

MEDLANGCON2019

Minority languages in the Mediterranean

Grammatical aspects of language contact and language decline

Programme (11 June 2019)

Friday, 14 June 2019

Venue: Historische Sternwarte, Lichtenberg-Kolleg, Geismar Landstraße 11, 37083 Göttingen

Time	Speaker(s)	Title
9.00–9.20	REGISTRATION	
Session 1 (chair: <i>Georg Höhn</i>)		
9.20–9.30	Introduction	
9.30–10.30	Marika Lekakou UNIVERSITY OF IOANNINA	Convergence in the absence of contact: the case of Griko and Greko
10.30–10.45	BREAK	
Session 2 (chair: <i>Rodrigo Gutiérrez Bravo</i>)		
10.45–11.15	Johannes Mücke UNIVERSITY OF GRAZ	Infinitive reduction in Corfiot Italian: Language contact and language decline
11.15–11.45	Carolina Spiegel UNIVERSITY OF BREMEN	Contact-induced variation in spoken 21st century Judeo-Spanish in Izmir
11.45–12.15	Leonardo Maria Savoia & Benedetta Baldi UNIVERSITY OF FLORENCE	Inflection, gender class and animate sexed denotation in the Lucanian Arbëresh of Ginestra
12.15–13.45	BREAK	
Session 3 (chair: <i>Evangelia Adamou</i>)		
13.45–14.05	Georg F.K. Höhn UNIVERSITY OF GÖTTINGEN	Observations on quantifiers in Greko
14.05–14.35	Antonio Masotti & Pauline Sander UNIVERSITY OF GÖTTINGEN	Influences of language death and language contact - On the ordering of adjectives in today's Calabrian Greek
14.35–15.05	Saverio Dalpedri & Astrid Rümpfer UNIVERSITY OF GÖTTINGEN	Indirect objects in Calabrian Greek: a fading encoding
15.05–15.20	BREAK	
Session 4 (chair: <i>Georg Höhn</i>)		
15.20–16.20	M. Olimpia Squillaci SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION	Eliciting data from minority languages. Examples from Calabrian Greek
16.20–16.40	BREAK	
Session 5 (chair: <i>Stavros Skopeteas</i>)		
16.40–18.15	LA VOCE DELL'ARBËRIA – THE FEMALE VOICE OF LUNGRO, ALBANIAN CALABRIA Oliver Gerlach	Introduction into the Musical Traditions of il Sud within the Context of Subaltern Orthodoxy
	Anna Stratigò & Maria De Filippo	Concert: The Musical Heritage of the Italo-Albanian community of Lungro
19.30	DINNER AT KARTOFFELHAUS (GOETHEALLEE 8)	

Saturday, 15 June 2019

Venue: Georg-August-University Göttingen, Sprachwissenschaftliches Seminar, Room SPW 0.108, Käte-Hamburger-Weg 3, 37073 Göttingen

Time	Speaker(s)	Title
Session 6 (chair: <i>Stavros Skopeteas</i>)		
9.00–10.00	Evangelia Adamou CNRS	Disentangling effects of language contact, bilingualism, and L1 attrition in the Balkan Sprachbund
10.00–10.15	BREAK	
Session 7 (chair: <i>Saverio Dalpedri</i>)		
10.15–10.45	Anastasia Makarova & Olivier Winistörfer UNIVERSITY OF ZÜRICH	Interference phenomena in the languages of the Western regions of the Republic of North Macedonia
10.45–11.15	Laurentia Schreiber UNIVERSITY OF BAMBERG	Nominal inflection in Romeyka in the light of contact-induced change and language decline: Data from a heritage community in Germany
11.15–11.45	Stavros Skopeteas UNIVERSITY OF GÖTTINGEN	OV-VO in Caucasian Urum
11.45–13.15	BREAK	
Session 8 (chair: <i>Yidong Yu</i>)		
13.15–13.45	Gulshen Sakhatova UNIVERSITY OF GÖTTINGEN	On mood in Cypriot Turkish, Greek induced and non-turkic?
13.45–14.15	Spyros Armostis (OPEN UNIVERSITY OF CYPRUS), Charalambos Christodoulou (MINISTRY OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE, CYPRUS) and Marilena Karyolemou (UNIVERSITY OF CYPRUS)	The VOT of Cypriot Arabic geminate occlusives: convergence towards Cypriot Greek phonology?
14.15–14.30	BREAK	
Session 9 (chair: <i>Georg Höhn</i>)		
14.30–15.30	Alexander Borg BEN GURION UNIVERSITY OF THE NEGEV	The linguistic diachrony of a diaspora community: The case of Cypriot Arabic
15.30–16.45	Final discussion	

Workshop organisers: Georg Höhn and Stavros Skopeteas

Support: Matthias Kracht, Florian Fischer, Maya Gálvez Wimmelmann, Antonio Masotti, Pauline Sander, Andrea Schröter

Disentangling effects of language contact, bilingualism, and L1 attrition in the Balkan Sprachbund

Evangelia Adamou

French National Center for Scientific Research (CNRS)

In this talk, I will argue for the need to disentangle the effects of language contact, bilingualism, and first language (L1) attrition when studying an endangered language. I suggest that it is possible to disentangle between these three processes by bringing in the research field of endangered languages some of the methodological and theoretical advances of the literature on the bilingual individual. Taking the bilingual approach to the field of language endangerment, however, raises several methodological hurdles. I will briefly discuss methods that have successfully been adapted to the field, including among elderly individuals with little or no schooling (e.g. fluency tasks, proficiency tasks, and sociolinguistic questionnaire in Calderon, De Pascale & Adamou 2019).

To illustrate my approach, I will draw on grammatical phenomena from the Balkan Sprachbund. First, I will recount some contact-induced grammatical phenomena that have been identified in the literature through cross-linguistic comparison and examination of diachronic processes (among others Sandfeld 1930 [1926]; Sobolev 2004; Joseph 2010; Friedman & Joseph 2014). Then, based on comparison between speakers of different generations, I will draw attention to contact-induced, ongoing changes at the level of bilingual speakers, in particular, for evidentiality, definite articles, and infinitives (Adamou 2008, 2012, 2013, 2016). Finally, I will examine whether these phenomena could be due to L1 attrition by discussing the data and the speakers' profiles in the light of the literature on bilingualism and L1 attrition (Montrul 2008; Bylund 2009; Schmid, Köpke & de Bot 2012; Schmid 2014).

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The VOT of Cypriot Arabic geminate occlusives: convergence towards Cypriot Greek phonology?

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Cypriot Arabic (CyAr) is a minority language in Cyprus which is severely endangered under the pressure of Cypriot Greek (CyGr). CyAr is characteristically conservative in preserving archaic lexicogrammatical features but at the same time also innovative in adopting morphophonological (and lexical) elements from CyGr, due to the prolonged contact of CyAr with CyGr. One phonological property of CyAr that sets it apart from other Arabic varieties is the phonetic realisation of voiceless geminate occlusives (i.e. plosives and affricates) which are differentiated from their singleton counterparts both in terms of longer closure duration but also in terms of longer release in the form of aspiration (e.g. Borg, 1985; Roth, 1975): e.g. [ʔet̪^he] “hers (plural possession)” vs [ʔet̪^h:e] “(it) rained”. This utilisation of long positive Voice Onset Time (VOT) as an acoustic correlate of voiceless occlusive gemination is typologically very rare (Armosti, 2011) and characteristic of geminating Modern Greek varieties, such as CyGr (see, e.g., Newton, 1972). It is therefore very plausible that the long positive VOT of voiceless geminate occlusives in CyAr is a phonological feature acquired under the influence of CyGr (Borg, 1985: 16). To date, no formal phonetic study has provided VOT values for geminate CyAr occlusives; even Borg’s (1985) phonetic analysis of his fieldwork data involved the observation of spectrograms of geminates produced by a single speaker. The present study aims to fill that gap by acoustically analysing such segments with a more controlled experimental design in a laboratory setting and by using modern instrumental techniques.

Apart from investigating this point of convergence of CyAr towards CyGr, the present study sets out to examine an aspect of CyAr gemination that differs from CyGr, namely the phonetic realisation of the phonologically voiced geminates /bb/ and /dd/ (such segments do not exist in CyGr). Due to their diachronic origin and function in the language, these geminates are represented phonologically as [+voiced]: e.g., /ʔedde/ “(he) tightened”. However, the exact phonetic realisation of /bb/ and /dd/ has not yet been determined: are they just voiceless plosives with virtually zero VOT or do they exhibit negative VOT—and, if so, to what extent (i.e. are they fully or partially voiced)? Borg (1985: 28) calls /dd/ a “voice-indifferent” segment and disagrees with Roth (1975) who described its realisation as being even sometimes aspirated. This lack of an exact

understanding of the phonetic nature of /bb/ and /dd/ calls for their acoustic examination, something that comprises the second objective of the present study.

We thus designed and conducted an instrumental acoustic study on CyAr occlusives in order to examine the exact phonetic realisation, in terms of VOT, of (i) the voiceless singletons [p t k c tʃ]; (ii) the voiceless geminates [p^h: t^h: k^h: c^h: tʃ^h:]; and (iii) the arguably [+voiced] geminates /bb dd/. Six native speakers of CyAr were recorded in a sound-treated booth pronouncing test words containing the target segments; the test words were embedded in specific carrier phrases. The recordings were then acoustically analysed in the Praat speech processing software (Boersma & Weenink, 2008) in order for durational properties of CyAr occlusives to be measured, namely, closure duration, VOT and—in the case of affricates—frication.

Preliminary analysis of the data collected indicated durational values of CyAr voiceless singletons and geminates which were close to the respective values reported in acoustic studies on CyGr occlusive gemination (see Armosti, 2011 for a review of such studies). As for the geminates /bb dd/, some variability was observed regarding negative VOT with realisations falling between completely voiceless [p[̥]: t[̥]:] and fully voiced [b: d:]. The analysis of more data is expected to shed more light on the matter.

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Inflection, gender class and animate sexed denotation in the Lucanian Arbëresh of Ginestra

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In Arbëresh dialects spoken in Southern Italian communities of Albanian origin, nouns are characterized by a morphological system that distinguishes three gender classes, feminine, masculine and neuter (Demiraj 1985, Manzini/ Savoia 2017, forthcoming). In some nominal classes, the indefinite inflection of the plural coincide with the definite inflection of the singular, as evidenced by the following schema:

		singular definite nominative	plural indefinite nominative
(1)	feminine	-a	-a
	masculine	-i/-u	-a/ [C,+high]
	neuter	-t	(-ər-a)

Adjectives share the same inflectional system of nouns and agree in number, gender and case with nouns in the traditional terms known for Indo-European languages. Furthermore, in Albanian a linker (adjectival article) precedes the adjective, in turn agreeing in number, gender and case, with the noun, as illustrated in (2) for Ginestra.

(2)	vaiz-a	iʃt	a	mað-a	
	girl-FSG	is	Lkr.FSG	big-FDG	
	‘the girl is big’				

As regards the morphology of neuter, it is of note that in the most preservative dialects, the definite singular is characterized by the same –t inflection that occurs in the definite plural of masculines and feminines. The plural inflection characterizes also demonstratives and other pre-nominal modifiers. Differently from the agreement with demonstratives and pre-nominal/adjectival articles, agreement with the verb and adjectives is in the singular. as in (3), for Calabrian variety of Firmo.

(3)	kt-a	diaθ / diaθ-t	əʃt	tə	barð	
	this-PL	cheese / cheese.N-DEF	is	Lkr.PL	white	Firmo

However, a remarkable microvariation emerges in different Italo-Albanian dialects, involving the relation between neuter, plural inflection and the agreement with demonstratives and, in general, adjectives (Baldi/ Savoia 2017, 2018, Manzini/ Savoia 2017a). The analysis proposed in Manzini/ Savoia (2017) and Baldi/ Savoia (2018) is that neuter corresponds to a mass (aggregate) interpretation. This is associated with the inflection otherwise lexicalizing the count plural, by virtue of the relation between mass and plural interpretation (Acquaviva 2008, Wiese 2012). In other Lucanian Arbëresh varieties, neuter combines with feminine agreement on determiners and adjectives, as in (4a) for Barile. In Ginestra, adjectives have the masculine, differently from the determiners, that select the feminine, as in (4b).

(4)	a.	mil-t	iʃt	a	barð-a		
		flour.N-DEF	is	Lkr.FSG	white-FSG	Barile	
		‘the flour is white’					
	b.	miʃ-tə /	kj-ɔ	miʃ	iʃt	i	ɲgurt-i
		meat.N-DEF/	this.FSG	meat.N	is	Lkr.MSG	tough.MSG
		‘the meat/ this meat is tough’					Ginestra

All in all, we observe that –t of neuter is compatible with the singular in the verb and with the plural in demonstratives and adjectives, in (2), or with the feminine in determiners and adjectives, in (4a) or masculine in (4b) (Manzini / Savoia 2017, Baldi/ Savoia 2018). Actually, in the variety of Ginestra, the agreement between nouns and adjectives is sensitive to the class gender of the noun, whereby the gender distinction in demonstratives and linker-adjective combinations characterizes only sexed human or animate count nouns, as in (5a). All other nouns, while presenting the specialized masculine –i/-u or feminine –a definite inflection depending on the class, demonstratives have the feminine

inflection and adjectives have the masculine inflection, as in (5b). In other words, the same distribution of the neuter appears.

- (25) a. a-i cən ijt i meir-i / diaʎ-i i mað-i ijt ktu
 that.MSG dog is Lkr.MSG good.MSG / boy-MSG Lkr.MSG big-MSG is here
 ‘that dog is good’ ‘the grown-up boy is here’
 ai-ɔ vaiz ijt a meir-a / vaiz-a a mað-a ijt ktu
 that.FSG girl is Lkr.FSG good-FSG / girl-FGS Lkr.FSG big-FSG is here
 ‘that girl is good’ ‘the grown-up girl is here’
- b. məsal-a i mað-i ijt ktu
 tabelcloth-FSG Lkr.MSG big-MSG is here
 ‘the tablecloth is here’
 kmij-a / kjɔ kmij ijt i kuc-i
 shirt-FSG / this.FSG shirt is Lkr.MSG red-MSG
 ‘the short/ this short is red’
 bukir-i / kjɔ bukir ijt i meir-i
 glass-MSG / this.FSG glass is Lkr.MSG good-MSG
 ‘the glass/ this glass is good’

Ginestra

The surface distribution of the agreement inflection is only apparently confused; on the contrary, two interpretive principles come into play. The referential force of demonstratives inflection is preserved, so much so that they are able to distinguish masculine and feminine sexed human/ animate referents. What is to be explained is the generalization of feminine in demonstratives.

- (26) kjɔ trɛiz ijt fɔrt-u
 this.FSG table is strong-MSG
 ‘this table is strong’
 kjɔ grua / ki bur ijt pulit-u
 this.FSG woman / this.MSG man is clean-MSG
 ‘this woman/ this man is clean’

Ginestra

As for the generalization of masculine in adjectives, as in (5b), it coincides with the solution adopted in the case of the Romance adjectival borrowings, that generalize the masculine inflection *-u*, in (6). This would suggest that masculine gender is deficient in denotational properties, so that it occurs whenever an invariable basic agreement is required. Less clear is the preference for feminine agreement on demonstratives and adjectives. We can only suppose that feminine has a content suitable to externalize the aggregate content of the neuter sub-class. This possibility relies on the observation that feminine class inflection *-a* includes in Albanian both plural and feminine singular readings.

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The linguistic diachrony of a diaspora community: The case of Cypriot Arabic

Cypriot Maronite Arabic is a unique and highly endangered non-literate diaspora vernacular of Arabic spoken natively since the Middle Ages by a traditionally agrarian community that comprised at the outset of my research in the early 1980s, about 2000 members affiliated to the Cypriot Maronite Church. The aim of my presentation is to outline salient aspects of its evolutionary profile in contact with Cypriot Greek, particularly, in the realm of phonology. I shall also outline some striking parallels of CMA historical typology with Maltese, both being the outcome of complete separation from the Arabic-speaking world, linguistic interaction with Indo-European (i.e., Greek and Italian, respectively), the Christian and Catholic affiliation of their speaker communities, and their Mediterranean and insular habitat.

Indirect objects in Calabrian Greek: a fading encoding

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As is well known, the dative case declined in Greek starting already in the first centuries of the *koiné* (as early as by Polybius' time), and fell completely out of use in the spoken language by the 9th–10th century CE, cf. Humbert (1930: 199–200); Horrocks (2010: 284–5); Holton *et al.* (2019). The dative was replaced in its core function as marker of indirect objects (IOs) by the genitive or by the accusative – by the bare accusative in case of clitic person pronouns and by prepositional phrases governing the accusative in case of full noun phrases (though the details are more complex and there are often fluctuations even within the same text). This split seems to consolidate at the latest by the 15th c., or possibly much earlier (Lendari and Manolessou 2003), along a clear geographical line: northern varieties, together with Pontic and Cappadocian, eventually favoured the accusative, while the other dialects opted for the genitive (Horrocks 2010: 284).

Standard Modern Greek has at its disposal both encoding strategies, when the IO is a noun phrase: this can stand in the bare genitive or can be expressed by a prepositional phrase (PP) with $\sigma(\epsilon)$ *s(e)* governing the accusative. However, the strategy with the PP is the more usual, while the former choice is not common (Holton *et al.* 2012: 251, 337), but is perceived by some speakers as archaic or dialectal.

According to the grammatical descriptions (like Rohlfs 1977: 184), Calabrian Greek does show both possibilities, too: cf. Bovesè *ípa tu filu* “I told to-the friend” with the bare genitive, as well as *édika 's tin gazzéd̄da* “I gave to the girl” with a PP governed by *s(e)*, which precedes the accusative – note that Rohlfs' notation 's is merely historical, implying that the preposition is the result of apheresis from $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ [is]. This variation is attested in Southern Italy for the medieval period, too: cf. $\acute{\alpha}\phi\iota\omega$ $\tau\omicron\upsilon$ $\nu\iota\omicron\lambda\acute{\alpha}\omicron\upsilon$ $\nu\iota\omicron\upsilon$ $\tau\eta\varsigma$ $\mu\alpha\rho\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$ $\mu\acute{\alpha}\upsilon\rho\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ $\beta\tilde{\omega}\iota\delta\iota\omicron\nu$ $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ “I leave to Nicolaos, son of Maria Maura, one ox” (from Lombardus Russus' testament laid down on August 1265 CE, ed. Trinchera 1865: 428) with the genitive vs. $\delta\omega\rho\acute{\omicron}\upsilon\mu\alpha\iota$ $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}$ $\acute{\alpha}\phi\alpha\iota\rho\tilde{\omega}$ $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ $\tau\eta\nu$ $\mu\omicron\nu\eta\nu$ $\tau\omicron\upsilon$ $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\iota\omicron\upsilon$ $\pi\rho\omega\tau\omicron\mu\alpha\rho\tau\upsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma$ $\sigma\tau\epsilon\phi\alpha\nu\omicron\upsilon$ [...] $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}$ $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ $\sigma\acute{\epsilon}$ $\tau\omicron\nu$ $\pi\rho\omicron\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\acute{\omega}\tau\alpha$ $\mu\acute{\alpha}\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\omega\rho\alpha$ $\kappa\upsilon\rho\omicron\nu$ $\nu\iota\omicron\lambda\acute{\alpha}\omicron\nu$ $\mu\omicron\nu\alpha\chi\omicron\nu$ “*dono et offero monasterio sancti Protomartyris Stephani [...] et tibi praefecto magistro domino Nicolao monacho*” (from Curbulinus' testament laid down in Crotona in March 1159, ed. Trinchera 1865: 207) with two PPs governed by $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ [is].

In turn, the intense language contact between Calabrian Greek and Romance led to the creation of the construction of the so-called Greek-style dative (or *dativo greco*) in several Romance varieties of Southern Calabria. In addition to the usual PPs built with the preposition *a* ‘to’, IOs such as recipient arguments can take the genitival preposition *di* ‘of’: cf. *la machina, nci la vindu di nu studentu* “I’ll sell the car to a student” (cf. Ledgeway 2013: 194). The construction of this alternative encoding can be easily analysed as originating from Calabrian Greek due to the fact that the IOs appear also in the genitive case, as explained above. However, the expression of IOs with *di* is not indiscriminate, since the *dativo greco* carries a specific pragmatic implication (Ledgeway, 2013: 192–195): in this case, the IO marked by *di* refers to a definite person known by the speaker, whom s/he chooses not to name explicitly.

We reckon that a diachronic investigation can deliver promising insights onto the development of the encoding of IOs, given the time span of the linguistic documentation at our disposal. This

ranges from the (post-)Byzantine period to the present time, with an extensive corpus of texts collected in the *Grecia calabra* during ca. 1850 through 1950.

The purpose of our fieldwork was, primarily, to track down the existence of variation in the marking of noun phrase IOs in modern Calabrian Greek as well as in those Romance varieties known to possess the *dativo greco* construction. Secondly, our aim was to pin down the factors leading to choose a particular way of encoding IOs instead of the other. With regard to this, we were looking for parameters that would determine the use of the preposition *se* or the genitive for IOs in Calabrian Greek, by varying gender, number, definiteness and animacy of the NP.

In fact, these parameters turned out to have a certain importance with only one fully fluent speaker. As for the other ones, we could not identify a coherent grammatical pattern, but various ways of marking (or not marking) the IO emerged in accordance with different degrees of linguistic competence. On the whole, we could observe a cline towards the loss of morphological complexity: several speakers used repeatedly mixed forms (with only either the article or the noun marked for case) or a sort of basic, uninflected form. In conclusion, it seems that the varieties of Calabrian Greek of our informants do not a coherent system, at least as far as the construction of IOs is concerned. This would clearly point to a situation of language decline – a conclusion strengthened by the fact that the most speakers we interviewed in fact abandoned Greek as the language used in their daily communication.

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Introduction into the Musical Traditions of *il Sud* within the Context of Subaltern Orthodoxy

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One knows from linguistic studies of first language acquisition, that musical competences also lay behind language creativity, although both are not identical. Among the young generation of Griko (the small linguistic enclaves of Italo-Greek in Aspromonte and in Salento) and Arbëresh speakers (many Italo-Albanian communities between Abruzzo and Sicily) these languages are no longer the first languages, but they are now regarded as part of the local heritage of *Il Sud* connected with song and dance.

This linguistic point of view is ahistorical with respect to Southern Italy, since its history is based on the earliest archaeological evidence which are foundations of Poleis along the Southern Italian coast. The picture of *il Sud* today is completely different, since its rural culture became disregarded as strange, criminal and precarious, backwards and superstitious even by anthropologists of the Italian school who were not familiar with it. The current teaching of ethnomusicologists is not up to the challenge to understand and to transcribe its musical heritage and incapable to understand the complex musical memory behind it.

In my introduction I would like to question the deformed view on tarantella (and its mumbo jumbo about the Dionysos cult) which favours the subject of urban neo-tarantism before an accurate study of the rich local diversity as it does still exist, despite of misled minority policies which have become a serious threat to any kind of local diversity, whether of language or of music. The tarantella is in its very essence a para-liturgical dance, it has no ethnic marker and it is a mainstream culture of Southern Italy which never existed in the Balkans! Nevertheless, it combines in itself almost all musical genres and usually encourages the improvisation of texts in the local language (whatever the language is!), and it is fully embedded in the spiritual world of subaltern Orthodoxy. Nevertheless, as a dance it goes across the boundaries of language, of religion and of ethnic identity. The description includes traditional, modern and hybrid forms of tarantella, the combination of genres and its satirical forms which combines love song and dance with political criticism.

Interference phenomena in the languages of the Western regions of the Republic of North Macedonia

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Western Macedonia is a region characterized by a long tradition of intense interethnic exchange, which has consequently led to strong and long-range language contact between the three main languages spoken in this part of the country: Macedonian, Albanian, and Aromanian.

In this presentation, we deal with lexical and grammatical interference phenomena found in written texts and oral narratives of bilingual speakers of three dialect varieties in the context of language contact gathered during our fieldwork. The data were gathered from native speakers of Macedonian speaking Albanian as a second language, as well as native speakers of Albanian or Aromanian speaking Macedonian as a second language.

The lexical interference phenomena are analysed according to Mueyeskin's (2013) trichotomy of code switching: *alternation*, *congruent lexicalization*, and *insertion* (for insertion-type of code-switching see example below):

- (1) *Avea un muleari ci(AROM) ne zapozna(MAC).*
have.3SG.AOR a woman which us introduce.3SG.AOR
'There was a woman who introduced us to each other.' (Aromanian, own data)

The phenomena of grammatical contact-induced language change in question are a) the emergence of the *iterative/ habitual/ simple past* meaning of the Aromanian future tense forms under the influence of the respective usage in Macedonian (as in the following example):

- (2) *Ka tute dză-le ši asera. kăndu mi*
how all-PL.F day-DEF.PL and yesterday when REFL.1SG
skula-i prota va mi
wake.up-1SG.AOR first **PART.FUT REFL.1SG**
lau me va z'
wash.1SG.PRS PRON.PERS.1SG.DAT PART.FUT SUBJ
bag nafură di la biserik-ă pi
put.1SG.PRS altar.bread from in church-INDEF.F on
inim-a adun-ă
heart-DEF.F lenten

'Every day, just like yesterday, when I get up, I usually wash myself and eat a piece of altar bread on empty stomach.' (Aromanian, own research)

b) the loss of the admirative mood in some Albanian Tosk dialects in Macedonia, where the *admirative* semantic is expressed by the form of the analytic perfect.

- (3) *Aq shum asnjher nuk kam shitur!*
So much never NEG have.1SG.PRS PTCP
'I have never sold so much!' (Aromanian, own research)

Based on the analysis of interference phenomena in the speech of the bilinguals in Western Macedonia, general conclusions on the sociolinguistic effects of language contact will be drawn. In the context of language contact in multilingual societies of Western Macedonia, one can observe two possible outcomes of this intense language contact: 1) slow language shift and 'death' of the Aromanian varieties; 2) language maintenance and long coexistence of Albanian and Macedonian in bilingual villages.

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Influences of language death and language contact - On the ordering of adjectives in today's Calabrian Greek

Recent work on the Southern Italian Greek has investigated the nominal structure of these minority languages. Therein, the ordering of the adjectives and the influences of Modern Greek and Italian local varieties with their diverging constructions have been investigated (Guardiano and Stavrou 2014). The description of Greko's nominal system is however mostly based on older written sources. Our aim therefore was to compare the data given in the articles to data of today's spoken Greko.

In this presentation, we describe and classify our findings. It will be shown that Greko exhibits influences of both local Italian varieties and Modern Greek. Italian borrowed structures have already been noted by Guardiano and Stavrou, although they have been thought to be much less common. The importance of Modern Greek as a contact language, on the other hand, is a new insight. Additionally, we have found that the main contact language (Italian or Greek) differs from speaker to speaker, accounting for the different grammars we found.

Guardiano, Cristina; Stavrou, Melita (2014). "Greek and Romance in Southern Italy. History and contact in nominal structures". In: *L'Italia dialettale* LXXV, 121-147.

Antonio Masotti and Pauline Sander, Georg-August-Universität Göttingen

Infinitive reduction in Corfiot Italian: Language contact and language decline

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Infinitival loss has been described as a major feature of the Southeast European linguistic area. Yet, “the Balkan languages differ rather dramatically in the extent to which they show the loss of the infinitive” (Joseph 1983: 242). Furthermore, there are languages spoken in Southeast Europe which are not always included into the linguistic area, such as Balkan Judezmo (cf. Friedman & Joseph 2014) or Balkan Turkish varieties (cf. Matras & Tufan 2007), and dialects of South Italy (cf. Rohlfs 1922, 1997), that also show similar patterns of syntactical re-structuring to a certain extent. Another idiom that shows a reduction of infinitival complementation is the Italian variety spoken in Corfu. In this talk, older and more recent data of Corfiot Italian (also Corfioto) will be compared in order to contribute to the research on infinitive reduction and to discuss the question, if this pattern could be interpreted as a case of areal convergence in Southeast Europe.

Corfiot Italian is still remembered and partially spoken by a few people belonging to the Jewish community in Corfu, Greece. It originated in the century-long Venetian domination of the island (from 1387 until 1797) and the immigration of Apulian Jews after their expulsion from Southern Italy (between 1492 and 1540) (Belleli 1905, Cortelazzo 1947, 1948, Levi 1961). Corfioto displays a number of Venetian (and, to some extent, also Apulian) dialectal features, lexical and grammatical borrowings from Standard Modern Greek and Hebrew loanwords. Language competence is in decline and speakers are shifting to Modern Greek, the dominant language of all speakers. Spoken language data shows a continuum between standard Italian and dialectal speech.

The study of (lexical and grammatical) language contact has recently been subject to more data-driven and typologically-oriented research (cf. e.g. Matras & Sakel 2007). Adamou (2016) has added insights from a quantitative corpus-driven study of language contact in endangered languages. These approaches can also be applied to the study of the infinitive reduction in Corfiot Italian. Until now, the lexical and structural aspects of Corfioto have not been studied extensively. Previous research provided only few language examples. However, the reduced used of infinitival complements was mentioned and described by Belleli (1905: 4), Cortelazzo (1948: 31-33), and Levi (1961: 31), as well as, more recently and more detailed, by Nachtmann (2002: 42-44). Beside these studies, Corfioto did not gain much attention in dialectological research. It was mentioned briefly by Massariello Merzagora (1977: 40) and was judged as “poco più che fantasmatica” by Aprile (2012: 15).

In this talk, the variation of finite and infinitival complementation in Corfiot Italian is investigated. The study is based on spoken language data from three interviews conducted in 2016 in Corfu and compared with Nachtmann's (2002) data, taking also into consideration interviews of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (USHMM) Greece documentation project (USHMM 1996).

Though it can be noted that in Corfioto the usage of the infinitive in general is in accordance with Standard Italian and with Veneto dialects, the data show some variation regarding the arguments of certain verbs (e.g. modal verbs and verbs of motion) with co-referential subjects. While in Standard Italian and in Veneto dialects the argument is expressed by an infinitive (Skytte et al. 1991, Mayerthaler et al. 1993), in Corfioto a construction of subordinate finite clauses with subordination markers (SM) /ke/ (example 1) and seldom /ku/ (example 2) can be observed:

- (1) mi nɔn 'pɔso ke 'stago
I NEG can.1SG.IND.PRS that/SM stay.1SG.IND.PRS
'I cannot stay' [2016-RA-1, RA 01:06:02]
- (2) 'vo(l)jo ku 'vado ke 'trov-o
want.IND.PRS.1SG SM go.IND.PRS.1SG that/SM find-IND.PRS.1SG
un kor'fjoto
a Corfiote
'I want to go to find a Corfiote.' [2016-RA-2, RA 00:43:05]

The phenomena in question can be explained as a result of language contact between Corfiot Italian and Modern Greek. However, it is not surprising to find a similar pattern of restricted infinitival usage in South Italian dialects of Salento and Calabria, where the origin of the construction is ascribed to contact with the Greek dialects spoken in South Italy (cf. Rohlfs 1922; Rohlfs 1997; Ledgeway 2013).

By investigating this type of constructions and the reduction of infinitival use in Corfioto, the question is discussed if Corfioto participates in Balkan areal convergence in the sense Friedman & Joseph (2014: 19) put it for Balkan Judezmo, that “‘membership’ in a Sprachbund is not defined by the accumulation of points, but by participation in processes of various types of convergence at various linguistic levels”. Given the historical connections between the Corfiot Jews and Apulia, the “strengthening of tendencies” (cf. Friedman & Joseph 2014: 11 for Balkan Judezmo) that already existed in Salentino could play a role as well. Other processes at work triggering the variation between finite and infinitival complements may be Italianization resp. the influence of Standard Italian (cf. De Mauro 2002 [1963]), and language attrition, since “the reduction of subordinate clauses” is a common manifestation of language death (Wolfram 2002: 774).

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On mood in Cypriot Turkish, *Greek induced* and *non-turkic*?

The present contribution focuses on the grammatical form in Cypriot Turkish [hereafter as CT], which composes of the Voluntative markers -(y)AyIn/-AyIm for the first person singular or -sIn for the third person singular and of the copula -idi [hereafter referred to as <Vol+-(i)di>]. It is very vital and actively used in CT to express different modal semantics such as (irreal) wish, intention, necessity *etc.*, for instance:

- (1) *ister* *gid-eyimdi* /*git-sindi*
want-s(h)e go-Vol1SG-idi / go-Vol3SG-idi
's(h)e wants (that) I (would/should) go' / s(h)e wants (that) s(he) (would/should) go'
- (2) *al-ayım-dī* *o zaman?*
take-Vol1SG-idi then
'should I take (it) then?'

Previous scholars such as Abdurrazak (2012), Demir (2002a, 2002b, 2007a, 2007b), Demir&Johanson (2006), Gulle (2011), Kappler&Tsiplakou (2015), Kappler (2008) have already analysed and compared syntactical properties of the <Vol +-(i)di> constructions in CT with analogies in Standard Turkish [ST] or in Turkish varieties in Turkey and beyond as well as in Cypriot Greek [CG], for instance:

CT (1) *ister gideyimdi/gitsindi*

ST (1) *git-mem- i* / *git-me-sini* *istiyor*
go-VNPOSS-ACC go-VN-POSS3SG wants s(he)
's(h)e wants (that) I (would/should) go home' / s(h)e wants (that) s(he) (would/should) go'

While the CT speaker uses <Vol+-(i)di> to express possibility, wish *etc.*, the ST speaker achieves the same purposes by other distinctive grammatical means, such as nominalised verbs [above abbreviated as VN]. This kind of morphological differences in expressing modality between CT and ST have arguably led previous scholars to consider that the morphologic paradigm <Vol +-(i)di> in CT might to be a contact-induced phenomenon, resulting from language contacts between Cypriot Greek and Cypriot Turkish, since this morphological mean in CT is alien not only to the Standard Turkish in particular, but also to the Turkic verbal system in common. The *non-turkic* origin of <Vol+-(i)di> remains thus, a generally accepted view in the research praxis on Cypriot Turkish syntax features. However, this assumption needs a scrutiny. I would like to demonstrate results of my research, in which I investigated the origin of the paradigm in discussion, expanding the frames of languages and compared mood and modality specifics in Cypriot Turkish with those equivalents in different other relative Turkic languages [cf. Sakhatova 2019, 2018, 2016]. I will further, portray the form <Vol +-(i)di> with references to the Common Turkic, discussing examples from Old and Middle Turkic texts together with numerous examples from the own CT language bank that

date back to both the city-koine [Turkish variety in Nicosia] and village vernaculars.¹ Furthermore, for equivalent semantics in Cypriot Turkish, which have moreover, different possible readings and interpretations, there are remarkable similar morphological markers found in Turkic languages such as in (colloquial) Turkish as well as Turkmen in Turkmenistan or Turkic in Iran. Further, the issue about the origin of the marker *-(i)di* in *<Vol+-(i)di>* remains a controversial one. I will end my presentation with findings and discussion, after having shortly introduced some representative viewpoints and hypotheses on *-(i)di* in *<Vol+-(i)di>* also in the context of the issue *category interactions <voluntative mood + tense copula (?) or nominal split(?)>* [cf. Kononov 1980; Starostov 1971].

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¹ The own CT language data bank is collected during my residences in 2014 and 2016 in Cyprus. Informants with CT were at the age of 50 and 70 residing in Nicosia, Pila, Lepta, Potamia/Dereliköy, and Karpaz.

Nominal inflection in Romeyka in the light of contact-induced change and language decline: Data from a heritage community in Germany

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Workshop “Minority Languages in the Mediterranean – Grammatical Aspects of Language Contact and Language Decline”

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This paper presents aspects of the system of nominal inflection in the endangered minority language Romeyka, under consideration of language contact and language decline as reflected in intergenerational data from a diaspora community in Germany.

Romeyka is a variety of Asia Minor Greek (Indo-European) spoken for about two millennia at the southern Black Sea coast in Turkey at the district of Trabzon (Sitaridou 2013, 2014a/b). Due to the mountainous geographical profile of the area, Romeyka displays a high amount of micro-variation with varying degrees of mutual contact influence with the dominant national language Turkish (non-Indo-European) for at least 200 years; while Romeyka has arguably influenced the phonology of the regional Turkish varieties (Brendemoen 2002, 2006), Turkish influences on Romeyka affect all grammatical domains. In the light of labour migration from the Trabzon area to larger cities in Turkey and to Germany since the 1960s, Romeyka has apart from the long-running contact situation with Turkish developed traits of a heritage language and is now – dependent upon the speech community – in rapid decline (Schreiber & Sitaridou 2017). With regard to the structural features influenced by contact, I argue that it needs to be distinguished between whether the agents of transfer are dominant in the recipient or the source language (Lucas 2015, i.a.) as both will target different grammatical domains.

Although a considerable body of research on the grammar of Romeyka has been established in the last years (see Sitaridou 2014b and references therein; Neocleous 2017; Schreiber 2018), we still lack anything even approaching a comprehensive description of Romeyka grammar. The present work focusses on aspects of nominal inflection in heritage speakers of Romeyka in Germany, and attempts to explore differences between contact-induced language change, and L1 attrition or incomplete acquisition in the process of language decline.

The data stem from four structured interviews including translation tasks from Turkish and are based upon a questionnaire developed within the *Atlas of the Languages of Iran* Project for the purpose of general morphosyntactic description (<https://carleton.ca/iran/questionnaires>). Although by no means ideal data for language contact research, in combination with the closely monitored sociolinguistic and acquisitional variables of the speakers, these data present an initial point of departure for considering mechanisms at work in language decline. Data will be presented from two different generations and two diaspora speech communities: three participants are heritage speakers of Romeyka (and Turkish) in Germany. As a control, the fourth participant is a native speaker of Romeyka living in Istanbul. All speaker stem from the same dialect group, although not the same speech community.

As a starting point, I focus on the following categories of nominal inflection which exhibit considerable variability in the data: (i) definiteness, (ii) gender, (iii) case (see ex. 1 below). Unsurprisingly, some of the changes are in line with what Karatsareas (2011, 2014) and Janse (2004) discuss for the Cappadocian variety of Asia Minor Greek, suggesting that we are probably dealing with a conspiracy of long-term language internal changes interacting with contact effects. A particular challenging issue is the analysis of case and definiteness, which suggest considerable internal re-structuring and some exaptation of the inherited morphology to novel functions.

- (1) a. **Ts**=*Aišes* *ta* *tria* *t*=*aðelfæs* *okul-a* *plane.* (52-year old
DEF.PREP⁹=Aise.GEN DEF three DEF=sibling.PL school-DAT(TR) go.3PL heritage speaker)
- b. **T**=*Aišes* *ta* *tria* *d*=*aðelfæ* *so* *mekteb-in* *bane.* (90-year old
DEF=Aise.GEN DEF three DEF=sibling.PL PREP school-[?] go.3PL native speaker)
- c. **S**=*Aišes* *ø* *tria* *ø* *patsiðæs* *so* *mekteb-in* *bane.* (47-year old
PREP=Aise.GEN ø three ø girl.PL PREP school-[?] go.3PL heritage speaker)
‘Aise’s three sisters go to school.’
Ayše's three small siblings go to school
Tr. *Ayşe'nin üç küçük kardeşi okula gidiyor.*

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Contact-induced variation in spoken 21st century Judeo-Spanish in Izmir.

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As a result of an internal migration in the 20th century, the only Sephardic communities left in Turkey in the 21st century remain in Istanbul, Izmir and Bursa (cf. Altabev 2003). The last records of the Sephardic community indicate that there are 1300 Jewish residents in Izmir. Nonetheless, the “exodus” of young Sephardim is on the rise, and therefore, the Sephardic population in Izmir is diminishing as these young Sephardim move to Istanbul or emigrate to Canada, the USA, Israel or Europe.

The following paper focuses on giving an overview of contact-induced morphosyntactic phenomena in the spoken variety of Judeo-Spanish in İzmir, based on extracts of twelve biographical narrative interviews (three double and nine single interviews conducted in 2015 and 2016 in the Sephardic community of Izmir) which are taken from the *Corpus Oral del Judeoespañol de Turquía del Siglo XXI* (COJUT XXI).

Judeo-Spanish, Turkish and French were part of the linguistic repertoire of the multilingual Sephardic society in Istanbul at the beginning of the 20th century. The relevance of Judeo-Spanish and Turkish (all interviewed speakers are bilingual) as well as French can still be seen in the linguistic repertoire of the Sephardi Jews both in Istanbul and in Izmir (cf. Varol-Bornes 2009). In the 21st century, Modern Spanish (Castilian) is emerging as an important contact language of Judeo-Spanish in Turkey as reflected in the linguistic repertoire of the fifteen interviewed speakers (cf. Spiegel 2018).

Hebrew, Italian and English play a secondary role, but nevertheless contribute to the contact-induced alternation. Portuguese and Greek do not belong to the linguistic repertoire of the interviewed speakers in Izmir. However, very few traces of the Greek influence on Judeo-Spanish in Izmir can be found on the lexical level, for example *papu* ‘grandfather’, *parea* ‘group of friends’ and *piron* ‘fork’.

The linguistic analysis focuses on contact-induced variation by Turkish as the main contact language. The following examples (1) – (2) point out the influence of Turkish:

- (1) Ke *cheshit* de *tutun kulaneash*? No entendyo. [...] Es en turko. (İZM_G_f_2016_2_726)
‘What kind of tobacco do you use? He did not understand. [...] It’s Turkish.’

In example (1) a hybrid verb (form) (cf. Varol-Bornes 2009) can be found: *kulaneash*. Judeo-Spanish combines the root *kulan-* of the Turkish verb form *kullanmak* and adds the Judeo-Spanish infinitive verbal ending *-ear*. In the example (1), we can find the verb ending of the second person plural *-eash*.

On the morphosyntactic level, examples (2) and (3) manifest the lack of the preposition *a* which normally indicates the direction of the action in Judeo-Spanish (*a Ankara*) as (modern) Spanish does. Turkish marks the dative with the suffix *-(y/n)e/a* (*Ankara 'ya*). The lack of the preposition

as well as the lack of a grammatical form indicating the direction of the movement characterizes the speech of two speakers of Judeo-Spanish in Izmir

(2) Avia un lugar de djudyos (e) no se si ø Ankara no tyenes ido? (ÍZM_C_f_2016_1_07)
'There was a place for Jews (e) I don't know if you have been **to** Ankara?'

(3) Me fui ø enstitü. (ÍZM_F_f_2016_2_23)
'I went **to** school.'

In contrast to (2) and (3), examples (4) and (5) manifest the preposition *a* for the direction of action:

(4) Mos fuimos **a** Espanya. Mus suvimus **a** un oto. (ÍZM_B_f_2016_3_45)
'We went **to** Spain. We got **in** a car.'

(5) Salir **a** la kaleja no avia de espantar. (ÍZM_M_f_2015_1_152)
'Nobody had to be afraid **to** go out on the street.'

The paper discusses whether the lack of the preposition *a* has to be analyzed as a result of the Judeo-Spanish-Turkish language contact or as an internal evolution (simplification) in spoken 21st century Judeo-Spanish in Turkey.

The decline of Judeo-Spanish has been predicted since the early 70s (cf. Harris 1994). According to the Ethnologue report the status of Judeo-Spanish in Turkey is "shifting" (cf. Eberhard/Simons/Fenning 2019). The speakers themselves say that the number of Turkish Sephardim speaking Judeo-Spanish diminishes, that the language vanishes and that in twenty years there will not be any speakers left in Turkey.

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La Voce dell' Arbëria

The Female Voice of Lungro, Albanian Calabria

Anna Stratigò Duo, Lungro (Calabria)

The concert is presented by the Anna Stratigò Duo with Maria De Filippo and Anna Stratigò. The programme is dedicated to the town of Lungro, where both musicians have been socialised musically and linguistically. The heritage of Lungro was first studied and transcribed by Giovan Battista Rennis, the first student at the University of Calabria who made his diploma (Laurea) and his doctoral thesis about the musical and linguistic heritage of his hometown Lungro. They will also sing songs in Albanian (Shqip), not only Arbëresh.

The repertoire consists of para-liturgical songs for the devotion of the local patron saint Nicholas, the unofficial patron saint Eliah who protected the town against feudal oppression, even still during the epoch of Risorgimento. The song was composed by Vincenzo Stratigò, a protagonist of Risorgimento who belonged to Anna's family. There is also a rosary which is sung in Arbëresh (and not spoken in Latin).

Another "dance" genre is the vallet which is usually performed on Tuesday of the Easter Week, their usual subject are epic like the life of Skanderbeg, a hero of Albanian history, and the oral folktale about Albanian loyalty Constantine e Dhoqina/Jurendhina. The dance is a kind horo accompanied by antiphonal singing, often multipart.

Other genres are ajrët as a kind of serenade (stornello) and songs sung during a particular kind work.