

Slavic-Albanian Language Contact, Convergence, and Coexistence

Dissertation

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Abstract

As historical relationships of Slavs and Albanians in the western Balkans have been subject to a wide range of scholarly interpretations, this dissertation seeks to present the facts of linguistic evidence of Slavic-Albanian contact, and apply them to an informed understanding of Slavs' and Albanians' interactions historically. Although individual linguistic features are important for establishing the historical fact of language contact, only a systematic, comprehensive analysis of the several interrelated parts of language—vocabulary, phonology, and morphosyntax—can indicate how the languages, and the communities speaking them, have been affected by the long-standing contact. This study also considers the languages from the perspective of several language-contact theories, creating a multifaceted approach that reveals strengths and weaknesses of each theory, and also paints a multidimensional picture of the effects of language contact and socio-cultural reasons for the languages' changes. This layered analysis demonstrates that contact between Slavs and Albanians has brought about many linguistic changes, particularly in dialects that have remained in contact with one another. While the most obvious effects are the plenteous lexical borrowings, language contact is also present in phonology and morphosyntax, thus affecting every aspect of the dialects in contact. As the linguistic data shows, Albanian and Slavic communities have enriched one another linguistically and likely in other aspects of their cultural inheritances as well.

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Fields of Study

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List of Abbreviations

1PL – First Person Plural	Dr – Dragash	LO – Lake Ohrid
1SG – First Person Singular	DAT – Dative	LONG – Long-form pronoun
2PL – Second Person Plural	DEF – Definite	LOC – Locative
2SG – First Person Singular	det. – Determiner	L-PART – Participle built on -l-
3PL – Third Person Plural	DIM – Diminutive	LS –Lake Scutari
3SG – First Person Singular	DMS – Dental modal subordinator	MASC – Masculine
ABL – Ablative	E. – Eastern	Mk – Macedonian
ACC – Accusative	ex. – example	Mne – Montenegrin
ACT – Active (voice)	FEM – Feminine	n. – Noun
ADA – Albanian Dialect Atlas	fn. – footnote	N – nasal consonant
adj. – Adjective	Fr – French	N-A – Non-active (voice)
adv. – Adverb	GEN – Genitive	N/T-PART – Participle built on -n/t-
Alb – Albanian	Germ – Germanic	NEUT – Neuter
Anc. – Ancient	Gk – Greek	NOM – Nominative
AOR – Aorist	Go – Gora	OBL – Oblique
Arb – Arbëresh	HAVE – ‘To have’ auxiliary	OCS – Old Church Slavonic
Arm – Armenian	Hung – Hungarian	PAIb – Proto-Albanian
Arv – Arvanitika	IE – Indo-European	PART – Participle
AUX – Auxiliary	IMP – Imperative	PIE – Proto-Indo- European
Avest – Avestan	IMPF – Imperfect	PFV – Perfective
BCS – Bosnian / Croatian / Serbian	IMPFV – Imperfective	PG – Plav/Plavë and Gusinje/Gucia
BD – Black Drin	INDEF – Indefinite	PL – Plural
BE – ‘To be’ auxiliary	IND – Indicative (mood)	pn. – Pronoun
Bel – Belorussian	INF – Infinitive	Pol – Polish
Bg – Bulgarian	INS – Instrumental	prep. – Preposition
C – consonant	intj. – Interjection	PRES – Present (tense)
conj. – Conjunction	It – Italian	PSI – Proto-Slavic
Cr – Croatian	K – velar consonant	Rom – Romanian
CSl – Common Slavic	Ks – Kosovo	Rus – Russian
Cyr. – Cyrillic	L1 – First Language	S. – Southern
Cz – Czech	L2 – Second Language	SG – Singular
	Lat – Latin	
	Latv – Latvian	
	lit. – literally (word for word in glosses)	
	Lith – Lithuanian	

SHRT – Short-form
 pronoun
 Skt – Sanskrit
 Slav – Slavic
 Slk – Slovak
 Sln – Slovenian
 Sr – Serbian

S.Sl – South Slavic
 Std. – Standard
 SUB – Subjunctive
 (mood)
 T – dental consonant
 Tr – Turkish
 Ukr Ukrainian

V – vowel
 v. – Verb
 VOC – Vocative
 W. – Western
 WD – White Drin



Figure 0.1. Map of Areas of Slavic-Albanian Contact

List of Place Names Used in this Study

MONTENEGRO	<u>Skopje</u>	Bobi
Ulcinj/Ulqin	SKOPSKA	Kačanik/Kaçanik
ANA E MALIT	CRNAGORA	
KRAJINA/KRAJË	Kumanovo/	ALBANIA
Bar/Tivar	Kumanovë	Lake Scutari
CRMNICA	Štip	Shkodër/Skadar
<u>Podgorica</u>	Kiçevo/Kërçovë	Vrakë/Vraka
Tuzi	Prilep	Drin River
Plav/Plavë	Bitola/Manastir	TROPOJË
Gusinje/Guci		Lek-Bibaj
	KOSOVO	Nikaj Mërtur
SERBIA	METOHIA	LUMË
SANDŽAK	White Drin	Kukës
Novi Pazar	Pejë/Peć	Peshkopi
Pešter/Peshteri	Drenicë/Drenica	MIRDITË
Niš	Deçan/Deçani	Pukë
Medveđa/	Gjakovë/	Lezhë
Medvegjë	Đakovica	Krujë
Bujanovac/	Rahovec/	<u>Tirana</u>
Bujanoc	Orahovec	Durrës/Drač
Preševo/	Prizren	Kavajë
Preshevë	OPOJË	Elbasan
	Sharr/Dragaš	Voskopojë/
MACEDONIA	Milkë/Milke	Moskopole
POLOG	Brod	Lushnjë
Vratnica	KOSOVO	Fier
Tetovo/Tetovë	Ibar River	Berat
Gostivar	Mitrovicë/	Vlorë
Vardar River	Mitrovica	Himarë
Reka	Vushtrri/Vučitrn	Delvinë
Galičnik	Podujevë/	Sarandë
Debar/Dibër	Podujevo	Gjirokastër
Black Drin	<u>Prishtina</u>	Libohovë
Struga/Strugë	Graçanicë/	Përmet
Ohrid/Ohër	Gračanica	Ersekë
Lake Ohrid	Gjilan/Gnjilane	Korçë/Korça
Lake Prespa	Ferizaj/Uroševac	Pogradec
Štrbovo	Viti/Vitina	

Boboshticë/
Boboščica
Vërnik/Vrnik
Gollobordë/
Golobrdó

GREECE

Thessaloniki/
Solun
Florina/Lerin
Kastoria/Kostur
Nestorio/
Nestram

Introduction

Slavic-Albanian interactions make up an interesting, ideologically laden topic, interlinking fields of historiography, anthropology, sociology, political science, and linguistics, too. On the one hand, these interactions are peripheral to Slavic studies; from a geographical perspective, areas of Slavic-Albanian interaction are in the remotest southwest reaches of Slavic: southern Montenegro, southern Serbia, Kosovo, and western Macedonia in addition to a handful of communities in present-day Albania. On the other hand, Slavic-Albanian relations are at the center of long-standing political debates about territory, history, ethnicity, etc.: everything culturally important for present-day national ideologies in the western Balkans. Given this central importance in political issues divergent views on these historical relations are expected. While it is generally acknowledged that Slavs and Albanians have been in contact with one another for at least the past millennium, no agreement exists on what these interactions have been like for the people involved. In particular, people disagree on whether there has always existed (and hence will always exist) an “eternal enmity” between the ethnicities, or whether these communities have had occasionally amicable relations. Several short examples may illustrate the political implications stemming from the subject at hand and the different approaches that scholars (and others) have taken on these relationships.

First is the round of conflict between Albanians and Slavs in the current generation. In both Kosovo and Macedonia, both sides have emphasized a long-standing

cultural division between Albanian and Slavic populations, implying that Slavs were autochthonous and Albanians were “settlers” as in the 2009 Macedonian Academy of Arts and Sciences Encyclopedia, which sparked protests in Albanian communities and ultimately resulted in the volume’s retraction. On the Albanian side can be added the ostracism of German historian Oliver Jens Schmidt for his biography of the all-important Albanian hero, Gjergj Kastriot Skenderbeu (2009) for stating the generally acknowledged fact that his mother was Serbian (Lechner 2008).¹ To this could be added rhetoric by countless politicians and other cultural figures, examples of which do not bear repeating.

Second is the line of interpretation offered by others that Albanians and Slavs have, in addition to periods of real conflict, experienced occasional times of peace and have even collaborated and cooperated with one another economically, ecumenically, and politically. Representative of this is the work of Ger Duijzings (2000) who examines the tolerant and peaceful practice of religion (including both Islam and Orthodoxy) in Kosovo prior to the most recent conflict there, as well as the early work by the Croatian pioneer Milan von Šufflay, who explored the political and social interactions of Serbs and Albanians in the Middle Ages (1925, 1927). As a result of his scholarship and disregard for prevailing Serbian ideologies in pre-World War II Yugoslavia, he was assassinated by thugs connected to the radical terrorist organization “Mlada Jugoslavija”, provoking an appeal to the International League of the Rights of Man by Albert Einstein and Heinrich Mann. The tragic loss of this great practitioner of objective scholarship on the history of

¹ Thanks to Victor Friedman for bringing this recent example of popular rejection of the perspective that Albanians and Slavs had extensive positive interactions during the middle ages.

the Balkans was ultimately detrimental to both Slavic and Albanian cultures and to the pursuit of understanding historical relations between these ethnicities.

While this dissertation has little to say about what cultural interpretations should be put on the history of Slavs and Albanians, it is an attempt to examine the linguistic evidence of contact between Slavic and Albanian to provide a better basis for understanding these relations historically. As Thomason and Kaufman observe:

As with the establishment of genetic relationship, a successful criterion for establishing external causation is possible only when we consider a language as a complex whole – a system of systems, of interrelated lexical, phonological, morphosyntactic, and semantic structures. Instead of looking at each subsystem separately, we need to look at the whole language. If a language has undergone structural interference in one subsystem, then it will have undergone structural interference in others as well, from the same source (1988: 60).

This is precisely the line of research pursued in this dissertation: individual chapters examine the evidence from each of these facets of language to investigate the role of contact between Slavic and Albanian speakers. Chapter 1 examines the sociolinguistic history of Slavic-Albanian interactions in order to understand the setting in which Slavic-Albanian contact has taken place. Chapter 2 begins the analysis of linguistic forms, taking stock of the vocabulary in Slavic and Albanian dialects shared through language contact. Chapter 3 continues the analysis of vocabulary by examining the chronology of these loanwords to understand when the vocabulary was borrowed. Chapter 4 begins the analysis of structural material, starting with the phonology (sound systems) affected, and Chapter 5 presents changes to morphosyntactic structures. Finally, Chapter 6 summarizes the findings of language contact from these linguistic levels taken as a complex whole. Theories of language contact are addressed when relevant, particularly Chapters 2 and 4.

My goal is to show, as clearly and as thoroughly as possible, the types of changes that have been brought about in Slavic and Albanian languages by contact with one another. While I do not aim at any particular interpretation of these facts, I hope to establish that the languages, dialects, and individual speakers have been influenced by contact with one another, and to argue that these effects may be viewed as positive developments for the communities, as the contact has added to the languages' expressive resources. I realize that only a few paragraphs into the introduction I may have lost the trust of some who would be most interested in the topic, as I have not chosen sides in debate. I maintain, however, that my trustworthiness in this matter squarely depends on impartiality. I do not care whether Slavic or Albanian is seen to be more influential; indeed, I cannot view this investigation as a contest of any sort, other than the challenge of discovering and discussing linguistic facts related to Slavic-Albanian language contact and relating these facts to the historical reality of that contact.

Two other points and then I have done. This insistence on impartiality goes not only for questions of national allegiance, but also for questions of loyalty to particular varieties of the languages being discussed. For some, the only valid forms of language are those that are found in prescriptive standard languages. Although I value the expediency of standard languages (and do my best to follow the norms of one in this work), I believe this work would be greatly diminished—if not outright impossible—if it were to be limited to those forms found in the standard. This is for two reasons, one a matter of principle, the other out of practicality. First, I accept dialect² forms as a matter of

² Throughout this work the term “dialect” refers to any language variety whose geographical spread may be roughly identified, as is common in English parlance, and not only to major divisions of language as is the

principle because I place primary importance on the user of the language, the speaker. As a linguist, I believe that the forms produced by any speaker are valid, regardless of the speaker's education, employment, or place in society, socially or geographically. As will be discussed later (§2.4), standard languages are a valid form of language, but they often mask some features of the languages' histories. Second, as a practical matter, the influence of Slavic on Albanian and Albanian on Slavic has mostly occurred in those locations where the communities continue to be in contact—southern and eastern Montenegro, northern and eastern Albania, Kosovo, and western Macedonia. The standard languages used in these communities did not originate in these regions; consequently, they show fewer effects of language contact than the dialects native to these areas of contact. Outside of the realm of vocabulary borrowings, the effects of language contact on standard languages are so slight that, had I been limited to standard languages, there would likely be no dissertation.

Finally, if I may be excused a lack of bias to nationality and blind loyalty to language standards, I earnestly hope that this work will be of use to those genuinely interested in the languages and communities of the western Balkans. At the very minimum I hope that my research will be a valuable contribution to the growing English-language scholarship on South Slavic, Albanian, and Balkanological studies. Most of the standard sources on these languages are in other European languages: German, Russian, French, as well as Serbian, Macedonian, Bulgarian, and Albanian. At the very least I hope to have made this valuable scholarship more accessible to specialists and non-

common use of the term in both Slavic and Albanian dialectology traditions. Thus “dialect” will be used equally for major language divisions such as Geg and Tosk or for individual regions such as Struga, likewise for Slavic the term will be used both for Western Macedonian and Struga or Ekavian or Ijekavian and Prizren.

specialists who may or may not be familiar with these languages. This is said not as an excuse for mistakes or poor judgment that may have crept into this work unawares, but as an acknowledgment that the topic is so broad, the language variation so rich, and the time of contact so deep, that this work cannot remain a definitive last word on the subject. That said, I believe that this work may serve as the basis for many subsequent investigations into the histories of these languages and communities, and I hope that readers will find as much satisfaction in pursuing this area of knowledge as I have in visiting these areas, researching, and writing this work.

Chapter 1: Sociolinguistic Setting

1.0 Introduction

The most important factors affecting language contact are likely found in the sociolinguistic setting in which the contact occurs. Thus, in order to judge the effects of language contact on dialects of Slavic and Albanian in the western Balkans, it is necessary to understand where these languages and communities have come from and under what circumstances they have been in contact with one another. Many aspects of these historical relationships remain unclear and are best inferred from archaeological, anthropological, and historical evidence. The languages themselves often give the most reliable important information for understanding these matters, although these data, too, yield a variety of conflicting interpretations.

In this chapter historical and linguistic evidence forms the basis for a sketch of the sociolinguistic settings in which Slavic-Albanian language contact has taken place. First, Slavic and Albanian are viewed from the perspective of Indo-European languages in order to provide a sociolinguistic context of their earliest reconstructable origins (§1.1). Following that is a brief discussion on the early areas of habitation for each group after the break-up of Proto-Indo-European (§1.2). Next is a description of the contact between Slavic and Albanian that came about due to the migration of the Slavs to the Balkans in the 6th and 7th centuries A.D. (§1.3). Fourth is an outline of political and social

developments that have affected the language communities in which these languages have been spoken, from the time of first contact to the present day (§1.4). The final part of this chapter identifies four main geographic areas of Slavic-Albanian contact; it pays special attention to two important sociolinguistic factors—bilingualism and population shifts (§1.5).

As this is a study on language, linguistic facts form the basis of this introductory chapter. It is not my intention to give a comprehensive history of Slavs and Albanians, but rather to provide a socio-historical context for linguistic developments considered in subsequent chapters.

1.1 Slavic and Albanian as Indo-European Languages.

Both Slavic and Albanian¹ derive from Proto-Indo-European, a language in existence several thousands years ago that is the common ancestor of most of the languages in Europe.² While the declaration of this common genesis might seem trivial for an investigation into language contact that occurred thousands of years after the break-up of Indo-European, it has real implications for examining the linguistic material found in the later stages of these languages, especially the languages' phonology and morphology.

¹ In referring to the Slavic and Albanian languages and dialects in discussion in this dissertation, I frequently use the term 'Slavic' as a cover for all of these varieties. By this I do not mean to imply that either Slavic or Albanian comprise a single language, although Albanian is generally treated as a single language (see the following discussion on varieties of Albanian).

² Proto-Indo-European is a language that likely existed around 4500 BC, but as it has no direct attestation the date and form of this reconstructed language are hypotheses subject to revision. The term *Proto-* is used to denote that these forms have not been attested, and will be used also in talking about reconstructed forms for Albanian in *Proto-Albanian* and for Slavic in *Proto-Slavic*. In the examples given, as is customary, unattested forms are marked with an asterisk (*) to distinguish them from attested ones.

The classification of Slavic as Indo-European has long been accepted, and the main substantial debate about the genetic classification of Slavic is whether it should be subcategorized into one language family along with Baltic, i.e., Proto-Balto-Slavic (Stang 1966; Klimas 1969; Birnbaum 1970; Schmalsteig 1974; Mayer 1981, among others). While a complete resolution of this issue is unlikely, it is generally accepted that at the very least, Proto-Slavic and Proto-Baltic shared many common features, whether or not they ever constituted a language family. Ultimately this classification is irrelevant for investigating the nature of Slavic-Albanian relations.

Today the Slavic languages stretch from Central and Southeastern Europe to the Pacific and are also found in several émigré communities outside of Europe. The total population of native Slavic speakers at present is approximately 250–275 million, with a majority of these speaking Russian (Lewis 2009; Schenker 1996: 70).³ From a historical-comparative perspective, the Slavic languages are divided into East Slavic, West Slavic, and South Slavic mainly on the basis of phonological innovations. The Slavic languages in contact with Albanian come from different sub-divisions of South Slavic—Serbian (including dialects in Montenegro) in West South Slavic and Macedonian in East South Slavic.⁴ As Serbian and Macedonian languages are both South Slavic languages, it is

³ Schenker (1996: 70) puts the number at around 250 million, while the figure of 275 million is based on the calculation of figures given in *Ethnologue*, edited by Paul Lewis. This figure does not include the several million who are fluent second-language speakers of Slavic languages, primarily Russian.

⁴ The naming of Slavic languages in the Balkans is fraught with potential for misunderstanding, so I will spell out my use here for the remainder of the dissertation. In this work, the term Serbian is generally used for the West South Slavic dialects in contact with Albanian in Montenegro, southern Serbia, and Kosovo but excluding dialects of Croatian in contact with the Albanian settlement in Arbanasi, near Zadar, Croatia. As should be clear from the introduction, I am not dealing with the influence of the standard language, so the use of Serbian is not meant to refer to the norms prescribed for the standard, except when explicitly stated (with the abbreviation *std.*), often used to contrast forms found in the dialects in investigation. Thus I am using *Serbian* as the title of a group of dialects that have been identified as Serbian historically. I use the term *Montenegrin* to denote dialects that in Montenegro and Albania near the Montenegrin border to

often difficult to tell whether the similarities that they share in contrast to other Slavic languages are due to common descent, contact between dialects of Serbian and Macedonian, or contact with non-Slavic languages, such as Albanian (Greenberg 2000).⁵

The classification of Albanian as an Indo-European language was solidified by the work of linguists such as Franz Bopp, Gustav Meyer and Holger Pedersen in the 19th century (Hamp 1994; Fortson 2004: 391; Demiraj 1998). Between six and seven million people speak Albanian natively, mainly in areas of the western Balkans in Albania, Kosovo,⁶ Macedonia, Serbia, Montenegro, Greece and Italy (Lewis 2009).⁷ Unlike Slavic, which has branched out into more than a dozen languages today, only one language survives to the present from Proto-Albanian: Albanian. The two main dialect divisions are Geg in the north and Tosk in the south. In addition, there are two main diaspora groups who speak Tosk dialects that split off from the rest of Albanian in the

the exclusion of the Serbian dialects found elsewhere. Again this is not to be read as an endorsement of a standard norm. So too, with *Macedonian*, which is used as general term for the Slavic dialects found in Macedonia and nearby regions. The Gora dialects (see §1.5.4, below) found in Kosovo, Albania, and Macedonia are structurally closer to the Macedonian dialects than Serbian ones, and for this reason are considered in the group of Macedonian dialects.

⁵ The impetus for this work actually came from trying to solve such questions after reading Greenberg (2000). An initial investigation into some of the data provided there became the basis for Curtis (2010) and has grown to the present effort. Although my quest is no longer to account for the data provided in Greenberg's article through contact with Slavic, it is appropriate that Robert Greenberg be given the credit for leading my research in this direction and providing the first impetus to my investigations of this topic.

⁶ On February 17th, 2008 the (Albanian) Kosovo Assembly declared unilateral independence from Serbia after almost 10 years of United Nations supervision in Kosovo. Serbia and a number of other countries such as Russia, Greece, and Romania do not recognize Kosovo's independence although it has been recognized by a majority of European Union members (22 out of 27) as well as Albania, Montenegro and Macedonia. In this thesis I treat Kosovo not as a political unit, but as a geographical area whose population consists of both Albanians and Serbs as well as other minorities such as Turkish, Roma, and Macedonian (Gora) speaking populations. Kosovo is geographically composed of two plains—Metohija/Rrafshi i Dukagjinit and Kosovo/Kosovë—and several mountainous areas. Unless otherwise specified, the term *Kosovo* will refer to the entire geographic area.

⁷ Other areas of Slavic-Albanian contact exist in communities that are isolated geographically from other speakers of one of the languages, such as the Albanian Arbanasi dialect in the area of Zadar, Croatia as well as Albanian communities in Mandrica, Bulgaria near the border with Turkey and Greece, and four villages in the vicinity of Bolhrad, Ukraine (Gjinari and Shkurtaç 2003: 381–414). Although these also are interesting in terms of language contact between Slavic and Albanian, because they occur in isolation they are somewhat peripheral to the overall question of Slavic-Albanian relations in the western Balkans.

early middle ages: the Arvanitika in southern Greece, who moved there during the 14th century,⁸ and the Arbëresh in southern Italy who left after the Ottoman invasion of the Balkans, beginning in the 15th century and continuing into the first part of the 18th century (Gjinari and Shkurtaj 2003: 346; Hamp 1994: 66; Demiraj 1998: 481). Both Geg and Tosk varieties have been in contact with dialects of Slavic, as were Arvanitika and Arbëresh before their migrations. While contact with Slavic has certainly shaped Tosk in a number of ways, the overwhelming number of dialects of Albanian that remain in contact with Slavic are Geg. Although Albanian has nominally remained a single language,⁹ many dialectal differences exist, creating a rich variety of linguistic phenomena—several of which are addressed here in light of contact with Slavic.

Although Proto-Albanian and Proto-Slavic are not classified together in a genetic sub-group of Indo-European languages, there are a number of early developments from Indo-European that Albanian and Slavic share, usually in common with Baltic. While a thorough discussion of these developments is beyond the scope of the present work, a brief treatment of the major developments is in order, as they bear on the analysis of the linguistic material shared by Albanian and Slavic, especially the phonology and morphology. Among the innovations that Albanian and Slavic share in their development

⁸ There are indications, both folkloric and linguistic (particularly toponyms) to believe that there were Albanian settlers in areas of southern Greece before the migration of the Arvanitika (Gjinari and Shkurtaj 2003: 346–347; Hamp 1970). Although it appears that the primary motivation for the migrations to Greece during the 14th century was the pressure from the Serbian Empire, it is also possible that they were invited there by Greek officials to strengthen the tax base of lands that had been earlier depleted. As with the migration of the Slavs into the Balkans the Greek version of the story involves an invitation to settle, while the non-Greek version of the story mentions no invitation.

⁹ *Ethnologue* (Lewis 2009) classifies Albanian as a “macrolanguage” meaning that the name of the language is a cover term that refers to a group of dialects that are not necessarily mutually intelligible. Regardless of whether Geg, Tosk, Arbëresh, and Arvanitika are mutually intelligible, the overwhelming majority of speakers identify themselves as speakers of Albanian in general rather than as speakers of particular varieties.

from Proto-Indo-European include (1) the lengthening of short vowels before original unaspirated stops in closed syllables (Winter's Law),¹⁰ (2) the loss of voiced aspirates *b^h, *d^h, and *g^h, which merge with the plain (unaspirated) voiced consonants *b, *d, and *g,¹¹ (3) the merger of IE *ā and *ō,¹² (4) the development of IE *ks to /x/¹³, and possibly (5) the treatment of long syllables ending in a sonorant¹⁴ (Porzig 1954; Jokl 1963: 116–129; Hamp 1966: 115–119, 1994: 67; 1984: 238–239; Mayer 1993: 78–79). In addition to these phonological developments, Albanian and Slavic share some developments morphologically and lexically from Indo-European that may also show vestiges of ancient contact, such as (1) the development of preterites from Indo-European aorist

¹⁰ This is certainly among the earliest of the changes discussed here, as it affects the voiced unaspirated stops but not the aspirated stops. It also affects Baltic in addition to Albanian and Slavic. Examples of this change include Lith *pėdà* 'footprint', OCS *pěsī* 'foot-' (ADJ) (cf. Rus, BCS *peškom* 'by foot' (Vasmer 3: 256), and Albanian *posh[t]ë* < *pēdsi < *ped- and possibly OCS *vydro* 'otter' < *ud-riom (Huld 1996: 116), although the aspiration is not entirely necessary for explaining the Albanian or Slavic lengthened forms, and the lengthening in Baltic is also problematic. One other example that affects Albanian but not Slavic is Alb *erë* 'smell' < *ōdr- < IE *odr- cf. Lat *odor*, and possibly the initial part of Gk *osphrinomai* 'to smell' (lit. to bring smell, exactly paralleled in the Alb verbal compound *bie erë*, where Alb *bie* < IE *bher- 'carry, bring', while the Gk *phr-* would come from a zero-grade ablaut form of the IE root (Hamp p.c. to Brian Joseph).

¹¹ Examples include for Albanian, *darkë* 'dinner' < *dork^wom and *djeg* 'burn' < *d^heg^{wh}o (Demiraj 1998: 487; Orel 1998: 56, 68), and for Slavic, OCS *dymū* 'smoke' < *d^hūm- and *dati* 'to give' < *dōy- (Schenker 1993: 65). This change, however is not necessarily limited to (Balto-)Slavic-Albanian contact as it occurs independently in Iranian, Anatolian, and possibly Celtic.

¹² Although both Albanian and Slavic merged these short vowels, they end up with different reflexes. In Albanian *ā and *ō went to /a/, as in *athët* 'acidic, sour' < *ak, *natë* 'night' < *nok^wt and *asht* 'bone' < *osti while in Slavic *ā and *ō end up as /o/, as in OCS *ocītī* 'vinegar' and *noštī* 'night'. Baltic, like Albanian, ends up with the reflex of /a/, as in *naktīs* 'night' and *actas* 'vinegar'. Baltic and Slavic also merged the long vowels of *ā and *ō; this resulted in /a/ for Slavic, as in OCS *matī* 'mother' < *māt-, Bg *ābūlka* 'apple' < *āblu, and *osmī* 'eight' and /o/ in Baltic, as in Lith *motina* 'mother' and *ōbuolas* 'apple', and *aštuoni* 'eight'. Albanian changed IE *ā to /o/, as in *motër* 'sister', (Geg) *vodhë* 'sorbus apple', but did not merge *ā with *ō, as *ō turned into /e/ as in *tetë* 'eight'.

¹³ Mayer 1993 (citing Vasmer 1973) equates the developments of IE *ks to Slavic *x* in Rus (dialect) *xinit* 'to condemn', Rus *xilyj* 'sickly' and Alb (*h*)*unj* / *ul-* 'belittle' [also 'to lower'], contrasting this development with IE *ks- > Baltic sk- as in *skaudus* 'painful' versus Slavic *xudū* 'bad' (citing Stang 1965: 95). IE *ks- and *sk- may both give /h/ in Albanian, however, as in *hedh* 'throw' from IE *skeyd- (cf. Eng. *shoot*), thus the distinction between Slavic and Baltic may not be particularly important in this instance, as the Albanian form could also be derived from an metathesized form, as in the Baltic.

¹⁴ For example, *ō before liquids gives /u/ in both Slavic and Albanian, (and is parallel to intonations that develop in Baltic and Slavic in these environments) (Hamp 1981: 50; cited in Huld 1984: 166). Examples include Alb *hurdhë* and Sr *ūrda*, Pol (*h*)*urda*.

stems but active participles from present stems (Hamp 1966: 117), (2) 1st and 2nd accusative pronouns from **mem* and **tjem* (Jokl 1963: 141–142; Hamp 1966: 119), (3) the formation of cardinal numbers from ordinals ending in **-ti*, as in Alb *dhjetë* (Geg *dhetë*), OCS *desęti* ‘ten’,¹⁵ (4) the use of the IE root **ǵomb^ho-* for the meaning ‘tooth’, as in Alb *dhëmbë*, OCS *zǫbŭ*, which has meanings of ‘peg’ or ‘protruding object’ elsewhere in IE (as in Eng. *comb*), and a number of other lexical developments (Jokl 1963: 129–156; Svane 1965; Çabej 1976: 63–74; Huld 1984: 166; Stanišić 1995: 8; Orel 2000: 250–256).¹⁶ Despite these similarities, none are diagnostic for creating a sub-group containing Albanian and Slavic (or any other Indo-European language) (Hamp 1966: 118). So while not genetically comprising a sub-group, Slavic and Albanian share some early developments in their languages that are probably due to contact with one another (and other languages) in the late stages of Proto-Indo-European or soon after the break-up of its dialects.¹⁷

1.2 Post-Indo-European Separation and Development

¹⁵ Hamp (1992: 918) also argues that the formation of teens by the formula numeral + ‘on’ + ‘ten’ may have developed during this time. The crucial piece of argument for establishing the time of the change is that the formation involves a feminine locative form of the word ‘ten’ in both Albanian and Slavic; the feminine numeral form was probably not distinguished when later contact was established in the Balkans. Furthermore, there are other language families involved that would likely have been in contact with Proto-Slavic and Proto-Albanian, such as Armenian and Greek, that share this pattern of forming the numbers 11–19.

¹⁶ Among other examples, several of these scholars cite the fact that Albanian and Slavic share the same etymology for the words for ‘time’—Alb *kohë*, OCS *časŭ*—to the exclusion of other branches of Indo-European. Huld also cites the nasality in *vĭdh* ‘elm’ corresponding to Rus *vjaz*, Pol *wiaz*, and Sr *vĕz*. While Orel (2000) gives many examples, the semantics of the cognates are sometimes less than straightforward, such as Alb *kripë/krypë* ‘salt’ matched with Lith *kraupūs* ‘rough’, *kraupis* ‘scab’, Latv *krāupis* ‘frail, brittle’ and Slav *krupa* ‘groats’ (251).

¹⁷ There are, of course, later contact-induced changes that manifest themselves in Slavic and Albanian as they come to participate in the Balkan Sprachbund, as addressed in subsequent portions of this study (particularly Chapter 5).

With the dispersion of different populations from the Proto-Indo-European community, individual language families developed their own particularities. It is far from certain what regions the different groups inhabited during this time of development, but it is certain that Albanian and Slavic were eventually separated to the extent that their influence on one another was negligible for thousands of years. The precise locations of these original lands, often referred to as “ancestral homelands”, are a matter of much discussion and debate in linguistics, anthropology, and archaeology, to say nothing of their treatment in nationalist ideologies. While the homelands are impossible to ascertain with absolute certainty, an idea of where the communities have come from is still important for understanding the origins of contact between Slavic and Albanian.

A number of theories exist about the ancestral homeland of the Slavs, with the three most common areas proposed being the mid-Dnieper area, present-day Poland, and the Danubian Basin. The theory that has the best support linguistically and otherwise is the first, which argues for the Slavs’ early habitation of the middle portion of the Dnieper River (present-day Northern Ukraine and surrounding environs), where they would have been in proximity to Germanic, Baltic, and Iranian communities, all of which contributed several words to Slavic (Schenker 1996: 1–7; Birnbaum 1973: 411–419).¹⁸ In addition, this location conforms to logical limitations from the inherited Proto-Slavic lexicon; for example, as Slavic lacks a native term for ‘beech’, the mid-Dnieper origin is logical, as

¹⁸ Each of these languages has shared basic vocabulary with Slavic that must be early since it is spread throughout Slavic. Examples of these shared lexemes include borrowings such as the words for ‘bread’ (OCS *hlěbŭ* from Germ, cf. Gothic *hlaifs*, ‘god’ (OCS *bogŭ* cf. Skt *bhāgas*) (Vasmer 4: 241–242; 1: 181–182) as well as shared lexical developments with Baltic, like ‘hand’ (OCS *rōka*, Lith *rankà*) and ‘head’ (OCS *glava* Lith *galvà*, although the Armenian form *gluχ* may also be related here) (Vasmer 3: 515 & 1: 429). Birnbaum argues that there is no solid phonological evidence that Germanic loanwords predate the 2nd century A.D., which may be further evidence that the Slavs were further to the east than present-day Poland or the Carpathians (1973: 416–417).

this area is east of its natural habitat (Rostafiński 1908; Schenker 1996: 1).¹⁹ The theory that Slavs originally inhabited the area of present-day Poland has been put forward by many scholars, particularly those from Poland, but as Schenker argues, this theory relies on several unlikely assumptions that have little scientific support (1996: 1–7). In particular, he argues against identifying the Slavs with the ethnonym Veneti, a name given to a people living along the southeastern shores of the Baltic Sea in the first several centuries of the Common Era (1996: 1–5; see also Birnbaum 1973).²⁰ While there is some evidence for the third possible “homeland”, along the lower course of the Danube, it is likely that this was a later Slavic settlement around the 6th century A.D. Thus, it seems most probable that Common Slavic developed before the appearance of the Slavs in Northern Central Europe and in the Balkans, when the Slavs were dwelling in the region well north of the Black Sea along the Dnieper River (Schenker 1996: 7–8).

In a similar manner, many theories about the origin of Albanians have been put forward, yet there is even less evidence on their origins as there is for the Slavs. It is generally accepted that Albanians continue one of the ancient languages of the Balkans, although scholars disagree on which language they spoke and what area of the Balkans they occupied before the Slavs’ migration to the Balkans. Some connection to ancient inhabitants of the Balkans is logical, as no migration of the Albanians to the Balkans is

¹⁹ The theoretical boundary of the beeches has been questioned in the light of an analysis of pollen, which indicates that beeches were likely restricted to a line west of the Elbe River in the 5th century B.C. (Birnbaum 1973: 407–408).

²⁰ Among the evidence that Schenker gives for this analysis is the stark distinction between the material culture of the Veneti and that of known Slavic populations. Additionally, he points out that names for people often get transferred to new populations living in a similar place, such as the Lithuanian name for the Goths, *Gaudi*, being later used for East Slavs. Also he argues that the absence of record for Slavs living in this area is not the failure of the classical authors, but rather a testament to the fact that the Slavs did not have contact with Romans, as did the Veneti and other peoples living along important trade routes for the Romans, such as the Amber Route that runs from Southern Europe to the Baltic Sea (1996: 2–6).

recorded in the classical sources. Further support of their Balkan heritage comes from an early attestation of the name *Ἀλβανοῦ*, recorded in the 2nd century by Ptolemy as the name of an Illyrian Tribe in the western Balkans (Lloshi 1999: 277). However, as with the term *Veneti*, the term *Alban-* may refer to an earlier people in the same area with completely different ethnic and linguistic origins. More secure evidence is found in the several Albanian loanwords from Ancient Greek that attest to the contact of with Greek in antiquity, likely contact with northwestern dialects of Greek in the western Balkans (Çabej 1964: 83–87; Katičić 1976: 185).²¹

Some scholars hold that Albanian is related to Illyrian (Jokl 1935; Çabej 1964; Cimochofski 1958), others to Thracian (Weigand 1927; Barić 1954; Popović 1960: 79–85), and at least one (Georgiev 1957) to a putative Daco-Mysian grouping. The linguistic grounds on which some scholars have argued against Proto-Albanian’s connection to Illyrian are basically threefold: the reflexes of Indo-European palato-velars are different for Illyrian and Albanian,²² the historical phonology of Albanian cannot explain the

²¹ Although some authors argue that the number of loanwords from Greek is scant (Georgiev 1960), the fact of ancient contact between Proto-Albanian and Greek is established by the borrowings that are in place. The number of loanwords is not necessarily a compelling argument for geographical placement, as loanwords may be replaced in subsequent developments of the language (especially considering the copious borrowing that Albanian later did from Latin and Slavic before any lexicon of Albanian was ever compiled). At a minimum, the presence of any loanword establishes some contact between languages, as long as the loanword can be established to have come from the original language. Some borrowings from Greek into Albanian establish this early contact such as *lakër* (Tosk) / *lakën* (Geg) ‘cabbage’ from Anc. Gk *λάχανον* ‘vegetable’, which most likely happened before /χ/ was turned into a fricative ([k^h] > [h]) (Çabej 1964: 86). Also, the reflex /o/ found in the borrowing *mokër* (Tosk) / *mokën* (Geg) ‘mill stone’ < (Doric) Anc. Gk *μᾶχανόν* also attests to the early contact of Proto-Albanian with Doric or Northwestern Greek, as the rest of Greek has *e* / *η* in place of *ā*. One final pertinent example is *targozë* ‘helmet’ from Anc. Gk *θωράκιον* ‘breastplate’ whose ancient date is shown by the Albanian /t/ for the Anc. Gk voiceless aspirated stop /θ/ before its frication in the Koiné period (Brian Joseph, p.c.). Çabej (1961, 1964: 86–87) provides many examples of borrowings from Doric Greek into Albanian to argue for the Western Balkan homeland of the Albanians.

²² For those who deny Albanian connection to Illyrian, the main problem was that Illyrian was seen to be a *centum* language (an Indo-European language that maintained the velar nature of PIE palato-velars, as in the word for hundred like *Lat centum*,) while Albanian has been generally categorized as a *satem* language,

etymologies of certain Western Balkan toponyms²³, and given that Albanian lacks marine terminology, it is unreasonable to believe that Albanian descended from the language of the Illyrians who were noted seafarers.²⁴ All of these lines of investigation have been unfortunately—but unsurprisingly—inconclusive, but the negative stance towards Proto-Albanian’s connection to Illyrian and placement in the Western Balkans is likely unwarranted, given the linguistic evidence. One other point that some scholars make is the fact that Albanian and Romanian share many lexical items; this has led some to believe that Albanian originated east of its present geographical spread (Georgiev 1957; Hamp 1994). Hamp (1994), for example, argues that from some indeterminate time a pre-Albanian (in Hamp’s terms, *Albanoid*) population inhabited areas stretching from Poland to the current area in the southwestern Balkans. The linguistic evidence is fairly solid for

(a language that has a sibilant reflex of these same sounds, as in Avestan *satəm* ‘100’). However, it is not certain that Illyrian maintained the velar reflexes of these sounds, because there is very little truly reliable information about Illyrian. Further, it has been shown that the sibilant of the IE palato-velars is a late development in Albanian, and is not the strong evidence for early dialectal division of Indo-European that it was once held to be (Katičić 1976: 185; Cimochoowski 1958: 43; Çabej 1964: 75).

²³ For example, the change of PIE *sk- > Alb h (illustrated in fn. 13, above) has been used to argue that Albanian phonology cannot explain the name *Shkodër* from earlier *Scodra*. However, this change is likely to have been a very early one, possibly before Albanian entrance to the Balkans (Katičić 1976: 186), as borrowings from Ancient Greek and Latin actually show the change of s > š before stops as in *shpellë* ‘cave’ < Anc. Gk *σπηλαιον* and *shkallë* ‘stairs’ < Lat *scala*. Further, the names used today have possibly come through Vulgar Latin (Joseph, p.c.). Other toponyms, such as *Durrës*, require the phonology of Slavic to give the current names (Lat *Dyrrachium* > Slav. *Dŭračŭ*, where Slav. *č* is necessary to give Alb *s* and not *q* from Lat *-chi-* (Katičić 1976: 186). However, apart from these areas near the Adriatic coast, there are many other locations in the Western Balkans whose toponyms are best accounted for with Albanian etymologies, such as *Lesh*, *Drin*, *Bunë*, and *Mat* from *Lissus*, *Drivastum*, *Barbanna*, and *Mathis* (Çabej 1958: 59; Katičić 1976: 186; Stanišić 1995: 10–16).

²⁴ The idea that Albanian does not have native marine terminology (Weigand 1927; Popović 1960: 80) has been unduly accepted as evidence against Albanians’ descent from the Western Balkans. As Çabej (1961: 248–249) points out, there are a number of native terms dealing with watercraft and fishing, such as *det* ‘sea’ related to the PIE root **dheub-* ‘deep’, *ani(je)* ‘ship’ (related to *anë / enë* ‘vessel’), *va* ‘wave’ which (unlike *vallë*) is not taken from Latin, along with many other words for shipping and fishing. Hamp (1966: 98), however, rejects the vast majority of these examples as evidence for conclusively demonstrating that the Proto-Albanians lived on the sea as opposed to any other body of water. Regardless of whether any original marine terminology has been preserved, it does not mean that Proto-Albanian did not have such words: as Cimochoowski argues, most Albanians who were not thoroughly Latinized must have lived far enough away from the Adriatic coast to avoid cultural assimilation; thus it is logical that those inhabitants who stayed in the mountains, or retreated there, lost terminology related to life on the coast (1958: 38).

supposing that Pre-Albanian was spoken further to the north and east, although it does not necessarily determine the genealogical history of the language, nor does it rule out the possibility of Proto-Albanian being present in both Illyrian and Thracian territory. So while linguists may debate about the ties between Albanian and older languages of the Balkans, and while most Albanians may take the genealogical connection to Illyrian as incontrovertible, the fact remains that there is simply insufficient evidence to connect Illyrian, Thracian, or Dacian with any language, including Albanian (Fortson 2004: 390; Katičić 1976: 184–188; Fine 1983: 11). Others, such as Katičić, have argued that, as the descent from Illyrian makes geographical sense and linguistic and historical information is lacking, the burden of proof remains on those who deny the connection with Illyrian (1976: 188).

One final point of a general nature about these prehistoric developments should be made. Although discussions about the origins of these languages and communities are made in ethnic terms such as *Albanians*, *Slavs*, etc., the ethnic composition of these communities (and the languages associated with them) is almost certainly not made up of the descendants of one ancestral group (Çabej 1964: 71). As the historian John Fine rightly remarks,

The Albanians did not have a single ancestor in one or the other of these pre-Slavic peoples; the present-day Albanians, like all Balkan peoples, are an ethnic mixture and in addition to this main ancestor they contain an admixture of Slavic, Greek, Vlach, and Romano-Italian ancestry (1983: 11–12).

The same precaution applies to *all Balkan peoples*, including the Slavic populations discussed here as well. Although names for languages and communities may overlap, there is no stable, persistent connection between biological descent and linguistic descent.

Whatever the prehistory of Albanian and Slavic, it is almost certain that from the time of the break-up of Indo-European to the Slavic migrations to the Balkans the Slavic and Albanian languages acquired their individual characteristics independently of one another, although with considerable contact with other languages.

1.3 Origins of Contact in the Balkans

In the centuries preceding the migration of the Slavs to the Balkans the local populations were affected by a number of socio-historical changes due to the expansion of the Roman Empire and the invasion of Goths in the area. By the end of the 1st century A.D. the Romans had largely subjugated the Illyrians, had Romanized the towns on the Adriatic coast, and were pushing their way through to the Danube, establishing forts and towns in the hinterland of the Balkans, developing mines in Bosnia and Serbia, and building roads to connect these outposts with the cities on the coast (Fine 1983: 12).

In the 3rd century, inland Roman settlements and highways were repeatedly attacked by Goths. These attacks continued into the 5th century, and for large stretches of time the Romans had little control over those areas of the Balkans they had settled at the beginning of the Common Era (Fine 1983: 13–14). As with the Roman settlements, the Gothic raids likely had little effect on the non-Roman peoples of the Balkans, except, perhaps, from pushing them further away from these localities.²⁵ These raids, as well as other changes inside the Roman Empire, led Emperor Diocletian (284–305) to split the

²⁵ Linguistic evidence of contacts with the Goths in the Balkans exist, although it is also quite scanty. Some noted loanwords from Gothic in Albanian include *fang* ‘sod’ < Goth. *waggs* ‘paradise’ and *tirk* ‘trousers’ < Goth. **piu(h)-brók*, which was also borrowed into Romanian as *tureac* (Jokl 1929 cited in Joseph and Friedman 2013). Other interpretations, however, are possible. Since the Goths were settled north of the Black Sea ca. 200 A.D., contact may have been a result of contact beyond the Balkans (Collins, p.c.).

empire administratively; he moved east to the Dalmatian coast. During Diocletian's time stability was regained in the Balkans. Instability returned upon his death; only with the emergence of Constantine as the sole emperor (324) did the Romans regain control.

By moving the center of the Roman Empire from Rome to Constantinople, Constantine helped the empire survive the chaos that was happening in its Western territories (including the Balkans) (Fine 1983: 14). The establishment of the capital in Constantinople would have many affects on the Balkans, including the further division of the eastern and western portions of the Empire, the borders of which would essentially run through the Balkans (see also Stokes and Golczewski 1998). Also, the new capital relied heavily on the agriculture and production of Anatolia to the extent that protecting this part of the Empire often took priority over protecting its interests in the Balkans, even territories in Greece (Fine 1983: 14). Thus, for example, when the Slavic invasions were at their height (581–584), the main Byzantine army was protecting its Eastern territories against Persia. Finally, moving the capital to the eastern remove of the Balkans effectively cut off invasions of the Balkans by invaders from the southeast (ibid.: 15). One other Byzantine policy had particular effect on the landscape of the Balkans prior to the Slavic migrations: the wars of reconquest launched by Emperor Justinian (527–565), who sought to reunite the eastern and western parts of the empire and to establish the domain of the Empire to what it had been prior to the Gothic invasions. He was mostly successful in reclaiming the territories that had been lost, but in the process had so weakened the Empire's treasury and manpower that the Empire would struggle to deal with the challenges that came after the reconquest, mainly the Persians to the East and the Slavs and Avars to the North (ibid.). Thus, when the Slavs appeared on the northern

borders of the Byzantine Empire in the middle of the 6th century, circumstances were very favorable for their establishment in the Balkans.

One account of the Slavs in the classical sources is Jordanes's *History of the Goths*, ca. 550. In this account, Jordanes speaks of the Slavs as "the populous race of the Venethi" that occupy "a great expanse of land", whose names are "dispersed variously amid clans and places, yet they are chiefly called Slavs and Antes." Scholars have understood the significance of these three names differently. Schenker (1996: 9), for example, equates the Sclaveni as the forerunners of the South Slavs, the Veneti as the West Slavs, and the Antes with the East Slavs. Fine (1983: 36–37), however, following Zlatarski (1938) entertains the idea that the Antes may prefigure the Eastern South Slavs while the Sclaveni may have produced the Western South Slavs. Whether or not these names pertain to the ancestors of any later-described group of Slavs is, of course, speculative, and all that can be known for certain from this account is that there were divisions geographically that likely were reflected in language differences as well. On the basis of isoglosses, or geographical borders between speech variants, Ivić (1972) argues that it is most likely that some of the linguistic distinctions in South Slavic existed before their habitation of the Balkans, and that the groups likely came in two separate migrations, the West South Slavs from the Pannonian Plain (most of present-day Hungary and surrounding areas) west of the Carpathian Mountains, and the East South Slavs from the East of the Carpathians in the Dacian Plain. Thus, in agreement with the dialectal differences in South Slavic, it is very possible that these Slavic tribes described in Jordanes's testimony are the near descendants of the two branches of South Slavic that would shortly come to inhabit a large portion of the Balkan Peninsula.

Why the Slavs showed up then and there is unclear, although it is possible that there were external pressures from other migrant groups, as this was a time of population movements throughout Central and Eastern Europe (Schenker 1996: 9). One such group was a Turkic tribe known as the Avars who likely drove the Slavs further to the west and south. At the time of Jordanes's testimony, the Slavs were occasional raiders on the Byzantine countryside, with small, lightly armed bands taking advantage of the smaller defenses away from the cities. These raids increased in frequency during the first several decades of the second half of the 6th century, although the Slavic settlement in the Balkans remained sparse until the 570s and 580s. During these decades, the Slavs poured down into the Balkans in alarming numbers for the Byzantines.²⁶ These heavier assaults seem to have been instigated by the Avars, who, using their experience, organization and ambitions of conquest, led the Slavic tribes to military feats well beyond what the Slavs showed in their earlier campaigns. Around the year 582, the most important Byzantine northern outpost on the Danube, Sirmium (today Sremska Mitrovica), fell to the Slavic-Avar forces, which may have been one of the reasons for the greater number of Slavs coming into the Balkans and settling there. With the Avars, the Slavs also raided other parts of the Balkans that they had not yet visited. While their initial raids were contained to the eastern half of the peninsula, in Thrace, Macedonia, and Greece, under the Avars

²⁶ One example of the Byzantines' alarm at the Slavs invasion is given by John of Ephesus, a Syrian historian writing in 584, "That same year [581]...was famous also for the invasion of an accursed people, called Slavonians, who overran the whole of Greece, and the country of the Thessalonians, and all Thrace, and captured the cities, and took numerous forts, and devastated and burnt, and reduced the people to slavery, and made themselves masters of the whole country, and settled in it by main force, and dwelt in it as though it had been their own without fear....They still [584] encamp and dwell there, and live in peace in the Roman [Byzantine] territories, free from anxiety and fear, and lead captive and slay and burn: and they have grown rich in gold and silver, and herds of horses, and arms, and have learnt to fight better than the Romans, though at first they were but rude savages, who did not venture to shew themselves outside the woods and the coverts of the trees; and as for arms, they did not even know what they were, with the exception of two or three javelins or darts" (cited in Schenker 1996: 16; also in Fine 1983: 31).

they also raided Dalmatia in 597 and went at least as far south as present-day Montenegro (Fine 1983: 30–34). The Byzantines fought back during the 590’s, but because of internal conflicts the war against the Avars and Slavs was again unsuccessful at the beginning of the 7th century. The Slavs’ presence in Greece was so profuse that a later history described Thessalonica as “virtually a Roman island in a Slavic sea” (*The Miracles of Saint Demetrius* (late 7th century), cited in Fine 1983: 31). At the beginning of the 9th century the Avars were driven to extinction by the Franks and their Croatian Allies led by Charlemagne in the west and by the Bulgarians to the east (Fine 1983: 94).²⁷ While not permanent settlers in the Balkans, the Avars certainly influenced its ethnic and linguistic composition by securing the Slavs’ settlement there.

The sixth-century Slavic settlers in the Balkans would soon be subjected to new overlords coming to the Balkans the following century. The Bulgars were a Turkic tribe that entered the Balkans in the latter end of the 7th century. Upon their arrival their leader, Kovrat, requested and was granted permission to settle in Thrace and Macedonia with authority over the Slavs in that area. Within the space of a century, the Bulgars assimilated to the Slavic population and the Turkic linguistic element was mostly gone, with the exception of the name by which these Slavs would be designated from the 9th century onwards (Fine 1983: 36; Schenker 1996: 21).²⁸ A similar development likely

²⁷ Schenker remarks on a couple of linguistic monuments that remain from the Slavs interactions with the Avars and the Avars astonishing defeat at the hands of Charlemagne. First is the word ‘ogre’ that is found in several Slavic languages, deriving from the term for Avar *obūr*, as in Sln *óbər*, Cz *obr*, Slk *obor*. Second is the word for ‘king’ that is also widely attested in Slavic languages, that comes from the name Charlemagne (Karl), as in BCS *kralj*, Mk *kral*, Rus *korol’*, although the word *car* ‘czar’ (OCS *cěsarī* < from Latin *Caesar* or Germanic (Goth. *kaisar*) is more common in Russian and Bulgarian (Vasmer IV: 290–291; Schenker 1996: 11); further, the evidence of this loanword in early Pan-Slavic is problematic (Lunt 1966), thus Schenker’s assertion about the lexical importance of these events should be tempered somewhat (Collins, p.c.).

²⁸ Fine says that there are fewer than a dozen (1983: 69), but without citing the source of that information.

occurred in the history of the West South Slavs: the majority of the Slavs in the western Balkans were among the first waves of immigrants, while two smaller tribes likely of Iranian origin (at least in name, if not ethnic composition), Croats and Serbs, came to Dalmatia and present-day Southern Serbia near the beginning of the 7th century.²⁹ According to Constantine Porphyrogenitus' tenth-century foreign policy guide *De Administrando Imperio*, both the Croats and the Serbs broke off from larger tribes who were living north of the Carpathians in order to settle in Byzantine territory.³⁰ These newcomers appear to have been very successful in driving the Avars out of Dalmatia, although it is likely that some Avars were assimilated into Slavic settlements.³¹ Like the Bulgars to the east, the ruling Croats and Serbs quickly were assimilated into the Slavic settlers in the western Balkans and bestowed ethnic designations on the population.

Although the Slavs' migration to the Balkans brought them into contact with the native populations of the Balkans, including ancestors of the Albanians along with Greeks and Balkan Romance speakers, it is uncertain how the native populations responded to the invasion of the Slavs. As in any invasion, many were likely killed or taken captive. Surviving Greeks often took refuge in fortified cities or islands, while the

²⁹ The evidence whether the Croats and Serbs were Slavic is very sparse. The names Croat and Serb have been argued to not be Slavic, but rather Iranian, related to the Iranian place name Choroathos and the Iranian tribe Serbi or Serboi, both names occurring on the Don River (Fine 1983: 56–57). Schenker reports that the stem in the name *hrvati* is found throughout Slavic territory, although it appears to be Iranian in origin; the stem for *srb* is also widespread, being found for example as a designation of the Sorbs in eastern Germany (*Serbja*), but with no clear etymology (1996: 19). However, while the names are more likely Iranian than Slavic, it is impossible to know whether they were Iranian or Slavic speaking or multilingual. Whether or not the Serbs and Croats that would rule over the early Slavic settlers were Slavic is not necessarily important for the history of the Slavic languages that emerge from these areas, as demonstrated by the case of Bulgarian.

³⁰ There are several textual inconsistencies in the famous document, leaving plenty of room for analysis on how truthful this account is. It seems very likely that the Serbs and Croats could have entered these areas without any explicit permission, but according to the Byzantine history they had been invited there. (for further discussion of these various interpretations, see Fine 1983: 53–59).

³¹ While there may have been fewer Slavic settlers in the western Balkans from the first migrations, once the Avar force was defeated, there was likely more Slavic settlement in the area (Fine 1983: 53).

other peoples probably responded as they did with the invasion of the Romans into the Balkans: retreating into mountains and other places of security; although some likely remained in the lowlands and intermingled with the newcomers (Fine 1983: 37). The Slavs penetrated most of the Balkans in their early settlements, but some areas were less affected by these initial conquests and only later came into contact with the Slavs, particularly less fertile or more remote areas such as Bosnia and Herzegovina and Montenegro (ibid.: 38). In some areas, such as Bosnia and Croatia, a “considerable cultural continuity from the pre-Slavic to the Slavic population” can be observed in social organization, cults, grave construction, metallurgy, and the architecture of houses, suggesting “close and friendly contacts” in some places between the Slavs and other peoples of the Balkans (ibid.). It is likely that the Slavs’ migration to the Balkans brought the Albanians into the general area they inhabit now. It is also probably that they took refuge in the mountainous areas of northern and central Albania and eastern Montenegro as well as the mountains on the western areas of Kosovo and Macedonia. Long-standing contact between Slavs and Albanians was likely most common in those areas where the geography allowed for mountain passage or the possibility of agriculture or fishing, particularly around Lake Shkodër/Skadar and Lake Ohrid and in the valleys of the White and Black branches of the Drin/Drim (Selišček 1931: 50–52; Svane 1992: 5–7; Stanišić 1995: 8–9).³² As demonstrated in this study, these are also areas where Slavic and

³² Because of the multiethnic and multilingual nature of these areas, most place names have distinct forms in each of the languages. In an attempt to avoid the perception of bias towards one language or another, I try to give both Slavic and Albanian forms where no established English norm is to be found. For place names inside of Greece that do not have an English norm, the Greek form is given, likewise for Slavic or Albanian place names that do not have corresponding Albanian or Slavic forms, only the one form is given. When speaking about the dialect of one language or another, only the place name of that language is given.

Albanian dialects have experienced many changes due to contact with one another. Brief histories of contact are given for each of these areas in section 1.5, below, after an outline of political developments affecting Slavs and Albanians in the Balkans.

1.4 Political Developments in Historical Periods of Contact

This section highlights periods when Slavic and Albanian communities have exerted or experienced different levels of cultural pressure that likely have also had consequences for the communities' languages. As discussed in subsequent chapters (2 and 4), cultural pressures that different groups exert on one another are among the most important sociolinguistic factors for many theories of language contact. Politically, both populations have been subject to third-party rulers, primarily under the Byzantine and Ottoman Empires,³³ but at other times the Slavs have been autonomous, and frequently during these times they have ruled over Albanian communities as well, including medieval Slavic empires as well as kingdoms, federations, and nation-states after independence from the Ottoman Empire. Albanian states basically belong to the past 100 years, with the exception of the Albanian princes' independence during Skanderbeg's rule in the 15th century. Albanian political entities have largely ruled over Albanian populations, although significant minorities of Greeks, Roma, and Vlachs are in present-day Albania and the recently independent Kosovo includes some 100,000 Serbs (see below).

A list of the main place names used in this study, with regional varieties appears at the beginning of the dissertation.

³³ The Hungarians and Venetians also had control of some of these areas at different times. The Venetians were particularly influential on the populations on and near the Adriatic coast, such as Ulqin/Ulcinj and Shkodër/Skadar where both Slavic and Albanian populations were located.

The historical setting of Slavic-Albanian language contact, then, encompasses many different types of socio-political relations between Slavs, Albanians, and other language communities in the Balkans. The following paragraphs sketch the three main socio-political relations that have predominated since the Slavic migration to the Balkans: rule by other peoples, rule by Slavs, and rule by Albanians.

From the time of the Slavic migrations into the Balkans in the 6th century until the Byzantine recovery of the Balkans in the early 9th century, there was no real state control over the populations found in the northern Balkans. The Byzantine Empire continued to claim these lands, as no state had been set up among the Slavs that would counter that claim (Fine 1983: 65). The first state to do so was the Bulgarian Empire, which signed a treaty with Byzantium in 681 and that would come to predominate the Balkans for most of the 9th and 10th centuries up until their defeat by the Byzantines in 1018. After this, the Byzantines again ruled most of the Balkans, and would do so until Constantinople and other parts of the empire were ravished during the fourth crusade in the first several years of the 13th century.³⁴ The influence of the Byzantines on the Slavic and Albanian communities extended beyond political dominion, as the majority of Slavs and Albanians in this region also received Christianity at the hands of the Greeks. The exceptions to this are the populations north of the Drin/Drim and along the Adriatic Coast from Durrës/Drač to the north, as well as some Albanian populations in the interior, such as Mirditë and Mat (Fine 1987: 51; von Šufflay 2004: 107–137). This also includes Serbs in

³⁴ Independent Slavic Kingdoms were set up previous to this time, such as the Serbian states Duklja (from the 11th and 12th centuries) and Rascia (from 1090 on) and the Bulgarian state reestablished in 1185.

Duklja up until the first two decades of the 13th century.³⁵ The influence of religious orientation should not be underestimated as it affected a broad range of cultural aspects—the introduction of law codes, the establishment of educational institutions in monasteries, and the advent of literacy with the first surviving Slavic writing system created by Byzantine missionaries Constantine (later Cyril) and Methodius. Thus, even when the Greeks' political influence waned in the 13th century, their historical impact on the languages and cultures of the Slavs and southern Albanians continues to the present.

Two and a half centuries after the soldiers of the fourth crusade destroyed the Byzantine capital, Ottoman forces seized it in the middle of the 14th century. With the final defeat of the Byzantine Empire, a new political and cultural force became firmly entrenched in the region and would dominate it for more than four centuries. The Ottoman Empire lasted until the 19th century in some places: Serbia won initial independence in 1804, Greece gained independence in 1832, and Bulgaria was given autonomy in 1878. In other places, Ottoman rule lasted into the 20th century, as was the case for Albania, which declared independence in 1912, and Kosovo and Macedonia,

³⁵ In the early history of the Serbian Empire the Serbian rulers were sometimes closer to Rome or Constantinople, depending on a number of factors, particularly including geography. One prominent example of this is that the founder of the Nemanjić dynasty that would rule the Serbian Empire from 1166–1371, Stefan Nemanja. Originally he received baptism from Rome, as he had been born in Duklja, which was generally under Roman influence, because his family had fled there from Raška (Fine 1987: 3). When his family moved back to Raška he was baptized in the Byzantine rite. Later he held Byzantine court titles and was likely supported by the Byzantines politically. As ruler he generously supported both Orthodox and Catholic churches financially (Fine 1987: 41). After establishing his political rule he generally was loyal to the Byzantines, but sided with the Romans in the Third Crusade and fought against Greece for a time thereafter (Fine 1987: 24–26). However, a few years after peaceful relations with Byzantium were restored (1190) he abdicated and was tonsured a monk, helping, with his son Sava to establish the influential Serbian monastery Hilandar on Mount Athos. Stefan Nemanja's two ruling sons were split in their religious loyalties, with Vukan in Zeta (current-day Montenegro) becoming a Catholic and appealing to Rome for support (Fine 1987: 45) and Stefan in Raška supporting the Orthodox tradition. Over time the religious influence of Orthodoxy as well as other culturally associated influences such as literacy and education came to predominate in the history of Serbia, particularly after the establishment of the autocephalous Serbian Orthodox Church in 1219 (Fine 1987: 116–119).

which were taken from the Ottomans and incorporated into the Kingdoms of Serbia and Bulgaria, respectively, in the First Balkan War.³⁶ In some places, particularly in the mountainous regions of Montenegro and Northern Albania, it is unlikely that the Ottomans ever established any lasting dominion over the Slavs, Albanians, and Aromanians, although these people certainly dealt with the consequences of the presence of the Ottomans in the region (Boehm 1983: 83–84; Durham 1928: 25; Curtis 2007: 17). In general, the influence of Turkish was felt most strongly in the cities particularly before the 19th century, while its influence was somewhat weaker among the rural populations (Strauss 2011; Friedman 2002).³⁷

In addition to its political domination of the native populations, the Ottoman Empire also affected them in regard to literacy, education, and religion. In many areas, particularly among the Slavs, the written tradition was seriously threatened, and almost all writing outside of the monastery was discontinued for a time (Mihailovich 2004). Education in Slavic or Albanian was discouraged, and eventually criminalized by Ottoman authorities in the nineteenth-century Tanzimat Reforms (1839–1876) (Skendi 1967: 131–134). Many people in the Balkans also converted to Islam during this time, which seems to be an important factor in language convergence in certain areas, particularly for contact in Montenegro and the Macedonian Gora dialects. All in all,

³⁶ The dates given here reflect the establishment of nation-states for the countries mentioned. It should not be inferred that after the given dates the Ottoman Empire had no more territory or control in these regions, as the nation-states gradually won territories gradually.

³⁷ This was likely the trend for most of the Ottoman Empire. However, near the end of the Ottoman Empire the usage of these regional languages was preferred in the administrative centers after 1878, citing the preference of Bulgarian [Macedonian] in Bitola/Manastir, Albanian in Skopje and Shkodër/Skadar and Greek in Janina, while Turkish was preferred in Edirne. Thessaloniki, with Judezmo speaking Sephardic Jews comprising about half of the population, seemed to have a split preference between Greek and Turkish, while French was the language of the press, and in addition to these four languages, Albanian, Serbian, Bulgarian, and Romanian were also in some use there (Strauss 2011: 113).

however, the greatest influence of the Ottomans among populations of the Balkans is likely in the day-to-day customs, routines, cuisines, and domestic vocabulary (Todorova 1997). Although it may be unpopular to admit it—given the prevailing national ideologies throughout the nation-states of the Balkans—the influence of Ottoman culture can be seen in almost every aspect of society in the Balkans.

Before and after the Ottomans, Slavs also had political predominance over most of the northwestern Balkans. These states include the medieval Bulgarian Empires and the Serbian Empire and the nation-states that became independent from the Turks, the multi-ethnic federation of Yugoslavia, and subsequent nation states that followed the break-up of Yugoslavia. While this is certainly not the place for a complete history of these political entities, it is important to mention those parts of their histories during which contact with Albanian has doubtlessly been present. During the First Bulgarian Empire, contact with Albanian started in the areas of Lake Ohrid and Lake Prespa, and then spread with the advance of the Bulgarian Empire throughout current-day southern Albania from the 9th to early 11th centuries, eventually stretching to the Adriatic coast at Vlorë (Lat Valona) and Himarë in the south and also incorporating parts of central Albania including Durrës/Drač. Later, Bulgarian territory would also reach present-day northwestern Albania and Montenegro (Svane 1992; Fine 1983: 193–195).

A similar pattern of expansion also was followed in the Second Bulgarian Empire a few centuries later (late–12th century to the end of the 14th century). The Serbian Empire (11th century to the end of 14th century) also gradually incorporated most of the Albanian population; however, this domain spread from the northeast in the territory of Raška (including Kosovo and parts of Southern Serbia near Novi Pazar) and northwest in

the territory of Duklja (including most of Montenegro and parts of Northwestern Albania) to present-day northern and central Albania. With the Serbs' defeat of the Bulgarian Empire in the early 14th century, Vlorë and other areas of Southern Albania fell into the domain of the Serbian Empire. Their time there, however, was cut short with the death of Emperor Stefan Dušan and subsequent defeats at the hands of the Ottoman Empire at the end of the 14th century.

It is worth emphasizing that the role of ethnicity and language was not as central to the political alliances of these empires as it would become towards the end of the Ottoman Empire and thereafter. In general, political power rested in the hands of small groups of nobles that had local authority, whose allegiances to a kingdom or empire were quite fluid and based more on political expediency than on the popular feeling of common descent and destiny intrinsic to modern ideologies of nationalism.³⁸ The main linguistic consequence was the confluence of several languages via political and commercial interaction, while pressure to assimilate to one group or another was mainly limited to local contact situations, such as bilingualism in families or market towns rather than national institutions such as schools and militaries.

In contrast to the pre-Romantic empires and kingdoms in which language was mostly a local matter, in the kingdoms and republics that emerged in the 19th and 20th centuries, language was an integral part of the national ideology and a key means of

³⁸ One illustration of this fact is the different perspectives on the Battle of Kosovo (1389) in which the Serbian leader Prince Lazar and the Ottoman sultan Murad were both killed. The battle was militarily not decisive for either side. In later recollections of this epic battle, Prince Lazar and his people were portrayed as martyrs at the hands of the Muslims, who over time were associated with the Albanians, who had come to inhabit Kosovo in larger numbers during the Ottoman rule there. One remarkable fact overlooked in this nationalization of the event is that large numbers of other Christian Balkan peoples (particularly Bosnians) were fighting alongside the Serbs (Fine 1987: 408–411). Among others, Marko Šuica (2011) gives an excellent review of the uses of the Battle of Kosovo in national and political rhetoric.

establishing perceptions of nationality and nationhood. For example, isoglosses of linguistic features were used for delineating the border between Serbia and Bulgaria in the first couple of decades of the 20th century (Friedman 1986a: 297), with the implicit assumption that the differences in language represented differences in the populations' nationalities. Another consequence of implementing this ideology is that particular official languages have had higher status than non-official languages and have been institutionally supported in national education systems; sometimes minority languages have received official support, but at other times the use of minority languages has been restricted.

One pertinent example is the status of Albanian in Kosovo. It was forbidden in publications and education in Royal Yugoslavia until World War II (Pani 2006: 59). During World War II Kosovo, along with parts of western Macedonia, were united with Albania under the Italian occupation, which allowed for schooling in Albanian in these areas. In Yugoslavia under Tito, Albanian was given greater institutional support, including university instruction in Albanian (alongside Serbo-Croatian) at the University of Prishtina (founded in 1970) (ibid. 60). However, following a crackdown on student protests in 1981, these provisions were severely curtailed until after the war in Kosovo in 1999 (Independent International Commission on Kosovo (IICK) 2000). Furthermore, as a result of national policies (particularly on the side of Albania) communication between the populations in Yugoslavia and Albania was quite limited, although Albanians in Yugoslavia did adopt the official (Tosk-based) standard language for formal communication as a symbolic act of solidarity in 1968 (Pipa 1989: 5; Pani 2006: 60; Curtis 2011).

While Yugoslavia was predominantly Slavic, the 1.5–2 million Albanians made up 6–8% of the population.³⁹ Kosovo is just one of several areas of the former Yugoslavia that has sizable Albanian populations, as Albanians also form major communities in eastern and southern Montenegro (Ulcinj/Ulqin, Bar/Tivar, Podgorica, Tuz/Tuzi, Plav/Plavë and Gusinje/Gucia), Southern Serbia (Medveđa/Medvegje, Bujanovac/Bujanoc, and Preševo/Preshevë) and western and central Macedonia (Tetovo/Tetovë, Gostivar, Skopje, Debar/Dibër, Kičevo/Kërçovë, Prilep, Bitola/Manastir, Struga/Strugë, Ohrid/Ohër, etc.). See Figure 1.1, below, for a map of these locations as well as Slavic communities in present-day Albania.

³⁹ Because the vast majority of Albanians boycotted the 1991 census in an act of non-violent protest the population at this time remains a matter of conjecture. In 1981 the Yugoslav Albanians numbered some 1.7 million. That number likely increased by several hundred thousand over the next decade. Official estimates put Albanians at a population of around 1.6 million in Kosovo, 400,000 in Macedonia, 74,000 in Central Serbia and 40,000 in Montenegro (Stanković 1982 (1981 Yugoslav Census)). Likewise because of the Serb boycott of the most recent census in Kosovo (2011), it is impossible to know their population there, although it is estimated at about 100 thousand of the 1.8 million inhabitants. (Rekos 2011 (2011 Kosovo Census))

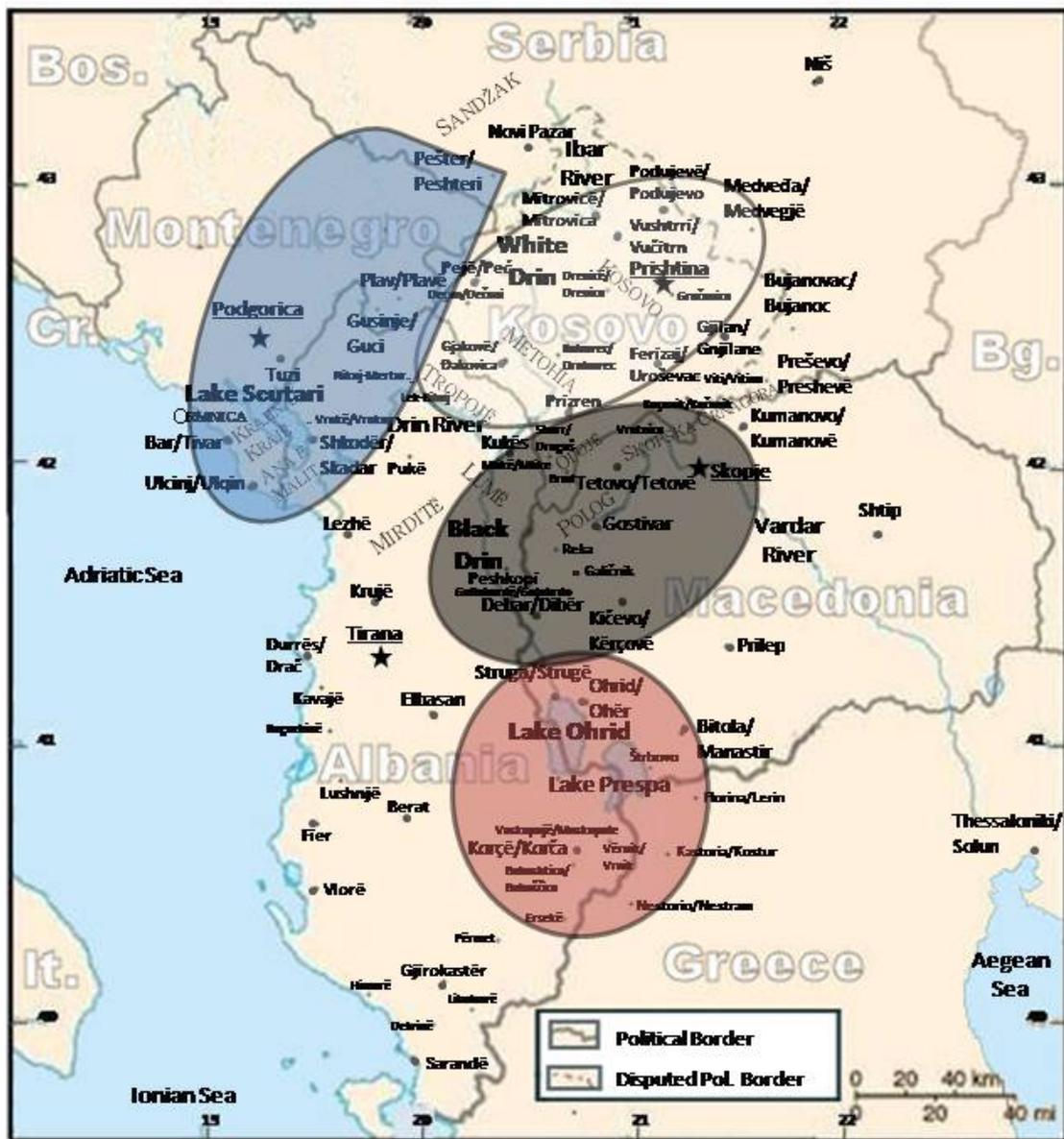


Figure 1.1 Areas of Slavic-Albanian Language Contact

While Slavic states existed in the Balkans during the Middle Ages and in the 19th century, Albanian states, with the exception of the revolt led by Skanderbeg from 1443–1468, date from the 20th century. That is, while at the end of the Ottoman Empire, Slavic

political entities gained wider and wider territory, Albanians remained within the shrinking Ottoman Empire until 1912, when Albanian leaders declared their own independence. These events and the outcomes of the Balkan Wars and World War I led to the creation of an independent Albanian state, which ethnically was predominantly Albanian, but also included a few Slavic speaking areas—near western and southwestern Macedonia (including Gollobordë/Golobrdó, Boboshticë/Boboščica, Vërnik/Vrnik, and Prespa), Gora communities in the northwest, and at least one village near Montenegro, Vrakë, just north of Shkodër (Svane 1992; Stenike and Ylli 2007, 2008, 2010; Ahrens 2007: 284).

The official recognition of minorities in Albania, too, has been inconsistent. At some points education in Slavic languages has been provided for minorities; however, in general minority languages and communities have received little support from the state, although the non-Albanians' relations with local Albanians have generally been stable (Ahrens 2007: 297–299; Albania Helsinki Committee 1999: 3). In Kosovo, although Serbian remains an official language, the government regularly communicates with the public only in Albanian, and most Serbs do not feel that the Kosovo government represents their interests. Many Albanians who learned Serbian in Yugoslav institutions before the war refuse to acknowledge their fluency in the language. For Serbs in Kosovo there is also concern about using the language outside of Serb-dominated areas, such as northern Kosovo (generally north of the Ibar river), the Šar/Sharr Mountains in the south, and communities around important monasteries and churches like Gračanica/Graçanicë near the capital Prishtina, Peć/Pejë and Dečani/Dečan. The treatment of minorities, such

as the Serbs, remains a significant challenge for the government of Kosovo in living up to the standards of liberal democracies that it aspires to.

As shown in this brief sketch of political history, the Slavic and Albanian populations have encountered many different political arrangements in the course of their language contact. This includes both domination by other populations and periods of self-rule. Political attitudes towards language underwent a major revolution during the time of Romanticism from being mainly an ecclesiastical or local matter to being a cornerstone of influential national ideologies. As Slavic-Albanian language contact has occurred in a variety of political and social changes, corresponding changes in the languages might also be expected. Before examining evidence of changes to the languages, it is important to consider those communities where language contact has been a routine fact of life roughly from the time of the Slavs' Balkan migrations to the present-day.

1.5. Local Contact Situations: Bilingualism and Population Shifts

Because contact between Slavs and Albanians has occurred across such a broad territory and under so many different social and political circumstances, individual locations are the ideal focus of language contact analysis. Although precise data about levels of bilingualism and population shifts is unavailable for the vast majority of contact situations, this final section outlines the four main areas⁴⁰ where Albanians and Slavs have remained in contact for at least the past millennium, and likely several hundred years more than that. These areas are considered in geographic order, beginning in the northeast and proceeding clockwise from (1) Montenegro, northwestern Albania, and the

⁴⁰ Cf. footnote 7 regarding Slavic-Albanian contact outside of the areas covered in this study.

Serbian Sandžak, to (2) Kosovo and southern Serbia, (3) to the highlands near the convergence of borders between northeastern Albania, southern Kosovo, and northwestern Macedonia, then (4) into parts of western Macedonia, and southeastern Albania are considered. Although there has also been long-standing contact in southern Albania, where the Slavic population has been completely assimilated and disappeared sometime after the 17th century (Svane 1992: 5), this area generally remains beyond the scope of this study because no record of the language remains, except from loanwords and toponyms (see Seliščev 1931). In describing the four main areas, particular attention is given to trends of bilingualism and evidence for population shifts from one language to another, as these are key components for language contact theories as discussed in subsequent chapters.

1.5.1. Lake Scutari (Southern and Eastern Montenegro, Northwestern Albania, etc.)

Of all of the areas of Slavic-Albanian language contact, the area around Lake Scutari (Sr *Skadarsko jezero*, Alb *Liqeni i Shkodrës*) and in the mountain villages in eastern Montenegro has seen the greatest amount of reciprocal bilingualism. Part of this may be due to the area's peripheral location to many of the political states that had influence in the western Balkans. More likely, however, is the relatively equal social standing between Albanian and Montenegrin tribes from their origins in the 14th and 15th centuries at least until the reorganization of society under Communism (von Šufflay 1925/2004: 75–78; Omari 1989: 45). This was promoted by the common cultural values held by highland Montenegrins and Albanians (Çabej 1975, cited in Omari 1989: 45), especially regarding traditions of marriage and descent. Both the Albanians and the

Montenegrians considered marriage within the male bloodline to be unacceptable. In order to work around this limitation, brides were often sought from other communities, and some Montenegrin and Albanian tribes had traditions of seeking wives from one another's communities (Durham 1928: 15; Curtis 2007: 19). One obvious result of these arrangements was an effective bilingualism and intimate cultural contact between Albanians and Montenegrians in this area. Some lexical items (addressed in the next chapter) attest to both the practice of exogamous marriage and the shared cultural values found among the Albanian and Montenegrin tribes in the area. Second, in the time of close cultural contact, it is known that certain clans (e.g. Piperi and Kuči) have switched from having a mixed composition of Albanian and Slavic speakers to being only Slavic (Omari 1989: 45; von Šufflay 1924). In addition, several tribes that are now monolingual Albanian or Slavic maintain identical stories of ethnogenesis (Omari 1989: 45; Barjaktarević 1962). According to Stanišić, the influence of contact with Albanian can be seen throughout Old Montenegro, and in practically every Montenegrin tribe (1995: 24).

Two fairly recent cases of population shifts have occurred in Montenegro where many linguistic convergences between Slavic and Albanian are also found. First is the Mrković (also Mrkojević) community in the highlands above Bar/Tivar. Although it is certain that some of the Mrkovići were historically Albanian (and some continue to identify themselves as such), scholars disagree whether linguistic and other cultural similarities to Slavic dialects in Kosovo and Macedonia are the result of Albanian speakers shifting to Slavic or simply from their location historically. Most scholars believe that they lived in northern Albania and thus, geographically, connected Slavic dialects in Montenegro, southern Serbia (including Kosovo) and northern Macedonia

(Stanišić 1995: 17). Although this opinion is widely accepted as an explanation of the linguistic similarities of the Mrković with Albanian (Popović 1958; Pešikan 1982, Pižurica 1984: 84–85), the influence of Albanian is also quite strong; this perhaps indicates that many of the Mrkovići descend from Albanians, as was noted in a Turkish census (*defter*) from the 15th century (Pižurica 1981: 420–421). This is certainly not the origin of all Mrković speakers, but it is certain that the influence of Albanian comes from the multilingual composition of the ethnic group in addition to a possible influence from an earlier historic setting in present-day northeastern Albania. It is likely that both the population shifts and bilingualism with surrounding Albanian speakers are responsible for the penetration of Albanian features on the Slavic dialect spoken by the Mrkovići.

A second group of Muslim Slavs in the eastern Montenegrin mountain villages around Plava/Plavë and Gusinje/Guci also descends partly from Albanian speakers. The Albanian dialect of this region was documented by Ahmetaj (1989), while data from the Slavic dialects come mainly from Stevanović (1933–1934) and those following up on his work, such as Belić (1935), Camaj (1966) and Pižurica (1984). According to Ahmetaj (1989: 224–225) the earliest records of the area from the 14th and 15th centuries mention several villages in the area and one of the Albanian tribes (Hoti) living in the area (von Šufflay 2009: 64). Quite a few Albanian tribes have inhabited the area historically, although many have shifted to become Slavic speakers; While both Albanian- and Slavic-speaking people inhabit the area today, Ahmetaj (1989: 225) claims that Albanian was “once was the native language of the entire Muslim population,” but now it is found much less frequently, partly due to assimilation to Slavic and partly due to high numbers of emigration (ibid. 227–229). According to the 2011 census around 2,500 of the 13,000

inhabitants are Albanian, with 2,900 Montenegrin and 7,500 Muslim (or Bošnjak).⁴¹ If Ahmetaj's assertion about the Slavic-speaking Muslims is correct, that would mean that some two-thirds of the Slavic speaking population in the area has come from Albanian origins; this would make it very likely that Albanian linguistic structures have also been carried over into the Slavic dialects of Plav and Gusinje. As shown in subsequent chapters (particularly chapter 4) the linguistic evidence corroborates this expectation.

Finally, an Albanian settlement just to the east of Plav/Plavë should be mentioned, the Albanians in Peshter/Pešter near Novi Pazar, Serbia in the Muslim-dominated area of the Serbian Sandžak (Mulaku and Bardhi 1968: 275–326; Gjinari and Shkurtaj 2003: 415–427). The Albanians in Peshteri are descendants of displaced members of the Kelmendi tribe in northwestern Albania who were forcibly resettled there by the Ottoman Empire in 1700 because of the continual disruptions the Kelmendi tribe created for the Ottomans. More than half of the original 274 families attempted to return to the Albanian highlands over the next decade (Mulaku and Bardhi 1968: 282), while those who remained eventually integrated into the local community; they converted to Islam at the beginning of the 19th century and have since become bilingual in Serbian. As with the situation described above in southern Montenegro, the Albanians and Muslim Slavs are bound by marriages contracted between the groups. More than any other institution or

⁴¹ Ahmetaj cites the 1981 census, which reports greater populations for each group but has a similar ratio of Muslims to non-Muslims (4,500 Montenegrins, with 10,500 (Slavic-speaking) Muslims and 4,000 Albanians). In the 1970s, the term *Muslimani* was given the status of *narod* 'nation' in Yugoslavia, and thus Slavic-speaking Muslims are classified under this rubric as a nation in official documentation. Today it is also common for Slavic-speaking Muslims to identify themselves as *Bošnjak*. Conversely Albanians, like Hungarians, etc. were given a lesser qualification as a *narodnost* 'nationality' because there were states outside of Yugoslavia that were based on those nationalities. The desire to be recognized as a *narod* on par with other Yugoslav nationalities was at some points a matter of political effort by Albanians in Yugoslavia that never won official validation (IICK 2000).

practice, inter-ethnic marriages have been particularly effective in creating persistent, intimate language contact (ibid.: 277). Although bilingualism has affected this Albanian dialect in lexicon and structure, the 600 Albanian families in the area have maintained fluency in their native language (ibid.: 278).

1.5.2 White Drin (Kosovo, Metohia⁴², and Southern Serbia)

The longest-standing contact between Albanians and Slavs is likely found in the valleys of the White Drin (*Sr Beli Drim*, *Alb Drini i bardhë*), the major waterway in Metohia and northeastern Albania, which cuts through relatively easy mountain passes into northern Albania (Stanišić 1995: 17; Svane 1992: 5). This river begins in Northwestern Metohia and is joined by several small tributaries in the western part of Metohia; from there it flows down to its confluence with the Black Drin at Kukës in northeastern Albania a handful of kilometers inside the border from Kosovo. The Drin then travels through a series of hydroelectricity-creating artificial lakes down to the plain of Shkodër/Skadar and empties into the Adriatic Sea, either through the Buna/Bojana River, or directly, somewhat further to the south. On the basis of toponyms in these areas, it appears that the valley of the White Drin was the main area of settlement of Slavic speakers in present day northeastern Albania, while their settlements were somewhat further spread apart further north in Metohia. Indeed this area includes some of the most important areas of Serbian settlement before the Ottoman period, including the monasteries at Peć and Dečani. Prizren also was an important economic center and

⁴² Henceforth Metohija/Rrafshi i Dukgjinut will be referred to as Metohia, as a language neutral term for the region simply for convenience.

capital of the Serbian Empire during parts of the 14th century (Fine 1987: 336) and remains an important multi-ethnic, multi-lingual city today.

Albanians also inhabited many of the mountain areas of this region, and many also lived in the regions' cities such as Prizren and Gjakovë/Đakovica, but not in the proportion or numbers that would be realized after the immigration of many Albanians into the area and the emigration of many Serbs from the area during the Ottoman Empire's reign there (von Šufflay 1924: 238, cited in Stanišić 1995: 36). A similar pattern of population movement likely also holds for the plain of Kosovo.

Although there is some dispute whether Albanians inhabited parts of Kosovo before the Ottoman conquest, historical records indicate some Albanian settlements north of Prizren by at least 1348 (Fine 1987: 321). Aside from the tremendous political implications of this question, there are also questions about the type of language contact that may have happened in these areas in the Middle Ages. Toponymic evidence suggests that Albanian likely was spoken in Metohia and Kosovo before the Serbs' settlement there, as Albanian historical phonology helps explain several place names in the area, such as Prizren and Prishtina, as well as Niš < Naissus somewhat further to the northeast (Çabej 1961, Stanišić 1995: 10).⁴³

In addition to the Albanian communities in Kosovo, there are important communities to the east of Kosovo in southern Serbia, namely Medvegjë/Medveđa, Preshevë/Preševo, and Bujanoc/Bujanovac. These areas all have either an Albanian majority or a large minority locally, with some villages being Albanian and some

⁴³ Hamp (p.c. to Joseph) has explained the origins of the names Prizren and Prishtina as containing the IE root *per* 'ford, ferry', with Prishtina having an etymology roughly equivalent to 'ford-stone' (parallel to Eng *Stanford*) and Prizren roughly 'ford-horned animal' with the IE root *krn* 'horn, horned-thing' (parallel to Eng *Oxford*).

Serbian. The cities of the regions are mixed ethnically, and in spite of a brief rise in tensions during the war in Kosovo in 1999 Serbs and Albanians have had generally peaceful relations there. The Albanians in southern Serbia number around 70,000, while the Serbian population of the area is much larger. As in most places where Albanian is a minority language, the Albanians are bilingual, while it is much less common for the Slavic population to be fluent in Albanian. Similar to the language contact situation in Kosovo, although contact has been relatively intense over the past several centuries, the effects of language contact are not as pronounced as they are in Montenegro, as demonstrated in following chapters.

1.5.3. Black Drin (Southern Kosovo, Northeastern Albania and Northwestern Macedonia)

Some Slavic speakers remain in northeastern Albania and the most remote parts of southern Kosovo (Dragaš/Sharr) and northwestern Macedonia, although many have either been assimilated or have emigrated (such as the Mrković community). Those that have remained are typically referred to as Gora (Sr, Mk *Goranci*, Alb *Gorani*), whose dialectal classification within South Slavic is somewhat disputable as it shows features of southeastern dialects of Serbian and northwestern dialects of Macedonian,⁴⁴ although linguists tend to classify it as a Macedonian dialect (Friedman 2001: 4; Vidoeski 1986, 1999: 312). It is spoken in about 30 mountain villages, with the majority located in Kosovo, about 10 in Albania and 2 in Macedonia southwest of Tetovo/Tetovë (Vidoeski 1999: 312; Steinke and Ylli 2010: 10–11). According to Ottoman census records from the

⁴⁴ Features in common with Serbian are the reflex of CSI **tj* as *ć*, while features of Northwestern Macedonian include a schwa reflex of the back nasal (Vidoeski 1999: 312–313). See chapter 3 for more detail on these and other sound changes affecting Albanian and Slavic loanwords.

16th and 17th centuries, the area of the Gora population was once larger and had a much greater percentage of Slavs, and both the Slavs and the Albanians there were predominantly Christian (Orthodox) (Steinke and Ylli 2010: 22–23). By the 19th century, however, the entire population had converted to Islam. Although they were likely not as common as in Montenegro, marriages between Muslim Albanians and Slavs occurred in these communities as well, creating language contact at a very intimate level (*ibid.*: 25).⁴⁵ Contact with Albanian appears to have reached a peak of intensity in the 17th and 18th centuries resulting in several convergences with Albanian as well as the contraction of the area where Gora is spoken. Slavic toponyms are found further in the Lum and Black Drin valleys in areas that are now inhabited by Albanians only (Vidoeski 1999: 316). Given the changes in these villages, it is likely that many speakers underwent population shifts, either from Slavic to Albanian-speaking, particularly in the villages that no longer have a Slavic presence, or from Albanian to Slavic-speaking, in villages where Albanian is no longer spoken (Steinke and Ylli 2010: 33). In addition, Aromanians have been integrated into Gora communities, although much about them and the extent of their influence remains unknown (*ibid.*: 34).

Since the first studies of Gora dialects at the beginning of the 20th century Gora speakers have been known to be bilingual in Albanian and their own Slavic dialects (*ibid.*: 26, 39). In Albania the pressure of the Albanian language is greater than in Kosovo or Macedonia; Albanian is preferred at school and is sometimes spoken at home (*ibid.*: 27); furthermore, nearby Albanians do not typically reciprocate the bilingualism (Ahrend

⁴⁵ Ylli and Steinke (2010: 33, footnote 69) report that for one village, Shishtavec, around 120 of the women came into the community by marriage, having come from a nearby Albanian-speaking village. Given that there are around 350 families in the village, roughly one-third came from Slavic-Albanian marriages.

2007: 298). In Kosovo, schools serving the Gora have been in Serbian, Bosnian or Albanian.⁴⁶

The Black Drin contact area is not strictly limited to Gora dialects, however, as it also includes settlements further to the east in the valleys of the Šar/Sharr mountains, including the south Serbian dialects of Sretečka Župa (Pavlović 1939) and Macedonian and Albanian dialects further west into Albania, east into Macedonia, and south along the course of the Black Drin.

Contact between Albanians and Slavs likely followed a very similar pattern in northwestern and western Macedonia as in Kosovo, although it is more likely that the Albanian population did not retreat as much with the initial contact as it did in Kosovo. A few particular details that differ from the situation in Kosovo, however, are worth mentioning. Just as contact between Albanians and Slavs likely had a brief instantiation with the migration of the West South Slavs to the Balkans, it is likely that the same happened with Albanian contact with East South Slavs in Macedonia. Again the evidence of an earlier Albanian settlement in Macedonian territories relies on the phonological development of particular locations. In Macedonia the names of Ohrid (Alb *Ohër*) < *Lychnidus*, Skopje (Mk *Skopje*, Sr *Skoplje*, Alb *Shkup*) < *Skupi*, and Štip < *Astibos* are best explained by the phonological developments of Albanian (Stanišić 1995: 10–11 and references therein). After the retreat of non-Slavic populations from invasions, contact between Albanians and Slavs developed particularly along the valley of the Black Drin and its tributaries near the Albanian-Macedonian border (Svane 1992: 5). The Black

⁴⁶ Ylli and Steinke report that during World War II, their schools were taught in Albanian for a short time (2010: 27, footnote 50), while since 2001 the language of the school has been Bosnian (ibid. 35, fn. 73).

Drin flows north out of Lake Ohrid at present-day Struga/Strugë and travels north through Debar/Dibër and up into the northeast corner of Albania to its confluence with the White Drin. Unlike the White Drin along which no urban centers are found, Debar/Dibër has been an important regional city, where contact between Albanian and Macedonian has been particularly influential in creating convergences in the languages.

The area of contact between Slavs and Albanians in northwestern and western Macedonia expanded during the Ottoman Empire, just as it did in Kosovo. Just before World War II, the Yugoslav linguist Petar Skok reported on the Albanian settlements to the east in the Skopje valley; he claimed that they were recent, although some of the Albanians in the cities had come there from other areas, particularly coming from Shkodër/Skadar, Dibër/Debar and Gjakovë/Đakovica to Skopje in the 1800s (1941 (1968: 85)).⁴⁷ This is not to say that Albanians in Macedonia are a recent phenomenon, however. Skok also indicates that the Albanians in the area around Skopje form a continuation with those found further to the west in Tetovë/Tetovo (ibid. 82) Furthermore, the dialects in western Macedonia show a gradual continuation of the Central Geg dialects in the north and Northern Tosk in the south, suggesting that the dialects have not been established by a later, large-scale settlement, but rather follow a patterning of a stable population (Beci 2009). Likely, as with the Albanian settlements in Kosovo, there were Albanians before the Ottoman Empire, but the Albanian population increased in Macedonia during the Ottoman Empire. However, unlike Kosovo, no large scale emigrations of Slavs occurred, suggesting that the demographic proportion between Albanian and Slavs was not altered

⁴⁷ Skopje has a fairly long tradition of Albanian citizenry; at present the Albanian population makes up roughly 20% of the population of Skopje (*Popis* 2002).

as much in Macedonia as it was in Kosovo. Today, on both sides of the border between Albania and Macedonia, both languages are spoken.

A couple of more recent events also bear on Albanian-Macedonian contact in western Macedonia. During World War II, part of western Macedonia, including Debar/Dibër, Gostivar, and Tetovo/Tetovë became part of the Italian-controlled Albanian state, which set up Albanian schools. Although this was short-lived, and Albanian rule was never re-established, this stage seems to have helped establish these areas as centers of Albanian cultural activity in Macedonia, particularly Tetovë/Tetovo. One result of this was the establishment of some Albanian institutions in Tetovë/Tetovo, particularly educational ones such as the State University of Tetovo in the west rather than Skopje, although there are more Albanians in Skopje than Tetovë/Tetovo.

The armed conflicts between Albanians and Macedonian authorities in 2001 in western Macedonia have had two somewhat contradictory consequences. First, the conflict has lessened language contact, as many Macedonians are wary of going into areas where Albanians predominate; this has had a very negative impact on the ski-tourism industry in Tetovo/Tetovë. Many Albanians have also become more suspicious of the Macedonian authorities, again particularly acutely in Tetovë/Tetovo, but also in Skopje, and to a lesser extent further to the south. The other consequence has led to more Macedonian–Albanian interaction, and that is the increased priority of Albanian education for the Macedonian state. As a result of the peace process ending the conflict, two universities have been established in Tetovo, one a state-sponsored regional institution, The State University of Tetovo, with instruction in Albanian and Macedonian, and the other a private international university, South East Europe University, which

attracts students from across Macedonia and holds classes in Macedonian, Albanian, and English. The university system, then, has created more opportunities for Albanians and Macedonians and other nationalities to interact with one another, although it is uncertain what the effects of their language contact will be. Thus one of the major results of recent inter-ethnic problems in Macedonia is the politicization of ethnic differences, including language.⁴⁸

Macedonia has a little more than two million citizens, with Macedonians making up about two-thirds of the population. Albanians are the largest minority in Macedonia, at about five hundred thousand, or roughly a quarter of the population. As with Kosovo, Turkish speakers and Roma also make up large minorities, with about 78,000 and 54,000 citizens, respectively. Albanians comprise a majority in several communities, including Tetovo (70%), Gostivar (67%), Debar/Dibër (58%), Struga/Strugë (57%) and many rural communities in the west and northwest. They also form large minorities in other communities in the west and center of Macedonia, including Kičevo/Kërçovë (30%), Kumanovo/Kumanovë (26%), and Skopje (20%) (*Popis* 2002). As was the case with Kosovo in the 20th century, in Macedonia, Albanians are almost all fluent in both Albanian and Macedonian, while few Macedonians know Albanian. Turkish remains an important minority language, both for those who identify themselves as Turkish and for Albanians, especially in the urban centers. There are also important Aromanian communities in Macedonia particularly in the southwest, as discussed further below. Again, as in Kosovo the instances of language contact have likely been due to long-term

⁴⁸ The information presented in this paragraph was gathered from personal communication and experiences during my visits to Tetovo/Tetovë from March to May of 2010.

bilingualism, while population shifts do not seem to have been very common for the Albanian or Macedonian population in western and northwestern Macedonia.

1.5.4 Lake Ohrid (Southwestern Macedonia and Southeastern Albania)

Contact between Albanian and Slavic in southwestern Macedonia and southeastern Albania near Lake Ohrid and Lake Prespa shares many similarities with the description given above for western Macedonia, although the socio-historic background also has similarities with the situation near Lake Scutari. Bilingualism in the area is certainly long-standing and population shifts have been more common in the southwest than in the rest of Macedonia. Specific examples of Slavs and Albanians undergoing population shifts are somewhat rare,⁴⁹ although many Aromanians have become assimilated to Albanian or Macedonian communities in the area (Marković 2004; Skok 1941: 81–82; Gołąb 1984; Friedman 1994a). Because of the strong influence of Balkan Romance in southwestern Macedonian dialects, it is often difficult to tell whether particular developments are due to contact with Romance or with Albanian, which also presents difficulties for analyzing results of language contact in Montenegro.

In addition to the demographic information about the populations in southwestern Macedonia, it is important to sketch some areas of contact between Albanian and Slavic in southeastern Albania. Although the area is predominantly Albanian now, there have historically been substantial populations of Slavic, Romance, and Greek speakers. Slavs entered from beyond Lake Ohrid and Lake Prespa in the 9th century with the expansion of

⁴⁹ Skok (1941: 82–85) gives a couple of examples of Slavs with an Albanian heritage and of one group of around 20 Orthodox Albanian speakers from a Slavic background, in the areas near Skopje.

the Bulgarian Empire to the southwest, although it is likely that contact also occurred earlier. Slavic populations in southern Albania continued into the 17th century but have almost been almost completely assimilated today. Nevertheless there are three living Macedonian communities in southeastern Albania: Boboshticë/Boboščica, Vërnik/Vrnik, and Prespa (Steinke and Ylli 2007). These communities are vibrant, although they have been reduced by emigration to Macedonia for economic reasons. As is common in Albania, the Slavic minorities are bilingual in Albanian, but Albanians are not fluent in Macedonian (Ahrend 2007: 298).

Finally, the Albanian in the area of southwestern Macedonia and southeastern Albania is of the Tosk variety, unlike the rest of the Albanian dialects in contact with Slavic. Tosk shares many similarities structurally with Macedonian, and it is certainly possible that contact with Slavic (and Aromanian and Greek) is responsible for some of the differences between the varieties of Albanian. Still, because the differences between Tosk and Geg cover such large territories, it is unlikely that contact with Slavic is primarily responsible for the differentiation of these dialects. In any case, this particular question is well beyond the scope of the present study, which focuses the investigation on Slavic-Albanian language contact at local levels.

Chapter 2: Lexicon

2.0. Introduction

This is the first of several chapters that present one particular level of language affected by contact between Slavs and Albanians. More specifically, this chapter treats the lexicon, or vocabulary, in Slavic and Albanian dialects in contact with one another. The following chapter discusses the chronology of the borrowings discussed in this chapter from the perspective of regular sound changes, while the two subsequent chapters consider structural elements affected by language contact—phonology (ch. 4) and morphosyntax (ch. 5). Each of these linguistic aspects has its individual importance for understanding the nature of contact between Slavs and Albanians historically, but the lexicon stands apart from the other elements of language both in the cultural information contained in individual words, and in the role that it plays within language contact situations from a theoretical perspective.

Lexical material shared between Slavic and Albanian is treated in the following order. First, the theoretical importance of the lexicon in language contact is considered and how it can be used to analyze language contact situations (§2.1). Then, some particularities of Slavic and Albanian are noted that present challenges to analyzing of the data (§2.2); then the work of previous scholars about Slavic-Albanian lexicon is summarized (§2.3). Section 2.4 argues for the importance of considering data from dialects and a precaution against relying on data from the standard languages only.

Section 2.5 presents data used words, lexical morphemes and phrases borrowed between Albanian and Slavic. Section 2.6 examines the cultural aspects found in the borrowings; section 2.7 considers the geographical spread of these borrowings; section 2.8 evaluates the significance of borrowings between Slavic and Albanian according to the perspectives of the language contact theories that are considered below.

2.1. Theoretical Approaches to Vocabulary Borrowings in Language Contact

Many approaches to borrowing exist within theoretical frameworks of language contact. Three main approaches to language contact are used for examining Slavic-Albanian contact: Imposition vs. Borrowing (van Coetsem 1988/2000), Scales of Borrowing (as in Thomason and Kaufman 1988), and Borrowings as Indicators of Social Relations, which is exemplified in this section by the distinction of ERIC loans discussed in Friedman and Joseph (2013). These three have been chosen because they represent three distinct approaches; moreover, each points to various aspects of the sociolinguistic situation in which borrowings occur, and hence may be used to paint a wider picture of Slavic-Albanian linguistic interaction.

2.1.1. Borrowing vs. Imposition (Van Coetsem 1988/2000)

The ideas of *borrowing* and *imposition*, regardless of the specific terminology used to describe them, have long been recognized as the basic processes occurring in

¹ Although some studies make fine distinctions between terms such as *borrowings*, *loans*, *loanwords*, in this chapter, I generally use these terms synonymously, referring generally to the phenomena of one language in contact with another that incorporates lexical material (in both form and meaning) into its own language; *loan-translations*, or *calques* play a very small role in these interactions, perhaps because the words seem to have been transferred between non-literate communities. When dealing with the different

language-contact situations. What distinguishes Van Coetsem's approach from others is the claim that borrowing and imposition are fundamentally different cognitive processes and deal with two distinct components of language. Borrowings, in this framework, are limited to lexical items, and do not involve phonology, morphology, or syntax—that is, any linguistic structure. These aspects of structure, of course, may be incorporated into the language receiving these borrowings, but this is seen as a separate, subsequent development. In van Coetsem's approach, borrowing is the intentional addition to the recipient language by speakers who are cognitively dominant in the recipient language, but are more or less familiar with the second language from which borrowings are taken. This stands in opposition to imposition, which is an unintentional process wherein structures from a speaker's cognitively dominant language are transferred to a language in which the speaker is less proficient, and which is usually not the speaker's first language. Because these are taken as separate processes, the opposing transfer types can be used to identify which group of speakers is responsible for which changes happen in language contact. More specifically, borrowing is taken as evidence that speakers have incorporated foreign material into their dominant language, whereas imposition is evidence of speakers incorporating native (or native-like) structures into a second language.

Thus, in this approach, the lexicon stands in direct opposition to the structural aspects of language, phonology, morphology, and syntax. If, in a given language contact situation, we have a high number of borrowings in one language, and a large amount of

theoretical approaches to borrowings, I treat them according to the manner the relevant authors treat them. Since this chapter deals with the level of lexicon, theoretical debates about whether phonology, morphology, or syntax can be borrowed are not relevant here, but will be taken up in their respective chapters.

new structural patterns in another language, we would assume that the target language for the lexical material was the one in which the borrowers were more fluent, while the target language for the structural changes was probably being learned by a large number of foreign speakers. On the other hand, if each language shows a relatively equal amount of borrowing and a relatively equal number of structural features, then it is likely that the populations involved were approximately equally fluent in both.

The predictions that arise from van Coetsem's theory make it a very attractive framework with which a historical reconstruction of sociolinguistic situation may be attempted. However, the approach, with its theoretical emphasis, is heavily schematic and cannot be expected to explain many of the nuances that surely have attended language contact, particularly over a period of many subsequent generations and in several disconnected communities. However, the theory may be useful in specific situations, so I will use it to try to understand some of the trends that emerge from the lexical material and structure of Albanian and Slavic languages and dialects in contact with each other.²

2.1.2. Scales of Borrowing (Thomason and Kaufman 1988)

In contrast to van Coetsem's rigid opposition between the borrowability of lexicon and the imposition of structural material stands the idea that any part of language, substance or structure, may be borrowed, and that what gets borrowed is determined by the intensity of contact between the language communities.³ Factors contributing to the

² Additional concerns of a broader scope about Van Coetsem's approach are also addressed in §4.6.

³ Thomason and Kaufman consider interference in addition to borrowing; they view it as one of the two changes that affect the outcomes of language contact. Where they differ from Van Coetsem is that they allow for the possibility of structural material to be borrowed. Since this topic is addressed specifically in later chapters, this aspect of their work is addressed later, in chapter 4 (§4.1.2).

intensity of contact are the length of time the languages are in contact, the relative population sizes of the language communities, the socio-cultural dominance or pressure exhibited by one language community on another, and the intimacy of the contact settings (Thomason and Kaufman 1988: 72). The correlation between the intensity of contact and what is borrowed is summarized in Figure 2.1, below.

Intensity of Contact		Lexicon	Structure
Casual Contact	Category 1: Casual contact	Content words, Non- basic vocabulary	-
	Category 2: Slightly more intense contact	Function words, Adverbs and conjunctions	Minor phonological and morphosyntactic features, Foreign phonemes in loanwords, Syntactic features for new functions or functional restrictions
	Category 3: More intense contact	Adpositions, Derivational suffixes on native vocabulary, Some basic vocabulary	Less minor structural features, Phonemicization of allophonic alternations
	Category 4: Strong cultural pressure	-	Major structural features without typological change, Distinctive features in phonology, Word order, Inflectional morphology, Syntactic categories
Intense Contact	Category 5: Very strong cultural pressure	-	Significant typological disruption, phonetic changes, added or lost morphophonemic rules, subphonemic changes in habits of articulation, Loss of phonemic contrasts, Changes in word structure rules, Extensive ordering changes in morphosyntax

Figure 2.1. Thomason and Kaufman's Scale of Borrowing (1988: 74–76)

As indicated in this figure, lexical borrowing is likely to happen even in casual contact situations, while other parts of language such as morphology and syntax are found only in

very intense contact. In this way, the lexicon features prominently in the categories that require the least intensity of contact. Furthermore, within the broad category of the lexicon, different components are more and less “borrowable”, with content words being more borrowable than function words, which, in turn, are more borrowable than adpositions (prepositions or postpositions) and derivational suffixes (ibid. 74–76).

Continuing this line of reasoning are approaches that determine which parts of a language are more or less likely to be borrowed, either according to a frequency hierarchy, such as Muysken (1981, cited in Winford 2003: 51), as in Figure 2.2, below, or according to an implicational hierarchy that predicts which parts of the lexicon may be expected to be borrowed before others, as in Matras (2007), shown in Figure 2.3, below.

nouns > adjectives > verbs > prepositions > coordinating
conjunctions > quantifiers > determiners > free pronouns > clitic
pronouns > subordinating conjunctions

**Figure 2.2. Frequency-based Hierarchy, Categories Borrowed Crosslinguistically
(According to Muysken 1981)**

nouns, conjunctions > verbs > discourse markers > adjectives >
interjections > adverbs > other particles, adpositions > numerals >
pronouns > derivational affixes > inflectional affixes

**Figure 2.3. Implicational Hierarchy, Categories Borrowed Crosslinguistically
(According to Matras 2009)**

These are two different approaches to the issue, with each approach making different claims and predictions. Frequency-based hierarchies predict that those types of words that

are at the top will have more words borrowed than those further down the hierarchy, while implicational hierarchies predict that the types of word at the top of the hierarchy must be found in order for those types of words below them can be borrowed (Matras 2007). They both share a common-sense assumption that open-class words such as nouns and adjectives can be borrowed with a minimum exposure to the source language, while closed-class words such as pronouns and conjunctions are only borrowed with intense language contact. Both approaches to grammatical categories are worthwhile and are examined according to the data from Slavic-Albanian lexical borrowings in §2.8.2, below.

2.1.3. Borrowings Indicating Social Context – (Friedman and Joseph 2013)

One other type of approach to borrowings is the use of borrowings as indicators of the social relations between the languages borrowing and loaning the lexical items. This is one of the oldest and most frequently employed approaches to borrowings. For example, Bloomfield (1933: 461) makes a distinction between *cultural* and *intimate* loans based on whether the borrowings happen in circumstances of cultural exchange, such as trade or missionary activity, or in protracted living conditions of bilingualism between languages of higher or lower social status. Similarly, Weinreich (1953: 56) distinguishes between *need* and *prestige* borrowings, based on whether the concepts are novel to the culture borrowing the new words or if they simply create some new semantic or pragmatic distinction for a concept already present in the language. What these approaches attempt to show is the motivation for one language community to borrow lexical material from another on the basis of the semantics of the borrowings, what types

of words are borrowed, and how the borrowing language community evaluates and uses the borrowed words. Other scholars have shown that the borrowing language community's tolerance for and acceptance of possible donor languages are important factors in speakers' decisions to borrow vocabulary from those languages (Poplack, et. al 1988, cited in Winford 2003: 40). Thus the nature of the contact between two languages is important for whether or not the languages are likely to borrow from one another. Implicit in all of these approaches is the goal of understanding the relative social relationships between the communities.

Understanding the nature of contact and the pragmatic context in which words are borrowed is also the goal of the approach proffered by Friedman and Joseph (2013). More specifically, they classify certain borrowings on the basis of the context in which they would be borrowed, such as whether given words would come from regular conversation between speakers of the languages. They establish a typology for loans found in close contact situations such as the Balkan Sprachbund, for borrowings that are Essentially Rooted In Conversation (ERIC loans), including kinship terms, numerals, and words with grammatical value such as pronouns, prepositions, negations, complementizers, discourse particles, etc. These indicate close cultural connections, as they are unlikely to be transmitted in any other way than in face-to-face conversation with speakers of other languages. ERIC loans comprise a wealth of shared linguistic material in the Balkan languages and are further evidence of the shared linguistic bonds that have come about through close cultural contact. Some examples of ERIC loans in Balkan languages are shown in Figure 2.4, below.

	Kinship terms	Words w/ grammatical value			Set expressions
Turkish	baba	hiç	karşı	-	anadan babadan
Macedonian	баба	ич	карши	-	?
Albanian	baba	hiç	karshi	mbase	dembabaden
Greek	παπα	-	-	μηπως	anadam babadam,
Aromanian	baba	hiçi	carşı	-	?
Gloss	‘father’	‘nothing’ (pron.)	‘opposite, against’ (prep.)	‘perhaps’ (comp.)	‘in the distant past’ - lit. ‘from the mother, from the father’

Figure 2.4. ERIC Loans in Balkan Languages

The presence of such ERIC loans in a language contact situation may show that communities were close enough socially to exchange words on the basis of conversation with each other in native languages. Thus the corpus of lexical borrowings shared by Slavic and Albanian may be profitably investigated according to this approach in order to determine whether the borrowed lexical material was due not just to casual familiarity or trade, but rather to face-to-face conversation in the communities’ languages.

Analyzing lexical borrowings from the three approaches introduced in this section gives a multifaceted representation of the language contact situation, both from a theoretical perspective and for reconstructing the sociolinguistic setting of the language contact, in terms of its intensity and the nature of relationships between the Slavic and Albanian communities. As noted above, each theory has its limitations, but, when used judiciously and systematically, each may provide important cultural insights when applied to a given contact situation.

2.2. Sociolinguistic Background

Three important aspects of the sociolinguistic history of Slavic and Albanian complicate the task of analyzing lexical borrowings (as well as other parts of the languages). First, although Slavic-Albanian language occurs in a fairly compact geographical spread individual areas of contact are somewhat isolated from one another and evince differences linguistically. This isolation, combined with the long time period and the migrations of different communities, has created a complicated picture of language variation and variety. At least six distinct forms of Slavic can be identified in the language contact situations with Albanian: Serbian, Macedonian, Bulgarian, Montenegrin, Gora, and a now extinct dialect of Slavic of communities that once lived in southwest and central Albanian (Seliščev 1931). Likewise several varieties of Albanian are involved in the contact with Slavic, including Northwest, Northeast, and Central Geg, Tosk, and forms from Arbëresh and Arvanitika Albanian.⁴ This variety of dialects should be borne in mind in this analysis, quite simply as a way of remembering that what may be valid in describing one area or time period of language contact is likely not to be valid for another area or in another time. Therefore, in analyzing the lexicon shared among Slavic and Albanian groups, it is vital to consider which dialects in particular manifest these similarities, where the lexical items are found, and when they were likely to have been transmitted from one group to the other.

Second, the dialects of Slavic and Albanian in contact with one another have also participated to varying degrees in language convergence groups, primarily the Balkan

⁴ And just because these have labels does not make them uniform within themselves!

Sprachbund.⁵ In these interactions, both Slavic and Albanian have borrowed vocabulary from other languages in the area, notably Greek, Balkan Romance, and Turkish, in addition to borrowing from one another. This complicates the analysis of vocabulary borrowings because it is often impossible to tell whether the Slavs and Albanians borrowed a word independently of one another, or whether one group borrowed the word first before it was subsequently borrowed by another language community. Sometimes there is simply not enough evidence to know which language is the source and which is the recipient, or whether another language was an intermediary in the transmission.

Finally, as discussed in the previous chapter, Slavic and Albanian share similarities not just from language contact, but also from their common “genetic” heritage, as both derive from Proto-Indo-European. Both language groups had certainly changed enough over time to be quite distinct when they first came in contact with one another after the migration of the Slavs to the Balkans in the 6th Century A.D; yet this common origin complicates the task of identifying whether certain words are present in one language or another because of “normal” language transmission through successive generations of speakers, or whether they have come about through borrowing from other languages (see for example, Hamp 1970, 1976, 1977). Because of this common heritage, much of my analysis will focus on contrasting developments in the language groups, in particular in discussing when certain words were borrowed from one language to another.

2.3. Previous Work on Slavic-Albanian Borrowings

⁵ Dialects in Montenegro and northern Albania, are not typically considered part of the Balkan Sprachbund proper, but, given a number of similarities among Albanian and Slavic dialects in the area, could possibly be considered either an extension of the Balkan Sprachbund or its own small Sprachbund (Curtis 2010, Greenberg 2000).

The study of the Slavic influence on Albanian has a fairly rich tradition, beginning with the first investigation of Slavic vocabulary in Albanian by Franc Miklošič (1870) and continuing to the present. These also include work done by Gustav Meyer (1891), Stefan Mladenov (1927), Afanasij Seliščev (1931), Norbert Jokl (1934–35), Petar Skok (1941), Eqrem Çabej (1962), Anna Desnickaja (1968); and more recently by Gunnar Svane (1992), Vanja Stanišić (1995), Xhelal Ylli (1997), and Vladimir Orel (2000). Some of these studies take the forms of dictionaries and etymological studies (Miklošič, Meyer, Skok, Orel); others are investigations into language and cultural contact (Mladenov, Seliščev, Jokl).

As the scholarship on borrowings from Slavic into Albanian has grown, so too has the number of these borrowings. Miklošič's (1870) study was conducted before much data about Balkan Slavic was available to Western European scholars; he came up with around 400 borrowings mainly words from Serbian. From there, Mladenov and Seliščev increased that number to around 700 by incorporating forms from Bulgarian (and Macedonian), while the latest works, Svane (1992) and Ylli (1997), which also incorporate a large amount of dialectal material from both Albanian and Slavic and bring the number of Slavic borrowings in Albanian to above 1000.

Although each of these studies has advanced the scholarly understanding of Slavic-Albanian loans, Svane (1992) and Ylli (1997) give the most comprehensive treatment of the lexical matter, both numerically and geographically. Svane's (1992) investigation focuses on the cultural fields the vocabulary is borrowed from and on analyzing the probable paths of transmission from Slavic to Albanian, whereas Ylli (1997) focuses on the geographical spread of vocabulary borrowed. The data in this

chapter come from the work presented in these studies, as they have the advantage of incorporating the work of earlier scholars, and as they present the largest number of loanwords borrowed from Slavic into Albanian.⁶

The tradition of studying borrowings from Albanian into Slavic is somewhat poorer than that of Slavic borrowings in Albanian, but the work is certainly not without intellectual merit. Much of it has been done by Albanian scholars such as Idriz Ajeti (republished in 2001), and, more recently, Safet Hoxha (2001), Qemal Murati (2007), and Murat Blaku (1989/2010) who have each dedicated a monograph to the topic. Others who have dealt with the issue include Vanja Stanišić (1995) as well as Ivan Popović (1953, 1957) and Agnija Desnickaja (1968). In the analysis presented in this chapter, I will incorporate the work of each of these scholars, as no thorough synthesis of the topic has yet appeared. Each of the scholars makes a meaningful contribution, but Hoxha (2001) comes the closest to incorporating data from all the relevant varieties of Slavic and Albanian. Murati (2007) also adds a wealth of data not available to Hoxha at the time of his publication, and thus also presents additional data considered here.

2.4 Importance of Material from Dialects Other than the Standard

Here, I should like to add the caution that standard languages are a particularly unreliable measure for evaluating borrowings. A standard language is but one variety of a given language—a privileged, codified dialect—whose form is determined by influential individuals and institutions. For ideological purposes, the standard variety is often shaped

⁶ Orel (2000) gives several etymologies that I find somewhat doubtful, some of which are discussed in more detail in chapter 3.

to appear more or less like particular languages (Browne 2002). The emerging varieties of Croatian and Bosnian are good examples of this (Alexander 2006), as are the campaigns that language purists have waged against Turkish vocabulary in Albanian, Greek, and other languages of the Balkans (Kazazis 1972). More specific to the topic at hand, more and more forms considered to be “Slavic” have been excluded in the Albanian standard, as shown in the inclusion of progressively less vocabulary with Slavic origins in the standard dictionaries of 1954, 1980, and 1984 (Svane 1992: 279). Although I am not aware of any official campaign against Albanianisms in the Slavic standard languages, the precaution of not taking standard languages at face value should still be borne in mind for them as well. It is not that the standard language does not give any information about language contact, as it represents what a particular group of speakers at one time has accepted as “their own”, but evidence from the standard language is only proof that particular forms were accepted by that group of speakers. Hence, the overall influence of one language on another should certainly not be measured only on the basis of data found in the standard languages alone; information from individual dialects is of the most value in this investigation and others in Balkan linguistics and language contact more generally (Friedman and Joseph 2013).

2.5 Corpus of Borrowings

The primary goal of this section is not to present new vocabulary borrowings for discussion, but rather to synthesize the information presented by previous scholars on this topic and compare the trends found in borrowings from Slavic into Albanian and from Albanian into Slavic. It is often debatable whether individual words are loanwords from

Slavic or Albanian, or if they are from another language, such as Greek or Turkish, or indeed if they are loanwords at all. Often the decision of what counts as a word in a language is not free from ideological complications; sometimes it is a matter of national or community pride that their language has contributed words to others, or a source of shame that it has borrowed a word from another language that is seen as a rival. In this study, loanwords are defined as those that have an attested form and meaning that most likely come from a donor language. This attestation may equally be in a standard language, a dialect,⁷ or the writings of an individual author. Although the majority of the lexical material borrowed in Slavic-Albanian language contact are individual words, some derivational morphology and lexicalized phrases have also been transmitted in the language contact.

2.5.1. Words

In general, it may be said that the borrowings from Slavic to Albanian are much more numerous and more wide-ranging, speaking both geographically and conceptually, than borrowings from Albanian to Slavic. All in all, as noted above, Slavic languages have contributed around 1000 words to Albanian, (Svane 1992; Ylli 1997; Stanišić 1995), whereas Albanian has contributed around 600 words to dialects of Slavic languages (Hoxha 2001, Murati 2007; Stanišić 1995). According to Svane's (1992) collection of loanwords, most of the borrowings from Slavic are nouns (754) and verbs (169), though

⁷ One exception to these criteria is that I have excluded words that are only used in argot languages of tradesmen in various communities in the western Balkans. As Oliver Jašar-Nasteva (1954) has shown, Albanian has contributed a number of words to these secret languages. To me, these comprise a unique part of the language contact situation; although they should be considered part of the language contact history between Slavic and Albanian, they should be considered apart from the history of the dialects discussed here.

adjectives (65) and other words (9) are also present in smaller amounts. Similarly, nouns make up the majority of the borrowings from Albanian into Slavic (402). Verbs (63) and adjectives (40) comprise the next largest groups of borrowings; other words make up a somewhat smaller amount, with 37 altogether. Figure 2.5, below, compares the number and parts of speech represented in the borrowings.

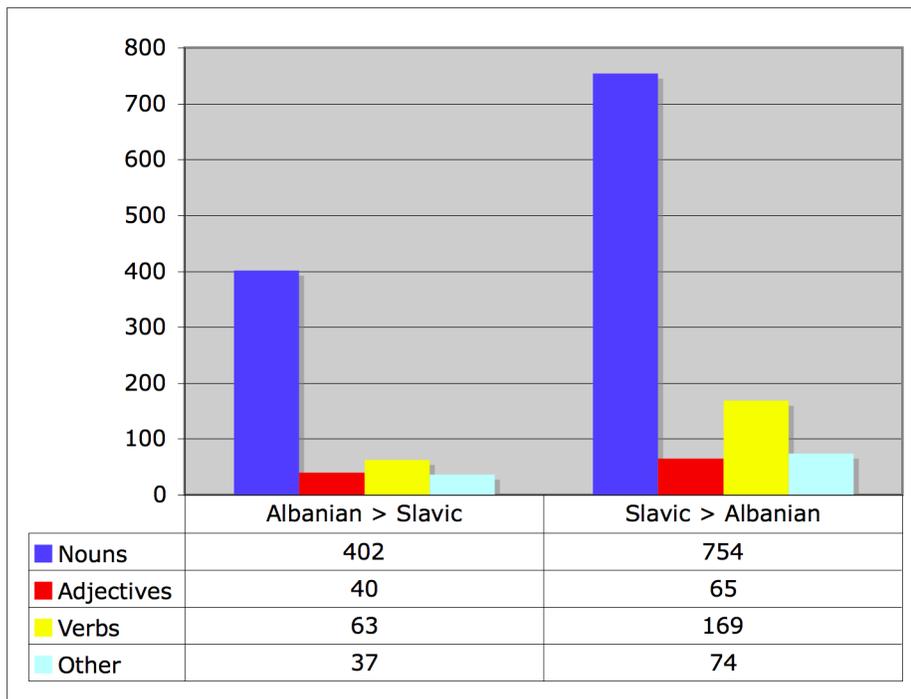


Figure 2.5. Number of Borrowings by Grammatical Category

To give another sense of the number and type of borrowings that are included in borrowings from both directions, Tables 2.1 and 2.2, presented below, provide information about borrowings from Slavic to Albanian and from Albanian to Slavic, respectively. The cultural significance of these borrowings in their semantic categories is treated in the following section (§2.6).

Category	Items	Sample	Slavic	Albanian	Alternative
Agriculture	90	plow (modern iron)	plug (Sr, Mk)	plug, pllug	parmendë
Material Culture	193	furnishings, equipment	oruđe (Sr), orudie (Mk), orǔdie (Bg)	orendi	mobilje
Plants	93	cucumber	krastavac (Sr), krastavica (Bg)	kastravec	trangull, sallator
Animals	120	donkey	magarac (Sr), magare (Bg)	magare, magarc	gomar
Environment	75	hill, bank, coast, rim	breg (Sr, Mk)	breg	kodrinë, mal,
Human Body	47	bone	kost, dim. Kosta (S. Sl.)	kockë	asht
Social Organization	116	household, in-laws	općina (Sr)	opqina (Geg only)	kunat, many others
Abstract terminology	20	need	nevolja (Sr, Bg)	nëvojë	skamje, kërkesë
Verbs	169	order, ask	*po-ročiti (PSl.)	porosit	kërkoj, udhëroj
Adjectives	65	rich	*bogat- (PSl.)	i begat, i bëgat	i pasur
Other words	9	again	opet (Sr)	apet, opet	rishtas, përsëri

Table 2.1. Borrowings from Slavic into Albanian (According to Svane 1992)

Category	Items ⁸	Sample	Slavic	Albanian	Alternative
Agriculture	17	field	fuša (PG)	fushë	pole
Material Culture	55	sleeveless woolen smock	džupuleta (Mn)	xhubletë	
Animals	30	white spotted animal	barzav (Mk), barla (Ks)	bardhosh, bardhok	belica
Human Body	20	wound, bruise	pljaga (Mk)	plagë	rana
Social Organization	59	son, boy	bir (Ks, Mk)	bir	sin
Verbs	48	(to) err	gabonjam (Mn, PG,)	gaboheh, Geg gabonjam	grešiti (se)
Adjectives	50	dead, lifeless	cofnat (Mk)	i/e cofët	umren
Other Words	36	that (complementizer)	se (Dr, Ks)	se	da, što

Table 2.2 Borrowings from Albanian into Slavic (According to Hoxha (2001))

From the examples above, it is apparent that in many cases, Albanian and Slavic are not the original sources of the borrowings, but are only intermediate steps (or proximate sources) in the transmission between the original language and the borrowing language. As Albanian has borrowed from many other languages, it is not surprising that words originating in Greek and Latin, etc., should be found in these loanwords. Albanian loanwords into Slavic include words borrowed from Greek, Latin, Turkish, and even Slavic itself: Mk⁹ *preš* ‘leek’ < Alb *preshë* < Gk *πρασον*, Mn *šočnija* ‘society’ < Alb

⁸ Hoxha (2001) only gives partial listings of the borrowings he considers in his division of semantic fields. In this table, to facilitate comparison, they have been combined, where possible, to correspond to the categories used by Svane (1992). These numbers should be taken only as a representation of how many there are relative to other categories. In addition to the items enumerated here, Hoxha gives several more when discussing the parts of speech.

⁹ Designation of Slavic dialects follows the labels used by Hoxha (2001). Abbreviations used here are: Mk ‘Macedonian’, Mn ‘Montenegro’, Sr ‘Serbia, Serbian’, Bg ‘Bulgaria, Bulgarian’, Ks ‘Kosovo’, PG ‘Plava and Gusinje in Eastern Montenegro, Dr ‘Dragash/Sharr’ (Gora language community in southern Kosovo.)

(Geg) *shoq-nia*¹⁰ < Lat *socius* ‘friend’, *gurdžëvar* ‘precious stone’ < Alb *gurxhevair* (Alb *gur* ‘stone’ + Turk *cevahir* ‘jewel’), and *porosija* ‘order, request’ < Alb *porosia*, *porositi* < PSI **po-ročiti* (cf. Sr *poručiti* ‘to order’). Borrowings from Slavic to Albanian, although usually coming from Slavic roots, are occasionally originally from German(ic), Hungarian, or Turkish, etc, as in *penez* ‘silver coin’ < Sr, Mk, Bg *penez* (OCS *pěnedzī*) cf. Germ *Pfennig* ‘penny’, *varosh* ‘city, town, suburb’ < Sr, Mk *varoš* < Hung. *város* (or Turkish *varoş*). In addition to these examples, there are a number of words that are found in both languages, as well as many other languages that it is impossible to tell with absolute certainty where they have come from, such as Alb *kovë*, Sr, Mk, Bg *kova* ‘bucket’, which is found throughout the Balkans, or some of the kinship terms with debatable origins, as discussed below.

2.5.2 Derivational Morphology

In addition to individual words that have been borrowed across the languages, there are a number of suffixes used for word-building, or derivational morphology, that have also been transmitted in Slavic-Albanian language contact. For the most part these are limited to suffixes added to stems to derive nouns. The majority of the suffixes transmitted in these interactions go in the direction from Slavic to Albanian, though, the Albanian diminutivizing suffix *-(ë)zë* has been incorporated into many toponyms and patronymics in Montenegro. The presence of these borrowed toponyms has been mentioned from Miklošič on (1870/2007: 55). Although it is impossible to know whether

¹⁰ Std. *shoqëria*. Geg *-nia*, standard *-ëria*, is a suffix used to form abstract nouns of the condition of the root: *shoqnia*, *shoqëria* ‘society, companionship’, *shok* ‘friend, companion’; *burrnia* ‘manliness’, *burr* ‘man’.

any of the individual suffixes were borrowed as individual morphemes, it is likely that most were borrowed as a part of several lexical items from Slavic into Albanian and then were used in analogical formations with non-Slavic stems. Other Albanian suffixes borrowed into Slavic are treated as part of the borrowed stem, as verbs ending in *-onj*,¹¹ *-is*, or *-as* in Albanian appear in Slavic dialects with the addition of the verb-deriving suffix *-a(ti)*, like *gabonja[ti]* ‘to makes a mistake’, *kandisati* ‘to convince’, and *pljagosati* ‘to wound’, (cf. Alb *gaboj*, *kandis*, and *plagos*) (Hoxha 2001).

The hypocoristic Albanian suffix *-(ë)zë/-za* is attached to stems borrowed from Albanian as well as Slavic material in place names and patronymics in Montenegro. Borrowings from Albanian with this diminutive suffix also are limited to Montenegro and include only a couple of loanwords such as (Mn) *ljareza* < Alb *larëzë* ‘small blotch’ (cf. *ljara* < Alb *larë* ‘blotch’).¹² Mitar Pižurica (1980: 185–189, 1981: 419–425; cited in Stanišić 1995: 56) gives several examples of this suffix being attached to Slavic names or stems such as the patronyms *Ivezivić* and *Nikezić* and the geographical term *ljuteza* from *ljut-* ‘barren, rocky place’ + *-eza*, indicating that the suffix has become somewhat productive and, hence, nativized within these Slavic dialects. This last term is comparable to the Albanian toponyms of *Bridjeza* (cf. Alb *brigje* ‘mountains’) and *Sukeza* (Suh-) ‘dry’ in eastern Montenegro) (Pižurica 1980: 185–189, 1981: 419–425). Formations with *-(e)za* are found in Turkish census records from the 15th century on all sides of Lake

¹¹ In today’s std. Albanian, this ending is realized as *-oj*, although in some Tosk dialects the earlier form is preserved (ADA 62: 127).

¹² The word *dicteza*, also found in SE Mn dialects appears to have a similar formation, but I have been unable to find the meaning. It could conceivably be derived from Alb *dishtë* ‘bottom opening of flour hopper in a mill’ + *-zë*, but that etymology and meaning is far from certain. There are a couple of other words, also found in SE Mn that have similar phonetic shapes, but ending in *-ljiza*: *čuljiza* and *puljiza*. If the Albanian was originally *-l(-)ëza*, it is possible that the palatality pulled the vowel forward as well. However, given that both the meaning and etymology are uncertain, this remains unsubstantiated.

Shkodër/Skadar, although they were particularly common in the names of the Mrković, for example: *Boroza, Boljeza, Branoza, Dabeza, Nikeza, Iveza, Kaleza*. Pižurica estimates that one in three Mrković names contained the suffix, likely due to the population shifts of Albanians to Slavic speakers in particular Mrković villages (Pižurica 1981: 420–421).

As with loanwords, the influence of Slavic on Albanian is quite strong in derivational morphology. These are, of course, found in borrowings from Slavic to Albanian as in *kreshnik* ‘hero, knight’ < Sr *krajišnik* ‘border guard’, but more significantly several noun-deriving suffixes are also productive in Albanian. Several of these relate to geographical locations as in the location designating *-ishte* < CSI *-ište* in *kall(a)mishte* ‘reed marsh’ (cf. *kallam* ‘reed, tall grass’) and *punishte* ‘place of work’ (*punë* ‘work’) and many more (Stanišić 1995: 56; Mulaku 1984: 176; Miklošič 1870/2007: 55).¹³ The suffix *-inë* is also common in geographic terminology, particularly in Geg, for words such as *baltinë* ‘muddy place’ (cf. *baltë* ‘mud’) and *luginë* ‘valley’ (cf. *lugë* ‘spoon’ and *lug* ‘groove, hollow; glen’) (Stanišić 1995: 56; Mulaku 1984: 175–176).¹⁴ A couple of other suffix are used to designate masculine agents or character traits, such as *-nik* as in *besnik* ‘true; loyal person’ (cf. *besë* ‘promise, oath’), *fisnik* ‘loyal; noble’ (cf. *fis* ‘kin’), *prapanik* ‘retrograde’ (cf. *prapa* ‘behind’) (Stanišić 1995: 56).¹⁵ Likewise the suffixes *-ec/-aç/-iç* also denote masculine agents, often with an

¹³ This suffix is so common in Albanian it may be used in more Albanian words than in Slavic languages.

¹⁴ That this suffix was borrowed in early Slavic-Albanian interactions is attested by the fact of its occurrence with rhotacism in Tosk dialects, as in *shkretëtirë* (cf. Geg. *shrketetinë*).

¹⁵ The adjective meaning may very well be of a later date as several adjectives of more recent origin began as nouns and have taken on adjectival functions, such as *trim* ‘heroic, brave; hero’. The morphology also vouches for the recent origin of these adjectives, as they do not use particles like older adjectives *i bardh / e bardh* ‘white’ (MASC.SG / FEM.SG).

expressive connotation (Desnickaja 1987), as in *burravec* ‘good-for-nothing’ (cf. *burr* ‘man’), *rrugaç* ‘young hooligan, bum, street tough’ (cf. *rrugë* ‘street’) and *barkiç* (also *barkalec*) ‘potbellied (person or thing)’ (Stanišić 1995: 56).

Other suffixes taken from Slavic into Albanian are used for feminine agents, feminine entities, or for hypocoristic uses such as *-kë* (denoting female) *çobankë* ‘shepherdess’ and *italiankë* ‘Italian woman’ and is also used in some names such as *yllka* ‘star shape’ (also popular woman’s name; cf. *yll* ‘star’). In some Tosk regions (Korçë, Devolli, etc.) this also has a diminutive or affective connotation as in *djalkë* (cf. *djalë* ‘boy’) and *fustankë* (cf. *fustan* ‘dress’), which is not found in other dialects (Gjinari 1972: 270–271). Another femininizing suffix that is also used to form hypocoristics is *-icë* (INDEF) / *-ica* (DEF), as in *dhaskalicë* ‘female teacher’ (cf. *dhaskal* ‘teacher’), as well as *rrugicë* ‘alley’ and *lundricë* ‘skiff’ (*lundër* ‘boat, river raft’) (Gjinari 1972: 273; Mulaku 1984: 174–175; Stanišić 1995: 56). It is also used to build nouns from adjective stems such as *shumicë* ‘majority’ and *pakicë* ‘minority’ (cf. *shumë* ‘much, many’ and *pak* ‘little, few’) (Mulaku 1984: 175). In addition, two suffixes that are predominantly used for diminutive formations are *-çkë*, *-çë* (typical of Tosk) as in *byreçkë* ‘small burek’ and *nipçe* ‘nephew, grandson’ (Stanišić 1995: 56; Gjinari 1972: 272–273) as well as *-iq* < CSI *-itj* (cf. Sr *-ić*, Mk *-iK*) used both as a hypocoristic and as a patronymic *guriq* ‘little rock, pebble’ (cf. *gur* ‘rock’) and *Vogliq* (cf. *vogël* ‘small’), a name mentioned in historical documents from the 13th and 15th centuries (Stanišić 1995: 56). Finally, one verb-deriving suffix, *-it* was taken into Albanian with a number of verbs borrowed from Slavic, such as *vodit* ‘to water’, *porosit* ‘to order’, etc. This suffix was incorporated into patterns established by other verbs with a final *-t* such as *flet/flas* ‘to speak’ that have an

alternation between *-t* and *-s*. It has also been added productively to stems to create verbs (at least, in eastern north Tosk), giving for example *branovit* ‘to harrow’ (cf. *branë* ‘rake’) and *gërgërit* ‘to make the sound *gër-gër*’ (Gjinari 1972: 273–274).

As can be seen from the number of suffixes, their variety and productivity it is evident that the lexicon of Slavic has made a serious impact on Albanian word formation. Thus the influence of Slavic lexicon on Albanian goes beyond individual words, but also into the pattern of building words from stems and suffixes. These elements have been nativized into Albanian and have become such an integral part of the Albanian language that some are even used with nuanced meanings with origins internal to Albanian (Gjinari 1972: 274). Albanian suffixes in Slavic languages, on the other hand, have had a much smaller impact. The lone example remains the diminutive suffix that has been incorporated into names of places and families in southern and eastern Montenegro but is no longer productive there.

2.5.2 Calques and Phrasal Semantics

In addition to borrowing words and suffixes, Albanian and Slavic have also incorporated phrasal patterns from one another’s languages. Judging phrasal semantics as externally or internally motivated is difficult because, unlike other borrowings, no structural material is present; it is the meaning that is borrowed for certain native structures that have some equivalence to corresponding words in the donor language. The only way to tell that they are borrowings is by a comparison of the meaning of the words or phrases to what is found in other dialects of the recipient language and in the donor language. Also, in order to rule out internal derivation, the meaning of the whole word or

phrase would not be simply the sum of its parts. For that reason, most of the phrases included in this analysis can be considered idiomatic, as they are not translatable word for word. Unlike the lexical borrowings and derivational morphology borrowings, Albanian seems to give about an equal number of idiomatic phrases to Slavic as it takes, which may be explained by the different linguistic processes involved in phrasal semantics and in borrowing and the different sociolinguistic settings that encourage the incorporation of structural material, particularly imposition and reverse interference (see §4.1).

Several idiomatic phrases that are Albanian in origin are found in Slavic dialects in contact with Albanian, particularly in Montenegro, but also in Kosovo and Macedonia. Ajeti (1998: 149–165) investigates some 30 idiomatic phrases from Albanian taken into Montenegrin dialects of Plav and Gusinje, including *uze na oko* ‘give the evil eye’ (lit. ‘take on the eye’) a calque of Albanian *merr mesysh* (ibid. 152) and the phrases *udara kiša* and *udara snjeg* ‘rain falls’ and ‘snow falls’ (lit. ‘(it) strikes rain’ and ‘(it) strikes snow’, calqued on Albanian *bie shi* and *bie borë*, where the verb *bie* is polysynous, meaning both ‘fall’ and ‘hit’ (as well as ‘bring’). The Slavic expression *udara kiša* has a wider distribution than just in Montenegro, as it is also found in Kosovo and parts of Serbia; it is also included in standard dictionaries as an expressive description of loud falling rain (ibid. 153–154; Benson and Šljivić-Šimšić 1971: 681). It could be that this is an internal formation, as falling rain does strike windows and roofs. However, the same cannot be said of snow. While there may be language- internal developments in this phrase, the fact that it is the most common expression for rain falling in Plav and Gusinje makes it likely that, at least in those regions, the phrase has come from Albanian and has spread from there into Kosovo and possibly beyond.

Other noteworthy calques from Albanian in Serbian dialects in Kosovo are given by Blaku (2010: 160–161), including *sas sve* ‘along with, including’ (lit. with every, with all’), calqued on Albanian *me gjithë*, as in *Ai erdhi me gjithë gruan*. ‘He came along with his wife’ (lit. ‘he came with all wife’).¹⁶ In addition, there are also many phraseologies that relate to the Albanian–Slavic tribal symbiosis in Montenegro, as given by Popović (1954: 58–69) and Rexhepagiç (1971: 151–157), such as *pasti na krv* ‘to enter in a blood feud’ (lit. ‘fall on blood’) on the basis of Albanian *me ra në gjak*, and *vezati se na besu* (*vjeru*) ‘to be bound in an oath’, where either the borrowing *besa* ‘oath’ or *vjera* ‘faith’ is used (also cited in Stanišić 1995: 59).¹⁷ In Albanian *besa* has the meaning of ‘oath’, ‘trust’ or ‘faith’; again the polysemy of an Albanian word leads to calquing of meanings less common outside of the Slavic-Albanian contact area. Some of these are also found in Macedonian, but not to the same extent (Nesimi 1986; Stanišić 1995: 59–60).

As far as calques from Slavic into Albanian are concerned, the bulk of examples come from the time when Albanians were minorities in Slavic-speaking states, either during Communist Yugoslavia or in the present-day Slavic states. A. Kelmendi gives several examples of Albanian calques on Serbian in urban varieties in Kosovo (1970: 53–55), as do Blaku (1980) and Pani (2006). Many of these calques originated in official press outlets in the 1960’s in Kosovo. These include individual words like *vetëshërbim* ‘grocery store’ (lit. self-serve) on the model of Sr *samoposluga* and *mundësoj* ‘to enable’

¹⁶ An additional example given by Blaku is less certain: in some dialects of Serbian in Kosovo, numbers larger than a hundred conjoin the hundred’s place with following numbers using *i* (shortened to *j* (Elezović 1927: 271)) ‘and’, for example, *stoj petnaes* ‘one hundred (and) fifteen (cf. std. *sto petnaest*), although the possibility of an internal formation, of course, cannot be ruled out because the conjunction ‘and’ is semantically transparent in this formation.

¹⁷ This calquing, which is also found in some Serbian folk epics is also a matter of discussion regarding the origin of heroic epics in Ismail Kadare’s (1990) novel *Dosja H.*, which puts the fieldwork of Milman Parry and Albert Lord into a fictional setting.

on the pattern of Sr *omogućiti*, instead of *bëj të mundur* ‘make possible’ (Kelmendi 1970: 53–54). Many calques are also found in names of government bureaus or institutions such as *shtëpia e shëndetit* ‘outpatient clinic’ (lit. ‘house of health’) on the model of Serbian *dom zdravlja* as opposed to the Albanian standard *poliklinikë* (Pani 1960: 64). Moreover, there are a number of words that obtain a bureaucratic connotation as used in certain phrases, such as *fitoj*, which generally means ‘win’, but has also been used for ‘obtain’ on the model of the polysemous Serbian word *dobiti* (Blaku 1980, cited in Stanišić 1995: 60). The political contexts of these calques give them a flavor of ‘officialese’, which is likely a result of their translation from Slavic official sources (Stanišić 1995: 60–61). Regardless of whether they began as translations, these phrases present parallels in both Albanian and Serbian and are certainly the result of bilingualism, even if it comes from state press organs communicating to the public and not in face-to-face contact like most of the calques from Albanian to Slavic presented above.

In addition to the numerous bureaucratic calques and phrases, Albanians in Kosovo also use a number of phrases calqued from Serbian that sound quite foreign to speakers from Albania such as *pa lidhje* ‘insignificant’ (lit. ‘without connection’) from Serbian *bez veze* and *i hyn/shkon në nervë* ‘to drive (someone) mad’ (lit. ‘to enter in/get on his/her nerves’) on the model of *ide mu/joj na živce* (Pani 2006: 68). Thus phrases and calques from Slavic into Albanian, as well as calques from Albanian into Slavic, have come in a variety of forms.

2.6. Cultural Information Transmitted in Borrowings

One of the advantages of studying the lexicon represented in borrowings is that the words give some indication of which concepts may have been novel, or that may have had a nuance of function or prestige for the borrowing language community, and by inference what concepts the donor language community may have contributed to other cultures; the same can rarely be said of grammatical elements. When broken down into semantic spheres, the vocabulary borrowed from Slavic into Albanian appears quite different from that borrowed from Albanian into Slavic, although some similarities exist. Thus each of the cultures in these interactions has contributed to the other language's lexical repertoire and each, in turn, has been enriched by these interactions.

Borrowings from Slavic into Albanian may be characterized by a preponderance of terms for farming, cultural objects, and nature. Many common farming terms, such as *plug*, '(modern iron) plow', *oborr* 'yard' are included in these borrowings. Svane (1992), however, warns against the interpretation that Slavs introduced farming to Albanians, pointing out that a native term for plow exists, *parmendë*, which now refers more specifically to wooden plows, while the borrowing *plug* refers to an iron plow; thus the Slavs more likely contributed to technological advances in farming, rather than introducing a completely new way of life. In addition to farming objects, Slavic terms for other cultural objects are plentiful. Examples include *orendi* 'furniture, equipment', *lopatë* 'shovel', and *opingë* 'sandal, traditional shoe'. The greatest number of lexical contributions, however, come as plant and animal names, geographical terms, and other natural phenomena such as *ljubiçicë* 'violet', *kastravec* 'cucumber', *sokol* 'falcon', and *fladë* 'breeze'. In comparison with these, borrowings concerning literacy, religion, and other marks of learned society are much more rare (around 11 altogether), suggesting that

Slavic-Albanian interactions happened mostly in non-literate, agrarian communities. (Svane 1992: 281–282). The evidence of so many non-cultural specific loans also led Desnickaja to the conclusion that the interactions leading to the borrowing were not the typical importation of cultural novelties, but rather the melding together of two agrarian cultures in close proximity to one another, particularly in the area of southern Albania (1967: 27; also cited in Gjinari 1972: 275).

Borrowings from Albanian into Slavic are much smaller in number; however they represent some important contributions, even if they are limited to particular communities. As with borrowings from Slavic into Albanian, these do not necessarily introduce novel ideas or items, but instead have likely enriched several areas of life, particularly pastoral terminology, although several other words encapsulate virtues and name family relationships. While the borrowing of pastoral terminology from Albanian into Slavic has been described by Çabej (1962), Murati (2007), and others, with words such as *barzo* ‘white animal, (particularly sheep)’ (cf. Alb *bardh* ‘white’), the aspect of virtues, other spiritual qualities, and kinship terms that have been incorporated into Slavic cultures has received somewhat less attention. In Montenegro, Kosovo, Southern Serbia,¹⁸ and Macedonia, words from Albanian may be found such as *besa* ‘word of honor, true’ (Mn, Ks, S. Sr, Mk), *burrnia* ‘manliness, courage’ (Mn, Mk), *tremnija* ‘brave, heroic’ (Mn, Ks), *vulnet* ‘will’ (Mn); these may be compared to the northern Albanian terms *besa*, *burrnija*, *trimnia*, and *vullnet*, with more or less the same meanings. Kin terms are somewhat more controversial, as many of the borrowings may just as likely

¹⁸ By “Southern Serbia”, I mean the areas in southern Serbia including the communities of Preševo/Preshevë, Bujanoc/Bujanovac, Medveđa/Medvegje, etc. that have had historical contact with Albanian populations, and in many cases continue to have contact with Albanian.

be borrowings from Slavic into Albanian, or be individual innovations in both languages as nursery terms. Some of the more sure borrowings of kinship terms from Albanian into Slavic include, *bija* ‘daughter’ (Mn, Ks, Mk), *binjak* ‘twin’ (Mk), *bir* ‘son, boy’ (Mn, Ks, Mk), *nipeša* ‘neice’ (Mn), *nipče* ‘nephew’ (S. Sr), and *fis* ‘family, kin’ (Mn, Ks,). Furthermore, calques of Albanian kinship terms are found in Montenegro tribal organizations as well, such as *bratstvo* ‘clan, lit. brother-hood’, compared to Alb *vllaznija*, both of which are composed of the root BROTHER plus a collective suffix (Stanišić 1995).¹⁹ Examples of disputed kinship terms are *baba* ‘grandmother’, *Baca* ‘uncle’, *deda* ‘grandfather.’ Regardless of how these last terms are judged, it is apparent that in Slavic dialects in contact with Albanian have incorporated certain terms into their lexicon, particularly as regards kinship terminology, perhaps reflective of interfamilial relationships between the communities in certain areas, particularly Montenegro, and the ethics of the traditional heroic culture present in both Albanian and Slavic communities of the highlands (Durham 1928, *inter alia*; Curtis 2007).

2.7. Place of Borrowings

The geographical distribution of borrowings resulting from Slavic-Albanian interaction is important for understanding which communities experienced the largest exchange of terminology. As with the semantic categories represented in the borrowings, different patterns emerge in borrowings from Slavic to Albanian than in those words borrowed from Albanian to Slavic. As shown here, the Slavic influence on Albanian

¹⁹ Thanks once again to Victor Friedman for reminding me of this important point of language convergence, which, although it does not fit into the same category of other borrowings discussed here, as far as the form of the word is concerned, points to an important aspect of shared traditional culture and familial organization.

vocabulary permeates all Albanian dialects, including the standard language, whereas borrowings from Albanian into Slavic remain mostly limited to regional dialects, although it has been suggested that a few words have entered the standard languages. One of the greatest indicators of the strength of the influence that Slavic languages have had on Albanian is the geographic spread of borrowings from Slavic into Albanian dialects. Every major Albanian dialect includes several borrowings from Slavic. Loanwords from Slavic can be found in Geg (northern Albania, Montenegro, Kosovo, southern Serbia, western Macedonia), Tosk (southern Albania, southwest Macedonia, northern Greece), and the Albanian settlements in Italy and in Greece: Arbëresh and Arvanitika, respectively that were formed in the Middle Ages. A common-sense opinion that some Albanian linguists hold is that one of the general differences between Geg and Tosk is the higher concentration of loanwords from Slavic and Turkish in the northern dialects and the higher number of Italian and Greek loanwords in the southern ones.²⁰ This, however, is not a completely accurate sentiment, as Tosk dialects within Albania have more vocabulary from Slavic than Geg dialects in Albania; and the Tosk-based standard has more than either dialect alone, according to Svane (1992: 287–288), schematized in Figure 2.6, below.

²⁰ For example, in the introduction of Mëniku and Campos' (2011) recent textbook *Discovering Albanian*.

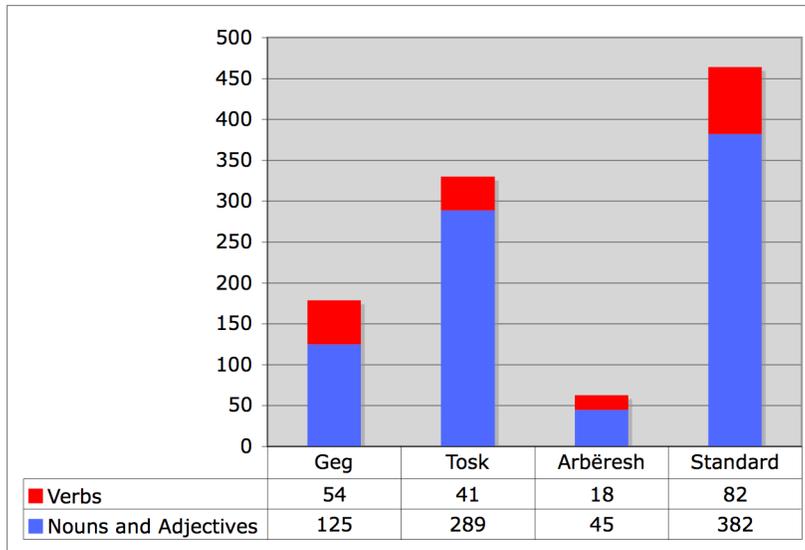


Figure 2.6. Slavic to Albanian Borrowings by Dialect and Part of Speech

A more accurate generalization is not based on the North-South split of Geg and Tosk, but rather on those areas that have had particularly high levels of interaction with Slavic, both in the present, such as Shkodër in the north and Korçë in the southeast, and in the past, as in the areas of Vlorë in the South on the west coast and in Myzeqe and Berat in central south Albania, where Slavic dialects are presumed to have existed for some time, since the conquests of the first Bulgarian Empire in the region (Svane 1992; Çabej 1962, 1976: 63; Stanišić 1995: 9). This can be seen in more detail in the dialect investigations conducted by Xhelal Ylli (1997) who tested which words of Slavic extraction local speakers accept in their speech. From his work, it appears that the two areas with the highest acceptance of forms are in areas where Slavic populations continue to live: Korçë in the southwest, bordering on Macedonia, and Shkodër in the northwest bordering on Montenegro. Of the 1000 or so words in Ylli's corpus, speakers in the area of Korçë accepted the highest number, 430, Shkodër was second at 402. Other areas close

to Slavic countries have also retained many borrowings, such as Tropojë (347), which is ethnographically connected with the highlands of Gjakovë/Đakovica in Kosovo (377), and Pogradec (316) on the southwestern border of Lake Ohrid. Several municipalities in south central Albania where Slavs used to live, still contain many Slavic loanwords, including Përmet (302) and Vlorë (300). Unfortunately, neither Svane (1992) nor Ylli (1997) investigate the borrowings from Slavic found in the Albanian dialects in Slavic-dominated countries; however, if the general trend schematized by Ylli continues, it stands to reason that those dialects (which are all Geg except for some Tosk dialects in southwestern Macedonia) likely have even more borrowings from Slavic.

Borrowings from Albanian to Slavic are also concentrated in the dialects where contact with Albanian is ongoing; however it is not necessarily limited to those areas where Albanians are still present. Hoxha (2001) gives examples from Albanian in places as far away from Albanian influence as Slovenia and Bulgaria, and Murati (2007) claims that several borrowings from Albanian extend into dialects far from the areas of Albanian speaking communities in Macedonia, and also into the Macedonian standard language, which is based on Central Macedonian dialects which are also in contact with Albanian. As argued above, influence should not be measured primarily on the basis of forms in contemporary standard languages, but, at least as a matter of curiosity, to say nothing of the possible motivations for such borrowings, it is worth mentioning the forms *kopile* ‘illegitimate son’, *struga* ‘sheepfold, pen’ (Hamp 1977), and *vatra* ‘fire, hearth’ (Hamp 1976) as possible loanwords from Albanian into the language, although, like the kinship terminology introduced in the previous section, their origins are very much disputed.

According to Hoxha (2001), the greatest number of borrowings are in Slavic dialects of west and southwest Macedonia, followed by dialects in Kosovo and in Plav and Gusinje, (northwest) Montenegro and southwest Montenegro. Gora dialects in Dragaš/Sharr in southern Kosovo and Serbian dialects in southern Serbia contain somewhat fewer borrowings, whereas other South Slavic dialects contain a handful of possible borrowings from Albanian. These are schematized in Figures 2.7 and 2.8, below.

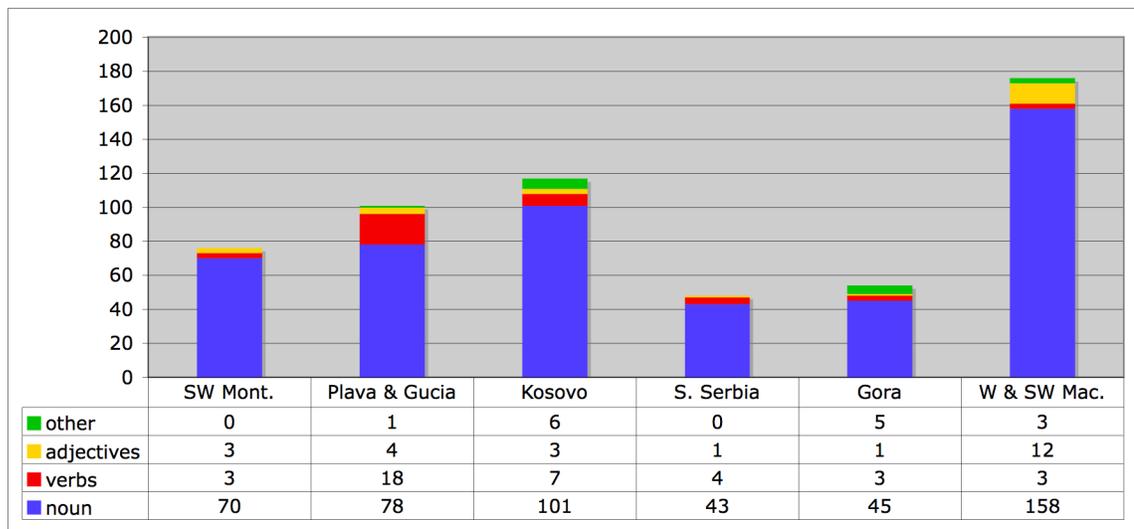


Figure 2.7. Number of Albanian Borrowings in Neighboring Slavic Dialects (acc. to Hoxha 2001)

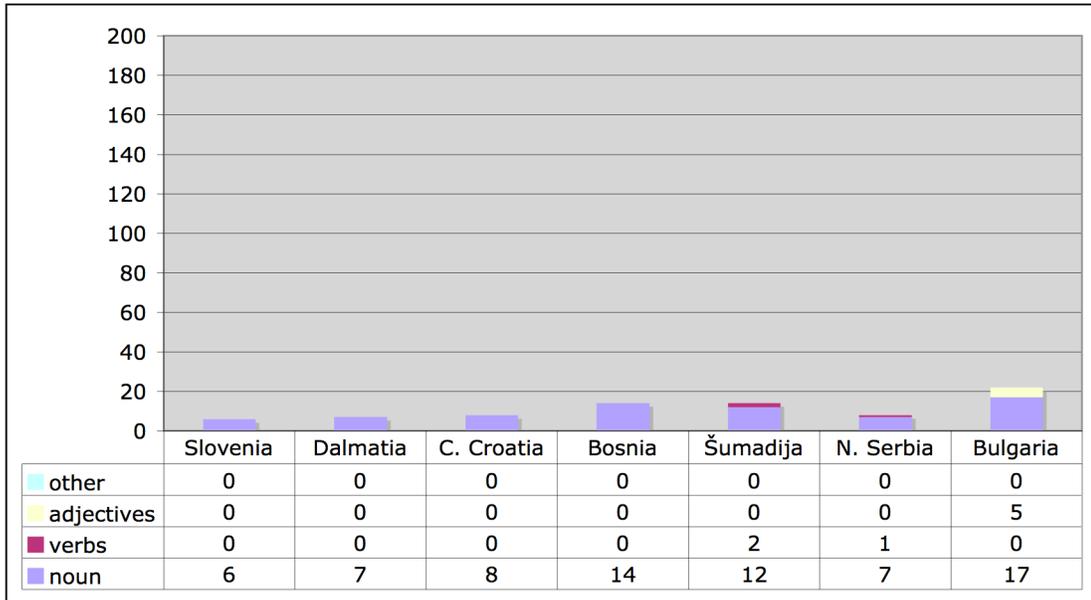


Figure 2.8. Number of Albanian Borrowings in Other South Slavic Dialects (acc. to Hoxha 2001)

Evidence from the places of borrowings shows the general trend of the greatest amount of borrowing occurring where the communities are in contact, or have been in contact in the past. It is likely that the borrowings also have taken place at the times when contact has been highest as well, as discussed in the following section.

2.8. Analysis According to the Three Approaches to Borrowing

To bring this analysis of Slavic-Albanian loanwords to a conclusion, the three approaches to lexical borrowing sketched above (§2.1) (Borrowing vs. Imposition, Intensity of Contact, and ERIC loans) are applied to Slavic-Albanian borrowings.

2.8.1 Implications of Borrowings According to Van Coetsem (1988/2000)

As regards the ideas of borrowing in Van Coetsem's dichotomy of borrowing versus imposition, it is important to remember that this approach requires a comparison of the trends found in both transfer types. Since imposition is concerned with the levels of structure presented in the following chapters, a full comparison must be withheld until later (§5.9). Still, a few remarks on borrowings are appropriate here. First, it should be observed that both Albanian and Slavic have played the role of donor and recipient. In other words, Slavic has borrowed from Albanian and contributed to Albanian, and vice versa. In these interactions, however, Slavic lexicon was borrowed in greater numbers, and over a wider range of territory than Albanian lexicon. Likewise, while both Slavic and Albanian communities have assimilated grammatical words from one another, the percentage of words transferred into Slavic that have a grammatical function is larger than in words transferred from Slavic into Albanian, perhaps indicating that the Albanian material may have been transferred into Slavic by way of imposition from Albanians learning Slavic. Thus, it is certainly too simplistic to say that the exchange of lexicon was one-directional.

2.8.2. Scales of Borrowing

From the perspective of scales of borrowing, it is apparent that these interactions were fairly intense. These include derivational morphemes as well as functional words such as the adverbs *opet* 'again' (Sr *opet*) and *okoll* 'around' (Srb. *okolo*), the conjunction *radi se* 'because' (Sr *radi*); and more especially, derivative suffixes including the suffix *-ishte*, which indicates a location as in *ranishte* 'sandy pit' (Geg *rani* 'sand (def.)' + *-ishte*), as well as the feminizing suffix *-ka*: *yllka* 'star' (fem., also a common name for

women) (*yll* ‘star (masc.)’), along with the suffixes *-ash*, *-icë*, *-inë*, *-nik*, and *-ec*, which are used more or less productively, and not just in Slavic borrowings. Thus, from the perspective of Thomason and Kaufman’s scale of borrowing, the interactions leading to borrowings from Slavic to Albanian were at least a category 3. However, not all of the characteristics of this stage are found in these borrowings, as prepositions are noticeably absent.

On the other hand, borrowings from Albanian to Slavic contain only one example of derivational morphology, so a category 3 rating might be a little high for these interactions on the basis of lexicon alone. Still, there are a significant number of grammatical words in these borrowings, which suggests fairly intense contact. Function words taken from Albanian to Slavic dialects include the adverb *kret* ‘entirely’ (Alb *krejt*), the preposition: (Ks) *pr* ‘for’ (Alb *për*), the pronoun and interjection *koč* ‘so much’ (Alb *kaq*), as well as the interjection: *ja!* ‘(look) here!’, and the conjunction ‘*se* ‘that’ (Hoxha 2001). Thus, from this perspective the major differences between Slavic influence on Albanian and Albanian influence on Slavic is that Albanian incorporated Slavic derivational morphology—particularly word-forming suffixes—but not vice versa; conversely, Slavic borrowed a higher percentage of function words, including prepositions.

A similar but slightly different perspective emerges from looking at the hierarchies of borrowings for word classes. As mentioned above (§2.1.2), some approaches show which parts of speech are more or less likely to be borrowed, or which categories are predicted to be borrowed first in a given language contact system. Figure 2.9 presents the number of parts of speech in borrowings from Slavic into Albanian

according to the predictions made in Muysken's (1981) frequency-based hierarchy, while Figure 2.10 presents the same information for borrowings from Albanian into Slavic.

(754) nouns > (65) adjectives > (169) verbs > (0) prepositions > (0) co-ordinating conjunctions > (7) quantifiers > (0) determiners > (0) free pronouns > (0) clitic pronouns > (2) subordinating conjunctions

Figure 2.9. Frequency-based Hierarchy, Categories Borrowed from Slavic to Albanian (according to lexicon of Svane 1992)

(402) nouns > (40) adjectives > (63) verbs > (6) prepositions > (4) coordinating conjunctions > (16) quantifiers > (0) determiners > (2) free pronouns > (0) clitic pronouns > (1) subordinating conjunctions

Figure 2.10. Frequency-based Hierarchy, Categories Borrowed from Albanian to Slavic

These figures show that both of these borrowing situations differ somewhat from the patterns predicted in Muysken's frequency-based hierarchy and have specific differences when compared with each other. In particular, borrowings from Slavic and Albanian both have a higher number of verbs than adjectives; borrowings from Albanian also have a higher number of quantifiers/adverbs than predicted here. Both Slavic > Albanian (*radi se* 'because', *tekë* 'merely, provided that') and Albanian > Slavic (*se* 'that') borrowing situations have one subordinating conjunction, which is predicted to be the least frequent category. All in all, borrowings from Slavic into Albanian are closer to

the pattern predicted in this approach, but neither borrowing situation completely follows what is predicted.

Likewise, when compared with the implicational hierarchy set forth in Matras (2009), the borrowings from Albanian into Slavic deviate a little from what would be predicted. These predictions and results, set forth in Figures 2.11 and 2.12, below, are more or less evinced in Albanian to Slavic borrowings, whereas the one deviation in Slavic to Albanian borrowings is found in the presence of derivational morphology, mentioned above.

(✓) nouns, (✓) conjunctions > (✓) verbs > (✓) discourse markers
> (✓) adjectives > (✓) interjections > (✓) adverbs > (✗) other
particles, (✗) adpositions > (✗) numerals > (✗) pronouns > (✓)
derivational affixes > (✗) inflectional affixes

Figure 2.11. Implicational Hierarchy, Categories Borrowed from Slavic to Albanian

(✓) nouns, (✓) conjunctions > (✓) verbs > (✓) discourse markers
> (✓) adjectives > (✓) interjections > (✓) adverbs > (?) other
particles, (✓) adpositions > (✗) numerals > (✗) pronouns > (✓)
derivational affixes > (✗) inflectional affixes

Figure 2.12. Implicational Hierarchy, Categories Borrowed from Albanian to Slavic

Thus, according to the approaches given in Thomason and Kaufman (1988) and Matras (2009), the presence of derivational morphology stands out in the borrowings from Slavic to Albanian and Albanian to Slavic, for Thomason and Kaufman (1988)

merely because of its presence, for Matras (2009) because of its presence in the absence of other categories assumed to take precedence in borrowing situations, such as adpositions, numerals, and pronouns.

2.8.3. Borrowings Indicating Social Context

Finally, from the perspective of borrowings as indicators of social context of the language contact situation, borrowings in both directions include words from a wide variety of word classes, as just discussed, and a wide scope of semantic fields, including some that would be considered ERIC loans, such as kinship terms and parts of the body. From the examples given in §2.5 above, it is apparent that, in terms of grammatical words and intimate semantic fields, both Slavic and Albanian have contributed lexical items that are *essentially rooted in conversation*. Thus these borrowings also indicate at least some periods of fairly intense cultural contact, where both Slavic and Albanian speakers had some degree of familiarity and fluency in the neighboring languages.

The geographical spread of such close interaction is much smaller than many of the borrowings, as perhaps should be expected due to the nature of these loans. For example, function words from Slavic to Albanian such as *radi se* ‘because’, *okolo* ‘around’, and *opet* ‘again’ are only found in the Geg dialect, while borrowings of Albanian function words greater in the borrowings from Slavic to Albanian, where words such as *či* ‘that’, *se* ‘that’, *pr* ‘for’ are limited to Slavic dialects in Kosovo and Gora. Words for family terminology perhaps have a somewhat wider spread, but rarely are these found throughout the entire languages; for example the Slavic borrowings *çejadë* ‘family, tribe’ and *opqina* ‘household, in-laws’ are only in northern Geg (Svane 1992:

186),²¹ while the Albanian borrowings *čupa* ‘girl, daughter’ are found only in western Macedonian and in Gora, and *bir* ‘boy, son’ only in western Macedonian and Kosovo. This would seem to indicate that the ERIC loans are, as expected, limited to areas with the most frequent day-to-day contact between speakers of the individual languages, and are less likely to be spread to dialects with less frequent contact.

Finally, the ERIC loans in Slavic-Albanian interactions should be put into perspective by comparing them to ERIC loans in other borrowing situations in the Balkans. Although Friedman and Joseph (2013) do not try to quantify the number of ERIC loans in the Balkan languages, it seems that these types of loans are more frequent in Albanian or Macedonian interactions with Greek, Aromanian, and Turkish. If correct, this impression would coincide with the generalization that Slavic-Albanian language contact is on a somewhat smaller scale than other language contact interactions in the Balkans.

2.9 Conclusion

Borrowings between Slavic and Albanian provide several pieces of information that are important for understanding the historical relations between these communities. First, the 1600-plus words that are shared between these communities firmly establish the fact that these languages have been in contact with one another and that contact has been a source of change in those languages. Second, the geographical spread of these borrowings and their phonological shape establish that the language contact has occurred

²¹ One notable exception is the loan word *bliznak* ‘twin’, which is found both in dialects of intense contact, like Dibër, and in Arbëresh, where contact with Slavic ceased with their migration to Italy in the 15th century (Svane 1992: 187, 288).

over many different local communities over the space of many hundreds of years. Finally, the types of words borrowed indicate something of the social relations between these communities, namely that borrowings from Slavic into Albanian happened between agrarian, and likely mostly non-literate communities. Borrowings from Albanian into Slavic, too, appear to have happened in interactions in communities where terms of animal husbandry and kin structure had particular importance. Both languages contributed words such as family terminology, parts of the body, and grammatical words, indicating that much of the language contact was based on frequent conversational exchanges between Albanians and Slavs, and not just through occasional, casual contact.

Chapter 3: Lexicon: Chronology of Borrowings

Chapter 3 continues the analysis of borrowed vocabulary to determine when these borrowings occurred. This analysis is conducted from the perspective of historical-comparative linguistics. It begins by describing the methodology used to determine when borrowings occur in languages (§3.1); this is followed by an analysis of the chronology of borrowings from Slavic into Albanian (§3.2), then from Albanian into Slavic (§3.3). The chapter ends with concluding remarks on the chronology of Slavic-Albanian borrowings.

3.1 Historical-Comparative Methodologies for Dating Borrowings

Information about the chronology of borrowings typically comes from two types of sources. The first type of source consists of *direct*, or historical, sources, including written documentation and known historical developments in the language communities that can give specific or approximate dates on the basis of extralinguistic information. Examples of this kind include dates of migration, records, and other types of writing. The second type of source is *indirect*, or knowledge inferred from these direct sources through linguistic methodology and investigation. Examples include knowledge about when particular changes were happening in a given language. As surviving documentation from the first several centuries of Albanian-Slavic contact is sparse, the majority of discussion

in this section will concern developments in the linguistic history of Albanian and Slavic, with the goal of using these developments to give approximate dates of when many of the words were borrowed from one language to another. The historical sources will provide a broad, historically reliable time frame of when borrowing likely happened.

The main historical information relevant to the contact situation between Albanian and Slavic are two migrations: the migrations of Slavs to the Balkans, which began at the end of the 6th century AD, but likely led to permanent contact with the Albanians some time later, giving a starting point, of around 700 AD; and the migration of Arbëresh Albanians from the Balkans to Italy in the 15th century. Within this time frame, Slavic-Albanian borrowings can be narrowed somewhat by looking at where borrowings from Slavic to Albanian have taken place. For example, borrowings from Slavic are found in Arvanitika settlements in Greece like *briskë* ‘razor’ and *klič* ‘key’, and Arbëresh communities in southern Italy, like *bisedë* ‘conversation’, *bliznak* ‘twin’, and *dubë* ‘oak’, etc. Since some Arvanitika settlements have likely had no significant contact with Slavic since the end of the 14th century and Arbëresh settlements have been isolated from Slavic since the 15th century, these words must have been borrowed before the 15th century (Hamp 1977; Svane 1992: 291). Based on the evidence of Arvanitika, Arbëresh and early Albanian literature, Slavic borrowings found in these communities have a fairly certain end point, of around 1400 AD. For Albanian communities that stayed in the Balkans, contact with Slavic has continued beyond this time; however, based on evidence from sound changes discussed below, it appears that the majority of borrowings here also happened before the migrations of the Arbëresh and the rise of the Ottoman Empire in the Balkans. Still, as language contact persists into the present, so too

does borrowing from Slavic to Albanian, particularly in areas where Albanians comprise a linguistic minority, such as in Montenegro (Shabani 2007).

As for borrowings from Albanian to Slavic, these likewise do not have a specific end, as language contact is ongoing (Murati 2007). For both directions of borrowing, Slavic to Albanian and Albanian to Slavic, a starting point of 700 AD may be given, marking the approximate time when the Slavs migrated into the Balkans, thus coming in contact with Albanians (Svane 1992: 290). Although there is some indication of borrowings from Albanian to Slavic from this early contact, on the basis of sound changes discussed below, it appears that most of the borrowings occurred during the Middle Ages, more specifically during the time of the Ottoman Empire. This was certainly aided in some places, such as Kosovo and Southern Serbia, by increased proportions of Albanians; many Serbs emigrated from Kosovo and many Albanians settled there during the Ottoman Empire (see §1.5.2).

Unfortunately, written documentation does not add much information as to when these borrowings may have taken place. The earliest Albanian literature contains several borrowings from Slavic, although it dates from a century or two later than the timeframe set out by the migrations just mentioned. The earliest extant Albanian literature is Gjon Buzuku's *Meshari* from 1555.¹ He and later Albanian writers include several Slavic words such as *shtrazë* 'guard', *rob* 'slave', *bel(j)eg* 'duel', *porosit* 'order, request'. It is therefore assumed that borrowings from Slavic had been happening for some time before this period. The writing of Slavic, of course, precedes Albanian writing by several

¹ There is mention of Albanian writing as early as the 1300's in a Latin document (Ismajli 2000, Elsie 1995), but at present the earliest we can use for such investigations are the works of the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century writers Buzuku, Lekë Matrenga, Frang Bardhi, Pjetër Bogdani, and Pjetër Budi.

centuries, beginning with the work of Cyril and Methodius in 863. These texts also are lost to the world at present, but still the earliest existing literature in Slavic dates to the end of the 10th century or middle of the 11th century (Lunt 2001: 3). However, during the period of the Ottoman Empire that literary tradition dropped off precipitously (Butler 1980). Some scholars have looked at the heroic folk songs of the period (Blaku 1989) and other, later works, such as Vuk Karadžić's (1818) dictionary of Serbian and, later, Gliša Elezović's (1932) dictionary of the dialects of Kosovo and Metohia for evidence of Albanian vocabulary (Ajeti 2001). Still, these do not give a very good time frame for the borrowings, as these date only to the last two centuries. To my knowledge, no study of pre-Ottoman Slavic manuscripts has unveiled any significant Albanian influence.² In the absence of evidence from written documentation, evidence from sound changes must be sought for giving a better time frame of when these borrowings occurred.

Indirect evidence based on the historical phonology of the languages in question can help in dating loanwords from both directions of transmission and can sometimes give more specific details for many borrowings. In this approach, approximate dates of the sound changes are established as best as possible by reference to historical documents or developments in the relevant communities. For example, the sound changes in Slavic discussed below are well documented in the Slavic manuscript tradition. For the changes in Albanian, on the other hand, some of the evidence comes from what sound changes occur in borrowings from certain languages, such as what changes occur in borrowings from Ancient Greek, Latin, Italian, Slavic, Turkish, or English.

² Friedman (1994a) is the only discussion I am aware of of Albanian in any Slavic manuscript; the given source dates from the mid-19th century and involves an eastern diaspora dialect of Albanian in Thrace.

For example, the first change discussed below, of *s > sh (phonetically [ʃ]), is something that occurred consistently in borrowings from Ancient Greek and Latin, inconsistently in borrowings from Slavic and Italian, and not at all in borrowings from Turkish or English; thus it is presumed that the change must have happened after all contact with Latin and Ancient Greek had finished (before 1000 A.D.); during the time of contact with borrowings from Italian and Slavic (700 A.D. to the present); and before contact with Turkish or English (1400 A.D. to the present). This gives an approximate time of 1000 A.D. to 1400 A.D. for when it absolutely had to have happened. Since the change is not manifest in many of the borrowings from Slavic or Italian, it is presumed that it happened fairly early within this time span, likely close to 1000 A.D. (Topalli Forthcoming, Demiraj 1996).

Finally, one other way of determining the chronology of the borrowings is a logical one: to obtain the attested forms, certain rules must have logically occurred before others. Illustrative of this is the development of affricates in Albanian, which must have happened after the change *s > sh. That this is a later change than *s > sh can be argued by the fact that early borrowings of Slavic /č/ ([tʃ]) end up as /s/ in Albanian; had this happened to the sound change just discussed, these would have changed to /sh/ giving, for example, **poroshit* instead of the attested *porosit* ‘to order, request’ < Sl. *poročiti*.³

Among the relevant changes that Albanian underwent during this time period are the two mentioned in the previous paragraph (*s > sh and the development of the

³ It could be argued that the Slavic affricate was borrowed as something other than an /s/ and that that changed to /s/ after the change of /sh/, but it is hard to understand why it did not change to /c/ like other borrowings involving /č/ like *carde* ‘small load, burden’ from Bg *čerda* ‘herd of sheep’ (cf. OCS *črěda* ‘flock, sheep’ (Topalli Forthcoming)).

affricate phonemes /c/ [ts] and /ç/ [tʃ]) as well as three dialectal developments: the rhotacization of intervocalic /n/ in Tosk, the denasalization of nasal vowels in Tosk, and the development of sequences of *kl and *gl with its variety of outcomes in Albanian dialects. During this same time, South Slavic languages also experienced a number of changes in their phonology,⁴ including the metathesis of vowel-resonant sequences before obstruents ((T)ORT > (T)RAT), the merger of the high mid vowel /y/ with the high front vowel /i/, the denasalization of nasal vowels and their subsequent merger with other vowels, the merger of high short vowels (jers) with other vowels in strong position and their loss in weak position, and the change of sequences of *tj and *dj, which have different dialectal outcomes in South Slavic dialects. By investigating the phonology of vocabulary exchanged between Albanian and Slavic on the basis of these sound changes, it is possible to provide further evidence of when many of these borrowings took place, although the time period of some of the changes still evades satisfactory explanation.

In the following sections the borrowings from Slavic into Albanian (§3.2) will be discussed first according to changes in Albanian and then according to changes in Slavic. Then borrowings from Albanian into Slavic will be discussed (§3.3), again first by changes in Albanian and then by changes in Slavic. The sound changes in Albanian and Slavic described in the preceding paragraph will each be treated in individual subsections. These changes are discussed in a roughly chronological order, although, as will be seen below, sometimes even a relative chronology of the changes is unattainable.

⁴ Although these changes are introduced as affecting the South Slavic languages, most of these changes (TORT>TROT, outcomes of jers, and outcomes of CSI *tj and *dj clusters) affect Slavic languages elsewhere. Because this chapter focuses on those changes that affect varieties of Slavic in contact with Albanian historically, I emphasize changes that happen in South Slavic without giving a full coverage of the changes throughout Slavic.

Finally borrowings from each direction of transmission will be compared on the basis of the sound changes discussed in this chapter (§3.4).

3.2. Borrowings from Slavic into Albanian

As indicated in the previous chapter, approximately 1000 words were borrowed from Slavic dialects into Albanian. They are found in every Albanian dialect although they are more frequent in the dialects still in contact with Slavic. As demonstrated below, by sound changes in Albanian (§3.2.1) and in Slavic (§3.2.2) these borrowings occurred over the space of many centuries, although the majority likely entered Albanian in the first part of the second millennium AD.

3.2.1 Chronology of Slavic to Albanian Borrowings by Albanian Sound Changes

As set forth above, the Albanian sound changes utilized for dating borrowings from Slavic include the following five changes: (1) */s/ > /sh/ [š], (2) the development of affricates /c/ and /ç/, (3) rhotacism of intervocalic /n/ (in Tosk), (4) the denasalization of Proto-Albanian nasal vowels (in Tosk), and (5) the treatment of **kl*, *gl* sequences in various Albanian dialects. These will be treated in individual subsections, in §3.2.1.1–3.2.1.5, below, and then again in §3.3.1.1–3.3.1.5 when discussing borrowings from Albanian into Slavic in §3.3, below.

3.2.1.1. Proto-Albanian *s > Albanian /sh/

Although Proto-Indo European *s has a variety of outcomes in Albanian, the change of *s > sh is the most common and is the change best attested by borrowings from

languages before the Albanian contact with Slavic, that is, from Ancient Greek and Latin. For example, *qershi* ‘cherry’ < Anc Gk *κέρασος* (Topalli Forthcoming; Orel 1998: 358), *shpatull* ‘shoulder blade’ < Lat *spatula*, *shëndosh* ‘healthy’ < *sanitosus*, *shok* ‘companion’ < *socius*, *kishë* ‘church’ < *ecclisia* all show Ancient Greek and Latin /s/ reflected with Albanian /sh/ [š]. The consistency of this development seems to indicate that the change of *s > sh happened after contact with Latin had finished, approximately 1000 A.D. (Svane 1992; Demiraj 1996: 209; Topalli Forthcoming). In contrast to the consistent outcome in Latin and Greek borrowings, s > sh is inconsistent in the forms in Albanian words of Slavic origin. Some words have both reflexes, like *lesë* ‘wickerwork, harrow’ as well as *leshë*, and *shqotë* ‘sleet’ alongside *sqotë* (Svane 1992: 291), while some have only one reflex or the other: *bisedë* ‘talk, speech’ (cf. Sr *beseda*), and *grusht* ‘fist’ from OCS *grъstъ*. Given the inconsistency of the outcomes, it is safe to assume that some of the borrowings happened before the sound change, some after, and some at approximately the same time as the change, ca. 1000 A.D. Since the majority of the borrowings (123/145) are realized without the result of the sound change /sh/, it can be assumed that these words were borrowed after the sound change took place.

3.2.1.2. Development of Albanian Affricates /c/ and /ç/

A subsequent change in the phonology of Albanian, the development of the affricates /c/ [ts] and /ç/ [tʃ], also occurred during the time of borrowings from Slavic.⁵

Affricates in Albanian frequently developed as the resolution of consonant clusters such

⁵ The voiced counterparts of these affricates /x/ [dz] and /xh/ [dž] appear to have developed somewhat later than the voiceless phonemes. Whether these occurred during the time of borrowings from Slavic (Demiraj 1996) or during the time of contact with Turkish (Curtis 2010a) is debatable.

as *ts as in *moc* ‘elderly’ < *mot-ēs* (‘year’ + possessor suffix), or *sk before /e/ as in *çalë* ‘crippled, lame, invalid’ < **skel-* (cf. Lat *scelus* ‘wickedness’) (Topalli Forthcoming). As with the change of *s > sh, this development also shows inconsistent results; some words show individual variation, and some words give either /ç/ or /s/ (or /c/). Examples include *porosit* < PSI **porōčiti* (cf. Sr *poručiti*), with a consistent /s/; *carde* ‘small load, burden’ < S.Sl **čerda*, with a consistent /c/; and *çuditi* ‘amaze’ < S.Sl **čuditi* ‘amaze, wonder’ (Topalli Forthcoming) that has a consistent /ç/. However, many of the borrowings from Slavic with an original /č/ [tʃ] show variation in the outcomes in Albanian, such as *kopsë* and *kopçë* ‘button’ < S.Sl **kopča*, and *cernik*, *çernik* ‘knapsack, bag’ < S.Sl **čьrnъk* (Svane 1992: 292).⁶ Both the fricative and affricate outcomes are found in the Albanian diaspora with Arvanitika *briskë* < PSI **bričь(-)kъ* ‘razor’ (Orel 2000: 121) (cf. Sr *brijač*, Bg *brъснач*), and Arbëresh *kljiç* < PSI **kl’učī* (cf. Sr, Bg, *ključ*, Mk *kluč* ‘key’). In contrast, later borrowings in Albanian, such as those from Turkish, are consistently borrowed with a alveolar-palatal affricate matching the form in the donor language, as in *çantë* ‘bag’, *çadër* ‘tent, umbrella’, and *ilaç* ‘pill, medicine’ from Turkish *çanta*, *çadır*, and *ilaç* respectively. The consistency of the alveolar-palatal affricate reflex in Turkish borrowings, the variety of results in Slavic borrowings, and the logical conclusion that this change must have occurred after the change of *s > sh allow us to posit with some confidence that this change happened between the 11th and 13th centuries, likely earlier in this period than later (Topalli Forthcoming). From Slavic words with the affricate /č/, a

⁶ The Slavic dialects in contact with Albanian also show the change of PSI. *čr-* to *cr-* as in Sr, Mk *crn* ‘black’ compared to Rus *černyj* < PSI. *čīrnū* (Vasmer 4: 346).

majority of them are realized in Albanian as /ç/ (83/96), while a smaller percentage are either /c/ (6) or /s/ (4).

3.2.1.3 (Tosk) Albanian Rhotacism of Intervocalic /n/

Although Albanian has undergone many other changes in this time of history, the two discussed so far clearly happened during the time of intense contact with Slavic, and hence are the most useful in analyzing early borrowings. Another couple of developments are also worth discussing, although the evidence for how they interact with borrowings from Slavic yields little agreement among scholars: the related developments of the rhotacism of intervocalic nasals and the denasalization of nasal vowels in Tosk dialects. Examples of Tosk rhotacism include *verë* 'wine', compared to Geg *venë* (also Lat *vinum*, OCS *vino*) and Tosk *lakër* 'cabbage' compared to Geg *lakën*, < Anc. Gk *λάχανον* 'vegetable, greens'. For those who see this change as a link between Albanian and Romanian, this change is believed to have happened before contact with the Slavs, likely either between 600–800 A.D. (Demiraj 1988: 152; Meyer-Lübke 1914; Topalli Forthcoming; Orel 2000) or 800–1000 A.D. (Janson 1986, Ölberg 1971, Jokl 1916). There are, however, reasons to doubt this purported connection between the rhotacism in Tosk and in Romanian. For example, in Tosk, the change is completely regular; every intervocalic */n/ becomes /r/. On the other hand, rhotacism in Romanian is not a regular sound change; rather it appears to be due to sporadic cases of assimilation or dissimilation, as in [insert examples] (Friedman and Joseph 2013: 5.4.4.10.v). Other scholars have argued that the rhotacism persisted at least into the 15th century, judging from toponyms and personal names recorded in Turkish records such as *Gönöma*,

Canovë, Lavdani, (I)stefanet, and Kostni for the expected rhotacized forms *Gjormit, Cërovë, Lavdar, Shqefër, and Kostar* (Çabej 1979: 56; Luka 1988, 143, cited in Demiraj 1996; Svane 1992). Given that the change is found in Arbëresh and Arvanitika dialects, it must have been operative before the 15th century, even if it persisted into later times.

This change might have proven to be a fairly useful diagnostic of the time of borrowings from Slavic to Albanian; unfortunately, not many borrowings from Slavic show the rhotacism differences in the dialects. Examples of Slavic borrowings that fit the phonetic environment of the change include *tërsirë* (Tosk), *tërsinë* (Geg) 'rope' < PSI **torčina* (cf. Bg *trūsina*) (Jokl 1916: 106–107) and possibly *vrerët* (Tosk), *vranët* (Geg) 'dark, cloudy' from South Slavic / OCS **vranъ* 'black' (Meyer 1891; Jokl 1916; Seliščev 1931). Finally some have offered the example of *shtëpresë* 'good housekeeper; dairy maid' (Topalli Forthcoming), compared to the Geg form *shtapâ* 'herdsman in a herdsman's camp for dairy animals', in which a preform of **stapan-esë* would be reconstructed from a borrowing of Slavic **stopanъ* (Mk *stopan*, Bg *stopanin* 'householder, master') plus a feminine suffix *-esë*. This analysis, however, is not without its detractors; Orel 2000, for example, unequivocally denies the existence of Slavic borrowings showing Tosk rhotacism, and links these words to other Albanian forms—*tërësi* 'wholeness, totality, unity' for *tërsinë* 'rope', and *re* 'cloud' for *vrerët*. While it is an observation worth considering, Orel's objection can be overturned by noting that the forms that he cites match only Tosk, and not Geg; moreover, in his explanation the semantics of these terms are stretched to the point of incredibility.

There are not many Slavic words that meet the phonological criteria for this phenomena to have happened. Of the 1000 or so words given in Svane, about 38 meet the

criteria. Examples include *branë* 'harrow' from Sr *brana* and *blanë* 'inner part of tree, splinter' from Bg *blana*; however, no rhotacized forms exist. The presence of some borrowings from Slavic with rhotacism would put the change as after contact with Slavic (no earlier than 700 AD), but likely before many words were borrowed from Slavic (likely earlier than 1000 AD).

3.2.1.4. (Tosk) Albanian Denasalization of (Proto-Albanian) Nasal Vowels

A related sound change⁷ in Albanian that also manifests itself differently according to Geg and Tosk dialects is the treatment of Proto-Albanian nasal vowels (deriving from Pre-Proto-Albanian VNC sequences), which retain nasality in Geg but are denasalized in Tosk. For example, in the 3sg present tense form of 'to be', Geg has *âsht*, and Tosk has *është* < PIE **en-sti*. As with rhotacism, scholars disagree on whether or not this change affected borrowings from Slavic or was active only before that contact. Furthermore, there is disagreement among scholars as to whether all Albanian dialects had nasalized vowels, or only Geg was affected by the early nasalization. Thus, while Jokl, Çabej, and Topalli argue that the nasalization took place throughout the dialects of Albanian and was lost in Tosk (Jokl 1916; Çabej 1961; Topalli Forthcoming), Meyer-Lübke, Barić, and Demiraj believe that the nasalization was an innovation found in Geg only (Meyer-Lübke 1914; Barić 1924; Demiraj 1996). Jokl (1916) takes some of the oldest borrowings from Slavic as evidence that the change happened after contact with

⁷ Hamp (1981/82) argues that as both developments have nearly identical distributions in Albanian dialects, and as they both involve the loss of nasality in the relevant elements, they should be considered related cases of denasalization. The exceptions to this distributional pattern are the Geg dialects that have lost nasality in vowels but have retained intervocalic consonants: Arbanasi dialects in Zadar, Croatia, Albanian dialects in Southeastern Montenegro (near Ulqin) and in Debar, Macedonia.

Slavic was underway (as summarized in Beci 2002: 46–47). Examples of borrowings from Slavic sequences of *VN have both nasalized and non-nasalized vowels, such as *stan* 'herdsman's camp', *stopan* 'shepherd', *hosten* 'drover's stick' *çekan* 'large hammer', *zakon* 'custom', all of which preserve the syllabic structure, and *ustë* 'drover's stick', *carã*, *shtëpã* 'shepherd' with the nasalized vowels. The presence of both denasalized and nasalized vowels in the items *stopan* and *shtëpã* and *hosten* and *ustë* (< Proto-Slavic *ostьnъ*) may be due regional variation and not necessarily chronologically ordered.⁸ Still, the fact that some forms exist with a nasalized vowel in Geg and a denasalized vowel in Tosk likely indicate that the process of nasalization was still active in parts of Albania when these borrowings were made. As with rhotacism, the paucity of examples showing the effects of nasalization and denasalization make it hard to say definitively when the change occurred, but it appears that early borrowings from Slavic may have participated in these changes, while the majority of borrowings did not.

3.2.1.5. Outcomes of Proto-Albanian *kl and *gl Clusters

A final Albanian change is one that affects both Geg and Tosk dialects, but is manifested differently according to sub-dialects: the jotation of *kl and *gl clusters. For most Albanian dialects the laterals jotted, giving first -ki- and -gi-, which is found today in Northwestern Geg (Shkodër, Ulqin, Pejë). In most other dialects, including the standard, north and central Tosk, and central Geg, these sequences were further modified

⁸ Unlike with the rhotacism, the borrowing of VN sequences and subsequent adaptation into Albanian need not indicate whether the change happened before or after the borrowing, as such sequence are sometimes adapted to nasalized vowels in Geg dialects (eg. *ûnmik*); as an active process of phonological adaptation, this need not represent a historically completed change in Geg, unlike rhotacism which is no longer relevant, as borrowings like *makinë* 'automobile' (<It. *macchina*) and *menexher* 'manager' incorporate intervocalic nasals consistently.

into voiceless and voiced palatal stops /q/ [c] and /gj/ [ɟ]; however, in Northeastern Geg the jotation was lost, giving /k/ and /g/, while in Southern Tosk, including Arbëresh, Arvanitika, and Çam, the laterals are mostly preserved as -kl- and -gl- (Gjinari and Shkurtaj 2003: 205–206). Examples of this include both inherited words and borrowings: *qumësht* 'milk' < Romance **clomostrum* < Lat *colostrum* (Orel 1998: 363; Meyer 1891: 229) (cf. Arv *klumësh(t)*) and *gjuhë* 'language, tongue' (cf. Arv *gluhë*).⁹ As the jotation of the lateral does not occur in Arbëresh or Arvanitika or in the earliest Albanian texts, it is assumed that these parts of the change happened after the first migrations to Italy (end of 15th Century). Furthermore, since it is found in writings of Pjetër Budi from the beginning of the 17th century, in words such as *kjeshë* '(I) was', *kjoftë* 'may it be' (cf. *qeshë* and *qoftë*), it is assumed that these changes began just a little before this time (Topalli Forthcoming).

Some borrowings from Slavic show this change, such as *rraqe* 'things, belongings' < Mk, Bg *rakla* and *gjobë* 'fine, fee' < S.Sl *globa*. However, as with all of the changes discussed, both original and modified forms are found. Those that preserve /kl/ or /gl/ include *gllavinë* 'hub' (cf. Bg *glavina*) *kllanik* 'hearth, mantelpiece' (cf. Mk, Bg *klanik*), and *kleshte* 'tongs' (cf. S.Sl *klešte*). Others have both outcomes, such as *qeqkë* and *kleqkë* 'wooden tack, peg' (cf. Mk, Bg *klečka*), *qyqenicë* 'lock' and *kyqenicë* 'key' (cf. Sr *ključ*, Mk *kluč*), and *qind*, *kind*, *klind* 'fold, pleat' (cf. Sr, Mk *klin*). With the variety of outcomes from Slavic borrowings with these sequences, it appears that the borrowings happened

⁹ The Arvanitika form makes the reconstruction of Proto-Albanian *gl- secure. The etymologies of 'tongue' in Indo-European languages are notably uncertain. The possible connection between Proto-Albanian *gluh- and Gk *γλωσσος* (problematic because of Aeolic glotta- and Slavic **golsŭ* 'voice' from *PIE *golso-* (Orel 1998: 138) is very unlikely.

both before and after the change. Since the majority of the borrowings have the unchanged sequence, it appears that the borrowings occurred even after the change— somewhat different than what was hypothesized above. This also may be explained, however, by the location of these borrowings, as Northern Geg dialects did not undergo affrication of these sequences.

3.2.2. Chronology of Slavic to Albanian Borrowings by Slavic Sound Changes

Slavic sound changes used for investigating the chronology of borrowings in this section (and in §3.3.2, below) are as follows: (1) the liquid metathesis of TORT sequences (2) the outcomes of the Common Slavic jers (high lax vowels), (3) the merger of Common Slavic */y/ and */i/, (4) the outcomes of the Common Slavic nasal vowels, and (5) the outcomes of Common Slavic **tj* and **dj* clusters. As with the sound changes in Albanian, each of these is treated in individual sub-sections in §3.2.2.1–3.2.2.5, and again in §3.3.2.1–3.3.2.5 when examining the chronology of borrowings from Albanian into Slavic, in section §3.3, below.

3.2.2.1. Liquid Metathesis of TORT Sequences

One of the earliest changes in Slavic that is manifest in borrowings into Albanian is the Late Common Slavic development of liquid metathesis or (T)ORT sequences. In South Slavic languages these constructions inherited from Indo-European underwent a metathesis of the vowel and liquids before obstruents as in IE **g^hord^h* > OCS *gradъ*, Sr, Mk, Bg *grad* ‘city’ and IE **g^ho:lu:* > OCS, Sr, Mk, Bg *glava* ‘head’. Albanian

vocabulary shows both metathesized and unmetathesized outcomes from these and other Indo-European roots. Those that are metathesized are assumed to have been borrowed from Slavic, like *glavë* ‘hydrocephalus’ < S.Sl *glava* ‘head’ < PSI **golva*, *gradinë* ‘kitchen garden’ < Mk *gradina* < PSI **gord-* ‘enclosed place’, and *latë* ‘chisel’ < Mk *dlato* < PSI **dolbto* (Svane 1992). Unmetathesized forms are less certainly borrowings from Slavic, as they may simply be direct outcomes from Indo-European into Albanian (Hamp 1970). Examples include *gallvë* ‘hole where the plow rod is fastened to the yoke’, *gardhë* ‘fence’, *daltë* ‘chisel’ (Svane 1992). If these are borrowings, they are certainly among the earliest borrowings from Slavic, as the liquid metathesis almost certainly occurred before the encapsulation of Old Church Slavonic first used in 863, but after the adoption of the term ‘king’, taken from the name of Charles the Great (Carolus Magnus) OCS *kralъ*, Sr *kralj*, Mk, Bg *kral* (whose reign ended in 814) (Shevelov 1965: 415–417, but also Lunt 1966 for an alternative opinion) and the OCS borrowing *sracinŭ* ‘Saracen, Arab’ that was presumably borrowed from Greek in the 9th century. While both unmetathesized and metathesized forms are both found in the vocabulary, a vast majority (60/64) show the Slavic liquid metathesis in these roots. Given the early date of this change, it is unlikely that most of these unmetathesized forms came through Slavic; it is likely that some are directly inherited from Proto-Indo-European (Hamp 1970). However, as both explanations are possible, this sound change is not completely diagnostic.

3.2.2.2. Outcome of Common Slavic Jers (High Lax Vowels)

A handful of other changes in the history of South Slavic dialects have dialectally divergent outcomes. The first to be considered is the treatment of the jers: short lax high

vowels, front (/ĩ/, likely [i] phonetically) and back (/ũ/, likely [ə] phonetically) (Velcheva 1988: 123). Although weak jers are lost fairly consistently¹⁰ in Slavic languages, strong jers are generally lowered and have divergent outcomes in each of the South Slavic languages; the front and back nasals are realized as /a/ for most dialects of Serbian, front jers become /e/ and back jers give /o/ in most Macedonian dialects, while the front gives /e/ and the back /ũ/ in most Bulgarian dialects. The main exception is in southeast Montenegro, northern Macedonian (and southeastern Serbian (Torlak) dialects, where the jers have fallen together to a schwa (Svane 1992: 297; Friedman 1985; Browne 1993: 385–6; Ivić 1988).¹¹ Examples include, from a front jer: Sr *dan*, Mk, Bg *den* ‘day’ < PSL **dĩnĩ*; and from a back jer: Sr *son*, Mk *son*, and Bg, *sũn* ‘dream’ < PSL **sũnũ*. Changes to the jers date are evident as early as the 10th century, and had merged in Serbian by the 11th century, while their final outcomes were determined by around the 14th century (Velcheva 1988: 123–148).

Some of the Slavic borrowings in Albanian shows pre-lowering outcomes— [i] for front jer and [u] for the back jer,¹² as in *bistër* ‘a kind of spotted fish’ < **p̣bstṛb* (cf. Bg *p̣šṭür* ‘spotted’) (Svane 1992: 150) and *pusullë* ‘note, written message’ < **poṣľb* (OCS *poṣľb* ‘embassage’) (ibid. 211). More common than these outcomes, however, are mid or low vowels, particularly schwas in borrowings with resonants like *përç* ‘goat (buck)’ (cf.

¹⁰ There are many exceptions, however. Some of these have been explained as morphologically determined (Isačenko 1970) others as systematic in some West Slavic languages (Timberlake 1988).

¹¹ Important dialect variation is considered in the following chapter on phonological convergences. See especially §5.3.1.1.

¹² As with all of the changes considered two different phonological systems are interacting in these borrowings, the phonology of the source language and the phonology of the recipient language. It is often impossible to tell whether the outcomes in the borrowings are due more to the phonology of the source language or the phonology of the recipient language. As Albanian has not had high lax vowels it is likely that in the case of borrowings from the jers the forms found in Albanian represent speakers’ adaptation of the Slavic sounds to Albanian phonology, and thus are not direct representations of the vowels’ quality in Slavic.

Sr *prč*, Bg *pŕč* (< PSI **přč*), although this is likely an Albanian approximation of the vocalic /r/ and not a sequence of a jer + consonantal /r/. Also found are outcomes of /a/ like *patak*, *patok* 'male goose, gander' < S.Sl **patъk* (cf. Sr *patak* and Mk *patok*, 'drake; male duck.')), and /e/, as in *kastravec* 'cucumber', (cf. Sr *krastavac*). The predominance of low and mid vowels (61/80) indicates that a vast majority of Albanian borrowings come after the strong jers are lowered (ca. 1100 AD).

3.2.2.3. Common Slavic /y/ Merger with South Slavic /i/

A similar development is the shift of the Common Slavic unrounded high mid vowel <ы>, /y/ (< PIE **ū*), which merged with /i/ in all of South Slavic, as Sr, Mk, Bg *sin* 'son', Sr *biti* 'to be', and Sr, Mk *jezik*, Bg *ezik*, compared to Russian, which maintains a phonetic contrast of [ɨ] in *syn*, *byt'*, and *jazyk* respectively, although PSI **y* and **i* merged here phonologically. The time of this change in South Slavic appears to have come somewhat after the codification of Old Church Slavonic, but likely the change happened earlier in West South Slavic (10th-11th century) than in East South Slavic (13th-14th century) (Svane 1992: 299). Albanian borrowings show both *u* and *i*, with the vast majority having the later reflex. Examples with /u/ are somewhat limited and less common than examples with /i/, which likely indicates Albanian perception of either a front or central vowel, but not a back vowel. Examples with the /i/ include toponyms such as the village *Bushtricë* in northeastern Albania (Kukës) related to Slavic **bystr*-¹³ 'fast, clear', and some earlier borrowings such as *matukë*¹⁴ 'mattock, hoe' < **motyka* (cf.

¹³ This same root is found in *bistër* 'having a sharp taste' and the town *Bistrica* in southwest Albania.

¹⁴ Alternatively, Alb *matukë* is possibly a borrowing from Latin *mattiuca* (OED, Vasmer).

Sr, Mk, Bg, *motika*) and *kulë* ‘hernia’ < **kyla* (cf. Sr, Bg *kila*) (Orel 2000: 38).¹⁵

Borrowings with the /i/ reflex include *kar(r)icë* ‘measure for grain’ < **koryt-* (cf. Sr *korice* ‘sheath’; Rus *koryto* ‘pan, trough’), *likë* ‘linden’ < **lyko* (cf. Mk *liko* ‘linden’; Rus *lyko* ‘bast’), *pitač* ‘beggar’ < **pytat-* (cf. Mk *pitač* ‘beggar’, Sr *pitati* ‘to ask’; Rus *pytat'sja* ‘to endeavor, try’), etc. Given the larger number of borrowings (18/19 of the borrowings treated in Svane) with the older reflex, it is likely that the borrowings began some time before the change, but continued in greater numbers after the change.

3.2.2.4. Outcomes of Common Slavic Nasal Vowels

The Common Slavic vowel system included front and back nasal mid vowels that were also present when Old Church Slavonic was codified (9th Cent. AD), (represented by <A> and <ꙗ> respectively). The front nasal typically produced /e/ in all of South Slavic, as in Sr, Bg, Mk *meso* ‘meat’ and *zet* ‘son-in-law’ from Common Slavic *męso* and *zęt*,¹⁶ whereas the back nasal yielded a variety of outcomes in South-Slavic, particularly in Macedonian dialects, thus Proto-Slavic **pŏt-* ‘path, road, trip’ gives Sr *put*, Bg *pŭt* [pʌt], Mk *pat* (Standard & Central), *put* (North), and *pot* (West), and in extreme southwest dialects with a nasal consonant (Vidoeski 1998: 11). Because of this dialectal variation, this is one of the key diagnostics for A. Seliščev (1931) in his investigation of the Slavic settlement in Albania, where he examines where the Slavic population fit into the continuum of South Slavic. For our purposes, this will possibly also help in

¹⁵ Orel (2000: 38) lists a couple of others, although some are a little dubious based on difficulties in forms or meanings. In addition to those given above, these include *karrutë* ‘fermenter’ < PSl. **koryto* ‘trough’; *llukë* ‘lime-tree’ < PSl. **lyko* ‘bast’; *posullë* ‘bill, slip, note, letter’ < PSl. **posyla*; *purrë* ‘hot ashes’ < PSl. **pyrī*.

¹⁶ One environment in which the outcomes were not as straightforward was after nasals where front and back nasals were often conflated (Koneski 1966: 39–42).

establishing the time frame of these borrowings, as the change from the nasalized vowels likely took place around 850–1100 AD for the West South Slavic¹⁷ and by 1300 for the front nasal in East South Slavic, while the history of the back nasal in East South Slavic is somewhat more complex, as shown, for example in the various outcomes of the back nasal in Macedonian dialects mentioned above (Svane 1992: 302–303; Velcheva 1988: 151–161). Borrowings in Albanian from Slavic nasal vowels occasionally include a nasal consonant, as in *rend* 'order, series' <*reḋb* (*red* in Sr, Mk, Bg; OCS *r'ędŭ* <*рѣдѹ*>, Rus *rjad*), but more frequently without any nasality (48/66), like *mesnik* 'meat pasty' <*męsniķb*, *opet* 'again' <*opętb* from front nasals. Examples of back nasals are more consistently without a nasal reflex (31/42),¹⁸ as in *porosit* 'to order' <*poręčiti*, *padit* 'to accuse' <*pęditi* (Sr *puditi* 'frighten', Rus *pudit* 'frighten', Bg *pŭdja*, OCS *pęditi* (Vasmer)), *bluditem* 'to wander, roam', Sr *bludeti* 'to roam, wander' (cf. OCS *blęditi* 'fornicate').

The presence of borrowings both with and without nasal reflexes from the Slavic nasal vowels suggest that there were likely borrowings before and after the denasalization of vowels in dialects in contact with Albanian. Since the majority of the borrowings shows no nasality and further, reflect the various dialectal outcomes of the back vowels, it is likely that the majority of these came after the denasalization of the Slavic nasal vowels (in West South Slavic in 11th-12th century, 13th century for East South Slavic (Svane 1992: 302)). Furthermore, it should be observed that, in sporadic cases in Geg

¹⁷ As West South Slavic shows the same results of “Central Slavic” (Czech, Slovak, and East Slavic), this change probably occurred before the Hungarian invasion at the end of the 9th century (Collins, p.c.).

¹⁸ The example *trondit* 'shake, tremble' is unlikely to have come from a back nasal, but appears to come from a front nasal: BCS *tresti*, Mk, Bg *tresa*, OCS *трѣсти*, Rus *trjasti*,

dialects, the Albanian adaptation of Slavic nasals can involve nasal vowels. One possible borrowing from Slavic that gives a nasal vowel in Geg is *kând* 'corner' (cf. Tosk and Standard *kënd*) perhaps borrowed from **kъtъ* 'corner, angle', Sr *kut*, Mk *katče*, (Orel 2000), although this may perhaps be a borrowing from Latin *angulus* (Topalli).¹⁹ This example can show that the nasalization of Geg was either ongoing during the time of borrowing or operational after contact with Slavic, since the environment for nasalization would still have been present. Thus it is likely that the languages had nasal vowels at very different times, with the Albanian nasal vowels being of a much later date than the Slavic ones. Still, the loss of nasality in Slavic between 1100–1300 A.D., along with the trend of borrowings into Albanian to show a lack of nasality, indicates that most of the borrowings happened after this time, though the presence of some nasal consonants suggest indicate that there was also borrowing happening before this time as well. Additionally, since some peripheral southwestern Macedonian dialects, e.g., in Korçë, still retain some inherited property of nasality, in the form of a following nasal consonant (Vidoeski 1998: 112), it is possible that the nasal character of the vowels in these borrowings was preserved in the Albanian outcomes because they were borrowed from Slavic dialects that also preserved nasality.

3.2.2.5. Outcomes of Common Slavic **tj* and **dj* Sequences

One of the last changes to affect the individual Slavic dialects is the resolution of Proto-Slavic sequences of **tj* and **dj*. As a late change, it produced various results in the

¹⁹ The Slavic form actually gives a simpler explanation of the Albanian form, although the Latin source is more typically accepted.

South Slavic languages, generally yielding the alveolo-palatal affricates /č/ [tʃ] and /đ/ [dʒ] in Serbian, palatal stops /k̑/ [c] and /g̑/ [ɟ] in Macedonian, and the sequences /št/ (<шћ>) and /žd/ in Bulgarian. Within Macedonian some dialectal variation is manifest, including /št/ and /žd/ in the north and east and /k̑/ and /g̑/ in central and western dialects. Serbian dialects in Kosovo and southern Serbia have merged the palatal and palatal-alveolar affricates (Ajeti 2001: 27–33) (on which, see §5.3.1.1). Examples of outcomes from these PSL sequences include Sr *kuća*, Mk *kuká*, Bg *kŭšta* 'house' OCS *kŏšta* (Vasmer 1967 (2): 439) < PSI **kŏtja* and Sr *među*, *meĝu*, *meždu* < PSI **medju* 'between.'

These various developments of Proto-Slavic **tj* and **dj* occurred over the space of several centuries. The Bulgarian-type reflexes are found already in OCS, while the gradual development to the stops in Macedonian and affricates in Serbia happened in the 13th-16th centuries, (Koneski 1966: 69–76). These changes are also useful in examining which dialects have been sources of borrowings of Albanian, because they have distinct reflexes in each of the languages in contact with Albanian. Of these reflexes, /k̑/ and /g̑/ have direct correlates in the Albanian palatal stops /q/ and /gj/, while the sequences /št/ and /žd/ are also common in Albanian. For the Serbian palatal affricates, the most common shape in the Albanian adaptations are the palatal stops (7/16). Examples of borrowings of these sequences include the dialectal variants *megje*, *mexh*, *mejë* 'limit, edge of a field' (cf. forms from the standard South Slavic languages given above: Mk *meĝa*, Sr *međa*, Bg *mežda*), *çagje* 'soot' < Sr *čađ*, *čađa*; *lexha*, *liça* 'lentil' < Sr *leđa*, Bg *lešta* for the voiced reflexes; and *koshiq* 'quart, measurement' < Sr *košić*; *domaqin* < Sr *domaćin*, Mk *domakín*, and (Arb) *plesht* 'shoulder' < (Bg, Mk dialectally) *plešt* for the

voiceless ones. The limited number of borrowings may be understood in two ways. First, there are simply not as many of these sequences in the Slavic languages, and so perhaps borrowings with this shape are simply not in the corpus of possible borrowings. The other way to interpret the data is to believe that most of the borrowings were transmitted to Albanian before the change happened (examples include *gajnik* 'pants' < **gadjnik*, *orendi* 'furniture, outfittings' < **oređie* (cf. Sr *oruđe* 'weapons'), and possibly the form of *mejë* 'limit'. Based on the handful of examples that fit the phonological criteria, it appears that about half of the borrowings happened before this change took place, and about half after it. The earliest of those that underwent the change is probably that found in the Arbëresh dialects *plesht* that shows a Bulgarian-like reflex of *-sht-*, which must have occurred before the migrations to Italy beginning at the end of the 15th century, whereas other words that show the Serbian or Macedonian reflexes are probably later borrowings, given the later time frame of the changes in Macedonian and Serbian dialects.

3.3. Chronology of Borrowings from Albanian into Slavic

These same developments in Albanian and Slavic can also be utilized to analyze the roughly 600 borrowings from Albanian into Slavic. However, it appears that unlike the borrowings from Slavic into Albanian, most of these sound changes were no longer active when most of the borrowings happened. This section analyzes borrowings from Albanian to Slavic, first from the perspective of the sound changes in Albanian, and then from the perspective of changes in the relevant South Slavic languages. It is argued that as almost all borrowings from Albanian into Slavic show later reflexes than those given in borrowings from Slavic to Albanian the majority of these borrowings took place after

borrowings from Slavic to Albanian, likely during the period of the Ottoman Empire in the Western Balkans (~1400–1800 AD).

3.3.1. Chronology of Albanian --> Slavic Borrowings by Albanian Sound Changes

3.3.1.1. Proto-Albanian *s > Albanian /sh/

Having set approximate dates of the change *s > sh at around 1000 A.D., and the emergence of affricates at between 1100 and 1400 A.D, it stands to reason that borrowings from Albanian into Slavic that contain an original /s/ (of PIE provenance) were borrowed before 1000 A.D., and those borrowed with /sh/ were borrowed after that time. Likewise, those containing affricates from Albanian can be securely placed after 1100 AD. Some time after the change of *s > sh, /s/ reappeared in Albanian either as the result of borrowings, such as *fis* 'kin, tribe' from Mod. Gk *φύσις* and *bisedë* < Sl *bes(j)eda* or as the resolution of inherited consonant clusters such as *tj or *dj, as in *besa* 'oath, trust' < PIE **b^hend^h-tia* (Meyer 1891: 33) or *mas* 'to measure' < *mat-iō* (Topalli Forthcoming)²⁰. If borrowings from Albanian with *tj or *dj were taken into Slavic before these were changed to /s/ in Albanian, they would likely follow the same pattern discussed above for native *tj and *dj sequences; otherwise, if borrowed after the Albanian change of *tj > s, then they would likely appear as /s/ in Slavic. In borrowings from Albanian into Slavic, it turns out that a overwhelming majority of the words (96/97) that underwent the change of s > sh in Albanian are also found with the palatal fricative /š/ ([ʃ]) in borrowings in Slavic, such as *fuša* 'field' (PG, Ks), *špela* 'cave' (Mk), *šočnijsa*

²⁰ In some Albanian dialects, these sequences have changed to palatal stops or affricates, likely due to contact with Slavic (see §4.4.1.2).

'society' (PG), and *preš* 'leek, green onion' (Mk), from Alb *fishë, shpellë, shoqëria*, and *pres*. However, later borrowings came into Albanian with an /s/ and words that later came to /s/ from *tj or *dj sequence remain /s/ in borrowings into Slavic dialects (6/13), such as *fis* 'kin, tribe' (Mn, PG, Ks, Mk), *besa* 'oath' (Mn, PG, Ks, S.Sr, Mk), *sent* 'thing' (PG), *se* 'that' (KS, Dr), *pus* 'well' (Mk), and *nusa* 'bride, young wife' (Mk, Dr), from Alb *fis, besë, send, se, pus, nuse*. Borrowings of words previously borrowed from Slavic may have either reflex, such as *lese* 'wicker' (PG, Mk, Dr) or *monoštir* 'monastery' (Mk). The different realizations probably indicate whether these words were borrowed from Slavic before the Albanian change of s>sh. There are a couple of words that do not follow these generalizations, such as the borrowing *čarma* in Croatian < Alb *tjerrma* 'spun (participle of *tjerr*), having a drawn face', which perhaps was treated similarly to a *tj sequence, and *pštjelak* 'thin black apron' (Mk) < Alb *pëshjtjelak*.²¹ Given that the regions in which these loanwords are attested are distant from contemporary Albanian settlements, the older forms are not surprising. Likewise, another presumably old borrowing Slavic borrowing, Sr, Bg *struga*, (Mk *straga*) preserves the original /s/, as opposed to contemporary Albanian *shtrunga* (cf. Romanian *strungă*).²² These exceptions to the trend of phonological shapes indicate that, while there may have been some early borrowings from Albanian (or Pre-Albanian) communities, most came significantly later, certainly after the change of *s > sh.

²¹ The remaining 5 words coming from a Pre-Albanian *tj or *dj give palatal stops or affricates, as discussed in §3.3.2.5, below.

²² Newmark (2000: 788) also mentions the form *strung* 'wattled hurdle used to control the movements of sheep' as related to this form. Thus this or other related forms with the non-palatal fricative in Albanian may also have influenced borrowings into Slavic. However, given the wide spread of the word, it is likely that it was an early borrowing and hence preserved the original alveolar fricative /s/.

3.3.1.2. Development of Albanian Affricates /c/ and /ç/

As discussed earlier, Albanian developed affricates at approximately the same time when Albanian-Slavic contacts reached their peak of intensity. It is not surprising, therefore, that many of the borrowings from Albanian to Slavic should have affricates. Indeed, a considerable percentage (about 15%) contain affricates.²³, particularly in light of their general infrequency in Albanian. Examples include. *cap* 'donkey' (Ks), *bardzo* 'animal with white marks' (Mk), *đola* 'alive' (Mn), *čupa* 'daughter' (Mk, Dr) and *džiški* 'sparkling' (Mk). Furthermore, there are a number of words that in most dialects of Albanian begin with a cluster of /sh/ + obstruent, such as *shpatë* or *shkrep*, but in other dialects have been strengthened to /č/ + obstruent, giving *čpat*, *čkrep*, etc. Both forms are attested in borrowings into Slavic, with the forms showing the dialectal fortition being less common (about 25%). Other Albanian words that developed affricates throughout the dialects due to consonant cluster resolutions, such as *moc* and *çalë*, do not appear in the corpus of borrowings into Slavic, so it is impossible to use the development of Albanian affricates as a diagnostic for if these words were borrowed before the development of affricates. However, given the large number of words with affricates present in these borrowings it is probably safe to assume that they were borrowed well after the development of affricates in Albanian.

3.3.1.3. (Tosk) Albanian Rhotacism of Intervocalic /n/

²³ Although 15% may not at first seem like a considerable percentage, this should be contrasted to the overall infrequency of affricates in Albanian. Four of the five least frequent phonemes in Albanian are the affricates considered here (/c/, /ç/, /x/, and /xh/) with none of them occurring more frequently than .0025 per 100 phonemes (graphemes/letters) (Curtis 2010a: 93).

The next two Albanian sound changes, rhotacism and the denasalization of nasal vowels, were largely limited to the Tosk dialect. Since the majority of interactions with extant Slavic communities have involved the Geg dialect, relatively little influence from Tosk is to be seen in borrowings from Albanian into Slavic. Indeed, no signs of rhotacized borrowings appear in Slavic dialects. On the other hand, a few words that show the preservation of intervocalic /n/ are present in borrowings from Geg, such as *šočnija* < *shoqnia* (PG) 'society', *tremnija* (Ks, PG) < *trimnia* 'bravery', and *burrnija* (PG, Dr) < *burrnia* 'manliness, courage' (cf. Tosk and Standard Albanian *shoqëria*, *trimëria*, *burrëria*), again indicating that these borrowings have their origin in Geg dialects.

3.3.1.4. (Tosk) Albanian Denasalization of Proto-Albanian Nasal Vowels

Since most of the Slavic dialects in question (all but in parts of extreme SW Macedonian) have lost nasality from their inherited Proto-Slavic nasal vowels, it would not count for much to find denasalized vowels in the borrowings. On the other hand, nasal vowels or nasal consonants coming from nasal vowels in Geg dialects would be something worth remarking on. One borrowing offers possible evidence of a nasal being preserved: *turin* (Mn, Ks) < Geg *turî* 'projecting front part of an animal head; muzzle, snout, trunk' (Tosk, Standard *turi*) < Vulgar Lat *utrinum*; however, the /n/ at the end may simply reflect the stem found in the nominative definite stem (*turini*) (Orel 1998). In any case, the lack of rhotacism and the presence of nasality in the borrowings both show, that

Geg is the primary source of borrowings from Albanian into Slavic dialects.²⁴ This is further bolstered by a number of borrowings that show Geg variants rather than Tosk such as Mn, PG *gabonjam* ‘to error’ < Geg *gabonjam* (cf. Tosk *gabohe*) and Mn, PG *deri* ‘until’ < Geg *deri* cf. Tosk *gjer*).²⁵

3.3.1.5. Outcomes of Proto-Albanian *kl and *gl Clusters

The final Albanian change discussed here is another source of many of the affricates in Slavic borrowings are the Albanian palatal stops, which are realized as palato-velar affricates in many of the Albanian dialects in contact with Slavic (§5.4.1.1). Some of these, as discussed above, are the result of /*kl/ and /*gl/ sequences that first lost the lateral and then were jotted or palatalized to palatal stops in dialects other than Northern Geg and Southern Tosk. In the borrowings from Slavic, we find non-palatalized (7/9) and palatalized variants (2/9) from these sequences historically, with about half of the borrowings having lost the lateral (5/9) and half preserving it (4/9). Examples of non-palatalized variants include the western Macedonian words *klukajdrvec* ‘woodpecker’ (compare *klukaj-* to Alb *quk* ‘to peck’, as in *qukësdruri* lit. ‘pecker of wood’)²⁶, *kenkav* (cf.

²⁴ Borrowings from Tosk are limited to those areas where expected such as borrowings into Macedonian dialects around Korçë (in SE Albania) and Kostur (NW Greece), e.g., *pambuk* ‘cotton’, where Geg, Standard Macedonian, and Turkish all have *pamuk*.

²⁵ The pairs Geg *gabonjam* ~ Tosk *gabohe* and Geg *deri* ~ Tosk *gjer* are etymologically cognate. Another Geg variant that appears in these borrowings is PG *sent* ‘thing’ < Geg *send* (cf. Tosk *gjë*). These may be etymologically related, but it is unclear why one shows the outcome of /s/ and the other /gj/. It may be that there was a difference in stress, such that the form that gave *gjë* had an initial stress, thus fulfilling the phonetic conditioning for the fortition of Proto-Albanian *s > gj, as in Alb *gjarpër* ‘serpent’, whereas the Proto-Albanian form was stressed on the following syllable, thus leaving the *s as a voiceless fricative, as in Alb *shtërpi* ‘reptile’.

²⁶ This putative borrowing *quk*>*klukaj* ‘peck’ has other possible interpretations. First, because this is an onomatopoeic word it is possible that the languages developed the stem independently and then formed the composition of woodpecker either independently or as a calque (Collins, p.c.). Second, as this is found

Alb *qenëka* ‘was (supposedly or surprisingly)), and possibly *glembav* ‘having a large stomach’ (cf. Alb *gjemb* (Arb. *glemb*) ‘thorn’ (Murati 2000: 42–43, 33–34). Palatal variants include Mk *ġatlok* ‘long part of trousers’ (cf. Alb *gjatë* ‘tall, long’, Arb. *glatë* (Demiraj 1996: 198)) and *kiša* ‘to laugh’ (cf. Alb *qesh* ‘laugh’). Many others that are derived not from *kl or *gl, but from *kj or *k + front vowel, such as *kānakit* (Mk), *knač* (Ks), *uknačlo se* (PG) ‘please, take pleasure’, < Alb *kënaq* (possibly < Pre-Alb **ken-akja* (Orel 1998: 177)). If Albanian loans into Slavic were later than those from Slavic into Albanian, perhaps a larger percentage of palatal forms from with pre-Albanian sequences *kl, *gl should show jotated or palatalized reflexes, but in fact most are without the jotation. It should be borne in mind, however, that this is a late change (16th–17th centuries) that also has different realizations in the dialects in contact with Slavic.

3.3.2. Chronology of Albanian > Slavic Borrowings by Slavic Sound Changes

3.3.2.1. Liquid Metathesis of TORT Sequences

As the earliest change in Slavic considered in this section, any metathesis of liquids from Albanian borrowings into Slavic would be surprising. Evidence from the borrowings suggests that loanwords from Albanian did not participate in liquid metathesis. Even though nine borrowings that fit the phonetic criteria, such as *karpa* ‘stone’ < *karpë*, and *kaloca* ‘spoiling, rotten’ < *kalbësirë*, not one example is found that underwent metathesis.²⁷ This provides fairly solid evidence that the borrowings from

outside of the Balkans in Slavic it may actually be a borrowing from Slavic into Albanian as a stem *kluk- ‘to peck’ (Svane 1992: 264)

²⁷ Indeed, many scholars distinguish loans from Albanian from non-loans in Slavic on the basis of the presence or absence of liquid metathesis, such as Mk *garmada* (as a borrowing from Alb *ġermadhë*) vs.

Albanian are from a later period than this sound change (~850 AD), and thus are later than those words taken into Albanian from Slavic that show the sound change, such as *glavë* ‘hydrocephalus’.²⁸

3.3.2.2. Outcome of Common Slavic Jers (High Lax Vowels)

As discussed in §3.2.2.2, many words borrowed into Albanian contained one of the short high vowels (jers) of Slavic, and a number of reflexes are found in the loanwords in Albanian. It is also possible that Albanian may have provided vowels that would have been treated as jers. Since these vowels were lost in weak position by the 14th century (Velcheva 1998) borrowings from Albanian that fed these changes must have been quite early. From the corpus of borrowings it is evident that—as expected—most Albanian high vowels are retained. In one instance an unstressed /u/ is lost: *kukla* ‘doll’ (Mk) < Alb *kukull*, yet even here it is likely not /u/ that is lost, as dialectally in Albanian the term has an unstressed schwa as in *kukëll*, which would drop out in the definite form, *kuklla* (Newmark 2000: 420).²⁹ A simpler explanation is that the Macedonian form is simply a borrowing from the definite form, which would have neither /ë/ nor /u/. A similar phenomenon might also be expected of Albanian /ë/ [ɐ], which may have been similarly phonetically to the back jers. Borrowings from Albanian with /ë/ give a variety

gramada (with native phonological development that serves as the basis) ‘ruins’ or *daljta* ‘chisel’ (as a borrowing from Alb *daltë*) vs. Sr *dleto*, Mk *dlato latë* (Murati 2007: 33, citing Mazon 1936).

²⁸ Some scholars have ascribed some words of unmetathesized TORT sequences as very early loanwords from Slavic into Pre-Albanian and Pre-Romanian, such as *daltë* (in the footnote above) and *baltë* ‘mud’, and *gardhë* ‘fence, enclosure’. It is correct that if these words are borrowings from Slavic they are among the earliest possible loans; however, it is impossible, as Hamp (1970) argues to distinguish these from words inherited from Proto-Indo-European, and thus it is not certain that these have come from Slavic. For the purposes of Albanian > Slavic borrowings, the question of ultimate origin is inconsequential, as they are undeniably proximal borrowings from a non-Slavic language.

²⁹ For a further consideration of the phonetics of /ë/ and /u/ adjacent to resonants, see §4.3.2.3.

of outcomes, although only a small percentage take the same form as the back jers in the relevant dialects. In Tosk, /ë/ usually come from a low nasal vowel, historically /ã/, so borrowings from early Tosk or from Geg may have come in this form and not /ë/.³⁰ Examples of Albanian denasalized mid vowels giving the same phonetic results as Slavic back jers include Mk *barlok* [bərlok] ‘a cut of meat’ < Alb *bërlllog*, Sr (PG, Ks, S.Sr) *besalija* < *besëlia* ‘faithful, trustworthy person’, Mn *čeverija* < Alb *qevëria*. It should be noted that two of these examples consist of /ë/ next to a liquid; there are several examples of Alb /ër/ being adapted to vocalic /r/, a very natural and common adaptation (Vidoeski 2005: 39, 42, 50, and 52 for examples from dialects of Macedonian): *për* > Sr (Ks) *pr* ‘for’, *bërbejk* > Mk *brbukli* ‘potato’, and *këlbaz* > Mk *klbas* ‘disease of black liver’.³¹ Examples of /ë/ that give other phonetic results include Mk *bukuvale* < Alb *bukëvalë*, Sr (PG, Ks) *či* < Alb *që* (Here, however, it is unlikely that the Alb form is really /ë/, as Standard /ë/ throughout Geg is realized as /i/ near palatal consonants, such as *nji* ‘one’ (Tosk, Standard *një*, etc.) (Gjinari and Shkurtaj 2003: 191))³² Sr (Ks) *felija* ‘kind of bread’ < Alb *fëlia*, Mk (Dibër) *ğamkam* ‘to boom, rumble’ < *gjëmoj* (Geg *gjimoj*), Mk *lendina* ‘untilled field’ < Alb *lëndinë*, and Mn *maz* ‘stallions’ < *mëz* (Geg, *maz*).³³ Even in

³⁰ Although /ë/ is consistently found in Tosk, it has a variety of phonetic realizations. Many of the dialects in contact with Macedonian, such as those in Korçë realize this phoneme as somewhat lowered, transcribed as /ë^a/ (Vidoeski 1998: 111).

³¹ Hoxha includes these as borrowings from Albanian into Slavic, but the etymologies are unsure. The word for potato is obviously a novice term in the middle ages in Europe, and *bërbejk* is far from the most common term in Albanian for ‘potato’ (Standard *patate*). *Këlbaz* may be related to the verb *kalb* ‘to rot, decay’, although as far as I know no such etymology has been proposed before.

³² Alternatively, *či* may be a borrowing from the Turkish particle complementizer *-ki* (Dombrowski 2012),

³³ The etymologies of some of these proposed borrowings also require some additional explanation. In S. Sl. the suffix *-ka-* is often used in words to convey ‘the sound of ROOT’ as in Sr *ijekavian* ‘spoken with ije (as the reflex of CSI /ë/ (see §5.4.1.3)), or *dakanje* ‘saying *da* (too) frequently’, thus the root *gjem* ‘booming noise’ was likely borrowed as *ğam* from which the verb *ğamkam* was formed. As explained below, given that the modern form *lendina* is found with the *en* sequence from an etymological CSI nasal

those cases where the outcome of a borrowed /ë/ matches those of a back jer, the explanation of phonetic adaptation of a borrowed /ë/ is equally as valid. Since there are some cases for which the latter is a better explanation, it is assumed that, in absence of proof to the contrary, most of these borrowings of schwas represent more recent phonetic adaptations than borrowings as /ũ/.

3.3.2.3. Common Slavic /y/ Merger with South Slavic /i/

Like the previous sound changes considered, the South Slavic change of /y/ to /i/ is presumably earlier than borrowings from Albanian into Slavic. Interestingly, Albanian, in most of its dialects and historical stages has had a vowel similar to /y/ in that it is a non-canonical high tense vowel, but different in that it is front and rounded ([y]) and not mid and unrounded like Russian /ы/.³⁴ Some borrowings containing Alb <y> (2/12) are realized with the same South Slavic outcome as Slavic /y/: /i/ PG, KS *fit* ‘throat’ from Alb *fyt* ‘throat’ and *grika* ‘embroidered collar’ from Alb *grykë* ‘neck, throat’.³⁵ However, this is rare, and more likely due to phonetic adaptation of the borrowings than due to historical changes in Slavic, as other outcomes in Slavic are definitely phonetic adaptations, namely the outcomes /u/ and /ju/ as in Mn, Ks, PG, Mk *kuka*, *kukava* (*čuča*,

(e), it is assumed that the word was first borrowed into Albanian, which preserved the nasality in *lëndinë*, and this was reborrowed into Macedonian with the nasal consonant.

³⁴ Although the Slavic and the Albanian sounds have different qualities, there is an intriguing similarity in their historical development, in that both come historically from u and end up being fronted to some degree. For more discussion on the distribution and history of this sound in Albanian see §5.3.2.2 and the spread of [y] (/ü/) in South Slavic see §5.3.3.2).

³⁵ One borrowing said to show this change is the Mk verb *vsira se* ‘to make eyes at’ which Hoxha (2001: 84) argues as a borrowing from Alb *vë në sy* (lit. to put/take in the eye), but is more easily explained as a cognate from the native Slavic root *zř-* as in Rus *zreti*, BCS *zreti* ‘to watch’. Thanks to Denis Ermolin for suggesting this etymology to me.

čučava) < Alb *qyqe* ‘bereft woman’ and *ffutor* (Mk) ‘face’ < Alb *fytyrë*.³⁶ Thus with the Slavic sound changes discussed previously, the phonological evidence points to these being later borrowings than the Slavic sound changes and later than borrowings from Slavic into Albanian.

3.3.2.4. Outcomes of Common Slavic Nasal Vowels

Since Slavic nasal vowels came from an original sequence of Proto-Slavic vowel plus nasal, the only way the Common Slavic nasals could be affected in borrowings from Albanian would be if this sequence was taken into Slavic from an early borrowing from Albanian. It could then be changed to a CSI nasal vowel. Subsequently it would follow the path of other nasal vowels in the loss of nasality, and for back nasals, change in quality. One possible example of this path is the term widely borrowed from Pre-Albanian (or a Balkan substrate) *strunga* ‘sheep pen’ which turns out with various non-front vowels in Slavic such as Mk *stra(n)ga*, BCS, Bg *struga* (Hamp 1977).³⁷ Given that the borrowing generally loses nasality in the Slavic languages that borrow it, and further, given the several parallel outcomes to the Slavic back nasal (Mk *pat, zab*, BCS *put, zub*; Bg *püt, züb*) this may be taken as further evidence of the early date of this borrowing in Slavic. On the other hand, in contrast to this lone example of an Albanian borrowing that may have produced a back nasal, there are a couple of later borrowings

³⁶ This may be from an Albanian dialectal form *ffutor* (in Upper Reka dialect near Gostivar, (Murati 2007: 31)).

³⁷ Murati (2003) also reports the form *stroga*, without indicating where it is found. Slovenia is one possibility, as would be Macedonian dialects in the Eastern part of Debar (Tajmiški dialects) (Vidoeski 1998: 197). One other word is borrowed into Slavic that loses nasal properties is Ks *štrugla* < Alb *shtrungël* ‘milk pail’. It could be that the Albanian velar nasal *ng* was reinterpreted as a velar stop (*g*) and in this way the nasal was lost. In any case, the initial *š*, in contrast to the *s* in *struga* argues against this being a very early loan like *struga*.

from Albanian that had preserved nasality in the form of a consonant which was borrowed back into Slavic, such as Mk *lendina* 'untilled piece of land' < Alb *lëndinë* < Sl. *lędina*, although this may simply be the preservation of nasality in Southwestern Macedonian dialects. Slavic borrowings from Albanian, however, tend to preserve nasal elements from the donor language (67/69), such as *deng* 'full sack' (PG) < Alb *deng* and *frenk* 'lock' (Mk) < Alb *frenq*. As expected, the majority of words borrowed with a vowel nasal sequence preserved the feature of nasality; thus they are relatively recent borrowings from Albanian into the various Slavic dialects.

3.3.2.5. Outcomes of Common Slavic *tj and *dj Sequences

Finally, the last change in Slavic relevant to these loanwords is the change of *tj and *dj to the various outcomes in South Slavic discussed above. One example of an Albanian loanword participating in this change was mentioned earlier, Croatian *čerma* (also *ječerma*, *đečerma*) 'a type of sleeveless coat' < Alb *tjerrmë* 'spinning, weaving'. However, this is but one outcome of this borrowing, as it is borrowed variously as *tijerma*, in Bosnia, and *tijerna* in southeast Montenegro and Kosovo. The variety of forms may be yet further evidence of it being an early loanword from Albanian—if it truly is from Albanian. In addition, there are four other examples of Albanian *dj* sequences that are borrowed into Macedonian with the voiced palatal stop, such as or *dj* sequences such as *ǵale* (Mk) and *đelak* (Mn) both with the meaning 'boy, youth' from the Albanian stem *djal* 'son, boy' (Murati 2007: 35) and *đera* (S. Sr) 'until' < Alb *deri* 'to, up to, until'. Finally this may also be the case with a *dj* from Alb *dhj* [ðj] in the dialectal Macedonian word *ǵama* < *dhjamë* 'fat, tallow' (Hoxha 2001). While it is possible that the outcomes in

these examples could be taken as evidence that these borrowings predate the Macedonian change of Proto-Slavic *dj > Mk /ǰ/ and Sr /đ/, the evidence from relevant Albanian dialects should also not be overlooked. In Central Geg dialects (the predominant variety of Albanian in Macedonia) *tj* and *dj* sequences have also become palatal stops (see §4.3.1.2). Thus, it is likely that the borrowings in Macedonia have taken their shape from the local Albanian source rather than from the historical development of *tj* sequences in Slavic, although that possibility is not ruled out completely.

3.4 Conclusion

Although the precise chronology of most of these borrowings is unknown—and likely impossible to know with absolute certainty—the relative chronology of Slavic > Albanian borrowings to Albanian > Slavic borrowings is quite secure. In almost every case, borrowings from Albanian > Slavic appear to come from later periods than those from Slavic > Albanian as evidenced by the historical phonological changes discussed above. From these changes, as well as the evidence from historical development and textual attestation we may conclude that borrowings of from Slavic into Albanian likely started early, perhaps around 700 AD, and continues until the present, but with the heaviest concentration in the first half of the second millennium of the common era. Albanian to Slavic borrowings also likely started early with a couple of loanwords, but in general were taken into Slavic dialects after the Slavic to Albanian borrowings, towards the middle and second half of the millennium, likely coinciding with the time of the Ottoman Empire.

Chapter 4: Phonology

4.0 Introduction

As the influence of Slavic and Albanian contact on vocabulary has been established in the previous two chapters, this chapter continues the investigation of language-contact influence in the realm of phonology and other structural components. Structural elements may give additional insight for understanding the type and extent of influence of language contact between Slavs and Albanians. The task of the present chapter is to determine whether the phonologies—in the broad sense of individual dialects' patterns and systems of sounds—have changed due to contact with one another.

Dealing with phonology and other structural components requires another look language-contact theories and further clarification about the methods used for examining changes in linguistic structure. Thus, this chapter begins with a consideration of the role of phonology and other parts of linguistic structure according to different theories of language contact (§4.1). This facilitates the same kind of informed and layered interpretation of the socio-historical setting drawn from the lexical borrowings in the previous chapters and enriches that analysis by considering ways in which evidence from linguistic structure further fills out the picture of the socio-historical context of the contact. This is followed by a discussion regarding the methodology of handling structural changes—in particular, phonological changes—and how to determine whether these changes are most likely due to language contact or other sources, such as language-

internal changes (§4.2). These two sections form the basis for understanding individual structural changes considered in subsequent sections. Sections (§4.3–§4.5) comprise the main part of this chapter, wherein phonological changes in Albanian and Slavic dialects are examined and explained according to this framework; these changes are treated according to the parts of the phonology affected: vowels (§4.3), consonants (§4.4) and word prosody (§4.5). Finally, in the concluding section (§4.6), the phonological changes considered as a whole and are interpreted according to theories of language contact in order to evaluate what Slavic-Albanian phonological convergences may indicate about the setting in which they arose.

4.1 Phonology in Language Contact Theory

This section seeks to answer two main questions to get a clearer understanding of what phonological convergences might tell about the historical setting of Slavic-Albanian contact: “What brings about phonological convergences in language contact situations?” and “What might phonological convergences indicate about the socio-historical setting in which they arise?” The answers to both questions depend on the theory used in investigating language contact phenomena, although there is a tendency across the theories to regard familiarity with the contact language as a prerequisite for a speaker’s own language to be affected. As with lexical borrowings, various opinions exist about the role of phonology in language contact, thus, a couple representative treatments of phonology in language contact literature are considered here. Once again, examples are taken from Van Coetsem (1988/2000), Thomason and Kaufman (1988), and Friedman and Joseph (2013).

4.1.1. Phonological Transfer as *Imposition*

As described previously, Van Coetsem distinguishes the two processes of *borrowing* and *imposition*. Borrowing is the mechanism attributed in the transfer of lexical material, and was treated at some length in section 2.1.1. Imposition, on the other hand, is the main process by which sounds and other linguistic structures, from one language are incorporated into another language in contact situations. Because the structure is considered more stable than vocabulary, it is conserved by speakers in the process of acquiring a new language, and is used to compensate for incomplete learning of structures of a second language (L2). Imposition is practically the same process as *transfer* in second language acquisition (SLA): the transfer of a language learner's first language (L1) onto their production of L2 structures, producing effects such as "foreign accents" or other deviations from native speakers' phonology or grammar (2000: 53–54). The major difference between SLA's *transfer* and Van Coetsem's *imposition* is the scope of language learning: in SLA, the usual subject is individual L2 learners or classes in an educational setting, while language contact is concerned with what happens when whole communities are learning a second language. Unlike borrowing, in which speakers intentionally incorporate material from a less fluent L2, into their cognitively dominant language (L2→L1), imposition is the unintentional transfer of structural elements of speakers' cognitively dominant language into one in which they are less fluent (L2←L1). In this way, imposition is the main mechanism for linguistic structure to be transferred between languages in contact. Thus, structural convergences are the result of communities' L2 learning and bringing L1 structures into the L2. While Van Coetsem

allows that speakers may become so proficient in an L2 that their L1 incurs phonological change (1988: 15–17) (L1←L2); this is not seen a very significant part of his framework, being applied more in cases of intergenerational language change (2000: 171–172). In language contact situations, phonology, morphology, and syntax typically change when native speakers impose these structural elements on an L2 in cases of migration or language contact resulting in bilingualism (2000: 207–208). Hence, if phonological and other structural convergences are found in known language contact situations, it is likely the result of speakers being incorporated into an L2 community.

4.1.2. Contact Changes Based on Socio-Historical Context

Thomason and Kaufman (1988) also take into consideration these two ideas of borrowing and imposition, but with two main differences, first in terminology (using the more traditional term *interference* instead of *imposition*) and, more substantially, in the basic premise for what determines language change in contact situations. They differ from Van Coetsem and most previous scholars on language contact by considering social history to be the primary factor in determining the outcome of linguistic forms in contact situations (1988: 35). As such, they do not rigidly discriminate between the effects borrowing and interference may have on languages. Thus, changes in phonology, morphology, syntax, and semantics may come about either by interference or borrowing.

Their description of interference is similar in many ways to Van Coetsem's *imposition*, but characterize it as “imperfect learning” of a target language (TL) that

typically comes about in population shifts (1988: 38–39).¹ Since they emphasize the socio-historical aspect of language contact, one main criterion they use to determine whether languages have been influenced by interference, is whether a significant part of the population of a language in contact has shifted to become part of an L2 community. Language shifts, however, are necessary, but insufficient conditions for interference, as effects of interference in population shifts may be mitigated in two cases: first, when the size of the shifting population is small relative to the population speaking the TL, or second, when the shift occurs over such a long time period that the shifting population has an adequate opportunity to learn the TL without marked variation from the local native speakers (1988: 120). Otherwise, when the shift happens more rapidly, such as over the course of one or two generations, the TL is invariably affected by interference at every linguistic level, except, perhaps in the lexicon. Effects of imposition on the lexicon are not impossible, but are usually limited to cultural concepts not included in the TL speakers are shifting to. In many cases it is impossible to know whether interference through shift has happened, due to a lack of historical information. However, from linguistic criteria, interference is the only change manifested in contact situations where no vocabulary is borrowed; otherwise, both borrowing and interference remain possibilities (1988: 69).

Concerning borrowing, Thomason and Kaufman argue that, given the right sociolinguistic context—especially with intimate contact over the span of several generations—any part of a language may be borrowed. The difference between

¹ The terms *interference* and *shift* are often used for the same phenomena, although they do distinguish them on other occasions (e.g. pp. 117–121).

borrowing vocabulary and borrowing phonology, syntax, or morphology is in the greater intensity of contact between the language communities. This idea was presented in chapter 2 dealing with vocabulary (§2.1.2, §2.8.2), and is found in the table presented therein, given again as Figure 4.1, below.

Intensity of Contact		Lexicon	Structure
Casual Contact 	Category 1: Casual contact	Content words, Non-basic vocabulary	-
	Category 2: Slightly more intense contact	Function words, Adverbs and conjunctions	Minor phonological and morphosyntactic features, Foreign phonemes in loan words, Syntactic features for new functions or functional restrictions
	Category 3: More intense contact	Adpositions, Derivational suffixes on native vocabulary, Some basic vocabulary	Less minor structural features, Phonemicization of allophonic alternations
	Category 4: Strong cultural pressure	-	Major structural features without typological change, Distinctive features in phonology, Word order, Inflectional morphology, Syntactic categories
	Category 5: Very strong cultural pressure	-	Significant typological disruption, phonetic changes, Added or lost morphophonemic rules, Subphonemic changes in habits of articulation, Loss of phonemic contrasts, Changes in word structure rules, Extensive ordering changes in morphosyntax
Intense Contact			

Figure 4.1. Thomason and Kaufman's Scale of Borrowing (1988: 74–76)

As summarized in this table, structural elements of the language are affected as the intensity of contact increases. The introduction of phonological distinctions, such as the phonemicization of allophonic alternations may be made with less cultural pressure than

for introducing completely new subphonemic sounds (allophones). Other predicted changes for morphology and syntax include the idea that changes in syntax, such as word order, are likely to occur with less cultural pressure than changes in morphology such as changes to the inflection of nouns; and functional distinctions are more likely to be expressed by new syntactic expressions than by morphological inflection, and functional distinctions of morphology and grammar are more likely to be lost rather than to be created in language contact (1988: 54–55).² Finally it should be mentioned, that while it is not a major part of their theory on language contact, Thomason and Kaufman allow for the possibility of speakers borrowing structure from a second language into their native language, but since this does not necessarily involve a shift away from the speaker's original language, this is characterized as borrowing (1988: 42). According to the framework of Thomason and Kaufman, then, convergences in phonology and other structure may happen as a result of borrowing or interference, and, as far as possible, the social history of individual contact situations is the best way to determine which process is more likely to have occurred.

4.1.3. Structural Convergences due to Bilingualism and *Reverse Interference*

Although the scope of Friedman and Joseph's book on the Balkan languages differs from Van Coetsem and Thomason and Kaufman's studies in not attempting a systematic, universal treatment of language contact they make several important observations about the processes by which phonological and other structural

² More specifically, Thomason and Kaufman argue that morphology is less likely to be borrowed because common features of morphological structure (such as fusibility, syllabicity, sharpness of boundaries, unifunctionality, and categorical clarity) often make it harder to learn than syntax (1988: 56–57).

convergences have come about in specific contact situations in the Balkans. Two of these have particular application to Slavic-Albanian contact. First, they specifically argue that the main cause of phonological (and other structural) change in languages in contact is the bilingualism of the speakers, and not in the borrowing of lexical items. Second is the idea of *reverse interference*, wherein speakers are influenced in their first language by non-native languages in which they have become conversant. While similar ideas also are mentioned as possibilities by Van Coetsem and Thomason and Kaufman, the process of reverse interference comprises a major part of Friedman and Joseph's explanation for several individual convergences among local varieties of Balkan languages. So, while not specifically a book on language contact theory, Friedman and Joseph (2013) contribute two additional parameters useful for investigating the structural convergences found in Slavic-Albanian contact: the importance of bilingualism over borrowings and the process of *reverse interference*.

While practically all scholars consider bilingualism as a prerequisite for phonological changes in language contact situations, Friedman and Joseph illustrate this principle particularly well. Some, such as Stankiewicz (2001: 369), argue that lexical borrowings are important instruments for introducing new phonological and morphological traits into another language. While borrowings doubtlessly may have this effect, there are situations where borrowings do not explain the introduction of new phonological phenomena. For example, phonological convergences occur on such a localized scale in the Balkans, that the effects of phonological change are limited to areas of widespread bilingualism, while loanwords are found in areas well beyond those where speakers are bilingual (Friedman and Joseph 2013: 5.2; Sawicka 1997: 9). Another

example that points to bilingualism as the mechanism of phonological convergence comes from differences in the phonological history of Romani in comparison with other languages in the Balkans. Most Balkan languages show localized phonological convergences with languages that they are in contact with. The main exception to this appears to be Romani, which has preserved phonemic distinctions of aspiration, in spite of prolonged contact with several Balkan languages. The main reason for the lack of convergence appears to be the absence of L2 speakers of Romani. That is, non-Roms do not become bilingual in Romani; hence it does not show the same degree of convergence as other languages. Note, then, that bilingualism itself is insufficient as a criteria for phonological convergences in contact because many Roma are bilingual in Romani and another language (Friedman and Joseph 2013: 5.3). Thus bilingualism of L2 speakers is instrumental for bringing about phonological and other structural changes in any language.

The importance of bilingualism also leads into the second pertinent idea from Friedman and Joseph (2013): *reverse interference*. In bilingual situations, either language may have an affect on the other language. Although typically interference or imposition shows the effects of a speaker's L1 on L2, there are cases where the L1 is also influenced by L2. Friedman and Joseph illustrate this by examples from the Albanian speaking communities in Greece, Arvanitika. Arvanitika varieties of Albanian undergo some changes found in local varieties of Greek, namely the change of *mj* clusters to *mnj* as in *mnjekrë* 'chin' (cf. general Tosk, std. *mjekër*, and the preservation of syllable numbers in more southerly dialects, compared to dialects in northern Greece that delete syllables parallel to local varieties of Greek. As Arvanitika speakers are also bilingual in Greek,

but few Greeks are bilingual in Albanian, there is little reason to consider the changes in the Albanian dialects to be from Greeks learning Albanian; hence, the best analysis would be reverse interference of the Arvanites' L2 Greek on their L1 Albanian.

Furthermore, no other explanation gives as simple and complete an answer for why the phonologies of the Albanian and Greek local dialects match so well in this case (ibid.: 5.2).³ An additional example they present is specific to Slavic-Albanian contact, namely the dialectal variation of the alveo-palatal affricates /ç/ and /xh/ in northern Geg dialects, considered in more detail in §4.4.1.3.3, below. As argued by Friedman and Joseph *reverse interference* appears to be responsible for many of the structural changes in structure found in individual contact situations in the Balkans. As such, it is an important phenomenon to consider for evaluating the sociolinguistic history of changes that have come about in Slavic-Albanian contact.

4.1.4. Summary of Theoretical Perspectives

By way of summary, the following ideas from these three sources will be tested for understanding the social relations between Albanians and Slavs: the cognitive division between *borrowing* and *imposition* according to Van Coetsem (1988/2000), the role of socio-history in determining language-contact affects as laid out by Thomason and Kaufman (1988), and the role of bilingualism and the process of *reverse interference* as

³ Friedman and Joseph point out that there is some reason to be cautious in this regard, as little is known about the history of the Arvanitika and their relation to Greeks in the early Middle Ages. It is possible that some Greeks shifted over to Albanian at some time and these phonological developments came about through interference from this language shift. However, given that the phonological phenomena are spread through different varieties of Arvanitika, the shifting of separate Greek communities is somewhat less likely than if this were limited to one locality. Still, as Friedman and Joseph caution, we do not know enough about the history to assign this change to reverse interference without some reservation.

explained by Friedman and Joseph (2013). Table 4.1, below outlines similarities and differences in how these three approaches evaluate language contact.

Framework	Processes	Bilingualism Involved	Population Shift	Vocabulary Affected	Structure Affected
Van Coetsem	Imposition	Yes	Maybe	No	Yes
	Borrowing	Yes	No	Yes	No
Thomason and Kaufman	Interference	Yes	Yes	Maybe	Yes
	Borrowing	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
Friedman and Joseph	Reverse Interference	Yes	No	No	Yes

Table 4.1 Summary of Processes Proposed for Analyzing Language Contact

Bilingualism is a prerequisite for each of the process outlined in Table 4.1: for the processes of *borrowing*, at least a minimal familiarity in interacting languages is required; *imposition*, *interference*, and *reverse interference*, on the other hand, assume speakers' functionality in L1 and L2. Population shifts do not accompany the process of *borrowing* (by either description) nor for *reverse interference*, while it is the main criterion for determining the occurrence of *interference* in Thomason and Kaufman's framework. For Van Coetsem's *imposition*, a population shift typically happens, but it can happen without speakers shifting languages (2000: 206–211). Vocabulary is certainly affected in borrowing, but not for *imposition* or *reverse interference*. Thomason and Kaufman argue that lexical items with specific cultural values may be brought into the target language by shifting speakers in cases of *interference*. Structure is expected to be affected by all of the processes except for *borrowing* in Van Coetsem's description, as he considers structure to be too stable to be affected in recipient language agentivity

(*borrowing*). For Thomason and Kaufman, structure is affected in *borrowing* only if the languages are in more than casual contact.

Before outlining the methods of investigating structural changes in language contact, it could be helpful to offer some preliminary remarks as to what these five processes would predict for the Slavic-Albanian contact situations, on the basis of what is known about the history of these interactions, particularly the degree of bilingualism and instances of population shifts. As described in chapter 1, contact between Slavs and Albanians has occurred under many different social circumstances, and thus individual locations (and as far as possible, *specific time periods*) of language contact need to be the focus of language-contact analysis. However, some general trends can also be observed. Albanians in areas predominated by Slavs, such as Western Macedonia, Kosovo, and Southern Serbia (including Albanians in southeastern Serbia and the Serbian Sandžak) have been bilingual in both Albanian and the local Slavic language, while Slavs in Albanian-dominated areas, such as southeastern Albania near Korča/Korçë (Bobošćica/Boboshticë, Prespa, Vrbnik/Vërbnik) and northwestern Albania near Skadar/Shkodër (Vraka/Vrakë), have generally been bilingual in both their native dialect and the local Albanian dialect. The socially dominant populations in these areas, Slav or Albanian, have generally not reciprocated bilingualism. In contrast to these areas, however, there have also been some areas of reciprocal bilingualism, namely in eastern and southeastern Montenegro, and to some extent in some urban areas in Kosovo and Macedonia, such as Prizren, Gjakovë/Đakovica, and Debar/Dibër, where Turkish has also been common. The sociolinguistic situation in all of these areas has changed throughout the centuries of contact, and it is likely that levels of reciprocal bilingualism have been

higher at periods of time when neither ethnic group was the predominant political power in given areas, such as from the time of the Slavic migrations to the Balkans until the Slavic empires, or during the Ottoman Empire (thus from 7th to 10th centuries and 15th to 19th centuries) This long-standing bilingualism fulfills the basic precondition for each of the five processes outlined above to be fulfilled, although those populations that do not reciprocate bilingualism may be less likely to show effects of borrowing and reverse interference, such as Albanian in southeast or northwest Albanian, and Serbian in southern Serbia and Kosovo. To a large part, this has been demonstrated by the analysis in chapter 2, where it was shown that the highest number of borrowings from Albanian into Slavic was, in fact, in Western Macedonia and Southeastern Montenegro.

Borrowings from Slavic into Albanian were also shown to have happened in areas in contact with Slavic, although southern Albania, which at one point had a fairly extensive Slavic population, also retained a high number of borrowings from Slavic.

In spite of the longstanding bilingualism between Slavs and Albanians, population shifts between Slavic and Albanian do not appear have been very common, especially compared with populations shifts to Turkish. In no area where contact between Albanian and Slavic persists to the present is it assumed that Slavic speakers have undergone language shift to become speakers of Albanian, thus it would be unexpected to find structural material from Slavic in Albanian due to *interference* or *imposition* in these areas.⁴ The influence of structural borrowings (à la Thomason and Kaufman) or *reverse*

⁴ The Slavic population that spread throughout Southern Albania following the expansion of the Bulgarian Empire in this area likely shifted to Albanian at some point, based on toponymic evidence and borrowings into Albanian in the south (Seliščev 1931). Perhaps because of the long time frame in which this population shift occurred, or for some other reason little, if any, structural effect has been seen on Albanian as can best be determined by internal reconstruction of Proto-Albanian.

interference on Albanian, however, remains a very strong possibility, given the high levels of bilingualism—but lack of population shifts—of Albanians in Macedonia, Kosovo, and southern Serbia. On the other hand, there are some areas, particularly in Montenegro, where Albanian-speaking populations have shifted to Slavic-speaking ones, such as the tribes of Piperi and Kuči, the Slavic Muslim populations in Plav/Plavë and Gusinje/Gucia, and perhaps with the Mrković. These are dialects where *interference* and *imposition* from Albanian phonology and morphosyntax would be most likely to occur, while Slavic dialects in Kosovo, Albania, and Macedonia are not expected to show evidence of interference from Albanian. They may, however, show influence from *reverse interference*, particularly in Albania and those parts of Macedonia and Kosovo where familiarity with Albanian is highest, such as in Debar/Dibër, Prizren and Gjakovë/Đakovica. As *imposition*, *interference*, and *reverse interference* deal specifically with changes in structure, predictions that these processes make will be weighed against the phonological and morphosyntactic material presented in this and subsequent chapters.

4.2 Methods of Analyzing Phonological and Other Structural Changes

As the subject of investigation in this chapter differs from previous chapters, it is important to consider a few questions that bear on a proper investigation of phonological and other structural changes. First, what types of phenomena should be considered? Second, how do changes due to language contact differ from other types of change? Third, what criteria should be used to determine whether changes have come about because of language contact or by some other means? Finally, where are language contact-induced changes encountered, particularly phonological changes?

First, what types of phenomena should be considered? In the usual case, the influence that languages in contact have on each other brings about similarities between the languages. The most obvious type of influence is when one or more of the languages in contact change in phonology or morphology and become more like the phonology or morphology of the other language(s). This type of change can be talked about as a *convergence*, and is the main type of change investigated in this and the following chapters on structure. Several examples of phonological convergences due to Slavic-Albanian language contact are shown in sections 4.3–4.5, below.

However, there are other ways that languages may affect each other. Another kind of assimilation is the *preservation* of forms that are similar to those found in a contact language. This is not technically a convergence, as the language does not change, and is difficult to prove as an effect of language contact (Thomason and Kaufman 1988: 58). Furthermore, it is difficult to explain on the level of what individual speakers experience as a result of language contact. For example, does the increased frequency with which a sound is used in a second language make a speaker more aware of the sound and, hence, less likely to lose that sound from her own language? One possible example of a preservation at the phrasal level is in the Greek of speakers in Albania who use the phrase *Τι αγαπάτε?* (lit. What do you love?) in asking what drink, etc. someone would like (cf. std. *Τι θα θέλατε*). (Joseph and Brown, 2012), that is also found in other far-flung dialects of Greek. That it is influenced by Albanian can be inferred from the identical semantics of the common Albanian construction *Ç'doni* ‘What do you love?’⁵ Yet, because there is

⁵ An example of a phonological preservation in this situation may be the preservation of nasals in clusters made up of a nasal plus stop, contrary to most of Greek. While there are some other areas of Greek that

evidence of this type of construction in other Greek dialects remote from Albanian, this is not likely a *convergence*, as much as it is a *preservation* of a form or patterns that preceded the contact, but are preserved due to parallel forms or patterns or structures, while these may be lost in other dialects not in contact with a language having parallel structures. While *preservations* occur less frequently with phonology in Slavic-Albanian contact, more are argued for in the subsequent chapter on morphosyntax, such as the preservation of preterites in Serbian dialects in Montenegro and Kosovo (§5.7.6).

The final influence of language contact on structure is when languages become less similar in the course of contact. This is a somewhat less-expected outcome, but may occur, particularly when there are ideological reasons for speakers to distinguish their speech from that of a contact language. One example of divergence is the preservation of /h/ in the speech of several Muslim communities (Southern Albania, Bosnia, Montenegro, Macedonia) opposite the trend of Christian communities losing the /h/ (see §4.4.1.6, below). To the extent that the sounds or sound systems are modified to become less similar these changes can be termed *divergences*. While all of these possibilities exist, and examples of each are provided in the material in this and the following chapter, the majority of contact-induced changes identified in this work are *convergences*.

With that in mind, it is necessary to ask what how convergences due to language contact differ from other types of language change. It is especially important to distinguish between three main types of change: regular sound change, analogical change, and socially induced changes (including contact-induced change). Regular sound

preserve the nasality it appears that Albanian and Greek have preserved nasals in these clusters, probably as a result of contact with one another (Joseph p.c.).

changes, or sound changes *proper*, comprise a unique type of change, which produces a regularity of change throughout a language's lexicon, such that *all words* that had a sound in a given phonetic environment would have the new sound after the sound change happened (Joseph and Janda 2003). Resulting geographic divisions of individual sound changes are much neater compared to the other types of changes. The changes discussed in chapter 3, above are regular sound changes; indeed, it is their *regularity* that makes them fit as methodological tools for dating borrowings. Regular sound changes have their origin in speakers dealing with the physiological processes of producing and perceiving sounds (Ohala 2003; Joseph and Janda 2003). The regularity of sound change is likely due to their physiological origin (Joseph 2012), thus other types of language change (analogy and socially-induced change) do not have a regular distribution in any sense.

Like regular sound changes, analogical changes are also language-internal changes, but unlike regular sound changes, analogy is not based on physiological process of producing and perceiving sounds, but on cognitive associations that speakers make between forms (Anttila 2003, 1977). Typically one or more related form serves as the basis for some adaptation of another form, similar in form or function, or both.⁶ Instances of analogy affecting phonology are much rarer than those affecting morphosyntax. Analogical changes may affect individual words, such as the creation of the Geg word *ndamje* 'division' based on Tosk *ndarje* and the usual correlation between Geg *m/n* ~ Tosk *r* (Kolgjini 2010). They may also affect entire classes of words, as is found in the changing of pronunciations of words where multiple sounds change due to rule

⁶ There is no limit to the types of associations that speakers can make between forms, so there is no limit to the types of relationships between forms that may serve for linking the basis of the analogy with the form being changed.

generalizations causing “chain shifts” (Durian and Joseph 2011). Analogy is also at play when speakers adopt loanwords that contain unfamiliar sounds or patterns to those found in their L1. Analogy is more noticeable in morphological and syntactic changes than in phonology, although it may be seen in some cases where the phonological form of one form is adapted to become more similar to other forms. An example of analogy affecting morphosyntax is the development of present tense verb endings in –Vm in Serbian and Macedonian (Janda 1996). This declension, historically limited to the handful of thematic verbs, has been extended by analogy to the declensional patterns used for all but a few verbs in Serbian and Macedonian. As analogical changes are more common in morphological and syntactic change, this is more important the following chapter than it is here. One final characteristic of analogical changes is important to note: geographical patterns of analogical changes are unpredictable and often sporadic.

The final type of change is change due to social influences. Language contact is just one type of this change, but as it is the main topic at hand, external contact will be used to exemplify this type of change. As discussed in the previous section, external changes are typically motivated by fluent bilingualism or multilingualism. Like analogical changes, changes due to language contact are notoriously inconsistent in any given language, giving more sporadic realizations of the change both in the lexical material affected and the dialectal distribution of the change. Compare, for example, the smooth distribution of a regular sound change such as the denasalization in Tosk Albanian with the denasalization that occurs in various areas of Geg Albanian, as represented in Figure. 4.2, below, as described in the *Albanian Dialect Atlas* (ADA)

(Gjinari et al. 2007–2008).⁷ Denasalization occurred in Tosk through a regular sound change (as discussed in §3.2.1.4), while the change in Geg is actually several localized changes in areas that have been under heavy influence from Slavic, in Debar/Dibër, Macedonia, Ulcinj/Ulqin, Montenegro, and Arbanasi, Croatia.

⁷ This map is based on the phonological distribution of nasalized /i/ in Albanian Dialects (ADA, map 8/2a) When referring to the Albanian Dialect Atlas (ADA) (Gjinari, et. al 2007–2008) the following notation will be used: the first number refers to the number of the map, while the second number is the number of the question in the survey that corresponds to that map. There are two volumes in the ADA, with Vol. I (2007) comprising maps 1–360 (questions 1a-145), covering phonetics (and phonology), morphology, and syntax, as well as the survey used in the fieldwork from which the atlas was constructed. Vol. II (2008) comprises maps 361–634 (questions 146–405) that cover vocabulary items. The ADA is a very useful tool for Albanian dialectology, but—unfortunately—is particularly imprecise in the reporting of data from the former Yugoslavia (Badallaj 2009). The root of the imprecision is the lack of access that dialectologists from Albania had during the time of the compilation of the data (1980–1989), and had to rely on native speakers who had moved to Albania, or on published fieldwork done by Albanian dialectologists in Yugoslavia. As such, the evidence offered by the dialect atlas, although still a good resource is not completely reliable in many of the areas that are most important for studying language contact with between Albanians and Slavs.

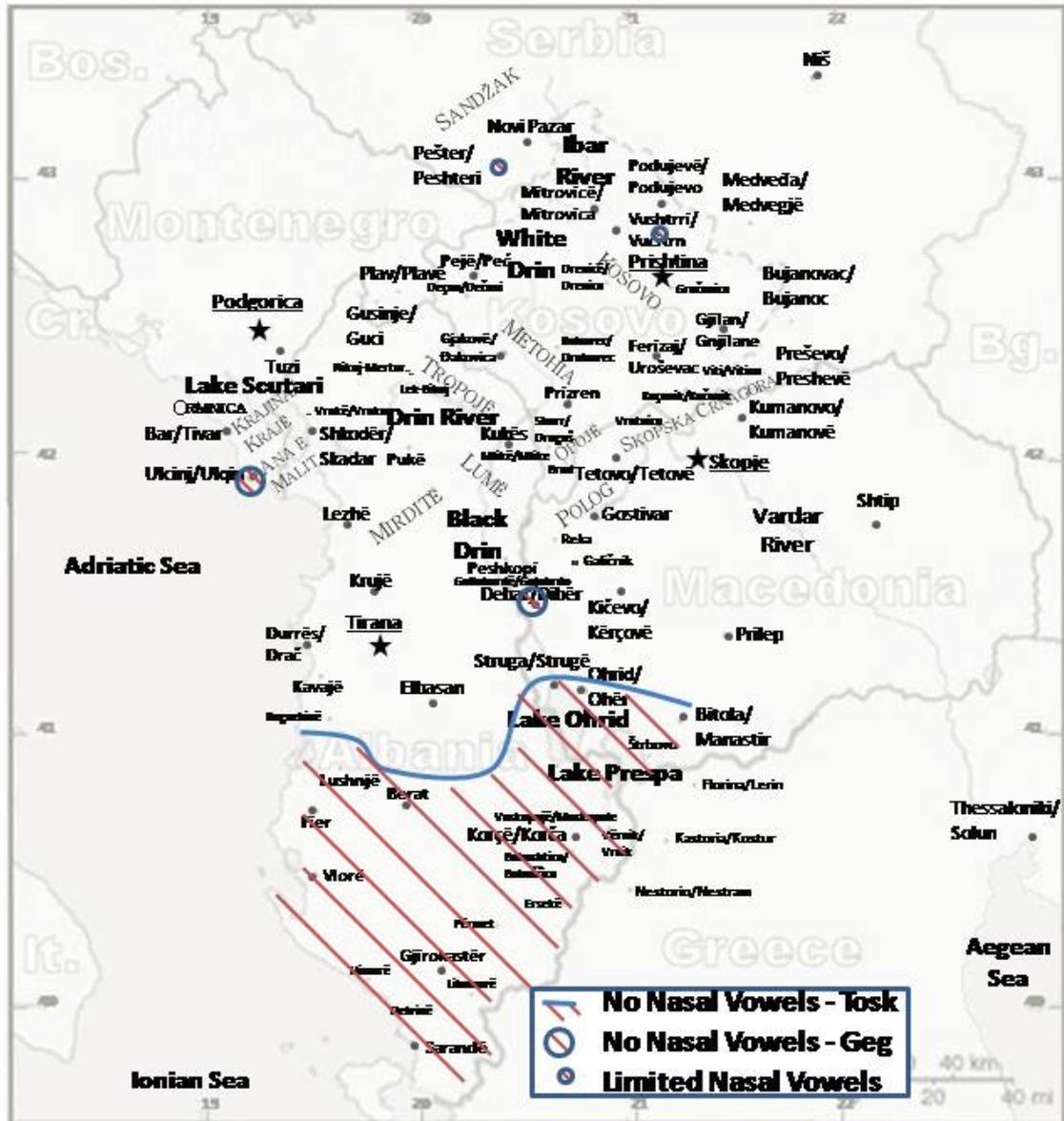


Figure 4.2. Distribution of Nasal Vowels in Albanian (ADA 8/2)

Although the changes involved produce the same effects in the dialects affected, the distribution of where the changes have occurred argues for several independent changes. The change affecting all of Tosk is regular both in its geographical distribution and in its exceptionlessness for the vocabulary affected; that is, all words that had a nasal vowel in

Proto-Albanian were denasalized in Tosk, whereas the changes in the Geg dialects are sporadic, both in terms of geographical distribution, and in their realization in the lexicon. In Dibër, Ulqin, and Arbanasi all nasalized vowels have been denasalized and other Geg dialects have lost nasalization in many of the vowels but preserve nasalization as a phonemic category (see §4.3.2.2). Thus, one way in which contact-induced phonological changes differ from internal, regular sound changes is in the sporadic and irregular distribution of affected sounds, in terms of both geography and lexicon versus a comparative regular distribution due to internal changes.⁸

A third matter for consideration is, what criteria should be used to determine whether phonological changes have come about because of language contact or by some other means. Since structural convergences are the primary type of contact induced-change, the majority of the following discussion is aimed specifically at these changes. One criterion has already treated above, that is, it must be shown to be a change from an earlier state, on the basis of textual or comparative evidence. Furthermore, in order to show that it is due to a particular language (such as Serbian, Macedonian, or Albanian), it should be shown that other languages with which the dialect may be in contact (such as Greek, Balkan Romance, Turkish, etc.) do not also have the same feature.⁹ In historical linguistics and contact linguistics it is widely recognized that mere similarities do not comprise a sufficient basis for a claim of linguistic convergence; (for example, Hock

⁸ This is, of necessity, a vast simplification, yet it captures one of the basic distinctions between changes caused by external and internal developments. It is, as demonstrated repeatedly in sections §4.3–4.5, always as clear-cut whence the change has come. The example given here is about as clear-cut as possible, with most every other change somewhat less distinctly internally or externally-induced.

⁹ This, of course, is the ideal situation. In reality it is frequently very difficult to assign responsibility to any particular language, especially when the convergences cover a wide range of geography and languages (as is frequently the case with the morphophonemic similarities in the Balkans (Friedman and Joseph 2013).

1991; Hock and Joseph 1996; Campbell et al. 1986; Joseph 2012) a historical and comparative perspective is necessary to show that linguistic similarities are not the result of chance, universality, or common descent. Although *chance* cannot really ever be ruled out, since randomness cannot be explained on the basis of evidence, this conclusion should only be reached after every other logical possibility is exhausted.¹⁰ The criterion of *universality*, on the other hand, is an integral part of establishing the likelihood of external causation. An understanding of *universality* or *naturalness* comes from what is known about the tendencies in sound changes as evidenced in the history of the world's languages. These tendencies are used to consider the likelihood that a given change would come about without external influence on the language. Thus, for phonological changes considered in this chapter, a comparison with natural tendencies of change adjudicate whether the given change may just as well be explained without recourse to external causation. Even if a given change is considered "natural", there may be other reasons to consider it as contact-induced, particularly its dialectal distribution or its typological rarity from the perspective of the particular language's family. The issue of *common descent* is also germane to the investigation, given that the languages under investigation share common origins in Proto-Indo-European (§1.1). Trying to determine whether the languages share similarities due to contact or due to normal transmission is an endeavor that is not always possible, and does not always yield unanimous agreement from scholars. Due to these similarities in origin, the present investigation is limited to those phonological changes that are shared mainly between Slavic and Albanian dialects

¹⁰ The issue of *chance* is not one that historical/comparative methodology, particularly as regards language-internal change, generally deals with systematically; for instance, little conclusive can be said about why a particular change happens in a given language at a particular time or place; however, see Ringe (1992) for an attempt to statistically rule out explanations of chance.

at a very local level, whereas features that are found throughout Indo-European languages, such as phonological oppositions of voiced and unvoiced consonants, are not considered here. By way of summary, the criteria by which a convergence may be attributed to language contact, and not by some other means, are as follows: 1) it must be established that a change has taken place, 2) ideally, the similarities should not be due to contact with some other language outside of the specific language contact situation under investigation, 3) they should not be motivated by universal tendencies in linguistic change, and 4) they must not be due to common descent.¹¹

A final issue is where data for contact-induced changes are found. As with the lexicon, the features considered in this chapter are of necessity not limited to the standard languages (§2.4). Indeed very few of the changes investigated in the chapter are part of the phonologies of the Serbian, Macedonian, or Albanian standard languages. In most cases the changes are represented only in peripheral dialects in the languages, and for this reason, as much information about the specific areas affected by the changes is given as each change is considered. The geographical limits of these phonological changes are consistent with the overall pattern of phonological convergences in the Balkans (Sawicka 1997; Friedman & Joseph, 2013), and in this way differ not only from the shared lexical material, but also from convergences in morphosyntactic features shared across the languages of the Balkans (see Chapter 5), which tend to have a broader spread than

¹¹ Thomason and Kaufman justly give several methodological reasons to consider external changes even in cases when these criteria are not met, such as that external changes can often explain why a particular change has happened a particular time and place, external changes are just as likely to affect cross-linguistically common changes as rare ones, a single external cause is more elegant than multiple internal changes in cases where either explanation is possible (1988: 59–61). While I tend to agree with them, and others that argue that internal causation should not necessarily be favored over external causation, particularly when there are socio-historical reasons to expect changes due to language contact, in order to establish external causality to the highest degree of certainty, I judge the data by these sure criteria.

phonological convergences. While it is tempting to use the phonology of the standard languages as a backdrop from which to judge the variant sounds in the dialects as having undergone the change, such a procedure would occasionally give unwarranted historical preference to the dialects on which the standard language is based.¹² Thus what is necessary in discussing changes is a statement, backed up by textual or comparative evidence, regarding a previous state of affairs of the languages in contact, in most cases a Proto-language, from which more recent phonological developments may be judged. As not all parts of the sound systems are involved in phonological convergences, a comprehensive statement of these reconstructed languages is not given here.¹³ Instead, as individual changes are discussed in the following sections (§4.3–4.5) this requisite historical linguistic background is incorporated in order to decide whether the phonological features of the dialects being discussed are phonological convergences.

4.3 Convergences in Vowels and Vowel Sequences

This is the first of three sections that enumerate and evaluate proposed phonological convergences between Albanian and Slavic. This section considers changes that have brought about similarities in vowels, while the following sections will consider changes to consonants (§4.4) and prosodic systems (§4.5). These sections are arranged with changes that happened in both language groups first (§4.3.1, §4.4.1), then changes in

¹² For example, it would be inaccurate to say that the absence of a schwa in most dialects of Geg, is a deviation from (Tosk-based) standard Albanian, because in this particular development, it is the dialects on which the standard is based that have undergone the change, while the variant forms found in Geg are a preservation of an earlier state (as discussed in detail in §3.2.1.4).

¹³ For descriptions of proto-Slavic, interested readers are recommended to consult, for example Lunt (1952), Schenker (1995), etc., whereas for proto-Albanian, Demiraj (1996) and Topalli (Forthcoming) may be beneficially consulted. Orel (2000) also has some valuable observations, but on the whole provides too little reliable comparative backing for some of his reconstructions.

Albanian only (§4.3.2 and §4.4.2) and finally, changes in Slavic only (§4.3.3 and §4.4.3).¹⁴ To conclude each of these sections, a final subsection offers a brief summary of the phenomena discussed and what is demonstrated by the convergences.

4.3.1 Mutual Convergences in Vowels

Five cases where both Albanian and Slavic dialects converged in the phonetics of the vowels are discussed in the following sub-section: the development of reduced vowels and schwas (§4.3.1.1), the labialization of /ā/ (§4.3.1.2), the development of /ī/ from Slavic /ě/ and Albanian *ie* sequences (§4.3.1.3), the prothesis of /o/ to uo/vo (§4.3.1.4), and the tendency of permitting vowel sequences in Macedonian and Albanian (§4.3.1.5). The first four changes considered appear to be genuine phonological correspondences in some locations, but contact between the languages is not entirely responsible for the presence of these phonemes throughout the dialects, as will be discussed in each sub-section. The final change investigated may have been influenced by contact, but the possible effects of language contact in this case are much less straightforward than the first four, and perhaps should be dismissed altogether.

4.3.1.1 Reduced Vowel (Schwa)

As discussed in the previous chapter, the development of Proto-Albanian (nasalized) /â/ to /ë/ ([ə̃]) in (Tosk) Albanian (§3.2.1.4) and the development of the jers from Proto-Slavic into their various reflexes in modern Serbian, Montenegrin, and

¹⁴ The same convention is not used when discussing changes in word prosody as only three cases of convergence are investigated. If the same numbering system were employed there would be more subdivisions than phenomena discussed.

Macedonian dialects (§3.2.2.2) are important changes in the languages' histories. There are, however, further reasons to consider them in the light of phonological convergences between dialects of Slavic and Albanian. Regarding the presence of reduced vowels (Sr *poluglasnik*, lit. "semivowels") that are lax mid vowels,¹⁵ in dialects of Kosovo, Metohia, and Old Montenegro,¹⁶ Stanišić (1995: 49) reports that these are found not only in words from Turkish with the unrounded high back vowel /ɯ/ ([ɯ]), like *bakalik* 'grocery' (< Turk *bakalluk*), but also in native words like *dīnīs*, *otīc*, *Skā^ēda^ēr*, *momā^ēk*, (cf. standard Serbian *danas* 'today', *otac* 'father', *Skadar*, *momak* 'young man'). He further reports that the reduced vowels are not found only in reflexes of historic jers, but also in reductions of full vowels, as in *ba^ējraktār*, *pla^ēštanīca*, cf. std. Sr *bajraktar* 'ensign, flag bearer' and *plaštanica* 'pieta'. In this way the semivowels in these dialects match up well with the distribution of schwas in Geg, which have evolved from unstressed vowels, such as Alb *gëzim* (~*gzim*) 'joy' < Lat *gaudium* (Orel 1998: 111, Topalli Forthcoming)¹⁷ and *këmishë* (~*kmish*) 'shirt' < Lat *camisia* (Orel 1998: 177) (Stanišić 1995: 49; Ivić 1985: 105, 160; Stevanović 1950: 36–38, Camaj 1966: 146, Vujović 1969: 94–95). These changes are not uncommon cross-linguistically; however, in the context of Serbian dialectology, they are fairly unique to the dialects in contact with Albanian and thus cannot be dismissed off-hand as strictly internal developments.

¹⁵ The term "half-vowel" is not as common in English as "reduced vowels" or "semivowels", but is a common way of referring to the *jers* or other mid lax vowels in the tradition of Slavic linguistics (BCS *poluglasnik*) as well as Albanian linguistics (*gjysmëzanore*).

¹⁶ The designation Old Montenegro (*Stara Crna Gora*) refers to the area included in the Kingdom of Montenegro before the Balkan Wars, (Margulis 2004: 15). This includes most of the southern half of present day Montenegro except for areas along the coast and areas east of Podgorica.

¹⁷ This is the etymology Orel gives for the word *gaz(e)* 'joy, laughter (in plural)' (1998: 111–112). It is likely that the two Albanian forms, *gëzim* and *gaz* are related given the similarities in the form and meaning. The *ë* in *gëzim* is likely the result of an unstressed vowel, as Albanian stress is typically stem-final.

Likewise, Albanian dialects have experienced several developments involving schwa that are fairly common cross-linguistically. On the Albanian side, Stanišić gives three developments in the Geg treatment of schwas that are parallel to the development of the jers in various Slavic languages. Some of these developments include: the change of /ë/ > /e/ before sonorants, as in the /e/ in Geg *i âmel* ‘sweet’ (cf. Tosk *i ëmbël*), the preservation of /a/ before nasals, like Geg *hâna* ‘moon’, *nâna* ‘mother’, etc. (cf. Tosk *hëna, nëna*).¹⁸ and its loss in unstressed positions with compensatory lengthening on the preceding syllable, such as Geg *nât* ‘night’, *shpîs* ‘house (DAT.DEF)’, (cf. Tosk *natë, shtëpisë*) (Stanišić 1995: 49). However, since these are all fairly common developments cross-linguistically, and because these developments are found throughout Geg (ADA 64–66/38a-b2 for stressed schwas, 88–97/46–49b for unstressed schwas) language contact is not a satisfactory explanation. One way that Serbian may have influenced the loss of schwas in northern Geg is in the timing of the change, as Mulaku and Bardhi give the opinion that contact with Serbian may have spread the loss of schwa in Northern Geg dialects (1978: 285–286; also cited in Stanišić 1995: 49). However, while contact with Serbian may indeed have influenced the timing of the change, given the evidence from typological commonality and dialectal distribution throughout Geg, it is quite unlikely that contact with Slavic is responsible for these general changes in Geg.

Contact between Central Geg and Western Macedonian dialects may have produced a localized change regarding the schwa, however. Specifically, the Geg dialect of the city of Dibër/Debar also shows a unique development for a Geg dialect: unlike

¹⁸ Albanian noun forms are usually cited in the indefinite singular, but as Stanišić cites the definite forms for these examples, these are given here as well.

surrounding dialects, the urban dialect of Dibër has a phonemic schwa, albeit only in unstressed positions, such as *këpouc* ‘shoe’ (cf. std. *këpúcë*) and has less of a tendency to delete unstressed schwas than other Geg dialects (Dombrowski 2009: 26; Basha 1989: 156–157).¹⁹ Vidoeski (1968: 65) relates this tendency to preserve schwa in Dibër with the phonology of the Macedonian Debar dialects that have phonemic schwa and have few restrictions on the phonetic environments of the schwa (Dombrowski 2009: 26). Friedman (2005: 35–36), remarking on the identical historical developments of schwas from nasals in the Macedonian and Albanian dialects, comments that since Debar dialects are the only (Macedonian) Slavic ones to preserve a non-nasal (mid-) rounded reflex of the back nasal, and since the Pre-Albanian nasal also gave rise to schwa (here and in Tosk), the urban Dibër/Debar Slavic and Albanian vocalic systems have converged. Because both the Slavic and Albanian dialects diverge from surrounding dialects toward similar vowel systems this appears to be a genuine phonological convergence.

Before coming to a certain conclusion, however, the development of schwa in Macedonian dialects should be considered more broadly. Many dialects of Macedonian have developed schwas, although the geographical distribution is quite sporadic. It is found in some Northwestern dialects: Gora, Skopsko Crnagora (highlands north of Skopje), north of Tetovo, and Western and Southwestern dialects: Urban Debar and Urban Ohrid, Struga, Bitola, Lower Prespa, Štrbovo, and Kostur, but not in other dialects (Vidoeski 1998: 312, 164, 151, 218–221, 247–248, 263, 193, 293; Vidoeski 2005: 41). In

¹⁹ The descriptions of these tendencies deserve some peripheral attention. In his description of the tendency of Dibër residents to preserve unstressed schwas, Naim Basha writes that “Among speakers of Dibër, the vowel *ë* is preserved more enthusiastically than for those of other dialects of Geg.” While it is true that there is a tendency to preserve *ë* it should be noted that there are cases that *ë* is lost, particularly in post-tonic position as in *lirinë* (cf. standard *lirinë* ‘freedom (ACC.DEF)’) or in immediate pre-tonic position *bardhsi* ‘whiteness’ (cf. standard *bardhësi*) (Basha 1989: 157–158).

particular, dialects in the western and southwestern periphery (Gorni Polog, Debar, Struga, Ohrid, and Kostur) that have developed a schwa may have been influenced by bordering Albanian dialects, as these are in contact with Tosk Albanian dialects with phonemic schwa (Friedman and Joseph 2013: 5.4.5.2; Vidoeski 1998: 112). However, in other areas where Macedonian dialects are in contact with Geg (with the exception of Dibër), Albanian is less likely an influence in this development, as the schwa is less frequent in these dialects than in Tosk. Vidoeski (1998: 112) points out that some western dialects of Macedonian underwent the exact same phonological change as Albanian as /a/ adjacent to sonorants changed to a nasalized vowel (eventually merging with CSI /ɔ/) and became schwa in the process of denasalization. Thus **snaga* went through a stage of **snāga* on the way to *snāga* ‘strength’ in dialects such as Ohrid where CSI /ɔ/ > /ǎ/ ([ə]). He also points out that the same process is found not only in Macedonian and Albanian, but also Aromanian: *cîmp* ‘field’ (cf. Lat *campus*), *cîntec* ‘song’ (cf. Lat *canticum*) (where /î/ is a high mid vowel). Thus, this convergence is not limited to Slavic and Albanian. Also, the presence of schwa in some of the urban dialects, namely Debar/Dibër, Ohrid/Ohër, and Struga may indicate that contact with Turkish may also have played some role in its development in some of these dialects.

Finally, some have considered the denasalization and change in vowel quality in Tosk and Macedonian as historically related. More specifically, Trummer (1973) and Hamp (1981/82) point out that the developments of back nasal vowels in Slavic to rounded vowels, such as Serbian /u/, as in *put* ‘road, trip’ or unrounded vowels, such as Macedonian /a/ and Bulgarian /ǔ/ (*pat* and *pǔt*, respectively) nicely parallels the outcomes in Albanian nasal vowels, in their preservation in Geg, and the denasalization

and development into schwa in Tosk. Because of this close parallelism and geographic correspondence, Trummer (1981) and Hamp (1981/82: 781–782) consider them as one historical isogloss. According to this theory, contact between Tosk and Slavic (and perhaps other languages) resulted in shared phonological changes of denasalization and unrounding in areas south of the Jireček line (under Greek influence) and the preservation of roundedness and/or nasality to the north of that line, with contact between Geg and Slavic (including Serbian and Northwestern Macedonian dialects). While perhaps this analysis has a broader scope of dialect geography than is most useful for investigating phonological convergences, it does give a broader context to Slavic-Albanian mutual influence, pointing to the fact that there are many influences that have left their imprint on the languages and dialects under investigation here and is yet one more precaution against prematurely assigning any sort of responsibility to one language for another language's historical developments. Thus, while both Albanian and Macedonian have been influenced by each other in the creation and preservation of a schwa, it is impossible to assign responsibility for the change at hand, and likely contact with other languages has played as much a role in the development of schwa in Macedonian as contact with Albanian has. For this reason, only the convergence in urban dialects of Debar/Dibër (Macedonian and Albanian) is judged as a phonological convergence due to language contact.

4.3.1.2 Labialization

The second phonological convergence between Slavic and Albanian affects many of the same sounds discussed in the previous change: the rounding, or labialization, of

vowels. In many areas of Macedonian where the Slavic back nasal goes to [a^o] instead of to [ə], the same phenomenon is found in Albanian. For example, compare Mk *pa^ot* ‘road’ (some western dialects) < CSI. *pŏt* with Geg *â^on* ‘side’ and *kâ^otër* ‘four’ (cf. Tosk *anë* and *katër*) (Stanišić 1995: 50). Vidoeski claims that the labialization found in the Macedonian dialects in parts of Debar, such as Reka, and Albanian rural dialects of Debar may have influenced each other in this respect (1998: 112). Whether or not this is a true convergence is debatable, as the phonological starting points of [a^o] in Albanian and Macedonian are different in these cases, still the presence of labialized /a/ in one of the dialects may have influenced the shape of /a/ in the other dialect. Changes in northern Albanian and in eastern Montenegrin dialects, on the other hand, show parallels where /a/ is labialized to [a^o], for example Montenegrin *svâ^odba* ‘wedding’, *katunâ^or* ‘villager’, *Bă^or* ‘Bar (city on Montenegrin coast) (cf. std. *svâdba*, *katunâr*, and *Bâr*)²⁰ compared to the Albanian forms cited above (Stanišić 1995: 50; Stevanović 1935: 18–20; Vujović 1958: 241–245, Vujović 1969: 122–126, Ivić 1985: 161).

In fact, the labialization of /ā/ occurs in many parts of Albanian, particularly in environments where nasals are also present, yet in particular dialects, such as those mentioned above, contact with Slavic definitely should not be ruled out of the explanation. In general this development seems to be quite sporadic, both with respect to geography and the words in which it has taken place. In the ADA maps generalizing phonetic variants, two main areas emerge as showing labialization—Central Geg,

²⁰ Unlike Macedonian dialects, many West South Slavic dialects have phonemic distinctions of length (see §4.5.1). The accents in these example ´ and ^ represent long rising and falling stressed vowels, respectively, according to the traditional orthographies of Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian. The two short tones are marked with ` and `` for rising and falling tones, respectively. Potential confusion between these sign comes from the traditional Albanian orthographic representation of nasality ^.

particularly towards the western half of Albania (around Tiranë, Durrës, and Kavajë, and also to the North, in Mat, Mirditë and part of Lezhë) (map 58/31) and Northeastern Geg, particularly in Kosovo (including Metohia) (64/38a), as shown in Figure 4.3, below.²¹ Other locations also show labialization, including one point near Montenegro, south of Lake Shkodër (Dajç, Bregu i Bunës), and a handful of points in Macedonia (Tanushaj, Dibër; Ravenë, Gostivar; Zhitoshë, Prilep, and Tunishevc, north of Skopje).

²¹ Map 58, corresponding to question 31 indicates the phonetic realization of /a/ following /m/ and /n/ as in *mal* ‘mountain’ and *spinaq* ‘spinach’ which appears limited to these areas of Central Geg (perhaps a more recent development), while 38a/64 gives information about the realization of the stressed vowel /ë/ (Tosk) ~ /ã/ (Geg) which shows labialization both in the areas mentioned above in Central Geg as well as those in Kosovo mentioned above.

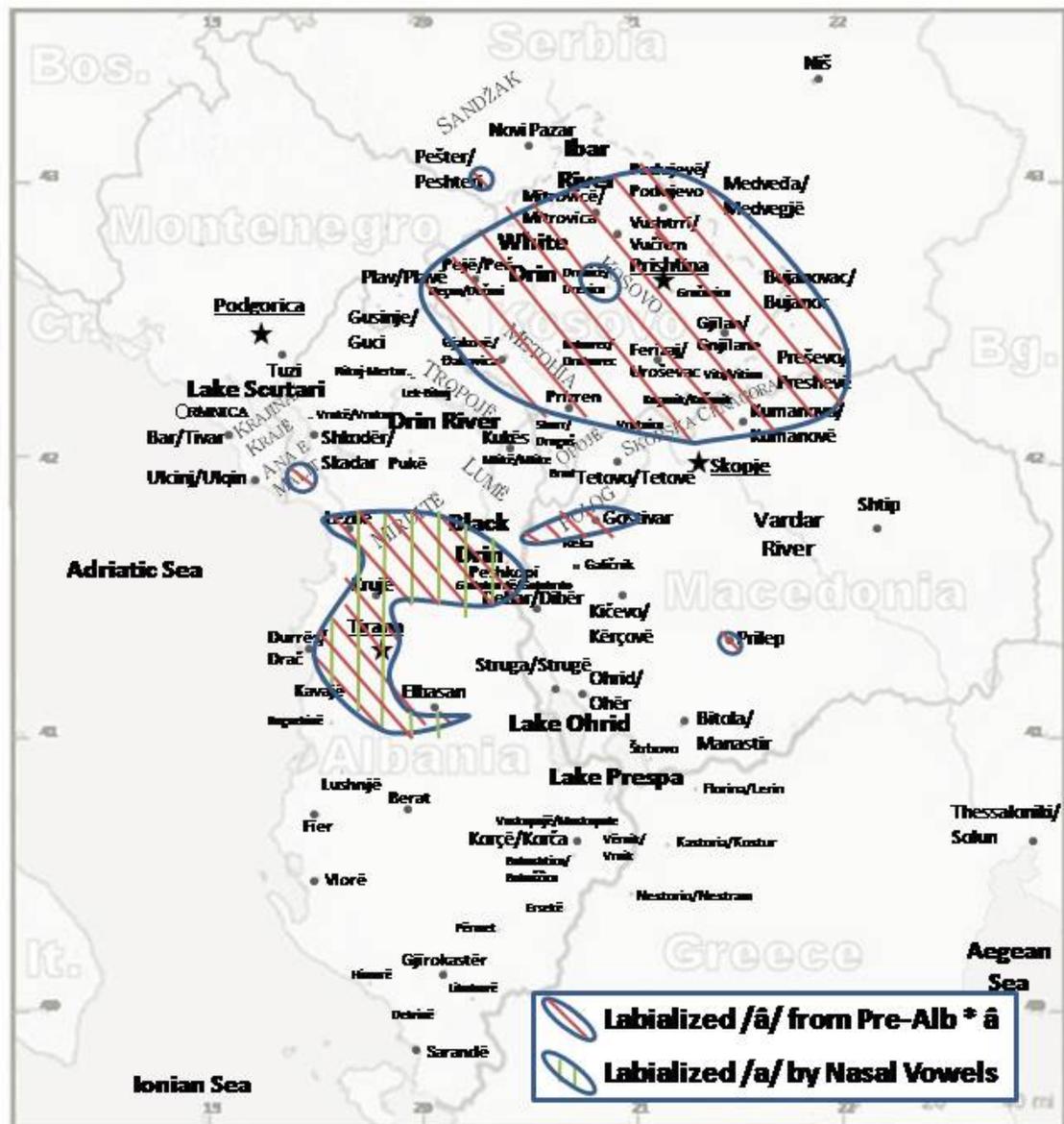


Figure 4.3. Spread of Labialized /a/ (adjacent to nasals, or from *â) in Albanian

Thus it appears to be an allophone of /ã/ or /a/ when adjacent to a nasal obstruent. The affect of an adjacent nasal on the vowel formants could lead towards labialization as nasalized vowels have a lower first formant, which is also characteristic of closed vowels. In this way, the acoustics of a neighboring nasal could produce assimilatory changes

resulting in labialization. However, in those areas of eastern Montenegro where Slavic and Albanian dialects round /ā/ to [a^o], contact seems to be a likely cause for the change in both languages.

4.3.1.3. Ikavism and other reflexes of CSI /ě/ (jat)

An important development in the phonological history of South Slavic dialects is the development of CSI /ě/ into a number of reflexes found in the various dialects of South Slavic. Reflexes of this vowel, which likely was phonetically a tense low front vowel [æ] (Schenker 1993: 79) form one of the primary isoglosses for classifying the dialects of West South Slavic (Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian). These divisions are (1) *ikavian* (where ě > i)—mostly in Dalmatia along the Adriatic coast, in Bosnia northwest of the Neretva River, parts of Eastern Slavonia, and for Croatian speakers in the far northern reaches of Serbia—(2) *ijevakian* (ě > (i)je)—throughout Montenegro, Southern Dalmatia (around Dubrovnik) most of Bosnia, parts of Western Serbia, and Central Slavonia—and (3) *ekavian* (ě > e)—Kosovo, the vast majority of Serbia (Browne 1993: 308–309; Alexander 2006: 391–393). Outside of West South Slavic, /e/ is the most common reflex in Macedonia, although /a/ is found after /c/ in Eastern dialects (Friedman 1993: 301), /e/ is found in western dialects of Bulgarian and /a/ is found in the east (Scatton 1993: 244).

One area where there is a divergence from this pattern is among Muslim Slavic speakers in parts of Montenegro, specifically in Podgorica, Plava and Gusinje, and Mrković, where the long jat gives a long falling /î/. Ivić (1985²²: 209), Camaj (1966:

²² In the course of this research, I used multiple editions (Serbian and German) of Ivić's very useful history of the Serbocroatian dialects. For consistency I have given the 1985 edition, although the pagination may be off slightly due to the multiple editions.

117–118), and Stanišić (1995: 49) all claim that this is not the result of influence from Bosnian, but is rather a convergence with an Albanian change from the diphthong *ie* which also goes to long /ī/. Examples from Slavic include *snîg* ‘snow’ and *mlîko* ‘milk’ (cf. Cr *snijeg*, Sr *sneg* and Cr *mlijeko*, Sr *mleko*), and examples from Albanian include *mîll* ‘flour’ (< *miell*), *dîll* ‘sun’ (< *diell*), and *qîll* ‘heaven’ (< *qiell*) (Ivić 1985: 159; Pižurica 1984: 89; Camaj 1966: 117; Stevanović 1935: 24–26; Stanišić 1995: 49).²³ The fact that this distribution is found among Muslim speakers of Slavic makes it particularly likely that contact with Albanian is a factor in this development. As the social connections between the Muslim Albanian and Muslim Slavic population are closer than those across religious lines, this additional cultural tie strengthens the possibility of social influence. Given that it matches from a geographic distribution as well as a social distribution, the change in Slavic is almost certainly due to contact with Albanian.

One further point of convergence has been proposed by Dombrowski (2009: 14–15) that the development of /ie/, /ē/ and /je/ in Albanian dialects mirrors the general distribution of CSL /ě/ in Slavic varieties found in Kosovo/Macedonia (/e/) and Montenegro (/ie/). Information from the ADA (107–112/54a-55b) gives a somewhat different impression. ADA Map 112/55b shows the development of *je* > *ie* as an innovation in the dialects of northern part of eastern Montenegro (near Plav/Plava), matching the general outcome of CSL /ě/. However the change *je* > *e* is more characteristic of Central Geg, and is thus found in northwestern Macedonia, while in

²³ Pižurica (1984: 89) puts forth the suggestion that contact with Albanian might also be responsible for the outcome of /ē/ in parts of southern Montenegro, particularly in Ulcinj/Ulqin and the Mrković dialects to the Northwest, citing a tendency for Albanian dialects in the area, specifically in Shkodër/Skadar to monophthongize the vowel sequence *ie* to *ē*, but corroborating forms in Albanian dialects seem to be absent in the area (ADA 107–110/54a-c2 all have /i/ for these areas).

Kosovo *je* generally remains as *je*, except in some places and in some environments it is realized as *i*.²⁴ Given that the reflex of *i* occurs in a wider geographic spread, it is likely that the change in Albanian is not due to contact with Slavic, rather, the forms among Muslim Slavs in eastern Montenegro is likely the result of contact with Albanian, possibly due to a population shift to Slavic. In conclusion, while there are points at which the development of Common Slavic /ě/ falls together with Alb /ie/ ~ /e/, such as in most of Macedonia as /e/ and with the Muslim Slavic population and Albanian in Eastern Montenegro as /i/, there are many other areas where these changes do not converge.

4.3.1.4. o > uo / vo

Camaj (1996: 118–119) relates the change of /o/ to uo/vo in Geg Albanian and Southern and Eastern Montenegrin dialects to one another. The development of o > uo in Albanian is of a fairly early date, and ultimately yields different results in Geg and Tosk (*ue* or *ū* in Geg, *ua* in Tosk), whereas in Northwest Geg dialects in eastern Montenegro, the older form of the diphthongization is preserved as *uo* (ADA 100/51a). This change in Albanian can be seen in nominal paradigms containing alternations of **uo* and *o* in forms such as *krue* (Geg) / *krua* (Tosk) (INDEF.SG) ~ *kroni* ‘spring, source’ (DEF.SG), and in borrowings from **o* such as *shuell* / *shuall* ‘shoe sole’ from Lat *solea* ‘sole’ (Camaj 1966: 118). A similar development of o > uo is also found in some Slavic dialects in Montenegro, as well as Balkan Romance. In Bar and Mrković and Eastern Montenegrin this change is found in words such as *buoj* ‘battle’ < *bôj* and *nauoçi* ‘in (front of) the

²⁴ Pejë/Peć, (in Metohia) [i] is found in about all of the environments tested, whereas in other places [i] is more common in clusters of *ie*.

eyes' < *naóci* (ibid.).²⁵ In initial position the glide develops further into /v/ as in *vobðr* 'yard' < *obor*. Similar developments of glide onsets before /o/ are found in several places in Slavic, notably in East Slavic, and is found in colloquial Czech (compare OCS *osmǐ*, BCS *osam* 'eight' with Rus *vosem* ', Ukr *visim*, Bel *vosem* '). In Albanian, glide onsets have also developed in front of initial /o/, throughout the dialects (and presumably at a much earlier stage), such as *voj* (Geg) / *vaj* (Tosk) 'oil' < Lat *oleum*, *vorfun* (Geg) / *varfër* (Tosk) 'poor' < Lat *orphanus*, so Albanian could be the source of these changes in Eastern and Southern Montenegro. Likewise, the contact with Slavic dialects developing the sequence *uo* may also factor into the sequence's preservation in these dialects of Northern Geg, but not in other dialects. However, since glide onsets are also common cross-linguistically and are phonetically 'natural', an external explanation is truly not entirely necessary. A language external explanation could account for why the change has happened in these specific dialects, but if a language-contact explanation is sought, contact with Romance may also be part of the development. Although native Romance speakers have since shifted to Slavic or Albanian, at one point, they comprised a fairly large community in Montenegro (Pižurica 1984). Balkan Romance has diphthongized initial *o* into *oa* as in *oarfan* 'orphan', *oam* 'man' (cf. Lat *homo*). Although this change does not match the developments in Eastern and Southern Montenegrin, the possibility of Romance influence cannot be eliminated. This, combined with the naturalness of the change, means the influence of Albanian in this change can only be accepted with some

²⁵ Camaj (1966: 119) also reports that this glide onset also has developed before /a/, which he describes as being phonetically more similar to /ô/ than to a typical a, as in *stuari* 'the elders' < *stâri* (ibid.).

reservation and relies more on the evidence from geographic distribution than from being unexpected from a typological perspective.

One further development in these sounds may show dialectal influence of Slavic on Albanian. In particular, the Albanian dialect in Gjakovë/Đakovica, the vowel /y/ has developed a secondary labial glide as *u^hi*, as in *u^hill* ‘star’ (cf. std. *yll*). Camaj (1966: 119) indicates that the best explanation for this development, which apparently is found only in this dialect of Albanian, is likely due to influence from Eastern Montenegrin dialects that diphthongize /u/ as well as /o/ in word-initial position, as in *vusta* ‘lips’ < *usta*. The outcomes of the diphthongization are not identical in Albanian and Slavic here, as the Albanian has the glide after the initial vowel, however, the process of diphthongization may have had some impact in the development in Albanian as this change appears to be limited to this dialect.

4.3.1.5 Other Diphthongization and Vowel Sequences

Another point of convergence between Albanian and Slavic dialects is the toleration of sequential vowels and a number of developments related to these sequences. In most cases internal explanations are just as good or even better than external ones.

4.3.1.5.1 Toleration of Vowel + Vowel Sequences

First is the issue of tolerating sequences of consecutive vowels. Sequences of consecutive vowels without jotation or some other consonant-like insertion are rare across Slavic languages. Some exceptions include Rus, Sr, (etc.) *pauk* ‘spider’, BCS sequences from CSI word-final /-l/ as in *ugao* ‘corner’, *pepeo* ‘ash’, and masculine

singular past tense forms *pio* ‘drunk’, *pisao* ‘wrote’, and borrowings such as *auto*, *radio*, *aorist*, etc. Many Macedonian VV sequences come from the loss of intervocalic /v/²⁶ and other consonants or occur at morpheme boundaries, such as in 3rd person verb endings, *doaġaat* ‘(they) come’ (do-aġ-aa-t < *do-adj-avat), *bea* ‘(he/she) was’, or in pronouns such as *taa* ‘she (NOM)’. Such a feature, however, is also found in Bulgarian, as in *znaeš* ‘(YOU-SG) know’ (zna-e-š) (Scatton 1993: 190), and were common in OCS verb forms at morpheme boundaries, like *ta besədovaašete* ‘they were conversing (IMPFV.IMPF)’ (Zagrophensis; Luke 24: 14) and *daděaše* ‘(he) would give (PRFV.IMPF)’ (Suprasliensis 207.14) (cited in Huntley 1993: 128). Given that these sequences are found in Bulgarian and Old Church Slavonic invoking an external cause is not necessary to explain the permission of vocalic sequences in Macedonian; thus, contact with Albanian is likely irrelevant for this development.

Furthermore, the vowel sequences in Albanian are of a different distribution and incorporate a wider range of vowel combinations. Like the examples in Slavic they can occur across morpheme boundaries, as in 3rd person simple past tense forms like *shkoi* ‘(he/she) went’, *lau* ‘(he/she) washed’, *bleu* ‘(he/she) bought’, or in participles *bluar* (Tosk) / *bluen* (Geg) ‘ground’ and *lyer* (Tosk) / *lyen* (Geg) ‘painted’. However, they are not limited to morpheme boundaries or recent borrowings, as several occur root-internally, as in *diell* ‘sun’, *miell* ‘flour’, *huaj* ‘foreign, alien’ *luan* ‘lion’, *fyell* ‘pipe, flute’, *krye* ‘head, chief’. Furthermore, the sequences of vowels are different in Albanian sequences and Macedonian sequences. Many of the Macedonian vowel sequences

²⁶ More diphthongs are found in Western Macedonian dialects as a result of more deletions of intervocalic consonants, such as *ċoek* ‘human, man’ (cf. Standard Mk *ċovek*, Sr *ċovek*, Rus *ċelovek*), *toar* ‘product’ (cf. std. Mk *tovar*) (Vidoeski 1998: 113).

involve two of the same vowel, often *aa*, which are not found in Albanian. Moreover, diphthongs in Albanian have a fairly sure origin from PIE **e* > Alb *je, ie*, like Alb *bie* ‘bring’ < PIE **bher-* (cf. Skt. *bharati* ‘carry, bear’) and Alb *miell* < PIE **mel-* (cf. OHG *mēlo* ‘flour’, OCS *mlěti* ‘to grind, mill’) (Orel 2000: 265, Vasmer) or are traceable to borrowings, such as from Latin, as in *qiell* ‘sky’ from Lat *caelum* (Topalli Forthcoming). Thus there are serious methodological reasons to consider these similarities in Albanian and Macedonian as being independent, parallel developments, although the results are similar. Unlike phenomena considered in previous sections, the issue at hand in this subsection has not been changes in individual sounds, but large-scale phonological patterns, or phonotactics: rules that specify which sequences of sounds are tolerated in a given language variety. If the situation of language contact is taken down to the minimum interaction of individual speakers dealing with sounds for example in the case of *imposition* or *interference*, a speaker may preserve certain patterns from the first language, such as is found in devocalization of final consonants in native Russians speaking English, but it is unlikely that a second language learner in a case of *reverse interference* would find a pattern in another language and be so influenced as to produce that on the first language. In any case, this particular example of phonotactic change is duly accounted for by attested internal developments and likely has little to do with language contact.

4.3.1.5.2 Diphthongization of /ī/ and /ū/

The second issue is the diphthongization of /ī/ to [ai] or [ɿi] and /ū/ to [au] or [ɿu] in Albanian dialects of northwestern Macedonia (Tetovo, Gostivar, Kërçovë, Dibër) etc.

Clearly this is a change in Albanian that is widespread in Macedonia, and some have remarked on how this makes the Albanian dialects more similar to Macedonian in these areas (Vidoeski 1998: 112–113). Yet, there are several reasons to doubt the influence of contact in these changes: first it is spread more widely throughout much of Central Geg (ADA 75–78/42a-ç), in addition, as argued above, the diphthongs in Macedonian do not involve a change of vocalic quality, but rather the epenthesis of consonants or the joining of vowels at a morpheme boundary, and finally, since the change is also found in other languages, such as English and German (Labov 1994; Joseph 2006), there is further reason to doubt any responsibility that Macedonian may have had in this change in Albanian (Dombrowski 2009: 11).

4.3.1.5.3. Reduction of Vowel Sequences to Long Vowels

Finally is the opposite trend of that first raised in this subsection: the reduction of vowel sequences to single vowels. Some dialects of Albanian and Macedonian show the tendency to reduce these vowel sequences to single long vowels. Vidoeski cites the trend of Macedonian and Albanian dialects to contract vowel sequences as *mīll* ‘flour’, *grū* ‘woman’ (cf. Tosk *grua*, Geg *grue*) for Albanian and *čēk* ‘human’ and *tōr* ‘product’ (cf. *čoek* and *toar* in other western dialects) (1998: 113). However, this trend to contracting vowel sequences is found in many areas of Geg remote from Macedonian, and is a general feature of all of Central Geg.²⁷ Thus, Macedonian certainly cannot be used to explain the contraction of vowels in parts of Geg remote from contact with Macedonian

²⁷ In word-internal environments the monophthongized variant [u] is also found throughout Kosovo and into Northwestern Geg south of Lake Shkodër (ADA 100–102/51a–c).

(Dombrowski 2009: 13–14). And while contact with Albanian might better explain the distribution of this tendency in Macedonian dialects, given the naturalness of contracting adjacent vowels into a long vowel, claiming such an external factor is unnecessary.

4.3.2. Albanian Convergences with Slavic

The following section focuses on phonological changes that have primarily affected Albanian. That is, the changes considered here show possible effects on Albanian from contact with Slavic: the loss of /y/ (§4.3.2.1), the denasalization of nasal vowels (§4.3.2.2), and a morphophonemic alternation of vowel~ø in Albanian (§4.3.2.3).

4.3.2.1. Loss of /y/

A number of Albanian dialects lose the phonetic distinction of /y/ ([y]), generally merging with /i/. As this happens in quite a few locations where speakers are in contact with Macedonian, it has been suggested that contact with Slavic is a possible cause for this change. Dombrowski cites the following Albanian dialects in contact with Slavic that have lost /y/: Tetovë, Luzina e Dibrës, Bobi, Bujanovac, and the region of Kaçanik, although not in the urban Kaçanik (Dombrowski 2009: 15; Nesimi 1978: 350–351; Beci 1974: 231; Raka 2004: 163, Ajeti 1972: 71; Raka 2004b: 14). The loss of /y/ is also characteristic of a number of dialects far flung from present-day Slavic contact. Dombrowski mentions the merger of /y/ and /i/ in northern and western Mirditë (North-central Albania (Beci 1982: 44), but other areas have also lost the phonological distinction of /y/, particularly Southern Tosk, from Himarë (on Adriatic coast South of Vlorë) and Gjirokastër south into northern Greece (Çamëria) as well as Arbëresh and

Arvanitika communities. In these last two cases, the Albanian dialects are in contact with other languages that do not have the vowel /y/ (Greek and Italian), so its loss in these areas has also been explained by phonological convergence through bilingualism (for example, Friedman and Joseph 2013: 5.4.1). Thus, while Slavic may have influenced some of the dialects that have lost /y/, other languages have had the same influence in other areas.

There are three other facts to consider: one of which argues against language contact, one that argues for it, and one that requires some additional explanation. First, the change of /y/ to /i/ and other changes resulting in the loss of /y/ are not uncommon cross-linguistically. Maddieson (2011b) reports that only 6.6% of the world's surveyed languages contain such a phoneme (also cited in Friedman and Joseph 2013: 5.4.1). Thus it is entirely plausible that Albanian dialects could have lost /y/ without external influence. Second, in addition to the dialects that lose /y/ as a distinctive phoneme, a number of dialects in contact with Macedonian (and many more in contact with Serbian) maintain the phonemic distinction. Thus, what emerges in the dialectal distribution is the picture expected for language contact: a sporadic distribution of the loss and preservation of the sound. Indeed in a couple of points, some words maintain /y/ while others have changed to /i/ (see ADA 83/44.c) and Figure 4.4, below.

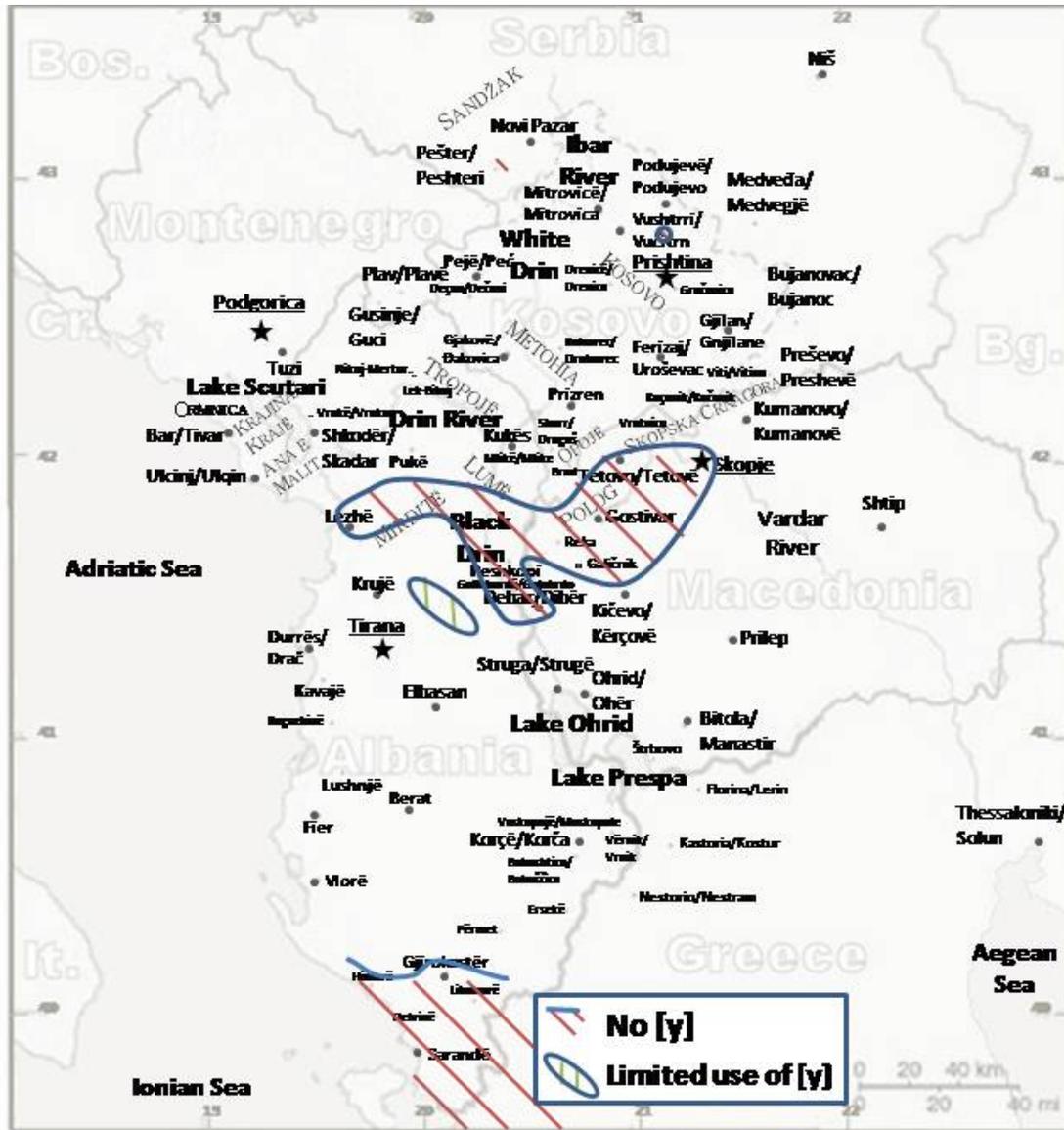


Figure 4.4 Albanian Dialects without /y/ ([y])

In fact the sporadicity of changes in Central Geg makes it appear that the change in Southern Tosk may be a regular sound change, that perhaps may have begun with contact with Greek²⁸, but as it is also in Arbëresh dialects in Italy, the lack of /y/ may have either

²⁸ Greek apparently lost the phonemic distinction of the front rounded vowel <υ> fairly early, at least by the 10th Century AD (Newton 1972), although some dialects in northern Greece (Thessaly, Macedonia, and

been an early feature of Southern Tosk, or several individual developments may have taken place due to contact.. Third, as Dombrowski points out, many points in Central Geg are not in contact with Slavic but nonetheless show the merger of /i/ and /y/. This may be due to contact with Central Geg dialects that have undergone the change or through isolated individual changes. Neither explanation is simple. All things considered, the patterning of the dialects that experience the change in Central Geg leads me to believe, along with Dombrowski (2009: 15), that at least part of the change is due to contact with Slavic, although Slavic cannot account for the loss of /y/ in all northern Albanian dialects that have lost it.

4.3.2.2. Denasalization of Nasal Vowels in Geg Dialects

The denasalization of Slavic vowels and the regular loss of nasal vowels in Tosk have already been discussed in connection with the development of schwa (§3.3.1.1). These regular sound changes, as discussed in chapter 3, happened in the first half of the second millennium, AD. Whether or not these changes are due to contact with each other is somewhat doubtful, as suggested by the regularity with which the changes have proceeded in each language. Denasalization of certain Geg dialects, however, is presumed to be a fairly recent change (Topalli Forthcoming) and much more in line with predictions about changes due to external causation, specifically contact with Slavic. Indeed this change was invoked in §4.1 to illustrate what phonological convergences due to language contact ideally look like on a map (Figure 4.1, above). As stated there, in

Thrace) have secondarily developed rounded front vowels from sequences of *io* and *iu*. In these dialects borrowings from Turkish also have front rounded vowels, as in *baldürs* ‘vagabond’ (Friedman and Joseph 2013: 5.4.1.1.iii)

contrast to the regular denasalization of Tosk, the loss of nasalized vowels in Dibër/Debar, Macedonia; Ulqin/Ulcinj, Montenegro; and Arbanasi, Croatia argue for three separate, very localized changes, each caused by contact with Slavic dialects without nasal vowels. Furthermore, other dialects that have not completely lost the phonemic distinction of nasality have lost a number of nasal vowels; in Peshteri/Pešter, Serbia (near Novi Pazar) nasalized /â/ is preserved, while in Gërdovc, Kosovo, nasalized /â/ and /ê/ are both preserved (ADA 8–12/2a-d); likewise Albanian dialects in Upper Reka, Macedonia only preserve one nasal vowel (Haruni 1994: 20, cited in Friedman 2003: 47). Although nasalized vowels are less common cross-linguistically, existing phonemically in approximately 26% of the world's languages (Hajek 2011), the spotty, inconsistent distribution of denasalization that emerges from these changes in Geg argue for effect of contact with Slavic dialects (Friedman and Joseph 2013: 5.4.1.4; Friedman 2003: 47; Dombrowski 2009: 9–10). However these individual changes are likely unrelated to the denasalization of Slavic nasal vowels and the denasalization in Tosk, both of which happened significantly earlier.²⁹

4.3.2.3. Vowel ~ Zero Alternations

A morphophonemic feature common to Slavic languages is the alternation between the presence and absence of a vowel in paradigmatically related forms. For example, BCS *nizak*, Mk *nizok*, ‘low’ have a vowel in the last part of the stem of the masculine singular forms of these adjectives, but in other forms, such as the feminine

²⁹ While some Macedonian dialects in the extreme south and southwest have preserved elements of nasality, in nasal consonants from inherited CSI nasal vowels, these dialects would be in contact with Tosk, not Geg dialects. Since Tosk dialects underwent denasalization much earlier (before 15th century), contact between Albanian and Macedonian has likely had no significant effect on the loss or preservation of nasality in these dialects.

singular, no vowel is present between the final consonants: BCS, Mk *niska*. This is often referred to as vowel-zero (V~Ø) alternations, and is one result of the loss of CSL weak jers, (as described in §3.2.2.2). Thus the vowels that are the result of strong jers are involved in these alternations; for standard Serbian, /a/ alternates with ø, while in standard Macedonian, /e/ and /o/ alternate with ø, whereas dialects that have other outcomes from preserved jers show alternation with these vowels and ø. Albanian also has vowel~ø alternations affecting stems with /ë/, as in singular nominative indefinite *emër* (Tosk) / *emën* (Geg) ‘(a) name’ compared to singular nominative definite *emri* (Tosk) / *emni* (Geg) ‘(the) name’. As Friedman and Joseph (2013: 5.6) show, the presence of V~Ø alternations in Slavic and Albanian (as well as Turkish) are sufficiently accounted for by developments internal to each of the languages without influence from language contact.

However, in some Albanian dialects in contact with Slavic the realization of these morphological alternations show even stronger similarities to the patterns found in neighboring Slavic dialects, as they include vowels other than /ë/. As Dombrowski (2009: 22–25) argues, some Albanian dialects in contact with Slavic alternate /u/ with ø in nouns ending in *-ull* and *-ur*, and sometimes *-urr* when the definite ending is added to the stem. For example in dialects of Ana e Malit, Montenegro; Mirditë and Gryka e Madhe, Albania; and Dibër/Debar city dialect, Macedonia alternations such as *vetull* ‘eyebrow’ (INDEF.SG)~*vetlla* (DEF.SG), *hekur* ‘iron’ (INDEF.SG)~*hekri* (DEF.SG) are found (cf. std. *vetull*~*vetulla* and *hekur*~*hekuri*). In a similar vein, dialects of Opojë in southern Kosovo “shift unstressed /o/ to /u/ in this environment, mirroring the neighboring Slavic dialects of Gora” (ibid.: 23–24; Pajaziti 2005: 51). While this is not an instance of

morphophonemic alternation with \emptyset , it is an example of a convergence in phonology with nearby Slavic dialects in the related phenomena of vowel reduction. A final example is found in dialects of Gjakovë/Đakovica in southwestern Metohia, where /e/ alternates with \emptyset in some places where other dialects have /ë/ alternating with \emptyset , such as the masculine adjectival suffix *-shëm* (alternating with the feminine suffix *-shme*), and nouns ending in *-ën*, as in *xharpen* ‘snake’ and *breshen* ‘hail’ (cf. std. *gjarpër* and *breshër*) that lose the final vowel in the stem in the definite forms (hence *xharpni* and *breshni*) (Agani 1978: 219). In this dialect, /e/ essentially alternates with \emptyset as happens in some dialects of Serbian and Macedonian (including, to a small extent in Metohia (Ivić 1986: 113)).³⁰ Thus a number of Albanian dialects in contact with Slavic have V~ \emptyset alternations or similar patterns, beyond the usual Albanian alternation between /ë/ and \emptyset , converging in this way with patterns found in Slavic.

That this shows some convergence toward Slavic morphophonemics is indisputable; however, it is difficult to link these developments in Albanian dialects to contact with Slavic alone. Essentially what is proposed is not the realization of a particular sound, nor even a phonotactic pattern, as in other changes considered in this section, but a morphophonemic pattern. Thus, more is involved than just imitation or adaptation of sounds: morphologically sensitive phonological patterns are argued to be transferred from Slavic to Albanian. As Dombrowski admits (2009: 24) if this is due to contact “it would be a rare example of morphologically conditioned phonological alternation spreading across languages.” Yet, because of the sporadic patterning of these

³⁰ For the most part, the jers are realized as central mid vowels, although to a certain extent they are also influenced by the surrounding consonants, and thus may give /e/ as in *konec* (fronting due to the following dental) or /o/ as in *petok* (backing due to following velar), etc. (Ivić 1986: 113).

changes, the lack of consistent phonetic environment for the change, and the lack of systemic environments for analogy to be systematically applied, he argues that language contact is the best explanation for the spread of these changes in Albanian. While Dombrowski finds analogy unacceptable because the specific environments are impossible to specify without over-predicting the change, a precise conditioning environment is not necessary for an analogical change. All that is necessary is some element that individual speakers can see as analogous, in form or function. Moreover, a broader scope of the geographical distribution of these features fits an explanation based on a combination of regular sound change and analogy to explain the changes internal to Albanian that—coincidentally or not—lead to a convergence with patterns of Slavic.

Specifically, the changes in Albanian involve the unstressed vowel /*ë*/ which is notoriously instable in Albanian, especially in dialects of Geg or other unstressed vowels, /*u*/ or /*e*/. As presented in §4.3.1.1, above, in most cases unstressed schwa is deleted in Geg. The main exception to this is when /*ë*/ precedes a sonorant in closed syllables, in which case it is almost always preserved (see for example Basha 1989: 157). It is likely no coincidence that the changes to the vowels alternating with *Ø* all involve adjacent sonorants (*l*, *r*, *rr*, *m*, and *n*). The change in Gjakovë/Đakovica is certainly more limited geographically, and has been demonstrated to be fairly recent, around the 18th Century (Agani 1978: 210–212). The fronting of a mid vowel due to assimilation to the dental and bilabial nasal obstruents, as found in *xharpen* ‘snake’ and *hishem* ‘hansom’ (cf. std. *hijshëm*), is also entirely explainable in terms of articulation. This alternation between what historically had been an unstressed schwa and *ø*, is parallel to the change in Slavic, but not necessarily due to it, as it can be explained by a natural, regular sound change.

The matter of the alternation between /u/ and Ø is much more involved, although a similar regular sound change is likely part of the explanation for this change as well. Broader information about the geographical spread of this alternation in Albanian reveals that this phenomenon is found throughout Central and Northeastern Geg, and to a lesser extent also influences western areas of Northern Tosk and Northwestern Geg. Thus, including most areas in contact with Slavic, but also including many areas not directly in contact with Slavic. Maps in the ADA (42–43/25a-b) present four realizations of the alternation between /u/ and Ø on the basis of nouns ending in (unstressed) *-ull* (42/25a) and *-ur* (43/25b): 1) the preservation of /u/ in both definite and indefinite forms [vetuɫ]–[vetuɫa] ‘eyebrow’ (INDEF – DEF), [hekur]–[hekuri] ‘iron’ (INDEF – DEF), 2) an alternation between /u/ and Ø in [vetuɫ]–[vetɫa], [hekur]–[hekri] 3) an alternation between /ë/ and Ø, [vetətɫi]–[vetɫi], [hekər]–[hekri], and 4) the preservation of /u/ in some cases, but a change to /ë/ in others with [hekur]–[hekuri] but [flutər]–[flutra] ‘butterfly’ (INDEF – DEF). These four trends are shown in the map given in Figure 4.5, below, based on ADA 42–43/25a–b.

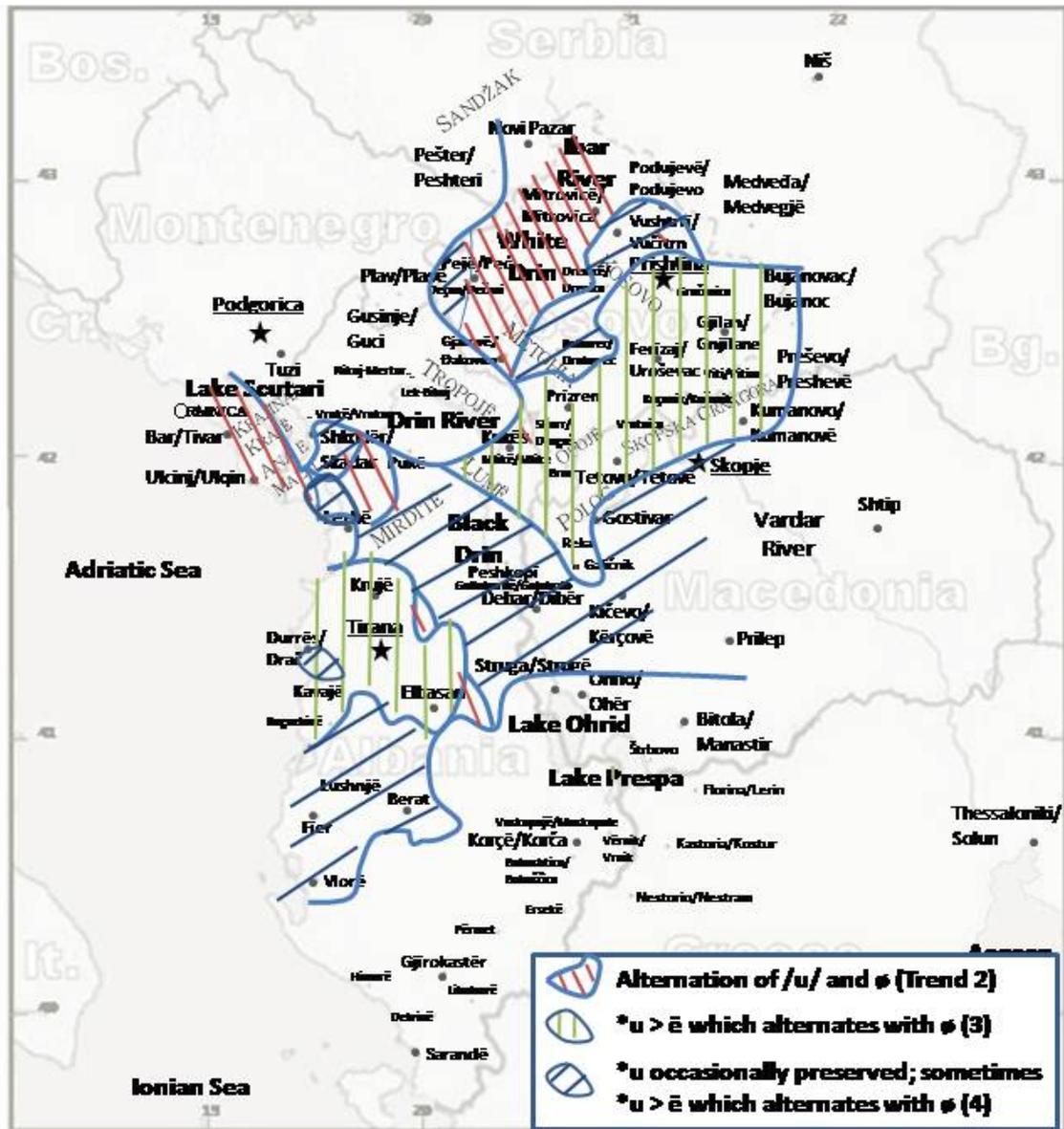


Figure 4.5. Reflexes of vetull~vetulla ‘eyebrow’ (INDEF, DEF) & hekur~hekuri ‘iron’

Geographically the preservation (1) is found in Central and Southern Tosk, in Arbëresh and Arvanitika, and in parts of Northwestern Geg, north and east of Lake Shkodër/Skadar, as well as other isolated areas. This distribution is completely in harmony with expectations of the patterning for the preservation of an older form on the

peripheries of speech community. The other trends are less easily interpretable by geography, but a plausible explanation is still possible. The /u/~Ø alternation (2) is found in Northwestern Geg in parts south of Lake Shkodër/Skadar and in several areas of north Central Geg, particularly in central Albania and to a lesser extent in eastern Albania and western Macedonia. The other area where this alternation is found consistently is in Metohia and parts of northern Kosovo. To a lesser extent this change is also found in a couple of places in Northern Tosk in the west of Albania (Berat and environs). Thus, this alternation is spread through many areas of Albanian dialects, including several in contact with Slavic, but certainly not limited to those. The third trend (3) is firstly a matter of a sound change, post-tonic $u > \text{ë}$ before word final r and $-ll$ ($u > \text{ë} / 'C _ \{r, ll\} \#$) which is yet another case of assimilation, in the fronting of a back vowel to adjacent liquids.³¹ Because of this change to /ë/ there is no theoretical difficulty in these forms entering into a $V \sim \emptyset$ alternation, although it is technically possible that the morphophonological alternations occurred before the sound change. Geographically, this change happens in two main areas linked through south-central Macedonia and Albanian. The first area includes southern and southwestern Central Geg, (Tiranë, Elbasan, and Durrës) and parts of western Northern Tosk (Lushnjë and Myzeqe). The second area includes most of Northeastern Geg and northeastern Central Geg including most of Kosovo and Metohia, Lumë (Albania) and northwestern and northern Macedonia. The fourth trend (4) only applies to words ending in $-r$, and appears to be an incomplete state of the change described in the third trend, where masculine nouns do not show the

³¹ Indeed, I think this might actually be a case of the liquids becoming vocalic, but Albanian scholarship seems to refute that possibility, expressing it in terms of schwa + liquid, instead (ADA 42–43/25a–b), etc.

change, but feminine nouns do. Distributionally, this mainly occurs in areas adjacent to trend 3, and thus seems to be linked geographically and formally by the features affected.

Interpreting this data is difficult as the geographical distribution is quite complex. One possible solution is that the sound change described in (3) ($u > \ddot{e} / 'C _ \{r, ll\} \#$) happened first, spreading throughout the areas covered by (2–4), then the indefinite form may have regained the original *-u* by analogy to other forms of the paradigms, such as the genitive/dative plural forms *hekurave* (area 3 and 4) and *vetullave* (area 3 only). This is an entirely plausible development, and the analogical leveling of paradigmatically related forms is a frequently encountered type of analogy. Furthermore, the geographical distribution of these does not present a major obstacle to this interpretation, although it would require that this analogical leveling happen in at least four different places (described in trend 2 above) However, given that analogical changes are not expected to give geographically consistent results, this is not a strong argument against this proposal. This two-step change is schematized in Table 4.2, below with earlier changes to the left of the figure and later changes to the right.

Change	Inherited Form	$u > \ddot{e}$ (entailing $\ddot{e} \sim \emptyset$)	analogical leveling	analogical leveling
Form	vetull ~ vetulla hekur ~ hekuri	vetëll ~ vetlla hekër ~ hekri	vetëll ~ vetlla hekur ~ hekri	vetull ~ vetlla hekur ~ hekri
Area	All	2,3,4	2, 4	2

Table 4.2 Changes Affecting *-ur/-ull* According to First Proposal

A second possibility is that trend 2 happened first; that is, the $V \sim \emptyset$ alternation came to include nouns ending in sequences of unstressed *-ull* and *-ur*, happening in areas

2–4, which includes several locations in contact with Slavic and several outside of the usual contact zones. This spread of the $\ddot{e}\sim\emptyset$ alternation to include nouns with these phonetically similar endings may have started in areas in contact with Slavic, or it may have been an extension of a language-internal rule by way of analogy. After the spread of this morphophonological pattern, dialects in area 3 would have undergone the change of $u > \ddot{e}$ affecting the indefinite forms, either through a regular sound change, or by analogy on the basis of other nouns that have $\ddot{e}\sim\emptyset$ alternations such as *emër/emën~emri/emni*. In area 4, it is only the masculine nouns that are affected by this change, while in area 3, both feminine and masculine nouns are affected. This second explanation then, involves two changes, the first on the basis of analogy, either language-internal or on the basis of analogy on patterns found in Slavic, and then a second change, likely also analogical. Distributionally, these changes make some sense, as the dialects of area 2 are found in more disparate groups, thus looking something like preservations of an older state. However, if area 3 is part of this change, then this is a considerably large area for an analogical- or contact-induced change to have occurred with such consistency.

Change	Inherited Form	Extension of V~ \emptyset to include u~ \emptyset	u> \ddot{e} (by analogy differentially applied in areas 2 and 4)	
Form	vetull ~ vetulla hekur ~ hekuri	vetull ~ vetlla hekur ~ hekri	vetëll ~ vetlla hekër ~ hekri	vetëll ~ vetlla hekur ~ hekri
Area	All	2,3,4	2	4

Table 4.3 Changes Affecting -ur/-ull According to Second Proposal

If language contact is the reason for the spread of V~Ø alternation rules in the changes in Albanian dialects, an additional three significant theoretical difficulties would have to be overcome. First, nowhere in this contact area do Slavic dialects alternate between /u/ and ø, thus the influence still could not be a direct transfer of patterns that actually are found in the Slavic dialects in question. Second, while the idea that such a large area would be affected by language contact is possible, the effects of the change reach far beyond the contact area, contrary to every other change accepted thus far as being due to contact between Albanian and Slavic. Finally, two of the three areas that have shown the most influence from language contact, viz. Plav/Plava and Gusinje/Gucia in eastern Montenegro and southwestern Macedonia/southeastern Albania do not participate in these changes; instead they preserve the oldest forms of the alternation. So even if the second proposal is accepted, it is unlikely that language contact is responsible for the alternation of /u/ and ø in the many Albanian dialects where this occurs.

While neither solution is without complications, I believe that the first offers a better solution: regular sound change followed by analogical leveling. Taken together, the three areas affected by the changes constitute a cohesive group of dialects. This would agree with the idea that the regular change occurred first. Then, in disparate areas, the affected forms were leveled out by analogy, giving a more sporadic distribution as expected with analogy. In neither proposal, however, is contact with Slavic a likely cause for the change in Albanian.

4.3.3. Slavic Convergences with Albanian

Changes in the vowels of Slavic dialects have also been characterized as effects of contact with Albanian, namely the development of /y/ in dialects of Serbian in Kosovo, southern Montenegrin dialects, and peripheral Macedonian dialects (§4.3.3.1), the recent nasalization of vowels adjacent to nasal consonants in Montenegrin dialects (§4.3.3.2), and the desyllabification of syllabic /r/ in dialects of Serbian in Kosovo and in peripheral SW Macedonian dialects (§4.3.3.3).

4.3.3.1. Development of [y]

While the loss of [y] in Albanian was considered the result of contact with Slavic in some dialects in section §4.3.2.1, above, the opposite trend is found in certain dialects of Serbian in Kosovo. Generally the presence of [y] in Serbian dialects in Prizren, Orahovac/Rahoveci, Vučitrn/Vushtrri, and Peć/Pejë is attributed to the influence of Turkish, given that during the Ottoman Empire (as late as 1918) Turkish was a prestigious form of communication in urban centers like these, and that they are limited to borrowings from Turkish such as *djšék* ‘mattress’ (< Tu. *düşek* (cf. std. *döşek*)), *djšán* ‘store’ (< Tu. *dükkan*), *djšèma* ‘floor’ (< Tu. *düşeme* (cf. std. *döşeme*)) (Remetić 1997: 115, 1996: 366–367; Stanišić 1995: 52; Friedman and Joseph 2013: 5.3; Sawicka 1997: 16). In addition, Stanišić argues that the penetration of [y] into the Serbian phonological system in these precise areas “obviously could not have occurred without the mediation of Albanian” as Albanian has the vowel not only in Turkish loanwords, but in other, older borrowed lexical items as well, such as *qytet* ‘city’ < Lat *civitatem*) (1995: 52), to which should be added data from Albanian words inherited from Proto-Indo-European as well,

such as *dy* ‘two’ (PIE **duōu*).³² The influence of Albanian here is not necessary to explain the changes in Serbian, although some have argued that Albanian should be taken into consideration because the sound did not develop in other urban dialects of Serbian and Bosnian in contact with Turkish, such as in Bosnia (Blaku 2010: 80).³³ It may be of some further interest that the other front rounded vowel [œ] is not incorporated into the phonologies of these urban dialects, given that some of the words from Turkish are not from [y] but [œ] (orthographically *ö*). Thus, the phonological patterns that come from these borrowings from Turkish more or less parallel those found in neighboring Albanian dialects. However, in this case, too, a better explanation than contact with Albanian is the shape that this sound takes in West Rumelian Turkish, as it generally merges with another vowel, either [y] or [e] (Friedman 2002: 3; Sawicka 1997: 13). Some sort of language contact is likely the cause of this development in Serbian, since, as noted earlier, [ü] is comparatively uncommon in world languages (Maddieson 2011b); however, it simply appears that Turkish gives the best explanation for the uncommon development, while Albanian influence is likely marginal.

There are, however, two additional areas where high rounded front vowels are found in Slavic dialects in contact with Albanian, namely in southern Montenegrin dialects (Friedman and Joseph 2013: 5.4.1.1.iii) and peripheral southwestern Macedonian dialects “where it occurs in numerous Turkish and Albanian loans” (Sawicka 1997: 16).

³² See Hamp (1992: 905–906) for a comprehensive discussion and detailed reconstruction of this form.

³³ Despite the attractiveness of this logic at first glance, it is not particularly convincing given that there are also many other places where Slavic contact with both Turkish and Albanian (as in Tetovo/Tetovë, Skopje/Shkup, Dibër, etc.) failed to produce the same effect. On the other hand, there are plenty of examples of phonology being transferred from Turkish to another language without the additional factor of Albanian. For example, the impact of Turkish on Greek in Adrianople (present-day Edirne), as recorded in (Roosentvall 1912) shows many examples of influence from Turkish phonology, including the use of /y/.

Given that there are other convergences with Albanian in these dialects and that Turkish has not had near the influence in Montenegro as it has in the urban areas of Kosovo, unlike the changes discussed in the preceding paragraph this is likely due primarily to contact with Albanian. In the case of Slavic dialects developing /ü/ in Macedonian dialects of Boboščica/Boboshticë, Albania, given the general influence of Albanian in the area, Albanian is at least partially responsible for the preservation of the phoneme, although Turkish is also involved (Friedman 1986c: 85–86; Sawicka 1997: 16; Vidoeski 1981: 753; Steinke and Ylli 2007: 306). Examples include loanwords from Turkish like *dükan* and *düşeme* and also a small number of words with Slavic origins, such as *ključ* ‘key’ (Vidoeski 1998: 107; Vidoeski 1981: 754). Because the phoneme is mostly limited to loanwords and is not the result of sound changes in affected dialects, this may not be a case of phonological convergence *sensu stricto*,³⁴ rather, lexical borrowings from Albanian and Turkish have created phonological similarities by adding new sounds.

4.3.3.2. Nasalization

A second proposed phonological change due to contact with Albanian is the presence of “nasal half-vowels” at the end of words or in open syllables in Eastern Montenegrin dialects bordering Albania (Stevanović 1935: 17–18; Stanišić 1995: 49; Friedman and Joseph 5.4.1.1). Examples include nasalization word-finally, particularly from sequences ending in –ao < CSI *-al, as in perfect participles such as *istëki^{an}* ‘flowed out, expired’ and *kreni^{ao}* ‘moved’ (cf. std. *istekao* and *krenao*) as well as other words

³⁴ Steinke and Ylli do not include the sound in their vocalic inventory for the Macedonian dialect of Boboščica on the basis of its limited distribution in loan words (2007: 306).

such as *pòsə^{an}* ‘work’ (cf. std. *posao*) Camaj 1966: 119; Stanišić 1995: 49). It is likewise found in open syllables at the end of the word *prejetel’skiⁿ* ‘friendly’ (cf. std. *prijateljski*) (Stanišić 1995: 49). Nasal vowels, as discussed in §4.3.2.2, although typologically uncommon, are found in most dialects of Geg, including those in contact with Eastern Montenegrin dialects where this nasalization is found. Additionally, it should be noted that in the case of the Montenegrin dialects, this is not a simple case of assimilation to an adjacent nasal, as is found in the history of nasalization in Proto-Slavic or Proto-Albanian (see §4.2.1.2 and §4.2.2.4), because there is no adjacent nasal. Geg word-final nasal vowels also include in participles, such as *bâ* [bɑː] ‘done’ (cf. Tosk *bërë*) and *vâ* [vɑ] ‘placed’ (cf. Tosk *vërë*), although unlike the Montenegrin participles, the nasality in Geg participles have an etymological explanation. There is also the possibility that the nasalization developed not from language contact, but from an internal change. Although vowel nasalization tends to develop by assimilation to adjacent nasals, nasalization has been shown to develop without the presence of a nasal consonant, as in Eastern Algonquian languages, where the nasal possibly developed due to the perception of long vowels as having a nasal quality (Whalen and Beddor 1989). Since parallel patterns are found in Albanian and these are not preservations of inherited nasal vowels, and since they appear to be unconnected to developments in nearby Slavic dialects, contact with Albanian provides the best explanation of the development of nasal semi-vowels in Eastern Montenegrin dialects.

4.3.3.3 Loss of Vocalic /r/

Similar to the development of /ü/ ([y]) in Serbian dialects in Kosovo and Metohia, vocalic /r/ has changed in pronunciation, again coming closer to the phonology of neighboring Albanian dialects. More specifically, the vocalic /r/ is pronounced with an initial mid-central semi-vowel (ɨ̞) in urban dialects in Prizren and Peć, for example *p^{ɨ̞}rsti* ‘fingers’, *b^{ɨ̞}rzo* ‘fast’, and *lak^{ɨ̞}rdija* ‘farce’ compared to standard Serbian *prsti*, *brzo*, and *lakrdija* (Stanišić 1995: 54; Remetić 1997: 115). As shown in these examples, words of Slavic origin and more recent borrowings both undergo this change, differing somewhat from the development of /ü/ in these dialects. Eliminating vocalic /r/ and adding /ü/ and /i/ to the phonologies of these dialects of Serbian, makes their vocalic inventory identical to the basic inventory of Albanian vowels (disregarding distinctions for nasality and length). However, it also aligns the phonology more closely with Turkish, the language purportedly exerting the greatest influence on urban dialects of Serbian. According to Pavle Ivić, the pronunciation of the half-vowel and the shortening of long /r/ is a common development in areas of Serbo-Croatian that have been under the strongest external influences (Ivić 1957: 181; Stanišić 1995: 54). It is safe to assume that neighboring languages have affected these developments in each of the se areas; in the case of urban dialects of Kosovo, Turkish is more likely the source for the change than Albanian.

The change of vocalic /r/ to schwa plus /r/ is also found in many dialects of Macedonian, including several in contact with Albanian. In many of these dialects vocalic /l/ also has added a schwa before the liquid, including in Gostivar, Debar, Struga, Ohrid, villages north and west of Prespa and in Kostur and Korča dialects (Vidoeski 1998: 106). Much of this has been handled in the subsection dealing with the development of schwa (§4.3.1.1). As many of these instances of schwa were thought to

have possibly been influenced by contact with Albanian, contact influence is also likely here. However, since the schwa is already accounted for in the developments of vocalic /r/, it is not necessarily a separate development, as it would be in Serbian dialects in Kosovo.

4.3.4. General Remarks on Convergences in vowels.

Several changes in the vowel systems have been considered in this section. Some of the changes are more likely due to internal developments or contact with languages other than Albanian or Slavic, still most of the changes are better explained by contact between Slavic and Albanian dialects. Of the changes considered, those that have most likely resulted from protracted Slavic-Albanian contact are the following: (1) the development of schwa from unstressed /a/ and its general loss in Slavic dialects in Montenegro, its development in Albanian and Macedonian dialects in Dibër/Debar, Macedonia, and also possibly in Albanian dialects in Peshteri, Serbia, and in peripheral Southwestern Macedonian dialects, (§4.3.1.1) including in sequences from vocalic /r/ (§4.3.3.3), (2) the labialization of /ā/ to [a^o] in Eastern Montenegrin dialects and Northwestern Geg dialects (§4.3.1.2), (3) the development of CSI /ě/ to /ī/ in Slavic Muslim communities in Eastern Montenegro, as well as the development of Albanian *ie* to /ī/ in Northwest Geg dialects in Montenegro and bordering areas of Albania (§4.3.1.3), (4) the diphthongization of /o/ to *uo* or *vo* in Southern and Eastern Montenegrin dialects, and the preservation of *uo* as a sequence in Northwestern Geg dialects in contact with Eastern Montenegrin dialects (§4.3.1.4), (5) the loss of /y/ ([y]) in parts of Central Geg in contact with Macedonian dialects (§4.3.2.1), (6) the loss of nasal vowels in Geg dialects

in contact with Slavic in Arbanasi, Croatia, Ulqin/Ulcinj, Montenegro, and Dibër/Debar, Macedonia, as well as the loss of certain nasal vowels in Peshteri/Pešter, Serbia, Gërdovc, Kosovo, and Upper Reka, Macedonia (§4.3.2.2), (7) the shift of unstressed /o/ to /u/ in Opojë/Opoja, Kosovo (§4.3.2.3), (8) the development of /ü/ ([y]) in Southern Montenegrin and peripheral Southwestern Macedonian dialects (§4.3.3.1), and (9) the addition of nasal half-vowels in Southern and Eastern Montenegrin dialects (§4.3.3.2). The changes discussed in this chapter are also summarized in Table 4.4, below, which indicates which changes have been judged to be due to language contact and where the Slavic and Albanian dialects exhibit the changes considered.

Section	Change	Lang. Cont.	Slavic				Albanian			
			LS	WD	BD	LO	LS	WD	BD	LO
4.3.1.1	Preservation of schwa	Y	X*	-	+	X	-	-	+	/
4.3.1.2	Labialization of [ā] to [a ^o]	Y	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
4.3.1.3	CSI /ě/ and Alb *je > /i/	Y	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
4.3.1.4	O > uo/vo,	Y	+	+	-	-	/	+	/	/
4.3.1.5.1	Toleration of vowel sequences	N	-	-	/	/	/	/	/	/
4.3.1.5.2	Diphthongization of /i/ and /u/	N	-	-	-	/	-	-	/	-
4.3.1.5.3	Contraction of VV to V:	N	-	-	-	-	/	/	/	/
4.3.2.1	Loss of /y/ [y]	Y					-	-	+	-
4.3.2.2	Denasalization of nasal vowels	Y	/	/	/	/	+	-	+	/
4.3.2.3	/u/ _[-stress] > /o/	Y	/	/	/	/	/	/	+	-
4.3.3.1	Addition of /y/	Y	+	X**	-	+	/	/	/	/
4.3.3.2	Nasalization of vowels	Y	+	-	-	-	/	/	/	/
4.3.3.3	Desyllabification of vocalic /r/	N	-	X**	+	+	/	/	/	/

*The sign - indicates that the feature is absent, + indicates that it is present because of Slavic-Albanian language contact, while / indicates that the feature is present via 'natural' development, either as an inherited feature or as a phonetically natural development, an X indicates that it has developed due to contact with a different language, while an empty space indicates that the feature does not apply to that dialect

**Contact with Turkish seems to be a better explanation for these changes on the basis of its geographic spread being limited to urban dialects.

Table 4.4 Summary of Changes in Vowels Considered in Slavic-Albanian Contact

As can be seen from this summary of accepted phonological convergences, the two areas that exhibit the most cases of convergence³⁵ are in the Lake Scutari region³⁶

³⁵ Although it is tempting to simply judge the extent of language contact by the number of changes involved, simply calculating the number of changes can lead to a simplistic understanding of the language

(southern and eastern Montenegro / northwestern Albania) and the Black Drin area (western Macedonia / eastern Albania / southern Kosovo). These are precisely the areas that were predicted to show the greatest number of phonological convergences due to the high degree of Albanian-Slavic bilingualism. Other areas of contact, Lake Ohrid (southwestern Macedonia and southeastern Albania) and White Drin (Kosovo and Metohia) have had protracted language contact, but have shown less convergence in the vowels. Of particular note is the fact that both Serbian and Albanian in Kosovo only show one convergence in the vowels, (the development of a prothetic glide on high rounded vowels). Based on these results from the vowels and the sociolinguistic background it is predicted that the consonants should also give similar results, however different patterns emerge in the consonants.

4.4 Convergences in Consonants

As expected, contact between Slavic and Albanian has also affected consonantal systems of the dialects involved. The bulk of convergences in consonants are mutual convergences, affecting both Albanian and Slavic. These include the devoicing of final voiced consonants (§4.4.1.1), the development of palatal stops from sequences of dental stops plus palatal glide (§4.4.1.2), the tendency to develop affricates and a number of changes related to affricates (§4.4.1.3), including (1) the affrication of fricatives adjacent to obstruents, (2) the preservation and development of [dz], (3) the merger of palatal and alveo-palatal obstruents, (4) the positional softening of velars, and (5) the change of

contact and its effects. For a criticism of these approaches see Aronson (2007) and Friedman and Joseph (2013).

³⁶ As set out in §1.5, the areas of contact are designated by the geographical feature, rather than the name of the Slavic and Albanian dialects or the countries in which the contact is occurring.

palatal affricates to a palatal glide, the hardening (fronting) of the palatal nasal stop /nj/ to alveolar /n/ (§4.4.1.4), the development of nasal + stop consonant clusters (§4.4.1.5), and the treatment of back fricatives /h/ (Cyrillic <x>) (§4.4.1.6) for (1) preservation, (2) voicing, (3) deletion, and (4) fronting to /f/ or /v/. Changes in Albanian dialects possibly due to contact with Slavic include the merger of voiced interdental fricatives /ð/ with liquid laterals /ll/ (§4.4.2.1), the merger of trilled laterals /rr/ with plain laterals /r/ (§4.4.2.2). Two changes in Slavic dialects possibly due to contact with Albanian include the change in the place of articulation in liquid laterals /l/ and /lj/ (§4.4.3.1) and the development of interdental fricatives /ð/ and /θ/ (§4.3.2). Each of these changes is considered in the corresponding sections below. The findings from these sections are then briefly summarized (§4.4.4) before turning to convergences in word prosody (§4.5).

4.4.1. Mutual Convergences in Consonants

Most of the proposed changes in the consonantal systems due to Slavic-Albanian contact affect both Slavic and Albanian dialects, rather than just one of the language groups. A variety of changes have affected these dialects including devoicing, hardening, softening, change in place, or manner of articulation, and loss of individual sounds.

4.4.1.1. Devoicing of Final Consonants

The neutralization of voicing in final position is very frequent cross-linguistically, and is also quite common in Slavic languages, as all but Serbian and Ukrainian have regular devoicing of final consonants (Lekomceva 1968), as do all standard varieties of Balkan languages except Serbian and Albanian. Since this is a common change cross-

linguistically, the devoicing found in certain Albanian and Serbian dialects would not be of note other than the fact that this is not the usual pattern in these languages, and the changes appear to be located in locations where language contact provides a reasonable explanation for deviations from patterns found more prolifically in the languages.

Although standard Albanian does not have final devoicing, it is characteristic of Tosk, and is also found in a handful of local varieties of Geg for words that historically ended with voiced consonants such as *elb* ‘barley’ and (*i*) *madh* ‘large’. The ADA shows that devoicing is found in about two-thirds of Albanian dialects, and is the result throughout Tosk except a few areas that preserve the distinction (ADA 44/26a). Geg dialects in Kosovo, northeastern, and north central Albania preserve the voiced/voiceless distinction, whereas those in and near Montenegro as well as those in western Macedonia and eastern central Albania neutralize the distinction in final position. In some locations for certain words that historically ended in a schwa that has been subsequently lost, the voiceless/voiced distinction has also been lost. This is the case in the northwestern Geg dialects of Hoti and Kelmendi, Albania; as well as those in Peshteri/Pešter, Serbia; Ulqin/Ulcinj, Montenegro; Shkodër/Skadar, Albania; Drenicë/Drenica and Viti, Kosovo; Kërçovë/Kičevo and Prilep, Macedonia; as well as in the areas of Kukës, Durrës, Kavajë and Elbasan, Albania (Dombrowski 2009: 19–21; ADA 45/26b (see Figure 4.6, below).

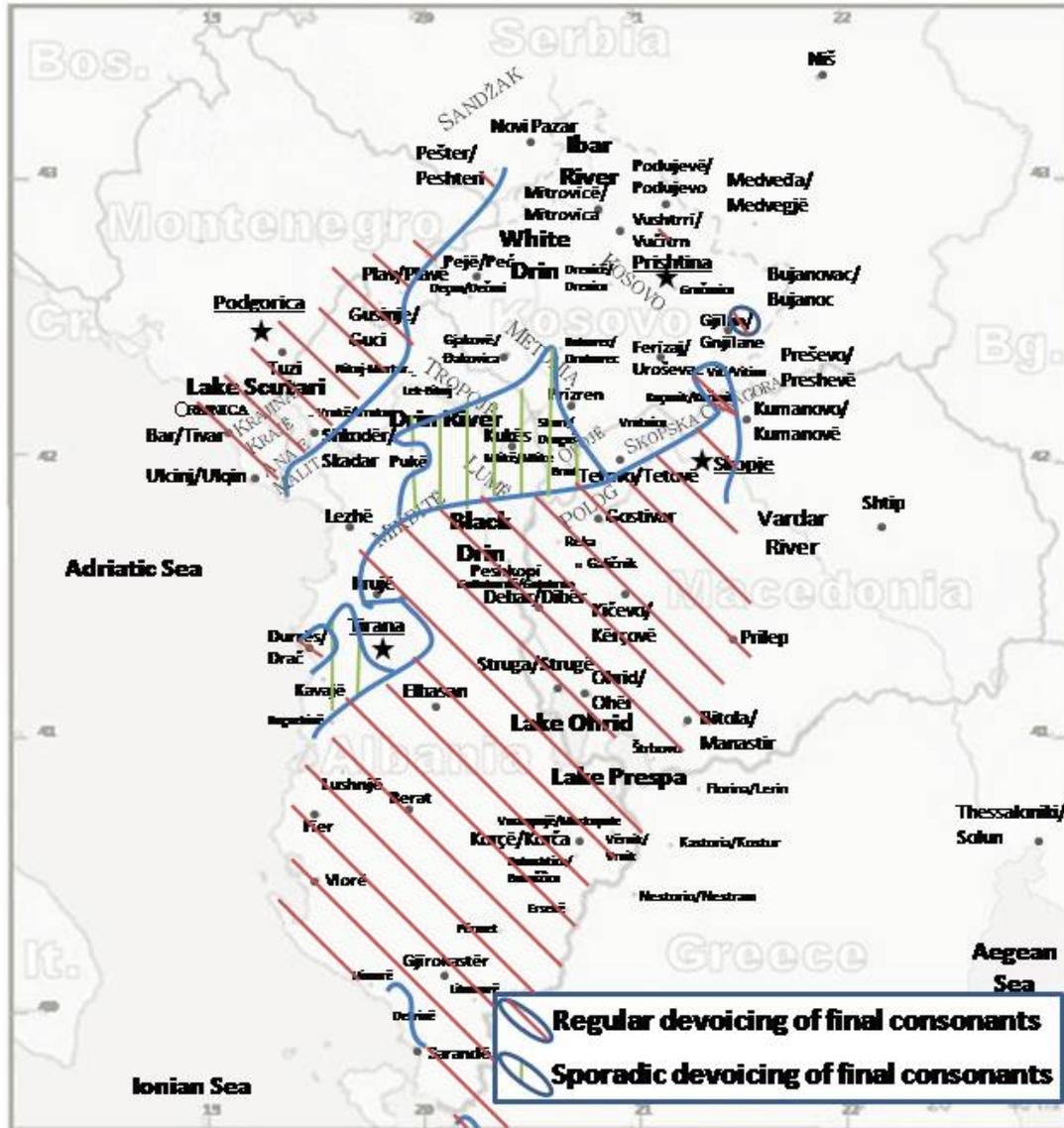


Figure 4.6. Albanian Dialects Showing Regular Devoicing in Final Position

Although these last three are fairly remote from present day Slavic communities, the others remain in close contact with Slavic. Given that this happens to words that have become consonant-final only recently, this additional stage of devocalization is assumed to show influence from more recent contact in the areas in contact with Slavic. Although more details will be presented below, it is important to note here, that as far as the

Albanian distribution is concerned, the areas of devoicing and of preservation of voicing pattern fairly consistently with the Slavic languages in the area.³⁷

Although Serbian dialects generally preserve the distinction between voiced and unvoiced consonants in final position (note for example the minimal pairs of *rat* ‘war’ and *rad* ‘eager, willing’ *bûc* ‘tuft, lock (of hair), wisp’ *bûđ* ‘mold’ *bok* (a salutation) *bog* ‘god’, etc.) some dialects in southern and eastern Montenegro along the borders of Albania (Mrković, Plava-Gusinje) have devoiced voiced consonants at the end of words. Examples include *narõt* ‘nation’, *gröp*³⁸ ‘grave’, *křf* ‘blood’ (cf. std. *naröd*, *gröb*, and *křv*) Given that this phenomena is found only in dialects in contact with Albanian dialects, contact with Albanian is a likely source for this development (Stanišić 1995: 53; Ivić 1957: 178–180; Camaj 1966: 121; Pižurica 1984: 92). This development is also found in some Serbian dialects in Kosovo as well, particularly in Đakovica/Gjakovë, Prizren, and Sretečka Župa (Ivić 1957: 180) (see Figure 4.7, below adapted from Ivić 1957), which may either be due to contact with Albanian or may be influenced by the devoicing of final consonants found in Macedonian and Bulgarian. Friedman and Joseph further link these developments to the devoicing found in southern Montenegro (2013: 5.4.5.3). Regardless of where the impetus for the devoicing comes from in Montenegro and Northern Albania, both Slavic and Albanian dialects there are affected by these changes.

³⁷ There may have been a much earlier stage of devoicing that affected the whole Albanian community, as shown by some lexical items that preserve devoicing, as in *mbath-* ‘put shoes on’ and *zbath-* ‘take shoes off’ that appear to be related to an IE root **H₁e₂udh-* dealing with shoes like Arm. *awd* ‘footwear’, Avest *aoŌra* ‘shoes’ Lith *aùti* ‘put on shoes’, etc. (Joseph and Karnitis 1999: 157; Hamp p.c. to Joseph).

³⁸ As Camaj notes, this is the likely source for the Albanian borrowing *gropë* ‘hole, depression’ (1966: 121).

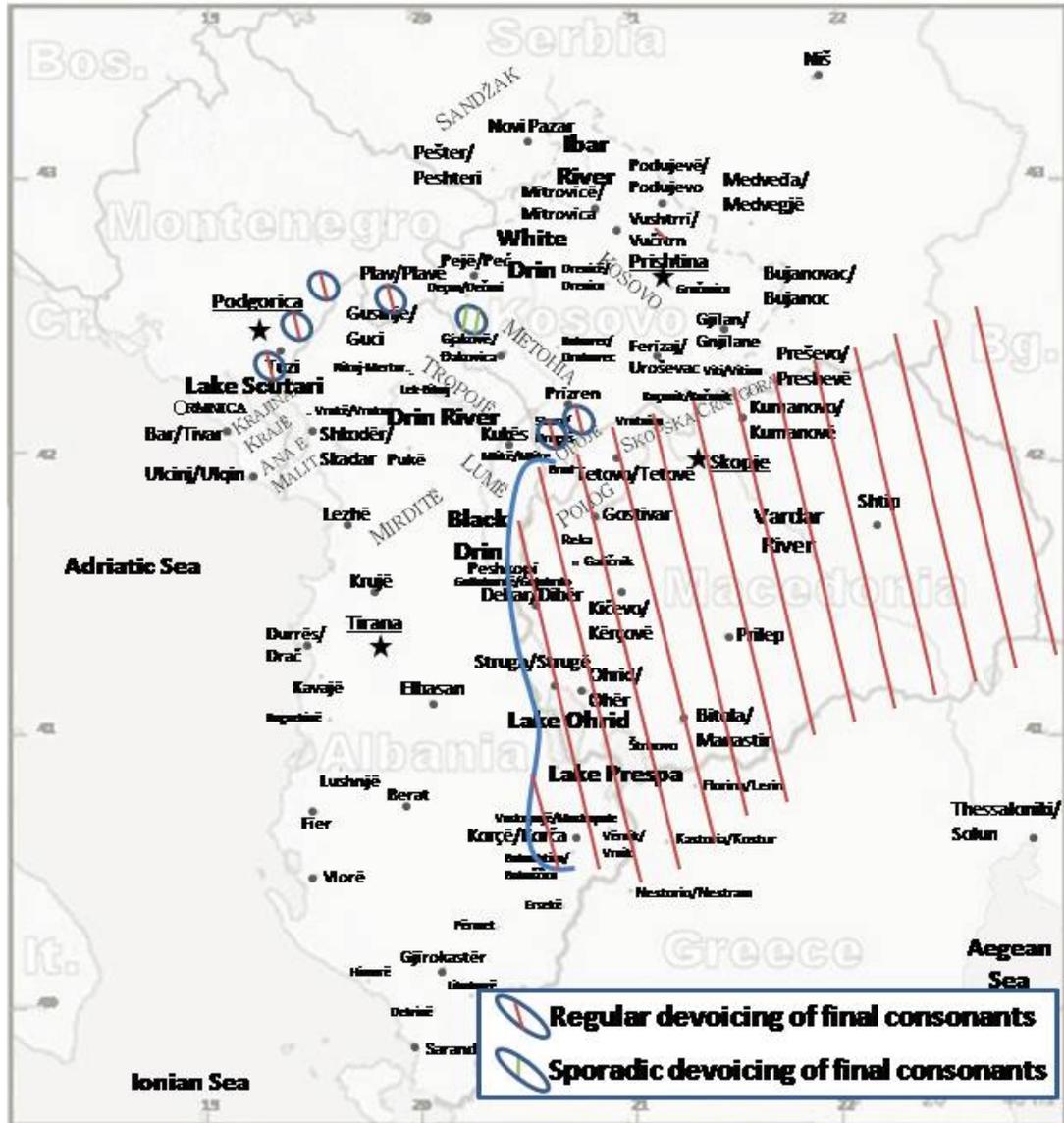


Figure 4.7. Areas of Serbian and Macedonian with Final Devoicing

Contact between Albanian and Slavic dialects that show devoicing may have influenced one another in this respect, but there are other explanations that are also just as plausible, particularly contact with other dialects of their respective languages. That is, Albanian dialects in Macedonia likely have been influenced by Macedonian devoicing, but they may also have been influenced by the general tendency in Tosk to devocalize

consonants in word-final position. In other words devoicing may be a regular sound change that affects these dialects as well as the nearby Tosk dialects. Furthermore, contact with other Balkan languages may have been influential in these developments, as Balkan Romance, West Rumelian Turkish, and one northern dialect of Greek show the tendency to devoice final consonants (Friedman and Joseph 2013: 5.4.5.3). Finally since this is a common development cross-linguistically, language contact should only be invoked in those instances where the geographical distribution requires additional explanation. This is exactly the case for Albanian dialects in contact with Albanian and Slavic dialects in contact with one another in Montenegro and Kosovo, as well as Albanian dialects in Macedonia under the influence of Slavic dialects there.

4.4.1.2. **tj > q/k, *dj > gj/ǵ, etc.*

The previous chapter provided information about the developments that sequences of **tj* and **dj* underwent in the historical development of Slavic (§3.2.2.5) and Albanian (§3.3.1.1). Although these generally gave different results in the individual languages (for standard languages: Sr *ć, đ*, Mk *ќ, њ*, Bg *št, žd*; Al. *s, z* in early changes, *tj* and *dj* preserved for later-formed sequences), in a few Slavic and Albanian dialects in contact with one another these sequences gave the same result in each language. In general, it is the Albanian dialects that converge with the Slavic dialects, although Albanian influence should not necessarily be ruled out as a factor in the forms found in Macedonian, as changes to **tj* and **dj* sequences are relatively new and ongoing in Macedonian, as they are in Albanian as well.

The most common reflexes of CSL **tj* and **dj* in Macedonian dialects today are palatal stops (/č/ [c] and /ǰ/ [ɟ]). These outcomes are found in northern and central dialects of Macedonian, including Tetovo, Skopje, Veles, Prilep, Bitola, etc. and over to near the eastern border with Bulgaria. Reflexes of *št* and *žd* are still found in southwestern dialects of Macedonian, such as Debar, Golo Brdo, Radožda, and Prespa, as well as dialects in the far eastern parts of Macedonia and into dialects in contact with Bulgarian. Similarly, *šč* and *ždž* are found in Ohrid, Struga, Macedonia; Korča/Korçë, Albania; and Kostur/Kastoria, Nestram/Nestorio, and Lerin/Florina, Greece (Vidoeski 1998: 110; Friedman 1993: 302). Reflexes of *č* and *dž* are found in Northern and Northwestern Macedonian dialects, including Gora dialects in Kosovo, and dialects to the north of Skopje and in Kumanovo, which have likely been influenced by nearby dialects of Serbian.³⁹ There are also some areas of Macedonian that have velar stops /k/ and /g/, such as in Kačanik/Kaçanik (Kosovo). These varying outcomes are schematized in Figure 4.8, below.

³⁹ Vidoeski also reports that for younger generations in some areas, such as Prilep and Struga, the palatal stops are changing to alveo-palatal affricates *č* and *dž*, or sequences of *jč* and *jdž*, with anticipatory palatalization of the reflexes. This is unlikely influenced by Serbian, on the grounds of phonetic naturalness and geography, and while the phonetic naturalness cannot be ruled out for Gora and Northern Macedonian dialects, because there are other phonetic reflexes identical to the neighboring Serbian dialects (such as the outcome of *u* from CSL *ϕ*), contact or dialect continuity with Serbian remains a robust argument for these dialects (Antonov 2009). <http://lyudmilantonov.blogspot.com/2009/05/bulgarian-dialects-bulgarian-balgarski.html>

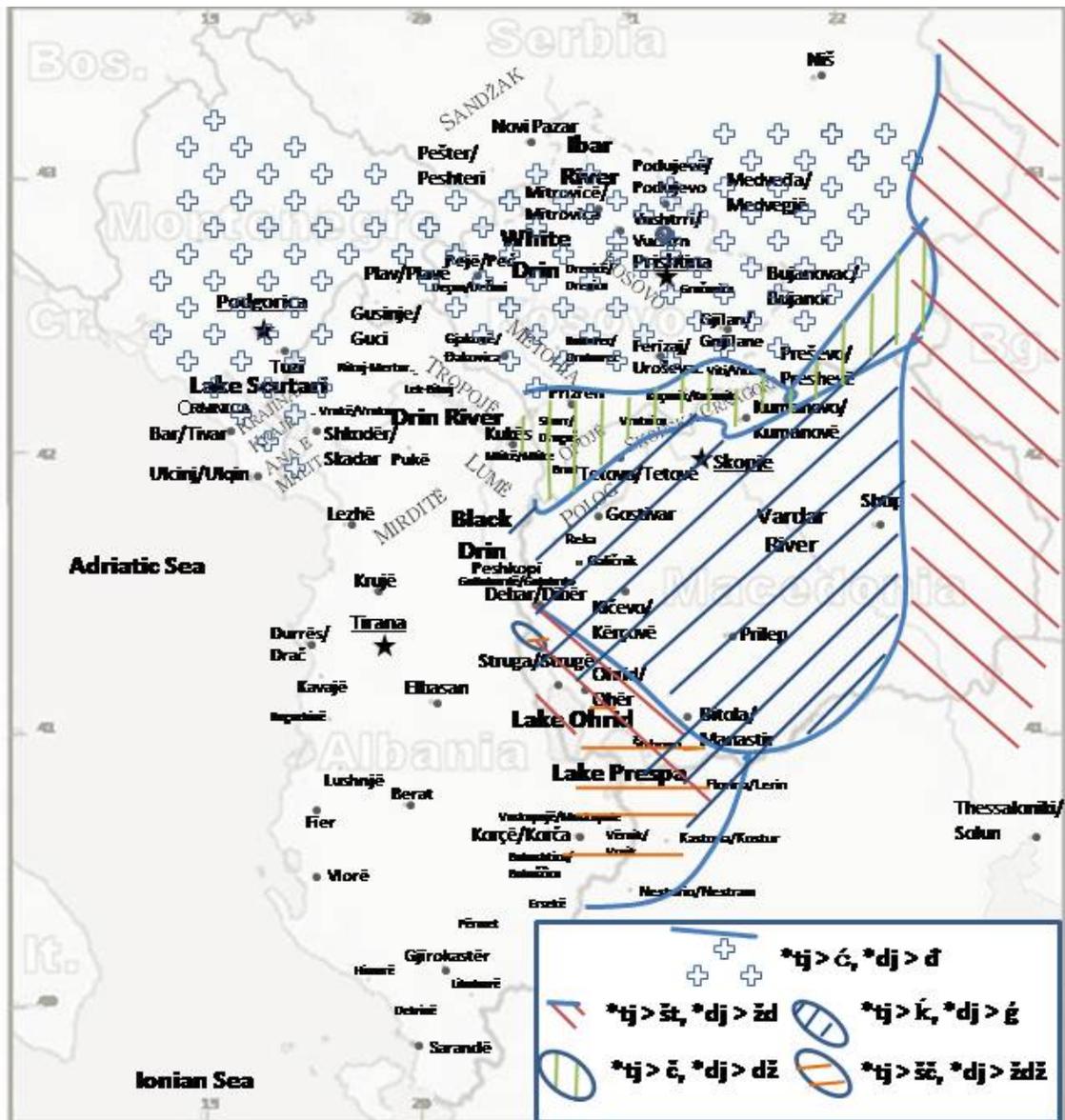


Figure 4.8. Outcomes of CSL **tj* and **dj* Sequences in Slavic Dialects

Comparative and textual evidence, as well as evidence from toponyms indicate that the reflexes of *št* and *žd* are likely older reflexes (Selišček 1931: 277–280) and that the palatal stop outcomes are more recent (after 12th century, likely 13th–14th centuries) (Joseph and Friedman 2013: 5.2; Vidoeski 2001: 227–232). That this change is still

occurring is shown by changes to *tj* and *dj* sequences that were originally separated by a *jer*, as in *braќa* 'brothers (brotherhood)' < **bratīja* (Vidoeski 2005; Dombrowski 2009: 19). This change, however has not taken place in many of the peripheral dialects such as Ohrid, Nestram/Nestorio, and Kostur/Kastoria (Vidoeski 1998: 110). The multiplicity of forms stemming from CSL **tj* and **dj* leave the door open to explanations such as contact with Serbian in Gora and north of Skopje. Contact with Albanian, remains a possibility either for the preservation of older forms of *št*, *žd* or *šč*, *ždž*, or for the creation of the palatal stops, but first the possible phonological convergences in Albanian outcomes need to be considered.

As already mentioned in section 3.3.1.1, outcomes of Pre-Albanian *tj* and *dj* are regularly dental fricatives (*s* and *z*). Later-formed clusters of *tj* and *dj* typically remain unchanged, as in words like *tungjatjeta* 'hello' (lit. 'may your life be lengthened') and *djalë* 'boy, son'. Dialectally, however, some interesting variation points to possible contact influence from Slavic dialects, as outcomes in some Albanian dialects are identical to Macedonian or Serbian.⁴⁰ This is particularly the case in eastern areas of central Geg. Figure 4.9, below, (based on ADA 35/20) shows the outcomes of *dj* and *tj*.

⁴⁰ Beyond the dialects described below, in a few words sequences of *tj* and *dj* have changed to palatal stops in Tosk: e.g. *mëshqerrë* 'heifer' from *më* 'more' + *shtjerrë* 'docile, well behaved' and *gjer* 'until' from *djer*" (Topalli forthcoming: 57).

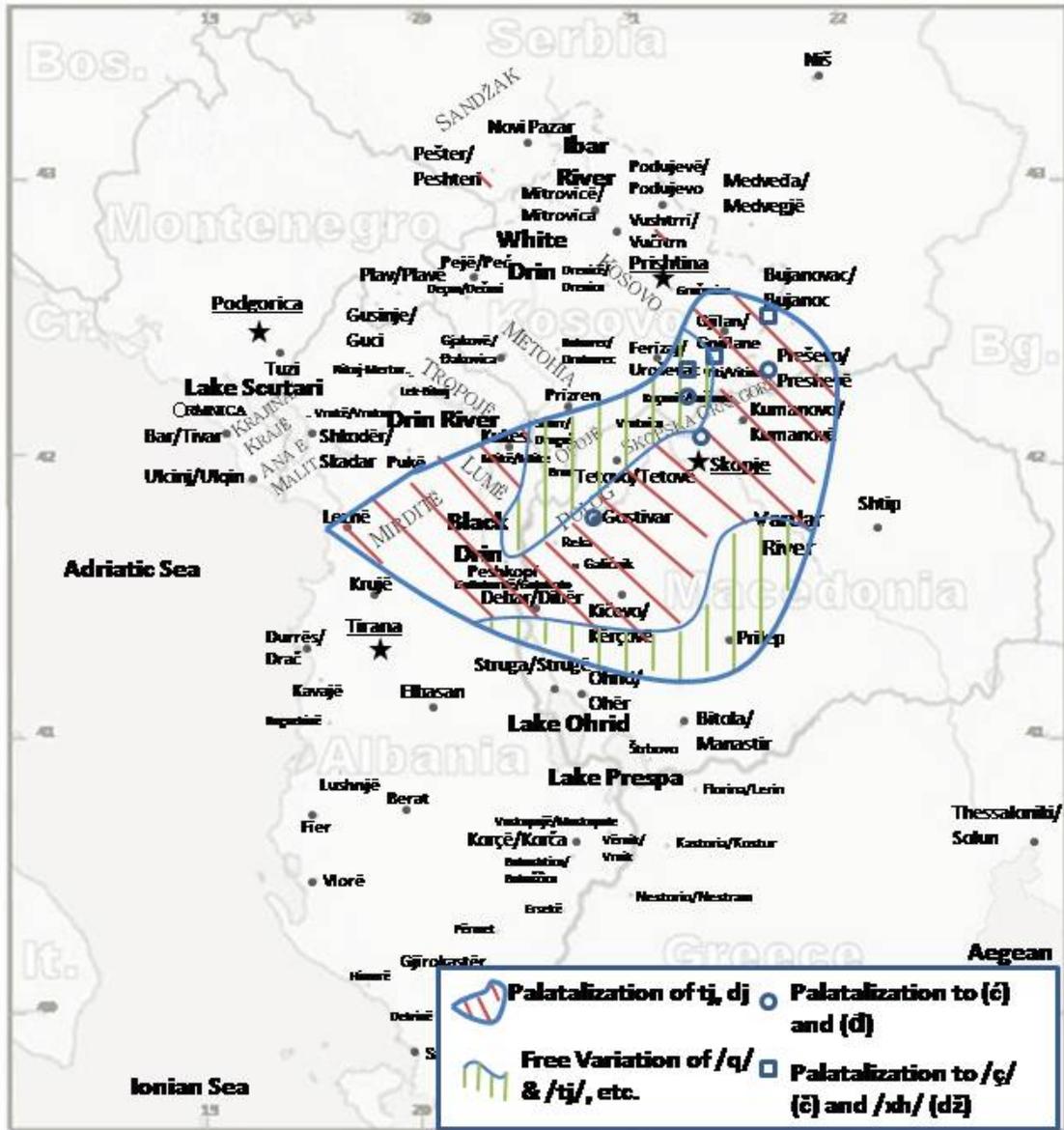


Figure 4.9. Outcomes of Albanian *tj* and *dj* Sequences in Albanian Dialects

Most Albanian dialects preserve the *tj* and *dj* sequences, including all of Tosk and most of Northern Geg. Central Geg shows preservations mostly in the west and to the south, whereas in mid to eastern Albania and most of Macedonia and southeast Kosovo, *tj* and *dj* have merged with either palatal affricates or palatal stops. Points on the very northern

edge of the isogloss have [tɕ] and [dʒ] reflexes, while the next points southward have [tʃ] and [dʒ]. Elsewhere (in Macedonia and Peshkopi, Mat, Mirditë, southern Lumë and eastern Lezhë, Albanian), outcomes from *tj* and *dj* have merged with the palatal stops /q/ [c] and /gj/ [ɟ], the same result found in neighboring Macedonian dialects from inherited **tj* and **dj* sequences; thus, contact with Macedonian is a very likely cause for these particular results of the change. Also, in those places where changes resulting in reflexes other than palatal stops happen, parallels in Slavic dialects can also be found, such as the outcomes as velar stops in Kaçanik in both Albanian and Macedonian (Dombrowski 2009: 18), and alveo-palatal affricates in Preshevë/Preševo, Serbia.⁴¹ As far as the geographic spread is concerned, the Albanian dialects in Macedonia that show these changes do not form a natural group, but are rather interspersed among dialects that do not undergo the change. This sporadic patterning seems to indicate phonological convergences due to language contact, whereas the consistency of dialects in Albania looks more like an internal phonological development. The best explanation appears to be that the change occurred first through contact, somewhere near the Macedonia/Albania border—perhaps Dibër/Debar—and then spread internally into Albania from there.

Coming back to the question of whether contact with Albanian influenced outcomes in Macedonian, it is also important to consider the geographical spread of the Macedonian outcomes. The preservation of *št* and *žd* outcomes is found in many places in contact with Albanian, but it is spread throughout Aegean Macedonia, where contact with Albanian is unlikely. Thus, contact with Albanian is likely not the direct cause of the

⁴¹ Dombrowski, citing Halimi, also notes an interesting micro-regional variation that Albanian speakers in Tanishec, Macedonia preserve the original *tj* and *dj* sequences, while those on the other side of the border in Mjak, Kosovo have merged outcomes of these sequences with the palatal stops (2009: 18; Halimi 1985: 361).

forms found in southwestern Macedonian dialects. The palatal stop reflexes also have a geographic spread beyond the area in contact with Albanian, so even though the development of palatal stops is typologically uncommon (Sawicka 1997: 39; Kolgjini 2004), contact with Albanian does not appear to be the best explanation for this innovation in Macedonian.⁴² In the case of the development to a plain velar in Kačanik/Kaçanik, it appears that both Albanian and Macedonian have been influenced by contact. Once again, contact with Albanian does not explain general trends in Macedonian dialectology, but it is relevant for very localized changes where both Albanian and Slavic dialects are affected.

4.4.1.3. Affricates and Tendency for Affrication

Some scholars have noted a tendency towards affrication in Slavic and Albanian dialects in contact with one another (Belić 1935: 174; Pižurica 1984: 89; Stanišić 1995: 50–51). This observation, although indicative of some general trends in the dialects is difficult to evaluate in terms of language contact. Instead of investigating this general claim, a number of specific changes will be considered in the next several subsections, including the development, preservation, and loss of affricates.

4.4.1.3.1. Affrication of Fricatives before Obstruents

⁴² Indeed, contact with Serbian in the 13th–14th centuries appears to be the usual explanation for why the sequence of consonants is replaced with a single phoneme (for example, Vidoeski 2005: 44–45). Why these dialects changed to a palatal stop, however, cannot be entirely explained by contact with Serbian, so some internal, regular sound change, appears to have occurred, perhaps prompted by contact with Serbian and other languages, or without any external stimulus.

A development that is found in some Northern Geg dialects and Eastern Montenegrin dialects is the affrication of fricatives, particularly adjacent to obstruents. In Albanian this happens in some dialects for fricatives before stops as in *ćkrij* [tʃkrij] ‘melt’, *ćpejt* ‘fast’, and *x’ba^oj* [dʒba^oj] ‘undo’ (cf. std. *shkrij*, *shpejt*, and *zhbëj*⁴³) (Mulaku 2005: 65; Pižurica 1984: 90).⁴⁴ Eastern Montenegrin dialects also show a tendency to affricate pre-obstruent fricatives, as in *ćp’jūn* ‘spy’, *ćp’ðret* ‘faucet’, and *džbūn* ‘bush, shrub’ (cf. std. *šp’jūn*, *šp’ðret*, and *žbūn*) but also following obstruents as well, as in *pcovat* ‘to swear’ and *pćenica* ‘wheat’ (cf. std. *psovati* and *pšenica*) (Stevanović 1935, 49–50, Pižurica 1984: 89; Stanišić 1995: 51). Since the Slavic and Albanian forms occur in areas in contact between Albanian and Slavic, contact is a likely explanation for the forms. However, it should be noted that the affrication of fricatives adjacent to stops is not phonetically unusual, as affricates are typically composed of fricatives and stops, in simultaneous or near-simultaneous articulation, particularly in the case of obstruents following the fricatives, where the release of the stop could easily happen during the articulation of the fricative (Hock 1991: 117–119); thus, there is a natural phonetic explanation for the trend. Thus the dialectal distribution of affrication must provide a strong argument in order for contact to be the best explanation.

⁴³ The form *x’ba^oj* / *zhbëj* is composed of a root *běj-* ‘to do’ and a prefix *zh-* with a meaning and function similar to English ‘un’, as in this word, *undo*. There is some morphophonemic variation in the shape used for this prefix, with *ç-* before vowels and sonorants, *zh-* before voiced obstruents, and *sh-* before all other sounds (Demiraj, et al. 2002: 350). It is conceivable that there could be a phonetic analogy producing an affricate from on the basis of *sh~ç* to *zh~x’* [dʒ], or *xh* [dʒ] which seems to have occurred with the word *xhvesh* or *zhvesh* ‘undress’ (cf. *vesh* ‘dress’). However, given that this affrication also happens with other words without this prefix, this is likely not the cause of the affrication more generally.

⁴⁴ Affricated forms also occur in loanwords from Albanian to Slavic, as in Ks, PG *ćkrepam* ‘fire, shoot (a gun)’ (cf. std. Alb *shkrep-*). It is assumed that the borrowing was taken from an Albanian dialect that underwent affrication, although it is also possible that the form was affricated after being taken into Slavic. (§3.3.1.2).

For Albanian, this type of affrication is found in a handful of dialects. Such affrication is noted for certain lexemes in the dialects of Shala e Bajgorës, Tërstenë (Mitrovicë/Mitrovica) as well as in Podujevë/Podujevo, all in northern Kosovo as well as in Pejë/Peć, Drenicë/Drenica, Prishtina, and Jabllanicë/Jablanica in central Metohia and Kosovo (Mulaku 2005: 65; ADA 519/292b; 599/370b; 617/388). It is also found lexically in parts of Eastern Montenegro and Northwestern Albania, namely in Podgoricë/Podgorica, Tuzi, and Plavë/Plav in Montenegro and Bregu i Bunës in Albania (near border with Montenegro south of Lake Scutari) and Vrith and Lekaj (Malësia e Madhe) in Albania (ADA 519/292b; 599/370b; 617/388) Also in southeastern Albania (Korçë, Përmet, and Ersekë) and southern Albania (Fier, Vlorë, and Sarandë) (ADA 369/153 559/334; 599/370b; 617/388; 631/402). In addition, Dombrowski (2009: 25–26) cites a number of Albanian dialects that, like Macedonian show affrication after resonants, particularly Opojë in southern Kosovo, Morava e Eperme in southwestern Kosovo, Ana e Malit (South of Lake Shkodër/Skadar, in Montenegro), and Plavë and Guci (Eastern Montenegro). Thus, the affrication of fricatives before stops is found sporadically in several different Albanian dialects in contact with Slavic and in a variety of phonetic environments where changes are also found in Slavic. As this is not a regular sound change in a particular dialect, this shows an areal distribution characteristic of contact-induced change.

In Slavic this phenomenon is also found in Macedonia in addition to the Eastern Montenegrin dialects mentioned previously. In Macedonia, the pre-obstruent affrication has a bit wider dialectal distribution. As with the changes in Montenegro, fricatives may be affricated either before or after obstruents, as in *pci* ‘dogs’, *čkrta* ‘stingy’, and *zdrel*

‘ripe, mature’ (cf. Sr *psi*, *škrta*, and *zreo*), while voiced affricates are preserved or created after resonants, as in *soldza* ‘tear’ (cf. Proto-Slavic *slŭdza* or *slŭza* (Vasmer 1971 (3): 668), std. Mk *solza*) and *poldžav* ‘snail’ (cf. std. *polžav*). Koneski describes affricates as typical of Macedonian (in comparison to other Slavic languages) and that it is particularly characteristic of the western dialects within Macedonian (1966: 60).⁴⁵ In addition, he also suggests that as affrication is typical of Albanian, its influence on Macedonian affrication cannot be excluded (ibid.: 61). Although there are tendencies to affrication, they are not realized in all dialects in western Macedonia, as this is not distinctive of Debar, Gostivar or Tetovo dialects (Vidoeski 1998), but is of southwestern dialects including Ohrid and Struga (ibid.: 246) and Prespa (ibid.: 283). A slightly different change, of the stop affricating in a stop + fricative cluster is also found in Albanian and Macedonian in contact in southeastern Albania; Gjinari (1972: 269) notes that in the Christian Albanian community in Devoll *sh**t* sequences change to *shç*, a change that is also found in Macedonian dialects in Boboshticë/Bobošćica. As Aromanian is also in contact with the Slavic and Albanian dialects in this area, the influence from Balkan Romance cannot necessarily be excluded.

In sum, although these changes may also have been instigated by contact with Aromanian and are phonetically motivated by assimilation to adjacent consonants, the affrication of fricatives near obstruents in both Albanian and Slavic dialects (including Eastern Montenegrin and Southwestern Macedonian dialects and some Serbian dialects in Kosovo) appears to have some basis in contact between Slavs and Albanians. As the

⁴⁵ Koneski also points out that affricates were used by Krste Misirkov to give “Macedonian color” to his nationalistic plea *Za makedonkite raboti* (On Macedonian Matters) cf. today’s standard *makedonskiot jazik* (the Macedonian language) (1966: 61; Stanišić 1995: 51).

changes are generally limited in each language to those dialects in areas of contact, it is impossible to tell which language may have ultimately been responsible for the change.

4.4.1.3.2. Preservation and Development or Reintroduction of [dz]

Related to the tendency toward affrication in some Albanian and Balkan Slavic dialects is another phenomena noted by several authors as being characteristic of some of these dialects, namely the preservation and expansion of the voiced dental affricate /dz/ (phonetically [dz], orthographically <s> in Cyrillic (<dz> in Latin transliteration) and <x> in Albanian) (Pižurica 1984; Stanišić 1995; Greenberg 2000: 298). The phoneme has an earlier origin in Slavic than it does in Albanian, it being a result of two of the CSI velar palatalizations,⁴⁶ while Albanian voiced fricatives were phonemicized only after contact with Slavic had been underway for several centuries (Topalli 2003; Demiraj 1997) (see also §3.2.1.1). This sound is marginal in both language groups, being relatively infrequent compared to other sounds and is characteristic of non-standard varieties of the languages. It also is used with greater frequency in expressive speech in Albanian, and may be for Slavic varieties as well (Curtis 2010a: 96; Friedman and Joseph 2013; Gjinari and Shkurtaj 2003: 196–200). The Slavic phoneme has become less frequently used in standard varieties, but it has been preserved—and even expanded—in some Macedonian dialects in contact with Albanian (Pižurica 1984: 89; Stanišić 1995: 50). Examples of the preservation and expansion of voiced dental affricates in Slavic include Macedonian *dzvezda* ‘star’, *nodze* ‘legs/feet’, *soldza* (cf. OCS *dzvězda*, *nodze*

⁴⁶ /dz/ is the regular outcome of the so-called second and third velar palatalizations from a voiced velar stop (/g/) assimilating to a high front vowel.

(where it has been preserved), and *sŭlza* (representing an innovation)) (Greenberg 2000: 298; Koneski 1966: 60). It was also possibly reintroduced by contact with Albanian in some peripheral dialects in Montenegro and in Serbian dialects in Kosovo (Blaku 2010: 82–84).

Although it was part of OCS, /dz/ has been lost in most modern Slavic languages, including all standard varieties besides Macedonian, Polish, Ukrainian, and Slovak. It is not found in most varieties of Serbian, except for in Šumadija-Vojvodina, Kosovo, and dialects in Montenegro (Ivić 1957: 162, 1994, 2001: 118; Zygis 2003). According to some scholars, /dz/ as currently found in dialects of Serbian is a direct continuation of the CSI phoneme (Belić 1969: 145), while others claim that it has been reintroduced into these disparate dialects due to internal reorganizations of phonemes or from contact with Balkan Romance or Albanian (Ivić 1957: 162, Blaku 2010: 82–84). In Macedonian it is found throughout the dialects, but is met with greater frequency in the southwest, particularly in Prespa (Steinke and Ylli 2007: 62; Vidoeski 2005: 23). According to data in the ADA, /dz/ also appears to occur more often in Albanian in areas near Montenegrin dialects but to a lesser degree near Western Macedonian dialects.⁴⁷

Given the similar developments in Albanian and Slavic dialects that result in greater phonological similarities, it is important to consider whether these developments are due to Slavic-Albanian contact. In an earlier publication (Curtis 2010b: 161–162), I

⁴⁷ Although the ADA does not look at /dz/ (<x>) individually in its phonemic distribution, in a number of words that are historically derived from Proto-Albanian *z in several locations in Montenegro (Plava, Hot, Ulqin) and northwestern Albania (Bregu i Bunës, Vrith, and Vërmosh), Eastern Central Geg (Zerqan, Gollobordë, and Sohodoll (Peshkopi) Albania and Kërçovë/Kičevo, Macedonia /dz/ has developed. This is found, for example in words for ‘hollow’ *dzgor(e)* (cf. std. *zgavër*) (370/154), ‘wasp’ *grendza* (cf. std. *greth*, *grerëz*) (451/234), and ‘pregnant’ *shtatdzan* (cf. std. *shtatzënë*) (457/240). Another area where the development of /dz/ is also found, in similar numbers to dialects in contact with Montenegrin dialects is Southern Tosk dialects in contact with Northern Greek dialects.

argued that this was indeed the case. Upon further evidence, I believe that although the trends may be related the evidence for contact between Slavic and Albanian in this respect is not as strong as I had previously believed, particularly regarding the sound's presence in southwestern Macedonian dialects, particularly since CSI */dz/ is preserved throughout Macedonia and well into Bulgaria (Kočev 1988 (3: 65–67)), with a few exceptions, such as Mala Reka (near Debar) (Vidoeski 2005: 25), although it has greater frequency in peripheral western dialects (Vidoeski 2005: 19–20, 23). In Kosovo and Montenegro the sound does not appear in the lexemes where /dz/ is inherited from CSL, rather it appears to have been reintroduced through the affrication of /z/, either before vowels, as in *dzeleno* 'green', *dzubi* 'teeth', and *jedzero* 'lake' (cf. OCS *zeleno*, *zъbi*, and *'ezero*) (Greenberg 2000: 298), or before obstruents, as in the change discussed in the previous section. In both Macedonian and Montenegrin dialects, words borrowed from other sources are found with the phoneme, as in *bendzin* 'gasoline' in Macedonian and *brondzin* 'bronze' in Montenegrin dialects. Dialectally /dz/ is found throughout nearly all dialects of Montenegro (Ivić 1985). Finally, Murat Blaku argues that /dz/ has been reintroduced in dialects of Serbian in Kosovo by contact with Albanian, based on borrowings from Albanian with /dz/, such as *dzrcnut* 'to bother' from dialectal Alb *nxërcat*, and from the affrication of /z/ in certain positions, particularly before /v/, which accounts for over half of the entries in Elezović's lexicon of Serbian dialects in Kosovo. As the affrication adjacent to obstruents is characteristic of many Northern Albanian dialects, it is completely credible that contact with Albanian has been influential in affecting /dz/ in this way as discussed in the previous section, whether or not the sound was preserved from the time of Common Slavic to the present.

The development of a voiced sibilant affricate is somewhat uncommon, typologically (Zygis 2007), which makes the explanation of language contact more compelling. However, given that the sound has been in the Slavic languages historically, and that it occurs not only in the dialects in contact with Albanian but also in central Macedonian as well, contact with Albanian does not seem to be a necessary explanation for its presence in western Macedonia. Furthermore, since /dz/ has also been present in Romance dialects in both western Macedonia and southeastern Montenegro, this is just as likely an explanation as Albanian-Slavic contact, if a language contact solution is necessary. For the case of Serbian in Kosovo, and possibly dialects in Montenegro, contact with Albanian is a reasonable cause for its reintroduction and development from CSI *z. For the case of /dz/ in dialects in Macedonia, however, it seems best to conclude with Friedman and Joseph, speaking about /dz/ in the Balkans generally, that no contact explanation is necessary, regardless of the intriguing similarities presented in the dialects (2013: 5.4.5.1). One final point in favor of language contact, however, may be in order, though it does not necessarily prove convergence due to language contact. As mentioned already in this subsection, both Albanian and Slavic dialects in contact with one another, the phoneme is in use more frequently than in other dialects. However, while one could conceive of how language contact might increase the use of phonemes or other structural elements that are held in common in languages in a contact situation, it is difficult to determine that increased frequency is definitively a result of language contact. Instead, specific changes to sounds, such as the affrication of fricatives, above, or the merger of consonants, below, are the most reliable indicators of language-contact influence.

4.4.1.3.3. Merger of Palatal and Alveo-Palatal Obstruents

Another change affecting Albanian and Slavic dialects that also deals with affricates is the tendency towards the merger of palatal and alveo-palatal obstruents with one another. In general, Serbian and Montenegrin dialects allow for both palatal /ć/, /đ/ and alveo-palatal /č/, /dž/ affricates; while Macedonian and Albanian have palatal stops /k/, /g/ (Mk) and /q/, /gj/ (Alb) along with alveo-palatal /č/, /dž/ (Mk) and /ç/, /xh/ (Alb) affricates. In dialects in contact with one another, particularly in Kosovo, northeastern Albania, and northwestern Macedonia, the dialects merge these distinctions, as described below. As with the tendency toward affrication before obstruents, it is impossible to know with absolute certainty which language is responsible, since it affects both languages relatively equally. Likewise, in the relevant literature this change is almost universally seen as a result of language contact, but authors disagree about the directionality of the change (Stanišić 1995: 54). For Slavic dialects in Kosovo and Metohia, the change is the merger of the palatal and alveo-palatal affricates. For Albanian the change involves the merger of palatal stops with alveo-palatal affricates. Both Serbian and Albanian dialects exhibit an array of phonetic results from the mergers. Thus, the change can be considered a phonological change, in the technical sense of phonology affecting both Serbian and Albanian, even though the phonetic realizations do not always match up across the dialects.

The phonological merger has four different phonetic outcomes, as recorded in the ADA, two outcomes in Albanian dialects as affricates ([tʃ]⁴⁸, and [tʃ̥]) and two as fricatives ([ç] and [ç̥]), although the affricates are much more common; nowhere are they realized as a palatal stop (ADA 26–27/12–13). The phonological merger happens sporadically in most areas where contact with Slavic persisted into the 20th century: in western Macedonia, north central Albania, Kosovo and Metohia. Interestingly, however, it has not occurred in Montenegro, northwestern Albania, southwestern Macedonia, or southeastern Albania. In the areas where the merger does occur (see Figure 4.10, below) it is never realized in every dialect of a given area.⁴⁹

⁴⁸ The signs for the phonetic realizations are given only for the voiceless pairs for simplicity. These changes appear to affect voiced and voiceless phonemes the same, except perhaps in Shkodër where the voiced palatal stop has become a voiced alveo-palatal affricate.

⁴⁹ Hamp (1989) points out that in the major areas of Northern Geg, the situation of the affricates and palatal stops mirrors what is found in Slavic dialects. While this is broadly true, it is important to also take into consideration some of the dialectal developments of Albanian that are not distributed as widely.

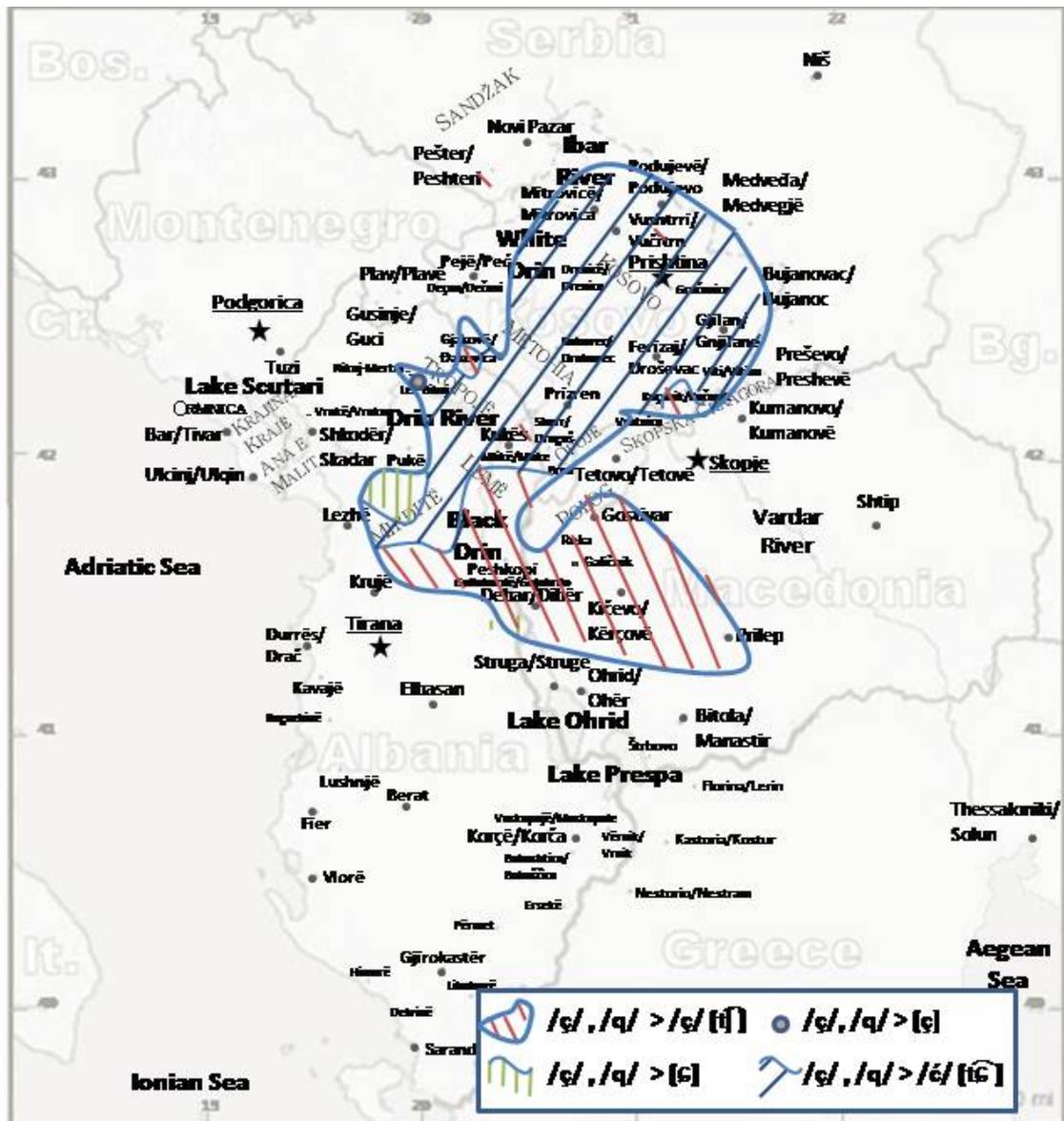


Figure 4.10 Albanian Dialects Merging Alveo-palatal Affricates and Palatal Stops

The phonetic outcomes of the merger present a great variety, particularly in north central Albania, where three outcomes are found within 75 km of one another. The mergers giving fricatives are both located within Albania and occur in only a few dialects: alveolo-palatal fricatives ([ʃ] and [ʒ]) in three locations in Mirditë in west north-central

Albania and as palatal fricatives ([ç] and [j]) in one place only, Lek-Bibaj, Tropojë in the far northern reaches of Albania. While these may conceivably be due to contact, based on geographical distribution it is less likely due to contact with Slavic than the mergers giving affricates. Furthermore, due to the limited attestation it is hard to come to any conclusive opinion on the causes for the resulting fricatives.

The palatal stops have become alveo-palatal affricates ([tʃ] and [dʒ]) mostly in the areas of western Macedonia and eastern central Albania, but also sporadically in northern Kosovo, and southwest of Prizren in southern Kosovo. Since this development involves the preservation of one of the sounds and is spread out geographically, this could likely be the result of the phonetically natural change of fronting palatal stops to alveo-palatal affricates rather than a contact-induced change. Moreover, this change is common cross-linguistically and also occurs frequently throughout Albanian dialects in non-standard speech (Kolgjini 2004). Furthermore, looking at the Slavic dialects with which these dialects of Albanian are in contact, there appears to be no phonetic parallels of the merger in Slavic, as these Macedonian dialects generally have palatal stops, so the case for a natural sound change is even more compelling in this case.

For the final phonetic result, however, contact with Slavic seems to provide the best explanation: both palatal stops and the alveo-palatal affricates have phonetic realizations of palatal affricates ([tʃ] and [dʒ]) for most Albanian dialects in Kosovo and Metohia and a few dialects in northeastern Albania. Compared to the mergers giving alveo-palatal affricates, palatal affricates occur in a more compact area, although here, too, the change is sporadic as not all dialects exhibit the change. Furthermore, as identical

changes are found in many dialects of Serbian in the same areas, this change appears to be best explained by contact with Serbian.

Phonological mergers of the palatal obstruents have also occurred in some Slavic dialects in contact with Albanian yielding similar results phonetically. For the most part these are limited to Serbian dialects in Kosovo and Metohia, although similar phenomena are also found in other dialects in contact with Albanian. It is noteworthy, however, that these mergers do not take place in eastern Montenegro and western Macedonia. Within Kosovo and Metohia this merger occurs in several Serbian dialects including in Peć/Pejë, Đakovica/Gjakovë, Orahovac/Rahovec, and Gnjilane/Gjilan; in these dialects, both the palatal affricate and alveo-palatal affricate are realized as palatal affricates, giving for example *kuća* ‘house’ and *mačka* ‘cat’ as well as *đida* ‘hero’ and *đada* ‘street’ (cf. std. *kuća* and *mačka*, *đida* and *džada*) (Remetić 2004: 115; Ivić 2001: 189; Barjaktarević 1965: 65). In other dialects, however, such as in Prizren, the merger has occurred, but with a phonetic realization of a palatalized alveo-palatal affricate, giving *kuč’a* and *mač’ka*, *dž’ubre* ‘trash, rubbish’ and *adž’ija* ‘pilgrimage’ (cf. std. *đubre* and *hadžija*). However, outside of Kosovo and Metohia the merger is not found in Serbian (Ivić 2001: 178) (see also Figure 4.8, above). Still, it is important to consider the opinion expressed in Ivić (ibid.)⁵⁰ that not enough is known about where this merger has taken place to come to give a complete description of the merger, let alone come to any certain conclusion about its origin.

⁵⁰ This article, a continuation of Ivić’s classification of Serbian dialects was published posthumously, compiled by Slobodan Remetić and Nedeljko Bogadanović.

Similar changes are found elsewhere in South Slavic, particularly in Macedonia and Montenegro. First, the merger of palatal affricates is found in some dialects of Croatian and Macedonian in addition to Serbian and Albanian (Sawicka 1997: 43). However, as these dialects are not necessarily in proximity with one another, it is unlikely that this is one regular change affecting all of these dialects. Still, it could be argued that the main cause of these changes is a typological tendency towards the reduction of palatalization in languages without phonemic palatalization (Sawicka 1997: 44). Second, in individual Macedonian dialects, including standard Macedonian the palatal stops have a wide range of pronunciation. In some cases there is no phonetic distinction between /č/ and /k/, for example in Veles in central Macedonia (Canušanov 1979). In other areas of Macedonian, some scholars have argued for Albanian influence on their pronunciations; Ismajli (1971: 161), for instance, notes the frication on the palatal stops in Macedonian dialects of Galičnik and Gostivar and argues that this may be due to contact with Central Geg. Stanišić, however, in a typical response about Albanian influence in this matter, rejects this claim by arguing that no outside influence is responsible for these developments (1995: 54). Finally, a related phenomena is found in the Mrković dialect in Southeastern Montenegro: there, like the dialects in Kosovo and Metohia, the affricates /č/ and /dž/ are palatalized, as are the fricatives /š/ and /ž/, for example *vīš'e*, *ž'èna*, *prīč'aše* and *patlidž'àn* (Vujović 1967: 174). Vujović considers these to be one of many archaic features preserved in the Mrković dialect tying it to the Serbian dialects in Metohia, whereas others, such as Ivić (1985: 212), Stevanović (1950) and Barjaktarević (1979), consider this an innovation in the dialect introduced by contact with Albanian. In particular, Barjaktarević argues that by the 15th century, all štokavian dialects had

depalatalized the palatal consonants, and that further palatalizations came about later (1965: 64).⁵¹ Thus, the change is an innovation in the Mrković dialect.

Regardless of whether these are preservations of archaic forms or innovations affecting Mrković dialects and Serbian dialects in Kosovo and Metohia, it is certain that the *merger* of palatal affricates with alveo-palatal affricates is an innovation. The two main theories put forward to explain these developments are the usual explanations described in the introduction (ch.1): Slavic forms preserved in Albanian dialects (Stanišić 1995: 54) or the influence of Albanian on neighboring Slavic dialects (Ajeti 2001b). There are limitations to both interpretations, however. Ajeti's claim that the merger of the palatal stops and palatal affricates are strictly internal developments in Albanian ignores the array of phonetic outcomes corresponding to the merged phonemes, and does not take into consideration the regional trend of Slavic dialects towards the softening of palatal affricates and fricatives. On the other hand, Stanišić's argument that the northern Albanian palatal affricates show a phonetic form characteristic of the Slavic population that was subsumed into the Albanian population does not give a satisfactory explanation of the general trend of mergers in Albanian. The chronology of the change of palatal stops to palatal affricates may also be incorrect, as at least some of the Albanian dialects (Pejë/Peć and Gjakovë/Đakovica) preserved the phonemic distinction between /gj/ and /xh/ into the 19th century (Ajeti 2001b; Dombrowski 2009: 21). However, since we do not know the phonetic values of /gj/ and /xh/ at that point in time, it could be the case that the palatal stop affricated before the phonemic merger. This, however, is not the natural

⁵¹ Barjaktarević specifically mentions the possibility of contact with Turkish producing palatalized variants of č, š, and ž for the Serbian dialects in Gnjilane/Gjilan (in southeast Kosovo). This may also be the cause for the other Southern Serbian dialects that have the palatalization, including Mrković.

conclusion from the geographical spread in contemporary dialects as the palatal affricate is but one of four different phonetic outcomes found in Albanian dialects between Montenegro and Macedonia, and is nowhere near the most common reflex in that area. Thus, both arguments that claim unidirectional influence—either of Albanian on Slavic or Slavic on Albanian—fail to explain the wider trends found in both Albanian and Slavic dialects.

In order to explain the mergers and their phonetic forms in Slavic and Albanian, it is necessary to consider both the regular sound changes in each language as well as the influence of language contact. The best explanation may be that individual regular sound changes have occurred in each language, but because of language contact these changes come into the other language sporadically in Kosovo and nearby areas. More specifically, in the Serbian dialects of the area there is a trend towards softening (palatalizing) the palatal affricates and fricatives, which is found throughout Kosovo and in parts of Montenegro. In Albanian dialects, particularly in the north, there is a trend towards affricating the palatal stops, which in many areas results in a merger with the alveo-palatal affricates. Both of these represent changes to the languages outside of the area of the mergers, and are, thus, internal changes. However, the fact that the Albanian alveo-palatal affricate winds up as a palatal affricate in Kosovo and Metohia is very likely due to contact with Serbian. More specifically, this is likely the result of reverse interference for Albanians fluent in Serbian (Friedman and Joseph 2013: 5.2). On the other hand, the fact that Serbian merges the palatal affricate with the alveo-palatal affricate may be due to the influence of Albanian, perhaps also due to reverse interference for bilingual Serbs. This may be another instance where language contact has served as something of a

catalyst for setting off changes that were possible, but less likely without intense language contact (see Friedman 1994a for other examples). There are, of course, other possible explanations of the mergers, including the influence of Turkish, but whatever the solution both the sporadicity of outcomes and their relation to language-internal, regular sound changes must be part of the explanation (Ajeti 2001).

4.4.1.3.4. Positional Softening of Velars

Perhaps related to the softening of palatal fricatives and affricates is another trend in Serbian South Moravan and Eastern Montenegrin dialects: the positional softening of velars. In the Eastern Montenegrin dialects of Crmnica and Mrković as well as the Serbian dialects in Metohia the velar stops /k/ and /g/ are palatalized before the high front vowels /e/ and /i/, as in *nöǵe* ‘feet’, *kiša* ‘rain’ (cf. std. Sr *noge* and *kiša*) In addition, in Mrković velars are also palatalized before schwa, as in *Ske^ade^ar* (Stanišić 1995: 53). Many linguists have considered this a result of Serbian contact with Albanian, such as Miletić (1940: 282–283), Ivić (1957: 161), Popović (1960: 575–576), Camaj (1966: 120), and Pižurica (1984: 90), although Stanišić comments that this is not a feature generally noted by Albanian dialectologists, and thus should be seen in connection with other features tying Eastern Montenegrin dialects with Serbian dialects in Metohia, Kosovo, and Southern Serbia (1995: 53).⁵² As this feature is shared among these Slavic dialects and is essentially the same change that affects the palatal consonants described above,

⁵² In addition to the feature of palatalized velars before front vowels, Stanišić gives a handful of other features shared between Eastern Montenegrin and South Moravan Serbian dialects, including accusative plurals of *Tūrce* (Đakovica) *Gřce* (Mrković), non-active participles without epenthetic /lj/, as well as the frequent use of da-constructions instead of the infinitive (1995: 53). These claims will be examined in the following chapter on morphosyntax (§5.7.3).

this may be yet further evidence of the localized trend in Southern Moravan and Eastern Montenegrin dialects palatalizing consonants. However, the local features of Albanian dialects in Montenegro should also be considered in these changes.

Regarding the softening of velars in Albanian, it is necessary to distinguish between two palatalizations that have occurred in Albanian dialects in Montenegro. The first is a palatalization that affected all Albanian dialects, whereby velar stops /k/ and /g/ were fronted to palatal stops, as evidenced, for example, by borrowings from Latin like (std.) *dreq* ‘devil’, *gjel* ‘rooster’ (*i*) *gjelbër* ‘green’ from Lat *draco*, *gallus*, and *galbinus* (Topalli Forthcoming).⁵³ In addition, there are a number of morphologically related forms that show the original velars in morphophonemic variation with the newer palatal stops, as in *mik* ‘friend’ (SG.INDEF) ~ *miq* ‘friends’ (PL.INDEF) and *zog* ‘bird’ (SG.INDEF) ~ *zogj* ‘birds’ (PL.INDEF). In each of these cases the palatalization of the velars is triggered by a following front vowel historically, just as the change found in Eastern Montenegrin and Serbian dialects in Metohia. However, as this change affects all of Albanian, and has affected borrowings from Latin into Albanian but not most borrowings from Slavic, as in Alb *çakiç* ‘hammer’ < *čekič* and *kitë* ‘ear of corn’ < *kita* (OCS *kyta*),⁵⁴ it is most likely that this change happened before contact with Slavic was wide-spread. Thus, arguments

⁵³ The phonetic motivation for these changes may be more natural if the Latin /a/ was phonetically [æ], as has been proposed to explain the palatalization found in French for velar stops before /a/, as in *chanter* ‘sing’, cf. It. *cantare*, Sp. *cantar* and *charte* ‘charter’ cf. It. and Sp. *carta*, as well as *jail* ‘jail’ cf. It. obsolete Italian *gaiola*, Spanish *gayola* (OED). The palatalizations of the first sets of examples, *dreq*, *gjel*, and *gjelbër*, the vowels are not front vowels in the source language but become fronted by developments in Albanian. For *dreq*, the end vowel is likely...while for *gjel* and *gjelbër*, the *e* comes from the development of *a > je* in closed syllables. The palatalizations in the morphophonemic alterations are assumed to have been triggered by a high vowel in the plural marker that has since been lost.

⁵⁴ Of the 10 or so examples in the database used in the previous chapter, only one form *raqitë* or *arqitë* ‘willow’ < *rakita* showed a palatal stop in this phonetic environment. This also has dialectal variants *rrakithë* and *rakitë* (Svane 1993: 127–128). It may be the case that this is a very early borrowing from Slavic, or it may have come from Serbian dialects that had the palatalized forms already if it is a later borrowing.

such as Ivić (1957) Pižurica (1984) and Camaj (1966) based on the influence of this palatalization in Albanian on these Slavic dialects do not give a proper treatment of the timing of this change in Albanian.

However, the second change that is found in Albanian dialects in the regions of Tivar/Bar and Ulqin/Ulcinj is very likely related to the changes in Eastern Montenegro, and possibly with those in Serbian dialects of Metohia. Albanian dialects in Ulqin/Ulcinj, Ana e Malit, and Krajë/Krajina also have an allophonic variant of the velar stops before high unrounded front vowels, described as apical sharpening, as in *keq* ‘bad’ (cf. std. *keq*). This phenomenon has not been researched very widely, as it is missing in most standard works on Albanian dialectology, such as the ADA, but has been noted by Miletić (1940) in his study of the Montenegrin dialect of Crmnica, as a feature of local Albanian dialects. It was also examined phonetically by Cakuli, et. al (2010), who also judge the allophone to be an apicalized variant of the velars. Although these two sources provide some description of the phonetic process of fronting velars and give good information about the phonetic value in this area, it is unknown whether this trend is found elsewhere in Albanian dialects.⁵⁵

As the trend towards the softening of back consonants is more general in Slavic than it is in Albanian, it appears that if these changes are related to one another by language contact, the changes likely began in the Slavic dialects and then were brought into the Albanian dialects in Montenegro through bilingualism -- likely through reverse interference from native Albanian speakers. However, the palatalization of velars before

⁵⁵ It is also important to acknowledge that while these variants of Northern Geg show palatalization of the velars, other varieties show opposite trend, the velarization of palatals, such as Plavë and Gucia (Ahmetaj 1989: 290) and throughout Kosovo and Tropojë and Lumë in Northeastern Albania (ADA 124/60).

front vowels is also a very common phonetic change cross-linguistically that may be easily explained by phonetic naturalness (Kolgjini 2004). As such, an internal, phonetically natural change of velar stops assimilating to the front vowels, producing palatalization, seems to be the better explanation. However, language contact seems to be necessary for explaining the geographical distribution of the change, particularly for the Albanian dialects in Montenegro. If this is, indeed, the correct interpretation, this change provides further support for the argument made in the previous section that the Eastern Montenegrin and Serbian dialects in Metohia have undergone a general palatalization of post-alveolar consonants, the result of regular, internal changes that produce palatalized consonants. Within Albanian, however, as this change appears not to have a very wide spread, and as apicalization is not common in Albanian generally, these changes are likely the result of contact with the Slavic dialects in southern and eastern Montenegro.

4.4.1.3.5. Change of /ć (q)/, /đ (gj)/ > /j/

One final change that affects the affricates in these dialects is the change of the palatal affricates and stops to the palatal glide /j/ in word final position. Among South Slavic dialects this is found primarily in Eastern Montenegrin dialects, and to a lesser extent in Kosovo (Remetić 2004: 120).⁵⁶ Examples from Eastern Montenegrin dialects include *pronâj* ‘to find’, *nôj* ‘night’, *kùj* ‘whither’, and *svùj* ‘everywhere’ (cf. dial. *pronâc*, *nôc*, *kùđ*, *svùđ*) (Camaj 1966: 121). Among Albanian dialects this trend is somewhat more widespread and affects dialects in Montenegro, northwestern Albania

⁵⁶ This is also, apparently, a feature of some Čakavian dialects which led some scholars to believe that borrowings into Albanian such as *mejë* ‘border’, etc. to have come from Čakavian dialects in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Camaj 1966: 121). Given, however that this change is also found closer to the area of contact (eastern Montenegro) this is a much more likely source of these words.

down to Durrës and Kavajë, and southeastern Albania (ADA 191/408)⁵⁷. For the most part this change is evidenced in masculine plural forms such as *mij* ‘friends’, *plej* ‘elders’, *zoi* ‘birds’, etc. (cf. std. *miq*, *pleq*, and *zogj*), a feature that is also found in the earliest Albanian writings from the 16th–18th centuries.⁵⁸ The change of palatal stops to a palatal glide also is found more broadly in Albanian, particularly in the phonetic environment of palatal stops preceding certain consonants, especially *t*, but also *n* and *m*. This is found in several dialects, including in Montenegro, Kosovo, and throughout western Albania (ADA 55–56/28a-b).⁵⁹

It is also possible that this is an internal change within each of the languages, as the change from a stop to a glide is a phonetically motivated lenition, especially in word-final position. However, given the marginal distribution of the change in South Slavic it seems more likely to have come about from contact with Albanian. The majority of scholars believe this to be a change in which Albanian influenced the Eastern Montenegrin dialects, although Remetić also argues that the Montenegrin dialects may have influenced the Serbian dialects of Kosovo, as well, so it may not be due to Albanian influence there, either (2004: 120; Stanišić 1995: 52; Pižurica 1984: 90). This may indeed be the case, as the change to a glide appears to happen more in dialects toward the west, making it more likely that the changes in Montenegro originated from contact with

⁵⁷ This is based on the distribution of outcomes ending in *j* or *ī* (<**ij*) for the word ‘lamb’ (std. *qengi*). Unfortunately this is the only word tested that meets the phonetic criteria, and regrettably this is not a feature tested in the sections of phonology (nor morphology where it is also particularly relevant, given the morphophonemic variation between velar and palatal stops for sg. and pl. forms of some masculine nouns.

⁵⁸ Interestingly enough, this is the change that produced the palatal glide of the Albanian name of the city *Pejë* (cf. Sr *Peć*) (Camaj 1966: 121).

⁵⁹ Given the morphophonemic variation mentioned in the previous footnote, these are in forms likely influenced by analogical leveling. Even the locations that show the most consistent reflexes as /j/ tend to have variation in verb forms with these phonetic environments. Thus it appears that the sound change in Auslaut occurred first and the indefinite masculine plural served as the basis for extending it to the masculine definite forms, which end with *-të*.

Albanian than did those in Kosovo, but still, the possibility of influence from Albanian should not be dismissed so lightly there, either. Thus, the change of palatal affricates to /j/ can be tentatively taken to be a case of mutual influence between Albanian and Slavic in Eastern Montenegro and Kosovo, but because this change is not found in southwestern Macedonian dialects, it appears to be an internal change for the Albanian dialects in southeastern Albania.

4.4.1.4. Hardening of Palatal Nasal (/nj/ > /n/)

Returning to changes not involving affricates, three additional developments in Albanian and Slavic should to be considered: the hardening of palatal /nj/ to a dental /n/, the development of nasal + stop clusters (§4.4.1.5), and the treatment of back (velar or pharyngeal) fricatives (§4.4.1.6). The change of /nj/ to /n/ is found in both Slavic and Albanian dialects in areas of contact, particularly in Kosovo (but apparently not in Eastern Montenegrin dialects (Ivić, et. al 1981; Stanišić 1995: 51)). In addition, the change is also found in central Macedonian dialects, but without similar developments in nearby Albanian dialects (Koneski 1966: 58–59). As the change is not manifest in the Northern Macedonian dialects between these two areas, these appear to be two separate, unconnected changes in Slavic.⁶⁰ As far as Albanian is concerned, the change is also found in other Northern Geg dialects in eastern Montenegro (in Hot, east and northeast of Podgorica) and central and northeastern Albania (ADA 28/14). Examples from Serbian dialects in Kosovo include *nüşka*, ‘snout’ *jagnéci* ‘lamb’, *négov* ‘his’ (MASC.SG.NOM) (cf.

⁶⁰ In addition, this change is also found in Kajkavian dialects (in northwestern Croatia), but as there are many dialects in between Kajkavian and southern Serbian (just as between central Macedonian dialects and southern Serbian) these are certainly two distinct changes historically, although the same change is affected (Popović 1960: 575).

std. (*njůška, jagnjići, and njėgov*), while examples from Albanian include *ni* ‘one’ and *niri* ‘person’ (cf. Geg *nji* / Tosk *njė* and Geg *njiri* / Tosk *njeri*, respectively) (Popović 1960: 575; Stanišić 1995: 51).⁶¹

Although some have claimed that the changes in Kosovo are certainly due to language contact (Popović 1960: 575), because it happens sporadically in southern Serbian dialects and more regularly in neighboring Albanian dialects, it is important to consider the possibility that these are independent, language-internal changes that happen to overlap geographically in Kosovo. As mentioned above, this change happens independently in central Macedonian as well as Kajkavian Croatian, so the hardening of palatal /nj/ to /n/ has typological parallels elsewhere in Slavic and does not necessarily require any external explanation. The evidence from the geographic spread in Albanian is less conclusive. Sources disagree on whether this change is general for northern Geg, which would likely indicate a regular sound change (Popović 1960: 575), or if it occurs in disparate areas of Geg (ADA 28/14), perhaps reflecting multiple internal changes or a general, regular internal change followed by leveling in certain areas. On closer analysis, it appears that while there are some lexical items that show consistent depalatalization such as *ni* ‘one’ (Ajeti 1978: 66; Tagliavini 1978: 135) and *binak* ‘twin’ (cf. std. *binjak*)

⁶¹ Both of these Albanian forms have developed the palatal nasal from a dental nasal as the result of assimilation to a front vowel. *njeri/njiri* comes from IE **H₂ner-* root that gives Skt *nara* ‘man’, Gk *anēr-* which combines to form the root *andro-* ‘man’ and likely Lat *Nero*, (lit. ‘having manly strength’) (Orel 1998: 304). The etymology of *njė/nji* ‘one’ is less secure. Some have taken it from the usual construction for the root ‘one’ in Proto-Indo-European, **oinos-* which gives the latter part of the stem *-inŭ* in OCS ‘*edinŭ*’, as well as Old Lat *ūnus*, Gk *oŭnē* ‘one eye’, etc. (Orel 1998: 304–305; Vasmer III: 122) Hamp 1992: 903–904 proposes that it is built from a deictic + numeral (*Vni-oino-*) that gives the pronominal forms in Slavic like *onŭ* ‘he, it’ (3SG.NOM). Another possible construction is from the root that gave rise to Gk *ēvloi* ‘some’ and Skt. *anyā-* ‘other’ (Orel 1998: 304–305). Either etymology would give a dental nasal followed by a front vowel that would condition the palatalizing of the nasal. Although it is possible that the dialects in question simply never developed palatality, the evidence from the geographical spread of the palatal nasals argues for a general change in Pre-Slavic, which was later reversed in certain dialects for certain terms.

(ADA 484/260),⁶² in terms of a regular sound change, it is found most predominantly in western Metohia and eastern Montenegro. Since the change happens sporadically in individual dialects of Albanian and Serbian in areas of contact between the languages, the best analysis may be that the change is due to language contact there, and that in the case of Albanian, possibly spread from Kosovo and Metohia to eastern Montenegro. Since both languages are affected in the change and there is no clear pattern of regularity in either language, it is impossible to declare the directionality of the change, and as such is best considered simply a case of mutual convergence between Albanian and Serbian in Kosovo. There is, however, an equally plausible phonetic explanation for the Albanian change on the basis of acoustics. The palatality of a sequence of a palatal consonant followed by a high front vowel ($n_{j(+palatal)}-i_{(+palatal)}$), could easily be understood by a hearer as a feature of the following vowel only ($n-i_{(+palatal)}$), which may have produced the change *nji* > *ni* for the Geg dialects that underwent this change.⁶³ The change in the Serbian dialects in Kosovo appears to have a broader phonetic environment, as it occurs in positions other than preceding front vowels. These changes, thus, are not as satisfactorily explained by an internal reorganization of phonemic features on the basis of acoustic properties. Contact with Albanian may have influenced the change, but since the

⁶² The pattern found for *binak* ~ *binjak* shows a predominance of the dental form north of Tirana, and Dibër/Debar with the exception of the Ulqin/Ulcinj - Shkodër/Skadar area south of Lake Shkodër/Skadar and two other locations: Pukë, Albania and Odër (Tetovë / Tetovo) Macedonia. As this is likely a borrowing of an Italian word (*binato* (Svane 1992: 187)) that had an original dental, it is also possible that this word never had a palatal nasal in the Albanian dialects that have a dental nasal now. Other lexical items give a much more limited spread, as shown by *nerkë* ~ *njërkkë* 'step-mother' where the depalatalized variant is found in stretches of northwestern Albania, Western Metohia and northern Kosovo, but elsewhere remains as isolated occurrences (ADA 482/258).

⁶³ The same could also apply to words with the vowel preceding the nasal consonant, as in *binjak* > *binak*. A parallel change has given rise to variant unrounded pronunciations of certain *qu-* sequences in English, such as *quarter* [kwɔrdər] > [kɔrdər] (Joseph p.c.).

environments are different the case for language contact is less compelling than it would be if the same phonetic environments were found in Slavic and Albanian.

4.4.1.5. Development of NT Clusters

Another change involving nasals that affects both Slavic and Albanian dialects is the development of nasal + obstruent sequences (NT) from original nasals. The presence of nasal + obstruent sequences (within a syllable) is common in Albanian but not Slavic. Within Albanian dialectology, the presence of NT sequences is sometimes given as a characteristic feature of Tosk, while in Geg it is the simplification of these sequences that is supposedly characteristic (Byron 1976: 45–47), as in *mret* ‘king’ and *tane* ‘yours’ (2SG.FEM.ACC), compared to Tosk (and std.) *mbret* and *tënde*. (Cimochowski 1951; Sawicka 1997: 53). However, this characterization oversimplifies the relationship between these forms and the dialects this sequence is found in. For example, variation between preserved clusters and simplified ones is also found in lexical pairs in the standard language for certain high-frequency words such as *prapa* / *mbrapa* ‘behind’, *pas* / *mbas* ‘after’, etc. (Sawicka 1997: 53). Further, the ADA shows that the isogloss between dialects that preserve NT clusters and those that simplify them runs somewhat south of the Tosk-Geg split except in the east, where it includes some Geg dialects. In addition, dialects in Dibër/Debar preserve NT sequences in all positions (ADA 31–33/16–18).⁶⁴

⁶⁴ As Dombrowski (2009: 8) argues, although it is tempting to see the simplification of these clusters in Northern Albanian dialects as an influence from Serbian, given the regularity of the change in Geg, this is less likely to be a contact phenomena than a natural assimilation internal to Albanian. That the simplifications occur in a regular pattern so far south in Albanian dialects is further argument that contact with Serbian is likely not the source of the NT simplifications in Albanian dialects.

One diachronic complication in understanding the history of these sequences in Albanian is that there are historical developments of non-etymologically motivated nasals before original obstruents that have affected all Albanian dialects, such as the realization of the loanword *rrëmbej* ‘plunder, pillage’ from Lat *rapere*⁶⁵ ‘take, seize’, or localized variants of loanwords such as *cingare* ‘cigarette’ (cf. std. *cigare*) as reported by Camaj for Albanian dialects in Montenegro (1966: 119), and southern Tosk forms like *fambrikë* ‘factory’ (cf. std. *fabrikë*). These same sequences have also been developed by the insertion of an epenthetic homorganic oral stop in words such as *zembër* ‘heart’ and *embri* ‘name’ (cf. std. *zemër* and *emri*).⁶⁶ Thus, in addition to tolerating NT sequences, some Albanian dialects also develop non-etymological NT sequences from either oral stops or nasals. In particular, NT clusters have developed from consonants before liquids /r/ and /l/. The insertion of a nasal has been noted in some Eastern Montenegrin dialects in contact with Albanian as given in the forms *fembruvar* ‘February’ and *cingar* ‘cigarette’ (Stevanović 1935: 17; Camaj 1966: 119). Macedonian dialects in contact with both Albanian and Greek, have a tendency to insert epenthetic oral stops, as found in the examples of *mbleko* ‘milk’ and *umbri* ‘die’ (3SG.AOR/2SG.IMPER) (cf. std. *mleko* and *umri*), etc. that may be found in Macedonian villages in southern Albania (Sawicka 1997: 56). Also, in Gora dialects in Brod, Kosovo, this same development is said to be quite

⁶⁵ It is possible that the Albanian form was also influenced by another Latin word with related semantics: *rumpere* ‘to break’. The possibility of loan words to be influenced by more than one source element is also argued for by Hamp (p.c. to Joseph) in his explanation of the semantics of Alb *shqip* ‘Albanian; clearly, intelligibly’ from Lat verbs *excipere* ‘extract, mention specifically’, *excerpere* ‘take out, select’, and possibly *explicare* ‘unfold, explain’.

⁶⁶ According to Sawicka (1997: 53–54) these reflexes are found in most Albanian dialects, however, as suggested by the ADA, most Geg dialects, and even some Northern Tosk ones do not participate in this change. Some of the dialects that do undergo this change are in contact with Slavic, particularly in Western and Southwestern Macedonia and in Southeastern Albania near Korçë/Korça and Prespa, although this appears to be a regular development throughout Tosk, and does not seem to have any special connection to areas of contact with Slavic.

frequent, although Sawicka gives only one example, *Amberika* ‘America’ (1997: 57). In addition to dialects in southern Albania and Kosovo, such formations are also found in southern Macedonia and in dialects in contact with Greek, so it should not be immediately assumed that these have developed via contact with Albanian. Further, as argued by Friedman and Joseph (5.4.4.1) and Hock (1991: 117–119) the insertion of a homorganic stop is a phonetically natural development in nasal + resonant clusters, thus the developments found in Tosk dialects and Macedonian dialects may be the result of this natural tendency to insert a stop before the resonant. In other areas, however, some of these insertions are not before resonants, thus the phonetic motivation is perhaps not quite as strong as it would be in that environment. This is particularly the case for the changes reported in Gora dialects (although more examples are surely needed) and the Geg and Eastern Montenegrin dialects, where a nasal is inserted before stops. For these areas at least, contact between Slavic and Albanian certainly may have influenced both Albanian and Slavic dialects to create new NT clusters.

4.4.1.6. Developments of Velar and Glottal Fricatives

The final element of mutual convergence between the consonantal systems of Albanian and Slavic dialects is the treatment of post-alveolar fricatives. As with the affricates, a couple of relevant developments affecting the sounds need to be considered, and while not all developments are shared by Slavic and Albanian dialects, the dialects do share a considerable number of similarities in how the back fricatives develop. The four developments considered in this section are (1) preservation, (2) voicing, (3) loss, and (4) fronting to labio-dental fricatives (/f/ or /v/). Each of these will be treated

individually, below, but a few words of a general nature about the back fricatives are necessary. The canonical description of Albanian /h/ differs from that found in Slavic /h/ in that the Albanian /h/ is a glottal voiceless fricative ([h]),⁶⁷ as opposed to Slavic /h/ (Cyr. <x>) which is a velar voiceless fricative ([x]). However, despite this difference, borrowings such as Alb *strehë* ‘eaves, roof’ < Sr *streha* (cf. Mk *strea*) and *trohë* ‘crumb’ < Sr *troha* (Svane 1993: 54, 94) and (W Mk) *heljmosan* ‘poisoned’ < Alb *helm-* ‘poison’, (PG, S.Sr) *hip* ‘mount (a horse)’ < Alb *hip* attest to the fact that speakers have generally taken them to be similar to the corresponding sound in their own language.⁶⁸ Second, back fricatives show a cross-linguistic trend to change to other sounds or to be deleted altogether (Friedman and Joseph 2013: 5.4.4.6; Hock 1991: 131–132). Therefore it is not altogether unsurprising that these languages should show undergo changes with these sounds. For this reason it is important to find identical, or almost identical, changes affecting the dialects to establish language contact as the cause of these developments. Finally, the influence of Balkan Romance and Turkish cannot be excluded for most of the developments considered herein. Balkan Romance is quite possibly involved in the process of deletion, as /h/ was lost in Latin and Romance varieties in the western Balkans (although not in Romanian) (Sawicka 1997: 35). Turkish may also influence the loss of /h/, as West Rumelian Turkish lost /h/ in a majority of words (Friedman 1982: 14; Sawicka 1997: 35–36). To some degree, however, it may be expected that Turkish could conceivably also be responsible for the preservation of /h/ in some instances, because in many areas of the Balkans /h/ is a particularly salient symbol of Turkish or Muslim

⁶⁷ The main exception to this description is the handful of Arbëresh dialects in Calabria, Italy, that have a velar fricative [x], like the Slavic dialects considered in this study.

⁶⁸ Inevitably, as the /h/ in Slavic and Albanian undergoes many changes dialectally loanwords also attest to this variation, as examples used in following sections show.

identity (Friedman 2006: 660), as seen, for example, in the restoration of /h/ in a number of words in Bosnian both from Turkish—*kahva* ‘coffee’ (cf. Sr *kava*, Tr *kahve*) and *sahat* ‘clock, hour’ (cf. Sr *sat*, Tr. *saat*, but Alb *sahat*)—and from Slavic, where it is etymologically plausible such as *lahko* ‘light, easy’ cf. Sr *lako*, OCS *lǫgŭko* (Alexander 2006: 409).

4.4.1.6.1. Preservation of /h/

Although the general trend in southern Serbian and Macedonian dialects is to delete or change /h/ to another fricative, there are a few locations that preserve the velar fricative, albeit in some cases with a reduced pronunciation. For instance, in the Torbeš (Muslim speaking Slavs) dialects in southwestern Macedonia, as also in the urban dialects of Ohrid/Ohër, /h/ is preserved in most cases, unlike most of western Macedonian (Koneski 1966: 76; Vidoeski 2005: 93, 98). Ivić also notes its preservation in urban dialects of Orthodox Serbs in Peć/Pejë (1985: 102), and Stevanović also records the sound in Đakovica/Gjakovë (1950: 76; Stanišić 1995: 55). The majority of examples given for dialects in Kosovo are borrowings from Turkish as in ^h*odžà* ‘muezzin’ and ^h*adžjja* ‘pilgrimage’, but it is also found in native words like *bé^hu* ‘was’ (3PL.IMPERF).⁶⁹ Given the general trend of southern Serbian dialects to delete /h/ it is assumed that bilingualism has something to do with its preservation (Stanišić 1995: 55). Since the Serbian dialects in question are from cities, as is the Macedonian dialect of Ohrid, bilingualism with Turkish would seem to present a good explanation; however, unlike

⁶⁹ The superscript ^h is representative of the examples given by Stanišić (1995: 55), which he uses to indicate a weaker pronunciation of the velar fricative.

other phonological developments considered for urban dialects of Serbian in Kosovo, Turkish does not provide a good model for the preservation of /h/ as Turkish in the Western Balkans also tends not to preserve /h/ (Friedman 1982: 14; Sawicka 1997: 35–36). Nor does Tosk Albanian provide a good model for the preservation of /h/ in southwestern Macedonia, as it is deleted in those dialects (ADA 114–117/57a–ç). Although some scholars have claimed the weakening or loss of /h/ in all positions as a general feature of Eastern Geg, including dialects of Kosovo (Jokl 1921 53, 81; Tagliavini 1942/1978: 130–131), more recent studies have shown that /h/ is indeed found in many dialects of Eastern Geg, as pointed out by Mulaku (1968/2005) and Agani (1978: 200–202) and also recently emphasized by Dombrowski (2009: 16). It is important to note that the specific sources that led Jokl and Tagliavini to these generalizations were purportedly based in the same areas as those mentioned above for the preservation of /h/ in Serbian dialects (Ljubomir Kujundžić’s dictionary from Gjakovë/Đakovica and Vuk Karadžić’s texts collected from Pejë/Peć), so at one time bilingualism with Albanian appeared doubtful as a cause for the preservation in these Serbian dialects. However, as Agani (1978) shows, Kujundžić’s dictionary reflects the speech of Albanians in Rahovec/Orahovac rather than those in Gjakovë/Đakovica, as the Albanian dialect of Gjakovë/Đakovica much more faithfully preserves /h/ than in Rahovec/Orahovac (Agani 1978: 200–202);⁷⁰ thus bilingualism with Albanian remains a real possibility for the preservation of /h/ in these Serbian dialects in Kosovo.

⁷⁰ In addition to misleading about the dialectal base of the dictionary, the dictionary may also present some skewing due to phonological interference from the collector’s dominant language, Serbian. In fact, two of the main sources that Jokl and Tagliavini used were from observations made by Serbs, including Ljubomir Kujundžić’s small Serbian-Albanian dictionary (1902), Vuk Karadžić’s edition of Albanian Songs (Arnautske pjesme) (1972 in *Selected Works*), and Gliša Elezović’s work on folk songs and his dictionaries

Unlike the tendency to delete or front /h/ in Serbian and Macedonian, Geg dialects more often than not preserve /h/ (Ajëti 1969: 267; ADA 21/8), both in words inherited from Pre-Albanian and in borrowings from Turkish and Slavic such as *hyzmet* ‘care, service’ and *sahat* ‘hour, clock’ and *streha* ‘refuge’ and the toponym *Cërnavërhi* (Sr Crni Vr, cf. std. *vrh* ‘top, peak’) even when the local varieties of these languages do not themselves preserve /h/ (Mulaku 2005: 54–55).⁷¹ However, given the variety of results derived from the Pre-Albanian /h/ it is particularly important to consider local descriptions in order to give a correct picture of the dialect spread of the sound. According the ADA (21/8), /h/ is preserved in all positions (word-initially, medially, and finally) for all dialects of Geg with the exception of several dialects in and near Macedonia (see §5.4.1.5.3–4, below) and dialects in Arbanasi (Zadar), Croatia, and Shëngjin i Madh (Tiranë), Albania. However, this should not be taken to mean that /h/ has been preserved in every word or phonetic environment, as it is particularly prone to be lost preceding other consonants (as found throughout Geg except Lumë (northeast Albania), southern Metohia and Kosovo and southern Serbia) and, to a lesser extent, word-finally (throughout Central Geg, sporadically into northwestern Albania, southern Montenegro, and in Metohia) (ADA 114–117/57a–ç). Word-initially, based on lexical items that have an initial /h/ etymologically in Geg dialects, it appears that most Northern Geg dialects preserve /h/ (ADA 375/158, 380/164, 501/275, 626/397). As the

of Serbian in Kosovo (1932; 1935). Camaj (1966) also claims this as a feature of Gjakovë, based on Pekmezi (1908) and Stevanović (1950).

⁷¹ Mulaku also reports that, in addition to preserving /h/ in these borrowings, in some cases speakers have added non-etymological /h/ certain borrowings from Turkish, as in *ustah* ‘master, maestro’ < Tr. *usta* takes the fact that Albanian preserves the /h/ where local varieties of Serbian do not as evidence that the Albanian dialects in Kosovo were in contact with Serbian before the loss of /h/ was underway in Serbian, which he dates as the 16th century.

preservation of /h/ is found more consistently in Geg as opposed to its general loss or modification in the surrounding Slavic dialects, the preservation of /h/ in northern Albanian dialects is likely not a phonological convergence due to language contact with Slavic.⁷² As stated above, Albanian does not preserve /h/ in southwestern Macedonia and is therefore also a poor explanation for the preservation of the sound in Ohrid and nearby Torbeš dialects. Finally, the preservation of /h/ in the Serbian dialects in Kosovo mentioned above could conceivably be due to contact with Albanian, yet as the phenomenon is not a change, but rather a preservation of an older form, it is methodologically difficult to prove whether contact has had any affect on the preservation of /h/.

4.4.1.6.2. Voicing of /h/ to [ɣ]

The first change to /h/ to be considered is the case of the voicing of /h/ to [ɣ] in the speech of Muslim Slavs in Plav-Gusinje/Plavë-Guci, Montenegro and the Serbian Sandžak, as in *yoćeš* 'you want' (cf. std. *hoćeš*). Ivić (1985: 161) claims that since this sound is also found in Albanian dialects near Plav/Plavë, this is the one clear-cut case in which the preservation of the fricative is definitely due to the influence of Albanian (see also Friedman and Joseph 5.4.5.4). The Slavic data in these areas truly are interesting, and this appears to be a unique development for Serbian and Montenegrin dialects; however, the influence of Albanian in this change needs to be substantiated. While Ivić reports that [ɣ] is found in nearby Albanian dialects, this has not been reported in

⁷² It could be an example of a preservation that has come about to emphasize differences between the two languages, but as there are so many changes to the sound in the phonetic environments mentioned above, this is fairly improbable.

dialectological material of Albanian in these areas. For example, Ahmetaj does not mention such a pronunciation in the Albanian dialects of Plavë/Plava and Guci/Gusinje, although he does report that /h/ is preserved in most instances (1989: 249, 261–262). The situation is almost identical in Albanian dialects in the Sandžak, with the possible exception that /h/ is preserved even more consistently (Mulaku and Bardhi 1978: 289). Thus, although the voicing of /h/ to /ɣ/ has been said to be a case of mutual convergence, more evidence is necessary to show that Albanian has also undergone this change or somehow participates in this development of Serbian and Montenegrin dialects (Friedman and Joseph 2013: 5.4.5.4).⁷³ Indeed, this change may be better understood as a change internal to Montenegrin dialects, as this voicing is also found in other Montenegrin dialects where contact with Albanian is not as prevalent, such as around Cetinje (Bošković 1931: 180–181; Camaj 1966: 121–123).⁷⁴

4.4.1.6.3. Deletion of /h/ in Geg

The loss of /h/ is one change in Albanian that has likely been influenced by contact with Slavic, although certainly not all cases of /h/ deletion are due to contact. Like Serbian and Montenegrin dialects that lose /h/, some dialects of Northern Geg also lose the back fricative, although it is not a general feature of these dialects. Examples of

⁷³ Camaj (1966: 122–123) mentions the parallel development in Arbëresh dialects in S. Demetrio Corona, S. Giorgio Albanese and S. Sofia d’Epiro where, under the influence of local Italian dialects the /h/ has voiced and velarized to /ɣ/ as in *ɣëna* ‘moon’ and *ɣaré* ‘joy’ (cf. std. *hëna* and *haré*). It is important to realize that this is a parallel development and not an areal development affecting both Arbëresh and Montenegrin.

⁷⁴ The change of /h/ to /ɣ/ has further developments in dialects around Bar, including Mrković, to -k/-g, depending on the morphophonological environment, with -k in word final position and -g in other morphological variants (Bošković 1931: 182–189). These further developments are likewise internal to Montenegrin and have no parallels in Albanian.

this include *â'na* ‘moon’, *sho* ‘see’ (1SG.PRES), and *kra* ‘arm’ (cf. std. *hëna*, *shoh*, and *krah*) from Zhur (southwest of Prizren), (Badallaj 1975: 61–67; Stanišić 1995: 55) and *ardhi* ‘grapevine’ in Krajë/Kraja, Montenegro versus *hardhi* in Llap/Lapi, Kosovo (ADA 375/158). Because the loss of /h/ occurs sporadically in these dialects, bilingualism with Slavic is a likely cause for the development taking place in Albanian dialects. Albanian dialects that show a complete loss of /h/ in all positions are mainly limited to southern Albania and southwestern Macedonia (ADA 21/8, 114–117/57a–ç). According to the ADA, Albanian dialects in contact with Slavic that have lost /h/ phonemically include the Arbanasi dialect in Zadar, Croatia, and a handful of dialects in along the southern half of the Macedonia/Albanian border including Dibër/Debar, Macedonia; Tërbaç (Dibër), Albania; Radolishtë (Struga), Macedonia; and Tushemisht (Pogradec), Albania. For the dialects in Dibër/Debar, Macedonia /h/ is lost phonemically, changing to /f/ or deleted in word-final position and lost in all other positions (see §4.4.1.6.4) (Dombrowski 2009: 16; Basha 1989: 162–163); in the other areas mentioned /h/ is deleted in all positions (ADA 114–117/57a–ç). Because this change affects dialects that are in contact with Slavic and similar developments are found nearby dialects of Slavic, this seems to be another example of phonological convergence between Slavic and Albanian, likely with the change starting in Slavic and brought into Albanian via contact.

Before reaching a definite conclusion about the origins of the changes, however, it is also important to consider the broader trends in Macedonian and Albanian dialects losing /h/, particularly the phonetic environments in which the changes happen. Northern Macedonian dialects delete /h/ everywhere, except between vowels, and western dialects delete it in initial position or between vowels other than /u/ (where it fronts to /v/,

§4.4.1.6.4) (Koneski 1966: 76–77). In Albanian, /h/ is regularly deleted in many Tosk dialects, including some in contact with Macedonian, but including many further to the west.⁷⁵ The geographical spread is somewhat broader for dialects that have lost /h/ between vowels, including further north in western Macedonia. Finally, before consonants, /h/ is lost in most dialects of Albanian, which, rather than being the result of contact with Slavic, this is probably the result of the internal process of simplifying consonantal clusters by deleting /h/. Two major points can be taken from a comparison of the phonetic environments affecting the changes. First, the changes in Western Macedonian dialects are much more similar to the changes in Albanian dialects than are the changes in Northern Macedonian dialects, as there are some Albanian dialects that lose /h/ intervocalically, such as in Strugë/Struga and Dibër/Debar, but nowhere does /h/ front to /f/ in this environment. Second, although there are similarities in the changes between Albanian dialects and Macedonian dialects, only in one location is the phonetic environments and results of /h/ identical in Macedonian and Albanian—in the city of Debar/Dibër. Other dialects may also have been affected by contact with Albanian, particularly those losing /h/ phonemically along the southern half of the boarder between Macedonia and Albania, but the strongest influence appears in Debar/Dibër where /h/ is lost intervocalically but changes to /f/ everywhere else.

4.4.1.6.4. /h/ Fronting to Labiodental Fricatives (/f/ or /v/)

⁷⁵ One possible explanation for the tendency of Central Tosk dialects to lose /h/ in all positions is the interference of the South Slavs who were absorbed into the Albanian community in present-day southern Albanian. However, as little evidence survives from that Slavic population, there is little evidence to give for this explanation. Further, as the loss of /h/ is found in Balkan Romance and Turkish as well, attaching causation to one particular language at the expense of the others is hard to justify in this instance.

This last change involving /h/, the fronting of back fricatives to labio-dental fricatives, presents the strongest case as being due to Slavic-Albanian contact. However, some parts of the changes are not identical for the Albanian and Slavic dialects involved. For many Albanian dialects, particularly in Central Geg, parts of which are in contact with Macedonian, as well as many Northern Geg dialects, /h/ is fronted to /f/, particularly word-finally and before obstruents (ADA 114–117/57a–ç). Examples include *njof* ‘I know’ < *njoh*, *lef* ‘(it) barks’ < *leh* and *ftoftë* ‘cold’ < *ftohtë*; it is also found in some borrowings from Slavic, as in *flad* ‘cool breeze’ < Sr *hlad-* ‘cold’, likely showing that this change has occurred in Albanian after contact with Slavic had been firmly established. These are the same phonetic environments where Western Macedonian fronts /h/ to /v/ (allophonically [f]), as in *nivna* [nifna] ‘their’ < *nihna*, and *bev* [bef] ‘was’ (1SG.AOR) < *beh* (Koneski 1966: 76).⁷⁶ Some Montenegrin dialects also front back fricatives to /v/ intervocalically, as in *ruvo* ‘attire’ < *ruho*. Similarities to the change of /h/ to /v/ in Macedonian have led some to remark on the fronting of the back fricative in Albanian and neighboring Slavic dialects as “a micro-Balkanism” and “a true regionalism” (Sawicka 1997: 34–36; Friedman and Joseph 2013: 5.4.4.6) While Camaj (1966: 123); demonstrates that the change of /h/ > /v/ in intervocalic position in dialects of Montenegro and southern Serbia corresponds to sporadic realization of this fronting in Northern Geg (Stanišić 1995: 55–56).

As was noted in the previous section, the phonetic environments of these changes are different for the Slavic and the Albanian dialects, and thus do not represent one

⁷⁶ One additional environment where /h/ fronts to /v/ is next to /u/, as in *muva* ‘housefly’ < *muha* and *uvo* ‘ear’ < *uxo*. In Western Macedonian dialects, for vowels other than /u/, /h/ is lost, as it is in word-initial position for both dialects, as in *leb* ‘bread’ < *hleb* and *ubav* ‘beautiful’ < *hubav* (Koneski 1966: 76).

change, but rather a couple of changes that share similarities. That the Albanian changes are found word-finally and before consonants and the Slavic changes are found intervocalically (for Montenegro) or preconsonantly and word-finally (for Macedonia) show that language contact is not entirely responsible for the change. However, it would seem to be shortsighted not to consider the similarity in the results as being possibly due to influence from one another. Likewise, the change of /h/ to /f/ could be an internal change based on the similarities of acoustics between /f/ and /h/, as both are voiceless fricatives and further have a low second formant; and such changes are found in several languages, including English *laugh* [læf] (cf. OE *hlæhhan*) (Joseph and Friedman 2013: 5.4.4.6). Thus, once again, the geographical distribution of these changes is probably the strongest argument for considering these changes as having something to do with language contact, as these overlap quite neatly in the Western Macedonian dialects and the Central Geg Albanian dialects. Still, even in this regard the changes in Albanian are found in other locations that have not been in contact with Slavic for some time, as all of Central Geg is affected, and not just those areas in contact with Macedonian. Thus, while the fronting of back-fricatives may involve influence from Slavic-Albanian language contact, language internal changes and language contact are likely both causes of these developments.

By way of conclusion to this section, it is important to consider that three of the four changes to /h/ are found in Slavic and Albanian. The preservation of /h/ in some Serbian and Macedonian dialects is common in neighboring Albanian dialects, and the two main changes to /h/ in Albanian dialects, deletion and fronting to a labio-velar have similar parallels to changes in Serbian and Macedonian, respectively. Sometimes when

the loss of /h/ in Albanian is considered, no distinction is made between the loss of /h/ phonemically (i.e. its elimination as a phoneme) and the deletion of /h/ as a phonetic change (i.e. the deletion of /h/ from lexical items). The second kind of change entails the first, but the first may be true without the second also being true, particularly if there is a phonetic change of /h/ to /v/ or some other phoneme, whereby /h/ is eliminated phonemically, but not by deletion phonetically. This distinction has important theoretical implications for whether contact induced changes happen in speakers' individual phonologies or processes affecting phonetics. The stronger piece of evidence for language contact is the convergence through phonetic changes, and not simply similarities in phonological systems. In this particular case as Albanian changes phonetically in two different ways found in neighboring Slavic dialects, namely deletion and change in place of articulation, changes involving /h/ give fairly conclusive evidence of convergence between Albanian and Slavic dialects.

4.4.2. Albanian Consonant Convergences with Slavic

In addition to the convergences affecting both Slavic and Albanian, there are a handful of changes possibly due to language contact that affect just Slavic or Albanian. Two additional changes affecting Albanian consonants have been claimed to be the result of contact with Slavic: the loss of a long trilled rhotic (/rr/), and the change of the voiced interdental fricative /ð/ to a velarized alveolar lateral approximate /ll/. Although these changes result in greater similarities with Slavic, as argued below, the former change is more likely due to contact with Turkish, while the latter is more likely an internal change.

That is, while the results of these changes bring about similarities with Slavic, they are probably not caused by contact between the languages.

4.4.2.1. Loss of Trilled /r/

In many areas of Albanian in contact with Slavic, the distinction between the flapped /r/ [r] and the trilled /rr/ [r̥] is lost, as /rr/ is shortened or lenited to /r/,⁷⁷ in words such as *rejt* ‘grow’ (1SG.NONACT.PRES) and *rejhet* ‘stay, remain’ (1SG.NONACT.PRES) (cf. std. *rriem* and *rrihet*) in Dibër/Debar, Macedonia (Elezović 1950: 241–242). As this change brings these Albanian dialects into closer conformity with Slavic dialects, and occurs in some dialects that show considerable influence from Slavic, it could be assumed that contact with /r/ is at least partly responsible for the change (Friedman and Joseph 2013: 5.4.4.9.iii). Sawicka (1997: 32) takes a systemic approach to the loss of the trill, citing the sound’s “isolation” in the phonological system of Albanian, it being, thus, subject to phonological changes.⁷⁸ Gjinari (1989: 185) and Friedman and Joseph (2013: 5.4.4.9.iii) argue instead for a contact explanation for the loss of the trill, pointing to the fact that the loss occurs predominantly in urban dialects in both the north and the south. They cite the traditional importance of Turkish in urban areas as the reason for the loss of the Albanian trill in these cities. The ADA likewise shows pockets of this merger around several cities, including Tetovë/Tetovo, Dibër/Debar, Prespë/Prespa, Korçë/Korča, Berat, Delvinë, and Vlorë, as well as in the Arbanasi dialect in Zadar, Croatia (ADA 22/9).

⁷⁷ As the major difference between the two sounds is the number of vibrations (with /r/ typically a single tap and /rr/ with multiple taps), the change could be spoken of either in terms of length (shortening) or vibrancy (lessening of vibrancy).

⁷⁸ Although Sawicka (1997: 32) claims that the phonological distinction is preserved in some of the dialects where /rr/ shifts to [r], because /r/ also shifts to a phonetic different phonetic realization, Friedman and Joseph point out that even if a phonological distinction is maintained, the trilled /rr/ is lost in these dialects.

While contact with Slavic has occurred in all of these locations, given that the change is generally limited to urban dialects (with the exception of Arbanasi) it is more likely to have come from contact with Turkish than with Slavic, although Slavic, too, may have had some influence, particularly in Arbanasi and perhaps also in Dibër/Debar. Finally, as this same change occurs in Aromanian and Romani (and Arvanitika Albanian dialects in Greece) in several areas in the Western Balkans, the loss of trilled /r(r)/ may be considered a regional phonological change due to language contact (Friedman and Joseph, 2013: 5.4.4.9.iii). Thus the loss of the trilled /rr/ is likely due to language contact, but contact with Turkish provides a more compelling case than does contact with Slavic.

4.4.2.2. /ð/ > /ll/

The change of the interdental voiced fricative /ð/ (orthographically <dh>) to the velarized alveolar lateral approximate /ll/ [ɫ] has been attributed to contact with Slavic by some scholars (Mladenov 1925: 51; Desnickaja 1967, cited in Raka 2004: 73). Examples of this change include *i mall* ‘large’ and *ūll* ‘way, road’ (cf. std. *i madh* and *udhë*) (Gjinari and Shkurtaj 2003: 206; Sawicka 1997: 32). There is a certain logic to the argument, that as Slavic dialects do not typically have interdental fricatives (but see §5.4.3.2, below), a phoneme native to Slavic might be used to replace a foreign sound for Slavic speakers learning Albanian. This argument may be further bolstered by the fact that the change is not realized regularly across Albanian dialects, and is found with some frequency in dialects near the Eastern border of Montenegro, particularly Hoti, and to a smaller extent in Kelmendi, Kastrati, and in some dialects of Shkodër (Dombrowski 2009: 21; Shkurtaj 1974: 363, 1975: 29, 1967: 41; ADA 23/10). It is also found in some

parts of Northeastern Geg, including the urban dialect of Prizren and dialects around Skopje (Dombrowski 2009: 21; Pajaziti 2005: 75–76; Skok 1978: 97). However, it is also found in dialects outside the realm of contact with Slavic, particularly in southern Albania, as in Gjirokaštër, Libohovë and Delvinë, and, moreover, is found more broadly as a feature of non-standard speech for many young speakers throughout Albanian communities (ADA 23/10; Gjinari and Shkurtaj 2003: 206). Given that the change is found outside of the area of contact with Slavic, other explanations may be more convincing. Perhaps the best explanation is a simple internal, phonetically-motivated change. Although /ð/ and /l/ differ in place and manner of articulation as well as acoustics, they are not vastly different in production. If the tongue is not brought forward all the way between the teeth for /ð/, the alveolar lateral approximate is produced including secondary velarization. This easing of articulation may be responsible for the change of /ð/ to /l/ in every dialect where it is found. Furthermore, voicing is the same in both sounds and is a key phonetic factor in this change, as demonstrated by the fact that the voiceless fricative /θ/ does not undergo an analogous change in these dialects. Thus it is not a categorical change affecting all interdental fricatives, motivated by the phonologies of languages in contact, which would have likely changed both /θ/ and /ð/ to dental fricatives /s/ and /z/⁷⁹, affricates /dz/ and /c/, or stops /d/ and /t/ (Dombrowski 2009: 21) as shown by borrowings into Slavic from words with these sounds: (KS) *bardza*, (SS, Mk) *barzast* ‘white’⁸⁰ < Alb *bardh-*, (Mk) *djama* ‘fat, tallow’ < Alb *dhjam*,

⁷⁹ The change from /ð/ and /θ/ to /z/ and /s/ is found in Albanian dialects in Mandrica, Bulgaria, likely under the influence of contact with Slavic there (Gjinari and Shkurtaj 2003: 393).

⁸⁰ Hoxha 2001, in addition to *bardza*, also gives the forms *bardža* and *barla*. It is not out of the possibility that the Slavic speakers borrowed the Alb stem *bardh* with the lateral /l/, but it is also possible that the

korda ‘winter pasture’ < Alb *gardh* ‘fence’, (Mn) *frus* ‘measles’ < Alb *fruth*, and (Mk) *tembra* ‘heel’ < Alb *thembra*. In sum, the change of /ð/ to /ll/ in Albanian is much more likely due to an internal phonetic change than to contact with Slavic on the basis of geography, articulation, and evidence of Slavic adaptations of /ð/ in loanwords.

4.4.3. Slavic Consonant Convergences with Albanian

While both of the changes to consonants in Albanian dialects considered in the previous section have better explanations than contact with Slavic, the two changes to Slavic examined in this section are definitely best explained by contact with Albanian. These changes are the reorganization of laterals /l/ and /lj/ toward pronunciations more like Albanian /ll/ and /l/, respectively, in Montenegro, Kosovo, and Macedonia, and the development of interdental fricatives /θ/ and /ð/ in some southwestern Macedonian dialects. As shown below, contact with Albanian appears to be the main source of these changes in Slavic, although other factors such as internal changes and contact with Greek and Aromanian likely have also had some influence as well.

4.4.3.1. Changes to /l/ and /lj/

The question of changes to Slavic laterals /l/ and /lj/ in areas in contact with Albanian has received attention from many scholars who point to contact with Albanian to explain these changes. The inherited laterals of Slavic found in most dialects of South Slavic are an alveolar lateral /*l/ ([l]) and a palatal lateral /*lj/ ([ʎ]). In many dialects in

lateral was in the Albanian form *barll*. As this is the only instance of /l/ borrowed from an Albanian stem with /ð/, this is not the usual adaptation that Slavic speakers give to Alb /ð/.

contact with Albanian, including in eastern and southern Montenegro (Stevanović 1935: 44; Camaj 1966: 121; Pižurica 1984: 89), most parts of Kosovo and Metohia (Stanišić 1995: 50; Remetić 2004: 115), and western Macedonia (Belić 1935a: 102–111; Vidoeski 1998: 110),⁸¹ these pronunciations are replaced by a palatalized lateral [lʲ], like Albanian /l/, and a velarized lateral like Albanian /l/ ([ɫ]).⁸² Although the laterals change in different ways in these Slavic dialects, the resulting phonological distinctions consistently approximate those found in Albanian dialects. For example, in Eastern Montenegro and Metohia and Kosovo, historical /l/ velarizes to [ɫ] in all positions except for before *i* and *e*, where it becomes [lʲ] for example *môṭba* ‘plea’, *ṭük* ‘onion’, and *šăṭ* ‘scarf’ (cf. std. *môlba*, *lük*, and *šäl*) and *l’ivăda* ‘meadow’, *g’ëda* ‘sees’ (3SG.PRES); [lʲ] also comes from /lj/ as in *grebŭl’a* ‘rake’ and *grkl’ân* ‘larynx, throat’ (cf. std. *grabulja* and *grkljan*) (Stanišić 1995: 50; Remetić 2004: 115).⁸³ This same situation is found among Muslim Slavic speakers in Plav/Plavë and Gusinje/Guci, while Orthodox speakers preserve the original distinction of [l] and [ɫ] (Ćupić 1985–1986: 814). In western Macedonia, the pattern found in Albanian dialects is also replicated: along the western edge of

⁸¹ It has also been dealt with more generally in studies looking at similarities between dialects in Montenegro and Macedonia (Greenberg 2000: 298; Curtis 2010: 160–161), more broadly in the Balkans (Friedman and Joseph 2013: 5.4.4.8) and in the historical development of Serbian (Hamp 2001: 249).

⁸² The characterization of the liquid laterals varies from author to author. I follow the description of the Albanian laterals given by Newmark (1998: xii) who characterizes /l/ ([lʲ]) as a palatalized liquid lateral or ‘light l’ and /l/ as a velarized liquid lateral ([ɫ]) or ‘dark l’. Another description of Albanian /l/ is given by Dodi (2004: 83–84) as an apical lateral without palatalization or velarization. Others talk about the differences between the laterals as thin (or slender) vs. fat, referring presumably to the comparative width of the tongue in the place of articulation. Stanišić (1995: 50) calls the ‘light l’ a cacuminal (or retroflex) and gives examples using a symbol of an l with a dot below it. To be consistent in terminology I talk about these laterals as palatalized and use International Phonetic Alphabet convention of a superscript *j* to denote palatalization. This velarized /l/ [ɫ] is not to be confused with a velar consonant [L], just as the palatalized /l/ [lʲ] is different from the palatal [ɭ] (BCS /lj/) [ɭ]. The difference lies in the primary articulation is in the velum for [L] and the palate for [ɭ], whereas the primary place of articulation is next to the alveolar ridge with secondary articulation in the velum [ɫ] or palate [lʲ]

⁸³ The neutralization of the /l/ and /lj/ before front vowels occurs in Serbian dialect of Đakovica/Gjakovë, but not in Prizren or dialects further to the East. (Ivić 2001: 189)

Macedonian dialects, including from Tetovo/Tetovë and Gostivar, south to Kostur/Kastoria, Lerin/Florina the inherited palatal /*lj/ yields a palatalized /l/ [lʲ]) similar to Albanian /l/, as in *l'ut* ‘mad, hot’, *nedel'a* ‘Sunday, week’, and *prijatel'* ‘friend’ where Central Macedonian dialects lose palatality before non-front vowels and at the end of words (Vidoeski 1998: 110; Koneski 1966: 55–57). Meanwhile, inherited /l/ is velarized to [ɫ] in these positions, but merges with /lj/ to [l] before front vowels for most Macedonian dialects (Koneski 1966: 56; Friedman 1993: 255). Other than the western dialects mentioned above, other dialects that differ from the standard description seem to have been influenced by contact with Serbian, as northwestern Macedonian dialects, from Gora to Vratnica to Skopska Crnagora change the inherited lateral *l to a palatal lateral [ɭ], like Serbian /lj/, before front vowels, as in *moljim* ‘pray’, *sljive* ‘plum’, *telje* ‘calf’, and *goljem* ‘large’, (cf. std. *molim*, *slive*, *tele*, and *golem* (ibid.)). This trend is repeated in Skopje and in some other urban dialects, such as Bitola, under the influence of Serbian (Friedman 1993).⁸⁴

Information on the phonetics of Albanian /l/ and /ll/ in the dialects is somewhat conflicting; however, it is vital to understand the forms found in Albanian dialects in order to see what effect Slavic and Albanian may have had on one another. Proto-Albanian distinguished between three laterals, but in all but some Southern Tosk dialects, such as Çam, Arbëresh and Arvanitika dialects the palatal lateral *lj (from Latin *l* before high front vowels) has been changed to *j* as in *fëmijë* ‘child’ (cf. Arb. *fëmilë*) < Lat

⁸⁴ It is important to note that despite similarities in phonetic realization, the phonological distinction between the lateral varieties is much more robust in Albanian, while in Macedonian, the variation often is merely allophonic variation between [l] (before front vowels or /j/) and [ɫ] (elsewhere). The same applies to other varieties of Balkan Slavic including Torlak dialects of Serbian (Friedman and Joseph 2013: 5.4.4.8; Friedman 2006: 660).

familia, mijë (cf. Arb. *mila*) ‘thousand’ < Lat *milia* (Hamp 2001, Pedersen 1895; Ajeti 1998; Gjinari and Shkurtaj 2003: 204).⁸⁵ This is also the reflex in many borrowings from Slavic, like *grabujë* ‘rake’ (see above) and *sovajkë* ‘shuttle (for weaving)’ (cf. Sr *sovaljka*). This change is also common in place names deriving from the Slavic stem *polje* ‘field’ as in *Velipojë* (south and west of Shkodër on the Adriatic sea) and *Voskopojë* in south central Albania (cf. Mk *Moskopole*). Later borrowings of Slavic, however, have Alb /l/ from Slavic /lj/, as in *valanicë* ‘fulling mill’ and *stel* ‘den, lair, dog kennel’ (cf. Sr *valjanice* and *stelja*). While it is fairly certain that most Albanian dialects distinguish between two laterals, opinions differ on their phonetic realizations in particular dialects. Some sources, such as the ADA or other works of a broader scope on Albanian dialectology (like Gjinari and Shkurtaj 2003) record only marginal variation in the pronunciation of /l/ or /ll/ in different Albanian dialects. For example, in the ADA, phonetic variations of /l/ are not treated systematically and no allophonic variation is recorded (except with /j/, above), while variations of /ll/ are limited to variants with /ð/ (see §4.4.2.2), the change to /ɣ/ in some Arbëresh dialects, and—importantly for Slavic-Albanian contact—the change of /ll/ to [l] ‘middle’ or ‘European’ /l/ in Arbanasi, Zadar (Croatia). In contrast, Ajeti (1998: 142) claims that the Geg pronunciation of /l/ is much more palatal than the Tosk pronunciation and even “agrees marvelously with the *lj* (љ) of

⁸⁵ Apart from the other scholars cited here, Ajeti (1998) disagrees with the thesis put forward by Pedersen (1895) that Proto-Albanian had three independent laterals. He argues that at no stage has Albanian had three laterals, and dialects only show three laterals. Hamp (2001) points out that it is necessary to reconstruct three laterals on the basis of comparative evidence. Furthermore, there are dialects that have preserved three laterals, namely the Arvanitika dialect of Salamina that has /l/, /lj/ and /ll/ (Häbler 1965; Gjinari and Shkurtaj 2003: 373–374).

Serbo-Croatian dialects,”⁸⁶ but this opinion appears not to have been accepted by other linguists, so it should not be taken as established truth. Further, Friedman and Joseph note that Kosovar Albanians speaking Serbian preserve the palatality of Alb /l/ while pronouncing the Serbian /l/, which pronunciation “is emblematic of an Albanian ‘accent’ in the pronunciation of Serbian” (2013: 5.4.4.8). Thus, a variety of opinions exist about the phonetic details of Albanian dialects in contact with Slavic, but it appears that the only sure case of Slavic influence on Albanian laterals in the western Balkans is the loss of velarization of /ll/ in Arbanasi dialects.

Two main interpretations have been put on these changes in South Slavic dialects. The majority of scholars have argued that contact with Albanian has shaped the Slavic laterals. However, some have argued that the changes in Slavic are the result of internal changes (Popović 1960: 555–556; Belić 1935: 171–172), particularly given the tendency towards the palatalization before front vowels and velarization before back vowels found more broadly in dialects of South Slavic (Stanišić 1995: 50). These are both natural phonetic changes that require no external motivation. However, a close examination of the details in the individual dialects seems to argue for multiple, individual changes in dialects due to language contact rather than a broad internal change stretching across these southwestern Serbian and Macedonian dialects (as argued, for example by Greenberg (2000)). Within the Eastern Montenegrin dialects that undergo the velarization of /l/ and the palatalization /lj/, the distribution argues for Albanian influence as the areas most affected by the change are those in most intense contact with Albanian:

⁸⁶ Unfortunately, Ajeti does not mention the variation of pronunciations in South Slavic laterals, so one cannot be completely sure whether Ajeti had in mind the canonical palatal pronunciation or that found in the dialects. However, since he contrasts the pronunciation in Kosovo with that produced by Tosk speakers, it is likely that he had in mind the standard Serbo-Croatian pronunciation [ʎ].

Montenegrin dialects in Mrković, around Bar, the Zeta plane, Gusinje, and sporadically in Crmnica, in addition to the Slavic of Vraca/Vrakë, Albania. The culmination of the development is found in Zeta plane where the opposition between /l/ and /lj/ is also neutralized before other vowels as well (a, o) (Pižurica 1984: 89). Eric Hamp argues for a much broader impact of Albanian laterals on West South Slavic,⁸⁷ claiming that its rich system of lateral distinctions and alternations is likely a result of the massive incorporation of Albanian speakers into Serbian resulting from Slavic migrations into the western Balkans (2001: 249). Such a development is, of course historically plausible, but somewhat beyond the effect that can be firmly attributed to Slavic-Albanian bilingualism based on the phonology and phonetics of surviving dialects. The greatest evidence of Albanian influence is that different Slavic dialects undergo different changes in the process of reorganizing the laterals into patterns found in Albanian. In Eastern Montenegrin and Serbian dialects in Kosovo *l velarizes to [ɫ] except before *i* and *e*, where it becomes [lʲ], whereas in western Macedonia, *l velarizes to [ɫ] everywhere, while in both dialects *l' becomes [lʲ] in every position. For each dialect undergoing these changes, neighboring dialects of South Slavic that have less contact with Albanian give different phonetic results; thus, these new distinctions do not represent a change internal only to South Slavic, rather they are individual changes due to contact with Albanian.⁸⁸

⁸⁷ Hamp (2001) considers the historic development of laterals in *Serbo-Croatian*. What he says there has particular bearing on the laterals found in Serbian, although it affects the majority of languages and dialects of the former literary language.

⁸⁸ There is one other change to the laterals that has been talked about in terms of language contact: the loss of laterality in /lj/ in certain Balkan languages. This includes Albanian /l/ in sequences with stops or fricatives, such as the change of klj/glj to q/gj or kj/g-j or k/g (§5.4.1.3.4) or the change of bl > bj, pl > pj, and fl > fj in many dialects, including the standard. In Macedonian, the loss of 'epenthetic l(j)' from

4.4.3.2. Interdental Fricatives /ð/ and /θ/

Interdental fricatives are cross-linguistically rare, occurring in only about 7.6% of world languages (Maddieson 2011d), and are almost unknown in Slavic, while they are found throughout Albanian dialects as well as in other non-Slavic languages in the Balkans, particularly Greek, but also some dialects of Aromanian and Romani, and thus may constitute a micro-Balkanism (Sawicka 1997: 31; Joseph 2007: 126–130). The developments in Albanian and Greek appear to be internal to each language and not due to contact with one another (Friedman and Joseph: 5.4.4.3). In some Macedonian dialects in close contact with Albanian interdental fricatives can be found, namely in Gora (Steinke and Ylli 2010: 57) and Boboshticë/Bobošćica in southeastern Albania (Steinke and Ylli 2007; Vidoeski 1981: 756; Mazon 1936: 46)—but not in other Macedonian dialects in Albania (Steinke and Ylli 2007, 2008)—as well as some that are also in contact with Greek, such as Nestram/Nestorion, Gorno Kalenik and Popelžani in Northern Greece near the border with Macedonia (Friedman and Joseph 2013: 5.4.4.3; Joseph 2007: 129; Hill 1991: 24–26; Dvořak 1998). In Boboshticë/Bobošćica, both /θ/ and /ð/ are found, while in Gora only /ð/ is used. In these places and in others in the Balkans, the majority of these come from loan words, generally from Greek such as *ðaskala* ‘teacher’ and *θaros* ‘courage’ (Vidoeski 1981: 756, 759). Although found only to a smaller extent in native words, such as *tvarðo* ‘hard, heavy’ (NEUT.SG) and *graðo* ‘city’

historically labial + jot sequences at morpheme boundaries, giving, for example, *zemja* ‘earth, ground’ in Macedonian (cf. Sr *zemlja*, Rus *zemlja*, e.g. *zemja* (Also Sawicka 1997: 32–33)). However, there are morphophonemic restrictions on the Macedonian change, and the change is more widespread in Macedonian (and Bulgarian) than would be expected in a contact-induced change; so too with the spread in Albanian dialects. Thus there are many reasons not to consider these changes as contact-induced but rather separate, somewhat parallel changes in the individual languages (Friedman and Joseph 2013: 5.4.4.8).

(MASC.SG.DEF) (cf. std. *tvarđo* and *gradot*), it is significant that the borrowings have been incorporated to also affect words not borrowed in the contact situation. Still, the fact that these words are mainly found in loanwords and not found in dialects outside of contact with Albanian and Greek, the inclusion of interdental consonants in these dialects of Macedonian has certainly come from language contact. In the case of Bobošćica contact with Greek, as well as with Albanian, has been important, while in Gora, Greek has no role in the incorporation of these sounds into Slavic, and likely is due primarily to contact with Albanian.

4.4.4. General Remarks on Convergences in Consonants

This section has considered some eighteen changes affecting the consonants of Albanian and Slavic dialects in contact with one another. While many of these appear to be better explained by internal developments or contact with other languages, most are best explained by contact by Slavic-Albanian contact. These include: (1) devoicing of final consonants in Slavic and Albanian dialects in Montenegro and Kosovo, and Geg Albanian dialects in Macedonia (§4.4.1.1), (2) the resolution of *tj / *dj clusters as palatal stops (/q/ and /gj/) in Central Geg dialects in contact with Macedonian, as well as localized outcomes in Macedonian, such as in Kaćanik/Kaćanik, Kosovo as velar stops (§4.4.1.2), (3) The affrication of fricatives before obstruents in Slavic and Albanian dialects throughout the area of contact from southeastern Montenegro, through Kosovo, and down through western Macedonia (§4.4.1.3.1), (4) the reintroduction of /dz/ in Serbian dialects in Kosovo as well as Eastern Montenegrin, but not Macedonian (§4.4.1.3.2), (5) the merger of palatal and alveo-palatal obstruents in Northeastern Geg

dialects in Albania, Kosovo, and northwestern Macedonia, and dialects of Serbian in Kosovo (§4.4.1.3.3), (6) the positional softening and apicalization of velars in Northwestern Geg dialects in southern Montenegro (§4.4.1.3.4), (7) the change of palatal affricates to a palatal glide (/j/) in Montenegrin and Serbian dialects in southeastern Montenegro and Kosovo (§4.4.1.3.5), (8) The hardening of the palatal nasal (/nj/) to a dental (/n/) in Serbian and Albanian dialects in Kosovo (§4.4.1.4), (9) the development of new nasal plus obstruent clusters in Albanian and Montenegrin dialects in southeastern Montenegro (§4.4.1.5), (10) the deletion of /h/ sporadically in some Northern Geg Albanian dialects, and more regularly along the border of Albania and Macedonia (§4.4.1.6.3), (11) the fronting of /h/ to /f/ sporadically in some Northern Geg dialects, and more regularly along the border between Albania and Macedonia (§4.4.1.6.4), (12) the alteration of Montenegrin, Serbian and Macedonian laterals to become more like Albanian laterals phonetically (§4.4.3.1), and (13) the addition of a voiced interdental fricative /ð/ in Gora dialects (§4.4.3.2). These changes are summarized in Table 4.5.

Section	Change	Lang Cont	Slavic				Albanian			
			LS	WD	BD	LO	LS	WD	BD	LO
4.4.1.1	Devoicing of final voiced consonants	Y	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
4.4.1.2	Palatal/velar stops from * <i>tj</i> and * <i>dj</i>	Y	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-
4.4.1.3.1	Affrication of fricatives before obstruents	Y	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
4.4.1.3.2	[dz] preserved and development	Y	+	+	/	/	+	+	+	+
4.4.1.3.3	Merger of palatal and alveo-palatal obstruents	Y	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-
4.4.1.3.4	Velar softening	Y	+	-	/	-	+	/	/	/
4.4.1.3.5	Change of palatal affricates to <i>j</i>	Y	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	/
4.4.1.4	Hardening <i>nj</i> to <i>n</i>	Y	-	+	-	/	+	+	-	-
4.4.1.5	Development of NT clusters	Y	+	-	+	/	+	+	+	+
4.4.1.6.1	Preservation of <i>h</i>	N	-	/	/	-	/	/	/	/
4.4.1.6.2	Voicing of <i>h</i>	N	/	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
4.4.1.6.3	Deletion of <i>h</i>	Y	+	+	-	X	+	+	+	-
4.4.1.6.4	Fronting to <i>f</i> or <i>v</i>	Y	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
4.4.2.1	/r/ and /r/ merger	N					-	X	X	X
4.4.2.2	/ð/ and /ll/ merger	N					/	/	-	-
4.4.3.1	Change in articulation of /l/ and /lj/	Y	+	+	+	+				
4.4.3.2	/θ/ and /ð/	Y	-	-	+	-	/	/	/	/

Table 4.5 Summary of Consonantal Changes from Slavic-Albanian Contact

From this list of accepted contact-induced changes to the consonantal system, it may be observed that the same areas that were affected by changes to the vowels, namely Lake Scutari and the Black Drin, have also been affected by changes to the consonants. However, other areas have also been affected to a greater extent in the consonants than in

the vowels, particularly in the area of the White Drin and Lake Ohrid. Thus some differences exist in the patterning of contact-induced changes, patterns which are discussed in greater detail after considering possible convergences in word prosody.

4.5 Convergences in Word Prosody

The final area in which Albanian and Slavic dialects have influenced one another in phonology is in word prosody. This phenomenon has received somewhat sparser attention than other areas of phonology, so the coverage here is not as comprehensive as the previous sections.⁸⁹ Still, some interesting trends are found in three areas of word prosody affected by language contact: distinctions in tone, length, and stress placement. Although these features are treated individually in the following paragraphs, it is important to acknowledge that in these dialects tone, length, and stress placement are all interconnected, so that where prosody has been altered in one respect, other parts are also likely to be affected.

Generally speaking, any syllable in the word may be accented in Serbian, and accent correlates with tone and length, not intensity. Accented syllables have either rising or falling pitch contours, or tones, and these tones are only phonemic in accented syllables. Falling tones usually occur on first syllables, while rising tones are on all syllables except for a final syllable, including monosyllabic words. Accented syllables may be long or short; unaccented syllables are always short before the accented syllable, but may be either long or short after it (Browne 1993: 311). Examples of the four tones

⁸⁹ The majority of what is reported in this section stems from data and analysis reported by Vanja Stanišić and the sources he cites (1995: 47–48).

are given below, using the traditional orthographic conventions: *váljati* ‘to roll’ (long rising), *vàljati* ‘to be good’ (short rising), *grâd* ‘city’ (long falling), and *gràd* ‘hail’ (short falling) (Browne 1993: 311). Macedonian has a completely different realization of accent, as it lacks phonemic tone or length, and—with some variation in the dialects⁹⁰—has regular, fixed stress on the antepenultimate syllable (third syllable from the end), as in *vodéničar* ‘miller’ (INDEF.SG), *vodeničarot* (DEF.SG) *vodeničari* ‘millers’ (INDEF.PL), and *vodeničárite* (DEF.PL) (Friedman 1993: 254).⁹¹ Albanian also lacks tonal distinctions, but has phonemic length on stressed syllables, for example: *shtatë* [ʃta:t] ‘seven’ vs. *shtat* [ʃtat] ‘stature, body’. Stress is, with few exceptions in loanwords, found on the final syllable of the stem, as in *katúnd* ‘village’ (INDEF.SG.NOM), *katundár* ‘villager’ (INDEF.SG.NOM), but *katúndi* ‘village’ (DEF.SG.NOM) and *katúndëve* (PL.DAT), *katundári* (DEF.SG.NOM) and *katundárëve* (PL.DAT). As a result of the stem-stressed pattern, Albanian usually exhibits penultimate stress in a word, and is sometimes typified as being penultimate by non-linguist speakers. In each aspect of prosody mentioned above Slavic dialects in contact with Albanian show some convergence with Albanian, while contact

⁹⁰ Western (including Central) Macedonian dialects have fixed stress systems, while Eastern ones have a variety of non-fixed patterns. As shown below Macedonian dialects in Albania and Greece have fixed penultimate stress (Friedman 1993: 301).

⁹¹ Words that are shorter than three syllables are stressed on the first syllable unless they are clitics (words that do not take stress). There are also some lexical exceptions to the antepenultimate pattern, particularly in borrowed words (Friedman 1993: 254). It should also be noted that the syllables in these “words” depends on how one views the definite marker (*-ot* and *-te* in the examples given above). If these are considered suffixes, then there is nothing problematic as the stress on these words being described as antepenultimate. However, if these are considered clitics or particles, then the antepenultimate stress pattern requires an extended domain over non-stress bearing words. For other unstressed units, such as short pronouns, the standard description recommends treating them as additional syllables on the stressed noun, such as *evé ti go* ‘here he/it is for you’ (as opposed to *éve ti go*), although these are “considered localisms or dialectisms by educated Macedonians, especially in the younger generations” (ibid.: 1993: 254).

with Slavic may possibly have been influential in dialectal realizations of length in Albanian.

4.5.1 Tonal Distinctions

As explained above, most dialects of Serbian and Montenegrin have both rising and falling pitch contours that are phonemic in accented syllables. However, some dialects in contact with Albanian have no phonemic distinctions of tone, and instead only have falling tones by default. As Albanian lacks phonemic pitch and as the lack of rising tones in Serbian and Montenegrin dialects is limited to those dialects in contact with Albanian, contact with Albanian appears to have played an important role in this development in some Slavic dialects in southeastern Montenegro, Metohia, and Kosovo. The historical development of tonal distinctions is fairly complicated in Montenegro and Kosovo, as individual dialects in Montenegro have their own realization of stress due to differing outcomes of the neo-Štokavian stress retraction, while most dialects in Kosovo never underwent the stress retraction. Generally, the neo-Štokavian stress retraction moved the inherited Proto-Slavonic circumflex stress one syllable earlier in the word, resulting in the creation of new instances of rising stress, as in *žèna* ‘woman, wife’ (cf. Rus *žená*) and *rúka* ‘hand’ (cf. Rus *ruká*).⁹² One of the dialects that did not undergo this stress retraction was the Kosovo-Resava dialect, which typically has the three accents of long and short falling and long rising. In many dialects in Kosovo, however, only the two falling tones are found, and based on their distribution limited to dialects in contact with Albanian, this contact has likely played some role in eliminating the phonemic distinction

⁹² The Russian forms are given as a point of reference for the CSI accented syllable.

of tone (Omari 1989: 47; Stanišić 1995: 47; Blaku 2010: 113–121). A more secure case of Albanian influence, however, is found in Southeastern Montenegro and Metohia. Whether or not particular dialects there underwent the stress retraction is a matter of debate, (Omari 1989: 47),⁹³ but it appears that contact with Albanian has been influential in changing rising tones to falling ones whether or not stress was retracted. For example, in these dialects a long falling tone is found in words such as *žîto* ‘grain’, *nedêlja* ‘Sunday’, *korîto* ‘trough’ that have long rising tones elsewhere (std. *žito*, *nêdelja*, *kòrito*) (Stanišić 1995: 47; Barjaktarević 1979: 150; Vujović 1969: 80; Pižurica 1984: 88) In this case, the long accented vowel may have been equated with the long accented vowel also found in Albanian stressed syllables (Stanišić: 1995: 47). These dialects are also affected significantly in matters of length and stress, as described below, so the possibility of influence from language contact is quite strong in this area as well. Finally, it should be noted that the phonological distinctions of tone are less-common cross-linguistically, (even within Slavic languages)—Maddieson (2011c) reports that phonemic tones are found in approximately 41.8% of the world’s languages, and complex tones (having more than two), such as those in Serbian, are found in only 16.7%—so it is not necessary to argue for language contact to explain the lack of rising tones in these dialects of Serbian and Montenegrin. However, given that tonal distinctions are fairly common within Serbian and Montenegrin, and that this phenomenon happens precisely in areas of greatest contact with Albanian, contact with Albanian seems to give the best explanation of the phonological data and its distribution among these dialects.

⁹³ The evidence from the dialects today suggest that the stress was retracted, as shown in forms such as *vôda* ‘water’ (Ivić 1985: 158). However, the forms give no indication whether the rising tones were created in the stress retraction (cf. std. *vôda*) and then subsequently lost, or whether the rising tones never were created in the retraction in these dialects.

4.5.2. Phonemic Length

Phonemic length is the area where Slavic dialects may have had the greatest influence on Albanian prosody, although the evidence is inconclusive at best. Some scholars argue that contact with Slavic may have been influential in creating distinctions of length in Northern Albanian dialects (Stanišić 1995: 48). Polak (1966), for example, argues that the length distinctions found in Southern Tosk and Northern Geg are not the preservation of inherited distinctions of length, but rather have arisen through subsequent changes. In Northern Geg dialects situated in proximity to Serbian dialects that have phonemic length, contact with Slavic has initiated phonemic oppositions of long and short vowels, which have their origins in the loss of final schwa or the presence of a resonant, such as /r/ or /l/, or the loss of /n/ in the formation of nasal vowels (1966: 359–360).⁹⁴ Albanian scholars, however, argue for strictly internal developments for the establishment of length oppositions (Topalli Forthcoming; Pekmezi 1908). While the system of length is not the same as that inherited from Proto-Indo-European, Albanian has maintained length distinctions by the following developments:

- 1.) short vowels occur in word-final closed syllables;
- 2.) long vowels appear in word-final open syllables; and
- 3.) mid-length vowels are not found in the word-final syllable.

(Topalli Forthcoming)

⁹⁴ He further argues that the Albanian long vowels are not based on a phonemic distinction of quantity (length), but on the quality of the vowel, on the basis of Albanian speakers of Czech pronouncing Czech long vowels with some degree of nasalization, thus equating length with nasality.

In addition to these patterns, Topalli also mentions the developments previously cited that also have created long vowels. This tripartite distinction of length can be demonstrated by minimal triplets such as a) short *qet* ‘give off, set off’, b) long *qetë* [qe:t] ‘quiet’, and c) extra-long *qetë* [qe:t] ‘oxen’ (Polak 1966: 359–360). However, as language-internal developments provide sufficient explanation of what is found in Northern Geg, contact with Serbian is not necessary for explaining these developments. Contact with a language like Serbian that preserves length distinctions may have aided in the preservation of phonemic length in Northern Geg, but it is certainly not necessary for a satisfactory explanation. Furthermore, it remains unclear whether contact with Serbian would preserve distinctions between the treatment of length in Serbian and Northern Geg, given the three-way opposition of length in Northern Geg as opposed to the two-way opposition in most of Serbian, or even the limitation of long syllables on accented syllables in Albanian versus the possibility of phonemic length in unaccented syllables.

In fact, the one area where Albanian may have influenced length distinctions in Slavic dialects is the loss of non-accented long vowels in Mrković, in southeastern Montenegro. There, as in Albanian, length is only found in stressed syllables (i.e., not post-tonally as in std. Sr) (Ivić 1985: 158; M. Pižurica 1984: 88; Omari 1989: 47). To a somewhat smaller extent, this same phenomena is also found in Kosovo dialects, as in *dînar* ‘dinar’ and *pêkar* ‘baker’ (cf. std. *dinār* and *pekār*) (Blaku 2010: 119–121; Barjaktarević 1977: 79). Thus along with the loss of rising tones, it appears that the loss of length distinctions on non-accented vowels has likely come about through contact with Albanian. While the development and subsequent preservation of length distinctions in Albanian is probably not due to contact with Serbian.

4.5.3. Stress Patterns

As indicated in the introductory part of section 4.5, Serbian, Macedonian, and Albanian have three different accentual patterns. While Serbian and Eastern Macedonian dialects are not fixed, Western Macedonian dialects are fixed on the antepenultimate syllable in the standard language, and the penultimate syllable in peripheral dialects found in Albania and Greece. While Albanian dialects are typically stressed on the last syllable of the stem, because most stems have a morphological ending, this stressed syllable often ends up as penultimate, and to a lesser extent, antepenultimate. As the dialects of Macedonian with penultimate stress overlap with Albanian dialects, it is possible that Albanian has been influential in this dialectal development as well. However, as this phenomena is also found in Macedonian dialects in Greece, it is more likely an internal development in Macedonian or due to contact with Albanian and Greek, and not just with Albanian. Furthermore, cross-linguistically penultimate stress is the most common type of fixed stress and is almost ten times more common than antepenultimate stress (Goedemans and van der Hulst 2011), thus there may be some natural tendency towards moving the stress to the penultimate syllable, making the case of contact with Albanian even less likely.

In addition to this possible—although *unlikely*—influence, there is also the possibility that the stress patterns of Slavic dialects have affected Albanian dialects in the placement of accent. Such is the claim of Mladenov (1925: 47–48) that Albanian dialects in Preshevë/Preševo have undergone a change from stem-end stress to penultimate stress, such as *kíndus* ‘rooster’ (INDEF.SG) and *kundúsi* (DEF.SG), *lívadh* ‘meadow’ (INDEF.SG)

and *livádhi* (DEF.SG). Mladenov opines that this shifting stress in paradigmatically related forms is likely due to Slavic influence, pointing to the dialectal realization of stress in dialects of East South Slavic in forms such as *livada* ‘meadow’ (INDEF.SG) and *livádata* (DEF.SG), where the stress falls on the antepenultimate syllable, as in standard Macedonian, but also in *sélo* ‘village’ (INDEF.SG), *selóto* (DEF.SG), and *vóda* ‘water’ (INDEF.SG), *vodáta* (DEF.SG) where the stress is realized in the penultimate syllable. The pattern presented in these dialects is noteworthy as it appears that the indefinite forms appear to preserve initial stress from Slavic, while the definite forms show stress on the end of the stem, like Albanian. It could be that the dialects in contact have ended up with some kind of compromise in the stress pattern that effectively preserves aspects of each of the accent systems that were found at the beginning of the language contact. This would be analogous to changes in the accentual system found in Serbian dialects in Vojvodina in contact with Hungarian, which is typically stressed on the initial syllable. As a result of the contact, Hungarian speakers who shifted to Serbian dialects also reached a compromise of stress on the penultimate syllable, which is not characteristic of either Hungarian or Serbian, but preserves some aspects of each languages’ accentual system (Thomason and Kaufman: 1988: 62) For this case, however, more information is required to determine whether the penultimate stress came about from the same process of language shift. As Mladenov—unfortunately—does not provide more detail about where this pattern occurs in Slavic, and Ajeti (1969: 57–58) does not include any information about stress moving within a paradigm in Preshevë/Preševo, it is difficult to accept or reject this possible influence based on the evidence and descriptions at hand.

4.5.4 General Comments on Convergences in Word Prosody

By way of summary for the prosodic features possibly influenced by contact between Albanian and Slavic, contact appears to be the best explanation for some, but not most of the dialectal variation mentioned in this section. In particular contact does not appear to be the best explanation for stress variation in Macedonian dialects in Albania nor for the distinction of length in Northern Geg dialects. Regarding stress placement of Albanian in Preshevë/Preševo, Serbia contact may be involved, but more information is needed. Language contact does appear to be responsible for the loss of rising tones, and hence, the phonemic distinction of pitch in Serbian dialects in Kosovo and Metohia and Mrković dialects in southern Montenegro. In many of these dialects contact with Albanian also appears to have led to the loss of length distinctions in non-accented syllables. For all of these features, however, it should be understood that as this area of phonology remains understudied in these contact situations, much more may yet be revealed in future research. Table 4.6, below, summarizes these developments.

Section	Change	Lang. Cont.	Slavic				Albanian			
			LS	WD	BD	LO	LS	WD	BD	LO
5.1	Loss of phonemic tone	Y	+	+	-	-				
5.2	Loss of phonemic length	Y	+	+	-	-				-
5.3	Penultimate Stress	N	-	-	-	X	-	/	-	-

Table 4.6. Summary of Changes in Prosody from Slavic-Albanian Contact

4.6 Conclusions

This chapter has examined a number of changes in the phonology of Slavic and Albanian dialects in contact with one another. Changes affecting vowels, consonants, and prosodic features have been examined in detail in order to judge whether language contact provides the most compelling explanation for each occurrence. Details that have been taken into consideration include the geographical spread of affected dialects, the possibility of the influence from other regional languages, and the naturalness of the changes as determined by typological frequency of the changes or phonetic naturalness of processes involved in each change. Throughout the chapter the most consistent criterion for judging the likelihood of language contact as the source of a given change has been geographical spread. Even in cases where changes may be phonetically natural, geographical distribution may indicate effects.

On this basis and other criteria cited, a majority of the changes considered (24 out of 33) were determined to be explained best by contact between Slavic and Albanian dialects in the summaries given in each subsection (§4.3.4, §4.4.4, and §4.5.4). Table 4.7 summarizes those changes judged to have been influenced by Slavic-Albanian contact, and the following paragraphs examine patterns of how dialects in these areas have been affected by these changes likely due to contact between Slavic and Albanian. Although these changes can be enumerated, the amount of contact influence on these language varieties cannot be indicated simply by the number of changes that they have undergone. Infinitely more important than the number of changes is the social interactions of the communities involved in the changes. Thus, the numbers given below and elsewhere in the study are not meant as judgments about the strength or extent of the contact. They are, rather, simply one way to show relative effects of language contact on each of the contact

areas involved. These numbers are also used to draw inferences about the social interaction of the communities involved.

Section	Change	Slavic				Albanian			
		LS	WD	BD	LO	LS	WD	BD	LO
4.3.1.1	Preservation of schwa	X	-	+	X	-	-	+	/
4.3.1.2	Labializing [ā] to [a ^o]	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
4.3.1.3	CSI /ě/ & Alb *je > /i/	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
4.3.1.4	O > uo/vo,	+	+	-	-	/	+	/	/
4.3.2.1	Loss of /y/ [y]					-	-	+	-
4.3.2.2	Vowel Denasalization	/	/	/	/	+	-	+	/
4.3.2.3	/u/ _[-stress] > /o/	/	/	/	/	/	/	+	-
4.3.3.1	Addition of /y/	+	X	-	+	/	/	/	/
4.3.3.2	Vowel Nasalization	+	-	-	-	/	/	/	/
4.4.1.1	Devoicing of final voiced consonants	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
4.4.1.2	Palatal/velar stops from *tj and *dj	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-
4.4.1.3.1	Affrication of fricatives before obstruents	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
4.4.1.3.2	[dz] preserved and developed	+	+	/	/	+	+	+	+
4.4.1.3.3	Palatal & alveo-palatal obstruents merged	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-
4.4.1.3.4	Velar softening	+	-	/	-	+	/	/	/
4.4.1.3.5	Change of palatal affricates to j	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	/
4.4.1.4	Hardening of nj to n	-	+	-	/	+	+	-	-
4.4.1.5	Development of NT clusters	+	-	+	/	+	+	+	+
4.4.1.6.3	Deletion of h	+	+	-	X	+	+	+	-
4.4.1.6.4	Fronting h to f or v	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
4.4.3.1	Change in articulation of /l/ and /lj/	+	+	+	+				
4.4.3.2	Presence of /θ/, /ð/	-	-	+	-	/	/	/	/
4.5.5.1	Loss of phonemic rising tone	+	+	-	-				
4.5.5.2	Loss of phonemic length on unstressed syllables	+	+	-	-				-

Table 4.7 Summary of Phonological Changes due to Slavic-Albanian Contact

Both Slavic and Albanian dialects are affected in these changes, with approximately the same number of changes affecting Albanian dialects as Slavic dialects. 15 of the 24 accepted phonological changes affected both Slavic and Albanian, while 3 affected Albanian only and 6 affected Slavic dialects only. Thus, Albanian dialects have been affected by 18 out of the 24 changes, with 12 in the area of Lake Scutari, 11 in the Black Drin area, 9 in the White Drin area, and 5 in the Lake Ohrid area. Slavic dialects have been somewhat more affected with 21 of the 24 phonological changes occurring in them. Dialects in the Lake Scutari area experienced the most changes (16), followed by dialects in the White Drin area (11), then Black Drin (6), and Lake Ohrid (6). This is somewhat different from what had been predicted on the basis of social factors, although there are reasonable explanations for these differences. First, Macedonian and Albanian in the Lake Ohrid area have likely affected each other in more ways than are counted here, because in several instances the influence of Greek and Balkan Romance could not be ruled out, such as penultimate stress, the deletion of /h/, and the addition of interdental fricatives. It is likely that Albanian–Slavic contact was involved in these, but it cannot be proved to be the main factor in these developments. The same could be said of Serbian in the White Drin area due to the possible influence of Turkish historically in Kosovo.

Finally, different areas of the phonology are affected to different degrees in each language. Albanian was affected in both the vowels (7/9) and consonants (11/13), but not in prosody (0/2), although it should be remembered that this particular domain of phonology has not received the amount of scholarly attention as vowels and consonants in language contact studies. Slavic shows changes in each of the areas, with 6/9 in

vowels, 13/13 in consonants, and 2/2 in word prosody. Slavic dialects in the Lake Scutari area are the most consistent for the different types of sounds affected with a majority in each of the categories: vowels (5/9), consonants (9/13), and prosody (2/2). Dialects in the White Drin area were hardly affected in vowels, (1/9), but was strongly influenced in consonants (8/13) and prosody (2/2). Dialects in the Black Drin area show similar patterns in vowels (1/9) but have less changes in consonants (5/13) and none in prosody (0/2), but do somewhat in. Finally, dialects in the Lake Ohrid area show the same distribution, with different individual features affected: vowels (1/9) and consonants (5/13), but not prosody (0/2). Thus the greatest number of changes are seen in the northwest and less changes occur further to the east and south.

The Albanian dialects in these areas do not present as uniform of a pattern as the Slavic dialects in phonological changes from Slavic-Albanian contact. Not as many differences exist in the type of changes experienced by Albanian dialects according to the different areas of phonology, although they were affected by different changes individually. For example, Albanian near Lake Ohrid has no changes in the vowels and those in the White Drin area only participate in one vowel change. Dialects near Lake Scutari and the Black Drin, however, have 3 and 4, respectively. However, for changes affecting consonants, the most are in the northwest by Lake Scutari (9) and decrease slightly to the east and south: White Drin (8), Black Drin (7) and Lake Ohrid (5). These convergences generally follow the patterns found in the Slavic dialects, particularly in the number and kind of changes in the consonants, suggesting that the same phonological categories are affected in both Slavic and Albanian in each area. This is schematized in Figure 4.11, below.

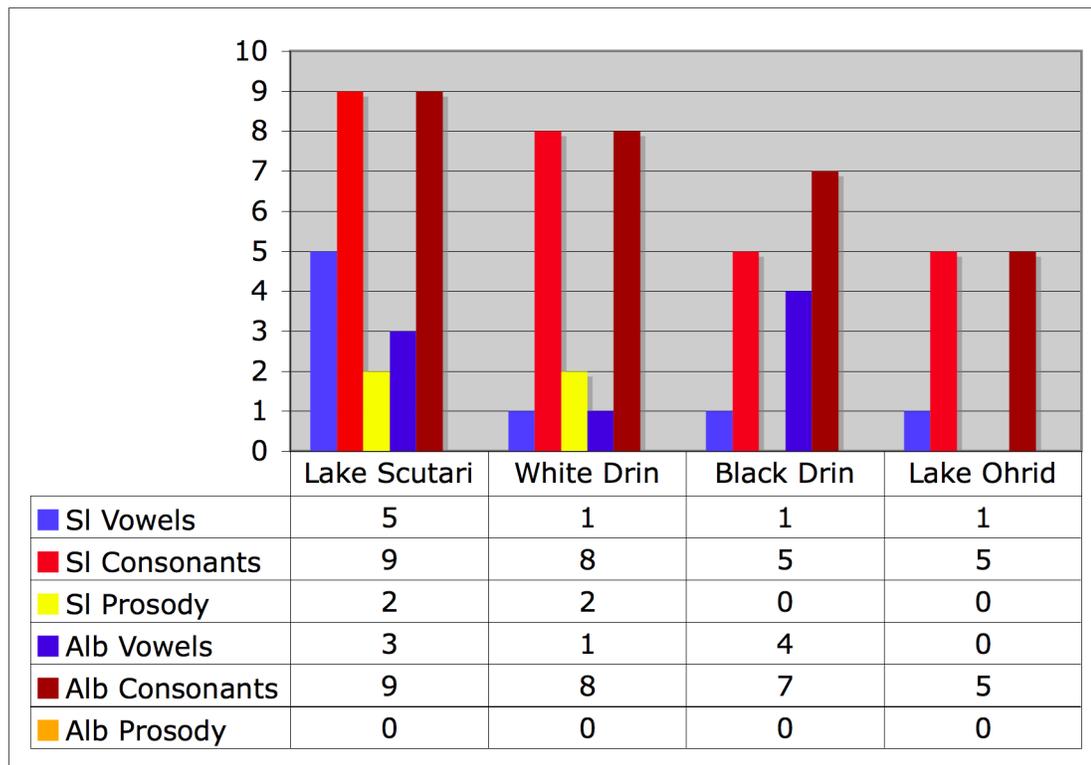


Figure 4.11 Changes in Vowels, Consonants, and Prosody by Contact Areas

It may be possible that the patterns of contact areas affected by different areas of phonology has to do with the type of several interactions, such as levels of bilingualism and instances of language shift in the populations. In those areas where the highest numbers of language shift are present (Lake Scutari) prosody has been affected more than in other areas. The same holds for the ways that Albanian has been affected, as little population shift to Albanian has occurred in these areas, it may not be surprising that prosody remains fairly unaffected.⁹⁵ Given the relatively low levels of population shift and the high levels of bilingualism, it may be expected that the many changes in

⁹⁵ Once again, it is possible that the Slavic-speaking population that shifted to Albanian affected the prosody in Central Tosk, as these dialects generally lack distinctions of length, as does Albanian.

consonants in Serbian dialects of Kosovo may have been affected by reverse interference, as well as the changes to Albanian throughout the region. A definite statement on how interference and reverse interference, (and borrowing according to Thomason and Kaufman) requires an understanding of how other structural aspects of the dialects (particularly morphosyntax) are affected. A comparison of how phonology and morphosyntax are affected compared to lexicon, then is part of the concluding section to the following chapter on morphosyntax. Regardless of how the data from the phonological changes is interpreted; however, just like the lexical borrowings discussed in previous chapters, the phonological changes affecting Slavic and Albanian dialects in contact firmly establish the historical fact of language contact and further shows that these languages have affected each other in substantial and complex ways, including their individual phonological systems. As such, these effects need to be considered for a complete understanding of the history of these communities' languages and of these communities' interactions with one another.

Chapter 5: Morphosyntax

5.0 Introduction

Morphology and syntax are the last structural domains to be investigated in Slavic-Albanian contact. These comprise the subject of the present chapter, wherein a number of morphological and syntactic features that have been claimed to show evidence of Slavic or Albanian influence are presented and examined in order to judge the possible influence of language contact on their development. Together inflectional morphology and syntax encompass the structural elements of language that encode grammatical or discourse function, although the line dividing morphology from syntax is difficult—and sometimes impossible—to draw. For example, when dealing with functions such as determinedness (§5.2.5) or comparative adjectives (§5.3) some languages use word-internal constructions, such as prefixes or suffixes (or different lexical stems), while others use analytic constructions with grammatical or functional words. Because of the various ways that Slavic and Albanian languages deal with these and other grammatical features, these are treated together in this one chapter, considering them under a general rubric of *morphosyntax* without committing to any particular theory of morphology or syntax, although cursory remarks about possible differences are made in the concluding section of this chapter (§5.9). Even though many studies treat them as morphosyntactic, because derivational morphology (§2.5.2) and phraseology (§2.5.3) deal more with

lexical or idiomatic meaning than with grammatical structure they are addressed in conjunction with lexical borrowings in Chapter 2, above. The present chapter covers an array of morphological and grammatical features and is organized according to the parts of speech affected in each change considered; thus, after discussing methodology (§5.1), phenomena involving nouns are addressed (§5.2), followed by adjectives (§5.3), pronouns (§5.4), prepositions (§5.5), conjunctions (§5.6), and verbs (§5.7), followed by a discussion of a couple changes in usual patterns of word order (§5.8). As also discussed in the concluding section (§5.9), while many of the morphosyntactic phenomena discussed are the result of developments other than Slavic or Albanian influence, several morphosyntactic changes are due to Slavic-Albanian contact, indicating that contact between Albanian and Slavic has also affected the realms of language where only intense contact is likely to bring about changes.

5.1 Theoretical and Methodological Considerations on Morphosyntactic Changes

As morphosyntax is structural like phonology, the theoretical importance of changes to these structures does not need an elaborate discussion; instead, a few reminders of the role of structural changes are given with an emphasis on morphosyntax. For von Coetsem's framework of borrowing versus imposition (1988/2000), morphosyntax is important as a structural element and indicates transfer via imposition (i.e. structural features imposed by native L1 speakers on L2). Thus, in this framework, the occurrence of contact-induced morphosyntactic changes would be further indication of L2 learning, historically, including the possibility of language shift. For Thomason and Kaufman's (1988) framework, morphosyntactic changes indicate a higher degree of

contact intensity than do phonological changes: morphosyntactic changes such as inflectional morphology and word order are characteristic of the category “Strong Cultural Pressure” (4) (see §4.1.2). From a historical perspective this also means an increasing likelihood of bilingualism and language shift in these language communities. In the process of reverse interference described by Friedman and Joseph (2013), morphosyntactic changes are somewhat more likely than phonetic changes and could occur at lower levels of fluency in the second language, thus giving somewhat different predictions than Thomason and Kaufman’s scale of borrowing. More importantly from a balkanological perspective, morphosyntactic convergences comprise the core structural characteristic of the Balkan Sprachbund. Of the three theoretical frameworks of language contact considered in this study, the additional level of structural convergences is important for further establishing the type of contact for van Coetsem (1988/2000) and Friedman and Joseph (2013), while for Thomason and Kaufman (1988) it may further specify the intensity of contact between Slavic and Albanian dialects.

As demonstrated repeatedly in the discussions on individual phonological changes, the geographic distribution of the changes proves to be the most reliable criterion by which to judge the likelihood of language contact influence. This criterion is even more important in judging the history of morphosyntactic changes, because, while there may be typological tendencies towards certain ways of expressing grammatical function—such as the type of auxiliary used for perfect or future constructions (Dahl 1985)—there is no criterion akin to phonetic naturalness in morphological change. Implicitly or explicitly—apart from the possibility of entire randomness or the affects of phonological change on functional morphemes—because it has no physiological basis,

morphosyntactic change is fundamentally cognitive and tends to be analogical in nature. The main question addressed in this chapter, then, is whether the analogies underlying individual changes are internal to the language or external to it. In many cases both possibilities exist and either an internal or external cause may be given primacy;¹ hence, a given feature's geographical distribution and historical attestation are even more important in discussing morphosyntactic changes than phonological ones.

The matter becomes even more complicated when contact between dialects of the same language (or closely related languages such as Macedonian and Serbian) are included. Because the geographical distribution of morphosyntactic changes is often much broader than phonological changes (Sawicka 1997) dialect contact is likely more active in the realm of morphosyntax (and lexicon) than it is for phonology. This, in particular, makes it difficult to judge the role of language contact for so-called *Balkanisms* (morphosyntactic features spread throughout the Balkans (Friedman 2008b: 131) or other morphosyntactic features with a wide geographical spread. Simply said, the more broadly a given feature is distributed, the less likely it is due to contact with just one language or dialect. This comes into play more frequently in discussing morphosyntactic changes than phonological changes, especially since many of the changes discussed below are recognized *Balkanisms*. However, as with phonological changes, it is very important to investigate these at a very local level, because a number of important nuances are found at local levels that are not captured by the very broad generalizations

¹ Indeed, these processes are hardly exclusive of one another and should likely be seen rather as *mutually reinforcing* than *competing* as is often the case. The difficulty lies in trying to establish one cause with absolute certainty rather than the methodologically easier, and likely better fitting the speakers' language experience of having multiple contributing factors for every change.

usually given for these features.² This is, once again, the approach taken for analyzing each morphosyntactic feature claimed to have been influenced by Slavic-Albanian language contact.

5.2 Nouns

The morphology of nouns in Slavic and Albanian dialects in contact shows a handful of convergences, although as discussed in this section, it is uncertain whether any of the changes are truly due to localized Slavic-Albanian contact as opposed to contact with other languages within the Balkan Sprachbund. This is particularly the case with the loss of case forms in Macedonian and southern Serbian dialects, the loss of case being a morphosyntactic Balkanism (§5.2.1). On the other hand the preservation of case forms in some Western Macedonian dialects (§5.2.2) is difficult to judge as an effect of language contact being a *preservation* rather than an *innovation*. The change most likely involving language contact is the spread of vocative forms as addressed in section 5.2.3. One other change that has been cited, the changing of grammatical gender for some nouns in certain Slavic dialects (§5.2.4), is better analyzed as a series of individual lexical changes rather than an alteration to the morphosyntactic expressions of gender. Finally in section 5.2.5, another well-known Balkanism affecting nouns is discussed: definiteness marked by post-posed articles.

5.2.1. Case Reduction

² One relevant example is Friedman's (2005: 37) investigation of future constructions in Albania that gives a much more localized and detailed account than the traditional divide between Tosk and Geg future formations, see §5.7.4, below.

The loss of case distinctions affects nouns, pronouns, and adjectives to different extents in Balkan Slavic³ and Albanian. In Balkan Slavic, (as in English) the pronouns tend to be the most conservative for maintaining case distinctions, as pronominal forms are preserved for nominative, accusative, and dative declensions (although see §5.4.1). Nouns are less conservative, as in the most extreme cases of case reduction (Macedonian and Bulgarian) nouns do not preserve dative forms and other case forms are severely reduced: accusative and vocative forms preserved in the standard and western dialects of Macedonian are only facultative and not used consistently (Friedman 1993: 263–264). In contrast to the inherited Slavic nominal system, wherein accusative, dative, genitive, and some instrumental case semantics were expressed by synthetic morphological inflection on the nouns, adjectives, and pronouns, these are expressed with analytic expressions without case marking, as in the following examples from Macedonian: *mu rekov **na brat** mi...* ‘I said **to my brother...**’ (indirect object/dative function), *...deka molbata bila potpišana **so moliv...*** ‘that the request had been signed **with a pencil...**’ (instrumental function) *...od tatkoto...* ‘by the father’ (object of pronoun/ historically genitive function) *...na učenikot* ‘of the student’ (possession / genitive function) (Friedman 1993: 260).⁴

In matters of case declension, Southern Serbian dialects in southeastern Kosovo and southern Serbia (Prizren-Timok) also show considerable case syncretism, having two basic case distinctions: a nominative case (*casus rectus*) and a general case (*casus*

³ Balkan Slavic is a cover term for the languages and dialects of Slavic that participate in morphosyntactic convergences due to participation in the Balkan Sprachbund (Greenberg 1996; Friedman 2008; Friedman and Joseph 2013). More specifically, this encompasses Bulgarian, Macedonian, and some Serbian dialects: Torlak (or *Prizren-Timok*) and to a lesser extent Kosovo-Resava.

⁴ This tendency toward analytic constructions has been cited frequently as a Balkanism, although not all morphosyntactic Balkanisms are truly analytic as in comparative adjectives (§5.3) or marking definiteness with post-posed articles (§5.2.5). As Friedman and Joseph 2013: 6.1.1 argue, individual cases of analytic constructions themselves show cases of convergence rather than a broad strategy of analytic comparisons.

generalis) whose endings derive from inherited accusative noun and adjective endings (Ivić 1985: 112–113).⁵ In these Southern Serbian dialects, with the exception of the functions of direct object and partitive genitive, oblique case semantics (*dative, genitive, instrumental, etc.*) are expressed with analytic constructions of prepositions plus nouns with the *casus generalis* endings, giving constructions such as *posluži sīs vino* ‘to serve with wine’ (cf. std. *posluži vinom* (NEUT.INST.SG)), *kazala na carsku ćerku* ‘she told the tsar’s daughter’ (cf. std. *(ona je) kazala carskoj ćerci* (FEM.DAT.SG)), and *kuća na mojega brata* ‘the house of my brother’ (cf. std. *kuća mojega brata* (MASC.GEN.SG)).⁶ Other dialects of Serbian maintain the inherited case distinctions much more rigidly, although case syncretism is also found to a smaller extent in Montenegro, as discussed below.

Albanian has also lost some case distinctions from the inherited IE paradigms, but is much more conservative in this aspect than Balkan Slavic. The instrumental case has disappeared completely from Albanian, while vestiges of a locative case are found in some Southern Geg and Northern Tosk dialects, (ADA 85: 193; Demiraj 1988: 377). Ablative forms have generally merged with dative forms, with the exception of indefinite plurals, which remain distinct from genitive and dative forms, as in *lëngë frutash-* ABL.INDEF.PL ‘fruit juices’ vs. *lëngë e frutave-* GEN/ABL.DEF.PL ‘juices of the fruit.’⁷ Furthermore, the genitive is distinguished from the dative only by conjoining particles. Otherwise, Albanian preserves distinct nominal endings for nominative, accusative, and

⁵ As discussed below, in addition to these two cases, these dialects also preserve distinct vocative forms. Ivić and others do not consider the vocative a case as it lacks distinct forms and uses from the nominative.

⁶ The form for MASC.GEN.SG in the standard is identical to the accusative form for animate referents. In this last example the only difference in form is in the inclusion of a preposition *na* which is used for “dative” and “genitive” constructions (see below) both in these southeastern Serbian dialects and in Macedonian and Bulgarian.

⁷ The construction of N + N-ABL is only permissible in std. Albanian if the second noun is indefinite (but see §5.2.1.3, below). The closest equivalent is with a genitive construction, as given in this example.

dative/genitive/ablative. In Albanian, the same case distinctions exist for pronouns and nouns. Some adjectives inflect for gender and number, whereas most case distinctions are indicated by a preceding particle, which distinguishes a maximum of 3 cases (*djali i mirë* (NOM), *djalin e mirë* (ACC), and *djalit të mirë* (DAT/GEN/ABL)).

5.2.1.1 Case Syncretism

Although the reduction of case systems, particularly in Southern Serbian dialects (Blaku 2010: 125–128), has been claimed to be due to contact between Albanian and Slavic, the general reduction of case distinctions as a feature of Slavic-Albanian contact should be rejected for a number of reasons. First, the reduction of case distinctions is an acknowledged Balkanism found in Albanian and Slavic as well as Greek and Balkan Romance. Because this phenomenon is found widely throughout the Balkans it is very likely that Slavic-Albanian contact is not the main source of this development in Slavic and Albanian dialects. As addressed below, however, individual changes within this trend of case-loss are possibly derived from Slavic-Albanian contact. Second, while the syncretism of the nominal paradigms in Albanian and Balkan Slavic makes them typologically more similar, the languages differ considerably in their historical development, thus language contact is unlikely the cause of these similarities. As Friedman and Joseph argue, although the chronology of case loss in Albanian is uncertain, these changes are likely quite old. The instrumental was likely lost first, leaving no trace behind, while the locative case was lost next, except in the dialects mentioned above. The ablative is the most recent case to undergo syncretism (2013: 6.1.1). In Slavic, on the other hand, the ablative and genitive were the first cases to

undergo syncretism, with ablative forms generalized before the break-up of Common Slavic (Schenker 1993: 85; Friedman and Joseph 2013: 6.1.1). Other cases were lost only in Balkan Slavic, although a merger of dative and genitive functions can be found in the earliest OCS texts. The merger of locative with accusative is the first merger of cases in Balkan Slavic (Koneski 1966: 136–137). Shortly thereafter, the accusative would also replace the instrumental case in East South Slavic texts.⁸ Both changes date from the 12th-13th centuries in Macedonia (ibid.: 137–138). These same changes also affect southeastern Serbian dialects and (to a smaller extent) dialects in Montenegro, although it is also possible that the changes happened independently in each location (see below). During this same time period, the accusative case was also generalized to nouns governed by prepositions that formerly governed the genitive, although possessive uses of the genitive had already been expressed with dative case forms (ibid.: 138). The dative was the last case lost for most of Macedonian, likely in the 15th century, although it was preserved in peripheral western dialects (Boboščica/Boboshtica) until recently (ibid.: 138–141; Friedman and Joseph 2013: 6.1.1). Although nominative and accusative cases merged at some point, most nominative and accusative forms had been syncretic since CSI, so fewer formal differences between the cases were merged in this development.⁹

However, it is only in Macedonian and Bulgarian dialects that the accusative forms

⁸ According to Koneski (1966: 133), the merger of accusative and instrumental may also may have been facilitated by the homophony resulting from the change of *o* > *a*, as in *voda*. Furthermore, the merger of the locative with the accusative may have influenced the use of accusative for other locational uses of the instrumental with prepositions such as *pod* ‘under’, which historically governed the instrumental case, but as speakers failed to distinguish between location and direction (as in accusative versus locative cases above) the need for a separate marking for location was mitigated in the use of these prepositions as well.

⁹ Of the 4 gender distinctions inherited by Macedonian (including both the masculine animate and masculine non-animate) in the singular, two are identical in the nominative and accusative cases: masculine inanimate: *domŭ* ‘house-nom.sg/acc.sg’ and neuter: *selo* ‘village-nom.sg/acc.sg’. The plurals were all syncretic (Koneski 1966: 135–136).

merge completely with the nominative forms. Somewhat ironically, the most robust case form in Macedonian dialects has been the animate masculine accusative, which was an innovation in late Common Slavic (See also Friedman and Joseph 2013: 6.1.1). Table 5.1, below, shows the relative order of case loss in Balkan Slavic and Albanian.

Balkan Slavic	Albanian
Ablative (merged with Genitive, Abl. forms generalized) (Early Common Slavic/Proto-Slavic (Balto-Slavic))	Instrumental (Likely Pre-Albanian)
Genitive (partially replaced by DAT) (Late Common Slavic (?))	Locative (preserved somewhat in S. Geg and N. Tosk)
Locative (replaced by prep. + ACC)	Ablative (partial syncretism)
Instrumental (prep. + ACC)	-
Dative (prep. + ACC)	-
Accusative (syncretic with NOM) (Mk and Bg only)	-

Table 5.1. Relative Ordering of Nominal Cases Lost in Albanian and Balkan Slavic

5.2.1.2. Merger of Locative and Instrumental with Accusative

Given that the first changes to the case systems of Slavic and Albanian happened well before contact in the Balkans, it is safe to assume that the loss of ablative in Slavic and the loss of instrumental in Albanian were unrelated to the language contact under investigation here. While the genitive was replaced by the dative in Balkan Slavic because of language contact in the Balkans, given the wide distribution of the phenomena (Greek, Albanian, Slavic, and Romance), this is more likely due to the multilingual contact in the Balkans generally and not from Slavic-Albanian contact specifically. The replacement of locative and instrumental by a prepositional phrase with accusative forms happened early in the history of Macedonian and Bulgarian, and it is also found in

Montenegro and southeastern Serbian dialects. Although their distribution may be seen as a geographical continuum with the changes in Macedonian and Bulgarian, it is also possible that the changes are due to localized contact, specifically with Romance and Albanian in each of these areas. This is the explanation offered by Vujović (cited in Omari 1989: 52 and Blaku 2010: 166–167) and Pižurica (1984: 93) for changes to the locative and instrumental in Montenegro¹⁰ and by Blaku (2010: 126–127; 166–167) for changes in Serbian dialects in Kosovo. Examples of the use of accusative case instead of locative and instrumental in these dialects¹¹ include *I sin mu ostane u dućan-ACC* (cited in *ibid.*, 167) ‘And his son remains in the store’ (cf. std. ...*ostane u dućanu-LOC(DAT)*) with the dialect form parallel to the Albanian phrase ...*mbetet në dyqan-ACC* and *digao se ovaj brat sas ženu-ACC* ‘this brother got up with (his wife)’ (cf. std. ...*sa ženom-INST*), again with parallels to Albanian in ...*me gruan-ACC* (cited in *ibid.*: 127).¹²

The influence of Albanian may be motivated structurally, as the prepositions that typically express location and direction as well as instrumentality and accompaniment in Albanian govern the accusative case (or locative (see below)), as in *në shtëpinë* ‘in(to) the house-ACC’, *mbi kalin* ‘on(to) the horse-ACC’, and *me thikën* ‘with the knife-ACC’ (*ibid.* 163). Furthermore, in southern Montenegro and Kosovo it is common for the Slavic

¹⁰ There is one further development of the locative case in Montenegro that presents a different type of change, not as directly explainable by language contact as the examples previously considered. That is the continued use of locative case endings in situations where an accusative is historically used, as in *Uvedoh je pod čadorom...* ‘I led her under the tent (masc.loc.sg)’ as used by the Montenegrin poet Njegoš (cited in Koneski 1966: 137). It is possible that this is due to imposition by speakers with a native language—such as Albanian or Aromanian—that does not distinguish location from destination by case. However, given that the author is known, this argument is much less likely than the idea that the distinction between location and destination is not obligatory in the author’s language, as evidenced also in earlier changes.

¹¹ These types of constructions are attested in Slavic dialects in Montenegro, the Serbian Sandžak, Kosovo, and in southern Serbia. The examples cited here are from the Sandžak (Novi Pazar) cited by Blaku.

¹² *Sas* ‘with’ is particularly affected by the replacement of instrumental with accusative, but the change in these Slavic dialects goes further to include other prepositional phrases headed by other prepositions, such as *među*, ‘between’ *nad*, ‘above’ *pod*, ‘below’ *pred* ‘before’ (Barjaktarević 1979: 308).

dialects to lose the grammatical distinction between accompaniment and instrumentality that are expressed in the standard language in the instrumental case with and without a preposition, respectively: *jede picu sa/*o sirom* ‘he/she eats pizza (along with/*by means of) cheese’ vs. *jede picu *sa/o viljuškom* ‘he/she eats pizza (*along with/by means of) a fork’. These dialect forms are parallel to Albanian structures where no such distinction is made, as the preposition is obligatory (as in English). Since Vujović credits Albanian with influencing Montenegrin dialects, Blaku argues that the same should be considered for the dialects of Serbian in Kosovo and Southern Serbia in contact with Albanian dialects (ibid. 159–163). However, the possibility of contact with other Balkan languages (including other Slavic dialects) or an internal explanation cannot be ruled out for these changes for the replacement of other cases with the accusative. Indeed, while there are many aspects of the changes from locative and instrumental cases to accusative that have parallels with Albanian, not all of the changes do. For example, while many Albanian prepositions govern accusative not all do. Thus, the change of some prepositional phrase constructions with *među* ‘between’, *nad* ‘above’, *pod* ‘below’, *pred* ‘before’ (Barjaktarević 1979: 308) from instrumental case to accusative cannot all be explained by Albanian patterns as prepositions expressing ‘between’ (*nëpërmjet, ndër, ndërmjet, mes*) and ‘before’ (*para*) govern ablative and not accusative. Given the strength of internal analogies from other Slavic dialects, particularly the loss of case distinctions in Macedonian and Bulgarian, and the dialect-internal analogical leveling that has occurred in these dialects, the parallels with Albanian likely have much less to do with contact with Albanian than a common typological leveling of case distinctions found throughout

the Balkans particularly within Balkan Slavic.¹³

Regarding the loss of particular case distinctions in Albanian, it is possible—although doubtful—that contact with Slavic may have been responsible for the loss of locatives in many Albanian dialects as well. In S. Geg and N. Tosk dialects nouns governed by certain prepositions of location, such as *në* ‘in on’, *mbi* ‘on, on top of’, *nën* ‘under’, *me* ‘with’, etc., have a separate form from the accusative, such as ***në malt*** ‘on the mountain’ (cf. std. *në malin*-ACC.MASC.SG), ***mbi dhet*** ‘on the earth’ (cf. std. *mbi dheun*-ACC.MASC.SG), and ***me dritët*** ‘with the light’ (cf. std. *me dritën*-ACC.FEM.SG) (Demiraj 1988: 375–376). Although these forms are not included in the standard language and are not found in the dialects on the peripheries of the Albanian speech area, they are very common in early literature, including classical writing in both Geg and Tosk (including Arbëresh), indicating that the case forms were once much more widespread, and only since the migrations of the Arbëresh (15th century) and the earliest Albanian authors (16th and 17th century) have these forms been in retreat (ibid. 376–377). Given the dialectal distribution of the loss of the locative case, it appears that those areas that had the least contact with other languages (in the mountains of central and northern Albania) are precisely the locations where locative endings are found (ADA 193/85, represented in figure 5.1, below).

¹³ In general, the argument that Albanian—or that any individual language—should be considered responsible for localized results of general Balkanisms is commonsensical, but also fraught with practical difficulties. On the one hand, Albanian is not the only language that Slavic has been in contact with in Montenegro and Kosovo, as Romance and Turkish also have had important populations in these areas. Furthermore, various language-internal explanations remain possible, such as contact between dialects of the same language, and the common outcome of variation in an earlier stage of the language that finds the expression of the same variants in peripheral dialects not in contact with one another. For these reasons, morphological changes that have a spread throughout the Balkans are difficult to accept as the result of any particular language’s influence, even at a very local level.

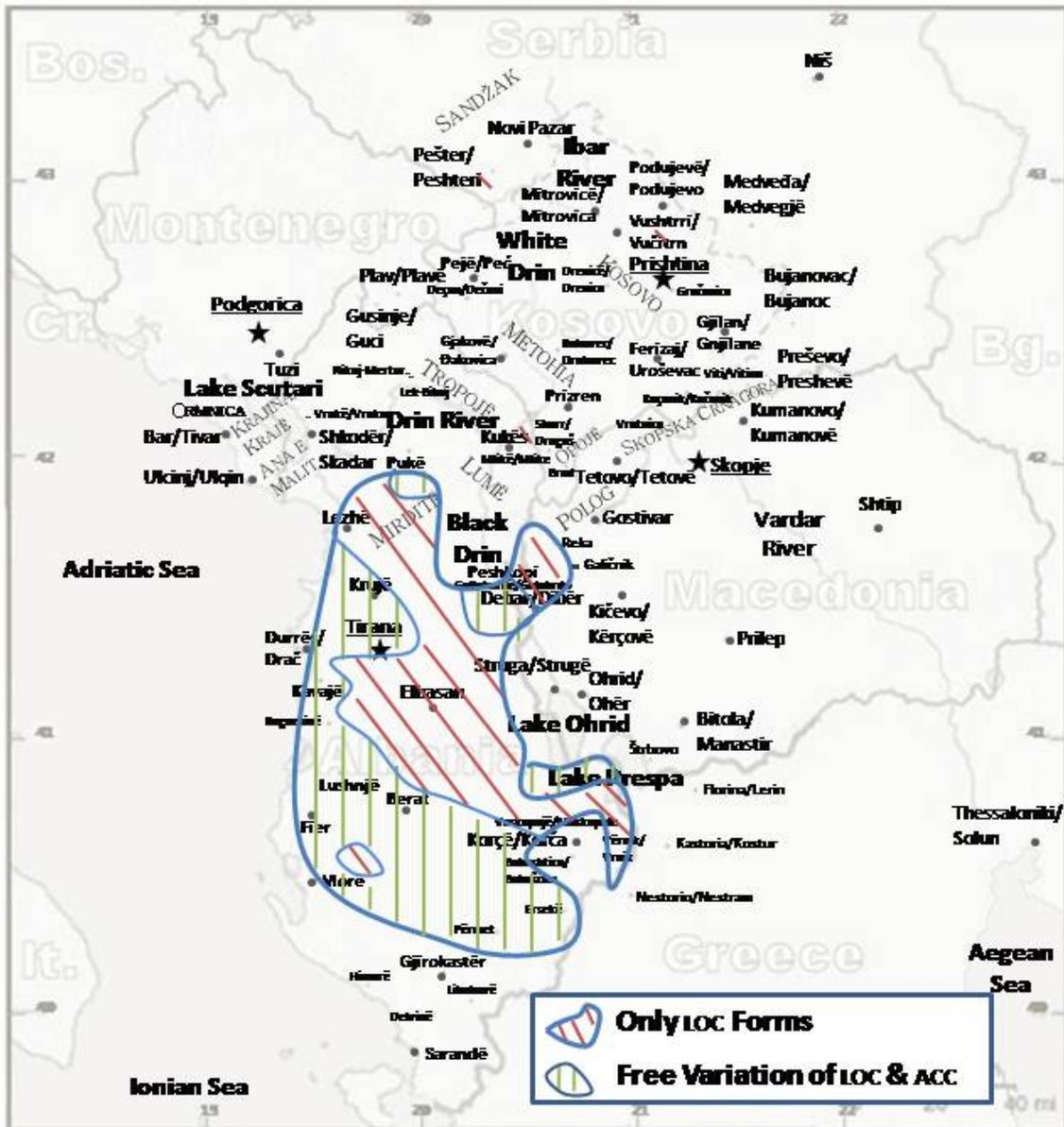


Figure 5.1. Locative Case Endings Preserved in Albanian Dialects

Although the gradual loss of these forms is historically secure, the status of these forms in Albanian and their origins are disputed. Many linguists consider these as separate case forms, either called “prepositional” or “locative,” that differ from the

accusative by their distribution after these prepositions rather than marking direct sentential objects. On the other hand, other linguists point to this distribution and claim that this is a variation on the accusative case that differs only in the singular definite (discussion in Demiraj 1988: 377–383). For some linguists the classification of these forms as a distinct case is linked to their historical explanation. Barić (1955: 41), for example claims that the locative case links Albanian to Romanian, with endings derived from a pre-form of *-di*. Demiraj, however rejects the idea that this formation is old, and, following Pedersen (1900: 310), argues that these endings were formed internally in Albanian by the univerbation of the particle *-t(ë)* to the indefinite accusative form. This particle *-të* following the noun could be a part of either a modifying adjective (as in std. *në mal të lartë* ‘in a high mountain’) or of a genitive phrase (as in std. *në mal të Shqipërisë* ‘in a mountain of Albania) (Demiraj 1988: 377–383). This internal explanation appears to be the more likely of the two, although questions remain such as when this change happened and whether language contact may have prompted the formation of new distinctions. The locative case of neighboring Slavic dialects could provide some structural justification for the new distinctions in Albanian, although this would need to be fairly early influence since the locative began to be replaced by the accusative in Slavic during the 12th century. It is also possible that contact with Romance may have given rise to a formal distinction of location, as argued by Barić. Neither Romance nor Slavic, however, give a formal pattern for the new formations; thus, it is impossible to ascribe external causation for the rise of this distinction. As regards the loss of the distinction in non-central dialects, finding an external causation is likewise problematic. Given that Albanian dialects on the peripheries lack the locative forms, and

given the reservations expressed above about assigning cause to a particular language for widely-distributed changes, it seems superfluous to assign Slavic, specifically, with the role of instigating the loss of these forms since it certainly cannot explain the change in the far south, and the loss of these forms could be completely due to internal changes while a conservative core remains in north-central Albania.

5.2.1.3 Merger of Albanian Indefinite and Definite Ablative

It is also possible that contact with Montenegrin dialects is responsible for the loss of distinction between indefinite and definite singular ablative forms in Northwestern Geg dialects in contact with Slavic dialects in southeastern Montenegro and northwestern Albania, and to a more limited extent in southwestern Metohia, as well(ADA 191–192/84a–b, represented in Figure 5.2, below). Instead of ablative singular indefinite forms such as *afër (një) djali*-ABL.SG.INDEF ‘near a boy’ that are found in other dialects and in the standard, these Northwestern Geg dialects use the same form for the indefinite and definite *afër djalit*-ABL.SG.INDEF/DEF ‘near a/the boy’. This change would involve the loss of distinction between definite and indefinite nouns, a distinction that is not included in the morphology of Slavic dialects in contact with Northwestern Geg. The grammatical pattern of Montenegrin dialects and the geographical distribution both argue for the influence of Slavic, however, internal influence from the definite on the indefinite forms is certainly a likely cause as well. In the absence of more data, the influence of contact with Slavic could be tentatively accepted for these forms, although further investigations may lead to a different analysis.

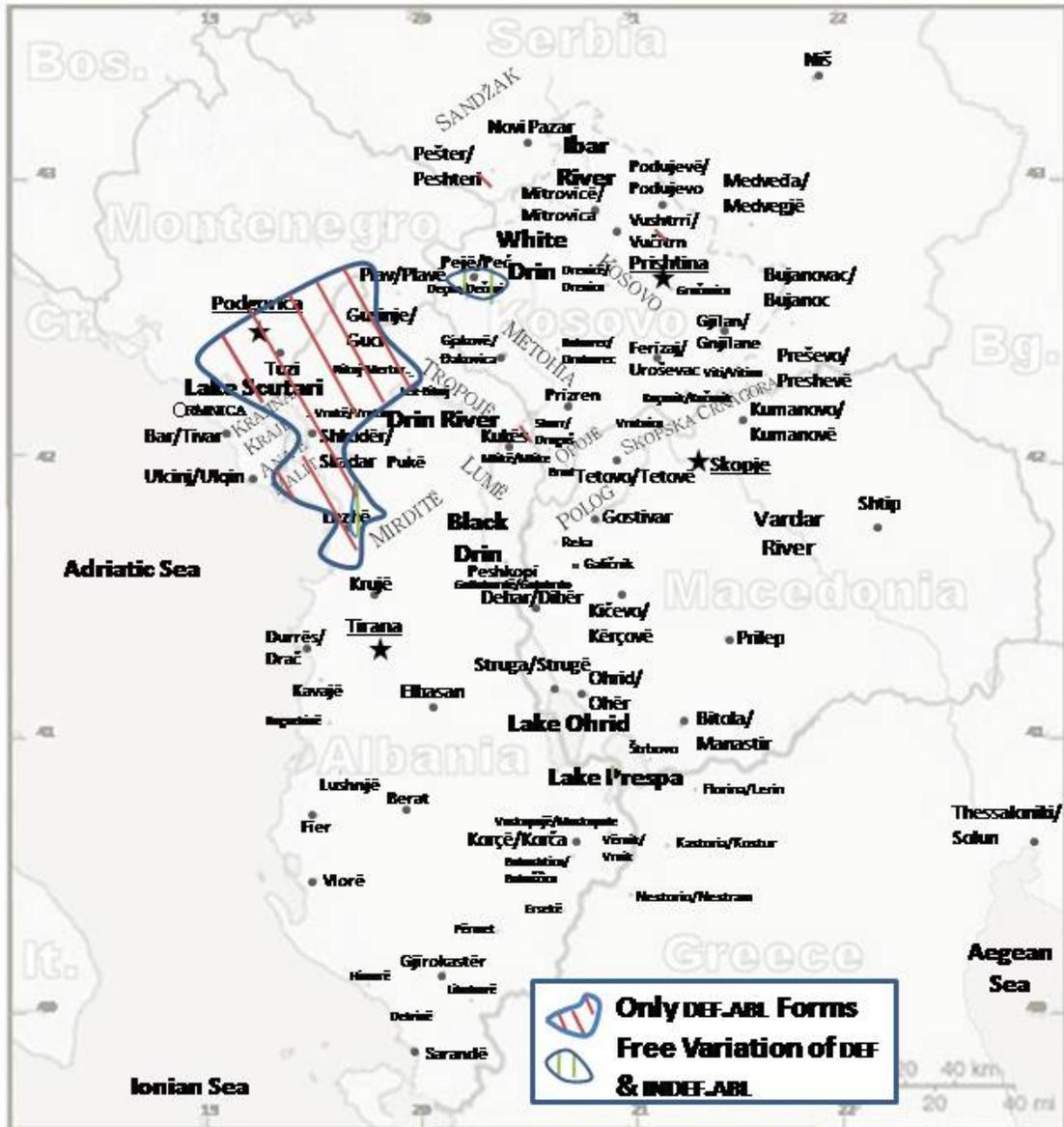


Figure 5.2. Syncretism of DEF and INDEF ABL Case Endings in Albanian

5.2.1.4. Syncretism of Nominative and Accusative

One final similarity in case loss between Albanian and Slavic deserves a few words of commentary: syncretism of nominative and accusative case forms. As noted by Friedman and Joseph (2013: 6.1.1.1.4) Albanian shows some similarities to Macedonian

in nominative and accusative forms by not distinguishing nominative and accusative nouns except in the singular definite. As noted above, Macedonian preserves some historical masculine animate accusatives in the oblique forms of names and kin terms, only in western dialects and the standard (Friedman 1993: 263), whereas all other accusative nouns are identical in form to nominatives.¹⁴ According to Friedman and Joseph (2013: 6.1.1.1.4), the syncretism of nominative and accusative continues to spread in Macedonian dialects. Even where Albanian influence is strongest, such as in Boboščica/Boboshtica, the oblique forms noted by earlier scholars (Koneski 1966: 140–141) have since disappeared (Steinke and Ylli 2007: 314–317), more likely due to “simplification as part of attrition” than the grammatical influence of Albanian or the trend towards analytic constructions in Macedonian generally. Again, the similarities between Albanian and Balkan Slavic appear to be typological only, and not due to common historical developments, let alone contact with one another.

5.2.2 Preservation of Case Forms

Against this background of case loss in Macedonian dialects in general, the preservation of case forms in some Western Macedonian dialects may be an instance of convergence with Albanian. This, however, would not be an innovation, but rather the preservation of a structure common to both language systems involved, and, thus, not diagnostic for language contact. This is but one of several of the morphosyntactic

¹⁴ The functional distinction between nominative and accusative persists and is usually indicated by word position, as in English. In some southwestern Macedonian dialects, however direct objects are further marked by the preposition *na*, which has parallels in the Aromanian dialects in contact with Macedonian (F&J 2013: 6.1.1.1.4). To the best of my knowledge no such construction exists for marking direct objects in any Albanian dialect.

similarities between Albanian and neighboring Slavic dialects that may have possibly been preserved by contact. A comparison of this type of construction in Western Macedonian dialects and Albanian is given in (1) and (2) below.

(1) Preservation of proper noun and kinship term declensions in W. Macedonian dialects

- | | | | |
|-----|----------------------|-------------|-----------------------------------|
| i. | Mu | rekov | Mark otu / Mark ovi |
| | 3SG.DAT.SHRT | say.1SG.AOR | Mark.DAT |
| | 'I told Marko.' | | |
| ii. | Mu | rekov | tet ki / tet ke |
| | 3SG.DAT.SHRT | say.1SG.AOR | aunt.DAT |
| | 'I told (the) aunt.' | | |

(Vidoeski 2005: 20)

(2) Albanian oblique case declensions (also valid in Northwestern Geg)

- | | | | |
|----|----------------------|-------------|----------------|
| a) | I | thashë | Mark ut |
| | 3SG.DAT.SHRT | say.1SG.AOR | Mark.DAT |
| | 'I told Mark.' | | |
| b) | I | thashë | tez ës |
| | 3SG.DAT.SHRT | say.1SG.AOR | aunt.DAT |
| | 'I told (the) aunt.' | | |

As this is a preservation of earlier forms and grammatical distinctions, an external model is not required to explain the particular form or function. On the other hand, the geographical distribution of these types of constructions argues in favor of some cause for the preservation, since these can be found in Bitola and were formerly found in Bobošica/Boboshticë, dialects where interaction with Albanian and Aromanian has been frequent. From the perspective of language structure, bilingualism with Albanian or Aromanian could provide this model. It should be noted, however, as stated above, that these oblique case forms have no longer been preserved in these areas (Steinke and Ylli 2007: 314–317), thus the possible influence of Albanian (and Aromanian) on these

constructions has a limited utility, even in those areas where contact with Albanian is expected to have had the strongest influence.

5.2.3 Appellative Forms

One other aspect of nominal declension may have been affected by contact, namely vocative constructions. Two specific developments in vocative forms have been argued to have come about from Slavic-Albanian contact: the Albanian vocative particle and ending (-) *o* and a Serbian vocative ending of *-i*, as discussed below.

5.2.3.1 Albanian Vocatives in *-o*

Among the many vocative endings used in Slavic, the ending *-o* has a particular proliferation in Balkan Slavic. This form is used for feminines only, as in *tetko* ‘aunt-voc’ in most of Serbian, but in Bulgarian, Macedonian, southern Serbian (Torlak) dialects it is used to form appellatives with masculine nouns ending in consonants like *sino!* ‘son-voc’ (Greenberg 1996: 84–85; Friedman and Joseph 2013: 6.1.1.4). This likely developed through an analogical extension of vocatives from feminine hypocoristic forms of male referents such as *sinko* ‘son-DIM.VOC’ (NOM. *sinka*) (Greenberg 1996: 22). This same ending is also used in Albanian as a vocative ending for masculine nouns as in *biro* ‘son-voc’ and for proper names as well, like *Agimo!* ‘Agim-voc’ (Fiedler and Buchholz 1987: 215; Demiraj, et. al. 2002: 106–107; Greenberg 1996: 176–177; Friedman and Joseph 2013: 6.1.1.4). The *o* can be used either following the referring noun, (i.e. as a suffix) or as an appellative particle preceding it, as in *o malet e Shqipërisë* ‘O mountains of Albania’ (Fiedler and Buchholz 1987: 215). This use before and after is

also found in standard Albanian (Thomai, et. al. 2006: 715), and need not be a borrowing from Slavic, as it may be a language-internal innovation, although it has been claimed as Slavic in origin (Fiedler and Buchholz: 1987: 215; Greenberg 1996: 197). One reason to be cautious about this claim, however, is that this suffix is not used in Montenegrin dialects for masculine nouns (Greenberg 1996: 197). The lack of historical or dialectal evidence for this appellative particle/suffix makes it impossible to judge with any certainty whether this came from outside of Albanian. However, given the prominence of the suffix in Slavic dialects in contact with Albanian, their influence on the form in Albanian is likely.

5.2.3.1 Serbian Vocatives Ending in *-i*

The influence of Albanian might also be seen on the form of some vocatives found in Serbian epic songs collected in Kosovo at the end of the 19th century and beginning of the 20th century, as proposed by Blaku (2010: 128–133). In several instances masculine singular nouns end in *-i*. These are often proper names, and often occur at the end of a line in heroic poetry. It is possible that this is merely a metrical-filling syllable without any formal significance; however, Serbian and Albanian linguists have classified the extra syllable *-i* as a vocative that also adds emphasis or style to the line (Stevanović 1969: 166; cited in Blaku 2010: 131). The most common masculine vocative endings for Serbian dialects are *-u* (after non-palatal consonants) and *-e* (after palatal consonants), while *-i* is typically used for masculine plurals, but not masculine singulars. However,

many of the examples of this ending are unambiguously singular, as in the following lines from a heroic song collected in the 19th century by Dena Debeljković:¹⁵

Fala bogu, fala jedinome
lov loviše tri srpske vojvode:
jedno beše Marko Kraljevići
drugi beše Miloš Obilići
trećo beše Relja Krilatići

.....
Kad gu vide Relja Krilatići
on letnuja gore pod nebesa.
Kad gu vide Miloš Kobilići
sakrija se u zelenu travu.
Kad gu vide Marko Kraljevići
on poceja bogu da se moli...

Thanks be to God, thanks to the Almighty
A-hunting went three Serbian vojvodes
The first one was Marko Kraljević-i
The next one was Miloš Obilić-i
The third one was Relja Krilatić-i

.....
When he beheld Relja Krilatić-i
He fled away low below the heavens
When he beheld Miloš Kobilić-i
He hid himself in the green growing grass
When he beheld Marko Kraljević-i
He then began to pray, to pray to God...
(cited in Blaku 2010: 129; translation mine).

In addition to the contexts given above, this ending is also used in appellative constructions (again in the singular: *čuješ li me Marko Kraljevići / ti me uzimaj ljubu za sebe...* (Do you hear me, Marko Kraljević / Take me, my love, for yourself...), and is used not only in poetry where rhythm plays a decisive factor, but also in some heroic prose (Blaku 2010: 129–130). While agreeing that the ending *-i* undoubtedly is utilized for rhythmic purposes and likely has the function of an expressive vocative (ibid.: 130–131), Blaku argues that given the area and time where this form is attested, it is very likely due to the influence of the Albanian definite masculine singular nominative and vocative ending *-i* (although see above for other realizations of the vocative) as 88 of the 102 cases of the vocative in this collection of songs, are in the form of *-i*, with the remaining 14

¹⁵ Reprinted in Bovan (1984). Debeljković, D., Akademija Nauka i Umetnosti Kosova (Priština), & Akademija Nauka i Umetnosti Kosova (Priština). (1984). Srpske narodne umotvorine sa Kosova iz rukopisa Dene Debeljkovića: 1. Lirske i epske narodne pesme. - 1984. - 342 S

formed with *-u* (ibid.).¹⁶ Thus, the singers recorded in Kosovo at this time demonstrably preferred the ending *-i*, and it is further likely that the Albanian nominative forms had some influence in the shape of this ending. Even if the Albanian forms are not used in the same context as those encountered in these songs it remains a possibility that this form came into Serbian as a type of interference from bilingual Serbian-Albanian speakers (ibid.: 132).¹⁷

The Albanian masculine definite nominative form seems to be the best candidate for providing the shape of this Serbian vocative ending. However, the importance of this change is also debatable. Even though this form is attested in greater number in these particular songs, it does not appear to be found in many other collections or in dialect surveys. It is also quite possible that this is a form limited to heroic epics due to the fact that Serbian heroic epic songs were often sung by bilingual Albanians at least in the early 20th century, and likely earlier (Kolsti 1990). Likewise, the form seems to have disappeared in today's dialects, so the effects of the imposition, as it appears likely to be, have not been long-lasting. Still, this presents an interesting case of imposition, either in reverse interference or in Van Coetsem's canonical conception of the term.

5.2.4 Changes in Gender Assignment

¹⁶ In the standard description of Albanian the nominative is formed by adding *-i* after any consonant except velars and /h/, (in which case *-u* is added). In some northeastern Geg dialects, including many in Kosovo (ADA I: 87–88/195–197) *-i* is added to any consonant for masculine nominative and vocative singular. Although not considered a case in the standard grammar, the formation of the vocative is prescribed as adding *-o*, either before the noun or after. Doubtless, the Albanian dialects in Kosovo employ both formations for vocative constructions.

¹⁷ In a footnote (2010: 132–133 (fn21), Blaku mentions another curiosity—one instance of an accusative form in the line “*Marko dade zelenju jabukun*” that, if not a typographic error could be an accusative form that combines elements of accusative endings from both Serbian (fem. sg. *-u*) and Albanian (def. acc. *-In*). Since this is the only form that shows this Blaku rightly cautions against making much of it, although it offers another interesting possibility of morphological convergence.

Like case declension, gender specification affects nouns as well as adjectives (and to a lesser extent pronouns and some verb forms, as treated in the corresponding sections below). Both Slavic and Albanian have inherited three grammatical gender classes: masculine, feminine, and neuter. These genders are well preserved in Slavic, unlike Albanian, where the neuter gender has almost completely merged with the masculine category, taking masculine agreement with adjectives and definite endings, as seen for example with the formerly neuter *djathë* ‘cheese’: *djathi i bardh* ‘white-MASC.SG.NOM cheese-MASC.DEF.SG’. Slavic also has considerable syncretism between the masculine and neuter classes, as they share suffixes for many oblique cases in these languages that maintain case distinctions, as in Sr *od starog sela* ‘from the old village-NEUT.GEN’ and *od starog grada* ‘from the old city-MASC.GEN’. The syncretism in Slavic—which is also found in East and West Slavic—and that in Albanian likely has more to do with the inheritance from Indo-European, than with any influence of contact. In fact, because Macedonian, Bulgarian, and Serbian Torlak dialects have eliminated the cases in which masculine and neuter endings were syncretic, it could be said that the categories of masculine and neuter are more distinct in Balkan Slavic than they are for other Slavic languages. Thus the distinctions of gender have moved in opposite directions for Balkan Slavic and Albanian. It is conceivable that contact with Slavic helped to preserve the distinction of a neuter gender in Albanian, but, as with the cases examined above about preserving case distinctions, the effects, if there were any, of the contact have not endured. The dialectal distribution of the neuter case in Albanian is not much different in dialects in contact with Serbian and Macedonian from other dialects (with the exception of Arbëresh and Arvanitika dialects that maintain the neuter gender for a majority of the

words tested) suggesting that contact with Slavic did not influence this preservation (ADA 68–69/139–146).

One other area where contact has influenced gender assignment is in the assignment of particular words to one gender or another. For example, Blaku (2010: 133–136) argues for a number of words that are treated differently in southern Serbian dialects in contact with Albanian than in other Slavic dialects. He takes, for example, the word *krv* ‘blood’ which in standard Serbian is a feminine noun ending in a consonant. However, in some dialects in Kosovo, it is treated as a masculine, taking masculine case endings and agreement; also differing from std. Sr, *krv* also is found in the plural, with the ending *-ovi*, which is added to monosyllabic masculine nouns for nominative plurals (throughout Serbian dialects) as in std. *grad~gradovi* ‘city~cities’. This use as a masculine may be compared to Albanian *gjak* ‘blood’ and is “regularly used in plural, particularly in simple and conversational speech” (ibid.: 135). The pattern for treating *krv* as a masculine, however, need not come from Albanian, as it is also very possible for the noun to have been affected by other Serbian nouns ending in consonants, which are typically masculine, such as *lav* ‘lion’, *brd* ‘hill’, etc.¹⁸ Blaku includes about a dozen other words that match up in gender with Albanian translations and differ from the gender prescribed in the standard. However, as these gender assignments do not affect a particular class of nouns or result in a categorical change in the nouns; these changes are better treated as changes in individual lexical items. This is possibly further evidence of

¹⁸ Other masculine nouns ending in *-rv*, like *crv* ‘worm, maggot’ form the plural with the ending *-i* in the standard, as in *crvi*.

the effect of Slavic-Albanian contact on the lexicon, but not evidence for structural effects of Albanian on Slavic morphosyntax.

5.2.5 Postposed Definite Marking

One final feature of nouns that shows similarities between Albanian and Macedonian is the marking of definiteness by means of postposed suffixes. Besides differentiating Macedonian and Gora dialects from southern Serbian dialects, this feature links Macedonian to Albanian—and these to the Balkan Sprachbund more generally. Given the wide distribution of this feature it is unlikely that the influence of Slavic-Albanian contact can be accepted as responsible for even localized changes. Furthermore, the postposed article is likely an old feature of Albanian and Balkan Slavic. Not only is it found throughout the dialects of Albanian, but its presence in Pre-Albanian has also been used to explain the Roman toponym *Drobeta* as containing a Pre-Albanian noun phrase of *druvā-tā* (‘wood’-DEF), which had been borrowed prior to the Slavic migrations (Hamp 1982: 79; Friedman and Joseph 2013: 6.1.2.2.1; Demiraj 1988: 297–357). For Slavic, the development of postposed definiteness is seen as early as 10th and 11th century manuscripts in examples such as *plodŭ – plodosŭ* ‘fruit – this fruit’, *domŭ – domotŭ* ‘house, that house’ (Diels 1963: 154, 163 (cited in Friedman and Joseph 2013 6.1.2.2.1)), By the 13th century Balkan Slavic had definitely developed a grammatical realization of these postposed articles (Koneski 1966: 128–129; Asenova 2002: 125). The fact that Balkan Slavic, Balkan Romance, and Albanian all developed post-posed definite markers from demonstrative pronouns is remarkable, and certainly language contact is partially responsible for the common development of these structures. However, as this is found

throughout the Balkans and developed early in the history of Albanian and Balkan Slavic the influence of Albanian and Slavic on one another in this matter is likely not great, and cannot be positively separated from the influence of other Balkan languages.

5.2.6. Summary of Changes to Nouns

As discussed in this section, although the nominal systems of Albanian and Slavic dialects in contact with one another show a number of convergences, as in case syncretism or preservation, the presence of common vocative endings, changes in gender and marking the category of definiteness in analogous manners, only a few of these changes have likely developed by contact with one another exclusive of contact with any other language. Table 5.2, below, summarizes the changes discussed.

Section	Change	Lang. Cont.	Slavic				Albanian			
			LS	WD	BD	LO	LS	WD	BD	LO
5.2.1.1	Case Syncretism	N	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/
5.2.1.2	Loss of Locative & Instrumental	N	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/
5.2.1.3	ABL merger DEF/INDEF	Y					+	-	-	-
5.2.1.4	Syncretism of NOM/ACC	N	-	-	-	/	-	-	-	-
5.2.2	Preserving case forms	N	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/
5.2.3.1	Alb <i>-o</i> VOC	Y	/	/	/	/	+	+	+	+
5.2.3.2	Sr <i>-i</i> VOC	Y	-	+	-	-	/	/	/	/
5.2.4	Changes in N. Gender	N LEX*	-	+	-	-	/	/	/	/
5.2.5	Postposed Definiteness	N	-	-	/	/	/	/	/	/

*The designation LEX indicates that the change is likely due to contact, but is better considered a lexical change than a morphosyntactic one.

Table 5.2. Summary of Changes to Nominal Systems

Of the nine changes discussed in this section, only three were judged to likely be due to contact with Slavic. Furthermore, all three of these features that have been judged as effects of language contact (loss of distinctive forms between definite and indefinite ablative forms in NW Geg and the use of vocative particles *-o* and *-i* in Albanian and Slavic, respectively) are only tentatively judged as such. Tellingly, the one change to Slavic (*-i* vocative ending) is no longer found, thus the effects on the nominal system are much less overall than structures found elsewhere in the languages.

5.3 Adjectives

Although many of the morphological distinctions affecting adjectives are addressed in the previous section about nouns, one area of adjectival morphology that requires additional consideration is the morphosyntax of comparative and superlative adjective formations. For many dialects of Balkan Slavic the comparative is formed with the prefix *po-*, which is added to the basic form (positive) of the adjective, and the superlative is formed by adding the prefix *naj-* to the same basic form. These differ from inherited CSI formations in two important ways. First, the CSI comparative was formed, as it still is in most dialects of Serbian, by the addition of a comparative suffix *-(i)j-i-*, instead of a prefix; this comparative suffix often causes morphophonological alteration in the adjective stem's final consonant, (Huntley 1993: 148; Browne 1993: 327–329).¹⁹ Second, the superlative is formed by adding to *naj-* to the comparative form, rather than to the basic form. These differences are illustrated in the following comparative paradigms (NOM.MASC.SG) from Serbian: *star* 'old', *stariji* 'older', *najstariji* 'oldest' and *mlad* 'young', *mlađi*, 'younger', *najmlađi* 'the youngest'. These suffixal formations have been replaced by analytic prefixal formations throughout Bulgarian and Macedonian. Some southern dialects of Serbian also show the newer forms, including dialects in southern Kosovo and southern Montenegro (Friedman and Joseph 2013: 6.1.5.1.2; Blaku 2010: 147).

Albanian comparative and superlative formations have certain parallels to what is found in Balkan Slavic, although the systems have important differences. Throughout Albanian the comparative is also formed by the addition of a morpheme before the

¹⁹ Besides this formation there are also a handful of suppletive forms as seen for example in Sr *dobar* 'good', *bolji* 'better', *najbolji* 'best' and Sr *loš* 'bad', *gori*, 'worse', and *najgori* 'worst'. From a Balkanological perspective the more important part of this formation is the lack of alteration to the stem, making the construction completely analytic. This brings Macedonian and Bulgarian and southern dialects of Serbian into line with Greek, Romani, Turkish, Romanian, Aromanian, etc., and distinguishes them from the rest of the Slavic languages.

indefinite form of the adjective (*më* in std. and Tosk, *ma* in Geg), while the superlative is made by adding this morpheme to the definite adjective, for example (NOM.MASC.SG masculine singular) *i vjetër* ‘old’, *më i vjetër* ‘older’, (*burri më i vjetër* ‘the oldest (man-DEF)’ or *më i vjetri* ‘(the) oldest-DEF’ and *i ri* ‘young’, *më i ri* ‘younger’, and (*djali më i ri* ‘the youngest (boy-DEF) or *më i riu* ‘(the) youngest-DEF’ (Demiraj 1988: 440).²⁰ From these examples it is apparent that the augmented forms of the adjective in Albanian are not exactly parallel to the Macedonian, as the Albanian constructions are distinguished by the marking of definiteness, whereas the Macedonian forms do not vary by definiteness, and, moreover, employ different prefixes for the comparative and superlative. Furthermore, the comparative and superlative morphemes are lexical in Albanian as *më* ‘(any) more’ exists as a separate word (for example, as in example (3) below); whereas Balkan Slavic *po-* and *naj-* do not have uses besides comparative or superlative constructions.

(3) non-comparative uses of Albanian *më*

nuk	ka	më
not	have	(any) more
‘There is no more, There aren’t any more (left).’		

That the forms are not completely parallel does not mean, however, that the innovations in the forms cannot be due to language contact. Indeed, as the Balkan Slavic comparative shows more changes in its structure than the superlative and because the CSI

²⁰ In some varieties (Geg) the comparative is formed with a lexical construction utilizing the adverb *shumë*, ‘very, much’ as in *i vjetër* ‘old’, *shumë i vjetër* ‘older’. The semantics are unclear, however, as *shumë* can also mean ‘too much’ or ‘excessive’ in Geg as well (Demiraj 1988: 440).

marker of the superlative (*naj-*) is preserved in these changes, it is the comparative that has been changed more by language contact. The formation of the comparative by a preceding morpheme is a general Balkanism not limited to Slavic and Albanian. Also, since the *po-* comparative is found in Bulgarian, in addition to Macedonian, Albanian is not a likely source of the change in Slavic. Instead, the Greek comparative *pjo* has been the source of this change in Slavic. This assertion is further strengthened by the fact that in Greek, Macedonian, and Bulgarian the comparative morpheme can be added to nouns as well as adjectives, as in Gk *pjo ánthropos* ‘more a man’ and Mk *pojunaĳ* ‘more a hero’ (Friedman and Joseph 2013: 6.1.5.1.1).²¹ Blaku (2010: 147), however, argues that Greek is very unlikely to have influenced the dialects of Kosovo in the same way that it may have affected Macedonian and Bulgarian. This is probably true, but this does not preclude the possibility of nearby dialects of Macedonian affecting Serbian dialects in southern Kosovo, which may in turn affect those in Montenegro. Furthermore, since the same prefix (*po-*) is also used in these dialects, the influence of Slavic dialects on one another is all but certain for this particular feature, while the influence of Albanian is probably negligible.

5.4 Pronouns

Like adjectives, much of the morphology of pronouns is tied to that of the nouns. However, as noted above, pronouns have been generally more conservative than the

²¹ Joseph argues, however, that as Greek does not attach *pjo-* to verbs, as can be done in Macedonian and Bulgarian, as in *poharesvam* ‘I like better’, there are limits to the influence that should be ascribed to Greek for the comparative and superlative constructions. Thus, although the initial material and use of the Balkan Slavic comparative morpheme may have been transferred from Greek, at some point this part of Balkan Slavic morphology underwent internal changes adapting this structural material to new contexts.

nouns as regards the loss of case inflection, still some syncretism involving oblique pronominal forms in Western Macedonian and Southern Serbian dialects may have been influenced by language contact with Albanian (§5.4.1). Other morphological aspects that affect language contact between Slavic and Albanian include pronoun and object reduplication (§5.4.2), deixis (§5.4.3), complex demonstratives (§5.4.4), and reflexive possessives (§5.4.5). While most of these show parallel constructions, only a few of these similarities have developed due to Slavic-Albanian contact, possibly including the loss of certain distinctions in marking gender in short-form pronouns pronoun reduplication and double determination, the restructuring of deictic distributions in some Slavic dialects, and the morphological composition of certain complex determiners, although this last development is likely better analyzed as a lexical phenomenon than as a case of morphosyntactic change.

5.4.1. Syncretism in Personal Pronouns

In a preceding section (§5.2.1) the loss of case forms in nouns and adjectives was argued to not be from Slavic-Albanian contact. However, Slavic-Albanian contact may have had some role in the loss of certain pronoun case distinctions in Macedonian and southern Serbian dialects. Macedonian typically preserves nominative, accusative, and dative pronouns with ‘clitic’, or ‘short-form’, pronouns²² for accusative and dative as set

²² Because of the various classifications of *clitics*, I use a theory-neutral term of short-form pronouns that are functionally distinguished from the long-form pronouns by their distribution as apart of the verb phrase rather than a part of a noun phrase (as direct or indirect object) or a prepositional phrase.

out in Table 5.3, below (Friedman 1993: 264–265). Serbian preserves these distinctions as well as genitive, instrumental, and locative long forms.²³

Case	NOM	ACC-long	DAT-long	ACC-short	DAT-short
1SG	jas	mene	mene	me	mi
2SG	ti	tebe	tebe	te	ti
3SG.MASC	toj	nego	nemu	go	mu
3SG.NEUT	toa	nego	nemu	go	mu
3SG.FEM	taa	nea	nejze	ja	ì
1PL	nie	nas	nam	nè	ni
2PL	vie	vas	vam	ve	vi
3PL	tie	niv	nim	gi	im

Table 5.3. Personal Pronouns in Standard Macedonian

Albanian has distinct pronominal case forms for nominative, accusative, dative, and ablative, with short forms for accusative and dative, as given in Table 5.4, below (Newmark 1998: xliii.) Within the short-form pronouns there are a number of syncretic forms, as gender is not distinguished in 3SG or 3PL, and 1st person and 2nd person forms are identical in accusative and dative cases.²⁴

²³ The main distributional difference between short-form and long-form pronouns for the cases that have both is that the short-form pronouns are used as unmarked direct objects (ACC) and indirect objects (DAT) of the verb (or, as seen below, to mark that there is an object to the verb which may also be specified). The long forms are used for emphasis for direct and indirect objects or for the unmarked objects of prepositional phrases.

²⁴ In addition to these forms, a number of combinations of ACC and DAT short forms are possible as in *Ma dha librin* ‘She/He gave me the book’ where *ma* is formed of /më/-1SG.DAT.SHRT and /e/-3SG.ACC.SHRT. These combinations utilize patterns in combining two vowels that are unique to these constructions.

Case	NOM	ACC-long	DAT-long	ABL	ACC-short	DAT-short
1SG	unë	mua	mua	meje	më	më
2SG	ti	ty	ty	teje	të	të
3SG.MASC	ai	(a)të ²⁵	atij	(a)tij	e	i
3SG.FEM	ajo	(a)të	asaj	(a)saj	e	i
1PL	ne	ne	ne(ve)	nesh	na	na
2PL	ju	ju	ju(ve)	jush	ju	ju
3PL.MASC	ata	(a)ta	atyre	(a)tyre	i	u
3PL.FEM	ato	(a)to	atyre	(a)tyre	i	u

Table 5.4. Personal Pronouns in Standard Albanian

5.4.1.1 Syncretism in Short-form Pronouns

In some Slavic dialects in western Macedonia and Kosovo the short-form third person pronouns do not encode the referent's gender, as found in Albanian short-form pronouns. In some dialects in western Macedonia, the masculine and neuter dative short form pronoun *mu* is used for feminine referents as well, as in (4.i) below. Furthermore, it is also extended to plural referents as in (4.ii). Certain parallels are apparent from a comparison with analogous Albanian forms given in (5.i-ii).

(4) 3.DAT.SHRT *mu* used for all genders and numbers in western Macedonian dialects²⁶

i. **Mu** reče na ženata / deteto / čovekot
 3.DAT.SHRT say.3SG.AOR to woman / child / man
 '[S/he] told the woman / child / man.'

ii. **Mu** reče na ženite / decata / mažite
 3.DAT.SHRT say.3SG.AOR to women / children / men
 '[S/he] told the women / children / men.'

(Vidoeski 2005: 16)

²⁵ Forms with parentheses indicate variation between the entire form given and just the part outside of the parentheses, e.g. *me të* 'with it' varies freely with *me atë*, etc. The longer form is typically preferred in the standard language, although the truncated forms are acceptable and quite common.

²⁶ In some dialects southwestern dialects, the MASC.SG.ACC.SHRT *go* is generalized for feminine singular references as well (Friedman and Joseph 2013: 6.1.3.3).

- (5) 3.DAT.SHRT pronouns used for all genders in Albanian
- i. **I** **tha** **gruas / fëmijës / burrit**
3SG.DAT.SHRT say.3SG.AOR woman-DAT/ child-DAT/ man-DAT
‘[S/he] told the woman / child / man.’
 - ii. **U** **tha** **grave / fëmijëve / burrave**
3PL.DAT.SHRT say.3SG.AOR women-DAT/ children-DAT/ men-DAT
‘[S/he] told the women / children / men.’

The reduction of specification from three genders to one for these pronouns in certain areas of southwestern Macedonia including Bitola and Prilep as well as Macedonian dialects in Greece and Albania further to the south and west, as in Boboščica/Boboshtica, seems to be a result of language contact (Koneski 1966: 111). However, as Macedonian dialects in Bitola and Prilep—and to a lesser extent in Boboščica/Bobshčica, as well—are also strongly influenced by Aromanian, it would be unwise to presume that Albanian alone is the source of this syncretism.²⁷ The influence of Aromanian in this syncretism is also argued for by Koneski (1966: 111), although Sandfeld attributed this case merger to influence from Albanian (1930: 119–120), and it is said to be characteristic of Macedonian as spoken by Albanians in Macedonian (F&J 2013: 6.1.3.3). Thus, it is possible that Albanian had some influence in these mergers, although Aromanian has likely been more influential in these changes toward syncretism.

Meanwhile a couple of similar developments can also be found in Slavic dialects in Kosovo. First, Blaku presents a similar argument for the influence of Albanian on the 3SG.FEM.ACC.SHRT found in many Serbian dialects in Kosovo, as given in (6), below.

²⁷ Thanks to Eleni Bužarovska, (p.c.) who gave me a wider perspective on these morphological points and the linguistic geography of their forms.

- (6) Kosovo Serbian 3SG.FEM.ACC.SHRT *gu*
 Tražu **gu** na dve tri meste
 Seek-3PL 3SG.FEM.ACC.SHRT in two-three places
 ‘They are looking for her in two or three places.’
 (Elezović 1932: 114, cited in Blaku 2010: 149)

Unlike the Macedonian forms cited above, this form is only used for feminine direct objects. The form appears to come from a combination of masculine (*ga*) and feminine (*ju*) forms, and in this way shows some formal merger of gender categories. Blaku (2010: 149–152) argues that the identical forms for masculine and feminine direct objects (*e/atë*) in Albanian may have served as something of a model for these new short-form pronouns in Serbian dialects of Kosovo. Although it is impossible to know for certain whether Albanian had any influence on this new form, since the Serbian dialects maintain a formal distinction between masculine and feminine direct objects, the influence of Albanian seems unlikely. Furthermore, since the new form *gu* may plausibly be some mixture of Slavic short-form pronouns, Albanian is not required for an adequate reconstruction.

A second development is the syncretism of accusative and dative plurals with the short form *gi* in Sretečka Župa, in southern Kosovo (Friedman and Joseph 2013: 6.1.3.3). A similar syncretism is also manifest in some Debar Macedonian dialects where the short form *je* is used for accusative and dative of 3SG feminines (Vidoeski 1999: 227). The generalization of the accusative to the dative in these dialects could conceivably have come from patterns in Albanian as the 1st and 2nd person short forms are the same in accusative and dative. However, the differences in the Slavic and Albanian systems in

question are greater than their similarities for the category in question (3PL), as Albanian has distinct short-forms for accusative (*i*) and dative (*u*) (See Tables 5.3–5.4, above, for a comparison). Moreover, since there is a tendency to reduce distinctions of case in the nouns and adjectives in these dialects (§5.2.1), language-internal patterns are much more likely to have affected this change than has contact with Albanian.

5.4.1.2 Syncretism in Long-form Pronouns

Syncretism is also found in the long-form pronouns in various Slavic dialects in contact with Albanian. These particularly may be seen in the syncretism of other cases that have been merged in the nominal paradigms (especially genitive and dative), although not exclusively so. The merger of genitive and dative forms is a general Balkanism (§5.2.1), and is thus unreliable for demonstrating Slavic-Albanian contact, although data from individual contact situations may still prove insightful.

In Debar Macedonian dialects the 1PL and 2PL long forms (like the 1SG *mene*, 2SG *tebe*, and 3PL *nimi*) are syncretic for accusative and dative (F&J 2013: 6.1.1.2). In Pole and Župe (Debar) the dative forms (1PL *nam*, 2PL *vam*) have been generalized to the accusative, while in Malesija (Debar) the accusative forms have generalized (*nas*, *vas*) (Vidoeski 1999: 227). While having identical accusative and dative forms brings the long forms closer to the system of Albanian pronouns, the tendency of these dialects to move towards one “general form” for all long-form pronouns is more compelling (*ibid.*) than the argument of language contact. Indeed, since only the 3SG (MASC and FEM) long forms are distinguished for accusative and dative, The internal consistencies that come about through this change make this appear to be motivated by an internal change towards one

form for each person and number, rather than becoming aligned to a different language's long-form pronoun paradigms.

The trend toward case reduction in dialects of Serbian in Kosovo and Eastern Montenegrin has also been noted (§5.2.1). This syncretism extends to the long-form pronouns where the locative and dative (and in some cases instrumental as well) are replaced by the accusative for 1SG (*mene*) and 2SG (*tebe*) as well as the reflexive pronoun (*sebe*), (Blaku 2010: 183–189). Internal explanations have been proffered, such as the phonetic merger of CSI *ě with /e/ in certain dialects, whereby the endings from the CSI accusative and dative case forms would be identical, (cf. OCS *mene*-ACC, *mñě*-DAT) (Belić 1962: 102–104, cited in Blaku 2010: 184). However, as the syncretism also affects Eastern Montenegrin dialects (where CSL *ě > (*ije*)), the phenomena cannot be explained completely by phonological changes (Stevanović 1935: 74, cited in Blaku 2010: 185). The syncretism in these long forms has also been explained as analogy on the basis of the syncretism in the nominal paradigms of these cases (Blaku 2010: 185), which ultimately can never be ruled out as a possible influence. Blaku (*ibid.*: 187–189), on the other hand, maintains that contact with Albanian presents a simpler and more complete explanation of the phenomenon, including its geographic distribution in dialects in contact with Albanian, (Kosovo and Eastern Montenegrin). It also includes an explanation of why these particular forms undergo syncretism but not other parts of the (long-form) pronominal paradigm. Although the explanation via language contact with Albanian does explain the geographical distribution as well as the 1SG and 2SG forms, it still does not offer a complete explanation of the change. Albanian reflexives pattern as nouns morphologically rather than as pronouns and are, in any case, not completely syncretic

(e.g. *me vetën*-ACC. ‘by (my/your/his/her)self, but *Ia thashë vetës*-DAT ‘I said it to myself.’) Thus the syncretism for dative and accusative case for 1sg and 2sg long-form pronouns is a separate phenomenon from the reflexive, and has likely come about through an internal analogy on the basis of the personal pronouns. Furthermore the objections to the phonetic explanation should be put into the wider context of historical morphology of the pronouns in these dialects. While the endings in ekavian dialects (such as in Kosovo and S. Serbia) from CSI *mīnĕ*-DAT and *mene*-ACC would be the same by regular sound change, the forms would not be identical as the *ĭ* in *mīnĕ* would regularly end up as *a*. However, the attested forms are consistently with the stem *men-*, not **man-*. Thus, regardless of the origin of the syncretism internal analogy almost certainly played some role in arriving at the current state. While the influence of Albanian remains a historical possibility it is certainly not *necessary* for a sufficient explanation of the syncretism in Serbian and Montenegrin long-form pronouns. However, given the geographical distribution contact with Albanian, it remains a faint possibility for explaining the forms’ origins.²⁸

5.4.2. Pronoun and Object Reduplication

The net morphosyntactic feature of pronouns has more likely been affected by language contact: the reduplication of objects. This may be either the double reference of pronouns, as in examples 7–10, below, or for direct or indirect object nouns where short-

²⁸ A more positive approach toward external influence is given by Asenova (2002: 84) in talking about dative pronouns used to express possession (or belonging)—a phenomenon which is not found in Albanian, and hence is not analyzed here—particularly with kinship terms. She argues that although there are acceptable internal explanations for the relevant languages, the internal changes “could only have been strengthened by multilingual language contact” (also cited in Friedman and Joseph 2013: 6.1.3).

form pronouns are also included (whether obligatorily or for emphasis). This is a feature found throughout the Balkans, at least in the standard languages (as in Bulgarian and Romanian), but seems to find its fullest expression in Albanian and Macedonian and dialects in contact with them. For Slavic this includes Western and Central Macedonian dialects as well as southern Serbian dialects in Kosovo and dialects in eastern and southern Montenegro. Examples from these dialects are given in examples (7–9) and for Albanian in example (10).

(7) Macedonian pronoun reduplication (Kičevo)

Bil kaj nimi, ama **nego** go ne našl
 be.PRF at them but 3SG.MSC.ACC.LONG 3SG.MSC.ACC.SHRT not find.
 ‘He’s been to their place, but he didn’t find him.’

(Greenberg 2000: 299)

(8) Southern Serbian reduplication (Kosovo)

Zar mi sada da **te** prevarimo **tebe**
 really we now DMS 2SG.ACC.SHRT betray.PRES 2SG.ACC.LONG
 ‘Would we really betray you now?’

(cited in Blaku 2010: 170)

(9) Montenegrin pronoun reduplication (Mrković)

Ujak **mi** e **mene** Bešir
 uncle 1SG.OBL.SHRT is 1SG.OBL.LONG Bešir
 ‘My uncle is Bešir.’

(Greenberg 2000: 299)

(10) Albanian pronoun reduplication

E pashë **atë** në shtëpinë e tyre
 3SG.MSC.ACC.SHRT see.AOR 3SG.MSC.ACC.LONG at house their
 ‘I saw him at their house.’

Because pronoun reduplication is found in other Balkan languages, such as Greek, Romanian, Bulgarian, and (standard) Macedonian, and is commonly cited as a typical “Balkanism“, it would be imprudent to consider its occurrence throughout Balkan Slavic as an Albanian imposition. Furthermore, since Albanian dialects diverge in degree of obligatoriness of reduplication it is also possible that contact with Slavic has influenced this phenomenon’s distribution in Albanian as well.

Within Serbian and Montenegrin dialects, pronoun reduplication is much more limited geographically, and contact with Albanian remains a likely cause of its occurrence in those dialects where it is found. Several authors argue for the influence of Albanian on these constructions in Kosovo and Southeastern Montenegrin dialects, as seen in examples such as (8–9) and others like *Mène*-LNG *mi*-SHRT *se činî* ‘It seems to me’ (lit. ‘me, to me it seems’) (cf. Alb *mua më duket*) from Montenegro (Stanišić 1995: 57–58; Stevanović 1935: 117; Camaj 1966: 116 (fn. 5); Ivić 1985: 164; Omari 1989: 51). Although contact with Albanian seems to give the best explanation of the forms in Serbian dialects in contact with Albanian, the influence of Romance is also possible (Ivić 1985: 164), particularly for dialects in Montenegro, as is the influence of Montenegrin on dialects in southern Kosovo. As for the phenomena in Macedonian, it is likely that language contact also was instrumental in its development and spread, although it is less likely that Albanian played such a prominent role as it did for the feature in Montenegro and Kosovo. The reduplication of pronouns was not inherited from Common Slavic, as it is not found outside South Slavic, although it is still possible that the construction developed internally within Macedonian and Bulgarian. Dialectally it is found with the greatest concentration in western Macedonian and decreases in frequency further east,

especially in Bulgaria, although it is permissible in standard Bulgarian (Friedman and Joseph 2013: 6.1.2.5). Friedman and Joseph point to the intersection of Central Geg, Western Macedonian and Northern Aromanian as the core of the development as reduplication is fully grammatical in these dialects (2013: 6.1.2.5). According to their analysis dialects of Albanian and Aromanian in contact with Greek do not show the same tendencies as those further to the north, namely that object reduplication is used for contrast and topicalization rather than as a strict grammatical obligation. Thus contact between Macedonian, Albanian, and Aromanian has produced the strongest grammatical requirements of pronoun reduplication whereas elsewhere it has pragmatic value (Friedman 2008a, 2008b).

The historical evidence of this construction's origins do not give a clear answer for which of these languages was the starting point for the construction's spread. The first attestation of reduplication in the Balkans is found in Vulgar Latin (Ilevski 1988: 164, cited in Friedman and Joseph 2013: 6.1.2.5), although there are hints of the construction in New Testament Greek as well (Friedman and Joseph 2013: 6.1.2.5). Some have seen traces of reduplication in Old Church Slavonic (as in *i jęę i junošę*), but the grammatical meaning of the forms is ambiguous, and would be so until much later (ibid.). Given the late attestation of Albanian dating reduplication in Albanian before contact with Slavic is purely speculative;²⁹ although because the phenomena is spread throughout Albanian dialects it was in the language before contact with Turkish. Blaku (2010: 170–183)

²⁹ Pronoun reduplication may occur in the earliest extant Albanian text, the baptismal formula written in a record dating from 1462: *Unte paghesont premenit et birit et spertit senit*, 'I baptize you in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost' (Elsie 2005: 5) where the bolded portions likely correspond to 2SG.ACC pronouns (*të...ty*). However, Asenova (2002: 105) also argues that the reduplication in 16th century texts is not well established (Friedman and Joseph 2013: 6.1.5.2).

interprets the spread of object reduplication in Balkan languages bordering on Albanian and the lack of attestation in Slavic and Romance to argue that Albanian is the starting point of pronoun reduplication in Slavic. In the absence of proof to the contrary, he may ultimately be correct in this assertion; however the safer, more judicious conclusion—particularly in light of the differences between dialects of Albanian in contact with Macedonian and Greek—is that this is a case of mutual influence between Albanian and Slavic in the areas of contact between Central Geg and Western Macedonian, along with influence from Aromanian.

5.4.3 Deixis and Demonstrative Pronouns

Historically Slavic dialects have had deictic systems with three levels of specification that surface in demonstrative pronouns as well as adverbs of location.³⁰ Although the forms differ among Slavic languages, the basic system inherited from Common Slavic was *v/s* for proximal, *n* for neutral, and *t* for distal, which is found in Macedonian *ovoj, toj, onoj*, (roughly ‘this here’, ‘this, that’, ‘that there’) *ovde, tuka, tamo* (‘here’, ‘there’, ‘over there’) (Friedman 1993: 264) and BCS *ovaj, taj, onaj* and *ovd(j)e, tu, tamo* (Browne 1993: 323–325). Albanian has a two-term deictic system, (like modern English) with *k* as proximal and *a* as distal, as in *ky* ‘this’, *ai* ‘that’; *këtu* ‘here’, *atje* ‘there’; *këndej* ‘this direction’, *andej* ‘that direction’ (Newmark 1998: xliii; Murzaku 2009). Friedman and Joseph (2013: 6.1.2.1) note that while all non-Slavic Balkan languages maintain either a two- or a three-way distinction of deixis, the Balkan Slavic

³⁰ For Balkan Slavic (but not in Albanian) is also manifest in the post-posed determiner markers of nouns and noun phrases (Friedman 1993: 261).

languages and dialects show variation between two- and three-term systems. Although the deictic systems of Balkan Slavic may be classified by a number of criteria (ibid.), the main property affected by Slavic-Albanian contact is the number of deictic degrees preserved. In some areas of contact, such as Kosovo and Southern Serbia the historical tripartite division is preserved, whereas in other areas the three-term systems have developed into two-term systems, likely under the influence of contact with Albanian, namely in Lower Gora dialects (in Albania and north of Milke/Milkë in Kosovo) and southwestern Macedonian dialects in southeastern Albania near Korča/Korça (Mladenović 2001: 356; Friedman and Joseph 2013: 6.1.2.1). In the Lower Gora dialects and Macedonian Korča dialects in the distal marker *n* is lost, leaving a distinction of *v/t* in Lower Gora and *s*³¹/*t* in Korča. Although the basic fact of convergence with Albanian is the number of distinctions made in the systems, the fact that different forms are preserved in the course of convergence is simply further evidence that these are not strictly internal changes and are even more likely the result of contact with Albanian, although again, the possible role of Romance as a two-term system cannot be ruled out.

5.4.4 Formation of Complex Demonstrative Pronouns

Another way in which the demonstrative pronouns of Slavic and Albanian have converged is in the construction of complex pronominal adjectives from a deictic adverb added to demonstrative pronouns. These constructions are particularly characteristic of

³¹ The proximal marker *s-* is a preservation of the Common Slavic marker of proximity *s-* as in OCS *sī* ‘this’ (Huntley 1993: 143, 145). Outside of set expressions such as BCS *danas*, Mk *denes* ‘today’ (< *dīnī-sī) and Russian *segodnja* ‘today’ (< O. Rus *sego-dīne*) (Vasmer III: 589) reflexes of this marker are quite rare, occurring in dialects of Macedonian and Polabian (Friedman and Joseph 2013: 6.1.2.1) and in the bookish *sej* ‘this’, etc. in Russian.

Serbian dialects in Kosovo and Metohia, as first described by Elezović (1927: 185–188). Elezović provides examples like *tavaj* ‘this one here’ (< *eto ovaj* ‘(look) here, this one-MASC’), *tavi* ‘these ones here’ (< *eto ovi*), etc. These constructions are found for singular and plural, masculine, neuter, and feminine, and for different cases (*tavem*, *taba*, *tavejzi*, *tana*) and also form adverbs of manner as in *tavako* ‘in this way here’ (< *eto ovako* ‘(look) here in this way’) and *tanako* ‘in that way (there)’ (ibid.) As Elezović points out, these constructions have exact parallels in Albanian dialects in Kosovo *qajy* ‘this one here’ (< *qe ai* ‘(look) here this one-MASC’), *qajo* (< *qe ajo*), etc. (ibid.: 188). These forms in Albanian apparently have a broader geographical spread than the forms in Slavic, as they are also used colloquially elsewhere (Newmark 1998: 707–709). In addition to the Albanian forms, Elezović cites parallel constructions in dialects of Balkan Romance and other Romance languages (from Lat *ecce* + *hic* giving Rom. *aci*, Megleno-Romanian *atsia*, Istro-Romanian *tši*, It. *ci*, Fr. *Ici*, *ci*) (1927: 188). Later scholars, however, tend to take the Serbian formations as calques on the Albanian (Omari 1989: 51; Stanišić 1995: 56). This idea is further developed by Blaku (2010: 148–149), who maintains that the calquing of these formations in Serbian dialects is productive, as the number of pronouns is still growing, with new formations on the basis of earlier compounded forms such as *tatana* ‘this one here’ (< *eto tana* (< *eto ona*)). Given the spread of these constructions outside of Kosovo in Albanian dialects it is likely that they were developed previous to the Slavic forms and are likely the pattern on which the Slavic forms are calqued. However, once again the role of Romance cannot be completely left out of the explanation, as these forms appear to be common within Romance as well. Finally, although the pronouns are affected by these novel constructions, this change might be

better viewed as a lexical change since the morphological paradigms or grammatical structure are not altered beyond the addition of new lexical items. While the addition of novel pronouns to a language is somewhat atypical (§2.1.2, §2.8.2), this seems to be a better analysis of these changes.³²

5.4.5 Reflexive Possession

One other change to the pronouns that may have come from Slavic-Albanian contact is the loss of overt reflexive possession in Macedonian, as is also found in Tosk dialects of Albanian. Other Slavic languages and Geg Albanian preserve overt expressions of reflexive possession by using separate possessive pronouns. For Slavic the reflexive personal pronoun typically has a base form of *sv(oj)*- that contrast with other possessive pronouns for specifying possession by the subject (when contrasted with third person possessive pronouns) or giving emphasis to the possessor (for 1st and 2nd person referents) as in example (11) in BCS. The distinction is also made in standard Albanian using the reflexive possessive pronoun *i/e vet*³³ as in example (12).

³² One instance of compounding determiners and definite particles may be a morphosyntactic change due to language contact between Slavic and Albanian, also involving patterns in Romance. In Albanian certain constructions permit determiner + noun phrases where the noun is also marked as definite, such as *Më pëlqen kjo*-determiner. *kënga*-FEM.DEF. ‘I like this song’, where *kjo* is a FEM.NOM determiner and *kënga* is a NOM.FEM.SG.DEF noun. This is apparently also possible to a certain degree in colloquial Macedonian as in *ovoj čovekov*, although I do not know the details of the distribution grammatically or geographically (Friedman and Joseph 2013: 6.1.2.3). Friedman and Joseph (ibid.) point out that this is found in a number of languages and this type of construction can possibly be considered a type of “mini-Balkanism” that affects Albanian, Balkan Slavic, Balkan Romance, Greek, and Romani.

³³ The Slavic and Albanian pronouns, *svoj* and *vet* are cognate forms descending from the IE root *sw-* ‘(one’s) own’ that also is the origin of the reflexive/non-active demonstrative pronouns BCS, Mk *se* and Alb *u* as well as a number of kin terms such as Sr *svekr*, *svastika* and Alb *vëllai* ‘brother’, *v(j)ehër* ‘father-in-law’, etc. (For possible contact-induced changes that involve reflexivity and non-active distinctions in the verbs that utilize these particles see §5.7.3, below).

(11) BCS reflexive possession with *svoj*

Pisac_x je potpisao **svoje_x / njegovo_y** ime
 writer-NOM BE signed-L-PART REFL / his-ACC.NEUT name-ACC.NEUT
 ‘The writer signed his (own) name / his (some other man’s) name’

(12) Standard Albanian reflexive possession with *i vet*

Shkrimtari_x firmosi emrin **e vet_x / e tij_y**
 writer-NOM.DEF signed-AOR name-ACC.SG.DEF REFL / his-ACC.SG.DEF
 ‘The writer signed his (own) name / his (some other man’s) name’

Geg, like standard Albanian (and all Slavic languages except for Macedonian), specifies reflexive references with this lexeme (*i/e vet*).³⁴ Likewise, in Macedonian the distinction found throughout the rest of Slavic is not found, as *svoj* has roughly the same pragmatic function as English *one’s own* but is not grammatically obligatory, as illustrated in examples (13–15) (Freidman and Joseph 2013: 6.1.1.2.3).

(13) Non-distinctive reflexive possession in Macedonian

Autorot_x potpiša **svojeto_x / negovoto_{x/y}** ime
 Writer-NOM.DEF signed REFL-NEUT.DEF/his-NEUT.DEF name-NEUT
 ‘The writer signed his own name / his name (his own or some other man’s).’

(14) Non-distinctive reflexive possession in Tosk

Shkrimtari_x firmosi emrin **e tij_{x/y}**
 Writer-NOM.DEF signed-AOR name-ACC.SG.DEF his-ACC.SG.DEF
 ‘The writer signed his name (his own or some other man’s).’

(15) Non-distinctive reflexive possession in English

The writer_x signed his_{x/y} name
 ‘The writer signed his name (his own or some other man’s).’

³⁴ This distinction was added to the Albanian standard language, as it is not native in Tosk (Byron 1976: 117–118).

Given the timing and the contrast of Macedonian with other Slavic languages, Friedman and Joseph argue that this may be a possible simplification due to language contact between Macedonian and Tosk (2013: 6.1.1.2.3). Given the data, this is undeniably an instance of simplification and convergence between Tosk and Macedonian. It is, however, also quite possible that these are independent changes. The majority of contact between Macedonian and Albanian is with the Central Geg dialect, although there is contact with Tosk and the transitional dialects that do not mark reflexive possession in southeastern Albania and southwestern Macedonia (Prespa, Bitola). The case for convergence would, thus, be stronger if this were also found in Central Geg, or more characteristic of southwestern Macedonian dialects. As the English example (15) shows the lack of reflexive marking is common in other languages and thus possible to develop independent of language contact. Finally, to consider another possibility, as Geg preserves this distinction, it is possible that the inherited reflexive possessive form *i vet* was preserved by contact with Slavic, and lost outside of this contact, although it is also lost in Arvanitika and Arbëresh. Thus, this looks more like a regular change affecting Tosk dialects and transitional dialects equally, and is thus not likely due to language contact (ADA 94/210, also cited in Friedman and Joseph 2013: 6.1.1.2.3). However, as the result of the changes shows typological convergence between Tosk and Macedonian and Geg and Serbian, like the denasalization of nasal vowels (§4.3.1.1) the data presents an alluring possible convergence due to Slavic-Albanian language contact. However, it requires some assumptions about the historical developments that are not necessarily substantiated by local realizations of the features.

5.4.6. Summary of Changes to Pronouns

Of the six changes considered to the pronominal systems a majority were judged to have some possible influence of Slavic-Albanian contact, although the influence of Slavic-Albanian contact on the syncretism of 3SG.SHRT and 1st and 2nd long-form pronouns in Montenegro and Kosovo is more tentative than object reduplication and the change to a two-way deictic system in some Gora and Macedonian dialects in contact. All of the pronominal changes induced by Slavic-Albanian contact show changes in Slavic, while only object reduplication is found in Albanian. Albanian morphosyntax has been affected by contact with Slavic in other areas, but apparently not elsewhere in the pronouns. A summary of pronominal features considered here is given in Table 5.5.

Section	Change	Lang. Cont.	Slavic				Albanian			
			LS	WD	BD	LO	LS	WD	BD	LO
5.4.1.1	3SG.SHRT Syncretism	Y	-	/	/	+	/	/	/	/
5.4.1.2	Syncretism in LONG	Y	+	+	/	/	/	/	/	/
5.4.2	Object (Re-) duplication	Y	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
5.4.3	2-way Deixis	Y	-	-	+	+	/	/	/	/
5.4.4	Complex Demonstr.	N LEX	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-
5.4.5	No reflexive possession	N	-	-	-	/	-	-	-	/

Table 5.5. Summary of Changes to Pronominal Systems

5.5 Prepositions

5.5.1. Nominative Case Governed by Prepositions

The issue of case governance by prepositions has been addressed in the context of the loss of case distinctions, but there is one area where case governance has almost certainly been influenced by Slavic-Albanian contact: the use of nominative case in Mrković dialects with the preposition *ge* ‘at’, as in *Eto ih ge kuća*-NOM ‘Here they are at home’ (cf. std. *eto ih kod kuće*-GEN) (Omari 1989: 51). Popović (1955: 124–125) cites the Albanian prepositional phrase *nga* ‘from; whence; wither’ + N-NOM as the model for the Mrković innovation, while Vujović (1967: 187), takes the prepositional phrase to be modeled on Albanian *te(k)* ‘at, to’ + N-NOM (also cited by Stanišić 1995: 58).³⁵ Ivić gives a credible explanation of the form of the preposition, deriving from the same common

³⁵ Sandfeld (1930: 118) notes that the same construction sometimes also occurs in Aromanian, *la* ‘to, at’ + N-NOM, which he takes as a calque on Albanian *te[k]* (Cited in Friedman and Joseph 6.1.1.1).

Slavic form that gives the pronoun ‘where’ in most Slavic languages: *kŭdA (> *gde*> *dge* > *ge*) (1972: 33–37). However, the explanation of the case governance seems to be lacking the force of the previous explanations, as Ivić relates this to the Balkanism (discussed in 5.2.1, above) of ‘where’ governing accusative (also found in the Serbian preposition *kod* (+ N-GEN) ‘at’; whereas, Ivić explains, the Mrković dialect joins the Albanian in using the nominative because of their preservation of the synthetic inflections (Ivić 1972: 33–37). Omari (1989: 51) gives the most satisfactory explanation for the form and governance, equating the southeastern Montenegrin form *ge* with the Geg preposition *ke*, which has the same meaning and case governance as std. *te(k)*, above. Although the history of the Geg form is uncertain, it is also possible that the similarity with the Slavic form facilitated the borrowing of the structure associated with the Albanian form.

5.5.2. Constructions with Consecutive Prepositions

Blaku (2010: 163–166) analyzes constructions in Serbian dialects in Kosovo that use two consecutive prepositions as possible calques from Albanian. Examples of these constructions include *za u* (‘for’, ‘in, to’) as in *Drenički put pruža se sa istočne strane sela i crkve za u Prištinu* ‘The Drenica road goes from the east side of the village and church **up to** Prishtina’ and *do u* (‘to’, ‘in, to’) as in *Koliko saata ima odavde do u Nedakovac?* ‘How many hours is it from here **to** Nedakovac?’ (lit. ‘...up to’). In the Serbian standard these expressions would be formed with only one preposition, like *sa sela u Prištinu* ‘from the village to Prishtina’ or *Koliko sati je do Nedakovac?* ‘How many hours is it to Nedakovac?’ although expressions with *za u* also occur in other BCS

dialects (Blaku 2010: 164). Stevanović argues that these expressions, which are common in informal speech, emphasize the point of arrival (1935: 434). The constructions with consecutive prepositions have precise parallels in Albanian: *për në* ('for', 'in, to') corresponds to Serbian *za u* (e.g. *udhëtim për në Amerikë* 'travel to America') and *deri në* ('until', 'in, to') corresponds to Serbian *do u* (e.g. *lexo deri në fund* 'read to the end'). Further validating the analysis of the Serbian constructions as a calque on Albanian is the borrowing of the preposition *deri* 'up to' as *dori*, *dor*, and *duri* (also in Macedonian) that is also used in multiple preposition constructions like *Od Goleša dori do Grbeša* 'from Goleš to Grbeš' (two locations in Kosovo). While there is little doubt that these constructions in Serbian dialects come from the influence of Albanian, it could be argued that these are lexical calques from the Albanian prepositions *për në* and *deri në*, considering the compound prepositions as individual lexical items. A similar phenomenon is also encountered in Western Macedonian dialects and colloquial Macedonian as in *Imam nova torba za na pazar* 'I have a new bag for market' (lit. ...for at...) (Marković 2011: 5), although here, as possibly elsewhere in the western Balkans preposition doubling has its origins in Aromanian (see also Marković 2012). Thus, although the prepositional systems of Serbian, Albanian, and Macedonian dialects are affected by the change, it is a lexical change, not a morphosyntactic one, and may be due to contact with Aromanian in addition to contact between Slavic and Albanian.

5.5.3 Summary of Changes to Prepositions

Both changes to prepositions considered in this section, *ge* + NOM in Mrković and preposition doubling in Serbian dialects in Kosovo are likely, due to contact with

Albanian. While the first change is clearly morphosyntactic, introducing constructions where prepositions govern nominative case, the second is only lexical, even though it affects the word class of prepositions. Table 5.6, below, summarizes the changes considered in this section.

Section	Change	Lang. Cont.	Slavic				Albanian			
			LS	WD	BD	LO	LS	WD	BD	LO
5.5.1	<i>Ge</i> + NOM	Y	+	-	-	-	/	/	/	(/)
5.5.2	Consecutive Prepositions	N LEX	-	+	-	X	/	/	/	/

Table 5.6. Summary of Changes to Prepositions

5.6 Conjunctions

A similar argument of lexical borrowing applies to a number of conjunctions borrowed between Slavic and Albanian, including a majority of the conjunctions analyzed by Blaku such as *er...er* ‘once in a while, occasionally’, *as...as* ‘neither...nor’, *por* ‘but’, and *po* ‘yes, it is’ (cf. std. Alb *herë...herë, as, por, po*) (2010: 198–211). This applies particularly to conjunctions because many of the borrowed words do not change the grammatical structure of the phrases they join; that is, the grammar is the same for a “native” term or a borrowed one. While the grammar may not be changed for all of the borrowed constructions there are a couple of interesting constructions that do affect the morphosyntax of Serbian dialects in Kosovo: uses of the subordinating conjunction *se* (that, than) (§5.6.1) and the question particle and conjunction *a* (§5.6.2).

5.6.1 Subordinating Conjunction *se*

Barjaktarević (1971) claims that the main grammatical influence of Albanian on Serbian dialects in Kosovo is the expanded use of the conjunction *se*. As a reflexive pronoun, the form *se* is found throughout Serbian and is also used in a number of constructions with conjunctions that give it a distribution similar to a conjunction, as in *kad sebe* ‘a long time ago (lit. ‘when (my/your/it/his/her)self’). Although this may be the origin of the conjunction in dialects of Kosovo, the influence of Albanian is undeniable in its synchronic uses. In Albanian the conjunction *se* is used for three main functions: one, subordinating phrases to a main clause expressing knowledge or perception, as in example (16), two, forming comparative constructions as in example (17), and three, as a subordinating conjunction expressing the reason something must be done (particularly in imperatives; roughly equivalent to *sepse* ‘because’), as in example (18) (Barjaktarević 1971: 11–17).³⁶

(16) Subordination of phrases expressing knowledge or feelings in Albanian

Dihet	se	toka	rrotulohet	rreth diellit
know-3SG.NONACT	<i>se</i>	earth-NOM.DEF	orbit-3SG.PRES	around the sun

‘It is known that the earth orbits around the sun.’

(17) Comparative conjunction in Albanian

Ky	asht ³⁷	ma i mirë	se	ai
This-SG.MASC.NOM	is	better	<i>se</i>	that-SG.MASC.NOM

‘This one is better than that one.’

³⁶ A second subordinating conjunction, *çi*, has also been claimed as a borrowing from Albanian *qi* (Blaku 2010: 200–204; Murati 2000; Hoxha 2001). Elezović analyzes both *se* and *çi* as borrowings from Turkish (1935: 211, 364, cited in Blaku 2010: 198). The evidence suggests that the word may have been either Turkish or Albanian. In any case, the grammatical uses of *çi* do not radically differ from the usual subordinating conjunction *da* and thus do not make much difference in the morphosyntactic uses of conjunctions, particularly in contrast to *se*.

³⁷ The exs. Barjaktarević gives are in Geg (*asht* ‘is’ (cf. std. *është*), *ma i mirë* ‘better’ (cf. std. *më i mirë*)).

- (18) Subordination of phrases expressing reasons (especially in imperatives) in Albanian
 Meso, **se** po afrohet provimi.
 Study-2SG.IMPER *se* is approaching exam-NOM.DEF
 ‘Study, because the test is coming up’

In southern Serbian dialects *se* is also used in each of these functions, as shown in examples (19–21), as well as other functions (ibid.; also in Blaku 2010: 200–202).

- (19) Subordination of phrases expressing knowledge or feelings in Serbian dialects (Ks)
 Kaza mi Petre **se** jutre ne dojde
 tell-3SG.AOR me-DAT.SHRT Petre *se* tomorrow not come-3SG.PRES
 ‘Petre told me that he is not coming tomorrow.’

- (20) Comparative conjunction in Serbian dialects (Ks)
 Peva polepo **se** ja
 sing-3SG.PRES more beautifully *se* I-NOM.SG
 ‘She/he sings more beautifully than I.’

- (21) Subordination of phrases expressing reasons in Serbian dialects (Ks)
 Ne bi mogaja **se** nema pari.
 not would be.possible-L-PART.MASC.SG *se* not have money
 ‘It would not be possible because there is no money’

Although there are some differences in how *se* is used in Albanian and Serbian dialects the syntactic and semantic similarities are too similar to analyze Serbian *se* as an internal development. Even if it is a lexical borrowing in origin the distribution of *se* in so many syntactic constructions is evidence of morphosyntactic effects from the expanded use of the conjunction. That is to say, this is not a simple replacement of an individual lexical item, it is the incorporation of a new lexeme with multiple syntactic functions that have also come from its source.

5.6.2 Question Particle and Conjunction *a*

Like *se*, *a* also has formal similarities to a native BCS form (*a* ‘and, but’), but in distribution it matches the Albanian form *a*. There are two functions that *a* fulfills in both Albanian and Serbian dialects in Kosovo: one, as a question particle placed at the beginning of a phrase, as in examples (22–23) and two, forming a complex conjunction when reduplicated (‘does...or doesn’t?’) as in examples (24–25).

(22) Question particle *a* in Albanian

A je mirë?
a are-2SG.PRES well
‘Are you well?’

(23) Question particle *a* in Serbian dialects (Ks)

A reče da će dojde?
a say-3SG.AOR that will-3SG.PRES come-3SG.PRES
‘Did (s/)he say that (s/)he is coming?’

(Blaku 2010: 204–205).

(24) Complex conjunction with *a...a* in Albanian

A shkon **a(po)**³⁸ nuk shkon?
a go-3SG.PRES *a* not go-2SG.PRES
‘Does it work, or doesn’t it?’ (lit. ‘Does it go or doesn’t it go?’)

(25) Complex conjunction with *a...a* in Serbian dialects (Ks)

Mori ženo, **a** imaja li ovaj tvoj čovek glavu, **a** nema li?
intj. woman-VOC. *a* have *li* this your man head *a* not have *li*
‘Woman, does your man have a head, or doesn’t he?’

(Blaku 2010: 204)

³⁸ Possible as *a* or *apo* (‘or’ in contrastive uses) (Newmark 1998: 1)

While *a* does not have as wide a range syntactic uses as *se*, it does affect morphosyntactic constructions in ways that are not common for Serbian. Specifically, *a* forms questions, not as a second-position clitic like *li*, but rather phrase-initially, (as seen in examples 23 & 25). As example (25) shows, it may be used in conjunction with the Slavic question-forming clitic *li* or without it. Thus *a* cannot be said to simply replace *li* distributionally, rather it may be used in similar semantic functions but with different syntactic properties. Further, since *a* may also be used to form a complex conjunction like *se*, *a* fulfills multiple grammatical functions, and is thus evidence of morphosyntactic convergence due to Slavic-Albanian contact.

5.6.3 Summary of Changes to Conjunctions

While the two changes considered in this section have origins in lexical borrowing, they each introduce morphosyntactic patterns into Serbian dialects that are also found in their source, Northern Geg. The subordinating conjunction *se* involves multiple morphosyntactic uses such as subordination and comparative constructions while *a* shows differences in word order as a first position particle that does not lexically replace the inherited question particle *li*. These changes are summarized in Table 5.7.

Section	Change	Lang. Cont.	Slavic				Albanian			
			LS	WD	BD	LO	LS	WD	BD	LO
5.6.1	Subordinating Conj. <i>Se</i>	Y	-	+	-	-	/	/	/	/
5.6.2	Question part/conj <i>a</i>	Y	-	+	-	-	/	/	/	/

Table 5.7. Summary of Changes to Conjunctions

5.7 Verbs

Slavic-Albanian contact has also affected verbs and verbal systems of these languages, particularly affecting Albanian verbs in ways that show convergences with patterns in Slavic. Many of these are common Balkanisms, such as future formation and loss of infinitive that also have important local convergences from Slavic-Albanian interactions. Others are more limited geographically such as the formation of progressive constructions. The features examined in this section include the subjunctive and indicative (§5.7.1), progressive constructions (§5.7.2), infinitives (§5.7.3), future formations (§5.7.4), ‘future in the past’ conditionals (§5.7.5), the retention of simple past constructions (§5.7.6), and a number of issues related to perfect constructions (§5.7.7).

5.7.1 Subjunctive and Indicative

Albanian distinguishes between subjunctive and present indicative in 2SG and 3SG for all verbs, while for the verbs *jam* ‘to be’ and *kam* ‘to have’ these forms are distinguished for all persons and numbers, while Slavic languages do not distinguish between indicative and subjunctive moods by different forms. This may be partially illustrated by the contrast of the verb forms in Albanian with the indicative mood (26) and subjunctive (27) versus the same verbal functions in corresponding Macedonian sentences (28–29).

(26) 3SG Indicative in Albanian

Vera **shkon** në koncert.

Vera go-3SG.PRES.IND to concert

‘Vera goes to the concert. / Vera is going to the concert.’

(27) 3SG Subjunctive in Albanian

Vera duhet të **shkojë** në koncert.
Vera should-3SG.N-A DMS go-3SG.SUBJ to concert
'Vera should go to the concert.'

(28) 3SG Indicative in Macedonian

Vera **odi** na koncertot.
Vera go-3SG.PRES to concert-DEF
'Vera goes to the concert. / Vera is going to the concert.'

(29) 3SG Indicative in Macedonian

Vera treba da **odi** na koncertot
Vera should-3SG.PRES DMS go-3SG.PRES.IND to concert-DEF
'Vera should go to the concert.'

While Albanian and Balkan Slavic both use a subordinating conjunction (DMS)³⁹ (*të* and *da*, respectively), the crucial point is the contrasting verb endings in Albanian versus the identical endings in Macedonian (as also the rest of Slavic). In some dialects of Albanian in contact with Slavic, however, the formal distinction between indicative and subjunctive forms is no longer maintained. In the town dialect of Dibër/Debar and across the border in Gollobordë, Albania the 2SG subjunctive ending *-sh* has been brought over to 2SG indicative forms as in *vras*-1SG ~ *vrashish*-2SG ~ *vret*-3SG 'kill, hurt' (cf. std. *vras* ~ *vret* ~ *vret*) (ADA 114a–116c.2/259–267b).⁴⁰ Given that this parallels the 2SG endings in Macedonian (*-š*) and that the change happens in areas of known bilingualism and contact influence on the languages (Dibër/Debar), this change has doubtlessly been influenced by

³⁹ The term *Dental Modal Subordinator* (DMS) was coined by Friedman (1986b: 39) for talking about modal subordinators that begin with a dental consonant throughout the Balkan languages (Alb *të*, Aromanian *si*, Balkan Slavic *da*, Greek *na*, Romani *te*, and Romanian *să*).

⁴⁰ The Dibër dialect and Gollobordë dialects consistently have the same 2SG indicative form (always ending in *-sh*), although occasionally they differ in the 3SG forms as the Gollobordë dialect tends to add *-n* to the stem, while Dibër does not.

contact with Slavic (Friedman and Joseph 2013: 6.2.1.1.3; Çabej 1958/2008: 137, 1976: 63).⁴¹ While the distinction between indicative and subjunctive still remains for some 3SG verb forms, as in the indicative *lan* ‘wash’ (ADA 115/264) vs. subjunctive forms (*të*) *laje* (Dibër/Debar) / (*t*) *lan* (Gollobordë) (ADA 127.b2/309), for others this distinction no longer exists (*pi(j)sh*-2SG.IND/SUBJ ~ *pin*-3SG.IND/SUBJ ‘to drink’). Other dialects show syncretism in 3SG indicative and subjunctive, including most dialects in Kosovo (*lan*-3SG.PRES.IND ~ (*t*) *lan*-3SG.SUBJ) (ADA 115/264; 127.b2/309), but these do not merge the 2SG forms for indicative and subjunctive moods (*lan*-2SG.PRES.IND ~ (*të*) *lajsh*-2SG.SUBJ) (ADA 115/264; 127.b1/308). Since the 2SG subjunctive and indicative forms remain distinct in these dialects and the 3SG forms ending in *-n* that are generalized in these dialects are not found in neighboring Slavic dialects it is likely that these are purely internal changes, even though they are found in areas of contact with Serbian.⁴²

5.7.2 Progressive Constructions

Macedonian and Albanian have also converged in the frequency of progressive constructions. Friedman and Joseph argue that the frequency of Macedonian secondary imperfectives in *-uva-* used is likely due to contact with Albanian speakers during the Ottoman Empire (2013: 6.2.2.4.1). More specifically, they argue that while all Slavic languages have derived imperfectives with the suffix *-ova-*, the extent of imperfectives in

⁴¹ Çabej (2008: 137) also mentions that this distinction is lost in Kosovo, without giving specific dialects. Unfortunately, the ADA maps also do not indicate where this distinction may have been lost there.

⁴² Another convergence in verbal endings is presented by Kolgjini (2010a) who shows that dialectal variants of Albanian 1PL imperfect endings *-na* may have derived from the 1sg nom pronoun *-ne/-na* as in *shkojna* ‘we used to go, we were going’ (cf. std. *shkonim*). This change roughly parallels changes analyzed by Joseph (2004) of Macedonian 1PL verbal endings (PRES and AOR) *-ne* in some dialects as in *sne* ‘(we) are’.

Macedonian is noticeably high in colloquial Macedonian (although not recognized as such in the standard). Furthermore, in Skopje the perceived excessive use of -uva- imperfectives is seen as characteristic of an Albanian accent (ibid.). While there is no formal equivalent to the derived imperfective in Albanian (verbal aspect not a grammatical distinction in Albanian), Friedman and Joseph point to the Albanian progressive construction formed with *po* + PRES as a possible basis for a semantic calque for L2 speakers of Macedonian. Once again, as the claim is not about a particular formal structure but about the extent of that feature, it is quite difficult to judge the role of language contact in its present state. However, given the evaluation of the overuse of derived imperfectives as characteristic of Albanians' L2 Macedonian, the greater extent of use in colloquial Macedonian is likely tied to its use by Albanian L2 speakers of Macedonian.

Elsewhere, Joseph (2010) has explored the possibility of Slavic as a historical source of the Albanian progressive construction of *po* + PRES. In particular, Joseph argues that the form *po* shares both an identical form to the Slavic verbal prefix *po-* and many semantic similarities such as the expression of continuing action and in particular a momentary aspect of that action. Although tense is typically expressed in Balkan languages by suffixation, it is possible that Albanian began to express this sense of continuation by a preverbal particle before other Balkan languages began to express progressivity by suffixation. Although this is only one possible origin for Albanian *po*, the possibility of contact with Slavic in its development provides a plausible path for both the form and the meaning of the construction (Joseph 2010).

The dialectal spread of *po* + verb has interesting consequences for evaluating claims of language-contact induced change for imperfectives and progressives. Albanian has two different constructions that indicate continuing action. The first is a *po* + verb construction (*po shkoj* ‘I am going’) which forms a present progressive with a verb in the present and a past progressive with an verb in the imperfect (*po shkoja* ‘I was going’). The second is formed from BE + *duke/tue* + verbal participle (PART⁴³) (*Jam duke shkuar* (Tosk/std.) / *Jam tue shkue* (Geg) ‘I am in the process of going (somewhere)’). Both continuatives are included in the standard language with the same value prescriptively, although the *po* + verb construction is said to be somewhat more frequent (Demiraj, et al. 2002: 274–275). Both constructions are attested in Geg and Tosk, although *po* + verb is not found in Arbëresh and Arvanitika dialects (Joseph 2010; ADA 131/320). It is possible that language contact with Italian and Greek has reinforced constructions with the verb ‘to be’ at the expense of the *po* + verb constructions, as both Italian and Greek have BE + verbal participial constructions, thus its absence in these dialects does not necessarily indicate that the form was introduced after their emigrations (Joseph 2010). However, the dialects that tend to be most affected by language contact with Slavic (in western Macedonia, east-central Albania, and southern Montenegro) also do not include the *po* + verb construction according to the ADA (131/120). Thus, in those areas where the *po* particle would be expected to have the most reinforcing, via contact with Slavic, are precisely the areas where it has disappeared. It is also possible that as imperfectivity is also expressed via suffixation in Macedonian and Serbian that the speakers that stayed in

⁴³ Albanian only has one verbal participle that is used in many analytic verbal constructions. In this study I label it simply as PART, whereas the various Slavic verbal participles are specified in their abbreviations (L-PART, N/T-PART)

contact with Slavic disassociated *po* as a marker of imperfectivity and thus did not have the expected structural reinforcing. As the dialectal spread of these features can be interpreted as *po* being an early or medieval—but not *recent*—borrowing, the only sure analysis is that the form is not a recent borrowing from Slavic, so its absence in areas of continued contact may not be surprising, after all. Finally, as regards the claim of the overuse of progressive constructions in Albanians' Macedonian in Skopje, it is worth noting that the Albanian BE + *duke/tue* + PART is not found in Skopje, thus the chances of Albanians there equating one form of Albanian (*po* + verb) with one form of Macedonian (*-uva-*) is all the more likely to produce the effects predicted in that area, but likely not elsewhere in Macedonia.

5.7.3 Infinitives

The lack of infinitives and their replacement by subordinated conjugated verbs is an accepted areal feature of Balkan languages that describes Balkan Slavic and Tosk Albanian, although a more recent formation of an infinitive built by *për të* + PART fulfills some of the roles of a canonical infinitive in Tosk (Joseph 1983: 88–91; Demiraj, et. al 2002: 337–342). BCS has both an infinitive and a subordinated phrase construction that are roughly used in free variation,⁴⁴ with the infinitive being more typical of Croatian (particularly in prescribed norms) and Bosnian and Serbian using both constructions, with a possible tendency toward using *da* + conjugated verb constructions (Alexander 2006: 396–403; Friedman and Joseph 2013: 6.2.4.2.1). Geg dialects on the whole only use an

⁴⁴ Bojan Belić highlights one area in which the infinitive is preferred in Serbian (speakers from Belgrade) is when the argument of the main clause is not specified as in *Teško je priznati zločin* 'it is difficult to admit to a crime', whereas when the argument of the matrix is specified the *da* + present construction is preferred, as in *Teško mi je da priznam zločin*. 'It is difficult for me to admit a crime.' (2005: 21–22).

infinitival construction consisting of *me* + PART, more so than other languages in the Balkans. Some have compared the use of the infinitive in Geg to Croatian versus the subordinated verb construction in Tosk to Serbian and Macedonian (Pipa 1988: xi–xii; Friedman and Joseph 2013: 6.2.4.2.1). The historical development of the infinitive in Geg likely has more to do with contact with Romance than with Slavic, while the loss of the infinitive in Tosk, as a general Balkanism likely is connected to the loss of infinitive in Balkan Slavic, although as a general Balkanism these are only two of the languages involved in the convergence, and thus not entirely responsible for the change in one another’s languages. There is one area, however where it appears that contact with Slavic has brought about the loss of the infinitive. In western Macedonia a couple of Central Geg dialects have replaced the Geg infinitive (*me punue*) with the subordinated verb construction (*të punoj*). This is seen, for example, in Dibër/Debar (ADA 142/357) as well as Kërçovë/Kičevo.⁴⁵ Although some have analyzed the loss of the Albanian infinitive in Western Macedonia as influenced by the Albanian standard (Kolgjini p.c.), the sociolinguistic situation as well as the fact that the Tosk (and standard) construction *për të punuar* is also replaced by the subordinated verb argue against the influence of the standard in favor of reverse interference from Macedonian (ADA 130/319). Thus while the general loss of the infinitive in Tosk is likely due to the general processes of language contact in the Balkans, the loss of the infinitive in some Central Geg dialects in Western Macedonia is very likely due to contact with and fluency in Macedonian.

⁴⁵ On the basis of an oral interview conducted with speaker from Kërçovë and responses to questionnaire by several respondents. Furthermore, on the basis of these questionnaires, it appears that the subordinated verb phrase is preferred by speakers in other parts of Western Macedonia as well. Murati (1989: 44) reports that the infinitive is used in the dialect of the area of Tuhin of Kërçovë/Kičevo, but that it is not used frequently. It is possible that the infinitive has not yet been lost there, but is, rather in the process of being lost. The ADA shows some uses in which the infinitive is not used (144–145/359–360).

5.7.4. Future Tense Constructions

Contact with Slavic may have also shaped the formation of Albanian future constructions in certain Geg dialects. Again this is not a widespread change, but is manifest in a handful of localized changes. The formation of futures with a WANT helping verb like BCS *ću, ćeš, će, etc.* or with an indeclinable particle historically derived from the verb ‘to want’, like Alb (std./Tosk) *do*, Mk *ќе*, Gk *θα*, etc.) is another common Balkanism that is not found widely in Geg. It is typically said that Geg dialects form the future tense with a helping verb from *kam* ‘to have’ plus the infinitive, while in reality most Geg dialects utilize both this construction and that found in Tosk and the standard of *do* + SUBJ (Friedman 2005: 37; ADA 126/305), as shown in Figure 5.3, below.

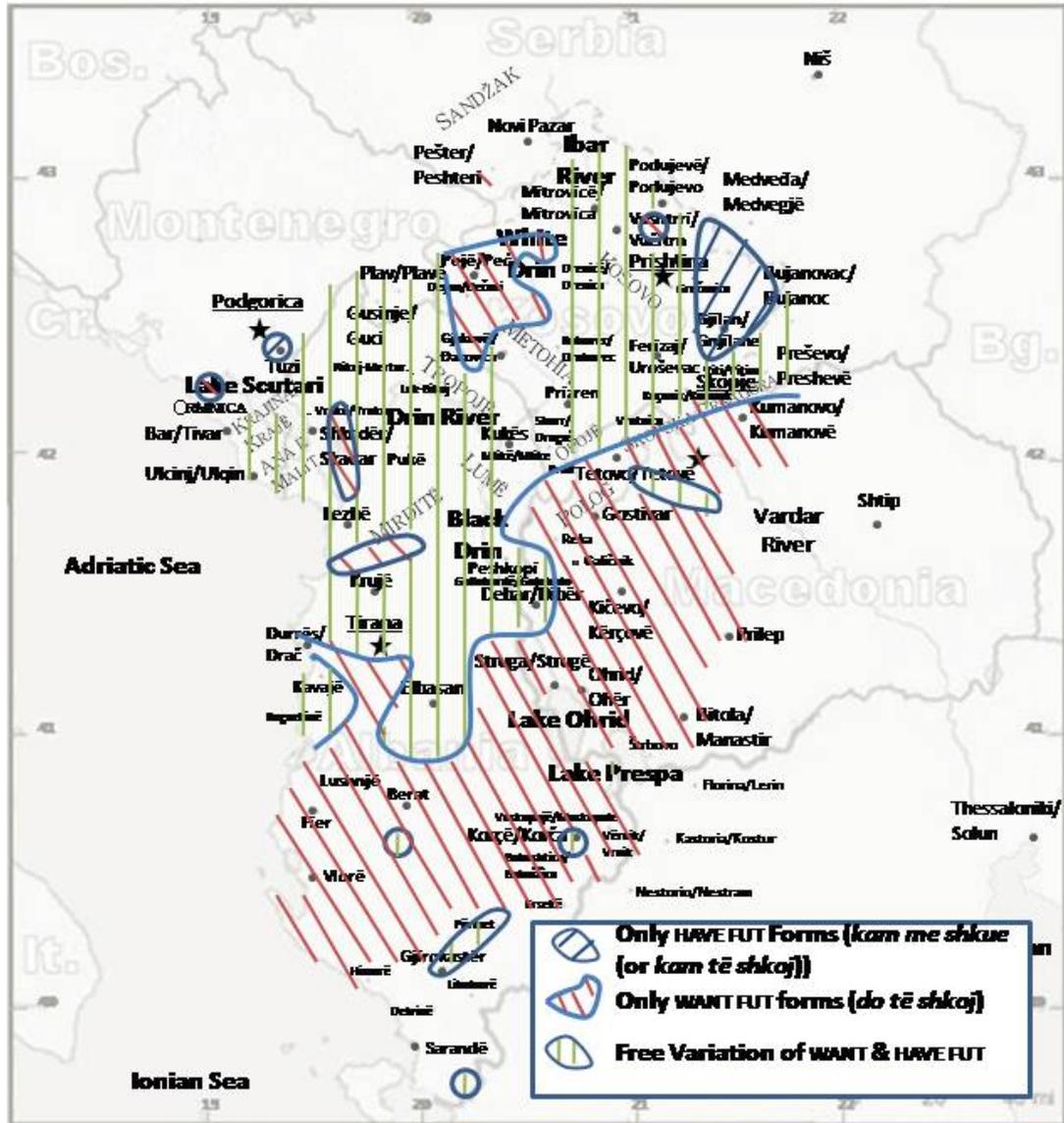


Figure 5.3. Future Formations in Albanian Dialects

In many Geg dialects, that have both a HAVE and WANT future, the HAVE constructions tend to express a future obligation, whereas the WANT future tends to express a volutive future (Friedman 2005: 37). Because the future marker *do* is conjugated as a verb in many Northwestern Geg dialects in northwestern Albania, southeastern Montenegro, the Serbian Sandžak, and parts of Metohia it is debatable

whether this is grammatically a WANT future tense or if ‘to want’ is a main verb. This occurs in dialects of Kelmendi, Buna, Malësia e Shkodrës, and Dushman in northwestern Albania (Shkurtaj 1975: 54–55, 1982: 222, Friedman 2005: 37, Cimohowski 1951: 113) Plavë and Gucia, Montenegro (Ahmetaj 1989: 298–99), Peshteri, Serbia (Mulaku and Bardhi 1978: 316), and Deçan and Ana e Drinit, Kosovo (Mehmetaj 2006: 96; Pajaziti 2008: 208). However, given that the future marker is also not invariable in the Montenegrin dialects in contact with these Albanian dialects it would be quite surprising if the Albanian marker were also indeclinable if it does come into Albanian as a calque from these Slavic dialects. On the other hand, Northeastern Geg dialects and Central Geg dialects with WANT constructions tend to have an indeclinable particle *do* usually used with the subjunctive form. It appears that the dialects in the most contact with Balkan Slavic dialects with the invariable future particle (*ke / će*) also use the indeclinable particle *do* rather than the conjugated verb as in many Northeast Geg dialects including Bujanovac and Preshevë/Preševo, Serbia (Ajeti 1978: 77), Upper and Lower Moravë, Kaçanik, and Opojë, Kosovo (Halimi 1978a: 393, 1978b: 434; Raka 1978: 533; Pajaziti 2005: 168), Lumë, Albania (Hoxha 1975: 165), and Tetovë, Macedonia (Sulejmani 2006: 224), etc. In Tuhin (Kërçovë/Kičevo), Macedonia the future particle *de*⁴⁶ is even closer phonetically to the Slavic (Murati 1989: 41). Given the distribution between conjugated and indeclinable ‘want’ futures, it appears that the neighboring Slavic languages have affected the grammatical structure not only in which auxiliaries are used but also in whether or not they are conjugated verbs or indeclinable future particles.

⁴⁶ The form *de* likely has developed from *do + e-3SG.SHRT*, which is a morphophonemic alteration seen in many dialects with the progressive as well (*po + e > pe*), such as in Samsun (Turkey) (Maynard 2012).

Several scholars have further taken the presence of WANT futures in northwestern Geg dialects in northwestern Albania and southeastern Montenegro as calques from neighboring Slavic dialects rather than from standard Albanian (Sandfeld 1930: 181, Jokl 1927: 209, cited in Demiraj 1988: 843; Hamp 1968: 667–668; Stanišić 1995: 58–59). The relative chronologies of the HAVE and WANT futures is far from certain, however.

Although some claim that HAVE is the older form and that the WANT form was introduced to Albanian from Greek (Stanišić 1995: 58–59), a case for either construction being older is possible. Both appear to be in competition in the earliest literature (Demiraj 1988: 850), and both are also found in Arbëresh (ADA 126/305). The widespread distribution of both types seems to argue for the presence of both constructions at an early historical stage of Albanian, and the presence of one or the other in a given dialect is not due to the borrowing of either the HAVE or WANT construction into Albanian from Greek, Slavic, or Romance (Demiraj 1988: 843–844). However it seems reasonable, both from the distinction between the conjugated and indeclinable WANT in Northern and Central Geg and from the predominance of the WANT future in Southern Geg, and throughout Tosk (except Arbëresh) that the neighboring Greek, Slavic, and Romance dialects in contact with Albanian were influential in the selection among the alternative future forms (*ibid.*: 849–850).

5.7.5 Conditionals

Conditional constructions in these languages are related to the future constructions, but differ from futures by including a conjugated past tense verb form. These constructions have structural and semantic parallels between Tosk and Macedonian

(and Bulgarian) as well as between Geg and Serbian and Montenegrin dialects (Belyavski-Frank 2003: 271–280). However, as these constructions are also found in other Balkan languages, their presence in Albanian and Macedonian is not explained best by Slavic-Albanian contact alone.⁴⁷ However, given the differences within South Slavic and Albanian, a brief examination of their similarities and historical development is in order.

In Macedonian and Tosk—as well as Greek and Aromanian—the conditional is formed by an invariant future modal plus a conjugated past tense/imperfect construction, as exemplified in (30–31), below.

(30) Conditional in Albanian (Standard/Tosk)

<i>do</i>	<i>të</i>	<i>hapte</i>
will-WANT	DMS	open-3SG.IMPF'

(31) Conditional in Macedonian

<i>ke</i>	<i>otvoreše</i>
will-WANT	open-3SG.IMPF'

‘He/she would open..., He/she was going to open...’ (Belyavski-Frank 2003: 235)

The difference that the Albanian construction incorporates a DMS, whereas Macedonian does not, may or may not be material. Unlike the subjunctive used in Albanian future constructions the imperfect forms are the same in conditional expressions as indicative constructions. Semantically, the Tosk conditional is also similar to the Macedonian conditional in that it expresses ‘future in the past’, ‘past conditionals’, and ‘non-past

⁴⁷ Belyavski–Frank (2003: 271, 278–279) identifies proximity to Greek (geographically or interactionally) as the key determiner of the development of the Balkan future-in-the-past conditional. It is thus likely that similarities developed in Macedonian and Tosk Albanian are due to their proximity and interaction with Greek rather than interaction with one another.

conditionals'. However, unlike the Macedonian construction the Albanian conditional does not indicate iterativity, or have a meaning of past presumptive (Belyavski-Frank 2003: 237–238, 271–274). Thus there are some parallels formally and semantically, but there are also aspects of divergence between Tosk and Macedonian conditionals.

Geg conditional formations use an imperfect HAVE form + INF, as in *kishte*-3SG.IMPF *me hapë*-INF 'he/she would have opened...'. However, because the inflected HAVE + INF is used rather than an invariable WANT modal marker + conjugated main verb, Belyavski–Frank does not classify the Geg conditional as a Balkan conditional construction (2003: 271). Slavic dialects in Montenegro, Kosovo, and southern Serbia also use an inflected WANT modal for a number of expressions expressed by the Balkan conditional, as in *zora udarit*'-INF *hoćaše*-WANT.3sg.IMPF 'dawn was about to break' (ibid.: 9). However, it appears that these dialects share more in common structurally (particularly a 'to want' modal) and semantically with Macedonian than with Geg Albanian, so the case for Slavic-Albanian contact bringing about these forms is even less compelling than for Tosk and Macedonian. Thus, while there are formal parallels between the constructions in Tosk and Macedonian and Geg and Serbian and Montenegrin dialects, these are unlikely to have come about from Slavic-Albanian language contact rather than through internal developments in the case of Geg and Balkan-Sprachbund contact for Tosk and South Slavic.

5.7.6 Retention of Simple Past

While the majority of verbal constructions have shown Slavic influence on Albanian, one area where Albanian may have affected the verbs of Slavic is in the

retention of simple past (preterite) verbs in Kosovo and Montenegro. Although Common Slavic had two productive preterites (aorist and imperfect) in addition to a perfect, most dialects of Serbian (and West South Slavic more generally) generalized the inherited perfect construction (§5.7.7) as the only productive past tense (Lindstedt 2000: 366). Preterite forms in BCS are characteristic of previous generations of literature and are “heard relatively infrequently in speech” (Alexander 2006: 284), while the imperfect is particularly rare in contemporary BCS (Browne 2003: 300). In spite of the infrequency of imperfects and aorists, they are still included in standard descriptions of the language. Their usage is most common with a handful of verbs such as *bijah/bješe* ‘was-1SG/3SG’, *dođoh/dode* ‘came-1SG/3SG’, *rekoh/reče* ‘said-1SG/3SG’, etc (ibid.).

However, in Balkan Slavic (including Torlak Serbian dialects), as well as some Montenegrin dialects, preterites remain a vibrant part of the past tense system. Ivić 1994 reports that the aorist is particularly well preserved in Montenegro, while Belyavski-Frank claims that the imperfect, used into the mid–late 19th century before its decline in Serbian is preserved in Montenegro, southern Herzegovina, the Serbian Sandžak, and the Torlak dialects (Belyavsi-Frank 2003: 9). The loss of the preterites is not surprising from the perspective of the Slavic family as they are lost throughout the Slavic languages except for Balkan Slavic, the dialects of Serbian just mentioned, and Sorbian (Stone 1993: 635–636). The preservation of preterites in Balkan Slavic dialects is not surprising, as several other Balkanisms are also found in these dialects. The preservation of preterites in Montenegrin dialects, however, is unlikely due to contact with Balkan Slavic. For these dialects it is possible that contact with Albanian (and Balkan Romance) may have aided in the preservation of these forms (Curtis 2010b: 164–165). The presence of

preterites is undeniable, and Montenegrin alone among the successor standard languages to Serbo-Croatian appears to preserve semantic distinctions between imperfect, aorist, and perfect (Lindstedt 2000: 374–375). The best evidence for understanding the history of these preservations is their geographical spread; however, this also has divergent interpretations. Seen from the perspective of Slavic languages alone, it appears that these peripheral dialects have preserved a residual form. However, from the perspective of Slavic-Albanian contact, the robustness of these grammatical distinctions in most Albanian dialects (although see §5.7.7.1) the possibility for influence of Albanian in this matter is quite strong.⁴⁸ However, as this—like other features discussed previously—is a preservation of an older form, it is impossible to give any certain interpretation on the role that language contact has played in these interactions.

5.7.7 Perfects

Although the influence of language contact in perfect constructions is difficult to prove because of compelling internal reconstructions (Elliott 2000; Demiraj 1988: 812–813; Dahl 1985), it is still a valuable area of research for Slavic-Albanian contact, as has been demonstrated by a number of studies, particularly on perfects in Macedonian (Bužarovska and Mitkovska 2010; Mitkovska and Bužarovska 2008; Elliott 2001; Graves 2000; Fielder 1994; Gołąb 1983, 1984; Friedman 1976). Part of the reason that the perfect has produced such fruitful research is the variety of perfect constructions within

⁴⁸ Friedman and Joseph also mention the possibility of Albanian influence on the aspectual restriction on the aorist in Macedonian dialects. As Albanian distinguishes aspect in the past tense by the distinction of aorist (perfective) vs. imperfect (imperfective), the restriction found in Western Macedonian that aorists are only perfective (versus the possibility of either aspect on aorist and imperfective verbs in other dialects may indicate the influence of Albanian here (F&J 2013: 6.2.2.1).

the Slavic and Albanian dialects in contact. Another part of the interest in perfect constructions is the wide range of verbal semantics that are expressed by these constructions, including questions of voice, aspect, narrativity, and evidentiality. Although the variation of Macedonian perfects is the best known, interesting questions exist about the history of perfects in Albanian and Southern Serbian and Montenegrin dialects, particularly concerning the role of language contact in their development.

Perfect constructions show a number of formal and semantic convergences between Slavic and Albanian dialects, although, as argued below, only a few are demonstrably due to Slavic-Albanian contact.⁴⁹ Although much more needs to be said about the perfects than legitimately belongs in this subsection, this section will present only sketch those aspects claimed to show influence between Slavic and Albanian. These areas of possible influence include the generalization of the perfect in some Northwestern Geg dialects in the Sandžak and Montenegro (§5.7.7.1), the use of BE perfects for intransitives in Northern Albanian dialects (§5.7.7.2), non-active perfects in Albanian with a non-active particle *u* + active perfect constructions (§5.7.7.3) the use of n/t- particles in perfects in Macedonian, southern Serbian, and Montenegrin dialects (§5.7.7.4), and HAVE perfect constructions in Macedonian (§5.7.7.5).

Before proceeding to a consideration of ways that the various perfect forms in Slavic and Albanian dialects may have influenced one another, a brief treatment of the dialects' past tense and perfect systems is in order. All modern Slavic languages have traces of the inherited CSI perfect system, which had an auxiliary conjugated for person

⁴⁹ In addition to the sources cited in this section, I have also explored several of these aspects of the perfect in greater detail elsewhere (Curtis 2010, 2012a) and hope to produce more studies on the semantics of the perfect in these languages at a later date.

and number from the verb *byti ‘to be’ in addition to a participle (L-PART)⁵⁰ of the main verb inflected for number and gender, as exemplified by perfects in BCS, as in example (32), below.

(32) BCS perfect

On/ona/ono **je** **bio**⁵¹/**bila/bilo** kod kuće.
 He/she/it-NOM.SG BE-3SG been-L-PART.MSC/FEM/NEUT at home
 “He/She/It has been at home. / He/She/It was at home”

As mentioned above, this construction has been generalized as the main past tense in most dialects of Serbian.⁵² The value of the L-PART perfects varies according to dialects in Macedonian, but for most of Central and Western Macedonian dialects these constructions may have the meaning of either a perfect or simple past, the truth of which statement is not confirmed (ex. 33) in contrast to preterite forms which are affirmative (ex. 34) (Friedman 1993: 270, 272; Lunt 1952: 91–94).⁵³

(33) Macedonian nonaffirmative past with BE⁵⁴ + L-PART

Toj **bil** vo Skopje.
 He was-L-PART-MASC.SG in Skopje.
 “He has been in Skopje.” or “He is/was in Skopje (apparently) / (much to my surprise) / (supposedly).”

⁵⁰ This participle was originally from a past resultative participle of the verb and is commonly called an L-participle because of the occurrence of /l/ in all of the forms historically (Friedman 1977, Elliot 2001).

⁵¹ The masculine participle form no longer contains an -l because word final l > o in the standard and in most dialects. In some southern Serbian dialects final -l changes to -ja.

⁵² The basis of this is manifold. One functional difference between the L-PART perfects in Serbian is described by Lindstedt (2000: 374–375) who shows that they differ from the canonical semantic range of the perfect by being used in narratives, among other contexts.

⁵³ In Eastern Macedonian dialects this construction is a perfect, and is the only way to form a perfect.

⁵⁴ In 3SG and 3PL forms the auxiliary is omitted as found in Polish, Czech, Slovak, and BCS colloquially.

- (34) Macedonian affirmative past with aorist
 Toj **beše** vo Skopje.
 He was-3SG.AOR in Skopje.
 ‘he was in Skopje’ (I vouch for it)’

((33–34) Friedman 1993: 272)

In addition, two other periphrastic perfect constructions have emerged in Western Macedonian, southern Serbian, and Montenegrin dialects that will be addressed in sections 7.7.7.4–5, below.

In standard Albanian, active verbs form perfects with the HAVE auxiliary *kam*, as in (35), while perfects of all non-active verbs are formed with the BE auxiliary *jam* (Newmark et al. 1982: 31–35) as in (36) below. The Albanian participle (PART), unlike the L-PART in Slavic, does not inflect for number or gender.

- (35) Standard Albanian active perfect of ‘to be’ with HAVE + PART
 Ai/ajo **ka** **qenë** në shtëpi.
 He/she has-3SG been-PART at home.
 ‘He/She has been at home.’

- (36) Standard Albanian non-active perfect with BE + PART
 Shtëpia **është ndërtuar**, (pra do të jetojë atje.)
 house-NOM.FEM.SG is-3SG build-PART...
 ‘His house has been built, (so he will live there.)’

Like Serbian and Macedonian, Albanian also has a variety of perfect forms in the dialects in the areas of Slavic-Albanian contact as addressed in sections 5.7.7.2–3, below.

5.7.7.1 Generalization of Perfect as Past Tense

One aspect in which Albanian perfects have been influenced by contact with Slavic is the generalization of perfects as the main expression of past tense action. Most dialects distinguish perfects from preterits formally and semantically, although many speakers—particularly speakers of Geg—commonly use the perfect in contexts in which the standard prescribes a simple past, such as narratives (Demiraj 1988: 797).⁵⁵ Whether this subtle difference between Geg and Tosk speakers is due to Geg contact with Slavic is impossible to know for certain. However in some dialects currently in contact with Slavic this generalization has gone further, nearly eliminating the preterites, as in standard BCS. In particular, Latif Mulaku and Mehdi Bardhi report that the dialects of Albanian in Peshteri in the Serbian Sandžak use the simple past forms much less frequently, and instead the perfect is being used as a general past tense (1978: 311–314). Given the sociolinguistic setting of this dialect, particularly the universal bilingualism of the Albanian speakers with Serbian, this appears to be a case of reverse interference. Furthermore, a similar development may also be occurring in some dialects of Albanian in Montenegro.⁵⁶

⁵⁵ This difference in usage has been noted by Albanian linguists, and consequently, a significant time of training Albanian teachers from the north was spent in addressing this difference. (Arta Toçi, p.c.). In addition to Demiraj’s observation and Professor Toçi’s personal experiences the responses by Geg speakers to a questionnaire on the perfect confirm this trend for Geg speakers.

⁵⁶ Based on fieldwork conducted in Ulqin/Ulcinj, Montenegro July–August 2010. In a book (*Ulqin: Historia, kultura, e tashmja prijës hartat 45* pages) on the history of Ulqin that had been translated from Serbian only perfects were used, sometimes giving unusual results as in “Kur **ka filluar** lufta Osmano-Ruse ne vitin 1710, konzulli i Venedikut ne Durres dhe i Bokes **kane shpresuar** se ne rremuje te prgjithsme e cila parashihet ne Balkan do te shkatërrohet edhe detarit e Ulqinit.” (When the Ottoman–Russian war **began** (lit. had begun) in 1710, the Venetian consul in Durrës and Boka **hoped** (lit. have hoped) that in the general chaos that was predicted in the Balkans that the fleet of Ulqin would also be destroyed (lit. will be destroyed)). A number of other dialect features (particularly phonetic) indicate that the book was likely not edited to conform to standard prescriptions, and that the unknown translator (Double L Translation) had likely lost a feel for the semantic distinctions between aorist, imperfect, and perfect. This does not seem to be a general feature of Albanian in Montenegro, but it is one example of a change that may be underway.

5.7.7.2 BE Perfects of Intransitives in Northern Albanian Dialects

More obvious than the semantic distinctions between aorist, imperfect, and perfect is the formation of active intransitive verbs with the BE auxiliary in Northern Geg dialects (and to a smaller extent in north Central Geg), which occurs particularly with the main verb ‘to be’ (37) and verbs of motion (38) but also with verbs indicating a change of state such as ‘to be born’ and ‘to die’ (39) (Mulaku 2005: 120; ADA 125a–b/303–304).

(37) Northern Geg ‘to be’ with BE perfect

Jam kân
BE-1SG been-PART
‘I have been’ (lit. ‘I am been’)

(ADA 125b/304)

(38) Northern Geg verb of motion with BE perfect

Ô shkue
BE-3SG gone-PART
‘He has gone.’ (lit. ‘he is gone’)

(ADA 125a/303; Gjinari 1970: 84)⁵⁷

(39) Northern Geg change of state verb with BE perfect

Jâm lē n Rugōv
BE-1SG born-PART in Rugova
‘I was born in Rugova.’

(Mulaku and Bardhi 1978: 315)

Although Tagliavini (1978: 136) once cited the use of the BE helping verb as a general feature of Eastern Geg, this appears, rather, to run north–south, with BE perfects of the main verb ‘to be’ used somewhat further to the south than with other intransitive verbs (see Figure 5.4, below, also ADA 125a–b/303–304). It should be noted that ‘to be’

⁵⁷ See also Desnickaja 1967: 85 and Gjinari and Shkurtaj 2003: 231.

is used much more consistently with the BE auxiliary, whereas the other intransitive verbs tend to show a good deal of variation between HAVE and BE auxiliaries, with no seeming semantic or grammatical difference (Mulaku and Bardhi 1978: 315, among others).

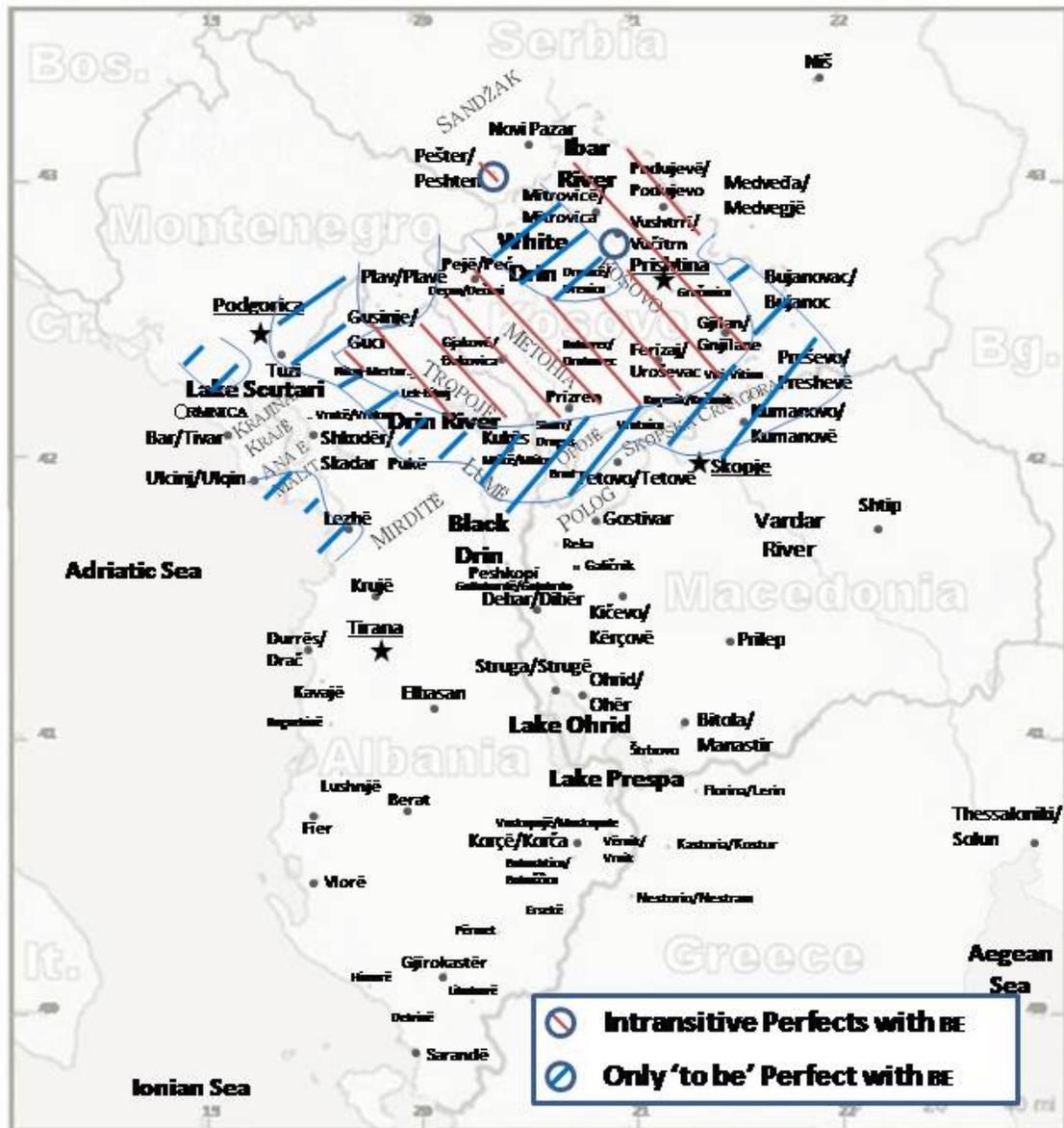


Figure 5.4. BE in Active Intransitive Verbs and the Main Verb 'to be'

Two major Albanian scholars have claimed this particular construction's origin as Slavic. First, Çabej (1958/2008: 136–137), names this BE-perfect construction one of three morphological influences that Geg dialects underwent as a result of contact with Slavic dialects.⁵⁸ Likewise, Ajeti (1969), in talking about the Albanian dialects in Bujanovac and Preshevë/Preševo, claimed that the use of 'to be' as an auxiliary for perfect formations "cannot but be called a result of contact with Slavic". Subsequent authors such as Ismalji (1971) and Demiraj (1988), have challenged this assertion, however.

One important question is whether these perfects are innovations or preservations of earlier forms. If they are innovations, it is assumed that an earlier stage of Northern Albanian used the same system as standard Albanian, with HAVE perfects for intransitive verbs; then through bilingualism, BE intransitive perfects were adopted from the model of Slavic BE + L-PART perfects. There are several difficulties with this theory, however. First, the earliest writers from northern Albania, use BE in intransitive perfects (Buzuku 1555: *jam ardhunë* "BE + come"), so the BE perfects may have a fairly origin in Albanian. On the other hand, on the basis of the chronology of Slavic loanwords it is certain that the influence of Slavic was felt long before the 16th century. Second, the adoption of BE was limited to intransitive verbs, whereas Serbian uses BE for all verbs, although it is also possible to argue that this category was best suited for this auxiliary because of semantic similarities between 'to be' and other intransitive verbs (Dahl 1985). Third, Albanian

⁵⁸ The other two are the substitution of the subjunctive with the indicative (§5.7.1) and the inversion of the participle and auxiliary in some N Geg dialects, which seems not to be the best explanation as historically inverted perfects are found throughout Albanian as admirative forms (Friedman 1994a). Thus "inversion" of the auxiliary and participle in Albanian is an old feature, likely not due to Slavic, although its preservation in some dialects for nonadmirative constructions could possibly be due to influence of Slavic.

consistently distinguishes between active and non-active verbs morphologically, an opposition intended from Indo-European. Changing auxiliaries for non-active verbs fundamentally changes alters this system. While all three problems have possible counterarguments, they all cast reasonable doubt on Slavic as the impetus of innovation for these constructions.

Besides the thesis of a Slavic origin, some linguists have proposed that these perfect formations are due to contact with Romance languages, (Demiraj 1988: 805–806; Friedman and Joseph 2013: 6.2.3.2). If the Northern Geg perfect has origins in contact with Latin, then these Northern Geg perfects of intransitive and motion verbs with BE, may be preservations of that system, with Slavic possibly having a secondary influence by aiding in their preservation. According to this theory, other Albanian dialects would have subsequently lost these constructions in favor of reorganizing the system on the basis of active versus non-active, which as a fundamental basis of other tense paradigms is a likely basis for an analogical extension. This explanation, too, however, also could be charged with breaking the tendency for Albanian morphology to distinguish between active and non-active forms at an earlier stage. In any case, the symmetry between active and non-active morphology is not found along the same semantic axis in northern Geg as it is in other dialects, and every explanation of its origin—including language internal explanations⁵⁹—must account for a deviation from the active/non-active distinction.

⁵⁹ Due to the necessity of brevity in this section internal changes have not received their due attention. Briefly stated, Demiraj (1988: 812–813) argues that the formation of all Albanian perfects are the result of internal grammaticalization, while Ismajli 1971 suggested that the sound change of *kl* > *k* found in Northern Geg dialects may have selection of BE as an auxiliary for the main verb ‘to be’, as the form with ‘to have’ would have been almost or completely identical for 3pl **kan kan*. This does not appear to be a construction found in all dialects where BE is used instead of HAVE, but it definitely may have served as motivation for the selection of BE in this case, if not for all intransitive verbs.

Given the influence of Latin on earlier stages of Albanian, however, it seems more plausible that Latin would have caused such a fundamental change in Albanian than Slavic, even in Northern Geg.

5.7.7.3 *U* + HAVE Perfects in Albanian

The second Albanian perfect construction that differs from the standard description is a non-active perfect composed of an indeclinable particle *u* + HAVE + PART, as in examples (40–41) below:

(40) Non-active perfects with *u* + ‘to have’ + PART.

M'	u	ka	prīsh	puna
1SG-SHRT	<i>u</i>	HAVE-3SG	spoil-PART	work/business-NOM
‘My work has been fouled up.’				

(Mehmetaj 2006: 94)

(41)	Ty	t'	u	ka	dhâ^on	fjala
	2SG-LONG.	2SG-SHRT	U	has-3SG	give-PART	word-NOM
‘The promise has been given to you.’						

(Mulaku 2005: 120)

In his description of the dialects of Shala e Bajgores (northern Kosovo) Latif Mulaku calls these infrequent constructions “provincialisms” (2005: 120). Like Mulaku, many speakers characterize these constructions as colloquial and deny using them, although they are also occasionally found in formal literature,⁶⁰ and as Demiraj points out (1988)

⁶⁰ even the great Albanian linguist Eqrem Çabej uses them occasionally in his writing, as Rexhep Ismajli points out (1971: 22). Indeed, one example of this construction is found in Çabej’s assertion that ‘The influence of Albanian **has also spread** to Slavic languages, although a complete study of the subject is lacking still today’ when talking about the influence of Albanian on Slavic: “Ndikimi i shqipes **u ka shtrirë**

they are also found in the classic writings of Pjetër Budi (1566–1622) and the Arbëresh Romantic poet Gavril Dara (the Younger) (1862–1885). Unlike the intransitive verbs formed with ‘to be’, this feature has not received consistent attention in dialect studies.⁶¹ What is known about the geographical spread, however, is that it is found in individual dialects in the north and the south as well as in central Albania. Some of these areas are in contact with Serbian, such as Shala e Bajgores (Mulaku 2005: 120), Deçani (Mehmetaj 2006: 94), and Preshevë and Bujanovac (Ismajli 1971: 22), Gjakovë/Đakovica, and Prishtina⁶² as well as others that have been in contact with Serbian in the past, such as Dushmani (Cimochowski 1951), Tropojë and Has (but not Kukës), and perhaps with less frequency also in areas in contact with Macedonian such as Tetovë/Tetovo and Pogradec. Other areas that have the formation but with less interaction include Krujë in north central Albania and Gjirokastër in the far south of Albania and in Albanian (Çam) dialects in Greece (Gjinari and Shkurtaj 2003: 240). Given its sporadic spread throughout some areas of contact with Slavic it is possible that the form came into Albanian via contact with Slavic as a replication of the use of a reflexive/non-active particle (Sr, Mk, *se*). However, given that Albanian forms other non-active verbal constructions (such as the aorist and imperatives)⁶³ by adding the particle *u* to the active forms, it is also possible that this is simply a language-internal analogy based on these forms.⁶⁴ This

edhe mbi gjuhët slave, po gjer më sot mungon një studim përmbledhës mbi këtë temë” (2008: 159, emphasis added).

⁶¹ This generalization applies not only to individual dialect studies, but also the ADA questionnaire which does not investigate this formation.

⁶² The inclusion of Gjakovë and Prishtina, as well as other places mentioned in this section without other citations, comes from results of my fieldwork conducted in 2009–2010 in these areas.

⁶³ In some Geg dialects the non-active imperfect is also formed with this particle.

⁶⁴ For more detailed discussion of the possible analogical bases of the change (language-internal and language-external) see Curtis 2012a.

interpretation is further bolstered by the presence of this construction in areas where the structural influence of Slavic has been minimal, such as in Arbëresh. Still, because the dialects that have the construction are not connected geographically it is likely that multiple individual changes have brought about the current spread of the formation, and so while language internal likely effected the change for most areas, in some areas of bilingualism Slavic remains a possible source for the change.⁶⁵

5.7.7.4 BE + N/T-PART Perfects in Macedonian, Southern Serbian, and SE Montenegrin

Like the dialectal perfect forms in Albanian, the two changes in Slavic dialects in contact with Albanian are more likely due to internal changes or contact with Balkan Romance, although influence from Albanian remains a historical possibility. The first change is the use of an N/T-PART in perfect constructions which may be found in Macedonian, southern Serbian and southern Montenegrin dialects (as in exs. 42–44).

(42) Macedonian perfect form with BE + N/T-PART

Ovde **sum** **dojden**
 here BE-1SG come-N/T-PART.MASC.SG
 ‘I’ve come here.’

(Greenberg 2000: 299)

(43) Southern Serbian (Sretečka Župa, Kosovo) perfect with BE + N/T-PART

Moja žena **je sednata.**
 My-FEM.SG wife BE-3SG seated-N/T-PART.FEM.SG
 ‘My wife is seated/has been seated.’

(=[std.] *Moja žena je sela*, Pavlović 1939: 216–218)

⁶⁵ When I presented the possibility of this construction’s origin in bilingualism with Slavic (Prishtina, May 2010) one Albanian student responded that that was how one of her Montenegrins forms the non-active past tense when speaking Albanian, so at least for some bilinguals—although unlikely for most—the Slavic reflexive constructions with *se* + active verb forms has influenced this structure in Albanian.

(44) Montenegrin perfect from the past passive participle

Kuća- mu- je izgoreta
house-NOM 3SG.MSC.DAT BE-3SG burned.N/T-PART.FEM.SG
'His house has burned down.'

(=[std.] *Kuća mu je izgorela* Greenberg 2000: 299)

Historically the N/T-PART had been used for the formation on past passive participles—and still are in most Slavic languages. The majority of constructions with BE + N/T-PART in Macedonian typically involve reflexive or passive uses of verbs (Koneski 1966: 169). Like northern Geg dialects, however, these constructions can also be made for verbs of motion or other intransitives. However, BE + N/T-PART perfects are not used with the main verb 'to be' outside of extreme southwestern Macedonian dialects (Curtis 2010b: 178–180), which may be an argument against Albanian influence on these forms. Moreover, like the L-PART perfects inherited from Common Slavic, the BE + N/T-PART agrees in number and gender with the subject—again unlike the indeclinable Albanian PART—indicating that these constructions likely evolved from passive participle adjective constructions, as is common cross-linguistically (Elliott 2001: 50–66; Dahl 1985). It is important to recognize that—with the exception of extreme southwestern Macedonian dialects discussed below—the BE + N/T-PART constructions are resultative adjectives⁶⁶ and not perfect forms of main verbs (Elliott 2001: 50–66); the same is likely true for

⁶⁶ Although making the distinction between a grammatical perfect and resultative or possessive adjectives requires more discussion than possible in this venue, see Dahl, et. al (2000), Elliott (2001), Curtis (2010), and McCoard (1978) for discussion on how the differences between perfectives and resultatives can be determined. Transitivity is only one possible way of differentiation the two, as morphological agreement and syntactic restraints may also be important. The greatest distinguishing factor is whether these refer to present states (with *be* as a main verb) or as past events (with the PART as a past tense verb), a distinction that often can only be made pragmatically.

southern Serbian and Montenegrin dialects as well. This, too, differs from Albanian BE + PART constructions that are fully grammatical and distinct from adjectival constructions.⁶⁷

One other difference between the Albanian intransitive BE + PART constructions is important in analyzing the possible influence of Slavic-Albanian contact on these forms. In northern Geg dialects these are only used with intransitive verbs, and elsewhere BE + PART constructions are limited to non-active verbs. Nowhere in Albanian are BE perfects used for transitive verbs, whereas in extreme southwestern Macedonian dialects (Ohrid-Struga and Radožda-Vevčani) BE + N/T-PART constructions take direct objects, as in (45), below (Elliot 2001: 62–66; Marković 1995; Hendriks 1976: 226).

45) Macedonian BE + N/T-PART perfect with a direct object

Pien	sum	tri piva.
Drink.N/T-PART.MASC.SG	BE-1SG	three beers
'I have (lit. am) drunk three beers'		

(Marković 1995: 70–6, cited in Elliott 2001: 60)⁶⁸

Thus, in those areas where the strongest interaction between Albanian and Slavic might be expected, the perfects show less similarities in the types of verbs utilizing this formation, yet once again arguing against the role of Albanian in these constructions. The fact that these constructions can take direct objects in this dialect is important to the final difference between Macedonian and Albanian BE: in these dialects the participles are no

⁶⁷ Adjectival constructions from verbal participles includes a connecting particle (Alb *nyje* 'node, joint'), as in *Motra ime është martuar (këto ditë)* 'My sister has been married (these past few days)' versus *Motra ime është e martuar* 'My sister is married'.

⁶⁸ The full repertoire of transitive verbs for these constructions in Ohrid-Struga dialects seems to be quite limited, as *pie* 'to drink' and variations on 'to eat' such as *jade* 'eat', *veçera* 'dine', etc. (Marković 1995: 70–76, cited in Elliott 2001: 59–61). Colloquially these verbs can also be used in Albanian (*Jam drekue* 'I have eaten lunch'), but apparently never with direct objects. In Radožda-Vevčani dialects the range of verbs is considerably greater including 'sing', 'reap', 'take', and 'learn', etc. (Hendricks 1976: 226).

longer simply verbal adjectives instead they comprise a past tense form. Thus, although there are superficial formal similarities between the Albanian and Slavic BE perfects several differences in detail argue for separate origins for each construction.

5.7.7.5 HAVE + N/T-PART Constructions in Macedonian

The second syntactic convergence of Slavic perfects to those in Albanian is the formation made from HAVE + N/T-PART which is likewise found in western Macedonian, southern Serbian, and southern Montenegrin dialects. This is more widespread in Macedonian than the BE + N/T-PART construction, but somewhat less frequent in southern Serbian and southern Montenegrin dialects.⁶⁹ Examples of this are given below (46–48).

(46) Macedonian HAVE + N/T-PART

Gi	imam	kupeno	knigite.
3PL.SHRT.ACC	HAVE-1SG	bought-N/T-PART.NEUT.SG	books
‘I have bought the books.’			

Elliot 2001: 23

(47) Southern Serbian (Srećka Župa, Kosovo) HAVE + N/T-PART

Imaš	odeno	tamo.
HAVE-2SG.	gone-N/T-PART.NEUT.SG	there
‘You have gone there.’		

Pavlović 1939: 216–218

(48) Montenegrin (Mrković) HAVE + N/T-PART

Imaš	–	i ća^oto	izbek	kokoroza?
HAVE-2SG.		li sow-PPP.NEUT/INVAR.	remaining.MASC	corn-GEN.SG
‘Have you sown the remaining corn?’				

Vujović 1969: 266

⁶⁹ In certain resultative and possessive constructions HAVE + N/T-PART are accepted in other dialects of Serbian as well, as demonstrated in Nomachi (2006).

The gradual transition of the inherited past passive participles to grammaticalized HAVE perfects of active verbs is accounted for in the history of Macedonian, as discussed by Elliott (2001) and Koneski (1966). In Elliott's 2001 dissertation, which considers the HAVE perfect from a perspective of language-internal change, Elliot claims that the HAVE perfect in Macedonian has developed from adjective resultative constructions to a fully grammaticalized tense construction of perfects. Specifically, modern Macedonian HAVE perfects have gradually evolved from resultative constructions of the type demonstrated in example (49), where *ima* 'have' is a main verb and a direct object is modified by resultative adjectives made from passive participles of transitive verbs.

(49) HAVE + N/T-PART Resultative Constructions from Manuscript (1706) from Kičevo:
 Koi ketъ mislitъ da go ukradetъ
 Who-NOM.SG will-3SG think-3SG COMP it-NEU.ACC.SG steal-3SG.PRES
imamъ go **aforesanъ** i
 have-1SG.PRES him-MSC.ACC.SG excommunicated-N/T-PART.MSC.SG and
prokletъ i **zavezanъ** do strašenъ sutъ
 cursed-N/T-PART.MSC.SG and bound-N/T-PART.MSC.SG until last judgment
 'Whoever will think to steal it I [will] have him excommunicated and cursed and bound
 until the Last Judgment' (cited in Koneski 1966: 171, Elliott 2001: 26–27).

On the surface, there is not much difference between this type of resultative and the HAVE perfect found in the language now. The only formal difference is the agreement between the adjective and direct object in the earlier resultative construction and an indeclinable -o ending on the participle in the HAVE perfect construction. There are, however, other differences that need to be considered, particularly the semantic characteristics of the verb and the elements that are obligatory in each construction. In particular, in older

stages of Macedonian, the HAVE resultative was possible only with transitive verbs and a corresponding direct object modified by an N/T-PART like *aforesanъ* 'excommunicate', *prokletъ* 'cursed', and *zavezanъ* 'bound' from example (49), all of which are declined as masculine accusative adjectives, agreeing with the pronoun *go* 'him'. This contrasts with the modern HAVE perfect that can be formed with participles from intransitive and even stative verbs, as in *pliva* 'to swim' – *imam plivano* 'I have swum' (Graves 2000), etc. Thus in addition to the formal changes found in the morphological markings of the participles, other changes have occurred in the selection of verbs and syntactic requirements, as well as some change in the tense (Elliott 2001). The language-internal developments presented in this analysis are well represented cross-linguistically and fit in well with both the usage of the HAVE perfects semantically and their distribution within Macedonian dialects. However, the internal development does not negate the possibility of external influence on these structures any more than it explains why these changes happen when and where they do.

The dialectal spread of HAVE perfects points to a diachronic development beginning in the southwest dialects and spreading to the north and east (Friedman 1976). This replicates the pattern for the spread of other Balkanisms (Goṭaḅ 1983: 11, Vidoeski et.al, 1966: 8), and hence signals for a language-external impetus for the change. Albanian, Greek, and Aromanian have each been considered as the source for this construction in Macedonian, but the strongest argument is for Aromanian, as argued by Goṭaḅ (1984). He argues that the HAVE perfect is one of many morphosyntactic changes that have come through contact with Aromanian such as future, future in the past, several non-finite constructions, and a number of perfect constructions (1984: 6–8). The number

of similar complex verbal constructions argues for a common source in all of them, namely contact with Aromanian.⁷⁰ Concerning perfect constructions, Gołab argues that Aromanian and Macedonian have had reciprocal influence on one another: while Aromanian may be primarily responsible for the acceptance of HAVE perfects in Macedonian, Macedonian may be responsible for the use of BE perfects for verbs beyond their traditional semantic scope (intransitive verbs). Furthermore, the BE +N/T-PART perfects may also have been borrowed from Aromanian into Macedonian (1984: 135). The possibility of Aromanian providing the impetus for each of these perfect constructions is higher than any other language in contact with Macedonian. However, there is one further argument in favor of Aromanian over Albanian as the source of this structure that seems to definitively point to Aromanian as the main source for perfects: the presence of HAVE and BE + N/T perfects in Macedonian dialects south and east of Macedonia in northern Greece near Thessaloniki (Aegean Macedonian), where contact with Romance has continued into the present, whereas contact with Albanian is not found in these areas. (Koneski 1966: 170; Elliott 2001: 44).⁷¹

5.7.8 Summary of Changes to Verbs in Slavic-Albanian contact

⁷⁰ Assigning each of the morphosyntactic features to one particular language may not be justified upon closer inspection of each of the common Balkanisms, however for the majority of the features given, Aromanian seems to present the most plausible explanation.

⁷¹ There are further considerations that seem to preclude Albanian as the main external source for these changes. As Friedman (1983: 85–86) argues, the HAVE perfects in Albanian and Macedonian cover a different range of grammatical categories, and thus should be taken as only surface similarities. Although these observations are based on the range of these constructions' semantics in the standard languages, my own investigations generally agree with this analysis.

To sum up the considerations of Slavic-Albanian contact for verbal constructions, it should be noted that most of the verbal constructs show the influence of Slavic on Albanian. This is found in the loss of distinction between indicative and subjunctive, progressives, loss of infinitives, and WANT future formations. The possibility of Albanian influencing the retention of preterites as living categories in Kosovo and Montenegro seems high, although it is a retention. Conditional forms do not appear to be influenced greatly by Slavic-Albanian contact, nor do most perfect forms. Table 5.8, below, presents a summary of the verbal constructions considered in this section.

Section	Change	Lang. Cont.	Slavic				Albanian			
			LS	WD	BD	LO	LS	WD	BD	LO
5.7.1	SUBJ & IND	Y	/	/	/	/	-	+	+	-
5.7.2	Progressives	Y	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
5.7.3	INF loss	Y	-	-	/	X	-	-	+	/
5.7.4	WANT Future Forms	Y	/	/	/	/	+	+	+	/
5.7.5	Fut in past Conditionals	N	/	-	/	/	-	-	-	/
5.7.6	Retention of Preterites	Y	+	-	-	/	/	/	/	/
5.7.7.1	Generalized Perfect	Y	/	/	/	-	+	-	-	-
5.7.7.2	Intransitive BE perfect	N	/	/	/	/	X	X	-	-
5.7.7.3	<i>u</i> + HAVE perfect	Y	/	/	/	/	+	+	-	-
5.7.7.4	BE + N/T-PART	N	X	X	X	X	/	/	/	/
5.7.7.5	HAVE + N/T-PART	N	X	X	X	X	/	/	/	/

Table 5.8. Summary of Changes to Verb Systems

5.8 Word Order

Finally, changes in usual word order are important to consider in the context of Slavic-Albanian contact. This is important from a theoretical point of view, as it is one of the cited characteristics of an intense level of language contact in Thomason and Kaufman's scheme. It is likewise important for investigating claims by scholars on phenomena affected by Slavic-Albanian language contact. As the languages involved have relatively free word order, only two aspects of word order will be discussed in this section: order of clitics (including short-form pronouns and verbs) and order of nouns and adjectives (including possessive pronouns) in noun–modifier phrases.

5.8.1 Position of Clitics

The first context for possible Slavic-Albanian contact influence comes in the ordering of clitics. More specifically, contact with Albanian has possibly influenced the positioning of clitics as the first element in a phrase or sentence in Western Macedonian dialects and Serbian dialects in Metohia as in examples (50–51).

50) First-position clitics in Western Macedonian

Go vidov čovekot
 3SG.ACC.SHRT saw-1SG.AOR man-DEF.SG
 'I saw the man.'

Koneski 1966: 105

51) First-position clitics in Serbian (Đakovica/Gjakovë)

Mi dodju rdjavi ljudi
 1SG.DAT.SHRT come-3PL.PRES evil-NOM.PL people-NOM.PL
 'Evil people are coming to me.'

Stevanović 1950: 152

52) First-position clitics in Albanian (Kosovë)

Më vijnë njerëz të këqinj
1SG.DAT.SHRT come-3PL.PRES people-NOM.PL evil-NOM.PL
'Evil people are coming to me.'

(Blaku 2010: 196)

It is typically the short-form pronouns that occupy the first position, but unstressed verbal auxiliaries and conjugated forms of 'to be' may also be found phrase-initially in these Slavic dialects (Koneski 1966: 106; Stevanović 1950: 152). Elsewhere in Macedonian and Serbian, clitics are ordinarily placed as a second element in a clause. While it is possible that sentence-initial clitics in Macedonian may be due to localized contact with Albanian this construction also occurs elsewhere in Balkan languages, namely Aromanian and Greek; hence, in principle, first-position clitics are not necessarily due to contact between Slavic and one other languages, but is rather a shared linguistic feature of many dialects in that area. The influence of Macedonian has also been claimed for this phenomena in Đakovica/Gjakovë (Stevanović 1950: 152) and Sretečka Župa (Pavlović 1939: 215, cited in Omari 1989: 50–51 and Stanišić 1995: 57). The influence of Macedonian dialects on the dialects of Sretečka Župa in this feature as in others (as in perfects above) would be unsurprising, although contact with Albanian gives a more satisfactory explanation from a geographical perspective for the phenomenon in the dialect of Đakovica (Blaku 2010: 194–196). Blaku goes further to argue that as contact with Albanian provides the best explanation for the forms in Đakovica/Gjakovë and because Albanian is also a possible source for the form in Macedonian the simplest explanation for phrase initial clitics in Slavic in the western Balkans is via contact with Albanian. A single cause, however, is unnecessary as the geographic distance between

Đakovica and Sretečka Župa (and by extension western Macedonia) calls for two separate changes. So while Albanian likely influenced the change to allowing phrase initial clitics in Đakovica/Gjakovë it likely was only one of a number of possible external influences on the same phenomenon in Western Macedonian dialects.

5.8.2. Noun–Modifier Constructions

As seen in examples (51–52), above, noun–modifier constructions in Albanian tend to have the noun preceding the adjective (as is common also in Romance), while Slavic constructions have the typical order of the adjective preceding the noun, (as in English). There are variations on this order, however, even in standard usage, particularly for stylistic effects, as in Alb *të parin bir* ‘firstborn son’ (versus *birin e parë* ‘first son’) or BCS *zemlja draga ~ draga zemlja*, where (as also in Albanian) the inverted order is marked for emphasis or affection. Apart from stylistic inversion, however, there are also dialectal realizations of inversion in both Albanian and Slavic dialects. Although the eastern Albanian diaspora in Bulgaria and Ukraine generally show adjective-first phrases as in *bardë bukë* ‘white bread’ and *a bukur çupë* ‘beautiful girl’ (cf. std. *bukë e bardhë* and *çupë e bukur*, these are not replicated consistently in other Albanian communities.⁷² Given these communities’ contact with Slavic it is certain that these phrases have come about through contact with Slavic (Friedman 1994b: 145–146; Gjinari and Shkurtaj 2003: 399, 408). As for inversion in Slavic, Blaku (2010: 196–197) cites several examples from folklore with the adjective following the noun in Serbian dialects in Kosovo. Many of

⁷² Another possible instance of inverted order is found in some Albanian possessive constructions in Macedonian according to Toska 2009, Ph.D thesis Kiril i Metodija University (Skopje).

these are found in toponyms like *Ribare veliko* (Great Ribare), *Ribare malo* (Little Ribare), and *Muadžeri ribarski* (Fisherman’s Muhadžer), which may simply be calquing of individual locations. It is also found in constructions with possessive pronouns following a noun as in ex. (53), below:

(53) Modifier-first phrases in Kosovo

Kosovci biju **neprijatelja** **svoga** drvetom i sekirom
 Kosovans beat enemy-MASC.SG.ACC. own-MASC.SG.ACC. wood-INS and ax-INS.
 ‘The Kosovans beat their enemy with timber and axes’

(Debeljković 1984: 96, cited in Blaku 2010: 196)

Similar constructions are also used in Western Macedonian dialects, as in *košula lenena* ‘linen shirt’ and *pčenica varena* ‘boiled wheat’ (cf. std. *lenena košula* and *varena pčenica*) (Koneski 1966: 105). While contact with Albanian remains a real possibility as the source of these constructions, particularly in Kosovo, contact with Romance, which also has a pattern of noun followed by adjective, remains a more likely source in Western Macedonia.

5.8.3 Summary of changes in word order

Of the two changes in word order investigated, it appears that Albanian has been influential in both changes in Kosovo and Macedonia, although the influence of Aromanian on word order in Macedonian cannot be ruled out as a possibility there. So while phrase initial clitics and adjectives following nouns may be found in both areas in Slavic dialects only in Kosovo is it due to contact with Albanian (see Table 5.9, below).

Section	Change	Lang Cont	Slavic				Albanian			
			LS	WD	BD	LO	LS	WD	BD	LO
5.8.1	Phrase initial clitics	Y	-	+	X	X	/	/	/	/
5.8.2	Word order of N.-Adj.	Y	-	+	-	X	/	/	/	/

Table 5.9. Summary of Changes in Word Order

5.9 Conclusions

To conclude this chapter, it is necessary to highlight a couple of trends found in the morphosyntactic changes that were examined for influence from Slavic-Albanian contact, to compare these trends with those found in the phonological changes discussed in the preceding chapter, and then to discuss them trends in terms of individual language-contact theories. First, of the 33 features examined, a little over half (19) were found to have been influenced by Slavic-Albanian contact (Nouns (3/9), Adjectives (0/1), Pronouns (4/6), Prepositions (1/2), Conjunctions (2/2), Verbs (7/11), and Word Order (2/2)). Several of the changes that were accepted as affected by language contact are done so only tenuously either based on meager attestation (ABL.DEF/INDEF merger, Sr –i VOC) or on theoretical grounds (retention of preterites). Of the 19 features showing contact influence, Slavic dialects are affected by 12, and Albanian by 9, with two features showing mutual convergence: object doubling and progressive constructions. The accepted changes are listed in Table 5.10, below.

Section	Change	Slavic				Albanian			
		LS	WD	BD	LO	LS	WD	BD	LO
5.2.1.3	ABL DEF/INDEF merge					+	-	-	-
5.2.3.1	Alb -o VOC	/	/	/	/	+	+	+	+
5.2.3.2	Sr -i VOC	-	+	-	-	/	/	/	/
5.4.1.1	3SG.SHRT syncretism	-	/	/	+	/	/	/	/
5.4.1.2	Syncretism in LONG	+	+	/	/	/	/	/	/
5.4.2	Object Reduplication	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
5.4.3	2-way Deixis	-	-	+	+	/	/	/	/
5.5.1	<i>Ge</i> + NOM	+	-	-	-	/	/	/	(/)
5.6.1	Subord. Conj. <i>Se</i>	-	+	-	-	/	/	/	/
5.6.2	Question part/conj <i>a</i>	-	+	-	-	/	/	/	/
5.7.1	SUBJ & IND	/	/	/	/	-	+	+	-
5.7.2	Progressives	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
5.7.3	INF loss	-	-	/	X	-	-	+	/
5.7.4	WANT Future Forms	/	/	/	/	+	+	+	/
5.7.6	(Retained) Preterites	+	-	-	/	/	/	/	/
5.7.7.1	Generalized Perfect	/	/	/	-	+	-	-	-
5.7.7.3	<i>u</i> + HAVE perfect	/	/	/	/	+	+	-	-
5.8.1	Phrase initial clitics	-	+	X	X	/	/	/	/
5.8.2	Word order N.-Adj.	-	+	-	X	/	/	/	/

Table 5.10 Accepted Morphosyntactic Changes due to Slavic-Albanian Contact

Unlike the phonological changes examined in the preceding chapter, there seems to be much less localized convergence between in Slavic and Albanian for morphosyntactic changes. This can be seen in two trends with different patterns in the phonological and morphosyntactic changes investigated. First is the lower number of mutual convergences in morphosyntax (2) compared with the higher number in phonological changes (15). This is not necessarily due to a higher number of phonological changes from Slavic-Albanian contact, as mutual convergences make up a much higher proportion of accepted changes in phonology (15/24, 62.5%) than morphosyntax (2/19, 10.5%). This trend of single language effects for morphosyntactic change can also be seen by the lack of changes that affect Slavic and Albanian in the

same area. Slavic dialects in the Lake Scutari and White Drin areas share only 1 common morphosyntactic change with Albanian dialects (object doubling), while the Slavic and Albanian dialects in the Black Drin and Lake Ohrid areas share both mutual convergences. This disconnect is also seen, in more general terms, by which dialects are affected most by morphosyntactic changes. It may be noted that the Slavic dialects affected most by these changes are in White Drin (7), then Lake Ohrid (4) and Lake Scutari (4), and then in the Black Drin area (3), while for Albanian, dialects in the area of Lake Scutari were most affected (7), then White Drin and Black Drin (6), and then Lake Ohrid (3). For phonological changes, however a clear pattern of effects emerges from the general trends with the most changes around Lake Scutari, then White Drin, and the Black Drin and Lake Ohrid as illustrated in Figures 5.5 and 5.6, below.

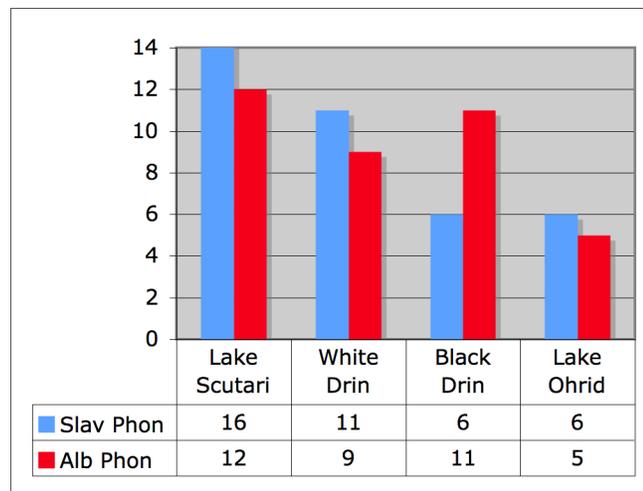


Figure 5.5. Geographical Distribution of Phonological Changes

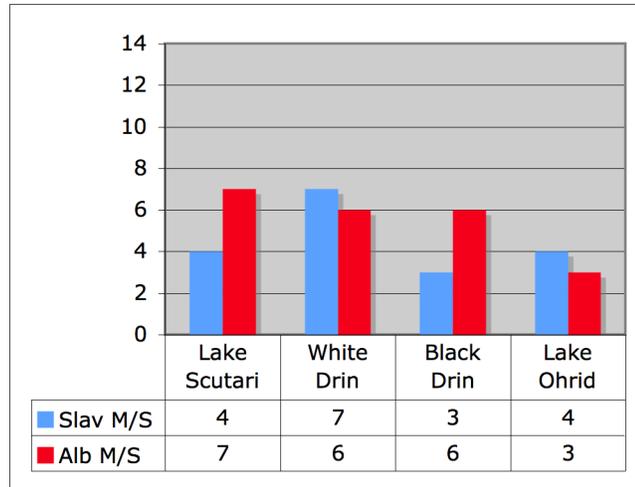


Figure 5.6. Geographical Spread of Morphosyntactic (M/S) Changes

Thus, while the phonological changes showed patterns of similar geographical distributions among the Slavic and Albanian contact areas, the morphosyntactic changes do not. This trend of morphosyntactic changes individuated by language seems to validate the idea mentioned in §4.2 and §5.1 that phonological changes occur on a more localized scale than morphosyntactic changes. So, while phonology, morphology, and syntax share the distinction of being structural properties of language, there seems to possibly be a fundamental distinction in how they are affected by language change generally, and by contact-induced change, specifically.

As alluded to in the introductory section of this chapter (§5.1), the distinction between borrowing and imposition proffered by Van Coetsem (1988/2000) makes no theoretical difference between phonology and morphosyntax as they both are structural phenomena. Consequently, the theory does not predict any significant difference in the effects seen between changes in morphosyntax and phonology. As argued above, however, the dialects have very different patterns in phonological and morphological

changes. While one part of the differences is the fewer morphosyntactic changes, more importantly for understanding the Slavic-Albanian contact situation is the number of mutual convergences in phonological changes versus their much smaller portion in morphosyntactic changes. It is these patterns that require a theoretical distinction between morphosyntactic changes and phonological ones in language contact theory. Van Coetsem's framework (as addressed in §2.8.1) also predicted that one possible pattern would be that one language would provide more of the vocabulary and the other language would be responsible for structural changes. However, as has been shown in these chapters, Both languages contribute significantly in each category: lexicon, phonology, and morphology. On the basis of Slavic providing many more vocabulary items it was predicted that Albanian would be responsible for more structural changes. The number of structural changes in Slavic (33) due to contact with Albanian is more than Albanian structural changes (23), although it is clear that both Slavic and Albanian have been affected by both types of changes. It is possible that the similar ratios of lexical borrowings (Alb 10: 6 Slav) (1000 to 600 words) and structural changes (~ Slav 10: 7 Alb) indicate approximately equal influence of Albanian on structure as Slavic on borrowing, but that seems to grossly oversimplify the important differences in the patterns for phonological and morphosyntactic change.

Differences between morphosyntactic and phonological changes are, however, important to the concept of reverse interference (from Friedman and Joseph (2013)). As mentioned in the introduction of this chapter, reverse interference is thought to be somewhat more likely in morphosyntactic constructions than phonology as the level of fluency required for incorporating morphological information is likely lower than the

level required for phonological patterns, at least for adult L2 learning. The patterns found in Slavic-Albanian contact, however, suggest a greater tendency for phonological patterns to be transferred than for morphosyntactic changes, thus reverse interference may not be the main process for language change in these contacts. Two other possibilities, however, should be entertained. First, it is possible that reverse interference was the main mechanism for changing either Albanian or Slavic, but not both. There are not, however, remarkable differences between patterns when comparing phonology and morphosyntax in Slavic and Albanian, as every dialect has more changes in phonology than morphosyntax. Second, if the morphosyntactic category is broken down into changes that are more morphological (declension, conjugation) versus those that are more syntactic (word order, case governance, phrase construction) on the basis of which part of speech is affected, different patterns emerge between Slavic and Albanian. Albanian has affected Slavic more in pronouns (4), prepositions (1), conjunctions (2) and word order (2) as opposed to nouns (1) and verbs (2). Slavic influenced Albanian more in nouns (2) and verbs (6) as well as one prepositional feature that shows mutual influence. Thus Slavic appears to have been more influential in areas affected by morphology while Albanian was more influential in terms of syntax and broader grammatical concepts such as deictic systems. Note, however, that these are only trends and not strict rules. These trends are illustrated in Figures 5.7 (Morphology) and 5.8 (Syntax), below.

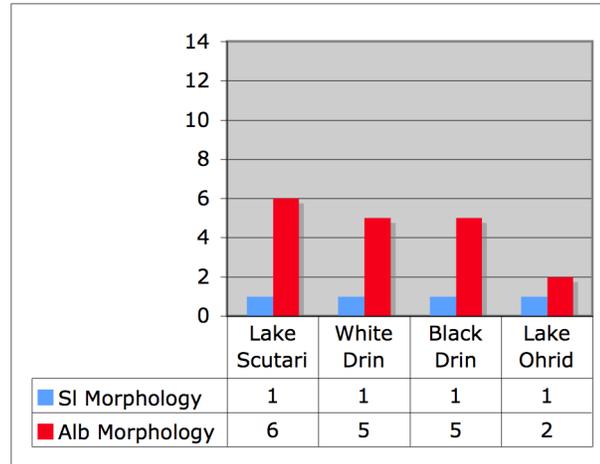


Figure 5.7. Morphological Changes in Slavic-Albanian Contact by Dialect Area

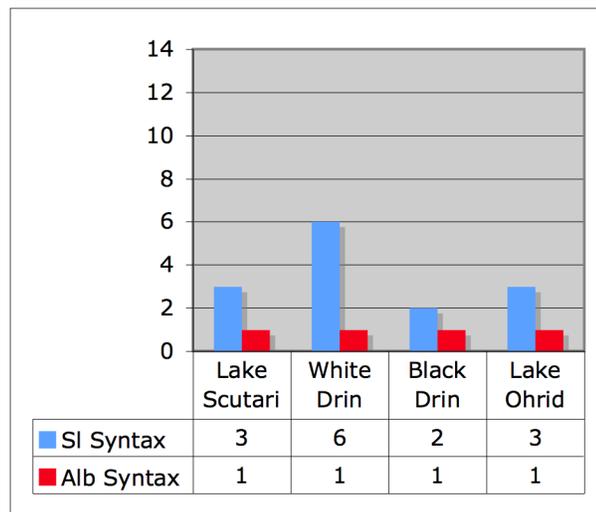


Figure 5.8. Syntactic Changes in Slavic-Albanian Contact by Dialect Area

Can reverse interference help explain differences in this type of distribution? In comparing morphology and syntax, morphology tends to contain finer distinctions and more exceptions than grammatical patterns do and thus may take a higher level of fluency than that necessary for learning grammatical patterns. Thus, reverse interference would be expected to produce more grammatical changes than morphological ones. In this case

it is possible that the changes to Slavic (which tend to be more grammatical in nature) came from a lower fluency in Albanian than the changes in Albanian (generally morphological in nature) due to greater fluency in Slavic. This idea, however, runs into difficulty in incorporating the data from phonological changes, because the changes in phonology were shared about equally between Slavic and Albanian, with many being shared between the languages in contact. In other words, as phonological patterns would require the greatest level of fluency, the greatest differentiation in fluency would be expected to be manifested in different levels of phonological changes rather than in differences in morphological and syntactic changes. Thus, it appears that while reverse interference may explain some of the changes, it cannot be used exclusively to explain the structural changes that have come about by Slavic-Albanian contact.

Finally, the last theory, Thomason and Kaufman's scales of borrowing (1988) predicted that morphosyntactic changes should indicate more intense levels of cultural pressure than those that just have phonological or lexical borrowings. However in the absence of greater information about the exact nature of language contact in these locations, it is difficult to test that hypothesis with any certainty. It should be pointed out, however, that the dialects under investigation have each had multiple instances of each major type of borrowing (Lexical, Phonological, and Morphological and Syntactic), each dialect area would be considered a category 4 (Strong Cultural Pressure)⁷³ and it would thus be impossible to differentiate between cultural pressure in these dialect categories with any certitude. If the theory is modified somewhat, however, to predict a greater

⁷³ The one exception is Gora, which appears not to have any morphological borrowing from Albanian. However, since it does have syntactic borrowing (2-way deictic system and object doubling) it would still likely be classified as a category 4.

proportion of borrowings in lexicon followed by phonology and then morphology and syntax, then the trends seem to validate the theory's predictions as each dialect has more lexical borrowings than phonological borrowings, and more phonological borrowings than morphosyntactic ones. However, this expectation should be further tempered by the caveat expressed in section 4.6 that the number of changes does not necessarily represent amount of change in any direct way. With this in mind, the dialects could then be further ordered by the number of changes found in each category whereby the cultural pressure in each language-contact setting could also be ranked relative to one another.

To conclude the present chapter, two points are essential. First, the relatively smaller number of morphosyntactic changes brought about in Slavic-Albanian interaction may seem somewhat unusual in the context of the Balkan Sprachbund in which these languages participate to some degree. As the morphosyntactic convergences form the most solid foundation of the concept of the Balkan Sprachbund, it might be expected that Slavic-Albanian interaction would also evince a similar pattern. In fact, it likely would, were it not for the fact that morphosyntactic changes considered Balkanisms were generally not accepted as influenced by Slavic-Albanian contact, a good deal many more would have been accepted (such as most of the cases of syncretism in the nouns) and possibly would have outnumbered the phonological changes. However, rigidly maintaining the requirement that changes only be accepted as Slavic-Albanian contact induced when no other language presents an equally plausible source is vital for maintaining the scope of influence investigated in this study. More and more, however, it becomes apparent that Slavic-Albanian interactions are only a part of the linguistic milieu in which they have been situated; any authoritative description of these languages

historical development must include an analysis not only of Slavic-Albanian contact but also of contact with Turkish, but more especially with Balkan Romance.

Second, as expressed at the end of each previous linguistic chapter in this study, evidence of the effect of Slavic-Albanian language contact has been established by the data presented in this chapter. Although the number of changes is smaller than in the other linguistic aspects presented so far, the effects of language contact on morphosyntax in Slavic and Albanian dialects in contact is demonstrably confirmed by the changes accepted in this chapter. Thus, even with the strict exclusion of features influenced by contact with other Balkan languages, it has been established those realms that have been declared least susceptible to language contact—morphology and syntax—have been altered to some degree by Slavic-Albanian contact, albeit not in the same number as other linguistic aspects.

6. Conclusion

Taking the findings from each of the previous chapters it is apparent that Slavic and Albanian dialects have influenced one another in practically every domain of language. The lexicon, phonology, and syntax of each show effects of Slavic-Albanian contact, even though individual dialects are affected somewhat differently for individual changes. While dialect variation is important, it is important to bear in mind that every major contact area shows effects in each of the categories investigated and as argued below, the consistent similarities in the contact areas are yet further evidence of the impact of Slavic-Albanian contact on these languages. While this consistency has theoretical ramifications for each of the language-contact theories investigated in this study it is more particularly valuable for answering the main question addressed in this dissertation: What can the linguistic evidence of Slavic-Albanian contact tell about their interactions historically? This is first addressed for the four areas of language contact (§6.1) and then considered for Slavic-Albanian contact generally (§6.2).

6.1 Slavic-Albanian Contact Influence on the Four Contact Areas

As demonstrated by changes in vocabulary, phonology, and morphosyntax, contact between Slavic and Albanian has brought about many changes, particularly in dialects that remain in contact with one another. The following paragraphs consider the effects of language contact as regards contact areas designated in §1.5: 1) Lake Scutari, 2) White Drin, 3) Black Drin, and 4) Lake Ohrid. A visualization of the effects of language contact is given in figure 6.1, below.

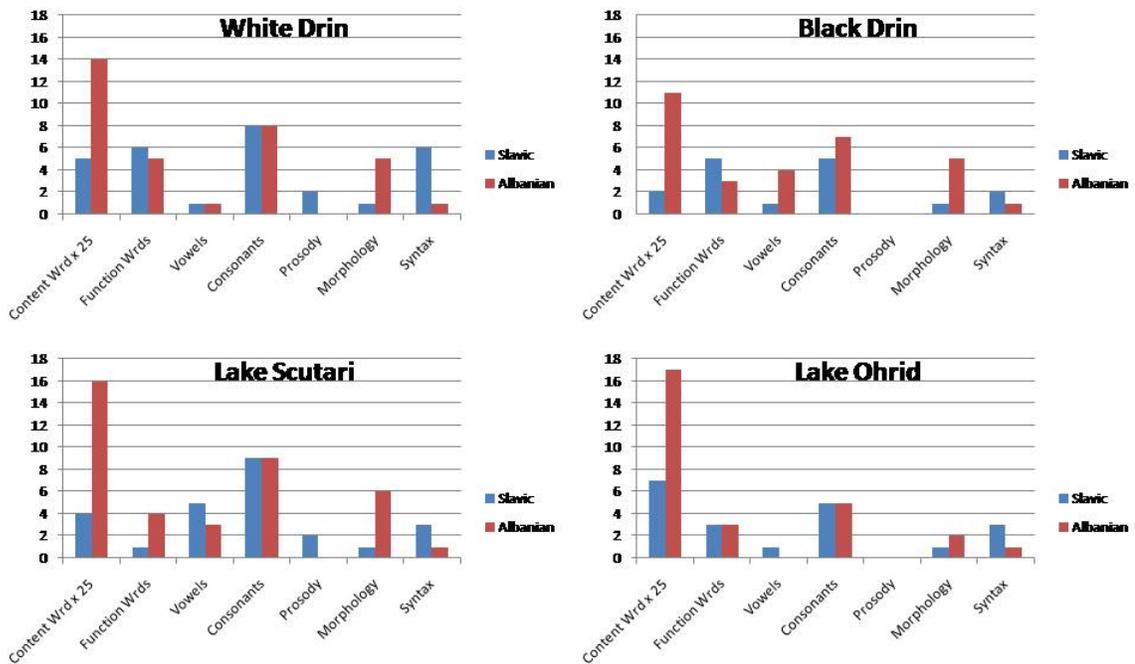


Figure 6.1 Effects of Lexicon, Phonology, and Morphosyntax on Areas of Contact

As portrayed in the image above, the most striking pattern shown in the effects of language contact is the consistency between the four different areas of contact. In each of the areas the overwhelming feature of language contact is the lexical borrowings of content words (whose number is greatly reduced in the graphic representation) with secondary consideration for phonology, particularly changes in consonants. In every area

Albanian borrowings from Slavic are more than twice the number of borrowings from Albanian into Slavic in the same area, and in most of the dialects it is significantly more than that. As argued in chapter 2, the presence of some grammatical or function words indicates more than casual contact between the speech communities. More indicative of the intensity of contact, however are the structural changes, such as the phonological convergences, particularly noticeable in the changes to the consonants, but also in changes to vowels as well. As was argued in chapter 4, the phonological changes not only show similar numbers of changes in each dialect, but more importantly many of the dialects in the same area undergo the same changes. Thus similarities of Slavic and Albanian dialects in each area go beyond similar patterns to identical language processes because of contact with one another in phonological changes. Finally, although not as prominent or as mutually convergent as the phonological changes, changes to the morphology and syntax also show remarkable consistency in the four contact areas, perforce, in each area, morphological changes are found predominantly in Albanian dialects while syntactic ones are found in the corresponding Slavic dialects. Thus the general patterns of Slavic-Albanian contact distilled from the conclusions of each previous chapter also hold for the individual areas of language contact.

One contact area that gives something of a different pattern in the proportion of borrowings to structural changes is that found in the Lake Ohrid area, which has the largest number of vocabulary borrowings (for both Slavic and Albanian) and the fewest number of structural changes due to language contact. This may suggest that different language contact processes were at work in this situation than in the other contact situations. Perhaps there was more borrowing but less grammatical change because there

were fewer cases of bilingualism or population shift in this area compared to other areas. The sociolinguistic evidence, along with the evidence from Balkan Sprachbund studies, however is strong against this interpretation, as this is precisely the area where many common Balkanisms (such as the HAVE + N/T-PART and BE + N/T-PART perfect constructions, (§5.7.7)) have their origins, and a melding of Slavic, Albanian, Aromanian and Greek populations have made remarkable transformations in the languages of these communities. The reason for the difference between the patterns presented for the Lake Ohrid region and the others is precisely this multilingual contact: in determining which structural features were best explained by Slavic-Albanian contact, any change that could be explained equally as satisfactorily by contact with Romance in this area was judged to not be from Slavic-Albanian contact. As a consequence, this area, which actually shows the greatest number of structural convergences, also has the most number of changes ruled out as Slavic-Albanian contact induced because of these dialects' contact with other languages of the Balkan Sprachbund. This is not the case with the lexical borrowings, because vocabulary forms are usually—although certainly not always—more easily traced to one specific source on the basis of the matching of form (phonetics) and meaning (lexical semantics) which have a much larger set of possibilities than morphosyntactic form–meaning correspondences. Thus, although lexical borrowing may not show the depth or intensity of a given language contact situation, it is the most reliable in showing effects of two specific languages in contact. As applied to the Lake Ohrid area, the larger number of lexical borrowings in the Slavic and Albanian dialects likely indicates that Slavic-Albanian contact has also been influential in the structural realms, but cannot be determined to be so with any methodological rigor.

The Black Drin area presents the other extreme, although the similarities of patterns in even the most dissimilar contact areas are still striking. In particular it can be seen that the number of lexical borrowings is much smaller than the other contact areas, particularly the number of Slavic borrowings. On the other hand, the structural effects are about the same as the other contact areas, and would likely be higher if internal contact with Macedonian and contact with Balkan Romance did not consistently overrule the possibility of Slavic-Albanian contact. Still, even in the area with the fewest borrowings and few changes, language contact is shown to be present at every linguistic level.

The White Drin area and the Lake Scutari area show many similar patterns to one another, including a similar ratio for Slavic and Albanian loan words, equality between Slavic and Albanian in consonantal changes and similar ratios in morphological and syntactic changes. These are also the two areas where Slavic prosodic systems have been altered by contact with Albanian, perhaps due to population shifts from Albanian speakers becoming Slavic speakers. Historically, this is well attested in the relations of Montenegrin and Albanian tribes, as treated in §1.5.1. This may possibly be further evinced by the effects on vowels in the Slavic dialects there. However, this is only one possible interpretation of the data. The White Drin area also has many changes in phonology, but it has more borrowed grammatical words and morphosyntactic effects than any of the dialects. Part of this is certainly due to the lack of contact with other Balkan languages, although the influence of Turkish precluded some phonological changes from being accepted. One plausible sociolinguistic explanation for the greater number of grammatical and morphosyntactic effects on these dialects is the prolonged bilingualism (particularly on the part of the Albanians) without population changes. Still,

because the patterns are not so very different between the White Drin and the Lake Scutari areas it would seem more prudent to propose the same types of sociolinguistic changes for producing the same types of change. These are not the only areas with similar patterns of language-contact for the Albanian and Slavic dialects, however, in spite of known differences in the histories of these communities.

Why do these contact areas pattern so remarkably similar counter to the expectations set by contrasting sociolinguistic histories and present-day settings? Although slight differences exist in the pattern of contact effects on the dialects, they are more likely due to the methodological exclusion of changes that have other equally valid explanations. This methodological issue adequately accounts for the trend of more grammatical effects in the areas further to the north and the west. How to account, then, for the similarities? One possible solution is in the structural properties of the languages themselves. It is logical that because similar linguistic components were put into each area of language contact similar results obtained. The evidence against this type of structural determinism, however, is considerable (Joseph 2007; Thomason and Kaufman 1988: 13–34), and it is likely that language structures have had no more than a secondary effect on the outcomes of Slavic-Albanian language contact. Perhaps, then, the mechanisms or processes of language change used in this study are inadequate for explaining these situations. Concerns about the inadequacies of imposition for failing to account for divergent patterns in different types of structure were raised in the concluding section of the last chapter, so too were concerns about the predictions of reverse interference not accounting for the presence of more changes in those structural aspects that are assumed to require greater fluency (phonology > morphology > syntax). The fact

that this one study shows trends that appear to be at odds with what is predicted is certainly not reason to jettison them altogether; however, it does suggest certain limitations to their applicability. Dissatisfaction with Thomason and Kaufman's scale of borrowing were also expressed in the previous chapter because the scale failed to distinguish between the effects of language contact for situations—such as that found in Slavic-Albanian contact—where each of contact area shows about the same possible effects of language contact. While this framework best predicts the pattern of effects from language contact (the greatest number of effects seen in lexical borrowings, then phonological changes, followed by morphosyntactic changes) it does so without satisfactorily answering how these changes have come about.

The limitations of these three approaches point to the same difficulty in accounting for the changes in this situation: the issue of time depth in continual, protracted bilingualism. Both imposition and reverse interference are processes that individual speakers undergo, which can be extended by analogy to an entire generation. However, once the generation passes it is assumed that either the changes introduced by these L2 learning experiences have passed; either changes hold in the recipient language or they do not. How do these processes work over the course of several dozen generations? At what point does it become impossible to tell imposition apart from reverse interference, or either of these from borrowing? The strength of the concepts of reverse interference and imposition lies in their ability to explain changes by real cognitive processes that occur in L2 acquisition. Thomason and Kaufman's scale of borrowing, on the other hand, is a tool of historical linguists that documents the effects of change without explaining intermediary steps along the path of change, analogous to the

distinction between correspondence sets and individual phonetic changes in understanding regular sound changes (Hock and Joseph 1996). It had been hoped that by using synchronic sociolinguistic perspectives of borrowing/imposition and reverse interference and diachronic accounts of language contact it would be possible to give a satisfactory answer to what historical process have led to the effects of Slavic-Albanian language contact and their differential manifestations in individual language contact situations. Instead of differences, however, the contact areas have showed remarkable similarities.

Although the time-depth of Slavic-Albanian contact appears to have hidden layers of linguistic processes of generations of speakers in contact it seems that this protracted contact has brought about nearly the same patterns in each language contact area. Individual words, phonological convergences and morphosyntactic changes are manifested in different locations, yet the passing generations of Slavic and Albanian speakers have worn similar patterns into their languages by contact with one another. These patterns consisting of individual words and changes are one last confirmation of the effects of language-contact on these communities and the languages spoken in these areas. As emphasized repeatedly in the concluding passages in this study, the evidence of effects of Slavic-Albanian contact for each linguistic aspect is solid. The similarity of patterns in each of the four contact areas is yet one more witness of the thorough and deep-seated changes that this language contact has brought about in relevant dialects. Moreover, these dialects attest to the fact that these effects are not limited to one peripheral area, rather they occur at every place where Slavs and Albanians have been in contact.

6.2. Summary

A number of important points for understanding the historical relation of Slavic and Albanian speaking communities emerge from historical and linguistic evidence of the sociolinguistic setting and origins of Slavic-Albanian contact. First, Slavic and Albanian share many linguistic inheritances from their common descent from Proto-Indo-European. Second, the histories of Slavic and Albanian are tied to other languages with which they have been in contact with, both in previous areas of habitation such as Baltic, and Germanic, but more especially in the Balkans, such as Greek, Balkan Romance, and Turkish. Third, contact between Slavic and Albanian speakers begins in the western Balkans in the 6th century with the migration of the Slavs to the Balkans and has continued into the present. Fourth, as a result of these migrations and subsequent interactions the populations have changed, and “like all Balkan peoples” Slavs and Albanians are “an ethnic mixture” (Fine 1983: 11–12). Fifth, and related to this point, is that biological descent is not the same as linguistic descent, particularly in cases, such as this, where bilingualism, intermarriage, migrations, and other forms of population shift are part of the communities’ histories. Sixth, over the approximately 1400 years of contact, Slavic and Albanian populations have lived in a variety of sociolinguistic settings, particularly as individual empires and states have waxed and waned; while language was not the primary marker of an ethnic identity as it has been since the rise of Romantic conceptions of nation and language in the 19th century, it is likely that languages had varying functional importance that were affected by the political changes in the area. Finally, because of the variety of sociolinguistic circumstances that Slavic-

Albanian interactions have occurred in, it is vital to consider individual areas of contact for understanding the effects of language contact. Ideally this would be at a very local level, such as individual families, tribes, or villages. However, to be able to make a coherent investigation of Slavic-Albanian contact effects, four main geographic areas of Slavic-Albanian interaction have been identified, as set out in §1.5 and examined again in §6.1, above.

The borrowing of vocabulary, as addressed in chapter 2, is the most straightforward effect of language contact on Slavic and Albanian languages and dialects. These interactions have increased the expressive capacity of each language by the addition of hundreds of new words and expressions. Albanian dialects gained approximately 1000 new words through contact with Slavic, particularly gaining lexical nuances for farming and household equipment as well as terms for plants, animals, and features of the natural landscape. Slavic dialects gained approximately 600 words through contact with Albanian and have been enriched by added expressions of family organization and the heroic culture predominant in the highland areas with contact between Slavic and Albanian. In addition to individual words, both Albanian and Slavic have added idiomatic expressions and other phrases and derivational suffixes for forming new words and names. The paucity of borrowings for ecclesiastical or other learned terms suggests that the contact in which the borrowing occurred was primarily among non-literate societies whose interaction was not due to organized social institutions such as churches or schools. The high number of borrowings for fruits, vegetables, tools, housewares, and domesticated animals suggests continued interaction between Slavic and Albanian speakers in markets either in the same town or in neighboring settlements.

Moreover, the presence of several kin terms suggests that some of the interaction also occurred in more intimate settings including interethnic marriage and extended family structures. While it is true that some borrowings likely replaced native structures—and could thus be seen as a form of impoverishment to the languages' lexicons—more often than not the languages preserved both a native term and a borrowed term differentiated by connotation or some other semantic or expressive nuance. While it is also possible to argue that the number of borrowings is still small relative to the languages' overall vocabulary, as argued under the rubric of Friedman and Joseph's (2013) concept of ERIC loans (including kinship terms, functional words like prepositions and conjunctions, and set expressions) both Albanian and Slavic contributed basic vocabulary in the course of every-day conversation.

As regards the geographical spread and chronology of these borrowings, Slavic loanwords into Albanian are more widespread and generally of an earlier provenance than are borrowings from Albanian into Slavic. Borrowings from Slavic may be found in every dialect of Albanian, including Arbëresh and Arvanitika dialects, as well as around 450 words incorporated into standard Albanian. Both the abundance and geographical extent of Slavic loanwords in Albanian speak to the potent influence that Slavic has had on Albanian, particularly before the 15th century. As demonstrated by the sound changes discussed in chapter 3, the majority of Slavic borrowings likely came into Albanian between the 10th and 15th centuries, although many borrowings were taken into Albanian in following centuries, including many in the last century. The trend of higher borrowing from Slavic into Albanian during this time roughly corresponds to periods when Slavic empires and states have been in power in the western Balkans. Albanian loanwords into

Slavic languages, on the other hand, are generally of a later date and mostly limited to dialects of Slavic where contact is ongoing. A handful of borrowings came into Slavic during the first couple of centuries of contact with Pre-Albanian communities and are spread throughout dialects of BCS and Macedonian. However, the vast majority of Albanian borrowings are found in those dialects still in contact with Albanian. On the basis of reflexes of regular Slavic and Albanian sound changes the majority of borrowings from Albanian appear to have come into Slavic dialects from the 15th century onward. This time period also corresponds with the fall of Slavic empires when neither Albanian nor Slavic were used in any official state capacity. In summary, Slavic loanwords in Albanian are numerous and wide-spread with most words coming into Albanian before the consolidation of the Balkans in the Ottoman Empire, while Albanian loanwords are less numerous and are more recent—but still important—in Slavic dialects in contact with Albanian.

In general, the phonological changes addressed in chapter 4 are of a later date than the regular sound changes that lead to this chronology of Slavic-Albanian loanwords. Thus the 24 phonological changes induced by Slavic-Albanian contact reflect ongoing changes in individual dialects. Moreover, based on the distribution of these changes in the dialects it appears that these are chiefly localized changes. Well more than half (62.5%) of these changes are mutual convergences where dialects of Slavic and Albanian diverge from inherited sound patterns and innovate to a new pattern that is shared with one another. Such mutual convergences, it has been argued, indicate intimate, consistent communication between speakers of the dialects in contact. This also suggests that day-to-day connections across linguistic lines were sometimes closer than those

between communities speaking related dialects. Both Slavic and Albanian were affected by mutual and language-individual changes, with Slavic (21) participating in a few more phonological convergences than Albanian (18). Thus while Slavic produced more changes in Albanian vocabulary, Albanian brought about slightly more phonological changes on Slavic dialects, possibly suggesting a greater amount of imposition by native Albanian speakers on their L2 Slavic, or else a greater effect of reverse interference for L2 Albanian speakers on their native Slavic dialects. Whatever the explanation in language–contact terms, the phonological convergences in neighboring Slavic and Albanian communities indicate close contact and ongoing Slavic-Albanian bilingualism.

The morphosyntactic changes examined in chapter 5 yield less straightforward interpretations than do those of preceding chapters. Unlike the parallel patterns of neighboring Slavic and Albanian dialects and mutual convergences encountered in the phonological changes, the morphosyntactic changes do not show any clear geographic patterns, nor exhibit many mutual convergences of the kind that were so characteristic of phonological changes. Instead, the morphosyntactic changes showed fewer examples of language contact change (19), with a somewhat wider geographical distribution for many of the changes. The most significant pattern that comes from comparing Slavic and Albanian is that Slavic dialects are affected in categories that are more syntactic such as pronouns, prepositions, conjunctions, and word order, while Albanian dialects are affected in morphological categories such as nouns and verbs. Although it is possible that this difference comes from different language-contact processes, it remains unclear why the changes should pattern so differently in each language. Regardless of the interpretation of the data, the presence of the 19 morphosyntactic changes clearly

indicates the effects of language contact at the level of morphology and syntax, which some scholars regard as the least susceptible to change via contact with other languages.

From the evidence of historical and linguistic data considered in this work it is certain that from the time of first contact in the 6th Century AD to the present both Albanian and Slavic have undergone extensive and systematic changes due to long-standing and sustained language contact. These changes incorporate every aspect of language investigated including vocabulary, phonology, and morphosyntax. Although individual changes may be argued as minor or insignificant to the modern languages, in view of the fact that language-contact influences are found across the board in both Albanian and Slavic languages, and in every contact area considered in this study, the impact of Slavic-Albanian contact is irrefutable. Because contact is ongoing and the effects of contact also continue into the present, it is not only historical accounts of the languages that must consider the inheritance of Slavic-Albanian contact, but also synchronic descriptions of these languages, particularly those documenting the living manifestations of the languages: the dialects.

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