



The Morphosyntax of Istro-Romanian DPs

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Today's talk overview

- I. Eastern Romance: an overview; DPs general features
- II. A new project: *Istro-Romanian and Istro-Romanians. Legacy and Heritage*
- III. The morphosyntax of Istro-Romanian DPs
- IV. Conclusions and open questions

I. Eastern Romance: an overview (1)

- Eastern Romance: Daco-Romanian, Aromanian, Megleno-Romanian and Istro-Romanian
- There are six stages from Latin to Romanian that are generally accepted (Rusu (ed.) 1984), namely:
 - Daco-Latin;
 - **Daco-Romance;**
 - Proto-Romanian;
 - Old Romanian;
 - Modern Romanian; and
 - Contemporary Romanian.
- Balkan Sprachbund

I. Eastern Romance: an overview (2)

- The separation of the four historical dialects is considered finished by the 10th century, in the form of divergent dialects:
 - the Daco-Romanian variety, to the north of the Danube, follows the pattern of a 'full' language: old language, first written texts, the creation of the literary language, modern language, national language;
 - the south-Danubian varieties have had sporadic and generally insignificant/inconsistent contacts among each other (with the exception of Aromanian and Megleno-Romanian, at least for some of their subvarieties), and with Daco-Romanian.

I. Eastern Romance DPs (1)

- pronouns show a full (suppletive) case paradigm
- for nouns, generally the nominative/accusative is opposed to the genitive/dative; all varieties tend though to reduce or neutralize this opposition (substandardly, all varieties display a full analytical case paradigm);
- **the definite article is an affix;**

I. Eastern Romance DPs (2)

- Aromanian definite article paradigm (Nevaci 2011: 47-52):

Case	Gender	Singular	Plural
N≡ACC	M	<i>-lu (-u), -l^o, -li</i>	<i>-xi (-i), -x</i>
G≡D	M	<i>(a) -lui (-ui)</i>	<i>(a) -lor^o</i>

(i)	<i>omlu</i> omul man.DEF	<i>calu</i> calul horse.DEF	<i>preftu^ol</i> preotul priest.DEF	<i>fratili</i> fratele brother.DEF	(Aromanian) (Daco-Romanian)
(ii)	<i>(a) omlui</i> omului man.SG.G≡D.DEF	<i>(a) calui</i> calului horse.SG.G≡D.DEF	<i>(a) preftului</i> preotului priest.SG.G≡D.DEF	<i>(a) fratilui</i> fratelui brother.SG.G≡D.DEF	
(iii)	<i>oamiñxi</i> oamenii men.DEF	<i>caxi</i> caii horses.DEF	<i>preftăxi</i> preoții priests.DEF	<i>frațxi</i> frații brothers.DEF	
(iv)	<i>(a) oamiñlor^o</i> oamenilor man.PL.G≡D.DEF	<i>caxilor^o</i> cailor horse.PL.G≡D.DEF	<i>(a) preftăxilor^o</i> preoților priest.PL.G≡D.DEF	<i>(a) frațlor^o</i> fraților brother.PL.G≡D.DEF	

I. Eastern Romance DPs (3)

Aromanian definite article paradigm (Nevaci 2011: 47-52):

Case	Gender	Singular	Plural
N≡ACC	F	-a	-li
G≡D	F	(a) -xei	(a) -lor ^o

- (v) *casa* *steaua* *mu×area*
casa *steaua* *muierea(=femeia)*
house.DEF star.DEF woman.DEF
- (vi) *(a) casă×ei* *(a) steauă×ei* *(a) mu×ari×ei*
casei *stelei* *muierii*
house.SG.G≡D.DEF star.SG.G≡D.DEF muiere.SG.G≡D.DEF
- (vii) *casili* *stealili* *mu×erli*
casele *stelele* *muiерile*
houses.DEF stars.DEF women.DEF
- (viii) *(a) casilor^o* *(a) stealilor^o* *(a) mu×erlor^o*
caselor *stelelor* *muiерilor*
houses.G≡D.DEF stars.G≡D.DEF women.G≡D.DEF

I. Eastern Romance DPs (4)

Istro-Romanian definite article paradigm (Kovačec 566-568):

Case	Gender	Singular	Plural
N≡ACC	M	-u, (-u), -le	-i, -le
N≡ACC	F	-a, -vu	-le

- for names/proper nouns, the definite article in Eastern Romance is always proclitic in the dative-genitive.

I. Eastern Romance DPs (5)

The indefinite article:

- In Aromanian (Nevaci 2011):
 - always proclitic, just like in Standard Romanian (un^u, ună / născănt, născănti);
 - unlike Standard Romanian, the singular feminine is *ună*;
- In Istro-Romanian:
 - Always proclitic (Kovačec 1984: 566)

Case	Gender	Singular	Plural
N≡ACC	M	ân (north), un (south)	nuščárli / uri
N≡ACC	F	o	nuščárli / ure

II. A new project: *Istro-Romanian and Istro-Romanians. Legacy and Heritage* (1)

The team:

- Ionuț Geană (principal investigator)
- Adina Dragomirescu (expert researcher)
- Ramona-Cătălina Corbeanu (postdoctoral researcher)
- Larisa-Florentina Nicolaie (PhD student)
- Mihaela-Cătălina Ilie (MA student)

II. A new project: *Istro-Romanian and Istro-Romanians. Legacy and Heritage* (2)

- The overall goal of the project *Istro-Romanian and Istro-Romanians. Legacy and Heritage* is to give a descriptive account of Istro-Romanian (IR), a severely endangered Romance variety, as spoken today in Croatia and in diaspora, and the people who speak this language, focusing on the following dimensions: **linguistics**, **sociolinguistics**, **psycholinguistics**, **language contact**, and **multiculturalism**.

II. A new project: *Istro-Romanian and Istro-Romanians. Legacy and Heritage* (3)

The objectives of the project:

- (O₁) A new collection of texts/data;
- (O₂) An updated Istro-Romanian vocabulary;
- (O₃) A descriptive account of word order in Istro-Romanian;
- (O₄) Linguistic questionnaires.

III. The morphosyntax of Istro-Romanian DPs (1)

- i. Is IR nominal morphology different from standard and/or regional Daco-Romanian?
- ii. Does IR nominal morphology pattern with any other Romance variety?
- iii. What are (if any) the innovations of IR case marking?

III. The morphosyntax of Istro-Romanian DPs (2)

1. Overview

- Balkan Sprachbund (N/Acc vs D/G);
- Case oppositions for nouns almost completely gone;
- Full paradigm for pronouns;

III. The morphosyntax of Istro-Romanian DPs (3)

2. *The Nominative*

Case	Gender	Singular	Plural
N≡ACC	M	<i>-u, (-u), -le</i>	<i>-i, -le¹</i>
N≡ACC	F	<i>-a, -vu²</i>	<i>-le</i>

(1) *Gospodâru* *verit-a* *nâzat*
gentleman.DEF come.PPLE=have.AUX.3.SG back

“The gentleman came back” (TC 86)

(1') *Gospodarul* *a* *venit* *înapoi*

(1'') *Gospodaru* *a* *venit* *înapoi*
gentleman.DEF have.AUX.3.SG come.PPLE back

(2) *Ciuda ũomir, jensche, betăr ři bābe*
many men women old.men and old.women
sapāt-av (TC 12)

dig.pple=have.aux.3.pl

“A lot of men and women, old men and old women started digging”

(2') *Toř ũomiri cāntāt-a de mare vesel'e*
all people.DEF sing.PPLE=have.AUX.3.PL of great joy

“Everybody was singing with great joy” (TC 15)

(3) *Fost-a* *ǎn* *mårle* *stup* (TC 130)

be.PPLE=have.AUX.3.SG INDEF big.DEF beehive

“There was a big beehive”

(4) *Čel'i* *måi* *mårle-s* *nuč* (SF 168)

those more big.DEF.F.PL=are walnuts

“Those are the biggest walnuts”

(5) *Iuva-i* *plamnic* *måi* *måre* (SF 250)

where=is flame more big

“Where the flame is bigger”

(6) a. *Măia* *ți-e* *cu* *înomu* *l'ei*
mother.DEF your.DAT.POS=is with man.DEF she.GEN

“Your mother is with her husband” (TC 104)

b. *Vire* *sveti* *Petru* *în* *căse* (TC 106)

comes holy Peter in house

“Saint Peter comes inside”

(7) *Boris mi-ăv zis (SF 147)*

Boris me.DAT=have.AUX.3.SG tell.PPLE

“Boris told me”

(8) *În familie [...] mi-ă murit căia*

in family me.DAT.POS=have.AUX.3.SG die.PPLE father.DEF

“In my family, my father died” (SF 151)

(9) a. *O vreme când ăv ăncă Maria Tereziie*

a time when have.AUX.3.SG yet Maria Theresa *fost*

be.PPLE

“Once Maria Theresa herself came [to this village]” (SF 45)

b. *Și cum li s-ăv muiăra*

and how his.DAT.POS REFL=have.AUX.3.SG wife.DEF

kemât?

call.PPLE

“And what was his wife’s name?” (SF 48)

Subject pronouns

	1 st person	2 nd person	3 rd person	
			masculine	feminine
singular	<i>ǝ</i>	<i>tu</i>	<i>ǝ</i>	<i>ǝ̃</i>
plural	<i>no }</i>	<i>vo }</i>	<i>ǝl'</i>	<i>ǝ̃le</i>

3. The Accusative

(10) a. *Uâm* *ăntrebât* *pre* *domnu che* *se*
have.AUX ask.PPLE DOM sir.DEF that if
va *dă* *cărstu* *za lu* *țiățe*
will.AUX give.INF christening.DEF DAT father

“I asked God if he would christen my father” (TC 93)

b. *N-a* *nici* *ur* *conoscut* *pre* *iel'*
NEG=has.AUX no one know.PPLE DOM they.ACC

“No one knew them” (TC 9)

(11) *Gvârđiia l-a* *ucis* *pre* *iel'* *guard.DEF CL.ACC.3PL=has.AUX* *kill.PPLE*
DOM they.ACC

“The guard killed them” (TC 73)

(11') *Gardianul i-a* *ucis* *pe* *ei*
guard.DEF CL.ACC.3PL=has.AUX *kill.PPLE* DOM *they.ACC*

- (12) *Ie a batut cu celå mårle băt*
he have.AUX.3.SG beat.PPLE with that big.DEF stick
“He beat [the sword] with that big stick” (TC 123)

Stressed/strong pronouns (Kovaceč 1984: 572)

	1 st person	2 nd person	3 rd person	
			masculine	feminine
Singular	<i>míre</i>	<i>tíre</i>	<i>ǰ</i>	<i>ǰi</i>
Plural	<i>nó }</i>	<i>vó }</i>	<i>ǰl</i>	<i>ǰile</i>

(13) a. *N-ŭăi* *mire* *scutăt*

NEG=have.AUX.2.SG me.ACC listen.PPLE

“You didn’t listen to me” (TC 7)

b. *Ver tu* *mire* *lă* *cu* *tire?*

COND you.SG me.ACC take with you.ACC

“Would you take me with you?” (TC 69)

(14) *Av* *și* *tire* *bătu* *stucit?*

have.AUX.3.SG and you.ACC stick.DEF hit.PPLE

“Has the stick hit you as well?” (TC 20)

Pronominal clitics (Kovaceč 1984: 572)

	1 st person	2 nd person	3 rd person	
			masculine	feminine
Singular	<i>me</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>âl'</i>	<i>o (vo)</i>
Plural	<i>na</i>	<i>va</i>	<i>âl'</i>	<i>le</i>

(15) *Nu m-a vrut ničur luă*
 NEG me.ACC=have.AUX.3.SG want.PPLE nobody take
 “Nobody wanted to take me” (SF 237)

(16) *Io t-oi lă cu mire* (TC 69)
 I you.CL.ACC=FUT take with me.ACC
 “I will take you with me”

Such free distribution never occurs with reflexives. In these cases, only the pronominal clitic is used.

(17) *Zadârjit-m-âm c-ur priiatel'*
 spend.PPLE=me.REFL=have.AUX.1.SG with=INDEF friend
 “I spent some time with a friend” (SF 225)

(18) *Nu mi te¹-âi vrut obeči*
 NEG me.DAT you.REFL.ACC=have.AUX.2.SG want.PPLE promise
 “You didn’t want to become my fiancée” (SF 116)

4. The Genitive and the Possessive

- Dragomirescu and Nicolae (2018: 155–66)

The paradigm of the definite article in the genitive (and dative, for that matter) is given below (cf. Kovačec 1984: 566-569, Sârbu and Frăţilă 1998: 22-23):

Gender	Singular	Plural
M	<i>(a) lu(ş), (a) -lu(ş), a</i>	<i>(a) -lor, a</i>
F	<i>(a) le, lu, -leş a</i>	<i>(a) -lor, a</i>

(19) *Čăsta-i* *fil'a* *lu* *frătele* (SF 55)

this.FEM=is daughter.DEF GEN brother.DEF

“This is my brother’s daughter”

(20) *Drăga, măia* *lu* *Sergio* (SF 55)

Drăga mother.DEF GEN Sergio

“Drăga, Sergio’s mother”

(21) *E-a lu* *Sergio* *se* *kiăma* *Iasmina*

and=GEN Sergio REFL.3.SG call.PR.3.SG Iasmina

“And Sergio’s [daughter] is called Iasmina” (SF 76)

(22) *Ău* *mes* *ân* *a lui* *pât* *durmit*

have.AUX.3.SG go.PPLE in GEN bed sleep.PPLE

“He went to sleep in his bed” (SF 149)

5. The Dative

- (23) a. *Hlăpețu* *lu* *cesăru ...* *zice* *lu* *gospodăru*
guard.DEF GEN emperor.DEF says DAT gentleman.DEF

“The emperor’s guard tells the gentleman” (TC 5)

- b. *Ganescu* *lu* *Mărtin*
tell.PS.1SG DAT Martin

“I’m telling Martin” (TC 18)

- (24) a. *Cea fraierită* *ganę* *lu* *cea* *băbę*
DEF fiancée told DAT DEF old.lady

“The fiancée told the old lady” (TC 7)

- b. *Mărtin...* *ganę* *lu* *mulțera*
Martin told DAT woman.DEF

“Martin told his wife” (TC 19)

(25) *Guârdiia l-a dât cela*
guard.DEF CL.DAT.M.3SG=has.AUX give.PPLE DEF *list lu cela camaier*

letter DAT DEF valet

“The guard gave the letter to the valet” (TC 13)

(26) *L-av zis lu cela mladichi*
CL.DAT.M.3SG=has.AUX tell.PPLE DAT DEF young.man

“He told the young man” (TC 25)

- (27) a. *Av zis a lu tatu*
 they.have.AUX say.PPLE DAT thief.DEF
 “They told the thief” (*Manual* 220)
- b. *Fil’u pisę a lu ceâia*
 son.DEF wrote DAT father
 “The son told his father” (TC 114)
- c. *Atunce av cel’i doi fraț zis*
 then have.AUX DEF two brothers tell.PPLE
a lu Hobo
 DAT Hobo
 “Then the two brothers told Hobo” (TC 117)
- d. *Zmăiu a le măie spus-a*
 dragon.DEF DAT mother tell.PPLE=has.AUX
 “The dragon told the mother” (TC 129)
- Examples (27a–d) above bring IR datives closer to Aromanian (28):
- (28) *L’-disirî al^u fur^u*
 CL.M.DAT.3SG=said DAT thief.DEF
 ‘They told the thief’ (*Manual* 220)

(29) *Va* *cumpară* *za lu* *sę* *fi'e*
will.AUX buy.INF DAT her daughter
“She will buy for her daughter” (TC 8)

(30) *Oștaru* *nepisęit-a* *listu* *mușăt*
publican.DEF write.PPLE=has.AUX letter.DEF nice
za lu *cesăru*
DAT emperor.DEF
“The publican wrote the nice letter for the emperor” (TC 13)

(31) a. *Pure-m* *uocli!*
put.IMPERATIVE=CL.POS-DAT.1SG eyes.DEF
“Put my eyes” (TC 8)

b. *T-oi* *spure nuște*
you.DAT.2SG=will.AUX say.INF something
“I will tell you something” (TC 6)

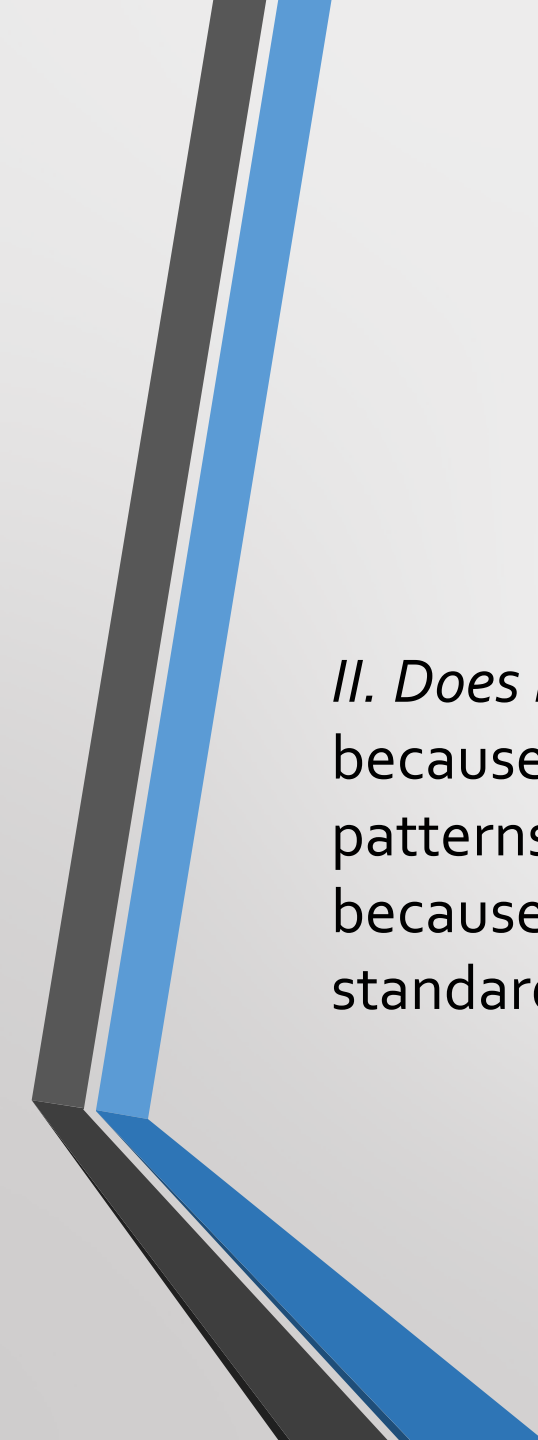
(32) a. *Preftu* *m-a-ntrebât*
priest.DEF CL.ACC.1.SG=has.AUX=ask.PPLE
“The priest asked me” (TC 111)

b. *Cum t-oi* *io* *cea* *voțe* *conoște?*
how you.ACC.2SG=will.AUX I that time know
“How will I know you then?” (TC 39)

- (33) a. *Miie fost-a sila*
 me.DAT be.PPLE-has.AUX hurry.NOM
 “I was in a hurry” (TC 40)
- b. *Nu mî-a niş dât*
 NEG me.DAT=has.AUX nothing give.PPLE
 “He gave me nothing” (TC 23)
- (34) a. *Fraieriþa lui ganę*
 fiancée.DEF DAT.3SG told
 “His fiancée told him” (TC 7)
- b. *Ie-l’ ganę*
 he=CL.DAT.3SG told
 “He told her” (TC 6)
- (35) a. *Martin le ganę*
 Martin CL.DAT.3PL told
 “Martin told them” (TC 18)
- b. *Lucifer ganę lor*
 Lucifer told them.DAT
 “Lucifer told them” (TC 19)
- Doubling with pronouns is also possible:
- (36) a. *Þela mi-e mîi bur miie*
 that me.CL.DAT=is more good me.DAT
 “That one is better for me” (SF 74)
- b. *Ie le ganę lor*
 he CL.DAT.3PL told them.DAT
 “He told them” (TC 89)

IV. Conclusions

I. Is IR nominal morphology different from standard and/or regional Daco-Romanian? NO, because IR shows the same genitive dative syncretism for nouns; has stressed and non-stressed forms of dative clitics; shows synthetic datives with enclitic articles (rarer). YES, because in the south, stressed and non-stressed forms for dative clitics are at least partly neutralized, analytical datives with *lu, a lu, za lu* (some of which are similar to spoken and substandard Romanian).



II. Does IR nominal morphology pattern with any other Romance variety? YES, because at least in part dative-accusative opposition is neutralized, and IR patterns with Aromanian for *a lu / al^u* dative/genitive marking; and NO, because the patterns are inconsistent (explainable given that IR is not standardized).

III. What are (if any) the innovations of IR case marking? Considering the southern IR dative realization with *za lu*, a construction not mentioned in previous literature, the IR case marking proves innovative. At least from the data I had access to, the particularity of the *za lu* dative is unique (and novel) across Romance, in general, and Eastern Romance, in particular (and even across IR varieties), given that a preposition (of Croatian/Slavic origin) combines with a pronominal form (at origin) to mark a dative, whereas in other varieties, for example DR, the dative is formed either synthetically (with an enclitic or proclitic *lui* form), or analytically (substandard) with the preposition *la*, but never combining *la* and *lui*.

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Huåla muşåta!