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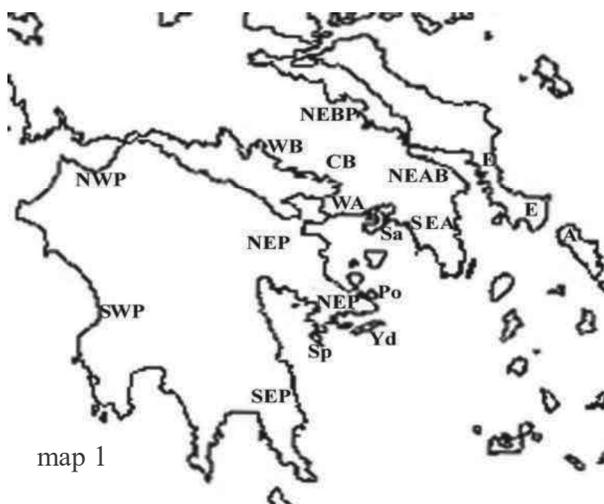
COMPARATIVE REMARKS ON THE VERB MORPHOLOGY OF
THE ARVANITIKA DIALECTS

1. Introduction

It is often stated that the Arvanitika dialects of Greece are among the most thoroughly examined varieties of Albanian, at least from the point of view of language death theory and sociolinguistics (see, for example, Kazazis 1976, Trudgill 1976-7, Tsitsipis 1981, Hamp 1989, Sasse 1992, Liosis 2007 etc.). In most of these works any description of the language system is considered to be secondary. Thus it is no exaggeration to say that the study of Arvanitika today is characterized by a lack of up-to-date dialectological approaches to the subject, either synchronically or diachronically orientated, including a comprehensive and analytic description of the linguistic systems involved, and clarifying the relationship of the various Arvanitika dialects with one another, as well as their place within the wider picture of Albanian dialectology. Any exceptions to this involve small-scale analysis and comparative examination of scattered characteristics in a limited number of neighbouring dialects (usually those of Attica and Boeotia; e.g. Hamp 1961), ignoring the data from less-studied dialects which may be linguistically and geographically further removed. Of course, some grammars and modern linguistic analyses do exist (see, among others, Haebler 1965 (Salamis), Sasse 1991 (Attica and Boeotia) etc.) but still these efforts are more or less concentrated on individual dialects and their local characteristics. Today, with the publication of rich linguistic material from many Arvanitika-speaking areas (transcriptions of sound recordings of spoken texts, dialogues, narratives, folk tales, songs, glossaries etc.), much of which is the result of the tireless efforts of Titos Jochalas, it is possible to fill at least some of these gaps (see, for example, his works on the dialects of Andros (2000), Euboea (2002), Hydra (2006) and the Peloponnese (2011)). Some things are still missing; for example, there is very little information available on the dialects of Phthiotida, the mountains of Achaia, and the island of Spetses; and, given the almost total language shift of Arvanitika speakers to Greek, there is little hope that this situation will change. However, the importance of Arvanitika for the field of Albanian dialectology has often been noted; having been cut off at a very early date from the main body of Southern Tosk, many archaic characteristics have been preserved in this dialect, which have also gradually developed some exclusive innovations, either language-internally or contact-induced.

2. Some basic verb morphology isoglosses

One part of the linguistic system which clearly shows this characteristic combination of conservatism and innovation is the morphology of the verb, which is the subject of this article. I will attempt to demonstrate where some basic verb morphology isoglosses fit in on the Arvanitika dialectological map and to present a historical and comparative interpretation of their presence in Arvanitika. Most of the isoglosses proposed here have been referred to in various contexts by previous researchers: Sasse (1991:17) in his book on the north-east Attico-Boeotian dialect, proposes the division of the Arvanitika dialects that we see on map 1.¹



map 1

Sasse (23-4) also provides a brief catalogue of morphological characteristics that, according to him, give NEAB its particular identity:

(1) The type *ja* (3rd present indicative) of the auxiliary *jam* ‘to be’. He adds that it is also present in the northern dialects, but not in WB, which, like the southern dialects,

preserves the inherited Arvanitika *iftə*.

(2) The particle *dot* as proclitic future marker. He observes that *dot*, which is an allomorph of *do* before a vowel-initial clitic, e.g. *dot e hap* ‘I will open it’, is also found in the Boeotian dialects (usually in the form *ot*), but absent from the south.

¹ The abbreviations on the map, which are also used in the text, are to be interpreted as follows: NWP = north-west Peloponnesian, SWP = south-west Peloponnesian, SEP = south-east Peloponnesian, NEP = north-east Peloponnesian, WA = west Attic, SEA = south-east Attic, NEAB = north-east Attico-Boeotian, CB = central Boeotian, WB = west Boeotian, NEBP = north-east Boeto-Phthiotian, E = Euboean, A = Andros. I have also included abbreviations for the islands of the Argosaronic gulf and around the Argolic peninsula: Sa = Salamina, Po = Poros, Yd = Hydra, Sp = Spetses. When discussing the Peloponnese in particular, I also make use of the names of its various provinces and regions: Achaia (NWP), Messenia (SWP), Lakonia (SEP), Argolida and Corinthia (NEP). I refer to southern part of the Argolic peninsula as Ermionida and to the south-eastern part, which includes the peninsula of Methana, as Trizinia). The linguistic data are presented using the International Phonetic Alphabet, except for those from Standard Albanian, for which I use the Albanian alphabet.

(3) The *i*-grade in the 3rd person imperfect of verbs that show paradigmatic vowel gradation. He states that in the dialects of Attica (south-east and west) this vocalism has been extended to the whole imperfect paradigm.

(4) The ending *-mə* (1st pl.) in both present and past tenses in NEAB and SEA. He notes that in WA, conversely, there is a distinction between the primary ending *-mə* for all the present tenses and the secondary *-m* for the past tenses, e.g. *pímə* ‘we drink’ ~ *pím* ‘we drank’. This isogloss was first mentioned by Fourikis (1933:142-3) as a criterion for distinguishing the two Attic dialects.

(5) The *n*-conjugation of verbs that normally belong, in Haebler’s (1965) terminology, to the so-called zero-class, e.g. *hap* ~ *háp-ən* ‘I open’. Sasse notes that this characteristic, which is well known in the Arbëresh dialects of Southern Italy but which had not been previously described in Arvanitika, is also found in the SEA dialect and in NEP; it is, however, absent from Salamina, WA and Boeotia (central and western).

The attempt to apply the above characteristics to all the Arvanitika dialects reveals that they are useful in general terms, but are rather Atticentric, with the result that their diagnostic power decreases the further we travel into the provinces. For example, they have very little to tell us about the distinction between NWP and SWP (so that in this case we would have to speak generally about west Peloponnesian). In consequence I considered that it would be useful to include a number of further isoglosses that should help to promote a better understanding of the dialects outside the Attic and Boeotian group:

(1) The first is the degree of usage of the suffix *-f-* in the formation of the imperfect of the *m*-verbs, i.e. the verbs *jam* ‘be’, *kam* ‘have’ and *θom* ‘say’. In the dialects which lack this element, it has been replaced analogically with the originally euphonic element *-j-* and/or the nasal suffix *-ŋ-*, e.g. *kéŋə* ~ *kéjə* ~ *kéŋə* ‘I had’.

(2) The second isogloss, which is linked to the first, is the degree of analogical extension of the *i*-grade in the imperfect paradigms of the auxiliary verbs *jam* and *kam*, when these retain the element *-f-*, e.g. *jéŋə* ~ *íŋə* ‘I was’, *kéŋə* ~ *kíŋə* ‘I had’.

(3) The third isogloss concerns the presence of the ending *-te*, as a general rule in the 1sg. present indicative and subjunctive, e.g. *hap* ~ *hap-te* ‘I open’.

(4) The fourth and final isogloss has to do with the appearance of the suffix *-tʃ-* in place of the suffix *-f-* which is used in the construction of the active



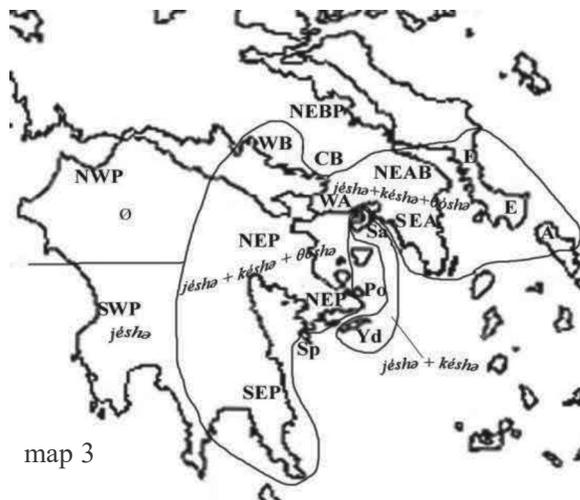
map 2

aorist of a category of archaic verbs (sigmatic aorists) as well as for the passive of all verbs, e.g. *θάψα ~ θάψα* ‘I said’, *υ martuάψα ~ υ martuάτψα* ‘I was married’.

3. Maps and analysis

3.1. *ja ~ ίψα*

The form *ja* (3sg, indicative) evidently came about through analogical influence of the form *ka* of the verb *kam*, resulting in absolute identity of the root vocalism and the endings of both auxiliaries in the present indicative too: *jam, je, ja, jémi, jéni, jánα* and *kam, ke, ka, kémi, kényi, kánα*. Here follows the map showing the distribution of the types *ja* and *ίψα* (map 2). The resulting picture confirms Sasse’s observation that this constitutes a basic isogloss that runs through Attica and Boeotia. What is new is that according to Jochalas’s data (2002), the dialect of Euboea must also be divided into north and south, with the southern areas, from the village of Gianitsi downwards (Karystos and Kavο Doro areas), preserving the type *ίψα*, while the northern areas have *ja* like NEAB on the opposite shore. *ίψα* is also found on Andros.



3.2. *m*-verbs: sigmatic imperfect

The picture changes radically if we attempt a wider-ranging examination of the extent to which the affix *-f-* is retained in the imperfect of the *m*-verbs (map 3). The element *-f-*, which is derived from the stem **es-* of the verb ‘to be’, with the change *s > f*, is considered to have been analogically extended to the

other two athematic verbs prior to the period of the first written Albanian texts (Demiraj, 1976: 68-71): *jéψα → kéψα, θόψα*. Data from Arvanitika generally support this assertion; however, the sigmatic form *θόψ-* appears in the fewest dialects and not in the whole paradigm of the imperfect: as shown on map 3, sigmatic imperfects for all three *m*-verbs are in use in eastern Peloponnese, in western and eastern Boeotia, in Attica, in Euboea and in Andros. More extensive is the area where we find the sigmatic imperfect *kéψ-* / *kíψ-* (as well as the above areas, it is also found in Hydra and Salamina), while *jéψ-* / *íψ-* is found everywhere with the exception of the Achaian dialect, where all three verbs have replaced *-f-* with *-n-*. I have no data for CB, NEBP, Spetses and Poros.

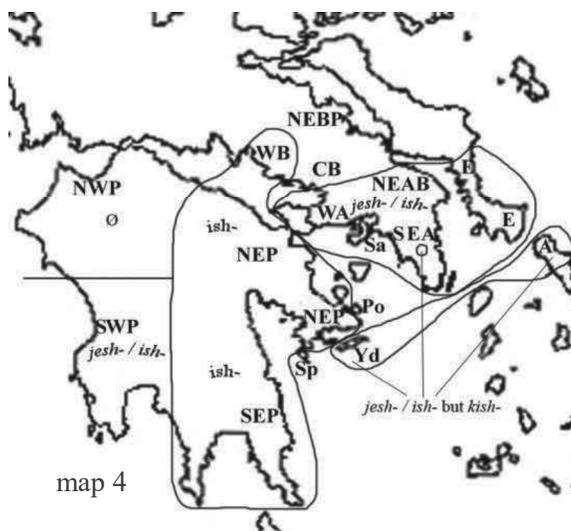
It should be noted that in many of the dialects that use the sigmatic forms, for certain persons we also find forms with the extensions *-j-* or/and

-*n-*, which either replace the sigmatic forms or are in free variation with them. Thus, for example, in the dialect of Lakonia the imperfect paradigm of *θom* is mixed, including all three elements (-*f-*, -*j-* and -*n-*): *θó-f-ə*, *θó-f-e*, *θó-j*, *θó-n-əm(ə)*, *θó-n-ətə*, *θó-j-nə*. Similarly, the 3sg. of ‘have’ appears in the Arvanitika dialects much more frequently as *kej* than *kif*.

It is difficult to say for certain whether the extensions -*j-* / -*n-* are old in Arvanitika, or whether they have replaced -*f-*, especially in the case of the imperfect *θójə*, which could be considered to correspond to the normal and old imperfect of vowel stems such as *dí-j-ə* ‘I knew’. For the other two stems, however, we are almost certainly dealing with a late development involving the replacement of -*f-*, inasmuch as all the non-sigmatic types are conjugated exclusively with the regular vocalism -*e-* which has been generalized throughout the paradigm, e.g. *jé-na*, *jé-ne*, *jé-j* etc., *ké-jə*, *ké-je*, *ké-j* etc. The only exception is the sporadically attested Messenian form *ki-j* ‘he had’ alongside *kej*.

3.3 Vowel gradation *e/i* in the imperfect of the *m*-verbs: *jef-* / *if-* and *kef-* / *kif-*

The situation becomes considerably more complicated if we also take into account the degree of extension of the stems *if-* and *kif-* within the imperfect paradigm. As shown on map 4, which gives the distribution of the forms *jéf-* versus *if-*, on the one hand we have the dialects that are more conservative as regards this phenomenon, preserving the *i*-grade only in the 3rd person forms of the auxiliary, i.e. exactly as

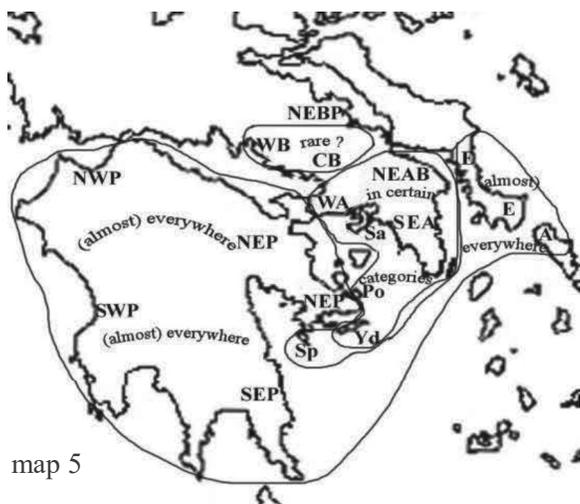


map 4

we find in the texts of Buzuku and Matranga (SWP, Attica and Salamina, NEAB, Euboea), and on the other, those which present the tendency for extension of -*i-* to the other persons, e.g. *ifə* ‘I was’, *ife* ‘you were’, *ifəm* ‘we were’ etc., as in modern Standard Albanian (eastern Peloponnese, WB). However, the fact that we find this tendency for extension of -*i-* in the dialects of the eastern Peloponnese results in geographical discontinuity between the dialects north of the Isthmus and that of Messenia, all of which retain the stem *if-* only in the 3rd person. A possible explanation for this is that the available material from Messenia is quite limited, so that we cannot rule out the possibility that cases of extension of the *i*-stem to other persons have simply not been recorded. Whatever the case, the distribution of the stem *kef-* versus *kif-* coincides roughly with that of the stem *jef-* versus *if-*;

in Lakonia and western Boeotia the types in *kif-* have indeed been extended to the 1st and 2nd persons, while in Argolida the use of the stem in *-j-* renders this criterion non-diagnostic. The stem *kef-* of the 1st and 2nd person of both numbers is preserved in the dialects of Euboea, Salamina, Attica, and the rest of Boeotia, while in the case of Messenian, the use of the stem in *-j-* (*kéj-ə*) once more renders this criterion non-diagnostic. Only in the dialects of Hydra and Andros do we find the peculiar situation whereby these two persons preserve the stem *jef-* for *jam*, but have *kif-* for *kam*. According to Weigand's material (1925), the same situation obtains in Koropi in SEA. If our data concerning these dialects are accurate, we should probably consider them enclaves or transitional areas, i.e. as areas that show that the extension of the *i*-vocalism in the 1st and 2nd persons originated with *kam*. Note that in the dialect of Perachora as described by Jochalas (2011:518-547), who puts it in the north-western Peloponnesian category even though it is found north of the Isthmus, the *-i-* grade appears only in the 3sg.: *if* 'he was' but *jéfinə* 'they were'. If this paradigm is truly archaic, it conflicts with Demiraj's (1976:74) view that the spread of *-i-* started from the 3pl., as this is where the final consonant of the stem came into contact with the nasal *-n-* of the suffix (*jéfnə* > *ifnə*) and that it subsequently spread analogically to the 3sg. For the dialects of CB, NEBP,

Spetses, and Poros, at present I have no information regarding the distribution of the two stems.



3.4. *n*-conjugation

Let us now examine the distribution of the nasal suffix *-n-*. The resulting picture is not one of universal presence or absence of *-n-*, but shows a continuum of extension

through the systems of different verb categories in the imperfect and the present (map 5). The greatest extent of use of this suffix is found in Achaia, where we encounter it not only in almost all categories of thematic (consonant-final and vowel-final) stems, e.g. *ndz(j)ér(r)-ən* 'I take off', *vid-ijn-a* 'I was stealing', *lé(-n)* 'I let' / *lé-n-a* 'I was letting' etc., but also in the imperfect of *m*-verbs, e.g. *jé-na*, *ké-na*, *θ(ó/é)-na*. Its use is almost as extensive in the rest of the Peloponnese, although it is usually absent from the *m*-verbs, e.g. *mbár-ijn* 'I lose', *bubunís-ən* 'it thunders', *klá-n* 'I cry', *lá-n-əm* 'we were letting' etc. (SWP); *mbjél-ijn* 'I sow', *flás-ən* 'I speak', *θrrét-ən* 'he yells', *rri(-n)* 'I sit' / *rri-n-ə* 'I was sitting' etc. (SEP); *grris-ən* 'I rip', *mbíl-n-inə* 'they close, shut', *tə mjél-ijn-ə* 'that he milks', *mborés-ən* 'I can', *ci-n* 'I copulate', *zə-n-a* / *zár-ən-a* 'I was catching', *ftie-n* 'he was

putting in' etc. (NEP· for Prosimni in Argolida Jochalas (2011:131) notes that the athematic imperfects *kéna* and *θόνα* are also present, the latter in Messenia too in the form *θόνα*).

If we accept Sasse's assertion, *-n-* seems to be absent from Boeotia. However, we cannot accept his statement that it is absent from Salamina and WA too, as Haebler (1965:130; cf. Karantis, 1997) records, for particular types of consonant-final stems, extended forms of the imperfect, e.g. *hám-n-ə* 'I was opening', *hám-n-e* (2nd sg.), *hám-n-əmə* (1st pl.), *hám-n-ətə* (2nd pl.), the present subjunctive, e.g. *tə hám-n-əf* 'that you (sg.) open', *tə hám-n-ə* (3rd sg.), and the plural of the present indicative, e.g. *hám-n-əmə* 'we open', *hám-n-ənə* (3rd pl.). Similarly, Fourikis (1933:143) gives the type *há(p/m)-n-ə* 'I was opening' as an element shared by Salamina and WA, and in the texts he presents in the WA dialects of Vília and Mandra we find types such as *ziléps-nə* 'he was envying', *θafmás-n* 'he was admiring', *tə cá(l/l)-n-əf* 'that you carry', *tə sóh-n-ə* 'that he sees' etc. And Sasse himself (1991:23) notes that imperfects with this suffix appear in the text given by Fourikis in the dialect of Menidi, between NEAB and WA. In the other islands in the Argosaronic Gulf and around the Argolic peninsula the *n*-forms that exist are subject to exactly the same restrictions I described for Salamina and WA: *tə véf-n-əf* 'that you (sg.) wear', *do i zijás-n-ə* 'he will weigh', *tə mə céł-n-ənə* 'that they carry me' etc. (Poros); *cév-n-ənə* 'they carry', *várr-n-ənə* 'they hung', *jám-n-e* 'you (sg.) were giving', *tə káv-n-əf* 'that you (sg.) bury', *do tə nd(r)ér-n-ə* 'it will honour you' etc. (Hydra). Similarly, in south-eastern Attica Weigand (1925: 197-8) gives only (a) extended imperfects: *fféx-n-ə* 'I was sweeping', *fféx-n-e* (2nd sg.), *fféx-n-əm* (1st pl.), *fféx-n-ətə* (2nd pl.), (b) a few more "normal" presents, which always appear with this suffix in all the Arvanitika dialects, as well as in Standard Albanian: *éts-əη* 'I walk' (cf. alb. *ec-i*), *ík-əη* 'I leave' (cf. alb. *ik-i*), *híp-əη* 'I go up' (cf. alb. *hip-i*), *úl(-əη)* 'I descend, stoop', and (c) a few loan forms: *ayapis(-iη)* 'I love', *anθis-iη* 'I blossom', *apandís-iη* 'I meet'. The extension is more widespread in north-east AtticoBoeotian: according to Sasse (1991:150-85), it appears in all categories except paroxytone liquid-final stems, e.g. *mbíet* 'I sow', *míel* 'I milk', *ndzier* 'I remove', *tíer(r)* 'I spin' etc. (cf. *dal* 'I go out'), present *s/t*-final stems, e.g. *θurís* 'I freeze', *θurít* (2nd sg.) (but *θurís(-əη)-ə* 'I was freezing'), *vrás* 'I kill', *vret* 'you (sg.) kill' (but *vrás(-əη)-ə* 'I was killing') etc., and a few present vowel-final stems, e.g. *ha* 'I eat' (but *hájə* 'I was eating' alongside *hájə*), *pi* 'I drink', *blé* 'I buy' etc. (but: *kla(η)* 'I cry', *ci(η)* 'I copulate'). Finally, in Euboea and Andros the use of the suffix is once again extremely frequent in all categories, e.g. *mjéd-əη* 'I gather' / *mjéd-iη-ə* & *míd-n-ə* 'I was gathering', *cép-iη-əmə* 'we were sewing' (< *cép-iη-əmə*), *íf-əη* 'it was', *ké-n-əm(ə)* 'we had' (alongside *ké-j(-ə)m(ə)*), *zár-λə-nə* (< *zár-nə-nə*) / *zínə-nə*, 'they were catching', *flé-nə-m(ə)* 'we were sleeping' etc. (Euboea); *marr-i* 'I take' (< *márr-iη*; cf. *θur(r)i* < *θur(r)iη* 'I close up'), *δjés-i* 'I defecate' (< *δjés-iη*), *jáp-əj-te* 'I give' (< *jáp-əη* + *-te*), *ndzér-n-e* 'you were

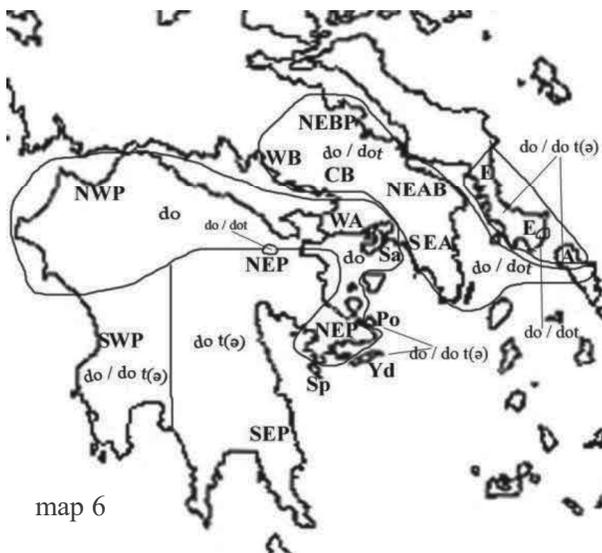
removing', *ndzǎ-j-te* (< *-j* + *-te*) 'I learn', *dí-j-ǎ* 'I knew (imperf.)' etc. (Andros).

The situation described above shows that *-n-* originated in the imperfect, where it seems to be much better established, and was subsequently extended to the present. It essentially functions as a marker of the imperfectivity of these two tenses, and results in the reorganization of the verbal system based on the binary opposition present/imperfect with *-n-* (that is: imperfective) versus aorist without *-n-* (that is: perfective). It represents the continuation of the well-known diachronic tendency in Albanian which started with old nasal-final stems such as *bĕn-*, and was subsequently extended analogically to the other stems, e.g. **mar-n* > *marr* (Demiraj, 1976:61-3), and which in Arvanitika was frequently reinforced: *márr-ǎn*. Sasse (1991:159, fn. 49) observes that younger speakers of NEAB produced paroxytone liquid-final stems with the extension *-ǎn*, which were ungrammatical for older speakers. I think it most probable that what the older, fluent speakers judged ungrammatical were the types with the reinforced suffix, as in *márr-ǎn*, and that the original nasal element has been assimilated to the preceding liquid (*r-n* > *-rr-*, aor. *-r-*, e.g. NEAB *tierr* 'I rip' ~ aor. *tór-a*; pairs of variants such as *tierr* / *tíer* show that the presence of the suffix remains optional, as in *hap* / *háppǎn*) or lateral consonant (*l-n* > *-ll-* > *-t-*, e.g. NEAB *síet* 'φέρνω' < PALb. *tšel(n)a* related to Greek *πέλω* 'to come into existence' (Orel, 1998:397)). If this is correct, NEAB would belong with Peloponnesian and Euboean in the group of dialects that have generalized the use of the suffix *-n-* to verbs of (almost) all categories.

Demiraj (1976:28-29) notes that in Albanian a thematic / epenthetic vowel *-i-* appears between the stem and the plural endings of the imperfect, e.g. *bĕn-i-m* 'we were doing', *bĕn-i-t*, *bĕn-i-n* and of the present: *hap-i-m* 'we open', *hap-i-n* which has replaced the older *-ĕ-*. He considers that this *-i-* probably originates from forms of the present optative (fn. 4). This interpretation, which is based on the fact that *-ĕ-* is not attested for this mood, simply postpones the problem. I believe that based on data from Arvanitika and Çam, we can reasonably propose that the *-i-* found in modern Albanian today represents the etymological (and now also analogical) trace of the palatal nasal *-j-* which is responsible for the fronting and raising of the central vowel *-ǎ-*, through the phonetic development *-ǎ-j* > *ij* / *ǎj* > *ij* > *i* or *-j-ǎ* > *ji* / *jǎ* > *ji* > *i*. All the stages of this development are attested, e.g. *hápp-ǎn* / *hápp-ij* 'I open', *hápp-ǎnǎmǎ* / *hápp-ijǎmǎ* 'we open' (in many Arvanitika dialects), *ik-ij* 'I leave', *flás-ij* 'I spoke', *flás-ijm* 'we spoke' (Çam, Haxhihasani, 1971:179-80), *jápp-ǎj-te* 'I give' (in Andros and part of southern Euboea, where, as in Çam, the change of *-j* > *-j* in the verbal ending is regular, cf. *báj* 'I do'²), *jápp-ǎj-mǎ* 'we give' (in many Arvanitika dialects), *prǎmjér-i* 'I urinate', *íft-i-te* 'I exorcise /

² According to Fourikis (1933:146), the same applies in some SEA areas, e.g. *tšáj* 'break' etc.

make spells', *fóf-i-tə* 'I sieve' < *-ij* + *-tə*, *ðipsásti* < *-tə* + *-j* 'I am thirsty' (Andros); also *hám-jə-mə* / *hám-ji-mə* 'we open' (in many Arvanitika dialects), *hap-ji-m* 'we open' (Demiraj, 1976:73, fns. 28-29) etc. The strongest evidence that these elements are etymologically linked is that both the *-i-* and the *-j-* operate as imperfective markers in opposition to the *-ə-* of the aorist, e.g. *hap-i-m* / *háp-(ə)j-(ə)mə* 'we open' ~ *háp-ə-m* 'we opened'.



map 6

3.5. Periphrastic future marker

Let us return to the question of the choice of future marker. Here we observe a fourfold distinction: a) dialects that make exclusive use of the older form *(d)o tə* b) dialects where *(d)o tə* is in free variation with *(d)o* c) dialects where the presence of *(d)o tə* in the form *(d)ot* is phonetically conditioned (it only

appears when followed by a vowel-initial clitic) and d) dialects which make exclusive use of the newer form *do*.

As shown on the map 6, in SEP and in the dialect of Argolida in NEP we find exclusive use of *do t(ə)*, e.g. *do tə rroŋ* 'I will live' (Lakonia). In contrast, starting with north-west Peloponnesian we seem to have an area of exclusive use of *do* which runs eastwards through Corinthia, the villages north of the Isthmus and western Attica up to Menidi on the border between west Attic and north-east AtticoBoeotian, taking in Salamina and Methana to end up in Trizinia and Ermionida on the eastern tip of the Argolic peninsula, e.g. *do θémi* 'we will say', *do i pəstrójmə* 'we will cover them' (Trizinia). On the edge of these areas, which are defined by the universal presence or universal absence of *tə*, we find mixed areas where the forms *do* and *do tə* are in variation, either free (Messenia, Euboea, northern Andros, Poros and Hydra) e.g. *o tə fósifŋ* 'I will sift', *o vŋinə* 'they will come' (Messenia) or subject to phonetic conditions (Boeotian, southern Andros, the rest of Attica), e.g. *do fóhamə* 'we will see', *dot e márrte* 'I will take her' (southern Andros). The situation described here is not in agreement with Sasse's assertion, which I mentioned previously, that the phonetically-conditioned form is found only in north-east Attic and in the Boeotian dialects. The material given by Fourikis from south-eastern Attica shows that in at least two villages in this area, Liopesi (now Paiania) and Spata, the form *(d)ot* is used consistently before a vowel-initial clitic, e.g. *dot i báj* 'I will do to him' while *(d)o* is used in all other environments,

e.g. *do rrójmā* ‘we will live’. The same appears to apply in at least one village at the southern tip of Euboea (Simikouki), e.g. *do ftíe krípā, dot i jésā* ‘I will put in salt, I will knead them’, and in at least one village in Corinthia, Agios Ioannis, near the border with Argolida, e.g. *o zienā propíretā, ot i lámā búkātā* ‘the laganas (unleavened bread) will be baked, we will leave the bread’.

It has, of course, long been known that the presence of the periphrastic future in Albanian and Arvanitika constitutes a basic Balkanism (Sandfeld 1930:182). As in other Balkan languages, it is the result of the grammaticalization of the 3rd person type *do* of the volitional auxiliary (*dúā*), the complementizer *tā*, and the subjunctive of the main verb, e.g. *do tā skōŋ* ‘I will go’ (cf. the medieval and dialect Greek type *θε να πάω*). The central zone of Arvanitika presents the final stage of phonetic reduction of the auxiliary and complementizer: *do tā* > *do* (cf. Greek *θε να* > *θα*) while other dialects are more conservative and, like Standard Albanian, preserve the structure *do tā*, which is the first form found in the earliest Albanian texts (Demiraj 1976:107). However, the phonetically and syntactically conditioned use of *dot* must be considered a unique innovation of the Atticoboetian dialects, without any precise Balkan equivalent that I am aware of. In fact it appears that in Arni in southern Andros in particular we find that the same type of allomorphy also applies to the forms *do / d*, e.g. *do marr klúmufitā, d e cel te ftāpía* ‘I will get the milk, I will take it home’, although Jochalas (2000:121) considers this *d* to be the product of a ‘peculiar’ change *t-* > *d-* affecting the subjunctive particle *tā*.



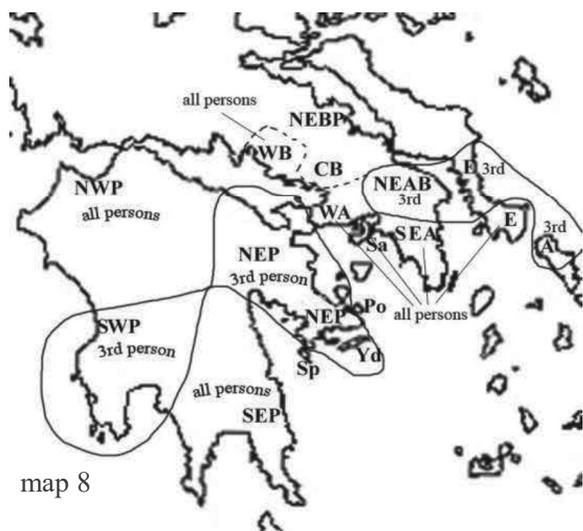
3.6. The distinction between primary *-mā* and secondary *-m*

The distribution of the endings of the 1st person plural appears to be quite clear (map 7). The distinction between the primary ending *-mā* and the secondary *-m* is recorded everywhere, e.g. *ſārbēnimā* ‘we work’ ~ *kulótīm* ‘we were pasturing’ (Achaia), *présmā* ‘we cut’ ~ *vām* ‘we went’ (Lakonia), *bājīmā* ‘we do’ ~ *bājīm* ‘we were doing’, *bām* ‘we did’ (Andros) etc., except for south-eastern Attic (together with Salamina), north-eastern AtticoBoeotian, and Euboea, e.g. *pīmā* ‘we drink / drank’. In the case of west Boeotian, the fact that a word-final unstressed central vowel is

generally deleted renders the criterion non-diagnostic. For the remaining dialects of Boeotia and Phthiotida, evidence is lacking.

Given the lack of this distinction in the oldest Albanian texts (Demiraj, 1976:94-5) – both the primary and secondary endings have the form *-mə* – the loss of final *-ə* must be considered an innovation, which clearly serves the need for the present and the past to be marked differently. It is unclear why it was not also lost in the 3rd person plural, where the same problem applies, e.g. *pínə* ‘they drink / drank’. It is possible that the very frequent tendency for the *-n-* of the ending to be assimilated to the preceding consonant (where it was then subject to simplification), e.g. *érðnə* > *érðə* ‘they came’, is implicated here.

It should also be noted that the data present us with a more complicated picture than that shown on map 7. For example, at least in the cases of Lakonia and Euboea we should really be talking about tendencies rather than regularities, as alongside the much more frequent aorists without *-ə* there are also a few that retain it. Indeed, in some villages of southern Euboea, there are in fact cases where we find the reverse of this pattern, i.e. retention of *-ə* in the aorist, e.g. *mjúadmə* ‘we gathered’ while it is lost in the present, e.g. *mjédim* ‘we gather’.



The problem becomes still more vexed when we take into account the fact that much of the material available to us today comes from younger speakers, in whose speech this vowel is extremely unstable and often subject to hypercorrection (Tsitsipis 1981, Liosis 2000, 2007 etc.).

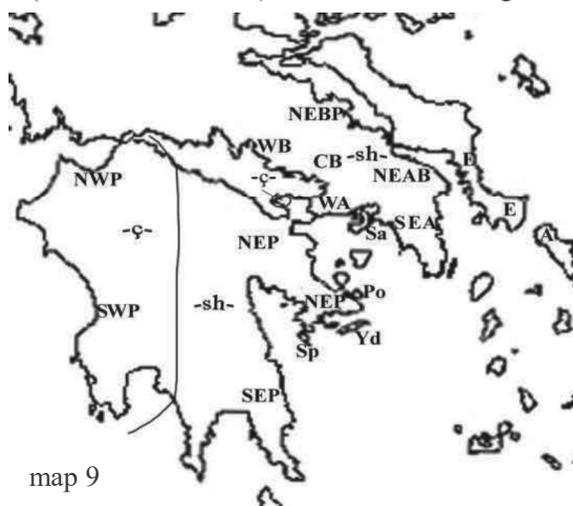
3.7. The *i*-grade of the imperfect

As shown on map 8, the extension of the *i*-grade of the imperfect to persons other than the 3rd is found in the dialects of southern Euboea (here this isogloss coincides with or closely approaches the isogloss *ja / íshtə*, cf. 3.1) Attica, Salamina and western Boeotia, and in the Peloponnese in Lakonia and Achaia, e.g. *míðnət* ‘you (pl.) were gathering’ (Simikouki; southern Euboea), *jípə* ‘I was giving’ (Salamina), *mírrim* ‘we were taking’ (Achaia). The dialects of northern Euboea and north-eastern AtticoBoeotia, as well as those of the north-eastern and south-western Peloponnese, appear to be more conservative, preserving the *-i-* only in the 3rd person singular and plural, exactly as found in the earliest Albanian texts (Demiraj, 1976:74), e.g. *parangásə* ‘I was competing (in running)’ but *parangít* (3rd sg) (Velos;

northern Euboea), *dálam* ‘we were going out’ (Messenia). I have no data for CB and NEBP.

It should, however, be noted that the extension of the *-i-* grade through the paradigm is not necessarily complete. For example, in SEP, the *-i-* has been extended only to the other persons of the plural, e.g. *mblíðamə* ‘we were gathering’, *mblíðatə* (2nd pl.) but *mbléðə* (1st sg.), *mbléðe* (2nd sg.) (Liosis, 2008:27), while in villages in Southern Euboea it also appears in the 2nd person singular, e.g. *mílne* ‘you were milking’ but not in the 1st singular, e.g. *mjélnə*.³ In the same dialect, and sporadically in NEP, in the verbs that show a triple ablaut series *a/e/i*, we find a tendency in this tense for generalization of *e* in place of *a* or *i*, e.g. *del* ‘he was coming out’ (Perachora in Corinthia, in place of *dil*), *mérrəmə* ‘we were taking’ (Lakonia, in place of *márrəmə* / *mírrəmə*) etc. This change in SEP and NEP must be considered a local innovation. It is, however, difficult to say whether the tendency for generalization of the *i*-grade in approximately half of the Arvanitika dialects can be connected with the equivalent development in Standard Albanian, as this took place after the separation of Arvanitika from the other Albanian dialects. Note that Çam has not undergone this development, retaining the *-i-* only in the 3rd person singular and plural (Haxhihasani, 1971:179-80). It is most likely that we are dealing with parallel but independent tendencies resulting from a general need for regularization of the verbal stem, although it is true that at least in the case of the Lakonian dialect there are historical and linguistic indications that there were further settlements of Albanian populations in the area as late as the end of the 18th century (see Liosis 2007). Based on Weigand’s

(1925:197-9) material for SEA and that of Fourikis (1933:142-143) for SEA and WA, it appears that these two dialects have *not* extended the *-i-* to other persons, e.g. *márrəmə* ‘we were taking’, *féšə* ‘I was selling’ etc. Thus, while keeping in mind the lack of recent material from these areas, we can propose either that the Attic dialect is indeed the link between



NEP and NEAB, which also fail to show generalization of *-i-*, or that its generalization in Attic is more recent.

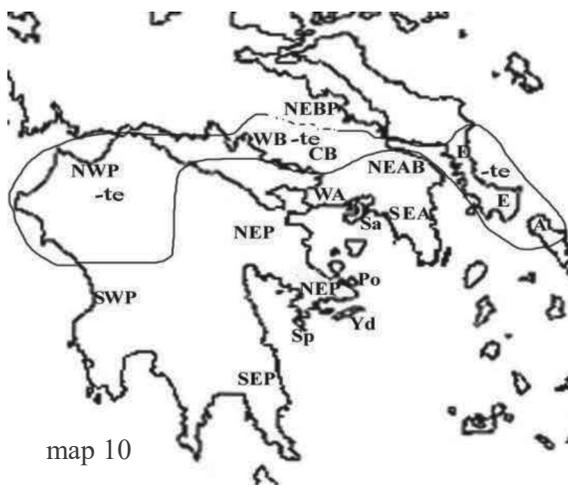
³ So in the case of SEP the label *all persons* should be read as *all persons except for 1st and 2nd singular*, and for areas of southern Euboea as *except for 1st singular*.

3.8. Sigmatic aorist in *-tf-*

The distribution of the suffix *-tf-* of the aorist also provides us with interesting results (map 9). This suffix came about through the juxtaposition of a stem-final consonant and the inherited suffix *-f-* of the sigmatic active aorists and all passive aorists, cf. Demiraj (1976:80-1) who refers to such actives, and the more frequent passives, as dialect forms, e.g. *ártfə* < *árð-fə* ‘I came’ (cf. Alb. *erdha*), *mbétfa* ‘I stayed’ (cf. Alb. *mbeta*), *u lóðtfə* ‘I got tired’ (cf. Alb. *u lodha*); it has, however, been analogically extended to stems where its presence is not etymologically justified. This feature, which is common to the dialects of the western Peloponnese, e.g. *đátfa* ‘I gave’ *thátfa* ‘I said’, *u martuátfa* ‘I was married’, *u bátfa* ‘I became’ etc. (Achaia), *u létfa* ‘I was born’, *u đjoritfa* ‘I was hired’ etc. (Messenia), is also recorded once in Jochalas’s material from Perachora in Corinthia, in the loan type *u stenahoritfa* ‘I got upset’. These types should certainly be linked with the Çam aorists *u bətf* ‘I became’, *u ditf* ‘I was known’ etc. given by Haxhihasani (1971:186). In NWP the *-tf-* has been extended analogically to the passive imperfect, e.g. *ngré(j)etfa* ‘I was getting up’, *martónetfinə* ‘they were being married’ etc. It is not clear whether the Peloponnesian types (NWP, SWP & SEP) of the subjunctive, e.g. *tə skotf* ‘that you (sg.) go’, *tə ruátf* ‘that you (sg.) look after’ (Achaia), *tə vratf* (Messenia) ‘that you (sg.) kill’, *tə bətf* ‘that you (sg.) do’, *tə θotf* ‘that you say’ (Lakonia) etc., should be linked with the above phenomenon as cases of reanalysis of the final consonant of the theme as belonging to the suffix *-f* of the 2sg. subjunctive, e.g. *tə mbłóð-f* > *tə mbłó-tf* ‘that you gather’ → *tə sko-tf*, or whether these are in fact fossilized optative forms (for the latter view, see Liosis, 2010:198-9).

3.9. The 1sg. ending *-te*

Finally, the distribution in the north of the ending *-te* of the 1sg. indicative and subjunctive present, which is also found with the form *-ten(ə)*, seems to form an arc proceeding from west to east that links the Achaian and Boeotian dialects with those of Euboea and Andros (map 10). As observed by Jochalas (2000:111-12), the presence of *-te* is very frequent in the latter two dialects, e.g. *kámte* ‘I have’, *bəjnte* ‘I do’, *kúarte* ‘I reap’



map 10

etc., but it is sporadic in the dialects of Boeotia, e.g. *záte* ‘I catch’, *préste* ‘I cut’ etc. Its presence is sporadic in Achaia too, e.g. *e duáten* ‘I want him’, *jápte* ‘I give’ etc. Jochalas (112) links this ending with the corresponding

form in Southern Tosk, and notes that it is also found in the dictionary of Markos Botsaris. He also states that in Bourkoti on Andros it has the alternative form *-tə*, e.g. *dáltə* ‘I go out’ “which is normally the 1sg. imperfect ending”, and that this is often extended to the same person of the passive present, e.g. *rrúγem-te* ‘I shave myself’. It should be noted in any case that in Tsitsipis’s (1981) material from Boeotia, the only form with a comparable extension is the 3sg. subjunctive *tə tə sinandístə* ‘that he meet you’. The origin of the element *-te* is uncertain, although it seems likely that it is the result of reanalysis of the verb *véte* ‘I go’ as shown by the form *ve* ‘he goes’ from Andros, and probably first affected verbs of motion. In functional terms it fulfils the need for a morphological distinction between the persons of the present that had null endings (*-te*, *-ø*, *-ø*) in the same way as the endings *-n*, *-n*, *-n*.

4. Conclusions

As can be seen from this brief presentation, we find a fair number of morphological characteristics that are shared by Arvanitika dialects and groups of dialects, usually with their neighbouring dialects. This does not mean that there are no discontinuities or inconsistencies, which may be due at least in part to gaps in the available material or to methodological problems associated with its collection and processing. In general, however, the distribution of the characteristics examined here allows us to distinguish two major groups, Peloponnesian and AtticoBoeotian, which appear to converge to some extent in the north-east Peloponnesian and west Attic dialects (cf. 3.5, 3.6). For this reason, there is an urgent need for more detailed study of these two groups. In addition to this, we can also distinguish a bundle of isoglosses which cuts Euboea in two, linking the northern part with northern Attica and Boeotia, and the southern part with southern Attica (cf. 3.1, 3.7). Andros has its own peculiarities which render it distinct from other areas, but link it with Euboea (cf. 3.4, 3.5., 3.9), while the dialects of the Argosaronic seem to show a mixed character, sharing both Attic and Peloponnesian elements. There appear to be closer links between the dialects of Messenia and Achaia (cf. 3.8. and, partly, 3.2). Further investigation of the characteristics of noun morphology, as well as phonological, syntactic and lexical isoglosses, will certainly help to build up a clearer picture of the relationships between the various Arvanitika dialects.

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