cet imperfectif en serbe est un imperfectif secondaire qui exprime une visée d'achèvement. Il est intéressant de voir que le serbe reprend un

imperfectif secondaire là où se trouve une visée d'achèvement, comme le note Zlatka Guentchéva pour le bulgare (1990 : 66).

(10) Valaque

(Ž³ : *Ș-că unde ii tractoru ? și când pe urmă să întuors după tractor iar !*

Bo : *Istîna?*

Ž : *S-a întuors! Pa da! « Ai cu miîne! » « Uodma ! »)*

S-	<i>a dus</i>	<i>și</i>	<i>l-</i>	<i>a doluvat</i>
REFL	partir.PC.3.SG	et	3.M.SG	PREF.prendre.PC.3.SG
<i>că</i>	<i>văd</i>	<i>că</i>	<i>veni</i>	
que	voir.PRES.1.SG	que	venir.PS.3.SG	

(Ž : Il me demande où est son tracteur ! et puis après il est encore retourné chercher son tracteur !

Bo : Vraiment ?

Ž: Il est reparti ! Bah oui ! « Allez, tu viens avec moi ! » « Tout de suite ! ») Il est parti et il l'**a pris**, j'ai vu qu'il était revenu.

Dans cet extrait, la locutrice explique que son mari avait un peu bu lors d'une fête la veille, et qu'il avait dû abandonner son tracteur quelque part : le problème est qu'il ne se souvient plus où et il le cherche depuis un moment. Alors il demande à sa femme de l'accompagner dans sa recherche. Or la locutrice, qui doit s'occuper seule de toute la ferme, n'est pas particulièrement disposée à suivre son mari, et répond ironiquement à son époux qu'elle le suit « tout de suite ». Dans sa dernière tentative, le mari a réussi à retrouver son tracteur : cet achèvement est exprimé par le préfixe *do-*. Mais cet exemple est très intrigant, puisque le préfixe reprend aussi bien la visée de l'achèvement exprimée par les départs successifs du mari pour retrouver le tracteur que l'achèvement en lui-même, puisque le mari est revenu avec son véhicule.

(11) Valaque

(Ž : *Numa venii slubăzîi apa-ia odată, nu miarže.*)

<i>Am venit</i>	<i>acuma</i>	<i>sară,</i>	<i>vașil'i</i>
venir.PC.1.SG	maintenant	soir.F.SG.INDEF	vache.F.PL.DEF
<i>zbiară,</i>	<i>n-</i>	<i>au</i>	<i>apă.</i>
crier.PRES.3.PL	NEG	avoir.PRES.3.PL	eau.F.SG.INDEF

³ Cette locutrice n'est pas originaire de Valakonje, mais elle y vit depuis son mariage. Dans l'exemple suivant, elle prononce le verbe *miarže* « elle marche » avec un « a », tandis qu'à Valakonje, on trouve un « e » : ce n'est qu'un exemple parmi d'autres de la variation.

Doveñi !**PREF.**venir.PS.3.SG*(Slubǎzïi iar pumpa-ia, cǎ sǎ dus atunś tuatǎ, s-a dus tuatǎ apa...)*

(Ž : Je suis juste rentrée, j'ai laissé couler l'eau, elle ne marchait pas.) Je suis rentrée ce soir, les vaches criaient, elles n'avaient pas d'eau. Elle est **arrivée** ! (J'ai laissé la pompe marcher, puisqu'elle est partie alors complètement, toute l'eau était partie...)

Une fois de plus, la locutrice exprime dans le contexte immédiat précédent l'énoncé avec *do-* qu'elle a effectué plusieurs tentatives avant d'obtenir un résultat. Ici, elle s'est retrouvée sans eau, et elle a dû ouvrir le robinet plusieurs fois avant son arrivée. Une nouvelle fois, la visée et l'achèvement sont entrelacés.

(12) Valaque

(D : *Pa ŝi el'e, estǎ pǎnǎ o vrem'e, pǎ urmǎ nu e, ma a trecut vremia ŝi de el'e.*

V : *Aha, ŝi de pui, ŝi de tuot. Ma ŝi aŝca već ajunș.*)

Numa sǎ dovinǎ Buosa.

seulement que **PREF.**venir.SUBJ.3.SG Bosa

Îs ajunș.

être.3.PL arriver.PART.PAS.M.PL

(D : Mais c'est pareil pour ça, il y en a jusqu'à un moment, puis on n'en trouve plus, mais de toute manière la période est passée pour ça aussi.

V : Oui, et pour les poules et pour tout. Mais de toute manière ceux-ci aussi sont déjà bons. Il faut juste que Bosa **arrive**. Ils sont prêts.

Deux femmes discutent de la nourriture pour la volaille qui n'est plus disponible en magasin, parce que la période de l'année pour faire grandir les poussins est passée. V(eroslava) explique que les poules sont arrivées à la bonne taille pour être abattues, mais Bosa, qui peut s'en occuper, est absente pour le moment. « Ils sont arrivés » signifie qu'ils sont arrivés « au bon poids ». Dans l'énoncé avec le préfixe, la visée est clairement exprimée : elle est d'autant plus évidente que le verbe est mis au subjonctif.

(13) Valaque

Pǎnǎ vuoi

Pendant 2.PL

domâncaț,

PRÉF.manger.PRES.2.PL

iuo

1.SG

mǎ

RÉFL.1.SG

<i>duc</i>	<i>până</i>	<i>la</i>	<i>ei</i> .
aller.PRES.1.SG	jusqu'à	chez	3.PL

Pendant qu vous **finissez de manger**, je vais jusqu'à chez eux.
[*până* : selon le contexte, « pendant » ou « jusqu'à »]

L'énonciatrice a fini de manger avant les autres et annonce qu'elle va se lever de table pour aller travailler. Le contexte dans l'énoncé (13) est très riche : le verbe est au présent, il est préverbé avec *do-* et il est accompagné par « *până* ». *Până* signale qu'on se trouve à l'intérieur d'un processus dont on envisage la borne finale, il s'agit d'une visée d'achèvement.

(14) Valaque

<i>Mă</i>	<i>duc</i>	<i>să</i>	<i>dolucru</i>	<i>aia</i> .
RÉFL.1.SG	aller. PRES.1.SG	SUB	PRÉF.travailler.SUBJ.1.SG	cela

Je pars **finir mon travail**.

Dans (14), la borne finale de l'action est visée. On peut voir une nuance dans l'emploi du préverbe *do-*. La personne a travaillé puis a pris une pause pour regarder son émission préférée à la télévision. Le locuteur retourne au travail et pense terminer son ouvrage. Cet énoncé arrive à la fin de la pause : le travail a commencé avant, la phase qui s'ouvre est une suite de ce travail qui sera achevé. Le verbe de la principale renforce l'idée de l'achèvement, puisqu'il s'agit du verbe « aller », dont les frontières entre l'abstrait et le réel sont pas parfois perméables.

(15) Valaque

<i>Și</i>	<i>mă</i>	<i>învîrții</i>	<i>și</i>	<i>mă</i>	<i>sculai</i>
Et	REFL	retourner.PS.1.SG	et	REFL	lever.PS.1.SG
<i>și</i>	<i>dădăc</i>		<i>iuo</i>	<i>cafaia</i>	
et	PRÉF.donner.PS.1.SG		1.SG	café.F.S.DEF.DEM	
<i>de</i>	<i>pomană</i>	<i>și</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>băui</i>	<i>iuo</i> .
pour	<i>pomana</i> .F.SG.INDEF	et	3.F.SG	boire.PS.1.SG	1.SG

Et je me suis retournée et je me suis levée et je **réussis à donner** le café pour la *pomana* et je le bus.

Pour cet énoncé, le contexte est très clair. L'énonciatrice avait l'intention de « donner » le café dans son rite,⁴ mais elle s'est évanouie. Cet incident l'a empêchée de « donner » le café une première fois, elle a

⁴ Dans ces rites du quotidien, on « donne » une boisson ou de la nourriture pour les âmes des morts dans l'au-delà.

dû s'y remettre à son réveil. Ce qui compte pour elle, c'est d'être parvenue à effectuer le rituel malgré l'incident.

(16) Valaque

<i>Dofacui</i>	<i>turșiaia</i>	<i>ier'</i> ,			
PREF.faire.PS.1.SG	saumure.F.S.DEF.DEM	hier			
<i>doadunai</i>	<i>piparcaia</i>		<i>đi</i>	<i>pe</i>	<i>șia</i>
PREF.ramasser.PS.1.SG	poivron.F.SG.DEF.DEM		de	sur	là
<i>adusăi</i>	<i>plotozel'il'i</i>	<i>crude</i> , ...			
apporter.PS.1.SG	tomate.F.PL.DEF	vert.F.PL			

Je **fis** (finalement ?) la saumure-là hier, je **finis de ramasser** le poivron qui traînait par là, j'apportai les tomates vertes,...

Dans (16), nous avons deux fois le préfixe *do-*. Le cotexte n'aide malheureusement pas à interpréter ce passage. Le seul élément qu'il nous apporte, c'est que la locutrice fait une longue liste de tout ce qu'elle a fait la veille. La conversation se tenait entre deux autres personnes et l'enquêtrice n'intervenait pas à ce moment. De toute manière, il est impossible de détecter toutes les ambiguïtés de la parole. Dans cet exemple (16), les deux préverbatons peuvent être interprétées différemment. Le verbe « faire », *dofacui*, au parfait simple, préfixé, exprime vraisemblablement un regret de la personne qui aurait souhaité préparer la saumure plus tôt. La deuxième occurrence de *do-*, qui s'ajoute au verbe « ramasser », signifie sans doute que la personne avait déjà utilisé des poivrons avant, mais qu'il lui en restait encore quelques uns qu'elle voulait ramasser jusqu'au bout pour ne pas qu'ils se perdent. La dame raconte sa journée de la veille, dans une longue énumération avec l'énoncé (17) qui suit.

(17) Valaque

<i>Mă</i>	<i>dusăi</i>	<i>să</i>	<i>l'e</i>	<i>ajut</i>	<i>lor.</i>
REFL.1.SG	aller.PS.1.SG	SUB	3.PL.DAT	aider.SUBJ.1.SG	3.PL.DAT
<i>Dorupțărăm</i>	<i>cucuruzola</i>				
PRÉF.arracher.PS.1.PL	maïs.M.SG.DÉF.DÉM				

Je suis partie les aider. Nous **avons fini d'arracher** le maïs là-bas.

Pour cet exemple non plus, le cotexte n'est pas suffisamment explicite. Ce qui est certain, c'est qu'ils ont fini de cueillir le maïs sur la parcelle en question. Soit il s'agit du pur achèvement, soit ils ont déjà travaillé sur ce champ et ils ont fini cette fois-là, soit ils ont réussi finalement à faire entièrement ce champ de maïs. On voit là l'ambiguïté d'une forme pour laquelle le contexte linguistique n'aide pas, et la

présence de l'enquêtrice lors du dialogue n'y change rien. L'énoncé (17) suit de quelques dizaines de secondes l'énoncé (16). La personne raconte sa longue journée de travail : elle oppose son activité effrénée à celle de ses enfants qui ne travaillent pas (autant) à la ferme. Ce discours orienté serait une forte motivation pour trouver trois verbes préfixés en moins d'une minute. Dans ce sens, l'achèvement prime probablement sur la visée : n'importe le nombre de tentatives, ces tâches sont terminées grâce à son labeur, et non pas celui des autres.

Une autre valeur, liée à la première, se dégage de certains emplois. Cette valeur sémantique serait plus modale. *Do-* exprimerait une certaine attente, comme éventuellement dans les exemples (18) et (19).

(18) Valaque

<i>Îi</i>	<i>dotaiarǎ</i>	<i>cracu?</i>
3.SG.DAT	PRÉF.couper.PS.3.PL	jambe.M.SG.DÉF

Lui a-t-on finalement **amputé** la jambe ?

On parle d'un homme âgé qui avait la gangrène. L'énonciatrice demande si on lui a coupé la jambe. Il faut comprendre qu'il a longtemps été question que l'on ampute la jambe, et l'énonciatrice ne savait pas ce qu'il en était. Une amputation ne peut pas être faite à moitié, et ce n'est pas sur ce qui a été enlevé que porte l'interrogation : ce n'est donc pas une question purement aspectuelle. Dans cet énoncé, *do-* ne porte pas directement sur le verbe, mais sur l'ensemble de l'événement et sur l'attitude que l'énonciatrice a vis-à-vis de cet événement. D'une certaine manière, la question commence au moment même où l'amputation a été envisagée, et *do-* marque alors ce cheminement depuis le départ. L'interprétation est rattachée à la visée de l'achèvement, qui dans ce contexte porte une nuance modale.

(19) Valaque

<i>Douspii</i>	<i>sǎ</i>	<i>domǎtur.</i>
PRÉF.réussir.PS.1.SG	SUB	PRÉF.balayer.SUBJ.1.SG

J'ai (finalement) **réussi** à tout **balayer** (jusqu'au bout).

Cet énoncé est très complexe.⁵ Nous avons deux verbes préverbes qui se suivent, le premier étant un emprunt du serbe. Le verbe *uspeti* est

⁵ Le lecteur aura remarqué qu'une majorité des exemples donnés sont au parfait simple. Qu'il n'en tire pas des conclusions hâtives, qu'il soit locuteur de roumain standard ou dialectal ! Le parfait simple est très employé dans la variété de Valakonje. Il se trouve

une forme perfective en serbe (il s'oppose à *uspevati*, imperfectif en serbe), il n'accepte pas de préverbe (**douspeti*, **nauspjeti*, etc.).⁶ La forme valaque *douspii* [PS] « je réussis » est composée d'un préfixe et d'un verbe empruntés au serbe séparément. En serbe, la juxtaposition de ces deux éléments est agrammaticale. Le valaque est donc capable d'emprunter des éléments lexicaux et grammaticaux à partir du serbe, et d'en composer une grammaire différente. Une ambiguïté peut subsister dans l'interprétation de cette phrase, qui lors de son énonciation, était accompagnée d'un long silence avant et après. La locutrice a eu une maison pleine de monde toute la journée, et elle n'a pu balayer qu'après le départ des invités. Soit l'énonciatrice exprime grâce à *do-* ses nombreuses tentatives où d'une certaine manière elle vise l'achèvement (ou son intention de nettoyer depuis longtemps), tentatives qui se sont soldées par un succès (d'où une traduction avec « finalement »), soit la locutrice valide l'achèvement de sa réussite (« j'ai bel et bien réussi »). Le même problème se pose avec *sã domãtur* (littéralement) « que je *prãf*balaye » : « finir par tout balayer » ou « tout balayer jusqu'au bout » ? En dehors du fait que le verbe « réussir » implique une intentionnalité, il me semble que ce *do-* rend compte du chemin parcouru entre le moment où l'énonciatrice s'aperçoit que le sol a besoin d'être nettoyé, et le moment où elle a réalisé son action. De cette façon, j'attribuerai la valeur aspectuelle d'achèvement au deuxième élément de l'énoncé, *domãtur*, « balayer » préfixé. Cette interprétation serait logique, car la surface envisagée au départ aura été balayée dans son intégralité.

Voyons maintenant un autre énoncé dont l'analyse est complexe. Par conséquent, je me limite à quelques explications de contexte, et quelques pistes de réflexion éventuelles.

(20) Valaque

Va dopl'eca

PRÉF.partir.FUT2.3.PL

copiișca.

enfant.M.PL.DÉF.DÉM

Ces enfants vont (peut-être) **finir par partir**.

L'exemple (20) est très difficile à analyser. *Va + infinitif*, contrairement au roumain, n'est pas le futur de base, mais un futur modal

que ces exemples sont tirés de narrations, où le parfait simple trouve toute sa place en tant que tiroir « qui fait avancer le récit ». Voir à ce propos Petrović (à paraître), « Le passé en valaque ».

⁶ *Dospeti*, « parvenir », existe, mais sa construction et son sémantisme ne se recourent pas.

épistémique.⁷ La forme *va dopl'eca*, que j'ai traduite par « ils vont finir par partir », est complexe. On y trouve de la modalité (avec l'auxiliaire *va*, qui provient de verbe « vouloir » désémantisé), du temporel (une sorte de futur), et de l'aspectualité, avec l'emprunt du préverbe *do-*. Le contexte : la grand-mère a envie de rester avec ses enfants qui vont partir, mais en même temps, elle doit s'occuper de ses affaires, donc elle attend que ses enfants partent pour tout faire. La locutrice vise l'achèvement, or celui-ci n'est pas attribuable à sa volonté (modalité épistémique imputable à cette forme de futur).

Le dernier exemple attesté est différent des autres, même si je le rattache *de facto* à la lecture aspectuelle de la préfixation valaque. La construction avec la négation suivie du verbe préfixé, dont je rattacherai le sémantisme à la visée d'achèvement, donne une lecture quantitative.

(21) Valaque

<i>Ei</i>	<i>nu</i>	<i>dobiau</i>	<i>apă</i>	<i>điśa</i> .
3.PL	NÉG	PRÉF.boire.PRES.3.PL	eau	d'ici

Ils ne **boivent** pas tellement l'eau d'ici.

Je n'ai noté qu'un énoncé de ce genre, car il est typique de cette vie quotidienne si difficile à obtenir sur une bande. Malgré tout, cette construction est courante. Son sémantisme est clair et ne présente aucune ambiguïté. Je rattache pour ma part cette construction à celle de la visée de l'achèvement. En serbe, *do* en tant que préposition signifie « jusqu'à, à côté », en tant que préverbe, *do-* marque l'atteinte d'une limite, d'une étape. Le valaque garde cette idée d'atteinte d'une limite, d'une borne, dans son sémantisme de base. Accompagné de la négation, le verbe préfixé avec *do-* éloigne l'action de l'achèvement, ou l'objet de sa transitivité. D'une certaine manière, cette construction composée de la négation suivie d'un verbe préfixé est une sorte d'euphémisme grammatical. Dans l'exemple (21), le fait de ne pas boire l'eau du robinet en visant la totalité de celle-ci signifie en réalité que les gens évitent d'en boire, pour des causes sanitaires en l'occurrence.

La valeur principale de cette marque est l'atteinte de la borne finale. Selon les contextes, la lecture d'un achèvement ou d'un achèvement visé est privilégiée. Dans certains cas, un verbe préfixé montre qu'une action a été commencée et répétée à plusieurs reprises avant d'arriver, ou de viser

⁷ Voir l'analyse de cette forme dans Petrović-Rignault 2005.

sa fin. Parfois même, la visée est accompagnée d'une once de modalité. La construction avec la négation donne pour sa part une lecture quantitative, que j'ai rattachée à la notion de visée. Finalement, quelques constats s'imposent. 1. *Do-* apparaît dans les dialogues, plus rarement dans les narrations. Ceci montre que les contraintes d'apparition de *do-* sont encore importantes, ce qui limite sans doute sa fréquence pour l'instant. Il est à parier qu'une plus forte désémantisation accompagnant une plus grande grammaticalisation intégrera davantage cette forme en tant que préfixe aspectualisant. 2. Dans Desclés et Guentchéva (2007), les auteurs définissent quelques types de verbes touchés par la préfixation avec *do-* en bulgare. Les verbes touchés sont les verbes de manière de motion,⁸ des verbes de cumul,⁹ des verbes d'addition,¹⁰ et des verbes reliés à un changement dans les états émotionnels.¹¹ Il est à noter que le valaque, à travers les exemples cités ci-dessus, suit ce classement dans une certaine mesure. On peut classer dans les verbes de motion les exemples : *dodusără* (4), *doduše* (6), « aller », *doveŋi* (11), *dovină* (12), « venir », *dopl'eca* (20) « partir » ; dans les verbes de cumul : *doprind* (5), « attraper », *doluvat* (9), « prendre », *doadunai* (16), « ramasser », *dorupțărăm* (17), « arracher », etc. ; et pour les verbes d'addition : *doumplut* (2), « remplir », *dopuŋi* (7), « mettre » etc. ... Bien sûr, tous les verbes ne rentrent pas dans ces catégories, et l'une des catégories citées dans l'article de Desclés et Guentchéva (2007) ne trouve pas d'équivalents dans le corpus que j'ai étudié en valaque ; cependant, cette classification sémantique s'applique aisément à cette variété de roumain.

Le linguiste aimerait sans doute que les morphèmes soient bien circonscrits, clairs, simples. Il n'en est rien. L'énoncé (20) est un archétype de la complexité formée par la trinité temps-aspect-mode. Néanmoins, l'analyse énonciative et pragmatique donne quelques éléments de compréhension. Cette préfixation est un phénomène assez récent dans la

⁸ Desclés et Guentchéva 2007 : 36 « Many manner-of-motion verbs can combine with the prefix *do-* : *gonja* 'to pursue, to run after', *dogonja* (Pf) / *dogonvam* 'to reach, to catch' [...] ».

⁹ Desclés et Guentchéva 2007 : 39 : « A significant group of *do-*verbs derive from verbs having the property of cumulativity : *žana* 'to harvest' / *dožana* (Pf) 'to finish the harvest' [...] ».

¹⁰ Desclés et Guentchéva 2007 : 41–42 : « *Do-* is found in a series of verbs indicating the meaning of 'addition' : *sipvam* (impf) 'to pour in addition' [...] ».

¹¹ Desclés et Guentchéva 2007 : 42 : « Let us now consider the group of constructions related to a change in affective human states : *domarzja* (Pf) *me* 'start feeling lazy' [...] ».

langue, ce qui explique sans doute l'ambiguïté de ces formes.¹² De plus, le changement concerne le système verbal, qui est lui-même en restructuration vis-à-vis du roumain originel.

2. Tests

Cette forme (*do-*) est très productive, on l'entend quotidiennement. Si je me base sur mes enregistrements, je donnerais une estimation d'une occurrence par heure environ. Cependant, je tiens à rappeler qu'un corpus enregistré n'est qu'une partie des productions quotidiennes. Or, il est plus aisé d'enregistrer des narrations lors d'une pause-café plutôt que des dialogues banals que l'on peut faire en préparant la soupe. L'enquêteur ne peut pas enregistrer en permanence toutes les occurrences qu'il entend. Ainsi, pour compléter mon analyse, j'ai décidé de faire appel à des tests sur ce préverbe, malgré la méfiance que j'éprouve envers ce genre de procédés.¹³ Je me suis demandé quelles sortes de verbes acceptaient cette forme, selon différents critères, comme par exemple : +/- dynamique, +/- téléique, +/- momentané. Les résultats présentent un certain intérêt. Je ne reproduis pas ici d'autres tests que j'ai opérés parce qu'ils n'apportent pas de résultats probants.¹⁴

Les verbes statifs

Le verbe « être » exclut¹⁵ apparemment cette préverbalisation, ainsi que le verbe « connaître », comme le montrent les phrases (22) et (23). L'exemple (24b) serait acceptable dans certaines circonstances.¹⁶

¹² Mon sentiment de locuteur natif me mène à croire que ce phénomène de Valakonje est récent. Pour autant, des dialectologues ont noté son apparition depuis plusieurs dizaines d'années dans d'autres endroits, en particulier dans le Banat des deux côtés de la frontière (Flora 1969, ou Neiescu 1970). L'un n'exclut pas l'autre, à l'échelle de la « vie » d'une langue.

¹³ L'acceptabilité des exemples construits dépend du locuteur et de son humeur... Voir plus précisément Labov et son étude (2001).

¹⁴ Par exemple, un verbe préfixé accompagné d'un complément de temps introduit par *de*, « en » (« en cinq minutes » par exemple, etc.) n'éclaircit rien *a priori*.

¹⁵ Lors d'un terrain ultérieur, j'ai eu l'occasion d'entendre un exemple avec le verbe « être ».

¹⁶ Mais doit-on aussi essayer d'imaginer des contextes où ces verbes seraient acceptés, sous une forme ou une autre ?

(22) Valaque

a. <i>Fluar'a</i>	<i>estă</i>	<i>frumuas-ă.</i>
Fleur.F.SG.DÉF	être.PRES.3.SG	belle.F.SG
b. * <i>Fluar'a</i>	<i>doestă</i>	<i>frumuasă.</i>
Fleur.F.SG.DÉF	PRÉF. être. PRES.3.SG	belle.F.SG

La fleur est belle.

(23) Valaque

a. <i>El</i>	<i>cunoaşće</i>	<i>p'e</i>	<i>Ana.</i>
3.SG	connaître.PRES.3.SG	sur	Ana
b. * <i>El</i>	<i>docunoaşće</i>	<i>p'e</i>	<i>Ana.</i>
3.SG	PRÉF. connaître.PRES.3.SG	sur	Ana

Il connaît Ana.

(24) Valaque

a. <i>El</i>	<i>ar'e</i>	<i>un</i>	<i>car.</i>
3.SG	avoir.PRES.3.SG	INDÉF.M.SG	voiture.M.SG
b. ? <i>El</i>	<i>doar'e</i>	<i>un</i>	<i>car.</i>
3.SG	PRÉF. avoir. PRES.3.SG	INDÉF.M.SG	voiture.M.SG

a. Il a une voiture.

b. ? Il a finalement une voiture.

L'exemple (24b) est imaginable dans le cas où quelqu'un a longtemps souhaité avoir une voiture et en a finalement obtenu une. Peut-être les phrases (22) à (24) seraient-elles plus audibles au parfait composé ou au parfait simple ?

+/- Télifiques

Voici quelques exemples, sous forme de tableau, pour illustrer la télécité. Pour d'autres exemples, le lecteur pourra aussi se référer aux énoncés de la partie précédente. Ici, ce sont des exemples construits au « parfait composé¹⁷ » pour le verbe « manger » avec des objets directs à la forme définie et indéfinie. J'ai ajouté le partitif pour pouvoir comparer.

¹⁷ Je rappelle que ce genre de dénominations est le résultat des traditions grammaticales roumaines, que je reprends dans mes études.

Tableau 1: « Manger » à la troisième personne du singulier au « parfait composé »

« Parfait composé »	Verbe	Do- + Verbe	Négation
Sans complément	<i>A mîncat.</i> Il a mangé.	<i>A domîncat.</i> Il a fini par manger. / Il a fini de manger.	<i>Nu a domîncat.</i> Il n'a pas fini de manger. / Il n'a pas tellement mangé. / Finalement, il n'a pas mangé.
Complément indéfini	<i>A mîncat o pîne.</i> Il a mangé un pain.	<i>A domîncat o pîne.</i> Il a fini par manger un pain. / Il a fini de manger un pain.	<i>Nu a domîncat o pîne.</i> Il n'a pas mangé un pain entier. / Il n'a pas fini de manger un pain.
Complément défini	<i>A mîncat pîna.</i> Il a mangé le pain.	<i>A domîncat pîna.</i> Il a mangé le pain (jusqu'au bout). / Il a fini par manger le pain.	<i>Nu a domîncat pîna.</i> Il n'a pas mangé le pain jusqu'au bout. / Il n'a pas fini de manger le pain.
Complément partitif	<i>A mîncat pîne.</i> Il a mangé du pain.	<i>A domîncat pîne.</i> Il a fini par manger du pain. / Il a fini de manger du pain.	<i>Nu a domîncat pîne.</i> Il n'a pas beaucoup mangé de pain. / Il ne mangeait pas beaucoup de pain.

+/- Momentanés

(25) Valaque

- a. *A cazut.*
tomber.PC.3.SG
- b. *A docazut.*
PREF.tomber. PC.3.SG

- a. Il est tombé.
- b. Il a **fini par tomber**.

(26) Valaque

- a. *A eksplodirit.*
exploder.PC.3.SG
- b. *A doeksplodirit.*
PREF.exploder.PC.3.SG
 - a. Il/elle a explosé.
 - b. Il/elle a fini par exploser.

Il apparaît qu'avec des verbes momentanés, la lecture avec la visée d'achèvement soit plus probable que les autres possibilités. La phrase (25b) s'appliquerait par exemple dans le cas d'un vieil arbre pour lequel tout le monde s'attendait à ce qu'il tombe. Pour autant, des contextes où la lecture d'un achèvement pur serait compatible avec un verbe momentané préfixé est toujours imaginable...

Les verbes de modalité

(27) Valaque

- | | | | |
|----------------------|-----------|-------------------------|----------------|
| a. <i>A dputut</i> | <i>sã</i> | <i>raďise</i> | <i>tuorba.</i> |
| PREF.pouvoir.PC.3.SG | SUB | soulever.SUBJ.3.SG | sac.F.SG.DÉF |
| b. <i>A putut</i> | <i>sã</i> | <i>doraďise</i> | <i>tuorba.</i> |
| pouvoir.PC.3.SG | SUB | PREF.soulever.SUBJ.3.SG | sac.F.SG.DÉF |

Il a (finalement) pu soulever le sac.

Le verbe « pouvoir » accepte le préverbe *do-*. Cependant, dans ces cas-là, le locuteur préférera déplacer le préfixe sur le verbe principal, pour ne pas le garder sur un verbe de modalité tel que « pouvoir ». J'imagine que le verbe « vouloir » aurait les mêmes exigences. Évidemment, le sens n'est pas tout à fait identique. Il semble que le premier exemple aurait une lecture davantage modale, un empêchement aurait été dépassé.

Les verbes de phase

Les verbes de phase, tels « commencer » ou « finir de » acceptent ce préfixe verbal.

(28) Valaque

- | | |
|-------------------------|----------------|
| <i>A dporňit</i> | <i>filmu ?</i> |
| PREF.commencer. PC.3.SG | film.M.SG.DÉF |

Le film a finalement commencé ?/ Il a (finalement) commencé le film ?

(29) Valaque

<i>A dofiršit</i>	<i>filmu ?</i>
PRÉF.finir.PC.3.SG	film.M.SG.DÉF

Il a fini le film ? / Il a finalement fini le film ?

Pour conclure cette deuxième partie, ce préfixe marche-t-il avec tous les tiroirs verbaux ? Je n'ai pas eu d'exemples où cette préfixation s'est faite avec l'imparfait et le plus-que-parfait, mais je rappelle que ces deux tiroirs ne sont pas les plus usités en valaque. Pour autant, une action téléique ne me semble pas incompatible avec la préverbalement en *do-* à l'imparfait : le résultat serait un itératif. Tous les modes sont possibles avec *do-* : l'indicatif est évidemment le plus courant, mais on le trouve aussi à l'impératif (7) ou (30), ou au subjonctif (12) et (14). Une mère peut très bien donner cet ordre à son enfant, comme l'atteste cet exemple enregistré :

(30) Valaque

[A table :]
 Bo : *Mirko, doia asta !*
 Mirko, PREF.prendre.IMPER.2.SG ceci
 (Mi : *Neka, ostavi.* [réponse en serbe]
 Bo: *Iai asta ?*)

Bo: Mirko, **finis** ça!
 Mi: Non, laisse. [réponse en serbe]
 Bo : Tu prends ça ?

Ce type d'exemples est quotidien. Ainsi, cette forme est très répandue et elle est compatible avec quasiment tous les tiroirs et tous les modes. La grande majorité des verbes est concernée par cette préfixation. En effet, seuls les verbes statifs écartent cette préfixation, même si la préfixation est sans doute envisageable dans certains cas très contextualisés. Quant aux verbes + momentanés, ils privilégient la lecture de la visée de l'achèvement. Malheureusement, il est impossible de donner une règle qui prévoirait le sens de l'énoncé. Il faut calculer à chaque occurrence l'ensemble des données du contexte afin de faire le bon choix sémantique et de comprendre les implications de l'énoncé. Parfois, même avec le contexte, l'ambiguïté demeure.

3. Comparaisons

a. *Do-* en serbe

La grammaire de Stevanović (1975 : 434–35) décrit en un court paragraphe les emplois du préfixe *do-* en serbe,¹⁸ dont je traduis les grands traits ici.

- Déplacement dans le temps ou jusqu'à une frontière : *doći, dotrčati, doživeti,...*
- Déplacer un objet jusqu'à soi, ou un endroit : *dobaciti, dovesti, doneti...*
- Finir jusqu'au bout une action non terminée avant, et finir une action en général : *dogoreti, dozidati, dopuniti, dočitati...*
- Prendre contact avec quelque chose ou quelqu'un et le prendre éventuellement : *doviknuti, dodirnuti, dozvati, dokazati...*
- Faire une action jusqu'au bout au profit de quelqu'un ou épuiser l'action du verbe simple : *dosuditi, dotrajati...*

De cette courte description, il est évident que c'est la troisième valeur qui a inspiré le valaque, celle qui touche à la fin d'une action. *Do-* reste uniquement un préfixe aspectuel en serbe, avec un large panel d'utilisation. Il serait pertinent d'analyser *do-* avec les imperfectifs secondaires serbes par exemple, et de voir si la visée de l'achèvement n'apparaît pas, puisque le valaque fait apparaître aussi bien l'achèvement que la visée d'achèvement. Par ailleurs, dans son utilisation, le valaque ajoute parfois une valeur modale qui n'existe pas en serbe.

b. *Do-* dans d'autres variétés daco-roumaines

Quelques mots à propos du roumain. Le roumain standard n'emploie pas ce préverbe *do-*. Pourtant celui-ci a été remarqué dans quelques villages banatiens, des deux côtés de la frontière serbo-roumaine. Il a été question que Petru Neiescu intègre des questions sur *do-* et *pro-* dans son Atlas Régional du Banat.¹⁹ Radu Flora en fait état dans son ouvrage sur le parler roumain du Banat yougoslave. Il cite (1969 : 63–66) notamment D. Şandru²⁰ (1937), qui explique que *do-* (« jusqu'à ») *pre-* (« par-dessus,

¹⁸ Il serait intéressant d'effectuer une description complète de l'emploi du préfixe *do-* en serbe et de comparer ensuite ces données avec le valaque, ce que je propose de faire dans une recherche ultérieure.

¹⁹ Voir Petru Neiescu (1970).

²⁰ Je n'ai malheureusement pas eu accès à cette recherche de Şandru (1937).

avant ») et *iz-* (« de, depuis ») sont empruntés dans la région de l'Almăj, une zone au sud-ouest de la Roumanie. Le préverbe *pre-* est cité, il se réalise comme *pro-* en réalité. Pour ce préfixe, je retrouve la même forme et la même utilisation à Valakonje :

(31) Valaque

M- *am produs.*
REFL **PREF.**partir. PC.1.SG

Je suis parti de nouveau.

En revanche, les valeurs du préfixe *do-* dans le Banat en Serbie et en Roumanie divergent, d'après l'analyse des données de Şandru et Flora (les exemples (32) et (33) sont repris dans Flora 1969 : 65, avec son orthographe).

(32) Roumain du Banat (Flora 1969 : 65)

O doajyuns.
PREF.arriver.PC.3.SG

Il vient juste d'arriver.

(33) Roumain du Banat (Flora 1969 : 65)

Nu dojera.
NEG **PREF.**être.3.SG.IMP

Il ne l'était pas encore.

(34) Valaque

Ajunsă.
arriver.3.SG.PS

Il/elle vient d'arriver. / Il/elle arriva.

L'exemple (33) paraît peu probable dans mon parler, les verbes statifs étant réticents envers ce préverbe. De plus, le tiroir utilisé est l'imparfait. Quant à l'exemple (32), il montre un *do-* qui permet de rendre le passé immédiat. Cette utilisation de *do-* ne correspond pas à celle de Valakonje. D'une part, *a doajyuns* signifierait « il a fini d'arriver = il est arrivé, il est finalement arrivé », et d'autre part, c'est une autre forme grammaticale, et en l'occurrence le parfait simple, qui permet de rendre le passé immédiat à Valakonje, comme le montre l'exemple (34). De plus, Flora donne quelques autres exemples de verbes préfixés dans sa partie sur la morphologie (1969 : 466) où la traduction semble à chaque fois adaptée

au verbe particulier²¹ plutôt qu'à l'étude en détail de la forme. Ainsi, pour saisir complètement l'exemple (32), il faudrait savoir si le parfait simple existe dans le parler en question, et si ce n'est pas une traduction rapide effectuée par un locuteur, ou par lui-même, que Flora donne comme glose. Le problème est de savoir quelle est la part de sémantisme due au préfixe *do-*, ou au verbe en question (verbe de motion en l'occurrence), et la part due au contexte de l'énonciation pris comme exemple (si toutefois Flora s'est basé sur un discours libre et non pas sur un questionnaire rapide...).

Afin de mieux appréhender la différence d'emploi de ce préverbe dans le Banat et à Valakonje, voici un autre exemple fourni par Flora.

(35) Roumain du Banat (Flora 1969 : 466)

O doaşceptat.

PREF.attendre.PC.3.SG

Il a beaucoup attendu. [Il en a eu assez d'attendre.]

Načekao se. [traduction en serbe donnée par Flora 1969 : 466]

(36) Valaque

A doaşceptat.

PREF.attendre.PC.3.SG

Il a attendu (jusqu'au bout). / Finalement, il a attendu.

Il est impossible en réalité de se faire une idée précise à partir de traductions effectuées en serbe, malgré tout, Flora et moi donnons un sens distinct à cette préverbation. Est-ce dû à des faits linguistiques différents ou bien à des outils méthodologiques et conceptuels dissemblables ?

Par ailleurs, une autre recherche plus récente traite rapidement des emprunts du serbe en roumain dans la région du Banat. Richard Sârbu (2006 : 17) signale l'emprunt de certains préfixes : *do-*, *pro-*, *ză-*. Pour lui, ces préfixes marquent la *modalité d'action* (2006 : 17). D'après lui, *do-* donne « une valeur durative ou terminative », on leur attache « le sens d'une action finie, son point final dans le temps, dans l'espace et dans la quantité » (2006 : 17).

²¹ Je précise que le livre de Flora traite de linguistique aréale basée sur des recherches de terrain. Son livre est une synthèse des occurrences phonétiques et morphologiques. Il n'explicite pas les occurrences, elles sont citées sans contexte, sans même des phrases.

(37) Roumain du Banat (Sârbu 2006 : 17)

<i>N-</i>	<i>am</i>	<i>mai</i>	<i>dotârpit</i>
NEG	avoir.AUX.1.SG	plus	PREF.supporter.PART.PAS
<i>șî</i>	<i>l-</i>	<i>am batut.</i>	
Et	3.SG.ACC	battre.PC.3.SG	

Nu am mai rezistat până la capăt și l-am bătut. [Traduction de Sârbu en roumain, sans les gloses]

Je n'ai pas pu résister jusqu'au bout et je l'ai battu.

Pro- marque une action « faite de nouveau » (Sârbu 2006 : 18), et *ză-*, qui en serbe est une marque inchoative, ne garde ce sens en roumain que dans certaines circonstances. Sârbu donne quelques exemples attestés, tout en signalant (Sârbu 2006 : 18, dans sa note en bas de page) que les exemples qu'il fournit ont été notés par lui dans des villages différents. Est-il certain que les utilisations de ces préfixes sont identiques partout ? S'il s'agit d'Aktionsart, comme il le signale (Sârbu 2006 : 17), peut-on parler d'un système où on opposerait l'inchoatif avec un terminatif ?

Ainsi, l'innovation du Banat roumain et serbe est partagée, le phénomène a eu le temps de se répandre des deux côtés de la frontière. Ce phénomène a donc dû s'étaler sur un certain laps de temps. En revanche, l'innovation du roumain de Valakonje n'est pas liée avec certitude au phénomène du Banat, puisque les valeurs de Valakonje ne se recoupent pas avec celles notées par Flora. Le court paragraphe de Sârbu ne permet pas de me prononcer vis-à-vis des données et de sa position ; sans doute est-ce dû à l'habituelle variation que les chercheurs de terrain rencontrent à chaque pas. Un fait intéressant noté par Sârbu est l'emprunt du préfixe *za-*, en tant qu'inchoatif, dont le nombre d'occurrences est limité à quelques formes. Il n'y a guère qu'un exemple avec ce préfixe repris en commun entre le Banat et Valakonje, et il s'agit d'un nom : *zaposîtî*, « le début du jeûne ». Ainsi, l'emprunt de *do-* à Valakonje s'est peut-être construit localement et indépendamment.²² Cet emprunt est-il ancien dans ce village ? Je pense en réalité qu'il s'agit d'un phénomène encore récent en cours de grammaticalisation.

c. A propos de l'aroumain, du méglénoroumain
et de l'istroroumain

Petar Atanasov (1990 : 208) a fait état d'une opposition aspectuelle en méglénoroumain. Ce parler a développé un vrai système d'opposition inspiré

²² Biljana Sikimić et Annemarie Sorescu rencontrent ce préfixe dans certains points d'enquête de la Serbie orientale. La variation est partout présente, et la fréquence d'utilisation est aussi très disparate, selon les points d'enquête et selon les idiolectes.

du slave environnant. Cette opposition « perfectif » / « imperfectif »²³ s'exprime par un préfixe ajouté à la forme perfective et par l'absence de celui-ci à la forme imperfective, qui peut, par ailleurs, être changée par un suffixe. Atanasov (1990 : 208) donne une liste d'une douzaine de préfixes :

« Certains de ces préfixes marquent un début d'action (*pru-*, *zǎ-*, *rǎz-*), d'autres l'accomplissement/ l'achèvement d'une action (*du-*, *nǎ-*, *iz-*, etc.). »

Il remarque aussi des changements de sens. Il ajoute qu'il y a aussi une opposition imperfectif/itératif qui ne concerne que les verbes d'origine macédonienne (1990 : 209).

Il est évident que le méglénoroumain dépasse amplement le phénomène que j'observe à Valakonje. Le méglénoroumain possède une opposition qui concerne le système verbal entier, ce qui n'est pas le cas à Valakonje : la perfectivisation reste un choix de l'énonciateur. Mais il est particulièrement important de voir que ce même préfixe *do-* exprime aussi l'achèvement en mégléno-roumain (exemple²⁴ cité par Atanasov 1990 : 208 : *toarțiri/dutoarțiri* : « filer la laine »), comme en roumain de Valakonje. Cicerone Poghirc fait état du même phénomène et donne quelques autres verbes sans pour autant donner le sémantisme de ces marques (1981 : 58) : *ardu/duardu* : « brûler », *beau/dubeau* « boire », etc. Il précise toutefois que « ce procédé s'applique même à des verbes d'origine latine » (1981 : 58), pareillement à Valakonje, comme le montrent les énoncés précédemment cités.

Poghirc (1981 : 58) traite aussi d'un autre parler roumain, l'istroumain, où l'aspect verbal serait encore plus développé. Trois oppositions s'y trouvent : imperfectif/perfectif, imperfectif/itératif et perfectif/itératif. Ces contrastes ont des réalisations complexes qui s'opposent dans des paires aspectuelles d'origine slave et latine, avec éventuellement des préfixes et des suffixes. Il parle notamment de paires « hybrides » dans certains cas où un verbe d'origine latine s'oppose à un verbe d'origine slave comme *be/popi* « boire », *torče/spredi* « filer la laine ». Le seul exemple qu'il cite pour l'istroumain avec le préfixe *do-* concerne un verbe d'origine slave : *leti/doleti* « voler » (1981 : 58), dont le sémantisme serait l'accomplissement ou l'achèvement. Frățilă confirme l'influence du croate et éventuellement du slovène sur l'istroumain, où se trouve une « catégorie morphologique de l'aspect verbal » (Sârbu et Frățilă 1998 : 27). Elle se manifeste à travers des paires aspectuelles dont l'opposition est la

²³ Je garde la dénomination de Petar Atanasov, qui suit les appellations slaves.

²⁴ Les formes ne sont malheureusement pas contextualisées, seuls les morphèmes concernés sont cités.

« limitation » ou non de l'action dans le temps et l'espace, selon les termes de Frăţilă (Sârbu et Frăţilă 1998 : 27). Par sa présentation, il corrobore les dires de Poghirc. Parfois, les paires verbales slaves sont empruntées directement : *jivi/dojivi* « vivre », *beli/pobeli* « blanchir », etc. ; à d'autres moments la préfixation s'opère directement sur un verbe istroroumain : *muri/pomuri* « mourir », *cuheşi/scuheşi* « bouillir, préparer » ; on trouve aussi des suffixes : *lucrå/lucråveşi* « travailler », etc. ou bien des paires construites par une opposition istroroumain/slave : *mâncă/poidi* « manger », etc. Ces phénomènes sont signalés chez les différents auteurs sans pour autant être amplement décrits, ce qui ne permet pas à mon sens une comparaison factuelle plus approfondie.

Malgré tout, dans le cas de ces autres parlars de roumain balkanique, le phénomène est beaucoup plus avancé. Tout porte à croire que des créations de vraies oppositions aspectuelles s'opèrent dans ces divers endroits. Par opposition, le phénomène de Valakonje invite à penser que ce parler n'a pas encore installé un système d'opposition aspectuelle systématique, où *do-* ne serait qu'un préfixe parmi d'autres. Au contraire, *do-* se spécialise dans ce sens, aux dépens des autres morphèmes de serbe qui auraient pu accompagner ce processus, comme *za-* dans le Banat. L'hypothèse probable est que *do-* porte en lui un trait sémantique d'achèvement suffisamment fort, tout en n'étant qu'un emprunt grammatical, pour devenir un préfixe aspectuel. Comme cette opposition n'est pas encore systématique, on peut en conclure que les oppositions aspectuelles des tiroirs verbaux, et en particulier au passé, sont encore opératoires dans la langue (voir à ce propos Petrović, à paraître).

Néanmoins, il est intéressant de voir que la situation de contacts de langues crée un environnement propice à des emprunts similaires. Ainsi, dans trois endroits distants géographiquement et sous l'influence de trois langues slaves différentes (serbe, macédonien et croate) le même phénomène d'opposition aspectuelle grâce au préfixe *do-* apparaît dans trois variétés de roumain balkanique.

Pour conclure, il s'agit d'une innovation assez importante dans le système verbal valaque. L'utilisation de ce morphème est très productive et fréquente. Néanmoins, le système verbal n'est pas complètement atteint par cette innovation dans la mesure où tous les verbes ne présentent pas une paire aspectuelle prédéfinie comme ce serait le cas en méglénoroumain ou en istroroumain. Rendre perfectif un verbe est plutôt une option que le locuteur peut activer ou non au moment de son élocution. Pour distinguer l'achèvement de la visée de l'achèvement, le valaque ne présente pas de distinction morphologique comme le bulgare par exemple ; le sémantisme de la forme s'explique par le contexte, et les tests linguistiques

n'atteignent pas toujours leurs buts. Il faut aussi préciser que cette évolution linguistique est due à un contact de langue, donc à une influence externe (superposition de ce parler roumain avec le serbe). Finalement, dans quelle mesure le reste du système verbal est-il touché par ce changement linguistique ?

Abréviations

DAT : datif, DÉF : défini, DÉM : démonstratif, F : féminin, FUT1 : futur 1, FUT2 : futur 2, GEN : génitif, IMP : imparfait, IMPER : impératif, IMPERF : imperfectif, INDEF : indéfini, M : masculin, NÉG : négation, PL : pluriel, PART : participe, PAS : passé, PC : parfait composé, PRES : présent, PREF : préfixe verbal, PS : parfait simple, RÉFL : réfléchi, SG : singulier, SUB : subordonnant, SUBJ : subjonctif, 1 : première personne, 2 : deuxième personne, 3 : troisième personne.

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A COGNITIVE APPROACH TO CASE-MARKED
AND PREPOSITIONAL GENITIVAL CONSTRUCTIONS
IN ROMANIAN

Abstract: In the case-marked versus prepositional-based system there seems to be obvious distributional differences according to the results of a contemporary newspaper-based corpus used for this study. It consists of the first page of four Romanian newspapers. The intention of this paper is to shed some light on the problem and suggest some ways of differentiating the cognitive bond between the nucleus and its determinant/s/ and the degree of possessiveness or inclusiveness that these morphologically distinguishable expressions of a genitival relation manifest. Finally the Romanian system is viewed in a wider Romance perspective. The ‘pure’ possessive genitive is expressed by the use of the oblique case, but is mostly substituted by the juxtaposition when the determinant is an acronym. The oblique case is also used to express subjective or objective genitive, but we also find the *de*-construction, particularly with an objective meaning. The preposition *de* is also used in possessive constructions if the meaning is generic.

Key words: Genitival constructions, possessiveness, inclusiveness, belonging, Romanian

Genitival constructions are often taken as good examples of contrastive linguistics, since there are so many ways of expressing this relation between a main word and its qualifiers or determinants. In Romanian the options are actually three: the case-marked genitive, the prepositional construction and the juxtaposition. Furthermore, there are several prepositional possibilities (*de, din, de la*) although the preposition *de* is the most frequently used. Other preposition are also used, but semantically it does not seem that they can really “compete”. I Thus, I do not discuss examples

like *Torta cu crema de brânză* (București, May 2008) ‘cake with cheese cream (=cheesecake).’

There is also the juxtaposition that is old but has become increasingly more frequent in Romance languages, cf Spanish *Restaurante Partida* (where the owner’s name is Partida)¹ and French *Rue Racine, Location ski* (cf. Grevisse 1986: 258–259; Palm 1989: 7–10; Togeby 1982: 155–157). It seems fairly obvious that the second element represents the possessor or some kind of qualifier in this adnominal construction.

The distribution of these three constructions has so far not been sufficiently focused on. In the case-marked versus prepositional-based system there seems to be obvious distributional differences according to the results of a contemporary newspaper-based corpus used for this study. It consists of the first page of four Romanian newspapers: *Adevărul* (A), *Cotidianul* (C), *Evenimentul zilei* (E), *Independent* (I) from June 16 2004, and they have given more than 500 examples. Furthermore, I have carried out a collection of around 100 examples found all around Bucharest in June 2004 and May 2008. These latter examples are taken from publicity and signs in public places like parks. The origin is given with the examples. Altogether, this study is based on some 600 examples, which means that it is limited, but the purpose is to identify the different genitival relations and constructions and to try to establish the syntactical usage of these constructions in modern Romanian, not to give any quantitative data or statistics.

The obvious differentiation between possessive and objective genitive only applies partially to the usage of these concepts in modern Romanian, and it is important to identify the factors that cause the use of one option and not the others and if there is a clear-cut border or not.

The intention of this paper is to shed some light on the problem and suggest some ways of differentiating the cognitive bond between the nucleus and its determinant/s/ and the degree of possessiveness or inclusiveness that these morphologically distinguishable expressions of a genitival relation manifest. Finally the Romanian system will be viewed in a wider Romance perspective.²

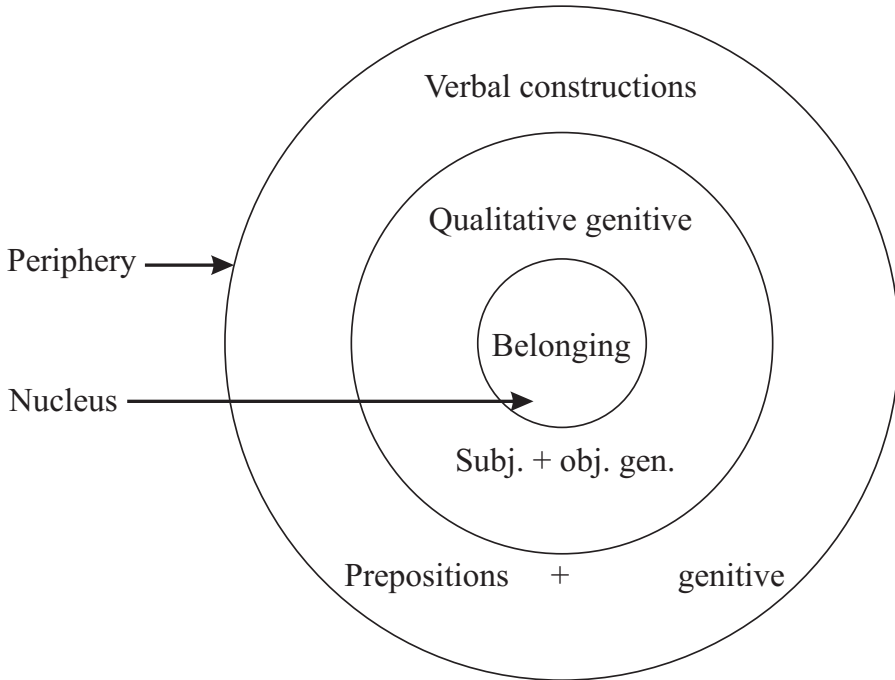
The very notion *genitive* is a problematic category. From a strictly formal point of view only the morphologically marked case should (and could) be called genitive, but from a functional standpoint both the

¹ The name of a restaurant in Villanueva de la Cañada, outside Madrid, June 2008.

² This is an updated and developed English version of an article that was written in French in 2005, ‘Qu’est-ce que c’est que le génitif ? Perspectives roumaines et romanes’, <http://www.ruc.dk/isok/skriftserier/XVI-SRK-Pub/RIL/RIL01-Soehman> 2005.

prepositional construction and the juxtaposition serve the same purpose. In Latin there was never such a thing as a 'pure' morphological genitive case. It always had other functions as well. In Romance languages the Latin Genitive had disappeared already in the oldest texts with two exceptions Romanian and Old French. However this case would rather be considered an oblique case since it does combine the functions of what was several cases in Latin (genitive, dative etc.). Strictly speaking Romanian is the only modern Romance language that has a morphologically marked genitive, but it also lacks the 'pure' delimitations of the very idea of the concept *genitive*. In Latin there were verbal constructions that demanded the genitive without any 'pure' syntactical genitival function like *aliquem absolvere proditiōnis* 'absolve somebody from the accusation' (Rubenbauer & Hofmann 1995: 156). This seems to be a typologically general phenomenon. We find similar constructions both in Germanic and Slavic languages, cf. Germ. *während meines Aufenthalts* 'during my stay' and Russian *Šol iz doma* '/S/he walked out of the house'. In Romanian there are similar syntactic constructions where the use of genitive is rather conventional than functional, *mulțumi cuiva* 'thank somebody for something'. In this case the relation is attributive and has a dative function. It therefore seems to be a better idea to call all three constructions that are dealt with in this article *genitival* regardless of the existence of morphological "markedness" or not. From a functional view-point and also from a communicative (and didactic) perspective it seems useful to compare these different constructions that could thus cognitively be classified as genitival. It would seem that the two basic or rather prototypical values of the genitive are *possession* and *belonging*, of which it seems that the most prototypical is the belonging as will be shown further down. *Belonging* is wider concept and includes *possession*. The prototypical value is normally the notion that has the widest semantic extension and less semantic intention which means that belonging is the prototypical value. This would put *belonging* in the cognitive centre of the semantic field, being the prototypical value, while other values, as will be shown further down, represent more limited notions with a deeper semantic intention. They will thus not be regarded as the semantic nucleus, and from a cognitive (and functional) point of view the verbal constructions with the oblique case where there is no real sense of belonging but grammaticalized constructions must be regarded peripheral, and the relationship could therefore tentatively be illustrated this way:

Figure 1

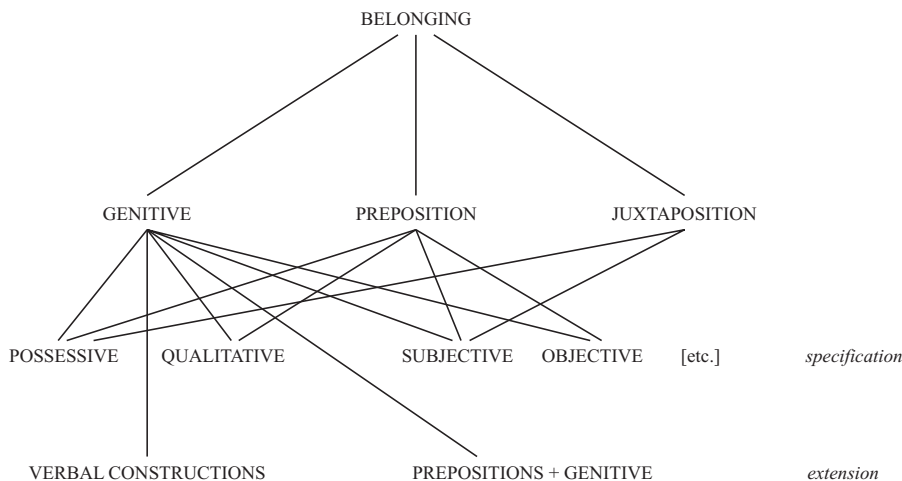


This rather simplified description should just serve as a basic idea of the functions that will be analyzed further down. *Subjective genitive* as well as *objective genitive* have for practical reasons been reduced to *subj. + obj.gen.* in figure 1.

However, it might seem contradictory that semantic values are mixed with formal criteria. This has, of course, to do with the fact that the morphologically marked genitive case is used also in grammaticalized constructions that have lost most, if not all, of their syntactic genitival function. As has been pointed out above, this is also the result of the fusion of the dative and the genitive into one oblique case in Romanian. They are just left in this figure for entirely formal reasons (they use the Romanian oblique case), and will not be dealt with further on, since they do not belong to the main problem which is discussed here.

In figure 2 the three formal constructions are presented as three syntactic ways of carrying out the semantic meaning of *belonging/genitive relation* in modern Romanian. The full interpretation of the figure will come further down.

Figure 2



The prototypical concept of belonging can be expressed in three different morpho-syntactic ways. These three constructions can also express other relations than belonging. These are seen as specifications in cognitive grammar (Kleiber 1995), and the “non-belonging” values of the oblique case are considered extensions that have left the prototypical values and become grammaticalized usages.

We could thus establish a structural evolution of the genitive and genitival constructions from Latin to Romance languages developing from a morphological case to prepositional usage and juxtaposition in this way:

Unique construction > Coexistence of several constructions > > Reduced coexistence

This would mean that what has happened is the following:

GC	>	GC/PC/J	>	PC/J
Latin		Old French Romanian		All the Romance languages (+GC in Romanian)

GC = Genitive Case
 PC = Prepositional Construction
 J = Juxtaposition

Thus, it is only in Old French and in Romanian that we have examples of the coexistence, and it is only in modern Romanian where this is still the case. The genitive has disappeared early, and this is not unique for the Romance languages. In Germanic languages we can see the very same tendency. In English the *of*-construction is being used more and more instead of the *s*-genitive (Allen 2002), and in German the preposition *von* is taking over the role of the genitive (Duden 2005: 849, 981). We can observe the same phenomenon in Celtic languages as well. In Breton, for instance, only the juxtaposition is possible, *an ti Yannig* ‘Yannig’s house’ (Ball 2002: 393), and this goes also for other Celtic languages (Ball 2002: 311–312). As has been shown in the figure 2 we have to regard semantic *specifications* that only maintain a partial synonymy with the prototypical value and *extensions*, where the semantic value differs quite a bit from the prototypical one, i.e. *belonging*.

Some linguists use the terms *premodifier* and *postmodifier* in English and other Germanic languages where there is a coexistence of the genitive case and the prepositional construction (Altenberg 1982: 76–87) as can be seen in example (1), but the Romanian system is different, although it might seem similar at a first glance, cf. (2).

- 1) The *neighbour’s* house — the conquest *of the city*
- 2) casa *vecinului* — *cucerirea de oraş*

The intention is not to carry on the discussion on what is truly genitive and what is not. For the purpose of this article the notion of *genitival construction* must be taken as an adequate concept (cf. Crystal 1997: 167–168, and Hultman 2003: 70) that summarizes the different constructions. As we have already discussed in Romanian the genitive case is fused with the dative into an oblique case, as can be seen in example (3), and it seems rather inadequate to insist on a formal criterion that does not stand out as unshakable.

- 3) I-am dat *doamnei* cartea (‘I have given the book *to* the lady’) — cartea *doamnei* (‘the lady’s book’ or, possibly ‘the book *of* the lady’)

What are the different usages that could be labelled genitive? In Latin grammar the following categories are usually identified (Rubenbauer & Hofmann 1995: 144–154), and it seems that this holds for Romanian too:

- Possessive Genitive *Templum Iovis* — *Gallia populi Romani est*.
- (Explicative Genitive *lacus Averni* cf. *La ville de Paris*) which is often seen as a subcategory of the possessive genitive.
- Subjective Genitive: the agent is doing something.

- Objective Genitive: the object of an action that is carried out by the subject (Sometimes it is hard to differentiate between Subjective and Objective genitive. Cf. *Victoria romanorum*, which is subjective if the Romans have won but objective if someone else has defeated them.)
- Qualitative Genitive which gives away someone's or something quality or characteristics. Cf. *puer decem annorum, eius modi proelium*.
- Partitive Genitive that indicates that something is a part of a bigger unity.

The other Romance languages use only prepositions and juxtaposition. The most used prepositions are *de/di*, cf. Port. *Um homem de negócios*, Sp. *un tronco de roble*, Fr. *cette fin d'été*, It. *il cavallo di Giovanni*.

In Italian and Sursilvan (a Swiss Rheto-Romance variety) we also find a variation between two prepositions *da* — *di/de* (cf. Carlsson 1966: 165–172; Maiden & Robustelli 2000: 173–187; Proudfoot & Cardo 1997: 94–96, Spescha 1989: 172, 543–545). It seems clear that *di/de* are the prototypical prepositions with a large semantic extension while *da* has a more limited use and more semantic intention.³

To sum up the previous discussion, a *genitival construction* is a nominal syntagm that consists of two nominal terms that are united by a morphologically marked trait, oblique case (*casa vecinului*), or by a preposition (*de, de la et din*), or just put together, juxtaposition, in order to create a syntagm (*Universitatea Spiru Haret*). In order to make the following discussion clearer I will use *nucleus* for the first term (*reduceri, insula and hotel*), cf. examples (4) — (6) that also constitutes the nucleus of the syntagm, and *determinant* for the modifier, or second element (*prețuri, copiilor and Herăstrău*).

4) Reduceri *de prețuri* (București, 8/5 08)

5) *Insula copiilor* (Herăstrău Park, May 2008)

6) Hotel *Herăstrău* (Herăstrău Park, May 2008)

In the corpus the case-marked genitive seems limited to two semantic relations 'true belonging' or *possessive genitive* (2) and to identify a verbal action, be it as an agent (7) who performs (*subjective*

³ Here I would like to thank my colleagues and friends, Florentin Lutz, Bern, Martin Maiden, Oxford, Magdalena Popescu-Marin, Bucharest, and Christopher Pountain, Cambridge/London, for valuable suggestions and improvements. We are all eagerly waiting for Lutz' extensive study that is soon to be published and which he so kindly has given me the opportunity to read.

genitive) or as a patient (9) on which/whom the action is performed (*objective genitive*). The only real difference between these last two categories is the direction or influence of the action, *agent* or *patient*.

7) Stăpânii *internetului* (poster, Bucharest, 8/5–08)

8) laureatul *premiului* Nobel Orhan Pamuk (poster, Bucharest, 8/5–08)

The possessive genitive expresses that something (the determinant) belongs to the nucleus. This nucleus can be either fully included in the concept represented by the determinant — *total belonging* (9) or the determinant has only a possessive/dominant relation with the nucleus — *incomplete belonging* (10).

9) *Senatul României* [A1]

10) *nunta fiicei fostului* primar [A1]

As has been shown in the examples (7) and (8) the verbal action can either be carried out by an agent /11) — (12) or be the patient of the action (13) — (14).

11) *Demisia lui*⁴ *Ioan* din funcția de Ministru al Administrației și Internelelor [C1]

12) *creșterea prețului* la energie [A1]

13) *privatizarea societăților* Electrica Banat și Electrica Dobrogea [A1]

14) *strategia de prezentare a candidaților* [C1]

The only other examples with the oblique case that has been found in the corpus is the partitive genitive (15) — (18), especially if there is a temporal reference like in (17) and (18) — *luni, anului*.

15) *În prima zi* de la *începerea înscrierilor* la dealerii Dacia [A1]

16) *acum parcă se ferește și de restul partidului*. [A1]

17) *până la finele acestei luni* [C1]

18) *la jumătatea anului* în curs [A1]

The qualitative relation is rather some kind of specification or limitation in order to reduce the semantic content of the nucleus. This is where the preposition *de* is mainly used, as is shown in the examples (19) — (20).

19) *scenarii de coșmar* [E1]

20) *Toate cele trei proiecte de lege* [C1]

However, there are examples that might seem contradictory since they express either the possessive genitive (21) or the objective (4) and (22) in spite of the use of the preposition *de*. Had this not been the case, the explanation given above would have turned out so neatly.

⁴ Especially with proper male names it can be difficult to put them in genitive, so this genitival particle is used (Irimia 1973: 73; Rosenstand Hansen 1952: 61–69).

- 21) *șeful lor de partid* trebuie să zică [A1]
 22) *schimbarea de fațadă* [I1]

In the case of expressing a possessive relationship with something/someone modern Romanian normally uses the oblique case (23), but the preposition *de* can also be used. There is, of course, a semantic difference. This difference is found in French for instance, and we need only to compare the following to syntagms *le chien de berger* and *le chien du berger*. The main difference is if we are dealing with a generic or concrete referent (Carlsson 1966: 27–47). The definite article is used to identify the determinant as a specified person or persons (23) while the use of the preposition without any article is interpreted as generic and semantically closer to a qualitative genitive that ‘only’ characterizes without necessarily concretizing (24), even if this can also be the case like in (21). Nevertheless, in this example the focus seems to be rather the function of the person, i.e. his title, than himself as a person.

- 23) *liderii partidului* de guvernământ [C1]
 24) *partidul* de guvernământ [C1]

It is interesting to see that although the semantic difference between a generic and a specific referent in French is expressed by means of the definite article, Romanian separates the two categories using the preposition for the generic referent and the possessive genitive for specific one. In (23) we are talking about the specific people who are in charge of the party and what they may come up with, while we are merely singling out one party that has the function of ruling the country. This becomes even clearer as the word for ‘government’ in Romanian is *guvern*. The word *guvernământ* means ‘the governing’ and could never mean ‘government’, so it expresses a quality and is used as an attribute.

The prepositions *din* and *de la* complicate the picture, but the examples of the corpus singles out the main characteristics of their syntactic usage. It seems that *din* identifies the provenance or location of something *Universitatea din București*, which means the University of Bucharest, while *facultatea de la universitate* marks a smaller unit within a bigger one, and, furthermore, if we want to identify a specific unit characterized by certain qualities and not as belonging to something the preposition *de* is used. Thus we find the *de*-construction *Facultatea de limbi străine*. Example (25) illustrates this very clearly. In (26) we can also see that *de la* is locating something although not so geographically as *din* would seem to do.

- 25) decan al Facultății *de* Studii Est-europene *de la* Universitatea *din* Sapporo [C23:4]
 26) Internetul *de la* ClickNet (Herăstrău Park, May 2008)

The juxtaposition with the determinant in an immediate adnominal postposition is by no means unheard of in Romance languages (Croft 1990: 29–38). It existed already in Old French (Herslund 1980: 82–93; Palm 1976: 21–38), but it does not seem very likely that it would be a construction that has survived. It seems more probable that although it existed as a syntactic possibility it has become more popular in modern times due to the tendency of reducing the message, especially in publicity and informative signs as the case in French, Italian and Spanish where this “deprepositionalization” is relatively recent and now very frequent, cf. *location ski, auto-école, servizio sportelli* and *pedidos números atrasados*. Cervoni discusses this “deprepositionalization” and if this loss complicates or destroys the comprehension of the message. He gives the telegraphic message (that coincides well with modern SMS messages) *Arrive Montpellier train minuit*.

[...] c’est de la relation interpersonnelle de l’expéditeur et du destinataire, de ce qu’ils savent l’un sur l’autre et des lieux respectifs où ils se trouvent que dépendent les mots à restituer pour qu’un télégramme remplisse sa fonction ; (Cervoni 1991: 9)

It therefore seems probable that the juxtaposition is the consequence of an unexpressed intention to focus on the main points of a message leaving out what could be regarded unnecessary for the correct interpretation of it. In Romanian as in the other Romance languages this is often found in publicity and signs (27)–(31).

- 27) interpreți toate limbile [publ.]
- 28) telefon clienți [publ.]
- 29) Pista alegare (Parcul Herăstrău 7/5 2008)
- 30) Atenție garaj [sign]
- 31) cărți vizită pe loc [publ.]

These examples have been written down on several places in Bucharest in June 2004 and May 2008. That the tendency is not new, even if it seems to have been increasing, show signs like *clubul sportiv Dinamo, Secția kaiac-canoe* that have been hanging in the Herăstrău Park for decades as have signs like *Reparații încălțăminte*. In all these examples it is easy to add the qualitative *de* and these adnominal constructions can be seen with or without the preposition: *Salon de coafură* or *Salon coafură* do not differ semantically.

In modern Romanian there also exists a new use of this adnominal construction, and that is where the determinant is an acronym (32) – (37). Examples like (32) are also found with the oblique case-ending *Problema PSD-ului*. In these cases the genitive is (at least mostly) possessive and

the juxtaposition is competing with the oblique case. The use of the genitival article *al-* *a* is also an indication that this is a variant of the oblique case. This article is used after a noun or adjective that does not have the definite article immediately before the determinant, and it is never used with the prepositions.

- 32) Problema *PSD* [C1]
- 33) Un interviu exclusiv al senatorului Ioan Talpeș, președintele *UPSC* (*Independent*, 28/3 2008, p. 1)
- 34) Întâlnirea ultimei șanse pentru adoptarea Constituției *UE* [A 17]
- 35) știrile *PROTV* [publ.]
- 36) Emil Boc, președinte executiv *al PD* [A1]
- 37) Purtătoarea de cuvânt *a PSD* [A1]

Although the corpus is fairly reduced it still gives reasonably clear results so that we can well establish the syntactic rules that have to be considered when we want to express belonging in modern Romanian. In most grammars these genitival constructions are described in separate chapters according to their morphological construction and grammatical category. From a communicative and cognitive perspective this is highly questionable.

The ‘pure’ possessive genitive is expressed by the use of the oblique case, but is mostly substituted by the juxtaposition when the determinant is an acronym. The oblique case is also used to express subjective or objective genitive, but we also find the *de*-construction, particularly with an objective meaning. The preposition *de* is also used in possessive constructions if the meaning is generic.

Qualitative determinants are normally *de*-constructions, but if the provenance is emphasized *de* is substituted for *din* and referring to smaller units *de la* comes into the picture.

Finally the juxtaposition is very frequent in publicity and on sign replacing *de* and, sometimes it seems, also the oblique case.

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LANGUAGE AND IDENTITY AMONG THE SEPHARDIM IN THE TERRITORY OF THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA

Abstract: In this paper, the question of importance of Judeo-Spanish as the means for maintaining ethnic identity among the Sephardim in the territories of former Yugoslavia is investigated through an analysis of articles dedicated to the topic published in *El amigo del pueblo* (a Judeo-Spanish periodical which first was published in Serbia, and then in Bulgaria), fragments from the books by Ángel Pulido, *Los israelitas españoles y el idioma castellano* (Madrid 1904) and *Espanoles sin patria y la raza sefardí* (Madrid 1905), as well as unpublished documents from the Archive of Serbia and the Jewish Historical Museum in Belgrade.

The present analysis suggests that a specific language ideology (negative attitudes towards the minority language in question) has played a crucial role in language shift in favor of the majority languages in the region (which has not jeopardized the concept of ethnic identity and membership), thus supporting findings by other authors (e.g., Myhill 2004, Weis 2000) that the maintenance of ethnic identity among Jews over the centuries has often been strengthened by cultural (religious, traditional, literary, etc.) rather than linguistic criteria. From the theoretical standpoint, this research clearly supports the view that the construction of ethnicity and ethnic identity should be viewed as a complex process in which different factors (language being only one of them) have different values and saliency at different points in time (e.g., see Fishman 1989; 1999).

Key words: Sephardim, language ideology, ethnicity

1. Introduction

Identity in this paper is investigated primarily from the standpoint of ethnic identity, i.e., as a more organized way (in psychological and social terms) of ethnicity: “Ethnicity is rightly understood as an aspect of a

collectivity's self-recognition as well as an aspect of its recognition in the eyes of outsiders" (Fishman 1989: 24). Ethnic identity, in turn "requires a heightened notion of ethnic consciousness" (Fishman 1989: 33), and it has been interpreted in a myriad of ways in academic literature, in terms of definitions which emphasize different aspects of the concept: social, psychological, cultural, economic, political, etc. (see Fishman 1999: 3). More importantly, research has shown that various aspects of ethnicity and ethnic identity (such as paternity, patrimony, language, etc.) are changeable over time. In other terms, various dimensions of ethnicity and ethnic identity become more or less salient within a community, responding to both community-internal (attitudes and values associated with a given culture and its heritage) and community-external factors (social norms and values of a larger community, often underlined by political, economic and educational considerations). Language has often been identified as one of the most important symbols of ethnicity and ethnic identity:

The phenomenology of language and ethnicity may reveal how the language is characterized as well as why it has come to be the way it is (e.g., holy, rich, refined, musical, soft, exact, practical, pure, etc.); which of its current features are particularly significant (e.g., difficulty for others, dissimilarity from other languages, 'goodness of fit' with respect to ethnic sanctity, etc.); what communication tactics are to be employed across boundaries (should 'we' use their language or should 'they' use ours?), what potential and latitude exist with respect to mutability of the language, what is its mission (its transcendental purpose) (Fishman 1989: 31).

In the continuation of this paper, the phenomenon of the variability of saliency of language as a factor in constructing ethnicity and ethnic identity will be illustrated through the analysis of the relationship between the language and the identity of an ethnic group, namely of the Sephardim of the former Yugoslavia.

2. Ethnic identity and ethnic group in Western civilization: from 'ethnic' to 'minority' groups

The term 'ethnic group' is very closely related to that of ethnic identity, and in the most general terms it is defined as a community joined by common ancestry, along with common cultural, linguistic and/or religious practices. In political terms, ethnic groups are often differentiated from nations by a fact that the first do not have territorial and political sovereignty, which are the decisive characteristics of the second one. This latter statement has shaped the history of the study of relationship between ethnic identity and language in sociolinguistics and other related fields.

Namely, in the Western civilization of the last two and a half centuries, ethnic groups have typically been understood as minority groups speaking minority languages while living in territories where other politically, socially and economically dominant languages are spoken by the majority of the population within politically organized entities named states. Consequently, many researchers in this area have focused on (internal and external) factors of minority/ethnic language maintenance and language shift. As already pointed out, one of the most important external (non-structural, i.e., sociolinguistic), parameters under consideration in the study of ethnicity in the minority communities has surely been the relationship between language and ethnic identity: “Although language has rarely been equated with the totality of ethnicity, it has, in certain historical, regional and disciplinary contexts, been accorded priority within that totality” (Fishman 1999: 4). The concept of language ideology has also been introduced in an attempt to understand this complex relationship. Thus, Myhill (1999: 34) states, “The fate of many minority languages is likely to be determined to a large extent by ideology¹ — the ideology of people associated with minority languages and the ideology of those associated with mainstream ones.” It is important to point out that the concept of language ideology (namely, attitudes and beliefs about the language, its value and its functions at a community level at a certain point in time) will prove to be relevant in the analysis of the Sephardic communities in question.

The analysis presented herein is in agreement with the most recent research in sociolinguistics (e.g., Myhill 1999, 2004, Weis 2000, etc.), and it strongly suggests that language may not be the key to maintaining ethnic identity, as other parameters, such as religion and ancestry, sometimes play crucial role in this process (often leading to language shift and language death in minority communities), despite the fact that language has traditionally been considered an important symbol of its speakers’ cultural and ethnic membership, that is, it has very often throughout human history been understood as one of the basic means to construct identity.²

European Jews in general have for the last two centuries been actively interested in their linguistic practices and the underlying ideologies which presumably have helped mark their group identities. Jewish relationship between language and identity has been further complicated by

¹ Herein, ideology is understood as a systematic body of ideas about our reality, which often cannot be taken as parameters of objective evaluation of the same reality.

² Thus, minority language maintenance has often been hypothesized to favor and nourish ethnic identity.

the fact that there has been a number of linguistic varieties in use in different Jewish communities around the world, along with different speech registers: Yiddish, Judeo-Spanish, Judeo-Arabic, etc., which have all been used as varieties of spoken everyday communication, vs. Hebrew, along with its varieties, such as Ladino, with a Romance base and immense lexical and structural borrowings from Hebrew, used as languages of religion, traditional education, etc.

In the continuation of this paper, an argument is constructed according to which negative language attitudes (i.e., a particular language ideology) have played a crucial role in language shift among the Sephardim in the territories of former Yugoslavia in favor of the majority languages in the region (which, incidentally, has not jeopardized the concept of their ethnic identity and membership), thus supporting findings by other authors (e.g., Myhill 2004; Weiss 2000) that the maintenance of ethnic identity among Jews over the centuries has often been strengthened by cultural (religious, traditional, literary, etc.) rather than linguistic criteria. Our findings also support Fishman's (1989, 1999) views regarding the complexity of relationship among the factors which shape and characterize ethnic identity, and the mutability of their saliency (in this case, the saliency of the symbolism of the Judeo-Spanish as the carrier of ethnic identity among the Sephardim).

3. Language and identity among the Sephardim in the territories of former Yugoslavia

3.1. Beliefs and attitudes towards Judeo-Spanish

In order to better understand the role that language has played in the construction of the Sephardic identity in different periods of the Sephardic social history, it is necessary to analyze language ideologies, i.e., different linguistic attitudes and beliefs of the Judeo-Spanish speakers towards their language, in line with Fishman's (1989) views on the phenomenology of language and ethnicity cited at the beginning of this paper. As research indicates that these attitudes and beliefs have been rather uniform among the Levantine Sephardim, illustrative examples from other Sephardic communities (outside of the territory of former Yugoslavia) will be provided throughout this analysis.

3.1.1. Beliefs about the origin and the character of Judeo-Spanish

Today the majority of the Sephardim are aware of the fact that their language is a historical descendent of (Classical) Spanish. Until the beginning of the 20th century, however, the Sephardim in the territories of

Former Yugoslavia (as well as in the Balkans in general) maintained a strong belief that Judeo-Spanish is a “Jewish language”, rather than a Romance variety. Along the same vein, terms such as *djudio/djidio* and *djudezmo/judezmo* were often in use to designate the above variety (see, e.g., Harris 1994: 232). According to the Max Nordau, this belief was mostly present among most members of the lower and middle social classes, while the educated and the intellectuals had a clear notion about its origins.

When Nordau approached a Sephardic woman in Belgrade and asked her if she spoke Spanish, she replied:

[1] No, señor (...). — Hablo chudeo (judío). (Pulido: 1905, 47) No, Sir (...). — I speak Jewish.

However, her husband interfered and corrected her:

[2] Esta mujer no está culta (...) y no sabe lo que habla. Si lo supiera, diría que habla español. (Pulido 1905: 47) [This woman is not educated (...) and doesn't know what she is saying. If she knew better, she would say that she speaks Spanish.]

Also, Rafael Cohen from Smirna wrote that one of his compatriots asked him:

[3] ¿Es verdad que lo que nosotros hablamos es una lengua Europea? ¿No es en Judesmo lo que nosotros hablamos? (Pulido 1905: 52) [¿Is it true that we speak a European language? ¿Is it not Judesmo that we speak?]

Cohen, excited by this question, comments the compatriot's ignorance:

[4] Yo reia de desgracia y mi corazon se angustiaba al ver un pueblo, mi pueblo, hablar una idioma la mas ermosisima sin saber, o bien sin comprender lo que él habla. (Pulido 1905: 52) [I laughed with sorrow and my hearth sank as I saw a nation, my nation, speaking the most beautiful language without knowing it, or without understanding it.]

The frequency and diffusion of the terms *djudio/ djidio* ('Jewish') and *djudezmo/ judezmo* ('Judaism'), which the Sephardim used for their language, testify about the belief in question. As Hassán noticed, these terms confirm that the Sephardim did not preserve their language “for the love of their ‘stepmother’ homeland Spain, as it was said and repeated many times, but for their own sake, or for the ‘love’ for the language itself” (*por amor a la “madrstra” patria España, como se ha dicho y se repite, sino por fidelidad a sí mismos o por amor “propio”*) (Hassán 1995: 120).³

³ There are also studies about some more recent beliefs about the origin of Judeo-Spanish. Harris (1994: 231–232) has pointed out in her investigations (1978, 1985) that

In his letter to Ángel Pulido, Benko Davičo, a Sephardic lawyer from Belgrade, cites the linguistic data from the 1900 *Census*. He mentions that the Jewish inhabitants in Serbia use the term Spanish to name Judeo-Spanish as well as the Peninsular Spanish. Furthermore, Davičo states that the Sephardim have given their language different names, one of which was also the *Hebrew language*:

[5] Concernandolos en general esos datos son exactos, mas como hijo nacido y crecido aqui, puedo confirmarle que afuera de los judios que propios en las listas del censo notaron como sus lengua materna el “español”, todos los que como lenguaje maternal notaron el servio, hablan sin excepcion, tambien el castellano, y se trovaran muchos entre los judios que hablando la jerga castellana en las listas mencionadas la bautizaron de otro nombre, por ejemplo: como hebrea. (Pulido 1905: 642) [In general terms, these data are correct; however, as I was born and raised here, I can assure you that besides the Jews who wrote on the Census lists that their mother tongue was ‘Spanish’, all those who declared Serbian as their mother tongue, also speak Spanish without an exception. Also, there are many Jews who speak a Spanish *jargon* that in the Census was named in different ways, Hebrew, for example.]

At the beginning of the 20th century, when the Spaniards ‘discovered’ the Sephardic communities on the Orient, another myth was created “that Judeo-Spanish was the Spanish from the time of the exile ‘spoiled’ by loanwords from other languages” (*que el judeoespañol fuera el español de los tiempos de la expulsión “impurificado” por préstamos de otras lenguas*) (Hassán 1995: 123). This belief about Judeo-Spanish as inferior and degenerated was common not only among the Sephardim, but also among various investigators. Hassán comments that in those times “among so many purists, there was no one who could tell them that if their language was in fact a bad Spanish, it was at the same time a good, or rather, an excellent Judeo-Spanish” (*entre tanto purista, [faltó] alguien que les dijera que si su lengua era en efecto un mal español, era sin embargo un buen, un buenísimo judeoespañol*) (Hassán 1995: 123).

In the debate about Judeo-Spanish, recorded in the newspaper *El amigo del pueblo* in 1894, a member of the younger generation of Sephardic intellectuals of Belgrade manifests that their ethnic language is, among other things, a ‘bad’ Spanish; he believes that this particular Spanish ‘dialect’ does not enable the Sephardim to communicate with their compatriots

among the Sephardim who live in United States and Israel, there are informants who classify this language as “a mixed language”. They consider their language to be the Classical Spanish combined with other languages: “Old Spanish plus a blend or mixture of other languages, especially Turkish, Greek, Hebrew, French, and Italian” (Harris 1994: 231–232).

from other parts of Serbia, Bulgaria or Germany, because it is full of “errors and provincialisms”. Later on, he asks himself whether this language is good for anything if “a true Spaniard cannot understand it” (R.P.: 01/03/1894, 200–202; cit. from: Štulić 2003).

3.2. Attitudes towards Judeo-Spanish

During the 19th and at the beginning of the 20th century, some vital changes occurred in the Orient. The disintegration of the Ottoman Empire, the creation of different nation states in the Balkans and the modernization of life fostered changes in the life of Sephardic communities as well. The Sephardim tried to adapt to these new circumstances and to fit more comfortably into the majority community. For this purpose, they needed the knowledge of the official language of the country, which gained prestige among the Sephardim at the cost of their ethnic language.

During that period, many Sephardim had negative attitudes towards Judeo-Spanish, which are closely related to the belief that Judeo-Spanish was a ‘degenerated’ Spanish, and inferior to the dominant language: many of its speakers thought that it was not elegant enough, that it was incapable of expressing modern or complex ideas, that its lexicon was underdeveloped, etc. (Harris 1994: 231) Thus, Judeo-Spanish became a stigmatized language, whose use in public was considered to mark an unwillingness to incorporate into the dominant community. In other words, the use of Judeo-Spanish was viewed as frustrating to the attempts of the Sephardim to advance their economic and social status.

In his book *Espanoles sin patria y la raza sefardí (Spaniards without homeland and the Sephardic race)*, Ángel Pulido writes about these attitudes:

[6] Pero se dice por muchos y en sus cartas nos lo objetan bastantes: es que el judeo-español es un idioma degenerado, corrompido, sin bellezas, sin armonías, sin graciosos matices musicales, sin robustas y brillantes expresiones, sin esa armazón, solidez y grandeza arquitectónica que dan la gramática y el esmerado aliño de la cultura literaria secular; es que eso no es ya un idioma, sino la ruina, el desecho lamentable y feo de una lengua. Y los que dicen esto desconocen y desatienden muchas fundamentales consideraciones (Pulido 1905: 49–50). [Many people say and also many point out in their letters: Judeo-Spanish is a degenerated language, corrupt, without beauty, without harmony, without music and grace, without vigorous and brilliant expressions, without the foundation, solidity and architectural greatness which are given by the grammar and the careful embellishment of the secular literary culture; that it is not a language anymore, but a ruin, a sad and ugly remainder of a language. However, those who say this ignore and overlook many fundamental considerations.]

In a letter sent to Pulido, Aaron José Hazan from Smirna points out that Judeo-Spanish is ‘corrupted’ and it needs to be brought closer to Modern Spanish.

[7] Los editores y diarions de España no podran contar sobre una clientela en el Oriente que si los escritos pueden ser bien entendidos aquí. Ya sabe Usted como nuestro lenguaje es corrompido. — Es menester, poco á poco, assercarlo de la verdadera lengua de Cervantes. Espéro poder ansi secundar los esfuerzos de Usted por perfeccionar la lengua española hablada en el Oriente, y ser, de esta manera, un humilde obrador en la tarea patriotica que Usted emprendio (Pulido 1905: 453). [The editors and the newspapers from Spain could not count on a public from the Orient although their texts can be well understood here. You already now that our language is corrupted. — It is necessary, step by step, to bring it closer to the true language of Cervantes. In this way, I would like to support your efforts to perfect the Spanish language spoken in the Orient, and to contribute in a modest manner to this patriotic task you have initiated.]

Rafael Cohen from Smirna, shares this opinion:

[8] Pero la fuerza con la cuala esos últimos [los sefarditas] hablan por sus lengua, nos mostra quanto esta lengua no cesará de circular entre nuestro pueblo. Una cosa falta y esta es de asimilarla al verdadero Castellano. (Pulido 1905: 52) [The vigor with which the latter [the Sephardim] talk about their language, shows us that this language will not cease to exist among our people. One thing should be done and that is to assimilate it to the true Castilian.]

And while ones saw the solution for the decadence of Judeo-Spanish in ‘bringing it closer’ to the Modern Spanish, the others opted for the shift towards the majority language, especially in those domains of language use which meant more interethnic cooperation, and in which the knowledge of the official language facilitated social progress and achievement.⁴

⁴ A major obstacle to the integration of the Sephardim into the majority community during the 1860s was also the fact that, Jewish children in Serbia could not attend public schools and universities due to their lack of knowledge of the official language (despite the fact that there were no official impediments for their integration into the school system). (*Archive of Serbia, Ministry of Education*, XII r. 1774/ 1864, n° 565) For that reason, the Jewish Community contacted the *Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs* on various occasions with the request to reorganize Jewish schools in accordance with the public educational system, and with Serbian as the language of instruction. The Sephardic representatives emphasized:

[i] samo ovim načinom moći[će] Jevrejska mladež Srbski jezik izučiti i pribaviti sebi znanja koja su nuždna za prelazak u viša učevna zavedanja [this is the only way for the Jewish youth to learn the Serbian language and to acquire the knowledge for necessary higher studies] (*Archive of Serbia, Ministry of Education*, XII r. 1774/ 1864, n° 565).

A writer Hajim Davičo, one of the first Sephardic intellectuals with a strong Serbian orientation, considered inevitable the incorporation of the Sephardim in the majority society and the acceptance of Serbian (Viđaković 1986: 110). In his short story *Naumi*, Davičo presents in a form of a dialogue between two secondary characters, two different attitudes towards the use of Serbian which existed in the Sephardic community in Belgrade at the end of the 19th century:

[9] — Ta da, da je do tebe ti bi već davno želeo, da svi naši molitvenici, pored starog jevrejskog teksta imaju i srpski prevod; znam, da je to tvoj davnašnji ideal, prihvati Hajim jetko i podsmešljivo.

— Ne odričem. Meni je samo žao, što uviđam, da je to vreme u dalekoj budućnosti. Naši državnici nisu dovoljno bespredrasudni i nacionalni, da bi mogli nužnom ustalačnošću privoleti naš podmladak da usvoji državni jezik, kao maternji jezik; a mi opet nemamo toliko patriotizma, da iz sopstvenih pobuda počnemo uvoditi u kuće i van kuća *srpski jezik, nego kuburimo sa mrvicama jezika najblagorodnijeg od svijui naroda.* (Davičo 2000: 32) [– It's clear, if it were up to you, you would have already introduced into our prayer books, the Serbian translation along with the old Jewish texts; I know that that is your old ideal, continued Hajim with an air of bitterness and mockery. — I don't deny it. I'm only sorry because I'm aware of the fact that this will not happen for a very long time. Our leaders have not yet liberated themselves from prejudices and do not understand our national interests; therefore, they cannot convince our youth with necessary enthusiasm to adopt the official language as their mother tongue; on the other hand, we are not patriotic enough to start using the Serbian language inside and outside of our homes, but we vegetate on the crumbs of the language of the most noble people of all.]

By reforming the Jewish schools, the Sephardim tried to find a solution to the problem of education in their community and, at the same time, to avoid admitting their children into the public schools. In this way, they intended to assure the maintenance of their religion and traditions:

[ii] Osim toga valja uzeti u prizrenje, da mi nismo radi napustiti svoj crkveni jezik, ni pravila verozakona koja ispovedamo i da bi predavanje takovo u smesi sa srpskom decom bilo također sa nekom tegobom skopčano. [Furthermore, we would like to call your attention to the fact that we are not willing to abandon neither our religious language nor the rules of the religion we profess, and that a mixed instruction with the Serbian children would only bring inconvenience.] (*Archive of Serbia, Ministry of Education*, XII r. 1774/ 1864, n° 565). Nevertheless, in the same document, the Sephardim express their worry about the poor knowledge of Serbian among their children. The Sephardic fathers expect:

[iii] Jevrejska mladež za kratko vreme obljubiti srbski jezik i sa svim ga zameniti sa stranim, kojim se danas Jevreji u Srbiji služe [that the Jewish youth will soon embrace the Serbian language and substitute with it this completely foreign language that the Jews use today in Serbia] (*Archive of Serbia, Ministry of Education*, XII r. 1774/ 1864, n° 565).

To counterbalance the above attitude, another movement was also active among the Sephardim during the second half of the 19th century and at the beginning of the 20th century, which insisted on creating a positive attitude towards Judeo-Spanish, even though the belief about the “impure” character of the language remained.

In the debate which was published in the journal *El amigo del pueblo* cited above, a reader S. R. from Belgrade, points out that the Sephardim feel that Judeo-Spanish is the language which has enabled the Sephardic communities scattered all over the world to remain connected over a very long period of time. According to his words, this is the language:

[10] lakuala la eskožimos kaši komo “muestra” la kuala la mayorita de muestros konermanos la aprovečan i la kuala mos esta detenyendo i atando a mozotros kon los otros ermanos sefardim esparzidos sovre todas las partes del mundo. čusto komo los [eslabones] de la kadena! (S.R.: 15/02/1894, 181–183; cit. in: Štulić 2003) [Which we have chosen almost as “ours”, which the majority of our compatriots use and which is connecting us to the other *Sefardim* brothers scattered all around the world. Just like [the individual rings] on a chain!]

Positive attitudes towards Judeo-Spanish were also enhanced by its frequent identification with the (Pre)Classical Spanish (from the period of the expulsion) or with Modern Spanish. To give more prestige to their ethnic language, they also gave it the name of “the language of Cervantes”, although Cervantes was born almost sixty years after the exile of the Jews from the Iberian Peninsula.

Abraham A. Cappon, a writer and an editor of the Sephardic journal *La Alborada* (Sarajevo, 1900–1901), emphasizes this in his famous poem dedicated to Spain: “In the name of the Sephardim devotees and guardians of the language of Cervantes” (“*En nombre de los sefarditas amantes y conservadores de la lengua de Cervantes*”) (Cappon 1922: 1). In the prologue to his book *Poesías (Poems)*, Cappon once again highlights his affection for Castilian:

[11] Las cartas sobredichas [de Ángel Pulido y Ramón Menéndez Pidal] y las alentadas palabras de mi distinguido amigo Sr. Manuel Manrique de Lara. [...] me hacen creer que el producto de mi péndola será de buen agrado á mis correligionarios sefarditas, y que hasta en España será bien acogido, ya que es el trabajo de un descendiente de los desterrados de aquel país, donde sus agüelos dejaron las cenizas de muchos célebres que contribuyeron á la extensión de la cultura en el mundo y que, aunque esparcidos por toda la tierra, conservan todavía la lengua de Cervantes.

Por lo tanto me honro dedicando esta obra á los amantes de nuestro dulce y armonioso idioma castellano (Cappon 1922: V–VI). [The above mentioned

letters [from Ángel Pulido and Ramón Menéndez Pidal] and the encouraging words of my distinguished friend Mr. Manuel Manrique de Lara. [...] make me believe that my Sephardic compatriots will like the fruits of my pen, and that even in Spain they will be well accepted, as this is a work of a descendant of those who were exiled from that country, where their forefathers left the ashes of many celebrities which contributed to the diffusion of culture around the world, and who, although scattered all over the world, still preserve the language of Cervantes. That is why I dedicate with honor this work to the devotees of our sweet and harmonious Castilian language]

3.2.1. Attitudes towards the shift of Judeo-Spanish

Once again, attitudes of the Judeo-Spanish speakers towards the shift and/or maintenance of their ethnic language have proven to be of crucial importance in the processes of language shift, which occurred in all the Sephardic communities in the Former Yugoslavia and in the Balkans in general. To illustrate this fact, we will present the sociolinguistic situation in the Belgrade Sephardic community, where the language shift from Judeo-Spanish to Serbian occurred between the 1860s and 1940s. The debate about the mother tongue of the Sephardim, published in 1894 in the journal *El amigo del pueblo*,⁵ presenting the points of view of the two movements (outlined above) active among the Sephardim in Serbia and Bulgaria, is very illustrative of the passions which this issued provoked across the Sephardic communities in the Balkans.

One attitude shared by the representatives of both movements was the recognition of the fact that the maintenance of Judeo-Spanish was in danger and that its future was not a promising one. Thus, in his response to Ángel Pulido's question if the Judeo-Spanish was maintained among the Sephardim in Serbia, Benko Davičo writes in 1905:

[12] ¿Se conserva bien el judeo-español? Se conserva, mas como un edificio el cual quinientos años no podieron derrocar; pero ennegrecieron su blancura de mármol. (Pulido 1905: 642) [Is Judeo-Spanish well preserved? It is preserved, but more as a building which five hundred years of history could not tear down; however, they have managed to tarnish its marble whiteness.]

The debate in *El amigo del pueblo* was prompted by the foundation of a society of young Sephardic intellectuals whose intention was to abandon the "Spanish language" in their community. The position of a reader S.R., who initiated it, was that Jews should be loyal citizens, accept the

⁵ At that time, *El amigo del pueblo* already moved to Sofia, but the Sephardim from Belgrade and from other Serbian towns continued to read it.

“spirit of the nation” and use the language of the country, but that, at the same time, they did not have any reason whatsoever to abandon their own language and religion. The author of the article points out: if their forefathers “had lost” Hebrew as a mother tongue, their sons should not repeat the same error with Judeo-Spanish, a language which the Sephardim had been using for more than 400 years. (S.R.: 15/02/1894, 181–183; cited from Štulić 2003)

In the next issue, a representative of the younger generation claims that “the old and sacred” Hebrew language is in fact the true mother tongue of the Sephardim. In his opinion, this is the most “unfortunate” nation in the world, because even one word of this language could not be heard in their homes (R.P.: 01/03/1894, 200–202; cited by: Štulić 2003). According to the points of view of the young Sephardim of that time:

[13] Ay mas grande verguensa ke el dezir ke un mansevo nasido en la serbia, bulgarya, nemčya o frančya no save serbesko, bulgaresko nemčesko o frančes? (R.P.: 01/03/1894, 200–202; cited by: Štulić 2003) [Would there be a greater disgrace then to say that of a young man from Serbia, Bulgaria, Germany or France, that he does not know Serbian, Bulgarian, German or French?]

The majority of the participants in the debate believed they needed to pay respect to the country which gave them shelter and all the civil rights by using its language, even if it caused an abandonment of their mother tongue.

[14] (...) ke komo lengua materna prime tomar la lengua de la tyera ke mos resivyo kon manos avyertas en el tyempo de muestra dezgrasya la kuala mos dyo i mos da los frutos de todas las derečidades ke goza kada uno de nuestros konermanos. la deviza de la manseveria inteligente muestra es de aresivir por lengua materna la lengua serba i puede tener komo resultado de alešar la avla espanyola si no por entero alomenos komo lengua materna. para mozotros la lengua espanyola es una lengua ažena i kon poko sensya se puede pensar ke kada uno emprimero kale ke sepa la lengua de su tyera i *enos en segundo lugar lenguas aženas (R.P.: 01/03/1894, 200–202; cited in: Štulić 2003) [(...) as a mother tongue we should take the language of the country that received us with arms wide open in time of our misery, and which has given us the fruits of all the rights enjoyed by each of ours compatriots. Our young intellectuals claim we should accept Serbian as our mother tongue even if this results in an abandonment of the Spanish variant (if not completely, than at least as the mother tongue). To us, Spanish is a foreign language and you don't have to be very smart to understand that everyone first has to learn the language of his country, and only then should he learn foreign languages.]

The language question immediately provoked great interest among the readers. The editors received numerous letters from the Sephardim from various towns across the Peninsula. They all wanted to express their opinions about the question of their mother tongue. In the following ten issues, in the column dedicated to the “Spanish language” the texts of the readers from Niš, Belgrade, Vidin and Vienna were published (Mefano: 15/03/1894, 219–220; S. R.: 01/04/1894, 234–236; 15/04/1894, 246–249; Hason: 01/05/1894, 264–266; 15/05/1894, 276–278; 01/06/ 1894, 297–299; *Un estudiante*: 01/08/1894, 359–361; 15/08/1894, 373–375). All of them agreed with the author of the initial letter and defended the maintenance of Judeo-Spanish with additional arguments. Nevertheless, everyone emphasized the necessity for the Sephardim to dominate completely the languages of the countries in which they lived. One letter published in two issues, sent by a student from Vienna stands out from the rest as he offers a completely opposite point of view: the author claims that not all young Sephardim share the opinion on the necessity of replacing Judeo-Spanish with the majority language. This reader defends the maintenance of the ethnic language and calls upon the Sephardic intellectuals to renew the national literature in Judeo-Spanish (*Un estudiante*: 01/08/1894, 359–361; 15/08/1894, 373–375).

At the moment when the language issue gained maturity and could have been considered and analyzed with absolute clarity, the Nazi occupation and the holocaust interrupted the process of the slow language shift, giving way to a complete loss, that is, to the death of Judeo-Spanish in the territories of former Yugoslavia. However, even though Judeo-Spanish has been lost as a vehicle of communication among the Sephardim who still live in these lands, we believe that a sociological and sociolinguistic research of language attitudes and beliefs of the members of the community at the beginning of the 21st century would yield interesting and valuable insight into the understanding of the relationship between language and ethnic identity in both this and other ethnic/minority communities.

4. Theoretical considerations

The analysis of the written corpus about the role and relevance of the Judeo-Spanish in the Sephardic communities in the former Yugoslavia and in the Balkans in general, presented in the previous sections, proves that the saliency of language in relationship with ethnicity and ethnic identity is a parameter whose values may shift from more to less positive ones over time, depending on a series of other factors relevant to the construction of these two complex concepts at individual and collective

levels. Small ethnic communities, such as the Sephardic ones, according to Fishman (1989: 33), “require constant alertness (mobilization) on behalf and via ethnicity”. This alertness, i.e., the need to recognize and protect group ethnic heritage, is often measured by a position and a quality of a boundary between an ethnic and a majority community. However, as Fishman (1989: 34) lucidly points out, boundaries are tested not only from the outside, but also from the inside, within a minority/ethnic community. Challenging the boundaries from within is often related to the creation, preservation and/or alteration of a set of attitudes and beliefs which ultimately shape our view of the world, organizing our ideas and knowledge in ideologies, which mark a specific point in time in a given cultural/traditional/religious context within a community.

The status of the Judeo-Spanish language among the Sephardim and its relevance for the preservation of the communities in question provides, in our opinion, an excellent example of this ‘test from within’, incited and accompanied by the changes in values of other social and cultural phenomena which have over time served as measures and symbols of ethnicity among the Sephardim. The general social context, historical circumstances, along with a set of positive and negative attitudes towards the ethnic language have opened doors to a process of language shift which affected all Sephardic communities in the Balkans during the second half of the 19th and the first half of the 20th century.

All the above are simply illustrations of the variability of different aspects of ethnicity (and language is only one of them). In conclusion, ethnicity, in Fishman’s (1989: 39) terms “need(s) not be mutually exclusive *vis-à-vis* other identities which may, at times, be more salient without thereby totally and irrevocably replacing ethnicity. Man’s (and particularly modern man’s) peculiar capacity for multiple loyalties, multiple identities and multiple memberships, apparently permits ethnicity to exist and coexist” with other identities featured within a larger/majority community. The argument proposed herein is that this was precisely the case of the Sephardim and their attitudes towards their ethnic language which was but one of many symbols of their ethnic culture.

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LANGUAGE ACQUISITION THROUGH EXPOSURE TO HISPANIC *TELENOVELAS*: AN EXCUSE?

Abstract: Foreign *telenovela* viewers frequently justify engaging in their favorite leisure-time activity by citing its pedagogical value, namely an opportunity to learn Spanish. The purpose of this study was to investigate if acquisition does indeed occur and, if so, to what extent. Participants were separated into two groups: 1) *telenovela* viewers, fifteen native speakers of Serbian without formal instruction in Spanish or prior residency in a Spanish speaking country, and 2) instructed learners, fifteen speakers of Serbian attending Spanish courses at A1 and A2 levels (Council of Europe 2001), who did not have any exposure to Spanish language programming or prior residency in the target language country. An attempt was made to evaluate the participants' receptive and productive language skills. Following the model of an on-line Spanish placement exam, a multiple choice test was designed with the lexicon taken from *telenovela* scripts. In addition, the participants were asked to complete a written translation task. Final collection of the data was obtained through semi-structured interviews conducted in Spanish in order to evaluate the participants' spoken interaction and production skills.

As expected, preliminary results show an advantage of instructed learners over *telenovela* viewers in the language test. However, while instructed learners generally had difficulties in the fluent production of spontaneous speech, most of the *telenovela* viewers were able to participate actively in meaningful conversation at the level of A2 language learners. These results are surprising since the *telenovela* viewers did not have prior experience with the productive use of the Spanish language, and yet they were able to creatively engage in communication. Besides immediate implications for language instruction, further research on this subject may offer additional insight on second language acquisition.

Key words: language acquisition, communicative competence, Spanish, authentic video material

Introduction

If you are a student of Spanish language and linguistics in Serbia, probably the most frequent question you hear in relation to your profession of choice is “Oh, so you like Spanish *telenovelas*?” Not that it is necessarily true, or that *telenovelas* are the only representation of the Hispanic culture in Serbia. However, the frequency of this question is certainly indicative of the importance of the *telenovela* phenomenon in Serbia, and more broadly in the Balkans.

Telenovelas are television soap operas in mini-series format with an origin in Spanish and Portuguese broadcasting. In spite of being derided and qualified as “opiate of the masses” (Slade and Beckenham 2005: 337), the impact and success of this genre is beyond any doubt, particularly since the late twentieth century. The extent of their popularity in Serbia may be measured by a number of different mini-series shown daily, approximately fifteen including reruns at the time this study was conducted (Politika TV Revija 2006).

A probable reason for a wide acceptance of *telenovelas* is in the narrative structure of the genre which might be seen as a modern-day fairytale. Interwoven plots and subplots in all the variants go from day to day in a mimicry of real life that could generally not be more unrealistic. Despite their fictional characters, twists and melodramatic exaggerations, *telenovelas* represent a view of the world that is acceptable and in line with the audience’s expectations and beliefs, a view that is not questioned but assumed to be the norm (Pearson 2005: 403). Thus, viewers are comforted with the predictable progression of the plot that allows them to enjoy variations to the main theme — the love story with a happy ending.

Besides the intrinsic enjoyment that comes from watching *telenovelas*, some *telenovela* viewers claim that an additional benefit derives from the acquisition of the Spanish language. The existing research has suggested that women tend to use arguments about the “pedagogical value” of fictional genres to legitimize the pleasures they obtain from consuming them (Radway 1991: 86–118). In the same vein, Porto notes how in his study of different interpretations of the Brazilian soap opera *Terra Nostra*, eight out of thirty-nine participants defended its “pedagogical role”, given its “accurate and important portrayal of the country’s history” (2005: 348). Therefore, it might be hypothesized that in the case of foreign language viewers the “pedagogical value” of *telenovelas* is perceived as opportunities for language learning. Indeed, many Serbian viewers of *telenovelas* suggested that they were able to acquire the Spanish language only

through watching these mini-series. The purpose of this study is, thus, to investigate if language acquisition does indeed occur and, if so, to what extent.

1. Theoretical Background

Research in second language acquisition¹ has shown that if learning is to be effective and permanent, it must be meaningful, involve active mental processes and relate to the previous knowledge of the learner (Hanley et al. 1995:57). Authentic television programming, then, seems to be a good tool for second language instruction since it provides language learners with an abundance of contextualized target language samples used by native speakers. There are many advantages of such materials: they offer natural, content rich samples of the target language (TL); there are plenty of extralinguistic cues that facilitate comprehension; and they present a combination of different sensory stimuli (acoustic and visual). These factors, in turn, influence the affective dispositions of the viewers who are consequently more inclined to pay attention to the language of video material. In addition, TV's entertaining qualities make it an easier medium to access than text, and it also minimizes the fear of failure in learning. It is suggested that, while watching a TV, learners can make predictions of new vocabulary and content so that viewing TV can actually be a cognitively active experience (Huang and Eskey 1999: 76).

A review of the existing body of literature in relation to the effects of authentic video materials on language proficiency indicates a particular interest in captioned programming. Captioning can be either intralingual, where the source language production is also used for the subtitles, or it can be interlingual, where the language of the television program appears translated into the target language on the screen (Williams and Thorne 2000: 219). Both can be used for language learning and have implications for second language instruction. In fact, most instructors consider subtitles necessary for all second language learners at beginner and intermediate levels because otherwise the authentic material might be either unintelligible or too difficult for learning to happen.

¹ A distinction is frequently made between second vs. foreign language learning/acquisition. Second language acquisition generally refers to the acquisition of a language in the target country, while foreign language acquisition is seen as referring to a language learned outside of the target culture. Although the issue at question principally targets the foreign language situation, for the purpose of simplicity, it will be subsumed under the broader concept of second language (L2).

The effects of captioned video material are generally explored in relation to listening comprehension and incidental acquisition of vocabulary. Huang and Eskey (1999) explored vocabulary/phrase acquisition and comprehension in L2 learners who were exposed to the same video material twice. The participants of the study were exposed to a posttest which consisted of a listening test that used the same format as the Listening Comprehension subtest of The Test of English as a Foreign Language (TOEFL). The results showed an advantage of the experimental group when compared to the control group who watched traditional TV without captions. Koskinen, Knable, Markham, Jensema and Kane (1996) were interested in the effects of captioned television viewing on the incidental learning of word meanings by adult inmates who speak English as their second language. Participants who were assigned to two groups viewed nine science information segments over a period of nine weeks. The experimental group watched the segments with intralingual captions, while the control group viewed the same segments without subtitles. Three posttests which consisted of word recognition, sentence anomaly, and word meaning measures were administered after exposure to each of the science segments. The results revealed no significant difference on the word recognition and sentence anomaly posttests. Nevertheless, the word meaning test yielded significant differences favoring the captioned television condition. It is noteworthy that a statistic analysis showed a positive relationship between oral English language competency and vocabulary learning. Participants with a higher level of oral proficiency were able to make more progress than their less proficient peers. Consequently, the developmental level of a language learner might be an important precondition for acquisition to occur in this context.

Very few studies to date explore the effects of authentic video material on production skills and rather focus on the listening comprehension and vocabulary acquisition in the TL. However, Weyers (1999) investigates the applicability of authentic video to enhancement of oral production. It is suggested that an increase in quality and quantity of input would result in a corresponding increase in output. Here, quantity is defined as the sheer amount of input reaching learners via video programming which is said to surpass the capabilities of a sole instructor. On the other hand, quality refers to the contextualized, unstructured (not graded for foreign language learners) native speech provided by video (Weyers 1999: 340). In the experiment, Weyers compared two groups of Spanish students from second-semester classes. One class viewed two episodes of a Mexican *telenovela* every week during an eight-week course, while the control group did not watch any video material during class sessions.

Since two class meetings were spent for *telenovela* viewing on a weekly basis, the experimental group had less time for oral in-class activities. At the end of the semester, both groups completed listening comprehension and oral production posttests. The data from the posttests were evaluated for listening and speaking proficiency (ACTFL 1999). Weyers suggests that the significant increase experienced by the experimental group in listening comprehension and in three areas of oral production (words per minute, confidence in speech, and scope and breadth of response) provided quantitative data to support pedagogical value of authentic video in improving some language acquisition skills.

In order to identify the optimal technique for the use of video material in the L2 classroom, Stewart and Pertusa (2004) compared the effects of interlingual and intralingual captioning for vocabulary recognition in Spanish learners at the intermediate level. The posttest results from three vocabulary tests showed slight differences in the improvement in vocabulary recognition in favor of the intralingual group. In addition, the comments from the survey administered after the experimental treatment is revealing in that it reflects the learners' positive perceptions of video material accompanied by subtitles in the target language. More than 75% of the group responded that they learned more vocabulary items because they were able to both hear the words and see them in their written form. Likewise, they believed that they would benefit more from viewing films with subtitles in the target language. On the other hand, the learners from the interlingual group claimed that their vocabulary acquisition was not optimal because they did not have an opportunity to see the words in their written form. Therefore, the authors concluded that viewing video material subtitled in the first language does not encourage learners to use their previous knowledge. On the contrary, it allows them to rely on reading in their first language instead of making the extra effort required to follow what they hear in the target language (Stewart and Pertusa 2004: 438).

These conclusions are of interest for the present study since they seem to suggest that L2 acquisition would be hindered if the viewers watched *telenovelas* with interlingual captioning. In Serbia, all foreign language programs are dubbed in Serbian, which allows viewers to fall back on their first language in order to understand programming. However, constant exposure to foreign languages (in this case Spanish) familiarizes viewers to the TL accompanied by subtitles, so there is a possibility that they might absorb the information conveyed by written dialogues without conscious attention to the written text (Caimi 2006).

This belief that closed-captioned television is an effective educational tool for L2 learners is partly based on the acquisition theory as proposed by Steven Krashen. The essential theoretical tenet of the theory is that adults can acquire language in a similar way as children do since they do not lose access to the language acquisition device. Thus, the purpose of language instruction is to create possibilities for language acquisition by providing sufficient comprehensible input (Krashen 1981, 1982). Only when the learner receives a sufficient amount of comprehensible input in the form of $i+1$ (just a little above the learner's developmental level) can acquisition occur. It is further suggested that comprehensible input automatically contains all the grammatical structures the learner is ready to acquire, according to the appropriate natural order. In other words, listening comprehension is the basis on which the acquisition process unfolds (Terrell 1993: 18). The quantity and quality of output is directly related to the quantity and quality of input to which learners are exposed. Consequently, an increase in the quantity and quality of input should result in a similar increase in a learners' output.

The acquisition theory was widely critiqued on several points, among others for underestimating the importance of language production. In Krashen's theory, output is seen as a way to practice existing knowledge or to elicit new input. It is not perceived as a way to gain new linguistic knowledge. However, insights from French immersion classroom suggest that in order for learners to become fully proficient in the TL, they need to have sufficient opportunities for language use (Swain 1995, Swain and Lapkin 1995). What is needed in L2 learning is for learners to be pushed toward the delivery of a message that is not only conveyed, but that is conveyed precisely, coherently, and appropriately. These observations led Swain to come up with the output hypothesis according to which "output may stimulate learners to move from semantic, open-ended, nondeterministic, strategic processing prevalent in comprehension to the complete grammatical processing needed for accurate production. Output, thus, would seem to have a potentially significant role in the development of syntax and morphology" (1995: 128). Language production moves learners from a primarily semantic use of language, as takes place in comprehension, to a syntactic use (Gass 2003: 227).

In light of these considerations, it would seem that *telenovela* viewers would be able to increase their listening comprehension if the input offered through Hispanic mini-series is of an appropriate complexity; that is, if it is just above their current level of proficiency. Inversely, if they have not been exposed to the Spanish language prior to watching *telenovelas*, there is very little evidence to support that they

would be able to take advantage of the foreign language programming, with or without captions. Furthermore, the output hypothesis suggests that even if *telenovela* viewers can produce TL utterances, they would show a high level of inaccuracy since average viewers of *telenovelas* in Serbia rarely have opportunities for Spanish language use.

2. The Study

In spite of the existing interest in the effects of foreign language programming on L2 acquisition, there is no research that would compare the acquisition of the language in instructed context as opposed to naturalistic L2 acquisition through watching foreign language videos. Therefore, the focus of this exploratory study is to investigate and compare the nature of communicative competence in Spanish language learners at beginning and intermediate levels with that of the *telenovela* viewers who have been watching Hispanic soap-operas for at least a year.

According to Canale and Swain (1980), communicative competence minimally includes grammatical, sociolinguistic, and strategic competence. Grammatical competence refers to the knowledge that enables production of accurate (grammatical) utterances. Sociolinguistic competence is concerned with the socio-cultural rules of use. It specifies the ways in which utterances are understood and produced appropriately with respect to the context of a specific speech act. Finally, strategic competence refers to the communicative strategies that are used to compensate for breakdowns in communication. Savignon (1997) further amplifies Canale and Swain's model by differentiating between four components of communicative competence — grammatical, sociolinguistic, discourse, and strategic competences. The essential attribute of discourse competence is an ability to create cohesive and coherent utterances.

The Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (Council of Europe 2001) corresponds to a great extent to the original concept of the communicative competence. It is suggested that it is comprised of linguistic competences, sociolinguistic competences, and pragmatic competences (2001: 108–130). Linguistic competences are defined as knowledge of and the ability to use the formal linguistic resources. It minimally consists of lexical, grammatical, semantic, phonological, orthographic, and orthoepic competences. Sociolinguistic competences refer to the knowledge and skills required to deal with the social dimension of language use, and they include knowledge of and the ability to use linguistic markers of social relations, politeness conventions, register differences, different dialects and sociolects. Finally, pragmatic

competences are further broken down to discourse competence (ability to arrange sentences in sequence so as to produce coherent stretches of language); functional competence (use of language for completing particular functional purposes); and, design competence (sequencing according to interactional and transactional schemata).

The purpose of this study is to explore the nature of communicative competences of learners exposed solely to Hispanic *telenovela* viewing when compared to Spanish language learners exposed only to classroom instruction. More precisely, we want to find out what is the nature of their linguistic competences in terms of lexical, grammatical, phonological, and orthographic competences, as well as their pragmatic competences with an emphasis on functional competence. An analysis of sociolinguistic competences, although interesting, is beyond the scope of this paper.

It is expected that the results of this exploratory study will show an advantage of instructed learners over *telenovela* viewers in linguistic competences. However, the existing research offers ambiguous suggestions on the possible level of proficiency of the participants in the two groups. While the acquisition theory would strongly support that *telenovela* viewers would surpass the instructed learners in both their receptive and productive skills, other more recent theories put this under question. The fact that, to our knowledge, there is no research of this kind makes any predictions highly speculative.

2.1. Participants. A group of thirty adult native speakers of Serbian participated in this study. They were separated into two groups according to their experience with Spanish language acquisition: 1) *telenovela* viewers, fifteen native speakers of Serbian without formal instruction in Spanish or prior residency in a Spanish speaking country, and 2) instructed learners, fifteen speakers of Serbian attending Spanish courses at A1 and A2 levels (Council of Europe 2001). All participants have similar demographic characteristics in terms of age, gender, educational background, and prior experience with language learning.

The so-called snowball technique was mainly used for the recruitment of participants. The researchers contacted some of the prospective participants who then asked their friends and relatives if they were willing to participate in the study. Three participants from the *telenovela* viewers were directly addressed in the street by one of the researchers. The purpose and procedures of the study were explained to the participants, as well as the voluntary nature of their participation.

2.2. Procedure. Data-collection was realized during the summer of 2006. In order to address the relevant components of communicative competences, three types of tests were administered: multiple choice test, word and sentence translation from Spanish to Serbian and vice versa, and a semi-structured interview. After brief introductions, the participants were given the tests to complete. They were not time constrained, although the time was measured by the researcher for the purpose of the later analysis. Following the written tests, an interview was conducted.

In order to ensure that the participants may complete the tasks, the language used for the evaluations was extracted from two sources: the *telenovela* scripts and the textbook *Prisma*. Five hours of the most popular *telenovela* of the time (*La Tormenta*) were video-recorded and then transcribed for the language samples. On the other hand, *Prisma* is the state-of-the-art Spanish language textbook used for formal instruction by different university departments, as well as private language courses. Importantly, most of our instructed learners were familiar with this textbook. The rationale behind this decision was to ensure that the participants had been previously exposed to the language that would appear in the tests.

Following a model of a Spanish placement exam, a multiple choice test was designed in order to evaluate the grammatical competence of the two groups of participants. Forty items of the test correspond to linguistic structures covered in beginner level Spanish courses (e.g., noun, adjective and verb agreement, use of pronouns, present, future and past tense, frequent verbal periphrases, basic meaning of some prepositions, etc.). The data from the two groups were analyzed through Student's t-test to show a potential difference between the groups.

In addition, the participants were asked to translate twenty words from Serbian to Spanish, as well as six sentences, three from Spanish to Serbian and three from Serbian to Spanish. The main interest behind the translations was to be able to evaluate orthographic competences. The sentences varied in difficulty and were designed in a way that would enable us to observe whether the participants had memorized formulaic expressions or were able to use the acquired structures creatively. For the sake of an example, a frequent expression heard in *telenovelas* is *Déjame solo/a* "Leave me alone", which appeared three times in our transcripts of the *telenovela* episodes. It was postulated that the *telenovela* viewers might have difficulties in translating the sentence "You are leaving me alone", since the original expression usually appears in command form. The instructed learners should not have problems in formulating the correct translation *Tú me dejas solo/a* "You are leaving me alone". The data collected through this section of the research were submitted to a

qualitative analysis with a purpose to find any observable patterns within the groups.

Since the main interest of the study was to explore the nature of the communicative competences in *telenovela* viewers, it was important to use a test that will measure TL proficiency in a holistic manner. It was assumed that a semi-structured interview was a good candidate for this kind of measure since it might demonstrate the speakers' ability to creatively use language in a contextualized manner, similar to a real life situation. The interviews addressed a variety of topics such as personal information, giving directions, and future plans. Unfortunately, because of some technical difficulties and, in some cases, participants' unwillingness to do an interview, only seventeen interviews were collected. Thus, we were not able to complete a statistical analysis of the data. Nevertheless, the qualitative interpretation of the results showed some interesting findings that will be discussed in the next section.

3. Results and discussion

3.1. Multiple choice test. The results of the multiple choice test were analyzed for a difference between the *telenovela* viewers and instructed learners. A statistically significant difference was assumed at the P-value < 0.01.

Student's t-test of the entire test showed a significant difference in favor of the instructed learners (Table 1). This suggests that the instructed learners have better control of discrete linguistic structures in a context that allows conscious attention to a correct form. This is further supported by the fact that instructed learners needed less time on average to complete the test (23.5 minutes) in comparison to the *telenovela* viewers (33.3 minutes).

Group	Sample size	Mean	Standard deviation	Statistics
<i>Telenovela</i> viewers	15	8.47	3.36	t = -3.87 df = 78 P-value < 0.01
Instructed learners	15	11.3	3.17	

Table 1. Results for the 40 items of the language test.

A more careful inspection of the results revealed a clear pattern in the responses of the instructed learners. Namely, the first half of the test that is representative of the structures taught at the level A1 showed higher accuracy when compared to the later segment of the test (Table 2). Such a pattern was not observed for the *telenovela* viewers, where a comparison

between the first and the last segment of the test did not show a statistically significant difference (Table 3).

Group	Sample size	Mean	Standard deviation	Statistics
<i>Telenovela</i> viewers	15	13.00	2.15	t = 2.71 df = 38 P-value < 0.01
Instructed learners	15	9.60	3.15	

Table 2. Comparison between the first and last segments of the test for the instructed learners.

	Sample size	Mean	Standard deviation	Statistics
First twenty items	15	9.70	3.16	t = 2.28 df = 38 P-value: 0.02
Last twenty items	15	7.25	2.34	

Table 3. Comparison between the first and last segments of the test for the *telenovela* viewers.

Consequently, a comparison of the separate portions of the test was conducted and, indeed, it showed a significant difference between the two groups on the first part of the test, but not so in the later (Tables 4 and 5).

Group	Sample size	Mean	Standard deviation	Statistics
<i>Telenovela</i> viewers	15	9.7	2.34	t = -4.64 df = 38 P-value < 0.01
Instructed learners	15	13	2.15	

Table 4. Results for the first 20 items of the language test.

Group	Sample size	Mean	Standard deviation	Statistics
<i>Telenovela</i> viewers	15	7.25	3.81	t = -2.13 df = 38 P-value: 0.04
Instructed learners	15	9.6	3.15	

Table 5. Results for the last 20 items of the language test.

This is an interesting finding because it might be taken to suggest that the *telenovela* viewers' group as a whole has a more equilibrated command of different linguistic structures when compared to the participants exposed solely to classroom instruction. Instructed learners show high accuracy for the language forms that were taught during the language course. A logical explanation for their low performance on the more advanced structures could be a simple lack of exposure to the complex linguistic forms. However, these results support that learners might be able to acquire even the complex structures if there were sufficient input in the form of authentic language material.

3.2. Translations. The translation part of the investigation was elaborated in order to assess orthographic competences of the participants. Since there are a limited number of items that the participants completed, the results and analysis should be approached with caution.

A word translation from Serbian to Spanish did not show an important difference between the two groups in the number of correct translations: an average of correct answers was 9.9 for the *telenovela* viewers and 12.1 for the instructed learners. However, while the orthography of the instructed learners was almost impeccable (14 items out of the total 300 were misspelled), the *telenovela* viewers manifested high level of inaccuracy in this respect. In several cases, the participants would simply use Serbian spelling conventions to represent Spanish pronunciation, e.g., *kalje* for *calle* "street", *kasa* for *casa* "house". As it could be expected, most mistakes were related either to Spanish letters that do not have direct representations in pronunciation (e.g., the silent "h" in words like *hermana* "sister"), or with sounds that might correspond to different letters (e.g., "j" in *hija* "daughter" but not in *gente* "people"). It must be noted, nevertheless, that the *telenovela* viewers did show certain systematicity in their use of spelling conventions. Thus, most participants of this group wrote *hentes* for *gente*, *compania* for *compañía* "company", either *cassa* or *kasa* for *casa* "home, house". Some participants were more creative, so we have *rocho* for *rojo* "red", *gatta* for *gato/a* "cat", etc.

These results are hardly surprising given that the *telenovela* viewers were never exposed to the Spanish language in its written form. The mistakes would have probably been more numerous if Spanish had had a more complex writing system. On the other hand, it is probably true that with a brief explicit explanation the participants would be able to improve their orthographic competence.

As far as the sentence translation is concerned, the *telenovela* viewers performed far beyond our expectations. Overall, they were able to

translate all the sentences in both directions, used language creatively, and produced correct utterances, that is, if we ignore the spelling mistakes. The sentences to be translated contained either periphrastic expressions such as *ellos siguen diciendo...* “they keep on saying...” or complex morphosyntactic structures such as the third conditional like *si hubiera sabido esto, yo habría hecho...* “if I had known that, I would have done...”. Naturally, the instructed learners almost always failed to complete this translation since they had never been explained or required to use this structure. On the other hand, the *telenovela* viewers did not show major difficulties in understanding this structure and gave acceptable translations for the targeted form. Minor mistakes were mainly related to the inappropriate use of vocabulary. In addition, it seems that the *telenovela* users did not reproduce memorized segments of language but were able to come up with an acceptable and creative answer. The already mentioned example *Tú me dejas sola* “You are leaving me alone” is quite illustrative. Not only were the participants able to produce correct utterances *Me dejas sola* (or the corresponding misspelled *Me dehas sola*), but in some cases used the more complex structure *estar + gerundio* that corresponds to the English present continuous tense: *Me estás dejando sola* in the misspelled form *Me estas dehando sola*.

The data from this section, thus, seems to prove our initial hypothesis that the *telenovela* viewers would show a lower level of orthographic competence in comparison with the instructed learners. However, they also show that the language acquired through the viewing of authentic video material may be organized in the learner’s mind in a way that would allow for the creative use of language — in spite of the lack of opportunities for language use.

3.3. Interviews. The purpose of the semi-structured interview was to assess participants’ communicative competences in a holistic manner; that is, their capabilities of performing a series of communicative functions in a realistic-like situation. In order to see how well the participants can give personal information, give directions, narrate past experiences, and talk about future plans, a qualitative assessment of the voice-recordings was realized. The original idea was to evaluate the participants’ oral comprehension and production for linguistic competences (lexical competence, grammatical accuracy, and phonological control) and pragmatic competences (discourse and functional competence) for the later statistic and qualitative analysis of the data. Unfortunately, an insufficient number of interviews (10 for the *telenovela* viewers and 7 for the instructed learners) made such procedures inappropriate. Nevertheless, the existing interviews

were interpreted for descriptive observations. The duration of the interviews varied between 10 to 20 minutes for different participants depending on various factors such as time constraints, high anxiety level of the participants, or their low levels of proficiency. Finally, the researchers ended up with approximately four hours of voice-recorded conversation in Spanish.

A researcher listened to every interview two times in order to evaluate the participants' performance. A measuring scale of 10 points was designed where points from 1 to 3 stand for beginner level, 4 to 6 for intermediate, 7 to 9 advanced, and 10 for native-like. The linguistic competences were assessed for vocabulary range, vocabulary control, grammatical accuracy, and phonological control, while pragmatic competences were evaluated for flexibility, cohesion and coherence, fluency, and propositional precision (Council of Europe 2001). The interviews were also assessed for the overall comprehension proficiency of the participants. The results of the assessment are presented in Table 6.

		<i>Telenovela</i> viewers	Instructed learners
Comprehension		6.5	5.4
Linguistic competences	Vocabulary range	2.1	2.7
	Vocabulary control	2.5	2.8
	Grammatical accuracy	3.1	2.4
	Phonological control	2.8	3.1
Pragmatic competences	Flexibility	2.6	2.0
	Coherence and cohesion	1.7	0.4
	Fluency	1.6	0.4
	Propositional precision	2.3	1.0

Table 6. The results from the oral proficiency assessment.

The comprehension was higher than expected for both groups, with a slight advantage of the *telenovela* viewers over the instructed learners. This is not surprising given that they had an opportunity to listen to Spanish during a longer period of time, sometimes even several years.

An overall comparison of the different aspects of linguistic competences shows a small advantage of the instructed learners over the *telenovela* viewers. The range of vocabulary used by the *telenovela* viewers was quite limited and lagged behind that of the instructed learners. There were very few occurrences of misunderstanding due to the erroneous use

of lexical items. Interestingly, the *telenovela* viewers manifested a higher level of grammatical accuracy which seems to contradict the results from the multiple choice test. In fact, their production was quite accurate in terms of the linguistic structures that should be controlled by an A2 user of a foreign language. Indeed, they were able to use a wide array of verb forms such as present, present progressive, future, past tense, and imperfect. One participant even used the imperfect subjunctive, a structure that is usually introduced at B2 level of language instruction. Finally, the pronunciation in both groups was at the level of A2 language users with a slight advantage for the instructed learners. The participants did not show evidence of difficulties in pronouncing Spanish phonemes, probably due to the similarity between Spanish and Serbian.

In contrast to the results of linguistic competences, the *telenovela* viewers had an advantage over the instructed learners in pragmatic competences. The difference is most evident in the case of coherence and cohesion, fluency, and propositional precision. The interviews demonstrated that the *telenovela* viewers were able to use mainly simple language structures to express much of what they wanted. They were able to link simple sentences into logical sequence by using simple connectors such as *y* “and”, *o* “or”, and *entonces* “then”. However, they were not able to produce longer passages of description or explanation so they required help of the sympathetic interlocutor, in this case the researcher. As far as the fluency and propositional precision are concerned, the *telenovela* viewers again surpassed the instructed learners. This was mostly obvious in two ways. The *telenovela* viewers did not make long pauses which were frequent in the speech of the instructed learners, probably due to conscious self-monitoring. Also, the *telenovela* viewers did not usually fall back on their first language if they failed to convey a message on the first attempt or when in need of a linguistic form. In fact, they used such strategic devices as repeating the question in order to get more time to think of a response, making clarification requests, and asking for a needed vocabulary item through the use of the expression *¿Cómo se dice...?* “How do you say...?”. The instructed learners tended much more to fall back on their first language. They either spoke in Serbian if a message they wanted to convey required more effort or inserted Serbian words as substitutions for an appropriate Spanish word. We might speculate that this is a learned behavior since instructed learners in the foreign language context are used to dealing with a teacher who knows the students’ first language. Thus, the first language is a lingua franca of the classroom, a real medium of communication that may be used as a first aid tool at the time needed. In the case of *telenovela* users there is no such attitude toward the foreign lan-

guage simply because they are not exposed to the foreign language classroom. They acquire language in a naturalistic context and probably try to mimic real life situations. However, the performance of the *telenovela* viewers might be equally well explained by a higher motivational level, by the fact that this was their first time to communicate in Spanish so there was a sense of responsibility, or the like. Any interpretation is, of course, tentative and there is a clear need for more research on the subject.

4. Conclusion

The fact that both researchers learned Spanish in an instructed context influenced our initial expectations of the research outcomes and our, we may say, skeptical attitude toward the possibility that a language can be learned through exposure to video material only. Such an affirmation remains an exaggeration, certainly. But some language can be acquired.

The results from the multiple choice test showed that the *telenovela* viewers reached a level of linguistic competence that would qualify them as false beginners. Their performance was, as expected, lower than that of the instructed learners at A1 and A2 levels. In addition, their orthographic competence is also far from optimal given their unfamiliarity with the spelling conventions of the Spanish language. What is interesting, however, is that in the spontaneous speech the *telenovela* viewers were able to perform at an A2 level, sometimes even surpassing the proficiency level of the instructed learners. And this is in spite of the fact that the participation in this investigation was their first active engagement with Spanish which clearly influenced high anxiety in the participants.

On the other hand, we compared the *telenovela* viewers who watched these soap operas for several years (two at least and seven the most) with the language learners who were exposed to Spanish for only one or two semesters. Since the instructed learners performed better or as well as the *telenovela* viewers on several measures of proficiency, there is little point in arguing that watching Hispanic *telenovelas* is a better approach for language acquisition. Anyway, this is not our argument. We support that the introduction of more authentic video material in the form of *telenovelas*, movies, science programming, and the like, might have beneficial effects on language acquisition. This is mostly true for the development of pragmatic competences, an important component of the overall communicative competences, which is, for some reason, neglected in the language classroom context.

The findings from this study offer ambiguous conclusions in terms of the theory of second language acquisition. As proposed by the acqui-

sition theory, the input received through *telenovelas* was processed by the viewers and was creatively used in language production. However, at the moment *telenovela* viewers start following their favorite soap operas, the input offered through this authentic material is far beyond their current proficiency level, assumed to be none. Consequently, we can hardly talk of comprehensible input at this point of exposure to the language. It may be postulated that the interlingual captions offer some initial support, but there surely needs to be certain attention consciously directed to the linguistic medium in order for the acquisition to occur (Schmidt 2001).

Finally, we want to point out some of the limitations of this study of which we became aware as the investigation progressed. Firstly, interviews as the central part of the research design should be conducted with every participant of the study. A part of the interview could be done in the form of a picture narration task which would allow a more reliable assessment of pragmatic competences in terms of cohesion and coherence, as well as propositional precision and fluency. Also, a grammaticality judgment test might be completed instead, or in addition to, the translation task. Last but not least, an effort should be made that participants be exposed to the TL for an approximate length of time. In other words, communicative competences should be compared between *telenovela* viewers who have watched Hispanic series for the same period of time during which instructed learners have learned the language in the classroom context.

More research on this subject could offer new insight in the ways language learners acquire TL in a naturalistic context. Not only is this important for theoretical considerations, but may also help us think of ways how to improve language learning methodologies. We certainly hope that this exploratory study serves as an invitation for more investigation of the kind.

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AUTOUR DE LA FRANCOPHONIE ET DE LA FRANCOPHILIE EN SERBIE

Abstract: This paper offers a brief chronological overview of the main factors that contributed to promulgation of French language and culture in Serbia. It presents and discusses the most significant historical and sociological factors that (in 19th and 20th century) made French the prestigious language of the intellectual and cultural elite. It also analyses the origins and outcomes of the political, diplomatic, cultural, artistic and literary contacts between French and Serbian nations.

Key words: French, francophonia, francophilia, Serbia

Il n'est pas possible de parler de la francophonie en Serbie sans parler de la francophilie. Les relations franco serbes sont complexes et leur début remonte à la plus ancienne période de l'Etat serbe. Pour créer un panorama synthétique qui exprime l'essentiel de ce phénomène d'ordre aussi bien historique, politique, économique, socioculturel, linguistique qu'affectif, nous essayerons d'éclairer ces rapports multiples en répondant à quelques unes de ces questions cruciales et déterminantes, à savoir : Qui ? Quand ? Comment ? Où ? Et surtout, où en est-on aujourd'hui ?

Parlant à titre d'enseignant du français langue étrangère, il va de soi que nous optons pour une perspective plutôt linguistique (qui n'exclut ni la culture ni bien sûr l'affectif) sans prétendre être exhaustif, que notre intérêt est focalisé sur l'apprentissage de cette langue et que nous nous bornons sur certains points d'interlangue français-serbe qui ouvrent les pistes que nos collègues sauront exploiter plus en détail.

En ce moment, où la Serbie vient d'accéder à la grande famille de la Francophonie comme « membre observateur »¹, j'ai l'honneur et le plaisir

¹ La SERBIE accède à l'OIF — statut : Membre **Observateur** (Septembre 2006) (**Organisation Internationale de la Francophonie** — 63 états — 600 millions d'habitants — 10 % de la population mondiale).

d'exprimer ma joie d'enseignant de français à propos de distinction qui, en quelque sorte, récompense mon pays et récompense la longue tradition de l'amitié franco-serbe. Que cela puisse donner une nouvelle impulsion à l'apprentissage de cette langue qui résiste à la pression des autres langues qu'on apprend dans ces lieux. Par cet acte il contribue aussi au développement du multilinguisme en Europe, au resserrement des liens avec d'autres pays de différentes cultures qui ont en commun l'usage du français. Bien que cet usage dans ce pays ne recouvre pas l'ensemble des locuteurs, il englobe une vaste communauté orientée vers la langue et la culture française, une réalité qui signifie, avant tout, un esprit francophile et une ouverture vers un dialogue interculturel.²

Parler de la francophonie en Serbie, serait un discours incomplet s'il n'était pas parallèlement suivi d'un autre, celui de la francophilie. Parmi les Serbes, ce sentiment est autant rationnel et fondé sur un héritage historique considérable, que, parfois inconscient et même ambigu (on y reviendra plus tard). Quel qu'il en soit, il est incontestable que ce sentiment profond soutient la francophonie ici et plus qu'on le croit lui donne un support discret et permanent. Nul doute, pour nous les professeurs, que ce sentiment est l'unique force motrice pour la plupart de nos apprenants qui, à la question pourquoi ils apprennent le français, nous répondent avec enthousiasme: « par amour de cette langue, par amour du pays et du peuple français ».

Si l'on cherche studieusement au fil du temps des raisons concrètes d'une telle attitude, il apparaît clairement qu'elles seraient si nombreuses et si complexes qu'il vaudrait mieux esquisser une mosaïque constituée de réponses à quelques questions fondamentales : un **qui**, portant sur les personnages grâce auxquels ces contacts se sont établis et qui les transmettaient de génération en génération; un **quand**, portant sur les moments historiques les plus marquants où ces contacts se sont forgés ; un **où**, qui devrait signaler les foyers de la francophilie et de la francophonie ; un **comment**, révélateur de la façon dont les serbophones, malgré un recul du français devant l'hégémonie linguistique de l'anglais, le maintiennent « par amour et pour l'amour ».

Dans un bref rappel historique voyons quelques-uns parmi les nombreux fondateurs qui ont eu la plus grande importance pour ce mouvement culturel, linguistique, spirituel, émotionnel.

² ASSOCIATION DE COOPÉRATION CULTURELLE SERBIE-FRANCE, ASSOCIATION DES AMIS DE LA FRANCE, ASSOCIATION DES JOURNALISTES FRANCOPHONES, ASSOCIATION DES PROFESSEURS DE FRANÇAIS, CLASSES BILINGUES (une école primaire, un lycée) LYCÉES PHILOLOGIQUES.

I. Les premiers contacts remontent au XI siècle, à l'époque des Croisades, lors du passage des Français avec Godefroy de Bouillon à la tête, par une voie traversant la Serbie vers le Moyen-Orient. Non seulement les troupes passent par cette région « sans conflit », comme notera un chroniqueur français, mais le comte de Toulouse, Raymond IV, qui est à la tête du deuxième régiment, fraternise avec le roi serbe Bodin (Ibrovac 1958 : 352).

II. Au XII siècle dans les écrits notés par un des membres de la suite du roi Louis VII « le Jeune » qui, lui aussi, a traversé ces régions, on trouve ses observations sur les faits géographiques, ethnographiques, économiques, politiques. Il dit que c'est un pays « peu habité mais riche et merveilleux avec des bois incroyables, sans fin » (Ibrovac 1958 : 352) ; il est surtout impressionné par l'esprit hospitalier de ce peuple.

III. La fin du XIII siècle est décisif tout aussi bien pour la francophonie que pour la francophilie: le personnage de la reine serbe Hélène d'Anjou, cousine de Saint-Louis épouse du roi Uros I Némanytsch a laissé une forte empreinte sur la culture, la littérature, la peinture, l'architecture et en particulier, sur l'éducation dans la Serbie médiévale. Cette Française, d'un esprit exquis et d'une bonté sans limite, pieuse et érudite, pleine de sagesse et entreprenante, est de fait, la première institutrice serbe qui a organisé une école pour les jeunes filles pauvres au sein de sa cour royale. Elles y apprennent tout aussi bien à se comporter avec noblesse qu'à écrire, à transcrire et à décorer d'enluminures et de gravures les livres d'église, à sculpter, à broder. Elle est aussi la première fondatrice d'une bibliothèque riche en livres français, et, la première femme fondatrice du monastère orthodoxe médiéval de Gradac (*zadužbina* = za dušu), une habitation pour son âme destinée à la vie éternelle. Cette catholique est canonisée en sainte orthodoxe pour avoir comblé de bienfaits le peuple et l'église serbes. Elle a considérablement influencé l'art de la Serbie médiévale, mettant au service de son nouveau pays toute la dimension de sa personnalité, de ses savoirs formés sur l'héritage culturel français.

IV. Suivant toujours, au fil des siècles, les indices vers lesquels nous mènent nos questions: **qui, quand, où, comment**, liés à la francophonie, (en sautant, avec votre permission, quelques siècles) nous tenons à souligner le XVIII^e siècle, où les effets des circonstances politico-historiques et culturelles coïncident avec ceux d'une large ouverture de l'esprit des Serbes envers les courants occidentaux, qui avaient subi pendant presque 5 siècles le poids d'un esclavage encombrant.

Les guerres et les temps chaotiques ont quelquefois même de bonnes conséquences: comme par exemple l'introduction de certaines bonnes coutumes et d'expressions étrangères au sein d'un milieu. Ce fut le cas avec les Français et les Serbes au début du 18^e siècle. Nous rappelons les activités militaires en 1716 et 1717 du prince Eugène de Savoie qui a lutté avec son armée contre les Turcs, pour la libération du nord de la Serbie (les villes de Petrovaradin et de Belgrade). Ces mouvements militaires ont retenti comme un grand exploit dans toute l'Europe, et ont inspiré par la suite les peintres, les graveurs, (Huchtenburg, gravure en cuivre) les auteurs de poèmes et de chants de glorifier dans leurs oeuvres ce triomphe. En outre, cela a donné l'idée à un grand nombre de Français: officiers, soldats, médecins, artistes, marchands, artisans (bouchers, boulangers, tanneurs, horloger etc.), à s'installer dans ces lieux et de lier leur destin et au peuple serbe. C'est ainsi que les éléments de la civilisation française urbaine se sont implantés dans la vie des belgradois. Leur façon de s'habiller, certaines habitudes gastronomiques, le comportement « à la française » deviennent une mode à cette époque-là.

Dans la seconde moitié du 18^e siècle, après la Guerre de Sept ans, un mouvement d'immigration de Lorrains et d'Alsaciens au Banat en Voïvodine, a sans doute laissé une empreinte considérable sur l'émancipation des autochtones: 209 familles s'y sont établies, dont 90% parlent français. D'après les témoignages des lexicologues, ce sera la période où le serbe assimile la plupart des mots français qui avec certaines adaptations phonologiques ou sémantiques y restent en définitive: p.ex: *kanabe* — canapé; *karuce* — carrosse (m), *kastrole* — casserole, *servizi* — service dans le sens de l'assortiment d'objets utilisés pour servir à table, *paštete* — pâté, *torte* — tarte, *beškot* — biscuit, *konfektur* — confiture, *šafra*n — safran, *konfet* — confetti, *čokolat* — chocolat, etc. (Ibrovac 1958 : 360)

Dès lors, pendant tout un siècle la francophilie devient, une sorte de gallo-manie. Dans les salons de Belgrade et en province, savoir le français est un impératif mondain de sorte que le plus grand auteur serbe de comédie du 19^e siècle, Jovan Sterija Popovitch, l'éternise en faisant une caricature réussie dans son héroïne Fema, qui fait penser aux Précieuses ridicules de Molière. Sa réplique en faux français: *mikofo* au lieu de « comme il faut », est devenu, depuis, un syntagme-repère national pour le snobisme et la bêtise des nouveaux riches.

V. La renaissance de l'esprit des Serbes au 19^e siècle est symbolisée par le personnage du grand écrivain serbe Dositej Obradovitch (1742–1811), ce Voltaire et ce Rousseau serbe, dont les idées se nourrissent du rationalisme français et européen. A l'instar des grands Encyclopédistes fran-

çais au nom du progrès et de la raison il lutte en faveur des réformes sociales, du principe de la tolérance entre les hommes, pour l'égalité des classes, pour l'éducation de toutes les couches sociales, pour la création d'école (c'est lui qui en 1808 fonde l'École supérieure en Serbie, origine de l'Université). Ses idées réformatrices ouvrent de nouvelles voies d'échanges de biens culturels européens. Après lui tout un groupe de jeunes intellectuels formés à son exemple et à son école établissent les liens directs avec l'Occident, et un certain nombre se rend en France pour s'y former. A leur retour une nouvelle impulsion est donnée à l'adoption de la langue et de la culture françaises: ils se servent d'un français courant, ils diffusent leurs connaissances par leurs métiers et les livres de leurs bibliothèques privées se lisent ou se traduisent.

Le 19^e siècle sera décisif pour un épanouissement général de la francophonie: l'apprentissage devient systématique puisque cette langue est introduite dans les écoles secondaires. Si nous essayons de suivre le fil conducteur tracé par nos questions *qui, où, comment* pour comprendre les rapports multiples qui nouent ces deux peuples, il nous faudrait ouvrir un grand dossier d'histoire tumultueuse portant sur les jeux et les motifs politiques, sur les goûts divers qui régissent les événements et les changements sociaux dans les Balkans au cours des deux derniers siècles. Ce n'est ni notre propos ni notre intention en ce moment.

Nous mettrons, tout au moins, quelques-unes des figures historiques, auxquelles est dû le rapprochement franco-serbe. Napoléon avec ses intérêts géo-politiques y a, sans doute, mis du sien par la création des Provinces illyriennes au début du 19^e siècle à la proximité des régions habitées par les Serbes. Un grand mérite est dû aux goûts aventuriers des romantiques français qui les portent vers nos terres: on en trouvera des traces dans la littérature de Lamartine, de Victor Hugo et des autres. Les intérêts diplomatiques bilatéraux y ont aussi joué un rôle important dont la preuve est l'établissement du premier Consulat français en 1838, ce qui augmente la présence des Français et le nombre de publications en français. Finalement, le développement brusque de la société, des sciences, de la technique a dicté un besoin urgent d'emprunts linguistiques où l'usage du français a bien servi à la création d'une terminologie inexistante mais indispensable dans toutes les disciplines qui prennent un grand essor à cette époque-là: sciences exactes, droit, médecine, technique, économie, philosophie, art, musique, administration etc. Les statistiques disent qu'un pour cent du corpus lexical du serbe contemporain (1% de 140.000 unités) a à l'origine des mots français comme par exemple : *havera* — affaire, *anketa* — enquête, *bajonet* — baïonnette, *bilten* — bulletin, *ekspertiza* — expertise, *ekspoze* — exposé, *feljton* — feuilleton, *pirouette* — pirouette,

portret — portrait, *sert o* — cercle etc.³ Soulignons également qu'un apprentissage au niveau le plus élevé existe depuis que la Chaire de français est fondée à Belgrade en 1897.

VI. Les deux dynasties serbes sont francophones : en 1893, le jeune prince Alexandre Obrenovitch a comme gouverneur l'historien français renommé, Albert Malet, professeur à la Grande Ecole de Belgrade. Le changement de la famille dynastique au trône en 1903, et l'avènement de Pierre Ier Karadjordjevitch, renforcent les relations politiques et amicales entre les deux pays (celui-ci ayant vécu et acquis son éducation militaire en France est tourné vers elle pendant tout son règne).

Cette coopération franco-serbe évolue en alliance pendant la Grande guerre (1914–1918). Dans l'histoire du peuple serbe elle représente le point culminant de l'amitié entre les deux pays. Y a-t-il des liens plus solides, plus durables que ceux qui se forment par les calvaires et les succès des luttes menées côte à côte contre les mêmes ennemis. Y a-t-il un acte d'amitié plus touchant que celui d'un accueil généreux au seuil de leur foyer, dont les Français ont donné la preuve à l'arrivée des jeunes guerriers serbes martyrisés pendant la guerre. L'accueil est au début spontané, évolue très vite en un acte organisé par le gouvernement français, en 1917/1918. Après une épreuve apocalyptique du retrait de tout un état avec son peuple par la Serbie et l'Albanie vers le Corfou, une petite armée d'enfants, d'écoliers, d'étudiants, de soldats, au nombre de 4.000, est transporté sur les bateaux français, hébergée, nourrie, intégrée dans des écoles et universités françaises. Au retour, ils sauront, en signe de reconnaissance, répandre la francophilie et la francophonie dans leurs pays et transmettre à leur postérité les émotions les plus profondes envers les amis. Il arrive qu'on trouve même aujourd'hui, au fin fond de la province serbe, dans le rayon d'une maison paysanne des volumes rares en français que la famille garde comme une relique en souvenir à leur ancêtre et son rattachement à la France. Entre les deux guerres à peu près 30.000 étudiants sont bénéficiés de bourses françaises pour faire leurs études universitaires en France.

C'est l'époque où, les sentiments d'amitié, les objectifs et les intérêts communs seront à l'origine d'une multitude d'activités qui déboucheront sur une diffusion encore plus large du français langue de culture dans les milieux serbophones. La francophilie nourrie par ce souvenir aux années d'or de l'amitié, deviendra dans la psychologie nationale un archétype

³ Exemples pris et la statistique citée dans le livre de M. Popović (2005), *Reči francuskog porekla u srpskom jeziku*.

grâce auquel les Serbes sauront sauvegarder le français comme langue étrangère maintiendront les contacts amicaux et culturels même pendant les périodes moins favorables, par exemple, celle autour des années 50 du siècle dernier, ou bien pendant la décennie tragique de l'embargo (de 1990 où la France a été la première à retirer ses lecteurs de l'Université de Belgrade, mais aussi la première à les faire revenir en 2000) et surtout pendant le bombardement de l'OTAN. (Pour revenir à notre terme des émotions ambiguës, rappelons également que le veto de la France empêcha le bombardement des ponts de Belgrade).

Parmi les activités et leurs réalisations qui resteront un fondement solide pour l'avenir du rapport amical, mentionnons-en quelques-unes:

a) Le premier « *cercle français* », est fondé à Belgrade en 1904, est réactivé en 1920 sous le nom de la *Société des Amis de la France*. Des associations pareilles naissent à Leskovac, à Nis, à Novi Sad et ailleurs, équipées d'excellentes bibliothèques, chargées de promouvoir « la connaissance et l'amour de la culture française ». En 2004 l'Association de coopération culturelle Serbie-France a fêté son centenaire.

b) Une matérialisation monumentale de la reconnaissance serbe aux Français est érigée en 1930. La statue au centre du parc de Kalemegdan, ce Panthéon national, suggère une forte émotion, soit par sa forme qui évoque éternellement *Marianne*, soit par la simplicité des mots taillés sur le socle « *A la France* » « *Nous l'aimons comme elle nous a aimés* » soit par une toile noire qui l'avait recouverte les premiers jours du bombardement, par laquelle « *les francophiles serbes ont exprimé leur chagrin* » comme l'a noté un journal français.⁴

c) Il ne faut pas oublier non plus, un endroit fort dont les trésors sauvegardent les témoignages les plus durables de la francophonie : c'est la bibliothèque nationale de Serbie. Parmi ses éditions les plus anciennes se trouve le livre de Démosthène en traduction française *Les oraisons et harangues*, publié à Paris en 1579.⁵ Pendant plus d'un siècle, de 1832 où elle est fondée jusqu'en 1941 où elle a pratiquement toute brûlée sous les bombes ennemies, elle s'enrichissait en livres domestiques et étrangers. A en conclure d'après le nombre de prêts entre les deux guerres, parmi les auteurs les plus demandés, se trouvent les auteurs français. Pour les bibliophiles et les francophiles aussi, c'était une chance qu'en 1944 à 1960 le directeur de la bibliothèque devienne Dušan Milačić, titulaire d'un double

⁴ Cité par le professeur M. Pavlović, dans l'article « Historique des relations franco-serbes », in *Faits et Projets*, février 2006, p. 58.

⁵ Injac, *OD JELENE ANŽUJESKE DO INTERNETA*, *Fond fancuske knjige u Narodnoj biblioteci Srbije*.

doctorat d'Etat à la Sorbonne, grand connaisseur de la littérature française et grand traducteur de l'oeuvre de Balzac, décoré de la Légion d'honneur pour ses mérites de lutter par et pour le livre. La bibliothèque nationale de Serbie met aujourd'hui à la disposition des lecteurs la plupart des écrivains français connus et moins connus en original et possède la bibliothèque de la Pléiade, Encyclopédie de la Pléiade, collection Armand Collin, collection « Que sais-je », les publications critiques « Les classiques français du Moyen Age », les périodiques et exerce une activité permanente d'échange de livres inter-bibliothécaires.

Si l'on parle littérature française rappelons que tous les courants dominants ont eu un écho énorme parmi les littéraires et les artistes en Serbie: à partir du surréalisme qui se fraie un chemin parallèle en France et en Serbie, sous l'enseigne de l'amitié de plume et personnelle entre André Breton et Marko Ristić, par le cubisme, jusqu'à l'existentialisme, l'art abstrait, le théâtre de l'absurde et ainsi de suite.

VII. Finalement, un foyer incontournable de la francophonie et de la francophilie c'est le Centre culturel français à Belgrade et ses antennes à Nis et à Novi Sad. Ce n'est pas seulement un endroit mais c'est un sujet actif de la diffusion francophone avec une mission culturelle et éducative organisée de façon systématique et diversifiée. Depuis son ouverture en 1951, il a pour vocation de montrer tous les aspects de la création française littéraire théâtrale, musicale, chorégraphique, pictural, ou bien les manifestations liées à la mode, aux spectacles ou animations de rue, aux sports etc. Pendant certaines périodes il arrivait que le tempo des événements culturels à Belgrade soit dicté par les initiatives du Centre culturel français. Ses visiteurs représentent un public très varié et nombreux: étudiants, enseignants, chercheurs, intellectuels des différents milieux, artistes, journalistes, amateurs de tous les profils. Ils ont la possibilité d'emprunter des livres, des CD, des DVD, de consulter les quotidiens et des revues, de se servir d'un poste d'Internet, de suivre les chaînes de la télévision française et aussi bien que d'y rencontrer des écrivains, des musiciens, des peintres, des artistes français célèbres et de discuter avec eux.

Pour terminer revenons encore une fois à notre idée de l'ambiguïté des sentiments dans les temps confus. Nous tenons à rappeler un épisode lié au Centre culturel de Belgrade. On n'ignore pas qu'en mars 1999, au cours des premiers jours des bombardements de l'OTAN le Centre culturel a été saccagé et partiellement pillé par certains groupes de Belgradois révoltés. Un autre groupe de Belgradois, les étudiants de la Chaire de français de la Faculté de Philologie de Belgrade, à l'initiative de leur professeur courageux, notre collègue M. Radivoje Konstantinović, avaient

formé une chaîne vivante du Centre jusqu'aux locaux de la faculté pour transporter la plus grande partie du fond de la bibliothèque en se passant de main en mains des livres et des meubles sauvés. Ils sont tous rendus au Centre avant sa réouverture en 2001 par le Président Chirac.

Nous regrettons de ne pas avoir parlé plus longuement de l'Association des professeurs de français et de leurs membres, nos collègues enseignant dans des écoles primaires et secondaires à travers la Serbie, qui investissent toute leur énergie et leur vie professionnelle à transmettre avec beaucoup d'amour la langue et la culture d'un pays qu'ils vivent comme s'il était le leur et que la plupart n'a jamais visité. Il n'est pas rare à Kladovo, Leskovac, Lebane, Smederevo ou Vršac d'entendre des chansons françaises reprises en chœur par des groupes de jeunes.

Espérons que la position Observateur dans la famille des pays francophones permettra de remédier aux divergences nées d'intérêts divers.

Et notre passé nous le confirme : rien ne pourra flétrir les relations amicales entre la France et la Serbie. Cette nouvelle position donnera une énergie moderne, un nouveau souffle qui favorisera la francophonie et motivera les francophiles à chercher de nouvelles réalités et à trouver des lendemains plus heureux.

* * *

En guise d'introduction à notre colloque, nous tenons à ouvrir ici une parenthèse dont les observations portent sur un *comment*, important pour les enseignants et les apprenants du français: le *comment faire parler* les serbophones dans un français correct. Il s'agit d'un sujet qui a représenté pendant des années notre premier projet d'études dont la plupart des analyses concerne l'*interlangue* français-serbe. A partir de la définition⁶ la plus simplifiée de ce concept, c'est le croisement qui s'effectue dans la tête de l'apprenant entre le système le plus fort (celui du serbe, la langue maternelle) et le système instable (celui du français comme langue cible). Donc, ce serait le produit de la production individuelle des deux systèmes linguistiques soudés. Comme l'*interlangue* a ses paramètres, à savoir : instabilités, perméabilités, fossilisations, simplifications, complexifications, après avoir fait une recherche empirique, nous avons essayé de les analyser par étapes et de décrire les erreurs qui se manifestent dans la production orale des étudiants serbophones. Nos remarques sur les trans-

⁶ K. Fogel (K. Vogel 1995 : 25), *Lernersprache* — la langue de l'élève: « le concept d'*interlangue* apparaît nettement plus évident du point de vue empirique et ceci souligne /.../ la portée et la puissance explicative des recherches effectuées dans ce cadre, puisqu'il permet de décrire l'acquisition de la L2 comme un processus variable...».

ferts typiques aux niveaux phonématique, phonologique, morphosyntaxique, sémantique aussi bien que les techniques didactiques d'interventions sont décrites et systématisées dans le cadre de notre travail (Šotra 2006).

En considérant la mise en œuvre de la prononciation française des serbophones, des paramètres interlinguaux se manifestent à partir de la qualité de la production qui est due à la nature même des deux types d'articulation : celle du serbe caractérisée par un effort musculaire 1. moins tendu, 2. moins labialisé, 3. par une position plus postérieure et 4. un timbre polytonal des voyelles vs celle du français qui diffère par une articulation plus tendue, fortement labialisée, par la position des phonèmes antérieures, en nasalisation et en apertures.

En ce qui concerne les différences quantitatives (en serbe : 5 consonnes + 25 voyelles vs en français : 16 voyelles + 17 consonnes + 3 semi-voyelles) il est évident qu'au niveau phonématique déjà maintes instabilités interlinguales surgissent comme, par exemple, celles qui se produisent sous forme de dénalisation, de substitution de la voyelle française (*y*) par les voyelles serbes (*u*) et (*i*), du (*oe*) français par (*o*) (*e*) et (*u*) serbe, de par la réalisation vocale du « e muet », aussi bien que par le transfert des voyelles (*e*), (*a*), (*o*) de la langue maternelle etc.

La perméabilité interlinguale, repérable visuellement sur les spectrogrammes, se montre forte surtout sur le plan prosodique dans la réalisation des mots : les quatre accents serbes sont polytoniques et ils se réalisent sur les voyelles — mêmes, au niveau des mots ils sont ambulants et ne sont jamais placés sur la dernière syllabe, à l'exception des mots monosyllabiques, alors que les mots français (oxytons) les portent. Dans la réalisation des phrases (le rythme de la phrase serbe est successif alors que la phrase française est connue pour son rythme combiné qui dépend lui-même de la longueur du groupe rythmique, bref ou long, dont l'accent tombe, contrairement au serbe, sur la dernière syllabe. Le sujet serbophone déplace spontanément l'accent français vers le milieu du groupe rythmique et reproduit ainsi un calque intonatif d'après le modèle de la langue maternelle.

Les instabilités interlinguales apparaissent sur le plan morpho-syntaxique étant donné la différence principale entre les deux langues: le serbe est une langue synthétique — le système de désinences, préfixes, suffixes, infixes, structures grammaticales libres alors que le français est analytique — l'ordre des mots est prédéfini et fixe avec un système de prépositions développé et un système de temps verbaux diversifié.

Les fossilisations interlinguales, dans la production des serbophones se trouvent fixées à tous les niveaux : *phonématique* (articulation, prononciation), *phonologique* (accent, rythme, intonation), *morpho-syntaxique*

(conjugaisons, structures syntagmatiques, syntaxiques), *sémantique* (sens, significations). C'est à elles que sont dus les décalages parfois énormes entre cette langue « quasi-française » et la langue cible surtout quand elles se produisent sur le plan sémantique où la perception et la reproduction du sens sont mises en question. Il en est ainsi à chaque fois que les images mentales sont transmises littéralement de la langue maternelle vers la langue étrangère. Dans ces cas-là, l'expression orale improvisée spontanément abonde en significations aberrantes, en faux sens, en non-sens, en tournures caricaturales.

Comme les didacticiens se sont mis d'accord sur l'utilité et la pertinence de la description et des analyses des interlangues respectives, nous avons essayé de développer certaines de nos hypothèses dans les deux sens : 1. les unes ont été soumises aux vérifications électroniques à savoir acoustiques pour que les enseignants et les apprenants en visionnant les sonogrammes et les spectrogrammes, puissent mieux s'en servir lors des corrections phonématique ou phonologiques ; 2. les autres nous ont servi à en dresser les tableaux des difficultés hiérarchisées pour qu'ils puissent intervenir aux endroits problématiques lors de l'apprentissage de cette belle langue difficile tout en disposant des instruments d'autocorrection et d'une défossilisation autonome des erreurs.

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L'EMPLOI DES TEMPS VERBAUX CHEZ LES LOCUTEURS NON-NATIFS DU FRANÇAIS — LE CAS DES GASTARBEITERS SERBES, VALAQUES ET TZIGANES

Abstract: This paper treats a problem of non-guided and informal acquisition of second language. The study examines the usage of verbal tenses in French in the discourse of Serbian, Valach and Gypsy gastarbeiters. The findings show that the process of natural acquisition generally results in two types of linguistic competence: a) The system of verbal tenses in French is mastered to a larger extent. b) The system of verbal tenses is absent in the informants' discourse — the temporal reference is either given by adverbs or has to be contextually inferred.

Key words: second language acquisition, verbal tenses, gastarbeiters, pragmatic inferences, language ideology

1. Introduction

Dans cet article nous allons présenter et analyser les résultats de nos recherches sur le terrain concernant l'emploi des temps verbaux en français parlé chez les gastarbeiters (un type d'immigrés économiques) serbes, valaques et tziganes de la première génération. Il s'agit des personnes qui ont appris le français non pas dans le cadre d'une méthode didactique mais exclusivement de manière spontanée — grâce à l'interaction quotidienne avec leur nouvel environnement linguistique. Donc, on ne peut pas parler ici de l'apprentissage guidé mais de l'acquisition spontanée de la deuxième langue. Il est important de noter que cette acquisition s'effectue dans un contexte caractérisé par des problèmes d'adaptation socioculturelle dans un milieu étranger (Heinz 2001 : 90). Par conséquent les énoncés et les discours qui ont été l'objet de nos analyses sont tellement imprégnés de symboles et de marqueurs d'attitudes, de visions person-

nelles et d'idéologie linguistique qu'ils nous ont poussé aussi à des analyses sociolinguistiques (Chambers 1995) et socio-psychologiques (Bugarski 1996) que nous présenterons dans la dernière section de ce travail.

Cependant l'objet principal de ce travail concerne les processus et les résultats de l'acquisition des temps verbaux chez les *gastaribeiters*. Plus précisément, nous allons nous demander si celle-ci aboutit à un ensemble de formes rudimentaires des temps verbaux ou peut-être à un vrai système¹ indiquant une assez bonne maîtrise des temps verbaux, leurs formes, fonctions et valeurs. Si la deuxième hypothèse est valable il faut trouver une bonne explication pour cela.

En effet, le problème théorique que nous abordons ici sans prétendre le résoudre est celui du rôle de la grammaire universelle² au sens chomskien du terme (Chomsky 1975 : 1987) dans l'acquisition de la deuxième langue chez les adultes.

Rappelons que les enfants apprennent facilement et de manière naturelle le lexique et la grammaire de leur langue maternelle parce que leur jeune cerveau est programmé pour cela. Cependant, comme le suggèrent certaines recherches,³ la grammaire universelle devient inaccessible après un certain âge à partir duquel l'acquisition de la grammaire chez les adultes dépend dans une très grande mesure de l'enseignement explicite de la grammaire. Autrement dit, on suppose que les adultes étant exclusivement exposés à ce que l'on appelle « l'input positif », c'est-à-dire une langue étrangère dans un nouveau milieu linguistique (et non à enseignement explicite de la grammaire), peuvent difficilement avoir accès aux règles sous-jacentes de cette langue. Dans la suite de cet article nous allons voir que cette thèse est difficilement soutenable.

2. Sur le système des temps verbaux en français

Le but que nous nous sommes fixé avant d'entamer notre recherche peut être présenté comme une alliance des trois tâches différentes, mais interdépendantes que nous présentons comme suit :

¹ Par système nous entendons un ensemble homogène d'éléments dont chacun est déterminé différenciellement par l'ensemble des rapports qu'il entretient avec les autres éléments.

² Dans la théorie des Principes et paramètres (Chomsky 1987) la grammaire est organisée autour des principes universels, communs à toutes les langues et faisant partie du dispositif biologique propre à l'espèce humaine, définissant la grammaire universelle. C'est grâce à la grammaire universelle que l'enfant, sans être initié à la grammaire et à ses règles, arrive à produire des phrases grammaticales dans sa langue maternelle.

³ Il s'agit notamment de l'hypothèse de la période critique (voir Robertson 2002).

- 1) Identifier les fautes typiques et les problèmes principaux de l'expression du temps dans les différents types de discours des gasterbeiters.
- 2) Déterminer le nombre minimal des temps verbaux pour pouvoir exprimer la référence temporelle et les relations temporelles entre événements.
- 3) Découvrir s'il y a peut-être des informateurs qui ont une maîtrise excellente des temps verbaux du français.

Mais pour comprendre et évaluer les résultats de nos analyses il est indispensable d'avoir une image claire de ce que nous entendons par système temporel du français et, plus particulièrement, les éléments de ce système, à savoir les temps verbaux du français.⁴

En tant qu'expressions procédurales⁵ les temps verbaux donnent des instructions sur la manière de localiser l'éventualité décrite par la phrase relativement à un point de perspective temporelle. Ce point de perspective temporelle peut être le moment de la parole, mais aussi un moment situé avant ou après ce moment. En français parlé, il y a deux sous-systèmes temporels: le premier qui prend le moment de la parole comme point de perspective temporelle et qui comprend : le présent, le passé composé et les futurs (le futur proche, le futur simple et le futur antérieur) et le deuxième, organisé autour d'un moment situé avant le moment de la parole et comprenant l'imparfait, le plus-que-parfait et les conditionnels (présent et passé). L'éventualité peut donc être vue comme étant valable au moment qui fonctionne comme point de perspective temporelle (le présent et l'imparfait) ou comme lui précédant (le passé composé et le plus-que-parfait) ou bien comme lui étant postérieure (les futurs et les conditionnels). Un fait remarquable qui caractérise ces deux sous-systèmes temporels du français est qu'on ne peut trouver aucun temps verbal exprimant la postériorité par rapport à un moment *t* qui serait soit postérieur, soit antérieur au point de perspective temporelle. Il n'y a donc

⁴ Voir Stanojević / Ašić 2006, Moeschler et al. 1998, pour une analyse détaillée du système des temps verbaux en français.

⁵ Nous renvoyons ici à la distinction entre *information conceptuelle* et *information procédurale* (Blakemore 1987). En effet au niveau du lexique on peut faire la distinction entre deux types d'expressions :

1. *Expressions conceptuelles* : classes des mots qui encodent des concepts. Ce sont les noms, les verbes, les adjectifs et certains types d'adverbes. Il s'agit des classes ouvertes.
2. *Expressions procédurales* : classes des mots qui encodent des procédures. Ce sont, entre autres, les prépositions, les connecteurs, les pronoms anaphoriques, les quantificateurs et les temps verbaux. Il s'agit des classes fermées.

Au niveau linguistique, les expressions procédurales sont représentées par les mots ou morphèmes qui servent à connecter ou modifier les expressions conceptuelles.

pas de forme verbale particulière pour exprimer la postériorité dans le futur ni la postériorité dans le passé.⁶ Pour exprimer ces deux relations temporelles le français utilise les futurs et les conditionnels. Cependant, le français connaît les formes particulières pour l'expression de l'antériorité relativement à un moment *t* situé avant le point de perspective temporelle, dans les deux sous-systèmes. Ce sont les temps surcomposés.

En dehors de l'instruction temporelle concernant la localisation de l'éventualité décrite par la phrase relativement au point de perspective temporelle, les temps verbaux du français expriment aussi des informations aspectuelles concernant la manière d'envisager l'éventualité. Ainsi l'imparfait présente l'éventualité comme étant non bornée dans le passé, alors que les autres temps du passé la présentent comme étant terminée. Par exemple, la différence entre *Paul a été malade* et *Paul était malade* n'est pas temporelle mais aspectuelle. Alors que la phrase au passé composé implique que Paul n'est plus malade au moment de la parole, on ne peut pas tirer la même conclusion de la phrase à l'imparfait, ce qui veut dire que l'imparfait décrit bien un état ou un événement valable à un moment du passé, mais n'exclue pas que l'éventualité se prolonge au point d'atteindre même le moment de la parole.⁷ Cet effet de l'imparfait découle de sa valeur aspectuelle.

Certains temps verbaux donnent aussi des instructions sur l'ordre des éventualités introduites par une suite de phrases. Par exemple deux ou plusieurs phrases au passé simple expriment la progression temporelle⁸ qui implique un parallélisme entre l'ordre des événements et l'ordre des phrases qui les décrivent. Le plus-que-parfait inverse l'ordre temporel, ce qui veut dire que l'éventualité qu'introduit le plus-que-parfait doit être située avant l'éventualité précédemment introduite.⁹

En somme on peut dire que le système des temps verbaux en français est assez complexe parce qu'un temps verbal en français exprime non seulement l'information temporelle, mais aussi l'information aspectuelle et discursive (concernant l'ordre temporel).

⁶ Voir Co Vet 1980, pour une analyse détaillée de ce fait remarquable qui concerne non seulement le français mais, semble-t-il, les langues naturelles en général.

⁷ Par exemple, la réponse à la question *Où est Abi ?* peut être : *Tout à l'heure elle était dans son bureau et elle lisait. Elle est peut-être toujours là.*

⁸ Le discours suivant illustre la progression temporelle déclenchée par une suite de phrases au passé simple : *Paul rentra chez lui. Il prit une douche et dîna.*

⁹ Par exemple : *Marie rentra chez elle. Elle avait vu Paul à l'école et elle était très émue.*

Il est bien connu en didactique du français langue étrangère qu'enseigner les usages standard et non standard des temps verbaux en français est un des plus grands défis pour les professeurs de cette langue. Même les étudiants très avancés font des fautes et se méfient d'employer certains temps verbaux. Il s'ensuit que dans l'acquisition spontanée on ne pourrait pas du tout s'attendre à une bonne maîtrise du système des temps verbaux du français.

3. Sur le terrain, les informateurs et la méthode

Notre travail sur le terrain a été effectué dans la Serbie de l'est : à Boljevac, à Valakonje, un visage tout près de Boljevac et dans les villages Urovica et Vidrovac situés aux alentours de Negotin.

Nos informateurs sont tous des gasterbeiters de la première génération.¹⁰ Ils ont entre 45 et 70 ans. Ils sont de nationalité serbe, valaque ou tzigane mais ils ont tous une très bonne maîtrise du serbe.¹¹ La majorité d'entre eux vivent et travaillent en France depuis plus de vingt ans. Nous les avons rencontrés dans leurs villages natals où ils étaient venus pour passer leurs vacances. Mais nous avons également travaillé avec ceux qui sont retournés en Serbie soit parce qu'ils ont pris leur retraite, soit pour des raisons personnelles.

Provenant des milieux très défavorisés, nos informateurs sont tous très peu éduqués, non-qualifiés et travaillent / ont travaillé en France comme simples ouvriers : maçons, gardiens d'immeuble, techniciens de surface, auxiliaires de cuisine. Aucun d'entre eux n'a été scolarisé en France et n'a jamais suivi un cours de français ni en Serbie, ni en France.

Voici la liste de nos informateurs, avec leurs initiales, leur sexe, âge et nationalité :

BP	Valakonje	homme	55 ans	Valaque
BoP	Valakonje	femme	50 ans	Valaque
MP	Boljevac	homme	70 ans	Serbe
MiP	Boljevac	femme	68 ans	Serbe
BM	Boljevac	femme	43 ans	Serbe
DjM	Boljevac	homme	46 ans	Serbe
DD	Urovica	homme	55 ans	Tzigane
DjP	Urovica	femme	58 ans	Tzigane
RD	Urovica	femme	50 ans	Tzigane
GJ	Urovica	femme	52 ans	Tzigane

¹⁰ Sur la sociolinguistique des immigrés voir Chambers 2003.

¹¹ Donc on peut dire que nos informateurs valaques et tziganes sont trilingues.

RT	Urovica	femme	60 ans	Tzigane
JT	Urovica	homme	62 ans	Tzigane
SR	Urovica	femme	45 ans	Valaque
MR	Urovica	homme	48 ans	Serbe
RM	Vidrovac	femme	60 ans	Serbe

Quant aux méthodes de recueillir les données pertinentes pour nos analyses, nous avons eu recours au dialogue, narratifs mais aussi à un questionnaire ciblé sur l'emploi des temps verbaux en français. Il convient ici de donner quelques détails sur ces trois manières de recueillir des données et de constituer le corpus pour nos analyses.

Ce que nous entendons par dialogue c'est une conversation plus au moins spontanée menée avec nos informateurs où nous les incitons à parler sur leur vie actuelle et leurs projets personnels pour l'avenir. Il s'agit de ce qu'on appelle en anglais *participant observation method* où le chercheur prend part dans la conversation (voir Petrović 2006 : 152). Cette méthode est bien appropriée pour tester l'emploi du présent, du passé composé résultatif,¹² des temps du futur et du conditionnel. Durant les entretiens avec nos informateurs on leur a demandé de nous « raconter leur vie à l'étranger ». Ils acceptaient tous avec enthousiasme de nous en parler ce qui montrait qu'ils avaient un besoin psychologique énorme de nous parler non seulement des moments difficiles de leurs premières années à l'étranger, mais aussi de leur succès socio-économique ultérieur. On reviendra sur ce point dans la dernière section de cet article. Les narratifs sont (outre leur valeur socio et ethnolinguistique) une excellente source de données grammaticales dans le domaine de la temporalité: ils montrent comment nos gastarbeiters expriment les relations temporelles (l'antériorité, la simultanéité et la postériorité) entre événements dans le passé.

Enfin, pour tester leur capacité à traduire les phrases du serbe nous avons fait un questionnaire¹³ contenant quinze phrases en serbe qu'il fallait traduire en français. Bien évidemment, le questionnaire a été formulé de sorte qu'on y trouve différents temps verbaux avec leurs emplois différents. Ce qui est intéressant c'est qu'ils ont tous accepté de traduire ces phrases bien que pour certains d'entre eux c'était un exercice trop difficile. Et cela non seulement à cause de leur incompétence (ils n'arrivaient pas à traduire les phrases ou ils les ont mal traduites) mais aussi à cause de la spécificité de l'exercice. En effet, ils n'arrivaient pas à

¹² Il s'agit du passé composé qui sert à désigner l'éventualité dont le résultat est pertinent au moment de la parole (p. ex. *Je n'ai plus faim. J'ai bien mangé*).

¹³ Voir l'appendice 1 à la fin de ce travail.

se distancier de leur propre vie pour se concentrer tout juste sur la traduction des phrases. Ils ne comprenaient pas que ce que l'on voulait examiner n'était pas leur expérience personnelle mais leur compétence linguistique. La démarche typique de nos gastarbeiters lors de l'accomplissement de cette tâche c'était de modifier le sens de l'original en marquant la traduction de sa propre vision du monde.

Nous présentons ci-dessous un exemple avec la traduction correcte en italique suivie de la traduction donnée par l'informatrice SR de Urovića :

- 1) Svakog dana sam odlazila na posao.
(Tous les jours j'allais au travail.)
 J'y travaillais comme une esclave.

Notons aussi que l'informateur peut refuser de traduire une phrase parce que, de par son expérience personnelle, il considère la phrase à traduire comme fautive. Ainsi BP, un informateur de Valakonje n'a pas accepté de traduire la phrase suivante en expliquant qu'il ne pouvait pas mentir.

- 2) Moj gazda je bio bogat čovek.
(Mon patron était un homme riche.)
 Non, pas était riche : c'était un voleur

De même une phrase peut devenir une source de malentendus. Ainsi BP a demandé des informations supplémentaires avant de traduire la phrase en 3) ce qui a déclenché toute une conversation sur le contenu de la phrase :

- 3) Čerka joj se udala pre godinu dana.
(Sa fille s'est mariée il y a un an.)

DP : La fille de qui ?

Nous : D'une femme, n'importe quelle femme.

DP : Comment ? Je compris pas.

NOUS : Par exemple de Milena.

DP : Je connais pas Milena.

Nous : Alors de Jelena.

DP : Non, non Jelena pas de filles. Elle a deux fils.

Malgré ces problèmes occasionnels, les questionnaires nous ont été très utiles et, en général, ils nous ont fait découvrir deux choses: a) la compétence linguistique de nos informateurs est plus grande qu'on ne s'y attendait; b) en dépit de leurs problèmes d'expression orale, ils ont accepté de traduire les phrases du questionnaire¹⁴ même s'ils ont dû improviser ou

¹⁴ Sauf les phrases hypothétiques que certains trouvaient trop difficiles.

changer le contenu de la phrase, faute de connaissances suffisantes de la grammaire et du lexique français. Voici, en 4) et en 5), deux traductions dont la première est de l'informateur MP de Boljevac et la seconde de BP de Valakonje:

- 4) Stalno mu govorim da je kreten.
(*Je lui dis tous le temps qu'il est un crétin.*)
Le toujours dé vulgaire et méchant.¹⁵
- 5) On bi želeo da kupi skupa kola.
(*Il voudrait acheter une voiture chère.*)
Une grande voulait acheter.

4. Les résultats de nos analyses

4.1 Remarques générales

D'après les analyses de notre corpus constitué par les dialogues, les narratifs et les réponses au questionnaire, on peut, *grosso modo* parler de deux types de résultats :

- A) Ceux qui montrent que le système des temps verbaux est dans une large mesure maîtrisé. Naturellement, on y trouve un certain nombre d'irrégularités qui ne déstabilisent cependant pas le système.
- B) Ceux où le système des temps verbaux est absent : les informateurs utilisent les formes verbales très réduites — en fait ces formes donnent presque uniquement l'information conceptuelle (ce que le verbe signifie lexicalement) et non procédurale (instruction temporelle et aspectuelle).

Il est important de souligner ici que l'on n'a pas trouvé de cas intermédiaires, à savoir une personne ayant une bonne compétence dans un sous-domaine du système des temps verbaux et une mauvaise compétence dans un autre. Rappelons que cette situation intermédiaire caractérise typiquement l'apprentissage institutionnalisé des temps verbaux, c'est-à-dire un apprentissage qui s'effectue non pas dans une situation naturelle mais au moyen des règles de grammaire si bien que l'apprenant peut bien maîtriser par exemple les emplois du futur mais ignorer certains emplois de l'imparfait etc.

4.2 Sur le type A de nos résultats

Les locuteurs dont les réponses sont classées comme étant du type A font dans leurs discours une distinction très claire entre le présent, le passé

¹⁵ Dans l'idiolecte de MP *le* renvoie à *je*, et *dé* devrait signifier *dis que*.

et futur. On peut y bel et bien parler d'un système de temps verbaux qui se différencient par leur formes et valeurs. En effet, pour exprimer ce qui se passe au moment de la parole ou dans une actualité plus large ils emploient le présent ; pour désigner les événements et les états qui ont eu lieu dans le passé ils se servent du passé composé et de l'imparfait; finalement, pour référer à ce qui va se produire dans le futur ils utilisent soit le présent (avec des adverbess désignant des moments ou intervalles du futur) soit le futur proche. Le futur simple est rarement employé. En fait, nous avons remarqué chez une seule informatrice (BoP) l'emploi correct du futur simple et l'opposition entre ce temps verbal et le futur proche :

- 6) L année prochaine il nous quittera probablement.
- 7) Il va réussir. J'ai pas de doute.

De plus, ce qui en français standard s'exprime par le conditionnel (la possibilité, le désir, l'atténuation) dans cette variété du français est exprimé presque toujours par l'imparfait. Nous en donnons deux exemples (de BM, Boljevac et DjP de Urovica) :

- 8) Mon mari voulait cette année acheter une voiture très chère.
- 9) Je voulais aller au bord de la mer cet été.

Il n'est pas étonnant, étant donné la proximité sémantique entre le futur simple et le conditionnel présent, que BoP (la seule qui utilise le futur simple) utilise parfois le premier à la place du deuxième :

- 10) Il voudra bien d'avoir une belle maison.

Notons que nous avons aussi trouvé quelques cas où le sens exprimé par le conditionnel en français standard est exprimé par le futur proche. En voici un exemple de l'informatrice DjP de l'Urovica.

- 11) Il va aimer acheter une voiture

Quant aux temps du passé, il est à noter que certains effets aspectuels ne sont pas exprimés de manière correcte : ainsi pour l'itération non-spécifiée dans le passé c'est le passé composé (au lieu de l'imparfait) qui est employé. A titre d'exemple (DjP) :

- 12) Tous les jours j'ai fait ménage dans cette école.

Cependant, quand ils veulent décrire les caractéristiques ou l'état d'un individu dans le passé, tous les informateurs du type A emploient l'imparfait. Citons un exemple du discours de l'informateur DP, d'Urovica :

- 13) Cette année mon enfant était très malade.

Le plus-que-parfait n'est jamais utilisé pour désigner l'antériorité par rapport à un moment situé avant le moment de la parole et l'état résultatif actuel à ce moment. Autrement dit, dans les phrases où le plus-que-parfait doit être employé on trouve habituellement le passé composé (voir l'exemple 14 de MR, Urovica et l'exemple 15 de BoP, Valakonje :

14) Alors il m'a raconté qu'il a vécu en Allemagne et que...

15) Quand je l'ai appelé elle a déjà terminé son travail.

Il faut mentionner que lorsque le plus-que-parfait est employé (ce qui est très rare) ce n'est jamais un emploi correct (BM, Boljevac) :

16) Tous les jours j'étais allé au travail.

Etant donné ce que l'on vient de dire sur le plus-que-parfait, il n'est pas étonnant que la concordance des temps ne fonctionne pas du tout quand il s'agit de désigner un événement postérieur à un moment du passé. Donc au lieu du futur du passé (le conditionnel présent) on emploie soit l'imparfait (DP, Urovica), soit le futur proche (MR, Urovica) :

17) En 1996 il a dit qu'il va retourner en Serbie l'année prochaine.

18) Elle a expliqué qu'elle ne venait plus nous voir. Elle était très fâchée.

Le gérondif est rarement et mal employé. En effet ce n'est jamais pour désigner la simultanéité (comme par exemple dans la phrase : *Il marchait en chantant*) mais pour désigner, incorrectement, la postériorité (BoP, Valakonje) :

19) Il est entré la voiture en frappant la porte après.

Finalement, il convient de mentionner que, nos informateurs ont eu beaucoup de mal à produire des phrases hypothétiques. En fait, ils ne les emploient quasiment pas dans leur discours (le dialogue et les narratifs) et lorsqu'ils devaient traduire une phrase hypothétique en français ils n'y arrivaient pas du tout ou produisaient des phrases incorrectes. Par exemple, les phrases suivantes sont des exemples de l'expression incorrecte de l'irréel dans le présent (en 20) et dans le passé (en 21) :

20) J'aimerais bien encore en France si je serai un peu plus jeune.¹⁶

21) C'est un homme méchant. S'il veut vraiment te donner un coup de main alors, il a pu te téléphoner.¹⁷

Comment explique le fait que même ceux qui manient assez bien les temps verbaux du français ont beaucoup de mal à produire des phrases

¹⁶ La traduction attendue était : Je resterais encore en France si j'étais plus jeune.

¹⁷ La traduction attendue était : S'il avait voulu vraiment te donner un coup de main, il t'aurait appelé.

hypothétiques correctes. C'est probablement dû au fait que l'expression de l'hypothèse dans les langues naturelles est liée à des raisonnements modaux qui sont plus abstraits que les raisonnements temporels *stricto sensu*. L'expression de l'hypothèse sous-entend l'expression des éventualités qui ne sont pas vraies dans notre monde mais dans ce qu'on appelle des mondes possibles. Cet éloignement de notre propre monde est beaucoup plus difficile à maîtriser linguistiquement que la production des énoncés référant à notre actualité, y compris notre actualité passée et future.

Enfin disons que la modalité épistémique (exprimée par la phrase *Ćerka mu se izgleda udala*¹⁸ qui figure dans notre questionnaire) n'a pas été correctement traduite en français par la plupart de nos informateurs. Cependant la traduction suivante (de SR, Urovica) a particulièrement attiré notre attention :

22) Sa fille presque s'est mariée.

Dans cette phrase l'emploi de presque donne plutôt l'information aspectuelle « *Sa fille a failli se marier* » c'est-à-dire elle indique ce qu'on appelle « l'imminence contrecarrée de l'action ». ¹⁹ Cela montre que l'informateur est conscient que la phrase en serbe contient une idée autre que la réalisation effective de l'action, mais il n'est pas capable de l'exprimer correctement en français tout comme l'expression d'autres idées modales tels que le potentiel et l'irréel.

4.3 Sur le type B de nos résultats

Certains informateurs n'ont manifestement pas du tout acquis le système des temps verbaux. Ils utilisent soit l'infinitif, soit le présent, soit le participe passé (parfois même l'imparfait) et cela de manière aléatoire. Il convient de préciser cela : s'ils utilisent des formes verbales c'est uniquement pour nommer l'action, c'est-à-dire pour renvoyer à des concepts (comme *vivre, aller, travailler*). Dans leurs variétés du français les désinences verbales ne servent pas à situer les événements dans le temps. Ce sont des formes figées qui n'ont pas de valeurs procédurales et qui n'entrent pas en opposition l'une avec l'autre. Ainsi, on trouve dans une seule phrase des combinaisons tout à fait impossibles (les trois exemples ci-dessous sont de BP de Valakonje) :²⁰

¹⁸ *Il semble (il paraît) que sa fille s'est mariée.*

¹⁹ La réalisation de l'action a été imminente dans le passé, mais ne s'est pas produite pour des raisons que la phrase ne communique pas.

²⁰ Il faut préciser une chose ici: dans ce travail nous analysons uniquement les fautes liées à l'expressions des temps verbaux. Nous ne nous arrêtons pas sur les autres

- 22) Moi pas trouvé un travail ici, je retourne en France en 1980, je faire beaucoup de choses.
- 23) Comme travaillé 3 mois sans payer, dis partir demain.
- 24) Le vieil patron s'appelait Jean; Il disait à moi signe contrat pour six mois.²¹

Dans l'exemple 22) qui devrait désigner une suite d'événements dans le passé, on a le participe passé, suivi du présent, suivi de l'infinitif. Dans 23), on a le participe passé dans la subordonnée causale et le présent dans la principale. Enfin dans l'exemple 24) nous avons la forme figée (et correcte) que l'on trouve chez tous les informateurs (*X s'appelait*),²² suivi de l'imparfait du verbe *dire* pour nommer un événement dans le passé et du complément de ce verbe qui, au lieu d'être à l'infinitif, a été mis au présent.²³

En voici un autre exemple (tiré du discours de MP, Boljevac) qui atteste l'emploi tout à fait aléatoire des temps verbaux. Il s'agit une fois de plus d'une suite d'événements dans le passé :

- 25) Venir en France. Travaillais/ travaillé beaucoup. Puis retourne ici.

Pour exprimer la simultanéité d'une activité et d'un état dans le passé,²⁴ MP se sert d'une forme qui peut être comprise comme l'imparfait ou le participe passé qui est suivi du présent :

- 26) Le²⁵ travaillais toute la journée. Mais le vis bien.

Il n'est pas étonnant que ce locuteur utilise les même formes verbales pour référer à ce qui se passe dans l'actualité :

- 27) Maintenant le travaille très peu. Mais le vis bien à Boljevac avec sa femme.

Parfois on ne peut pas savoir si le locuteur (c'est le cas de BP, MP, MiP, GJ ou JT) a employé l'infinitif, l'imparfait ou le participe passé (comme dans cette phrase tirée du discours de JT) :

- 28) Li parlE arrivE à la Yougoslavie l'année prochaine.

types de fautes, concernant l'emploi des pronoms, des articles, des prépositions, l'ordre des mots, les accords etc.

²¹ Pour que nos lecteurs aient une idée plus claire des narratifs de ce type (où il n'y a quasiment pas d'instruction concernant la référence temporelle) nous donnons dans l'appendice 2 le transcript d'une partie du narratif de BP.

²² Bien évidemment il s'agit d'une forme verbale (l'imparfait du verbe *s'appeller*) que l'on entend très souvent et qu'il est très vite apprise.

²³ La phrase correcte serait: Il m'a dit de signer le contrat pour six mois.

²⁴ Nous renvoyons ici à l'ontologie de Vendler (1957).

²⁵ Rappelons que pour MP *le / lo* signifie *je*.

Tous cela montre que chez les locuteurs du type B le système des temps verbaux du français n'existe pas. Naturellement on y trouve aussi des phrases averbales, comme celle prononcée par MiP de Boljevac :

29) Déjà Madame fatiguée ? (Voudrez une Orangina ?)

Il s'agit en fait d'une question posée par MiP à T. Ašić, un des auteurs de cet article.

Ajoutons que pour renvoyer à un état (p. ex. *être malade*) qui a duré un certain temps dans le passé MiP emploie le présent du verbe *avoir* et non pas l'imparfait ou le passé composé du verbe *être*.

30) En 1995 il a femme malade.

Cela suggère que pour MiP le morphème « *a* » a une valeur temporelle indéterminée et fonctionne non seulement comme marqueur du présent, mais aussi comme marqueur du passé et du futur. L'exemple 31), prononcé par MiP, illustre cet emploi du morphème « *a* » pour le futur :

31) Ma petite fille a bientôt mariée. Le mois prochain.

Disons que bien qu'ici il s'agisse d'un mauvais emploi (d'un point de vue morphologique et sémantique), qui est une conséquence de l'incompétence linguistique de l'informatrice, il n'est pas rare d'entendre en français les énoncés où le passé composé est utilisé pour référer à des événements futurs (p. ex. *J'ai terminé dans dix secondes*). Cependant de tels emplois sont marqués épistémiquement en ce sens que l'action future est vue comme certaine ou du moins comme intentionnelle au moment de la parole (voir Stanojević / Ašić 2006 : 63). C'est donc la certitude épistémique qui légitime un tel emploi du passé composé en français standard.

Venons-en maintenant à une chose qui nous semble cruciale dans l'analyse des discours du type B. Elle ne concerne pas leur forme, à savoir la présence de fautes syntaxiques graves. Elle concerne le fait indéniable que la communication avec ces informateurs fonctionne dans une certaine mesure. Cela signifie que malgré l'absence d'instructions temporelles dans les phrases considérées il est quand même (dans la plupart des cas) possible de situer les événements dans le temps et même de « reconstruire » l'ordre temporel des événements. La question logique qui se pose est la suivante : Comment est-ce possible ? On va essayer maintenant de répondre à cette question.

Dans ce travail nous sommes partis de l'idée que la communication n'était pas seulement une affaire de code mais aussi d'inférence : grâce aux facteurs contextuelles il est possible d'inférer le sens d'un énoncé même s'il est incomplet / non-saturé sémantiquement. Essayons d'éclaircir cela. Selon Sperber / Wilson 1986: 20 les énoncés sont sous-déterminées lin-

guistiquement. Cela signifie que, dans le processus de l'interprétation des énoncés, participent aussi des informations contextuelles²⁶ et non seulement ce qui est dit dans l'énoncé (voir Moeschler / Reboul 2004: 50). Essayons d'expliquer cela : le sens d'un énoncé est construit non seulement à partir de son contenu sémantique mais aussi grâce au traitement pragmatique. Ainsi, l'interprétation des énoncés se fait-elle en deux étapes : le module linguistique de notre esprit²⁷ fournit une interprétation linguistique (la forme logique) qui sert d'input au système central, lequel fournira une interprétation complète. Disons que la forme logique se définit comme une suite structurée de concepts et n'est qu'une représentation sémantique partielle du sens de l'énoncé. Or, l'interprétation de l'énoncé ne s'arrête pas à la forme logique. Le traitement pragmatique doit attribuer un référent aux variables. Soit, par exemple, l'énoncé : *Mon fils est ici*. On doit comprendre qui est *mon fils*, c'est-à-dire qui est la personne qui est le fils du locuteur de la phrase et où se trouve le locuteur. Cependant, comme ces informations sont de nature déictique elles varient obligatoirement en fonction de la situation de communication. Autrement dit, l'interprétation finale de l'énoncé (à savoir la forme propositionnelle) est obtenue seulement lorsque la forme logique est enrichie par des informations contextuelles. Sans cela l'énoncé est trop vague et par conséquent très peu informatif.

Dans le cas particulier de l'interprétation des temps verbaux cela signifie que la référence temporelle d'un énoncé n'est pas donnée une fois pour toutes par le temps verbal, mais elle est aussi bien calculée à partir des informations contextuelles. A titre d'exemple, dans l'énoncé *Je vais à l'école*, le présent peut référer au moment de la parole mais aussi, si l'énoncé est la réponse à une question du type *Que fais-tu demain ?* à un moment dans l'avenir.

Mais que se passe-t-il lorsque, comme dans le cas des énoncés du type B, l'information temporelle n'est pas du tout encodée par les temps verbaux.²⁸ Dans ce cas spécifique la référence temporelle des événements et les relations temporelles entre événements doivent être cherchées ailleurs :

²⁶ Le contexte, dans son sens pragmatique, est l'ensemble des propositions que le destinataire considère comme vraies ou probablement vraies et qui, conjointement à la forme logique de l'énoncé, constituent les prémisses utilisées dans le processus inférentiel de l'interprétation. Elles proviennent de sources différentes : l'interprétation des énoncés précédents (les informations qui se trouvent dans la mémoire à moyen terme), la situation de communication (il s'agit des données perceptives tirées de celle-ci) et le savoir encyclopédique auquel on a accès à travers les concepts.

²⁷ Nous renvoyons ici à l'approche modulaire de Fodor 1986.

²⁸ Répétons encore une fois que dans les discours du type B les temps verbaux ne servent pas à encoder l'information procédurale temporelle.

a) soit dans le sens des adverbes/locutions adverbiales employés dans la phrase (p. ex. *demain, hier, en 1987, dans un mois, il y a deux ans* etc.) qui indiquent clairement où il faut situer les événements; b) soit elles doivent être inférées à partir des informations contextuelles (y compris nos connaissances du monde et nos capacités inférentielles).

En somme, le processus d'interprétation des discours temporels du type B dépend non seulement de nos connaissances linguistiques mais aussi (voire plus) de nos capacités cognitives. Tout cela souligne le rôle crucial de la pragmatique dans la communication et notamment dans les cas où l'expression est « déformée et très réduite ».²⁹

4.4 Comment expliquer les différences entre le type A et le type B ?

Il n'est pas facile de répondre à cette question. En effet, il s'agit d'une problématique assez complexe mettant en jeu un grand nombre de facteurs. Car, comme Perdue (1993: 7) le signale à juste titre, le degré très différent de maîtrise de la deuxième langue est une des caractéristiques les plus saillantes des personnes qui ne l'ont pas apprise de manière systématique. Il y en a qui s'arrêtent à un niveau très élémentaire et il y en a d'autres qui parviennent à une compétence linguistique proche de celle des locuteurs natifs. Perdue (idem) explique qu'on peut se demander s'il s'agit là des processus d'acquisition qualitativement différents (d'un côté ceux qui donnent d'excellents résultats et, de l'autre côté, ceux dont les effets sont très déficients), ou bien d'un seul type de processus d'acquisition qui, dans certains cas s'arrête très vite et dans d'autre continue et atteint de très hauts niveaux de compétence linguistique. Un des plus grands défis pour la sociolinguistique et la pragmatique est de trouver les causes de ces différences.

Quant à nos informateurs du type A et du type B, il faut souligner qu'entre eux il n'y a pas de différences importantes en ce qui concerne leur éducation, le type de travail qu'il font et leur niveau économique. A notre avis l'explication des différences devrait se baser sur trois groupes de facteurs :³⁰

²⁹ Voici un autre exemple de ce que Perdue (1993: 9) appelle la « reconstruction du sens » : une personne qui apprenait l'allemand de manière spontanée a voulu dire « mets le cendrier dans la boîte » mais faute de connaissances linguistiques elle a construit l'énoncé suivant: « *Aschenbecher Tasche* ». Bien que la phrase produite est incomplète (averbale) son interlocuteur, grâce aux informations contextuelles a été capable de reconstruire le sens de l'énoncé et de l'interpréter comme désignant un ordre.

³⁰ Pour une analyse détaillée des facteurs qui jouent un rôle dans l'acquisition et l'apprentissages des langues (voir Dörnyei 2001 et Bhatia 2006).

- I) La disposition linguistique innée (ce que l'on appelle dans la langue ordinaire « le talent pour les langues »). Il est clair que certains individus, grâce à des capacités de leur mémoire et/ou le niveau de leur intelligence verbale (à savoir les différences dans leur module linguistique au sens fodorien) et/ou les caractéristique psychologique (comme le fait d'être extroverti et éloquent) ou grâce à d'autres facteurs mentaux, apprennent les langues étrangères plus facilement que les autres.
- II) La propension, le facteur qui englobe plusieurs choses : le besoin de communiquer dans un pays étranger, le besoin de parler bien, l'attitude positive ou négative envers la culture et la langue étrangères, la motivation psychologique, l'esprit compétitif, l'absence ou la présence de la peur de communiquer dans une langue étrangère etc.
- III) L'exposition à la deuxième langue et cela non seulement d'un point de vue quantitatif (nombre d'heures par jour où la personne écoute et/ou parle une langue étrangère) mais aussi d'un point de vue qualitatif, ce qui veut dire que d'un côté l'immigré peut être exposé au français standard ou à des variétés non standard du français et, de l'autre côté, les personnes avec lesquels il est le plus souvent en contact utilisent soit une forme simplifiée et réduite de la langue (« foreigner talk ») soit le haut registre du français.

A la fin de cette section nous allons présenter brièvement le cas de la famille M de Boljevac. Il s'agit d'une famille très intéressante du point de vue de la manière quasi impeccable de s'exprimer en français même s'ils n'ont vécu en France que six années (de 1973 à 1979). DjM nous a impressionné par sa facilité incroyable de s'exprimer en français en faisant très peu de fautes. Non seulement il parle bien mais il est capable de donner son opinion sur quasiment tous les aspects de la vie quotidienne des Français. La France, disait-t-il, est sa deuxième patrie. C'est de là que viendrait sa principale motivation à apprendre une langue qui lui était d'abord tout à fait étrangère (il ne l'avait jamais appris à l'école) et cela à l'âge adulte (à l'époque où il était parti pour la première fois en France il avait dans les 20 ans). Son épouse BM parle aussi très bien français et ne montre pas moins d'enthousiasme vis-à-vis la culture et la civilisation françaises. Tous les deux essaient à tout prix de conserver leurs liens avec la France: ils y vont régulièrement (avec leurs enfants) pour voir leurs amis mais aussi pour admirer, comme nous l'a dit DjM, « l'art de vivre à la française ». Dans leurs énoncés on a trouvé des éléments de ce que l'on

appelle « le discours nostalgique » : pour eux la France est un Eldorado et les années passées en France sont les plus belles années de leur vie.

4.5 Perspectives

Il faudrait faire, à partir d'un corpus beaucoup plus grand, une analyse comparative des résultats obtenus sur trois échantillons de gastarbeites selon la langue maternelle (le valaque, le serbe et le tzigane) et examiner à quel point la structure du système temporel de leur langue maternelle influence leur maîtrise du système des temps verbaux en français et particulièrement l'émergence des emplois fautifs de certains temps verbaux. Pour le moment, dans notre corpus, nous n'avons pas remarqué de différences significatives dans la maîtrise des temps verbaux par nos informateurs en fonction de leur langue maternelle. Autrement dit, chez les Serbes, tout comme chez les Valaques ou les Tziganes on trouve des informateurs du type A et type B.

Une autre chose semble assez intéressante: on pourrait étudier chez les immigrés de la deuxième génération (les enfants de nos gastarbeites, qui sont scolarisés en France et qui ont une maîtrise excellente de cette langue) l'emploi des temps verbaux dans leur langue maternelle — le serbe, le valaque et le tzigane. Il est à noter qu'ils ne s'expriment pas toujours facilement dans leur langue maternelle³¹ et que certains d'entre eux préfèrent parler français même avec leurs parents. Il faudrait comparer ces résultats avec les résultats de cette recherche et en tirer des conclusions.

5. Quelques observations sociolinguistiques liées à cette recherche

La langue est sans aucun doute un des éléments fondamentaux de l'identité individuelle et collective. Il n'est pas surprenant que dans les discours analysés nous avons trouvé un assez grand nombre de marqueurs d'idéologie linguistique, à savoir des marqueurs de points de vue d'une communauté ethnolinguistique sur les différents codes qu'elle emploie (voir Jaffe 1999: 15). De plus, en écoutant leurs narratifs on se fait une image de leur identités sociale et culturelle dans leur nouveau pays et des problèmes qu'ils rencontrent en France mais aussi en Serbie, lorsqu'ils y

³¹ Ce phénomène sociolinguistique est connu sous le nom de « perte de langue maternelle en situation d'émigration ». En effet, il s'agit d'un processus comprenant trois étapes (Filipović 1985: 90): la première phase dite monolinguisque est celle où les immigrés se servent uniquement de leur langue maternelle. La deuxième phase est caractérisée par le bilinguisme des immigrés et la troisième par le monolinguisque — les immigrés oublient complètement leur langue maternelle et se servent exclusivement de la langue de leur nouveau pays. Les trois phases correspondent plus au moins aux trois générations d'immigrés.

reviennent.³² Dans tous les narratifs que nous avons enregistrés on ressent un besoin psychologique énorme de parler de soi et de son passé dur et intéressant — cela semble plus pertinent pour nos informateurs que leurs projets pour l'avenir. On peut dire qu'il y a un parallélisme entre l'adaptation socio-psychologique et linguistique: A leur première venue en France les gastarbeiters rencontrent trois problèmes majeurs: 1) le travail trop dur et exigeant ; 2) accepter une culture différente et un nouveau mode de vie ; 3) apprendre une nouvelle langue. Avec le temps, ces trois défis deviennent moins difficiles à gérer.

Nos informateurs ont quasiment tous une certaine conscience métalinguistique : ils font des commentaires sur les types de situations où ils parlent français et les types de situations où ils communiquent en Serbe. Ils comprennent le besoin et l'importance de bien parler la langue du pays où ils vivent et travaillent, quoique pour certains ce n'est pas une question existentielle. Toutefois, ils insistent tous sur le fait que la maîtrise complète du français est pour eux un idéal trop difficile et intellectuellement trop demandant qui ne sera jamais atteint. Une chose est claire : le degré d'appréciation de la culture et la société française influence l'effort personnel pour améliorer le français. En revanche, le sentiment d'être isolé à l'étranger aboutit à une sorte d'indifférence envers la maîtrise du français.

Malgré leur difficultés d'expression, « parler français » (d'après notre propre expérience avec nos informateurs) est pour eux une chose agréable. Ils montrent un plaisir quand ils le font et se sentent fiers de leur compétence linguistique, notamment en Serbie. C'est parce que la vie en France leur a apporté beaucoup de bien et ce succès est reflété dans leur attitude envers la langue française.

Même ceux qui ne font aucun effort pour améliorer leur français sont fiers du fait que cet idéal est réalisé par leurs enfants (la deuxième génération d'immigrés scolarisée en France). Il est très important de souligner que les gastarbeiters n'insistent pas à tout prix de préserver chez leurs enfants la langue maternelle. Cela est jugé important mais moins important que les bénéfices et les avantages de l'assimilation dans la société française.

Comme dans tous les cas du bilinguisme (voir Petrović 2006: 61 ; Auer 1998: 85) la variété linguistique utilisée par nos informateurs est caractérisée par les phénomènes d'alternance des codes (*code switching*) et par le mélange des codes (*code mixing*). Le premier phénomène peut être défini comme « la succession rapide de plusieurs langues ou dialectes dans un seul événement communicatif » (Muysken 2000: 1). L'alternance

³² Sur les divers problèmes d'adaptation linguistique et culturelle des immigrés voir Heinz 2001.

des codes est surtout présente dans la communication avec les enfants — entre eux-mêmes les gens âgés parlent dans leur langue maternelle, sauf dans les cas où ils veulent montrer le prestige (par exemple en présence de leurs voisins qui n'ont jamais travaillé à l'étranger). Pour eux parler français c'est comme conduire une voiture chère — une façon de se faire valoir.

Le mélange de codes existe en serbe quand les *gastarbeiters* emploient les mots français liés à leur travail en France, l'administration ou les soins médicaux. Les deux énoncés suivants sont tirés du discours de RM, de Vidrovac :

32) On je na šomazu.
Il est au chômage.

33) Izvadila sam apendis u Parizu.
Je me suis fait enlever l'appendice à Paris.

Le mélange de codes existe aussi en français lorsque les *gastarbeiters* parlent des coutumes du pays d'origine ou des choses liées à leur vie en Serbie avant d'aller en France (voir l'énoncé 34 de MR, d'Urovića et 35 de BP, de Valakonje) :

34) Ils vont organiser une grande **svadba** (*fête de mariage*).

35) Je parti avec cinq **razreda** d'école. (*razred = année d'école*)

Parfois le code mixing apparaît de manière aléatoire comme dans le cas de cet énoncé produit par SR, d'Urovića :

36) Entrer à **kola** et fermer la porte. (*kola = voiture*)

Ce qui est intéressant c'est que nous avons aussi trouvé dans notre corpus plusieurs cas du mélange de code grammatical. Il s'agit des énoncés où le locuteur, faute de connaissances en grammaire française, utilise les structures de sa langue maternelle. Nous en citons deux exemples (le premier est de RM et le deuxième de MP) :

37) S'il voulait vous aider, **on bi** vous le dira.
S'il voulait vous aider il vous le dirait.

38) Mon patron la très riche, **i bio i biće** riche. (il l'est et il le sera)
Mon patron était très riche. Il l'est encore et il le sera.

Dans l'exemple 37 le locuteur ne savait pas exprimer l'idée de non-actualisation dans le présent si bien qu'au lieu d'utiliser le conditionnel du verbe *dire* en français il a utilisé l'aoriste de l'auxiliaire *être* (*on bi*) qui, en serbe, sert à former le conditionnel.³³ Dans l'exemple 38, le locuteur

³³ Par exemple *On bi hteo jagoda. Il voudrait des fraises.* (*hteo* est le participe passé du verbe *hteti* 'vouloir').

voulait insister sur le fait que son patron avait été riche dans le passé et le serait aussi dans l'avenir ; cependant il n'a pas utilisé le passé composé et le futur de l'auxiliaire *être* en français mais en serbe.

Les discours de nos informateurs ne sont pas seulement caractérisés par la présence du *code-switching* et *code-mixing*, qui sont les moyens typiques de réalisation de la métapragmatique implicite (voir Lucy 1993: 17, Petrović 2006: 93), mais aussi ce qu'on appelle « le discours métapragmatique », qui est la réalisation explicite de la fonction métalinguistique. Le locuteur y réfère directement aux événements communicatifs et même fait ses propres analyses linguistiques. Ainsi, nous avons entendu plusieurs observations sur la structure et les soi-disant règles grammaticales du français, dont nous citons la plus intéressante (MP, Boljevac) :

39) Le français a trois verbes: MON, TON, SON.

Outre ces analyses pseudo-linguistiques on trouve dans leurs discours beaucoup d'expressions d'attitudes sur la beauté du français et la fonction expressive de cette langue. Pour eux c'est une langue de courtoisie, d'amour, d'élégance, d'hédonisme, de culture, de politesse. Voici ce que dit DjM à propos du français :

40) Quand je parle français je me sens différemment, comme quelqu'un qui a une grande culture et beaucoup de manières.

Les hommes insistent sur le fait que le français est la langue idéale quand on veut faire la cour à une femme ou bien montrer sa politesse et ses bonnes manières. Nous citons encore une fois MP qui se prononce à ce sujet :

41) Ma femme fâchée lo parler français à elle.³⁴ Lo dis : « Mon trésor » !

A la fin de cette section nous tenons à mentionner un phénomène assez amusant. Pour la majorité de nos informateurs le fait de parler français couramment, sans accent étranger et sans faire de fautes correspondait au « fait d'être français ». Ceci dit, nous étions pour eux Français et malgré nos clarifications ils ne voulaient pas accepter le fait que nous sommes Serbes et que nous vivons et travaillons en Serbie. Par conséquent, ils nous expliquaient des choses liées à la culture et l'histoire serbe et insistaient à tout prix que l'on goûte de l'eau de vie de prune. De même certains d'entre eux nous considéraient comme arbitres linguistiques et s'efforçaient de parler bien avec nous. Nous avons entendu un nombre de cas d'auto — correction ou de corrections des autres participants dans la

³⁴ MP voulait dire que lorsque sa femme est fâchée il s'adresse à elle en français pour l'amadouer.

communication (même si les corrections n'étaient pas toujours bonnes comme dans la phrase suivante, prononcée par MP) :

42) Non, Milka pas dire « enter à Serbie » ; lo dire « arriver dans Serbie ».

6. Conclusion

Le discours des gasterbeiters est une source précieuse d'informations linguistiques, sociolinguistiques et socio- psychologiques.

En ce qui concerne son importance pour les recherches sémantiques portant sur la temporalité le discours des gasterbeiters nous permet d'identifier non seulement les paramètres pertinents pour une approche minimaliste de la temporalité mais aussi les temps verbaux qu'on peut considérer comme sémantiquement fondamentaux. On peut constater aussi que le discours des gasterbeiters est précieux pour la pragmatique en ce qu'il montre sa puissance explicative. En effet il s'avère que ce qui est encodé linguistiquement de manière procédurale peut être reconstruit pragmatiquement même dans des énoncés très réduits et malformés.

Finalement, il serait utile d'envisager l'application de certains de nos résultats dans la didactique du FLE (français langue étrangère). Il s'agit notamment des décisions pédagogiques que l'enseignant aurait à prendre en ce qui concerne le primat à accorder à certains temps verbaux sans lesquelles une communication minimale serait impossible.

Il est à souligner que certains de nos résultats, comme c'est le cas de la compétence linguistique quasi parfaite de la famille Milošević de Boļjevac, ébranlent la thèse selon laquelle la grammaire, en l'occurrence les règles d'emploi des temps verbaux en français, ne peut pas être apprise spontanément, mais seulement à l'aide des méthodes didactiques. Enfin, cette recherche témoigne du rôle crucial de la motivation dans le processus de l'acquisition et de l'apprentissage des langues étrangères.

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Appendice 1

Les phrases de notre questionnaire avec leur traduction correcte en français

- 1) Stigao sam kući.
Je suis arrivé à la maison.

- 2) Svakog dana sam odlazio na posao.
Chaque jour/tous les jours j'allais au travail/boulot.
- 3) Moj gazda je bio bogat covek.
Mon patron était un homme riche.
- 4) Rekao je da je u Francusku došao 1980.
Il a dit qu'il était venu en France en 1980.
- 5) Rekao je da će se u Srbiju vratiti sledeće godine.
Il a dit qu'il rentrerait/reviendrait/retournerait en Serbie l'année prochaine.
- 6) Prošle godine je rekao da mu je žena bolesna.
L'année dernière, il a dit que sa femme était malade.
- 7) Radio je ceo dan.
Il a travaillé toute la journée.
- 8) Ćerka mu se izgleda udaje.
Il semble (il paraît) que sa fille se marie. / Sa fille se marie, semble-t-il (paraît-il)/ Sa fille se marierait.
- 9) Tada mu ja kažem da je kreten.
Alors/à ce moment-là je lui dit qu'il est crétin (que lui, il est crétin/ que lui, c'est un crétin).
- 10) Stalno mu govorim da je kreten.
Je lui dit sans cesse/tout le temps qu'il est crétin. / Je lui répète tout le temps qu'il est
- 11) On udje u kola i zatvori vrata.
Il est entré dans la voiture et il a fermé la porte.
- 12) Tada se već bila udala.
Alors elle s'était déjà mariée.
- 13) On bi želeo da kupi skupa kola.
Il voudrait/aimerait acheter une voiture chère.
- 14) Ostao bih još u Francuskoj da sam mladji.
Je resterais encore en F si j'étais plus jeune.
- 15) Da je hteo da ti pomogne, javio bi se.
S'il avait voulu t'aider, il t'aurait téléphoné/appelé/contacté.

Appendice 2

Une partie du narratif de BP, Valakonje

Arrive en France soixante douze vingt quatre avril par Biro Rada Kruševac. France travaille trente ans jusqu'à deux mille deux. Donc il

travaille non je parti comme maçon d'ici pas d'école je suis pris par école de Kruševac avec quatre razred école.

Comme ça je fais contact ici pour travailler six mois à la France pour cinq francs par l'heure. Cille je touche ici, je travaille la brique je fais à peu près cent mille briques par année pour construire la maison : je comptais pouvoir — il y a ici qui construit la maison cent briques par mètres carrés. Non là bas je parti je travaille comme photographe comme je travaille photographe ici passé parti professionnel qui fait le touche négative. Je passé pour gagner permis pour photographie.

Essayé là bas à Kruševac mais pouvais pas et comme maçon parti à la France. Mon oncle travaille en Allemagne donc en Allemagne par lettre de garantie je sais pas comment pas même envoyé la lettre je tirais beaucoup de gars qui arrivent là bas même gratuite partir d'ici. Non ce est mon problème que je parti d'ici. Comme c'est marié la maison de femme; bagarre avec mon père et comme s'est divorcé avec la première femme pour je sauve je parti.

Il y a un gosse avec ma première femme et ça c'est la deuxième femme. Et comme ça je dis je pas trouve ici ; pas restE à la maison de mon père; j'écoute par la poste Radio Kruševac on dit : « nous on cherche le gars pour spécialiser pour maçon pour la France ».

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FOREIGN LANGUAGE POLICY: THE ITALIAN LANGUAGE IN SERBIA AND MONTENEGRO TODAY

Abstract: The policy of teaching foreign languages has always been dominated by certain political and economic factors. In Serbia and Montenegro, language policy has been rarely based on clear decisions and strategies. On the other hand, such policies could be deducted from the decisions of supervised institutions, as well as from the demands and responses of the social environment to its necessities. In Serbia, French and German were studied until 1945, then, one decade after the Second World War, Russian was predominant, henceforth English. In addition, in Montenegro Italian was studied because of historical and cultural links between Montenegro and Italy, as well as because of the Italian occupation of Montenegro. As for learning Italian within the modern educational framework in Serbia, it has been connected to the specifics of the language itself in the field of music (in music schools), while the Italian language at the university level has been mainly related to philology and humanities at the Department of the Italian Language and Literature, which was established in Belgrade 75 years ago. The role of Italian in Serbia along with the motivation in studying this language has been changing for 20 years. Besides traditional reasons in studying the language, such as cultural reasons, some other motives have been noticed. They are related to the constant political and cultural links including economic ones partially preserved during the recent political crisis. In addition, these reasons include modern events and motivations, such as emigration to Italy (Požarevac) and demands for employees (Vršac, Kragujevac). Italian is the fifth language on the scale consisting of six languages taught in schools in Montenegro (since the school year 1992–1993, the total number of enrolled students has been estimated to 12,000). In Serbia, Italian has been studied since the school year 2001–2002.

Key words: Language policy in Serbia and Montenegro, teaching foreign languages, Italian as a foreign language

Describing the European linguistic diversity as the diversity of the linguistically poorest continent, Tove Skutnabb-Kangas (2002) explains:

The latest count of both living and many known but extinct languages of Europe (Price, 2000) gives some 275 languages (and more than half of these are in the former USSR). If we discount recent immigrants and count only the autochthonous languages, we have only some 3% of the world spoken languages.

The top ten languages in the world in terms of number of speakers (Mandarin Chinese, Spanish, English, Bengali, Hindi, Portuguese, Russian, Japanese, German, Wu Chinese) account for approximately half of the world's population but they represent only 0.10–0.15% of the world's spoken languages. Five of them are spoken in Europe (Spanish, English, Portuguese, Russian and German), even if the bulk of the speakers of Spanish, English and Portuguese are in other parts of the world.

The Italian language occupies the 19th place according to the number of speakers, with approximately 70 million speakers (Baker & Eversley 2000). Although the number of speakers is not big, there is an interesting correspondence between the two forms of migrations, the traditional economic ones, and the modern tourist ones, motivated by the increase in financial resources of individuals.

The concept of social usefulness of one language is based on different dimensions: social interaction, intercultural exchanges but also the teaching of the language.

Why is Italian, after English, the most popular language in this area (Vučo 2003)? The attractiveness of a language depends on its usefulness: instrumental usefulness guided by everyday communicative interaction and cultural usefulness makes a language become an evolutionary instrument of an individual.

The presence of one language on a certain territory is hardly connected with the historical, social, political, cultural and other contacts and influences.

The policy of learning foreign languages has always been dominated by certain political and economic factors.

In Serbia and in Montenegro, language policy has been rarely based on clear decisions and strategies. On the other hand, such policies could be deduced from the decisions of supervised institutions, as well as from demands and responses of the social environment to its necessities.

Foreign language education policies have been for decades systematically defined completely independent from general language education policies. Their presence in the Serbian educational system is guaranteed by the laws on education of the Ministry of Education and Sport of the Republic of Serbia.

Foreign languages in Serbia

Foreign language education in Serbia (in terms of languages which are favored at specific points in time and attitudes toward early foreign language learning) has always been a direct reflection of the socio-political and economic factors of a given era. Visibly (and often explicitly) defined strategic objectives have led to the creation of specific language education policies in this area. A brief history of institutionalized foreign language education in this country outlined in the following section clearly illustrates the above statement.

Institutionalized foreign language teaching in Serbia began during the fourth decade of the 19th century (coinciding with the founding of the first public schools in the country). Since then, the selection of languages depended on many factors, the most important ones being the political and cultural influence of the country whose language was chosen.

ITALIAN LANGUAGE IN SERBIA

Tradition of teaching Italian

Teaching and studying foreign languages are permanent processes and are being developed in school, but also out of school. One of the main purposes of education is a guarantee for that permanency. In some cases, thanks to an open-minded approach of governmental institutions in charge, these variations imply the consequences verified in introduction of the Italian language in primary schools in Montenegro 1992–1993 and in Serbia 2001–2002.

Teaching Italian in schools in Serbia has started recently. It has been related mainly to music schools and conservatories and also to courses that have taken place in informal institutions and to very small groups of people that have been working at the university level during the last 75 years.

The Italian language is present and fundamental as language taught in schools, first of all for economic reasons. Italy was rated second in international export and import economy for years and it has been competing with Russia and Germany. The surveys carried out at the beginning

of the 90s amongst school population on motivation for studying foreign languages rated the Italian language second (right after English). In Serbia, there is a huge interest in learning Italian.

The Italian language at university level in Serbia

For years, almost from the beginning of the 20th century, the Italian language has been studied at Belgrade University.

The date that represents the official beginning of organized teaching of the Italian language in Serbia at the university level coincides with the date of the first Italian language lesson held in October 1930 by Professor Stanko Škerlj at Belgrade University.

One can find even more antique traces of the interest for the Italian language and culture in intellectual circles in Serbia, even if they often go back to French and German sources. The Archive of the Historical Institute of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts contains testimonies of cycles of lessons in Italian held by Professor Matija Ban. There are also translations and comments of events that took place in Italy at the beginning of last century.

The first Italian teacher that we can find information about is lector Bruno Guyon who taught at Belgrade University before 1913, when he returned to Italy, probably because of the war in the Balkans. There is also one Serbian grammar published in Milan in 1919, as a testimony of the linguistic interests. Then, various successful experiments of teaching in Italian came one after another and took the form of cycles of literature courses related to one single issue, for example, the work of Alessandro Manzoni. In 1928, optional lessons of Italian linguistics held by Professor Ilija Maričić were introduced at Belgrade University. In the beginning, it was a course of Italian for beginners, then for advanced learners and afterwards and it contained conversation, reading and translation of text.

As I have already mentioned, the first arrangements at university levels at the Serbian Faculty of Philology in Belgrade were made by Professor Stanko Škerlj, a Slovenian from Ljubljana, who studied Italian in Florence, Vienna and Paris. Škerlj stayed in contact with the most famous Italian linguists of his time and he imposed to teaching Italian in Belgrade an international dimension that can be noticed even today.

The current interest for the Italian language in general and for Italian culture in Belgrade and in Serbia has already exceeded all the forecasts that had been made in the past. Today, the Department for Italian Studies at the Serbian Faculty of Philology in Belgrade represents a safe and trustworthy support for all those who want to come closer to the Italian culture. In the past 10 years, this section has registered a constant growth

in the number of enrolled students: currently, the total number amounts at about 1,000 students, almost the same as the Department for English Studies, the most numerous at the Faculty. Besides the basic language course which lasts for four years, the Faculty of Philology has two years courses (four semesters) for students from other departments from the Faculty and also a two years course for PhD/Master students. There is also a three years course for Comparative Literature students.

In its long life, the Department of Italian Studies has given birth to numerous experts. In the last 30 years, more than 1,000 students have graduated Italian language and literature. Today, this Department gathers 15 professors and assistants.

Besides teachers' scientific publications dedicated to Italian literature, to linguistic and methodology problems, the Department for Italian Studies in Belgrade has also been publishing a periodical review, *Italica Belgradensia*, since 1975. This review contains contributions from different language experts in Italian literature and history and, above all, contrastive Italian-Serbian studies. By now, six issues have been published, the last one in 2005.

The Department for Italian Studies in Belgrade contributes actively to the diffusion of the Italian language in Serbia. At the same time, the Department is the only official institution delegated by the Serbian Ministry of Public Education in order to preserve and program teaching of the Italian language. Since the academic year 2001–2002, the Italian language has become one of the curricular languages in Serbia, amongst English, French, German, Spanish and Russian. The teachers from the Department created the curricular programs for primary and secondary education and wrote books and workbooks for all levels of Italian, from intermediate to university level.

In 2002, the *Association of Italian teachers in Serbia*, with its chair at The Department for Italian Studies, was founded.

The Italian language taught at other faculties and universities

The Italian language is also taught at other faculties, for example the Faculty of Philosophy, and it is a compulsory semester subject. The courses consist of basic and advanced studies of Italian and also include teaching Italian of different sectors, which is necessary for understanding specialized texts. More than 100 students attend this course.

Italian is compulsory for students at the Faculty of Musical Arts and at the Belgrade Conservatory and it is studied for four semesters. The same course has been organized at the Faculty of Musical Arts in Novi Sad.

The Italian language is compulsory for students who learn Romance languages at Novi Sad University. Students from other Departments can study it as an optional language. The course lasts for four semesters and is attended by approximately 300 students. This course is due to be transformed in a four year one as soon as the circumstances allow it.

In the last decade, private universities have been founded in Serbia. In these private schools, which mainly offer management and economy courses, the Italian language was considered indispensable. Beginning with the academic year 1999–2000, the Italian language has become a curricular foreign language at the private university “Braća Karić”, with the headquarters in Belgrade and Novi Sad, at the faculties of economy and management, where English is a compulsory language and it is studied for three years. The second compulsory language is studied for 3 years as well, and students can choose between German, Russian and Italian. Once finished basic and advanced levels, students study sector languages. The Italian language is compulsory at the university “Megatrend”, at the Faculty of Management for Small and Big Businesses (150 students), in the Hotel School (150), at the European University (200) and in many other smaller faculties in Belgrade.

The policy of teaching foreign languages in Serbia

The policy of teaching foreign languages depends on many different factors. Diffusion and distribution of languages in the school systems of a country is influenced by economic, social, traditional, political, cultural and, in the end, technical and organizational factors. The strategy of teaching foreign languages varies from country to country all over the world, but it depends mainly on the above mentioned factors. But, in recent years, the linguistic policy promoted in Europe has caused certain changes in the diffusion of Italian and teaching the Italian language.

Here are some partial data regarding the distribution of teaching foreign languages in Serbia in the academic year 2001–2002, on the eve of the reform of educational system. The statistics are related to teaching the first foreign language: English — 69.7%, French — 11.9%, Russian — 11.6% and German — 6.74% (Đurić 2002). The increase of interest for teaching English consequently caused the decrease of interest for teaching other foreign languages. The preservation of the diversity of languages that are taught in one country and that belong to the educational and intellectual heritage of that country is very important for its future. The fundamental principle of the European linguistic policy, plurilingualism, suggests alternative methods of teaching in order to maintain and promote

teaching of other foreign languages as well: optional courses, intensive courses, bilingual classes that do not include English.

The Italian language in compulsory education

The position of Italian language in primary and secondary education has changed significantly. Thus, according to the first surveys that were carried out, 30.39% of pupils learn English as a second language, 30.12% Russian, 21.66% French, 17.79% German and 0.04% Italian (Đurić 2002). In some schools in Belgrade, attempts were made at introducing the third foreign language, as an optional object (the elementary school “Braća Ribnikar”). As a compulsory language, Italian is taught in the music schools in Belgrade, Pančevo, Užice, Aleksinac, Kragujevac, Niš, Paraćin, Požarevac and in some other towns in Serbia. As well, the Italian language is present in the highschoools in Vršac, Sremski Karlovci, Niš, Kragujevac. After a long preparation, with the support from Italy, in September 2004 the first Italian Serbian section was launched in the third highschoool in Belgrade (“Treća beogradska gimnazija”), which brought high expectations for other schools in Serbia, as well.

Language schools and non-formal teaching

There are lots of private language schools in Serbia nowadays. According to some statistics, the number of institutions that in some way offer courses in various languages and at various levels counts up to 3,000. These institutions still have to unify their levels of teaching, however the Italian language is the most studied after English. According to the statistics, there are 240 students enrolled in language courses organized by the Italian Institute of Culture (the number has grown by 40% since 2004), 30 students attending Italian language courses at the Diplomatic Academy and 200 students attending Italian language courses at the Military Academy.

ITALIAN LANGUAGE IN MONTENEGRO

The presence of the Italian language in Montenegro is a testimony of the intense traditional contacts between these two neighboring countries, which have always had tight maritime, commercial contacts and, in last couple of years, have extended their cooperation even in tourism. These relationships can be confirmed by the numerous traces of the Italian language in Montenegro, conserved in the archives and museums in Italy (Marcian Library in Venice, lots of others libraries in Venice, in Rome, in Trieste, in Southern Italy, in Montenegrin archives of Kotor and Cetinje).

The tradition of teaching Italian is deeply related to the political, economic and commercial contacts between the two countries.

The tradition of teaching and studying Italian has been cultivated in the area since the period of Venetian domination. Once this domination came to an end, local administration continued to use Italian under the Austrians. The works of Mirka Zogović (2002, 2004) testify to the plurilingualism of that area during the Renaissance, Baroque and in the 19th century. She says that “the Italian language in Dalmatia, if we apply the modern linguistic criteria, in the period between the 16th and 18th century, was a ‘great’ language (in contrast to the local, the ‘little’ one)” (Zogović 2002, 2004).

The Italian language was the language of the dominant class, and in one part of the territory it was the official language and the language of the culture. With some differences in its use, Italian was a ‘great’ language where and when Venice was in power and as long as the power of Venice lasted. During its dynamic history, the city of Kotor and its bay have been under the administration of Venice from 1420 (with the cities on the south of the bay named the Albania of Venice) to 1725. After the fall of the Republic of Venice, in 1797, these territories passed under the Austrian domination.

It is presumed that the great poet and bishop Petar Petrović Njegoš knew Italian, as he spent the last nine months of his life in Naples. The famous families Savoia and Petrović contributed to the increase of interest in the Italian language. In 1896, Jelena, Princess of Montenegro, daughter of the King of Montenegro, Nikola Petrović, married Vittorio Emanuele di Savoia.

From 1941 to 1943, in the regions of Montenegro which were under the Italian government, Italian was taught in schools as a foreign language. In Nikšić, the memories about a person called Olindo Secondino, professor of Italian language in the high school of Nikšić, are still alive. There was also a great number of useful publications related to the Italian language, for example the “pocket dictionary” *Dizionario tascabile serbo-croato-italiano*, made by Predrag N. Ilić and published in the printing firm “Progres” of Milovan Radoičić, in Nikšić in 1941, and *Srpsko-italijanski razgovori sa jezgrom italijanske gramatike i sa izgovorom italijanskih reči*, Serbian-Italian conversations with an essential Italian grammar and pronunciation of Italian words, made by Anastasije Veljović, a retired teacher, and published in the same printing firm in 1942.

In Montenegro, especially in its southern parts, the Italian language has always been very familiar to the local people. As a consequence, there are many Italian words and expressions in Montenegrin dialects.

The media have always had a significant influence on the diffusion of Italian language: Italian state and private TV channels are easily received, especially on the Adriatic coast.

The Italian language in compulsory education

In 1992, the Ministry of Public Education of Montenegro carried out a survey amongst parents of schoolchildren on the future of the Italian language. The results revealed that more than 85% of schoolchildren chose the Italian language as the most prospective.

The first foreign language taught in schools is English, but in the north of country the Russian language comes before English. Teaching Italian is mainly concentrated in the region near the Adriatic Sea and in big centers like Podgorica, Bar, Cetinje, Nikšić, etc.

Even if the Italian language has always been a part of everyday social life in Montenegro, Italian has been taught only in a few towns or in specialized schools in Kotor. Before 1992, it has traditionally been taught in the gymnasium in Bar and in the music schools in Kotor and Podgorica. In 1994–1995, Italian was introduced in the schools in Herceg Novi, Kotor and other schools all around the country. The number of students and the interest in studying Italian are in constant increase. Today, 13 years after the Government initiative, there are approximately 50 teachers who teach Italian and 12,000 students. The teaching is carried out without major problems. The Italian language is taught as a foreign language in secondary schools in Montenegro and in professional institutes (such as commercial, hotel, music and naval institutes).

The Italian language at university level

The first department of Italian language founded in Montenegro exists even today at the Superior Institute of Tourist Operators at the Faculty of Maritime Studies in Kotor. At the Faculty of Philosophy in Nikšić, the Italian language has been taught as an optional object amongst other foreign languages (French, German, Russian) since the academic year 1991–1992. The first courses lasted for four semesters and included basic and advanced levels of Italian.

Introduction of the Italian language in primary schools in Montenegro caused the demand for graduates in Italian who could teach the Italian language. In order to meet this demand, in 1993–1994 a section of Italian studies was launched within the Department of English Studies, Italian being taught as a second language. The course has six semesters, which means 16 lessons per week (10 language lessons and six Italian literature and culture lessons). This program included a course of Italian

civilization and literature and teaching methodology course. After three years studies, the graduates were capable of teaching Italian in primary schools.

The diffusion of the Italian language in secondary schools caused the demand for new graduates in Italian who studied it as their first language. The cultural, political, commercial and touristic links between Montenegro and Italy had as a consequence the demand for university graduates in Italian studies. This demand caused the transformation of three years studies in four years studies.

In May 1999, the Department of Italian Studies, which offered four year long Italian language and literature courses, was founded at the Faculty of Philosophy in Nikšić, Montenegro. The Department received its first students, 120 of them, in the academic year 1999–2000. The first students graduated in 2002–2003.

The Department of Italian studies in Montenegro has excellent relations with Bari University, in particular with its Faculty of Languages. Different kinds of student exchange are organized: the best students from Nikšić participate in various programs for language students organized and financially supported by Bari University and by the Montenegrin Ministry of Public Education with the help of the Regional Institute of Research and Experimentation in the Educational Area (IRRSAE) from Puglia. The other results of this collaboration are the monographic publications, conferences, exchange of teachers and experts, seminars, congresses in Montenegro and in Italy.

The Italian language is also taught at other faculties in Montenegro: the Faculty of Economy in Podgorica, the Music Academy in Cetinje, the above mentioned Faculty of Maritime Studies in Kotor, the private Hotel and Tourism University in Bar, the private University “Mediteran”, etc.

Non-formal teaching

There are many non-formal courses of Italian language taught at many private schools and people's universities almost in all towns in Montenegro. In Kotor, Dante Alighieri Association organizes courses of the Italian language at all levels.

Studies and researches dedicated to the Italian language and civilization carried out in primary and secondary schools, at universities and in non-formal institutions will help further contacts between the three countries and will give a strong impulse to future initiatives and activities in the Balkans, already rich with various cultures and nations.

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