

BRILL'S STUDIES IN HISTORICAL LINGUISTICS

Fragments of Languages

FROM 'RESTSPRACHEN'
TO CONTEMPORARY
ENDANGERED LANGUAGES

Daniele Baglioni and Luca Rigobianco

BRILL

978-90-108-6946-7
Downloaded from Brill.com 10/10/2024 11:51:53 AM
via Open Access.
<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/>

Fragments of Languages

Brill's Studies in Historical Linguistics

Series Editor

Jóhanna Barðdal
(Ghent University)

Consulting Editor

Spike Gildea
(University of Oregon)

Editorial Board

Anna Berge (*University of Alaska*) – Gerd Carling (*Goethe University*) –
Nicholas Evans (*The Australian National University*)
Bjarke Frellesvig (*University of Oxford*) – Mirjam Fried (*Charles University*) –
Russel Gray (*University of Auckland*) – Tom Güldemann (*Humboldt-
Universität zu Berlin*) – Guglielmo Inglese (*University of Turin*) Brian D. Joseph
(*The Ohio State University*) – Ritsuko Kikusawa (*National Museum of
Ethnology*) – Silvia Luraghi (*Università di Pavia*)
Barbara McGillivray (*King's College London*) – Verónica Orqueda (*Pontifical
Catholic University of Chile*) – Marc Pierce (*University of Texas*) – Joseph
Salmons (*University of Wisconsin-Madison*) – Søren Wichmann (*MPI/EVA*)

VOLUME 23

The titles published in this series are listed at brill.com/bshl

Fragments of Languages

*From 'Restsprachen' to
Contemporary Endangered Languages*

Edited by

Daniele Baglioni
Luca Rigobianco



BRILL

LEIDEN | BOSTON



This is an open access title distributed under the terms of the CC BY-NC-ND 4.0 license, which permits any non-commercial use, distribution, and reproduction in any medium, provided no alterations are made and the original author(s) and source are credited. Further information and the complete license text can be found at <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/>

The terms of the CC license apply only to the original material. The use of material from other sources (indicated by a reference) such as diagrams, illustrations, photos and text samples may require further permission from the respective copyright holder.

This project has received funding from the PRIN 2017 (XJLE8J; Principal Investigator: Professor Anna Marinetti) and the Department of Humanities of Ca' Foscari University of Venice.

The Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data is available online at <https://catalog.loc.gov>
LC record available at <https://lccn.loc.gov/2024032317>

Typeface for the Latin, Greek, and Cyrillic scripts: "Brill". See and download: brill.com/brill-typeface.

ISSN 2211-4904

ISBN 978-90-04-69462-0 (hardback)

ISBN 978-90-04-69463-7 (e-book)

DOI 10.1163/9789004694637

Copyright 2024 by Daniele Baglioni and Luca Rigobianco. Published by Koninklijke Brill BV, Leiden, The Netherlands.

Koninklijke Brill BV incorporates the imprints Brill, Brill Nijhoff, Brill Schöningh, Brill Fink, Brill mentis, Brill Wageningen Academic, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Böhlau and V&R unipress.

Koninklijke Brill BV reserves the right to protect this publication against unauthorized use.

This book is printed on acid-free paper and produced in a sustainable manner.

Contents

- Acknowledgements VII
List of Figures, Maps, and Tables VIII
Contributors x
- 1 Rethinking Fragmentariness and Reconstruction: An Introduction 1
Daniele Baglioni and Luca Rigobianco
- 2 Fragments of Greek in Babylonian 26
Paola Corò
- 3 Fragments of 'Solar Royal Compositions' in the Pharaonic Tradition:
'Unterweltsbücher' and Other Related Texts in the Late Egyptian
Versions 40
Emanuele M. Ciampini
- 4 'Restsprachen' in Ancient Anatolia: Direct and Indirect Sources,
Transmission, and Reconstruction 63
Stella Merlin, Valerio Pisaniello and Alfredo Rizza
- 5 Ancient Greek as a Fragmentary Language: What Is 'Alexandrian
Greek'? 83
Federico Favi and Olga Tribulato
- 6 The Fragmentarily Attested Languages of Pre-Roman Italy: Interpreting,
Reconstructing, Classifying 102
Anna Marinetti and Patrizia Solinas
- 7 'Restsprachen' and Language Contact: Latin, Etruscan, and the Sabellic
Languages 125
Luca Rigobianco
- 8 Reconstructing a Language from Fragmentary and Discontinuous
Records: Andalusi Romance (So-Called 'Mozarabic') 150
Marcello Barbato and Laura Minervini
- 9 Indirectly Attested Dalmatian Romance Varieties: Survey and
Perspectives 172
Nikola Vuletić

- 10 What Remains of an Atypical 'Restsprache': The Mediterranean Lingua Franca 188
Daniele Baglioni
- 11 'Restsprecher' and Hypercharacterizing Informants between Veglia and Capraia 213
Lorenzo Filipponio
- 12 On the Translation of the *Parable of the Prodigal Son* in Mòcheno: Linguistic Analysis and Connection to the Extinct Variety of Vignola 233
Federica Cognola
- 13 Semi-Speakers and Data Reliability: The Case of the Cimbrian Variety of Foza 270
Francesco Zuin
- 14 Notes on the Morphology and Syntax of a 'Restsprache in Re': Istro-Romanian 295
Michele Loporcaro
- Index 325

Acknowledgements

This volume contains the papers presented at a conference on the reconstruction of fragmentarily-attested languages (or ‘Restsprachen’, a German term that has become part of the linguists’ jargon), held in Venice, in December 2021. The theme is a classical one in Historical Linguistics, especially in Indo-European scholarship. The aim of the conference was to explore its applicability also in other ambits, such as Semitic and Romance Linguistics, and to propose a methodological parallel between the reconstruction of ancient, long-dead languages, and the use of the data elicited from semi-speakers of modern endangered languages. The experiment worked well, and was highly thought-provoking for many participants. We were therefore encouraged to publish the proceedings, in the attempt to enucleate the common aspects of linguistic fragmentariness, regardless of the different historical contexts and consistency of the data, as well as of its written or spoken nature.

We are very thankful to the authors of the chapters, who have enthusiastically accepted to contribute from different perspectives to the common goal of this book. We are equally grateful to our reviewers, selected among the leading experts of the respective research fields, whose comments have significantly improved the scientific quality of the papers. A special acknowledgement goes to Jóhanna Barðdal, for kindly hosting the volume in the prestigious series of *Brill’s Studies in Historical Linguistics* (BSHL), and to Elisa Perotti and Wendy Logeman, for overseeing the publication. Finally, our deepest gratitude is dedicated to the Department of Humanities (Dipartimento di Studi Umanistici) of the Ca’ Foscari University of Venice, as well as to the PRIN Project on “Languages and Cultures of Ancient Italy. Historical Linguistics and Digital Models”, for having funded the expenses for the Open Access publication.

Daniele Baglioni & Luca Rigobianco

Figures, Maps, and Tables

Figures

- 4.1 A tentative taxonomy of the genus ‘Corpussprachen’ 69
- 4.2 The transmission scenario of four Lydian glosses found in Hesychius’
Lexicon 76
- 12.1 Montbret Manuscript 489, folio 71, recto 235
- 12.2 Montbret Manuscript 489, folio 71, verso 242

Maps

- 13.1 The Cimbrian linguistic area 272
- 13.2 The Cimbrian linguistic domain 274
- 14.1 Istro-Romanian 324

Tables

- 2.1 Spellings of Laodice in the Lehmann text and its duplicate 35
- 3.1 Versions of the section describing the king’s/dead’s function in the
cosmos 45
- 6.1 Derivations of place names referring to the city of Padua as proposed by
Pellegrini 106
- 8.1 Shift of Proto-Ibero-Romance /dz/ to /j/ and filling by /ts/ and /dz/ of the
space left behind 166
- 10.1 Nominal inflection of LF as presented in the preface of the *Dictionnaire* 197
- 10.2 Nominal inflection of LF as evincible from the dialogues and the lexical
entries of the *Dictionnaire* 198
- 10.3 Nominal inflection of LF according to other sources 200
- 10.4 Verbal inflection of LF as presented in the preface of the *Dictionnaire* 202
- 10.5 Verbal inflection of LF as evincible from the dialogues of the
Dictionnaire 203
- 10.6 Verbal inflection of LF according to other sources 205
- 11.1 The stressed vowel system of Vegliote 218
- 12.1 *f/v* variation in the Montbret MS and present-day Mòcheno 239
- 12.2 *w/b* variation in the Montbret MS and present-day Mòcheno 241
- 12.3 Past participles featuring *ge/ga* in the Montbret MS 244

- 12.4 Loan verbs and verbs with an inseparable prefix in the Montbret MS 245
- 12.5 Past participle of verbs beginning with *k/t* in the Montbret MS 245
- 12.6 Past participle of verbs beginning with *f* in the Montbret MS 246
- 12.7 Past participle of verbs beginning with *s/f* in the Montbret MS 246
- 12.8 Past participle formation in the Montbret MS and in present-day Mòcheno 247
- 12.9 Case system on DPs in present-day Mòcheno 249
- 12.10 Romance loan words in the Montbret MS 253
- 12.11 Linguistic properties of the Montbret MS from a comparative perspective 257
- 12.12 *v/b* variation in Schmeller (1833) 258
- 12.13 *f/v* variation in Schmeller (1833) 258
- 12.14 German conservative lexicon in Schmeller (1833) 259
- 12.15 *Kein* in Schmeller (1833) 261
- 12.16 Romance lexicon in Schmeller (1833) 262
- 12.17 Past participle formation in Schmeller (1833) 263
- 12.18 Comparison among the three 19th-century Mòcheno varieties 265
- 13.1 Differences among the three macro-dialectal language systems 277
- 13.2 Differences within varieties of the same macro-dialectal language systems 278
- 14.1 Aspectual-actional lexeme pairs in the IR verb system 304
- 14.2 Future subjunctive and future indicative (NIR) 305
- 14.3 Daco-Romanian and Croatian copula 308
- 14.4 Northern Istro-Romanian enclitic copula (NIR 2017) 309
- 14.5 Present indicative, future indicative auxiliary, and conditional auxiliary ([*vɾe*] 'to want') 310
- 14.6 Synthetic and analytical comparative and superlative formation in Slavisano 315
- 14.7 Synthetic and analytical comparative and superlative formation in Resian 316

Contributors

Daniele Baglioni

Department of Humanities, Ca' Foscari University of Venice

Marcello Barbato

Department of Literary, Linguistic, and Comparative Studies, L'Orientale University of Naples

Emanuele Ciampini

Department of Humanities, Ca' Foscari University of Venice

Federica Cognola

Department of Linguistics and Comparative Cultural Studies, Ca' Foscari University of Venice

Paola Corò

Department of Humanities, Ca' Foscari University of Venice

Federico Favi

Department of Humanities, Amedeo Avogadro University of Eastern Piedmont

Lorenzo Filipponio

DIRAAS (Department of Arts and Humanities), University of Genoa

Michele Loporcaro

Romanisches Seminar, University of Zurich

Anna Marinetti

Department of Humanities, Ca' Foscari University of Venice

Stella Merlin

Department of Humanities, Federico II University of Naples

Laura Minervini

Department of Humanities, Federico II University of Naples

Valerio Pisaniello

Department of Languages, Literature, and Modern Cultures, Gabriele d'Annunzio University of Chieti and Pescara

Luca Rigobianco

Department of Humanities, Ca' Foscari University of Venice

Alfredo Rizza

Department of Cultures and Civilizations, University of Verona

Patrizia Solinas

Department of Humanities, Ca' Foscari University of Venice

Olga Tribulato

Department of Humanities, Ca' Foscari University of Venice

Nikola Vuletić

Centre for Adriatic Onomastics and Ethnolinguistics, University of Zadar

Francesco Zuin

Department of Humanities and Cultural Heritage, University of Udine

Rethinking Fragmentariness and Reconstruction: An Introduction

Daniele Baglioni and Luca Rigobianco

1 (Re)defining Fragmentary Languages*

1.1 *Fragments of What?*

The label ‘fragmentary languages’ is generally referred to ancient, long-dead languages whose records are very scanty and often repetitive, thus preventing modern scholars from reaching a satisfying comprehension of their grammar and lexicon. In the tradition of German historical linguistics, these languages are known as ‘Restsprachen’, since their few attestations are interpreted as ‘rests’ of complete linguistic systems, now irretrievably lost in their global functioning.¹ From this perspective, fragmentariness is a characteristic not of the languages themselves, but of the limited corpora of their records, mostly consisting of short inscriptions and/or place and person names, as well as loanwords in other languages (§ 1.2). As a result, languages of peoples once widespread in several regions of Europe, such as Etruscan, Gaulish, and Iberian, are fragmentary only in the sense of ‘fragmentarily documented’. Their incomplete state is the effect of historical accidents, not of their structures and functions, which, at the synchronic phase of their documentation, must have been as fully developed as the ones of any other ‘non-fragmentary’ language, both extinct and alive.

Nevertheless, this is not always the case. As a matter of fact, the scarcity of documentation of some languages and, above all, the limited range of text genres hint to the fact that they had long lost their full vitality at the time of

* Although the authors discussed the topics extensively together, Daniele Baglioni wrote section 1 and Luca Rigobianco section 2; both are jointly responsible for section 3.

1 The story of the term, first used in the scientific journal “Die Sprache” from 1967 on, has been reconstructed by Innocente (1993). In the late sixties of the last century the journal’s director was Manfred Mayrhofer. It is to suppose that the term had a previous circulation within the ‘Vienna school’ of Indo-European linguistics and spread from there to the whole German-speaking academy, as well as to other countries (above all Italy, where ‘Restsprachen’ is commonly used by historical linguists as a loanword: see Campanile 1983; Agostiniani 2003).

their attestations. Of course, they were still in use, but they only survived in particular contexts (for instance, sepulchral epigraphy, as in the case of New Phrygian), whereas the majority of the population currently spoke and wrote other languages. In this case, fragmentariness pertains both to the documentation and to the languages, which were undergoing functional retreat at a stage immediately preceding their extinction. The extant records might be seen as their 'swan song', that is to say as traces of the imperfect, atrophied competence of a minority soon to shift to the language of the majority. According to Untermann, this situation is the one for which the term 'Restsprachen' is most appropriate, due to the constitutive 'incompleteness' (or 'in re fragmentariness', see Loporcaro in this volume) of forms and functions of the languages at the epoch of their documentation. Conversely, fragmentarily attested languages which were fully in use at the time of their records are dubbed by Untermann 'Trümmersprachen', i.e. 'debris languages'.²

Untermann's distinction between 'Trümmersprachen' and 'Restsprachen', though valuable, has not so far come into general use. The reason has probably to do with the difficulty for scholars to reconstruct domains of languages attested only by a bunch of direct and indirect sources, especially when historiographical and archaeological evidence is widely lacking. As a matter of fact, in most cases it is impossible to tell whether the limitedness of functions in which a language is documented has to be ascribed to its original residual character or to the modalities of its transmission. A further problem arises with regard to the sociolinguistic status of the varieties whose records are fragmentary. By referring to them as 'languages', scholars implicitly assume that they were perceived by their speakers as autonomous, clearly distinct from the other languages of the local repertoires. However, the observation of modern multilingual societies, especially those where linguistic varieties share structural affinities due to genetic relatedness and/or intense, long-lasting contact *in situ*, reveals the arbitrariness of clear demarcations and the existence of continua. Consequently, a preliminary question in the study of any 'Restsprache' is whether its rests are to be interpreted as parts of a system or, instead, of a diasystem, in which borders between the varieties were not definite and grammatical features alternated according to social (i.e. diatopic and diaphasic) factors.³

Functional retreat, fluency of the speakers, and their perception of language can be better estimated in more recent cases of language decay, above

2 Untermann (1980; 1981; 1989).

3 A typical case of indetermination is Faliscan, which has been interpreted by some scholars as an autonomous Italic language akin to Latin, by others as a dialect of Latin (see Rigobianco 2020 for a thorough discussion).

all in minority languages and dialects still in use but rapidly vanishing, that is to say in the so-called ‘endangered languages’.⁴ For these languages the notion of fragment is very different from the one usually applied to ancient ‘Restsprachen’, since corpora are generally much wider, include a larger variety of utterances, and mostly consist of spoken data; furthermore, new texts may be recorded or elicited through interviewing (see § 1.2 below). Nevertheless, the fragmentariness of the languages, as available to the speakers’ competence, is unquestioned, and is explicitly acknowledged by Untermann, who selects Breton as a typical example of ‘Restsprache’ in the narrow meaning of “functionally limited language”.⁵ A further parallel can be found in the method, i.e. in the use of reconstruction. As a matter of fact, scholars who study long-dead languages and linguists concerned with severely endangered or recently extinguished varieties both resort to intra- and cross-linguistic comparison in order to recover the missing parts out of the attested elements (see § 2.1 below). In the case of endangered languages, comparison and reconstruction also prove very helpful to establish the reliability of the data collected, due to the imperfect proficiency of the speakers (or, better said, ‘semi-speakers’),⁶ who often hypercharacterize phonological and morphological features on the basis of an imperfect command of the language, still conceived of as a system, although its knowledge is reduced to a restricted range of basic words and formulaic sentences (see Filipponio in this volume).⁷

4 The label ‘endangered languages’ seems to have originated in the ambit of Native American linguistics, where it already circulated in the 1980s (see Haas 1984: 71, who includes under the term “all unwritten languages”). Its diffusion as a technical term of contact and socio-linguistics largely replacing analogous designations (such as ‘threatened/menaced languages’, ‘imperiled languages’, ‘languages at risk of extinction’) has been favored by a seminal article by Hale, Krauss et al. (1992) appeared in *Language*. In the article Krauss, a leading expert of the native languages of Alaska, distinguishes ‘endangered languages’ from ‘moribund languages’, i.e. “languages no longer being learned as mother-tongue by children”, that are “beyond endangerment” as “already doomed to extinction, like species lacking reproductive capacity” (Hale, Krauss et al. 1992: 4). However, this distinction has not come into use and the lack of intergenerational transmission is set as the main definitory criterion both in Austin’s and Sallabank’s and in Thomason’s reference handbooks (Austin & Sallabank 2011: 1; Thomason 2015: 4). On Fishman’s Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS) and its expansion (EGIDS), currently also used by Ethnologue, see Lewis & Simons 2010.

5 Untermann (1989: 18). Analogous parallels between ‘Restsprachen’ and contemporary cases of language extinction are to be found in the scientific literature on endangered languages (see, for instance, the mention of Akkadian, Ancient Egyptian, Etruscan, Gothic, Hittite, and Sumerian as “well-known cases” of language loss in the Introduction of Rehğ & Campbell 2018: 3).

6 The semi-speaker category has been introduced by Dorian 1981.

7 Thomason (2015: 54) observes that “identifying a semi-speaker can be extremely difficult—

Therefore, affinities between scarcely attested languages of the past and modern languages recently vanished, or on their way to extinction, concern both the insufficiency of the data for a global comprehension of their original functioning, and the methods applied to recover it. These affinities can be comprised under the umbrella term ‘fragmentariness’, meant as a general condition of languages as appears from their attestations, regardless of the causes of their quantitative and/or qualitative deficiency. In such a broad acceptance the term will be used in this volume. Including in the same volume essays on fragmentary languages distant in time and space, whose study pertains to different traditions and requires different tools and competences, going from epigraphy and philology to linguistic fieldwork, enables a profitable exchange of perspectives and a deeper awareness of the possibilities and limits of reconstruction (see § 2.2 below). On the one hand, the long-dating tradition of studies on ancient ‘Restsprachen’ supplies a consolidated methodology, which can be applied to infer the original grammatical structures out of the fragmentary data elicited from (semi-)speakers or even ‘rememberers’ (see § 1.2 below) of endangered languages. On the other hand, the examination of functional retreat, identitarian uses, and self-perception of the speakers of contemporary minority varieties affords a better understanding of the records of long-dead languages and of the contexts of their production, in line with the well-known Labovian exhortation to “use the present to understand the past”.⁸ Similarly, the observation of how minority language speakers react to the limits (or ‘fragmentariness’) of their competence, as in the cases of hypercharacterization or frequent borrowing from the dominant language (see Zuin in this volume), might prove helpful to detach similar phenomena in ancient sources, on the basis of internal evidence.

1.2 *Which Kind of Fragments?*

The broad definition of fragmentary languages given in § 1.1 necessarily implies an extension of the typologies of the fragments available to scholars. As far

maybe even impossible—in the absence of independent sources of information on the dying language”, because “many semi-speakers conceal their lack of fluency by their skill in using fixed phrases appropriately, so that their speech is neither halting nor hesitant”. Consequently, “independent sources of knowledge of the dying language’s grammar, for instance closely related sister languages or old documentation dating from the days when the dying language was the main everyday language of the speech community”, are often decisive for ascertaining the degree of fluency of the informants.

- 8 Labov (1974). On the theoretical bases of this methodological assumption, known as the ‘Uniformitarian Principle’, see Baldi & Cuzzolin (2015) and Walkden (2019).

as ancient ‘Restsprachen’ are concerned, fragments are generally written, and mostly coincide with various kinds of rigidly formulaic texts. From this, it follows that the reconstruction of ‘Restsprachen’ must be based on a long chain of inferences concerning, first of all, the functioning of the writing system and, hence, the interpretation and analysis of the texts, also by leveraging the available contextual information (see § 2.2 below). In this regard, it should be noted that such interpretation and analysis are highly conjectural, due to the unavailability (or, better said, impossibility) of exhaustive grammatical descriptions and lexica—as well as the partial knowledge of the context.

This is obviously not the case for research in endangered languages, which has to do with still-living linguistic varieties and relies on potentially unlimited data elicitable from informants. As has been already noted in § 1.1, in this case fragmentariness applies to the competence of the speakers, not to the records, which can be referred to as ‘fragments’ only in the sense that they are the last remnants of once fully functional languages, thus on a qualitative level, not on a quantitative one. Furthermore, data from endangered languages radically differ from the attestations of ancient ‘Restsprachen’ in that they are typically (often exclusively) oral and do not need interpretation as for the function and meaning of the utterances. However, this does not mean that they do not need to be interpreted at all. On the contrary, in case of interview elicitation, a critical approach to the data is essential to evaluate the impact of the ‘observer’s paradox’, which is extremely difficult to minimize for linguistic varieties that speakers use in very specific domains and with a limited number of familiar counterparts.⁹ Hypercharacterization (see § 1.1 above) may be considered one of the most common effects of the peculiar conditions in which endangered languages data is collected. Moreover, it is to observe that the availability of spoken data is characteristic only of moribund languages, not of recently extinguished ones lacking oral recordings. In this latter case, scholars are confronted with a corpus of

9 The ‘observer’s paradox’ consists in the well-known statement that “the aim of the linguistic research in the community must be to find out how people talk when they are not being systematically observed; yet we can only obtain this data by systematic observation” (Labov 1972: 209). In the case of research in endangered languages, a further obstacle must be overcome, that is what Sallabank (2013: 60) dubs the ‘researcher’s paradox’, since “researchers (especially ethnographers) are not exempt from ideological processes, and [...] research on minority languages which did not take into account both researcher positionality and sociopolitical issues would miss essential insights”. On the characteristics and risks of field research on endangered languages, see Thomason (2015: 111–152).

written texts, just like 'Restsprachen' researchers. The interpretation of the writing is of course less problematic, but still can give linguists a hard time, especially if the transcriber fashioned the spelling to the one of a more widespread and prestigious language, thus neutralizing phonetic and even phonological peculiarities. As for reconstruction, the process is equally crucial, but less inferential than in the study of ancient 'Restsprachen', in the sense that the main difficulty lies in ascertaining *what* has to be reconstructed or, in other words, telling reliable data, witnessing the present fragmentary state of the language, from unreliable information, ascribable to the speakers' attempt to recover lost forms and vocabulary through analogy and resort to other languages.

What has been observed until now refers to the so-called direct (or primary) sources, that is first-hand texts produced by native speakers and/or writers of the language. In 'Restsprachen' research a crucial role is also played by indirect (or secondary) sources, that often integrate first-hand documentation, or even make up for it, when direct sources are not available. By indirect sources a wide, heterogeneous range of records is meant, going from glosses in lexicographic works, quotations of words or sentences in texts in other languages (such as chronicles and travelogues), to place/person names and loanwords, surviving in the former dominant languages as a consequence of substratum interference. Although the distinction between direct and indirect sources is not always easy for 'Restsprachen' (see Merlin, Pisaniello & Rizza in this volume), the latter stand out for their even more fragmentary aspect (in the most common form they consist of isolated words), as well as for the greater carefulness required to scholars, who must mind not to confuse the features of the original languages with the effects of mediation. As for mediation, it varies according to the typology of the sources. In the case of lexical glosses and heterolingual insertions, it is the authors' degree of intervention that has to be established, i.e. the accuracy of their transcriptions, the exactness of their definitions, the conditioning of their perception of the Other on their descriptions of the uses, vocabulary, and grammar of the languages. Conversely, in the study of toponyms, anthroponyms, and loanwords, what has to be assessed is the role of the receiving language in shaping the current forms of the terms, in order to keep separate the outcomes of phonological and morphological adaptation from the original aspect of the word, as far as can be reconstructed (systematic applications of this method are provided in this volume by Barbato & Minervini as well as Vuletić).

The distinction between primary and secondary sources is also usual in the studies on endangered languages, but the latter category applies to a different kind of evidence. As a matter of fact, while primary sources coincide with raw

data, such as recordings and transcriptions of oral speeches, secondary data is referred to their annotations and systematizations (grammars, vocabularies) made by linguists aiming to document the languages before they disappear.¹⁰ Consequently, secondary sources correspond to scientific literature, and the concept of indirect sources, in the sense of mediated testimonies of the languages as reported by non-native laymen (i.e. non-linguists), is apparently inapplicable. Nevertheless, even in the study of still-living minority languages, the analysis of loanwords in the surrounding dialects can be a precious resource for reconstructing earlier phases of the linguistic varieties, previous to the attrition process. In this case, loanwords count as indirect sources, exactly in the acceptation by which the term is used in historical linguistics. A further circumstance, typical of languages on their way to extinction, involves the so-called ‘rememberers’, that is community members who are unable to speak fluently the language and even to use it for a basic conversation, but still can provide some scattered words and phrases heard years before from their parents and grandparents.¹¹ These informants cannot be considered native speakers of the language and, as a consequence, the data they provide is indirect. Just like secondary sources of ‘Restsprachen’, this kind of documentation is more incoherent and less reliable than first-hand data. However, as is the case with less attested ‘Restsprachen’, sometimes indirect records are the only evidence available to scholars, who have no choice but to use it, in the attempt of reconstructing the vocabulary and the structure of the dormant language.

1.3 *How Many Fragments?*

A final issue that cannot be avoided is the quantification of fragmentariness, or, in other words, the assessment of the degree of incompleteness and incoherence of fragmentary languages in comparison to their non-fragmentary counterparts. In the field of ‘Restsprachen’ research, the matter has been dealt with in several studies, starting from Untermann’s and Prosdocimi’s pioneering reflections (Untermann 1980; 1981; 1989; Prosdocimi 1989) to the more recent contributions by Miller (2004) and Rigobianco (2022). All the above-mentioned scholars agree in the operative usefulness of distinguishing be-

10 A comprehensive overview of the data and corpora of endangered languages is provided by Mosel 2018.

11 On ‘rememberers’ see Grinevald & Bert (2011: 51–52), where the category designates “speakers with limited knowledge of the endangered languages”, and Thomason (2015: 56–57), who interprets the term in opposition to semi-speakers, because “the utterances of the rememberers”, unlike those of the semi-speakers, are generally testimonies of “an effectively dead or dormant language”.

tween 'Restsprachen' (or 'Trümmersprachen', see § 1.1 above) and 'Corpusssprachen', i.e. languages attested by corpora large and varied enough for a satisfying understanding of their grammar and vocabulary. The problem, though, lies in quantifying the degree of satisfactoriness of the information provided by the corpus. As a matter of fact, since all dead languages, even the best-documented, cannot be known in their integrity, a certain level of fragmentariness is also common to 'Corpusssprachen', or, as Prosdocimi (1989: 138) puts it, "all corpus languages are, to some extent, Restsprachen". Consequently, 'Corpusssprachen' and 'Restsprachen' must be interpreted as values disposed on a continuum, going from Latin, Greek, and other languages of the past whose attestations are numerous and include long, complex texts pertaining to different typologies (the so-called 'Grosscorpusssprachen'), to Anatolian languages such as Sidetic, documented by only a dozen of short and repetitive inscriptions (see Merlin, Pisaniello & Rizza in this volume). In between, a wide range of linguistic varieties can be set, according not only to the number of records and their length, thus on a purely quantitative level, but also to the intrinsic characteristics of the documentation and the language. For instance, languages attested by a limited corpus of records, whose writing is easily interpretable and whose forms are comparable with strictly related sister languages, may be ascribed in some cases to the category of small-corpus languages ('Kleincorpusssprachen'). Conversely, languages like Etruscan, whose corpus includes about twelve thousand inscriptions, some of them quite extensive (such as the 'Tabula Capuana' and the 'Liber linteus'), but whose interpretation is impeded by the unavailability of direct comparison with other languages, are doomed to remain 'Restsprachen' even in the event of new findings not changing radically the quality of the corpus (as is the case with the recently discovered votive inscriptions in the sanctuary of San Casciano dei Bagni).¹²

The issue of quantifying fragmentariness may arise also for 'Corpusssprachen', with regard to specific varieties of these languages. A good example is Latin, which is by definition a 'Grosscorpusssprache', but only as far as the classical written language is concerned, whereas all oral dialects from its origins to the fall of the empire and beyond (i.e. what is generally referred to in German as 'Lateinische Umgangssprache') can be considered 'Restsprachen' because of their fragmentary and exclusively indirect documentation.¹³ In this case, the

12 For a recent overview of the documentation of Etruscan, see Belfiore 2020. A first, preliminary balance of the corpus of Etruscan inscriptions found in the Etruscan-Roman sanctuary of San Casciano dei Bagni (Tuscany) has been given by Adriano Maggiani (2023).

13 The example of the 'Lateinische Umgangssprache' as a peculiar case of 'Restsprache' is already brought by Prosdocimi (1989: 139–140).

real circulation of the varieties is unquestioned, and the problem is how to reconstruct their grammatical and lexical consistency. In other cases, linguists must previously ascertain whether the dialects indirectly evoked by grammarians, travelers, and other coeval observers had a real diffusion, or were just the products of ideological constructions, whose social causes are now mostly irretrievable. An interesting case-study is represented by Alexandrine Greek, i.e. Greek as was spoken in Hellenistic times in the city of Alexandria, an elusive variety often mentioned by lexicographers (generally advising readers not to imitate it) whose real existence, at least in the form of a well-defined dialect perceived as such by its speakers, is highly doubtful (see Favi & Tribulato in this volume).

As for contemporary minority languages, what is usually assessed is the degree of endangerment, that is of limited diffusion, functional retreat, and disruption of cross-generational transmission. The reference scale is the one provided by the UNESCO's Language Vitality and Endangerment Framework, going from 'safe' to 'extinct'. In between, the values 'unsafe', 'definitely endangered', 'severely endangered', and 'critically endangered' are measured according to a series of external (sociolinguistic) parameters, such as the absolute number of speakers, the proportion of speakers within the total population, the trends in existing language domains, the response to new domains and media, the materials for language education and literacy, and the language attitudes and policies.¹⁴ Curiously enough, internal criteria, i.e. the level of attrition affecting the grammar and the vocabulary, are not taken into account, probably because they cannot be quantified and thus set on a scale with all other parameters. Nevertheless, the loss of words and structural features, along with their possible replacement with words and structures borrowed from one or more dominant languages, is often as eloquent as the external criteria, especially for contexts of the recent past for which such criteria cannot be quantified (see, in this volume, Filipponio's and Zuin's critical analysis of the data elicited from the last speakers of, respectively, Vegliote, Capraino, and the Cimbrian dialect of Foza). Such a fragmentariness, despite being of a different nature from that of ancient 'Restsprachen' as seen above, likewise requires the linguists to operate a reconstruction, whose methods will be analyzed in detail in the following paragraph.

14 <https://ich.unesco.org/doc/src/00120-EN.pdf> (last accessed on 20 March 2023). The EDGIS (see above) is a finer scale over ten levels ranging from international to extinct.

2 Reconstructing Fragmentary Languages

2.1 *Which Kind of Reconstruction?*

In linguistics, the term reconstruction is generally applied to the operation which leads to the recovery of earlier linguistic systems.¹⁵ Specifically, such a term usually refers to the use of the comparative method as well as of the internal reconstruction for recovering parts or elements of a linguistic system on the basis of, respectively, later extant or documented linguistic systems proved to be genetically related or a subsequent phase of the same linguistic system (see below). Nevertheless, as noted for example by Joseph & Janda (2003: 94), the term reconstruction is also applied to the recovery of a linguistic system on the basis of direct and/or indirect sources:¹⁶

while many linguists limit their use of the term “reconstruction” to the positing of forms and constructions for linguistic stages from which no records survive, it is actually the case that even attested stages of languages require considerable interpretation and filling-in of details—as well as more substantial aspects. Hence virtually all historical linguistic research merits the descriptor “reconstruction”.

The use of the same label for both operations makes one wonder whether it is actually the very same operation or two different operations labelled in the same way. In both cases, the aim is to recover a linguistic system and therefore the label ‘(linguistic) reconstruction’ seems to be entirely appropriate.¹⁷ However, despite some further similarities, the initial evidence, the methods applied, and the outcomes of the two operations do not coincide, thus suggesting the need to distinguish two different types of linguistic reconstruction.

Linguistic reconstruction in the traditional sense (LR₁) starts from (parts or elements of) already known living and/or dead linguistic systems and aims at inferring (parts or elements of) an earlier genetically related linguistic system, with particular regard to phonological, morphological, and lexical aspects.¹⁸ Such an inference is essentially based on comparison, which may be either intra- or cross-linguistic. Specifically, the comparative method relies on the

15 For an explicit definition see, for example, Birnbaum (1978: 6), Fox (1995: 3), and Campbell (2013: 107).

16 See also Prosdocimi (2004: 673).

17 For the sense of ‘reconstruction’ in other scientific domains, see below.

18 The issue of reconstruction in syntax has recently been dealt with by Barðdal, Gildea & Luján (2020).

comparison of two or more genetically related languages in order to reconstruct their common ancestor,¹⁹ whereas the internal reconstruction compares alternations within a single language, such as morphophonemic alternations, in order to reconstruct an earlier phase of that language.²⁰ The application of such methods is theoretically independent of the possible documentation of the linguistic system to be reconstructed, whether it is a common ancestor or an earlier phase of the same language. Thus, for example, the reconstruction of the Latin ancestor of a set of Romance cognates may, in principle, disregard the actual Latin documentation.²¹ Furthermore, the status of what is reconstructed through LR_1 is a matter of debate. In particular, according to a so-called idealist position, “ce qui fournit la méthode de la grammaire comparée [...] n’est rien autre chose qu’un système défini de correspondances entre les langues historiquement attestées”.²² Otherwise said, the outcome of such an operation would not be a part or element actually existed of a linguistic system, but an abstract object which stands for the set of correspondences between genetically related languages which implies a common ancestor.²³ Conversely, according to a realistic position, LR_1 would allow to actually recover parts or elements of an earlier linguistic system, although more or less approximately.²⁴

As already noted, linguistic reconstruction may also refer to the operation of interpretation and filling-in the gaps of attested linguistic systems (LR_2). In such a case, the initial evidence is the corpus of texts (usually in written form, but in modern times possibly also recorded) which attest a linguistic system as well as indirect sources such as glosses and linguistic commentaries. Hence LR_2 aims at inferring the functioning and possibly the development of the linguistic system which underlies the texts taken into consideration. Such a reconstruction may be achieved through a complex methodology which combines philology, hermeneutics, and linguistic analysis (see § 2.2 below). With regard

19 The applicability of the comparative method, founded and developed within Indo-European studies, to other linguistic families may be considered ascertained, although it has been questioned several times (see, for example, Baldi 1991).

20 On the theoretical similarity between the comparative method and the internal reconstruction see Fox (1995: 210–214), Kristó (2004: 118–120), and Prosdociami (2004: *passim*).

21 The role of Latin forms in the reconstruction of Romance etymologies is a matter of debate: see Buchi & Schweickard (2010) and Varvaro (2011).

22 Meillet (1903: 28).

23 Arguments against such a position are collected by Lass (1993: 164–170). It should be noted that the debate has not concerned the status of what is reconstructed through internal reconstruction.

24 See Kristó (2004) and Lass (2017).

to linguistic analysis, intra- and cross-linguistic comparison plays a central role, although in a different way from what has been seen for LR_1 . In particular, in the case of LR_1 the comparison aims at identifying the intralinguistic alternations and the cross-linguistic correspondences which have a historic implication. In the case of LR_2 , the intralinguistic comparison is functional to the linguistic analysis, for example in identifying morphemes and their possible allomorphs, whereas the cross-linguistic comparison may be used for deriving grammatical and semantic information from genetically related languages as well as languages in contact or for assessing the typological plausibility of what has been reconstructed (see § 2.2 below). Usually, the outcomes of LR_2 , unlike what has been seen above for LR_1 , are not questioned from the point of view of their theoretical status, probably because they are related to historically attested languages. However, these outcomes depend essentially on inferences, which as such may be more or less provable and probable (see § 2.2 below). As already mentioned, LR_2 operation usually applies to languages attested by various sized corpora of texts (from 'Restsprachen' to large-corpus languages; see § 1.3 above). Nevertheless, although it may seem odd at first glance, such an operation seems to be also suitable for minority endangered languages. In this case, what may be fragmentary—and, therefore, to be reconstructed—is not so much the documentation, but the very speakers' competence, due to the reduction of the ranges of use, considerable interference phenomena with the majority languages, and the possibly exclusive presence of semi-speakers (see § 1.2 above). Therefore, the nature, amount, and cause of the missing parts in 'Restsprachen' and endangered languages are radically different but both cases require a similar methodology for recovering such parts.

As an aside, it may be noticed that the sense of 'reconstruction' as used in LR_2 seems closer to that of other scientific domains than as used in LR_1 , at least at first glance. In general, Klein, Joseph & Fritz (2017: 15) note that:

[t]he problem of reconstruction occurs in all sciences dealing with unobservable phenomena: history (reconstructing past situations and their processes of change), archaeology (reconstructing material and nonmaterial culture of lost peoples), and justice (reconstructing incidents and offending events).

However, in these and other domains (such as palaeontology), the main purpose is to reconstruct past objects and events, whatever their nature, primarily on the basis of their remains and not to reconstruct past objects and events on the basis of a particular configuration observed in later objects and events. Correspondingly, the purpose of LR_2 is to reconstruct past languages from their

documentation, whereas LR_1 aims at reconstructing past languages from correspondences between later languages or alternations within a single later phase of a language (see above).

2.2 *Methods for Reconstructing Fragmentary Languages (LR_2)*

Explicit theoretical and methodological reflections on LR_2 are rather sporadic,²⁵ despite numerous works devoted to reconstructing (elements or parts of) languages. Furthermore, such reflections focus almost exclusively on fragmentary languages in the strict sense ('Restsprachen' in current terminology), due to the particular difficulty of their LR_2 . However, as seen above (§ 1.1), the notion of 'fragmentary language' may be extended to include any language whose knowledge is based on a text corpus—whatever its size—and/or indirect sources as well as any minority endangered language of which speakers have a fragmentary competence. Likewise, the following methodological considerations should be deemed suitable to the LR_2 of any language of which there is only partial evidence.

In general, LR_2 may only proceed from the known to the unknown, as any other form of knowledge.²⁶ Since we usually deal with corpora of written texts, the investigation into the writing systems used for rendering the language as well as the philological study of the texts are essential prerequisites. The knowledge of the writing systems includes the identification of the phonetic and/or logographic values of the signs which compose such systems, their usage rules, and their possible variations.²⁷ Obviously, such a knowledge may be extensive and accurate to varying degrees. Anyway, in the case of partially or totally phonetic writing systems, the writing system itself is the main gateway to the phonetic system of the language to be reconstructed. Specifically, clues to the underlying phonetic reality may come from internal evidence, such as the identification of phonetic changes assumed a priori to be regular, different spellings for the same forms, stylistic choices due to the poetic nature of the texts, and spelling of loanwords (see Corò in this volume).²⁸ With regard to the borrowing

25 In this regard, Campanile (1983), Untermann (1983; 1989), Prosdocimi (1989), Meid (1997), Poccetti (1997), Agostiniani (2003), Miller (2004), Waldenberg (2016), and Rigobianco (2022) may be mentioned.

26 See, for example, Hegel (1816: 316; "Man muß insofern sagen, daß das Erkennen, wenn es einmal angefangen hat, immer vom Bekannten zum Unbekannten forthehe").

27 For an introduction to the world's writing systems see Daniels & Bright (1996) and Coulmas (2002). On the decipherment of ancient scripts and languages, the reference work remains Friedrich (1954).

28 Saussure (1916: 58–61); Bloomfield (1933: 293–296). For a broad overview on such evidences, see Hodge (1972).

phenomena, the transmission of a whole writing system from one language to another²⁹ deserves special mention for its potential usefulness in reconstructing the phonetic system of a fragmentary language.

The philological study is made necessary by the very nature of written texts, which are the product of a possibly complex process, going from the planning to the realisation by one or more writers—not necessarily coinciding with whoever designed the text—with diversified tools and techniques on various supports having different degrees of perishability. Thus, it may follow that the actually realised text does not fully correspond to the planned text due to errors and/or subsequent interventions by the writer(s), the execution makes it difficult to recognise some letters, the text is not entirely legible due to damage to the support, and so forth. This does not only apply to texts in ancient ‘Restsprachen’ but also to transcriptions of oral texts pertaining to contemporary endangered languages, in particular with reference to the accuracy of the transcription itself, which is a fundamental prerequisite for the reconstruction but may be affected by misunderstandings, over-interpretations, inconsistencies and so forth. *Mutatis mutandis*, similar considerations also hold for recorded oral texts, regarding which, for example, it might be difficult to recognise part of the speech chain. Therefore, philology is needed to provide LR₂ with well-grounded textual data.³⁰

Once the texts have been philologically established, it is possible to proceed to linguistic analysis and interpretation, which usually pose no major problems with contemporary endangered languages. In general terms, such operations are closely interrelated, thus constituting a sort of hermeneutic circle within which advances in the interpretation of texts may lead to advances in the grammar knowledge and vice versa.³¹ More generally, the investigation into the writing systems and the philological study of the texts (see above) also fall within such a circle, since they necessarily require some prior linguistic knowledge. Hence, all such procedures, although described as distinct and consequential for the sake of clarity, intrinsically rely on each other.³²

Interpretation, for its part, may benefit from the methodologies developed within the long tradition of theoretical reflections in the fields of hermeneut-

29 See, for example, Baglioni & Tribulato (2015: 19–22), who have introduced the label ‘transcription’ for such a phenomenon.

30 On the relationship between philology and historical linguistics see Hale (2007: 19–26).

31 See Meid (1997: 597, 599). On the hermeneutic circle in relation to LR₂ see also Waldenberger (2016: 131).

32 See Agostiniani (2003: 117 n. 21).

ics³³ as well as text linguistics.³⁴ As for the linguistic analysis, since, as mentioned, the reflections on LR₂ have mostly focused on ‘Restsprachen’, it is usually understood as the mere identification of linguistic units on the basis of a syntagmatic and paradigmatic analysis of texts.³⁵ However, linguistic analysis may be more appropriately defined as the whole methodology through which it is possible to infer the linguistic system which underlies the texts under consideration with reference to all linguistic levels. In light of this, it is evident that the linguistic analysis and the consequent LR₂ are shaped by explicit or implicit assumptions about how language and languages work.³⁶ In this regard, the uniformitarian principle takes on a crucial importance.³⁷ In particular, such a principle has both a heuristic and confirmatory function for LR₂—as well as for LR₁—, as, on the one hand, it sets expectations about the linguistic systems to be reconstructed and, on the other hand, it may confirm or deny what has been reconstructed—or, at least, it may assess its degree of probability.

Furthermore, linguistic analysis and interpretation may take advantage of the possible genetic relationship between the fragmentary language to be reconstructed and other known languages.³⁸ However, such an operation presents difficulties at both a formal and a semantic level. At a formal level, the etymological link between a form pertaining to a fragmentary language and one or more forms pertaining to genetically related languages cannot always be determined with certainty. In particular, this may depend on various reasons, such as the only partial knowledge of the phonetic changes which have affected the fragmentary language or the possible homophony between the outcomes of originally distinct forms. At a semantic level, the sharing of a common etymology between two forms, one pertaining to the fragmentary language to be reconstructed and the other to a genetically related language, does not entail that the meaning of the latter may be automatically applied to the former, due

33 For an introduction to hermeneutics, see Keane & Lawn (2015).

34 For the text linguistics as a hermeneutics of sense, see Coseriu (1994).

35 See Schmidt (1983: 83–84) and Agostiniani (2003: 115–117).

36 See Waldenberger (2016: 117–119).

37 Such a principle, already applied by Jakobson (1958) in relation to the reconstruction of Proto-Indo-European consonantism, was made explicit by Labov (1974). On the relationship between linguistic typology and LR₁, see also Comrie 1993.

38 On such an operation, often referred to as ‘etymological method’, and its limits see Untermann (1983: 25–28), Schmidt (1983: 84), Meid (1997: 595–597), and Agostiniani (2003: 118–119). On the converse operation of using fragmentary languages for LR₁ see most recently Di Giovine (2023).

to the possibility of different semantic changes from a common original meaning as well as to the intrinsic historical dimension of meaning.

Advances in the linguistic analysis and interpretation of a fragmentary language may also be achieved through the identification of interference phenomena.³⁹ Thus, by way of example, the identification of a lexical borrowing in a certain language may lead to the reconstruction of an otherwise unattested lexical form of a fragmentary source language. In general terms, it is evident that such an identification depends on the knowledge of the concerned linguistic systems as well as their internal and external history. Therefore, it is severely compromised when the source language or the target language—or even both—are fragmentary. Furthermore, different interference phenomena have varying degrees of recognisability and their identification is complicated by the lack of systematicity which instead characterizes the correspondences between genetically related languages (see Rigobianco in this volume). In any case, as seen above with regard to the use of genetic relationship for linguistic analysis and interpretation purposes, such an operation presents difficulties at both a formal and a semantic level. In particular, borrowed material cannot be assumed to reconstruct automatically the source counterpart for reasons intrinsic to the dynamics of linguistic interference (such as semantic restriction and morphophonological integration in the case of loanwords) and, more generally, linguistic change. With regard to contemporary endangered languages, the identification of interference phenomena due to the attrition process is particularly relevant for reconstructing the linguistic system as it was prior to the process itself.

As mentioned above, indirect sources may also contribute to LR₂. Such sources, which are fundamentally metalinguistic in nature, may either have a systematic or episodic character and be of various types, such as grammars, dictionaries, glosses, and linguistic remarks.⁴⁰ The main problem with using such sources concerns their reliability (see Baglioni in this volume). Specifically, the accuracy of the linguistic information depends on various factors, such as whether it is first- or second-hand information as well as the aims and linguistic ideology of whoever supplies it. Anyway, the problem of reliability has a much wider scope. In particular, in the light of the configuration of LR₂ operation as a sort of circle going from the known to the unknown through a series of inferences based on the methods illustrated above, the issue of data robust-

39 The reference work on linguistic interference remains Thomason & Kaufmann (1988).

40 Translations into better-known languages occurring in multilingual texts may be considered as a particular type of indirect source, which may be very helpful in the linguistic analysis and interpretation of 'Restsprachen'.

ness is of paramount importance (see Marinetti & Solinas in this volume). In this regard, we can refer to the so-called joint probability rule, according to which—in approximate terms—probabilities do not add up but multiply.⁴¹ Otherwise said, the hypothesis which follows from two hypotheses ('if ..., if ..., then ...') is less probable than the two. For this reason, it is necessary to take constantly into account the inferential chain on which interpretation and linguistic analysis are based as well as the provability and probability of each hypothesis considered within the chain itself. More generally, this makes it clear that extreme caution is needed in the reconstruction of a fragmentary language.

3 Scope and Organisation of the Book

In light of the above, the book aims to verify the application of the notion of fragmentation, commonly used with reference to ancient dead languages attested only through a quantitatively and qualitatively limited corpus of texts, to diachronic or diatopic varieties of even well-known extinct or alive languages as well as contemporary endangered languages. In particular, the following thirteen chapters are devoted to examining general or specific issues relating to fragmentary—in the broad sense just stated—languages extremely diversified in chronology, location, and quantity and type of documentation, varying from ancient Babylonian to contemporary Istro-Romanian. The resulting overview allows to focus on several theoretical and methodological questions concerning, on the one hand, the very notion of fragmentary language and documentation and, on the other, the strategies for reconstructing the respective linguistic systems and their history. Specifically, among the topics discussed are the traditional notions of 'Restsprache' and 'Trümmersprache' (Merlin, Pisaniello & Rizza; Loporcaro), the way of dealing with newly acquired data in LR₂ (Marinetti & Solinas), the reliability and exploitation of indirect sources for reconstructing otherwise unattested or poorly attested linguistic systems (Favi & Tribulato; Barbato & Minervini; Baglioni) and in particular the use of loanwords for reconstructing features of the source linguistic system (Corò; Merlin, Pisaniello & Rizza; Vuletić), the reconstruction of fragmentarily attested varieties of well-known languages (Cognola), the re-analysis of texts written in an archaic, no longer spoken variety by speakers of a more recent variety of the same language (Ciampini), the identification of the inherited

41 On such a rule with regard to LR₂ see Prodocimi (1989: 134–136). See also Meid (1997: 593).

portion of grammar net of attrition phenomena as well as of hypercharacterization by semi-speakers in the case of endangered languages (Filipponio; Zuin; Loporcaro), and the detection of contact-induced changes involving fragmentary languages (Rigobianco).

Paola Corò, *Fragments of Greek in Babylonian*

This chapter deals with Greek forms in Babylonian texts of the Hellenistic and Parthian periods and Babylonian forms in texts written using Greek script of the same periods. Specifically, through a series of examples, it aims to assess whether and how such forms can be used to reconstruct features of the specific linguistic varieties to whom they pertain.

Emanuele M. Ciampini, *Fragments of 'Solar Royal Compositions' in the Pharaonic Tradition: 'Unterweltsbücher' and Other Related Texts in the Late Egyptian Tradition*

This chapter addresses the reception and reuse in Late Egypt of a corpus of written liturgical and funerary texts attested from the New Kingdom onwards. In particular, it focuses on the textual and linguistic strategies adopted when reusing 'Solar Royal Compositions' such as the 'Unterweltsbücher', when the variety in which such texts were written had not been used for centuries.

Stella Merlin, Valerio Pisaniello & Alfredo Rizza, *'Restsprachen' in Ancient Anatolia: Direct and Indirect Sources, Transmission, and Reconstruction*

This chapter discusses the adequacy of traditional labels such as 'Restsprachen', 'Corpusssprachen', and 'Trümmersprachen' with reference to different languages of Ancient Anatolia (II–I millennium BCE) as well as the relevance of the indirect sources (names, glosses, etc.) for their knowledge. In this regard, it discusses the reliability of Hesychius' Lydian glosses βᾰσκε πικρολέα, κοαλδδᾰν, and μπταλυτα.

F. Favi, O. Tribulato, *Ancient Greek as a Fragmentary Language: What Is 'Alexandrian Greek'?*

This chapter takes into consideration the possible distinctive features of the Greek attested in the epigraphic evidence from Alexandria as well as the ancient metalinguistic reflections on the variety of Greek attributed to its inhabitants. In particular, it shows that the label 'Alexandrian' is commonly used in ancient sources to stigmatise some forms as characteristic of a low variety of koine Greek.

A. Marinetti, P. Solinas, *The Fragmentarily Attested Languages of Pre-Roman Italy: Interpreting, Reconstructing, Classifying*

This chapter offers some theoretical and methodological considerations on the fragmentary languages, with particular attention to the way of dealing with newly acquired data. The chapter then considers some examples from Venetic and Cisalpine Celtic and shows how, despite the fragmentary nature of their documentation, some newly acquired data has contributed respectively to the identification of well-grounded etymologies and to a better reconstruction of Proto-Celtic.

L. Rigobianco, *'Restsprachen' and Language Contact: Latin, Etruscan, and the Sabellic Languages*

This chapter seeks to shed light on the possibilities of reconstruction of contact-induced changes involving fragmentary languages. Specifically, such a question is addressed examining the well-known hypothesis according to which the vowel reduction and deletion which occurred in Etruscan, Latin, and the Sabellic languages would be contact-induced.

M. Barbato, L. Minervini, *Reconstructing a Language from Fragmentary and Discontinuous Records: Andalusian Romance (So-Called 'Mozarabic')*

This chapter aims at reconstructing the main features of the phonological system of Andalusian Romance (so-called Mozarabic), by using two different typologies of sources: the lexemes attested in Medieval texts (glossaries, *har-ġāt*, etc.) and the lexical relics in Modern Spanish contained in Corominas' and Pascual's *Diccionario crítico-etimológico castellano e hispánico*. It will be shown that, despite their heterogeneity and problematicity, these sources can give a relevant contribution to our knowledge of a complex and evasive linguistic variety, whose historical importance cannot be overestimated.

N. Vuletić, *Indirectly Attested Dalmatian Romance Varieties: Survey and Perspectives*

This chapter discusses the status of the extinct autochthonous Romance varieties of Dalmatia in historical linguistics. The author argues that the traditional 'Dalmatian' or 'Dalmatian Romance' subgrouping should be reconsidered taking full advantage of indirect sources. These sources permit us to identify a primitive linguistic unity, involving a particular set of innovations and conservations, in the northern part of the region.

D. Baglioni, *What Remains of an Atypical 'Restsprache': The Mediterranean Lingua Franca*

This chapter is devoted to the so-called Lingua Franca, an indirectly attested Romance-based variety circulating in the Early Modern Mediterranean, characterized by a very simple, pidgin-like grammar. Although most information on this linguistic variety is provided by a dictionary published in 1830, considered by scholars as its main (and almost unique) source, the data supplied in this text is inconsistent with what can be expected from an only spoken, non-native linguistic variety, with limited functions and domains. As a result, by a thorough analysis of all available sources and their comparison with typologically similar dialects, the fragmentary nature not only of the documentation, but of Lingua Franca itself will be underlined.

L. Filipponio, *'Restsprecher' and Hypercharacterizing Informants between Veglia and Capraia*

In case of language shift or language loss (or both together), speakers are no longer able to control grammatical features of the obsolescent language. The typical symptoms of attrition are reduction of paradigms, simplifications, analogies, analytic structures. Combining this with the collateral effects of elicitation, i.e. a metalinguistic act which may lead speakers to purposely over-report shibboleth-like features and patterns, often results in over-characterizations which linguists have to be aware of. This chapter deals with two famous witnesses of the very last stages of Romance varieties both spoken in islands, Capraia (Capraïno, a North Corsican variety disappeared in the 1980s) and Veglia (Vegliote, the last Dalmatian dialect, disappeared in 1898) respectively, and tries to show how to cope with these 'dangerous' data.

F. Cognola, *On the Translation of the Parable of the Prodigal Son in Mòcheno: Linguistic Analysis and Connection to the Extinct Variety of Vignola*

This chapter is devoted to Mòcheno, a German language spoken since the Middle Ages in the Fersina valley (Trentino, Northern Italy). Specifically, the chapter focuses on the oldest text written in Mòcheno, a translation of the Parable of the Prodigal Son collected at the beginning of the 19th century, which has been long considered, due to the strong presence of Romance elements, an example for the 'corrupted' character of this language already in its earliest attestations. Nevertheless, a fine-grained comparison between the generally known version of this Parable and a second version recently discovered in Rouen shows that the language of the manuscript is to be considered a conservative dialect, possibly corresponding to the extinct Mòcheno variety spoken in the village of Vignola.

F. Zuin, *Semi-Speakers and Data Reliability: The Case of the Cimbrian Variety of Foza*

This chapter focuses on the linguistic analysis of the Cimbrian variety of Foza, a German dialect attested only by an unpublished list of words collected by Bruno Schweizer, who interviewed in 1941 the last speaker. Firstly, some problems related to the reliability of data furnished by a semi-speaker, whose Cimbrian idiolect has suffered a deep attrition from the Venetan variety, will be discussed. Secondly, basing on genuine linguistic data, some peculiarities of this scantily attested variety will be underlined, by comparing it to other Cimbrian dialects on the one hand, and to Old High German on the other.

M. Loporcaro, *Notes on the Morphology and Syntax of a 'Restsprache in Re': Istro-Romanian*

This chapter deals with Istro-Romanian, an endangered dialect of Romanian spoken in a handful of villages in the peninsula of Istria, Croatia. On the basis of field data gathered in the framework of the SNF project "Linguistic morphology in time and space" (LiMiTS), the chapter shows how the original Romance variety has been strongly affected by the prevailing Croatian dialects, by focusing on clitics (and clitics position), conjunctions, comparatives and superlatives, and the verbal system (as far as both aspect/*Aktionsart* and agreement are concerned). In conclusion, the importance of the change in grammatical features of this heavily threatened language for both theoretical morphology and contact linguistics is underlined.

References

- Agostiniani, Luciano. 2003. Modelli e metodi di ricostruzione di 'Restsprachen'. *Modelli recenti in linguistica. Atti del Convegno della Società Italiana di Glottologia (Macerata, 26–28 ottobre 2000)*, ed. by Daniele Maggi & Diego Poli, 109–133. Roma: Il Calamo.
- Austin, Peter & Julia Sallabank (eds.). 2011. *The Cambridge Handbook of Endangered Languages*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Baglioni, Daniele & Olga Tribulato. 2015. Contatti di lingue—Contatti di scritture: considerazioni introduttive. *Contatti di lingue—Contatti di scritture. Multilinguismo e multigrafismo dal Vicino Oriente Antico alla Cina contemporanea*, ed. by Daniele Baglioni & Olga Tribulato, 9–37. Venezia: Edizioni Ca' Foscari.
- Baldi, Philip. 1991. Introduction: The Comparative method. *Patterns of Change—Change of Patterns. Linguistic Change and Reconstruction Methodology*, ed. by Philip Baldi, 1–13. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Baldi, Philip & Pierluigi Cuzzolin. 2015. 'Uniformitarian Principle': dalle scienze natu-

- rali alla linguistica storica? *Modelli epistemologici, metodologie della ricerca e qualità del dato. Dalla linguistica storica alla sociolinguistica storica*, 37–49. Milano: FrancoAngeli.
- Barðdal, Jóhanna, Spike Gildea & Eugenio R. Luján (eds.). 2020. *Reconstructing Syntax*. Leiden/Boston: Brill.
- Belfiore, Valentina. 2020. Etrusco/Etruscan. *Palaeohispanica* 20: 199–262.
- Birnbaum, Henrik. 1978. *Linguistic Reconstruction: Its Potentials and Limitations in New Perspective*. Washington: Institute for the Study of Man.
- Bloomfield, Leonard. 1933. *Language*. New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston.
- Buchi, Éva & Wolfgang Schweickard. 2010. À la recherche du protoroman: objectifs et méthodes du futur Dictionnaire Étymologique Roman (DÉRom). *Actes du xxve Congrès International de Linguistique et de Philologie Romanes (Innsbruck 2007)*, ed. by Maria Iliescu, Heidi Siller-Runggaldier & Paul Danler, vol. 6, 61–68. Berlin/New York: De Gruyter.
- Campanile, Enrico. 1983. Le 'Restsprachen' e la ricerca indoeuropeistica. In Vineis (ed.) 1983: 211–226.
- Campbell, Lyle. 2013. *Historical Linguistics. An Introduction*. Edinburgh: University Press.
- Comrie, Bernard. 1993. Typology and Reconstruction. *Historical Linguistics: Problems and Perspectives*, ed. by Charles Jones, 74–97. London/New York: Routledge.
- Coseriu, Eugenio. 1994. *Textlinguistik. Eine Einführung*. Tübingen: Gunter Narr.
- Coulmas, Florian. 2002. *Writing Systems. An introduction to their linguistic analysis*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Daniels, Peter T. & William Bright. 1996. *The world's writing systems*. New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Di Giovine, Paolo. 2023. Il ruolo delle lingue di frammentaria attestazione nella ricostruzione. *Incontri Linguistici* 46: 47–54.
- Dorian, Nancy. 1981. *Language Death: The Life Cycle of a Scottish Gaelic Dialect*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Fox, Anthony. 1995. *Reconstruction. An Introduction to Theory and Method*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Friedrich, Johannes. 1954. *Entzifferung verschollener Schriften und Sprachen*. Berlin/Göttingen/Heidelberg: Springer-Verlag.
- Grinevald, Colette & Michele Bert. 2011. Speakers and Communities. In Austin & Sallabank (eds.) 2011: 45–65.
- Hale, Ken, Michael Krauss et al. 1992. Endangered Languages. *Language* 68(1): 1–42.
- Hale, Mark. 2007. *Historical Linguistics. Theory and Method*. Malden/Oxford/Victoria: Blackwell Publishing.
- Haas, Mary R. 1984. Lessons from American Indian Linguistics. *New Directions in Linguistics and Semiotics*, ed. by James E. Copeland, 68–72. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

- Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich. 1816. *Wissenschaft der Logik. Zweiter Band*. Nürnberg: Johann Leonhard Schrag.
- Hodge, Carleton T. 1972. Sources of Historical Linguistic Evidence. *Studies in Linguistics in Honor of George L. Trager*, ed. by M. Estellie Smith, 87–99. The Hague: Mouton.
- Innocente, Lucia. 1993. A proposito delle denominazioni 'Restsprachen' e 'Trümmersprachen'. *Plurilinguismo* 4: 81–87.
- Jakobson, Roman. 1958. Typological Studies and Their Contribution to Historical Comparative Linguistics. *Proceedings of the 8th International Congress of Linguists*, ed. by Eva Sieversten, 17–25. Oslo: Oslo University Press.
- Joseph, Brian D. & Richard D. Janda. 2003. *The Handbook of Historical Linguistics*. Malden/Oxford/Victoria/Berlin: Blackwell Publishing.
- Keane, Niall & Chris Lawn. 2015. *The Blackwell Companion to Hermeneutics*. Malden/Oxford/Chichester: Wiley Blackwell.
- Klein, Jared, Brian Joseph & Matthias Fritz. 2017. *Handbook of Comparative and Historical Indo-European Linguistics*. Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter Mouton.
- Kristó, László. 2004. Linguistic reconstruction: methods vs. interpretations. *The Even Yearbook* 6: 111–120.
- Labov, William. 1972. *Sociolinguistic Patterns*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Labov, William. 1974. On the use of the present to explain the past. *Proceedings of the nth International Congress of Linguists*, ed. by Luigi Heilmann, 825–851. Bologna: il Mulino.
- Lass, Roger. 1993. How real(ist) are reconstructions? *Historical linguistics: Problems and Perspectives*, ed. by Charles Jones, 156–189. London: Longman.
- Lass, Roger. 2017. Reality in a soft science: the metaphonology of historical reconstruction. *Papers in Historical Phonology* 2: 152–163.
- Lewis, M. Paul & Gary F. Simons. 2010. Assessing endangerment: Expanding Fishman's GIDS. *Revue roumaine de linguistique* 55(2): 103–120.
- Maggiani, Adriano. 2023. Le iscrizioni etrusche su votivi di bronzo. La divinità e i suoi devoti. *Il Santuario Ritrovato 2. Dentro la Vasca Sacra. Rapporto Preliminare di Scavo al Bagno Grande di San Casciano dei Bagni*, ed. by Emanuele Mariotti, Ada Salvi & Jacopo Tabolli, 181–193. Pisa: Sillabe.
- Meid, Wolfgang. 1997. Hoffnung oder Resignation? Vom Umgang mit Texten aus "Trümmersprachen". *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie* 49–50: 591–602.
- Meillet, Antoine. 1903. *Introduction à l'étude comparative des langues indo-européennes*. Paris: Hachette.
- Miller, Cynthia L. 2004. Methodological Issues in Reconstructing Language Systems from Epigraphic Fragments. *The Future of Biblical Archaeology. Reassessing Methodologies and Assumptions*, ed. by James K. Hoffmeier & Alan Millard, 281–305. Grand Rapids/Cambridge: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company.

- Mosel, Ulrike. 2018. Corpus Compilation and Exploitation in Language Documentation Projects. In Rehg & Campbell (eds.) 2018: 248–270.
- Pocchetti, Paolo. 1997. La lessicografia delle lingue di frammentaria attestazione tra testi, grammatica e contorni culturali. *Lessicologia e lessicografia. Atti del Convegno della Società Italiana di Glottologia (Chieti—Pescara, 12–14 ottobre 1995)*, ed. by Luisa Mucchiante e Tullio Telmon, 113–137. Roma: Il Calamo.
- Prosdocimi, Aldo L. 1989. Riflessioni sulle lingue di frammentaria attestazione. *Quaderni dell'Istituto di Linguistica dell'Università di Urbino* 6: 131–153.
- Prosdocimi, Aldo L. 2004. Comparazione, tipologia e ricostruzione. *Scritti inediti e sparsi*, 11, 657–855. Padova: Unipress.
- Rehg, Kenneth L. & Lyle Campbell (eds.). 2018. *The Oxford Handbook of Endangered Languages*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Rigobianco, Luca. 2020. Falisco/Faliscan. *Palaeohispanica* 20: 299–333.
- Rigobianco, Luca. 2022. La linguistica delle lingue di attestazione frammentaria. *Metodi e prospettive della ricerca linguistica*, ed. by Chiara Meluzzi & Nicholas Nese, 83–94. Milano: Ledizioni.
- Sallabank, Julia. 2013. *Attitudes to Endangered Languages: Identities and Policies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Saussure, Ferdinand. 1916. *Cours de linguistique générale*. Lausanne/Paris: Payot.
- Schmidt, Karl Horst 1983. Grundlagen einer festlandkeltischen Grammatik. In Vineis (ed.) 1983: 65–90.
- Thomason, Sarah G. 2015. *Endangered Languages: An Introduction*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Thomason, Sarah G. & Terrence Kaufman 1988. *Language Contact, Creolization, and Genetic Linguistics*. Berkeley/Los Angeles/London: University of California Press.
- Untermann, Jürgen. 1980. Trümmersprachen zwischen Grammatik und Geschichte. *Rheinisch- Westfälische Akademie der Wissenschaften*. Vorträge G 245. Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag.
- Untermann, Jürgen. 1983. Indogermanische Restsprachen als Gegenstand der Indogermanistik. In Vineis (ed.) 1983: 11–28.
- Untermann, Jürgen. 1989. Zu den Begriffen 'Restsprachen' und 'Trümmersprachen'. *Germanische Rest- und Trümmersprachen*, ed. by Heinrich Beck, 15–19. Berlin/New York: de Gruyter.
- Vàrvaro, Alberto. 2011. Il DÉRom: un nuovo REW?. *Revue de Linguistique Romane* 75: 297–304.
- Vineis, Edoardo (ed.). 1983. *Le lingue indoeuropee di frammentaria attestazione—Die indogermanischen Restsprachen. Atti del Convegno della Società Italiana di Glottologia e della Indogermanische Gesellschaft (Udine, 22–24 settembre 1981)*. Pisa: Giardini.
- Waldenberger, Sandra. 2016. Grundsätzliches zur Rekonstruierbarkeit historischer

Sprachsysteme. *PerspektivWechsel oder: Die Wiederentdeckung der Philologie. Band 1: Sprachdaten und Grundlagenforschung in der Historischen Linguistik*, ed. by Sarah Kwekkeboom & Sandra Waldenberger: 115–136. Berlin: Erich Schmidt.

Walkden, George. 2019. The many faces of uniformitarianism in linguistics. *Glossa* 4: 1–17.

Fragments of Greek in Babylonian

Paola Corò

1 Introduction

Describing the Greek language as a ‘Restsprache’ may indeed seem far from appropriate.

Addressing the fragmentariness “only in the sense of ‘fragmentarily documented’” (as Baglioni and Rigobianco state in the introduction to the volume), the present contribution deals with fragments of Greek attested in Babylonian sources dating to the very end of the cuneiform culture, namely the Hellenistic and Parthian periods. The analysis will be based on a few quantitatively limited corpora of occurrences of Greek in Babylonian sources, whose characteristics and specific nature will be explored in detail.

Before turning to them, however, a few words are in order on their *raison d’être*.

The origins, characteristics, and modalities of the contact between Greeks and Babylonians in the 1st millennium BCE have been the subject of an extensive debate over the last fifty years, which is out of the scope of this article to review here.¹ Suffices it here to say that while evidence of contact is at the beginning only sporadic, it more clearly takes on the appearance of ‘traces’ and becomes increasingly visible in the sources from the time of Cyrus’ entry into Babylon in 539 BCE (also demarcating the end of the Babylonian empire’s independence), and even more so with the advent of Alexander the Great and then the Seleucids.

Indeed, from that time onwards, the presence of Greeks in Babylonian territory is witnessed by archaeological evidence (such as the gymnasium and the

1 The literature on the topic is extensive; starting with the seminal works by Kuhrt, Sherwin-White (1987; 1993); Briant (2002); Henkelman (2008), followed by Lanfranchi (2000) and Rollinger (2001; 2004; 2007) and Rollinger, Henkelman (2009). A number of recent synthesis (e.g. Graslin 2012, Monerie 2012, Monerie 2014: 18–21 and most recently Graslin-Thomé, Clancier, Monerie 2023) re-trace the lines along which the debate on Greek-Babylonian relationships evolved: the reader is referred to them and the pertinent bibliographies for further details. For more specific contributions on the problems of construction of identity in the later Mesopotamian archives, see the 2023 monographic issue of the *Studia Orientalia Electronica* journal (StOrE 11(2), 2023).

theatre of Babylon, for example)² as well as by some two dozen of inscriptions (on stelae, statues, foundation bricks, weights and amphorae, ostraka) written in the Greek language and script.³ Irretrievably lost to us, but in all likelihood quite numerous, is that kind of evidence of everyday transactions, recorded on perishable media, whose existence is suggested by the presence of clay bullae and cretulae, which were used to seal parchment documents kept both in the official archives of the Seleucid kings (such as in the city of Seleucia on the Tigris),⁴ and in centres with a deep-rooted Babylonian tradition, such as the city of Uruk, in southern Babylonia. Here, in particular, the bullae were stored in the same rooms of the temple of the local god Anu, the so-called *Biṭ Rēš*, where the clay tablet archives written in the Babylonian language, using cuneiform writing, were found.⁵

Whether we include them in the count or not, so far, we are focusing on Greek, but in Babylonia, not in Babylonian sources. Our attention must therefore shift to other types of documents, which can justifiably be defined as ‘fragments of Greek in Babylonian’.

As we address this, various scenarios emerge, contingent upon our definition of Greek:

- 1) Greek refers to the script but not the language. We are dealing here with those examples of typical Babylonian writing mediums, such as clay tablets, which house Greek script used to transliterate either the Sumerian or Akkadian languages: thus languages which are not Greek, that belong to different language families, and on top of it are typically written using a non-alphabetic, cuneiform shaped, script.⁶
- 2) Greek refers to the language but not the script. We consider here those fragments of the Greek language found in Babylonian sources, written

2 See, among others, Potts (2011); Bergamini (2011); Messina (2012: esp. 8–11); Mitsuma (2022). For the occurrence of the theatre in the cuneiform documentation Van der Spek 2001; on its role and significance Michel (2011), Ristvet (2014) and Horst (2022).

3 A recent short introduction to these documents and their significance is provided by Ruffing (2023), with bibliography. Especially useful for the reader is the full list of the inscriptions provided on pp. 113–114, where amphora stamps and other minor texts (such as those on stamped bullae and inscribed weights) are however excluded.

4 Invernizzi (ed.) (2004).

5 Lindström (2003).

6 While sharing the same writing system, being both written in cuneiform, Akkadian and Sumerian do not belong to the same language family. According to the genetic classification of the Semitic languages, Akkadian represents its East-Semitic branch (for a recent synthesis on the classification of Akkadian, see Hasselbach-Andee 2021). The affiliation of Sumerian is conversely still disputed: generally considered to be a language isolate, it has been recently proposed that it is part of the Uralic language family (Parpola 2010; 2012).

using the non-alphabetic, cuneiform script utilized in the 1st millennium BCE to express the Late-Babylonian variety of the Akkadian language.⁷ This includes transliterations, borrowings, and calques, all displaying varying degrees of ‘deformation’ in their original forms due to their adaptation to a logo-syllabic script not designed for alphabetic representation.⁸

Before delving into a more detailed analysis of the aforementioned categories (§§ 2,3), it’s important to note that a comprehensive assessment of the significance of these fragments of Greek in Babylonian is hindered by several factors. First, our understanding of the pronunciation of the Akkadian language in its Late-Babylonian dialect is still incomplete. Second, there are lingering uncertainties regarding the exact pronunciation and grammar of the Greek language stage as evidenced in Babylonian sources. Additionally, the level of literacy and education in the Greek language (as well as in the Babylonian language itself!) among the scribes who compiled the documents under analysis, as well as their identities remain subjects of debate, in a period when cuneiform is probably only written (and the language(s) it vehiculates spoken, if at all) in the temples, and individuals currently used Aramaic (and also Greek) in everyday life.⁹ To illustrate this, a closer examination of a specific instance of the appropriation of the Greek language, as reflected in a sub-set of the considered fragments, help us draw conclusions.

2 Fragments of Greek Script for Languages Other Than Greek: The Graeco-Babyloniaca

The corpus known as the Graeco-Babyloniaca comprises a small collection of seventeen tablets, primarily in fragmentary conditions, believed to have originated from the Esagila temple of Babylon or its vicinity.¹⁰ These texts provide

7 For an overview of the Akkadian language the reader is referred to the recent volume edited by Vita (2021).

8 A further scenario is that represented by translations of Greek documents in Akkadian: an example of this category has been recently identified in YOS 20 87, a scholarly tablet that according to Clancier and Monerie (2023) has to be interpreted as an Akkadian translation of Greek official documents dating to the Seleucid period.

9 For a summary of these issues with reference to previous literature, see Hackl (2021a; 2021b). On scribal literacy in this period see also Jursa (2010). On scribes as the ‘cuneiform culture last guardians’, Clancier (2010).

10 Essential steps in the identification of the corpus are the works by Sollberger (1962), Geller (1983) and (1997), Maul (1991), Westenholz (2007), to which Oelsner (2013) and Stevens

unique evidence of the utilization of the Greek script for writing texts in the Sumerian or Akkadian languages, a practice hitherto unattested. As far as their chronology is concerned, they span from the last two centuries BCE to the 1st century CE, albeit subject to fluctuations according to varying interpretations.¹¹ It is widely acknowledged that a systematic and meticulous examination of the paleography of the Greek script employed in these tablets may contribute to refining their precise chronology, although one has to bear in mind that contemporary parallels for Greek script inscribed using a pointed stylus on clay may be difficult to find.¹²

Regarding their contents, the texts preserved on the Graeco-Babyloniaca tablets are representative of the Babylonian scholastic tradition: they encompass lexical lists, hymns, incantations, and colophons of literary texts, i.e. the 'classical literature' used in the students' educational process; the presence of mistakes and erasures is also deemed indicative of a pedagogical context.¹³

In terms of script, most tablets feature the cuneiform version of a text on the obverse and its equivalent, still in the Akkadian or Sumerian language but transliterated into Greek characters, on the reverse.¹⁴ Interestingly, the rendition of Akkadian and Sumerian texts with Greek script appears to entail not a direct transliteration, rather an endeavor to capture the pronunciation of the original language.¹⁵ Notably, these tablets deviate from common cuneiform practice by turning along the vertical axis (akin to modern books) in contrast to the customary characteristic of cuneiform tablets of turning like a notepad, being flipped upside-down.

(2019) must be added. In the recent treatment of the Graeco-Babyloniaca by Lang (2023) a useful table summarizing the ID, content, epigraphical aspect of the tablets, proposed dating and on-line accessibility of the texts is provided on pp. 134–135. On their possible original provenance from the Esangila library see Clancier (2009: 247–248). Stevens (2019: 124 n. 109) propends for 'houses or storerooms of priests or other temple personnel' and not for the library of Esangila.

- 11 Knudsen (1990); Geller (1997); Westenholz (2007); Stevens (2019: 141). We will not consider part of the Graeco-Babyloniaca here what Martin Lang considers part of them in "a wider sense", i.e. "all the material that reflects Sumerian and Akkadian words of the Ancient Babylonian world in the Greek tradition" (2021: 102–103), as they represent precisely the opposite of what constitutes our focus here.
- 12 Geller (1997: 85); again, Lang (2023: 132). See also the difficulties exemplified by Stevens (2019: 135).
- 13 Westenholz (2007: 291); Geller (2008: 2).
- 14 Three exceptions are known, featuring only the Greek transliteration but no cuneiform at all: they are Nos. 14, 15 and 17 according to Geller (1997)'s numbering.
- 15 Westenholz (2007: 281); see also Oelsner (2013: 158, 161). The Graeco-Babyloniaca are the object of two recent syntheses by Martin Lang: see Lang (2021; 2023).

The Graeco-Babyloniaca undeniably provide evidence of the persistence of Babylonian as a learned language up to the 1st century CE, and potentially indicate that Sumerian and Akkadian “outlived the demise of cuneiform on other media for some time”.¹⁶ While there is consensus that their *Sitz-im-Leben* is the scribal school milieu, the debate remains open regarding the identity of those who drafted them (whether they were Babylonian or Greek students), and their ultimate purpose. A comprehensive review of the various theories proposed thus far exceeds the scope of this study;¹⁷ however it is pertinent to remind that this fragmentary group of texts in Greek alphabetical script, reveal that those who wrote them had a “limited knowledge—but not significantly reduced competence—of Akkadian”,¹⁸ indicating their importance for studying Babylonian in later periods. They confirm essential linguistic developments in the language final phase, such as the loss of short vowels in noun case endings and the final vowels of the mode in the verbal forms.¹⁹ For instance, the name of the city of Babylon, written using the logogram *KI.MIN*, for ‘ditto’, to reflect the repetition of a previous mention of the name of the city in BM 34789 (= No. 16: 2 *et passim*), is read *Bābilu* (with short *u* for the nominative ending) in Akkadian, and is rendered βαβιλ in Greek script, reflecting a characteristic Late-Babylonian phenomenon. Furthermore, these texts shed light on previously unknown linguistic features of the Babylonian language, such as the pronunciation of the phoneme /o/, which is not attested in the Babylonian cuneiform writing system, in particular situations: for example, the renditions of the god Marduk’s name as [μαρ]¹δ ¹ωκ in Greek characters illustrates this phenomenon.²⁰

At the same time, examining the Graeco-Babyloniaca from ‘a Greek perspective’ reveals the existence of an established set of conventions for the transliteration of Akkadian and Sumerian into Greek script. This transliteration system, tailored to the phonological characteristics of each language, mirrors contemporary practices observed in the transliterations of other Semitic languages.²¹ Furthermore, the positioning of the Greek version of these school texts on the reverse side of the tablets suggests that mastering this translit-

16 Hackl (2021a: 1433); Hackl (2021b: 1471–1472).

17 The reader may refer to the synthesis by Stevens (2019: 125–143), with previous literature.

18 Hackl (2021b: 1468).

19 On the characteristics of Late-Babylonian see Hackl (2021a).

20 A full list of the preserved Akkadian words in Greek script occurring in the Graeco-Babyloniaca is now provided by Lang (2021: 107–117), who also sketches the grammar and phonetic orthography of the Akkadian preserved in them (Lang 2021: 118–121).

21 Geller (1997: 64–68) and Westenholz (2007: 281–283); now also Lang (2021: 102–103).

eration process was the ‘main learning objective’²² of these educational exercises. This observation may elucidate the frequent occurrences of errors and erasures in the texts.²³ Whether the writers of the Graeco-Babyloniaca tablets were Babylonian or Greek, they demonstrated a preexisting familiarity with the Greek script, albeit at a rudimentary level.²⁴ Concurrently, they engaged with cuneiform literature typical of the advanced stages of education.²⁵ In this context, it seems apt to view these exercises, as proposed by Stevens, as tangible manifestations of education within a ‘a bilingual, or rather multilingual society’.²⁶

3 Fragments of the Greek Language in Cuneiform Script

It is within the same bilingual and multilingual context that the second group of fragments of Greek in Babylonian forming the focus of our investigation finds its rationale. This group represents a parallel yet contrasting process to that observed in the Graeco-Babyloniaca, namely the representation of Greek in Babylonian sources. Here we specifically examine the rendering of the Greek language using the Babylonian script, a multifaceted phenomenon encompassing various Greek words documented on clay tablets through cuneiform writing. This phenomenon takes many forms, ranging from direct transliterations, to calques, such as the Babylonian term *bīt tāmarti* ‘house of the viewing’ for *theatron*),²⁷ as well as borrowings. It encompasses anthroponyms, toponyms, and a plethora of Greek terms (predominantly nouns, and a few adjectives), mainly associated with civic administration and institutions. These aspects will be scrutinized in further detail in the subsequent discussion.

3.1 *Greek Anthroponyms*

Here, we refer to the multiple attestations of:

- names of rulers utilized mainly, and to a large extent, in the dating formulas of everyday documents—essentially contracts—, but also mentioned—

²² Stevens (1997: 123).

²³ See above, note 12.

²⁴ Stevens (2019: 131), on the basis of Criore (1996: 212).

²⁵ Gesche (2001: 184–185).

²⁶ Steven (2019: 132).

²⁷ See in particular Van der Spek (2001) and Potts (2011). On the theatre of Babylon see also note 2 above.

- to a lesser extent—in official inscriptions, celebrative documents and/or astronomical diaries and chronicles. A few queens are also documented (for example, Laodice, as discussed below);
- names of high-ranking officials connected with the royal court attested sporadically but predominantly found in the Astronomical Diaries from Babylon;
 - a significant array of names of individuals belonging to the upper echelons of the city elite, who revolved around the temple city of Uruk, in southern Babylonia. These individuals assumed various roles, including witnesses, sellers, buyers, etc. in nearly a thousand Seleucid-era documents.²⁸ We will not discuss here the reasons and characteristics of the spread of such Greek onomastic heritage in the sources; however, it is noteworthy to mention, in order to provide context to this phenomenon, that Greek anthroponyms often represent the ‘second’ (or other) name of individuals who bear a Babylonian name alongside the Greek one.²⁹ Furthermore, as recently emphasized by Verhelst, certain Greek anthroponyms attested in Babylonian sources are exceedingly rare in contemporary Greek sources, and originate from specific geographic areas, thus reflecting localized instances of agency within the context of foreign rule.³⁰

3.2 *Greek Toponyms*

Toponyms identify Greek cities (mainly local foundations), such as Antioch on the Orontes, or Seleucia on the Tigris, and locations (e.g. Macedonia, Ionia) and encompass not only transliterations but also calques. Notably, in transliterations, the utilization of semantic classifiers serves to differentiate regions and cities. For instance, Macedonia is transcribed ^{kur}*ma-ak-du-nu* or ^{kur}*ma-ak-ka-da-nu*, employing the semantic classifier *KUR* denoting the region, whereas Antioch is rendered as ^{uru}*an-tu-ki-ʾa-a*,³¹ employing the semantic classifier

²⁸ For recent synthetic overviews of these sources see Alstola et al. (2023; esp. 14–18). It must be noticed that although our attention is preferentially for the occurrences of Greek names in sources from Uruk, private individuals with Greek names are also attested in the sources from other Babylonian cities, such as Babylon, Nippur and Larsa: for the full list of occurrences, see Monerie (2014).

²⁹ On the use of Greek and Babylonian names see especially Monerie (2014), with previous literature and now also Corò (2024). Questions relating to identity construction in Mesopotamian archives during the 1st millennium BCE are the focus of a recent issue of *Studia Orientalia Electronica*, where the question of Greek names is dealt with by Pearce & Corò (2023).

³⁰ Verhelst (forthcoming).

³¹ For more spellings of this anthroponym see Monerie (2014: 199).

reserved for cities. This reflects a level of appropriation not just of the Greek language but also of the geographical context the scribe was writing about, a phenomenon particularly conspicuous in instances of semi-calques for toponyms. The complete appellation of Antioch on the Orontes, retaining its Greek designation for the first segment, as shown above, is subsequently translated into Babylonian with the latter portion commonly identified in cuneiform as *ša ana UGU I₇ ma-rat*, lit. ‘which is on the sea’ (denoting the Orontes river).³²

3.3 *Greek Lemmas: Words and Adjectives*

Predominantly comprising nouns, the Greek lemmas within this corpus pertain primarily to the domain of city institutions and administration. The comprehensive (yet still somewhat circumscribed) lexicon encompasses terms such as: διάγραμμα, διοικητής, επίσκοπος, γραφή, μέτρον, παράδειξις, πελιγάνες, πολίται, πομπή, προστάτης, στατήρες, σύμβολον, θρόνος,³³ along with two adjectives designating ethnicity: ἰώνιος, μακεδών.³⁴

Recently, Monerie’s scholarly inquiry has offered fresh insights into this corpus, particularly regarding anthroponyms. His examination has not only elucidated the system of phonemic correspondences between the two languages, but also revealed the strategies adopted to address challenges inherent in the cuneiform script. A notable instance pertains to the transliteration in cuneiform of words featuring consonant clusters, due to the absence of cuneiform signs beginning or ending in two consonants, necessitating the division of such clusters into consecutive syllabic values. So, the Greek term θρόνος is rendered as *tu-ru-nu-us* in Akkadian cuneiform, a transliteration that underscores the additional difficulty of representing the vowel, /o/, for which no corresponding cuneiform sign exists.

Moreover, this analysis sheds light on the manner in which Greek was transcribed via cuneiform. Parallel to what we know of the Graeco-Babyloniaca, these transliterations reveal a tendency towards capturing the pronunciation of the Greek language, rather than its written form. Consequently, the sources may present multiple variants for a single term, reflecting individual scribes’ idiosyncrasies, choices, and level of familiarity with Greek pronunciation. This variability may also reflect the scribes’ evolving proficiency on Greek over the course of their career.

32 For the identification of this toponym see Van der Spek (1997/1998: 173–174).

33 Uncertain is also the occurrence of a lemma τάγματα: see Von Soden (1981: 295) and Jursa (2006: 149–150).

34 See Monerie (2014: 198), for details of their writing in cuneiform.

4 Conclusion: A Particular Case of Appropriation of the Greek Language

Moving towards the conclusion, we will examine a specific case, that illustrates the complexity of the phenomenon of linguistic appropriation evident in these fragments of Greek in Babylonian. Our focus will shift to the spellings of the female name Laodice in cuneiform sources. Babylonian sources record two queens with this name: Laodice the wife of Antiochus II and Laodice the daughter of Antiochus III. Although queens (and their names) are in general underrepresented in cuneiform sources from this period, the wife of Antiochus II stands out in Babylonian sources for her grant of land to the citizens of three Babylonian cities, namely Babylon, Borsippa and Kutha. This donation is recorded in a cuneiform tablet known as the 'Lehmann Text', currently housed in the Metropolitan Museum. According to the tablet, this document is a later copy, in cuneiform script, on a clay tablet, of an official stele (now lost to us), a stone monument (*narû*), publicly displayed in the temple, commemorating the donation. A duplicate of the Lehmann text, also inscribed on a clay tablet and written in cuneiform script, has recently been discovered in the British Museum and is of paramount importance for the topic under discussion here.³⁵

The two clay tablets mention the name of Laodice three times in total, each instance exhibiting different spellings: two occurrences are found in the Lehmann text, while the third is in its duplicate (see Table 2.1). Despite being duplicates, the two tablets were produced by different scribes: the London tablet is likely the work of an expert scribe, while³⁶ the one in the Metropolitan Museum, as explicitly stated in its colophon, is the work of an apprentice scribe. This detail also indicates that the grant document, like other official inscriptions, was copied in a scholastic setting.³⁷

As recently demonstrated, the tablet produced by the expert scribe preserves a spelling (*^fla-ú-di-qé-e*: CTMMA 148B: iii 1) that more closely reflects the (written) Greek form of the queen's name. This suggests the possibility that either he was able to directly read Laodice's name from the original Greek document to which the *narû* referred (if such a document ever existed and was on display and available to him at the time he produced the tablet) or, if he was writing under dictation or lacked access to the original document, he possessed

35 The tablet in the Metropolitan Museum of Art and its duplicate in the British Museum are published in Spar-Jursa 2012, 213–227, respectively as CTMMA 4, 148, Text A and B.

36 As suggested by its formal execution. See recently Corò (2020).

37 See Van der Spek and Wallenfels in Spar & Jursa (2014: 213–227).

TABLE 2.1 Spellings of Laodice in the Lehmann text and its duplicate

Spelling	Texts	Date BCE
^f la-ú-di-qé-e	CTMMA 148B: iii 1	lost
^f lu-da-qé-e	CTMMA 148A: obv. 7 <i>et passim</i>	173/172

the correct spelling of the name, enabling him to transcribe it into cuneiform without encountering the typical challenges Babylonian scribes faced when dealing with ‘difficult’ Greek phonemes.³⁸

This example, in addition to those previously investigated, highlights the intricate mechanisms governing the relationships between different languages and writing systems in a multilingual context. It further suggests that a comprehensive understanding and assessment of the significance of this ‘corpus of fragments of Greek in Babylonian’ can only be achieved by considering multiple interconnected factors. These include the language proficiency of the scribes in the two different languages, and their mastery of the writing systems they employed, their literacy levels as well as the extent of their involvement and participation in the socio-political and cultural milieu of which the texts they produced represented the tangible expression.

References

- Alstola, Tero et al. 2023. Sources at the End of the Cuneiform Era. *Studia Orientalia Electronica* 11(2): 5–29. <https://doi.org/10.23993/store.129801>
- Bergamini, Giovanni. 2011. Babylon in the Achaemenid and Hellenistic Period: the Changing Landscape of a Myth. *Mesopotamia* 46: 23–34.
- Briant Pierre. 2002. *From Cyrus to Alexander. A History of the Persian Empire*. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns.
- Clancier, Philippe. 2009. *Les bibliothèques en Babylonie dans le deuxième moitié du Ier millénaire av. J.-C.* Münster: Ugarit Verlag.
- Clancier, Philippe. 2010. Cuneiform Culture’s Last Guardians: the Old Urban Notability of Hellenistic Uruk. *The Oxford Handbook of Cuneiform Studies*, ed. by Karen Radner & Eleanor Robson, 752–774. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

38 Corò (2020), where also the different spellings are recorded and commented. On the representation of women in Hellenistic documents see Corò (2021).

- Corò, Paola. 2020. A New Spelling for the Name of Laodice in Cuneiform: A Matter of Literacy?. *Nouvelle Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires* 2020(2): 168–170.
- Corò, Paola. 2021. Between a Queen and an Ordinary Woman: On Laodice and the Representation of Women in Cuneiform Sources in the Hellenistic Period. *Powerful Women in the Ancient World. Perception and (Self)Presentation. Proceedings of the 8th Melammu Workshop, Kassel, 30 January–1 February 2019*, ed. by Kerstin Droß-Krüpe & Sebastian Fink, 201–210. Münster: Zaphon.
- Corò, Paola. 2024. Greek Names. *Personal Names in Cuneiform Texts from Babylonia (c. 750–100 BCE): An Introduction*, ed. by Caroline Waerzeggers & Melanie M. Gross, 224–237. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/9781009291071>
- Criboire, Raffaella. 1996. *Writing, teachers, and students in Graeco-Roman Egypt*. Atlanta: Scholars Press.
- Geller, Markham J. 2008. Greco-Babylonian *Uttukū Lemnūtu*. *Nouvelle Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires* 2008(2): 43–44.
- Geller, Markham J. 1983. More Graeco-Babyloniaca. *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 73: 114–121.
- Geller, Markham J. 1997. The Last Wedge. *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 87: 43–95.
- Graslin, Laetitia. 2012. Les relations entre Grecs et Mésopotamiens avant Alexandre. *Folia Graeca in honorem Edouard Will*, ed. by Paul Goukowsky & Christophe Feyel, 31–63. Nancy: A.D.R.A.
- Graslin-Thomé, Laetitia & Philippe Clancier & Julien Monerie. 2023. *La Babylonie hellénistique*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres.
- Hackl, Johannes. 2021a. Late Babylonian. *History of the Akkadian Language*, ed. by Juan-Pablo Vita, 1431–1458. Leiden/Boston: Brill.
- Hackl, Johannes. 2021b. The Death of Akkadian as a Written and Spoken Language. *History of the Akkadian Language*, ed. by Juan-Pablo Vita, 1459–1480. Leiden/Boston: Brill.
- Hasselbach-Andee, Rebecca. 2021. Classification of Akkadian within the Semitic Family. *History of the Akkadian Language*, ed. by Juan-Pablo Vita, 129–146. Leiden/Boston: Brill.
- Henkelman, Wouter. 2008. *The Other Gods Who Are. Studies in Elamite-Iranian Acculturation Based on the Persepolis Fortification Texts*. Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten.
- Horst, Claudia. 2022. Politics and Hybrid Identities. The Greek Theatre in Hellenistic Babylon. *Evidence Combined. Western and Eastern Sources in Dialogue*, ed. by Raija Mattila, Sebastian Fink & Ito Sanae, 11–26. Wien: Austrian Academy of Sciences Press.
- Invernizzi, Antonio (ed.). 2004. *Seleucia al Tigri. Le impronte di sigillo dagli Archivi*. 3 vols. Torino: Edizioni dell'Orso.

- Jursa, Michael. 2006. Agricultural Management Tax Farming and Banking: Aspects of Entrepreneurial Activity in Babylonia in the Late Achaemenid and Hellenistic Periods. *La transition entre l'empire achéménide et le royaumes hellénistiques*, ed. by Pierre Briant & Francis Joannès, 137–222. Paris: De Boccard.
- Jursa, Michael. 2010. Cuneiform Writing in Neo-Babylonian Temple Communities. *The Oxford Handbook of Cuneiform Culture*, ed. by Karen Radner & Eleanor Robson, 184–204. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Knudsen, Ebbe. 1990. On Akkadian Texts in Greek Orthography. *Living Waters: Scandinavian Orientalistic Studies Presented to Professor Dr. Frede Løkkegaard on his Seventy-Fifth Birthday*, ed. by Egon Keck, Svend Søndergaard & Ellen Wulff, 147–161. Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum Press.
- Kuhrt, Amélie & Susan Sherwin-White (eds.). 1993. *From Samarkhand to Sardis. A New Approach to the Seleucid Empire*. Berkeley/Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Kuhrt, Amélie & Susan Sherwin-White (eds.). 1987. *Hellenism in the East. The Interaction of Greek and non-Greek Civilizations from Syria to Central Asia after Alexander*. Berkeley/Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Lanfranchi, Giovanni B. 2000. The Ideological and Political Impact of the Assyrian Imperial Expansion on the Greek World in the 8th and 7th Centuries BC. *The Heirs of Assyria: Proceedings of the Opening Symposium of the Assyrian and Babylonian Intellectual Heritage Project Held in Tvärminne, Finland, October 8–11, 1998*, ed. by Sanno Aro & Robert Whiting, 7–34. Helsinki: The Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project.
- Lang, Martin. 2021. Akkadian and the Greek Alphabet (Graeco-Babyloniaca). *History of the Akkadian Language*, ed. by Juan-Pablo Vita, 102–125. Leiden/Boston: Brill.
- Lang, Martin. 2023. Construction of Identities and Late Mesopotamian Archives as Found in the Fragments of the 'Graeco-Babyloniaca'. *Studia Orientalia Electronica* 11(2): 130–137.
- Lindström, Gunvor. 2003. *Uruk: Siegelabdrücke auf hellenistischen Tonbullen und Tontafeln*. Mainz: Philipp von Zabern.
- Maul, Stefan. 1991. Neues zu den 'Graeco-Babyloniaca'. *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 81: 87–107.
- Messina, Vito. 2012. Da Babilonia a Ai Khanoum. Teatri greci di età ellenistica e partica a est dell'Eufrate. *Memorie della Reale Accademia delle Scienze di Torino. Classe di Scienze morali, storiche e filologiche* 35–36: 3–39.
- Michel, Patrick. 2011. Le théâtre de Babylone : nouveauté urbaine et néologisme en Mésopotamie. *Études de lettres* 1–2: 153–170.
- Mitsuma, Yasuyuki. 2022. The Semi-Circular Theatre in Seleucid and Arsacid Babylon. *Performance Space and Stage Technologies. A Comparative Perspective on Theatre History*, ed. by Yujii Nawata, Hans J. Dethlefs, 33–46. Bielefeld: Transcript.

- Monerie, Julien. 2012. Les communautés grecques en Babylonie (VII^e–III^e s. av. J.-C.). *Pallas* 89: 345–365.
- Monerie, Julien. 2014. *D'Alexandre à Zoilos. Dictionnaire Prosopographique des porteurs de noms grec dans les sources cuneiforms*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag.
- Monerie, Julien & Philippe Clancier. 2023. A Compendium of Official Correspondence from Seleucid Uruk. *Altorientalische Forschungen* 50(1): 63–82. <https://doi.org/10.1515/aof-2023-0007>
- Oelsner, Joachim. 2013. Überlegungen zu den 'Graeco-Babyloniaca'. *He has Opened Nisaba's House of Learning. Studies in Honor of Åke Waldemar Sjöberg on the Occasion of His 89th Birthday on August 1st 2013*, ed. by Leonhard Sassmannshausen, 147–164. Leiden/Boston: Brill
- Parpola, Simo. 2010. Sumerian: A Uralic Language (I). *Proceedings of the 53th Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale: Vol. 1: Language in the Ancient Near East*, ed. by Leonid E. Kogan et al., 181–210. University Park: Penn State University Press.
- Parpola, Simo. 2012. Sumerian: A Uralic Language (II). *Babel und Bibel* 6, ed. by Leonid E. Kogan et al., 269–322. University Park: Penn State University Press.
- Pearce, Laurie E. & Paola, Corò. 2023. Constructing Identities: Greek Names as a Marker of Hellenizing Identity. *Studia Orientalia Electronica* 11(2): 72–108.
- Potts, Daniel T. 2011. The *politai* and the *bīt tāmartu*: The Seleucid and Parthian Theatres of the Greek Citizens of Babylon. *Babylon: Wissenskultur in Orient und Okzident*, ed. by Eva Cancik-Kirschbaum, Margarete van Ess & Joachim Marzahn, 239–252. Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter.
- Ristvet, Lauren. 2014. Between Ritual and Theatre: Political Performance in Seleucid Babylonia. *World Archaeology* 46(2): 599–618.
- Rollinger, Robert & Wouter Henkelman. 2009. New observations on “Greeks” in the Achaemenid Empire according to Cuneiform Texts from Babylonia and Persepolis. *Organisations de pouvoirs et contacts culturels dans les pays de l'empire achéménide*, ed. by Pierre Briant, Michel Chauveau, 331–351. Paris: De Boccard.
- Rollinger, Robert. 2001. The Ancient Greeks and the Impact of the Ancient Near East: Textual Evidence and Historical perspective. *Melammu Symposia 2: Mythology and Mythologies*, ed. by Robert Whiting, 233–264. Helsinki: The Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project.
- Rollinger, Robert. 2004. Von Griechenland nach Mesopotamien und zurück: Alte und Neue Probleme bei der Beschäftigung mit Fragen der Kulturtransfers, von Kulturkontakten und interkultureller Kommunikation. (Zu den Beziehung zwischen Mesopotamien und Griechenland im ersten Jahrtausend v. Chr.). *Zwischen Euphrat und Tigris*, ed. by Friedrich Schipper, 87–100. Wien: LIT Verlag.
- Rollinger, Robert. 2007. Near Eastern Perspectives on the Greeks. *The Oxford Handbook of Hellenic Studies*, ed. by Barbara Graziosi, Phiroze Vasunia & George Boys-Stone, 32–47. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Ruffing, Kai. 2023. Greek Inscriptions in Mesopotamia. *Studia Orientalia Electronica* 11(2): 109–115.
- Sollberger, Edmond. 1962. Graeco-Babyloniaca. *Iraq* 24: 63–71.
- Spar, Ira & Michael Jursa (eds.). 2014. *The Ebabbar Temple Archive and Other Texts from the Fourth to the First Millennium BC*. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns.
- Stevens, Kathryn. 2019. *Between Greece and Babylonia: Hellenistic intellectual history in cross-cultural perspective*. Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press.
- van der Spek, Robartus J. 2001. The Theatre of Babylon in Cuneiform. *Veenhof Anniversary Volume. Studies Presented to Klaas R. Veenhof on the Occasion of His Sixty-fifth Birthday*, ed. by Wilfred H. van Soldt, 445–456. Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten.
- Verhelst, Nicolaas. forthcoming. *Along the Passageways of Gods, Kings, and Peoples: A history through uncommon names*.
- Vita, Juan-Pablo (ed.). 2021. *History of the Akkadian Language*. Leiden/Boston: Brill.
- Von Soden, Wolfram. 1981. Review of Gilbert J.P. McEwan (ed.). 1981. *Priest and Temple in Hellenistic Babylonia*. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner. *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 71: 292–296.
- Westenholz, Aage. 2007. The Graeco-Babyloniaca Once Again. *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 97: 262–313.

Fragments of ‘Solar Royal Compositions’ in the Pharaonic Tradition: ‘Unterweltsbücher’ and Other Related Texts in the Late Egyptian Versions

Emanuele M. Ciampini

1 Introduction

Among the topics of research on Egyptian ritual and funerary literature, that of corpora transmission offers a series of data which in recent years have become strong points for outlining a cultural process that fully reflects ancient writing patterns. The existence of collections developed over time, sometimes on a genealogical basis, has been the focus of textual criticism, which has highlighted some characteristic facts; among these is the textualisation, a process that determines the dissemination of a given model through master-copies; these may provide models from which to draw directly, or they may also be reworked through processes that operate actively on the text. These processes are characteristic of an archaizing tendency that developed in Egypt from the 8th century BCE onwards: as early as the 25th Dynasty, Ramesside models were drawn on heavily, but it was then the Saitic period (26th Dynasty) that brought about an archaism which became characteristic of the period (der Manuelian 1994: 387–389).

However, studies on the Saitic archaizing phenomenon have had a specific *focus* on royal inscriptions, leaving aside funerary and, in general, religious literature: “The religious literature was considered to bear too long, continuous and involved a tradition for analysis in terms of specifically Saite archaizing elements” (der Manuelian 1994: 387). This statement may certainly be valid in general, but upon closer analysis, the documentation offers some insights for a study that addresses groups of texts, which enjoyed an archaizing flowering in the last years of Egyptian autonomy (4th century BCE).

2 'Fragments' of Royal Compositions from the New Kingdom to Late Reception

The spread of religious collections of royal origin in the late tradition is part of that archaising phenomenon that reflects an attitude of Egyptian culture in the 1st millennium towards its past. The first steps in the reception of these materials are precocious: already the royal necropolis of Tanis (9th century BCE) bears witness to the revival of funerary corpora from the Ramesside period (Roulin 1998), but the transmission of texts continued over time to find a new growth during the 4th century, at the same time as the new archaising trend of the 30th Dynasty (de Meuleneare 1982a: 451; 1982b: 452; in general, on the phenomenon of archaism: Brunner 1975).

In this context, New Kingdom royal compositions once again become a living matter, well represented by the papyrus collections from the Theban area (Niwinski 1989; Sadek 1985). These Theban collections do not comprise the whole royal repertoire that must have begun to circulate as early as the New Kingdom: an emblematic case in point is the papyrus of Khai, dated to the New Kingdom, in which a series of solar hymns appears alongside a redaction of the Book of the Dead; among these solar texts is also the morning section of the Solar Royal Liturgy, which would become part of the reception of fragments of classical collections in the 30th Dynasty (Shorter 1938: 66–67).

This tradition of royal compositions is thus a complex reception phenomenon, involving not only the more traditional cosmographical-funerary corpora (the so-called Netherworld Books or 'Unterweltsbücher'), but also liturgical compositions for the celebration of the solar cult. It will therefore be useful to see in this reception a phenomenon that is not only cultural, but also social: the users of these collections are in fact linked, directly or indirectly, with the temple context and its culture. We can then interpret the revival of New Kingdom royal compositions as part of a broader phenomenon, in which is reflected the affirmation of a priestly class that had been able to celebrate its status in the temple since the end of the New Kingdom (Kruchten 1989; for the priest's ritual access to the temple, see also Alliot 1949–1954: 142–145, 184–195). The appropriation of those characteristics that make the sovereign the perfect cultic operator also belongs to this social process (Ciampini 2021).

From a historical perspective, the reception of these royal collections in the Late Period represents an aspect of that cultural sedimentation which constitutes a fundamental element in the last phase of Egyptian civilisation. Indeed, the transmission of these texts may represent an excellent example of that procedure of reception of ancient texts that has been known for a long time: the Old Kingdom Pyramid Texts had already been the subject of reception in the

Middle Kingdom, with phenomena of revision and interpretation that bear evidence to an open recension (*offene Überlieferung*) of the text (Allen 2006). In the case of the *Amduat*, the earliest of the royal ‘*Unterweltbücher*’, the transmission of the text must also contend with versions that had corrupted sections as early as the New Kingdom; the same can also be said, perhaps more incisively, for the Solar Royal Liturgy (the so-called *Sonnenpriester*), which in the 30th Dynasty version presents important restorations, albeit with various errors, especially in the section on evening worship (see below).

The importance of these late versions of older royal compositions lies above all in the reworking interventions that characterise them. The royal texts are in fact not simply copied, but rather reworked in order to ideally return complete and correct versions; in the case of the royal funerary collections, the interventions carried out on the ancient version can be recognised primarily in the textualisation patterns, represented by the presence of titles or names of textual collections. This complex work on the text is becoming a specific research topic, which recognises in the process of textualisation the most evident outcome of a reflection on the ancient model; as noted above, this operation has a long history behind it, which finds in the reception of the Pyramid Texts in the Middle Kingdom tradition a significant moment of transition (Ciampini & Iannarilli, forthcoming). In the late material, the New Kingdom royal funerary tradition becomes a malleable material, shaped by the redactors who give it a new configuration. The fluidity of these materials, perfectly consistent with the concept of the open recension of the text, results in the creation of different decorative patterns, in which the royal funerary compositions (especially *Amduat*, *Litany of Re*, *Book of the Gates*, *Book of the Caverns*) are organised to create different decorative models (the typologies I–IV of Manassa 2007: I, 4–6).

If fluidity is already a characteristic feature of royal funerary compositions in the New Kingdom (see e.g. the different redactions of the *Amduat* of the 18th–20th Dynasties: Hornung 1987–1994: I, x–xvi), the late versions offer numerous insights into the reception of these texts. They become, in accordance with the ancient model, a matter of initiatic knowledge; at the same time, however, they are also seen as the concrete evidence of a culture of the written text that becomes a fundamental core of Egyptian culture in its last centuries. It is precisely the *Amduat* that represents a model of text transmission that had already been characterised in the New Kingdom by two distinct versions (*Langfassung* and *Kurzfassung*); in the earliest version of Thutmose III, this dual redaction is also supplemented by the list of deities in the antechamber of the tomb (see below). This organisation of the composition testifies to the librarian connotation, already well defined in the earliest tradition, characterised by a cursive

redaction that repeats the papyrus model on the walls of the burial chamber. Later versions, starting with Tutankhamun, are instead written in an epigraphic style that will be preserved until the end of the New Kingdom.

The formal attention of the earliest version to the book model probably represents the diplomatic reproduction of those master-copies kept in the temple libraries; collections of a liturgical character, such as the text of the Royal Solar Liturgy or the Litany of Re, must also have been kept in the same libraries. The solar material becomes a distinctive element of kingship, but its diffusion in the libraries, especially the Theban ones, must have fostered the flourishing of parts of these collections in papyrus production after the New Kingdom (from the 10th century BCE), well attested precisely in the Theban necropolis. In these manuscripts, the editorial work combines the royal texts with the Book of the Dead tradition (Niwinski 1989), giving rise to a new phase of use of these texts, attested in the tombs of high Theban officials of the 25th–26th Dynasties, buried in the necropolis of Asasif: in these monuments, the value of the ancient compositions, felt to be evidence of a past to be handed down, begins to be delineated.

The resumption of this complex royal tradition occurs in the 30th Dynasty (4th century BCE), with a series of sources mostly coming from northern Egypt; these are mainly stone sarcophagi, but we can also mention a tomb in Middle Egypt, whose decorative programme includes parts of royal texts. The analysis of these sources makes it possible to recognise the method adopted by the redactors of the texts, who operate according to some criteria that can be summarised as follows:

- a) Integration and correction of the ancient text, often already corrupted in master-copies.
- b) Interpretation of the ancient text, often integrated with other materials.
- c) Textualisation with the addition of titles and colophons.

In the following examples, an attempt will be made to outline these criteria of intervention, a concrete sign of the application of a philological method to an ancient heritage of a different nature but characterised by its royal origin. We are thus faced with a cultural attitude that preludes the temple tradition of the late period.

3 The Solar Royal Liturgy ('Sonnenpriester') in a Memphite Version from the 4th Century BCE

One of the most representative texts of the royal tradition was identified through a careful study of New Kingdom sources by Jan Assmann (1970). In

addition to the ancient materials, mostly attested in temples of western Thebes, the German scholar had also recognised the spread of the composition in a group of private funerary monuments from the 25th–26th Dynasties (8th–6th centuries BCE), to which is added the only occurrence in a cultic building in Karnak. All these sources have returned fragmentary and, in some cases, even corrupted versions of the text, so much to suggest the existence of a tradition already compromised in the New Kingdom. A similar phenomenon can be recognised in those sections of the *Amduat*, the main cosmographical composition of the Netherworld Books, integrated and corrected in the versions of a group of sarcophagi from the 30th Dynasty (see below).

The last version of this fundamental liturgical text, which gives us the composition in its wholeness, dates to the 30th Dynasty or the early Ptolemaic period: on the jambs of the entrance to the tomb of the Memphite official Pash-orientaisu, the morning section (east pillar) and the night section (west pillar) are thus displayed. This arrangement also respects a topographical criterion, linked to the solar course. The morning phase, with the worship of the sun at dawn (*dw3*), is placed on the left pillar (*i3by*), associated with the East (*i3bt*); the evening phase, with the act of ‘calming’/‘setting’ the sun god (*shtp*), is placed on the right pillar (*imny/wmny*), associated with the West (*imnt*). As noted by the monument’s editor (Betro 1990), the text presents several adaptations that attempt to restore a complete and coherent version, albeit with some uncertainties that depend on several factors (from the redactor’s misunderstanding of certain passages to the corruption of the model). The technicism of these interventions determines not only the interpretation of the passage, but also a reworking whose aim is to attribute to the deceased those knowledges that in the original version are exclusive to the pharaoh.

Careful analysis of the editor of the late text allows us to recognise a series of active interventions by the redactor, who renders a version that sometimes diverges from the New Kingdom model; we can thus point out some specific interventions that testify to this editorial work.

A (morning version, east pillar)

Col. 1: *htyt*, ‘throat’, instead of *ihty*, ‘thighs’: an exchange that may evoke two different images of the birth of the sun (Betro 1990: 29 n. 8).

Col. 2: *i3w*, ‘praise’ (in iconic spelling, cf. interjection *i*), instead of *t3*, ‘invocation (sung)’ (Betro 1990: 30 n. 17).

Col. 4: *nty m m’ndt*, ‘he who is in the bark of the day’ (= sun god), instead of *ntw m m’ndt*, ‘those who are in the bark of the day’ (less correct ancient version: Betro 1990: 33 n. 31).

B (evening version, west pillar)

Col. 1: *h̄tp hr hr irt.f wnm̄t*, 'Horus rejoices over his right eye', instead of *h̄tp r̄c m irt.f wnm̄t* (version of the 25th Dynasty at Karnak), 'Re takes his place in his right eye' (typical image of the sun's night journey: Betrò 1990: 58 n. 5).

These few examples are enough to define the criteria followed in the redaction of the late text; these are technical interventions that operate on specific passages, sometimes to improve their meaning, sometimes to integrate less correct passages. In one case, however, the intervention is not dictated by editorial requirements, but rather by the need to define the position of the deceased in the scenario of the solar liturgy. In the section describing the king's function in the cosmos, the late version makes an intervention that seems to stand out from other private sources; compared here are the version of the king Amenhotep III in the temple of Luqsor (18th Dynasty: Am.III), the Theban papyrus of Khai, BM 9953b (20th Dynasty: p.BM), the version of the Theban official Petamenofi in his tomb at Asasif (25th–26th Dynasties: TT33) and the version in the Memphite tomb of the 30th Dynasty (BN2) (Betrò 1990: 46–47).

TABLE 3.1 Versions of the section describing the king's/dead's function in the cosmos

Am.III	<i>îw rdî.n r̄c</i>	<i>nsw</i> NN.	<i>tp</i>	<i>t3 n 'nh̄w</i>
p.BM	<i>îw</i>	<i>wsîr</i> NN.	<i>tp</i>	<i>t3 n 'nh̄w</i>
TT33	<i>[îw rdî].n r̄c</i>	<i>wsîr</i> NN.	<i>tp</i>	<i>t3 n 'nh̄w</i>
BN2	<i>îw rdî.n r̄c</i>	NN.	<i>hr-tp</i>	<i>t3 n 'nh̄w</i>

The translations run as follows:

'Re has placed the Osiris (var. Am.III: the king) N. on the land of the living' (Am.III, TT33).

'The Osiris N. is on the land of the living' (p.BM).

'Re has placed the Osiris N. at the head of the land of the living' (BN2).

Already the editor of the text notes how the phraseology of the passage, which opens a section that can be read as the dogmatic proclamation of the Egyptian royal function, gives the Memphite official a position of pre-eminence (*hr-tp t3 n 'nh̄w*: 'at the head of the land of the living'), compared to the other private versions (p.BM, TT33: *tp t3 n 'nh̄w*: 'on the land of the living'). The version *tp t3 n*

nḥw also appears in the version of Amenhotep III, the reference model for the late versions; in this royal version, however, it is the presence of the title *nsw*, 'king', that indicates the position of the sovereign, evoked in BN2 by the compound preposition *ḥr-tp*, which may also be associated with the absence of the funerary title *wsîr*. All this seems to highlight the initiatic (and only secondarily funerary) nature of the text.

The circulation of this text in the private sphere does not seem to end with the 30th Dynasty version: references to the initiatic content (the knowledge of the names, forms, and journey of the sun god) returns in a passage of an erotic magic text in Greek (Betrò 2004; 1st century AD). The meaning of this initiatic knowledge, originally the exclusive prerogative of the king and his more restricted entourage, is taken up by the Greek text, which again shifts the focus of the knowledge from the funerary context, proper to the late versions (from the 25th to the 30th Dynasty), to the cultic context (for this distinction: Betrò 1990: 103). What in the 30th Dynasty version is a complete treatise, becomes in the Greek version another fragment of knowledge that draws on an ancient and complex tradition preserved within the temple. This focus on ancient royal models does not end with the solar liturgy, as demonstrated by the case of Amenemhat III (12th Dynasty), transformed into a supreme primordial divine figure, transposed within Hellenistic intellectual groups (Buzi 2021).

4 Fragments of Funerary Corpora in the Tomb of Petosiris at Tuna el-Jebel

The complex decorative programme of the tomb of Petosiris at Tuna el-Jebel includes—along with an extraordinary textual heritage, the characteristics of which have already been highlighted by the monument's editor (Lefebvre 1923–1924)—also some brief excerpts from the first hour of the Amduat, consisting of three tables with groups of divine beings that in the New Kingdom version accompany the transit of Re's bark over the western horizon: the first group consists of nine baboons (Lefebvre 1923–1924: I, 173; II, 46: inscr. 71), the second by personifications of the twelve hours of the night (Lefebvre 1923–1924: I, 174; II, 47: inscr. 73) and the third by twelve uraei (Lefebvre 1923–1924: I, 175; II, 48 inscr. 75). The panels decorate the back wall of the chapel and are accompanied by three hymns (Lefebvre 1923–1924: inscriptions 70, 72 and 74), representing original elaborations from ancient models; the epigraphy of the hymns is characterised by considerable formal care, which, however, is not matched by an equally accurate version of the often corrupted text (Lefebvre 1923–1924: I, 172).

The organisation of this material offers several aspects of interest in delineating the characteristics of the tradition of royal funerary compositions in the Late Period. In the three hymns, the phraseology is partly borrowed from the Book of the Dead (see below), and they are addressed to groups, here identified with definitions that in two cases echo the entitlements of the figures (inscriptions 71.a, 73.a, 75.a).

First Group (baboons)

Hymn *ntrw ipn imw-ht wsir ir s3f* (Lefebvre 1923–1924: inscr. 70, 2–3).
 Entitlement *ntrw hsyw n r' k:f m d3t* (Lefebvre 1923–1924: inscr. 71.a).

Second Group (Personifications of the Hours of the Night)

Hymn *ntrw(t) ip(t)n sšm(wt) ntr 3* (Lefebvre 1923–1924: inscr. 72, 2).
 Entitlement *ntrw(t) sšmyw(t) ntr 3* (Lefebvre 1923–1924: inscr. 73.a).

Third group (uraei)

Hymn *ntrw(t) ip(t)n shd(wt) kkw m d3t* (Lefebvre 1923–1924: inscr. 74, 2–3).
 Entitlement *ntrw(t) shdyw(t) kkw m d3t* (Lefebvre 1923–1924: inscr. 75.a).

If in the second and third groups of beings we can recognise a substantial correspondence between the invocation that opens the hymn and the entitlement of the divine figures, in the first case the editor has made an autonomous choice, associating the figures, defined in the ancient text as “those who sing for Re when he enters Dat”, with the figure of Osiris, whose followers they are said to be (*imw-ht*). By contrast, the other two groups are presented congruently, respectively the “Goddesses accompanying the Great God” and the uraei “illuminating the darkness in Dat”. This freedom in the drafting of the text may depend on various factors, not least the corruption of the model; uncertainty already characterises the New Kingdom version, which shows for instance the omission of the name of one of the uraei, or the replacement of the missing name with the indication *gm wš*, ‘found destroyed’ (Hornung 1987–1994: I, 145 n. 103).

The original interpretation of the three divine groups of the Amduat is, however, confirmed by the hymns addressed to them by the deceased: the nature of these beings thus becomes functional to the construction of the individual's path of survival. As already noted by the editor, the phraseology here draws on models from the Book of the Dead, selected in such a way as to best define modes of access that address both the temple context and the otherworldly. To the baboons “who sing for Re when he enters the Dat” (inscr. 71.a),

and who are said to be “those who follow Osiris and provide protection for him” (inscr. 70: 2–3), a hymn is addressed that draws on the Negative Confession of chapter 125 of the Book of the Dead.

As long as I was on earth, there was no evil against me, there was no man who testified against me. The hearts of the gods rejoiced at this, appreciating (it). I did not take away the rations from the sanctuaries, I did not act hostilely against this land because the Maat was with me and will not be separated from me for eternity. As a reward to you for what I have done on earth, may my voice be made righteous against my enemies, may my *ba* be transfigured, may I be made divine, and may my body be preserved while my mummy is in the necropolis. Let me enter and leave the cemetery and may I not be driven out of the hall of the Two Maat (Inscr. 70: 4–8).

Access to the Netherworld is commensurate with respect for the Maat, confirming principles already expressed in the Book of the Dead. At the same time, the hymn can be placed side by side with other texts from the tomb that focus on respect for the Maat both in earthly life and in the afterlife after the judgement of the dead (Lichtheim 1992: 96–98). A passage quoted in Lichtheim’s work offers an interpretative key for the association between the precepts of the Maat, mentioned in the hymn, and the figures of the baboons borrowed from the solar scenario of the *Amduat*, when it is said “Thoth as baboon upon the balance will reckon each man for his deeds on earth” (Lichtheim 1992: 97, text 98 = Inscr. 81: 21).

Access to the divine context, proper to the Netherworld, is taken up in the second hymn, corrupted in some passages, but clear enough in outlining access to the “Temple of the Net”, the sanctuary of Thoth at Hermopolis.

May I see him (= Thoth) in his true aspect there, may I manifest myself and may he remain hidden from me? for I am pure. Grant that I may hasten into the Temple of the Net together with the great priests, while I am pure and there is no evil near me! Come, may strong ones say to him: may you cause me to join his followers (Inscr. 72: 4–7).

The proclamation of the Maat in the first hymn corresponds here to another form of access to the divine, which is contextualised in the temple of Hermopolis; the link between the two texts is confirmed by the position of the individual, who proclaims here in a priestly type of access akin to the spirit of the time. The goddesses who personify the hours of the night may also represent the temporal scansion of the acts that constitute an essential liturgical

scheme for defining the relationship with the divine. In the temple, however, we must also recognise the seat of that initiatic knowledge that we have seen proclaimed in the Solar Royal Liturgy, and whose subject matter is the pathways of the god in the Dat, as stated in the last hymn, addressed to the uraei.

May you drive out the darkness from me, may you open for me the secret in the Dat and set me on the path of the god's followers, the path on which the honoured ones proceed; may you burn all my enemies, for ever and ever, and drive away all evil from me, for I am an excellent mummy, without sin, proceeding on the path of his god, Thoth, and doing what his sovereign Nehemetauai desires, at all times (Inscr. 74, 3–8).

In the last hymn, addressed to the twelve uraei, the Netherworld context and the Hermopolitan temple context are bound together: the road of Dat is the road of the god Thoth, and is consistent with the concept of Maat stated in different ways in the two previous texts. The overlap between Thoth's temple at Hermopolis and the Netherworld landscape represents a significant aspect of the reworking of the funerary tradition in these texts: in order to delineate the new landscape, the redactor has tied together the royal funerary tradition of the Amduat with a widely used temple-like phraseology. The result is a correspondence between the temple of Thoth at Hermopolis (the "Temple of the Net", mentioned in the second hymn) and a space of regeneration, corresponding to the Afterlife.

The originality of the redaction of these texts in Petosiris tomb could, however, also recall echoes from much further afield: the 'road of Thoth' in fact appears in a section of the Book of the Two Ways, a Middle Kingdom composition of Hermopolitan origin in which this deity plays a prominent role, associated with the journey of the solar bark. Indeed, a section of this ancient composition corresponds with what is stated in the Petosiris texts: those who enter the temple of Thoth in Hermopolis can access the netherworldly path and be part of the following of the god Re (Backes 2005: 88–93). Thus, the correspondence between Thoth's space and the 'house of Maat' (*pr m3't*) becomes fundamental to the path of the deceased, who by following this path accesses rebirth in the east (Backes 2005: 355–357).

5 'Fragments' of Royal 'Unterweltsbücher' on Late Sarcophagi

Roughly contemporary with the tomb of Petosiris is a large group of monumental stone sarcophagi, dated to the 30th Dynasty; among these is also the

last known royal sarcophagus, that of Nectanebo II (Manassa 2007: I, 194). These materials draw heavily on a textual heritage that represents a fundamental semantic model for the last centuries of Egyptian civilization.¹ The set of sources is an example of the archaising trend that originated in the 8th century BCE and that now significantly affects a very specific group of compositions; the revival of the 'Unterweltbücher' should therefore be seen as part of a broader phenomenon, appropriating texts and compositions that in the New Kingdom had been the exclusive prerogative of the king. When we analyse the decoration of these sarcophagi, therefore, we must not forget that the content of the collections constitutes the subject matter of that cultic knowledge of the king, described in the Solar Royal Liturgy; it is therefore important to relate the various royal textual typologies (cultic vs. funerary), in order to delineate a common line of development, which can recognise an underlying unity of the different traditions. The basic consistency of the materials used in these sarcophagi (predominantly 'Unterweltbücher') can facilitate the study of the ways in which ancient texts are taken up and adapted to the new reality; the analysis allows us to recognise specific patterns of reworking, which certainly depend on the state of preservation of the originals, but which can also provide indications of the late interpretation of the royal collections. In this perspective, the role attributed to libraries as centres of collection of a heritage that has developed over time is fundamental: here, texts are not only copied, but also subjected to constant work of adaptation and reworking, a sign of processes linked to the priestly school that is increasingly becoming the holder of the past and the identity models of culture. The use of a textual heritage on papyrus, typical of libraries and already fundamental to the earliest redactions of the *Amduat*, may have facilitated not only copying work, but also and above all the integration of the corrupt parts, thus laying the foundations for those rigorous philological interventions that would characterise the revival of ancient religious texts in the 30th Dynasty. Finally, a factor extrinsic to the texts, namely their context, should not be overlooked either: some of the sarcophagi referred to in this section come from the area of Memphis, and it is likely that at least part of the reworking of those texts (both funerary and cultic) that had been typical of the New Kingdom Theban tradition took place there. Given these premises, an investigation that intends to delineate the role of these traditions in the culture of the time, also in relation to the subject of fragmentary cultural and textual heritages, must ask itself two fundamental questions:

1 The 'Unterweltbücher' used in late sarcophagi are summarised in the work of C. Manassa (2007: I, table 2).

- How are 'Unterweltsbücher' perceived in the broader phenomenon of recovering the ancient textual heritage?
- What are the characteristics of the new versions in relation to the ancient, and above all, what are the indicators of a philological work in which a conception of the ancient language is reflected?

These issues call for an approach capable of highlighting the nature of the tradition of the New Kingdom texts as material for a reflection not only on the texts, but also on a language no longer in use; the classical language, no longer spoken but a strong sign of cultural identity, contributes to the development of this philological technicality that marks the last centuries of pharaonic antiquity. This skill is not only turned towards the models of the past, but also towards the contingency of a country where more and more foreign languages, such as Greek, are circulating.

The adoption of ancient compositions determines interventions that have a considerable weight in the rendering of texts on sarcophagus; according to the above-mentioned model, the main indicators of this intervention are the adoption of new titles, a concrete sign of the process of textualisation proper to book editions, and the integrations on texts that were already corrupted in antiquity.

An example of such interventions is the colophon of the compositions on the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata (Cairo, CG 29306).

Regnal year 15, month 3 of *3ht*-season under the Majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Son of Re Nectanebo, Beloved of Onuris, Son of Re, living forever!

The copy of the 'Book of the Hidden Chamber' by (...)² Horentabat, owner of honorability, to protect the Osiris (...) Tjaiherpata, owner of honorability, so that his corpse might become divine in the necropolis, and he might make any manifestation that his heart desires forever and ever!

The mysterious crypts of the West (*krrwt št3t nt imnt*), over which this Great God (= sun god) passes in his bark, in the hauling him by the Gods who are in the Dat; might the Osiris (...) Tjaihorpata, owner of honorability (...) pass over them.

These things are done according to the model in the hidden chamber of the Dat, in order to learn them in their names, and his feet shall not be repelled in front of the mysterious portals (Manassa 2007: I, 283–284; II, pl. 192).

2 In translations, the dots in brackets (...) indicate the presence of titles and the patronymic and matronymic of the deceased.

This colophon explicitly mentions a “copy of the description of the hidden space” (*sphr sš n t imnt*), which seems to apply not only to the sections of the Amduat on the sarcophagus, but to the whole series of ‘Unterweltsbücher’ selected for this redaction; probably, the expression *sš n t imnt* was by then accepted as a title for the entire royal funerary collections, and not just the Amduat, as it had been in the New Kingdom (Manassa 2007: II, 283 and n. 15).

The colophon of the text also mentions the commissioner of the texts, Tjaihorpata’s son Horentaba, who is thus presented as the ritualist for his father’s burial, following the divine model represented by Osiris and Horus. The late redaction follows a pattern of textualisation already known in the New Kingdom, as evidenced by the collection of compositions written on the shroud of Thutmose III and dedicated by his son and successor Amenhotep II (Munro 1994: II, Taf. 32, 1). At the same time, it has been noted that the personalisation of the text can be linked to the scene in the lower register of the wall, taken from the Book of Gates, in which Horus destroys the enemies of his father Osiris (Manassa 2007: I, 283–284).

The second section of the colophon is devoted to the content of the Amduat text: the regions, the roads and the divine actors that make possible the nocturnal journey of the underground space, identified with the term *krrtw*, ‘crypts’. The section closes with a textual note: the ‘model’, *sšm*, was strictly followed by the editors of the text on the sarcophagus, in order to provide the deceased with all the knowledge necessary to participate in the eternal periplus of the sun god.

On the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata we also find another introductory text, which, like the one just analysed, is intended to provide the meaning of a second composition, the Litany of Re.

The names of the gods, who receive Re in the Dat; may they receive the Osiris (...) Tjaihorpata, pleased in life, in their arms; may his manifestations be like those within his (= Re) bark. May they open for the Osiris (...) Tjaihorpata the doors of Igeret, so that he might pass their crypts, so that he might enter the portals of the West, having travelled on the mysterious roads, having passed by the Gods, and having traversed the perfect road of Rosetau.

May he enter in the West with Re in his bark, may he adore the Crypt-Dweller (*krrtv*) of the Dat, may he rise with him in the eastern horizon like the Lord of the cyclic time (Manassa 2007: I, 287; II, pl. 212).

The initial section takes up the theme of the roads beyond the world, similar to the one we read in the previous colophon (see above); the “gods who wel-

come Re in the Dat" can be identified with those figures of the first hour of the night of the Amduat, thus confirming the reworking of the different compositions that are now perceived as a coherent and homogeneous whole. The final part summarises the meaning of the Great Litany, with the access to the West and the worship of a figure called *krty*, 'Dweller of the crypt', who identifies the sun god (Hornung 1975–1976: I, 85; II, 121, note 209; the reading *krty* seems preferable to the plural *krtyw*, 'cavern-dwellers', in Manassa 2007: I, 287). After the adoration, the dead may rise in the east with the regenerated god, celebrated as the one who incessantly repeats this process of rebirth (*nb nhh*, 'lord of cyclic time').

Thus, the approach of the redactors of these ancient materials is to organise the texts in such a way as to normalise them into a coherent redaction. The work done in the libraries using new criteria is an interesting exercise that aims to organise organically a wealth of knowledge that was originally a royal competence. Here again, it is remarkable how coherent is the catalogographic way of handing down cosmographical knowledge according to that pattern established in the New Kingdom; this pattern is clearly established in the 18th Dynasty, as confirmed by the list of gods inhabiting the underworld, reproduced in the antechamber of the tomb of Thutmose III (Bucher 1932: pls. 14–22). The intervention of actualising and normalising the text becomes particularly effective in those points that were already corrupted in ancient times, a sign of an editorial work on the subject that is much older than the earliest versions in our possession. In this sense, an example of reinterpretation and rearrangement of the text can be recognised in the late sarcophagi versions of the first and second hours of the night.

An example of integration to the text can be found in the introduction to the first hour of the Amduat: after an initial section corresponding to the New Kingdom version, there is an addition, common to three sarcophagi, a sign of a normalisation of the text from which the three sources drew (here, the Tjaihepimu version, Berlin 49).

The Osiris (...) Tjaihepimu (...) justified knows these images like the
 Great God; his plot of land is in this field with the Gods who are following this Great God.
 He knows the names of the Gods who open for the Great Ba,
 he knows the names of the Goddesses who conduct the Great God,
 he knows the names of the Gods who praise Re,
 he knows the names of the Gods who brighten the darkness.
 May [you] brighten <for> him the dark road,
 because he knows the names of those who adore,

he knows the names of those who make music for Re
when he enters Urnes (Manassa 2007: I, 84–85; II, pls. 56–57).

Here, too, we find a kind of compendium of the solar netherworld landscape, reworked in an original form; its presence, with minimal variants, on three sarcophagi may testify to the textualisation of a generic phraseology relating to the netherworld context. Particularly noteworthy seems to be the correspondence of the divine groups that open this original section of text with the three Amduat scenes in the tomb of Petosiris (see above).

A similar intervention can be recognised at the beginning of the second hour of the night, which again on the sarcophagus of Tjaihepimu takes up a phraseology specific to this early part of the Amduat.

The Osiris (...) Tjaihepimu (...) justified, knows these words that the Gods speak to this Great God. He knows the Gods who are in this field and the Great God gives to them a plot of land: it is effective for him on earth!

The Osiris (...) Tjaihep(imu) (...), justified, can breathe, his corpse remains in its place in the Great Bark, so that he might give orders to the Gods of the Dat, so that he might adore this Great God, so that his time might endure, so that his years might be stable, just as Re endures in the Great Bark (Manassa 2007: I, 91; II, pls. 66–67).

The introductory text presents significant variants in the three sources edited by Manassa's study, a significant fact when compared with the introduction to the first hour: the presence of significant variants testifies to an editorial work that is still not normalised, allowing the redactors to operate with greater freedom of interpretation. Examples of this type, between normalised and other open versions, are numerous on these sarcophagi groups. A revision work on this huge textual heritage could make a decisive contribution to the reconstruction of the formative processes of the late tradition of ancient materials (see, for example, the interventions in the second hour of the night in the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata and Nectanebo II: Manassa 2007: II, 212–224). A critical passage is constituted by the middle register of the second hour, the late version of which presents notable additions; the intervention is substantiated by means of different solutions, from a cut of the corrupted sections of the text, as in the case of Nectanebo, to a version that attempts to follow and cleanse the ancient redaction. On the whole, it is a careful operation, aimed at restoring a model that is congruent with the content of the text; in some passages, moreover, the accuracy is combined with a personalisation of the text, well documented by the sarcophagus of Nectanebo II, where the endnote includes this comment:

The Osiris, the king (...) Setepenre-Senedjemibinheret, Son of Re, truly effective spirit of Osiris, Nectanebo, calls to the gods who are in the following of Re. He gives them the orders of this gods, after Re passes over them (Manassa 2007: I, 217; II, pl. 179B).

This brief note is probably the result of a reinterpretation of the content of the hour, which insists on the theme of the spirit useful to Osiris, attributed to the deities who populate a section of the hour, and with whom the king is identified.

Also important in the reconstruction of the ancient tradition are those texts related to the content of royal compositions, but belonging to a different genre, such as the cosmogonic. This is the case of an annotation added to the eighth hour of the *Amduat*, not included in the New Kingdom version, here in the Djedhor sarcophagus version (Louvre Dg).

The Osiris (...) Djedhor (...) has received the solar crown, so that he might rise as Re-Harakhti; he is Tatenen, bull of the bulls, great of sexual pleasure, who created the Ogdoad in his hands; he has repeated the births as Atum, he is Re, who manifests as Ptah (Manassa 2007: I, 158; II, pl. 148).

It is evident here how the short text is the fruit of a careful work of retrieval of a tradition that finds its full manifestation in the Ramesside period: on the one hand, the references to some invocations of the Great Litany of Kings, and on the other, the reference to Atum, Re and Ptah may recall the doctrine of the cosmic deity, well known in the 19th–20th Dynasties (Manassa 2007: I, 158–159, n. a and b).

In some cases, the reinterpretation work leads to the creation of new compositions that use parts of older texts, such as in the case of the litany to the Ba of the sun god on the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata.

- (I) Invocation to you, United Ba; may your ba feast, how happy is your face, the One within the Dat, the Osiris (...) Tjaihorpata (...) Son of Re, appeared as Atum. He is the doorkeeper of Osiris, and he (= Ra in the Dat) makes him (= Osiris) to receive the nms-headcloth in the Dat. May the ba of Re be high in the West, may his corpse be strong in the Dat for the Ba of Re and (for) the United Ba who is in the sarcophagus.
- (II) Osiris rests in Re, and vice-versa; the Osiris (...) Tjaihorpata, owner of honour, manifests as Re, and vice-versa.
- (III) Oh, United who manifests as Re, and vice-versa: the Osiris (...) Tjaihorpata, justified, is the Ba of Re, and vice-versa, he manifests as Khepri (Manassa 2007: I, 392–393; II, pl. 282A).

The phraseology of the first part of the text (I) takes up the Seventh Litany of Re, followed by an insert that takes up the Third Litany on the union of Re and Osiris (II) and finally parts of the Eighth Litany (III). This way of working on ancient texts also leads to interesting phenomena of intertextuality that see parts of royal funerary compositions combined with texts of a different nature, such as the solar texts, akin to the Royal Liturgy, on the lid of the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata. The two liturgical texts are combined here with the scene of the two solar barks, taken from the composition known as Awakening of Osiris (Roberson 2013).

(Morning Hymn)

Osiris (...) Tjaihorpata, owner of honour, adores Re when he rises on the eastern horizon of the sky. He says: Oh Re, lord of rays when you rise on the eastern horizon, I have come before you, I rejoice at the sight your disk [...] my flesh lives at the sight your perfection (= you), and I will be (one of) your praised

(Evening Hymn)

Osiris (...) Tjaihorpata (...) adores Re when he sets in the western horizon. He says: Greetings to you, may you come as Atum who manifests as creator of the Ennead; may you give to me the pleasant with of the north, may the West be open, Great god who brightens the Two Lands until (his) setting (in) the western mountain: I am one of the honoured by Osiris in peace (Manassa 2007: I, 394; II, pl. 283).

This last example represents a particularly interesting model of reception of ancient compositions: the scene of the two barks facing each other becomes a divine icon, worshipped by the two figures of the dead who recite the two hymns to the sun. Formally based on the ancient model, the scene emphasises the icon of the two boats, to which two hymns are addressed, relating to the sun worship in the morning phase (= bark of the day) and in the evening phase (= bark of the night).

6 Conclusion

The materials exhibited here can be said to represent a culture that elaborates its past in terms of language and identity models. Alongside the essential themes of these royal compositions, such as the knowledge of deities and the roads of the sun god, we find data that more concretely give us a sense of a tech-

nical intervention in the text. This intervention extends knowledge not only to the sacred matter, the subjects of these texts, but also to their language. Thus, we recognise an essential theme in this complex textual tradition, the revival of which in the 30th Dynasty gives us a sense of the relationship with a language whose use has now disappeared, but is still capable of shaping late Egyptian culture.

In the development of this tradition, a significant role is played by the text supports themselves: indeed, the central role that stone sarcophagi played in the dissemination of these traditions of ancient royal origin cannot be overlooked. Indeed, the consistency in the type of medium is evident, and must have been a significant element in the use of funerary corpora.³ This group of sources ends a tradition that spread during the New Kingdom, and which had known in the Third Intermediate Period (10th–8th century BCE) two major channels of transmission: funerary papyri and wooden coffins (papyri: Sadek 1985; Niwinski 1989; coffins: Niwinski 1988). In these sources, the Netherworld Books are integrated with other texts, often readaptations from more established traditions, such as the Book of the Dead. Although consistent in date and context of provenance (Theban), papyri and coffins show two different patterns: papyri are directly dependent on New Kingdom versions of the Netherworld Books, as evidenced by the strong dependence of these manuscripts on the Amduat version in the tomb of Amenhotep III. The coeval Theban coffins, on the other hand, show a decoration based on images that evoke the content of larger texts, some of which coincide with those of the papyri.

We can consider, for example, the decoration of the outer coffin of Butehamon (Turin Museum CGT 10102 = Cat. 2237; Niwinski 2004: 28–40), which offers a compendium of different traditions, re-proposed in the style typical of the period. The prominence of the iconic component follows a well-known pattern (Hornung 2000) and draws mainly from the tradition of the Book of the Dead. On both sides of the coffin, however, the case bears a row of deities that recall vignettes from the funerary corpus, together with others that borrow from the Litany of Re (Niwinski 2004: 34–35; 37–39). The figures, almost all without names, evoke the content of the relevant invocations with their presence, thus giving the iconic component a decisive weight over the textual one. This *modus operandi* reflects the function of the coffin, a compendium of both figurative and textual materials, aimed at the rebirth of the deceased through

3 We prefer to focus on the tradition of the sarcophagi of the 30th Dynasty because they offer a sufficiently broad and coherent picture of sources in the transmission of a given textual tradition.

pregnant images accompanied by short texts: in the case of the coffin of Butehamon, it may be noted that the most extensive texts are in fact short prayers and invocations, not directly referable to the funerary corpora, but rather an expression of a religious phenomenology known in the New Kingdom (Niwin-ski 2004: 131–141). Taken as a whole, the Third Intermediate Period tradition on papyrus and coffin is an exemplary case study of open recension of different materials, normalised in a unified context.

The design of the sarcophagi of the 30th Dynasty differs markedly from the tradition of those of the Third Intermediate Period: as recognised by critics, the collections of scenes and texts are borrowed from predominantly royal models, but organised in an original way: the layout of the scenes and related texts responds to a criterion that allows the entire sarcophagus to be read as an icon of the cosmos (Manassa 2007: 1, 464–468). This concept was compared with the earliest model of the wooden coffins of the Middle Kingdom (20–19 BCE), on whose walls the corpus of the Coffin Texts is inscribed. In this way, although using a different material from the Middle Kingdom tradition, the great sarcophagi of the 30th Dynasty take up its function as a representation of the cosmos. In doing so, the late sarcophagi connect to an ancient tradition, probably consciously taken up by scribal workshops and scholars of ancient texts; at the same time, however, the selection of sources used also recalls the conception of the New Kingdom royal tomb, which is itself a representation of the cosmos as the setting of the diurnal and nocturnal journey of the sun. The medium is thus functional to the nature of the texts, and becomes an equally important element in defining the space in which the deceased is placed, waiting to follow that journey of regeneration that is already proclaimed in the tradition of Coffin Texts.

The reconstruction of the written text, especially in those parts that must have had corrupted sections already in the ancient sources (see the evening version of the Solar Royal Liturgy or the first two hours of the *Amduat*), in a language that has now disappeared, becomes part of a model of recovery of the past that is a distinctive mark for the legitimisation of late culture. We may recall here the phenomenon of pseudo-epigraphic literature, represented by the Bentresh Stele (Broze 1989) or the Famine Stele (Barguet 1953). This approach to the past also becomes something more akin to the work of copying and transmitting text, in which the ancient source is mentioned as a sign of authority: this ancient source may provide information useful for the (re)foundation of a cult, as in the case of Haremakheth/Horun at Giza in the Saitic period (Stele of the Daughter of Cheops; Zivie-Coche 1991: 218–246).

Even more significant is the case of the general layout of the sanctuary of Hathor at Dendera, the tradition of which is recorded in detail in an inscrip-

tion in the crypts of the temple: the text claims that the plan of the building had been established by Thutmosis III, who in turn had taken it from an older text, dated to the reign of Cheops; another inscription again attributes to Thutmosis III the discovery of the plan on a leather roll, dated to the period before the birth of the Egyptian state (the time of the 'Followers of Horo', *šmsw hr*) and discovered in a chest of the royal palace at Memphis, dated to the reign of Pepi II (Allam 1963: 43–44). The reference to the model written on a 'leather roll' (*wbh n hr*) is an interesting technical indicator of the tradition of these temple models: it is in fact a particular writing support, and the Dendera passage may recall the Berlin Leather Roll with its copy of a foundation text dated to the reign of Sesostri I (12th Dynasty; de Buck 1938).

The antiquity of the Dendera model goes back into prehistory, and it is this antiquity that ensures the effectiveness of the temple built in Ptolemaic times. This ideal reconstruction of tradition gives us the cultural interpretation of a recovery that attributes a founding value to the past; the theme will also become a literary topos, well represented by the episode of the Demotic tale with the search for a book written by Thoth himself (Setne I, Roman period; Lichtheim 1980: 127–138). Thus the past becomes a source to be preserved and passed on; the examples we have seen of interventions on ancient royal texts belong to this cultural model, and can also be linked to what is said in the colophon of the Memphite Theology, a cosmogonic composition written in the epigraphic version in our possession at the time of King Shabaqo (25th Dynasty, 7th century), and copied from an older damaged papyrus original. Here the recovery of the text becomes essential for its effectiveness, as explicitly stated in the colophon of the epigraphic version.

Copy of this text *ex novo* by his Majesty in the temple of his father Ptah south of his wall; his Majesty had found it as it had been made by the ancients, and it (= the text) was a thing worm-eaten and could no longer be understood from beginning to end. The text was then rewritten again, more perfect than its original (el-Hawary 2010: 116).

The final statement, which picks up on a theme close to royal ideology, which sees the king make every action perfect, even with respect to an ancient and prestigious model, may also evoke a more concrete operation: that of the technical intervention on the corrupted original, which is recomposed so to obtain a new version, complete and correct. Thus, we would be faced with a situation similar to what we have seen with certain passages of the Solar Royal Liturgy, or with the corrupted parts of the Amduat, corrected in the late sarcophagi. The transition from the papyrus to the stone can also be interpreted

as a way of making eternal a text whose preservation was dependent on the fragility of a light support: in other words, we would have another way of preserving that past, made possible by the stone support, which is immutable and eternal.

Thus, the weight of the ancient model permeates the reconstruction of these new versions of the royal corpora (whether cultic or funerary); the interventions of the late copyists comprise textual technicalities consisting of corrections and additions. Some of these technicalities are now accepted and acquired by the libraries where these materials were copied and studied. It may be useful to note, in these concluding notes, that the reception of ancient materials reworks not only the text, but also those scenes that now become significant icons: this is the case of the three Amduat scenes in the tomb of Petosiris, or the scene of the two solar barks on the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata. In both late sources, representations taken from ancient compositions become divine icons, worshipped by the deceased who appear while invoking the same images with texts that represent original elaborations on the ancient model.

In this way, the individual affirms his competence regarding an ancient heritage capable of transmitting initiatic knowledge, expressed in both texts and icons: the role of that system of text and representation identified in the Egyptian vocabulary as *sšm*, loosely translated as ‘representation’, and through which the richness of the most ancient speculation was able to reach even the last centuries of Egyptian civilisation, is thus confirmed.

References

- Allam, Schafik. 1963. *Beiträge zum Hathorkult (bis zum Ende des Mittleren Reiches)* (Müncher Ägyptologische Studien 4). Berlin: Verlag Bruno Hessling.
- Alliot, Maurice. 1949–1954. *Le culte d'Horus à Edfou au temps des Ptolémées* (Bibliothèque d'Étude, 20/1–2). Le Caire: Imprimerie de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale.
- Assmann, Jan. 1970. *Der König als Sonnenpriester. Ein kosmographischer Begleittext zur kultischen Sonnenhymnik in thebanischen Tempeln und Gräben* (Abhandlungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo. Ägyptologische Reihe 7). Glückstadt: Augustin.
- Backes, Burkhard. 2005. *Das altägyptische »Zweiwegebuch«*. *Studien zu den Sargtext-Sprüchen 1029–1130* (Ägyptologische Abhandlungen 69). Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag.
- Barguet, Paul. 1953. *La Stèle de la Famine à Séhel* (Bibliothèque d'Étude 24). Le Caire: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale.

- Betrò, Maria Carmela. 1990. *I testi solari del portale di Pascerientaisu a Saqqara* (BN2) (Università degli Studi di Pisa. Missioni in Egitto. Saqqara III). Pisa: Giardini.
- Betrò, Marilina. 2004. Dal faraone al mercante. La lunga vita di un testo religioso dell'antico Egitto. *Studi di Egittologia e Papirologia* 1: 43–48.
- Broze, Michele. 1989. *La princesse de Bakhtan. Essai d'analyse stylistique*. Bruxelles: Fondation égyptologique Reine Elisabeth.
- Brunner, Hellmut. 1975. Archaismus. *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, Band I, ed. by Wolfgang Helck & Eberhard Otto, 386–395. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
- Bucher, Paul. 1932. *Les textes des tombes de Thoutmosis III et d'Aménophis II* (Mémoires de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire 60). Le Caire: Imprimerie de l'Institute Français d'Archéologie Orientale.
- de Buck, Adriaan. 1938. The Building Inscription of the Berlin Leather Roll, *Studia Aegyptiaca* I (Analecta Orientalia 17), 48–57. Roma: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum.
- Buzi, Paola. 2021. Da *Nj-M3't-R'* a Premarres fino a Poimandres: l'inarrestabile ascesa divina di Amenemhat III, dio primordiale, nume tutelare e intelletto supremo. Status quaestionis e nuove prospettive di ricerca. *Onorare gli dèi, rappresentare il potere regale, ammirare il monumento. Canoni, contesti, funzioni e fruizioni della statuaria divina e regale nell'Egitto, nel Vicino e Medio Oriente e nell'Asia Centrale* (Quaderni di Vicino Oriente 17), ed. by Paola Buzi, Daria Montanari & Lorenzo Nigro, 87–94. Roma: Università La Sapienza.
- Ciampini, Emanuele M. 2021. La funzione del re in Egitto. Dall'accesso al divino all'azione nel cosmo, *Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata*, 18 (s. 3): 273–294.
- Ciampini, Emanuele M. & Iannarilli Francesca. Forthcoming. Textualisation and cultural heritage in the Pyramid Texts. *Proceedings of the International Symposium: "Textual Heritage in the 21st Century World. Exploring the Potential of a New Analytic Category"*, University Ca' Foscari Venice, March 22–24, 2021.
- De Meulenaere, Herman. 1982a. Nectanebos I. *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, Band IV, ed. by Wolfgang Helck & Eberhard Otto, 450–451. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
- De Meulenaere, Herman. 1982b. Nectanebos II. *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, Band IV, ed. by Wolfgang Helck & Eberhard Otto, 451–453. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
- der Manuelian, Peter. 1994. *Living in the Past. Studies in Archaism of the Egyptian Twenty-Sixth Dynasty*. London: Kegan.
- el-Hawary, Amr. 2010. *Wortschöpfung. die Memphitische Theologie und die Siegesstele des Pjé—zwei Zeugen kultureller Repräsentation in der 25. Dynastie* (Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 243). Fribourg/Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Hornung, Erik. 1975–1976. *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen (Sonnenlitanei) nach den Versionen des Neuen Reiches* (Aegyptiaca Helvetica 2–3). 2 vols. Genève: Université de Genève, Centre d'Études Orientales.
- Hornung, Erik. 1987–1994. *Texte zum Amduat* (Aegyptiaca Helvetica 13–15). 3 vols.

- Basel/Genève: Ägyptologisches Seminar der Universität/Université de Genève. Faculté des Lettres.
- Hornung, Erik. 2000. Composite Gottheiten in der ägyptischen Ikonographie. *Images as media. Sources for the cultural history of the Near East and the Eastern Mediterranean (1st millennium BC)* (Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 175), ed. by Christoph Uehlinger, 1–20. Göttingen/Fribourg: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Kruchten, Jean-Marie. 1989. *Les Annales des prêtres de Karnak (XXI–XXIII^{es} Dynasties) et autres textes contemporains relatifs à l'initiation des prêtres d'Amon* (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 32). Leuven: Katholieke Universiteit, Departement Oriëntalistiek.
- Lichtheim, Miriam. 1980. *Ancient Egyptian Literature. Volume III: The Late Period*. Berkeley/Los Angeles/London: University of California Press.
- Lichtheim, Miriam. 1992. *Maat in Egyptian Autobiographies and Related Studies* (Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 120). Göttingen/Freiburg: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Manassa, Colleen. 2007. *The late Egyptian Underworld. Sarcophagi and Related Texts from the Nectanebid Period* (Ägypten und Altes Testament 72). Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Munro, Irmtraut. 1994. *Die Totenbuch-Handschriften der 18. Dynastie im Ägyptischen Museum Cairo* (Ägyptologische Abhandlungen 54). 2 vols. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag.
- Niwinski, Andrej. 1988. *21st Dynasty Coffins from Thebes. Chronological and Typological Studies* (Theben 5). Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern.
- Niwinski, Andrzej. 1989. *Studies on the illustrated Theban funerary papyri of the 11th and 10th Centuries B.C.* (Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 86). Freiburg: Universitätsverlag.
- Niwinski, Andrej. 2004. *Sarcophagi della XXI dinastia (CGT 10101–10122)* (Catalogo Museo Egizio di Torino. Serie Seconda, Collezioni 9). Torino: Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali—Soprintendenza al Museo delle Antichità Egizie.
- Roberson, Joshua Aaron. 2013. *The Awakening of Osiris and the Transit of the Solar Barques. Royal Apotheosis in a Most Concise Book of the Underworld and Sky* (Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 262). Friburg/Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Roulin, Gilles. 1998. *Les tombes royales de Tanis: analyse du programme décoratif. Tanis. Travaux récents sur le Tell Sâh el-Hagar (Mission Française de Fouilles de Tanis)*, ed. by Philippe Brissaud & Christiane Zivie-Coche, 193–275. Paris: Édition Noësis.
- Sadek, Abdel-Aziz Fahmy. 1985. *Contribution à l'étude de l'Amdouat. Les variantes tardives du livre de l'Amdouat dans les papyrus du Musée du Caire* (Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 65), Göttingen/Freiburg: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Shorter, Alan W. 1938. *Catalogue of Egyptian Religious Papyri in the British Museum. Copies of the Pr(t)-m-hrw from the XVIIth to the XXIth Dynasty*, London: British Museum.
- Zivie-Coche, Christiane M. 1991. *Giza au premier millénaire. Autour du temple d'Isis dame des pyramides*. Boston: Museum of Fine Arts.

'Restsprachen' in Ancient Anatolia: Direct and Indirect Sources, Transmission, and Reconstruction

Stella Merlin, Valerio Pisaniello and Alfredo Rizza

1 'Direct' and 'Indirect' Sources: A Common but Non-trivial Distinction*

In this section, the terminology evoked by the title will be described in more detail, particularly focusing on the possible interpretations of direct and indirect sources in relation to languages of fragmentary attestation. It is indeed worth resuming some terminological distinctions that, at first glance, seem quite trivial, but that precisely because of their widespread use in different fields and contexts of research may be subject to different interpretations and need to be clarified according to our purposes.

The distinction between direct and indirect sources can often be found along with other oppositions, such as verbal (written or oral) vs. non-verbal sources; intentional vs. unintentional sources. They may happen to be classified respectively as primary and secondary sources: the former provides first-hand (somehow *original*, despite the complexity that this term implies) and the latter second-hand information (derived).

Moreover, an applicable criterion is that of the contemporaneity of the source with the relevant event, that is, whether it is coeval or not. We could have on one side *immediate testimonies* (etymologically speaking, without any *medium* of transmission), and on the other one, *narrations*, even *reconstructions*, elaborated by a mediator.

It goes without saying that in all disciplines, from archaeology to law, from history to economics, from sociology to linguistics, such distinctions are of crucial importance in order to assess the accuracy as well as the reliability of a given group of sources examined in relation to a specific research question.

* Despite the contents have been broadly discussed together, Stella Merlin authored section 1; Valerio Pisaniello authored section 4 and 4.1; Alfredo Rizza authored section 3 and 4.2; all of the three authors take joint responsibility for sections 2 and 5. We would like to thank Filip De Decker for his helpful suggestions.

What are our research questions? Quite simply, we ask what may be the ways of knowing the Anatolian languages of fragmentary attestation, with particular reference to the languages of the 1st millennium BCE.

On one hand, we have the 'direct' tradition in the linguistic sense, that is, the written evidence in Anatolian languages. For each language, this is different in quality and quantity. For example, Lycian is known from about 200 funerary inscriptions and one long bilingual Lycian-Greek stele, while Lydian is known from slightly more than 100 texts, of which only about 30 can be said to be complete, and Sidetic from a dozen of inscriptions.

It should also be stressed, however, that we cannot claim that written testimonies (such as epichoric inscriptions) are a perfectly faithful mirror of the coeval linguistic reality, because possible literary or stylistic filters always need to be taken into account.

On the other hand, from a linguistic perspective the 'indirect' tradition is represented by the testimonies in other languages that tell us about Anatolian languages of fragmentary attestation. In particular, during the 1st millennium BCE, the coastal territories of Anatolia were inhabited by Greek-speaking communities with whom language contact situations were developed at different levels of intensity. There could also be other indirect sources, namely texts in Hebrew, Aramaic, or other coeval languages that provide useful information in the light of language contact analysis.

For each Anatolian language, the different balance between primary evidence in epichoric languages and secondary quotations in Greek is essential to the knowledge of the languages and indeed to their reconstruction.

In other terms, an important element is the 'relative weight' of the direct linguistic evidence as opposed to the indirect one; the latter is represented by, for instance, Greek glosses of Anatolian languages, understood as metalinguistic information found not only in lexicographical works of the Byzantine period, but also in any earlier author who may have had an interest or need to mention other language uses.¹

The case of Lydian is of particular interest, because it is a little known language from the local inscriptions but for which we have at our disposal a fairly conspicuous series of lexical glosses, more or less authentically related to Lydian. In this sense, our knowledge of the Lydian language greatly benefits from all the sources that could convey some further information on it, such as the *Lexicon* of Hesychius,² as the selected case-studies will show.

1 For details on the scholarly tradition, see, e.g., Dickey (2007) and Montanari, Matthaios & Rengakos (eds.) (2015).

2 Hesychius lived in the 5th/6th century CE and his lexicographic work only survives in a

What has been expressed so far belongs to linguistic criteria, which define the direct/indirect opposition on the basis of the linguistic code in use in a given text and in relation to the language to be studied (and/or reconstructed) in the case of languages of fragmentary attestation.

There is also a philological perspective, which may well be internal to a language: the direct tradition is meant to be composed by all those testimonies intentionally produced in order to convey a specific text, whereas the indirect tradition is formed by those testimonies that convey a text in a 'secondary' way, within another text, or in an unintentional manner. Typical examples of indirect traditions for classical philology include quotations, commentaries, epitomes and summaries, imitations, and also translations.

Quotation or citation seems to occupy a prominent place, at least according to the *communis opinio*, to describe the difference between direct and indirect sources. However, the overlap between the concept of intentionality and the practice of quotation seems neither easy nor self-evident: if an indirect testimony were produced without the intention of handing down a particular text, quotations are certainly retrieved with the intention of referring to a particular work or author, whether mentioned or not. Again, we could distinguish between different types of quotation, which always seems to be endowed with some degree of awareness, however.

As for the languages involved, the indirect tradition, in its various forms, may remain within the same linguistic code (e.g., the Greek scholia to Homer, the tragedians, Herodotus, etc.) or exhibit a change of language (Priscian's Latin grammar on the model of Apollonius Dyscolus, Arabic Averroes' commentary on the *Poetics* of Aristotle, etc.).

Moreover, it is important to emphasise that the concept of *direct* in classical philology is a convenient abstraction that does not correspond to a state of greater integrity or reliability of a text: even direct tradition, in fact, is never properly so because it necessarily passes through the mediation of time and processes of transmission. Nonetheless, G. Pasquali's maxim "recentiores non deteriores" reminds us that the most recent testimonies are not necessarily the most corrupt.

The availability of direct sources seems to be the exception rather than the norm, because, in most cases, we have indirect sources that we should consider as mediated and a posteriori reconstructions. We might even exaggerate, but not too much, by saying that direct tradition does not exist, because in fact

single manuscript dated to the 15th century, which also transmits other lexicographic material incorporated in the tradition. See Cunningham (2018: ix–xiii) for details.

there is always a distance that can be evaluated according to a set of parameters (see § 2, below).

These preliminary considerations aim at showing the complexity of the picture and how the distinction between direct and indirect may not always be equally convenient and insightful.

Now considering the general issue of possible references to a given language in a text written in a different one, it is legitimate to ask: how valuable is an indirect source such as a Greek testimony in reconstructing an otherwise unknown Anatolian linguistic unit? In order to answer this question, concerning both individual case-studies and the general theory, we would like to propose a multidimensional and more fine-grained methodology for the analysis and the evaluation of the different elements at work.

Therefore, our new approach will be presented in section 2, including further terminological observations on the notion of 'text'. The distinction between 'Rest-', 'Korpus-', and 'Trümmersprache' will be dealt with in section 3, with particular reference to how to apply these labels to the languages of ancient Anatolia. Section 4 will offer the analysis of some selected Lydian glosses found in the *Lexicon* by Hesychius, in order to show the advantages our multidimensional approach. Finally, a general conclusion will follow in section 5.

2 A Multidimensional Approach

According to our analysis, a given form may be mediated on four different levels:

- Chronological: if one considers the period in which the original text including a given form was produced by its first drafter (not necessarily the author), the form actually attested may be more or less distant in time. Such a dimension should be always taken into account, even though it is not necessarily as significant as the following three.
- Linguistic (and graphical): an expression belonging to a given language may be transmitted by a different language, its form thus being more or less deviating from the original one. Sometimes, the phenomenon only affects the writing dimension: a given form may be the mere transcription of a foreign word in a writing system different from the one usually employed by the language to which that form originally belongs. In other cases, there can be an actual linguistic mediation, which may invest the phonetic, phonological, and morphological dimensions, depending on the degree of adaptation of the foreign word to the structures of the target language.

- Philological: a given form may be attested by a source that belongs to a more or less extensive or complex textual tradition, so that it may have been altered to a greater or lesser extent during the processes of copy and transmission. Such a dimension also includes both ancient and modern editorial intervention and conjectures to the text (the latter should especially be considered when manuscripts and other original sources are not accessible).
- Textual: this spans from the purely metalinguistic explanation by both the author and the interpreters of a text to the literary elaboration of a given form, which may be bent to meet textual needs (e.g., an author may choose to modify the phonetic shape or alter the meaning of an expression for a parodic intent).

The degree of mediation of each form should be assessed by taking into account all of these different levels. Indeed, each of them, taken individually, may not be particularly significant. Specifically, unlike the linguistic, philological, and textual mediation, in the case of chronological mediation the proportional relationship between the chronological gap and the degree of qualitative distance of a given form from its original source is not direct. In other terms, the higher the degree of linguistic, philological, and textual mediation, the larger the distance of a given form from the original one, which is not valid for the mere chronological dimension. Indeed, a wide chronological gap between the material document attesting a given form and its ultimate source does not necessarily imply a lesser accuracy in the transmission, which may have had a more direct path including a lesser number of intermediate steps. Conversely, a source for which the chronological gap is roughly equal to zero (e.g., a document including a foreign word belonging to a language contemporary to the time of the author of that document) may be less reliable because it may display modifications in both shape and meaning of a given form due, e.g., to 'poetic' reasons.

Some additional specifications in terminology are now needed: the first brief one concerns the notion of text, and the second one (see § 3) that of language of fragmentary attestation.

We have so far used the terms *text* and *textual* with a broad and vaguely generic meaning. The discussion on textuality as a theoretical concept is an area of research in its own right that we cannot address here. Text linguistics have become a discipline concerned with texts as complex units, from various points of view: grammatical, communicative, pragmatic.³

3 For a general overview, see Brinker, Antos, Heinemann & Sager (eds.) (2000–2001).

Moreover, in recent years, since 1990s, the research that has developed for the digital humanities has called into question a number of definitions of *text(uality)* for reasons not only of theoretical and terminological clarity but also of methodology and editing practice. Among other positions, that of P. Sahle (2013) is particularly relevant especially in the field of digital philology: the image of the ‘Textrad’ show the pluralistic view of the text which can be described, conceptualised, and analysed as a) Idea, Intention; b) Work; c) Linguistic code; d) Version; e) Document; f) Visual sign.⁴

For our purposes, attention will be primarily directed towards the point a) concerning the idea and intention (the semantic content of the text, according to different models), c) the language involved, d) the versions transmitted, in other terms the tradition of a given text, and finally e) the document aspects represented by the physical appearance of the text, that is relevant for the philological side of the analysis.

Such a connection with the model of the ‘Textrad’ is proposed without seeking an exact match between single definitions but noting the same basic idea of different dimensions interacting with each other.

3 ‘Rest-’, ‘Korpus-’, and ‘Trümmersprache’

The notion of ‘Restsprache’ is sometimes used to characterise those languages which in various ways are poorly documented or are hardly documentable.

In the first sense (i.e., ‘poorly documented’), they are typically extinct languages whose documentation, beyond the quantitative data, fails to fully qualify their grammar and / or their vocabulary. This is the case concerning many ancient Anatolian languages of the 2nd and 1st millennium, both Indo-European and non-Indo-European, including, for the 2nd millennium BCE, Luwian and Palaic (both Indo-European), Hattic and Hurrian (both non-Indo-European); for the 1st millennium BCE, Phrygian, Carian, Lycian, Lydian (all Indo-European). In particular, we are considering the last two, especially Lydian, which we are using to treat some specific cases.

Such ‘Restsprachen’ are languages documented only through a closed finite written corpus that is partially or fully known to us. In this sense, they can be referred to as ‘corpus languages’.

4 For a comprehensive discussion on the models and theoretical assumptions, see Pierazzo (2016: especially 37–64), with references. For the ‘Textrad’, see Sahle (2013). Thanks to Anna Cappellotto for these references.

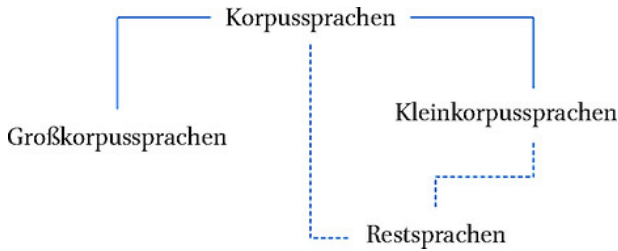


FIGURE 4.1 A tentative taxonomy of the genus 'Corpusssprachen'

Corpus languages can be subdivided into at least two types: those that have a written corpus sufficiently rich to let us describe them comprehensively and those whose corpus allows for only a fragmentary and non-exhaustive description. Technically, the notion of corpus languages, or 'Corpusssprachen', represents a genus made of species: 'Grosscorpusssprachen', or large corpus languages on one side, and 'Kleincorpusssprachen', or limited corpus languages on the other. However, even a limited corpus, in purely quantitative terms, if qualitatively good, can allow a more complete description than a quantitatively superior corpus, but qualitatively monotone. Considering this, we may keep the species of 'Kleincorpusssprachen' apart from that of the 'Restsprachen', which, by definition, do not allow an organic description of the language. However, the characterisation of each species does not seem entirely unproblematic. If we try to represent a rough outline of this taxonomy, we are forced to decide which criteria would justify the different species and in what relationship they stand among them. A first attempt could be the one in Figure 4.1.

The dashes highlight a certain difficulty in the taxonomic definition of 'Restsprachen' that seems quite evident. A 'Restsprache' might easily be a case of 'Kleincorpusssprache', but not all 'Restsprachen' need to be a limited corpus language (in fact, in cases of large monotone corpora, we may get stuck to a limited description). Should we apply a scalar approach, it would not be easy to define whether the gradient should be qualitative, quantitative, or both. Perhaps, it is even useless to try to subsume the 'Restsprachen' into the 'Corpusssprachen'. We must emphasise here that, in fact, we would try to understand 'Restsprachen' and the other categories not so much as branches of a taxonomy, but rather as properties that are able to characterise in the first instance types of documentation on one hand and documentation possibilities on the other. About this last point, briefly mentioned before, we believe that with 'Restsprache' we must characterise residuality; languages that are still alive, or half-alive, relegated to increasingly limited uses and situations, without written records, the speakers of which are close to losing active competences, can also be termed 'Restsprachen'.

Not only that, we would deem thus characterisable, at least hypothetically, even those languages that survive only through study, memorisation or retention of written texts intended for performance in certain situations, but the users of which no longer have a spontaneous, subconscious, and creative 'knowledge' capable of responding readily to any solicitation never experienced before.

Getting back to ancient Anatolia, we probably face examples of such 'Restsprachen'. Hattic, Palaic, and Hurrian, and perhaps also Cuneiform Luwian, at the court in Hattusa might have been 'residual', confined to their own cultic and textual spheres. The Anatolian languages of the 1st millennium BCE, however, are not so easily classifiable. Lycian and Lydian, for example (but others might have been in the same conditions, like Hieroglyphic Luwian or Phrygian), are documented by limited corpora. The reason for such a limited documentation, however, seems to be of a different origin compared to those of the 2nd millennium BCE. We think that they are at best characterised by the label 'Trümmersprachen' (literally 'ruins-languages').

J. Untermann (1983) wrote a paper about these concepts, in which he recalls the difference between 'Rest-' and 'Trümmersprachen'. The term 'Restsprachen', strictly speaking, characterises languages documented fragmentarily, but not for the same reasons as 'Trümmersprachen'. In the latter case, fragmentariness is either a historical accident (lost documents) or a historical outcome of a literacy restricted to precise textual functions and domains, and/or document formats (or both). For the concept of 'Restsprachen', however, the focus shifts from the documentation to the status of the language at the time of the production of the documents from which it emerges. The fragmentariness of 'Trümmersprachen' does not depend on residuality as a status. In fact, 'Trümmersprachen' were fully utilised and not at all residual in the use (and/or competences, as we might say today) of the community. The fragmentariness of 'Restsprachen', on the other hand, does not depend on literacy, i.e., on the narrow selection of types of written documents or their accidental loss. Instead, such fragmentariness depends on the status of the language. A 'Restsprache' is a language that is no longer all encompassing; not only might it be disfavoured to produce written texts, but it is also residual in the use of the community. It is a language receding from the imagination and shared belief of a community and thus from its 'foundational texts' (whether written or oral). In such a situation, the original community of the language now residual largely tends to blur its own boundaries with other, arguably more powerful, communities. In fact, Untermann considers cases where the economic, social, and cultural conditions founded on such imagination to ensure preservation in history through the written record to have evidently failed. This is a situation that calls into

question the very system of the language, to the point of losing, not only and not so much, the status of ‘language’ (which serves the imagination of the community), but the conditions of spontaneous acquisition, leaving only, at worst, textual formulae or scraps of vocabulary to survive.

The case of the Anatolian languages of the 1st millennium BCE, and in particular Lydian, which we chose for our case studies, do not seem to fall perfectly into the category of ‘Restsprache’. Historically speaking, the documentation of Lydian starts when Lydia is a regional power (7th–6th century BCE), heir of a great kingdom, and moves into the era of Hellenistic culture. The type of texts we have are funerary inscriptions, some of which clearly witness the status of the tomb owners, so it would be at least difficult to consider such a language residual since the beginning of the documentation. Obviously, over time, it became residual and was eventually abandoned.

4 Some Lydian Case-Studies from Hesychius’ *Lexicon*

For the purpose of delving into this type of linguistic data and to show how the study of a given form can be complicated by the different levels of mediation that are involved and interact with each other in the transmission process, the following sections will offer some case studies involving some alleged Anatolian forms found in the *Lexicon* by Hesychius.⁵

4.1 *βάσκε πικρολέα and Related Forms*

In Hesychius’ *Lexicon*, the following glosses are attested, which are characterised by a more or less striking formal similarity and for which roughly the same meaning is provided:⁶

β 267 βασαγικόρος, ὁ θάσσον συνουσιάζων, παρὰ Ἴππώνακτι
‘One having a quick sexual intercourse, in Hipponax.’

β 294 βάσκε· πικρολέα, πλησίον ἐξεθόαζε λυδιστί
‘He rushed out near, in Lydian.’

β 314 βασιζακρόλεα, θάσσον ἔρχου λυδιστί
‘Come quickly! In Lydian.’

⁵ On Hesychius, see, e.g., Dickey (2007: 88–90).

⁶ The glosses are quoted as they appear on the Venetian manuscript. References (convention-

κ 418ο κρολίαζε, πλησίαζε θάπττον
 'Approach quickly!'

The second and third glosses are explicitly assigned to the Lydian language, while the first one was credited to Hipponax. The fourth does not display any indication. If the four glosses were actually related to each other, one could regard all of them as Lydian forms found in Hipponax' works, although it is also possible that some of them depended on other sources (e.g., commentaries to Hipponax).⁷ Assuming that they all stem from Hipponax, they could be explained either as different forms found in four different passages by Hipponax or as four corruptions that can be traced back to one single form employed by Hipponax, the latter being the generally assumed scenario.

Further confirmation that these glosses should be ascribed to Hipponax came up in 1928, with the publication of the Oxyrhynchus Papyrus nr. 2174 (= PSI IX 1089),⁸ dated to the 2nd century CE, which contains a fragmentary iambic composition by Hipponax describing a (parodic) ritual performance, whose first two readable lines run as follows:

1. ηῦδα δὲ λυδιζουσα βασκ[
2. πυγιστί τὸν πυγεῶνα παρ[

Since the first edition of the fragment by Coppola (1928), scholars have generally suggested that the first line of this text could be restored through the glosses provided by Hesychius,⁹ with some adjustments to match the choliambic verse of the composition,¹⁰ except for Latte (1929), who opted for a fully Greek βάσκ[ε νῦν, θάσσον].¹¹

ally provided with Greek letter and progressive number) are to the edition by Cunningham (2018; 2020).

- 7 See already Bergk (1853: 604) and Schmidt (1858: 363, 364, 538).
- 8 Fr. 92 W. (95 Degani); first edited by Coppola (1928). The photograph of the papyrus can be found on the website <http://www.psi-online.it/documents/psi;9;1089> (last accessed on 12 September 2022).
- 9 Cf. Vogliano *apud* Coppola (1928: 503), Lavagnini (1929) (βάστ[ι κρολίαζε], following a suggestion by Schmidt 1857, who emended Hesychius' βασιτζακρόλεα to βασιτικρολίαζε), Diehl (1952: 85) (βάσκ[ι κόρλαζε], followed by Adrados 2010: 50), Knox (1953) (β(ασγ)[ικρορλαζε, followed by Whatmough 1956: 76), Degani (1991: 103) (βασκι ... κρολεα).
- 10 That the verses of the composition were choliambic seems to be assured by Tzetzes, who quoted ll. 10–11 in their entirety (*Exeg. Il. I* 273 C). Both βάσκε πικρολέα and βασιτζακρόλεα have the required number of syllables, if one accepts the synizesis of final -εα, but the short penultimate syllable does not fit with the choliambic verse (unless one assumed some metrical license).
- 11 See Latte (1929: 387): "Loquitur anus Lydia sed eius verba si quid video Graece relata

The second line of the composition has generally been understood as somehow related to the first line. Specifically, according to Latte (1929: 386), it would include the continuation of the direct speech beginning in the preceding line (βάσκη[ε νῦν, θάσσον] πυγιστί τὸν πυγεῶνα παρ[πάγωι βύσον], ‘Now come quickly! Plug the asshole with a door bolt like a pederast!’ with πυγιστί meaning παιδεραστικῶς), whereas, according to Degani (1991: 104), it would provide a parodic translation ‘in the arse language’ (πυγιστί, understood as an occasional glottonym built on πυγή) of the preceding Lydian expression.¹²

In order to analyse this complex example according to the criteria dealt with above, one should take into account a number of issues. To begin with, although it is not entirely assured, one should assume that the Lydian forms provided by Hesychius should be traced back to Hipponax, and at least one of them—or, possibly, the preform on which all of them depend—was found in the papyrus PSI IX 1089. Hipponax was born in Ephesus, in Lydia, and worked in the 6th century BCE, when the Lydian language was still alive in the territory, as evidenced by the inscriptions. Furthermore, his works included Lydian words here and there, so the hypothesis that he was the ultimate source of the four Hesychius glosses listed above is surely most plausible.

Starting from this assumption, one should first of all consider the possibility of recognising the Lydian forms underlying the Greek transcriptions provided by Hesychius. Not many attempts have been made in this direction: Brandenstein (1932: 43–44) regarded βασιζακρόλεα as the most reliable form, reflecting Lyd. **waštis dakrola*, ‘im Laufschrift—marsch’; Haas (1958: 105–107) opted for a Phrygian solution (an adjective *baske* or its comparative *bastiza* < **bask^wiza* + a verb (*pi*)*krolea*); West (1974: 144–145) reconstructed a preform *βασκατικρολελ underlying βασαγικόρος, βάσκε πικρολέα, and βασιζακρόλεα, which included the Lydian verbal prefix *fa-* (βα-) and a dative-locative in *-l(l)λ* (-λελ).¹³

sunt, ut dubites, utrum de lingua an de sono pronuntiationis agatur. Βάσκε eodem modo dictum, quo alibi ἄγε, ἴθι, ut monendi et excitandi vim dumtaxat habeat’.

12 See Degani (1991: 104) (“Lydorum verborum ludicra explicatio”). See also Degani (2007: 41): “dicea in lidio: “Bask ... krolea!”, ossia, in chiappese, “Il chiappesco portale (tappagli col chivaccio)!”, a translation that reflects Latte’s restoration of the second line. See also Hawkins (2013: 166), who suggested a possible match between παρ[(explained as the preverb παρα-) and the Lydian preverb *fa-* (= βα-).

13 For a more extensive discussion on these hypotheses, see Hawkins (2013: 157–166). Note that other scholars were sceptical about the possibility of actually identifying Lydian forms behind these glosses. See, e.g., Gusmani (1963: 232): “Quello che segue a λυδίζουσα in 92,1, e di cui ci è conservato solo l’inizio, doveva essere più che una vera formula magica in lidio, un comico guazzabuglio senza senso, magari con qualche parola lidia storpiata. Comunque le due glosse di Hesych. che, certo in forma corrotta, riportano quella formula non presentano nulla che, in base alle nostre conoscenze, possa essere considerato come lidio.”

More recently, Schürr (2011: 75–78), taking into account *βάσκε πιχρολέα* and *βαστιζακρόλεα*, identified the Lydian form *fasqν*—i.e., *fā=(i)sqν* (sentence initial particle + a likely theonym or divine epithet in accusative case)—behind *βασκ-*, while *ζακρόλεα* would match the Lydian adjective *caqrlāν* (unknown meaning). Both *fā=(i)sqν* and *caqrlāν* occur in the same inscription, LW 14, although in two different sentences. Currently, Schürr’s solution is the most credited one,¹⁴ because it provides a plausible formal match with Lydian words occurring roughly in the same context.

However, the match with Lydian seems to only concern the level of the expression. From a semantic point of view, trying to establish a correspondence between what we know about Lydian, what can be read in Hipponax’ papyrus, and the meaning(s) provided by Hesychius is a difficult task:

- As far as Lydian is concerned, *fasqν* would include the noun *isq(i)-*, perhaps denoting a deity,¹⁵ while *caqrla-* is currently explained as a relational adjective in *-la-* built on the noun *cēqra-* ‘designated property’ (vel sim.), the latter understood as a compound of *cēn(i)-* ‘designate’ and *qira-* ‘property’ (cf. Hittite *kuera-* ‘field parcel’, Lycian *tere-* ‘district’, Milyan *kere-* ‘territory’).¹⁶
- Hipponax’s fragment, as far as we can read, does not provide any hint on the meaning of the Lydian expression. Even if one accepted Degani’s interpretation of the second line, the alleged translation provided by Hipponax would be entirely unreliable for the understanding of the original Lydian expression, given its patently parodic nature.¹⁷
- The four translations provided by Hesychius are quite consistent with each other, all of them including the idea of quickness (*θάσσον/θάπτον* and *ἐχθο-άζω*) and three out of four having a verb of motion or approach, which can be reconciled with the *συνουσιάζω*, ‘have sexual intercourse’, of the first gloss if we assume a quite trivial metaphorical sexual meaning (actually attested for *ἔρχομαι* ‘come’ and *πλησιάζω* ‘approach’).

Therefore, Hesychius’ explanations can hardly be matched with the current interpretation of the underlying Lydian forms, while the correspondence between Hesychius and its ultimate source, Hipponax, might be more straight-

14 See, e.g., Högemann & Oettinger (2018: 71–72).

15 See the entry by David Sasseville (2022) in the eDiAna dictionary (<https://www.ediana.gwi.uni-muenchen.de/dictionary.php?lemma=954>; last accessed on 12 September 2022).

16 See the entries *cēqra-* (<https://www.ediana.gwi.uni-muenchen.de/dictionary.php?lemma=623>) and *caqrla-* (<https://www.ediana.gwi.uni-muenchen.de/dictionary.php?lemma=624>) by Ilya Yakubovich (2022) in the eDiAna dictionary (last accessed on 12 September 2022), with references.

17 On the literary motivations behind the use of non-Greek expressions by Hipponax, see De Luna (2003: 45–57).

forward if we assume a sexual meaning for Hesychius' explanations, although this is not entirely assured. It is also possible that Hesychius' explanations had a source other than Hipponax, such as a commentary or scholion to Hipponax whose material was later reflected in Hesychius' *Lexicon*. Note that an interpretation including a verb of motion might have been favoured, e.g., by a paraetymological association between βάσκει μικρολέα and the Greek verb βάσκω (cf. βάσκ' ἴθι in the *Iliad*), which may have already been echoed back by Hipponax (i.e., a conscious adaptation of an original Lydian form to recall a typically epic expression to the Greek ear), but could also have been the product of later attempts at exegesis.¹⁸

In any case, we probably have a high degree of textual mediation in the transmission, perhaps also located at different levels: Hipponax probably used actual Lydian expressions with a parodic meaning, regardless of their original one, and, over the long period between Hipponax and Hesychius, different sources may have tried to clarify the meaning of the Lydian forms, even beyond the parodic intentions of the Ephesian poet, and such attempts were finally reflected in the *Lexicon* by Hesychius.

The other aspect to take into account is the philological mediation. From the original document by Hipponax (late 6th century BCE) to the manuscript that preserves the *Lexicon* by Hesychius (dated between 1410 and 1430 CE), more than 19 centuries passed, and we have very incomplete data on both the tradition of Hipponax and that of Hesychius. As mentioned, the Oxyrhynchus Papyrus nr. 2174, although having a fragmentary text, provided an important hint on the metrical scheme of the composition, also showing that none of Hesychius' four glosses can fit with it, which points to some troubles in the textual tradition. Furthermore, if one accepted that the four glosses should be traced back to one single expression employed by Hipponax, as is generally assumed based on their formal and semantic similarity, and not to multiple sources, possibly also including commentaries and scholia to Hipponax (a scenario that still remains possible), one should probably take the plurality of outcomes as further evidence that something went wrong across the tradition, as would not be unexpected in the case of Greek transcriptions of foreign forms.

To sum up, we can suggest the following scenario: in the 6th century BCE, Hipponax wrote an iambic poem in which he inserted a sentence linguistically

18 See also Hawkins (2013: 165): "Hesychius, or more likely his sources, may simply have guessed at the meaning from context. Unless they had some source of knowledge about the Lydian language, an idea that seems dubious, guessing would have been the only option available to them".

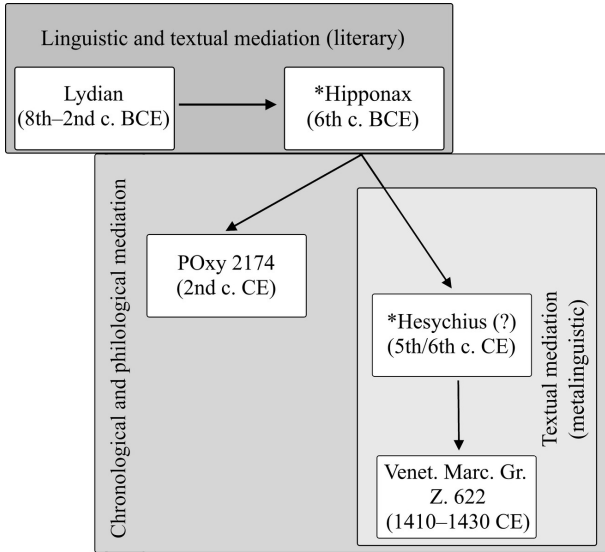


FIGURE 4.2 The transmission scenario of four Lydian glosses found in Hesychius' *Lexicon*

belonging to the coeval Lydian language, transcribed in Greek characters (perhaps even with some adjustments to fit the choliambic verse), and probably with a parodic intent: it was possibly a quite common Lydian expression, but its original meaning was seemingly distorted by Hipponax into a sexual meaning. The transmission from Lydian to Hipponax was thus mediated on both the grapho-linguistic and the textual levels: the former concerned the linguistic expression, the latter its content. We do not have the original text by Hipponax, which is only preserved by a papyrus of the 2nd century CE, in which either one of Hesychius' glosses or their preform is only partly readable, βασκι (with some doubts concerning the κ): a chronological distance is of course involved, but its fragmentary status does not allow for a full evaluation of the possible philological mediation. Hipponax's expression then reaches Hesychius (5th/6th century CE) or one of the other works later included in the manuscript Venet. Marc. Gr. Z. 622, in which we find four different glosses, none of which are entirely reliable from a metrical point of view, which would point to a high degree of philological mediation involving the level of expression. As far as the content is concerned, textual mediation is of the metalinguistic type, and its degree may vary according to the extent to which Hesychius' explanations depended on something directly found in the text of Hipponax or rather are the product of later exegetical work.

Such a scenario is schematised in Figure 4.2.

Concluding, through this analysis we hope to have shown how complex the transmission of a linguistic expression can be, and how many dimensions of mediation should be considered when assessing the reliability of a gloss transmitted from any source other than the original one. Thus, it is fairly clear that the aim of Hesychius’ four glosses dealt with here was to explain the text by Hipponax, in which, probably, some originally-Lyidian words (whose expressions did not necessarily match exactly those we read in the manuscript of the *Lexicon*) were employed with a parodic meaning. How valuable are these glosses for the linguist who is interested in the Lydian lexicon? Not very, as far as can be judged based on the current direct knowledge of Lydian: their expressions probably ultimately reflected those of actual Lydian words, but the meanings provided by Hesychius seemingly only reflected the literary elaboration by Hipponax.

Examples such as this should particularly be borne in mind whenever the study of a form transmitted with multiple levels of mediation cannot be supported by direct knowledge of its source language.

4.2 *κοαλδδεῖν and μυτταλυτα*

Two more examples coming from Hesychius may be relevant here. The first is the entry *κοαλδδεῖν*, explained as *Λυδοὶ τὸν βασιλέα* (κ 3169). We know that the Lydian term for ‘king’ is *qalm(λu)*- reflected in Greek as *πάλμυς*. *κοαλδδεῖν* shares the initial labiovelar (Lyd. |q|—Greek |χo|), the vowel and the lambda, the rest is problematic, so that alternative correspondences in Lydian have been proposed, as the one by Heubeck (1959), who took *κοαλδδεῖν* as reflecting Lydian *Qldān-*. This term is probably a proper name recurring in some inscriptions, and was thought to refer to Apollon, but Heubeck argued that it was an appellative of the moon god Men, perhaps a participle meaning ‘(the) ruling’ (*βασιλεύων*). The interpretation of Heubeck is partially dependent on Hesychius’ gloss, because there is no independent evidence for a similar verb ‘to rule’ in Lydian texts. Furthermore, knowledge about Lydian participles is scanty, so the form is morphologically problematic (for *-nt-* stems cf. Gérard 2005). However, the surely established noun for ‘king’ is *qalm(λ)(u)-*. A recent study by G. Loiacono (2020) suggested an interesting solution that would equate *κοαλδδεῖν* and *qalm(λ)(u)-*. First, he accepts Vetter’s (1959) conjecture according to which *λδδ* derives from *ΛΜ* read *ΛΔΔ*; second, he considers an exchange between *ει* and *υ* attested as early as Roman Empire age papyri (Loiacono 2020: 366); *κοαλδδεῖν* would derive from an original **κοαλμυν*, probably the accusative of *qalmλu*. Another recent study (Payne 2019a, 2019b) proposed a totally divergent solution suggesting that the gloss in the Venet. Marc. Gr. manuscript was misread by the editors: where the editors read

ει, the manuscript shows α. Therefore, the gloss should be read κοαλδδᾶν, thus easily reflecting *Qldān-*. The reading κοαλδδεῖν, however, is sure: ει in Hesychius' manuscript is written in a ligature that could resemble the shape of α, but in this manuscript is clearly different from the shapes of α.

The second example is μῦτταλυτα· μεγαλου (μ 1992). This gloss is connected to the Luwian stem *muwattalla/i-* 'strong, powerful, great'.¹⁹ Bergk (1866: 756), in the third edition of his *Poetae lyrici Graeci*, compared this gloss to the attestation of a couple of problematic words, †μεγάστρυ† and Μυτάλιδι in a well-known fragment of Hipponax (7 Degani).

ἴθι διὰ Λυδῶν παρὰ τὸν Ἀττάλεω τύμβον
καὶ σῆμα Γύγεω †μεγάστρυ† στήλην
καὶ μνήμα Τωτος Μυτάλιδι πάλμυδος

'Go through the country of the Lydians, to the mound of Attale, the monument of Gyge, the stele of ... and the memorial of Tos, the king ...'

That Hesychius' gloss might come from this text can be derived from the fact that a *μεγάλου*, or *μεγίστου*, explaining Μυτάλιδι is perhaps the only reason (intrusive error) for the corrupted *μεγάστρυ* of the preceding line.

The gloss of Hesychius becomes, in fact, a source to be taken into consideration for the restitution of the Hipponax text. The form *μῦτταλυτα*, however, cannot be explained by the genitive singular. Latte's (1966) edition postulated a lacuna after *μεγάλου*, confirmed in the revision by Cunningham (2020). An alternative proposal is to consider the gloss as corrupted and emend it according to the genitive in the explanation. We postulate a Greek genitive form *μῦτταλυτος*, so no longer an original Anatolian form, but the form of a Greek loanword from Anatolia. The emendation can affect the attestation in Hipponax, to be emended into *μυτάλιδος*: this combined conjecture produces a perfectly understandable text in Hipponax: *καὶ μνήμα Τωτος μυτάλιδος πάλμυδος*, 'and the tomb of T., the great king' (cf. Rizza 2001 for details).

Admittedly, this proposal might seem a little convoluted, but it has, we believe, the merit of seriously considering the depth and stratification of the traditions that affect the remains of the ancient Anatolian languages and their traces in Greek literature.

19 Cf. Milyan *mutali-* 'mighty'. About *muwa-*, see recently Martínez Rodríguez (2021) with references.

5 Conclusion

Looking at linguistic data from ancient Anatolia, the categories of 'Rest-' vs. 'Trümmersprachen' and 'Rest-' vs. 'Corpusssprachen', though convenient, are not without problems, nor is the traditional distinction between 'direct' and 'indirect' sources.

For this last distinction, in particular, we started our discussion observing that different traditions and approaches move from concepts of direct and indirect (or mediated), primary and secondary sources, that are not totally overlapping, especially considering the linguistic and philological points of view. Therefore, it seems much more useful for the purposes of our research to arrange sources and testimonies following a new multidimensional approach able to consider at the same time the different types of mediation: these are the chronological, linguistic, philological, and textual mediations.

Each mediation should be assessed both separately and in relation to the others.

As an example, a Lydian gloss in Hesychius could be very distant in chronological terms and come from repeated mediations, but might not necessarily be linguistically unreliable. However, the distance present in the material record cannot be ignored.

Thus, the four Lydian glosses dealt with in section 4.1, which can be traced back to Hipponax, possibly have some degree of reliability as far as the expression of the original Lydian forms is concerned. Conversely, as for the level of the content, they probably cannot be used to establish the meaning of the underlying Lydian forms, because the function of the explanations found in Hesychius' *Lexicon* was to elucidate the text of Hipponax, and the latter probably used those Lydian forms regardless of their original meaning for a parodic intent.

The examples in section 4.2 clearly show that the manuscript tradition and the various mediations both operate in obscuring the understanding of the glosses and of their possibly-related source texts and source language forms.

In essence, to conclude, we hope to have shown some guidelines that might help us to refine our linguistic hypotheses, after careful philological sifting of the sources, in a complex framework of relations of which some aspects are still being explored.

References

- Adrados, Francisco R. 2010. *Líricos Griegos. Elegíacos y Yambógrafos Arcaicos (siglos VII–V a.C.). II*. Madrid: CSIC.
- Bergk, Theodor. 1853. *Poetae Lirici Graeci*. 2nd ed. Leipzig: Reichenbach.
- Bergk, Theodor. 1866. *Poetae Lirici Graeci. Pars II. Poetas elegiacos et iambographos continens*. 3rd ed. Leipzig: Teubner.
- Brandenstein, Wilhelm. 1932. Die lydische Sprache II. *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 38: 1–67.
- Brinker, Klaus, Gerd Antos, Wolfgang Heinemann & Sven F. Sager (eds.). 2000–2001. *Text- und Gesprächslinguistik / Linguistics of Text and Conversation* (Handbücher zur Sprach- und Kommunikationswissenschaft 16/1–2). Berlin/New York: De Gruyter.
- Coppola, Goffredo. 1928. Un nuovo frammento dei giambi di Ipponatte. *Rivista di Filologia e di Istruzione Classica* 56: 500–506.
- Cunningham, Ian C. 2018. *Hesychii Alexandrini Lexicon. Vol. 1: A–Δ* (Sammlung griechischer und lateinischer Grammatiker 11/1). Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter.
- Cunningham, Ian C. 2020. *Hesychii Alexandrini Lexicon. Vol. II: E–O* (Sammlung griechischer und lateinischer Grammatiker 11/2). Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter.
- Degani, Enzo. 1991. *Hipponax. Testimonia et Fragmenta*. 2nd ed. Stuttgart/Leipzig: Teubner.
- Degani, Enzo. 2007. *Ipponatte. Frammenti* (EIKASMOS. Quaderni Bolognesi di Filologia Classica—Studi 15). Bologna: Pàtron.
- De Luna, Maria Elena. 2003. *La comunicazione linguistica fra alloglotti nel mondo greco. Da Omero a Senofonte* (Studi e testi di storia antica 13). Pisa: ETS.
- Dickey, Eleanor. 2007. *Ancient Greek Scholarship. A Guide to Finding, Reading, and Understanding Scholia, Commentaries, Lexica, and Grammatical Treatises, from Their Beginnings to the Byzantine Period*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Diehl, Ernst. 1952. *Anthologia Lyrica Graeca. Fasc. 3. Iamborum scriptores*. 3rd ed. Leipzig: Teubner.
- Gérard, Raphaël. 2005. *Phonétique et morphologie de la langue lydienne* (Bibliothèque des Cahiers de l'Institut de Linguistique de Louvain 114). Leuven: Peeters.
- Gusmani, Roberto. 1963. Review of Olivier Masson. 1962. *Les fragments du poète Hipponax. Édition critique et commentée*. Paris: Klincksieck. *Indogermanische Forschungen* 68: 331–332.
- Haas, Otto. 1958. Etymologien. *Die Sprache* 4: 101–107.
- Hawkins, Shane. 2013. *Studies in the Language of Hipponax* (Münchener Forschungen zur historischen Sprachwissenschaft 14). Bremen: Hempen Verlag.
- Heubeck, Alfred. 1959. *Lydiaka. Untersuchungen zur Schrift, Sprache und Götternamen der Lyder* (Erlanger Forschungen 9). Erlangen: Universitätsbund Erlangen.
- Högemann, Peter & Norbert Oettinger. 2018. *Lydien. Ein altanatolischer Staat zwischen Griechenland und dem Vorderen Orient*. Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter.

- Knox, Alfred D. 1953. *Herodes, Cercidas and the Greek Choliambic Poets (except Callimachus and Babrius)*. Rev. ed. Cambridge: Harvard University Press / London: W. Heinemann Ltd.
- Latte, Kurt. 1929. Hipponacteum. *Hermes* 64: 385–388.
- Latte, Kurt. 1966. *Hesychii Alexandrini Lexicon. Volumen II*. E–O. Copenhagen: Munksgaard.
- Lavagnini, Bruno. 1929. Sul nuovo frammento dei giambi di Ipponatte. *Annali delle Università Toscane* 12: 3–15.
- Loiacono, Giacomo. 2020. La glossa di Esichio *καλῶδδεν· Λυδοὶ τὸν βασιλέα* tra realtà linguistica e tradizione del testo. *Σπουδῆς οὐδὲν ἐλλιποῦσα*. *Anna Maria Biraschi. Scritti in memoria*, ed. by Gianfranco Maddoli, Massimo Nafissi & Francesco Prontera, 359–370. Perugia: Morlacchi.
- LW = Gusmani, Roberto. 1964. *Lydisches Wörterbuch. Mit grammatischer Skizze und Inschriftensammlung*. Heidelberg: Winter.
- Martínez Rodríguez, Elena. 2021. The Anatolian Words for 'Son' and the Semantics of *muwa-*. *Beyond All Boundaries. Anatolia in the First Millennium BC* (Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 295), ed. by Annick Payne, Šárka Velhartická & Jorit Wintjes, 337–348. Leuven/Paris/Bristol: Peeters.
- Montanari, Franco, Stephanos Matthaios & Antonios Rengakos (eds.). 2015. *Brill's Companion to Ancient Greek Scholarship*. 2 vols. Leiden/Boston: Brill.
- Payne, Annick. 2019a. Native Religious Traditions from a Lydian Perspective. *Proceedings of 'Religious Convergence in the Ancient Mediterranean', Conference 23–26 June 2016 Palermo*, ed. by Sandra Blakely, Billie Jean Collins, Sebastiano Tusa & Lela Urquhart, 231–248. Atlanta: Lockwood Press.
- Payne, Annick. 2019b [2020]. Hesychius' Lydian glosses 1. *Atti del Sodalizio Glottologico Milanese* 14 (n.s.): 173–186.
- Pierazzo, Elena. 2016. *Digital scholarly editing: Theories, models and methods*. London/New York: Routledge.
- Rizza, Alfredo. 2001. Ipponatte e i Lidii. Note sul framm. 7 Degani. *Sygraphé* (3), ed. by D. Ambaglio, 7–14. Como: New Press.
- Sahle, Patrick. 2013. *Digitale Editionsformen. Zum Umgang mit der Überlieferung unter den Bedingungen des Medienwandels*. 3 vols. Norderstedt: BoD.
- Schmidt, Moritz. 1857. Zu Hesychius. *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* 12: 470–472.
- Schmidt, Moritz. 1858. *Hesychii Alexandrini Lexicon. Volumen secundum*. Jena: Mauk.
- Schürr, Diether. 2011. Zwei lydische Götterbezeichnungen. *Incontri Linguistici* 34: 71–80.
- Untermann, Jürgen. 1983. Indogermanische Restsprachen als Gegenstand der Indogermanistik. *Le lingue indoeuropee di frammentaria attestazione—Die indogermanische Restsprachen. Atti del convegno della Società Italiana di Glottologia e della Indogermanische Gesellschaft. Udine, 22–24 settembre 1981*, ed. by Edoardo Vineis, 11–28. Pisa: Giardini.

- Vetter, Emil. 1959. *Zu den lydischen Inschriften* (Sitzungsberichte der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Klasse, 232/3). Wien: Rohrer.
- West, Martin L. 1974. *Studies in Greek Elegy and Iambus*. Berlin/New York: De Gruyter.
- Whatmough, Joshua. 1956. *Poetic, Scientific and Other Forms of Discourse. A New Approach to Greek and Latin Literature*. Berkeley/Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Ancient Greek as a Fragmentary Language: What Is ‘Alexandrian Greek’?

Federico Favi and Olga Tribulato

1 Introduction: ‘Alexandrian Greek’ as a ‘Restsprache’?

In Chapter 52 of Book 17 of his *Library of History*, the Greek historian Diodorus Siculus narrates the foundation of Alexandria in Egypt (331 BCE). The chapter concludes with a description of the city’s size and wealth in Diodorus’ time (1st century BCE), highlighting the extent of its cultural and political influence across the entire ancient Mediterranean

On the whole, the city has grown so much in later times that many rank it first in the civilized world. In beauty, size, abundance of revenue, and goods for luxurious living it is very different from all the rest. The number of its inhabitants surpasses that of those in other cities. (D.S. 17.52.5).¹

In this paper, we shall examine Alexandria both as a real place and as a symbol of an idealized Greek linguistic identity by focusing on the notion of ‘Alexandrian Greek’ that surfaces in Greek erudite sources. In discussing the problems inherent in linguistic investigations of this ancient concept, we also approach ‘Alexandrian Greek’ as exemplary of the ideological connections between several iconic locations, their languages, and individuals’ self-perception. This research was undertaken under the aegis of the European Research Council (ERC) project ‘Purism in Antiquity’ (PURA), which is devoted to Greek lexica and their purist theorization: it is in these lexica in particular that the category of ‘Alexandrian Greek’ acquires metalinguistic significance.

1 We have placed any contextual information provided in round parentheses to make the text easier to follow. Angular brackets indicate supplements to the Greek text adopted by the editors. We are grateful to two anonymous referees for their comments on an earlier version of this paper. Sections 1–3 are by Olga Tribulato, section 4 is by Federico Favi, while section 5 is by both authors. This paper is part of a project that has received funding from the European Research Council (ERC) under the European Union’s Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme, grant agreement no. 865817.

In sections 2 and 3 of this paper, Olga Tribulato discusses the paucity of direct sources, which prohibits any rigorous linguistic analysis of the Greek spoken in Alexandria or its distinction from the more robust linguistic varieties that subsume it, namely the diachronic macro-category of Hellenistic Greek and the diatopic variety of Egyptian Greek that it encompasses, both of which are characterized by their respective diastratic and diamesic variations. Hence, ‘Alexandrian Greek’ may indeed qualify as a ‘Restsprache’ of sorts, or perhaps—if we may be permitted the neologism—as a ‘Restvarietät’: a particular form of post-Classical Greek spoken in one of the Hellenistic Greek world’s most significant cultural centres.² However, the picture is complicated by ancient testimonies of ‘Alexandrian Greek’: as Federico Favi demonstrates in sections 4 and 5, certain Greek erudite sources employ the notion of ‘Alexandrian Greek’ partly as a scholarly artefact and partly as a means by which to identify certain post-Classical developments that belong not to the koine as a whole, but rather to some of its lower registers. ‘Alexandrian Greek’ is thus not a real ‘Restsprache’, but a sociolinguistic category that constitutes a diastratic and diaphasic rather than diatopic variety within post-Classical Greek.

2 Alexandria and Egypt: A Linguistic and Cultural Melting Pot

Language played a central role in ancient perceptions of Alexandria from its earliest existence. As a powerful political centre under the Ptolemaic dynasty (305–30 BCE), the city was home to important cultural institutions that took centre stage alongside those of Athens—the Greek world’s ‘cultural capital’ from the late 5th century BCE—and of other prominent cities of the Hellenistic world, such as Syracuse and Pergamum. The city’s linguistic and cultural amalgamation, spatial extension, high consumption of goods, and an ethnically mixed population made Alexandria a forerunner of later (in some ways ‘modern’) forms of urbanism (see Fraser 1972: 1, 38–75; Krasilnikoff 2009). Recent studies have overtly defined Alexandria as a cultural melting pot (Hinge & Krasilnikoff 2009: 9), highlighting its propensity (within the broader Egyptian context) to develop a new identity facilitated by the merging of multiple cultures and languages, beginning with Egyptian (see Fraser 1972: 1, 61–62; Bowman & Crowther 2020: 4, the latter focuses on epigraphy, and speaks of ‘dual

2 We use the term ‘Restsprache’ in its technical meaning of ‘a language fragmentarily attested’ (see Baglioni & Rigobianco in this volume). In this respect, ‘Alexandrian Greek’ may qualify as what Loporcaro (this volume) calls ‘a Restsprache post rem’, i.e. a language whose fragmentary status results from external factors.

identities'). This interpretative lens may be fruitfully applied to the linguistic investigation of 'Alexandrian Greek'—in particular with regard to its ancient *perception*.

From a historical linguistic perspective, the Greek spoken in Alexandria must initially have constituted an amalgam of the late-Classical dialects brought to Africa by colonists hailing from different parts of continental Greece, by Macedonians, and by the Doric-speaking inhabitants of Cyrene. Indirect evidence provided by a notorious passage from Theocritus' *Idyll* 15 suggests that Alexandria was a crucible of different linguistic varieties, in addition to demonstrating how dialectal differences were integral to the representation of multiple identities in a shared colonial context. A religious festival at the royal palace serves as meeting place for two Syracusan women, probably residents of Alexandria and 'of respectable status' (Dover 1971: 197). An anonymous man scolds them for their incessant blabber and their 'broad' pronunciation:

(Anonymous passer-by) Stop it, you idiots, chattering all the time, like doves: they'll kill me with all their broad vowels everywhere.

(Praxagora, one of the Syracusan women) Hell, where's that guy from? What's our chattering got to do with you? You better give orders only when you're the master. You're trying to order around Syracusans! And just to make that clear: we are Corinthians originally, just like Bellerophon. We speak Peloponnesian—surely it's alright to speak Dorian if you're a Dorian! (Theoc. 15.84–93; translation Willi 2012: 265–266)

Greek philologists continue to debate precisely which accent Theocritus intended to represent, but this detail need not concern us here.³ The passer-by evidently refers to the Doric dialect in its Syracusan variety, whose broad pro-

3 The linguistic interpretation of the scene is complicated by the fact that the Syracusan women, the passer-by, and the other characters in *Idyll* 15 apparently speak the same language, a form of literary Doric that occurs regularly in Theocritus (hence, Dover 1971: 207 wonders whether Theocritus might not have preferred 'consistency to realism'). Magnien's foundational study (1920) perceives a faithful representation of Syracusan (Theocritus' own dialect) in *Idyll* 15. This thesis clashes with the fact that the language of *Idyll* 15 (and generally Theocritus' Doric) exhibits traits that are alien to Syracusan. Ruijgh (1984) later argued that Theocritus' Doric was based on a post-Classical, 'koineized' form of the Doric dialect of Cyrene (in North Africa and under Alexandrian control). Both theses seek an actual model for what is, instead, a *literary* and artificial version of Doric (cf. also Hinge 2009: 73). Willi's (2012) bolder hypothesis proposes that the passer-by's reaction would not be directed against Doric [a:] for koine [ɛ:] (an interpretation already in Hermogenes and the Theocritean scholia: cf. Hinge 2009: 71), but that it may be an observation that Doric was less advanced than the koine with respect to the closing of vowels (see Willi 2012: 276–278).

nunciation he judges to be annoying and coarse. Piqued, the two Syracusans allusively respond that it is normal for *Corinthians* to speak Doric. Syracuse had been founded in early antiquity by Corinth; the implication is thus that the language of those whose roots lie in the Greek mainland is superior to that which has flourished in the more recent colonial context of Ptolemaic Alexandria.

The dialogue implicitly presents two antithetical views of the relationship between dialects and the koine and between the notions of standard and substandard. The two women deem their local dialect to be superior to the shared language that at the time represented the high register on a diglossic continuum (Consani 1991: 16). The passer-by, by contrast, regards dialect as substandard in relation to the koine, the ‘lingua franca’ of official communication in Hellenistic Greece that had developed from a (written) variety of a Classical dialect—Attic. The Alexandrian setting thus inherits linguistic and cultural tensions that have long histories: the very notions of ‘centre’ and ‘periphery’ are at stake, and Syracuse reclaims a greater centrality than Alexandria as the cultural boundaries of the Greek world are redefined.⁴

Koine has its roots in Classical Attic, a regional dialect that rose to the role of a supraregional variety at the height of Athenian political power by eliminating local and conservative traits (this is the so-called ‘Great Attic’ or ‘Großattisch’ of Thumb’s original formulation (1906); cf. López Eire 1993; Crespo 2006; Crespo 2010; Horrocks 2010: 73–84).⁵ In a matter of decades, Attic gradually converged towards Ionic, its closest relative, incorporating several features also shared by the other dialects and thus becoming a truly ‘koinized’ variety (Bubenik 1993; Thumb 1901: 58 already spoke of ‘Koenisierung’).⁶ Owing to its swift and pervasive diffusion beyond Greece, koine Greek embodied a standard that included a vast range of diatopic variations and regional standards, the best known of which are those of Attica, Asia Minor, and Egypt (Bubenik 1989: 175–255).⁷ At least two diamesic/diastratic varieties can also be distinguished:

4 See Willi (2012) for a discussion of the ‘post-colonial’ tensions discernible in *Idyll* 15.

5 The term is absent in Thumb’s earlier (1901) study, in which he terms ‘Great Attic’ a ‘Verkehrssprache’ (Thumb 1901: 54).

6 Of course, the birth and evolution of the koine are not linear events. One of the thorniest issues in the debate concerns its debt to the Ionic and Doric dialects, particularly with respect to the lexicon: see Cassio (1998: 993) and, previously, Thumb (1901: 53–78).

7 Foundational studies of the koine are also those collected in Brixhe (1993); Brixhe (1996); Brixhe (2001); Hodot (2004). For the coexistence between the koine as a supradialectal standard and local dialects, see Consani (1998) and the recent appraisal of García Ramón (2020). A comparable situation—though obviously produced by completely different socio-historical conditions—is represented by modern Italian, whereby the creation of standard

high-register koine, documented in official inscriptions and literary prose (e.g., Polybius, Diodorus), and low-register koine, evidenced across a broad typological range of texts, including private inscriptions, documentary papyri, technical prose, and the Old and New Testaments (for an overview, see Cassio 1998: 994–999).

Egyptian koine, which has been the focus of several important contributions on the Hellenistic and Roman koine,⁸ is unique insofar that it can be studied not only through inscriptions (the language of the urban elites), but also through an imposing collection of papyri, whose authors are not always native hellenophones and which thus may abound in low-register features (Mayser & Schmoll 1970; Gignac 1976–1981; Teodorsson 1977; Horrocks 2010: 111–112, 165–188; and most lately Leiwo 2021). Egyptian koine is distinguished by the frequency of contact phenomena, primarily with Egyptian (late Classical and Demotic) and later with Coptic (Dahlgren 2016; Dahlgren 2017), but also with languages that were introduced to Egypt from the vast Hellenistic world: Persian, Aramaic, Hebrew, and later Latin (Bubenik 1989: 257–281). Errors written into the papyri allow us to identify some traits of spoken/substandard Egyptian koine that result from Egyptian/Coptic, including vocabulary (Torallas Tovar 2014; Torallas Tovar 2017).

Space constraints do not allow us to delve into an in-depth analysis of Egyptian Greek, which would also go beyond the intended readership of the present volume. The following examples are meant to provide readers with a bird's eye view of the range of phonetic and morphological issues that distinguish Egyptian Greek vis-à-vis other varieties of the koine and highlight its precocity with respect to some later developments of Greek. For example, the exchange between the graphemes σ and ζ , which reflects the Coptic lack of a phonemic distinction between /s/ and /z/ and between $\alpha/\varepsilon/\alpha\iota$ and o/ω in unstressed syllables.⁹ On the whole, this could reflect the assimilation of the low/mid vowels of Greek to the Coptic /ə/ (which in unstressed syllables may have a neutral pronunciation: see Horrocks 2010: 112; for further elements, see Bubenik 1989: 222–225). The papyri also contain several precocious instances of phenomena that would go on to become routine in Medieval Greek. Examples of this include the monophthongization of i-diphthongs and the onset of fricativization of u-diphthongs; the loss of vowel length distinction; the simplification of double consonants; the extension of the third-declension plural marker (-εϛ)

Italian (which has largely supplanted dialectal varieties) has led to the creation of new forms of 'regional standards': see Telmon (1990).

8 See Torallas Tovar (2010) for an overview and the reference cited in this section.

9 For other features, see Dahlgren (2016: 93–101); Dahlgren (2017); Fewster (2002: 235).

from the nominative to the accusative; the gradual replacement of synthetic futures with periphrastic formations; the merging of the aorist and perfect tenses; and the gradual restriction and subsequent loss of the dative (see Horrocks 2010: 111–112, 165–188).

3 Describing ‘Alexandrian Greek’: Some Problems

Within the relatively well-documented Egyptian koine, there is a possibility of distinguishing local varieties where a large number of papyri survives (see e.g. Leiwo 2021). Crucially, this is not the case for Alexandria, from where we have no papyri (Torallas Tovar 2021: 153): direct documentation is found exclusively in inscriptions. These have now been collected in the new *Corpus of Ptolemaic Inscriptions* (*CPI*). Its first volume, devoted to Alexandria and the Delta, was published in 2021, replacing Bernard’s 2001 catalogue. A total of 83 inscriptions from Alexandria survive from the Ptolemaic period, out of a total of approximately 650 from Ptolemaic Egypt overall. These can be subdivided into the following categories: decrees (2), civic institutions (5), dedications by and for the royal house (21), dedications to the royal house (10), dedications to deities by individuals (15), honorifics (7), selected funerary texts (4; for the ratio, see *CPI*), and miscellaneous items (e.g., lists of names, 11). All are highly standardized textual typologies, and religious texts predominate.¹⁰ For example, dedications to the royal house consistently begin with the opening formula ὑπὲρ βασιλέως (‘in favour of the king’), whereas dedications to gods and royal personages often consist merely of the divine or royal name in the dative case.¹¹ Of the two decrees, one (*CPI* no. 1, ca. 290–247 BCE) is very short and fragmentary, whereas the other (*CPI* no. 2, 112 BCE) is highly formulaic.

Only rarely does the lexicon exhibit traits that may have flourished at Alexandria prior to their dissemination elsewhere (a recent analysis of the issue re. Egyptian Greek as a whole is Torallas Tovar 2021). By way of example, out of some other interesting forms, we may consider the term μέλλαξ (‘young boy’), a synonym of μεράκιον, which is used to denote boys who have reached puberty. Epigraphically, μέλλαξ is attested only in Egypt, occurring first at Alexandria (*CPI* no. 49, 134/3 BCE). It is later attested in three late-Imperial inscriptions, in a formula used in papyri containing magical texts and in lexicography. Its dimin-

10 For the centrality of religion in Alexandria, see Fraser (1972: 1, 189–301) and Krasilnikoff (2009: 32–38).

11 The formulaic language of Egyptian dedications is discussed in Baralay (2020).

utive *μελλάκιον* also occurs first in a mid-3rd century BCE funerary inscription from Alexandria (Breccia 1911, no. 192; not included in *CPI*) and then later in only a few Byzantine religious texts. The etymology of *μέλλαξ* is uncertain; it was initially hypothesized as a hypochoristic form derived from the verb-first compound *μελλέφηβος* (meaning ‘one who is about to become an ephebe’), which is a similarly rare word (Baunack 1911: 461). Beekes (2010: 927) includes *μέλλαξ* among pre-Greek words. Alternatively, one might wonder whether the word was influenced by Egyptian: this question lies beyond the scope of this paper, but it merits further analysis.

The second term is *βασίλισσα* (‘queen’). This term occurs frequently in Egyptian koine, replacing the Classical *βασίλεια* (an evolution witnessed by its persistence into Modern Greek), and is most frequently attested in inscriptions from Egypt, Nubia, and Cyrenaica. As ancient Greek lexicography attests, *βασίλισσα* is not unknown to Classical literature: it was used by both the Syracusan playwright Epicharmus and by the Attic playwright Alcaeus Comicus (both 5th century BCE). However, its frequent occurrence in koine Greek as a title for ‘Asian’ kings explains why the strictly purist 2nd-century CE lexicographer Phrynichus condemns the term (*Ecloga* 197; see also § 4). It was the opinion of Phrynichus that Epicharmus, Alcaeus Comicus, or even late-Attic authors such as Xenophon—who also uses *βασίλισσα*—were insufficiently robust models to support the admissibility of the word.

In spite of their differences—*μέλλαξ* is rare and of obscure origin, while *βασίλισσα* is a clear derivation that becomes common in Greek—both terms were objects of interest for ancient lexicographers, who afforded great attention to the lexical developments of post-Classical Greek. Ancient testimonies are crucial in understanding how research on ‘Alexandrian Greek’ has progressed and developed (see the succinct overviews in Fraser 1972: vol. 1, 64, with Fraser 1972: vol. 2, n. 197; Fournet 2009: 4–5; Torallas Tovar 2021: 153–157). Fournet’s (2009) recent study of ‘Alexandrian Greek’ omits any discussion of inscriptions, and devotes only a single page to papyri (Fournet 2009: 6). Aside from a brief sketch of phonology and morphology (Fournet 2009: 13–17), most of Fournet’s analysis focuses on vocabulary—particularly on terms for objects, plants, fish, and food that were discussed in ancient sources (Fournet 2009: 19–67). It is plausible that many of these words were actually in use in Alexandria and its environs (and arguably beyond it), even if, being single lexemes and attested in sources that are chronologically distant from one another, they do not allow us to reconstruct a unified image of the Alexandrian variety.

However, several erudite sources do prove valuable for the linguist as they preserve the views that the ancients themselves had of ‘Alexandrian Greek’ as a linguistic category. This notion conceals a problem that was profoundly recog-

nized among ancient scholars. Speaking ‘good Greek’ (*hellēnizein*) served as a marker of identity and social standing; modelled as it was on Classical literature, it could not be represented by the koine as a whole. Paradoxically, while Alexandria and her cultural institutions contributed to shaping the canons of Greek *paideia* (‘culture, education’), by virtue of the fact that it did not belong within the geographical and chronological confines of Classical Greece, ‘Alexandrian Greek’ was not regarded as a model for aspiring masters of good speech (see Thumb 1901: 170–174). Rather, the categorization of ‘Alexandrian Greek’ was used to indicate unapproved usage.

4 ‘Alexandrian Greek’ in the Erudite Sources: A Scholarly Artefact and What Lies behind It

Thirteen passages in the writings of ancient grammarians and lexicographers discuss forms that qualify as ‘Alexandrian Greek’.¹² Unlike the other ancient sources, which are solely antiquarian in interest (see above), these passages focus on real linguistic issues, ranging from phonology to morphology and semantics. Despite the broad chronological distribution of sources, which ranges from the 2nd century CE (although the ultimate origin of some doctrines is significantly earlier) to the latest phases of the Byzantine Millennium, they all depend—to varying degrees—on scholarly materials and doctrines that may be traced back to the cultural milieu of early Imperial times, particularly the 2nd and 3rd centuries CE.¹³ This allows us to examine these sources as a self-contained group, owing to the consistency of the terminology used. Because of spatial limitations, it will not be possible to discuss all thirteen passages and the numerous issues arising from their analysis in this paper. We offer instead a general treatment of a representative selection of these forms to situate the notion of ‘Alexandrian Greek’ within the context of the sociolinguistic terminology of Ancient Greek. We shall also refrain from any investigation of how the notion of ‘Alexandrian Greek’ developed (however, important observations are available in Thumb 1901: 171).

Scholars generally agree that when the ancient sources qualify a form as ‘Alexandrian Greek’, they are actually referring to koine Greek more generally

12 Torallas Tovar (2021, 155–157) deals with further lexicographical passages that refer to ‘Egyptian Greek’.

13 The earliest interest in ‘Alexandrian Greek’ may be traced back to Hellenistic philology (see Ascheri 2010).

and not the local variety spoken in Alexandria (see Fournet 2009: 17). The following example, an entry from the late 2nd-century Atticist lexicon known as the *Antiatticist*, illustrates this point:¹⁴

Alexandrian Greeks say ἐλέγασαν ('they said'), ἐγράφασαν ('they wrote'), and the like. (So does also) Lycophron in (his poem) *Alexandra* (line 21): 'The sailors were releasing (the cables) and loosing (ἐσχάζοσαν) (the starting-machines) away from the land' (*Antiatticist* ε 1 Valente).

The *Antiatticist* attempted to mount a programmatic defence of the admissibility of several post-Classical features in the speech of those who wished to speak correct and elegant Greek. The lexicon's typical argumentative strategy is to find parallels in Classical sources that demonstrate that some linguistic features regarded as post-Classical are, in fact, of considerable antiquity and thus prestigious and not to be summarily rejected. The issue with the above entry is that the indicative imperfect 3rd-person plural forms ἐλέγασαν and ἐγράφασαν have the analogical ending -σαν imported from the sigmatic aorist (see, e.g., ἔλυσαν; the expected forms would have been ἔλεγον and ἔγραφον: in -οσαν of course -ο- is the thematic vowel), a development that is well known from the post-Classical period (Schwyzer 1939: 665–666; Blass & Debrunner 1976: 64 [§ 82]; Gignac 1981: 331–332). The *Antiatticist* illustrates that although forms such as ἐλέγασαν and ἐγράφασαν were criticized as 'Alexandrian Greek', they actually had a 'nobler' pedigree, as evidenced by the Hellenistic poet Lycophron's use of the imperfect ἐσχάζοσαν in place of the expected ἔσχάζον. We know from other erudite sources that Lycophron's use of this ending was regarded as a feature of his (allegedly) native Ionic dialect (of the Chalcidian variety). This implies that the analogical ending is not a recent development; rather, it is ancient, prestigious, and therefore worthy of later imitation (on these other sources and the conceptual framework, which may certainly be traced back to the Hellenistic philologist Aristophanes of Byzantium, see Slater 1986 *ad* Aristophanes of Byzantium fr. 19A–D).

14 The *Antiatticist*, like Phrynichus' *Ecloga* (see below), is one of the ancient Atticist lexica, only some of which are (more or less) completely preserved. Atticist lexica are typically products of the rhetorical education of the 1st and 2nd centuries CE. They played an important part in establishing the archaizing taste which identified Attic literature of the 5th and 4th centuries BCE as the gold standard of correct Greek. Therefore, the principal aim of these lexica was to provide those who aspired to speak and write in an elegant and polished fashion with a selection of forms and expressions taken from the most illustrious writers of Classical Athens.

Given that the analogical ending $-(\omicron)\sigma\alpha\nu$ is abundant in koine texts that originated outside Alexandria, previous scholarship concluded that a form's qualification as an element of 'Alexandrian Greek' essentially denoted that it was a koine form in opposition to Classical Attic (see Fournet 2009: 15 and 17). This conclusion is certainly sound on a general level, but it warrants further refinement. First, it is unclear why only thirteen sources would label some koine forms as 'Alexandrian Greek', rather than adopting the more common designations, such as $\sigma\nu\nu\eta\theta\epsilon\iota\alpha$ ('the habit'), $\chi\rho\eta\sigma\iota\varsigma$ ('the usage'), 'Ἐλληνικόν' ('[common, standard, accustomed] Greek'), and $\tau\omicron$ κοινόν ('common [Greek]'). Moreover, although it is true that forms qualified as 'Alexandrian Greek' may be koine forms in opposition to Classical Attic, it is worth noting that in several sources, 'Alexandrian Greek' forms are also explicitly contrasted with their equivalents in the high koine (the standard post-Classical language used by educated Greeks and accepted by ancient grammarians). Indeed, the analogical ending $-(\omicron)\sigma\alpha\nu$, discussed by the *Antiatticist*, is entirely foreign to texts written in high koine, and is confined to documentary sources and to literary texts written in a lower form of koine. These include the Septuagint and the New Testament (see the discussion in § 2 and the bibliography quoted there). Therefore, the qualification of the ending as 'Alexandrian Greek' must indicate that it belongs to the category of low koine.

Evidence in support of this interpretation may be sought in sources that correlate 'Alexandrian Greek' forms with those in popular usage. The most important of these is a grammatical doctrine that may ultimately be traced back to Herodian, the 2nd-century CE grammarian, but that is preserved in the Byzantine grammatical and lexicographical compilations known as *Etymologica* (see Dickey 2007: 91–92):

$\acute{\alpha}\nu\eta\gamma\kappa\alpha\kappa\alpha$ ('I have forced'): One must know that (this form) is barbaric (and is) not found in use among the Greeks ($\pi\alpha\rho'$ Ἐλλησιν ἐν χρήσει), as Herodian says. In fact, it is only found in the popular usage of the Alexandrians ($\mu\acute{o}\nu\eta$ γὰρ τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων δημῶδει $\sigma\nu\nu\eta\theta\epsilon\iota\alpha$ εὕρεται) (*Etymologicum Genuinum* α 868 Lasserre–Livadaras, see also *Etymologicum Symeonis* α 1027 Lasserre–Livadaras and *Etymologicum Magnum* α 1376 Lasserre–Livadaras).

The term discussed here is the perfect form $\acute{\alpha}\nu\eta\gamma\kappa\alpha\kappa\alpha$, from $\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\gamma\kappa\acute{\alpha}\zeta\omega$ ('to force'). The regular perfect of $\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\gamma\kappa\acute{\alpha}\zeta\omega$ is $\eta\nu\acute{\alpha}\gamma\kappa\alpha\kappa\alpha$, whereas $\acute{\alpha}\nu\eta\gamma\kappa\alpha\kappa\alpha$ is the result of a false segmentation. Although $\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\gamma\kappa\acute{\alpha}\zeta\omega$ is a simple verb, it was erroneously interpreted at some point as a prefixed verb (i.e., $\acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{\alpha}$ + $\ast\ast\acute{\alpha}\gamma\kappa\acute{\alpha}\zeta\omega$), which led to the creation of a secondary perfect form $\acute{\alpha}\nu\eta\gamma\kappa\alpha\kappa\alpha$. The innov-

ative ἀνήγκαα is attested exclusively in Egyptian documentary papyri (see Mandilaras 1973: § 268; Gignac 1981, 252–253).

On the one hand, this confirms that the ‘Alexandrian Greek’ form ἀνήγκαα was a feature of low-register Greek. All papyri in which it occurs are characterized by a linguistic informality, and so ἀνήγκαα must count as an element of everyday koine. We should add that no single occurrence of ἀνήγκαα is found in Greek literary texts, nor does the form appear in documentary texts of a more formal nature and content, such as official inscriptions written in high koine. On the other hand, ἀνήγκαα appears only in Egypt because this is (almost) the only area of the ancient world in which documentary papyri have been found. Therefore, we should not be too hasty in our inference that this corresponds to Herodian’s ascription of ἀνήγκαα to the ‘popular usage of the Alexandrians’, as though this were a diatopic indication—namely, that ἀνήγκαα belonged to the local variety of Greek.

Herodian’s assertion that ἀνήγκαα was ‘barbaric’ and not in use among the Greeks but rather belonged to the popular usage of the Alexandrians requires some clarification insofar as the terminology is concerned. The qualification ‘barbaric’ clearly indicates that ἀνήγκαα is a feature of the low language, but not necessarily that it was confined to speakers of Greek as a second language. More importantly, it does not necessarily follow, based on the mention of the ‘Greeks’ (Ἕλληνες), that native hellenophones would not use this form; rather, the category Ἕλληνες indicates the high koine used by all Greeks in formal texts and speech—the kind of language that ancient grammarians sought to define as the standard (see Swain 1996: 51–52). In light of these clarifications, Herodian’s final remark that ἀνήγκαα was in popular use only among the Alexandrians strengthens the hypothesis that this form is part of the lower diatopic registers of the koine as a whole (i.e., in opposition to the language of the Ἕλληνες and not only to Egyptian Greek). Therefore, the category of ‘Alexandrian Greek’ must surely represent the substandard variety of the koine (see Cassio 1998: 995 n. 22; Ascheri 2010: 142).

Herodian’s passage provides the crucial confirmation that the notion of ‘Alexandrian Greek’, while certainly belonging within the broader category of koine Greek, specifically applies only to select levels of the koine—those that are lower and less formal. This interpretation is corroborated by the comparison of evaluative statements provided by different sources. A particularly relevant example comes from the rich ancient discussion of βατάνιον (‘dish’):

βατάνια: (Meaning) ‘dishes’, as the Alexandrians (say). (This form is already used by) <Alexis (fr. 24.3, 178.9, 178.18 K.–A.)> and Antiphanes in *The Wedding* (fr. 71.1 K.–A.) (*Antiatticist* β 7 Valente).

(Among the names of kitchen utensils are) *πατάνη* and *πατάνιον*, which is a small flat dish [...]. They say that *βατάνιον*, a form which belongs to the usage of the laymen (*ἰδιῶται*), (occurs) in the *Pannychides* of Hipparchus (fr. 5 K.–A.) (Pollux, *Onomasticon* 10.107–108 Bethe).

Several erudite sources exemplify the interest of ancient scholarship in this word (see also Athenaeus, *Deipnosophists* 4.169d–f; Hesychius β 318 Latte–Cunningham; Hesychius π 1095 Latte–Cunningham; Photius β 93 Theodoridis). The issue concerns the coexistence of two competing phonetic variants in post-Classical Greek: *πατάνιον* and *βατάνιον*. Most (but not all) ancient scholars held that *πατάνιον* was the correct form, while *βατάνιον* was variously criticized as a late borrowing from Sicilian Greek. Some modern scholars are inclined to agree with the view that *βατάνιον* is a later and possibly vernacular variant of the word (see further Arnott 1996: 117–118), while others explain this oscillation as a reflection of its pre-Greek origin (see Beekes 2010: 1157).

In this context, the *Antiatticist* sought to contest the view that *βατάνιον* ought to be dismissed as ‘Alexandrian Greek’. In support of this argument, the lexicon cites evidence from two famous 4th-century BCE Attic comic poets, Alexis (whose name is restored by the editors) and Antiphanes, who used *βατάνιον* rather than *πατάνιον*. In line with the customary strategy of the *Antiatticist* (see the above discussion of the analogical ending *-(ο)σαν*), these comparisons prove that both forms are ‘good’ Greek and that *βατάνιον* should not be dismissed. The passage in Pollux offers an intriguing parallel to the mention of ‘Alexandrian Greek’ in the entry in the *Antiatticist*. Pollux is aware that *βατάνιον* is occasionally used in Attic comedy, and mentions its occurrence in a comedy by yet another 4th-century BCE comic poet, Hipparchus. He also adds the important remark that *βατάνιον* was regarded as a form that belonged to the usage of the *ἰδιῶται* (‘unskilled people, laymen, common men’). These constitute a sociolinguistic category that is invoked in lexicographical discourse to represent colloquial or vernacular usage (Matthaios 2013: 107 provides ample documentation for the use of this terminology in Pollux). This parallel strongly reinforces the conclusion that the notion of ‘Alexandrian Greek’ indicates a low, non-literary koine.

As noted above in relation to *ἀνήγκακα*, ‘Alexandrian’ forms were condemned not only by purists, who attempted an archaistic operation, seeking to imitate and revive the type of Greek that had been spoken in Classical Athens, but also by grammarians such as Herodian, who aimed to define the grammatically correct and more stylistically formal koine Greek. As further evidence of this, we cite a passage of Sextus Empiricus’ *Against the Grammarians*, wherein

the sceptic philosopher criticizes attempts to find a rationale for the division of grammatically correct and incorrect Greek:

So it has just been deduced from the consequences of the grammarians' own argument that analogy is superfluous, while the observation of common usage is most useful (εὐχρηστειν δὲ τὴν τῆς συνηθείας παρατήρησιν). [...] For they (i.e. the grammarians) define barbarism and solecism by saying that 'barbarism is a mistake against accustomed usage (παρὰ τὴν κοινὴν συνήθειαν) in a single word', and 'solecism is an unaccustomed (ἀσυνήθης) and incongruent mistake in the whole construction'. Against these arguments we can immediately say: but if barbarism occurs in a single word and solecism in the combination of words, and it has been shown earlier that neither a single word nor a combination of words exists, then neither barbarism nor solecism exists. Again, if barbarism is conceived in one word and solecism in a combination of words, but not in the states of affairs underlying these words, then what error have I committed in saying 'he' (οὗτος) while pointing at a woman, or 'she' while indicating a young man? I have not committed a solecism, since I have not uttered a combination of a number of words which do not fit together, but merely the single word 'he' or 'she'. Nor have I committed a barbarism, for the word 'he' (οὗτος) is at all unusual (οὐδὲν γὰρ ἀσυνήθης εἶχεν), unlike the forms ἐλήλυθαν and ἀπελήλυθαν used by the Alexandrians. (Sextus Empiricus, *Against the Grammarians* 209–213, translation Blank 1996: 42–43 with modifications)

In line with sceptical views, Sextus Empiricus highlights the incongruities inherent in the grammarians' reasoning, and aims to demonstrate that a unified theory of correct language is out of reach. His target in this passage is the concept of *συνήθεια*—that is, the accustomed use that coincides with the standard, high koine (see Versteegh 1987: 261). Sextus Empiricus argues against the existence of the concept of 'barbarism', which was defined by grammarians as a mistake in a single word. Sextus Empiricus adopts the argument that the use of a masculine demonstrative pronoun to indicate a woman is obviously incorrect, but that the demonstrative pronoun is not grammatically incorrect *per se*—that is, it does not qualify as barbarism according to the criteria specified by ancient grammarians because it does not violate any norm of correct Greek.

By way of comparison, Sextus Empiricus mentions 'Alexandrian' forms, such as ἐλήλυθαν and ἀπελήλυθαν. These are indicative perfect 3rd-person plural forms which have the analogical ending -αν in place of the expected -ασ(ν); like the ending -(ο)σαν in the imperfect discussed above, these forms were also

created under the influence of the sigmatic aorist (e.g., ἔλυσαν). The use of this analogical ending is a low-koine feature (see Schwyzer 1939: 666; Gignac 1981: 354–355). The only uses of ἐλήλυθαν and its compounds in ancient literary texts are found in a passage from the hexametrical Sibylline Oracles (1.212), in which the analogical ending is a metrically useful variant of the regular ending normally adopted elsewhere, and a passage from the New Testament (*Epistle of James* 5.4), in which it represents a slip into the vernacular language (see Dibelius 1975: 36). Perfect endings of this type occasionally re-emerge in Byzantine literary sources, but even though the perfect ἐλήλυθα is still a relatively high-frequency form, ἐλήλυθαν and its compounds appear a mere four times in total. At this later stage too, ἐλήλυθαν continues to represent an element of the low language that was not normally permitted into the high language during the Byzantine era.¹⁵

Sextus Empiricus' implication in mentioning ἐλήλυθαν and ἀπελήλυθαν in this context is that while these two forms are grammatically incorrect, οὗτος is most certainly not, even when it is used in the wrong pragmatic context. Sextus Empiricus is correct in citing ἐλήλυθαν and ἀπελήλυθαν as examples of barbarism, given that this type of analogical perfect attracted the criticism of ancient grammarians, who described it as such (see Polybius *De barbarismo et soloecismo* 1 Sandri: '[the barbarism may consist] in the lack [of a syllable], as if one said [...] γέγραφαν and πεποιήκαν instead of γεγράφασι and πεποιήκασι'). Reflection on the terminology adopted by Sextus Empiricus throughout this passage reveals that the notion of correctness exemplified by the συνήθεια is here opposed to ἐλήλυθαν and ἀπελήλυθαν. This observation is relevant to our discussion here: as in the case of ἀνήγκαα, forms that are qualified as 'Alexandrian Greek' are not simply koine forms, but, more specifically, are koine forms that do not belong to the standard high-level koine; rather, they are confined to the lower registers.

5 Conclusion

Defining the features of the Greek spoken in Alexandria based on the extant direct sources remains difficult. As a goal, the identification of any kind of 'Alexandrian Greek' as a diatopic variety is less unattainable as it is ill-defined. This negative conclusion is plausible in light of Alexandria's highly varied and

¹⁵ The analogical ending of the perfect also appears occasionally in medieval vernacular texts, in which the perfect is, however, moribund (see *CGMEMG*: 1766).

dynamic society, in which multiple influences co-existed—influences exerted not only by the dialects spoken by the Greek colonists, but also by the various other languages that were spoken in Graeco-Roman Egypt over the course of several centuries. Although the direct evidence remains unsatisfactory, the contribution of ancient erudition is forcefully brought to light. Ancient literary and para-literary sources collect a host of forms that they claim were used in ‘Alexandrian Greek’. Although the majority of these forms are of little or no linguistic interest, a restricted group of thirteen sources warrants closer examination. What this select group of sources refers to when they ascribe a given form to ‘Alexandrian Greek’ is not so much a diatopic variety, such as the Greek spoken in Alexandria, but, rather, a notion of ‘Alexandrian Greek’ to qualify the lower registers of the post-Classical koine as antithetical to both Classical Attic and the high-level koine that was used in literary texts and that represented the linguistic standard of the educated Greeks. This allows us to reflect not only on another important fragmentary variety of Greek—the colloquial and informal language used in everyday conversation and for informal writing—but also on its metalinguistic perception. It is also likely that, in Imperial times, low-register forms were also associated with ‘Alexandrian Greek’ because Alexandria represented the archetype of the Hellenistic metropolis as open, multi-cultural, and multilingual, and thriving both economically and socially. On the one hand, ‘Alexandrian Greek’ is opposed to the idea of linguistic purity, which is connected to the idea that language must be immutable and untouched by external influences; in Greek culture, this idea is typical of the Imperial attempts to revive Classical Attic. On the other hand, ‘Alexandrian Greek’ is also opposed to the idea of linguistic correctness embodied by the standard language—the literary koine used by the educated Greeks—which the ancient grammarians sought to define (see Swain 1996: 20).

Despite some obvious differences, we may cite as a modern comparison the many Italian words, idioms, and colourful—often vulgar—expressions of everyday speech that are presented as examples of the Roman vernacular, as evidenced by the language used in newspapers and other media.¹⁶ These are typically introduced with the formulaic phrase ‘as they say in Rome’. The Italian linguist Pietro Trifone investigated the extent to which the use of this formula reflects the actual linguistic reality (Trifone 2013). Trifone demonstrated that virtually all expressions introduced by this formula are simply colloquialisms not specifically associated with the variety of the Italian language spoken in

16 One may think of words such as *darsi* (literally ‘to give oneself’, meaning ‘to sneak away’) and *impunito* (literally ‘unpunished’, to indicate a rascal).

Rome or with any other local variety. Rather, these expressions are characterized by their ironic, sarcastic, or sneering tone and, more generally, by their tendency towards impolite expression. As such, they are perceived as reflecting the national stereotype of the modern Roman character and the clichés with which it is associated. Trifone concludes that one should take the expression ‘as they say in Rome’ not as the indication of a perceived diatopic variety of Italian, but rather as a reflection of Rome’s symbolic place in the national imagination. The widespread use of ‘as they say in Rome’ in modern Italian shares several key similarities with the way in which some ancient Greek sources employ the notion of ‘Alexandrian Greek’ in reference to elements of the Greek low koine.

References

- Arnott, W. Geoffrey. 1996. *Alexis: The Fragments. A Commentary*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Ascheri, Paola. 2010. Demetrio Issione “dialettologo”: l’attico e il dialetto degli Alessandrini. Aner polytropos: *Ricerche di filologia greca antica offerte dagli allievi a Franco Montanari*, ed. by Fausto Montana, 125–152. Roma: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura.
- Baralay, Supatrik. 2020. Hellenistic Sacred Dedications: The View from Egypt. *The Epigraphy of Ptolemaic Egypt*, ed. by Alan Bowman & Charles Crowther, 114–126. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Baunack, Johannes. 1911. XIII. Hesychiana. *Philologus* 70: 353–396.
- Beekes, Robert. 2010. *Etymological Dictionary of Greek*. Leiden/Boston: Brill.
- Bentein, Klaas. 2013. Register and the Diachrony of Post-classical and Early Byzantine Greek. *Revue belge de Philologie et d’Histoire* 91(1): 5–44.
- Bentein, Klaas & Mark Janse. 2021. Varieties of Post-classical and Byzantine Greek: Novel Questions and Approaches. *Varieties of Post-classical and Byzantine Greek*, ed. by Klaas Bentein & Mark Janse, 1–14. Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter Mouton.
- Bentein, Klaas. 2019. Dimensions of Social Meaning in Post-classical Greek: Towards an Integrated Approach. *Journal of Greek Linguistics* 19(2): 119–167.
- Bernand, Étienne. 2001. *Inscriptions grecques d’Alexandrie Ptolémaïque*. Le Caire: Institut français d’archéologie orientale.
- Blank, David L. 1996. *Sextus Empiricus: Against the grammarians (Adversus mathematicos I)*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Blass, Friedrich & Albert Debrunner. 1976. *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch*. Revised ed. by F. Rehkopf. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Bowman, Alan & Charles Crowther. 2020. Introduction: The Epigraphy of Ptolemaic Egypt. *The Epigraphy of Ptolemaic Egypt*, ed. by Alan Bowman & Charles Crowther, 1–8. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Breccia, Evaristo. 1911. Iscrizioni greche e latine. *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée d'Alexandrie*. Le Caire: Institut français d'archéologie orientale.
- Brixhe, Claude (ed.). 1993. *La Koiné grecque antique I. Une langue introuvable?*. Nancy: Presses universitaires de Nancy.
- Brixhe, Claude (ed.). 1996. *La Koiné grecque antique II. La concurrence*. Nancy: A.D.R.A.
- Brixhe, Claude (ed.). 2001. *La Koiné grecque antique IV. Les koiné littéraires*. Nancy/Paris: De Boccard.
- Bubenik, Vic. 1989. *Hellenistic and Roman Greece as a Sociolinguistic Area*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Bubenik, Vic. 1993. Dialect Contact and Koineization: The case of Hellenistic Greek. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 99: 9–23.
- Cassio, Albio Cesare. 1998. La lingua greca come lingua universale. *I Greci: Storia, Cultura, Arte, Società. 2. Una storia greca. III. Trasformazioni*, ed. by Salvatore Settis, 991–1013. Torino: Einaudi.
- CGMEMG = Holton, David, Geoffrey Horrocks, Marjolijne Janssen, Tina Lendari, Io Manolossou & Notis Toufexis. 2019. *The Cambridge Grammar of Medieval and Early Modern Greek*. 4 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Consani, Carlo. 1991. *Διάλεκτος: Contributo alla storia del concetto di dialetto*. Pisa: Giardini.
- Consani, Carlo. 1998. Continuità e discontinuità nel greco post-classico. *Continuità e discontinuità nella storia del greco. Atti del Convegno della Società Italiana di Glottologia: Palermo 24–26 ottobre 1994*, ed. by Lucio Melazzo, 95–113. Pisa/Rome: Istituti editoriali e poligrafici internazionali.
- CPI = 2021. *Corpus of Ptolemaic Inscriptions*. Vol. 1.1: *Alexandria and the Delta (nos. 1–206)*, ed. by Alan K. Bowman, Charles W. Crowther, Simon Hornblower, Rachel Mairs & Kyriakos Savvopoulos. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Crespo, Emilio. 2006. The Language Policy of the Athenian State in the Fifth Century B.C. *Incontri linguistici* 29: 91–101.
- Crespo, Emilio. 2010. The Significance of Attic for the Continued Evolution of Greek. *Greek: A Language in Evolution. Essays in Honour of Antonios N. Jannaris*, ed. by Chrys C. Caragounis, 119–136. Hildesheim: Olms.
- Dahlgren, Sonja. 2016. Towards a definition of an Egyptian Greek Variety. *Papers in Historical Phonology* 1: 90–108.
- Dahlgren, Sonja. 2017. *Outcome of Long-term Language Contact: Transfer of Egyptian Phonological Features onto Greek in Graeco-Roman Egypt*. PhD dissertation, University of Helsinki.
- Dibelius, Martin. 1975. *James: A Commentary on the Epistle of James*. Revised by Heinrich Greeven, translated by Michael A. Williams, ed. by Helmut Koester. Philadelphia: Fortress Press.
- Dickey, Eleanor. 2007. *Ancient Greek Scholarship: A Guide to Finding, Reading, and*

- Understanding Scholia, Commentaries, Lexica, and Grammatical Treatises, from Their Beginnings to the Byzantine Period.* London/New York: Oxford University Press.
- Dover, Kenneth J. 1971. *Theocritus: Select Poems.* London: Macmillan.
- Fewster, Penelope. 2002. Bilingualism in Roman Egypt. *Bilingualism in Ancient Society: Language Contact and the Written Text*, ed. by James N. Adams, Mark Janse & Simon Swain, 220–245. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Fraser, Peter M. 1972. *Ptolemaic Alexandria.* 3 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Fournet, Jean-Luc. 2009. *Alexandrie: Una communauté linguistique? Ou la question du grec alexandrin.* Le Caire: Institut français d'archéologie orientale.
- García Ramón, José Luís. 2020. Change in Grammatical and Lexical Structures in Post-classical Greek: Local Dialects and Supradialectal Tendencies. *Postclassical Greek: Contemporary Approaches to Philology and Linguistics*, ed. by Dariya Rafiyenko & Ilja A. Seržant, 303–336. Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter.
- Gignac, Francis T. 1976–1981. *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods.* 2 vols. Milano: Cisalpino—La Goliardica.
- Hinge, George. 2009. Language and Race: Theocritus and the Koine Identity of Ptolemaic Egypt. *Alexandria: A Cultural and Religious Melting Pot*, ed. by George Hinge & Jens A. Krasilnikoff, 66–79. Aarhus: Aarhus University Press.
- Hinge, George & Jens A. Krasilnikoff (eds.). 2009. *Alexandria: A Cultural and Religious Melting Pot.* Aarhus: Aarhus University Press.
- Hodot, René (ed.). 2004. *La Koiné grecque antique v. Alternances codiques et changements de code.* Paris: De Boccard.
- Horrocks, Geoffrey. 2010. *Greek: A History of the Language and Its Speakers.* 2nd ed. Chichester: Blackwell.
- Krasilnikoff, Jens A. 2009. Alexandria as Place: Tempo-Spatial Traits of Royal Ideology in Early Ptolemaic Egypt. *Alexandria: A Cultural and Religious Melting Pot*, ed. by George Hinge & Jens A. Krasilnikoff, 21–40. Aarhus: Aarhus University Press.
- Leiwo, Martti. 2021. Tracking down Lects in Roman Egypt. *Varieties of Post-classical and Byzantine Greek*, ed. by Klaas Bentein & Mark Janse, 17–37. Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter Mouton.
- López Eire, Antonio. 1993. De l'attique à la koiné. *La koiné grecque antique 1. Une langue introuvable?*, ed. by Claude Brixhe, 41–57. Nancy: Presses universitaires de Nancy.
- Magnien, Victor. 1920. Le Syracusain littéraire et l'idylle xv de Théocrite. *MSL* 21: 49–138.
- Mandilaras, Basil G. 1973. *The Verb in the Greek Non-Literary Papyri.* Athens: Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Science.
- Mayser, Edwin & Hans Schmoll. 1970. *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit: mit Einschluss der gleichzeitigen Ostraka und der in Ägypten verfassten Inschriften.* 6 vols. Berlin/Leipzig: De Gruyter.
- Matthaios, Stephanos. 2013. Pollux' Onomastikon im Kontext der attizistischen Lexiko-

- graphie. Gruppen «anonymer Sprecher» und ihre Stellung in der Sprachgeschichte und Stilistik. *L'Onomasticon de Pollux. Aspects culturels, rhétoriques et lexicographiques*, ed. by Christine Mauduit, 67–140. Paris: De Boccard.
- Ruijgh, Cornelis J. 1984. Le dorien de Théocrite: dialecte cyrénien d'Alexandrie et d'Égypte. *Mnemosyne* 37: 56–88.
- Schwyzler, Eduard 1939. *Griechische Grammatik. Erster Band. Allgemeiner Teil. Lautlehre. Wortbildung. Flexion*. München: Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung.
- Slater, William J. 1986. *Aristophanis Byzantii Fragmenta*. Berlin/New York: De Gruyter.
- Swain, Simon. 1996. *Hellenism and Empire. Language, Classicism, and Power in the Greek World, AD 50–250*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Telmon, Tullio. 1990. *Guida allo studio degli italiani regionali*. Alessandria: Edizioni dell'Orso.
- Teodorsson, Sven-Tage. 1977. *The Phonology of Ptolemaic Koine*. Göteborg: Acta Universitatis Gothoburgensis.
- Thumb, Albert. 1901. *Die griechische Sprache im Zeitalter des Hellenismus: Beiträge zur Geschichte und Beurteilung der κοινή*. Strassburg: Trübner.
- Thumb, Albert. 1906. Prinzipienfragen der Koine-Forschung. *Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum* 17: 246–263.
- Torallas Tovar, Sofía. 2004. The context of Loanwords in Egyptian Greek. *Lenguas en contacto: El testimonio escrito*, ed. by Pedro Bádenas, Sofía Torallas Tovar, Eugenio R. Luján & M. Ángeles Gallego, 57–67. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas.
- Torallas Tovar, Sofía. 2010. Greek in Egypt. *A Companion to the Ancient Greek Language*, ed. by Egbert J. Bakker, 253–266. Malden/Oxford/Chichester: Wiley Blackwell.
- Torallas Tovar, Sofía. 2017. The Reverse Case: Egyptian Borrowing in Greek. *Greek Influence on Egyptian Coptic: Contact-induced Change in an Ancient African Language*, ed. by Pedro Dils, Eitan Grossman, Tonio Sebastian Richter & Wolfgang Schenkel, 97–113. Hamburg: Widmaier.
- Torallas Tovar, Sofía. 2021. In Search of an Egyptian Greek Lexicon in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt. *Varieties of Post-classical and Byzantine Greek*, ed. by Klaas Bentein & Mark Janse, 141–162. Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter Mouton.
- Trifone, Pietro. 2013. Come si dice a Roma. *Il linguaggio formulare in italiano tra sintassi, testualità e discorso*, ed. by Claudio Giovanardi & Elisa De Roberto, 75–82. Napoli: Loffredo Editore.
- Versteegh, Kees. 1987. Latinitas, Hellenismos, 'Arabiyya. *The History of Linguistics in the Classical Period*, ed. by Daniel J. Taylor, 251–274. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Willi, Andreas 2012. 'We Speak Peloponnesian': Tradition and Linguistic Identity in Post-Classical Sicilian Literature. *Language and Linguistic Contact in Ancient Sicily*, ed. by Olga Tribulato, 265–288. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

The Fragmentarily Attested Languages of Pre-Roman Italy: Interpreting, Reconstructing, Classifying

Anna Marinetti and Patrizia Solinas

1 Foreword¹

The reference framework for fragmentarily attested languages dates back to the last two decades of the previous century; Jürgen Untermann² is credited with the classification of ‘dead’ languages documented from a written corpus, distinguished according to the different characteristics of their corpus:

- ‘Corpussprachen’: languages with an organic grammatical structure, based on a more or less extensive corpus (‘Grosscorpussprachen’, e.g. Sanskrit, Greek, Latin; ‘Kleincorpussprachen’: e.g. Biblical Gothic, Old Prussian);
- ‘Restsprachen’ i.e. ‘Resten von Sprachen’: already regressive languages at the time of their attestation;
- ‘Trümmersprachen’: functioning languages but of a scarce tradition due to an insufficient corpus, subdivided into ‘TS 1’ isolated languages (e.g. Etruscan, Iberian); ‘TS 2’ languages that can be genetically connected to others (e.g. Venetic); ‘TS 3’ languages close to a known linguistic corpus of another phase (e.g. Continental Celtic compared to Irish); and ‘TS 4’, ‘Sprachtrümmer’, the different phase of a language with a corpus (e.g. Crimean Gothic, Ogham).

However, compared to this precise classification, over time the term ‘Restsprachen’ became established—especially in Italy—often covering the category of ‘Trümmersprachen’, with the meaning of ‘fragmentarily attested lan-

1 This contribution is the result of a joint discussion; however, for the purpose of acknowledging individual contributions, it should be noted that sections 1 and 2 are by Anna Marinetti, section 3 is by Patrizia Solinas.

2 Untermann (1980); resumed and revised in Untermann (1983), with further interventions in Untermann (1989). However, the same scholar states that the formulation and initial application of the terms ‘Grosscorpussprachen’ and ‘Kleincorpussprachen’ is due to M. Mayrhofer (1980).

guages'³ (and not, as originally assigned by Untermann, with that of 'residual languages').⁴

The special status of 'Restsprachen', thus has prompted reflection on their theoretical and methodological⁵ framing, as well as the verification of individual, mostly Indo-European,⁶ languages. But operations on 'Restsprachen' are not necessarily associated with Indo-Europeanism, i.e. linked to comparative perspectives; for an RS, the focus is on the nature of its documentation, and thus also 'isolated' languages such as Iberian and Etruscan⁷ are wholly included. Untermann's focus on 'Restsprachen' (here = 'Trümmersprachen') derives from his experience of the pre-Roman languages of Italy and the Iberian Peninsula; and this with good reason, as these are areas that are attested almost exclusively by epigraphic documents.

The languages documented by epigraphy are characterised by a fragmentary corpus, but also by being susceptible to continuous increase, and therefore potentially and de facto expandable owing to new discoveries. The description of these languages is by definition unstable; this means that any result is valid at the moment it is declared, namely in the state corresponding to the corpus—but can hardly be considered definitive, since subject to revision as the corpus itself changes. In rendering such a 'Restsprache', there are more or less high margins of probability: some aspects can be considered acquired, particularly when dealing with phenomena that can be generalised on the basis of external contributions (e.g. phonetic laws by comparison with other languages); for other aspects, the data are so limited that it is usually difficult to have sufficient grounds for probabilistic projections.

We are therefore operating within a constant dialectic between 'notum' and 'novum', in an analogous procedure to the circularity of hermeneutics, i.e. a

3 This definition is also currently used in Italian, alongside 'Restsprachen'. On the other hand, despite Vittore Pisani's authoritative precedent of 1942 (cf. Poccetti 1997: 116 n. 1), the use of 'fragmentary languages' is erroneous in terms of definition: 'fragmentary' does not refer to languages—by definition always complete—but to their attestations.

4 We will continue the custom of using the term 'Restsprachen' in this work to define what are more precisely 'Trümmersprachen'.

5 In particular, see Prosdocimi (1989); also, Untermann (1980; 1983).

6 Reference is generally made to the contributions in the Proceedings of the Conference *Le lingue indoeuropee di frammentaria attestazione* (Vineis ed. 1983); among these in particular Schmidt (1983) for methodology, and Campanile (1983) on the reflections for Indo-European research; thereafter, Poccetti 1997 for the specifics of lexicography. For an up-to-date overview of European RS, both Indo-European and non-Indo-European, see Beltrán Lloris, Díaz Ariño, Estarán Tolosa & Jordán Cólera (eds.) (2020).

7 For an application to Etruscan, see Agostiniani (2003).

situation in which abstractly each 'novum' modifies the 'notum', which, once modified, in turn becomes a reference for the (future) 'novum'.

Given such circumstance, the datum should be considered in its different systemic dimensions:⁸

- 1) The structural linguistic dimension. The new datum is confronted with a framework that is incomplete, not only quantitatively but often also qualitatively, namely it refers to a system that is itself to be reconstructed: finding in a 'Restsprache' an isolated formal ending of instrumental case does not authorise reconstructing a system of cases in which the instrumental is an autonomous case.
- 2) The historical linguistic dimension. The context is not always known to sufficiently place the data in its historical dimension, i.e. at the point intercepted (to simplify) by the intersection of the axes of diachrony, diatopy, diaphasia, etc.; the restitution of the structural level, of the 'grammar' (phonology, morphology, etc.) could therefore be based on non-homogeneous data. As an example, if we took the situation of a 'Restsprache' as a certain number of pieces within a jigsaw puzzle, it should also be considered that it is not a two- but a multi-dimensional puzzle.
- 3) The semantic-cultural dimension. The limits of contextual knowledge can condition the level of interpretation; even when—in the case of languages accessible to comparison, i.e. genetically related to others—etymology can provide a semantic basis, the specific meaning has to be defined in relation to the context and the specific cultural system.

In the case of a 'Restsprache' that is accessible to comparison, even its classification may be subject to verification on acquiring new data; the new datum must deal with a classificatory framework of relations with other languages that has already been pre-constituted on other bases, with different outcomes: the new datum confirms the previous framework, which remains virtually unchanged; or it expands it without substantially modifying it; or it invalidates it to the point of having to modify it; or again, the datum does not bring sufficient evidence and must therefore be left in epoché pending further confirmation/denial.

This is generally true for all the 'Restsprachen', although it is evident that the conditions can vary greatly, again depending on the size of the corpus: for example, even if they can be placed within the same category (Untermann) of 'Restsprachen' ('Ts z' = languages that can be genetically linked to others), the level of ascertained acquisitions will be much higher for 'Restsprachen'-'Ts z'

8 Here, we intend the naive use of the adjective 'systemic', because this allows referring to different interpretative perspectives: the internal system of the language (phonology, morphology etc.) but also the semantic-cultural system in which the data is to be framed.

with a large corpus, such as, for example, Umbrian and Oscan among the Sabellic languages; much lower in the case of ‘Restsprachen’-‘TS 2’ with a (relatively) limited corpus, such as Venetic.

After this brief premise, to exemplify the above we offer here some case studies from two ancient Italian languages of epigraphic tradition, both with a fairly limited corpus of documents, namely Venetic and Celtic of Italy. Venetic⁹ is documented by more than 500 inscriptions from the mid-6th century BCE to the Roman era in north-eastern Italy; from a classification viewpoint—although still the subject of debate—it can be broadly referred to as an Italic group of Indo-European, albeit with a more pronounced proximity to Latin. The Celtic language of Italy¹⁰ is attested by more than 400 inscriptions in a chronological span from the end of the 7th century BCE to the Roman era, with a geographic range that includes mostly north-western Italy; the language undoubtedly fits into the Celtic group, though certain characteristics, at least initially, have made its classification problematic. Both languages are attested through locally elaborated alphabets, hence with the further limitation of access through the filter of alphabets in which values are not always fully definable.

2 Venetic

2.1 *The New Datum as Confirmation of Previous Hypotheses*

In the aforementioned dialectic between ‘notum’ and ‘novum’, the new datum can find a match with reconstructions that have already been hypothesised. As an example, we may take the issue of ancient place names referring to the city of Padua (Italian *Pádova*), treated at length by G.B. Pellegrini,¹¹ summarising, Pellegrini outlines the situation in the following terms. The Latin toponym is *Pătāvium* (as in all sources: literary, epigraphic, etc.), in which the form in *-ium* can have two possible explanations: a) *-ium* as genitive plural of a poleonym (adjective) **Pataves* (‘(civitas) Patavium’) derived in turn from a toponym **Patava* not attested but to be reconstructed; b) continuation of a pre-Roman (= Venetic) toponym also to be reconstructed, **Pataviom* (/ **Patavion*). In the Romance phase, the toponym appears as *Padova*, *Padua*, *Pava*, but none of these can be derived directly from the Latin *Patavium*.

9 Marinetti (2020).

10 Stifter (2020).

11 On several occasions: for all, see Pellegrini (1980).

TABLE 6.1 Derivations of place names referring to the city of Padua as proposed by Pellegrini

[* <i>Pataviom/n</i> Venetic]	* <i>Patava</i> (Venetic? vulgar)	* <i>Patua</i> (vulgar)
↓	↓	↓
<i>Patavium</i> (Latin)	<i>Pava</i> (Paduan)	<i>Padua</i> (a. 952 and later Latin texts)
		↓
		<i>Padova</i> (Venetian and Italian)

Pellegrini therefore states: “it must now be admitted with certainty that it [= the form *Patavium*] has been joined in the spoken language by a **Patava*”¹² and cites in support of this an High German outcome *Bazzoua* (9th–10th century CE), from a **Patava*/**Patova*; it has to be assumed prior to the 6th century CE due to the application of the second Lautverschiebung on the form without lenition (/VtV/ and not the former /VdV/).

To outline, Pellegrini proposes three distinct derivations, positing three reconstructed forms:

Even assuming the existence of an original allomorphy, resorting to three distinct forms seems more of an ad hoc solution than an explanation. I would propose a first simplification possible by reducing to two, removing **Patua*, although *Pádua* and *Pádova* < **Patua* would be supported by comparisons such as *Mantua* > *Mantova*, *Genua* > *Genova*. But for the hypothesized **Patua*, one can think of a derivation from **Pátava* (necessary to explain the Paduan—‘pavano’—*Pava*) with a dissimilation [awa] > [owa] due to the position before a velar vocal: **Pátava* > **Pátova* (consistent with the Old High German *Bazzo-ua*) > *Pádova* and **Pátava* > **Pát(o)va* > **Pátua* > *Pádua*. Alternatively, *Padua* may have been a learned remake in the notarial sphere, precisely on the ‘classic’ model of *Mantua* > *Mantova*, *Genua* > *Genova*.

However, this has little bearing on our interest here, namely the contribution of a new Venetic datum. The documented ‘novum’ comes from two votive Venetic inscriptions from Altino (Venice),¹³ which attest to a poleonym with adjectival formation in *-no-*; both inscriptions are datable with reasonable approximation: ?] *Volties Tursanis patavnos do[nasto ...* (late 6th century BCE); (with integration, therefore uncertain although very probable) *pat]avinovos* [(5th century BCE).

12 “bisogna ormai ammettere con certezza che essa [= la forma *Patavium*] è stata affiancata nel linguaggio parlato da un **Patava*” (Pellegrini 1980: 293).

13 Edition and commentary in Marinetti (2009); see also Marinetti & Prosdocimi (2005: 38–41).

The inscriptions thus reconstruct a toponym that is ascertained in the segment *patav-*; but faced with the two forms *patavno-* and *pat]avino-* the problem arises of the different derivation in *-no-* and in *-ino-*: is this an internal alternation, by phonetics or morphonology, or do the two forms derive from two toponyms with the same root but morphologically distinct?

If the derivation is from two distinct toponyms, these should be *Patava*, from which **patav(a)-no-* > *patavno-*, and *Pataviom/n* from which *patavi(o)-no-* > *pat]avino-*. One should therefore assume an allotropy was already present for the name of Padua in the pre-Roman phase.

On the other hand, if the derivation is from a single base, one must explain *-no-* vs. *-ino-*; a purely phonetic motivation (syncope) is not particularly satisfactory here because *patavnos* is older than *patavinus*; there is in the Venetic language an alternation *-na* ~ *-ina*, which is still not clearly explained, but which concerns feminine nouns; indeed, in the Venetic inscriptions of Altino there is an alternation *-ino-* ~ *-Øno-*, in the allotropes of the theonym *Altino-* ~ *Altno-*:¹⁴ the two forms seem rather to realise diatopic varieties, one from Padova, the other local.¹⁵ In the event that *patavno-* and *pat]avino-* can also be considered two diatopic variants deriving from the same base, the toponym is (Venetic) *Pátava*. From *Pátava* the adjectival derivation *patav(a)-no-* duly leads to *patavno-*, while the form *pat]avino-* may be the result of adaptation along the lines of derivation from bases in *-o-*, **-io-* + *-no-* > **-i(o)-no-* > *-i-no-*. For the Latin *Patavium*, one can maintain the explanation of an original genitive plural of a poleonym, namely assuming that from the same toponym *Pátava* a second poleonym alternative to *patav(i)no-* was produced, i.e. (as formerly done by Pellegrini) a (plural) **pataves*.

Assuming the existence of only the toponym *Patavio-* (**Pataviom/n*) seems instead to pose greater difficulties; it would explain both *pat]avino-* and the Latin toponym *Patavium*, of which it would be the direct predecessor, and for *patavno-* the use of the diatopic variant would remain. But a **Patavio-* cannot justify the Romance forms *Pava* and *Pádova*, so a **Pátava* must be postulated anyway.

In conclusion, the new data from the Venetic confirms the existence of the reconstructed **Patava*; moreover, even without completely excluding an allomorphic variant, it is a cue to trace both the Latin and the Romance forms back to a single original base.

14 Marinetti (2009: 105). On the theonym *Alt(i)no-*, see also below.

15 Padua's relations with Altino between the 6th and 5th centuries are confirmed by numerous data (Marinetti 2009: 111–112).

2.2 *The New Datum and the Identification of Historical Dimensions*

In the Venetic language, phenomena of variation are only observed to a limited extent; the reasons are: the limitations and fragmentary nature of the documentation; the rendering of texts by means of fixed and repetitive formulas, which tend to be preserved over time; the difficulty or impossibility, in many cases, of dating the finds. A phenomenon of diachronic phonetic change can, for example, be derived from the alphabet: the absence of the sign for *h* after the 5th/early 4th century seems to indicate the loss of the spirant (*Hosti-/Osti-*); other observable phonetic changes are syncope with (eventual) assimilation (*Ebfa/Effa/Efa*, with *eb(V)f-* > *eff-* > *ef-*; *Uposedioi/VPSEDIA/VSEDICA*, with *upos-* > *ups-* > *us-/us-*), and little else. The issue is sometimes complicated by the fact that diachronic variation is intertwined with geographic variation. In some cases the distribution on a geographic basis seems clear: central Veneto and eastern-northern Veneto are distinguished by the different formant of the appositive in the onomastic formula (*-io- ~ -ko-*), by formular choices such as the selection of the verb or formulae in votive inscriptions (*toler* is exclusive to the Alpine area; *Este op voltio leno ~ Lagole per volterkon vontar*). In other cases, the explanation by geographic area is not enough: the final nasal *-m* of northern Veneto (Alpine area) versus *-n* of central Veneto (Este, Padua, etc.) was traditionally ascribed to a phenomenon of local interference with other languages (Celtic? Latin?),¹⁶ but now the presence of *-m* in a 5th century BCE¹⁷ Padua inscription compels us to consider the diachronic component of the phenomenon as well.

A significant case of the difficulty of attributing variation to a parameter (diachrony, diatopy, diastraty) is the inscription from Isola Vicentina (Vicenza),¹⁸ a locality close to the western border of Veneto territory. The inscription is on a stone block, which cannot be dated; the finding is sporadic, lacking a context that would furnish information on the inscription's function (religious? public? funerary? etc.). The text, in transliteration,¹⁹ is *iats venetkens osts ke enogenes laions +meufasto*.

Relevant here is not so much the content of the text²⁰ as the last sequence left undivided, *+meufasto*; the ending in *-to* indicates a 3rd pers. sing. preterite

16 Lejeune (1951).

17 Gambacurta & Marinetti (2019).

18 Marinetti (1999).

19 The diplomatic transcription is *iat.s.vene.t.k/e.n.s.o.st.s.ke.e.no/χenes.laions./me.u.vhas-to*; the transliteration assigns the (presumed) phonetic values and the possible division of the *scriptio continua*.

20 The text consists, for the part preceding *+meufasto*, of two onomastic formulas in the nominative, co-ordinated by *ke*, attributable, however, to a single individual because of the emerging of the singular ending of the verb; for interpretation see Marinetti (1999).

of the verb **d^hh₁-k* ‘to do’; possible divisions are *meu fasto*, or *me ufasto*, in this case a compound with a preverb. In Venetic, the verb ‘to do’ is attested, again in the 3rd person singular preterite, as *fagsto*, literally ‘did’, in Paduan inscriptions from sanctuaries, in which ‘to do’ has the votive value of ‘to offer, to dedicate’;²¹ the 1st person pronoun *mego* ‘me’ is also widely known in votive inscriptions from Este, made according to the ‘speaking’²² formula, in the syntagmas *mego donasto* ‘(he/she) donated me’, *mego doto* ‘(he/she) gave me’.

If in the text the division is *meu fasto*, we would have *meu* ~ *mego* and *fasto* ~ *fagsto*, in both cases with the loss of (graphic) *-g-*. The loss of *-g-* is found in Venetic *maisteratorbos* (1st century BCE?), loaned from Latin *magister*, although it is not certain whether it is to be attributed to Venetic, or borrowed from Latin already on its way to the Romance form.

The phenomenon *-g-* > \emptyset in *meu* and *fasto* occurs in different phonetic contexts (-V_V- ~ -V_C-), so caution is needed in seeing its solidarity; however, it could be triggered by similar premises even if in different contexts.²³ The pronoun (*mego* in Este) here has the ending *-u*; *-ō* > *-u* could be the outcome of a diachronic change within the Venetic as we assume for the disappearance of *-g-* here and in *fasto*. But there is in Venetic language (sporadic) phenomenon *ō* > *u* in areas where the presence of Celts is historically proven, and that it is a Celtic trait is proved by the systematic presence in the Celtic of Italy (Lepontic) of nominatives in *-u* from *-ō(n)*;²⁴ as mentioned, Isola Vicentina is located on the border between Veneto and areas of Celtic settlement.²⁵ However, if the hypothesis of interference with Celtic arises, *fasto* could also be explained in the same way, if only as an imperfect knowledge of Venetic on the part of the writer of the text.

For the sake of completeness, let us also consider the hypothesis of a division *me ufasto*; in this case it is a compound verb with the preverb *u-* < **ud-*, whose semantic value in relation to the verb ‘to do’ is not apparent here. A pronoun *me* must be compared with the Venetic attestation *mego*, which is evidently a

21 Marinetti (2024).

22 In the ‘speaking’ formula there is a textual simulation according to which it is the inscribed object that ‘speaks’, e.g. *mego donasto Vants Moldonkeo Karamnns Reitiai* ‘Vants Moldonkeo Karamnns donated me to Reitia’ on a foil with a votive function (Este).

23 The phone(ma)tic qualification of (written) *g*, as well as of *b* and *d*, will also have to be studied in relation to its original value in the Etruscan alphabet; with this perspective, it has been proposed to attribute it the value of a voiced occlusive in initial position ([b], g, [d]) with allophonic variant within words, where the realisation would be of a voiced aspirant ([β] [ɣ] [ð]): Rix (1997).

24 On this theme, see Solinas (2004–2005).

25 Gambacurta & Ruta Serafini (2017).

reworking on *ego* (as in Germanic: Gothic *ik/mik*); a diachronic outcome *mego* > *me* for purely phonetic reasons is unlikely. The possibility remains that it is a continuation of the hereditary form, but in this case *mego*, which only occurs in Este inscriptions, would not be Pan-Venetic; *mego* would have to be considered a neo-formation of the Este Venetic. For a continuation of Indo-European **mē* > *me*, however, the influence of Celtic, which has in *ē* > *ī* one of its most characteristic features, should be excluded. The division ⁺*me ufasto* poses too many problems, and therefore seems to be ruled out.

Returning to a more probable *meu fasto*, this would correspond to the 'standard' Venetic *mego fagsto*. But a further question arises: in the Venetic corpus the word *mego* is found only in the Este inscriptions, *fagsto* only in the Padua inscriptions; in other words, where there is *mego* there is no *fagsto*, and vice versa: there are no attestations of a **mego fagsto* formula. Here, too, there is more than one possible explanation. A phrase *mego fagsto* is not only allowed by the language, but is probably quite normal; its absence in the votive formula could suggest that here the verb *fagsto* > *fasto* is not in the votive value of the Padua inscriptions, 'to do = to dedicate, to offer', but in the value 'to do = to build, to realise', and therefore that the Isola Vicentina inscription does not have a votive function, but refers to realising something material; a formula that the Venetic language does not know, but that could have been produced for the specific occasion. Or again, it is a votive inscription, and whoever devised the text has crossed two votive formulas, that of Este and that of Padua; what has resulted is not the continuation of a formula tradition but an extemporaneous choice of idiolect by the writer.

Summing up, this short text presents us with numerous alternatives; the almost complete lack of material context (function, chronology) does not allow excluding a priori any explanation for its diversity from the 'standard' Venetic already documented. The variants can be attributed to diachrony, given the absence of dating; to diatopy, due to interference with other linguistic varieties from the neighbouring area; to diastraty, owing to the possible formula choices of the individual writer, outside of known patterns. This is a not uncommon situation in a 'Restsprache' such as Venetic, which can only be answered with a probability ranking, based on the greater or lesser verisimilitude of the explanation of the language data associated with the greater or lesser verisimilitude of the text's function in the specific context.

2.3 *The New Datum, Formal Etymology and Cultural-Historical Context*

Regarding deity names transmitted by epigraphic Restsprachen, Aldo Prodocimi recalled the limits of formal etymologies; access to the theonym via

etymology does not reconstruct the ideological content carried by the theonym, which is determined by the historical-cultural and institutional context;²⁶ an example is the name of a deity from Este, *Reitia*, which appears in the votive inscriptions of an important place of worship.

The theonym *Reitia* has been variously etymologised, starting with the proposal of a derivation from (**reg-* >) **rekt-*, cf. Latin *rectus*, with the meaning of ‘goddess of law’²⁷ or an attribute of a salutary goddess ‘who straightens up (new-borns at the moment of birth)’;²⁸ or derived from **reito-* < **uer-* (cf. Old English *writan*) as ‘goddess of writing’;²⁹ or again, from **reito-* ‘river’ < **reġ-* (cf. Latin *rei-vo-* > *rivus*) as ‘river goddess’.³⁰ Three etymologies are all formally correct,³¹ but their basic meanings are also wholly acceptable in relation to the material context of the sanctuary: there are votive offerings in reference to health, writing is an activity closely linked to this sanctuary, and it stands along the course of the main river of ancient Este. For the definition of the value of *Reitia*, neither linguistic analysis nor what is known of the context therefore seems sufficient.

26 For the theonym the issue is different, since—at least in certain cultures, as is the case in ancient Italy—as a motivated and often still active ‘speaking’ epithet (except in cases of manifest borrowing), the ease of ‘etymology’ and, therefore, the assignment to the lexical heritage of the corresponding bases should be easier if not automatic. But formal etymologies are shaky and, for our case, the case of *Reitia* (*rekto-* ‘rectus’; *reit-* ‘to write’; *reito-* ‘river’ [...]) is enough to show the fragility, as a negative condition occurs: we do not know the ideological content of the deity by historical-institutional knowledge [...]. The institutional context, however, cannot be supported—except in part and/or rarely—by archaeological verisimilitude; the *Reitia* case is paradigmatic: *all three etymologies are well-founded on the material basis of the cult.* (“Per il teonimo la problematica è diversa, in quanto—almeno in certe culture, come è il caso dell’Italia antica—come motivato e spesso epiteto ‘parlante’ ancora vitale (salvo casi di manifesto prestito), la facilità di ‘etimologia’ e, quindi, l’assegnazione al patrimonio lessicale delle basi corrispondenti dovrebbe essere più agevole se non automatica. Ma *le etimologie formali sono labili e*, per il nostro caso, basta il caso *Reitia* (*rekto-* ‘rectus’; *reit-* ‘scrivere’; *reito-* ‘fiume’ [...]) per mostrare la fragilità, in quanto si verifica una condizione negativa: noi non conosciamo il contenuto ideologico della divinità per conoscenza storico-istituzionale [...]. Il contesto istituzionale non può però essere suffragato—se non in parte e/o raramente—da verosimiglianze archeologiche; il caso *Reitia* è paradigmatico: *tutte e tre le etimologie sono ben fondate sulla base materiale del culto*”): Prosdocimi (1989: 161; 2004: 527) (our emphasis).

27 Pauli (1891).

28 Vetter (1931).

29 Lejeune (1971).

30 Prosdocimi (1988).

31 In fact, a **rekto-* > *reito-* poses the problem of a *-kt-* > *-it-* outcome in Venetic, which is not impossible but lacks internal comparisons.

A possible solution came from the revival of an ancient question when new data was acquired. The new votive inscriptions from Altino³² bear the theonym *Altino-/Altno-*; the local deity thus has the same name as the city, known in Latin sources as *Altinum*; *Altino-/Altno-* is associated with the attribute *Śainati-*, already known as an epithet both of *Reitia* and of another deity from northern Veneto, the god *Trumusiati-* from Lagole di Cadore. For the name *Trumusiati-*, a meaning had already been proposed in reference to the location of the sanctuary, hypothesising a toponym **Trumusio-* (roughly ‘the place of many waters’).³³ It could not be overlooked that in two cases the epithet *Śainati-* would be assigned to a deity whose name coincides with the place (*Śainati Altino-/Altno-*; *Śainati Trumusiati-*). This led to resuming the etymology of *Śainati-*. This form was traditionally compared with the Latin *sanare*; but besides the formal impossibility of a Latin correspondence *sana-* = Venetic *śaina-*,³⁴ the same hypothetical meaning of ‘healer’, which is acceptable in the case of *Reitia* of Este and *Trumusiati-* of Lagole, is wholly inconsistent with the characteristics of the sanctuary of Altino and the prerogatives of its deity. The new proposal is that it is instead a continuation of the root **k̑pei-* ‘to settle, take up residence’ (Pokorny 1959: 626), and therefore *Śainati-* would mean ‘(deity) of the settlement, of the place, polyad divinity’, entirely consistent with two theonyms representing, in the name itself, the place, the city.³⁵

In this reconstruction, it would appear that *Reitia* itself is left out, to which the epithet *Śainati-* is besides assigned: its name does not correspond to that of ancient Este, known from Latin sources as *Ateste*. But *Ateste* derives from *Atesis*, the river running through it, and is therefore the ‘city of the river’; on this basis, of the possible etymologies of the theonym, selecting **rej-* > **reito-* ‘river’ would seem apt; the name of the place and the name of the deity, *Reitia* the ‘goddess of the city of the river’, would thus coincide, albeit through a different lexical basis.

3 Celtic of Italy. The New Datum and the Previous Classificatory Framework

The dialectic between ‘notum’ and ‘novum’ in the Celtic of Italy can be objectified in a couple of questions that exemplify, above all, the relationship between

32 Previously cited: Marinetti (2009).

33 Marinetti (2001).

34 The sign ś indicates, unlike s, a marked sibilant, for which the most probable explanation is the outcome of an original consonant cluster.

35 Marinetti & Prosdociami (2006).

the datum coming from the 'Restsprachen' and the previous classificatory framework.

The first exemplification focuses on a phonetic datum that (in as far as 'novum') was able to trigger a revision of the previously established framework even for the definition of linguistic Celticity (moreover, with repercussions even outside the domains already identified as Celtic). In particular, the datum from the Celtic of Italy must be inserted in the dossier concerning the phonetic trait considered pan-Celtic and defining of Celticity itself, which is Indo-European $*p > \emptyset$.³⁶

The second example instead takes into consideration a lexical aspect and, precisely, the recognition in the Italian epigraphic Celticity of Indo-European $*ghosti$. The form was not contemplated in the framework of the linguistic Celticity and instead now, after some initial perplexity and still with some limitations, it is included there.

Both these data came, around the mid-1960s, from the inscription found in Prestino (Como). The document has a complex interpretative history:³⁷ initially, it was dated (2nd century BCE) and interpreted because of a non-Celtic bias, while it was later taken up by Lejeune³⁸ as a starting point to show precisely the Celticity of the Lepontic language. The last interpretative turning point came at the end of the 1980s and was determined by a renewed chronology that placed the inscription around ± 500 BCE.³⁹ With this dating, the Prestino document opened the way to verifying a Celtic language in Italy at a time well before the post quem of the historical sources that place the coming of the Gauls from the transalpine settlements in the 4th century BCE. The text of the inscription is *uvamokozis: plialeθu : uvltauuopos : ariuonepos : siteś : tetu*.⁴⁰ The importance of the document is paramount in terms of its writing,

36 For the sake of expediency and clarity, I will outline complex issues of which I will omit not only details, but also central aspects not directly related to what I wish to focus on. There are two phonetic traits considered common and defining for the Celtic linguistic domain: Indo-European $*p > \emptyset$ and the labialisation of $*g^w > b-$ (the bibliography is limitless from Holder 1896–1914 to Pedersen 1909–1913 to Matasović 2009).

37 On this interpretative history with the preceding bibliography, see Solinas (2017: 345–349).

38 Lejeune (1970).

39 The chronology is based on a review of the archaeological data carried out by R. De Marinis throughout northern Italy: De Marinis (2001) with previous references.

40 The reading and the attribution of phonetic values to the signs are essentially agreed upon by all interpreters (the only exception being *uvttauuopos*). The textual structure is that of a dedication by *uvamokozis plialeθu* (nominative of the dedicator) to *uvttauuopos ariuonepos* (dative plural of the dedicatees) in which *siteś* is accusative plural object of the verb *tetu* (3rd person singular past tense).

phonetics, morphology and multiple cultural-historical aspects in the broadest sense.⁴¹ Here, we focus exclusively on the *uvamokozis* form.

uvamokozis has been interpreted as the notation in the Lepontic alphabet⁴² of a compound whose first member is to be analysed as a 'superlative' in *-ḡHo-* on a **upo-* base that corresponds with the Greek ὑπό, Old Indian *upa-* etc. Greek ὑπό or Old Indian *upa* indicate 'low', as in Celtic for instance in the compound **upo-sth₂-o-* 'which stands, which is below' > **uosso-* > **uasso-*.⁴³ However, in its use in Celtic onomastics, the variant *ve/v_o-* < **upo*⁴⁴ has bivalent semantics between 'high ~ low' and, in the case of the superlative **up-ḡHo*, indicates the maximum an extremity between 'high ~ low'.

-kozis is notation for a second member of the compound derived from **ghosti-*. The form **ghosti-* was widely attested in Western Indo-European varieties (Latin *hostis*, Gothic *gasts*, Old Saxon, Old High German *Gast* etc.) but, before the Prestino datum (later followed by others revised in the light of the 'novum'), it was considered absent from the Celtic sphere.

Concerning our focus here, it is necessary to clarify a writing aspect: in the Prestino inscription the same sign V, which constitutes the absolute initial, is used in other phonetic contexts, i.e. in word endings (in *plialeḡu*) or in intervocalic contexts (in *uvidiauipos*). These occurrences of the sign show how, in the Lepontic alphabetic variety used in this inscription (as well as in all other known varieties), the same V sign was used for both vowel [u] and consonant [w]. In the Prestino inscription, however, there is also *v* (F),⁴⁵ the Etruscan sign for [w] that also appears in *uvamo-*, in sequence therefore with *u* at the beginning of a word.

41 Prosdocimi (1986; 1987; 1991), Solinas (2017).

42 The label 'Lepontic alphabet' has become established even if inadequate to identify the North-Etruscan alphabet also known as the 'Lugano alphabet', adapted/created to note the Celtic of Italy: on the history and reasons for the inadequacy of this label, see Solinas (1992–1993).

43 Cf. for example Old Irish *foss* 'servant' or, in Continental Celtic anthroponymy *Dago-uassus* or *Uassilus*; cf. also Sanskrit *upa-sthīh* 'servant, subordinate'. For the transition *uosso-* > *uasso-* see previously cited Pedersen (1909–1913: I, 35); for the form *uassos* in Gallic, see Schmidt (1957: 285), Delamarre (2003: 306).

44 For this variant (already identified by Pedersen 1909: I, 35 as the result of a dissimilation phenomenon), see also Schmidt (1957: 285).

45 The sign must have been present in the so-called 'doctrinal corpus', i.e., the body of knowledge that is suitable for the implementation of writing and that includes, in the theoretical series, also signs that are not (any longer or at the moment) used. For the concept of the 'doctrinal corpus' and how important this has been in reconstructing the dynamics of the transmission of writing in general and of alphabetic writing in ancient Italy in particular, see Prosdocimi (1990).

If the same sign notates both [u] and [w] and if, as seems to be shown, *uvamo-* is the notation of the outcome in this Celtic of **up-ḡHo*, it follows that *uv-* is an expedient of notation of the vowel followed by the trace of **p* that has not yet transitioned to \emptyset and is in the process of disappearing (in this case in inter-vowel position). At this stage when the disappearance is not yet complete, the initial vowel is still such and is noted through *u*. Instead, *v* notes a consonantal transition that could be something like [u^wa] though not yet [wa], but could also have other phonetic consistency⁴⁶ (which, however, is not pertinent to the present argument). What stands out is that the form and spelling in *uvamo-* < **up-ḡHo-* in the Prestino inscription of the late 6th/early 5th century BCE. These are indications that, at this time and in this area, Indo-European **p* > \emptyset , identified as one of the defining traits of Celtic linguistics, was not yet fully realised.⁴⁷ The gradual realisation of the trait as well as a transitional phase were also indicated by other data such as, for example, the name of the Ἐρκύνιας δρυμός or *Hercunia silva* which is from < **perk^wu-nia* (derived from Indo-European **perk^wus* ‘oak’). In the Greek form, the rough breathing shows that, at the time the Greeks acquired the form, *p* had not yet disappeared completely, and the residual trace was perceived by Greek ears to the extent that it was noted in the spelling. The fact remains that the ‘novum’ coming from a fragmentarily attested language was related to a previous framework that did not provide for it (or provided for it only in part) and was decisive in triggering a revision (which in this case is still in evolution).

In fact, the phonetic datum coming from the Prestino inscription is one of many that, in the last fifty years, have prompted reconsidering how Continental Celtic should contribute to the design of linguistic Celticity. This reconsideration is taking place in the light of A. Prosdocimi’s idea of a Celtic as “progressive construction”,⁴⁸ namely, as a linguistic entity that is not already defined but which, differently in terms of areas and chronologies, may or may not participate in phenomena of evolution or conservation. In this perspective, we consider not only those traits that identify a continuity within Celtic (and, at the

46 See, for instance, Dupraz (2015).

47 One could show how, in the systemic diachrony, it is plausible and expected that **p* > \emptyset is posterior compared to the pan-Celtic **g^w* > *b* and this is connected with the relative recency of the *p*-Celtic and *kw*-Celtic partitions: **k^w* switches to *p* where **p* has disappeared and the ‘empty box’ can be filled by a phone/phoneme that is by its nature prone to labialisation: I have posed in general and non-technical terms a question that clearly requires reasoning that is not applicable here.

48 With “progressive construction” I tried to translate the original expression of Prosdocimi ‘Celtico come FARS’I’: Prosdocimi (1991); Prosdocimi & Solinas (2009).

same time, discontinuity with respect to something else that is Indo-European but not Celtic), but also those that can be said to be ‘non-Celtic’ or ‘not yet Celtic’.

The theme of Celtic and, more generally, the theme of language as ‘progressive construction’ has implications that go as far as the very model of Indo-European reconstruction, and we will not delve into them here. It is however this perspective that has made it possible to relate various realities to Celticity, which could not be done from the traditional perspective based on inclusive and exclusive criteria. Suffice it to recall the case of Lusitanian, another Indo-European variety attested mainly through epigraphy and with the characteristics of a Restsprachen.⁴⁹ The Celticity of Lusitanian has been and is still debated. The idea that it is a Western Indo-European variety is shared, but a classification in relation to a specific family is disputed. The positions of the various scholars range from that which, starting from a general indication of Western Indo-European membership,⁵⁰ arrive at suggesting a relationship with the Italic languages;⁵¹ to that⁵² attributing Lusitanian to a Celticity with particular traits (among which is precisely the preservation of Indo-European **p*). The main argument against the Celticity of Lusitanian is still the preservation of **p-*: from the perspective of language as ‘progressive construction’, Lusitanian has been viewed as a Celtic variety that has kept *p*, or rather, that has not developed the trait **p- > ∅*.

A historiographical annotation arises here with the aim of exemplifying the relationship of the ‘novum’ from ‘Restsprachen’ with the pre-existing. In 1970, namely before the ascertainment of the Celticity of the Prestino inscription and the identification of *uvamo* in the terms just outlined, Warren Cowgill,⁵³ dealing with the theme of the superlative in relation to the concept

49 So-called ‘Lusitanian’ is attested not only, by a few inscriptions in the Latin alphabet but also by anthroponyms, toponyms and theonyms from the western area of the Iberian Peninsula between Portugal and Extremadura with chronologies after the 2nd century BCE. C. For an overview of the current state of knowledge and research on Lusitanian, see Vallejo (2013; 2021), Wodtko (2020).

50 Tovar (1966–1967).

51 Prosper (2010).

52 Prosdocimi (1987); Untermann (1997).

53 “8. With *-(m)mo-* are formed the Latin pair *summus* ‘highest’ < **sup-(m)mo-* and *īnfimus* ‘lowest’ < **ndh-mmo-*, beside the contrastive *superus* ‘upper’, *īferus* ‘lower’. The first of these recurs in U *somo*; and Celtiberian *ueramos* appears to be a replacement of a corresponding Celtic **u(p)amo-*, brought about by the fact that **u(p)amo* agreed in meaning with **u(p)er* ‘super’, not with **u(p)o* ‘sub’. As Tovar kindly informs me, the original **upmmo* may be preserved in the place name *Vama*, which Ptolemy 2.4.11 lists among the towns of the Celts of Betica” (Cowgill 1970: 132).

of Italo-Celtic, hypothesised an “original **upm̥mo-*” for Celtic, in his opinion not attested but which—as his friend Tovar suggested to him—could be preserved in the toponym *Vama* that Ptolemy mentions among the Celtic cities of Baetica. Here is the ‘imagined’ **up-ṛHo* form, or rather, in this case postulated for systemic coherence, which is confirmed by the fragmentarily attested language.

-*kozis* as a notation of the Celtic outcome of **ghosti-* is excellent as far as formal etymology⁵⁴ is concerned and had been identified from the earliest interpretative approaches to the Prestino text;⁵⁵ it was not however accepted, and indeed had initially been considered precisely an impediment to the Celtic attribution of the inscription. Later, with the ascertainment of the Celticity of the inscription, the form **ghosti-* still remained a difficulty since, according to the framework established at the time, it could not belong to Celticity (and therefore *kozis* could not be a notation of the Celtic outcome of **ghosti-*!).⁵⁶

The -*kozis* < **ghosti-* from Prestino found support at the end of the 1980s by an inscription from the 6th century BCE from Castelletto Ticino (Novara) with the text *χosioiso*⁵⁷ in which G. Colonna recognised a singular genitive in -*oiso* on an onomastic basis in -*o*. Again, this is a document of major importance for the panorama of Celtic epigraphy in Italy; here, however, we dwell only on the onomastic base that Colonna had initially compared with Lat. *Co(s)sius/Cu(s)sius* and that Prosdocimi later related with **ghosti-*.⁵⁸

54 I will not go into graphical and phonetic details for which I refer to Prosdocimi (1986; 1987) and Solinas (2007). I will only point out that the sign *z* notes the **-st-* > *-tʰ-* nexus, i.e. the outcome of a process of affrication already identified in Celtic by Pedersen (1909: I, 78). The use of **-st-* > *-tʰ-* to refer to such a phonetic process is an established but conventional modality, as the actual phonetic outcomes may have varied by chronology, but also in synchrony (more or less advanced process of affrication with or without sonority outcomes for example) by area and social contexts. Moreover, it is possible that such variability, in some cases, is reflected in the variety of ancient notations. Indeed, the notation of this nexus is ‘unstable’ in Cisalpine Celtic epigraphy as well as in Transalpine epigraphy (with notations in Gallic fluctuating between *ḃ*, *ḃḃ*, *θ*, *s*, *ss*). In the three cases (see below) of the **ghosti-* cisalpine, the nexus has three different but expected and justifiable notations: *z* at Prestino, *s* with several traits at Castelletto Ticino (6th century BCE), the butterfly sign in the 1st century BCE in the Verona area.

55 Tibiletti Bruno (1966).

56 Parallel and analogous is the vicissitude of the Gaulish form of the Indo-European name of the ‘daughter’ *duxtir* (cf. Greek *θυγάτηρ*, Sanskrit *duhitar*) identified in the Larzac lead (Lejeune 1985) but previously considered absent from the domain of Celticity: Solinas (2002).

57 Gambari & Colonna (1988).

58 The two different identifications depend on the different phonetic values assigned to the *χ* sign: the phonetic value [k] leads Colonna (1985) to posit an onomastic base connected

Some fifteen years later, again from the Celtic of Italy, a further confirmation of Celtic **ghosti-* came from an inscription from the Verona area (Casalandri di Isola Rizza) with a late chronology (mid-1st century BCE). The text, *kośio*, should be interpreted as a notation of an onomastic form **ghostio* < **ghosti* + *-yo-*.⁵⁹

Data from the 'Restsprachen' show how in the Celtic of Italy, from the most archaic chronologies to those of full Romanisation, **ghosti-* is present at least in the formation of onomastics. It is clear that establishing in onomastics the presence of a form that, due to phonetic or other traits, must be internal to the language (i.e. not borrowed), entails ascertaining the presence of such lexeme in the genetic axis of that language, but does not necessarily verify a lexeme synchronously in place in the state of the language of attestation. In the case of **ghosti-* from the Celtic of Italy, after the initial resistance, the acceptance of the new datum has occurred at least for the onomastics of Continental Celtic, so much so that the form that is not present in the *Dictionnaire de la langue gauloise*⁶⁰ appears instead, for example, in the *Dictionnaire des thèmes nominaux du gaulois*,⁶¹ where it is significantly commented on as follows: "Thème absent du reste du corpus et il est probable qu'il s'agit d'une forme archaïque régionale du vieux-celtique (nord de l'Italie) où il est fossilisé dans l'onomastique".⁶²

In a broader perspective, the potential continuations of **ghosti-* in areas contiguous to the Italian Celtic region and in areas that have been defined as 'paraceltic'⁶³—namely, contiguous to Celtic but only partly participating in the traits defining 'proper' Celticity—were examined (once again from the abovementioned perspective of Celtic like 'progressive construction'). The revision, for example, considered relationships with forms such as *Velagosti/Velacosta/Vilagostis*⁶⁴ found in Latin inscriptions from the Alpine area between Piedmont and Liguria (Maritime Alps). In the traditional analysis the label 'Ligurian' was used for these forms, although Scherer,⁶⁵ in a study on the correspondences between Celtic and Germanic onomastics, had already put forward the hypothesis of an analysis as Celtic compounds with the second

with Lat. *Co(s)sius/Cu(s)sius*; Prosdocimi (1987; 1990; 1991) showed that the phonetic value is—or even alone can be—[g], so he posits *gosi-* < **ghosti-*.

59 Solinas (1998).

60 Delamarre (2003).

61 Delamarre (2019).

62 Delamarre (2019: 369).

63 Prosdocimi (1995: 119–127).

64 See e.g. *Velagostis* CIL V 7729; *Vilagosti* (dative) CIL V 7837; *Velacostai* CIL V 7853.

65 Scherer (1955).

member **ghosti-*, with a structure analogous to the Germanic *Arbo-gastes*. Similarly, M.G. Tibiletti Bruno, the first editor of the Prestino inscription, had identified *Velagosti* / *Velacosta* / *Vila-gostis* as Gallic forms, possible comparisons for *-kozis* < **ghosti-*, but she had then excluded them because “nelle lingue celtiche, tuttavia, il termine non è testimoniato”.⁶⁶ This is clearly not the place to delve into the complex and elusive subject of the concept of ‘Ligurian’, itself subject to ongoing review.⁶⁷ Leaving aside ancient and modern labels and contents, it is still worth noting that there is evidence of epigraphic and toponymic documentation with supportive traits that cannot be defined as Celtic but neither ‘anti-Celtic’ and that should be assessed from the perspective of Celtic like ‘progressive construction’. With more specific regard to the forms in *-gosti* from the Alpes-Maritimes, the obstacle of the absence of the term in Celtic has gone and that of the nexus *-st-* is non-existent (see above).⁶⁸ They can therefore be cross-referenced with the forms from epigraphic Celtic.

Up to here, the presence and correspondence of forms has been noted but, when seeking to broaden the perspective to semantic-institutional content,⁶⁹ difficulties arise that are introduced from working on forms that may have evolved differently from semantic-institutional contents. Furthermore, an analysis extending to the ‘contents’ that a term with the semantics of **ghosti-* presupposes, must be inserted within a renewed framing based on the idea of **ghosti-* as an institutional term. The analysis must therefore relate (and possibly systemise) data at least from Western Indo-Europeanism, thus from languages that differ not only in the consistency and quality of the corpora, but also in the scope of the sources. On this occasion, we once again choose an example in the sphere of ancient Italy: we asked ourselves whether the forms with **ghosti-* were pure onomastics or whether they were rather names with a socio-political function—possibly later onomastics—with a meaning of the type of Latin *hospet-* < **ghosti-pet-* ‘the one who is accountable for the foreigner’.⁷⁰ We thus started from Latin *hostis* in the older value of ‘foreigner’ (and later ‘enemy’) to arrive at the Venetic *hostihavos* (Pa 7). Pisani analyses this form as a compound with the first element **ghosti-* and the second member consisting of a verbal noun on the verbal root **ghau-* ‘to call’ (Pokorny 1959: 413)

66 Tibiletti Bruno (1966: 314).

67 Prosdocimi (1987; 1991), Solinas (1992–1993: 1293–1297).

68 The first member of the compounds has not yet found a satisfactory Celtic etymology, but an onomastic base in *-a* does not create any difficulties.

69 On this broad and complex subject, see Prosdocimi (1995).

70 Benveniste (1969: I, VII).

plus the thematic vowel: 'the one who calls, evokes the enemy'.⁷¹ The idea of the noun with a socio-political function led instead to an analysis of 'he who says = guarantees the foreigner';⁷² in the same vein, within the Celtic of Italy, Prestino's **upomo-ghostis* could be 'he who stands over the foreigner = who is his guarantor'. Even simple onomastic forms such as that of Castelletto Ticino and Casalndri would respond well to the meaning 'foreigner'.

References

- Agostiniani, Luciano. 2003. Modelli e metodi di ricostruzione di Restsprachen. *Modelli recenti in linguistica*, ed. by Daniele Maggi & Diego Poli (Atti del Convegno della Società Italiana di Glottologia, Macerata, 26–28 ottobre 2000), 109–133. Roma: Il Calamo.
- Beltrán Lloris, Francisco, Borja Díaz Ariño, Maria José Estarán Tolosa & Carlos Jordán Cólera (eds.). 2020. *Lenguas y culturas epigráficas paleoeuropeas. Retos y perspectivas de estudio (Actas del congreso internacional, Roma, 13–15 marzo 2019)*. Palaeohispanica 20.
- Campanile, Enrico. 1983. Le Restsprachen e la ricerca indoeuropeistica. In Vineis (ed.) 1983: 211–226.
- Cowgill, Warren. 1970. Italic and Celtic superlatives and the dialects of Indo-European. *Indo-European and the Indo-Europeans*, ed. by George Cardona, Henry M. Hoenigswald & Alfred Senn, 113–153. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Delamarre, Xavier. 2003. *Dictionnaire de la langue gauloise. Une approche linguistique du vieux-celtique continental*. Paris: Errance.
- Delamarre, Xavier. 2019. *Dictionnaire des thèmes nominaux du gaulois. 1. Ab- /Ixs(o)*. Paris: Les Cent Chemins.
- De Marinis, Raffaele. 2001. L'età del Ferro in Lombardia: stato attuale delle conoscenze e problemi aperti. *La Protostoria in Lombardia, Atti 3° Convegno archeologico regionale (Como villa Olmo 22–24 ottobre 1999)*, 27–76. Como: Società archeologica Comense.
- Dupraz, Emmanuel. 2015. Nochmals zum lepontischen Digraphen uv-. *Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft* 69(1): 33–50.
- Gambacurta, Giovanna & Anna Marinetti. 2019. Due lamine bronzee iscritte dall'area della necropoli tra via Tiepolo e via San Massimo a Padova. *Studi Etruschi* 81: 265–305.

71 Pisani (1964: 113). The difficulties of semantics and the formal implications of this etymology are set aside here.

72 Prodocimi (2016: 187).

- Gambacurta, Giovanna & Angela Ruta Serafini. 2017. *I Celti e il Veneto. Storie di culture a confronto* (Archeologia Veneta supplemento XL). Padova: Ante Quem.
- Gambari, Filippo M. & Giovanni Colonna. 1988. Il bicchiere con l'iscrizione arcaica da Castelletto Ticino e l'adozione della scrittura nell'Italia nord-occidentale. *Studi Etruschi* 54: 119–164.
- Holder, Alfred. 1896–1913. *Alt-celtischer Sprachschatz*. 3 vols. Leipzig: Teubner.
- Lejeune, Michel. 1951. L'isoglosse *-m/-n* dans l'occident indo-européen. *Revue des Études Latines* 29: 85–95.
- Lejeune, Michel. 1970. *Lepontica*. Paris: Société d'Édition 'Les Belles Lettres'.
- Lejeune, Michel. 1985. Approche du texte. *Études Celtiques* 22: 118–138.
- Marinetti, Anna. 1999. Venetico 1976–1996. Acquisizioni e prospettive. *Protostoria e storia del "Venetorum angulus"* (Atti del Convegno di Studi Etruschi ed Italici, Portogruaro/Altino/Este/Adria, 16–19 ottobre 1996), 391–436. Firenze: Olschki.
- Marinetti, Anna. 2001. Il venetico di Lagole. *Materiali veneti preromani e romani del santuario di Lagole di Calalzo al Museo di Pieve di Cadore*, ed. by Giulia Fogolari & Giovanna Gambacurta, 59–73. Roma: Giorgio Bretschneider editore.
- Marinetti, Anna. 2009. Da Altno- a Giove: la titolarità del santuario. I. La fase preromana. Altnoi. *Il santuario altinate: strutture del sacro a confronto e i luoghi di culto lungo la via Annia* (Atti del Convegno, Venezia, 4–6 dicembre 2006), ed. by Giovanna Cresci Marrone & Margherita Tirelli, 81–127. Roma: Quasar.
- Marinetti, Anna. 2020. Venetico. In Beltrán Lloris, Díaz Ariño, Estarán Tolosa & Jordán Cólera (eds.) (2020): 367–401.
- Marinetti, Anna. 2024. Il contatto tra Etruschi e Veneti: una rilettura dei dati epigrafici. *Gli Etruschi nella Valle del Po* (Atti del xxx Convegno di Studi Etruschi ed Italici, Bologna, 23–25 giugno 2022). Roma: Giorgio Bretschneider editore.
- Marinetti, Anna & Aldo L. Prosdocimi. 2005. Lingua e scrittura. Epigrafia e lingua venetica nella Padova preromana. *La città invisibile. Padova preromana. Trent'anni di scavi e ricerche*, ed. by Maurizia De Min, Mariolina Gamba, Giovanna Gambacurta & Angela Ruta Serafini, 32–47. Bologna: Edizioni Tipoarte.
- Marinetti Anna & Aldo L. Prosdocimi. 2006. Novità e rivisitazioni nella teonimia dei Veneti antichi: il dio Altno e l'epiteto *śainati-*. ... *ut ... rosae ... ponerentur*. *Scritti di archeologia in ricordo di Giovanna Luisa Ravagnan*, 95–103. Venezia/Roma: Regione del Veneto/Edizioni Quasar/Canova.
- Matasović, Ranko. 2009. *Etymological dictionary of proto-Celtic* (Leiden Indo-European Etymological Dictionary Series, 9). Leiden/Boston: Brill.
- Mayrhofer, Manfred. 1980. *Zur Gestaltung des etymologischen Wörterbuchs einer „Großcorpus-Sprache“* (Sitzungsberichte/Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse, 368). Wien: Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Pedersen, Holger. 1909–1913. *Vergleichende Grammatik der keltischen Sprachen*. 2 vols. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht.

- Pellegrini, Giovan Battista. 1980. Problemi di toponomastica veneta preromana. *Este e la civiltà paleoveneta a cento anni dalle prime scoperte* (Atti del XI Convegno di Studi Etruschi e Italici, Firenze, 1980), 285–307. Firenze: Olschki.
- Pisani, Vittore. 1964. Review of Jürgen Untermann. 1961. *Die Venetische Personennamen*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz. *Paideia* 19: 112–116.
- Pocetti Paolo. 1997. La lessicografia delle lingue di frammentaria attestazione. *Lessicologia e lessicografia* (Atti del Convegno della Società Italiana di Glottologia, Chieti-Pescara, 12–14 ottobre 1995), ed. by Luisa Mucciantè & Tullio Telmon, 113–137. Roma: Il Calamo.
- Pokorny, Julius. 1959. *Indogermanische etymologisches Wörterbuch*. Heidelberg: Winter.
- Prosdocimi, Aldo L. 1986. L'iscrizione leponzia di Prestino: vent'anni dopo. *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie* 41: 225–250.
- Prosdocimi, Aldo L. 1987. Celti in Italia prima e dopo il v secolo a.C. *Celti ed Etruschi nell'Italia centro-settentrionale dal v secolo a.C. alla romanizzazione*, ed. by Daniele Vitali, 561–581. Bologna: University Press.
- Prosdocimi, Aldo L. 1989. Riflessioni sulle lingue di frammentaria attestazione. *Quaderni dell'Istituto di Linguistica dell'Università di Urbino* 6: 131–163 (= Prosdocimi, Aldo L. 2004. Riflessioni sulle lingue di frammentaria attestazione. *Scritti inediti e sparsi*, 1, 501–530. Padova: Unipress).
- Prosdocimi, Aldo L. 1990. Insegnamento e apprendimento della scrittura nell'Italia antica. *Alfabetari e insegnamento della scrittura in Etruria e nell'Italia antica*, ed. by Maristella Pandolfini & Aldo L. Prosdocimi, 157–301. Firenze: Olschki.
- Prosdocimi, Aldo L. 1991. Note sul celtico in Italia. *Studi Etruschi* 57: 139–177.
- Prosdocimi, Aldo L. 1995. Filoni indeuropei in Italia. Riflessioni e appunti. *L'Italia e il Mediterraneo antico* (Atti del Convegno della Società Italiana di Glottologia, Fisciano/Amalfi/Raito, 4–6 novembre 1993), vol. 2, 1–163. Pisa: Giardini.
- Prosdocimi, Aldo L. 2016. *Forme di lingua e contenuti istituzionali nella Roma delle origini*. Napoli: Jovene.
- Prósper, Blanca M. 2010. La lengua lusitana en el marco de las lenguas indoeuropeas occidentales y su relación con las lenguas itálicas. *El Mediterráneo antiguo: lenguas y escrituras*, ed. by Gregorio Carrasco Serrano & Juan Carlos Oliva Mompean, 361–391. Cuenca: Universidad de Castilla–La Mancha.
- Rix, Helmut. 1997. Germanische Runen und venetische Phonetik. *Vergleichende germanische Philologie und Skandinavistik: Festschrift für Otmar Wermer*, ed. by Thomas Birkmann, Heinz Klingenberg, Damaris Nübling & Elke Ronneberger-Sibold, 231–248. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag.
- Scherer, Anton. 1955. Die keltisch-germanischen Namengleichungen. *Corolla Linguistica. Festschrift Ferdinand Sommer*, 199–210. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Schmidt, Karl H. 1957. *Die Komposition in gallischen Personennamen*. Tübingen: Niemeyer.

- Schmidt, Karl H. 1983. Grundlagen einer festlandkeltischen Grammatik. In Vineis (ed.) 1983: 65–90.
- Sims-Williams, Patrick. 2007. Common Celtic, Gallo-Brittonic and Insular Celtic. *Gaulois et celtique continental*, ed. by Pierre-Yves Lambert & George-Jean Pinault, 309–354. Genève: Droz.
- Solinas, Patrizia. 1992–1993. Sulla celticità linguistica nell'Italia antica: il leponzio. Da Biondelli e Mommsen ai nostri giorni. *Atti dell'Istituto Veneto di Scienze Lettere ed Arti* 151: 1237–1335.
- Solinas, Patrizia. 1998. Le iscrizioni in alfabeto leponzio dalla necropoli di Casalandri. *La necropoli gallica di Casalandri a Isola Rizza (Verona)*, ed. by Luciano Salzani, 143–148. Mantova: SAP.
- Solinas, Patrizia. 2002. Sul nome indeuropeo della 'figlia': nuove aperture. I termini della prossima revisione. *Quaderni Patavini di Linguistica* 18: 127–136.
- Solinas, Patrizia. 2004–2005. Sul celtico d'Italia: le forme in -u del leponzio. *Atti dell'Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti* 163: 559–600.
- Solinas, Patrizia. 2007. Annotazioni sulla forma *ghosti- nel celtico d'Italia. *Studi in ricordo di Fulviano Broilo*, 459–568. Padova: S.A.R.G.O.N. Editrice e Libreria.
- Solinas, Patrizia & Aldo L. Prosdocimi. 2009. Le lingue celtiche: 'essere' o 'divenire?'. *Les Celtes aux racines de l'Europe* (Actes du colloque, Parlement de la Communauté française de Belgique/Musée royal de Mariemont, 20–21 octobre 2006), ed. by Jacqueline Cession-Loupe, 27–37. Mariemont: Musée royal de Mariemont.
- Solinas Patrizia. 2017. Epigrafia e linguistica preromana. *Il territorio di Varese in età preistorica e protostorica*, III, 339–365. Varese: Nomos edizioni.
- Stifter David. 2020. Cisalpine Celtic. In Beltrán Lloris, Díaz Ariño, Estarán Tolosa & Jordán Cólera (eds.) (2020): 335–365.
- Tovar, Antonio. 1966–1967. L'inscription du Cabeço das Fraguas et la langue des Lusitaniens. *Études Celtiques* 11: 237–268.
- Tibiletti Bruno, Maria Grazia. 1966. L'iscrizione di Prestino. *Rendiconti Istituto Lombardo* 100: 279–319.
- Untermann, Jürgen. 1980. *Trümmersprachen zwischen Grammatik und Geschichte*. Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag.
- Untermann, Jürgen. 1983. Indogermanische Restsprachen als Gegenstand der Indogermanistik. In Vineis (ed.) 1983: 11–28.
- Untermann, Jürgen. 1989. Zu den Begriffen 'Restsprachen' und 'Trümmersprachen'. *Germanisch Rest- und Trümmersprachen*, ed. by Heinrich Beck, 15–19. Berlin/New York: de Gruyter.
- Untermann, Jürgen. 1997. *Monumenta Linguarum Hispanicarum*, Band IV: *Die Tartessischen, Keltiberischen und Lusitanischen Inschriften*. Wiesbaden: L. Reichert.
- Vallejo, José M.^a. 2013. Hacia una definición del Lusitano. *Palaeohispanica* 13: 273–291.
- Vallejo, José M.^a. 2021. Lengua lusitana y onomástica de Lusitania. 25 años después. *Palaeohispanica* 21: 375–376.

- Vineis, Edoardo (ed.). 1983. *Le lingue indoeuropee di frammentaria attestazione—Die indogermanischen Restsprachen* (Atti del Convegno della Società Italiana di Glottologia e della Indogermanische Gesellschaft, Udine, 22–24 settembre 1981). Pisa: Giardini.
- Wodtko, Dagmar S. 2020. Lusitano. In Beltrán Lloris, Díaz Ariño, Estarán Tolosa & Jordán Cólera (eds.) (2020): 689–719.

'Restsprachen' and Language Contact: Latin, Etruscan, and the Sabellic Languages

Luca Rigobianco

1 Introduction

In this paper, I will focus on the reconstruction of contact-induced changes concerning 'Restsprachen', particularly through investigating the common hypothesis according to which the vowel reduction and deletion phenomena in Latin, Etruscan, and the Sabellic languages would depend on a first-syllable stress which would have spread from Etruscan by contact.

After some general remarks on methods for identifying the different types of contact-induced changes (§2) and the configuration of the language contact between Latin, Etruscan, and the Sabellic languages (§3), I will offer an overview of the vowel reduction and deletion phenomena attested in those languages as well as their accentual and rhythmic correlates (§4). Taking all this into account, I will discuss the plausibility of attributing such correlates to language contact and then try to reconstruct the underlying processes (§5).

2 Reconstructing Language Contact

The identification of contact-induced changes is sometimes rather difficult, especially in the case of structural borrowing, due to its covertness.¹ In this regard, Thomason (2010: 34–35) has proposed five main criteria for assessing the plausibility of a specific change being contact-induced:

The first requisite is to consider the proposed receiving language (let's call it B) as a whole, not a single piece at a time: the chances that just one structural feature traveled from one language to another are vanishingly

1 Structural borrowing refers to "the copying of any abstract linguistic element (i.e., pattern) from one language to another" (Renner 2023). This kind of borrowing is also called 'pattern replication' (see, for example, Matras 2009: 234–237).

small. Second, identify a source language (call it A). This means identifying a language—or, if all speakers of A shifted to B, one or more closely related languages—that is, or was, in sufficiently intimate contact with B to permit the transfer of structural features. Third, find some shared features in A and B. They need not be identical in the two languages, and very often they won't be, because transferred features often don't match in the source and receiving languages. They should, however, belong to a range of linguistic subsystems, e.g. both phonology and syntax, so as to rule out the possibility of structurally linked internal innovations. Fourth, prove that the features *are* old in A—that is, prove that the features are not innovations in A. And fifth, prove that the features *are* innovations in B, that is, that they did not exist in B before B came into close contact with A.

In general terms, it is evident that the identification of contact-induced changes depends on the knowledge of the languages in question as well as of their internal and external history. Therefore, such an identification is compromised if the source language or the target language or even both are fragmentary.²

As for loanwords, in his work on the dialectal elements of the Latin vocabulary, Ernout (1909: 30) points out “l'étude phonétique” and “le témoignage des grammairiens et des lexicographes” as guidelines for their identification. Specifically, “l'étude phonétique” consists in assuming the non-fulfilment of expectations based on the knowledge of Latin phonetics as an evidence of foreign origin.³ Thus, for example, a voiceless labiodental fricative occurring medially in a Latin word (see, for example, *scrōfa*) is commonly considered as a clue to a Sabellic origin. However, the validity of this assumption depends, among other factors, on whether or not it is accepted that the voiceless labiodental fricative may be either an outcome of the Proto-Indo-European voiced labial, dental, and labiovelar aspirates also in Latin—or at least in a Latin variety subsequently marginalized—or the result of dissimilation.⁴ Furthermore, the reconstruction of contact-induced changes may be validated by

2 See, for example, Rigobianco (2022), which focuses on Sabellicisms in Latin and Faliscan.

3 More precisely, according to Rix (2005: 567–568), the expectations relating to “die synchrone Lautstruktur” must be distinguished from those relating to “die vorhistorische, mittels der Etymologie feststellbare Lautstruktur”.

4 See, for example, Goidanich (1929: 401), who attributes such an outcome to a dialectal speech rather than to a foreign influence, as well as Coleman (1990: 5), who considers it of little relevance for the distinction between the Sabellic languages and the Latin dialects. On the outcomes of the Proto-Indo-European voiced aspirates in Latin, see Leumann (1977: 163–171), Zamboni (1986–1987), Meiser (1998: 101–105), and Weiss (2020: 80–88).

what Rix (2005: 568) calls “sachliche Argumente”. In this regard, Rix cites the alleged Sabellicisms in Latin which refer to names of animals (*bōs*, *lupus*, *scrōfa*, *asinus*) and colours (*heluus*, *callidus*, *rūfus*). According to Rix, the belonging of such sets of words, respectively, to the same lexical field would be a “sachliche Argumente” confirming the foreign origin which has been supposed on a phonetic basis. More generally, beyond the specific case of loanwords, the first guideline (“l'étude phonétique”) may be understood as referring to the identification of any formal evidence of a possible contact-induced change—whatever may be the relevant level of linguistic analysis—, while “sachliche Argumente” to any linguistic and extra-linguistic evidence allowing a plausible historical frame to be reconstructed for the alleged contact-induced change.

The second guideline pointed out by Ernout, that is “le témoignage des grammairiens et des lexicographes”, is in principle subordinated to “l'étude phonétique”. In other words, the judgement on the reliability of the attribution of a lexical form or linguistic phenomenon to contact depends on eminently linguistic criteria. By way of example, on the basis of our prior knowledge about a specific language—on which, however, the caveats mentioned above should be kept in mind—, it is possible to recognise lexical forms erroneously attributed by the tradition to that language. Such erroneous attributions may anyway be relevant for defining the alleged source language, in particular in terms of its perception, but in most cases the details are not sufficient to draw any firm conclusions.

The reconstruction of contact-induced changes concerning fragmentary dead languages may take advantage of the studies on contact between living or better attested languages.⁵ In particular, although theoretically “any linguistic feature can be transferred from any language to any other language” (Thomason & Kaufman 1988: 14), the probability that such a transfer has actually occurred may be evaluated in the light of the occurrence of similar transfers in comparable contexts of language contact. In this regard, several models which have been developed to describe the different kinds of language contact and their different outcomes may be used profitably.⁶

Taking all this into account, I intend to investigate whether the vowel reduction and deletion phenomena occurring in Latin, Etruscan, and the Sabellic languages may be considered as contact-induced changes and, if that is the case, try to reconstruct, as far as possible, the process which led to them.

5 As is evident, this assumption is based on the uniformitarian principle, regarding which see Baldi & Cuzzolin (2015) and Walkden (2019).

6 In addition to Thomason & Kaufman (1988), which remains the reference work, van Coetsem (2000) and Lucas (2015), among others, should be taken into consideration. Joseph (2002)

3 Language Contact between Latin, Etruscan, and the Sabellic Languages

In the studies on the languages of ancient Italy, numerous changes induced by the contact between Etruscan, on the one hand, and Latin and the Sabellic languages, on the other, have been identified.⁷ Such changes differ according to typology (loanwords, calques, etc.), direction (from Etruscan to Latin and/or Sabellic languages and vice versa), diffusion (from the here-and-now of a communicative situation underlying a written text to a full integration into the linguistic system), and chronology. Furthermore, the identification of each of these changes has different degrees of plausibility.

In general, it should be noted that, since the 1980s, after a long phase of ‘philo-Etruscanism’,⁸ that is to say aimed primarily at identifying the Etruscan influence on Latin (and the Sabellic languages),⁹ the Latin and Sabellic influence on Etruscan has been gradually recognised.¹⁰ Moreover, in 1978, Pisani put forward the hypothesis that ancient Italy constitutes a linguistic area, which would include not only Latin, Etruscan, and the Sabellic languages, but also Venetic, Cisalpine Celtic, Messapic, and Sicel.¹¹ It is not possible here to discuss such a hypothesis, nor to enumerate all the changes which may be attributed to the contact between Etruscan, on the one hand, and Latin and Sabellic languages, on the other, due to the complexity of both the overall picture and the specific cases as well as for the risk of taking for granted contact-induced changes whose identification, as already mentioned, has different degrees of plausibility. I limit myself to recalling that, on the one hand, there is no evidence in Latin and the Sabellic languages of significant changes consequent to contact with Etruscan, except for loanwords,¹² while, on the other, several phenomena attributable to the contact with Latin and/or the Sabellic languages are attested in Etruscan from the earliest times.¹³ First, numerous loanwords, such

and Ross (2009) should also be mentioned, as they approach the question from a specifically historical perspective.

7 I leave the question of the contact between Latin and the Sabellic languages aside (but see below, § 5).

8 This label has been coined by Prosdocimi (1995: 41–42).

9 See, for example, Ernout (1929), De Simone (1988), Breyer (1993), and Watmough (1997).

10 See, for example, Rix (1981; 1998a), Steinbauer (1993), Canuti (2008), Meiser (2009), and Rigobianco (2013).

11 Pisani (1978). For an updated overview, see Filippin (2022). On areal linguistics, see, among others, Campbell (2006) and Muysken (2008).

12 For an overview, see Adams (2004: 159–184).

13 See Rigobianco (2024: 264–265).

as anthroponyms, theonyms, technical terms, institutional terms, and kinship terms, may be identified.¹⁴ For some of them, Rix has shown that there are formal reasons which make a Sabellic origin more likely than a Latin origin.¹⁵ In addition, it is possible to identify derivational morphemes which probably derive from Latin and/or the Sabellic languages. Such morphemes, most of which have been attested since the beginning of the Etruscan writing tradition, are: *-θe/-te* (cf. Proto-Italic **-ti-*), for deriving adjectives from nouns, in particular ethnics from toponyms¹⁶ (see, for example, *kaiserithē*¹⁷ ‘Kaiserithē (= Caeretan; masculine gentilicium)’); *-i* (cf. Proto-Italic **-ī-*), for deriving feminine gentilicia¹⁸ (see, for example, *puleisnai*¹⁹ ‘Puleisnai (feminine gentilicium)’); *-ia* (cf. Proto-Italic **-jā-*), for deriving feminine anthroponyms²⁰ (see, for example, *velelia(-)*²¹ ‘Uelelia (feminine praenomen)’); *-ie* (cf. Proto-Italic **-jo-*), for deriving adjectives, in particular gentilicia, from nouns²² (see, for example, *rasunie*²³ ‘Rasunie (= Etruscan; masculine gentilicium)’); *-le* (cf. Proto-Italic **-lo-*), for deriving hypocoristics²⁴ (see, for example, *venzile(-)*²⁵ ‘Venzile (masculine gentilicium)’); *-ns* (cf. Proto-Italic **-no-s*), for deriving theonyms²⁶ (see, for example, *culśansś*²⁷ ‘Culsans (theonym)’); *-sie* (cf. Proto-Italic **-sjo-?*), for

14 A comprehensive review of such loanwords is still missing. By way of example, one may cite the masculine praenomina *mamarce*, *puplie-*, and *kavie* (cf. Latin *Māmercus*, *Publius*, *Gāius*; Rix 1995: 723), the theonyms *uni*, *menerva*, and *neθuns* (cf. Latin *Iūnō*, *Minerua*, and *Neptūnus*; Rix 1981), the vase name *putlum-* (cf. Latin *pōculum*; Prosdocimi 1979a: 159–161), the institutional term *macstre-* (cf. Latin *magister*; Maggiani 1996: 114), and the kinship term *nefts* ‘nephew’ (cf. Latin *nepōs*; Maggiani 2019).

15 See, for example, Rix (1981: 123–125).

16 Steinbauer (1999: 126–127).

17 *ET*² AV 1.29 (6th century BCE). Etruscan inscriptions are cited according to Meiser (2014) = *ET*².

18 Rigobianco (2013: 139–146).

19 *ET*² Pa 1.2 (second quarter of the 6th century BCE).

20 Rigobianco (2013: 171–178).

21 *ET*² Fa 2.5 (archaic), Ve 3.47 (last quarter of the 7th century BCE) Cr 2.36 (third quarter of the 7th century BCE), 2.80 (end of the 6th/beginning of the 5th century BCE), 2.158 (end of the 7th century BCE), 7.1 (third quarter of the 7th century BCE), AT 2.1 (second half of the 7th century BCE), 2.2 (*velelia[s]*; 7th century BCE), Vs 1.66 (end of the 6th/beginning of the 5th century BCE), 1.85 (end of the 6th/beginning of the 5th century BCE), 1.112 (*velelia[s]*; end of the 6th/beginning of the 5th century BCE).

22 De Simone (1989: 271–275).

23 *ET*² Cm 3.2 (third quarter of the 7th century BCE).

24 van Heems (2008: 86–87; this morpheme is attested only in late Etruscan).

25 *ET*² Cl 1.356, 1.1146, 1.1148, 1.1674 (*venzileś*), 1.2366 (*venzi[le]*).

26 Rix (1998a: 213–216, 222).

27 *ET*² Co 3.4, 4.11 (*culśansś*).

deriving praenomina²⁸ (see, for example, *lauχusie(-)*²⁹ ‘Lauχusie (masculine praenomen)'). Apart from the question of the feminine suffix *-i*, which is particularly controversial,³⁰ these morphemes have been identified as borrowed on the basis of their formal identity or similarity with approximately synonymous Italic morphemes of Proto-Indo-European origin, as well as of the finding in the Etruscan corpus of both Italic loanwords characterised by such derivational morphemes and words derived from Etruscan stems with the same morphemes.

In the light of this phenomenology, the contact between Etruscan and the Sabellic languages and/or Latin may be categorized as a “more intense contact” on a scale of four degrees (“casual contact”; “slightly more intense contact”; “more intense contact”; “intense contact”), as it is designed by Thomason. Specifically, although “any borrowing scale is a matter of probabilities”, such a “more intense contact” is associated to the following outcomes (Thomason 2001: 70–71):

3. More intense contact (more bilinguals, attitudes and other social factors favoring borrowing): basic as well as nonbasic vocabulary borrowed, moderate structural borrowing.

Lexicon More function words borrowed; basic vocabulary—the kinds of words that tend to be present in all languages—may also be borrowed at this stage, including such closed-class items as pronouns and low numerals as well as nouns and verbs and adjectives; derivational affixes may be borrowed too (e.g. *-able/ible*, which originally entered English on French loanwords and then spread from there to native English vocabulary).

Structure More significant structural features are borrowed, though usually without resulting major typological change in the borrowing language. In phonology, the phonetic realizations of native phonemes, loss of some native phonemes not present in the source language, addition of new phonemes even in native vocabulary, prosodic features such as stress placement, loss or addition of syllable structure constraints (e.g. a bar against closed syllables), and morphophonemic rules (e.g. devoicing of word-final obstruents). In syntax, such features as word order (e.g. SVO beginning to replace SOV or vice versa) and the syntax of coordination and subordination (e.g. increasing or decreasing use of participial con-

28 De Simone (2006: 126–131).

29 *ET*² Vs 1.81 (6th–5th century BCE), Vn 3.2 ([*a*]uχu[s]hie; end of the 7th/beginning of the 6th century BCE), Vt 1.71 (end of the 6th century BCE).

30 See Rigobianco (2013: 139–146).

structions instead of constructions that employ conjunctions). In morphology, borrowed inflectional affixes and categories may be added to native words, especially if they fit well typologically with previously existing patterns.

4 Vowel Reduction and Deletion in Latin, Etruscan, and the Sabellic Languages

The identification of the vowel reduction and deletion phenomena in Latin, Etruscan, and the Sabellic languages is not always immediate, due to the problematic nature of the phonetic and phonological reconstruction based on writing³¹ as well as the limited knowledge of the languages in question—especially in the case of Etruscan and the Sabellic languages—. For example, in the Etruscan inscriptions dating to the 7th and 6th century BCE, there are attested nomina gentilia which show a sequence *-iena(-)*, such as *lapaiena*³² ‘Lapaiena (masculine gentilicium)’, alongside nomina gentilia which show a sequence *-ina(-)*, such as *velχaina*³³ ‘Velyχaina (masculine gentilicium)’. The sequence *-iena(-)* may be analysed as a concatenation of the derivational morphemes *-ie(-)* and *-na(-)*,³⁴ while the analysis of *-ina(-)* is theoretically dubious. In particular, *-ina(-)* may be analysed as an outcome of *-ie-na(-)* with deletion of *-e-*. However, it cannot be ruled out that *-ina(-)* is the concatenation of the derivational morphemes *-i(-)*³⁵ and *-na(-)*, as already hypothesized for the nomina gentilia ending in *-k/cina(-) < *-k/c-i-na(-)* (see, for example, *tursikina*³⁶ ‘Tur[ʃ]ikina (masculine gentilicium)’. Furthermore, if indeed *-ina(-)* is from *-ie-na(-)* with deletion of *-e-*, it would remain to be determined whether this deletion depends on the same phonetic and prosodic conditions which underlie the vowel deletion phenomena regularly written down in the Etruscan texts since the beginning of the 5th century BCE (see below, § 4.3). A further example of the difficulty in identifying the vowel reduction and deletion phenomena in the languages in question may be provided by South-Picene *múfqlúm*,³⁷ which

31 See Baglioni & Rigobianco in this volume.

32 *ET*² Cr 1.209 (*la[p]aiēna*).

33 *ET*² La 3.1, Cr 3.10, 3.13.

34 *-ie(-)* and *-na(-)* are both used to derive adjectives from nouns (Belfiore 2020: 212). As seen above (§ 3), *-ie(-)* has been borrowed in Etruscan from the Italic languages.

35 *-i(-)* is a morpheme of Italic origin used to derive feminine gentilia (see above, § 3).

36 *ET*² Cl 2.3. See Prosdociami (2009: 229–248).

37 *ST SP* Te 5 = *ImIt* Interamnia Praetuttiorum 1. Sabellic inscriptions are cited according to Rix (2002) = *ST* and Crawford (2011) = *ImIt*.

is commonly considered the Sabellic counterpart of Latin *monstrum*.³⁸ Specifically, *múfqlúm* has been claimed to be an evidence of the occurrence of medial syllable vowel deletion in an archaic Sabellic language³⁹ (see below, § 4.2). However, such an assumption is based on an etymological derivation from **monestlom* instead of from **monstlom*, which, however, cannot be definitively ascertained.⁴⁰

In light of this, it is necessary to clarify as far as possible the vowel reduction and deletion phenomena which actually occurred in Latin, Etruscan, and the Sabellic languages respectively, in particular with regard to their outcomes and chronology, in order to then proceed to a valid comparison.⁴¹

4.1 *Vowel Reduction and Deletion in Latin (and Faliscan)*

The earliest Latin texts do not show any signs of vowel reduction or deletion.⁴² For instance, the Praenestine fibula (second quarter of the 7th century BCE)⁴³ contains *vhevoked*⁴⁴ and *numasioi*, the Duenos inscription (first half of the 6th century BCE)⁴⁵ *iouesat*⁴⁶ and *feced*,⁴⁷ the Forum Cippus (mid-6th century BCE)⁴⁸ *sacros*, *esed*,⁴⁹ and *iouestod*,⁵⁰ a fragmentary inscription on

38 See Marinetti (1981: 138).

39 See, for example, Nishimura (2012: 388–389).

40 See, for example, Machajdíkóvá & Buzássyová (2021: 197).

41 Vowel reduction and deletion phenomena in Latin, Etruscan, and the Sabellic languages (§§ 4.1, 4.2, 4.3) and their analysis in terms of stress and rhythm (§ 4.4) as well as contact-induced phenomena (§§ 5, 6) have been extensively explored in Rigobianco (2024), although from a different perspective, which did not focus on the general issue of the reconstruction of contact-induced changes concerning ‘Restsprachen’, and are taken up as an exemplification of the preceding theoretical and methodological considerations (§§ 2, 3, and 4).

42 See, for example, Nishimura (2010a).

43 Colonna (1999: 439).

44 Unless *vhevoked* should be emended in *vhaked*, as suggested by Maras (2015) and Mancini (2021).

45 Colonna (1979: 167).

46 Some scholars hold that the change of *-ouV-* into *-ū-* should be considered apart from the phenomena in question (see, for example, Meiser 1998: 88). In any case, see also *iouo-* and *ioue-* on the Corcolle Altar fragments, dated to approximately 500 BCE (Prosdociami 1979b: 197–216; Vine 1993: 65–83).

47 According to Weiss (2020: 149), the change of *-ed* to *-it* would not be a case of vowel reduction.

48 Coarelli (1983: 130).

49 See above, note 47.

50 See above, note 46.

a dolium from Satricum⁵¹ (mid-6th century BCE)⁵² *mamarcom*, and the Lapis Satricanus (end of the 6th/beginning of the 5th century BCE)⁵³ *mamartei*.

Before the start of the literary tradition in the 3rd century BCE, there was a process of vowel reduction and deletion in non-initial syllables. On the one hand, vowel reduction is noticeable in prefixed, compounded, and unverbated forms, mainly in verbs (see, for example, *conficio* beside *facio*), but also in consonant-stem nouns (see, for example, genitive *capitis* beside nominative *caput*), third conjugation verbs (see, for example, *legimus* beside *legere*), and early Greek loanwords (see, for example, *Tarentum* beside Greek *Τάραις*, *Τάραντος*). The trigger and outcome of vowel reduction depend on syllable position, syllable structure, and phonetic context⁵⁴ and analogical levelling may sometimes obscure its effects. On the other hand, vowel deletion is a phenomenon which occurred several times throughout the history of Latin and determining its rules is difficult.⁵⁵ In any case, the earliest instances of vowel deletion seem to have happened before rhotacism, which occurred in the 4th century BCE:⁵⁶ see, for example, *pōnō* < **posnō* < **posinō*⁵⁷ instead of ***pornō* < ***porinō* < **posinō*.

As for Faliscan, which should be considered as a Latin dialect or, alternatively, as a distinct language closely related to Latin,⁵⁸ the discussion regarding vowel reduction and deletion has been going on for a considerable time due to the lack of convincing examples. While it is commonly believed that such phenomena are absent in Faliscan,⁵⁹ Bakkum finds this unlikely because of the close relationship between Faliscan and Latin.⁶⁰ However, it should be noted that closely related dialects may exhibit very different patterns of vowel reduc-

51 Gnade & Colonna (2003). See also *mamarc*[on a urn from Osteria dell'Osa dated to 630–620 BCE (Colonna 1980a).

52 Gnade & Colonna (2003: 19).

53 Colonna (1980b: 48).

54 Leumann (1977: 79–91); Meiser (1998: 67–73); Weiss (2020: 126–131). See also Nishimura (2010b).

55 Leumann (1977: 95–99); Meiser (1998: 66–67, 73–74); Weiss (2020: 132–135). See also Rix (1966).

56 Cf. Cic. *Fam.* 9.21.2 “L. Papirium Crassum, qui primum Papi(s)ius est vocari desitus” (Lucius Papirius Crassus was consul in 336 and 330 BCE).

57 Ernout & Meillet (1959: 520–521); Walde & Hofmann (1938–1954: II, 335–336); de Vaan (2008: 479). As to the preliterate stage, Nishimura (2011: 14–17) has argued that vowel deletion took place under a metric constraint which would have prevented the sequence of two light syllables: see, for example, *ūsurpā-* < **oīsūrūpā-* and *repperī* < **rēpēpārī*.

58 See Rigobianco (2020: 314–316) and references therein.

59 See, for example, Giacomelli (2006: 104).

60 Bakkum (2009: 101).

tion and deletion. An example of this is seen in the contemporary Bolognese dialects, where the tendency towards vowel reduction and deletion increases from the Apennines to the city of Bologna (cf., for example, Monte di Badi dialect [sel'vadigo] and Bologna dialect [sal'va:dg] < Latin *siluaticum*).⁶¹ Anyway, the available data in Faliscan are scarce and their analysis is often uncertain.⁶² I only mention the form *maxomo*, which appears as a cognomen in at least three Faliscan inscriptions.⁶³ This form is particularly interesting because it seems to show the deletion of *-i-* (**magisomos* > **magsomos*; cf. Latin *maximus/maxumus*)⁶⁴ and the preservation of the vowel *-o-* in the middle syllable.⁶⁵ In the light of this, it may be speculated that Faliscan also exhibits a tendency towards vowel reduction and deletion in non-initial syllables, as seen in Latin, which could explain the deletion of *-i-* in **magisomos*. However, the results in Faliscan would be partially different from those in Latin. In any case, such a tendency would likely come later than the earliest documents, if the Faliscan form *pe:parai*, found in the so-called Ceres-inscription (7th century BCE), is indeed a reduplicative perfect with the preservation of the medial syllable vowel *-a-*, corresponding to Latin *peperi* 'I gave birth' with the expected reduction of the medial syllable vowel *-a-* to *-e-*.

4.2 *Vowel Reduction and Deletion in the Sabellic Languages*

Reconstructing the processes of vowel reduction and deletion in the Sabellic languages is challenging due to the fragmentary nature of their documentation. From the early stages of their writing traditions, the Sabellic languages exhibit the deletion of short vowels before *s* in final syllables, which may therefore be assumed as a Proto-Sabellic or at least a Common-Sabellic phenomenon:⁶⁶ see, for example, *setums* 'Setums (masculine praenomen)' < **septumos* in a Palaeo-Sabellic inscription of the 7th century BCE.⁶⁷ Contrarily, vowel deletion in medial syllables likely occurred independently in the different Sabellic languages, as evidenced by its occurrence after language-specific sound changes.

61 Filipponio (2012: 71–79). Monte di Badi is a village in the Apennines about sixty kilometres south west of Bologna.

62 For an updated review, see Bakkum (2009: 100–103).

63 Bakkum 98 (*maxom[0]*), 162 (*ma]xomo*), and 220. Faliscan inscriptions are cited according to Bakkum (2009).

64 Weiss (2020: 90 n. 8). Cf. Ernout & Meillet (1959: 377–379), Walde & Hofmann (1938–1954: II, 14), and de Vaan (2008: 358–359).

65 Bakkum (2009: 101).

66 Clackson (2015: 10).

67 *ST Um 4 = Imlt Caere 1*. See Rix (1992).

For instance, Umbrian **struhçla**⁶⁸ < **struūikelā*⁶⁹ demonstrates that the deletion of *-e- occurred after the palatalization of the preceding velar stop, indicated by the use of the letter <ç>.⁷⁰ Nevertheless, vowel deletion in medial syllables seems also to have taken place in archaic varieties.⁷¹ The Tortora inscription (end of the 6th century BCE)⁷² provides an example with (σ)τα[.]ιοσφτοδ, which can be analysed as a so-called future imperative (-τοδ) of a *-sk-e/o- verbal base with deletion of -e- (-σφ- < *-ske-).⁷³

Regarding vowel reduction, in the various Sabellic languages it seems to affect different vowels, to be triggered by different phonetic contexts, and to yield different outcomes.⁷⁴ For example, in Oscan, -a-, -e-, and -o- changed to -u- in medial open syllables before or after a labial sound (see, for example, *pertumum*⁷⁵ ‘to prevent (through intercession)’⁷⁶ < **pertemom*; cf. *pertemust*⁷⁷ ‘(he/she/it) will prevent (through intercession)’, *pertemest*⁷⁸ ‘(he/she/it) will have prevented (through intercession)’).⁷⁹ In Umbrian, -a- in medial syllables changed to -o- (see, for example, *prestota*⁸⁰ ‘Praestota (theonym)’⁸¹ < **praista-ta-*; cf. *prestate*⁸²).⁸³ These phenomena seem to have occurred relatively late in both Oscan and Umbrian.⁸⁴ In the archaic varieties, the presence of vowel reduction is uncertain.⁸⁵ A possible example could be Pre-Samnite διπότερε<ç> ‘Jupiter’ (beginning of the 5th century BCE),⁸⁶ if -πότερ- is the outcome of *-pater-, as suggested by Rix.⁸⁷

68 **struhçla** probably refers to some kind of pastry added to the sacrificial meat (Untermann 2000: 704–705).

69 *ST Um 1* (II a 18, 28, IV 4 **struhçla**, III 34 **struçla**, II a 41, IV 1 **struhçlas**, VI a 59 *strusla*, VI b 5, 23, VII a 8, 42, 54 *strušla*).

70 Nishimura (2012: 387). See also Nishimura (2016) on syncope of *u*-vocalism in Sabellic.

71 Nishimura (2012: 388–389). See also Lipp (2021).

72 *ST Ps 20* = *ImIt Blanda 1*. For the dating, see Lazzarini & Poccetti (2001: 16).

73 Lazzarini & Poccetti (2001: 143, 173). Its exact meaning is unclear.

74 For an overview, see Nishimura (2012: 381–386) and Zair (2016: 300–312).

75 *ST Lu 1* = *ImIt Bantia 1* (line 7).

76 Untermann (2000: 219–221).

77 *ST Lu 1* = *ImIt Bantia 1* (line 4).

78 *ST Lu 1* = *ImIt Bantia 1* (line 7).

79 Zair (2016: 302–303).

80 For the many occurrences of *prestota*, see the index in Untermann (2000: 574).

81 Untermann (2000: 574–575).

82 *ST Um 1* (Ib 27).

83 Zair (2016: 303–306).

84 Zair (2016: 299, 311–312).

85 Cf. Nishimura (2012: 383–386).

86 *ST Ps 1* = *ImIt Nerulum 1*.

87 Rix (1997: 146–147). See, however, the remarks on the correction διπότερε<ç> for διπότερεμ by Crawford (2011: 1341).

4.3 Vowel Reduction and Deletion in Etruscan

Etruscan shows a clear tendency towards vowel reduction and then deletion in non-initial syllables. For example, *avile*⁸⁸ ‘Avile (masculine praenomen)’ first underwent vowel reduction, resulting in *av[ə]le*, which could be written as *avile*, *avale*,⁸⁹ *avele*,⁹⁰ or *avule*,⁹¹ and then deletion, becoming *avle/aule*.⁹²

Vowel deletion is quite extensive and has been consistently written down since the early 5th century BCE,⁹³ although evidence of this phenomenon may be traced back to the 7th century BCE. For instance, alongside the form *mulvanice/mulvanike*⁹⁴ ‘gave’,⁹⁵ there are also attested forms such as *mulvunike*⁹⁶ (end of the 7th century BCE) with reduction of *-a-* to [ə] represented by ⟨u⟩, *mulvunike*⁹⁷ (last quarter of the 7th century BCE) with reduction of *-a-* and *-i-* to [ə] represented by ⟨e⟩, *mulvunice*⁹⁸ (last quarter of the 7th century BCE) with deletion of *-a-*, *mulvanice*⁹⁹ (end of the 7th/beginning of the 6th century BCE)/*mulvanike*¹⁰⁰ (second half of the 7th century BCE) and *mulvannice*¹⁰¹ (end of the 7th/beginning of the 6th century BCE) with deletion of *-u-*, *mulvenike*¹⁰² (third quarter of the 7th century BCE) with deletion of *-u-* and reduction of *-a-* to [ə] represented by ⟨e⟩, as well as *mulvenece*¹⁰³ (end of the

88 *ET*² Ve 3.11, 3.29 (*avile*), Cr 2.99 (*avilesca*), 3.28 (*avile*), Ta 7.18, 7.35 (*avile*), AT 2.9, Vs 1.26, 1.84, 1.100 (*aviles*), 1.165, 1.166, Vc 1.78 (*aviles*), 2.71, 3.4, 3.5 (*avile*), o.23, Ru 2.1 ([*a*]*viles*), Vt 1.154 (*aviles*), AS 2.1 (*avile[s]*), 2.14, Pe 1.115 (*aviles*), Fs 1.4, 1.5, o.3 (*avile[s]*), Pa 1.1, OA 2.6. The notation of [s] as either ⟨s⟩ (sigma) or ⟨ś⟩ (san) depends on the orthographic habits of the different areas of Etruria.

89 *ET*² Cr 3.23.

90 *ET*² Cm 2.127, Ve 2.1, Vs 1.5, 1.13, 1.33 (*avele*{-}s), 1.38, 1.39, 1.45, 1.56, 1.121 (*av[e]les*), 1.137 (*aveles*), 1.328, 1.344, AV 1.23 ([*a*]*veles*), Po 2.5 (*avele*), Cl 2.15 (*avel[e]*), OA 3.1 (*ave[lesi]*), 6.1.

91 *ET*² Cr 1.63, AV 2.17.

92 For the many occurrences of *avle/aule*, see the index in Meiser (2014).

93 Rix (2004: 950).

94 For the many occurrences of *mulvanice/mulvanike*, see the index in Meiser (2014). The notation of [k] as either ⟨c⟩ or ⟨k⟩ depends on the orthographic habits of the different areas of Etruria.

95 Rix (2004: 957).

96 *ET*² Vt 3.5.

97 *ET*² Cl 3.2 (*mulvunike*).

98 *ET*² Cr 3.27 (*mulvunice*).

99 *ET*² Ve 3.18 (*mulvanice*), Cr 3.11, Cr 3.15.

100 *ET*² Ru 3.1 (*mulvanike*).

101 *ET*² Cr 3.14. The gemination of *-n-*, which also occurs in the form *sanursiannaś* in the same inscription, remains to be clarified.

102 *ET*² Cl 2.3 (*mulvenike*).

103 *ET*² Vc 3.3.

7th/beginning of the 6th century BCE) with deletion of *-u-* and reduction of *-a-* and *-i-* to [ə] represented by ⟨e⟩.

4.4 *Vowel Reduction and Deletion as Stress- and Rhythm-Related Phenomena*

As seen above, on the basis of writing, manifold phenomena of vowel reduction and deletion may be reconstructed for Latin, Etruscan, and the Sabellic languages. Since such phenomena affect only non-initial syllables, they are commonly ascribed to the effect of a first-syllable stress.

The reconstruction of the stress systems of both the Italic languages and Etruscan is quite complex. Specifically, for the Italic languages, it is generally assumed that the Proto-Indo-European mobile stress was maintained until the early Proto-Italic period, as proven by certain phonetic phenomena which seem sensitive to the stress position reconstructed for Proto-Indo-European (see, for example, Latin *et* < **éti* versus *pede* < **pedí*).¹⁰⁴ Subsequently, the Proto-Indo-European mobile stress would have been replaced by a first-syllable stress, which would be responsible for the vowel reduction and deletion phenomena in non-initial syllables attested in Latin and the Sabellic languages.¹⁰⁵ The Proto-Italic first-syllable stress would probably have been preserved in the Sabellic languages throughout their history.¹⁰⁶ In particular, with regard to Oscan, such an assumption is supported by the occurrence almost exclusively in the first syllable of a mean for signalling vowel length (see, for example, *aasai*¹⁰⁷ 'at the altar',¹⁰⁸ with *aa-* for [a:]).¹⁰⁹ Conversely, in Latin, the Proto-Italic first-syllable stress would have been replaced by the Penultimate Law of stress placement.¹¹⁰

104 See Vine (2012) and references therein as well as Höfler (2017).

105 The hypothesis of a first-syllable stress in Latin has been rejected on different grounds by Ballester (1990; 1996), Oniga (1990; 2006), Pultrová (2006; 2011), and Ohannesian (2020), who have provided different alternative explanations for the vowel reduction and deletion phenomena occurring in non-initial syllables. However, the traditional hypothesis seems to more convincingly account for the whole phenomenology in question—including vowel reduction in early Greek loanwords—than those put forward by Oniga, Pultrová, and Ohannesian. On Ballester's hypothesis, see below (§ 6).

106 See Nishimura (2014: 183–186).

107 *ST Sa* 1 (A 16, B 19) = *ImIT* *Terventum* 34 (A 16, B 19).

108 Untermann (2000: 43–44).

109 Thurneysen (1909). See Nishimura (2014: 186) for an analysis of the distribution of ⟨Vh⟩, ⟨VhV⟩, and ⟨VV⟩ as an orthographic device for [V̄] in Umbrian. The use of alliteration in archaic Italic poetic texts is also commonly considered an indication of a first-syllable stress: for an overview, see Nishimura (2014: 168 n. 23).

110 Leumann (1977: 237–246); Meiser (1998: 53); Weiss (2020: 119–122).

The Etruscan stress system has been studied only to a very limited extent and no attempt has yet been made to understand how it works by analysing the entire corpus of inscriptions. However, based on the vowel reduction and deletion in non-initial syllables, it is generally assumed that Etruscan had a first-syllable stress.¹¹¹ It is important to point out that this first-syllable stress may be an innovation in Etruscan. Specifically, starting from a prehistoric process of apocope reconstructed by Rix,¹¹² Prosdocimi has put forward the hypothesis that the original Etruscan stress system was characterised by stress on the penultimate syllable.¹¹³ According to this hypothesis, for instance, the nominative-accusative form *seχ*¹¹⁴ ‘daughter’ would be the result of an earlier form **séχi* and the corresponding genitive form *seχis*¹¹⁵ the result of an earlier form **seχisi*.¹¹⁶

Anyway, it is important to acknowledge that stress position alone is not sufficient to determine the occurrence of the vowel reduction and deletion phenomena being discussed. This observation, along with the disagreement with the French School’s theory supporting the existence of a pitch accent in Latin,¹¹⁷ might explain why the accent responsible for these phenomena is often described as a dynamic, expiratory, or intensive accent which would have been notably strong.¹¹⁸ Nevertheless, it is crucial to take into account other factors,¹¹⁹ particularly rhythmic factors, which appear to have played a significant role.

Numerous theoretical models have been proposed to explain how rhythm works, taking into account both phonetic and phonological aspects. In this regard, Bertinetto, moving away from the traditional distinction between

111 Rix (2004: 949).

112 Rix (1984, 204; 1989, 173–182).

113 Prosdocimi (1986: 612–613). See also Rigobianco (2017). In any case, the innovative character of the tendency towards rhythmic compensation in Etruscan is confirmed by the absence of vowel reduction and deletion in Rhaetic, a language phylogenetically related to Etruscan (see Schumacher 2004: 316–317).

114 For the many occurrences of *seχ*, see the index in Meiser (2014).

115 *ET² Cr* 3.33, *Vs* 3.9, *Pe* 1.21 (*séχis*), 1.1101 (*seχis*).

116 The reconstruction of *-*si* as the original genitive ending is based on the palatalisation of the stem-vowel in the ablative case (see, for example, nominative-accusative *rasna*, genitive *rasnas*, ablative *raśneś*), whose ending would arise from the addition to the genitive ending *-*si*—with *-i* responsible for the palatalisation—of a further morpheme *-*sV* (*raśneś* < **rasna-si-sV*); see Rix (2004, 952–953).

117 See Leumann (1977: 248–254).

118 See, by way of example, Fortson (2011: 102; “all the linguistic evidence strongly indicates that Latin had a strong expiratory stress-accent throughout its history”).

119 In this regard, Flemming (2005: 3) claims that “[i]t is typical correlates of lack of stress that condition neutralization, not stress per se”.

stress-timed and syllable-timed languages, has recently proposed a more appropriate classification of languages into compensating and controlling languages,¹²⁰ thus shedding light on the phenomena of vowel reduction and deletion. Specifically, Bertinetto builds upon Pike's idea of differentiating syllable-timed rhythm, where all the syllables tend to have equal durations, from stress-timed rhythm, where the intervals between stresses tend to be constant.¹²¹ According to the traditional view, the stress-timed rhythm, exemplified by English, would lead to a "rhythmic crushing of syllables into short time limits", and, as a result, would be "partly responsible for many abbreviations—in which syllables may be omitted entirely—and the obscuring of vowels".¹²² Despite experimental evidence contradicting such a distinction, Bertinetto has suggested that the core hypothesis may still be upheld by replacing the concepts of syllable-timed and stressed-time rhythm with those of compensation and control. The terms 'control' and 'compensation' refer to "how vocalic and consonantal gestures are coupled in the articulatory flow".¹²³ Specifically, in an ideal controlling language "all segments receive the same amount of expenditure, i.e. articulatory effort, and (ideally) tend to have the same duration", while an ideal compensating language is characterised by an "increased gestural overlap in unstressed syllables, where the segment most liable to compression / coarticulation is of course the vocalic nucleus".¹²⁴ Within such a framework, vowel reduction and deletion in non-initial syllables may be explained by the interaction between a first-syllable stress and the tendency to compensate, i.e., at the prosodic level, the tendency to the tolerance of unstressed vowels towards very high levels of coarticulation. Evidently, the strength of this tendency as well as language-specific features, such as the acceptability of complex consonants clusters, may account for different outcomes in different languages.

5 Vowel Reduction and Deletion in Latin, Etruscan, and the Sabellic Languages as Contact-Induced Phenomena

The vowel reduction and deletion phenomena which occurred in Etruscan and in the Sabellic languages since the earliest epigraphic records (7th century BCE; see above, §§ 4.2, 4.3) and in Latin in the period between the earliest epigraphic

120 See Bertinetto (1989), Bertinetto & Bertini (2009), and Bertinetto & Bertini (2010).

121 Pike (1945: 34–36).

122 Pike (1945: 34).

123 Bertinetto (2009: 427).

124 Bertinetto (2009: 427).

records (7th–6th century BCE) and the emergence of literary works (3rd century BCE; see above, § 4.1) resemble each other. In particular, they reflect a tendency towards rhythmic compensation and affect non-initial syllables, thus implying a first-syllable stress (see above, § 4.5).

Since the early 20th century, it has been assumed that the sharing of a first-syllable stress among Latin, Etruscan, and the Sabellic languages would be a feature spread by contact.¹²⁵ Etruscan, in particular, has repeatedly been proposed as the source language. This proposal is probably influenced by both a tendency to overestimate the impact of Etruscan on Latin and the Sabellic languages (see above, § 3), as well as the pervasiveness of vowel deletion in Etruscan (see above, § 4.3). However, it should not be dismissed that the strength of the tendency towards rhythmic compensation may be influenced by language-specific developments and, therefore, in case of spread by contact, be greater in the target language than in the source language.

Recently, the hypothesis of a contact-induced feature has been proposed, albeit in broad terms, by Zair.¹²⁶ In contrast, Nishimura, in his studies on the stress system and the vowel reduction and deletion phenomena in Latin and the Sabellic languages, has cast doubts about such a hypothesis.¹²⁷ In particular, Nishimura argues that any influence from Etruscan should be excluded, as the earliest instances of vowel reduction and deletion in the Sabellic languages would predate the same phenomena in Etruscan. However, as shown above (§ 3.3), evidence for vowel deletion in Etruscan may be found as early as the second half of the 7th century BCE.

Changes in prosodic features resulting from contact are not surprising. Salmons has observed both direct and indirect evidence of such changes.¹²⁸ For instance, in the Zaonežje dialect of Russian, a shift in stress position occurred after contact with Karelian, a Uralic language with fixed initial-syllable stress. Specifically, stress, when on the final syllable, was shifted onto the initial syllable, as shown by the contrast between Zaonežje dialect *ž'v'æt* '(he/she/it) lives' and standard Russian *ž'iv'ót*.¹²⁹ Moreover, in various geographic regions, phylogenetically unrelated languages exhibit similar stress systems.¹³⁰ However, it is important to note that, when stress systems change due to contact,

125 See, for example, Skutsch (1913: 196). For an overview, see Leumann (1977: 247–248).

126 Zair (2016).

127 Nishimura (2012: 392–394; 2014: 168–169).

128 Salmons (1992: 25–27). See, also, van der Hulst, Goedemans & Rice (2017).

129 The example is from Pronk (2018: 555).

130 Salmons (1992: 43–49).

it does not mean that the target language adopts the whole stress system of the source language.¹³¹

Taking all this into account and considering the similarity of the phenomena, their chronology, the geographic proximity, the lack of genetic relationship between, on the one hand, Etruscan¹³² and, on the other, Latin and the Sabellic languages, and the presence of changes induced by the contact between them (see above, § 3), it appears reasonable to conclude that these phenomena are contact-induced. Therefore, the issue is determining their origin and development. In theory, two broad scenarios are plausible: a contact-induced change "in language maintenance" or a contact-induced change "in language shift".¹³³ In the first scenario, we should assume an "intensive contact, including much bilingualism among borrowing-language speakers over a long period of time", in the second, a "large shifting group and imperfect learning".¹³⁴ Based on linguistic and archaeological evidence, it is possible to reconstruct a scenario similar to the former for the Etruscan and Sabellic groups in the centuries just prior to the start of their writing traditions. As already seen, several phenomena attributable to the contact with the Italic languages are attested in Etruscan from the earliest times (see above, § 3). Furthermore, from a historical perspective, this linguistic situation matches with the processes of formation of proto-urban centres in the 9th century BCE by Etruscan populations with the participation of Sabellic groups.¹³⁵

Conversely, as noted above, the processes of vowel reduction and deletion in Latin seem to have occurred at a later stage compared to Etruscan and the Sabellic languages (see above, §§ 4.1, 4.2, and 4.3). Moreover, with the exception of a few loanwords, there is no evidence in Latin indicating contact-induced phenomena resulting from long-term bilingualism in Etruscan or a Sabellic language.¹³⁶ Nonetheless, the rhythmic tendency towards compensation, which led to vowel reduction and deletion in Latin, may have been caused by large groups of Etruscan and/or Sabellic speakers shifting to Latin with consequent

131 Pronk (2018: 564–567). More generally, this lack of precise correspondence applies to any contact-induced change: see for example, Thomason & Kaufman (1988: 246), who consider it an "erroneous assumption that an exact correspondence between source-language structures and target-language structures is to be expected".

132 Etruscan belongs to the Tyrsenian family alongside with Lemnian and Rhaetic: see Rix (1998b: 59–60).

133 Thomason & Kaufman (1988: 50).

134 Thomason & Kaufman (1988: 50).

135 Maggiani (2012: 402).

136 On the contact between Latin, on the one hand, and Oscan, Umbrian, and Etruscan, on the other, see, for example, Adams (2004: 112–184).

imperfect learning. In this respect, as Thomason and Kaufmann note, “unlike borrowing, interference through imperfect learning does *not* begin with vocabulary: it begins instead with sounds and syntax”.¹³⁷ Specifically, it would be a case of ‘imposition’, in which the agent(s) of transfer are dominant in the source language.¹³⁸ In Ross’ terms, such a speech community may be defined as ‘open’, ‘looseknit’ and ‘polylectal’.¹³⁹ From an historical point of view, this scenario seems entirely plausible. Specifically, this assumption may be supported by various evidence, such as the period of Etruscan dominance in the 6th century BCE and the existence of a vicus Tuscus in Rome,¹⁴⁰ as well as the migration of Sabellic groups to Rome, such as when Attius Clausus arrived from the Sabine territory with a large group of clients at the end of the 6th century BCE.¹⁴¹ In these processes, the perceived prestige of those imperfect learners within the Roman society may have played a significant role in encouraging native Latin speakers to imitate them.

It is possible to argue against such a reconstruction by pointing out the natural occurrence of vowel reduction and deletion in numerous languages across the world and, therefore, suggesting that these phenomena may have occurred independently in Latin.¹⁴² However, this objection becomes less significant when we acknowledge that both internal and external factors frequently play a role in driving linguistic changes.¹⁴³ In this particular case, linguistic and historical factors, as mentioned earlier, strongly indicate that contact was the cause, or at least one of the causes, for the change in the rhythmic pattern.

6 Conclusion

The initial formal evidence of a possible contact-induced change (see above, § 2) is the sharing by Latin, Etruscan, and the Sabellic languages of a tendency

137 Thomason & Kaufmann (1988: 39). On language shift as a trigger for phonological reshaping of the secondary language on the model of the primary language, see also Ross (2009: 191–193).

138 van Coetsem (2000: 74–75).

139 Ross (2009: 179).

140 See Colonna (1978). Some Etruscan inscriptions from the archaic period have been found in Rome and Latium.

141 Cf. Liv. 2.16.3–4 “Attius Clausus, cui postea Appio Claudio fuit Romae nomen, [...] ab Inregillo, magna clientium comitatus manu, Romam transfugit”.

142 I thank Professor Cuzzolin for this remark.

143 See, for example, Thomason (2001: 61–63). For language contact as an either direct or indirect actuator of change see also Joseph (2002: 51–55).

towards vowel reduction and deletion in non-initial syllables (see above, §§ 4.1, 4.2, and 4.3). Furthermore, “sachliche Argumente” (see above, § 2) may be made for such a hypothesis, namely the historical relationships between the Latin, Etruscan, and Sabellic ethne (see above, § 5) and the related contact-induced linguistic changes (see above, § 3).

In summary, it appears possible to reconstruct the following processes. In late Proto-Italic, the Proto-Indo-European mobile stress, would have been replaced by a first-syllable stress (see above, § 4.4). Subsequently, in Proto-Sabellic, there would have been a tendency towards rhythmic compensation, leading to the deletion of short vowels before *s* in final syllables and, later, to vowel reduction and deletion in non-initial syllables. These later changes occurred independently in the various Sabellic languages (§ 4.2).

In Etruscan, the original penultimate-syllable stress, which triggered a pre-historic process of apocope, would have been replaced by a first-syllable stress. Such a stress, along with the tendency towards rhythmic compensation, would account for the vowel reduction and subsequent deletion in non-initial syllables attested since the second half of the 7th century BCE and consistently written down since the beginning of the 5th century BCE (§ 4.3). Both the stress position and the rhythmic pattern would be the result of a change brought about by contact between Etruscan and the Sabellic languages, due to a widespread bilingualism among Etruscan speakers. Such a bilingualism is also evident in the numerous Etruscan words and derivational morphemes borrowed from the Italic languages (§ 3).

For its part, Latin would have inherited a first-syllable stress from late Proto-Italic (§ 4.4). The vowel reduction and deletion phenomena in non-initial syllable, which are observed only after the earliest texts (§ 2), may be attributed to the interaction between the inherited first-syllable stress and an innovative tendency towards rhythmic compensation. Such a tendency would have become widespread in Latin as a result of the imperfect learning of large Etruscan and/or Sabellic speaking groups shifting to Latin.¹⁴⁴

144 In this regard, it should be noted that, assuming a tendency towards rhythmic compensation borrowed from Etruscan and/or the Sabellic languages, the vowel reduction and deletion phenomena in Latin may also be explained if the hypothesis of a Proto-Italic first-syllable accent is rejected and an archaic Latin stress system as reconstructed by Ballester (1990) is accepted.

References

- Adams, James N. 2004. *Bilingualism and the Latin Language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bakkum, Gabriël C.L.M. 2009. *The Latin Dialect of the Ager Faliscus*. Amsterdam: University of Amsterdam.
- Baldi, Philip & Pierluigi Cuzzolin. 2015. 'Uniformitarian Principle': dalle scienze naturali alla linguistica storica? *Modelli epistemologici, metodologie della ricerca e qualità del dato. Dalla linguistica storica alla sociolinguistica storica*, 37–49. Milano: FrancoAngeli.
- Ballester, Xaviero. 1990. La posición del acento prehistórico latino. *Emerita* 58: 33–50.
- Ballester, Xaviero. 1996. La tipología y el acento prehistórico latino. *Emerita* 64: 59–63.
- Belfiore, Valentina. 2020. Etrusco. *Palaeohispanica* 20: 199–262.
- Bertinetto, Pier Marco. 1989. Reflections on the dichotomy "stress" vs. "syllable-timing". *Revue de Phonétique Appliquée* 91–93: 99–130.
- Bertinetto, Pier Marco & Chiara Bertini. 2009. On modeling the rhythm of natural languages. *Speech Prosody 2008. Fourth Conference on Speech Prosody. May 6–9, Campinas, Brazil. Proceedings*, ed. by Plinio A. Barbosa et al., 427–430. Campinas: International Speech Communication Association.
- Bertinetto, Pier Marco & Chiara Bertini. 2010. Towards a unified predictive model of Natural Language Rhythm. *Prosodic Universals. Comparative Studies in Rhythmic Modeling and Rhythm Typology*, ed. by Michela Russo, 43–78. Roma: Aracne editrice.
- Breyer, Gertraud. 1993. *Etruskisches Sprachgut im Lateinischen unter Ausschluss der spezifisch onomastischen Bereiche*. Leuven: Uitgeverij Peeters.
- Campbell, Lyle. 2006. Areal Linguistics: A Closer Scrutiny. *Linguistic Areas. Convergence in Historical and Typological Perspective*, ed. by Yaron Matras, April McMahon & Nigel Vincent, 1–31. Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Canuti, Massimiliano. 2008. *Basco ed etrusco. Due lingue sottoposte all'influsso indoeuropeo*. Pisa/Roma: Fabrizio Serra Editore.
- Clackson, James. 2015. Subgrouping in the Sabellian branch of Indo-European. *Transactions of the Philological Society* 113(1): 4–37.
- Coarelli, Filippo. 1983. *Il Foro Romano. Periodo arcaico*. Roma: Edizioni Quasar.
- Coleman, Robert. 1990. Dialectal variation in Republican Latin, with special reference to Praenestine. *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society* 36: 1–25.
- Colonna, Giovanni. 1978. Etruria e Lazio nell'età dei Tarquini. *Etruria e Lazio arcaico*, ed. by Mauro Cristofani, 55–66. Roma: Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche.
- Colonna, Giovanni. 1979. Duenos. *Studi Etruschi* 47: 163–172.
- Colonna, Giovanni. 1980a. *Graeco more bibere*: l'iscrizione della tomba 115 dell'Osteria dell'Osa. *Archeologia laziale. III*, 51–55. Roma: Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche.
- Colonna, Giovanni. 1980b. L'aspetto epigrafico. *Lapis Satricanus. Archaeological, epi-*

- graphical, linguistic and historical aspects of the new inscription from Satricum*, ed. by Conrad M. Stibbe et al., 41–69. The Hague: Nederlands Instituut te Rome.
- Colonna, Giovanni. 1999. Epigrafi etrusche e latine a confronto. *XI Congresso Internazionale di Epigrafia Greca e Latina. Roma, 18–24 settembre 1997. Atti. I*, 435–450. Roma: Edizioni Quasar.
- Crawford, Michael H. 2011. *Imagines Italicae*. London: Institute of Classical Studies.
- De Simone, Carlo. 1988. Gli imprestiti etruschi nel latino arcaico. *Alle origini di Roma*, ed. by Enrico Campanile, 27–41. Pisa: Giardini Editori e Stampatori.
- De Simone, Carlo. 1989. Etrusco *Acvilna* ~ latino *Aquilus*. Un problema di intercambio onomastico. *La Parola del Passato* 44: 263–280.
- De Simone, Carlo. 2006. I 'Rossi' in Etruria: il nome dei *Rutuli*. *Incidenza dell'Antico* 4: 111–139.
- de Vaan, Michiel. 2008. *Etymological Dictionary of Latin and the other Italic Languages*. Leiden/Boston: Brill.
- Ernout, Alfred. 1909. *Les éléments dialectaux du vocabulaire latin*. Paris: Librairie Ancienne Honoré Champion.
- Ernout, Alfred. 1929. Les éléments étrusques du vocabulaire latin. *Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris* 30: 82–124.
- Ernout, Alfred & Antoine Meillet. 1959. *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine*. Paris: Klincksieck.
- Filippin, Antonio. 2022. Una 'lega linguistica' nell'Italia antica? Alcune considerazioni di metodo. *Lingvarum varietas* 11: 167–178.
- Filipponio, Lorenzo. 2012. Reflexionen über die Diachronie des galloitalienischen Rhythmus. *Testo e ritmi. Zum Rhythmus in der italienischen Sprache*, ed. by Emma Schafroth & Maria Selig, 61–87. Frankfurt am Main/Berlin/Bern/Bruxelles/New York/Oxford/Wien: Peter Lang.
- Flemming, Edward. 2005. *A Phonetically-Based Model of Phonological Vowel Reduction*. Manuscript.
- Fortson, Benjamin W. 2011. Latin Prosody and Metrics. *A Companion to the Latin Language*, ed. by James Clackson, 92–104. Malden/Oxford/Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Giacomelli, Roberto. 2006. *Nuove ricerche falische*. Roma: Il Calamo.
- Gnade, Marijke & Giovanni Colonna. 2003. Dolio con iscrizioni latine arcaiche da Satricum. *Archeologia classica* 54: 1–21.
- Goidanich, Pier Gabriele. 1929. Varietà etniche e varietà idiomatiche in Roma antica. *Atti del I Congresso Nazionale di Studi Romani*, 396–414. Roma: Istituto di Studi Romani.
- Joseph, Brian D. 2002. Language Contact and Historical Linguistics. *The Cambridge Handbook of Language Contact. Volume 1*, ed. by Salikoko S. Mufwene & Anna María Escobar, 43–63. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Höfler, Stefan. 2017. Observations on the *palma* rule. *Pallas* 103: 15–23.

- Lazzarini, Maria Letizia & Paolo Poccetti. 2001. *Il mondo enotrio tra VI e V secolo a.C. Atti dei seminari napoletani (1996–1998). L'iscrizione paleoitalica da Tortora*. Napoli: Loffredo Editore.
- Leumann, Manu. 1977. *Lateinische Laut- und Formenlehre*. München: C.H. Beck.
- Lipp, Reiner. 2021. The medial syllable syncope in South Picene inscriptions. *Studies in General and Historical Linguistics Offered to Jón Axel Hårdarson On the Occasion of his 65th Birthday*, ed. by Matteo Tarsi, 269–328. Innsbruck: Institut für Sprachwissenschaft der Universität Innsbruck.
- Lucas, Christopher. 2015. Contact-induced language change. *The Routledge Handbook of Historical Linguistics*, ed. by Claire Bowern & Bethwin Evans, 519–536. London: Routledge.
- Machajdíková, Barbora & Ludmilla E. Buzássyová. 2021. Vowel deletion before sibilant-stop clusters in Latin: issues of syllabification, lexicon and diachrony. *Journal of Latin Linguistics* 20(2): 191–237.
- Maggiani, Adriano. 1996. Appunti sulle magistrature etrusche. *Studi Etruschi* 62: 95–138.
- Maggiani, Adriano. 2012. La religione. *Introduzione all'Etruscologia*, ed. by Gilda Bartoloni, 395–418. Milano: Hoepli.
- Maggiani, Adriano. 2019. *Papals, nefts, prumts*. Termini di parentela in etrusco. Due nuove proposte di lettura. *Studi Etruschi* 82: 145–167.
- Mancini, Marco. 2021. Does Prenestinian *fe:faked* actually exist?. *Journal of Latin Linguistics* 20(1): 75–108.
- Maras, Daniele F. 2015. La prima stesura dell'iscrizione di *Manios* e l'uso epigrafico dell'interpunzione espuntiva. *Bullettino di Paletnologia italiana* 99: 113–122.
- Marinetti, Anna. 1981. Il sudpiceno come italico (e 'sabino?'). Note preliminari. *Studi Etruschi* 49: 113–158.
- Matras, Yaron. 2009. *Language Contact*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Meiser, Gerhard. 1998. *Historische Laut- und Formenlehre der lateinischen Sprache*. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft.
- Meiser, Gerhard. 2009. Le relazioni fra la lingua umbra e la lingua etrusca. *L'umbro e le altre lingue dell'Italia mediana antica*, ed. by Augusto Ancillotti & Alberto Calderini, 137–164. Perugia: Jama.
- Meiser, Gerhard. 2014. *Etruskische Texte. Editio Minor*. Hamburg: Baar-Verlag.
- Muysken, Pieter. 2008. Introduction. Conceptual and methodological issues in areal linguistics. *From Linguistics Areas to Areal Linguistics*, ed. by Pieter Muysken, 1–23. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Nishimura, Kanehiro. 2010a. Chronology between word-internal and word-final vowel reduction in Latin. *Incontri linguistici* 33: 167–177.
- Nishimura, Kanehiro. 2010b. Patterns of Vowel Reduction in Latin: Phonetics and Phonology. *Historische Sprachforschung* 123: 217–257.
- Nishimura, Kanehiro. 2011. Syncope in Latin: A Historical Restatement of Its Condi-

- tions. *Internation Journal of Diachronic Linguistics and Linguistic Reconstruction* 8: 1–41.
- Nishimura, Kanehiro. 2012. Vowel reduction and deletion in Sabellic: A synchronic and diachronic interface. *The Sound of Indo-European. Phonetics, Phonemics, and Morphophonemics*, ed. by Benedict Nielsen Whitehead et al., 381–398. København: Museum Tusulanum Press.
- Nishimura, Kanehiro. 2014. On accent in the Italic languages: nature, position, and history. *Studia Linguistica Universitatis Iagellonicae Cracoviensis* 131: 161–192.
- Nishimura, Kanehiro. 2016. On syncope of *u*-vocalism in Sabellic. *Indogermanische Forschungen* 121(1): 199–211.
- Ohanessian, Maria. 2020. Prefijación y apofonía en latín. *Lingue antiche e moderne* 9, 185–204.
- Oniga, Renato. 1990. L'apofonia nei composti e l'ipotesi dell' 'intensità' in latino. *Mettrica classica e linguistica*, ed. by Roberto M. Danese et al., 195–236. Urbino: QuattroVenti.
- Oniga, Renato. 2006. Un'eccezione all'apofonia latina. *Studi linguistici in onore di Roberto Gusmani*, ed. by Raffaella Bombi et al., 1337–1339. Alessandria: Edizioni dell'Orso.
- Pike, Kenneth L. 1945. *The Intonation of American English*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Pisani, Vittore. 1978. La lega linguistica italica nel I millennio a.C. *Testi e monumenti. Studi storico-linguistici in onore di Francesco Ribezzo*, ed. by Ciro Santoro & Cesare Marangio, 117–127. Mesagne: Museo civico archeologico «Ugo Granafei».
- Pronk, Tijmen. 2018. Language contact and prosodic change in Slavic and Baltic. *Diachronica* 35(4): 552–580.
- Prodocimi, Aldo Luigi. 1979a. Le iscrizioni italiche. Acquisizioni temi problemi. *Le iscrizioni prelatine in Italia*, 119–204. Roma: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei.
- Prodocimi, Aldo Luigi. 1979b. Studi sul latino arcaico. *Studi Etruschi* 47: 173–221.
- Prodocimi, Aldo Luigi. 1986. Sull'accento latino e italico. *o-o-pe-ro-si. Festschrift für Ernst Risch zum 75. Geburtstag*, ed. by Annemarie Etter, 601–618. Berlin/New York: de Gruyter.
- Prodocimi, Aldo Luigi. 1995. Filoni indoeuropei in Italia. Riflessioni e appunti. *L'Italia e il Mediterraneo antico*, ed. by Addolorata Landi, 11, 7–163. Pisa: Giardini Editori e Stampatori.
- Prodocimi, Aldo Luigi. 2009. Italia, Roma ed Etruria: aspetti degli scambi di lingua. *Annali della Fondazione per il Museo «Claudio Faina»* 16: 261–308.
- Pultrová, Lucie. 2006. *The vocalism of Latin medial syllables*. Praha: Univerzita Karlova v Praze, Nakladatelství Karolinum.
- Pultrová, Lucie. 2011. From the Proto-Indo-European to the Classical Latin accent. *Listy filologické* 134: 219–243.
- Renner, Vincent. 2023. Structural Borrowing. *Oxford Bibliographies in Linguistics*, ed. by Mark Aronoff. New York: Oxford University Press.

- Rigobianco, Luca. 2013. *Su numerus, genus e sexus. Elementi per una grammatica dell'etrusco*. Roma: Edizioni Quasar.
- Rigobianco, Luca. 2017. Per una grammatica dell'etrusco. Considerazioni morfonologiche sulla derivazione di nomi e aggettivi in etrusco arcaico. *Mediterranea* 14: 185–203.
- Rigobianco, Luca. 2020. Falisco. *Palaeohispánica* 20: 299–333.
- Rigobianco, Luca. 2022. Sabellismi in latino e falisco. *Lingvarum Varietas* 11: 147–166.
- Rigobianco, Luca. 2024. Vowel reduction and deletion in Archaic Latin: contact-induced phenomena? *Ancient Greek and Latin in the linguistic context of the Ancient Mediterranean*, ed. by Carlotta Viti, 255–271. Tübingen: Narr Francke Attempto.
- Rix, Helmut. 1966. Die lateinische Synkope als historisches und phonologisches Problem. *Kratylos* 11: 156–165.
- Rix, Helmut. 1981. Rapporti onomastici fra il panteon etrusco e quello romano. *Gli Etruschi e Roma*, 104–126. Roma: Giorgio Bretschneider Editore.
- Rix, Helmut. 1984. La scrittura e la lingua. *Gli Etruschi. Una nuova immagine*, ed. by Mauro Cristofani, 199–227. Firenze: Giunti.
- Rix, Helmut. 1989. Zur Morphostruktur des etruskischen s-Genetivs. *Studi Etruschi* 55: 169–193.
- Rix, Helmut. 1992. Una firma paleo-umbra. *Archivio Glottologico Italiano* 67: 243–252.
- Rix, Helmut. 1995. Etruskische Personennamen. *Namenforschung / Name Studies / Les noms propres. 1. Halbband*, ed. by Ernst Eichler, 719–724. Berlin/New York: de Gruyter.
- Rix, Helmut. 1997. The Pre-Lucanian Inscriptions of Southern Italy. *Festschrift for Eric P. Hamp. Volume II*, ed. by Douglas Q. Adams, 144–154. Washington D.C.: Institute for the Study of Man.
- Rix, Helmut. 1998a. Teonimi etruschi e teonimi italici. *Annali della Fondazione per il Museo «Claudio Faina»* 5: 207–229.
- Rix, Helmut. 1998b. *Rätisch und Etruskisch*. Innsbruck: Institut für Sprachwissenschaft der Universität Innsbruck.
- Rix, Helmut. 2002. *Sabellische Texte*. Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag C. Winter.
- Rix, Helmut. 2004. Etruscan. *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of the World's Ancient Languages*, ed. by Roger D. Woodard, 943–966. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Rix, Helmut. 2005. Lehnbeziehungen zwischen den Sprachen Altitaliens. *Sprachkontakt und Sprachwandel*, ed. by Gerhard Meiser & Olav Hackstein, 559–572. Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag.
- Ross, Malcom. 2009. Diagnosing prehistoric language contact. *Motives for Language Change*, ed. by Raymond Hickey, 174–198. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Salmons, Joe. 1992. *Accentual Change and Language Contact*. London: Routledge.
- Schumacher, Stefan. 2004. *Die rätischen Inschriften*. Innsbruck: Institut für Sprachwissenschaft der Universität Innsbruck.

- Skutsch, Franz. 1913. Der lateinische Accent. *Glotta* 4: 187–200.
- Steinbauer, Dieter H. 1993. Etruskisch-ostitalische Lehnbeziehungen. *Oskisch-Umbrisch. Texte und Grammatik*, ed. by Helmut Rix, 287–306. Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag.
- Steinbauer, Dieter H. 1999. *Neues Handbuch des Etruskischen*. St. Katharinen: Scripta Mercaturae Verlag.
- Thomason, Sarah G. & Terrence Kaufman. 1988. *Language Contact, Creolization, and Genetic Linguistics*. Berkeley/Los Angeles/London: University of California Press.
- Thomason, Sarah G. 2001. *Language Contact*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Thomason, Sarah G. 2010. Contact Explanation in Linguistics. *The Handbook of Language Contact*, ed. by Raymond Hickey, 31–47. Malden/Oxford/Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Thurneysen, Rudolf. 1909. Italisches. 1. Die Betonung des Oskischen. *Glotta* 1: 240–242.
- Untermann, Jürgen. 2000. *Wörterbuch des Oskisch-Umbrischen*. Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag C. Winter.
- van Coetsem, Frans. 2000. *A General and Unified Theory of the Transmission Process in Language Contact*. Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag C. Winter.
- van der Hulst, Harry, Rob Goedemans & Keren Rice. 2017. Word Prominence and Areal Linguistics. *The Cambridge Handbook of Areal Linguistics*, ed. by Raymond Hickey, 161–203. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- van Heems, Gilles. 2008. Diminutifs, sobriquets et hypocoristiques étrusques. *Les pré-noms de l'Italie antique*, ed. by Paolo Poccetti, 69–110. Pisa/Roma: Fabrizio Serra Editore.
- Vine, Brent. 1993. *Studies in Archaic Latin Inscriptions*. Innsbruck: Institut für Sprachwissenschaft der Universität Innsbruck.
- Vine, Brent. 2012. PIE mobile accent in Italic: Further evidence. *The Sound of Indo-European. Phonetics, Phonemics, and Morphophonemics*, ed. by Benedict Nielsen Whitehead et al., 545–575. København: Museum Tusulanum Press.
- Walde, Alois & Johann Baptist Hofmann. 1938–1954. *Lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*. Heidelberg: Carl Winter's Universitätsbuchhandlung.
- Walkden, George. 2019. The many faces of uniformitarianism in linguistics. *Glossa* 4: 1–17.
- Watmough, Margaret M.T. 1997. *Studies in the Etruscan Loanwords in Latin*. Firenze: Leo S. Olschki Editore.
- Weiss, Michael. 2020. *Outline of the Historical and Comparative Grammar of Latin. Second Edition*. Ann Arbor/New York: Beech Stave Press.
- Zair, Nicholas. 2016. Vowel weakening in the Sabellic languages as language contact. *Indogermanische Forschungen* 121(1): 295–316.
- Zamboni, Alberto. 1986–1987. Tra latino e neolatino: l'evoluzione delle medie aspirate indoeuropee e le successive ristrutturazioni del consonantismo. *Indogermanische Forschungen* 91: 205–235; 92: 112–134.

Reconstructing a Language from Fragmentary and Discontinuous Records: Andalusí Romance (So-Called ‘Mozarabic’)

Marcello Barbato and Laura Minervini

1 Introduction: Romance in al-Andalus

Andalusí Romance (AR), in Spanish *romance andalusí* or *romandalusí*, denotes a cluster of Ibero-Romance varieties spoken in the Iberian Peninsula under the political and military control of Arabic-speaking Islamic regimes from 711 onwards. Scholars have long designated Andalusí Romance as *mozárabe*, a term used mostly (but contentiously) to refer to the Christian communities of al-Andalus.

From the first half of the 11th century onwards in Latin sources (and later vernacular ones), Arabic-speaking Christians, fleeing from the south of the Peninsula owing to the strictures of the branch of Islam followed by the Almoravid and then Almohad dynasties, are referred to as *muzaraves* or *mustarabes* (Mozarabs)—the word taken from the Arabic is *musta‘rab* or *musta‘rib*, ‘Arabized’, but in the Arabic sources they are called *naṣrānī* (Hitchcock 2008). Once incorporated into the Christian kingdoms to the center and north, most of these groups became integrated linguistically and culturally, but in some cities they merged with what remained of the local Arabic-speaking Christian communities. The most famous case of this is Toledo, where the Christian community that had resided there from before Alfonso VI’s conquest of the city in 1085 was revitalized in the 12th century by the influx of Mozarabs from the Peninsula’s south. The use of Arabic (at least in the written records), Isidorian liturgy and Visigothic law, are characteristic of the Mozarab community in Toledo (Molénat 1994; 2008; Ferrando 2000).

It is misleading, therefore, to call old AR ‘Mozarabic’. On the one hand, those who had continued to practice Christianity in al-Andalus were linguistically Arabized, as were the rest of the population—the Psalms, the Gospels and St. Paul’s Epistles were translated into Arabic back in the 9th and 10th centuries. On the other hand, the use of AR had never been exclusive to the Christian community: the phase of general Arabic-Romance bilingualism, which began in the aftermath of the conquest, ended only in the 10th century as Arabic was

affirmed and AR was marginalized, the latter surviving only in residual form until the end of the 12th century (Corriente 2004: 185–188; 2008: 104; Corriente, Pereira & Vicente 2020: 11).

Many problems arise when studying AR, beginning with the very unity of the object. Indeed, we are working with, on the one hand, a vast area that in the earlier period corresponds to most of the Peninsula, and, on the other, a variety that is increasingly restricted to local interactions. Taken together, these are the ideal conditions for fragmentation and against standardization.

AR must have been just as variable in time as it was in space. It is necessary here to cast off the stereotype of AR as a fossil of Visigothic Proto-Romance: while it is true that in several cases the Arab conquest halted linguistic changes in progress, it is similarly clear that the language continued to change. Nor can we exclude the possibility that these changes may have coincided with those taking place in the Christian north, whether because of continued contact or because of a 'drift' effect (Varvaro 2004): a change that was only initial in the common (pre-Arabic) phase could be carried out, coincidentally but independently, by the northern and the southern varieties.

2 Sources for the Study of Andalusí Romance

The existence of AR covers, as mentioned, a very broad chronological and geographic range, and yet it is also rather elusive when it comes to sources, which are problematic because of their different textual typologies, the use of the Arabic and Hebrew alphabets, and the limited number of philologically reliable editions. They include:

- bilingual Latin-Arabic glossaries, which incorporate Andalusí Arabic entries of Romance origin (11th to 16th centuries)
- written records in Arabic on botany, medicine, and pharmacology, which provide Romance synonyms for entries in Arabic (10th to 14th centuries)
- *ḥarġāt*, closing stanzas in poetic compositions in Arabic or Hebrew (*muwaš-šahāt*), which include words or phrases in Romance (11th to 13th centuries)
- *romancismos* (i.e. Romance words) in Arabic texts (historical, geographical, poetic, etc.) and in Mozarab documents from Toledo (12th to 13th centuries)
- lists of person and place names in *libros de repartimientos*, inventories in which the names of properties, places and individuals are recorded at the time of the transfer to the new owners
- so-called 'Mozarabisms' (*mozarabismos*) in modern Ibero-Romance languages and modern toponyms.

While the sources appear to be numerous, on closer inspection, they are little more than the following:

- bilingual Latin-Arabic glossaries (the 12th-century *Glossario di Leida*; the mid-13th-century *Vocabulista in arabico*; Pedro de Alcalá's 1505 *Vocabulista aravigo*, etc.)—not only may the editions be unreliable, but the Arabization of forms is problematic, requiring highly complex filtration operations in order to recover usable data for linguistic purposes (Peñarroja Torrejón 1990: 97–98; Corriente 2008: 100).¹
- Romance synonyms of entries in Arabic—we have reliable critical texts for Abulḥayr al-Iṣbīlī (of Seville, 12th century) (Bustamante, Corriente & Tilmatine 2004–2010), and Ibn Wāfid (of Toledo, 11th century) (Aguirre de Cárcer 1995).² It should also be underlined that the lists of synonyms are often full of Latin or Latinizing forms and tend to be copied passively from one text to the next.
- *ḥarḡāt* in Romance—we have early manuscripts (12th to 13th centuries),³ and texts that can be understood relatively easily, only for the Hebrew series (26 compositions), while the Arabic series (42 compositions), transmitted only in much later manuscripts,⁴ is marred by interventions by scribes for whom the text was incomprehensible, and thus requires rather considerable modern editorial interventions (Zwartjes 1997: 72–83). Of the total number of surviving *ḥarḡāt* in Romance, only two in the Arabic series and one in the Hebrew series are entirely in Romance, while the others present a variable (but at times very high) percentage of Arabic or hybrid Arabic-Romance words; the number of words that are undoubtedly Romance is no more than 130, but it includes various instances of homophones in Arabic and Romance (Corriente 1997: 324–332).
- *romancismos* in literary Arabic texts—we have the edition of Ibn Quzmān (from Córdoba, died 1160) prepared in 1995 by Federico Corriente, as well as his survey of the poet's vocabulary (Corriente 1997: 332–335).

1 See Koningsveld (1977), Schiaparelli (1871), Alcalá (1883). In the case of Pedro de Alcalá, we are also dealing with the problem of the potential Castilianization of the material (Corriente 2008: 103).

2 Scholars today would be advised to take great care when dealing with Simonet's treatment of Ibn Wāfid's text (1888), extensively used in the past (for example by Galmés de Fuentes 1983).

3 The *ḥarḡāt* of the Hebrew series are also transmitted in modern manuscripts (16th to 18th centuries); among the early manuscripts, we have fragments from the Cairo Genizah that originated in anthological manuscripts copied in the East, and thus copied with limited understanding of the texts by the scribes (Benabu & Yahalom 1986).

4 The earliest, the renowned Colin manuscript, dates to the 16th century.

- *romancismos* in Mozarab documents from Toledo—we have the edition by González Palencia (1926–1930), whose results are summarised in Galmés de Fuentes (1983: 45–116), and Ferrando (1995); in this instance the problem arises from the fact that the scribes, who belonged to a community that was essentially Arabic-speaking, at least for most of the 12th century, were immersed in a Castilian-language environment and became Castilianized over time: in the 13th century, many of the Mozarab documents from Toledo are in Castilian in the Latin alphabet, especially those dealing with private economic transactions (Ferrando 2000; Olstein 2006). The value of their testimony is therefore relative: the Romance words found in the documents may not reflect residual AR still known to the community, but the Castilian used in the city.
- personal names and place names in the *repartimientos*—they were always transmitted by Romance-speaking scribes: for example, the *repartimientos* of Valencia are written in Latin, those of Murcia, Seville and Malaga in Castilian, those of Mallorca in Latin (in two copies), in Arabic (one) and in Catalan (one) (Galmés de Fuentes 1983: 24–25; Peñarroja Torrejón 1990: 53–59). Once again, their linguistic value is relative. In general, all the toponymic data raise significant interpretative problems insofar as they presuppose a series of movements with successive adaptations from one language to another (cf. below).
- ‘Mozarabisms’ in modern Ibero-Romance varieties—it is necessary to consider the potential distortions caused by a double loan-process: indeed often we are dealing with words passed down from Romance to Andalusí Arabic, and then from Andalusí Arabic to Old Castilian, Catalan, etc. (Corriente 2008: 101), even if we cannot completely rule out direct loan from AR to the different Ibero-Romance varieties in some cases.

The study of ‘Mozarabisms’ of Spanish is now facilitated by the work of Elena (2021) which offers the first systematic survey of the ‘Mozarabisms’ classified as such by Joan Corominas and José Antonio Pascual in their *Diccionario Crítico Etimológico Castellano e Hispánico*. In what follows, we take the data of Corominas and Pascual as accurate, without subjecting them to critical scrutiny. However, it must be said that the label of ‘Mozarabism’ that they attribute does not always entail the same level of certainty. As a result, we unconditionally exclude instances in which the hypothesis seems highly dubious, and we state when it seems uncertain.

Further caution is needed: at times ‘Mozarabisms’ are considered as such because they bear phonetic clues (loss of the final *-o*; absence of diphthongization and voicing; /tʃ/ for /θ/) that we attribute to AR based on the same lexemes. As a partial corrective to this circular reasoning, there are, of course, additional types of evidence, both geographical (transmission in southern spoken variet-

ies) and historical (comparison against earlier written records), that allow us to consider the terms in question as ‘Mozarabisms’.

It should not be forgotten that the relatively long lifespan of AR means that a single word can be recorded in different periods and can thus reflect various stages of evolution. Moreover, there is the problem of loanword’s channel of transmission: the word could have been transmitted by ‘frontier’ contacts, by AR-speakers who emigrated to the North (adstratum), by AR-speakers in ‘reconquered’ territory (substratum), but, as already mentioned, it could equally have entered via the Arabic.

Indeed, the life of AR should be imagined as the story of its progressive restriction in usage in both the geographical and social space, its progressive Arabization (especially from the 10th century onwards) across the system, and its ultimate disappearance into Arabic. In this respect, certain doublets are noteworthy:

*CAPPUTIU *capuz* ‘(coat with) hood’ *cambug* ‘mask’
 PARATA *parata* ‘small terracing’ *(al)barrada* ‘dry masonry’

The second item in the pair of doublets evidently passed through Arabic which, as we shall see later (§3.2), does not have /p/. Similarly, on the basis of Pre-Romance *PARRA the ‘plant by which ash for laundry is obtained’ (English ‘barilla’) is in Catalan *parrella* in the North, *barrella* in the South (from which Castilian *barrilla*): “es evidente—write Corominas and Pascual—que *parrella* ha de ser lo primitivo y *barrella* arabizado, con cambio de P en b”. We also find this change in *(al)bérchigo* ‘peach’ < PERSICU, although most of the word-stock conserves the initial /p/:

pago, *pavo* ‘peacock’ < PAVU, *palmicha*, *palmiche* ‘royal palm’ < PALMICIU, *(al)pañata* ‘cloth used by potters’ (derived from PANNU), *panarra* ‘bat’ < *PINNARIA, *pancho* ‘belly’ < PANT(I)CE, *panocha* ‘ear (of grain)’ < *PANUCEA, *parella* ‘cloth for cleaning’ (derived from PELLIS), *pargo* ‘seabream’ < PAGRU, *poleadas* ‘mush’ (derived from POLLIS ‘fine flour’), *polilla* ‘moth’ < *PABULELLA.

Another interesting case is the Proto-Romance stressed /a/ (immune to changes across medieval and modern Ibero-Romance varieties) which appears in ‘Mozarabisms’ either as /a/ (most frequently), as /e/, or as /i/:

capacho ‘basket’ < CAPACEU
ferrete ‘copper sulphate’ < *FERRATU
campiña ‘farmland’ < CAMPANIA

This concerns a further instance of an Arabic intermediary: palatal results reflect the phenomenon of *imālah*,

nombre cuya correcta aplicación debe limitarse a casos en que una antigua /ā/ ár. se palataliza, de manera espontánea, cuando no hay entorno velarizante, o por asimilación a distancia a una /i/ próxima [...]. Este fenómeno [...] era característico del [ár.] and. [...] reflejándose normalmente en los arabismos del iberorrom. en su primer grado, e incluso en el segundo, /i/ (Corriente 2008: 29 n. 10).⁵

In addition to the transmission of loanwords, we should finally consider their reception (*quicquid recipitur, ad modum recipientis recipitur*, 'Whatever is received is received in the manner of the receiver'). While obvious, this is an aspect that should not be overlooked: 'Mozarabisms' survive as Spanish words and they therefore give up the linguistic features missing in that language.

As a whole, the sources at our disposal allow us to approximately delineate the phonological system of AR and glimpse certain elements of its morphology, although little to nothing can be said about its syntax. In the following pages, we limit ourselves to the phonological level, the only one in which modern data and early documentation can fruitfully interact with each other.

3 The Phonological Profile of Andalusí Romance

3.1 Vowel System

The Arabic graphic system of the period uses the consonant letters 'alif, wāw e yā' (so-called *matres lectionis*) for the long vowels /a u i/—the widening of the original Arabic phonological system through the introduction of the phoneme /e/, a consequence of the *imālah* phenomenon, remains a disputed issue (Corriente, Pereira & Vicente 2015: 1–5). When the Arabic alphabet is used to write AR, the letters 'alif, yā' and wāw are used for the notation of stressed vowels, without it being possible to distinguish /a/ from /e/ ('alif), /e/ from /i/ (yā'), /o/ from /u/ (wāw), let alone /e/ from /ɛ/ and /o/ from /ɔ/. In fully vocalized Arabic texts, unstressed vowels are expressed through the signs indicating short vowels, *fathah* /a/ and /e/, *kasrah* /e/ and /i/, *ḍammah* /o/ and /u/.

5 The application of this label should be restricted to instances where old Arabic /ā/ not surrounded by velar sounds palatalizes unconditionally or by distance assimilation to a near /i/. This phenomenon was characteristic of Andalusian Arabic and appears in Ibero-Romance Arabisms in its first grade and also in its second grade /i/.

In the *ḥarġāt* of the Hebrew series, the consonant letters *ʾalef*, *he*, *waw* and *yōd* are used in a similar, but not identical, way to the Arabic: *ʾalef* for /a/ in word-initial or internal position (and sometimes for /e/), *he* for /a/ in word-final position, *waw* for /u/ and /o/, *yōd* for /e/ and /i/. According to Stern (1948: 338–339), in imitation of Arabic writing, these consonant letters are used essentially for stressed vowels: hence in *yermanellas* H4⁶ only stressed /e/ is recorded (with *ʾalef*), however in the same H4 we find *male*, where both vowels are recorded, and *demandare* where only the last two vowels are recorded; in *qoračon* H9 only stressed /o/ is recorded, but in the same *ḥarġah* we find *doled* where only /e/ is recorded, and *tornarad* and *sanarad*, where no vowel is recorded; in *yana* H14 both vowels are recorded (both with *ʾalef*), while in the same *ḥarġah* we have *mama* where only the final vowel (with *he*) is recorded and *meu* (*mio?*), where both vowels are recorded, etc.

We postulate that AR's phonological system was originally the common Romance heptavocalic system /i e ε a ɔ o u/, but we do not know the extent to which this evolved over the centuries, nor whether this was indeed richer than the later Castilian, Aragonese and Astur-Leonese pentavocalic /i e a o u/ system—the contrast between the two palatal vowels and the two velar vowels would probably be neutralized especially in unstressed position.



There has been much discussion about the problem of the unconditioned diphthongization of Proto-Romance /ε ɔ/ (> [je], [wo]/[we]), with the subsequent loss of the contrast between high-mid and low-mid vowels, characteristic of central Ibero-Romance varieties (Astur-Leonese, Castilian, Aragonese).

The older sources, using Semitic alphabets which, originating from syllabaries, are consonant-based, are not inclined towards the notation of diphthongs. To this problem of a graphic nature, we can add the presence, whose effects are difficult to judge, of a phonosyntactic rule in Classical Arabic which prevents consonant clusters in syllable onset.⁷ It is worth noting that in the absence of supplementary vocalization (that is, diacritics added above or beneath the consonants), the presence of the diphthong is inferred by the editor: hence, for example, Corriente transcribes *welyos* H18⁸ 'eyes' from the sequence *wlyws*

6 Here we refer to the *ḥarġāt* of the Arabic and Hebrew series with the sigla A and H respectively followed by the number of the composition in the edition (Corriente 1997: 270–324).

7 A rule that can be circumvented by inserting a disjunctive vowel to avoid a sequence of two consonants (Corriente 2008, 107; Corriente, Pereira & Vicente 2020: 18, 28).

8 For the transcriptions of Romance entries in Arabic script, we use <s> for *šīn* and <ç> for *sīn*; for those in Hebrew script <s> for *šīn* (basically indistinguishable from *sīn*).

(which the previous editors transcribe as *obyos*), based on the fact that in these spelling systems normally a vowel cannot be placed in word-initial position, thus *w-* should instead be the transcription of a glide.

Once this premise is established, and the margin of uncertainty in these notations has been underlined, we may observe that stressed /ε ɔ/ almost never become diphthongized in the *ḥarġāt*: *bene* H₁, *bokella* A₁₁, A₁₄, *bono* H₂₄, *doled* H₉, *keres* A₁₁, *qollo* A₁₄, *tolgas* H₁₆, *yermanellas* H₄; and in Ibn Quzmān:⁹ *bokella*, *bon*, *morte*, *qollo*, *rekere*, *sesta*, etc. Note *yed* H₅, H₁₂ < EST,¹⁰ where the diphthong in word-initial position does not generate a consonant cluster (Corriente 2008: 108). The diphthong is documented in Abulḥayr in every position: *yedra*, *yerba*, *ačetyel* ‘a type of pear from Sarragossa’ < ACĒTU + -ELLU, *werço* ‘barley’ < HORDEU, *wessos*, *myelqa* (Castilian *mielga*) ‘alfalfa’ < (HERBA) MEDICA, *buey*, *armwelle* (Castilian *armuelle*) ‘beet’ < HOLU MOLLE, *noqayrwela* ‘peony’ < *NUCARIA + -ELLU, *qalandayrwela* ‘white sage’ < *CALANDARIA + -ELLA, etc.¹¹ Here too, however, there are numerous instances where the vowel has not become diphthongized: *mele*, *pede*, *peṭra*, *sementes*, *serpe*, *sete*, *qorbo*, *qorno*, *foqos*, *porko*, etc. The Mozarab documents from Toledo present a varied situation, with many instances of both diphthongized and simple vowels: *byeġo/belyo* ‘old’, *dweña*, *fontes*, *ferro*, *Fornellos*, *fwerro*, *Moradyel/Almuratēl*, *pozwelo*, *Qastella*, *werṭa*, etc. (Galmés de Fuentes 1983, 68–69).

The ‘Mozarabisms’ show the prevalence of non-diphthongized forms:

- /ε/ *albérchigo* ‘peach’ < PERSICU, *coradela* ‘innards of a small animal’ < *CORATELLA, *parella* ‘cloth’ < *PELLELLA, *véllora* ‘down’ < VELLERA¹²
- /ɔ/ *alcornoque* ‘cork oak’ < *QUERNOCCU, *caroca* ‘bad recital’ < *CROCA,¹³ *corcho* ‘cork (stopper)’ < CORT(I)CE, *coroza*, *corocha* ‘rustic clothing’ < *CROCEA¹⁴

9 Here, as elsewhere, we use the list of *romancismos* in the poetic corpus of Ibn Quzmān in Corriente (1997: 332–335), and the inventory of terms in AR in Corriente (2008: 137–227); the latter is also the source of all the *romancismos* by Abulḥayr. The words are listed, with a slightly different graphic system, also in Corriente, Pereira & Vicente (2020: 55–127).

10 Yet with *welyos* H₁₈, we would instead be dealing with a metaphonetic diphthong, according to Barbato (2019).

11 In Corriente’s transcription *armuwelle*, *buwey*, *miyelqa*, *noqayrwela*, etc., thus respecting the phonotactic rule mentioned above.

12 We exclude instances with the suffix *-il(lo)* which can be explained not only by *-iello* (cf. Castilian *martillo* < *martiello*), but also as the result of confusion between /e/ and /i/ caused by influence from the trivocalic Arabic system.

13 This etymological hypothesis, admittedly hazardous, is based on the fact that in Latin CROCUS can designate a theatre stage.

14 This etymon is highly uncertain.

On the other hand, a diphthong is found in Huelva *mayuelo* ‘apricot’ < MALLEOLU (?), and in Sierra Morena *giniestra* ‘broom (plant)’ (Castilian *iniesta*), which, because it should be a Mozarabism, is not readily understood.

Place names (Menéndez Pidal 1950: 131–139, 148–152 [§ 24.6, 26.4]; Zamora Vicente 1967: 21–25; Ariza 2004: 210) seem to indicate diphthongization in the Toledan area (*Huete* < OPTA, *Aranjuez* from an Iberian base, etc.), in Lower Aragon (*Buñuel* < *BALNEOLU, *Teruel* < *TERIOLU), and even in the Valencian area (*Orihuela* < AURIOLA) and in the South (*Huelva* < ONOBA, but compare the lack of diphthongization in many place names in Granada, such as *Albuñol*, *Ferreirola*, *Fontes*, etc.).

Menéndez Pidal (1950, 493–494 [§100.2]) argues for an early fluctuation between diphthongization and non-diphthongization, the latter reflecting “el habla más correcta de los centros ciudadanos Hispalis y Corduba” (Menéndez Pidal 1950: 493).¹⁵ Examining the early and modern data in parallel, Zamora Vicente (1967: 27) observes that

la diptongación se reparte sin cohesión alguna y seguramente no existía en hablantes cultos. La modalidad diptongada parecía haberse impuesto en Toledo, Zaragoza, quizá en le valle del Guadalquivir, pero no se había generalizado en el oeste, el valle bajo del Guadiana ni en la costa levantina.¹⁶

Ariza (2004) also defends the idea of an early diphthongization, though one subject to diatopic and diastratic conditions. According to Corriente (2008), diphthongization would not have been particularly widespread when Proto-Romance came into contact with Arabic, whose influence would have entailed the lack of diphthongization to be established as a norm. Noll (2022: 109–110) thinks of a generalised diphthongization with consequent loss of /ε ɔ/.

To simplify somewhat: the prevailing hypothesis is that diphthongization preceded the Arab conquest, but that it did not become established in AR because it was marked diastratically, and, possibly, because it lacked a foothold in Arabic. In fact, the comparison between the Ibero-Romance varieties, on the one hand, and the relative chronology, on the other, make it unlikely that diphthongization was already widely established in the Visigothic period (Barbato

15 ‘The more correct speech of the urban centers of Hispalis and Corduba’.

16 ‘Diphthongization has no coherent distribution and surely did not exist among cultivated speakers. The diphthongizing mode seems to have prevailed in Toledo, Zaragoza, perhaps in the Guadalquivir valley, but was not widespread in the West, the lower Guadiana valley or the Levant coast’.

2019). However, it cannot be ruled out that diphthongization was incipient at that time: a possible diphthongisation in AR could be seen as another development of this incipient phase, just as the unconditioned closure of /ε/ in Catalan and the diphthongization of Castilian (§1).



In the early documents, we find proof of the falling diphthongs /aj/, /aw/ (which have equivalents in Arabic); such as in Ibn Quzmān: *yannayr* (Castilian *enero*) < JANUARIU (together with a monophthongal form like *sudader* ‘shroud’ < *SUDATARIU), and especially in Abulḥayr: *aceṭayra* (Castilian *acedera*) ‘sorrel, sour’ < ACETARIA, *laḥtayra* ‘chicory’ < LACTARIA, *pulqayra* ‘psyllium, ispaghula’ < PULICARIA, *romayro* (Castilian *romero*) ‘rosemary’ < *ROMARIU, *sollayr* ‘sunflower’ < SOLARIU, *malba awrata* ‘golden mallow’, *lawro* ‘laurel’, *mawreno* ‘brown’, etc. These diphthongs are also found in Mozarab documents from Toledo: *Qarbonayro*, *semtayr(o)* (Castilian *sendero*) ‘path’, *febrayr(o)*, *tesaurayr(o)*, *Pawlo*, *Mawrel*, *banatayro* ‘baker’, etc., but also *gargantera*, *qolmenero* ‘beekeeper’, etc. (Galmés de Fuentes 1983: 57–61; Ferrando 1995: 76, 84).

Often lexical relics, consistently with the monothongization /aj/ > /e/, /aw/ > /o/ in Castilian, do not conserve the descending diphthongs, cf. *chiquero* ‘pigsty’ < *CIRCARIU, *polilla* ‘moth’ < *PA(B)ULELLA, *romero* ‘rosemary’ < *ROMARIU. But with diphthong Andalusian *apaularse*, *apaulillarse* ‘(of cereals) to be gnawed by parasites’.¹⁷ For the residual conservation of the diphthong in toponyms (*Ferreira*, *Capileira*, *Lungueira*, etc.), see Zamora Vicente (1967: 34).



In the early records, it can often be observed that final vowels are not written down, in particular -o, where it is unclear if it should be attributed to graphic or phonetic habits; such as in the *ḥarḡāt*: *ayun* A12, *kuand* H9, *filyol* A18, H28, H7, *fač* (Castilian *faz*) ‘face’ A17, A19; in Ibn Quzmān: *bon*, *fač*, *milan*, *mars*, *pandayr* ‘tambourine’, *palaṭar*; and in Abulḥayr: *sollayr* ‘sunflower’, *murčeqal* (Castilian *murciélago*) ‘bat’ < MURE CAECU, *nastort* ‘nasturtium’ < NASTURTIU, *panič* (Castilian *panizo*) ‘type of grain’, etc., as well as in the Mozarab documents from Toledo cited earlier, in which the editor has added -(o) in doubt.

The ‘Mozarabisms’ confirm the real character of the apocope, in direct form or transmitting hypercorrections (with -o in the place of an etymological -e):

¹⁷ See also Andalusian *taucín|tocín* ‘basket for olives’ (López de Aberasturi 1998).

capil 'hat' < CAPPELLU, *capuz* 'hood' < *CAPPUTIU, *rabacil* 'rump' < *RAPICELLU, *trechel* 'grain which bears fruit after three months' < TERTIARIU
corcho 'cork' < CORTICE, *pancho* 'belly' < PANTICE

This fact is confirmed by the toponomastics where there are place names with *-iel*, *-el*, *-uel*, *-ol* spread across the entire Peninsula (Menéndez Pidal 1950, 180–185 [§ 36.4–5]; Zamora Vicente 1967: 32–33).

3.2 Consonant System

The aspiration and subsequent deletion of the prevocalic F- (FARINA > *harina*) sets Castilian apart from the other Ibero-Romance varieties. The early records for AR consistently show the conservation of F- (even though the Arabic and Hebrew alphabets are able to record aspirated sounds); such as in the *ḥarġāt*: *filyo* H1 'son', *farás* A25, *fač* A17, A19; in Ibn Quzmān: *fač*, *fasqar* (Castilian *fas-cal*) 'heap of sheaves' < *FASCALE, *fačos* 'fate', *fullar* (Castilian *hojald(r)e*) 'puff pastry' < FOLIATILE; and in Abulḥayr: *fīqo*, *foqos*, *formiqas*, *folyas*, etc. It is an analogous situation in the Mozarab documents from Toledo: *fornayro*, *ferro*, *fidalqo*, *filyas*, etc. (Galmés de Fuentes 1983: 80; Ferrando 1995: 84).

The 'Mozarabisms' mostly indicate conservation; the few modified forms can simply be explained through influence of the Standard form (*horno*, *haba*):

falluto 'false' < *FALLUTU, *ferrete* 'copper sulphate' < *FERRATU,
 (al) *farnate* 'work-shy' < *FARINATU, *fuéllar* 'colored powder for decoration' (derived from FOLIA)
hallulla 'type of flatbread' < FOLIOLA (?), *hornacho* 'pit' and *hornacha* 'furnace' < FORNACE (in the first case influenced semantically by FORNIX)

Conservation is frequent in southern place names (Zamora Vicente 1967: 36), for example *Fontanar*, *Ferreira*, *Faucena* (< FALCIAN-?).

In a similar manner to what occurs with F-, in AR LJ, C'L do not give the idiosyncratic result /ʒ/ > /x/ of Castilian (FOLIA > *hoja*, OCULU > *ojo*) but the Proto-Romance result /ʎ/. This can be seen, on the one hand, in the spelling <ly> in the early data cited previously; on the other, the Mozarabisms *servilla* 'light shoe' and once again *hallulla* < FOLIOLA (?), *fuéllar* (derived from FOLIA). It is interesting that in *cellajo* 'roadside' < *CILIACULU we find an AR result in the base and a Castilian result in the suffix.

AR seems, however, to coincide with Castilian in another idiosyncratic development, namely the result /ʒ/ rather than /dʒ/ from G^{e,i} and J (cf. Castilian *ya* vs.

Catalan, Portuguese *ja*).¹⁸ In the early documents, the result from these bases is /j/, rendered graphically as Arabic *yā'* and Hebrew *yōd* <y>; hence *yana* < JANUA and *yermanellas* < GERMANA + -ELLA in the *ḥarġāt* (H 14, H4), *yannayr* < JANUARIU in Ibn Quzmān, and *yenesta* 'broom (plant)' < GENESTA, *yonko* 'reed' < JUNCU, *yunepro* 'juniper' < JUNIPERU in Abulḥayr. Among the personal names and place names recorded in the Mozarab documents from Toledo: *Yinės*, *Yusto*, *Yunkayr*, *Yuan*, etc., beside *Ġinės*, *Ġuanes*, *Unqayr*, etc. (Galmés de Fuentes 1983: 81–82). This dynamic does not come through in the Mozarabisms, but it is visible in the numerous southern toponyms of the sort *Yuncos*, *Yunta* (cf. Menéndez Pidal 1950: 234–238 [§ 42]; 1962: 124–125 [§ 38.3]; Zamora Vicente 1967: 36).



One of the characteristic features of AR, which has attracted scholarly attention from the very beginning, is the conservation, at least at the graphic level, of intervocalic voiceless occlusives, which are voiced across the entire Ibero-Romance domain, except in a small zone in High Aragon.

There is a large number of forms that graphically conserve the Latin dental and velar consonants (-T-, -K-): in the *ḥarġāt*: *aqūṣas* A26, *maṭre* A19, *poḡrad* H20, *ṭoṭa* A23 etc., such as in Ibn Quzmān: *bita*, *bestito*, *čiqala*, *faṭos*, *palataṣar*, etc., and in Abulḥayr: *agranata*, *aqwa*, *deṭos*, *espaṭa* 'a species of gladiolus' < SPATHA, *fiqo*, *foqos*, *formiqas*, *laḥtuqas*, *marīṭo*, *murčeqal* 'bat' < MURE CAECU, *myelqa* < (HERBA) MEDICA, *ortiqa*, *putda* < PUTIDA, etc. Not without certain exceptions: like *loġar* in the *ḥarġah* A8, *esploḡyado* and *sudader* in Ibn Quzmān, *fiġos* and *ṭiridqo* 'grano' < TRITICU in Abulḥayr, etc. Evidence from the Mozarab documents from Toledo confirms this picture: *banataḡyro*, *maṭrina*, *boṭeqa*, *Domingo*, *miraqlō*, *Salbaṭor*, etc., with some instances of voicing: *pesqador*, *salado*, *qabildo* '(ecclesiastical) chapter', *lečuġa*, etc. (Galmés de Fuentes 1983: 92–97; Ferrando 1995: 76). As Arabic lacks the phoneme /p/ and its corresponding grapheme,¹⁹ the result of Latin -P- is graphically rendered as the letter *bā'* ,²⁰ as in *sabes* A37 and *kabal* in Ibn Quzmān.²¹

18 We proceed on the premise that originally G^h and J may have given /dʒ/ across the whole Peninsula (Barbato 2020). By contrast to AR, which unconditionally changes /dʒ/ to /j/, Castilian (*junco*) conserves [dʒ] (> [ʒ] > [x]) before a back vowel.

19 According to Corriente (2008: 34) and Corriente, Pereira & Vicente (2015: 22–24), /p/ existed in Andalusī Arabic as a 'marginal phoneme'.

20 The use of *bā'* with *tašdid*, originally a sign of gemination, to indicate /p/ (and the use of *jim* with *tašdid* for [tʃ]), common in the texts of *moriscos* in the Arabic alphabet, is not found in the earlier phase of Arabo-Romance heterography (Corriente 2008: 105).

21 Taking this missing voicing as ascertained, Corriente (2008) transcribes with <p>

The interpretation of these spellings is highly problematic. First of all, we observe that in the earlier phase, Latin and the Ibero-Romance /t/ and /k/ are transcribed in the Arabic alphabet both with the letters *tā'* <t> and *qāf* <q>, and with the letters *tā'* <t> e *kāf* <k>. The former letters reflect the Arabic phonemes with originally glottalized pronunciation (so-called 'emphatic' phonemes), while the latter are the graphic equivalents of Arabic /t/ and /k/.

Here, we avoid the slippery ground of reconstructing Andalusian Arabic pronunciation, of which much remains obscure.²² It is sufficient to observe that the correlation proposed by Hilty (2007: 180), on the basis of scant material, between the letters <t> and <k> and Latin -TT-, -KK-, is merely tendential: if in the *ḥarġāt* we have *bokella* A11, A14 and *matar* A26, and in Ibn Quzmān *bokella* and *okupar*, we find the same letters used for the results of Latin -T- and -K- in *bita*, *bestito*, *rekere* again in Ibn Quzmān, while, by contrast, the letter <q> (<-KK-) in *boqa* in a Mozarab document from Toledo (Galmés de Fuentes 1983: 96). In word-initial position, the alternation between the letters <q t> and <k t> is rather free: *qoraĉon* ~ *komo*, *tanto* ~ *tolġas* in the *ḥarġāt* (A12, A 11, A 31, A40), *qollo* ~ *kabal*, *toġo* ~ *tu* in Ibn Quzmān, *qoda* ~ *kodonyos*, *ṭir-idqo* ~ *tartaqo* 'Euphorbia lathyris' in Abulḥayr, with alternations also in the same word, *kominos* ~ *qominos*, *kerés* ~ *qerés* in Ibn Quzmān. Equally in the strong—postconsonantal word-internal—position there is the alternate use of <t k> and <ṭ q>, with a prevalence of the first pair: *est* and *morte* in the *ḥarġāt* (A10, A27), *baṣṭun*, *fasqar*, *marqaṭal* 'market', *morte*, *noxe*, *iska* 'kindling' in Ibn Quzmān, *biṣṭenaqa* < PASTINACA, *yenesta*, *moskon*, *pulqayra*, *ṭomentel* < TORMENTILLA, etc. in Abulḥayr. These data are confirmed by those in the Toledan documents: *portal*, *Fontalba*, *sant Yaqob*, *Markos*, *iskerdo*, etc. but also *uerṭa*, *pesqador*, etc. (Galmés de Fuentes 1983: 93–96).

The same Arabic letters *tā'* <t> and *qāf* <q> are used, as already noted, to render the results of Latin -T-, -K-, which should have been voiced at this time. Indeed, <t> and <q> are occasionally used for Romance /d/ and /g/ in forms like *Balaqir* (*Balaguer*) or *Seqobiano* (*Segoviano*) in the Mozarab documents from Toledo (Galmés de Fuentes 1983: 97; Peñarroja Torrejón 1990: 338), *Qurṭuba* (< CORDUBA) or *Saraqusṭa* (< CESARAUGUSTA) in the Andalusian Arabic

the forms of Abulḥayr written with Arabic *bā'* deriving from Latin -P-: *lopa*, *capeça*, *capron*, etc.

22 For an overview, see Corriente (2008: 28–36, 120); Corriente, Pereira & Vicente (2015: 17, 34–36, 38–39, 60–61, 63–64). Circular arguments should be avoided (e.g. assuming that *ṭ* and *q* would be voiced in Andalusian Arabic pronunciation), in which a spelling whose pronunciation we do not know comes to be interpreted through a different spelling, whose pronunciation is obtained through the first one (Cardona 1975: 30).

toponomastics (Steiger 1991: 203, 142). An additional circumstance is that the Arabic alphabet does not have a spelling that corresponds to the voiced velar /g/, with *ġayn* <ġ> instead representing a voiced uvular fricative—while in the case of the dental, the Arabic script has the letter *dāl* <d> for /d/, together with its glottalized and fricative counterparts, *dād* <ḏ> and *dāl* <ḏ̣>.

Written records in AR belong to an initial, almost experimental, phase in Arabo-Romance script, in which the system is not yet as fixed, precise and articulated, as it would prove to be in the texts of *mudéjares* and *moriscos* from the 15th century onwards (Montaner 2003). In this still-uncertain phase, some pairs of Romance voiceless and voiced phonemes are recorded with the same Arabic letter, with the reader being left to decide if it is voiced: *ġīm* <ġ> is used for /tʃ/ and /dʒ/, *šīn* <š> for /s/ and /z/, *bāʾ* for /p/ and /b/.²³ In the case of *ġīm* and of *bāʾ*, Arabic phonemes denoting voiced consonants are also used for their voiceless equivalents, which do not exist in the Classical Arabic phonological system; while in the case of *šīn*, both members of a minimal pair are recorded with the same Arabic letter due to the relatively weak functional load of the contrast, limited to the intervocalic position. The case of the notations <ṭ> and <q> for the results of Latin -t- and -k- is different from those just analyzed since <d> and <ġ> are normally used for the recording of D and G in initial and internal position: consider, for example, *dolče*, *ġarrir*, *mordas* in the *ħarġāt* (A36, A15, A 23), *iġrannún* ‘kind of semolina’ <*GRANIONE, *pandayr* ‘tambourine’ <PANDORIUM in Ibn Quzmān, *dent*, *duračno* ‘peach’ <DURACINUM, *eskordiyo* ‘white horehound’ <SCORDIUM, *esparaġo*, *ġaṭo*, *oreġano* in Abulḥayr, alongside some writing with <ḏ̣>, *dolor*, *dos* in Ibn Quzmān, *puṭṭa*, *ṭiridqo* in Abulḥayr.

Taken together, these findings are contradictory and hard to rationalize: it seems reasonable to suppose that the notations <ṭ> and <q> have a margin of ambiguity, connected to the absence of a glottalized equivalent in AR, and could also represent voiced phonemes that developed from the Latin voiceless consonants. The very few cases of the spelling <ṭ> (<-t-) would suggest effectively voiceless (and occlusive) sounds, even if—given the limited decipherability of the system—there are no incontrovertible elements that exclude the possibility of voicing.

The Hebrew-Romance script is likewise still rather fluid until the 14th century: in the *ħarġāt* of the Hebrew series *kaf* <k> and *tav* <t> are often used: *kand* H2, H3, *kontenerá* H4, *kered* H11, *tan* H3, *tib* H25, etc., but also *ṭēt* <ṭ> e

23 In the pair *sīn* <s> for /ts/ and *zāy* <z> for /dz/, however, the opposition between voiced and voiceless is rather systematic. For the correspondences in the area of sibilants, see, in particular, Alonso (1946), with supplements from Torreblanca (1982).

qōf <q>: *tene* H26, *tolgas* H16, *qoračon* H5, H9, *qerbad* (Castilian *quebrá*) H10, etc. Later, <ṭ> and <q> will be chosen instead of <t> and <k> to represent /t/ and /k/, which could be due to the fact that in Hebrew *tav* and *kaf* correspond to occlusive phonemes pronounced as fricatives in the weak position (like the whole series of occlusives /b g d k p t/). In any case, the evidence provided by the Hebrew *ḥarġāt* is too limited to draw meaningful conclusions: *poṭrad* H20, while *tota* H8 is conjectural, just as are the two occurrences of the verb *saber* H15, H25, where the graphic problem of Arabic would not be relevant since *bēt* for the writing of /b/ is available in Hebrew script.

In the Mozarabisms, the conservation of the voiceless consonant prevails over voicing. To take the example of the dental consonant:

alfarnate <*FARINATU, *canuto*, *cañuto* ‘tube’ <*CANNUTU, *falluto* ‘false’ <*FALLUTU, *horchata* ‘drink made from chufa’ <*HORDEATA, *mar-chito* ‘wilted’ <MARCITU, *parata* ‘small terracing’ <PARATA *cambalada* ‘drunk’s gait’ (derived from CAMBA), *albarrada* ‘dry masonry’ <PARATA, *coradela* ‘small animal’s innards’ <*CORATELLA

Conservation is frequent in the toponomastics (Zamora Vicente 1967: 43 n. 29): *Paterna* (various places), *Granátula* (Ciudad Real), *Petres* (Valencia), *Ficaíra* (Murcia), etc.

These data reveal the phonetic reality of the voiceless consonant when the loanword emerged. It was precisely the AR data, let us recall, that led Meyer-Lübke to believe that voicing had not yet occurred by the time of the Arab conquest. Menéndez Pidal (1950: 253–259 [§ 46.4]) disagrees with him by drawing on, in this instance too, sociolinguistic stratification: voicing existed but it was of a popular character. Again Corriente (2008: 120 n. 63) echoes this argument, for whom voicing was a distratically low phenomenon at the time of the Arab conquest, “muy lejos de haber triunfado en el momento de la irrupción del árabe y formación de una sociedad bilingüe en cuya lengua dominante no existía tal fenómeno, por lo que se reforzó su represión”.²⁴

According to Zamora Vicente (1967: 43), the oscillation between voiceless and voiced consonants can be explained by postulating that the late-Latin Iberian Peninsula (somewhat like the Italian Peninsula) would only have undergone voicing in the North. Hilty (2007) believes that voicing was wide-

24 ‘Very far from having triumphed at the moment of Arabic’s irruption and the formation of a bilingual society in which this phenomenon did not exist in the dominant language, and because of this it was further repressed.’

spread in the Peninsula and that the forms with voiceless consonants can be explained by a process internal to Arabic: the Swiss scholar notes that the toponyms with the voiceless consonants come from the areas reconquered only in the 13th century, therefore leaving “el tiempo suficiente bajo la dominación árabe como para que la desonorización [...] se pudiera generalizar” (Hilty 2007: 19).²⁵

The hypothesis of a voicing not (perfectly) concluded comes into conflict with the generally accepted chronology for western Romance voicing.²⁶ All in all, the most likely hypothesis is that voicing was fully deployed and later regressed. The reasons for this regression still elude us, but could be linked to interference with the phonological system of Andalusian Arabic, which was organized around the opposition voiceless–voiced–emphatic, as well as occlusive–fricative.²⁷



In Old Castilian, the result from Latin bases $c^{E,1}$, CJ, TJ is /ts/ in strong position (CAELU > *cielo*, CALCEARE > *calçar*, TERTIARIU > *tercero*), /dz/ in a context of voicing (FACERE > *fazer*, BRACHIU > *brazo*, *CORATIONE > *corazón*); the two phonemes are merged as /θ/ in modern Castilian.

AR bears witness to a palatal evolution of these bases; thus CE, CI, TI, CJ, TJ > č/ġ (graphically Arabic *ġīm*, Hebrew *gīmel* with diacritic). The phenomenon is well-documented in all the positions, such as in the *ħarġāt*: *coraçon* A12, H5, H9, *dolče* A36, *fač* A17, A19; in Ibn Quzmān: *čedo*, *čiqala*, *luče*, *panič* ‘foxtail millet, graminaceous herb’ < PANICIU, *peč* ‘pitch (resin)’ < PICE; in Abulħayr: *čento*, *abučo* ‘asphodel’ < ALBUČIU, *bopučina* ‘globularia’ < *(HERBA) VULPECINA, *murčeqal*, *porčel*, *noč* ‘walnut’ < NUCE, etc. Forms with ç (Arabic *sīn*) sometimes alternate with forms with č: such as in Abulħayr *činko*—*çinko*, *čebayra*—*çebayra* ‘grain’ < CIBARIA, etc. In the Mozarab documents from Toledo, only some residue of this evolution remains: *qalabačas*, *Binčent*, *fornač*, etc., while the most common result is ç/z: *çapaçayr*, *çebolya*, *terçero*, *pozuelo*, *Balençia*, *Sezilia* etc. (Galmés de Fuentes 1983: 88–89).

In the Mozarabisms, /tʃ/ clearly predominates:

25 ‘enough time under Arab domination for the desonorization to generalize’.

26 Cf. Loporcaro (2011: 153–154) and bibliography. It is, however, quite possible that degemination had not yet occurred.

27 Corriente (2008: 32–33) and Corriente, Pereira & Vicente (2015: 18) hypothesize for Andalusian Arabic a highly complex and asymmetrical system of bilabial, dental and velar occlusives and fricatives: /p b t ʃ θ d ð ʒ k q ɣ/.

cherna ‘grouper (fish)’ < ACERN(I)A, *chícharo* ‘chickpea’ < CICERE, *chinche* ‘bedbug’ < CIM(I)CE, *chillera* ‘compartment (ship)’ < *CELLARIA, *coracha* ‘leather bag’ < CORIACEA, *corcho* < CORTICE, *hornacha*, *hornacho* < FORNACE, *macho* ‘large hammer’ < MATTE-, *machucar* ‘to crush’ < MATTEUCA-, *mechinal* ‘putlog hole’ < MACHINALE, *melgacho* ‘species of small shark’ < *MERGACEU (?), *muchacho* (from *mocho* ‘mutilated’ of unknown origin + -ACEU), *palmicha*, *palmiche* < PALMICIU, *sangacho* ‘dark part of tuna meat’ < *SANG(U)ACEU, *tablacho* ‘barrier in a canal’ < *TABULACEU, *trechel* ‘grain which bears fruit after three months’ < TERTIARIU

Yet there is also /θ/ in *cellajo* ‘roadside’ < *CILIACULU, *rabacil* ‘rump’ < *RAPICELLU. In some cases, the two results compete in the same word, appearing in complementary distribution in the root and suffix: *cenacho* ‘basket made of vegetable fiber’ < *CENACEU, *nochizo* ‘wild hazelnut’ < *NUCICEU.²⁸ This alternation is also evident in the place names *Luchena/Lucena* < LUCIANU, *Marchena/Marcena* < MARTIANU, with the first sort being found more frequently in the South (Zamora Vicente 1967: 39).

The peculiar AR result has often been considered as evidence of an archaic stage (cf. Italian *cielo*, *calciare*) superseded by Castilian. This hypothesis can, however, only illusorily be supported through comparison, as the archaic stage is not the palatal result in itself but the opposition between palatal result (*calciare*) and dental result (*terzo*). Barbato (2020) therefore proposes that the AR result be considered a relatively recent innovation, one connected to the other ‘irregularity’ seen above, that is, the mediopalatal result /j/ from G^{e,i}, J-. The idea is that while the articulation of Proto-Ibero-Romance /dʒ/ was shifting to /j/ (**ja* > *ya*), /ts/ and /dz/ were filling the space left behind, as the following diagram shows:

TABLE 8.1 Shift of Proto-Ibero-Romance /dʒ/ to /j/ and filling by /ts/ and /dz/ of the space left behind

		/dʒ/	>	/j/
/ts/ /dz/	>	/tʃ/ /dʒ/		



28 Compare also with the alternation *capuz* ~ *cambuj* and *coroza* ~ *corocha* cited above (§ 2), and *atocha* ~ *taucín* and *capuz* ~ *cabuchil* mentioned by López de Aberasturi (1998).

Thanks to using Arabic script, AR offers the only significant evidence of the development of the Latin consonant clusters /kt/, /ks/ > /xt/, /xt/. Not too many instances occur, but those that do are unequivocal: we find *nohte* in the *ḥar-ḡāt* (A1, A4) and in Ibn Quzmān, *farahsono* ‘ash’ < FRAXINU, *lahtayra* ‘chicory’ < LACTARIA, *lahtuqa/leytuqa* < LACTUCA, *maḥsella*, *saḥso* in Abulḥayr. In the Mozarab documents from Toledo, we are missing examples of the fricativization of the preconsonantic /k/; instead we find the result /jt/ together with some cases of palatalization: *eleyto*, *Beneit*, *lečuga*, *lečayro*, etc. (Galmés de Fuentes 1983:106). The non-palatalized result survives in the Mozarabism *pleita* ‘strip of esparto’ < PLECTA.

The results of Latin -C’L-, -LJ-, -NJ- are graphically distinct from those of Latin -LL-, -NN- that in the central and eastern areas of the Peninsula undergo a late palatalization.²⁹ In the first series, we find the spelling <ly> for /l/ and <ny> for /ɲ/; such as in the *ḥarḡāt*: *fiyol* A18, A28, H7, *manyana* A19 *welyos* H18; in Ibn Quzmān: *espolyado*, *manyana*; in Abulḥayr: *alyo*, *arbelya* ‘carob’ < ERVILIA, *folya*, *fenulyo*, *lentelya*, *orelya*, *nabalya* ‘type of reed’ < NOVACULA, *qonelyo*, *ṭinya* ‘dodder (plant)’ < TINEA, etc. For the second series, <ll>, <nn>—that is, in Arabic script, *lām* and *nūn* with a diacritic of gemination (*tašdīd*)—would seem to indicate a long, or in any case non-palatalized, consonant; in the *ḥar-ḡāt*: *bokella* A11, A14, A20, A24, A25, *qollo* A14; in Ibn Quzmān: *donno*, *ḡallina*; in Abulḥayr: *caballo*, *činnamo*, *maḥsella* < MAXILLA ‘jaw’, *sentella* ‘spark’ < SCINTILLA, etc. There are some exceptions, in which the results seem to be merged: *manna* ‘trick’ < *MANIA in Ibn Quzmān, *igrannūn* < GRANIONE, *orella e ṭinna* in Abulḥayr, where we also find isolated results of the ‘Castilian’ sort *fenogo* e *oreḡa*. In the Mozarab documents from Toledo, the situation is more complex: the distribution of <ly> and <ll> is as expected (*qastellano*, *qaballayr*, *qonsilyo*, *qonelyero*, etc.), with various exceptions (*čebolya*, *bilya*, *Portelyo*, etc.) and even *qoneḡo*, *bieḡo* (Castilian *viejo*); as for the nasal, meanwhile, <nn> is the usual spelling (*duenna*, *qabanna*, *escanno*, *señor*, etc.), with residual cases of <ny> (*senyorio*, *penyosa*) (Galmés de Fuentes 1983: 63–66; Ferrando 1995: 85).

Correspondingly, the ‘Mozarabisms’ present alternations of results, with some cases of allotropy:

coradela ‘innards of small animal’ < CORATELLA, *capil* ‘hat’ < CAPPELLU, *rabacil* ‘rump’ < *RAPICELLU³⁰ vs. *falluto* ‘falso’ < *FALLUTU, *lebrillo* ‘bowl’ < *LABRELLU (?), *parella* ‘cloth for cleaning’ < *PELLELLA,³¹ *polilla* ‘moth’

29 For the conservation until late of [ll] and [nn], see Loporcaro (2011: 152) and bibliography.

30 But Castilian also depalatalizes the final remaining lateral consonant, cf. *piel* < PELLE.

31 With a dissimilation of the first lateral.

< *PABULELLA, *véllora* ‘down’ < VELLERA

canuto ‘tube’ < CANNUTU, *panarra* ‘bat’ < PINNARIA vs. *alpañata* ‘cloth used by potters’, *canarí* ‘empty as a cane’, *cañuto* ‘tube’ (derived from CANNA)

Several eastern place names conserve /n/ (against Castilian /ɲ/): *Cabanes*, *Penáguilas*, etc. (Zamora Vicente 1967: 45).

4 Conclusion

In summary, outlining the profile of AR turns out to be highly challenging, both because the unity of the object of study is problematic in itself, and because the written records are elusive.

If historical linguistics generally has to work with ‘bad data’, the data in our case are no exception, if not worse. There are no texts worthy of the name, and there are very few utterances. The early records are filtered through the graphic and linguistic system of Arabic (or Hebrew). The modern data are uncertain (the label of ‘Mozarabism’ being at times merely probable or possible) and are limited to place names and lexical relics that, having passed through one or two processes of loaning, only barely conserve the term’s original features. However, the modern forms sometimes help us to provide sonic substance to early written forms that would otherwise remain a mystery.

Yet, in other ways, and in relation to other ‘Restsprachen’, the study of AR proves to be rather privileged, as the point of departure (Latin) and the parallel developments (other Ibero-Romance varieties) are relatively well documented.³²

References

- Aguirre de Cárcer, Luisa F. (ed.). 1995. Ibn Wāfid (m. 460/1067). *Kitāb al-adwiya al-mufrada. Edición, traducción, notas y glosarios*. 2 vols. Madrid: CSIC.
- de Alcalá, Pedro. 1505. *Vocabulista aravigo en lengua castellana*. Granada: Juan Varela.
- Alonso Amado. 1946. Las correspondencias árabe-españolas en los sistemas de sibilantes. *Revista de Filología Hispánica* 8: 12–76.

³² We are very thankful to Michele Loporcaro and the two anonymous reviewers for their valuable comments.

- Ariza, Manuel. 2004. El romance en Al-Ándalus. *Historia de la lengua española*, ed. by Rafael Cano: 207–235. Barcelona: Ariel.
- Aillet Cyrille. 2010. *Les mozarabes. Christianisme, islamisation et arabisation en péninsule Ibérique (IX^e–XII^e siècle)*. Madrid: Casa de Velázquez.
- Barbato, Marcello. 2019. Metafonía, palatalización y monoptongación en iberorromance primitivo. *Revue de Linguistique Romane* 82: 5–21.
- Barbato, Marcello. 2020. Resultados de G^e:i j en castellano: un balance y una propuesta. *Medioevo Romanzo* 44: 172–180.
- Benabu Isaa & Joseph Yahalom. 1986. The Importance of the Genizah Manuscripts for the Establishment of the Text of the Hispano-Romance Kharjas in Hebrew Characters. *Romance Philology* 40: 139–158.
- Bustamante, Joaquín, Federico Corriente & Mohamed Timaltin. 2004–2010. Abulḥayr al-ʿIṣbīlī (s. v/xi), *Kitābu ʿumdati ṭṭabīb fī maʿrifati nnabāt likulli labīb (Libro base del médico para el conocimiento de la botánica por todo experto)*. 3 vols. Madrid: CSIC.
- Cardona, Giorgio Raimondo. 1975. Review of Alan Freedman. 1972. *Italian texts in Hebrew characters. Problems of interpretation*. Wiesbaden: Harassowitz. *Cultura Neolatina* 35: 309–313.
- Corominas, Joan & José A. Pascual. 2012. *Diccionario crítico etimológico castellano e hispánico*. Madrid: Gredos.
- Corriente, Federico. 1995. *Dīwān Ibn Quzmān al-Qurṭubī (555 H./1160 M.)*. Al-Qāhirah: al-Majlis al-ʿAḷa lil-Thaqāfah.
- Corriente, Federico. 1997. *Poesía dialectal árabe y romance en Alandalús*. Madrid: Gredos.
- Corriente, Federico. 2004. El elemento árabe en la historia lingüística peninsular. *Historia de la lengua española*, ed. by Rafael Cano, 185–206. Barcelona: Ariel.
- Corriente, Federico. 2008. *Romania arabica. Tres cuestiones básicas: arabismos, «mozárabe» y «jarchas»*. Madrid: Trotta.
- Corriente, Federico., Christophe Pereira & Ángeles Vicente. 2015. *Encyclopédie linguistique d'Al-Andalus. Aperçu grammatical du faisceau dialectal arabe andalou. Perspectives synchroniques, diachroniques et panchroniques*. Berlin-Boston: Walter de Gruyter.
- Corriente, Federico, Christophe Pereira & Ángeles Vicente. 2020. *Encyclopédie linguistique d'Al-Andalus. Le substrat roman et l'adstrat berbère du faisceau dialectal arabe andalou*. Berlin-Boston: Walter de Gruyter.
- Elena, Chiara. 2021. *De Al-Ándalus a Castilla: alcune osservazioni sulla fonologia mozáraba attraverso lo studio dei mozarabismi del castigliano*. *AION Sezione Romanza*, 63: 219–244.
- Ferrando, Ignacio. 1995. Los romancismos de los documentos mozárabes de Toledo. *Anequel de Estudios Árabes*, 6: 71–86.

- Ferrando, Ignacio. 2000. The Arabic Language Among the Mozarabs of Toledo. *Arabic as a Minority Language*, ed. by J. Owens, 45–63. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Galmés de Fuentes, Álvaro. 1983. *Dialectología mozárabe*. Madrid: Gredos.
- González Palencia, Álvaro. 1926–1930. *Los mozárabes de Toledo en los siglos XII y XIII*. 4 vols. Madrid: Instituto de Valencia de Don Juan.
- Hilty, Gerold. 2007. El destino de las oclusivas intervocálicas latinas -p-, -t-, -k- en mozárabe (1979). *Íva:l con la edat el coraçón creçiendo. Estudios escogidos sobre problemas de lengua y literatura hispánicas*, ed. by Gerold Hilty, Katharina Maier-Troxler, Georg Bossong, Martin-Dietrich Gleßgen, 175–189. Madrid/Frankfurt: Iberoamericana-Veruert.
- Hitchcock, Richard. 2008. *Mozarabs in Medieval and Early Modern Spain. Identities and Influences*. Aldershot-Burlington: Ashgate.
- van Koningsveld, Pieter S. 1977. *The Latin-Arabic Glossary of Leiden University Library. A Contribution to the Study of Mozarabic Manuscripts and Literature*. Leiden: New Rhine.
- López de Aberasturi, Ignacio. 1998. La manufactura del esparto en Andalucía: dos mozarabismos léxicos. *Revista de Humanidades y Ciencias Sociales del IEA*, 16: 203–216.
- Loporcaro, Michele. 2011. Phonological processes. *The Cambridge History of the Romance Languages*, ed. by Martin Maiden, John C. Smith & Adam Ledgeway, 1, 109–154. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Menéndez Pidal, Ramón. 1950. *Orígenes del español*. 2nd ed. Madrid: Espasa-Calpe.
- Menéndez Pidal, Ramón. 1962. *Manual de gramática histórica española*. 11th ed. Madrid: Espasa-Calpe.
- Molénat, Jean-Pierre. 1994. L'arabe à Tolède, du XI^e au XVI^e siècle. *Al-Qanṭara* 15: 473–496.
- Molénat, Jean-Pierre. 2008. La fin des chrétiens arabisés d'al-Andalus. Mozarabes de Tolède et Gharb au XI^e siècle. *¿Existe una identidad mozárabe? Historia, lengua y cultura de los cristianos de al-Andalus (siglos IX–XII)*, ed. by Cyrille Aillet, Mayte Penelas, Philippe Roisse, 287–297. Madrid: Casa de Velázquez.
- Montaner Frutos, Alberto. 2003. La aljamía: una voz islámica en Aragón. *Jornadas sobre la variación lingüística en Aragón a través de los textos*, ed. by José M. Enguita Utrilla, 99–204. Zaragoza: Institución Fernando el Católico.
- Noll, Volker. 1922. *Das linguistische Erbe von al-Andalus. Hispanoarabische Sprachkontakte*. Berlin/Boston: Walter de Gruyter.
- Olstein, Diego. 1990. The Arabic Origins of Romance Private Documents. *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations* 17: 433–443.
- Peñarroja Torrejón, Leopoldo. 1990. *El mozárabe de Valencia. Nuevas cuestiones de fonología mozárabe*. Madrid: Gredos.
- Schiaparelli, Celestino. 1871. *Vocabulista in Arabico, pubblicato per la prima volta sopra un codice della Biblioteca Riccardiana di Firenze*. Firenze: Le Monnier.

- Simonet, Francisco J. 1888. *Glosario de voces ibéricas y latinas usadas entre los mozárabes*. Madrid: Fortanet.
- Steiger, Arnald. 1991 [1932]. *Contribución a la fonética del hispano-árabe y de los arabis-mos en el ibero-románico y el siciliano*. Madrid: CSIC.
- Stern, Samuel Miklos. 1948. Les vers finaux dans le *Muwaššahas* hispano-hébraïques. Une contribution à l'histoire du *Muwaššaha* et à l'étude du vieux dialecte espagnol «mozarabe». *Al-Andalus* 13: 299–346.
- Torreblanca, Máximo. 1982. La s hispanolatina: el testimonio árabe. *Romance Philology* 35: 447–463.
- Varvaro, Alberto. 2004. Monogenesi o poligenesi: un'opposizione inconciliabile? (1992). *Identità linguistiche e letterarie nell'Europa romanza*, 28–42. Roma: Salerno Editrice.
- Zamora Vicente, Alonso. 1967. *Dialectología española*. 2nd ed. Madrid: Gredos.
- Zwartjes, Otto. 1997. *Love Songs from al-Andalus. History, Structure and Meaning of the Kharja*. Leiden/Boston: Brill.

Indirectly Attested Dalmatian Romance Varieties: Survey and Perspectives

Nikola Vuletić

1 Introduction

The study of the extinct autochthonous Romance varieties of historical Dalmatia, in the way it had been conceived in the late 19th century, draws on two major and very different sources: the 19th century *Veklisún* or Vegliote, an indigenous Romance vernacular of the town of Krk (It. *Veglia*) on the homonymous island, attested directly but fragmentarily; and the Romance lexical and onomastic relics in Croatian and Montenegrin vernaculars, stemming roughly from the period 600–1200. For the best part of the 20th century, the medieval Venetian-based scriptae of the regional urban centres, presumably containing some Dalmatian Romance elements, have also been used for the purpose. It was only a matter of time before acute observers began to spot the inconvenience of treating this heterogeneous material under the unitary etiquette of ‘Dalmatian’. After more than a century of consolidated studies, featuring widely recognized scholars such as Bartoli, Skok and Muljačić, the very concept of ‘Dalmatian’ or ‘Dalmatian Romance’ has been questioned from the point of view of historical comparative linguistics.

This paper is not a straightforward defence of that concept. The detractors of the linguistic subgrouping “von Veglia bis Ragusa”, to use Bartoli’s wording (Bartoli 1906), have a strong case. However, my hesitation to accept the obsolescence of the concept of ‘Dalmatian Romance’, if partly motivated by my imperfect adherence to the comparative method, moves from the informed belief that the material that could be used for a partial reconstruction of the autochthonous Romance varieties of Dalmatia has not been fully explored. This concerns sources yet to be studied, such as thousands of pages of unpublished medieval documents from Eastern Adriatic cities or the lexicon and the toponymy of many uninvestigated Croatian and Montenegrin coastal or insular vernaculars, as well as the interpretative potential of the linguistic material already known. Following an illustrative selection of phonetic issues, this paper presents the case for a careful evaluation of this material before dismissing the concept of ‘Dalmatian’ or ‘Dalmatian Romance’ altogether.

Given the marginal position of the subject, in section 2, I set out a short historical survey of the concept of ‘Dalmatian’/‘Dalmatian Romance’, with a preliminary reassessment of the question of indirect sources. In section 3, I discuss some retentions and innovations in consonantism, arguing that their combination in the area traditionally ascribed to Dalmatian Romance can be useful in establishing relations within a language group and studying the history of Vegliote in a broader context.¹ In particular, I consider the treatment of velar stops before front vowels (§ 3.1), which points to a primitive linguistic unity in the northern part of the domain, as well as an innovation that seems to unite the ancient Romance varieties of the islands of Krk and Rab (§ 3.2). A brief look at vocalism, as reflected in the indirect sources, is also provided (§ 4).

2 Construction and Deconstruction of ‘Dalmatian’

Following the Slavic settlement in the Eastern Adriatic region at the beginning of the 7th century, the Early Romance language space in Dalmatia was reduced to a series of coastal and insular enclaves, mostly under the Byzantine rule. It is reasonable to assume that the spread of common innovations in such a fragmented space, separated by a broad Slavic wedge from Western Istria and the rest of the Romance world, must have faced serious impediments. This situation represents a challenge for known methodological principles of historical comparative linguistics. Except for Vegliote, that survived up to the second half of the 19th century, when it was solidly documented, the autochthonous Romance varieties of these enclaves became extinct in the Middle Ages thanks to the combined action of two factors: the growing weight of the Slavic ethnolinguistic element and the prestige of the Venetian dialect as a common and trade language in the Eastern Adriatic, largely independent of the effective presence of Venice in the region. The *lingua vetus ragusea* or Ragusan made its last stand in the 1470s, when the conservatives sought to regulate its oral use in the council of the Republic of Dubrovnik with fines (Bartoli 1906: § 132); the vernaculars of other enclaves must have disappeared much earlier, although some unsubstantiated suppositions have claimed that Zadar Romance, so called *Jadertin*, had survived up to 1500s (Zamboni 1976). Except for four Dubrovnik glosses, recorded in the 15th century by Filippo de Diversis, Dalmatian Romance varieties south of Krk count only with indirect attesta-

¹ This criterion is obviously reminiscent of Ascoli’s concept of “particolare combinazione” (Ascoli 1876: 387).

tions.² These attestations combine isolated autochthonous Romance forms in medieval texts, written in Latin or in Venetian, as well as a substantial repertory of lexical and onomastic relics in Croatian and Montenegrin vernaculars (to a minor extent also in Venetian vernaculars of the Dalmatian coast, but in this case Dalmatian Romance elements usually appear to be mediated by Croatian).

Although eminent linguists and philologists, such as Ascoli, Budmani or Schuchardt, have dedicated important reflections on the autochthonous Romance of Dalmatia since the second half of the 19th century, the elaboration of the concept of *Dalmatian* is almost entirely the work of Bartoli. These are the principal methodological points of Bartoli's *Dalmatische* (Bartoli 1906: §§ 3, 131, 151, 169):

- ‘Dalmatian’, defined as a language in singular (“das Idiom”), is a Romance indigenous to Dalmatia, unlike Venetian that has been imported in the region.
- ‘Dalmatian’ includes all the autochthonous Romance varieties of Dalmatia, specifically those of the urban centres considered in § 131, independently of the period and the nature of the documentation.
- The sources for the study of Dalmatian are divided into direct (‘Hauptquellen’), regarding almost exclusively 19th century Vegliote, and indirect sources (‘Nebenquellen’).
- Among the indirect sources, Dalmatian relics in Serbo-Croatian are labelled “von größter Wichtigkeit” (§ 151), as they contain useful phenomena for establishing the internal and external linguistic relations of the Dalmatian.
- The relatedness between Vegliote and Ragusan, passing through the rest of Dalmatia, is explicitly addressed, since the validity of the concept of ‘Dalmatian’ depends on it.

While Bartoli's interpretation of Vegliote historical phonetics was eloquently challenged by Hadlich (1965), his concept of ‘Dalmatian’ remained highly influential throughout the 20th century. The efforts of the scholars who, systematically or occasionally, continued to study the growing volume of indirect sources, were directed at finding Vegliote characteristics outside Krk. Some scholars, including Bartoli, occasionally failed to distinguish Romance phonetic devel-

2 A traditional view, found in reference works of Romance linguistics, asserting the existence of medieval texts written in Dalmatian, has already been challenged by Zamboni (1976: 46). Two 14th century letters from Zadar, labelled “the oldest organic texts in Dalmatian” (Tagliavini 1969: § 86), and similar texts from this city and other centres of Dalmatia are actually characterized by a solid Venetian base with non-Venetian features that some scholars attributed to Dalmatian (but see further below). For the status quaestionis, the reader is kindly referred to Dotto's masterly overview (Dotto 2016).

opments from their Slavic rendering in loanwords and place names, Rosenkranz (1955) being the most obvious example. It is difficult to assess in a few words the vast work of Bartoli's prolific fellow scholar Petar Skok in the field of Dalmatian Romance and 'Balkanlatein'. Despite his refined understanding of chronology and contact issues, Skok was also inclined to look for Vegliote features in the forms that might have been borrowed by the Adriatic Slavs before the feature in question developed. To give but one example: comparing place names *Bruškit* on the island of Rab and *Bruškaj* near Krk, both from *BRUSCĒTU, Skok (1950: 58) concluded that the Romance dialects of Rab and Krk must have been different. It is only normal to expect they were, but the pair *Bruškit* ~ *Bruškaj* may be irrelevant to the question. *Bruškit* displays an expected Slavic /i/ for Romance /e/ and might simply show that Rab Slavs borrowed the Romance form before the diphthongization could have taken place, if it ever did so, whereas in Krk they borrowed *Bruškaj* after the diphthongization.

Muljačić's reconstruction of the medieval Ragusan (Muljačić 1962) and Zamboni's work on the medieval Zadar Romance (Zamboni 1976), both drawing on the 13th and 14th century local documentation in Latin and Venetian, take the same starting point. When matches with Vegliote are lacking, their absence is ascribed to Croatian and/or Venetian influence. Whereas Skok in one of his last works (Skok 1956: 653) identified only two Pan-Dalmatian features, both retentions (conservation of velar stops before /e/ and of voiceless intervocalic stops), Zamboni claimed that "tutto quanto l'ambito dalmato partecipa in origine delle stesse tendenze evolutive e mostra tutte le mutazioni essenziali, indipendentemente dagli esiti accertati" (Zamboni 1976: 47). To understand this view, one must bear in mind that Muljačić, Zamboni and several other scholars considered that non-Venetian features in Venetian-based *scriptae* from Dalmatia, including the raising of stressed and unstressed /e/ > /i/, /o/ > /u/, had their origin in the adjustment of recessive local Romance varieties to foreign pressure. It has been convincingly shown (cf. Dotto 2016; Vuletić 2019) that this idea relies on arbitrary assumptions. As far as Zadar is concerned, the traditional argument is circular: to ascribe these features to the local Romance, one must first assume that in the given period the local Romance still enjoyed some vitality, but, unlike in Dubrovnik, there is no external proof for this. A broader comparative perspective shows that non-Venetian features in these texts likely developed as a result of Venetian-Croatian bilingualism (cf. Vuletić 2019: 92–96).

Muljačić's later work shows a progressive distancing from traditional views and a growing interest in language contact and sociolinguistics. Its programmatic bases are formulated in the idea, already present in Skok (1928), that every Dalmatian city had its own linguistic history (Muljačić 1967: 69). Con-

sidering that the evolution of the autochthonous Romance in Dalmatia was marked by internal ruptures and mutual isolation of single centres, Muljačić substituted Bartoli's Dalmatian with a group of Dalmatian Romance languages, which must still have existed around the year 1100 (cf. Muljačić 1992, 1997). Since these languages can be partially reconstructed only from indirect sources, Muljačić labelled them 'Wortsprachen riflettute' (admittedly not a felicitous expression), reserving for Vegliote the status of 'Corpussprache' (Muljačić 1998: 209–210).

If Muljačić's proposals present the deconstruction of the traditional concept of 'Dalmatian', two other scholars have moved beyond. Chambon (2014) opted for disregarding Muljačić's medieval Dalmatian Romance languages as conjectural languages with no corpus that cannot be regarded as coherent linguistic systems. By comparing 19th century Vegliote with reconstructed medieval Ragusan, he concluded that their exclusive relatedness could not be proved and proposed to abandon the concept of 'Dalmatian', extracting from it the 19th century Vegliote as the only legitimate object of Romance comparative linguistics. Independently of Chambon, Ligorio (2014) in his study of Dalmatian Romance relics in the Eastern Adriatic Slavic vernaculars, observed that the 'Pan-Dalmatian' phonetic features included only common retentions, stating that it is questionable whether a cladistic unity "von Veglia bis Ragusa" ever existed. Ligorio, however, continues to pursue the study of the indirect sources (e.g. Ligorio 2015, 2018), extending the limits of our knowledge on the autochthonous Romance of Dalmatia (cf. section 4), and still uses terms like 'dalmatski', 'dalmatoromanski' and 'dalmatska romanština'. Recently, Barbato (2020a: § 8.5) has challenged Chambon's view: in his opinion, a unique combination of features shared by Vegliote and Ragusan suffices to demonstrate the unity of Dalmatian "both in a taxonomic as well as a genetic sense".³

This, in short, is the fortune of the concept of 'Dalmatian'. The methodological principles of comparative linguistics must be considered when it comes to determining genetic relations between the ancient Romance varieties of Dalmatia. That said, I maintain that the history of Early Romance varieties south of Krk, as reflected in the indirect sources, is a legitimate object of the historical linguistics. Only the study of indirect sources can show whether an early form of Vegliote participated in a broader linguistic unity in the Eastern Adriatic. With reference to the centres this indirect material comes from, one might wish to speak of *languages*, designated by names coined ad hoc, as Muljačić

3 Barbato (2020a: § 8.5) considers the following selection of features: 1) apocope of final vowels except -A; 2) degemination; 3) merger of CJ and TJ into /ts/; 4) -GN- > [mn].

did, or rather of *zones* of the autochthonous Romance (cf. Vuletić 2020: 75, n. 11), but this does not seem particularly decisive. Admittedly, it is more convenient to use, for example, the label ‘Jadertin’, as blurry as it may be, than tedious constructions like ‘autochthonous Romance of Zadar area’. For one thing, the Indo-European linguistics, the cradle and model of the comparative method, has not renounced the study of indirectly attested languages and still operates with some highly hypothetical linguistic entities. Compared to the sources of some other indirectly attested languages, the material for the study of ancient Romance varieties south of Krk belongs to a well-defined time and space.

In the remainder of this paper, I hope to demonstrate the interpretative potential of the indirect sources, engaging in a dialogue with the comparative method. To avoid clumsy circumscriptions, I shall make a heuristic use of the term ‘Dalmatian Romance’, meaning ‘autochthonous Romance of historical Dalmatia’, without implying its unity.

3 Retentions and Innovations

A dialogue with the comparative method does not mean, however, accepting the orthodox application of Leskien’s principle, that is, the idea that a subgrouping within a language family, branch or group can only be based on exclusive shared innovations (cf. Hock 1986: 579). I cannot but agree with Watkins (1966: 30), when he affirms that “at any given stage of a given language, retentions and innovations are part of the same synchronic structure”. With important precedents in the 19th century Romance linguistics, several experts in historical comparative linguistics, starting with Meillet (1931), defended the idea that shared retentions too can be useful in establishing relations within a language family. Petit (2007: 28) notes the importance of minoritarian positive retentions which, he states, are not to be judged in the function of languages that do not attest them, but of those that do. It would appear that a fruitful interpretation of shared retentions remains a problem of method, not of facts. They are to be considered regarding their areal distribution and the historical factors, internal and external, that determine them.

The lack of palatalization of velar stops before /e/ in Logudorese Sardinian and in Dalmatian Romance is obviously no proof of relatedness: Sardinia and Dalmatia have two seas and the entire mainland of Italy between them. But the retention of velar stops before /e/ in Dalmatian Romance relics, borrowed into Slavic roughly between 600 and 1100, in the zone stretching from Krk all the way to Montenegro is not a banal fact, not only because of its compact distribution. The same treatment in the 19th century Vegliote shows that this retention was a

lasting feature in a broader area. One might be tempted to see it as a conservative feature cutting through the palatalizing Romance continuum. Yet, we must bear in mind that the Early Romance continuum in Southeast Europe collapsed before the early 7th century and that the concordances between Romanian and Southern Italy may very well be due to polygenesis (cf. now Barbato 2020b). So instead of viewing Dalmatia as a marginal area not reached by an innovation that spread along the Romance continuum, we should consider indirect Dalmatian Romance data for what they are. We shall see then that in the best part of Dalmatia we are not dealing with retentions tout court, but with a complex hierarchy of palatalizing contexts, with matches in the 19th century Vegliote. With that in mind, I propose taking the palatalization as the showcase for the value of the indirect sources.

Understanding the formal aspects of the Early Romance relics mediated by Slavic vernaculars requires familiarity with Slavic historical linguistics and Slavic substitutions for Romance sounds. For the general framework the reader is kindly referred to Holzer (2005; 2007), with a reliable account on the relative chronology. I will just recall that the Early Romance vowel quantity, without inferring its phonological status, has been maintained in the loanwords. Slavic */i/, */u/, that reflected Romance close and close-mid vowels (but also /ɔ/) in short syllables, became ultra-short vowels (so called ‘yers’), merging in *[ə] in the 9th century, after */a/ shifted to /o/. In weak position *[ə] disappears around year 1050, while in strong position it undergoes vocalization around 1300 (cf. Holzer 2007: 77–78; 80). For useful details on the relative chronology cf. also Matasović 2008. The etyma are cited after Ligorio (2014). When not stated otherwise, the forms discussed are from ERHSJ and JE (included in Ligorio), or from my published and unpublished research. I use symbols > and < also in the cases that involve morphological change in the process of borrowing.

3.1 Palatalization in Dalmatian Romance

In the Early Romance loanwords from all over historical Dalmatia, the reflexes of TJ, CJ are rendered with /tʃ/, those of DJ, GJ and J with /ʒ/ < */dʒ/. Here is an illustrative list of examples from the Adriatic area: *mrča* < MYRTEA, *nevča* < NĚPTIA, *puč* < PŮTEU; *bolanča* < *BALANCIA, *branča* < BRANCHIA, *kračun* < *CHARACIŌNE; *lopiž* < LAPĪDEU, *žaplo* < διάπλους; *pláža* (not *pláža*) < *PLAGIA; *raža* < RAJA, *žuk* < JŮNCU.⁴ They account for an early merger of TJ and CJ on one hand, and of DJ, GJ and J on the other, but are not conclusive when it

4 In *nevča* /v/ does not reflect Western Romance lenition, but a recent Croatian assimilation, cf. *Lapsa* > *Lavsá*, *Lapkat* > *Lavkat*, *Frapka* > *Hrakva* (with metathesis).

comes to the phonetic reality of Early Dalmatian Romance reflexes. As far as TJ, CJ are concerned, /tʃ/ is found in the older loanwords that are not exclusive to the Adriatic area, such as *bačva* < *BŪTTIA, *hlače* < CALCEA OR *vrč* < ŪRCEU, as well as in place names outside Dalmatia, such as Slov. *Lavoča* < ALBANTIA, Slov. *Soča* < SONTIU, Cr. *Poreč* < PARENTIU (cf. Skok 1926: 389–390; Holzer 2013: 224). Crucially, /tʃ/ stands for OHG /ts/ in OCz. *Mohuč* < OHG *Magunza* (Holzer 2013: 224; 229 n. 75). In the case of *branče* and *kračun*, both of Greek origin and counting with concurrent variants *brenke* and *krakun* with no palatalization, /tʃ/ may reflect Byzantine Greek pronunciation (Ligorio 2014: § 32; cf. Skok 1934: 209). The general opinion in Slavic historical linguistics is that /tʃ/, */dʒ/ are substitutions for foreign /ts/, /dz/, before Common Slavic acquired dental affricates through the Slavic second palatalization, completed in the second half of the 7th century (cf. Holzer 2007: 42; 54–55). This is consistent with Bartoli's reconstruction for Vegliote, where the final outcome of TJ, CJ is /s/, and that of DJ, (GJ), J is /z/ (Bartoli 1906: §§ 385–386, 388, 431). What seems puzzling is that *račun* < RATIŌNE, *stačun* < STATIŌNE, which must have been borrowed after the beginning of the 9th century, since they do not display */a/ > /o/, still present /ts/ > /tʃ/, when dental affricates are already to hand in the Slavic system. In that sense, it is worth noting that some scholars considered the possibility that Early Romance in the Eastern Adriatic had clusters with a palatal element, something like *[tsj], *[dzj] (cf. Tekavčić 1976: 41; Holzer 2013: 229 n. 75), while Muljačić (1962: 274) opted for a 'mid-palatal' articulation. Rocchi (1990) dismissed *račun* and *stačun* as Northern Italian loanwords. The question depends essentially on the chronology of the development of TJ, CJ in Old Northern Italian (cf. Barbato 2020b). The influence of Friulan, where /ts/ merges with /tʃ/, is improbable in the 9th century Dalmatia. But Croatian does show CJ > /tʃ/ in *pogača* < FOCĀCEA, with lenition pointing to a Western Romance origin (cf. Skok 1928: 52).

It is known that Vegliote retains velar stops before stressed and unstressed /e/ but palatalizes them before [je] that later evolves to /i/ in open syllable and to [ja] in closed syllable (*čil* < CAELU, *čant* < CĚNTU), before stressed /i/ < ī (*čenk* < CĪNQUE), before final -i (*puarč*), as well as before the original outcome of ū in open syllable, probably */y/ (*čol* < CŪLU). Cf. Bartoli (1902: §§ 425–430). Hence, this process must be placed after the diphthongization of /ε/, with subsequent monophthongization in open syllable, but it must precede the syllabic differentiation of the mid-high and high vowels that eliminates the palatalizing context (/i/ > [aj] in open syllable, /i/ > /e/ in closed syllable), since CALCĪNA > *kalčajna*, CĪNQUE > *čenk*. The parallels of these developments outside Krk are important, since they enable placing Vegliote palatalization in a broader context and proposing a more precise dating, with the help of Slavic relative chronology. In

the borrowed place names and loanwords stemming from the earliest period of Slavic-Romance contacts in Dalmatia (7th century), Romance /k/ before front vowels yields /ts/: *Caska* < CĪSSA, *Cavtat* < CIVITĀTE, *Cetina* < CENTŌNA, *Cres* < *Kerso < CREXI; *cacar* < *CĪČĚRE, *cipol* < CEPHĀLU, *mocira* < MACĚRIA. Similarly, Romance /g/ is rendered with */dz/ > /z/, cf. *Zeta* < GENTA. This is the outcome of the Slavic second palatalization (cf. Holzer 2007: 42; 54–55), not of some kind of Romance palatalization, as Rocchi (1990) suggested. Any eventual Romance *[ts], */dz/ or alike would have been rendered with Slavic /tʃ/, */dʒ/, as above. So, these examples stretching from Kvarner to Montenegro, confirm the retention of velar stops before front vowels in the 7th century for the entire Dalmatian Romance area. Once the Slavic second palatalization was completed, Dalmatian Romance loanwords display /k/, /g/ in the same contexts: *kapula* < *CĒPŪLLA, *kriša/kriješa* < CERĚSEA, *krklo* < CĪRCŪLU, *gira/gera* < *GĚRRA < GĚRRES, *gnigla* < GENĪCŪLU, in initial position; *bumbak* < *BOMBĀCE, *lumbak* < LABRĀCE, *mrginj* < MARGĪNE, in internal position. Cf. Ligorio (2014) for further lexical and onomastic evidence.

This ‘Pan-Dalmatian’ retention concerns velar stops before /e/ and, at an earlier stage, before /ɛ/ (see further), but not before /i/ < ĭ. Bartoli (1906: § 427) correctly observed that the reflexes of CĪMĪCE display palatalization in the North (Vegl. *činko*, Cr. *čimak/ćimak*, *činka/ćinka*, Cr. *čimavica/ćimavica*), from Krk to Central Dalmatia, and retention in the South (*kimak*), from Korčula through Dubrovnik area down to Montenegro. Dozens of Croatian dialectal dictionaries that appeared in the meantime confirm Bartoli’s vision of the facts, but there is something to add. Slavic output of Rom. /e/ < ĭ is /a/ < *[ə] < */i/, essentially showing that Dalmatian Romance reflexes of CĪMĪCE were borrowed before the 9th century. This allows identifying *terminus ad quem* for Northern Dalmatian Romance palatalization of velar stops, but the lower chronological limit remains open.

Indirect sources also offer some insight into the chronology of palatalization before [jɛ] < /ɛ/ beyond Krk. The area stretching from Krk to Zadar presents historical and contemporary attestations of MONTICĚLLU as place name and/or common noun: *Munčal*, *munčal* in 19th century Vegliote; *Munčel*, *Munčal* in Croatian vernaculars of the island of Krk (cf. Bartoli 1902: § 425; Skok 1930: 36); *Mučel*, *mučel*, on the island of Rab, with Slavic denasalization; *Mučê*, on the island of Iž near Zadar, with denasalization and regular loss of final /l/. The oldest historical attestations retrieved so far are: *Monchello*, 1318, 1368 (Krk); *Monchiel*, 1397 (Zadar); *ad Monchiellos*, 1454, *sub Monchello*, 1476 (Rab).⁵ It

5 *Muncial* near Zadar, mentioned by Bartoli (1906: § 292) and thereafter by Zamboni (1976: 37),

is clear, from spoken forms, that ⟨chi⟩, ⟨ch⟩ in the medieval sources stand for a (pre)palatal consonant. This case, known to Bartoli, is not the only one. The island of Rab offers another series of forms attesting palatalization: *Machieran* (1374), today Cr. *Maćeran*, a local Romance derivation of *[ma'tʃera] < MACĚRIA; with the same basis, *Monte Magiero* (1369), *Monte Machier* (1451), today Cr. *Gromače*, literally 'dry wall'; *Valgiella* (1369), *Valchiella* (1374) < VAL-LICĚLLA, today Cr. *Dražica*, literally 'small valley'. Finally, note Cr. *pacê* (and *paćelak*, with Slavic suffix) < *FACĚLLU, in Zadar archipelago, and *fruncêla* < *FRONTICĚLLA, on the islands of Hvar and Vis, but *frinkela* in Dobrinj, on the island of Krk. The latter form suggests that Vegliote palatalization before [jɛ] took place after first Slavic-Romance contacts on the island.

Other Dalmatian Romance loanwords containing velar stops before ě > /ɛ/ do not display Romance palatalization. Since in them in the place of Rom. /ɛ:/ we normally find dialectal outputs of *yat*, a near-open or open-mid vowel that developed from */ɛ:/ (cf. Holzer 2007: 44, 63), they must have been borrowed in the early Common Slavic period (7th–8th century). ACERNIA > *kernja*, *kirnja*, *kijernja* is a good example of this. Ligorio (2014: §§ 120–125; 2015, 2018) has shown that a significant number of loanwords in -ĚLLU, -A display short *yat*. So, Slavic reflexes of MONTICĚLLU displaying Romance palatalization and Slavic denasalization, but no *yat*, seem to have been borrowed no earlier than the 8th century, yet before the rise of Slavic nasal vowels (cf. Holzer 2007: 66–68).

Cumulative evidence, then, suggests that the Dalmatian Romance palatalization before [jɛ] can be dated to the 8th century. There are no reliable examples from Dubrovnik area or Montenegro, so this too appears to be a Northern Dalmatian Romance feature. If *ćifal* < *CĚPHŮLU instead of *CĚPHĀLU (cf. Alb. *qefull*) < κέφαλος in Northern Dalmatia, *ćifel* in the northern part of the island of Krk, indeed display Dalmatian Romance palatalization, and not a Greek pronunciation (Skok considered both possibilities, cf. ERHSJ I, s.v. *cipal*; II, s.v. *Muncél*), this would provide further evidence for the proposed dating. Namely, Cr. -al/-el seems to reflect the dialectal variation in the development of *[ə] in strong position (see above).

3.2 *Krk and Rab?*

Since the second half of the 14th century, Rab documents record a place name that appears in different spellings, like *Monchi* (1378; 1458), *in Monch in Val*

is not attested. "Močal bei Ragusa, wohl monticello" (Bartoli 1906: § 292) is actually *Močale*, a place name of Slavic origin.

Longa (1469), *Monche* (1494), *Monchie* (1505). These stand for the plural form of the local Romance reflex of *MŌNS*, as shown by Latin, Venetian, and Croatian forms for the same locality, respectively *in Montibus* (1369), *sopra li Monti* (1611), *nella contrà di Verchi over Valonga* (1651), where Cr. [vr̩x̩t̩], now *Vrsi* (with assibilation), is the exact semantic equivalent of the Romance form. This is not to say that Rab Romance survived up to the 15th or 16th century, because it surely did not; rather, that the place name outlived the local Dalmatian Romance variety. The comparison between various spelling alternatives only permits the reading [montʃ], something like *[monki] or *[monke] being impossible for obvious formal reasons. At this point, one cannot help thinking of the 19th century Vegliote plural forms, such as *djanč*, *kujnč*, *lič*, *sinč*, *toč*, but also of other examples of palatalization of /t/ before -i, like *aninč*, *vinč* (Bartoli 1906: §§ 447–448). If I am not mistaken, [montʃ] enables identifying the palatalization of /t/ before -i as an innovation limited to Dalmatian Romance varieties of two neighbouring islands, Krk and Rab.

4 Notes on Vocalism

I have repeatedly referred to details of Common Slavic vocalism because they are indispensable to understand the formal evolution of loanwords. But the interface of Latin-Romance forms and their Slavic outputs tells us little of the early history of Dalmatian Romance vocalism. Leaving aside the surroundings of the town of Krk, the bulk of Dalmatian Romance loanwords and place names seem to have been borrowed roughly before 1100, as evidenced by Slavic relative chronology. This means that later Vegliote developments, in particular the syllabic differentiation of the mid-high and high vowels, if they were to have parallels further south, cannot be observed in the borrowings from the early medieval period. To some extent this can be said of the broader Krk area as well. Some Croatian place names of Vegliote origin like *Lakmartin*, *Plāj* and *Prn-iba* show a more conservative state than their respective Vegliote equivalents *Comartein* (1674), *Pluj* (1633) and *Pornaybo* (1305; 1323), while others like *Kanajt* (cf. *contrata Canayti*, 1419) or *Kikerajne* (cf. *Chechereine*, 1623) display Vegliote diphthongization. For further examples cf. Skok (1927; 1930).

Nevertheless, early loanwords can be used to better document the process of open syllable lengthening, as well as the early history of syncope in the entire Dalmatian Romance area (Holzer 2007: 33–34, 37–38; Ligorio 2014: §§ 73, 151; cf. Loporcaro 2011). It would seem that there is more space for those who dare. Ligorio (2018), studying Early Dalmatian Romance lexical relics in -ĚLLU, -A, argues that the development of short *yat* points to an underlying Pan-

Dalmatian Romance diphthongization /ε/ > [iɛ], that in the medieval Romance of Kotor Bay (Montenegro) later pushed to [ia], like in modern Vegliote. There are only two examples of the diphthongization of /ɔ/ (cf. Ligorio 2018: 37–38, 47), abundantly attested in Vegliote. Note that Common Slavic vowel system before the 9th century was asymmetrical, with no short */o/, so that Early Romance /ɔ/ was substituted with */u/, following its evolution (CŎRVU > *krb*), and if lengthened with */o:/ > /u:/ (MŎDIŎLU > *žmu(l)*). Cf. Holzer (2007: 35, 44).

A significant part of older bibliography maintained that Sl. /i/ < ū accounted for */y/ in the entire Dalmatian Romance area (for an overview, cf. Tekavčić 1976: 42–44). However, what place names of Romance origin like ACŪTU > *Okit*, PALŪDE > *Palit* etc. show is only that ū > Rom. /u/ followed the development of Sl. */u:/ (cf. Holzer 2007: 58–59). They do not really inform on the Dalmatian Romance outcomes of ū. Ligorio (2017) has shown that in the direct Greek loanwords, stemming roughly from the same period as Dalmatian Romance ones, /y/ is normally substituted with [ju]. With that in mind, the only example for ū > */y/ south of Krk would be *Poljud* (Split, Central Dalmatia) < PALŪDE, if we are to exclude the interference with Sl. *polje* ‘field’.

5 Conclusion

I began this paper with a selective retrospective on the concept of ‘Dalmatian’ or ‘Dalmatian Romance’, recently challenged from the point of view of historical linguistics. While I welcome the revision of the concept, I believe we should look beyond the traditional position that insists on the idea that a linguistic subgrouping can only be based on exclusive shared innovations. In my view, an original combination of shared innovations and retentions is highly indicative. Dissenting from the view that only 19th century Vegliote is of interest for Romance historical linguistics, I have sought to defend the idea that the indirect material from the rest of historical Dalmatia is useful for understanding the position of Vegliote in a broader Early Romance context of this area. Based on the evidence from indirect sources, the treatment of velar stops before front vowels shows that the evolution of Vegliote participates in a dynamic that goes beyond the limits of the area in which this language survived up to the end of the 19th century. An original combination of shared innovations and retentions (palatalization before /i/ < ī, [iɛ] < /ε/, not before /e/) characterizes all Early Romance varieties of Northern and Central Dalmatia, pointing to a common hierarchy of palatalizing contexts. This does not support the traditional concept of ‘Dalmatian’ “von Veglia bis Ragusa”, leaving medieval Romance vari-

eties of Dubrovnik and Montenegro aside. Nonetheless, it does show that the Early Romance of Krk was part of a primitive unity that, based on the comparative evidence from Slavic relative chronology, still existed during the first three centuries of Slavic-Romance contact in the Eastern Adriatic, despite its territorial fragmentation.⁶ Whether we opt to call it ‘Northern Dalmatian’ or name it any other way, Romance historical linguistics would do well to take it into account. Within this unity, a shared palatalization of /t/ before *-i*, if my analysis in section 3.2 is correct, shows a tighter relation between Krk and Rab.

Abbreviations

Alb.	Albanian
Cr.	Croatian
It.	Italian
OCz.	Old Czech
OHG	Old High German
Rom.	Romance
Sl.	Slavic
Slov.	Slovene

References

- Ascoli, Graziadio I. 1876. P. Meyer e il franco-provenzale. *Archivio glottologico italiano* 2: 359–395.
- Barbato, Marcello. 2020a. Non-Quantitative Approaches to Dialect Classification and Relatedness. *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Linguistics*, ed. by Mark Aronoff. Oxford: Oxford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780199384655.013.438>
- Barbato, Marcello. 2020b. The Early History of Romance Palatalizations. *Oxford Encyclopedia of Romance Linguistics*, ed. By Michele Loporcaro. Oxford: Oxford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780199384655.013.750>
- Bartoli, Matteo G. 1906. *Das Dalmatische. Altromanische Sprachreste von Veglia bis Ragusa und ihre Stellung in der apennino-balkanischen Romania*. Wien: A. Hölder.

6 As one of the reviewers suggests, this relative unity was possibly backed by a period of Romance-Slavic bilingualism. For the arguments supporting the idea of Early Romance-Common Slavic bilingualism in some parts of Dalmatia, cf. Ligorio (2014: §§ 11, 156–161), Vuletić (2020: 76–79).

- Chambon, Jean-Pierre. 2014. Vers une seconde morte du dalmate ? Note critique (du point de vue de la grammaire comparée) sur un «mythe de la linguistique romane». *Revue de linguistique romane* 78: 5–17.
- Dotto, Diego. 2016. « ... un pochu de pala, suvra quale dormiva lu piscadur ...»: vecchie questioni e nuove prospettive sui testi zaratini del Trecento. *Cultura in Friuli II. Atti della Settimana della cultura friulana*, ed. by Matteo Venier & Gabrielle Zanelo, 63–77. Udine: Società Filologica Friulana.
- ERHSJ Skok, Petar. 1971–1974. *Etimologijski rječnik hrvatskoga ili srpskoga jezika*. 4 vols. Zagreb: JAZU.
- Hadlich, Roger-Lee. 1965. *The Phonological History of Vegliote*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina.
- Hock, Hans H. 1986. *Principles of Historical Linguistics*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Holzer, Georg. 2005. Zur relativen Datierung prosodischer Prozesse in Gemeinslavischen und frühen Kroatischen. *Wiener Slavistisches Jahrbuch* 51: 31–71.
- Holzer, Georg. 2007. *Historische Grammatik des Kroatischen. Einleitung und Lautgeschichte der Standardsprache*. Frankfurt am Main/Berlin/Bern/Bruxelles/New York/Oxford/Wien: Peter Lang.
- Holzer, Georg. 2013. Die slavischen Palatalisierungen im Lichte des kroatisch-romanischen Sprachkontakts. *Od indoeuropeistike do kroatistike: Zbornik u čast Daliboru Brozoviću*, ed. by Ranko Matasović & Dunja Brozović Rončević, 221–234. Zagreb: HAZU.
- JE Vinja, Vojmir. 1998–2016. *Jadranske etimologije: jadranske dopune Skokovu etimologijskom rječniku*. 4 vols. Zagreb: HAZU/Školska knjiga.
- Ligorio, Orsat. 2014. *Problem leksičke stratifikacije u adriyatistici*. Sveučilište u Zadru, Zadar, PhD Dissertation.
- Ligorio, Orsat. 2015. Такозвани псеудо-јат у далматској романштини и балканском латинитету (из балканског латинитета VIII). *Јужнословенски филолог* LXXI(3–4): 43–73.
- Ligorio, Orsat. 2017. Greek Y in Dalmatian Romance. *Ελληνική ετυμολογία / Greek etymology*, ed. By Christos Tzitzilis & Georgios Papanastassiou, 472–494. Thessaloniki: Aristotle University of Thessaloniki.
- Ligorio, Orsat. 2018. Дифтонгација у далматороманским реликтима латинског суфикса -ĒLLU, -A (из балканског латинитета XII). *Јужнословенски филолог* LXXIV(1): 31–59.
- Loporcaro, Michele. 2011. Syllable, segment and prosody. *The Romance Languages. Volume 1. Structures*, 50–108, ed. by Martin Maiden, John C. Smith & Adam Ledgeway. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Matasović, Ranko. 2008. *Poredbeno-povijesna gramatika hrvatskoga jezika*. Zagreb: Matica hrvatska.
- Meillet, Antoine. 1931. *Esquisse d'une histoire de la langue latine*. 2nd ed. Paris: Hachette.

- Muljačić, Žarko. 1962. Dalmatski elementi u mletački pisanim dubrovačkim dokumentima 14. st. *Rad* 327: 237–380.
- Muljačić, Žarko. 1967. Die slavisch-romanische Symbiose in Dalmatien in struktureller Sicht. *Zeitschrift für Balkanologie* 5(1): 52–70.
- Muljačić, Žarko. 1992. Wieviele dalmato-romanische Sprachen gab es in Mittelalter?. *Beiträge zur sprachlichen, literarischen und kulturellen Vielfalt in den Philologien. Festschrift für Ruprecht Rohr zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. by Gabriele Birken-Silvermann & Gerda Rössler, 109–118. Stuttgart: Steiner.
- Muljačić, Žarko. 1997. Il gruppo linguistico illiro-romanzo. *Italica et Romanica. Festschrift für Max Pfister zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Günter Holtus, Johannes Kramer & Wolfgang Schweickard, vol. 3, 59–72. Tübingen: Niemeyer.
- Muljačić, Žarko. 1998. U kojim se zonama u sadašnjem trenutku smiju očekivati pomaci koji bi mogli doprinijeti boljem poznavanju “dalmatskoga”? *Folia onomastica Croatica* 7: 207–220.
- Petit, Daniel. 2007. Archaïsme et innovation dans les langues indo-européennes. *Mémoires de la Société de linguistique de Paris. Nouvelle série* 15: 13–55.
- Rocchi, Luciano. 1990. *Latinismi e romanismi antichi nelle lingue slave meridionali*. Udine: Campanoto Editore.
- Rosenkranz, Bernhard. 1955. Die Gliederung des Dalmatischen. *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* 71: 269–279.
- Skok, Petar. 1928. O simbiozi i nestanku starih Romana u Dalmaciji i na Primorju u svijetlu onomastike. *Razprave* 4: 1–42.
- Skok, Petar. 1926. Zur Chronologie der Palatalisierung von *c g qu gu vor e i y j* im Balkanlatein. *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* 46(1): 385–410.
- Skok, Petar. 1927. Studi toponomastici sull'isola di Veglia. *Archivio glottologico italiano* 21: 95–106.
- Skok, Petar. 1930. Studi toponomastici sull'isola di Veglia (11). *Archivio glottologico italiano* 24: 1–55.
- Skok, Petar. 1934. Zum Balkanlatein IV. *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* 54(2): 175–215, 424–499.
- Skok, Petar. 1950. *Slavenstvo i romanstvo na jadranskim otocima. Toponomastička ispitivanja*. Zagreb: Jadranski institut JAZU.
- Skok, Petar. 1956. Dalmatski jezik. *Enciklopedija Jugoslavije*, vol. 2, 653–655. Zagreb: Leksikografski zavod FNRJ.
- Tagliavini, Carlo. 1969. *Le origini delle lingue neolatine*. 5th ed. Bologna: Pàtron.
- Tekavčić, Pavao. 1976. O kriterijima stratifikacije i regionalne diferencijacije jugoslavenskog romanstva u svjetlu toponomastike. *Onomastica Jugoslavica* 6: 35–56.
- Vuletić, Nikola. 2019. Volgare venezianeggiante a Zara nel XIV secolo. *Il veneziano «de là da mar»*. *Contesti, testi, dinamiche del contatto linguistico e culturale*, ed. by Daniele Baglioni, 75–102. Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter.

- Vuletić, Nikola. 2020. La variazione nella Romània dalmatica altomedievale. *Diachrone Varietätenlinguistik: Theorie, Methoden, Anwendungen*. ed. by Carolin Patzelt & Elton Prifti, 71–90. Berlin: Peter Lang.
- Watkins, Calvert. 1966. Italo-Celtic Revisited. *Ancient Indo-European Dialects. Proceedings of the Conference on Indo-European Linguistics, held at the University of California, Los Angeles, April 25–27, 1963*, ed. by Henrik Birnbaum & Jaan Puhvel, 29–50. Berkeley/Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Zamboni, Alberto. 1976. Note linguistiche dalmatiche. *Atti della tornata di studio nel cinquantesimo anniversario della fondazione in Zara*, 9–66. Venezia: Società Dalmata di Storia Patria.

What Remains of an Atypical ‘Restsprache’: The Mediterranean Lingua Franca

Daniele Baglioni

1 The Mediterranean Lingua Franca: ‘Restsprache’ or ‘Rest-What’?

In a famous page of Swift’s *Gulliver’s Travels* (1726), the protagonist finds himself for the first time before the Emperor of Lilliput, who shows up escorted by several fellow countrymen. In the desperate attempt to address his bizarre counterparts, Gulliver resorts to all languages that must have been part of the ‘portfolio’ of an educated 18th-century British traveler: German and Dutch, indispensable for sailing the North Sea; French and Latin, languages of the European diplomacy; Spanish and Italian, essential for navigation in the Mediterranean. The last language to be mentioned is Lingua Franca (henceforth LF), a name referred by contemporary sources to a very elementary Romance-based—and, more specifically, Italian-based—variety, serving for rudimentary communications between Arabs and Turks, on the one hand, and Westerners, on the other, in their interactions on the shores of North Africa and, to a lesser extent, in other port cities of the Ottoman Empire.¹ Nonetheless, the modern reader is led to wonder what kind of words and sentences Gulliver might have effectively uttered in this language. As a matter of fact, data on LF’s consistency and circulation is so vague and incomplete, and sources so heterogeneous, in regard both to their typology and reliability, that one might reasonably doubt whether this language is at the right place in the list, or whether it would figure better among the fictional languages of the novel, together with Lilliputian, Laputian, Brobdingnagian, and Houyhnhnm.

The issue of the historical plausibility of LF has been raised repeatedly by scholars, who have cautiously introduced their research object by resorting to expressions such as ‘between historical reality and literary fiction’ (Minervini

1 “His Imperial Majesty spoke often to me, and I returned Answers, but neither of us could understand a Syllable. There were several of his Priesters and Lawyers present (as I conjectured by their Habits) who were commanded to address themselves to me, and I spoke to them in as many Languages as I had the least Smattering of, which were *High and Low Dutch, French, Spanish, Italian, and Lingua Franca*; but all to no purpose” (Swift 2008: 26).

1997), “between myth and reality” (Aslanov 2012; 2014), and “Fact and Fiction”, as in the subtitle of Joanna Nolan’s recent book *The Elusive Case of Lingua Franca* (Nolan 2020). Elusiveness, in effect, appears to be LF’s main characteristic, due on one hand to the ambiguity and fragmentariness of the attestations, on the other to their quality, since all testimonies are *on* the language and not *of* the language, given the lack of direct records (see § 2). Hugo Schuchardt, unanimously acknowledged as the pioneer of scientific research on LF, compared it to the ‘Seeschlange’, the legendary sea monster feared by German sailors on the basis of few and uncertain sightings (Schuchardt 1883: 282). More recently, Rachel Selbach (2007a) has proposed for LF the analogous image of Nessie, the Loch Ness monster.

Indeed, the number of sightings, or, plainly speaking, historical sources making reference to LF provides sufficient evidence for its circulation, at least in the Barbary Regencies, especially in Algiers, in the period comprised between the end of the 16th and the 18th century, namely in the Golden Age of Mediterranean privateering. Nevertheless, scholars disagree on both the corpus of sources to be examined and the grammatical and lexical features ascribable to LF. Even the classification of LF as a ‘proper’ language, that is as an organic and autonomous system, is debated. Actually, despite the label of ‘lingua’ (generally in Italian in the sources, as in Swift’s novel and in Modern English), most contemporary travelers assign LF the status of a mere ‘jargon’,² and/or ‘mix of Italian and Spanish’,³ a fact that reveals their perception of this linguistic variety as incomplete, because of its limited lexicon and functions, and not clearly distinguishable from other Romance languages, above all Italian. In a couple of sources concerning Tunis, LF is pictured as nothing but ‘broken Italian’ (“un Italien corrompu, qu’on appelle le petit Franc”, Saint-Gervais 1736: 66) and “Italian of the country” (MacGill 1811: 15).

Such ambiguity has led to different interpretations. Most creolists have uncritically accepted the equation of LF with a pidgin, more precisely “the earliest known recorded pidgin” (Velupillai 2015: 25), from which all other European-based contact languages might have developed by relexification,

-
- 2 See Savary de Brèves (1628: 149 “un parler corrompu, ou pour mieux dire un iargon”); Poiron ([1752] 1925: 21 “un jargon italien”); Haedo (1612: 23–24 “casi una gerigonça”); Dan (1637: vol. 2, 102–103 “un bar(r)agouin facile et plaisant”); Chastelet des Bois (1665 after Dakhliya 2008: 71: “un baragouin ou galimatias”).
- 3 D’Arvieux (1735: vol. 5, 235 “un composé corrompu de l’Espagnol, de l’Italien, du Provençal, et autres qui ont du rapport avec celles-là”); Thédenat ([1785] “un mélange de l’italien et de l’espagnol, qu’on a peine à entendre”, Emerit 1948: 159); Pananti (1817: vol. 2, 231 “un misto d’italiano, di spagnuolo e d’africano”).

according to Keith Whinnom's well-known monogenetic hypothesis (Whinnom 1965).⁴ Romance linguists and philologists have more prudently proposed considering LF 'a rudimental variety of pidginized Italian, mixed with Spanish and, in its latest period, French elements' (Minervini 1996: 278),⁵ something in the middle between a shared interlanguage and an emerging pidgin, which, though displaying a certain degree of fossilization, must have undergone remarkable variation in space and time, within the wider framework of the circulation of Italian in the early modern Mediterranean area. Some Romance scholars, such as Cyril Aslanov (2012; 2014) and Joshua Brown (2022), have even called into doubt the very existence of LF as a "divergent, separate language variety", and considered it instead "a sort of nineteenth-century myth" (Brown 2022: 184).

As can be readily intuited, the "issue of languageness" (Selbach 2007b) is crucial, not so much in regard to the fields of scholarly competence, that is whether the study of LF pertains more to pidgin and creole linguistics or to (Italo-)Romance dialectology, but to establish the possibilities and limits of reconstruction. Indeed, one thing is having to do with a full-fledged language, another thing is confronting a dialect, or better a rather homogeneous group of idiolects set on an interlinguistic continuum. In the first case, scholars might legitimately aim to reconstruct a self-sufficient system, with its own phonology, morphology, syntax, and lexicon, whose leaks are only to be imputed to the fragmentariness of the documentation. Conversely, in the latter case scholars are forced to renounce any attempt at completeness and organicity, and limit themselves to reconstruct single features, combined in frequent (though not rigid and highly variable) configurations.

This inescapable ambiguity is no doubt the main anomaly of LF, as equated to a 'Restsprache'. It has consequences on both the delimitation of the documentary corpus and the interpretation of the data, and influences the way data is used to reconstruct grammatical structures. Accordingly, this chapter will first deal with the documentation of LF and the difficulty of selecting a corpus of sufficiently reliable sources (§ 2). It will then consider the data witnessed by the sources and its usability for reconstruction of LF's grammar (§ 3). In the final remarks (§ 4), some general considerations on the relationship

4 Operstein (2018b) locates LF on the pidgin/koine continuum, as the effect of "a continuum of ways of speaking LF that ranged from more basilectal to more acrolectal", which might account for the "simultaneous presence of different degrees of restructuring in the formation of LF" (Operstein 2018b: 353).

5 "una varietà rudimentale di italiano pidginizzato commisto di elementi ispanici e, nell'ultimo periodo, francesi".

between 'internal' and 'external' reconstruction will be made, by showing how, in the case of LF, borders between the two are extremely permeable and, consequently, a thorough assessment of the historical and sociolinguistic context necessarily precedes any attempt at reconstructing linguistic structures.

2 Sources

If one considers the amount of records collected by Dakhliya (2008) and Cifoletti (2011), two of the most cited references on LF, the documentation of this linguistic variety might seem surprisingly broad, nearer to the one of a corpus language than of a 'Restsprache'.⁶ Nevertheless, the impression is misleading, for the reasons summed up in the following lines.

First, it is worth observing that all attestations of LF are secondary, in the sense that no original text written in this variety is available. As a result, scholars mostly rely on single words, expressions, and sentences reported in memories of former slaves in Algiers and Tunis, travelers sailing the Mediterranean, and diplomats sent to the Ottoman provinces of North Africa and the Levant, who profess to have heard them from their Moorish and Turkish counterparts. A further typology is represented by literary imitations, that is highly stereotyped reproductions of LF occurring in comedies, poems, librettos and novels, as a means for characterizing (and ridiculing) exotic characters, such as the well-known cases of the Grand Mufti in Molière's *Bourgeois gentilhomme* (1670) and the opera manager Ali in Goldoni's *L'impresario delle Smirne* (1759). All in all, the entire documentation consists of metalinguistic and/or second-hand information that, in the case of literary attestations, is highly suspect of hyper-characterization for parodic effects.

A further anomaly is that all sources available are European, whereas neither Arabic nor Turkish texts ever mention LF. It is actually more complicated than this, because expressions akin to LF (Arabic *lisān al-faranġ* / *faranġiyya*, Turkish *firankçe*, Greek τὰ φραγκικά/φράγκικα) are frequently attested in the non-Romance languages of the Mediterranean, from the Middle Ages onwards, but generically refer to the languages of the 'Franks', a common denomination for 'Western Europeans' since the Crusader epoch (Tagliavini 1933: 373–383; Kahane/Kahane 1976). As a result, according to the contexts, they may designate French, Italian vernaculars, even Latin, but apparently never apply to a

6 Cifoletti (2011) gathers more than 60 testimonies, ranging from single sentences and even dialogues. A case apart is represented by the *Dictionnaire de la langue franque*, on which see below.

variety other than the main (mostly Romance) languages of the Westerners. Curiously, the term LF chronologically precedes its records, and is first attested in the Eastern Mediterranean, but its applications to what is now meant by LF are not prior to the diffusion of this label in early modern Western Europe.

The semantic ambiguity of the term has misled many modern scholars, who have located the origin of LF in the Crusader Levant, from where the language would have later migrated towards Africa.⁷ Despite its historical inconsistency, repeatedly shown, among others, by Bruno Camus Bergareche (1993) and Laura Minervini (1996; 1997),⁸ the Medieval origin of LF is still presented as an incontrovertible truth in most scientific literature on language contact, even in reference handbooks such as Thomason (2001: 162–163) and Matras (2020: 284). Indeed, such a remote prehistory is no doubt to be excluded, although it is not easy to precisely define the extremes within which LF developed, spread, and went out of use. As for the initial phase, the circulation of LF, in the modern ‘Western’ sense of the word, is first attested in Diego de Haedo’s *Topographia e historia general de Argel* (1612),⁹ but literary parodies of LF by European authors date at least from the second half of the 15th century.¹⁰ As for its obsolescence,

7 Robert Hall, in his influential book *Pidgin and Creole Languages*, asserts that LF “was used during the Middle Ages by European crusaders and traders in the eastern end of the Mediterranean” (Hall 1966: 3). The imaginativeness of Hall’s description emerges as well from the bizarre statement that “the Lingua Franca was a pidginized variety of Romance speech, based on the language of the Riviera between Marseilles and Genoa” (Hall 1966: 4).

8 For a more recent balance see also Baglioni (2018).

9 “La tercera lengua que en Argel se usa, es la que los moros y turcos llaman franca, o hablar franco, llamando así a la lengua y modo de hablar christiano, [...] porqué mediante este modo de hablar que está entre ellos en uso, se entienden co(n) los christianos” [“The third language spoken in Algiers is what the Moors and Turks call *Franca*, or *hablar franco*, calling thus the language and way of speaking of the Christians [...] because with this language they can communicate with the Christians”] (Haedo 1612: 24 recto; the English translation is taken from Nolan 2015: 106). It is worth noting that, although Diego de Haedo’s *Topographia* was published in 1612, the treatise was written decades earlier and describes to the situation in Algiers in the late 1570s (on the genesis of this work and the issue of its original authorship, likely to be attributed to the Augustinian friar Antonio de Sosa, who was a slave in Algiers from 1577 to 1581, see Garcés 2011).

10 The earliest poem parodying the Mediterranean LF is probably a sonnetto written by Luigi Pulci, after 1463, in which a foreign prostitute speaks a rudimental Italian with many features typical of LF (infinitives and past participles instead of the inflected forms of the verbs, article deletion, first-person pronoun *mi*, etc.; see Decaria & Parenti 2012). A few decades later, in the years 1519–1520, the Spanish poet Juan del Encina, in his villancico “contrahaziendo a los mócaros que sienpre van inportunando a los peregrinos con demandas” (Harvey, Jones & Whinnom 1969), makes fun of the way donkey- and camel-boys plagued Christian pilgrims in the Holy Land with their sales-talk, by reproducing a very elementary Italian mixed with Spanish, which is similar to the later records of the North-African LF.

the use of LF must have been already decaying in the 1750s, as can be inferred from the gradual decrease of its attestations, but records of LF do occur until the French conquest of Algiers in 1830 and even later.

The year 1830 marks the last and most striking anomaly in the documentation, since in 1830 the first and only dictionary of LF was published, containing more than 2000 entries, a grammatical outline in the first pages, and even an appendix of dialogues for everyday conversation. The *Dictionnaire de la langue franque ou petit mauresque*, published anonymously in Marseilles, in few copies for the French soldiers sent to Algiers, alone provides more data than those that can be drawn from all previous sources.¹¹ Due to the large amount of information and its organization in a grammatical preface and a dictionary, most linguists have based all their reasoning on this work, using it as a sort of reference grammar of LF and ignoring Schuchardt's severe judgement, according to which the *Dictionnaire* is nothing other than "a rather a poor piece of work, riddled with all sort of imperfections".¹² In effect, the issue at stake concerns not quantity, but quality, or, in other words, the trustworthiness of this source. As has already been noted, the *Dictionnaire* is a late record, describing a linguistic variety whose circulation was at its peak two centuries earlier, 'when corsairs from Tunis and Algiers used to bring lots of Christian slaves from their expeditions', as explicitly stated by the anonymous author.¹³ On these premises, one would expect the record of a dialect in its terminal state, rapidly decaying, along with the political and socio-economic system that had favoured its origin and diffusion. Conversely, the word list and the dialogues of the *Dictionnaire* show a surprising expansion of the domains of use, with the addition of numerous first-attested terms for mundane referents and entertainments, such as *ballo* 'ball, dance', *café* 'coffee', *chocolata* 'chocolate', *gouarda sol* 'parasol', *spassegjar* 'to stroll', and even examples of gallant conversations over a cup of tea, hardly compatible with the fragments of LF reported in 17th- and 18th-century sources and totally unlikely in the asymmetric situation of master-slave communica-

11 The text of the *Dictionnaire*, published by the editor Feissat & Demonchy, is now available in the commented edition provided by Cifoletti (2011: 25–136).

12 "ein recht armseliges, mit allen möglichen Makeln behaftetes Werk" (Schuchardt 1909: 454 [the English translation is taken from Nolan 2020: 44]).

13 "La langue franque ou petit mauresque, très-répandue dans les états Barbaresques, lorsque les corsaires de Tunis et d'Alger rapportaient de leurs courses un grand nombre d'esclaves Chrétiens, est encore employée par les habitants des villes maritimes, dans leurs rapports avec les Européens" ['Lingua franca or *petit mauresque*, that was widespread in the Barbary Regencies when corsairs from Tunis and Algiers used to bring lots of Christian slaves from their expeditions, is still used by the dwellers of the coast cities in their interactions with Europeans'] (Cifoletti 2011: 33–34).

tion. Evident contradictions are also to be found in the grammatical preface, that attributes LF a regularity which lacks correspondence to what is observed not only in previous sources, but even in the dialogues following the entries of the *Dictionnaire* (§ 3).

New light has recently been shed on this bizarre book by Natalie Operstein, with significant findings. Operstein (2019) has convincingly attributed a first draft of the work to the American consular officer William Brown Hodgson, who spent three years in Algiers, from 1826 to 1829, within the framework of his State Department mission, and professed, already by 1827, to have compiled a vocabulary and some dialogues in LF and Arabic. According to Operstein's reconstruction, Hodgson's manuscript, after being donated or sold to French officers, would have been intensively worked over by an unknown French editor, apparently much less familiar with LF (as shown by the several inconsistencies in the orthography, as well as the high number of Gallicisms among the entries), and published in great haste in 1830, when it was presented as a means for 'facilitating the communications of the French with the inhabitants of the country where they are going to fight'.¹⁴ Again Operstein (2018b) has succeeded in identifying the models for the *Dictionnaire's* preface and dialogues, whose structural outline was based on two popular Italian grammars of the epoch, Giovanni Veneroni's *Maître italien* (in its 1800 revision) and Angelo Vergani's *Grammaire italienne* (in its 1823 augmented edition). This latter work contains a section entitled *Phrases familières, à l'usage des commençans* ['Familiar sentences for beginners'], whose dialogues coincide, often word for word, with the French parts of the *Dictionnaire's* dialogues, including conversations on weather and tea-time, unexpected with regard to LF, but perfectly normal in the Italian conversation guidebooks of the early 19th century. Both Vergani (1823) and Veneroni (1800) serve as a model for the *Dictionnaire's* preface, as revealed by the rigid classification of the parts of speech, which follows the order of the two grammar models, starting from the article and moving on to the noun, the adjective, and the verb.

Operstein's reconstruction of the genesis and editorial history of the *Dictionnaire* represents a major achievement for LF research, and is no doubt the most innovative part of her latest book-length essay *The Lingua Franca: Contact-Induced Language Change in the Mediterranean* (Operstein 2022). More questionable is her full trust in what she repeatedly dubs "the key publication on Lingua Franca" (Operstein 2022: 15, 36), based on the observations "that the

14 "Notre recueil facilitera les communications des Français avec les habitans du pays sur lequel ils vont combattre" (Cifoletti 2011: 38).

Dictionnaire relies on solid language teaching tools; that the terse grammatical description and a self-explanatory, from a French speaker's point of view, orthography have been tailored for the practical needs of its users; and that the learner's dialogues in, and the vocabulary of, LF are adapted to its communicative environment in their content, and its expressive possibilities in their complexity" (Operstein 2022: 105). Accordingly, all other sources are branded by Operstein (2022: 16–17) as "a highly inadequate patchwork of literary imitations and stylized fragments in traveler's accounts and narratives of Barbary captivity", supplied by authors with "no serious intention to document LF", resulting in "a small and geographically and chronologically scattered collection of words, phrases, sentences, and items of poetry whose linguistic side defeats a coherent interpretation if tackled as a whole".

Operstein does not even seem to consider the possibility that a "coherent interpretation" of LF "as a whole" might be impeded by the intrinsically unsystematic nature of this linguistic object, a characteristic unanimously asserted by all testimonies but the *Dictionnaire*, and therefore that it might be this latter source to suffer from (at least partial) inadequateness, due to the author's attempt to cast the natural oscillation of non-native, exclusively oral varieties into the rigid descriptive scheme developed for a highly standardized, mostly written language such as 19th-century Italian. Her detailed description of the *Dictionnaire's* lexicon and dialogues, distinguishing between a "Total Vocabulary" and a "Core Vocabulary" (Operstein 2022: 134–142) and devoting a 20-page paragraph to the Noun Phrase (Operstein 2022: 247–266), conveys an image of LF far from a 'Restsprache' and more similar to a language like Italian and Spanish, with which the word and sentence samples taken from the *Dictionnaire* are regularly compared.

3 Structures

This chapter adopts a different perspective, aiming to retain the fragmentary and polyphonic dimension of LF's documentation. This implies denying the *Dictionnaire* a superordinate position and, consequently, verifying the data contained in the *Dictionnaire* through a systematic comparison with those that can be drawn from the numerous—though highly repetitive—LF insertions scattered in 17th- and 18th-century sources. The final picture will be less uniform but, as will be argued, more consistent with both Romance-based contact languages and early interlanguages of L2 Italian learners. In particular, the analysis will focus on two aspects of LF's grammar: articles and noun inflection (§ 3.1), and the verbal system (§ 3.2). The lexicon will not be commented upon,

since it faces different problems that cannot be adequately presented within the limits of this chapter.¹⁵

3.1 *Articles and Noun Inflection*

In the very first lines of the grammatical outline of the preface, the author of the *Dictionnaire* states that ‘nouns are inflected by the apposition of the article, like in French and Italian’.¹⁶ The reported examples show that, by ‘article’, only the definite article is meant, whose singular forms coincide with the ones of the two above-mentioned Romance languages, that is *l’* before a masculine noun beginning with a vowel (*l’amigo* ‘the male friend’) and *la* before a feminine noun starting with a consonant (*la casa* ‘the house’). No plural forms are given, due to the fact that ‘Nouns have no plural’.¹⁷ Consequently, singular articles and nouns are used for the corresponding plurals, as shown by the translation of French *les amis* ‘the male friends’ by *l’amigo*, and by the sample sentence *Questi Signor star amigo di mi*, glossed by French *Ces Messieurs sont mes amis* ‘These gentlemen are my friends’. Plural does not seem to be marked either on adjectives, since the only forms that are given are the ones of the masculine and feminine singular (*bono* = French *bon*, *bona* = French *bonne*, *prudénté* = French *prudent* and *prudente*). The nominal inflection of LF, as presented in the preface, is summarized in Table 10.1.

This description is largely contradicted by the dialogue samples following the word list. As a matter of fact, the data attested in the dialogues, on which most of Operstein’s observations are based (Operstein 2022: 215–228), bears witness to a higher degree of complexity and variation. First, along with the definite articles (*la* for the feminine, *il* and *l’* for the masculine, depending on the initial segment of the following word, as in Italian), also the indefinite articles *oun* (m.) and *(o)una* (f.) occur (*oun amigo* ‘a friend’, *una cadiéra* ‘a chair’, Cifoletti 2011: 123). Second, although in a couple of ethnonyms the singular form is used to express a semantic plural, according to the rule enunciated in the preface (*il Francis* ‘the French’, *l’Algérino* ‘the Algerians’), in other cases the article does not appear at all (*Con Francis* ‘with the French’).¹⁸ The definite article is omitted also before the collective feminine noun *genti* ‘people’, whose form might be interpreted as a morphological (at least etymologically)

15 For a first approach on LF vocabulary as attested by the Algerian documentation, see Baglioni (2018).

16 “Les noms se déclinent par l’apposition de l’article comme dans le français et l’italien” (Cifoletti 2011: 35).

17 “Les noms n’ont pas de pluriel” (Cifoletti 2011: 35).

18 Cifoletti (2011: 126).

TABLE 10.1 Nominal inflection of LF as presented in the preface of the *Dictionnaire*

Nouns:	
masculine singular/plural	<i>amigo</i>
feminine singular/plural	<i>casa</i>
Adjectives:	
masculine singular/plural	<i>bono, prudenté</i>
feminine singular/plural	<i>bona, prudenté</i>
Articles (definite):	
masculine singular/plural	<i>l' (l'amigo)</i>
feminine singular/plural	<i>la (la casa)</i>

plural because of the final *-i* (if compared with Italian *gente*).¹⁹ Analogous cases of plural marking show up in the word list, either through *-i* and *-e*, like in Italian (*denti* = Fr. *dent* 'tooth', *scarpé* = Fr. *soulier* 'shoe'), or through *-s*, like in Spanish (*douros* = Fr. *piastre* 'plate', *tapétos* = Fr. *tapis* 'carpet').²⁰ As noted by Operstein (2022: 227), the glossing of these forms as singulars "argues for the nonproductivity of the category of number in the *Dictionnaire's* LF". Nevertheless, other correspondences, such as *mouchous* = Fr. *plusieurs* 'many' (Cifoletti 2011: 88) and the demonstrative *Questi* in the already mentioned sentence *Questi Signor star amigo di mi* given in the preface, reveal a certain vitality of the Italian and Spanish marking with the function of morphological plurals. Therefore, Operstein (2022: 227–228) concludes that, "in contrast with the clear evidence regarding the productivity of the category of gender, the data contained in the *Dictionnaire* is inconclusive as to whether the category of nominal number was productive in LF". The more variegated system evincible from the dialogues and the lexical entries of the *Dictionnaire* is represented in Table 10.2.

A rather different picture emerges from the LF insertions contained in other sources. These texts do not generally display either indefinite or definite articles (see, for instance, *Si cane dezir dole cabeça* 'if a dog [= slave] says that his head

19 See *genti hablar tenir gouerra* 'people say there will be war' (Cifoletti 2011: 126), where not only *genti*, but also *gouerra* is used as a bare noun. In this latter case the lack of the article might be imputable to the existential use of *tenir*, as in the Brazilian Portuguese *tem guerra* lit. '(it) has war'.

20 Cifoletti (2011: respectively 54, 108, 86, 112).

TABLE 10.2 Nominal inflection of LF as evincible from the dialogues and the lexical entries of the *Dictionnaire*

Nouns:	
masculine singular/plural	<i>Francis, Algérino, denti, tapétos</i>
feminine singular/plural	<i>ora, genti, scarpé</i>
Adjectives:	
masculine singular/plural	<i>mouchou/mouchous, qouesto/questi</i>
feminine singular	<i>bouona, grandi</i>
[no examples available for plural]	
Articles (definite):	
masculine singular/plural	<i>il, l' (il fratello, l'Algérino), Ø (con Francis)</i>
feminine singular	<i>la (la parté), Ø (genti hablar tenir gouerra)</i>
[no examples available for plural]	
Articles (indefinite):	
masculine singular	<i>oun (oun amigo)</i>
feminine singular	<i>(o)una (una cadiéra)</i>

is aching', Haedo 1612: 120 verso; *ma ti no star Muger ti star hombre* 'but you are not a woman, you are a man' Broughton 1839: 210). As for the definite article, it is omitted not only before nouns referring to a whole class, as in *papasos de vos outros* 'your priests' (Rehbinder 1798–1800: vol. 1, 283),²¹ but also before nouns indicating individual referents, both animate and inanimate (see respectively *y anchora parlar Papaz dessa manera?* '(how) dare the/that priest still speak like that?', Haedo 1612: 200 verso, and *porta falaca* 'carry the/that stick!', Aranda 1662: 328). In a handful of records, all from the 17th century, a common gender definite article shows up. This is, in most cases, *la (la Papaz Christiano* 'the Christian priest' and *a la campaña* 'to the countryside', Haedo 1612: 200 verso; *la cane* 'the dog', Aranda 1662: 327),²² whereas the use of *il* before a feminine

21 "si e vero que star inferno, securo papasos de vos outros non poter chappar de venir dentro" ['if hell exists, your priests surely cannot escape from falling into it'], as said by a Turk to Christian slaves.

22 In this occurrence the article apparently precedes a vocative, a context where it is not used either in Italian or in Spanish ("la cane ty far gaziva", glossed by Aranda as "voire, chien, vous faites l'entendu" ['you, dog, take too much upon yourself']).

noun is seldom (see *all fede de Dio* 'in God's faith', employed as an interjection by Turks addressing the Dutch ambassador in Algiers Cornelis Pijnacker).²³ In later sources, distinct forms sporadically occur, according not only to gender (*Il Signor Console* and *La Signora Madama*, referred to the British consul and his wife, in Broughton 1839: 369), but also to number (see the Spanish plural article *los* in *mugeros de los Moros* 'women of the Moors', Reh binder 1798–1800: vol. 3, 269).

This latter example, along with the above-cited *papasos* and other scattered records, is also evidence of the availability in LF of the plural marking *-os* for masculine and even feminine nouns (like *mugeros* vs. Sp. *mujeres*). The 'Italian' alternative *-i* is equally frequent (*più regali* 'more gifts' in Broughton 1839: 210), and also occurs in contexts of non-full agreement, such as *ben venito signori Flamenci* 'welcome (sg.), Flemish gentlemen!', reported by Pijnacker (after Cifoletti 2011: 152).²⁴ As for adjectives, they generally agree with the noun both in gender and in number (*barbero bono* 'a good doctor' and *bona bastonada* 'a good beating', Haedo 1612: 120 verso and 201 verso; *belli figliuoli* 'beautiful children', Caronni 1805: vol. 1, 92), though at least in one case the masculine singular replaces the expected feminine form (*multo phantasia* 'much audacity', Reh binder 1798–1800: vol. 3, 269). The data presented above has been summarized in Table 10.3.

The coexistence of two and even three different options for single features might appear chaotic and contradictory, in contrast to the orderly description of the *Dictionnaire's* preface. Nonetheless, the data gathered in Table 10.3 is, by far, the most coherent with the grammar of both Romance-based pidgins and early interlanguages of Italoophone learners. As observed, among others, by Romaine (2017: 11), "in all Germanic and Romance-based pidgins categorical or variable deletion of articles is almost universal". Again Romaine (2017: 11) remarks that, in the process of decreolization, "the definite article may come to appear categorically in syntactic slots corresponding to usage in standard language, but without markings for gender, number and case", a statement that readily accounts for the overextension of the common gender form *la* in some 17th-century records. An analogous process, from article deletion to the development of an unmarked form of the definite article, has been observed in the acquisition of the determiner phrase by L2 Italian learners (Chini 1995; Chini & Ferraris 2003; Chiapedi 2010; Mammuccari & Nuzzo 2019). In the very initial phase of the acquisition, the article is systematically omitted, and each

23 Cited after Cifoletti (2011: 152).

24 The same source attests the singular *Fiamenco* (*Ben venito ben venito Signore Ambasciator Flamenco* 'Welcome, welcome, Mister Ambassador of Flanders', Cifoletti 2011: 152).

TABLE 10.3 Nominal inflection of LF according to other sources

Nouns:	
masculine singular/plural	<i>Papaz/papasos, Fiamenco/Flamenci</i>
feminine singular/plural	<i>Muger/mugeros</i>
Adjectives:	
masculine singular/plural	<i>bono (barbero bono)/belli (belli figliuoli)</i>
feminine singular	<i>bona (bona bastonada), multo (multo phantasia)</i>
[no examples available for plural]	
Articles (definite):	
masculine singular/plural	∅ (<i>Papaz</i> 'the/that priest'), <i>la</i> (<i>la Papaz</i>), <i>il/los</i> (<i>de los Moros</i>)
feminine singular	∅ (<i>falaca</i> 'the/that stick'), <i>la</i> (<i>a la campaña</i>), <i>il</i> (<i>all'fede de</i>
[no examples available for plural]	<i>Dio</i>)
Articles (indefinite):	
masculine singular	∅ (<i>cane</i> 'a dog')
feminine singular	∅ (<i>Muger</i> 'a woman')

phrase is made up of bare nouns (for instance, *cane cercato rana* [literally 'dog searched frog'] 'the dog has searched for the frog', Mammuccari & Nuzzo 2019: 112). The definite article emerges quite early and is realized by most learners as *la* before both feminine and masculine nouns (see *la badlone* [It. *padrone*] 'the master', Valentini 1990: 339; *la pranzo* 'the lunch', *la signore* 'the gentleman', *la padre* 'the father', Chini 1995: 229), also plural (*la patatinë* 'the French fries', Bernini 2010). In this phase plural markings on nouns become increasingly common, whereas gender marking is rarer. As a result, feminine nouns may display masculine plural endings, as in *donni* 'women' (instead of Standard It. *donne*), reported by Chini (1995: 222), which is structurally comparable with *mugeros* attested by Reh binder. Regular agreement between nouns and determiners/quantifiers (and adjectives in the noun phrase) only shows up later, in the so-called 'morphological phase', but number and gender marking do not emerge simultaneously, in that, 'in most informants, number inflection and agreement appear earlier and clearer than gender marking' (Chini 1995: 286).²⁵

25 "La flessione e l'accordo di numero pare più precoce e più sicuro di quello di G[enere] in gran parte degli informanti".

All in all, the acquisition sequence of articles and noun inflection is faithfully reflected in Haedo, Reh binder, Broughton, and other sources previous to the *Dictionnaire*.²⁶ As has been seen above, in these records articles are generally omitted and, when they occur, they are usually not inflected by number and gender. Unlike articles, nouns and adjectives display a basic inflection, in which the marking of number is prior to the marking of gender (*mugeros*) and agreement is not always realized (*multo phantasia*). Conversely, the system described in the *Dictionnaire* is inconsistent, in that the expression of the article, both definite and indefinite, is almost regular, and gender inflection and agreement are systematic, whereas number marking is extremely limited. The development of a full-fledged set of articles and gender marks might be interpreted as a later phase of process towards 'linguageness', thus as an internal evolution of LF, but the absence of plural morphology, except for few scattered items, is problematic.

3.2 Verbal System

More than any other aspect of the grammar, the simplified verbal system of LF, characterized by the overextension of the infinitive, is unanimously considered its main and most recognizable feature, from the early modern sources to contemporary studies. No wonder, then, that this characteristic is explicitly stressed in the preface of the *Dictionnaire*, where it is stated that 'verbs are not inflected', by specifying that 'they only have two tenses: The infinitive, always ending with *ir* or *ar*, and the past participle in *ito* or *ato*, feminine *-ita*, *-ata*'.²⁷ The lacking tenses and modes are said to be expressed 'by a sort of trick of the language'.²⁸ This 'trick' is exemplified by the inflection of *andar* 'to go', from which it can be inferred that a) personal pronouns supply the lack of markings on the verb (see *mi andar* = Fr. *je vais* 'I go', *ti andar* = Fr. *tu vais* 'you (sg.) go', etc.), and b) the infinitive is used not only for the present, but also for the imperfect (*mi andar* corresponds both to Fr. *je vais* and *j'allais*) and for the imperative (*andar*, unpreceded by the personal pronoun, is the equivalent of Fr. *vas* 'go!' and *allons* 'let's go!'). Therefore, the infinitive is interpretable as "the unmarked form of the verb" (Operstein 2022: 228), whereas the function of the past participle remains unclear.²⁹ Furthermore, the sample paradigm attests

26 Broughton's memoirs were published later, in 1839, but the events reported are mostly drawn from her mother's diary, along with personal remembrances of the author's childhood in Algiers in the years 1806–1812 (Cifoletti 2011: 193).

27 "Les verbes ne se conjuguent pas, il n'ont que deux temps : l'infinitif qui est toujours terminé en *ir* ou en *ar*, et le participe passé en *ito* ou *ato*, fém. *ita*, *ata*" (Cifoletti 2011: 36).

28 "On supplée aux autres temps par une sorte d'artifice de langage" (Cifoletti 2011: 36).

29 The past participle occurs in only one form of the sample paradigm, *mi star andato*, liter-

an analytic construction *bisogno mi andar* (literally glossed as *besoin moi aller* ‘need me go’), covering the functions of both the future indicative (*j’irais*) and the present subjunctive (*que j’aille*). The verbal inflection as described in the preface can be represented as follows:

TABLE 10.4 Verbal inflection of LF as presented in the preface of the *Dictionnaire*

Indicative (all tenses and persons)	<i>mi andar, ti andar, etc.</i>
Imperative (all persons)	<i>andar</i>
Future/Subjunctive	<i>bisogno + infinitive (bisogno mi andar)</i>
Past Conditional	<i>mi star andato</i>

The dialogues of the *Dictionnaire* confirm the pervasiveness of the infinitive, which covers all the functions of the present indicative (*commé ti star?* ‘how are you?’) and the imperative (*spétar oun poco* ‘wait a moment!’), and even shows up in a hypothetical period, both in the conditional and in the main clause (*sé mi star al logo di ti, mi counchar/fazir* ‘if I were in your place, I would do it’).³⁰ Nevertheless, in the sentences *non bisogna* ‘it is not necessary’ and *il café basta* ‘the coffee is enough’ (Cifoletti 2011: 94, 97) the inflected forms *bisogna* and *basta* occur instead of the expected infinitives, evidently because the 3rd person singular of these two verbs is frequently used in Italian in impersonal constructions, a fact that suggests that “in the *Dictionnaire* LF the inflected forms may be functioning as unanalyzed expressions” (Operstein 2022: 230).³¹

Unlike in the preface, in the dialogues past participles are widely attested, and regularly glossed with French present perfects (*passés simples*), as in the cases of *ti fato colatzioné?* = Fr. *Avez-vous déjeuné?* ‘have you had breakfast?’, and *mi venouto aposto per far mangiaria con ti* = Fr. *Je suis venu exprès pour déjeuner avec vous* ‘I have come specially to have lunch with you’ (Cifoletti 2011: 124–125). Consequently, an aspectual opposition between an imperfective infinitive and a perfective past participle can be deduced, as has been under-

ally glossed *moi être allé* ‘me be gone’ but erroneously translated *J’aurais été* ‘I would have been’, instead of *Je serais allé* ‘I would have gone’.

30 Cifoletti (2011: 121, 123).

31 This hypothesis may also account for the entry *pivó* in the word list, which corresponds to Fr. *pluie* ‘rain’, thus revealing the ambiguous status of the term, etymologically to be interpreted as an inflected verb (It. *piove* ‘it rains’), but apparently used with the function of a noun (Operstein 2022: 230).

lined by several scholars (Fronzaroli 1955: 239–241; Cifoletti 2011: 299; Operstein 2022: 228–229). The construction with *bisogn(i)o* is frequent, but in most of its occurrences conveys a merely deontic value, regardless of the temporal reference (*cosa bisognio counchiar?* = Fr. *Que faut-il faire* 'what needs to be done?'; *dounqué bisognio il Bacha quérir paché* = Fr. *Le Pacha sera donc obligé de demander la paix* 'the pasha will therefore be forced to ask for peace'). In non-deontic contexts, future events are normally expressed by the infinitive (*mi pensar l'Algérino non combatir* = Fr. *Je pense que les Algériens ne se batrons pas* 'I think that the Algerians will not fight'), also when the verb codes an epistemic nuance (*qué servir touto qouesto* = Fr. *A quoi servira tout ça?* 'what will all this be for?').

The predominance of the infinitive in the dialogues, basically covering all tenses and modes except for marked uses, emerges clearly from the data summarized in Table 10.5:

TABLE 10.5 Verbal inflection of LF as evincible from the dialogues of the *Dictionnaire*

Indicative (all imperfective tenses, all persons)	<i>mi star, ti star</i> , etc. (also <i>bisogna, basta</i>)
Present Subjunctive & Conditional (all persons)	<i>sé mi star ... mi counchar</i>
Imperative (all persons)	<i>spétar, andar</i> , etc.
Indicative (past perfect, all persons)	<i>mi venouto, ti fato</i> , etc.
Deontic Periphrasis	<i>bisognio andar</i>

Analogously to what has been observed for articles and nouns, the verb inflection of the *Dictionnaire* coincides only partially with the data found in the rest of the records. Despite the extensive use of the infinitive in all texts, including literary sources, inflected forms are not rare and freely alternate with their counterparts in *-ar* and *-ir*. This is particularly true for the present indicative, occasionally juxtaposed to the infinitive in a same text, even in a same sentence, as in the conditional clauses *Si cane dezir dole cabeça* 'If a dog [i.e. slave] says "my head aches"' and *si e vero que star inferno* 'if it is true that hell exists', respectively in Haedo (1612: 120 verso) and Reh binder (1798–1800: vol. 1, 283).³² For future reference the infinitive oscillates with the future indicative,

32 In the latter sentence the inflected *e* (It. *è*) and the infinitive *star* both correspond to the verb 'to be', although the former serves as a copula, whereas the latter expresses an existential meaning.

as emerges from the comparison between the proverbial sentence *si venir ventura andar a casa tuya* ‘if fortune comes, you will go home’, reported by Haedo (1612: 18 verso), and its variant *si venira ventura ira à casa tua*, occurring in Dan (1637: vol. 5, 373) and Fercourt (after Cifoletti 2011: 169).³³ The periphrasis with *bisogno* is never attested. Past participles, though seldom, provide sufficient evidence for their perfective connotation, as shown by the sequence *porque tener aqui tortuga? qui por tato de campaña?* ‘why is there a turtle here? who has brought it from the field?’ (Haedo 1612: 201 verso), in which the imperfective present *tener* is opposed to the perfective past *portato* (erroneously spelled *por tato*). In the sentence immediately following, the same perfective function is covered by an inflected past perfect (*gran vellaco estar, qui ha por tato* ‘He who has brought it [= the turtle] is a big scoundrel’, Haedo 1612: 201 verso).

As for the imperative, the majority of the texts display a dedicated form for the 2nd person singular, corresponding to the Italian or Spanish equivalents. In some records, the inflected form coexists with the infinitive in jussive expressions. Thus, Haedo (1612) attests three different options for the command ‘look!’, *mirar*, *mira* and *guarda*.³⁴ Analogously, Caronni (1805) reports both *anda* and *andare* for ‘go!’.³⁵ In other sources, the imperative is the only form employed for affirmative commands.³⁶ This is the case of Aranda (1662), in which the infinitive occurs in assertions and threats (*ty tener fantasia* ‘you are deluding yourself’, *my congar bueno per ti* ‘I will fix you properly’, Aranda 1662: 327), but not in orders (*Pilla esse cani* ‘Pick it up, dog!’, *Pilla Basso* ‘Put it down!’, *Pila baso cane, porta falaca* ‘Put it down, dog, and carry the stick!’, Aranda 1662: 22, 98, 328). The same configuration is attested by Rehbinder (1798–1800), where *guarda* ‘beware!’ and *mirar* ‘to look’ show up in the same insertion (*Guarda per ti, et non andar mirar mugeros de los Moros* ‘Watch out for yourself, and don’t go looking at the women of the Moors!’, Rehbinder 1798–1800: vol. 3, p. 269).

33 The interpretation of *venira* and *ira* as future indicatives (and not as infinitives) is confirmed by the French translation given by Fercourt: *il viendra une occasion qui te fera retourner en ta maison* (after Cifoletti 2011: 169).

34 *mirar como mi estar barbero bono* ‘see what a good surger I am!’, *mira cane como hazer malato* ‘look, dog, how you are pretending to be ill!’, *guarda diablo* ‘look, devil!’ (Haedo 1612: 120 verso, 200 verso, 201 verso).

35 *anda, anda, canaglia* ‘go, go, you scoundrel!’, *Anda, anda a palazzo* ‘Go, go to the palace!’, *andare, andare giù in casa mia* ‘Go, go down to my house!’ (Caronni 1805: 54, 66, 70).

36 In all texts, the negative imperative is formed by the negation followed by the infinitive, as in Italian (see, for instance, *non pillar fantasia* ‘do not delude yourself!’, Haedo 1612: 128 recto).

TABLE 10.6 Verbal inflection of LF according to other sources

Indicative (all imperfective tenses)	<i>dezir, (e)star, venir</i> Fut. (<i>dole, e, venira</i> Fut.)
Imperative 2nd person singular	<i>mira, guarda, pilla, anda, porta</i> (<i>mirar, pillar, andar(e)</i>)
Indicative (past perfect)	(<i>ha</i>) <i>portato</i>

In Table 10.6 the above-reported data is provided (for each tense and mode the less frequent option is given in brackets).

By comparing the verbal system of the *Dictionnaire* with LF fragments in Haedo's *Topographia*, Operstein (2022: 230–232) remarks that, in the latter source, “the inflected forms constitute a minority” and “the majority of the inflected forms [...] are used only once each, and no form is used more than twice”. What is more, inflected forms tend to occur in fixed expressions (mostly insults and threats), such as *mira cane* and *guarda diablo*, whereas “the verbs with the largest number of tokens, *estar* (10) and *parlar* (5), appear only in the Romance infinitive form” (Operstein 2022: 232). However, since “the Romance verb forms reflected in Haedo's LF—the infinitive, the third person singular present indicative, and the second person imperative—make a recurrent appearance, either individually or in combination, as the default (unmarked) forms in contact situations involving Romance languages”, Operstein concludes that, “given this typological support, the presence of a mixture of uninflected and inflected Romance verb forms in Haedo's LF is likely to reflect actual variation in this area” (Operstein 2022: 232).

In fact, a system akin to the one attested by Haedo and other 17th- and 18th-century sources has been repeatedly observed both in Romance-based contact varieties and in early interlanguages of Italian learners. As for contact dialects, in ‘Fremdarbeiteritalienisch’, the simplified variety of Italian used in 1990s German-speaking Switzerland by non-Italian immigrants for interethnic communication, the infinitive and the 3rd person singular present indicative (often overextended to all persons) freely alternate in imperfective contexts, whereas the past participle is used to express perfectivity (Berruto 1991). Fluctuation between the infinitive and the present indicative, along with the use of past participle for all perfective tenses, is also characteristic of the very initial phases of spontaneous language acquisition of Italian, as demonstrated by Banfi & Bernini (2003) in their seminal study on verbal morphology in L2 Italian. As a result, a two-verb form system (infinitive vs. past participle), such as the one described in the *Dictionnaire*, appears less likely than the three-verb form combination (infinitive/3rd person present indicative vs. past participle) witnessed by all other records.

The plausibility of a morphologically distinct form for the 2nd person imperative deserves deeper discussion. As has been noted by Berretta (1995: 339), in foreign learners of Italian ‘the acquisition of the imperative as a whole is very slow’.³⁷ More exactly, ‘the first forms appear early, along with other highly frequent verb forms (present indicatives, past participles and infinitives), but it is not certain whether their morphological value is perceived by the learner—or, better said, it is sometimes clear that these forms retain in the interlanguage only the lexical value of the verb’ (Berretta 1995: 339).³⁸ Consequently, such an abundance of imperatives in LF, in some cases in oscillation with the corresponding infinitives (thus in paradigmatic relation to them), might seem unexpected.

However, the impression of exceptionality vanishes as soon as the comparison is extended to other contact varieties that originated in contexts of slavery. In these varieties, imperatives frequently occur as base forms of the verbs, not only in the case when lexifiers lack infinitives, as in Arabic-based pidgins (Versteegh 2014), but also in Romance-based creoles. In particular, Quint (2015: 211) has shown “the crucial role played by Portuguese imperative forms in the creation of new lexical verbal roots in the incipient Upper Guinea Creoles”, as reflected in Santiago Capeverdean *bai* ‘go’, *ben* ‘come’, *poi* ‘put’, *(s)pera* ‘wait’, *ten* ‘have’, deriving from 2nd person imperatives (Portuguese *vai*, *vem*, *põe*, *espera*, *tem*), and not from infinitives, like all other Capeverdean verbs. Quint’s account of the origin of these forms is that, since “the language probably appeared through incomplete acquisition of Portuguese by speakers of West African languages [...], many of whom were slaves and servants and had to comply with the orders they received from their Portuguese-speaking masters [...], the first users of Capeverdean would hear [...] often verbs such as ‘go’ and ‘come’ in their 2PS imperative forms (in sentences such as ‘go fetch some water’, ‘come here’ and the like)” (Quint 2015: 199). In the case of LF, the situation is inverted, in that slaves were mostly native speakers of Romance languages, whereas masters, whether Arabs or Turks, possessed a very basic competence in Italian (and Spanish). This probably explains why, in LF, imperatival forms are never overextended to the whole paradigm and infinitives occur also in jussive expressions, since masters must have acquired infinitives as the base forms of the verbs, and resorted to imperatives only for fixed, highly repetitive commands. Nev-

37 “L’apprendimento dell’imperativo nel suo insieme è molto lento”.

38 “le prime forme compaiono presto, assieme ad altre forme verbali ad alta frequenza (presenti indicativi, participi passati e infiniti), ma non è sicuro che il loro valore sia colto dall’apprendente—anzi, talvolta è chiaro che le forme mantengono nell’interlingua solo il valore lessicale del verbo”.

ertheless, the pragmatic reasons accounting for the spread of imperatives are readily comparable, as well as the commands involved ('go!', 'come!', 'carry!' etc.).

4 What Can Be Reconstructed?

The comparison between the *Dictionnaire* and other LF sources has revealed that the latter, despite their fragmentariness, reflect more faithfully what can be expected from a non-native oral variety of Italian, acquired spontaneously and used as an elementary means of communication. The paradoxical result is that, for such an unusual linguistic object, reconstruction implies deconstruction. According to what has been argued in § 3, deconstruction applies to the *Dictionnaire's* preface, whose grammatical outline appears as a gross simplification of the highly variable morphology and syntax of this variety, probably biased by the attempt of its author to provide LF with a regularity akin to the one of the standardized language of his grammar models.³⁹ But deconstruction applies as well to the idea of LF as an autonomous, full-fledged language conveyed by the *Dictionnaire's* dialogues, usable in all domains and for all functions, from greetings to invitations, from weather talk to comments on public events, whereas the rest of the documentation consists almost exclusively of orders, insults, threats, and mockeries, mixed with a limited set of brief proverbial sentences and other similar fixed expressions.

What is left then to reconstruct? So far, scholars' interest has been directed primarily to LF's grammar and lexicon, with the aim of classifying this variety as a pidgin, a koine or a fossilized interlanguage on the basis of its internal structures. Less attention has been paid to its domains and functions, hastily comprised under generic labels such as "a trading language" (Nolan 2020: 3), and 'a form of no man's land of communication'.⁴⁰ These labels do not correspond to what is found in the records, as recently demonstrated by Selbach (2017) with regard to the 'myth' of LF as a vehicular language for commerce. Indeed, all sources, from Haedo (1612) to the *Dictionnaire*, agree in present-

39 As suggested by one of the anonymous reviewers, such an attempt can be compared with the transmission of the Standard Language Ideology (SLI) to regional and minority languages observed in contemporary societies, motivated "by a desire to improve the status of these language varieties in order to ensure their vitality and continued existence", but mostly leading to new varieties "not truly 'authentic' compared to native speakers" (Walsh 2021: 776).

40 "une forme de *no man's land* de la communication" (Dakhliya 2008: 9).

ing LF as “a language used in fixed slave settlements, not a pan-Mediterranean trade pidgin” (Selbach 2017: 263). This has obvious consequences on the communicative contexts and functions that can be reconstructed. In asymmetric interactions, such as the ones between masters and slaves, communication is usually unidirectional, from the former to the latter, and replies of the subordinates are not expected. Coherently with this scenario, Haedo (1612: 24 recto) asserts that LF is the language of the Turks and Moors when they address Christian slaves, and that slaves, whenever they are obliged to reply, limit themselves to ‘adapting their way of speaking to the one of their masters’ (*se acomodan a aquel modo de hablar*). If this is the main sociolinguistic framework in which LF was used, its fragmentariness is not surprising, and must be interpreted as a characteristic not only of the data, but of the object itself, shunning any attempt at systematic descriptions.

References

- Aranda, Emanuel de. 1662. *Relation de la captivité et libération de Sieur Emanuel d'Aranda, jadis esclave à Alger*. 3rd ed. Bruxelles: Jean Mommart.
- Aslanov, Cyril. 2012. La lingua franca en Méditerranée entre mythe et réalité. *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome* 124(1): 61–69.
- Aslanov, Cyril. 2014. Lingua Franca in the Western Mediterranean: Between Myth and Reality. *Congruence in Contact-Induced Language Change. Language Families, Typological Resemblance, and Perceived Similarity*, ed. by Juliane Besters-Dilger, Cynthia Dermarkar, Stefan Pfänder, Achim Rabus, 122–136. Berlin: de Gruyter.
- Baglioni, Daniele. 2017. The Vocabulary of the Algerian Lingua Franca. A Critical Survey of the Lexicon of the ‘Dictionnaire de la langue franque’ Compared with Non-Lexicographic Sources. *Lexicographica* 33: 185–205.
- Baglioni, Daniele. 2018. Attestazioni precinquecentesche della lingua franca? Pochi dati, molti problemi. *Migrazioni della lingua: nuovi studi sull'italiano fuori d'Italia. Atti del convegno internazionale dell'Università per Stranieri di Perugia, 3–4 maggio 2018*, ed. by Francesca Malagnini, 69–91. Firenze: Franco Cesati.
- Banfi, Emanuele & Giuliano Bernini. 2003. Il verbo. *Verso l'italiano. Percorsi e strategie d'acquisizione*, ed. by Anna Giacalone Ramat, 70–115. Roma: Carocci.
- Bernini, Giuliano. 2010. Acquisizione dell'italiano come L2. *Enciclopedia dell'Italiano*, ed. by Raffaele Simone. Roma: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana. [https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/acquisizione-dell-italiano-come-l2_\(Enciclopedia-dell-Italiano\)/](https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/acquisizione-dell-italiano-come-l2_(Enciclopedia-dell-Italiano)/)
- Berretta, Monica. 1995. Imperativi in italiano: il ruolo della marcatezza pragmatica e morfologica nell'apprendimento di L2. *From Pragmatics to Syntax: Modality in*

- Second Language Acquisition*, ed. by Anna Giacalone Ramat & Carla Crocco Galèas, 333–348. Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag.
- Berruto, Gaetano. [1991] 2012. Fremdarbeiteritalienisch: fenomeni di pidginizzazione dell'italiano nella Svizzera tedesca. *Rivista di Linguistica* 3(2): 333–367.
- Broughton, Elizabeth. 1839. *Six Years Residence in Algiers*. London: Saunders and Otley.
- Brown, Joshua. 2022. On the Existence of a Mediterranean Lingua Franca and the Persistence of Language Myths. *Language Dynamics in the Early Modern Period*, ed. by Karen Bennett & Angelo Cattaneo, 169–189. London: Routledge.
- Camus Bergareche, Bruno. 1993. El estudio de la lingua franca: cuestiones pendientes. *Revue de linguistique romane* 57: 433–454.
- Caronni, Felice. 1805. *Ragguaglio del viaggio compendioso di un dilettante antiquario sorpreso da' corsari condotto in Barberia e felicemente rimpatriato*. 2 vols. Milano: Sonzogno.
- Chastelet des Bois, René du. 1665. *L'Odyssee ou Diversité d'aventures, rencontres et voyages en Europe, Asie et Afrique*. La Flèche: Gervais Laboe.
- Chiapedi, Nicoletta. 2010. L'articolo italiano nell'interlingua di apprendenti sinofoni: problematiche acquisizionali e considerazioni glottodidattiche. *Italiano LinguaDue* 2(2): 53–74
- Chini, Marina. 1995. Grammatiche a confronto: la categoria grammaticale del genere nella competenza di nativi italofofoni e nelle interlingue di apprendenti dell'italiano come L2. *L'universo delle lingue. Confrontare lingue e grammatiche nella scuola*, ed. by Paola Desideri, 277–294. Firenze: La Nuova Italia.
- Chini, Marina & Stefania Ferraris. 2003. Morfologia del nome. *Verso l'italiano. Percorsi e strategie d'acquisizione*, ed. by Anna Giacalone Ramat, 37–69. Roma: Carocci.
- Cifoletti, Guido. 2011. *La lingua franca barbaresca*. 2nd ed. Roma: Il Calamo.
- Dakhli, Jocelyne. 2008. *'Lingua franca'. Histoire d'une langue métisse en Méditerranée*. Arles: Actes Sud.
- Dan, Pierre. 1637. *Histoire de la Barbarie et de ses corsaires*. 6 vols. Paris: chez Pierre Ricolet.
- D'Arvieux, Laurent. 1735. *Mémoires du chevalier d'Arvieux, envoyé extraordinaire du Roy à la Porte, Consul d'Alep, d'Alger, de Tripoly, & autres Echelles du Levant*. 6 vols. Paris: chez Charles-Jean-Baptiste Delespine.
- Decaria, Alessio & Alessandro Parenti. 2012. Riflessi della lingua franca in un sonetto di Luigi Pulci. *Lingua nostra* 73: 88–92.
- Emerit, Marcel. 1948. Les aventures de Thédénat, esclave et ministre d'un Bey d'Afrique (XVIII^e siècle). *Revue africaine* 92: 143–183, 331–362.
- Fronzaroli, Pelio. 1955. Note sulla formazione della lingua franca. *Atti e Memorie dell'Accademia Toscana di Scienze e Lettere "La Colombaria"* 20: 211–252.
- Garcés, María Antonia. 2011. *An Early Modern Dialogue with Islam. Antonio de Sosa's 'Topography of Algiers' (1612)*. Notre Dame (IN): University of Notre Dame Press.

- Haedo, Diego de. 1612. *Topographia e historia general de Argel*. Valladolid: por Diego Fernandez de Cordova y Oviedo.
- Hall, Robert Alexander jr. 1966. *Pidgin and Creole Languages*. Ithaca (NY) & London: Cornell University Press.
- Harvey, Leonard Patrick, Royston Oscar Jones & Keith Whinnom. 1969. Lingua Franca in a Villancico by Encina. *Revue de littérature comparée* 41: 572–579.
- Kahane, Henry & Renée Kahane. 1976. 'Lingua franca'. The Story of a Term. *Romance Philology* 30: 25–41.
- Matras, Yaron. 2020. *Language Contact*. 2nd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- MacGill, Thomas. 1811. *An Account of Tunis: Of Its Government, Manners, Customs, and Antiquities, Especially of Its Manufactures, and Commerce*. London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme and Brown.
- Mammuccari, Ilaria & Elena Nuzzo. 2019. Acquisizione e uso dell'articolo da parte di sinofoni: uno studio di caso sull'espressione della definitezza. *Italiano LinguaDue* 11(2): 106–120.
- Minervini, Laura. 1996. La lingua franca mediterranea. Plurilinguismo, mistilinguismo, pidginizzazione sulle coste del Mediterraneo tra tardo Medioevo e prima Età Moderna. *Medioevo Romanzo* 30(2): 231–301.
- Minervini, Laura. 1997. La lingua franca mediterranea fra realtà storica e finzione letteraria. *I dialetti e il mare. Atti del convegno internazionale di studi in onore di Manlio Cortelazzo (Chioggia, 21–25 settembre 1996)*, ed. Gianna Marcato, 379–386. Padova: Unipress.
- Nolan, Joanna. 2020. *The Elusive Case of Lingua Franca: Fact and Fiction*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Operstein, Natalie. 2018a. Lingua Franca between Pidginization and Koineization. *Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages* 33(2): 307–361.
- Operstein, Natalie. 2018b. The Making of the 'Dictionnaire de la langue franque'. *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* 134: 1114–1153.
- Operstein, Natalie. 2019. The French Connection: William Brown Hodgson's Mission in Algier and the 'Dictionnaire de la langue franque'. *Mediterranean Language Review* 26: 67–90.
- Operstein, Natalie. 2022. *The Lingua Franca. Contact-Induced Language Change in the Mediterranean*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Pananti, Filippo. 1817. *Avventure e osservazioni di Filippo Pananti sopra le coste de Barberia*. Firenze: Leonardo Ciardetti.
- Poiron, Jean. [1752] 1925. *Mémoires concernant l'état présent du royaume de Tunis*, ed. by Jean Serres. Paris: Institut des Hautes Etudes Marocaines.
- Quint, Nicolas. 2015. Capeverdean Words Derived from Portuguese Non-Infinitive Verbal Forms: A Descriptive and Comparative Study. *Papia* 25(2): 189–215.

- Rehbinder, Johann von. 1798–1800. *Nachrichten und Bemerkungen über den algierschen Staat*. 3 vols. Altona: bei Johann Friedrich Hammerich.
- Renaudot, M. 1830. *Alger. Tableau du royaume, de la ville d'Alger et de ses environs*. 4th ed. Paris: Librairie universelle de P. Mongie ainé.
- Romaine, Suzanne. 2017. *Pidgin and Creole Languages*. London: Routledge.
- Saint-Gervais, Jacques Boyer de. 1736. *Mémoires historiques qui concernent l'ancien et le nouveau gouvernement de Tunis*. Paris: chez Ganeau, fils, et Henry.
- Savary de Brèves, François. 1628. *Relation des voyages de Monsieur de Brèves tant en Grèce, Terre Sainte & Egypte, qu'aux Royaumes de Tunis et Alger*. Paris: N. Gasse.
- Schuchardt, Hugo. 1883. Review of Francisco A Coelho. 1882. Os dialectos românicos ou neolatinos na Africa, Asia e America. Lisboa: Imprensa nacional. *Literaturblatt für Germanische und Romanische Philologie* 7: 279–282.
- Schuchardt, Hugo. 1909. Die Lingua Franca. *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* 33: 441–461.
- Selbach, Rachel. 2007a. Lingua Franca of the Mediterranean (1350–1830): Finding Nessie? *Language Contact and Minority Languages on the Littorals*, ed. by Per Sture Ureland, Anthony Lodge & Stephan Pugh, 149–160. Berlin: Logos Verlag.
- Selbach, Rachel. 2007b. Norms, Grammar, or a Bit of Style: Lingua Franca and the Issue of Languageness. *LACUS Forum* 34: *Speech and Beyond*, ed. by Patricia Sutcliffe, Lois Stanford & Arle R. Lommel, 221–232. Houston (TX): The Linguistic Association of Canada and the United States.
- Selbach, Rachel. 2017. On a Famous Lacuna: Lingua Franca the Mediterranean Trade Pidgin?. *Merchants of Innovation: The Languages of Traders*, ed. by Esther-Miriam Wagner, Bettina Beinhoff & Ben Outhwaite, 252–271. Berlin/Boston: de Gruyter.
- Swift, Jonathan. 2008. *Gulliver's Travels*. Ed. with an Introduction by Claude Rawson and Notes by Ian Higgins. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Tagliavini, Carlo. 1933. Divagazioni semantiche romene e balcaniche 2. *Archivum Romanicum* 16: 333–383.
- Thomason, Sarah Grey. 2001. *Language Contact. An Introduction*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Valentini, Ada. 1992. *L'italiano dei cinesi. Questioni di sintassi*. Milano: Guerini studio.
- Velupillai, Viveka. 2015. *Pidgins, Creoles, and Mixed Languages. An Introduction*. Amsterdam & Philadelphia (PA): John Benjamins.
- Veneroni, Giovanni. 1800. *Maître italien ou grammaire française et italienne de Veneroni, Contenant tout ce qui est nécessaire pour apprendre facilement la Langue Italienne*, new ed. by Claude-Marie Gattel. Avignon: Offray fils.
- Vergani, Angelo. 1823. *Grammaire italienne, simplifiée, et réduite à xx leçons; avec des Thèmes, des Dialogues et un petit Recueil de traits d'histoire en Italien, à l'usage des commençans*, new augmented ed. by Pietro Piranesi. Paris: Théophile Barrois Fils.
- Versteegh, Kees. 2014. Pidgin Verbs. Infinitives or Imperatives?. *Pidgins and Creoles*

- beyond Africa-Europe Encounters*, ed. by Isabelle Buchstaller, Anders Holmberg & Mohammad Almoaily, 141–170. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Walsh, Olivia. 2021. Introduction: In the Shadows of the Standard. Standard Language Ideology and Attitudes towards 'Non-Standard' Varieties and Usages. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 42: 773–782.
- Whinnom, Keith. 1965. The Origin of the European-based Creoles and Pidgins. *Orbis* 14: 509–527.

‘Restsprecher’ and Hypercharacterizing Informants between Veglia and Capraia

Lorenzo Filipponio

1 Introduction¹

Fieldwork data always have the smell of fresh flowers and are taken per se as a guarantee of quality, but in fact they are often neither spontaneous nor accountable. There are, of course, degrees of the difference: a recorded conversation between two or more speakers unaware of the presence of the recorder is certainly different (legal and moral issues aside) from a face-to-face interview based on a prepared questionnaire; a familiar environment is different from a laboratory, and so on. In any case, different doesn’t mean better or worse: completely spontaneous speech seems to have the advantage of being *real*; but a research focusing on particular features may be driven by the interviewer, who should be able to recognize and sort out what belongs to the ‘parole’ and what belongs to the ‘langue’—regardless of whether one is interested in the former or in the latter.² There are also different types of informants: the standard typology ‘nonmobile, older, rural males’ (NORM, according to Chambers and Trudgill 1980: 33; see also Löffler 1974: 47 and König 2010: 500) fits well when looking for ‘base dialects’ (cf. König 2010: 502; “Grundmundart” in Ruoff 1973: 193) and probably also for the last witnesses of a decaying language (which is one of the topics of this paper), but they are only one piece of stone in a mosaic when carrying out a sociophonetic research, for example. Moreover, proficient informants with metalinguistic conscience are not necessarily bad, because they are able to express their paradigmatic competence and thus help the researcher by interpreting some phenomena. But what about informants who are aware of being (one of) the last (or: one of the few) speakers of a variety? And what if they aren’t proficient anymore?

1 I am greatly indebted to two anonymous reviewers for their helpful comments. Of course, they are not responsible for any errors remaining or opinions expressed in this paper.

2 A summary of the debate on the most appropriate speech data for linguistic research—from laboratory speech to natural speech—can be found in Wagner et al. (2015).

In this paper, I will deal with two typologies of such informants. The first can be considered a 'rusty speaker' (Menn 1989: 345), whose lack of practice is simply due to the fact that there weren't any other speakers of his language left; therefore, according to the main topic of this book, we can define him as a 'Restsprecher'. The second one belongs more to the category of conscious witnesses who overperform their own language in a metalinguistic context; the label of 'Restsprecher' is less appropriate here, but a sense of uniqueness and the associated tendency to overperform is given here by the small number of speakers of his language. Both are far from being the ideal informants, but, as we shall see, this is not a good reason to throw away everything they said or wrote.

In the first section (§ 2), I will recall some features of language attrition, a situation related to the existence of 'Restsprecher'.

In the second section (§ 3), I will introduce the figure of the last speaker of Vegliote, Tuone Udaina, and discuss the characteristics of his stressed vowel system as well as some features of his verbal morphology.

In the third section (§ 4), I will introduce the figure of Domenico Morgana, a nineteenth-century speaker of Capraino, and shed light on two features present in his translation of the *Parable of the Prodigal Son*.

Some short considerations (§ 5) will conclude the paper.

2 Languages in Attrition and Their 'Restsprecher'

As Bettoni (1991: 394) points out, language shift (= decline in use) and language attrition (= decline in formal properties), although obviously related (Bettoni 1991: 384), should be kept quite separate. In any case, while a demographic reduction may affect the number of speakers but not their proficiency, the loss of proficiency even of a large population, due for example to the dominance of another language (and the interruption of the intergenerational transmission that this entails), is a leading factor. We can imagine that in a 'microdiglossic' or 'dilalic'³ situation skilled bilingual speakers become asymmetric bilingual speakers and, in the end, 'semi-speakers' of the dominated language (cf. Dorian 1977, see below), in the sense of Hock (1986: 531): "At a certain point, the atrophy in the grammatical system 'progresses' to the point that a new generation of speakers no longer is able to formulate an internalized grammar, even

3 The two terms are not commonly used in the English-speaking literature, but they describe very well situations in which the basilect is relegated to private and familiar use ('microdiglossia', see Trumper 1977) or mixed with the acrolect in any informal communicative context ('dilalia', see Berruto 1995: 242–250).

to their own satisfaction. The members of this generation, often referred to as 'semi-speakers', fluently understand even their grandparents' speech, but will admit that they are unable to speak the language themselves. At this point, the language has come to an end, the language has effectively died".

A community of semi-speakers is reflected in the 'obsolescence' of the language they semi-speak. The characteristics of an obsolescent language have been described by Aikhenvald (2012): first of all, 'obsolescent' means that the language "is no longer actively used or transmitted" (2012: 78); furthermore, Aikhenvald recalls on the one hand the possibility of an obsolescent language becoming structurally similar to or even "a "carbon copy" of the dominant idiom" (2012: 102), a scenario that Thomason (2001: 232–235) had described in terms of "grammatical replacement"; on the other hand, and more interestingly for us, Aikhenvald considers as a consequence of language obsolescence the reduction of paradigms, the simplification and reduction of grammar and lexicon and the enhancing of the tendencies "present in a "healthy" language" (2012: 77–84). Finally, "[I]f a typologically unusual phenomenon is based on such uncertain sources [i.e. semi-speakers with limited competence], the validity of the phenomenon is cast in doubt" (2012: 81).

Dorian (1977), in a seminal paper, had already illustrated what happens to 'semi-speakers' in a situation of 'language death'. Her apparent-time study of Gaelic in Embo (East Sutherland, Scotland) involving mother (70; A), son (45; B) and daughter (44; C) shows a loss of irregular or conservative forms in the variety spoken by C: Morphophonological alternations in the initial position and irregular verbs are slightly involved (C realizes these features 10 out of 13 and 13 out of 16 times respectively; A always; B misses only one morphophonological alternation), while conservative forms of prepositions and irregular plural nouns are massively involved in the simplification process (3/7 and 9/17 respectively, against 7/7 and 17/17 for A and 6/7 and 15/17 for B).

Indeed, together with the lack of stylistic options and the drift from synthetic to analytical, analogical levelling seems to be the most remarkable feature of (the beginning of) language death. As Dorian writes, "[T]he assumption that the reduced use of a language will lead also to a reduced form of that language seems realistic" (1977: 24). But, once again, in such a situation of language death, "there may be cause to question the intactness of the material gathered" (1977: 23).

The remarks on 'attrition' (Bettoni 1991) based on an apparent-time study (parents vs. children) on five Venetian families who moved to Australia are similar: there are simplifications and analogical levelling in the nominal morphology, loss of article allomorphy, loss of clitics and in the second generation a major shift from Popular Italian to dialect in the verbal morphology "accompanied by the highest inconsistency" (1991: 380).

To sum up, morphological irregularities seem to be one of the first candidates to disappear when a language is affected by attrition—in favour of analogical levelling: from a typological, cognitive, sociolinguistic point of view, attrition is (as a pendant of acquisition) a striking process worth studying *iuxta propria principia*.⁴

But imagine now that you are trying to record the last speaker of a dying language: in this case, you are not interested in the way a language disappears; rather, you need to filter these patterns of decay in order to put together the scattered pieces of that language.

Now, to complete the picture, consider the difficulties of conducting fieldwork as, for example, Schilling (2013: 77; see also König 2010 for a critical and methodological overview) points out:

“Despite the advantages of elicitations, whether more or less direct, those interested in how language is used in everyday life readily understand that even the best elicitations are not very natural, and people’s reports of their linguistic usage may or may not match up with what they do in non-research contexts. [...] Less direct elicitations can be very difficult to devise, and they may yield responses other than targeted items [...]. Another issue with even the best-designed elicitation frames is that respondents may not be consciously aware of their usage patterns or know how to express them [...]; in addition, they may purposely over- or under-report their use of particular forms”.

What you are looking for in our particular case are ‘Restsprecher’ involved in the metalinguistic act of being interviewed. If they are aware of the decline of their language, and therefore aware of being the last witnesses to it, the fieldworker faces at least two risks. First, the weakness of ‘Restsprecher’'s proficiency may contribute to massive analogy and levelling phenomena. Secondly, and perhaps more importantly, their pride and desire to fulfil the researcher’s expectations may lead to the exaggeration or over-reporting of forms perceived as shibboleths.⁵

4 It should be noted that Thomason (2001: 229–230) draws a distinction between “innovations introduced by semi-speakers, perhaps deliberately, into an imperfectly learned dying language” and attrition, the latter always reducing or simplifying the system, the former sometimes complicating it. In this paper, I will only consider innovations that go in the direction of analogical levelling, where levelling does not automatically imply a simplification.

5 For a thorough analysis of the informant’s attitude to her/his role during the interview, see Werlen (1984: esp. 74–76).

Thus, this convergence of factors: a. the metalingual act of interviewing; b. the semi-speaker-like competence of the interviewee; c. the overperformance induced by a. (and possibly by some individual features) leads to what I call here 'hypercharacterization'.⁶

The dangers posed by (two different kinds of) hypercharacterizing informants are discussed in this paper on the basis of two now extinct island Romance varieties, Vegliote and Capraino.

3 Vegliote: The Legendary Tuone Udaina

3.1 *Who Was Tuone Udaina?*

Tuone Udaina (28.8.1823–10.6.1898) is perhaps the most famous informant in the history of Romance linguistics. Interviewed by Matteo Giulio Bartoli after a few days of training in September 1897, his testimony forms the backbone of the seminal monograph *Das Dalmatische* (Bartoli 1906). Udaina had heard and used Vegliote in his family in the early years of his life; he hadn't spoken this variety in the twenty years before Bartoli's interview (Bartoli 1906: 1, §33).

Udaina's fame is linked to Bartoli's emphasis on the story of the last Dalmatian speaker—which was undoubtedly true but inserted into a narrative distorted by three errors, as summarized by Vuletić (2013: 50–55). Bartoli pretended (1) to classify Dalmatian as a member of an 'Apennine-Balkan' family, (2) consider it as a monolithic language of which Udaina was the last speaker and (3) exclude any Slavic influence.

The first error was already noted by Merlo (1907), who, in his first review of Bartoli's monograph, shed light on the relationship between Vegliote and (among others) Friulian and on its position in the continuum between Ladin and Daco-Romanian (for a detailed discussion see Covino 2019: 92–99).

The second and the third have been largely discussed by Muljačić (1992, cf. Vuletić 2015),⁷ who considered Dalmato-Romance as a bundle of varieties spoken in scattered coastal location along 200 nautical miles with some mesolectal poles. In this picture, Vegliote is a basilectal Dalmato-Romance variety characterized by the early contact with Slavic, whose presence in Veglia

6 Obviously not in the same sense as in Lehmann (2005), where the label 'hypercharacterization' is used to define "pleonasm at level of grammar".

7 Von Wartburg (1950: 152, cf. Vuletić 2015: 147) anticipated some arguments about the Slavic influence with regard to the velarization of /a/ (see below).

TABLE 11.1 The stressed vowel system of Vegliote

LATIN > Romance	(a) Open syllable	(b) Closed syllable
(1) Ī > /i/	<i>aĭ</i> FORMĪCA(M) > <i>formajka</i> ‘ant’	<i>e</i> MĪLLE > <i>mel</i> ‘thousand’
(2) Ī, Ē > /e/	<i>aĭ</i> SĒRA(M) > <i>saġra</i> ‘evening’	<i>a</i> STRĪCTU(M) > <i>strat</i> ‘narrow.M.SG’
(3) Ě > /ɛ/	<i>i</i> DĚCE(M) > <i>dik</i> ‘ten’	<i>ĭa</i> FĚRRU(M) > <i>fĭar</i> ‘iron’
(4) A > /a/	secondary oxytones: <i>u</i> PRATU(M) > <i>prut</i> ‘meadow’ paroxytones: <i>uō</i> CASA(M) > <i>kuōza</i> ‘house’	<i>ya</i> BARBA(M) > <i>bȳarba</i> ‘beard’
(5) ō > /ɔ/	<i>u</i> NŌVU(M) > <i>nuf</i> ‘new.M.SG’	<i>ya</i> PŌRTU(M) > <i>pȳart</i> ‘harbour’
(6) ō, ů > /o/	<i>aȳ</i> NEPŌTE(M) > <i>nepaȳt</i> ‘nephew, niece’	<i>u</i> BŪCCA(M) > <i>buka</i> ‘mouth’ <i>a</i> NŌVA(M) NŪPTA(M) > <i>ninapta</i> ‘fiancée’
(7) ū > /u/	<i>oĭ</i> CRŪDU(M) > <i>croĭt</i> ‘raw.M.SG’	<i>o</i> EXSŪCTU(M) > <i>sot</i> ‘dry.M.SG’

from the 7th century CE led Muljačić (1991) to hypothesize the early existence of a Vegliote A, spoken by the Romance speakers, and a Vegliote B, spoken by the Slavic speakers—the latter successively influencing the former.

A few years later, Muljačić (2006) went further arguing that Bartoli had deliberately omitted the surname of Udaina’s mother, Pribich, which he (who supported his claim with archival research) considered to be continental, more precisely Shtokavian (cf. Vuletić 2013: 58). But, apart from some clues provided by Udaina himself during the interviews (his linguistic difficulties with the Čakavian girl Frana in Verbenico, who helps him by learning ‘Slavic’, and his statement about the ‘Italianity’ of the town of Veglia; Bartoli 1906: 11, §§ 22–24 and 45), further archival research carried out by Mišur & Šinjec (2021) dismantled the accusations of Muljačić, showing that the family of Udaina’s mother had lived in Veglia since the mid-eighteenth century.

To sum up, we can consider Tuone Udaina as a semi-speaker of Vegliote, whose linguistic solitude in the last decades of his life makes it difficult to distinguish “between what constitutes ‘langue’ and what ‘parole’” (Maiden

2004: 88), making each utterance at once precious for the collector and dangerous for the analyst.⁸

3.2 *The Stressed Vowel System of Vegliote (or Better: of Tuone Udaina)*

Looking at the stressed vowel system of Udaina’s Vegliote, one has to admit that the whole picture, although partially eccentric for a Romance language, is coherent and systematic. There are no significant oscillations in Udaina’s memory.

Mid-low vowels tend to become generally rising diphthongs and, in a later stage, monophthongs (see 3a and 5a in the table above) in open syllables (probably via inversion into falling diphthongs: *iè* > *iə* > *i*, *uò* > *uə* > *u*) and to lower the vocalic element in closed syllables (*iè* > *ia*, *uò* > *ua*, see 3b and 5b).

Middle-high and high vowels become falling diphthongs in open syllables (1a, 2a, 6a, 7a) while they are lowered in closed syllables (1b, 2b, 7b), except for /o/, which tends mainly towards /u/ (6b).

Overall rising diphthongization (without syllable sensitivity) is common throughout the area, from Friulian (FĚSTA(M) > *fĭeste*) to Daco-Romanian (PĚCTU(M) > *piept*). Falling diphthongization can be found in Friulian (Carnia and the right bank of the Tagliamento, cf. Francescato 1966: 29–31), but only for long middle-high vowels (NĪVE(M) > *neif*, FLŌRE(M) > *flour*), and in Istriote only for high vowels, without syllable sensitivity (and according to Tekavčić 1971–1973: 64–65 related to metaphony; cf. Rovignese FĪLU(M) > *feil*, NŪDU(M) > *noudo*, MĪLLE > *meil*, FRŪCTU(M) > *frouto*, cf. Pellizzer & Pellizzer 1992). However, Vegliote is the only variety in this area that shows a systematic vowel differentiation with falling diphthongization of both high and middle-high vowels. In this respect, Vegliote is not an isolated case among the Romance varieties, as this configuration is not uncommon in Apulian, for example (cf. Loporcaro 2021: 117–126). Such patterns are usually related to at least allophonic differences in the duration of stressed vowels, triggered by different syllable structures; moreover, long vowels becoming falling diphthongs and short vowels becoming lowered are typical for languages with a tense/lax differentiation correlating with duration (think, for example, of the English ‘Great Vowel Shift’). In such state, it is plausible to assume a certain difference

8 Maiden (2004: 88) explains his statement as follows: “[I]f a linguistic change apparently takes place in the usage of that one individual, one is hard pressed to say whether it should be regarded as part of the history of his language, or of the history of his own usage”. His pages (see Maiden 2004: 87–92) contain a thorough portrait of Tuone Udaina as a speaker and an informant, with several links to my arguments about hypercharacterizing informants.

in intensity between stressed and unstressed vowels (also related to the reduction of unstressed vowels, according to a compensation pattern, cf. Filipponio 2012).

The fact that the differentiation reflects Late Latin syllable structure (compare e.g. the diphthongized result (like in 2a) of ACĒ-TU(M) > *akait* ‘vinegar’, now in closed syllable after the apocope, with the lowered result (like in 2b) of STĒL-LA(M) > *stala* ‘star’, now in an open syllable after degemination) should suggest that this phenomenon occurred in Vegliote before degemination and unstressed vowel reduction. Otherwise, we have to postulate that the differentiation was based on vowel length contrasts that had become stable through phonologization (a plausible intermediate stage might have been */ake:t/ and */stela:/). This, of course, marks a significant difference with the aforementioned Apulian varieties, where the syllable sensitivity can remain allophonic (and the diphthongs obey to a synchronic rule) thanks to the transparency of the context (cf. Altamura /fil/ ‘thread’ = /frit:/ ‘fried.M.SG’, /deʃ/ ‘ten’ = /set:/ ‘seven’, but [fi:l] ≠ [frit:], [de:j] ≠ [set:], synchronically driven by the length of posttonic consonants, cf. Lopocarò 2021: 118 and 122). In the case of Vegliote, some scholars have brought the Slavic influence into play: above all Butler (1976), while Hadlich (1965: 44), who was the first to systematically investigate the influence of Slavic on the phonology of Vegliote, considers “the development of phonemic vowel length in Vegl. Lat. [...] as a purely internal result of the loss of phonemic consonant length” (which implies a reanalysis at some point; raising degemination by a still-active isochrony rule would simply delete the allophonic vowel length differences).⁹

The two spots where the Slavic influence is undeniable are the Romance /a/ and /u/. The velarization of /a/ can be explained by comparing the triangular Romance vowel system of Proto-Vegliote and the square one of Slavic, with two series (long and short) of high and low vowels, respectively front and back. The fronting of /u/ follows the steps of its Slavic counterpart, which moves to /i/ and then on to /i/ (cf. Schenker 1993: 72).

The velarization of /a/ has probably caused the shift to /ɔ/, which was intercepted by the rising diphthongization that was still active at the time. However,

9 Tekavčić (1971–1973: 59) claims that Hadlich’s reconstruction gives almost too much space to Slavic. An implausible internal Romance reconstruction, openly contradicting Butler (1976) comes from Latimer (1976). On the other hand, Guberina (1960) considers the raising diphthongs of Vegliote (3b, 4b and 5b in the table above) to be the result of a recent influence of Serbo-Croatian: in this case, given results like CĒNTU(M) > *čant* (Bartoli 1906: II, § 425, see below in text), one has to admit that the palatalization of [k] before [j] has remained active until recently, which could be contradicted by Venetian-like forms like (CLARUM > *kjar/kjur* ‘clear.M.SG’ (Bartoli 1906: II, § 406) without further palatalization.

as pointed out by Butler (1976: 222), Bartoli's data show a systematic difference between the results for /a/ and /ɔ/, given in the table above (4a–b and 5a–b). In closed syllables they are both *ua*, after the lowering of the full vocalic element of **uo* parallel to *je* > *ja*, but in open syllables, while the results of /ɔ/ are always *u*, those of /a/ are differentiated by word structure, being *u* only in the secondary oxytones and *uō* elsewhere (cf. also CAPUT > *kup* 'head', CLAVE(M) > *kluf* 'key' vs. AMARA(M) > *amuōra* 'bitter.F.SG', CAPRA(M) > *kuōbra* 'goat' etc.). This situation, which is essentially systematic (some mergers and confusions are reported by Bartoli 1906: II, § 286), cannot be explained on the basis of a generalized [wɔ] as an intermediate stage of both /a/ and /ɔ/: we have to postulate either a different height of the vocalic element of the diphthong, which kept the results of *a* and *ɔ* separate ([wɔ] ≠ [wo]?), or a different chronology without any superposition (did /a/ become [wɔ] after the departure of the outcome of /ɔ/ from this place?), or the interplay, in a multilingual situation, with another language (Venetian?) capable of "mirroring" the corresponding forms maintaining the difference between /a/ and /ɔ/.

The other remarkable phenomenon attributed to the Slavic influence is the fronting of *u*, which must be considered together with the palatalization of velar consonants. In Vegliote, the palatalization is caused by *j* and *i*, regardless of the following developments: CĚNTU(M) > *cjento* > *čant* 'one hundred'; VICĪNU(M) > *vičaj̃n* 'next.L.SG, cousin(?)'; PŎRCI > *puarč* 'pigs'; velar consonants before *e* are never palatalized: CĒNA(M) > *kaj̃na* 'dinner', DĚCE(M) > *dik* 'ten'. Moreover, palatalization is also found in the results of QUI and GUI, regardless of the syllable structure: QUINDĚCI(M) > *čonko* 'fifteen', ANGUILLA(M) > *anĝola* 'eel'. This may be due to a Greek-style articulation *ky* and *gy*, which was widespread in the area (cf. Lausberg 1971: §§ 184, 346 and 482), with /y/ causing palatalization. Finally, palatalization was also caused by the output of /u/, but, if we further assume that Bartoli's data are plausible, this only happened when /u/ was in an open syllable (see again Butler 1976: 222); the few examples in closed syllables don't show any palatalization: *CUCŪTJA(M) > *kikoza* 'pumpkin' (Bartoli 1906: II, § 299) vs. (OB)SCŪRA(M) > *ščojra* 'dark.F.SG', CŪLU(M) > *čol* 'bottom' (with *oi* > *o* before coda sonorants, cf. Bartoli 1906: II, § 335).

Now consider that Slavic /u/ moves to /i/ via /i/ and not via /y/ (which is unfortunately the transcription of /i/ commonly used by Slavic philologists). According to Muljačić (1980–1986), the presence of /y/ in the Vegliote system (from QUI and GUI, see above) intercepted the fronting of /u/ caused by the Slavic influence. Given this state of affairs, the explanation would be simple: /u/ becomes /y/ in open syllables, causing palatalization of velar vowels (still active at that time and triggered by [+high +front] vowels) and remains /u/ in

closed syllables;¹⁰ the further developments are parallel to the other middle-high and high vowels, i.e. falling diphthong in open syllables (/yj/ > /öj/ > /oj/, cf. Tekavčić 1971–1973: 74) and lowering in closed syllables (/u/ > /o/, compare 7a–b in the table above). A more complex attempt takes into account a more direct Slavic influence: /u/ could have been intercepted by a Slavic fronting and differentiation, becoming /i̯/ in open syllables (and triggering palatalization as [+high –back] vowel) and /ə/ in closed syllables and developing respectively to /əi/ > /oi/ and /o/ (parallel to the restoration of unstressed ə to o, which is typical for the whole East Adriatic, cf. Tekavčić 1971–1973: 85–86). The advantage of this second explanation is that it avoids the difficulties given by /o/ > /u/ in closed syllables, since the interplay with /u/ > /o/ requires a difficult chronological explanation. On the other hand, with the help of the intermediate stage /u/ > /ə/ > /o/ we could explain the divergent results of /o/ in closed syllable as a result of the freedom in the backyard left by the fronting of /u/ and the early diphthongization of /ɔ/ (and of /a/).

These speculations may have a neogrammarian taste, but they are in a certain way coherent and indirectly confirm the accountability of Tuone Udaina as an informant for what concerns phonology. Can we say the same about (verbal) morphology?

3.3 *Some Features of the Verbal Morphology of Vegliote (or Better: of Tuone Udaina)*

The -IDJO-augment (and its cultivated cognate -IZO) appears lexicalized in most Romance languages and is used mainly for activity verbs: Sp. *guerrear*, Fr. *guerroyer*, It. *guerreggiare* ‘to make war’. In a subgroup of languages, this augment appears only in the cells of the morphomic N-pattern of some 1st conjugation verbs (see Maiden 2018: 175–192), as for example in Romanian, where this paradigm seems to be the only productive one.¹¹ Corsican displays in some cases a competition between the so-called *eghjinchi*-verbs and other allomorphic strategies, which shows that the former aspectual-semantic-driven use of the augment (*tufongu* ‘I dig a hole’ vs. *tufunèghju* ‘I dig holes’) is being lost and the augmented form is spreading (cf. Filipponio 2016) according to a

10 Muljačić (2001) suggests that palatalization was triggered by bilingual (= Vegliote B) Croatian speakers, who have transphonemized /y/ in /jo/. As shown by Ligorio (2017: 487), /ju, jo/ etc. are possible Serbo-Croatian reflections of Greek /y/ in loanwords (but Ligorio excludes the presence of /y/ in Dalmatian, cf. Ligorio 2017: 480).

11 Because ‘new’ verbs adopt this paradigm: see the present indicative of *a clicca* ‘to click’: *clichez, clichezi, clichează, clicăm, clicăți, clichează*; the same, for instance, for *a telefona*, *a xeroxa*, etc.

morpho-prosodic pattern (polysyllabic roots, cf. Meul 2013). In some Romansh varieties (Engadine and Surselvan, cf. Maiden 2018: 190), the continuants of the -IDJO-augment have been replaced by the fourth-conjugation continuant of the -ESC-augment -eʒ- (e.g. Surselvan *telefoneschel* 'I telephone').

In comparison, what Bartoli found out by interviewing Udaina is quite astonishing: in this case, the -IDJO-augment has not only replaced the -ESC-augment in the fourth conjugation, which would be a levelling similar to Romansh with reverse mechanism, but has caught all conjugations (Bartoli 1906: II, §§ 459–460): besides *sperajo* (1st person), *negai* (2nd), *duraja* (3rd), *kantaja* (6th), Udaina says *venajo* (1st), *dormaja* (3rd), *infloraja* (6th) for the 4th conjugation, *potajo* (1st), *sapaja* (3rd), *vedaja* (6th) for the 2nd, *credai* (2nd) and *desponaja* (3rd) for the 3rd.

As Bartoli (1906: II, § 459) points out, the cause of such a general leveling is to be found in the particular situation of a language on the verge of extinction. Moreover, due to above-mentioned development of stressed /e/ and /i/ in open syllables and the loss of intervocalic -B- > -v- (cf. Bartoli 1906: II, § 441), -aja is also the ending of the imperfect indicative of all conjugations except the first: corresponding forms like *dekaja*, which was at the same time the 3rd person (but also the 1st) of the present and imperfect indicative (cf. Bartoli 1906, II, s.v. *dekro* 'to say'), has led Udaina to a complete neutralization between the two tenses, which led to imperfect forms like *favlua* ('I, he/she, they spoke') being used as present, as reconstructed by Maiden (2004) through the comparison with the materials collected by Ive (1886) with Udaina the last time he spoke Vegliote before meeting Bartoli.¹²

Again, the areal coherence does not call into question the presence of the grammaticalized variant of the IDJO-augment in Vegliote. As already mentioned, this is well established in Romanian and also well known in Istriote, as shown by Rovignese *barufà* 'to quarrel' (cf. Pellizzer & Pellizzer 1992; see also Vegliote *barufuánt* 'quarrelsome', Bartoli 1906: II, § 47), with the usual N-pattern: *méi i baruf-í-o*, *tèi ti baruf-í-i*, *ló^u al baruf-í-a*, *núi i barufémo*, *vúi i barufí(de)*, *lúri i baruf-í-a*.

¹² Ive probably carried out his fieldwork research between 1878 and 1882 (cf. Bartoli 1906: I, § 76). He writes that Udaina was 59 years old at the time of the interviews, which means that the time interval between Ive's and Bartoli's interviews is fifteen and not twenty years. In any case, it is difficult to say that the neutralization analyzed by Maiden "becomes increasingly common in [Udaina]'s usage over the last twenty years of his life" (2004: 85), since Udaina didn't speak Vegliote during this period. On the other hand, I absolutely agree with Maiden in interpreting this neutralization as an illustration of "the power of morphomic structure in morphological change" and of the fact that "its effects are at work even in dying languages" (2004: 87; cf. Filipponio 2019: 126–127).

What is questionable here, of course, is the spread of the augment in all conjugations.

Furthermore, if we look at the form (of the verb ‘to be’) *fero* used by Udaina, we find out (with the help of Tekavčić 1976–1977) that this form takes over the following functions: present indicative, 2nd, 3rd, 6th person; present subjunctive: 2nd; imperfect indicative: 1st, 2nd, 6th; imperfect subjunctive: 3rd; future indicative: 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 6th; simple past indicative: 3rd. Tekavčić tries to explain this picture with structural arguments (and provides a different etymology for this form, preferring *FERI* instead of *FUERIT/FUERAT*), but the polyvalence of this *passé-partout* remains, as he writes, an “unsolved problem” (Tekavčić 1976–1977: 75). As he admits (1976–1977: 77), the language of the last Vegliote speaker contradicts everything we know about Romance verb morphology and at the same time shows symptoms of the chaotic state of the Vegliote verb system in its final phase—which is perhaps an almost too optimistic statement, considering that Udaina could only practice monologues in the twenty¹³ years preceding Bartoli’s interviews. Nevertheless, we can note the existence of the *fero* form in Vegliote—even if we can’t classify it—and we can consider this as an undoubtedly precious testimony (cf. Tekavčić 1976–1977: 71)

In conclusion, Tuone Udaina has a fairly coherent stressed vowel system on the one hand and a scattered verbal morphology on the other, while analogy seems to be the keyword to explain both the abnormal expansion of the *IDJO*-augment and the *passé-partout* function of *fero*. We also recognize the typical features of a semi-speaker: given the circumstances, this is no surprise; and the fact that lexical-phonological memory seems to be less dysfunctional is not surprising either: as we have seen in section 2, morphology is the first target of analogical levelling and reduction once speakers become semi-speakers.

Given this situation, the hypercharacterization of Udaina seem to lack consciousness, being a mere product of circumstance.

4 Capraino: Domenico Morgana

Let us now move on to a western Mediterranean island, Capraia. In the late Middle Ages, after the Battle of Meloria (1284), Capraia went to Genoa and was administered together with Corsica, which is only 31 km away. The dialect of Capraia can be classified as Northern Corsican: the last traces were collected in the 1980s by Nesi (2012: 231–232), who described Capraino as a scattered lan-

13 Or, at least, fifteen (see the note above).

guage with Corsican roots, that only comes alive during the summer months, when the community recomposes and recognizes itself by enhancing the typical features common to the different idiolects—which can be taken as a good description of semi-speakers who hypercharacterize what remains of their language.

The administrative connection with the province of Livorno in November 1925 played a role in the disappearance of Capraino; the demographic effects of the presence of a penal colony, which occupied two thirds of the island from 1873 to 1986, cannot be ignored. Nevertheless, we can imagine that in the first half of the 19th century the Corsican dialect of Capraia was still alive and practiced by the inhabitants. One of them, the archpriest Domenico Morgana, is the other hypercharacterizing informant of our investigation. He is described by the entomologist Giuseppe Gené in a letter written to the dialectologist Giovenale Vegezzi-Ruscalla in the summer of 1838 as a young man with a limited education and the ambition to become a poet and a writer¹⁴—which already predisposed him to certain exaggerations in his written exercises (cf. Salvioni 1913: 78).

Morgana provided a Capraino version of the *Parable of the Prodigal Son* transcribed by Gené (who described this dialect as a bad jargon with Tuscan roots but far enough away from it to be classified as different).¹⁵ Here is the first paragraph of the *Parable* translated by Morgana as published by Salvioni:

Triduziona né û diilêtu di Capragghia d'û Cap. xv di S. Lucca da lu vers. indecimu sinu â la fina.

Ghi iére n'iuómu, chi avedde duvi fighiuoli, e dicedde û piúne chiúcu di êli ô suvo bane: Ba, détemi a mene û toccu di la robba, chi mi vène. E û bane dividóne a êli li suvi beni. E nô tanti ghiorni póne, ridunati tûti, û fighiu piúne chiúcu si n'andóne a nù paiése rimotu, e láne spricóne la suva sustanzia, techiandisi di tûte cose. E dopo avéne datu fina a tûtu, venidde 'na tamanta fama in quêlu paiése e êlu comencióne a sentíne û bisógnu. E circhedde, e iudedde [probably *indedde* 'went'] a servíne a nù citetinu di quêlu paiése. E û mandóne à la suva campagna a pescoláne li porchi. E braméva impíne la suva panza di le giande chi manghiévani

14 “[D]egnissimo arciprete [...] giovane di 30 a 35 anni, [...] di più che mediocre erudizione, ma sgraziatamente [...] vuoi farla da Poeta e da Prosatore” (Salvioni 1913: 78).

15 The double transcription, by the way, should keep us away from any attempt of interpreting phonological features (on the problems caused by transcriptions see König 2010: 496 and 506).

li porchi; e nîmu ghi ni deve. Riturnátu 'n sene, dicedde: Quanti servi 'n casa d'û méio bane abóndani di pane, e jene quíne morghi di fama. Ghié; jene pighieragghi risiluziona, e indaragghi ô méio bane, e ghi diragghi: Ba, agghi pecátu davanti a Dijo e vône: ghiá nô sigghi dégniu d'esse dîtu vostru figliu: fete a mene cume a nû servitóne. E rizendosi si ne vense ô suvo bane (Salvioni 1913: 79–80).

There is no doubt that this text belongs to a Corscian variety: there are enough morphological (the conservative strong form of the masculine singular definite article <û>, cf. Durand 2003: 177; the subject pronoun third person singular masculine <êlu>, cf. Durand 2003: 203; the L-pattern form of the present indicative first person *morghi* of the verb *muri* 'to die', cf. Filipponio 2019) and lexical (*chiucu* 'little', *techiandisi* from *techia* 'binge', *tamanta* '(so) much') features which lead us to this conclusion.

The first indication of a hypercharacterization can be found in the simple past ending *-edd-*. This analogical form, based on the pattern of 'stare/stetti', is widely used in Western Tuscan (even beyond the first conjugation, cf. Rohlfs 1968: § 577) as well as in Corsican, where it is considered interchangeable with *-AVI* (*cantai ~ canteti/-itti*, see Durand 2003: 237), so that it's not surprising that the dialect of Capraia, given its geographical position, shows the same analogical levelling.

Nevertheless, the abundance of occurrences (17 tokens, against 15 with *-AVI* and the isolate *vense* 'came'; the types are 11 against 14; there is one case of allomorphy in *resuscitó(ne)/resuscitedde*)¹⁶ becomes suspicious if we consider the very first item *avedde: Ghi iére n'iuómu, chi avedde duvi figliuoli* 'there was a man, who had two sons'. The other Corsican (and also the Tuscan) versions of the Parable reported by Salvioni (1913: 69–77 and 1915: 485–492) only attest the imperfective 'avia/aveva', which is also semantically consistent with the non-aoristic nature of this state of affairs.

But where the accountability of Domenico Morgana becomes even more suspect is in the incessant recurrence of the epithesis of *-ne*, a phenomenon that can be considered as a prosodic tool to avoid oxytona ending with a vowel, well known in Corsican and Tuscan. According to Durand (2003: 165), in Corsican *-ne* has an emphatic or prosodic function and is more frequent in poetry

16 With *-ett-*analogical leveling, 1st conjugation: *circhedde, indedde* (s. above), *bacedde, cominceddanu, chiamedde, resuscitedde*; 2nd conjugation: *avedde, dicedde* (6 times), *videdde*; 3rd conjugation *venidde* (2 times), *escidde*. Other forms: *dividó(ne), si n'andó(ne), spricó(ne), comenció(ne)* (2 times), *mandó(ne), lasció(ne), resuscitó(ne), fu(ne), sentí(ne), dimandó(ne), amazó(ne), imbufó(ne), inciuveló(ne), si truvó(ne)* and *vense*.

(with some exceptional occurrences after a paroxytone such as the imperative *párlane*, which confirms the emphatic function of the epithesis). In Tuscan, the epithetic *-ne* is well attested in the southern area and in the central and eastern varieties more than on the coast. Some examples are attested in Dante, always in the prosodic prominent position at the end of the verse (cf. Rohlfs 1966: § 336).

In our text there are 77 occurrences of oxytona: 67 of them are provided with *-ne*: only the vocative form *ba* 'father' and few others escape the phenomenon. Prosodic prominence does not seem to play a role, as the comparative form *piúne chiúcu* 'younger' (literally 'more little') shows.

We cannot compare this remarkable frequency with other sources from Capraia, but we can take a look (with the help of TLIO) at two medieval texts well known for having a high frequency of *-ne*-epithesis. The first one is Buccio di Ranallo's *La leggenda di Santa Caterina* (cf. Baldelli 1971: 48; ed. Mussafia 1885), an agiographic poem in Aquilano, a Central Italo-Romance variety, written around 1330. If we take the alternations *è/ène*, *fa/fane*, *sta/stane*, we get 66/6, 9/2, 5/1, with a ratio between 11/1 and 4,5/1; moreover, the few *fane*, *stane* (as well as the only occurrence of the future form *saperane*) appear exclusively in the prominent position at the end of the verse. More occurrences of *ne*-epithesis can be found in the *Dodici conti morali di anonimo senese* (late 13th century; cf. Castellani 2000: 357; Segre & Marti (eds.) 1959), but the proportions are far away from the abnormal results of Morgana's translation: by taking *è/ene*, *fa/fa(n)e*, *no/none*, *più/piue*, the results are 17/25, 8/10, 16/5, 12/6 respectively. When used as comparative adverb, *più* appears 5 times, *piue* only once. Furthermore, the modal verb form *poté* followed by an infinitive appears three times and has no epithetic counterpart.

Given this picture, we can hypothesize that Morgana's choice to fill his text with *-ne*-epithesis must be considered as a hypercharacterization of a feature that he perceived as an important shibboleth of his own variety triggered by metalinguistically extra marked situation of a written translation. In conclusion, it can be said that Domenico Morgana, unlike Tuone Udaina, is aware of his hypercharacterization, which is perfectly in keeping with his *character* as described by Gené.

It is worth noting that even this source, in spite of its conceptual (metalinguistic) bias, deserves attention: We cannot say, indeed, in which contexts the analogical past endings and the *-ne*-epithesis appear in the dialect of Capraia, but we can be pretty sure that both features are typical for this variety.

5 Conclusion

In this paper, I have briefly discussed two insular examples representing two different types of informant, the former being a 'Restsprecher', the latter an overperformer. The preliminary considerations in section 2 had led us to some general assumptions:

1. On the one hand, we have seen that the metalinguistic level can never be completely deactivated during an interview or a survey. This means that, when dealing with metalinguistically aware informants, there is a risk that they overperform their shibbolets.
2. On the other hand, we have seen that analogical levelling is a common phenomenon among semi-speakers. This means that the risk of overperformance may be even greater when the language under study is in a situation of some kind of decline due to the lack of alternative solutions, especially at the morphological level.

On the basis of these assumptions, we can conclude that Tuone Udaina fits better into the second category: the dramatic analogical levelling in the verbal morphology may have been reinforced by the awareness of his mission as last testimony of his language but it is much more due to his condition as 'Restsprecher'. Domenico Morgana, on the contrary, seems more compatible with the first category: in this case, the possibility of witnessing a dialect spoken on a little island has amplified his willingness to show off his overperforming skills.

The outputs of these two different combinations tend to converge: the information gathered is neither gold, nor rubbish but should always be checked carefully. At least, we can be sure that the overperformed features are present in the variety under study; but we cannot draw conclusions about the contexts in which they appear.

To understand the facts, it is necessary to be neither an entirely 'internal' nor an entirely 'external' linguist; given the constant interplay of internal and external factors, we need to look at language as a whole before deciding which part is more interesting to us.

References

- Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. 2012. Language contact in language obsolescence. *Dynamics of Contact-Induced Language Change*, ed. by Claudine Chamoreau & Isabelle Léglise, 77–109. Berlin/Boston: de Gruyter.
- Baldelli, Ignazio. 1971. *Medioevo volgare da Montecassino all'Umbria*. Bari: Adriatica.
- Bartoli, Matteo Giulio. 1906. *Das Dalmatische. Altromanische Sprachreste von Veglia bis*

- Ragusa und ihre Stellung in der Apennino-balkanischen Romània*. 2 vols. Wien: Alfred Hölder [It. translation 2000. *Il dalmatico. Resti di un'antica lingua romanza parlata da Veglia a Ragusa e sua collocazione nella Romània appennino-balcanica*, ed. by Aldo Duro. Roma: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana].
- Berruto, Gaetano. 1995. *Fondamenti di sociolinguistica*. Roma/Bari: Laterza.
- Bettoni, Camilla. 1991. Language shift and morphological attrition among second generation Italo-Australians. *Rivista di Linguistica* 3/2: 369–387.
- Butler, Jonathan L. 1976. Uno sguardo al vocalismo tonico del vegliotto. *Actes du XIII^e Congrès international de linguistique et philologie romanes tenu à l'université Laval (Québec, Canada) du 29 août au 5 septembre 1971*, ed. by Marcel Boudreault & Frank-walt Möhren, 1, 221–228. Québec: Les Presses de l'Université Laval.
- Castellani, Arrigo. 2000. *Grammatica storica della lingua italiana. 1. Introduzione*. Bologna: il Mulino.
- Chambers, J.K. & Peter Trudgill. 1980. *Dialectology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Covino, Sandra. 2019. *Linguistica e nazionalismo tra le due guerre mondiali*. Bologna: il Mulino.
- Dorian, Nancy C. 1977. The Problem of the Semi-Speaker in Language Death. *Linguistics* 15/191: 23–32.
- Durand, Olivier. 2003. *La lingua còrsa. Una lotta per la lingua*. Brescia: Paideia.
- Filipponio, Lorenzo. 2012. Reflexionen über die Diachronie des galloitalienischen Rhythmus. *Testo e ritmi. Zum Rhythmus in der italienischen Sprache*, ed. by Elmar Schafroth & Maria Selig, 61–87. Frankfurt am Main/Berlin/Bern/Bruxelles/New York/Oxford/Wien: Peter Lang.
- Filipponio, Lorenzo. 2016. Morfologia e semantica dei verbi *eghjinchì* in còrso settentrionale. *Atti del Workshop "Lingue delle isole, isole linguistiche" (Corte, 22–23 settembre 2014)*, ed. by Stella Retali-Medori, 63–95. Alessandria: Edizioni Dell'Orso.
- Filipponio, Lorenzo. 2019. Forme del presente indicativo in corso settentrionale. *La Lingua Italiana* 15: 107–128.
- Francescato, Giuseppe. 1966. *Dialettologia friulana*. Udine: Società Filologica Friulana.
- Guberina, Petar. 1960. La diphtongaison végljote est-elle une diphtongaison romane?. *Atti dell'VIII Congresso Internazionale di Studi Romanzi (Firenze, 3–8 aprile 1956)*, 11, 537–548. Firenze: Sansoni. [reprinted 1985. *Zbornik u čast Petru Skoku o stotoj obljetnici rodenja*, 181–192. Zagreb: Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti].
- Hadlich, Roger L. 1965. *The phonological history of Vegliote*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press.
- Hock, Hans Henrich. 1986. *Principles of Historical Linguistics*. Berlin/New York/Amsterdam: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Ive, Antonio. 1886. L'antico dialetto di Veglia. *Archivio Glottologico Italiano* 9: 115–187.
- König, Werner. 2010. Investigating language in space: Methods and empirical standards.

- Language and Space. An International Handbook of Linguistic Variation. Volume 1: Theories and Methods*, ed. by Peter Auer and Jürgen Erich Schmidt, 494–511. Berlin/New York: de Gruyter.
- Latimer, Richard. 1976. On Vegliote vowels. *Calgary Working Papers in Linguistics* 2: 3–13.
- Lausberg, Heinrich. 1971. *Linguistica romanza*. 2 vols. Milano: Feltrinelli.
- Lehmann, Christian. 2005. Pleonasm and hypercharacterization. *Yearbook of Morphology 2005*, ed. by Geert E. Booij & Jaap van Marle, 119–154. Heidelberg: Springer.
- Ligorio, Orsat. 2017. Greek Y in Dalmatian Romance. *Greek etymology*, ed. by Christos Tzitzilis & Georgios Papanastasiou, 472–495. Thessaloniki: Institute of Modern Greek Studies/Aristotle University of Thessaloniki.
- Löffler, Heinrich. 1974. *Probleme der Dialektologie. Eine Einführung*. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft.
- Loporcaro, Michele. 2021. *La Puglia e il Salento* (Dialetti d'Italia). Bologna: il Mulino.
- Maiden, Martin. 2004. Into the past: morphological change in the dying years of Dalmatian. *Diachronica* 21: 85–111.
- Maiden, Martin. 2018. *The Romance Verb. Morphomic Structure and Diachrony*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Menn, Lise. 1989. Some people who don't talk right. Universal and particular in child language, aphasia and language obsolescence. *Investigating obsolescence. Studies in language contraction and death*, ed. by Nancy C. Dorian, 335–346. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Merlo, Clemente. 1907. Dalmatico e latino. A proposito di una pubblicazione recente. *Rivista di Filologia e Istruzione Classica* 35: 472–484.
- Meul, Claire. 2013. *The Romance reflexes of the Latin infixes -I/ESC- and -IDI-: restructuring and remodeling processes*. Hamburg: Buske.
- Mišur, Ivo & Kristjan Šinjec. 2021. Revisiting Antonio Udina's family tree and the theory of the Slavo-Vegliote symbiosis. *Atti e Memorie della Società Dalmata di Storia Patria* 10 (s. 3): 59–80.
- Muljadic, Žarko. 1980–1986. Il passaggio u > y nel veglioto nascente: presupposti e conseguenze. *Bollettino dell'Atlante Linguistico Mediterraneo* 22–28 (*Studi in memoria di Mirko Deanović*): 171–184.
- Muljadic, Žarko. 1991. Vokalsysteme in Kontakt. Was verdankt der vegliotische Vokalismus der slaworomanischen Symbiose?. *Languages in Contact and Contrast. Essays in Contact Linguistics*, ed. by Vladimir Ivir & Damir Kalogjera, 317–327. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Muljadic, Žarko. 1992. Wiewiele dalmato-romanische Sprachen gab es in Mittelalter?. *Beiträge zur sprachlichen, literarischen und kulturellen Vielfalt in den Philologen. Festschrift für Ruprecht Rohr zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. by Gabriele Birken-Silvermann & Gerda Rössler, 109–118. Stuttgart: Steiner.

- Muljagic, Žarko. 2001. I contatti greco-, croato- e albanotardolatini come fattori della 'genesì' delle lingue dalmato-romanze. *Integrazione mescolanza rifiuto. Incontri di popoli, lingue e culture in Europa dall'Antichità all'Umanesimo*, ed. by Gianpaolo Urso, 277–285. Roma: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider.
- Muljačić, Žarko. 2006. Noterelle dalmatoromanze. *Estudis Romànics* 28: 319–328.
- Mussafia, Adolfo. 1885. Mittheilungen aus romanischen Handschriften. II. Zur Katharinenlegende. *Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien* 110: 355–421.
- Nesi, Annalisa. 2012. Il dialetto capraiese: qualche riflessione in margine ad un documento ottocentesco, *La leçon des dialectes. Hommages à Jean-Philippe Dalbera*, ed. by Michèle Olivieri, Guylaine Brun-Trigaud, Philippe Del Giudice, 223–233. Alessandria: Edizioni Dell'Orso.
- Pellizzer, Antonio & Giovanni Pellizzer. 1992. *Vocabolario del dialetto di Rovigno d'Istria*. Fiume/Trieste: Unione Italiana/Università popolare di Trieste.
- Rohlf, Gerhard. 1966. *Grammatica storica della lingua italiana e dei suoi dialetti. I: Fonetica*. Torino: Einaudi.
- Rohlf, Gerhard. 1968. *Grammatica storica della lingua italiana e dei suoi dialetti. II: Morfologia*. Torino: Einaudi.
- Ruoff, Arno. 1973. *Grundlagen und Methoden der Untersuchung gesprochener Sprache*. Tübingen: Niemeyer.
- Salvioni, Carlo. 1913. Versioni sarde, còrse e caprajese della Parabola del figliuol prodigo tratte dalle carte Biondelli. *Archivio Storico Sardo* 9: 44–80 [reprinted 2008. *Scritti linguistici*, ed. by Michele Loporcaro, Romano Broggin, Lorenza Pescia & Paola Vecchio, 111, 836–872. Bellinzona: Edizioni dello Stato del Cantone Ticino].
- Salvioni, Carlo. 1915. Versioni varie centrali e meridionali della Parabola del figliuol prodigo tratte dalle carte Biondelli. *Rendiconti dell'Istituto Lombardo* 48 (s. 2): 484–502 [reprinted 2008. *Scritti linguistici*, ed. by Michele Loporcaro, Romano Broggin, Lorenza Pescia & Paola Vecchio, 111, 1026–1044. Bellinzona: Edizioni dello Stato del Cantone Ticino].
- Schenker, Alexander M. 1993. Proto-Slavonic. *The Slavonic languages*, ed. by Bernard Comrie & Greville G. Corbett, 60–121. London: Routledge.
- Schilling, Natalie. 2013. *Sociolinguistic Fieldwork*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Segre, Cesare & Mario Marti. 1959. *La prosa del Duecento*. Milano/Napoli: Ricciardi.
- Tekavčić, Pavao. 1971–1973. Sul vocalismo neolatino autoctono nelle coste orientali dell'Adriatico. *Bollettino dell'Atlante Linguistico Mediterraneo* 13–15: 57–92.
- Tekavčić, Pavao. 1976–1977. Sulla forma verbale vegliota *féro* e sull'origine del futuro veglioto. *Incontri linguistici* 3/1: 71–89.
- TLIO = *Tesoro della Lingua Italiana delle Origini*. <http://tlio.ovi.cnr.it/TLIO>
- Thomason, Sarah G. 2001. *Language contact. An introduction*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

- Trumper, John. 1977. Ricostruzione nell'Italia settentrionale: sistemi consonantici. Considerazioni sociolinguistiche nella diacronia. *Problemi di ricostruzione in linguistica*, ed. by Raffaele Simone & Ugo Vignuzzi, 259–310. Roma: Bulzoni.
- Vuletić, Nikola. 2013. Le Dalmate : panorama des idées sur un mythe de la linguistique romane. *Histoire Épistémologie Langage* 35: 45–64.
- Vuletić, Nikola. 2015. Il dalmatico di Muljačić: note sull'evoluzione di un modello complesso di storia linguistica. *Studi Italiani di Linguistica Teorica e Applicata* 44(1): 143–154.
- Wagner, Petra, Jürgen Trouvain & Frank Zimmerer. 2015. In defense of stylistic diversity in speech research. *Journal of Phonetics* 48: 1–12.
- Wartburg, Walther von. 1950. *Die Ausgliederung der romanischen Sprachräume*. Bern: Francke.
- Werlen, Erika. 1984. *Studien zur Datenerhebung in der Dialektologie*. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag.

On the Translation of the *Parable of the Prodigal Son* in Mòcheno: Linguistic Analysis and Connection to the Extinct Variety of Vignola

Federica Cognola

1 Introduction¹

This chapter focuses on the oldest extant text written in the German dialect Mòcheno, a minority language spoken in three villages (Roveda, Fierozzo and Palù) of the Fersina valley in Trentino (Northern Italy) by around 600 speakers (Cognola 2013).

Mòcheno is a heritage variety of German that developed from the colonisation of the Fersina valley by German-speaking people in the Middle Ages, when settlers moved, mostly from South Tyrol, to the mountains surrounding Pergine (Rogger 1979, Piatti 1996, 1998). In the Middle Ages, the Mòcheno-speaking villages were part of a vast German²-speaking area.

All Mòcheno villages are to be understood in terms of scattered farms, and the settlements are found in relatively wide, wild mountainous territory, meaning that until recent years contact with the lowland (Pergine) was difficult due to the long distance between them. The villages of Falesina and Vignola are the closest to Pergine, located in the mountains immediately above it, which

1 I would like to thank Daniele Baglioni and Luca Rigobianco for having involved me in their project on 'Restsprachen': without them, I would have never reconsidered the Mòcheno manuscript of the *Parable of the Prodigal Son*. I am also grateful to Ermenegildo Bidese, Francesco Zuin, Leo Toller and two anonymous reviewers for useful comments on parts of this paper. All errors are my own. I thank the Bibliothèque municipale of Rouen for sending me an electronic image of the folios 71–72 of the Montbret Manuscript 489 and for allowing me to cite and reproduce any part of these images.

2 Traditionally, the non-Romance varieties spoken in Trentino have been called 'German', a cover term which obviously does not consider the specificities of these communities in comparison with standard German. The Mòcheno community and language were also referred to as 'German' or 'Mòcheno', see for instance Tecini (1821 [1860]), in Beber et al. 2008: 141) and Schmeller (1833, in Rowley 2010: 353). For the etymology of the word *Mòcheno*, see Casalicchio & Cognola (2016).

can be easily reached on foot in about one³ and one-and-a-half to two hour(s), respectively. Roveda, Fierozzo and Palù, on the other hand, are far away and isolated communities.

For the most of its history, Mòcheno has been a primarily oral language, with limited written tradition (the codification of Mòcheno started in 2003 with the grammar by Anthony Rowley). Excluding the so-called *Catalogus* by Simon Pietro Bartolomei, written in 1763 as a sort of ‘parallel dictionary’ of the German and Ladin (Rhaeto-Romance) varieties spoken in the present-day region of Trentino-Alto Adige, the oldest text in Mòcheno is a translation of the *Parable of the Prodigal Son* (Luke 15: 11–32) into the dialect spoken in the villages of “Pallù, San Felice di Fierozzo, San Francesco di Fierozzo, Frassilongo, Roveda, Falesina, Vignola”, as it can be read in the first page of the Montbret Manuscript 489 (cf. Figure 12.1). It was collected at the beginning of the 19th Century (1810) during the French occupation as part of a survey aiming to document the languages spoken in the ‘Regno d’Italia’.

The Mòcheno translation of the Parable has been known since 1930, when Ernesto Lorenzi published the text of the manuscript 2874 of the Biblioteca Comunale of Trento. Unfortunately, the relevant folios of the manuscript, of which there do not exist photostatic copies, have been lost for an unknown period and, according to my knowledge, no researcher who worked on, or subsequently published the text, was able to work with the original manuscript. Instead, they simply relied on Lorenzi’s transcription. The absence of the original manuscript has represented a significant problem for the research on the diachrony of Mòcheno, especially in the light of the fact that Lorenzi’s edition does not respect basic philological standards. As discussed in Cognola (2022), Lorenzi simply transcribes the text of the manuscript without providing any relevant information about it (folio numbers, conservation status, etc.), the handwriting, the presence of glosses, annotations or corrections, or explaining his choices (if there were cases of unclear handwriting, if the organisation of the manuscript was maintained in the edition, i.e. if the new paragraphs in the published version are coherent with the manuscript). This information is vital for a correct evaluation of the text, since it exhibits the presence of specific variants, which are absent from present-day varieties, and internal variation in the spelling of the same words. For these reasons, this text has remained relatively marginal in the research on Mòcheno.

3 Falesina is found above the village of Zivignago, which nowadays forms a continuum with Pergine.

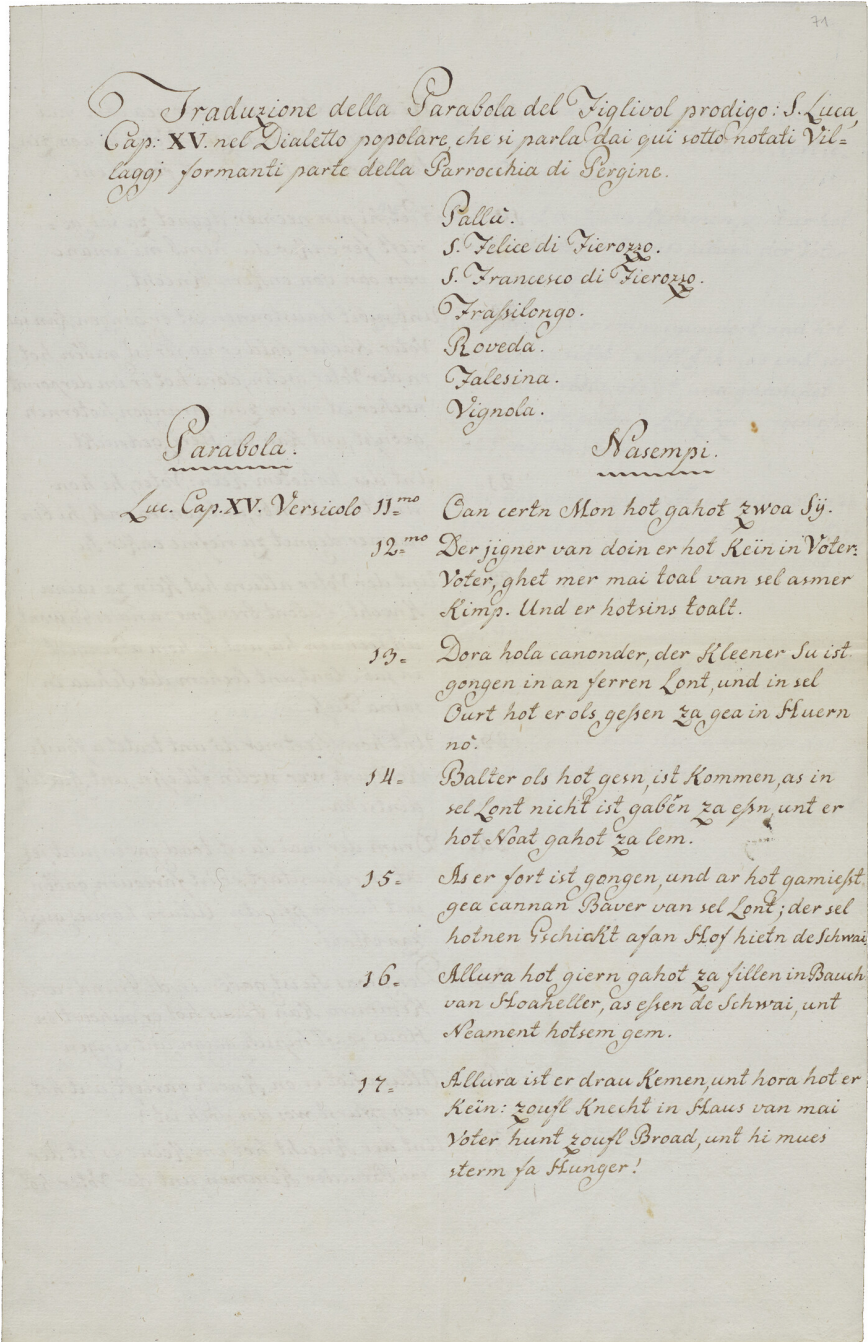


FIGURE 12.1 Montbret Manuscript 489, folio 71, recto

In 2019, the linguist Francesco Zuin found by chance, in the Collection Coquebert de Montbret at the Bibliothèque municipale of Rouen, the folios containing the translation of the Parable of the Prodigal Son into Mòcheno (Montbret Manuscript 489, folios 71–72). Cognola (2022) compares the two versions of the Parable showing that the Italian manuscript transcribed by Lorenzi was likely to be a preparatory copy, whereas the French manuscript was the final version. Furthermore, Cognola analyses the orthographic system used in the manuscripts, which represents the first example of codification of Mòcheno and its relationship with the phonetics of the language, showing that i) the phenomena differing from present-day Mòcheno varieties are mostly due to the conservativity of the texts, and ii) the variants in the manuscript are very likely to be due to intra-speaker variation and not to inter-speaker variation (and thus not to the involvement of additional informants in the translation task).

The data I discussed in Cognola (2022) do not conclusively prove which variety the text is written in. This chapter aims to provide an answer to this question by carrying out a lexical and morphological analysis of the Montbret manuscript. Based on this analysis and on a comparison with the indirect attestations of 19th century Mòcheno varieties provided by Schmeller (1833), I propose that the Parable is translated into the Mòcheno variety spoken in Vignola, a now extinct variety. The translation thus documents a ‘Restsprache’.

The chapter is organised as follows: section 2 provides an overview of the Montbret manuscript, section 3 analyses its morphological and lexical characteristics from a comparative perspective with present-day Mòcheno varieties and section 4 compares the phonetic, morphological and lexical properties of the language in the manuscript with the 19th century varieties documented by Schmeller (1833). Section 5 summarises the main results of the paper.

2 The Manuscript

2.1 *Main Characteristics*

The folios 71–72 (three sides) of the Montbret manuscript 489 contain the translation of the Parable of the Prodigal Son into Mòcheno. The manuscript is anonymous and it is written in ‘cursiva italiana’ with no glosses, annotations or corrections. The source of the translation (Luke, 15) is provided in the first folio (71 r), in the left column (which remains otherwise empty), along with the numbering of the verses (called ‘versicoli’ in the manuscript). Note that

the first two verses are indicated with the ordinal numbers: $11=^{mo}$ (*undicesimo*, ‘eleventh’) and $12=^{mo}$ (*dodicesimo*, ‘twelfth’), whereas all other numbers lack the indication of the ordinal number (mo) and appear in the same format of $13=$ in Figure 12.1. Note, moreover, that the source of the translation prior to verse 11 is indicated in the abbreviated form *Luc*. I find this abbreviation very strange thinking of the Italian *Luca*, because only the last vowel is deleted, whereas it makes more sense if we start from the Latin (*secundum*) *Lucam* or German (*nach*) *Lukas* with two deleted letters.⁴

2.2 *Who Transcribed the Text?*

In Cognola (2022) I analysed the orthography of the Montbret manuscript and proposed that the text is written by somebody with a perfect command of Italian and Trentino, an excellent (though not perfect) knowledge of German and used the orthographic rules of German as a foundation in their written codification of Mòcheno. Despite the German model, the proposed codification was very respectful of the peculiarities of Mòcheno, which were integrated into the text in the form of both special orthography and respect for internal variation.

Let us illustrate this with an example. The manuscript follows (with few exceptions, cf. Cognola 2022: 23 ff. and n. 6) German orthography, according to which nouns must be written with an initial capital letter, whereas other parts of discourse are written with an initial lowercase letter. Moreover, front rounded vowels, in the two words which residually exhibit this vocal sound (*Ghüner*, ‘friend’, and *Gründ*, ‘field’), are indicated using the orthographic conventions of German featuring the diacritic sign (¨) (*ü*).⁵

Despite its adherence to German orthography, we also find some orthographic deviances from this language in the manuscript, which are very likely to have been introduced in order to correctly transcribe some peculiar Mòcheno

4 This observation opens up to the very complex issue of the identification of the source of the translation, which cannot be addressed in this paper. The use of this abbreviation hints in my view to the fact that the text used was not an Italian version of the Parable, but rather a German or Latin text.

5 The diacritic sign (¨) is also informally called ‘dieresis’ in Italian and ‘Umlaut’ in German. These two words are also used as technical terms in phonetics, whereby they indicate the hiatus of two vowels in two different adjacent syllables within a word (‘dieresis’) and the phonetic process of metaphony (‘Umlaut’) (<https://www.treccani.it/vocabolario/dieresi/>, last accessed on 11 June 2023; <https://www.treccani.it/vocabolario/umlaut/>, last accessed on 11 June 2023; <https://www.duden.de/rechtschreibung/Umlaut>, last accessed on 11 June 2023). In this paper, I use the diacritic sign (¨) in a non-theoretical fashion, leaving aside any theoretical implication.

sounds. This is the case of the past participle of present-day Mòcheno *kein* ['kein] 'spoken', which in the Montbret manuscript is, according to the analysis in Cognola (2022), written in the form *kein*, i.e. with the diacritic sign (¨) on *i*, in order to signal the hiatus between the two vowels *e* and *i* and, conversely, the fact that the two vowels are not pronounced like the German diphthong [ai] as in German *kein*, ['kain], 'no'. Another example of specific orthographic conventions used for Mòcheno sounds is found in the presence of the accented *é* in the past participle *gabén*, [ga'ben] 'been', written with an accent possibly to distinguish it from the German word *Gaben*, ['gaben], 'gifts'.⁶

Based on this and additional considerations, I suggested that the text was transcribed by Francesco Tecini, who was a priest in Pergine between 1797 and 1853, i.e. in the period in which the translations of the Parable of the Prodigal Son were collected.⁷ Tecini, who spoke German and had spent several years in Salzburg, had extensive contact with the Mòcheno speaking areas, demonstrated by his *Carteggio con Vignola 1765–1938* (correspondence with Vignola, personal communication of Leo Toller) and by his 1821 volume on the local German-speaking populations. The hypothesis of his involvement is indirectly confirmed by the Montbret manuscript, where specific mention of "villaggi formanti parte della Parrocchia di Pergine", ('villages belonging to the parish

6 An anonymous reviewer wonders whether it cannot be assumed that the accent in *gabén* simply indicates the word stress or the closed quality of the vowel, given that in the Montbret manuscript nouns are regularly written with the initial capital like in standard German. Despite fully plausible, I find this alternative explanation untenable for the Mòcheno data for two reasons. First, as discussed in Cognola (2022: 23–26), the person who wrote the text is not completely consistent with the orthographic rules of German concerning lowercase and capital letters: in one case, for instance, the writer writes the past participle *Gschickt* (verse 15) for 'sent' with a capital letter instead of the lowercase letter (*gschickt*); in verse 12, the form *toal* for 'part' is written with a small letter instead of the capital one (Cognola 2022: 24). These cases point to some few small uncertainties in the application of German orthography to Mòcheno, which might have justified the need of indicating the different pronunciations of the two words *gaben* [ga'ben], 'been' (Mòcheno) and *Gaben* ['gaben], 'gifts' (German). Second and most importantly, assuming that the accent in *gabén* indicates word stress or the closed quality of the vowel, does not account for the fact that only this word in the whole manuscript bears an accent, i.e. the indication of stress and vowel quality is not found across all potential contexts, but just in this single case. This indicates that the person who wrote the text felt the need of specifying word stress and closed quality of the vowel precisely in the word *gabén* and not elsewhere, which in my view can only be due to the need of avoiding possible confusion with the German word *Gaben*.

7 Lorenzi (1930) writes that the translation of the Parable into Mòcheno goes back to 1810, an information which is missing in the Montbret manuscript.

of Pergine') is made (cf. Figure 12.1), and by the established practice in the collection of these texts, which precisely relied on the parishes (cf. Zuin & Bidese 2022).

2.3 *Language-Internal Variation*

TABLE 12.1 *f/v* variation in the Montbret MS and present-day Mòcheno

Form	Verse	Present-day form	Translation
<i>foasts</i>	23	<i>fèttn</i> (skB: 152)	fat
<i>fort</i>	15	<i>vort</i> (skB: 87)	away
<i>four</i>	18	<i>vour</i> (skB: 87)	in front of
<i>fer</i>	19	<i>vir</i> (Rowley 1982: 279), <i>ver</i> (skB:162)	for
<i>fer</i>	20	<i>vèrr</i> (skB: 155)	away
<i>Fiefs</i>	22	<i>vues, vies</i> (Rowley 1982: 286)	feet
<i>fiertmer</i>	23	<i>viarn</i> (skB: 144)	bring me

As discussed in Cognola (2022), the Montbret manuscript documents a conservative stage of the language, in which we see an early stage of the reorganisation of the fricative consonant sounds [v] and [f], which is nearly completed in present-day Mòcheno. The reorganisation of fricatives involves a phonetic shift from the unvoiced labiodental fricative consonant [f] to the voiced labiodental fricative consonant [v] (voicing), and a shift from the voiced labiodental fricative consonant [v] (not resulting from an [f]) to the voiced bilabial occlusive consonant [b] (change of articulation). Both processes are nearly complete in present-day Mòcheno, although a comprehensive investigation of the distribution of the phenomenon in present-day varieties is still missing.⁸

8 In this paper, I offer a purely synchronic analysis of the distribution of *v/f* in the Montbret manuscript, leaving aside the diachronic development of the phenomenon. As suggested by an anonymous reviewer, it might be the case that the notations *v* and *f* in the Montbret Manuscript indicate that Mòcheno had an intermediate sound between [v] and [f] ([v^f]) or that Middle High German *f* exhibited two allophonic realisations [v] and [f] as in the neighbouring Cimbrian XII Comuni (cf. Cipolla & Cipolla 1883–1884) and in San Sebastiano (cf. Leck 1889). Diachronically, this would be coherent with the fact, reported by the same reviewer, that [v] is older than [f] in the diachrony of German, therefore the shift from [f] to [v] is somehow unexpected and should it be analysed as a later development. I leave this issue open for further research.

Table 12.1 lists the forms, overwhelming in the manuscript, featuring *f*, whereas present-Mòcheno has *v*, as expected given that it documents a conservative stage of the language. However, we see an internal variation in the text, indicating an on-going shift towards the new forms with *v*, cf. the presence of the variants *va/fa* (verse 17), ‘of’ (present-day Mòcheno: *va* skB: 84) and *far-lourn* (verse 24) / *varlourn* (verse 32), ‘lost’ (present-day Mòcheno: *verliarn* skB: 162).

Additionally, in the Montbret manuscript, we find the first examples of another phonological shift in the language: that from [v] to [b], which is found exclusively in words in which [v] does not result from the shift of [f] to [v] (cf. Table 12.2). This shift has been nearly completed in the present-day language, as demonstrated by the translation into the contemporary varieties of the words featuring [v] in the manuscript.⁹ In the Montbret manuscript, this shift is evidenced by the presence of the forms *gabén* for *gewesen* ‘been’ and *bar* for *werden* ‘become’.¹⁰ It may be the case, however, that the manuscript does not fully document the variation between *w* and *b* present in 19th century Mòcheno. This is evidenced by a detail in verse 22 of the manuscript, specifically in the word *Gawont* ‘dress’.¹¹ As can be seen in Figure 12.2, the writer corrected the orthography of this word: the letter *w* is written over another deleted letter, very likely to be *b* written in the same manner as the *b* in *brenkmer* in the same sentence. If this hypothesis were correct, it would mean that the original form in the manuscript was *Gabont* (cf. German *Gewand*, ‘dress’)—which is identical to the present-day Mòcheno form *gabònt*, ‘dress’ (skB: 35). This piece of data indicates that variation may have been more widespread than is documented in the Montbret manuscript and that the translator was doubtful specifically of the two sounds [v] and [b].

9 An anonymous reviewer notes that Mòcheno [v] derives from Middle High German *w which was a bilabial affricate, suggesting that the author of the manuscript might have used the orthography <w> instead of <v> because in the Mòcheno of the manuscript there still was a phonetic difference between the two sounds. While this hypothesis cannot be in principle excluded, I think that it should be considered that the Mòcheno orthography overlaps in this specific case with that of German: therefore, it cannot be excluded that German might have played a role. I leave this issue open for further research.

10 An anonymous reviewer wonders whether the presence of [b] instead of [v] in the verb form *gabén* ‘been’ might be influenced by the first/second person singular *bin* ‘be.1SG’ / *bist* ‘be.2SG’ featuring [b]. In the manuscript, both the forms *bin* and *bist* are present (verse 21: *i bin*, ‘I am’; verse 31: *du bist*, ‘you are’); therefore, this hypothesis cannot be excluded. It is though important to underline, that this influence is limited to this specific case, and not to all the instances of the shift from [v] to [b] documented in this paper.

11 This detail is not discussed in Cognola (2022).

TABLE 12.2 *w/b* variation in the Montbret MS and present-day Mòcheno

Form	Verse	Present-day form	Translation
<i>wer</i>	23	<i>bir</i> (Cognola 2013: 80)	we
<i>wos</i>	26	<i>bos</i> (skB: 28);	what
<i>welln</i>	23	<i>belln</i> (skB: 178)	to want
<i>gawellt</i>	28	<i>gabellt</i> (skB: 178)	wanted
<i>olwe</i>	31	<i>òlbe</i> (skB: 60)	always

3 Morphological and Lexical Analysis

This section aims to analyse the morphological and lexical features of the Montbret manuscript from a comparative perspective with German and present-day Mòcheno, to establish which Mòcheno variety the manuscript is written in.

3.1 *Past Participle Formation*

The first area of morphology I will examine is past participle formation. This area is of great interest because the text is narrated in the past tense. Since the only form available in Mòcheno for the expression of the past tense is the past perfect,¹² there are relatively many past participle forms which can be used for linguistic analysis. Moreover, this area of morphology allows us to investigate whether the restructuring and reduction processes in the morphology of past participle formation documented in present-day Mòcheno were already available in the 19th century.

3.1.1 Past Participle Morphology in Present-Day Mòcheno

In present-day Mòcheno, the formation of past participle forms follows the same rules as German (cf. DUDEN: 447 ff.). With so-called regular verbs ('schwache Verbe', weak verbs), the circumfix *ga-verb-t* modifies the lexical base (1a, b), whereas so-called irregular verbs ('starke Verbe', strong verbs) require the form *ga-verb-en* (1c) which co-occurs, in some cases, with a modified base due to the process of *Ablaut* (1d):

12 As is typical of Southern German varieties (Fischer 2021 for a recent study), Mòcheno lacks the synthetic past form 'Präteritum' corresponding to English simple past, and only relies on the analytic past tense form 'Perfekt/Partizip 2' (corresponding to the past participle). This phenomenon is called 'Präteritumschwund' in German dialectology.

18. Sfi bar austia, unt hi bar gea cam mai
Vöter, unt hi berem zogn: Vöter, hi hon zin=
tet four hin Himbl, unt four hene.
19. Niet, hi pin necmer degnet za sai ge=
rieft fer enker Su: nemb mi amanc
van oan von enkhern Knecht.
20. Unt subit haustonnen ist er gongen, kan sai
Vöter. Sacher bald er no fer ist gaben, hot
en der Vöter gsehn, dora hot er im derpormt,
nocher ist er im zua sprungen, hoternen
gebust, unt kan sai ster gedrukt.
21. Unt der Su hotem kein: Vöter, hi hon
sintet in Himbl, unt contra enk, hi bin
neemer degnet za rieftme enker Su.
22. Unt der Vöter allura hot kein za saina
Knecht: subent brenkmer a naites sawont,
un lechnen hu, unt lechem a Fingerl
in sai Mont, unt lechem die Schua in
saina Fich.
23. Unt hora fiert mer do, unt teatet a soasts
Kold, unt wer welln fil efn, unt gueter=
daintscha.
24. Drum der mai Su ist toad gaben, unt jex
ist er resuspirant, er ist farlourn gaben,
unt hunen pfunt. Allura homses gziht
zan Wohl.
25. Der groas Su ist gaben in di Pründ: und
Kemmem kan Hlaus hot er gakoert in
Hlaus soufl hipsch gaign, unt singen.
26. Allura hot er on Knech garieft, unt hot=
nen pfurst, was doi Loch ist?
27. Unt der Knecht hot em kein: as ist der
sai Brueder Kemmen, unt der Vöter hot

FIGURE 12.2 Montbret Manuscript 489, folio 71, verso.

- (1) a. *bissn*, to know *gabisst*, known
 b. *lòchen*, to laugh *galocht*, laughed
 c. *hoasn*, to call *gahoasn*, called
 d. *nemmen*, to take *ganommen*, taken

In Mòcheno, *ga-* is not required in the case of verbs with an inseparable prefix or with loan words (Rowley 2003 [2017]: 202), as in German.

- (2) a. *derhòltn*, to receive *derhòltn*, received verb with an inseparable prefix
 b. *kontarn*, to tell *kontart*, told loan verb

Unlike present-day German, *ga-* is ruled out with verbs beginning with the voiceless occlusive consonants *p-*, *t-*, *k* or with the affricates *pf*, [tʃ] (*tsch*) and [ts] (*z*) (examples in (3) from Rowley 2003 [2017]: 202).

- (3) a. *kochen*, to cook *kocht*, cooked
 b. *pfòlln*, to like *pfòllt*, liked (SkB: 63)
 c. *protn*, to roast *protn*, roasted
 d. *toaln*, to divide *toalt*, divided

The prefix *ga-* appears for some speakers in the reduced form *t-* in verbs beginning with [ʃ] followed by a consonant (*sp-*, *sk-* and *st*) (examples from Rowley 2003 [2017]: 202). For other speakers, *ga-* must be dropped in this context.

- (4) a. *spiln*, to play (*t*)*spilt*, played
 b. *stèrm*, to die (*t*)*stourm*, died

In words beginning with the palato-alveolar [ʃ] (*sch*), the prefix is always realised by *t* (examples from Rowley 2003 [2017]: 202):

- (5) a. *schaung*, to look *tschaukt*, looked
 b. *sechen*, to see *tsechen*, seen

With verbs beginning with [v], the prefix is *p* followed by *f*, see (6), from Rowley (2003 [2017]: 202).¹³

13 Rowley (2003 [2017]: 202) writes that “*v* iniziale si fonde col prefisso *pf*” (‘initial *v* merges

- (6) a. *viarn*, to bring *pfïart*, brought
 b. *vrèssn*, to devour *pfrière*, devoured

As in present-day German, so-called irregular verbs do not follow this pattern and instead exhibit a specific paradigm. *Tun*, 'to do', requires the prefix regardless of the initial occlusive consonant. Conversely, *gea*, 'to go', and *gem*, 'to give', are incompatible with the prefix, although verbs beginning with [g] normally require the presence of *ga*.

- (7) a. *tun*, to do *gatun* (F+R), *tu* (P), done
 b. *gea*, to go *gòngen*, gone
 c. *gem*, to give *gem*, given

3.1.2 Past Participle Morphology in the Montbret Manuscript

In the Montbret manuscript, the prefix appearing in past participles exhibits three forms: *ga-* as in present-day Mòcheno, *ge-* as in German and *g-*; moreover, the form *p* is found in verbs beginning with [f]. The full form *ga*, and to a lesser extent *ge*, appear in words which also require *ga-* in present-day Mòcheno varieties, cf. Table 12.3.

TABLE 12.3 Past participles featuring *ge/ga* in the Montbret MS

Form	Verse	Present-day form	Translation
<i>gahot</i>	11 (and elsewhere)	<i>gahòp/gahòt</i> (skB: 40)	had
<i>gessen</i>	13 (and elsewhere)	<i>gèssn</i> (skB: 33)	eaten
<i>gamiesst</i>	15	<i>gamuast/gamiast</i> (skB: 54)	must
<i>gebusst</i> ¹⁴	20	<i>pusst</i> (skB: 66)	kissed
<i>gedruckt</i>	20	<i>gadruckt</i> (skB: 32)	held

with the prefix *pf*, my translation). This explanation is in my view not very convincing. If we follow Cognola (2022) and the discussion in section 2.2 above, the presence of *pf* can be accounted for in an alternative way. The Montbret manuscript shows that *v* results from the voicing of initial [f] to [v]; if this is due to a phonological rule causing voicing of word-initial [f], it can be assumed that voicing is blocked with past participles due to the presence of the prefix. Given that [f] is no longer word initial, the rule does not apply. Obviously, this hypothesis implies that [f] is still the underlying form in words featuring a superficial [v] sound. See section 3.1.3 for hypothesis of the development of the prefix *g* in Mòcheno.

- 14 *Ga* is needed since due to the presence of a voiced initial consonant, which is voiceless in present-day Mòcheno.

TABLE 12.3 Past participles featuring *ge/ga* in the Montbret MS (*cont.*)

Form	Verse	Present-day form	Translation
<i>gahoert</i>	25	<i>gaheart</i> (skB: 39)	heard
<i>garieft</i>	26	<i>gariaft</i> (skB: 68)	called
<i>zuagemocht</i>	27	<i>gamòcht</i> (skB: 55)	made
<i>gawelt</i>	28	<i>gabellt</i> (skB: 24)	wanted
<i>zua garichten</i>	30	<i>garichten/garichttet</i> (skB: 68)	prepared
<i>galot</i>	31	<i>galòkt</i> (skB: 51)	let

Let us focus now on loan verbs and verbs with inseparable prefixes. As displayed in Table 12.4, the four examples present in the text lack a prefix, consistently with the rule in the present-day varieties.

TABLE 12.4 Loan verbs and verbs with an inseparable prefix in the Montbret MS

Form	Verse	Present-day form	Translation
<i>derpormt</i>	20	-	answered
<i>rispundert</i>	29	-	answered
<i>resusitart</i>	24	-	resurrected
<i>servirt</i>	29	-	served

Verbs beginning with the voiceless occlusive consonants *k* or *t* do not take the prefix (cf. Table 12.5).

TABLE 12.5 Past participle of verbs beginning with *k/t* in the Montbret MS

Form	Verse	Present-day form	Translation
<i>toalt</i>	12	<i>toalt</i> (skB: 79)	divided
<i>kommen</i>	14	<i>kemmen</i> (skB: 46)	arrived
<i>kein</i>	12 (and elsewhere)	<i>kein</i> (skB: 75)	said
<i>kert</i>	27	<i>keart</i> (skB: 46)	came back

There are three past participle forms of verbs beginning with [f]. Two of them exhibit the prefix *p*, as expected from present-day Mòcheno, whereas the verb *folgn* (present-day Mòcheno *volng*), ‘follow’, exhibits the participle form *gfolgt* rather than the present-day form *pfolkt*.

TABLE 12.6 Past participle of verbs beginning with *f* in the Montbret MS

Form	Verse	Present-day form	Translation
<i>pfuntn</i>	24	<i>vinnen, pfuntn</i> (skB: 86)	found
<i>pfurst</i>	26	<i>vourschn, pfourscht</i> (skB: 87)	asked
<i>gfolgt</i>	29	<i>volng, pfolkt</i> (skB: 87)	followed/obeyed

The reduced prefix form *g-* appears as well in the past participle of the verbs *schicken, sechen, setzn* and in the adjective *gsunt* (cf. German *gesund*), ‘healthy’. Note that in present-day varieties, these forms are incompatible with *ga-* and instead require the prefix *t*. No prefixed forms are found with the past participle forms of the verb *stea*, ‘remain’, and *sintn*, ‘to sin’.

TABLE 12.7 Past participle of verbs beginning with *s/f* in the Montbret MS

Form	Verse	Present-day form	Translation
<i>Gschickt</i> ¹⁵	15	<i>schicken, tschickt</i> (skB: 71)	sent
<i>gsehn</i>	20	<i>sechen, tsechen</i> (skB: 74)	seen
<i>gsitzt</i>	24	<i>setzn, tsetzt</i> (skB: 74)	sit
<i>gsunt</i>	27	<i>tsunt</i> (skB: 81)	healthy
<i>stea</i>	32	<i>stea, (t)stònnen</i> (skB: 76)	stand
<i>sintet</i>	21	<i>sintn, tsintn</i> (skB: 74)	sinned

3.1.3 Discussion

Table 12.8 summarises the data on past participle formation in the Montbret manuscript and in present-day Mòcheno.

¹⁵ With capital letter in the manuscript, see discussion in Cognola (2022).

TABLE 12.8 Past participle formation in the Montbret MS and in present-day Mòcheno

Verb type	Montbret MS		Present-day Mòcheno	
	Prefix form	Example	Prefix form	Example
Loan verbs	∅	<i>resusitart, servirt</i>	∅	<i>resuscitart, servirt</i>
Verbs with an inseparable prefix	∅	<i>derpormt</i>	∅	
Verbs beginning with voiceless occlusive <i>p, t, k</i>	∅	<i>toalt, kommen, kein</i>	∅	<i>toalt, kèmmen, kein</i>
Verbs beginning with [f]	p	<i>pfuntn, pfurst, gfolgt</i>	p-	<i>pfuntn, pfurst, pfolkt</i>
Verbs/adverbs beginning with [ʃ] and [z]/[s]	g-	<i>Gschickt, gsehen, gsitzt, gsunt</i>	t-	<i>tschickt, tsechen, tschunt, tsetzt</i>
Verbs beginning with [ʃ] + [z]/[s] consonant	∅	<i>sindet, stea</i>	t-	<i>(t)stònnen tsintn</i>
All other verbs	ga-/ge-	<i>gebusst, gamiesst, gahot, gessen, gawellt, gedruckt</i>	ga-	<i>gamiassst, gahot, gabollt</i>

The Montbret manuscript serves as an example of a stage of the Mòcheno language in which the key rules of past participle formation observed in present-day Mòcheno were already in place. More specifically, the split between forms requiring and forms rejecting the prefix was already observable. This suggests the existence of a coherent and relatively stable system. However, we can observe some key differences: i) the prefix appears in two full forms: *ga* and *ge*; ii) the reduced forms are *g-* or *p-*. Crucially, the reduced form *g-* can be found in contexts requiring the reduced form *t-* in present-day Mòcheno, whereas in the Montbret manuscript *p* was already specialised for verbs beginning with [f]. This finding indicates that *p* as a reduced prefix for past participle formation precedes the development of *t-*, which developed from *g-*.

I propose that the system of Mòcheno past participle formation results from a process of sound change due to two distinct phenomena: devoicing and regressive assimilation. It is necessary to assume the presence devoicing because the voiced velar occlusive *g* develops into either an unvoiced occlusive bilabial *p* (Montbret manuscript) or an unvoiced dental occlusive *t* (modern Mòcheno). This implies that, in both cases, the sound change involved a shift from a voiced consonant (*g*) to an unvoiced one (*p* or *t*). In addition to devoicing, a change in the place of articulation of the occlusive sounds (from velar, *g*, to either bilabial *p* or dental *t*) took place, which I believe stemmed from a process of regressive assimilation.¹⁶

¹⁶ I thank an anonymous reviewer for pointing this out.

In the language of the Montbret manuscript, the shift from a voiced velar consonant *g* to an unvoiced bilabial consonant *p* results from regressive assimilation due to the presence of the labiodental consonant [f] as the first sound in the verbs with which the prefix combines. Therefore, the trait relevant to the shift is the [+labial] trait in the word-initial consonant *f*, which causes the assimilation of the preceding velar occlusive sound. According to this hypothesis, the past participle form *p-furst*, 'asked', derives from a participle form featuring a *g(e)*-prefix: **g(e)-furst*. The initial *g* consonant undergoes a devoicing process according to which it becomes *k*: **k(e)-pfurst* and then it shifts to *p* as a consequence of assimilation to the [+labial] trait of the word-initial labiodental consonant *f*:

/k/ → [p] / [ω __ [+labiodental]]

I propose that the dropping of the prefix before verbs beginning with the occlusive *t* or *k*, already observed in the Montbret manuscript in the past participle forms *toalt*, *kommen*, *kein*, follows from the devoicing of the prefix. The idea is that *g(e)* shifted to *k(e)* due to devoicing (as assumed for the other contexts) and then dropped.

In present-day Mòcheno only, a reduced prefix form *t* is attested before verbs beginning with [ʃ] and [z]/[s]. Given that in these contexts the Montbret manuscript uses *g*, I propose that *t* developed from *g* due to devoicing (*g* > *k*) and assimilation (*k* > *t*). In present-day Mòcheno we observe that the aforementioned rules extended to verbs beginning with a consonant characterised by the [+coronal] trait:¹⁷

/k/ → [t] / [ω __ [+coronal]]

3.2 *Morphological Case*

3.2.1 Case in Present-Day Mòcheno

Another key area to aid in the identification of the Mòcheno variety used in the 19th century manuscript is that of morphological case. In present-day Mòcheno, a three-case (nominative, accusative and dative) distinction reminiscent of that of standard German is consistently found with pronouns (Rowley 2003 [2017]: 132). While the morphological case is overtly expressed on pronouns, Mòcheno does not exhibit overt accusative morphology on DP objects in the Palù and Fierozzo varieties; instead, direct objects appear with the same

¹⁷ I thank an anonymous reviewer for pointing this out.

morphology as syntactic subjects. Contrary to this pattern, the accusative case on DPs is expressed in the Roveda variety. In all varieties, masculine and neuter DPs functioning as indirect objects are not marked through morphological case. Rather, they are realised by the preposition *en* followed by the noun without the article (masculine and neuter nouns). In the Roveda variety, feminine nouns retain overt morphological expression of the dative case, since they can appear with the dative article *der*. In the other two varieties, the dative case is expressed with feminine and plural nouns through the proposition *en* followed by a noun bearing the nominative/accusative *de* article form. The different forms are summarised in Table 12.9 (adapted from Rowley 2003 [2017]: 134). Indefinite nouns exhibit the articles forms *a* or *an* for all forms of the paradigm irrespective of case (Rowley 2003 [2017]: 152), which makes the expression of case opaque.

TABLE 12.9 Case system on DPs in present-day Mòcheno

	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter	Plural
Nom.	<i>der mònn</i> (the man)	<i>de mama</i> (the mum)	<i>s pett</i> (the bed)	<i>de kia</i> (the cows)
Acc.	<i>der mònn</i> (F+P) <i>en mònn</i> (R)	<i>de mama</i>	<i>s pett</i>	<i>de kia</i>
Dat.	<i>en mònn</i>	<i>en de</i> (F+P)/ <i>der</i> (R) <i>mama</i>	<i>en pett</i>	<i>en de kia</i>

In (8), examples of accusative masculine and neuter objects are provided (adapted from Cognola & Molinari 2016: 47–48).

- (8) *Der Mario kaft en (R) / der (P/F) kas ; s*
 the Mario buys the.ACC / the.NOM/ACC. cheese the.NOM/ACC
puach
 book
 ‘Mario buys the cheese/the book.’

The indirect object is introduced by the preposition *en*. In all varieties, *en* can be analysed as the dative form of the article in the masculine and neuter forms, because it is incompatible with the article *der* or *s*, as shown in (9a). In the Roveda variety, the dative article form *der* is used with feminine DPs (9b, from Cognola & Molinari 2016: 48).

- (9) a. *I kaf s puach en Luca /*en der Luca ;*
 I buy the book to.the.DAT Luca to the.NOM/DAT Luca ;
*en kinn /*en s kinn*
 to.the.DAT child to the.NOM/DAT child
 'I buy Luca/the child the book.'
- b. *I gib s puach der (R) mama /en de (P/F) mama*
 I give the book the.DAT mum to the.NOM/DAT mum
 'I give the mum the book.'

In Mòcheno, prepositions always select for the dative case (corresponding to *n*, cf. Rowley 2003 [2017]: 132):¹⁸

- (10) a. *I gea af n dòch*
 I go on the.DAT roof
 'I go on top of the roof.'
- b. *kahi' anao vour en loch*
 go up.there in front of the.DAT hole
 'Go up there, in front of the hole.'

Unlike in standard German, no case alternations are found with demonstrative pronouns (only the plural number is marked).

3.2.2 Case in the Montbret Manuscript

Despite the scarcity of relevant data, it is possible to establish that 19th-century Mòcheno exhibits a conservative case system in which case is found with both prepositions and DPs, similar to the present-day Roveda variety.

Case is present with prepositions: in the following examples the prepositions *af* and *ca* are followed by the non-nominative form of the article (*e*)*n*/*(e)**m*:¹⁹

- (11) a. *der sel hotnen Gschickt afan Hof* (verse 15)
 the that has.him sent on.the.DAT farm
 'He sent him to the farm to look after the pigs.'

18 In standard German, on the contrary, prepositions can select accusative, dative and genitive case.

19 Note that in the Montbret manuscript the preposition *can* (present-day Mòcheno: *ka(n)*) is followed by the non-nominative forms *-n/-m*. How this alternation in the nasal sounds is to be interpreted is unclear, cf. Cognola (2022).

b. *unt hi bar gea cam mai Voter, [...] hi hon zintet four*
 and I will go to.the.DAT my father I have sinned in.front
hin himbl (verse 18)
 the.DAT heaven
 'and I will go to my father [...] I have sinned against the heaven.'

c. *unt kan sai Herz gedrukt* (verse 20)
 and to.the.DAT his heart held
 'and held him to his heart'

The *n*-form of the article is found with the masculine definite object DP *Bauch*, 'the stomach', in (12a), whereas (12b) is potentially ambiguous, because *on* might be an indefinite article, which, as discussed in section 3.2.1, does not bear overt case morphology in present-day Mòcheno. However, because the article form *a* appears systematically with neuter nouns (12c, d, e), whereas *on* is found with masculine nouns, I am inclined to consider the form *on* an accusative form.²⁰

(12) a. *za fillen in Bauch van Hoaheller* (verse 16)
 to fill the.ACC stomach of/from.the.DAT acorns
 'To fill his stomach with acorns.'

b. *Allura hot er on Knech garieft* (verse 26)
 then has he a.ACC servant called
 'At this point he called for a servant.'

c. *unt teatet a foasts Kolb* (verse 23)
 and kill a.ACC/NOM fat calf
 'and kill a fat calf.'

d. *hot er mer geben a Kitz* (verse 29)
 has he me.DAT give a.ACC/NOM goat
 'I was given not even a goat.'

e. *Subent brenkmer a najes Gawont* (verse 22)
 immediately bring.me.DAT a.ACC/NOM new dress
 'Bring me immediately a new dress.'

²⁰ This would imply that the Montbret manuscript documents a phase in which the indefinite article *an* was specialised for accusative masculine (cf. German *einen*) and *a* for accusative neuter (cf. German *ein*).

No morphological case marking is found with plural DPs nor with demonstrative pronouns, as in present-day varieties.

3.3 *Lexical Analysis*

3.3.1 Romance Loan Words

The morphological analysis of the Montbret manuscript has demonstrated that the variety used in the translation exhibits a series of conservative traits, such as the reduced form of the past participle prefix *g-*, which are absent from present-day varieties or are present in a residual form, as in the case of overt case morphology on DPs, which is only found in the Roveda variety.

Let us now consider the lexicon of the Parable, which has long been considered an example of the heavy Romance influence on Mòcheno, as noted by Zamboni (1979: 83).

I begin with a quantitative analysis of the Romance lexicon appearing in the text. Excluding the title (cf. Figure 12.1), the text contains approximately 518 words. As shown in Table 12.10, there is a total of 20 occurrences of Romance words in the text which represent 3,86% of the total number of words. From Table 12.10, it can additionally be inferred that the Romance words inserted in the text do not have the same status and frequency. *Allura* is the most frequent (7 occurrences) and is still present in modern Mòcheno (skB: 20) along with *amanc* (personal communication Leo Toller), whereas the words *certn*, *hora* and *contra* are rarer or absent altogether from the present-day varieties. The words marked with a question mark (?) are not registered in Mòcheno dictionaries but are potentially compatible with the present-day language; therefore, I do not exclude the possibility that they could be used by some speakers. Forms such as *resuscitart*, *servirt* and *respondert*, which are Mòcheno versions of Italian verbs, are typically attested in the language of Mòcheno children, as discussed by Cognola (2011) and Cognola & Bidese (2016).

The data in Table 12.10 indicate that Romance words in the text are quantitatively extremely low, as they represent less than 4% of the overall lexicon. From a qualitative perspective, two observations must be made. The first is the presence of three Romance words, *certn*, *hora* and *contra*, which are absent from present-day varieties and are perceived as ‘very strange’ by modern Mòcheno speakers, because they represent a ‘pointless’ loan from Romance, as Mòcheno has its own corresponding words. The second is that there is one word, *allura*, which is still present in the present-day varieties and is far more frequently observed in the text than the others. Therefore, from a qualitative point of view, it seems that the case of *allura* is different and that its analysis could be very telling about contact phenomena in the Fersina valley. If we analyse the distribution of *allura* in the text, we see that it has taken up the function of the

TABLE 12.10 Romance loan words in the Montbret MS

	Verse	Translation	Number of occurrences	Alternative form in text	Present-day Mòcheno
<i>naesempi</i>	Title	one example/ parable	1	-	?
<i>certn</i>	11	certain	1	-	no
<i>hora</i>	17	now	2	<i>jez</i>	no
<i>allura</i>	16 and elsewhere	then	7	-	yes
<i>amanc</i>	19	at least	1	-	yes
<i>subit, subent</i>	20, 22	immediately	3	-	?
<i>contra</i>	21	against	1	-	no
<i>degnet</i>	21	worthy	1	-	?
<i>resuscitart</i>	24	resurrected	1	-	yes (children)
<i>servirt</i>	29	served	1	-	yes (children)
<i>respondert, rispunterd</i>	31, 29	answered	1	<i>derporm</i>	yes (children)
		Total	20		
		Percentage	20/518		
			3,86%		

adverbial element *da* typically found in German narrative texts (and stories for children) as a narrative marker meaning ‘at this point’. This function of *da* can be traced back to the Old High German *tho* primarily in translations from Latin (cf. Axel 2007) and it is therefore interesting to note that Mòcheno already lacks *da* in its oldest extant text whereas *allura* is already present with this function.

3.3.2 Presence of a Conservative Germanic Lexicon

An additional lexical aspect specific to the Montbret manuscript is the presence of a special Germanic lexicon absent from the present-day varieties.

The first lexical item to be discussed is *balt/bald*.²¹ In the manuscript, this word is used as a temporal subjunction corresponding to the present-day German *sobald als*, ‘once, as soon as’. As shown in (13), the subjunction introduces an embedded temporal clause appearing in the sentence-initial position. This subjunction appears to be a unicum among Mòcheno varieties because it is absent from the present-day varieties, as discussed by Cognola & Molinari (2018: 139) and Rowley (2003 [2017]: 270 ff.).

21 In (31a), the subjunction is written together with the subject clitic for *er*, see Cognola (2022) on this.

- (13) a. *Balter ols hot gesen, ist kommen [...]* (verse 14)
 once.he everything has eaten is come
 ‘Once he had wasted everything, it happened.’
- b. *Nacher bald er no fer ist gabén, hot en der Voter*
 after.that once he still away is been has him the father
gsehn (verse 20)
 seen
 ‘After that, once he was still far away, his father saw him.’

Two more unusual (from the perspective of present-day Mòcheno) words are *nacher/nocher* and *drum*. As shown in (14), *nacher/nocher*, corresponding to the German adverb *nachher*, is used as a temporal adverb with the meaning ‘after that’. *Drum* is used in the text to fulfil the same function as the German causal adverb *darum*, ‘because, since’. Again, both words are absent from present-day Mòcheno varieties and are perceived as ‘Tyrolean’ by Mòcheno speakers today (personal communication, Leo Toller).

- (14) a. *Nacher bald er no fer ist gabén, hot en der Voter*
 after.that once he still away is been has him the father
gsehn (verse 20)
 seen
 ‘After that, once he was still far away, his father saw him.’
- b. *nocher ist er im zua sprungen* (verse 20)
 after.that is he him up jumped
 ‘After that he ran to him.’
- c. *Drum der mai Su ist toad gabén* (verse 24)
 since the my son is dead been
 ‘Since my son was dead.’

The final unusual Germanic words present in the text are the past participle form *derpormt* (verse 20) corresponding to German *geantwortet*, ‘answered’, *Gründ* (verse 25), ‘field’ and *Ghüner* (verse 29), ‘friend’. The first, for which we can reconstruct the infinitive form **derpormen*, ‘to answer’, is an example of a verb form missing in present-day Mòcheno, whereas the forms *òmport gem*, ‘to answer’, found in the Palù dialect (personal communication, Leo Toller) and *enkeign* (skB: 33) are attested. As for *Gründ*, this word is marginally attested (it is not registered in dictionaries, but is recognised as a variant of Roveda, cf. per-

sonal communication, Leo Toller) as *Grund* in present-day varieties, where *vett* (skB: 84) is the most frequent form. *Ghüner* is absent from present-day varieties, where it survives in the adjective form *giner*, ‘nice, friendly’, (Rowley 1982: 86). Note that both *Grund* and *giner* lack the rounded anterior vocal, as expected from present-day Mòcheno (Hornung 1979, Alber 2013).

This brief subsection has shown that the Montbret manuscript is characterised by the presence of what appears to be a conservative Germanic lexicon, which has disappeared from present-day Mòcheno varieties. Elements such as *nochher* and *drum* are not only lexical items but belong to the class of German connective adverbs (DUDEK: 596–598), i.e. adverbs that functionally behave as subordinations and conjunctions. I believe that present-day Mòcheno lacks a class of connective adverbs, which may result of a restructuring of the system that took place in the second half of the 19th century, since this conservative system is absent from the Mòcheno of people born at the end of the 19th century (cf. note 28 below).

3.3.3 Presence of Diatopic Variation?

The final observation concerning the lexicon in the Montbret manuscript is the apparent presence in the text of forms belonging to different present-day varieties.

At the lexical level, the only past participle form for ‘to say’ in the Manuscript is *kein*, whereas in all other forms the verb *song* ‘to say’ appears.²² In the present-day Fierozzo and Roveda varieties, *kein* is a defective verb specialised for the past participle, whereas in all other forms the verb *song* appears (Rowley 1982: 120). Therefore, the distribution of *kein/song* in the text closely resembles these two varieties and is in contrast with Palù, where the defective verb *kein* does not exist.

Another sociolinguistically connotated word is the past participle form *pfurst* (verse 26), ‘asked’. This is the past participle form of the verb *vourschn*, *pfourscht*, ‘to ask, asked’ (skB: 87), possibly from the German *forschen* ‘investigate’, which is the form attested in Fierozzo and Roveda, whereas the form in the Palù variety is *wrong* (skB: 88), from the German ‘fragen’.

22 In Palù the forms *zogn* (infinitive) ~ *tsok* (past participle) are found, see Rowley (1982: 293) and skB: 75.

4 Discussion

4.1 *Overview of the Linguistic Characteristics of the Montbret Variety*

The data discussed in sections 2 and 3 have shown that the Montbret manuscript documents a language stage of Mòcheno that is perfectly consistent with the present-day varieties. At the phonological level, the presence of *w* instead of *b* and of *f* instead of *v* are definitively conservative traits documenting an initial phase of the shifts from *w* to *b* and *f* to *v* which are nearly complete in the present-day language. At the morphological level, the rules of past participle formation in present-day Mòcheno are already in place, the main difference being the absence of *t-* as a reduced form for the prefix. Moreover, the case system appears to be more conservative, similar to that of the Roveda variety. The lexicon of the Montbret manuscript is fully in line with present-day Mòcheno (cf. among many things *allura* instead of German *da*), with the presence, however, of a conservative Germanic lexicon absent in present-day Mòcheno and of every-day Romance loan words which are not found in any present-day variety.

4.2 *Comparison with Older Mòcheno Varieties*

4.2.1 Schmeller's (1833) Data Collection

In order to establish which Mòcheno variety the Montbret manuscript is written in, I will now examine an indirect attestation of 19th-century Mòcheno by Johann Andreas Schmeller, who travelled to Northern Italy in 1833 to investigate the Cimbrian language and stopped for two days in Pergine in order to document the German language spoken in the Fersina valley.²³

Schmeller arrived in Pergine on July 25, 1833 and immediately reached out to the local priest, Francesco Tecini, asking to be put in contact with a Mòcheno-speaking person. Tecini sent for a man who was interviewed later that evening. Schmeller writes that the man's name is Bartold Beber, he is aged 68 (born in 1765) and he is a speaker of the (now extinct) variety of Vignola, one of the two Mòcheno-speaking villages closest to Pergine.²⁴ The following day, Schmeller

23 The notes about the Fersina valley are contained in Schmeller's diaries and were published by Rowley (2010). The notes on Bartold Beber are on pages 355–364, those with Domenica Offer on pages 364–368.

24 It is unlikely that Bartold Beber went back to Vignola that night, given that up to Vignola from Pergine is one-hour-and-a-half walk in the forest. Baragiola in 1905 (in Beber et al.: 170 f.) writes that many inhabitants of Vignola owned fields in the lowland close to Pergine and some of them even had a house in Pergine. Bartold Beber was possibly one of them: this would possibly explain why Tecini managed to find him in relatively short time when Schmeller arrived.

TABLE 12.11 Linguistic properties of the Montbret MS from a comparative perspective

Phenomenon	Availability in present-day varieties	Classification
<i>w</i> instead of <i>b</i> (some oscillations <i>w-b</i> already present)	no	conservative
<i>f</i> instead of <i>v</i> (some oscillations <i>f-v</i> already present)	no	conservative
<i>ge-</i> prefix for past participle along with <i>ga-</i>	no	conservative
reduced prefix <i>g-</i>	no	conservative
morphological case on direct objects DPs	Roveda	conservative
specific Romance lexicon <i>hora, certn, contra</i>	no	?
<i>allura</i> as an alternative for German <i>da</i>	yes, all	innovation already available
specific Germanic lexicon	no	conservative
<i>kein</i> as a defective verb	Fierozzo, Roveda	conservative

interviewed Domenica Offer from Fierozzo, who was stopped in the street in Pergine. Domenica's age is not given, but we can hypothesise that she is around 30 years old in 1833, since she had had eight children at the time. The last few pieces of data transmitted by Schmeller are sentences pronounced by Lena va Garait (Roveda), whom he met in Pergine by chance. I will not comment on these because they are too scarce.

Unfortunately, the interviews do not consist of identical material. Specifically, the second interview contains more sentences and fewer words, as if Schmeller had used the first interview with Bartold Beber to reconstruct the key phonological traits of Mòcheno through a more structured interview based on the translation of key words, and then simply documented the variety of Fierozzo through a more spontaneous collection of data.

In the following sections, I will discuss the fragments collected by Schmeller in light of the discussion carried out in this chapter, with a special focus on the *w/b* and *f/v* alternations, the expression of the morphological case and past participle formation, and the lexicon. Schmeller's notes represent the first scientifically founded documentation of Mòcheno, which he transcribed according to phonetic conventions. This provides us with additional information not available in the Montebret manuscript. In Schmeller's notes the following conventions are used: *a* = [ɔ] (so-called 'verdumptes a', typical of Bavarian dialects also indicated as *â* or *ô* by dialectologists, cf. Rabanus 2012: 67, 138–139), *á* = [a], *à* = [o], *é* = [e], *è* = [ɛ]; *ei* = [ai]; *êi* = [ei]; *z* = [ts]; *~* = nasalization; *ə* = Schwa.

4.2.2 Phonetics

We saw in section 2.3 that the language of the Montbret manuscript is characterised by an initial stage of the shifts from *f* to *v* and from *w* to *b*, which is further documented by Schmeller in 1833.

As shown in Table 12.12, the [v]-forms are still present, but co-exist with the [b]-forms.

TABLE 12.12 *v/b* variation in Schmeller (1833)

Bartold Beber	Present-day Mòcheno	Domenica Offer	Present-day Mòcheno
<i>dər Wāgnŋ</i>	<i>karett</i> ²⁵ (skB:142) carriage	<i>wās</i>	<i>bos</i> (skB: 28), what
<i>di Wārət</i> ,	<i>boret</i> (skB:28), truth	<i>Wourt</i>	<i>bourt</i> (skB: 28), word
<i>Wālschə</i>	<i>balsch</i> , Italian	<i>gəwèə'n</i>	<i>gaben</i> (skB: 70), been
<i>Wāi~</i>	<i>bai'</i> (skB: 23), wine	<i>allwe</i>	<i>òlbe</i> (skB: 60), always
<i>b/warm</i> ²⁶	<i>bòrm</i> (skB: 28), warm	<i>Wāil</i>	<i>bail</i> (skB: 23), some time
<i>Boll</i>	<i>voll</i> (skB: 87), full	<i>wæs</i>	<i>bissn</i> (skB: 26), know
<i>Bolf</i>	<i>bolŋ</i> (skB: 26), wolfe	<i>werd</i>	<i>bar</i> (Rowley 2003 [2017]: 230), will
<i>Bolckə</i>	<i>bolk</i> (skB: 28), clouds	<i>J will</i>	<i>i bill</i> (skB: 24), will
		<i>Bár tu</i> (<i>wird du</i>)	<i>bar</i> (Rowley 2003 [2017]: 230), will you
		<i>Bassər</i>	<i>bösser</i> (skB: 28), water

As for the *v/f* alternation discussed above, the Mòcheno used by Bartold Beber does have it; moreover, as in the Montbret manuscript, the *f* forms are used most frequently. Note that Schmeller registers the form *Fieß*, 'feet', which is identical to that used in the manuscript.

TABLE 12.13 *f/v* variation in Schmeller (1833)

Bartold Beber	Present-day Mòcheno	Domenica Offer	Present-day Mòcheno
<i>va'n/va</i>	<i>va</i> (skB: 85), of	<i>vərbrunnə án</i>	<i>verbrennen</i> (skB: 85), burn
<i>viərə</i>	<i>viar</i> (skB: 86), four	<i>wil èssn ə~n W Foh-</i> <i>həzzn</i>	<i>fogassa</i> (Trentino), focaccia
<i>der Väter</i>	<i>voter</i> (skB: 87), father	<i>aə~r Fougl, zwaə Féigl</i>	<i>vougl, veigl</i> (skB: 87), bird, birds
<i>Tāiwl</i>	<i>taivl</i> (skB: 79), devil	<i>s Firtə</i>	<i>virta</i> (skB: 86), the apron
<i>Fláisch</i>	<i>vlaisch</i> (skB: 86), flesh		

25 The word *Wagen* has been substituted by the Romance loan word *karett*.

26 Note that Schmeller himself transcribes this word with *w* and *b*, which is clear evidence for a system characterised by variation in this area of grammar, just like the Mòcheno of the Montbret manuscript.

TABLE 12.13 *f/v* variation in Schmeller (1833) (cont.)

Bartold Beber	Present-day Mòcheno	Domenica Offer	Present-day Mòcheno
<i>s Fiabə</i>	<i>viaber</i> (skB: 86), fever		
<i>Frau</i>	<i>baib</i> (skB: 23), woman		
<i>fort(werffən)</i>	<i>vort</i> (skB: 86), away		
<i>Fláig</i>	<i>vlaig</i> (skB: 86), fly		
<i>froa</i>	<i>vroa</i> (skB: 88), happy		
<i>Fuəs, Fieß</i> ²⁷	<i>vuas, vias</i> (skB: 88), foot, feet		

4.2.3 Lexical Analysis

Table 12.14 lists the conservative Germanic lexicon found in Schmeller's notes, which is relevant to its comparison with the Montbret manuscript.

TABLE 12.14 German conservative lexicon in Schmeller (1833)

Bartold Beber	Domenica Offer
<i>Günner</i> , 'friend'	<i>dorum/drum</i> , 'since, because'
<i>e/öpfl</i> 'apples'	

The word *Günner* was discussed in section 2.2 in relation to the Montbret manuscript. The fact that it is found in Bartold Beber's production as well confirms the hypothesis put forth for the Montbret manuscript that it is a conservative word residually featuring an anterior round vowel. In addition to this, Schmeller documents the presence of variation in the vowels *e* and *ö* in the form *e/öpfl*. Crucially, this variation very closely resembles the variation between the words *gahört/mögen* and *gahoert/moegen* 'heard' and 'can' found in the two versions of the Parable. While the Montbret manuscript features the forms without the rounded anterior vocal (*oe*), the version in the manuscript of the Biblioteca Comunale of Trento (published by Lorenzi 1930) features *ö* (cf. Cognola 2022). Bartold Beber's Mòcheno tells us that *ö* is very likely to be a possible, though not unique, pronunciation which was eventually lost, given that the form *epfl* is the only one attested in present-day Mòcheno (skB: 33).

²⁷ Cf. *Fieß* in the Montbret manuscript. See also *Kalb, Kelbə~r* (*Kolb* in the Manuscript).

Domenica Offer uses the forms *dorum/drum*, which formally correspond to the *darum* in the Montbret manuscript discussed in 3.4.2 above. However, the *dorum/drum* forms used by Domenica Offer differ functionally from the *drum* attested in the Montbret manuscript. *Drum* in the manuscript behaves as a coordinative conjunction leading to V₃ word order (like German *denn*) (19a), whereas *dorum* behaves formally as a connective adverb in (19b) leading to V₂ word order, and as subordinating element leading to OV word order in (19c).²⁸

- (19) a. *Drum der mai Su ist toad gabén* (verse 24)
 since the my son is died been
 ‘Since my son had died.’
- b. *der isch nèt gàngen dorum ischt er kronk*
 he is NEG gone since is he ill
geweà’n (Rowley 2010: 365)
 been
 ‘He has not gone since he was ill.’
- c. *Perche von [non: FC] vuol parlar? Drum ás]ə maukat isch,*
 why NEG want speak? since that she shy is,
ás]ə nèt bil claffàn (Rowley 2010: 365)
 that she NEG wants speak
 ‘Why does not she want to speak? Since she is shy, that is why she does not want to speak.’

28 Note, that these three syntactic functions of the now disappeared word *drum/dorum* characterise the word *babai/vavai/vabai/avai* which realises ‘why, since’ in present-day Mòcheno. This functional correspondence between the two forms possibly points in the direction of a substitution of *drum/dorum* with the form *babai* which took up meaning and syntactic behaviour of the old form leading to a mere lexical change with no functional shift in the system. If this hypothesis is correct, the shift took place in the second half of the 19th century, since in the recordings collected in the 1960ies involving speakers born at the end of 1800 (Rosina Corn, from Fierozzo, born in 1894) no trace of *drum/dorum* is found and *babai* is coherently present. An alternative, less plausible in my view (since *drum/dorum* are found in both Fierozzo and Vignola), hypothesis is that *drum/dorum* was a variant along with *babai* and that its presence in the oldest documents is a matter of chance, due to the casual selection of informants featuring *drum/dorum* and not *babai*.

In section 3.4.3, we saw that a key lexical trait of the Montbret manuscript is the fact that the verb *kein* behaves as a defective verb as in the present-day Fierozzo and Roveda varieties. In the notes by Schmeller, *kein* only appears in the past participle form *kêit* (the weak participle form of *kein*, which is still documented in present-day Mòcheno) in Bertold Beber's language, whereas all other forms are realised by *jàgn*. Domenica Offer, on the contrary, uses *kein* as a full verb, a particularly remarkable fact. This means that Bartold Beber's Mòcheno bears similarities here with that of the Montbret manuscript, whereas Domenica Offer's differs.

TABLE 12.15 *Kein* in Schmeller (1833)

Bartold Beber	Domenica Offer
<i>kein</i> is a defective verb	<i>kein</i> is a full verb; <i>jàgn</i> is absent:
a. <i>ʃə ʃàngg du bischt ən guət.n Màn</i> they say you are a good man 'They say that you are a good person.'	a. <i>du miəsch mers kèi'n</i> you must to.me.it say 'You must tell me that.'
b. <i>J hàn das Ding kèit</i> I have the thing said 'I told you that.'	b. <i>J kèi dars</i> I tell you.it 'I tell you that.'
	c. <i>J hon dars kèi'n</i> I have you.it said 'I told you that.'

As discussed above (section 3.4.3), the distribution of the forms *sogn* and *kein* is a typical trait of the present-day Fierozzo and Roveda varieties. Rowley (2010: 370) further classifies two other words appearing in Bartold Beber's production as being typical of the Roveda variety: *Penʃarn*, 'idea' and *Knut* 'stone'. Additionally, the presence of the palatal *s* in the words *Spusch*, 'husband', *Gräsch*, 'gras', *Mausch*, 'mouse' is a typical trait of Roveda and Fierozzo (Rowley 2010: 370).

Another highly marked lexical trait of the language in the Montbret manuscript is the incorporation of highly frequent Romance words. This is also the case of the varieties documented by Schmeller (cf. Table 12.16): see the incorporation of words such as *contadin*, 'peasant', and *molto*, 'very'. In a limited number of cases, the insertion of Romance words manifests itself in real code-mixing. Moreover, it is striking that both speakers (Bartold Beber more frequently) provided a translation into Italian or Trentino of what they had said,

TABLE 12.16 Romance lexicon in Schmeller (1833)

Bartold Beber	Domenica Offer
<i>ə~ Contadin</i> , peasant, present-day Mòcheno: <i>pauer</i> (skB: 63)	<i>Pare</i> ²⁹ (Trentino), dad
<i>ə~ Villan</i> , peasant	<i>maukət</i> (Trentino), shy
<i>preda van ə Balkən</i> , stone of a balcony	<i>molto hoa</i> (code-mixing), very (It) high (Mòcheno)
<i>ər šáit Diəb ər andərn; siete ladroni voi altri</i> ³⁰	<i>gea gə'n Pfaff; va dal Sior Curat</i> to go to the priest
you are thieves	<i>J wil èssn ə~n W/Fohhəzzn;</i>
<i>wàs tuəst dà, che fast chi</i>	<i>mi voi magnar na fugassa</i>
What are you doing here?	I want to eat a focaccia

showing that they possessed the capability of switching from one language to the other, and possibly of translating from one language into the other.

4.2.4 Morphological Analysis

Let us now consider the two morphological properties, the expression of the morphological case and past participle formation, which are particularly relevant to the analysis of the Montbret manuscript in comparison with the present-day varieties. Unfortunately, data in these areas of grammar are scarce in Schmeller, who focussed primarily on phonetic-phonological traits of the language and collected a few sentences. As for overt case morphology, in the Mòcheno spoken by Bartold Beber, it appears with masculine and neuter, but not with feminine (save for a single example) nouns selected by a preposition. Unfortunately, there are no examples of masculine DP objects or feminine indirect objects.

- (20) a. *der Ascht van ə~n Baam*, plur. *Escht ə~n Áschtl* (Rowley 2010: 356),
'branch(es) of one tree'
b. *Aə~ndər van Land Paesano* (Rowley 2010: 359), 'stranger'
c. *der Knopf va'n Halsch* (Rowley 2010: 357), 'Adam's apple'
d. *auf dái šait* (Rowley 2010: 357), 'on this side'
e. *auf di andər šait* (Rowley 2010: 357), 'on the other side'

29 According to my knowledge, the forms *mare* 'mum' and *pare* 'dad' are possible in present-day Mòcheno, and I have documented them in speakers living in farms found in Fierozzo-San Francesco.

30 See Rabanus (2022) for this form in Cimbrian.

In the language spoken by Domenica Offer, we find, despite the scarcity of data, strong traces of the conservative system in which morphological case is expressed with definite masculine objects (21b) and with prepositions (21a, c).

- (21) a. *ga'n Houffer* (Rowley 2010: 364)
 at.the Houffer
 'At Hoffer's.'

TABLE 12.17 Past participle formation in Schmeller (1833)

Verb type	Bartold Beber		Domenica Offer	
	Prefix form	Example	Prefix form	Example
Loan verbs	-	-	∅	<i>probiärt</i> , tried <i>ʃpändiärt</i> , offered
Verbs with an inseparable prefix	∅	<i>untrámt</i> , dreamt	∅	<i>derʃteckhən</i> , answered
Verb/noun beginning with voiceless occlusive <i>p, t, k</i>	∅ + g'	<i>kéit</i> , said <i>Traə</i> (German <i>Getreid</i>), corn BUT: <i>gə'trunkən</i> , drunk	∅	<i>kèi'n</i> , said
Verb beginning with [f]	p	<i>pfal'n, dfal'n</i> , fallen	-	-
Verb/noun beginning with [ʃ] and [z]	d/t	<i>Dʃund</i> , ³¹ health (<i>tsunt</i>); <i>dschlàgng</i> , beaten	-	-
Verbs beginning with [ʃ] + [z] consonant	∅	-	∅/d-	<i>auffər stigng</i> , gone up (steigen) <i>dstorbm</i> , died
All other verbs/nouns	ga-/ge-	<i>au'gangən</i> , resurrected <i>nidərgəlegt</i> , lied down <i>ge'tun</i> , done <i>genomm.n.</i> , taken	ga-	<i>gəwèə'n</i> , been <i>gəlad'n</i> , invited <i>geháirətn</i> , married <i>auffi gängen</i> , gone out <i>ə Gəwandt</i> , a dress

- b. *ən ganzə Tàg arbətn* (Rowley 2010: 365)
 the.ACC whole day work
 'Work the whole day.'

31 Note, that Schmeller writes the form 'health' with the article *der*: *der Dʃund*. In present-day Mòcheno *tschunt* is only attested in the adjective form ('healthy'), whereas the corresponding noun is *tschunthait*, 'health' (skB: 81).

- c. *Biā ə Fedər əf am Bassər* (Rowley 2010: 367)
 like a plume on the.DAT water
 ‘Like a plume on the water.’

As for past participle formation, the few available data are given in Table 12.17. Despite the scarcity of data, we see a system which is fully in line with that of the present-day varieties: the contexts requiring the presence or the absence (loan verbs, verbs with inseparable prefixes) of the full form are identical to present-day Mòcheno, with small but intriguing differences. We find the form *gə'trunkən* with a prefix in a verb beginning with a dental occlusive—possibly a conservative form rather than a systematic asymmetry, since in two other cases, *ga-* is missing. We find *d-* as a reduced form, whereas in the Montbret manuscript *g-* and present-day Mòcheno *t-* appear. It is interesting to notice that two past participle forms with two different reduced prefixes (*d* and *p*), *pfalln* and *dfalln*, are found for the same verb ‘to fall’.

4.3 *A Hypothesis on the Variety of the Montbret Manuscript*

Table 12.18 summarises the linguistic properties of the Montbret manuscript (first column) compared with the present-day and ancient varieties.

Table 12.18 shows that the three ancient varieties are very similar to each other (displaying the same behaviour in 5 phenomena) which is a very welcome result and points again to the fact that the text transmitted in the Montbret manuscript is a very reliable text documenting 19th-century Mòcheno. However, the three varieties also differ slightly from one another, and this result is fully in line with what we know from present-day Mòcheno, a language characterised mainly by diatopic and, to a lesser extent, diastratic variation (cf. Cognola 2013, Cognola, Baronchelli & Molinari 2019). There are two areas in which variation is found: past participle formation and the nature of the verb *kein*.

Past participle formation is the phenomenon in which most asymmetries between the three ancient varieties are found. The Mòcheno of the Montbret manuscript exhibits a system of past participle formation in which the only reduced forms are *g-*, and to a lesser extent, *p-*. The Fierozzo and Vignola varieties documented by Schmeller, on the other hand, both have the reduced form *d*, which, however, still co-exists with conservative forms (cf. *gə'trunkən* in Bartold Beber's Mòcheno). Crucially, the context requiring the presence of the reduced forms appears to be shared by all three varieties. This implies that they differ from each other in the forms used and not in the contexts in which the reduced forms are to be used.

As for the defective verb *kein*, the Mòcheno of the Montbret manuscript overlaps with the present-day Fierozzo and Roveda varieties, in which *kein* is

TABLE 12.18 Comparison among the three 19th-century Mòcheno varieties

Montbret Ms.	Bartold Beber	Domenica Offer	Present-day varieties
<i>w</i> instead of <i>b</i> (some oscillations <i>w/b</i> already present)	yes	yes	no
<i>f</i> instead of <i>v</i> (some oscillations <i>f/v</i> already present)	yes	yes	no
<i>ge-</i> prefix for past participle along with <i>ga-</i>	yes	yes	no
reduced prefix <i>g-</i>	no: reduced forms <i>p/d</i> conservative form <i>gə'trunkən</i>	no: reduced form <i>d</i>	no
morphological case on direct objects DPs	?	yes	Roveda
specific Romance lexicon <i>hora, certn, contra</i>	yes	yes	no
<i>allura</i> as an alternative for German <i>da</i>	?	?	all
specific Germanic lexicon	yes (<i>Günner; e/öpfl</i>)	yes (<i>drum</i>)	no
<i>kein</i> as a defective verb	yes	no: full verb	Fierozzo, Roveda

a defective verb only used in the past participle form and is substituted by *song* in all other contexts. In the Fierozzo variety documented by Schmeller, *kein* behaves as a full verb, whereas the Vignola shares patterns observed in the Montbret manuscript, with the key difference being that the past participle form used by Bartold Beber is the weak form *keit* rather than the strong form *kein* present in the Montbret manuscript.

Although no single variety perfectly overlaps with the variety used in the Montbret manuscript, it seems that the closest variety to that of the manuscript is that of Vignola, which only differs from the language of the manuscript in a) the reduced past participle prefix form (*d* and not *g*); and b) the use of the verb form *keit* instead of the irregular form *kein*. Moreover, the Vignola variety documented through the interview with Bartold Beber exhibits a series of specific lexical traits, such as *Günner*, shared with the Montbret manuscript.

Based on this evidence, I propose that the Montbret manuscript is written in the Vignola variety and has been translated into Mòcheno by a speaker with a grammar very close (though not identical) to that of Bartold Beber. Who this speaker might have been is impossible to know at this stage of research. What appears to be clear, however, is that the grammar of the speaker who translated the Parable into Mòcheno is almost identical to that of Bartold Beber but slightly more conservative. This is evidenced by the absence of the reduced prefix form *t/d* in the Montbret Manuscript and the presence of the strong past participle form *kein*. This might be accounted for through the notion that the person who translated the Parable into Mòcheno was possibly a speaker of

the Vignola community who was older than Bartold Beber (who was born in the second half of the 18th century) in 1810, when the Parable was translated according to Lorenzi's (1930) datation, and was thus born in the first half of the 18th century.

5 Conclusions

Based on the analysis of the phonetic, morphological and lexical traits of the language of the Montbret manuscript and the Vignola and Fierozzo varieties documented by Schmeller (1833), I have proposed that the Mòcheno translation of the Parable of the Prodigal Son going back from 1810 is very likely to have been written in the now extinct variety of Vignola.

The language used in the translation is very close, though not identical, to that used by Bartold Beber, the Mòcheno speaker interviewed by Schmeller in 1833. More specifically, the language of the Montbret manuscript documents a slightly more conservative grammar in the area of past participle formation: I therefore suggested that the person who translated the Parable was older than Bartold Beber (who was born in 1765) and was possibly born in the first half of the 18th century.

According to this hypothesis, Francesco Tecini, who presumably wrote the text and coordinated the translation work, relied on a special relationship with the Vignola community and cooperated with a speaker of that village when he was asked for a translation of the Parable. The privileged relationship with Vignola, where the whole population was Mòcheno-speaking at the time the Parable was translated (Beber et al. 2008: 141), is evidenced by the aforementioned correspondence between Tecini and Vignola and was surely favoured by closeness, because Vignola was the Mòcheno-speaking community closest to Pergine.³²

Furthermore, I would exclude the possibility that the Parable was translated in the varieties of Fierozzo or Palù, because there are key differences between the variety of the Montbret manuscript and these varieties, whereas I still consider it possible that the Montbret manuscript was written in the Roveda variety, which surely exhibits parallels with the language of the manuscript, but for which we do not rely on enough historical material. In the absence of such documentation, I find the Vignola hypothesis to be the most plausible.

32 In the village of Falesina, Mòcheno had nearly disappeared at the beginning of the 19th century (Beber et al 2008: 141): "a Falesina tempo fa, parlavasi tedesco, ed ora si parla italiana" ('Falesina was Mòcheno-speaking, whereas now only Italian is spoken'; Tecini 1821: 32).

References

- Alber, Birgit. 2013. Aspetti fonologici del mòcheno. *Introduzione alla linguistica del mòcheno*, ed. by Ermenegildo Bidese & Federica Cognola, 15–36. Torino: Rosenberg&Sellier.
- Axel, Katrin. 2007. *Studies on Old High German Syntax*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Beber, Lino, Mauro Stulzer & Marzio Zampedri. 2008. *Vignola Falesina. Due piccole, forti comunità nel tempo*. Vignola Falesina: Associazione culturale sportiva “Filò”.
- Baragiola, Aristide. 1905. *I mocheni ossia i tedeschi della valle del fersina nel Trentino*. Venezia: Tipografia Emiliana.
- Casalicchio, Jan & Federica Cognola. 2016. *Mòcheno e Tamocco: su due soprannomi etnici per tedesco. Problemi e prospettive della linguistica storica*, ed. by Patrizia Cordin & Alessandro Parenti, 191–200. Roma: Il Calamo.
- Cipolla, Francesco & Carlo Cipolla. 1883–1884. Dei coloni tedeschi dei XIII Comuni Veronesi. *Archivio Glottologico Italiano*, 8, 161–192, 193–262.
- Cognola, Federica. 2011. *Acquisizione plurilingue e bilinguismo sbilanciato: uno studio sulla sintassi dei bambini mocheni in età prescolare*. Padova: Unipress.
- Cognola, Federica. 2013. *Syntactic Variation and Verb Second. A German dialect in Northern Italy*, Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Cognola, Federica. 2022. Le traduzioni ottocentesche della *Parabola del Figliol Prodigio* in mòcheno: confronto e osservazioni preliminari. *Lingue minoritarie e ricerca linguistica*, ed. by Francesco Costantini, Emanuela Li Destri, Diego Sidraschi & Francesco Zuin, 11–46. Udine: Forum.
- Cognola, Federica, Ivano Baronchelli & Evelina Molinari. 2019. Inter- vs intraspeaker variation in mixed heritage syntax: A statistical analysis. *Frontiers in Psychology—Language Sciences* 10: 1528. <https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2019.01528>
- Cognola, Federica & Ermenegildo Bidese. 2016. On language acquisition and language change. Is transmission failure favoured in multilingual heritage contexts?. *Theoretical Approaches to Linguistic Variations*, ed. by Ermenegildo Bidese, Federica Cognola & Manuela Moroni, 337–369. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Cognola, Federica & Evelina Molinari. 2016. *Introduzione ragionata alla sintassi del mòcheno. Sotzlear 1*. Palù del Fersina: Pubblicazioni dell'Istituto mòcheno.
- Cognola, Federica & Evelina Molinari. 2018. *Introduzione ragionata alla sintassi del mòcheno. Sotzlear 2*. Palù del Fersina: Pubblicazioni dell'Istituto mòcheno.
- Fischer, Hanna. 2021. Präteritumschwund im Deutschen. Neue Erkenntnisse zu einem alten Rätsel. *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur*, 143(3): 331–363. <https://doi.org/10.1515/bgsl-2021-0027>
- Hormung, Maria. 1979. La particolare posizione del dialetto tedesco della Valle del Fersina nel quadro delle isole linguistiche dell'Italia Settentrionale. *La Valle del*

- Fèrsina e le isole linguistiche di origine tedesca nel Trentino*, ed. by Giovan Battista Pellegrini & Mario Gretter, 25–38. S. Michele all'Adige: Museo degli usi e costumi della gente trentina.
- Lawson, Richard H. 1980. Paratactic *thô* in Old High German *Tatian*. *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 81: 99–104.
- Leck, Hans. 1884. *Deutsche Sprachinseln in Wälschtirol: landschaftliche und geschichtliche Schilderungen*. Stuttgart: Aue.
- Lorenzi, Ernesto. 1930. *Toponomastica mòchena*. Trento: Scotoni.
- Piatti, Salvatore. 1998. *Pergine. Un viaggio nella sua storia*. Pergine: Biblioteca comunale.
- Piatti, Salvatore. 1996. *Palù—Palae. Frammenti di storia*. Palù del Fersina: Pubblicazioni dell'Istituto mòcheno di cultura.
- Rabanus, Stefan. 2022. *Cimbrian German heritage and contact-induced innovation*. Talk given at the University of Zurich, 12–13 May 2022.
- Rabanus, Stefan. 2012. *Bruno Schweizers Zimbrisch und Fersentalerischer Sprachatlas*. Luserna/Palù del Fersina: Istituto Cimbro/Istituto Culturale Mòcheno.
- Rogger, Iginio. 1979. Dati storici sui Mòcheni e i loro stanziamenti. *La Valle del Fèrsina e le isole linguistiche di origine tedesca nel Trentino*, ed. by Giovan Battista Pellegrini & Mario Gretter, 153–174. S. Michele all'Adige: Museo degli usi e costumi della gente trentina.
- Rowley, Anthony. 1982. *Fersentaler Wörterbuch/Vocabolario del dialetto tedesco della Valle del Fèrsina nel Trentino*. Hamburg, Helmut Buske Verlag.
- Rowley, Anthony. 1986. *Fersental (Val Fèrsina bei Trient/Oberitalien). Untersuchung einer Sprachinselmundart*. Tübingen, Max Niemeyer.
- Rowley, Anthony. 2003 [2017]. *Liacht as de sprochen. Grammatica della lingua mòchena—Grammatik des Deutsch-Fersentalerischen*. Palù del Fersina: Pubblicazioni dell'Istituto di Cultura mòcheno.
- Rowley, Anthony. 2010. Johann Andreas Schmellers Aufzeichnungen über das Mòchenische (1833). *Fokus Dialekt. Analysieren–Dokumentieren–Kommunizieren. Festschrift für Ingeborg Geyer zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. by Hubert Bergmann, Manfred M. Glauninger, Eveline Wandler-Vogt & Stefan Winterstein, 353–374. Hildesheim/Zürich/New York: Georg Olms Verlag.
- skB = 2009. *S kloa' Be.Be. Piccolo vocabolario mòcheno*. Palù del Fersina: Pubblicazioni dell'Istituto Culturale Mòcheno.
- Schmeller, Johann A. 1833 [1996]. *Besuch bey den Deutschen der Berge von Ober-Italien 1833 und 1844—Tagebuch*. Ed. by Richard J. Brunner & Hans Tyroller. Landshut: Curationium Cimbricum Bavarense.
- Tecini, Francesco. 1821 [1860]. *Sulle popolazioni alpine tedesche del Tirolo Meridionale e del limitrofo Stato Veneto*. Trento: Tipografia G. Marietti.
- Wöllstein, Angelika (ed.). 2016. *DUDEN. Die Grammatik*. Berlin: Dudenverlag.
- Zamboni, Alberto. 1979. Fenomeni di interferenza nelle isole linguistiche tedesche

del Trentino (con particolare riguardo all'area mòchena). *La Valle del Fèrsina e le isole linguistiche di origine tedesca nel Trentino*, ed. by Giovan Battista Pellegrini & Mario Gretter, 83–112. S. Michele all'Adige: Museo degli usi e costumi della gente trentina.

Zuin, Francesco & Ermenegildo Bidese. 2022. *La Parabola del Figliol Prodigio in una varietà cimbra nordoccidentale dell'anno 1810: analisi testuale e linguistica*. *Lingue minoritarie e ricerca linguistica*, ed. by Francesco Costantini, Emanuela Li Destri, Diego Sidraschi & Francesco Zuin, 117–152. Udine: Forum.

Semi-Speakers and Data Reliability: The Case of the Cimbrian Variety of Foza

Francesco Zuin

1 Introduction¹

The municipality of Foza/Vüschè (approximately 600 inhabitants) is located in the Altopiano dei Sette Comuni (Vicenza), a highland area historically inhabited by people of German origin who, in addition to a number of specific traditions, used an ancient variety of German called ‘Cimbrian’.² Unlike other marginal areas of the plateau, where the language was replaced by the Venetian code during the 17th and 18th centuries, Cimbrian was spoken in Foza until recent times. Still highly diffused in mid-19th century, when during his trip to the Sette Comuni, J.A. Schmeller ([1838] 2020: 39) reported Dal Pozzo’s opinion that the inhabitants of Foza preserve and speak their own language better than others, the variety underwent a rapid process of linguistic obsolescence. Approximately a century later, Bruno Schweizer, the greatest scholar of Cimbrian,³ visited the village three times (1936, 1941, 1942), finding just a couple

1 Thanks to the anonymous reviewers for their comments and advices, which have been taken into account.

2 As first emphasised by Dal Pozzo (1820) and confirmed on linguistic and philological grounds by Schmeller (1838 [2020]), the hypotheses of Vicenza and Verona’s erudites, who saw a connection with the ancient people of the Cimbri, Goths or Huns are without foundation. In any case the ethnonym ‘Cimbrian’ used by these scholars was adopted by the speakers themselves, although in the various areas the language is also defined as *taich* or *slambrot*.

3 Whose scientific merits cannot be disjointed from the shadows. From 1937 onwards he worked permanently for the *ss-Ahnenerbe*, founded in 1935 by Heinrich Himmler, Richard Darré and Hermann Wirth. The Ahnenerbe was entrusted with the task of scientifically documenting the German and Ladin culture of the Province of Bolzano-Bozen before the later transfer of the mentioned populations to Germany following the option agreements of 21 October 1939 between Adolf Hitler and Benito Mussolini. Together with Matthias Insam, Bruno Schweizer was entrusted with the area of linguistic and dialect research, especially for his expertise in linguistic geography (cf. Dow 2018). However, despite being busy with the documentary work of the *Südtiroler Kulturkommission*, Schweizer undertook several research expeditions to the Cimbrian territories. For an overview of Schweizer’s figure and studies, see Dow (2005, 2018).

of speakers and recording the last traces of this language in Foza. Through these unpublished notes⁴—with only partial inclusion in the *Zimbrische Gesamtgrammatik* (Schweizer [1951–1952] 2008 = [ZGG]) and in the *Zimbrisches und Fersentalisches Sprachatlas* (Schweizer [1951–1952] 2012 = [ZFS])—a glossary of the Cimbrian of Foza was recently published (cf. Zuin & Bidese 2022b). The aim of this contribution is to highlight the problems which lie beneath the data analysis of this dialect, which represents a ‘Restsprache’ of a linguistic diasystem that finds in the far more attested varieties of Roana and Rotzo two ‘Kleincorpussprache’⁵ and in that of Luserna/Lusérn a ‘definitely endangered’ variety (cf. UNESCO).⁶ As will be demonstrated these problems are connected, on the one hand to the dialectal fragmentation of the Cimbrian diasystem and on the other to the linguistic competence of the informants.

The paper is structured in two main parts. In the first, the Cimbrian diasystem will be described, showing its common peculiarities with respect to German and Bavarian (§ 2), the progressive obsolescence over time (§ 2.1) and the dialectal fragmentation (§ 2.2). In the second part, the variety of Foza will be analysed. Firstly, the scarce testimonies collected before Schweizer’s investigation, as well as the methods of his research and the sociolinguistic situation in mid-20th century will be described (§§ 3, 3.1). Secondly, the similarities and divergences on all linguistic levels between the Foza variety and the others will be analysed (§ 3.2), and in the last part (§§ 3.3) it will be shown how the modality of Schweizer’s research and the linguistic competence of the last speakers affect, in some cases, the reliability of the linguistic data.

2 The Cimbrian Diasystem

Historically Cimbrian was spoken in the mountainous areas between today’s Veneto Region and the Autonomous Province of Trento. This area could be described as falling within a triangle with the cities of Verona, Trento and Bassano del Grappa as vertices (cf. Bidese 2004, 2021). Although the precise origin of the German ethnicity and the resulting period of migration is unclear,⁷ the

4 Stored in the Schweizer Fund (*Forschungszentrum Deutscher Sprachatlas*, Marburg an der Lahn).

5 For the definition of the concept see Untermann (1989: 15–20).

6 According to a recent survey (see CLaM 2021), 64.4% and 81% of the approximately 350 residents are able to speak and understand the language.

7 The first hypothesis put forward was that of the “German wedge” (Schmeller [1838] 2020: 175), which assumes that around the 10th century, the German language coexisted alongside the



MAP 13.1 The Cimbrian linguistic area

SOURCE: [HTTPS://WWW.VANILLAMAGAZINE.IT/IL-POPOLO-DIMENTICATO-DEI-CIMBRI-LA-STORIA-DEGLI-ULTIMI-BARBARI-D-ITALIA/](https://www.vanillamagazine.it/il-popolo-dimenticato-dei-cimbri-la-storia-degli-ultimi-barbari-d-italia/) (LAST ACCESSED ON 30 JUNE 2023).

language shares many characteristics with the Old Bavarian of the 11th–12th centuries,⁸ together with phenomena that depend on the profound linguistic contact with Romance varieties. Nevertheless, the presence of some features typical of the Neuhochdeutsch stage prove that the migration in the area lasted at least until the 15th century (cf. Kranzmayer [1923] 1985: 14; Zuin 2020: 15–38).

Among the specific peculiarities of Cimbrian, as far as the phonetic level is concerned, MHG /e:/ and /o:/ developed into [ea] and [oa] as well as in

Romance one in the Po Valley, with the Romance one being firmly established in the cities and the German one present primarily in rural areas. Only later “l’elemento romanico a Sud di Salorno travolse completamente quello tedesco, fino ad assorbirlo. La neve della lingua nordica si sciolse nelle valli miti, affollate e densamente abitate. Solamente sulle alture inospitali e di difficile accesso il tedesco sopravvisse” [‘the Romance element south of Salorno completely overwhelmed the German element, to the point of absorbing it. The snow of the Nordic language melted away in the mild, crowded and densely populated valleys. Only on the inhospitable and difficult-to-access heights did German survive’]. Differently, E. Kranzmayer ([1923] 1985: 8–15), based on phonetic developments and terminological analyses believed that the Cimbrian peopling was the result of the migration of settlers from Oberloisach and Ötztal around 1150. Finally in an article of 1948, B. Schweizer (1948: 111–129), underlining how Cimbrian shows some features which can’t be traced back to the OHG, argues that the Cimbrian settlements are nothing more than the continuation of the Arimannic settlements placed to guard the borders of the Duchy of Verona, Vicenza and Trento, although he acknowledges a later bavarianisation of the language.

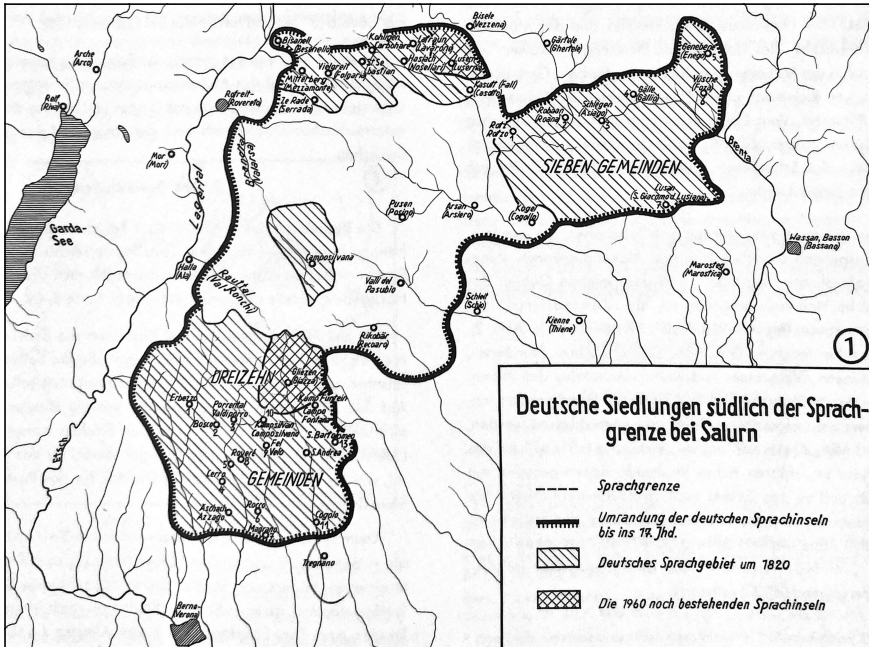
8 For a deeper examination of the Old Bavarian characteristics of Cimbrian see Kranzmayer ([1923] 1985: 7 ff.). For Cimbrian characteristics that can’t be traced back to OHG or MHG see Hornung (1987).

a large part of the Bavarian area (cf. Kranzmayer 1956: 45 ff., K. 10; 44 ff., K. 9). Nevertheless, the realisation of the MHG /a/ as [a] is significant, since the pronunciation of [o] is attested in MHG from the 12th century onwards (cf. Kranzmayer 1956: 74).⁹ In the consonant system the pronunciation as [p] of the MHG /b/ is typical of Bavarian varieties, whereas the maintenance of [v] (< MHG /v/) instead of NHG. [f] and the preservation of the phonetic opposition between /s/ < Germ. *s and /z/ < Germ. *t are typical features of MHG. An influence due to contact with Romance languages can instead be found in the development as [b] of the MHG /w/, shared by all Germanic varieties in Italy (cf. Kranzmayer 1956: 74).¹⁰ In the morphological system the superlative form obtained through the juxtaposition of the morpheme [-ste] and the comparative morpheme [-or], [-ur], [-er] (e.g. *jüngerste*, *jungurste jüngerste* 'youngest'; cf. [ZGG]: 399) is characteristic of Cimbrian, whereas the preservation of a Conditional mood, morphologically distinct from the Subjunctive, and the use of the gerund analogous to that of Romance varieties is the result of linguistic influence. This dynamic between the preservation of ancient Bavarian features and contact induced development is far more evident in the lexicon. In fact, besides Bavarian homonyms, toponyms and heritage words such as *ködn* 'to say' (cf. got. *quīpan*) < OHG *quēdan*, bav. *choden* (late 11th–12th century), *taidn* 'to suck mother's milk' < OHG *tāen* 'to suck' (Germ. **dējan*), *öbe* 'sheep' < OHG *ou* (Germ. **ewi*) 'mother sheep', *ertakx* 'Tuesday' < OBay *eritag*, *fōat* 'shirt' < MHG *pfeit* (cf. Kranzmayer [1923] 1985: 9–10), many ancient Romance borrowings can be found.¹¹ As can be seen in words such as *bodàil* 'shovel' (It. *badile* < Lat. **patillum* < Lat. *patulum*), *sürch* 'corn' (< Lat. *surgum*, *surcum*) 'grain from Syria' or *glair* 'dormouse' (< Lat. *glīs*, *-ris*) with the preservation of the Lat. GL- cluster, the antiquity of the language contact is highlighted.

9 Only in the varieties of Folgaria (Fol.), San Sebastiano (S.Seb.) and Carbonare (Carb.) did the influence of modern Bavarian lead to widespread realisation as [o] (cf. [ZGG]: 18–20; cf. also [NS]).

10 In his opinion the development /w/ > [b] is the result of the romance influence that, after having rendered the MHG phoneme /w/ as [b], would then have led to the diffusion of this realisation also among the German varieties in Italian territory.

11 The question of Romance borrowings in Cimbrian is particularly interesting because it permits the identification of different stratifications that correspond to influences exerted with differing intensity on the area by different Romance varieties. The work of Gamillscheg (1912), only taking into consideration the borrowings in the Luserna variety, identifies in Ladin the most archaic influences, followed by Lombard, Veneto and finally Italian.



MAP 13.2 The Cimbrian linguistic domain
KLEIN, SCHMITT & KÜHEBACHER 1965: MAP 2.

2.1 *Obsolescence of Cimbrian*

The Cimbrian linguistic domain has progressively dwindled, as can be observed in Map 13.2, where the linguistic vitality in the 18th century was marked in white within the border, that of 1820 with single hatching, when the language was still spoken only in the Altipiano dei Sette Comuni (Vicenza) on the right, in that of Lessinia (Verona) on the left, and in the area roughly corresponding to today's Magnifica Comunità degli Altipiani Cimbri (Trento). Over the last two centuries, the pressure of Romance languages has led, after a situation of diglossia, to the progressive decay of Cimbrian, which nowadays survives widely just in Luserna/Lusérn (TN), marked with double hatching, whereas in Roana (VI) and Giazza (VR) the semi-speakers barely reach ten in number.

While in the white area within the border Cimbrian is only attested by onomastic and toponymical data, the documentation of the language in the Sette Comuni (7C.) had already begun in 1602 with the Cimbrian Catechism *Christlike unt korze dottrina*, written in the variety of Asiago and based on contemporary Italian and German models (cf. Meid 1985). From this time onwards, a flourishing amount of both religious and profane literature developed, reaching its peak in the 18th and 19th centuries and then gradually decreasing together with the language. At the same time glossaries, dictionaries and grammars recor-

ded dialects belonging to different localities of the 7C. Dalla Costa first wrote a glossary (1763) of the variety of Asiago (cf. Stefan 1998: 179–197),¹² whereas that documented by Bartolomei ([ca. 1760] 1910–1912) under the label ‘Septempagensis’ is not clear.¹³ There are also works on the two western municipalities of Rotzo and Roana (Slaviero 1760, Dal Pozzo 1820, Schmeller 1855), while in the mid-20th century Schweizer recorded the variety of Foza, but also those of the hamlets of Campoverve (Roana) and Bosco (Asiago). Instead, no clear documentation is available for the dialects of the southernmost and easternmost part of the 7C., corresponding to the territory of Lusiana and Enego, where according to Pezzo (1763: vi–vii) the language had almost disappeared by the middle of the 18th century.

Even more limited are samples of the varieties from Lessinia’s Tredici Comuni (13 C.), where in the mid-18th century Pezzo (1763: vi–vii) already lamented how, because of the intense economic relations with the Romance plain and extensive exogamy, the language only survived in the most remote municipalities of Selva di Progno and Campofontana. From the former most of the texts collected by Rapelli (1983), the glossary of Pezzo (1763)¹⁴ and that of Cipolla-Cipolla (1883), while the linguistic samples collected in mid-20th century by Schweizer and published in the [ZGG], in [Cp] (2009) and in Bidese (2011) are in the dialect of Giazza (Selva di Progno).

Scarcer still are the ancient testimonies from the north-western area between 7C. and 13C. A recently edited text from 1810 testifies that at this time Cimbrian was still spoken in Lavarone, Luserna and Valdastico (cf. Zuin & Bidese 2022a: 117–152). Moreover Sulzer (1855: 250–251) registered a text in Folgaria in the mid-19th century and Schmeller (1855: 13) interviewed the two last speakers of Terragnolo—a variety which is, however, only known thanks to a short text by Beltrami ([1820] 1883). One century later during the research of Schweizer, with the exception Luserna,¹⁵ some semi-speakers could be found just in S.Seb. and Carb. (Folgaria).

12 For an annotated history of Cimbrian literature, see Matzel (1982: 81–102), Bidese (2010: 61–85), and for a collection of the different compositions see Schmeller ([1838] 2020: 69–129), Heller (1988).

13 According to Schweizer ([ZGG]: 68), it should be the dialect of the municipalities of Enego, Gallio or Lusiana.

14 Two hitherto unpublished texts of the variety of San Bortolo delle Montagne and Velo Veronese are preserved in the *Bibliothèque Municipale de Rouen*, Manuscripts, Fond Montbret ff. 525–526, 527–528 (cf. Ködel 2010: 20).

15 The language of which is firstly attested by [Z] Zingerle (1869), [L] Leck (1884) and [B] Bacher (1900, 1901, 1905).

2.2 *Cimbrian Dialectal Differentiation*

To these three Cimbrian areas correspond just as many macro-dialectal language systems, namely Settecomunigiano (7C.), Tredicomunigiano (13C.) and Nordoccidentale,¹⁶ which as well as sharing many common features also show numerous phonological, morphological and lexical differences, as emerges both from an examination of the [ZGG] and a comparison of coeval vocabularies, e.g. [Schm] for the 7 C., [CC] for the 13 C. and [Z] for Luserna.

From the phonetic point of view for example the 7C. generally preserves the final atonic vowels of OHG (e.g. *sunna* 'sun', *garto* 'garden', *èerda* 'earth', *namo* 'name'), whereas the 13C. generalized them into [e] as in MHG (e.g. *sunde*, *garte*, *earde*, *name*) and in Lus. the Bavarian vocalic fall is witnessed, e.g. *sunn*, *gart*, *nâm* (but *earde*); in all the varieties the OHG /i:/ and /e:/ normally underwent the diphthongation in [ai] and [ea], although in the 7C. the monophthong sometimes appears (cf. [ZGG]: 53 ff.; 73 ff.),¹⁷ e.g. *mîn* 'my', *kêhran* 'turn' (vs. Lus. *main*, *khearn*, 13 C. *main*, *mear* 'more'). In consonantism the MHG /v/ is preserved in the 7 C., whereas in the 13 C. and north-western Cimbrian it coexists besides the allomorph NHG [f] e.g. 13 C. *finden* 'finden', *fisch* 'fish', *vater* 'father', Lus. *feler* 'mistake', *vennen* 'finden'.¹⁸

Morphologically the comparative suffix emerges as [-or] in the 7C., as [-ur] in the 13 C. and as [-er] or [-ar] in the north-western varieties (cf. [ZGG]: 395–396), and the gerund is created through the morpheme [-enten] in 7C., [-inje] in 13C., [-ante] and [-ane] in north-western Cimbrian ([ZGG]: 433). For the construction of the future, if the north-western varieties show a periphrasis with the auxiliary *werden* and the Inf. as in German (e.g. Lus. *i bart kemman* 'I will come'), the others use the present tense or a series of periphrases with the verb 'to come' or 'to go' (cf. [ZGG]: 838–842).

In the lexicon the three dialectal areas show the dynamic between preservation of the heritage form and innovation. Sometimes through a new creation as in 7 C. *ring* 'ring' (< MHG *ring*) opposed to the denominative of the 13 C. *gefingert* and Lus. *gavingar* from MHG *vinger* 'finger'; other times through a loanword, e.g. [R] 7 C. *balîn*, 13C. *balîn* (< Ven. *balin*) vs. Lus. *kugele* (< MHG

16 The varieties of Lavarone and Folgaria were in the past indicated with the glottonym *slambrot*. For the etymology of this term, see Mastrelli (1984) and Geyer (2012).

17 It is not clear whether these forms are the result of conservation or innovation. Schweizer ([ZGG]: 74) points out "Diphthongierungen nur vor R zu finden [sind] und auch da handelt es sich [...] mehr um offene ê mit einem Übergangslaut zum r, um 'unechte' Diphthonge wie Schmeller das nannte".

18 The persistence of both allomorphs is only recorded in Lus. by [Z] (1869). About thirty years later [v] seems to have been generalised (cf. [B] 1905).

TABLE 13.1 Differences among the three macro-dialectal language systems

	7C.	13C.	Lus.
final atonic vowel	preserved: <i>sunna, garto, èerda, namo</i>	generalized [e]: <i>sunde, garte, earde, name</i>	dropped: <i>sun, gart, earde, nãm</i>
OHG /i:/, /e:/	[i]/[ai]: <i>mîn</i> [e]/[ea]: <i>kêhran</i>	[ai]: <i>main</i> [ea]: <i>mear</i>	[ai]: <i>main</i> [ea]: <i>khearn</i>
MHG /v/	[v]: <i>vindan, velar, vennan</i>	[f]/[v]: <i>finden, fisch, vater</i>	[f]/[v]: <i>feler, vennen</i>
comparative suffix	[or]: <i>jünger</i>	[ur]: <i>jungur</i>	[ar]: <i>djünger</i>
gerund	[-enten]: <i>totenten</i>	[-inje]: <i>buaninje</i>	[-ane]: <i>slavane</i> [-ante]: <i>slavante</i>
future	Aux: <i>kemen, gear</i>	Aux: <i>kemen, gear</i>	<i>i bart kemman</i>
MHG ring	<i>ring</i>	<i>gefingert</i>	<i>gavingar</i>
MHG kugele	<i>ballin</i>	<i>balin</i>	<i>kugele</i>
MHG kella	<i>katzööla</i>	<i>katzóul</i>	<i>khel</i>

kugele '(hunting) bullet'; 7C. *katzööla*, 13C. *katzóul* (< It. *cazzuola*) vs. Lus. *khel* (< MHG *kella*) 'trowel'.

The dialectal differentiation is however not limited merely to the three macro-groups, but also appears between varieties of the same group. As far as 7C. is concerned, if one considers the data collected by Schweizer in the [ZGG] and [ZFS], it emerges how a series of isoglosses contribute to differentiating the varieties from each other. Among these, two main bundles in particular can be identified, which correspond to as many natural obstacles. The Val d'Assa (Assa Valley) cuts across the plateau and isolates the western varieties of Roana Mezzaselva, Rotzo and Castelletto, from the central ones of Asiago, Bosco and Camporovere. The Val Frenzela (Frenzela Valley) on the other hand, separates the central varieties from the eastern one of Foza, both geographically and linguistically. Thus the OHG /u:/ before /r/ developed as [ua] in Ro. und Rtz., as [o:] in C.Rov., as [u:o] in Bos. and as [u:] in Fo. (e.g. *snuar, snor, snûr, snur* 'rope', cf. ZGG: 60). Then although the OHG /tz/ is rendered in the varieties as [tz], [z], [s], [ʃ] there is no correspondence in the same lemma, e.g. Ro., C.Rov. *tzait* vs. Fo. *tsait, zait, sait, dsait* 'time'; Ro. *tzo* vs. C.Rov. *zu, zo* vs. Fo. *tsu, tzo, zo, du, se* (cf. [ZGG]: 248). Differences are noticeable in the morphology too. Thus the 1st singular nominative pronoun OHG *ih* appears as Rtz. Ro. *ix, ig*, C.Rov. *i, ige*, As. *ich* ([ZGG]: 402). And on the lexical level as well, where e.g. the term for 'mutton' is *bello* in Ro., *Frisching* in C.Rov. and *wot6o* in Bos.; and 'yeast' appears as *gêrm* in the western part, *desemo* in Bos. ([ZFS]: 433, 437).

There are many reasons behind this differentiation. One of these can be identified in the different contacts the different localities maintained with the Romance area from a political, social, economic and linguistic point of view.

TABLE 13.2 Differences within varieties of the same macro-dialectal language systems

	Ro., Rtz.	C.Rov.	As. Bos.	Fo.
OHG /u:/ before /r/ /tz/ in OHG <i>zait</i>	[ua]: <i>snuar</i>	[o:]: <i>snor</i> <i>tzait</i>	[u:o]: <i>snûr</i>	[u:] <i>snur</i> <i>tsait, zait, sait, dsait</i>
pronoun 1st singular	<i>ix, ig</i>	<i>i, ige</i>	<i>ich</i>	
term for Eng. 'mutton'	<i>bello</i>	<i>Frisching</i>	<i>wot6o</i>	
term for Eng. 'yeats'	<i>gêrm</i>		<i>desemo</i>	

Historically the 7C. and 13C. were submitted first to the Scaligeri and then to the Republic of Venice and were linked both religiously and commercially to Vicenza and Verona.¹⁹ On the contrary the north-western area has historically been in contact with the Tyrolean and German worlds and was subjected first to the duchy of Tyrol and the diocese of Brixen, then to the Austro-Hungarian Empire and the diocese of Trento.²⁰ Another factor of differentiation can be identified in the different migratory flows from Germany that at different times and with different intensity affected each area in the three domains, leading diachronically and diatopically differentiated varieties of German to overlap with the older substratum. As has been shown elsewhere (cf. Zuin 2020: 15–38), this clearly emerges from the analysis of toponymy, where in the 7C. forms with [v] and [f] (MHG /v/) coexist, e.g. MHG *puvil* 'hill', Rotzo: *Puvel, Puvel del Rust* (Slaviero 2014); Lusiana: *puffe, pufele* (Rizzolo 2018).

3 Schweizer Research in Foza

A century before Schweizer's investigations some peculiarities of the Cimbrian dialect of Foza had already been highlighted by Schmeller. Although he did not

- 19 As Schweizer points out ([ZGG]: 5–9; 2012: 60–61) the parishes of the 13C. were founded as matrices of the mother church of Selva di Progno, in the 7C. those of Rotzo, Roana and Asiago historically depended on the parish of Caltrano, those of San Giacomo di Lusiana, Santa Caterina and Conco on that of Marostica, while those of Foza and Enego depended on the monastery Santa Croce di Campese and Arsìe respectively.
- 20 This is confirmed by an analysis of the place names recorded in the various dictionaries. If in the variety of Luserna there are numerous Cimbrian forms for Romance villages of Trentino (i.e. [B] *plaiif* 'Calceranica', *ten* 'Tenna', *Zilf* 'Selva di Valsugana') and fewer from the Veneto foothills, a different situation is recorded in the 7C. and 13C. (cf. [Schm] 1855, [CC] 1883).

visit the village during his two trips (1834, 1844) to the Cimbrian highlands, the father of German dialectology had in any case pointed out some features of this variety. For example, in the account of his first trip he reported the opinion of the inhabitants of Asiago, according to which in Foza the speakers said *glaz* 'glass', *rozz* 'horse' and *ezel* 'donkey' as opposed to *glas*, *ross* and *esel* of the other varieties (Schmeller [1838] 2020: 141 n. 71). Some of the linguistic information concerning Foza which appears in his work of 1838 were sent to him by the archpriest of Rotzo Cristiano Bonomo on 7 July 1834. The clergyman letter is preserved among the unreleased documents of the folder 'Schmelleriana XII 35' (*Schmeller Fund*, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek—BSB, Munich) and has been recently published by kind permission (cf. Zuin & Bidese 2022b: 175).²¹ Bonomo, who did not know German, wrote to Schmeller in Italian and in the variety of Rotzo, quoting some twenty forms in that of Foza, which were reported to him by the countryman Cristiano Cappellari. In addition to these, other forms were collected during Schmeller's journey in 1844, when the scholar had the chance to interview Casparo Cappellari, a forester of the village of Asiago (cf. Schmeller [1801–1852] 1996: 82–83). In any case, very little linguistic data has been included in the dictionary (Schmeller 1855), without generally indicating that they are peculiar of Foza.²²

Even because of the relatively few forms collected by Schmeller—around 15 explicitly reported as being from Foza in the dictionary—Schweizer's work on the scientific description of this variety was fundamental. The main result of his three investigations (1936, 1941, 1942)—accompanied by a collaborator, G. Albert, who could speak Italian—was the recording of c. 2000 lemmas and linguistic memories of the last two speakers, Giovanna Martini and her brother, who were both 80 years old ([ZGG]: 5) at that time.

Schweizer's notes are in two folders.²³ The first (Version 1—V1) of about 80 pages contains a series of disorganized and scattered observations about lin-

21 The heading of the document is "*Nomi proprj dei paesi dei Sette Comuni originari—Régcte Nāmen vūn Siben ersten Camāūn*". My heartfelt thanks go to the Bavarian State Library in Munich (scanning centre) for carrying out the digitisation of the unpublished material held in the Schmeller collection. Thanks are also due to Jakob Oßner and Oliver Baumann ('Cimbern-Kuratorium Bayern u. V.') for providing the digitisations.

22 Thus for *schallen* (cf. Schmeller 1855: 165) is given as meaning both 'to waffle' and 'to speak', without specifying that the second is attested just in Foza. Only for *sprechen* (cf. Schmeller 1855: 173) there is a note, where it's said "ich hörte von einem Fozaner *schallen* (gleichsam gallen), z.B. *das dirnle schallet van saindar mueter* 'das Dirnchen spricht von seiner Mutter'; *biar schallen belos*, 'wir reden welsch'".

23 Stored in the Schweizer Fund (*Forschungszentrum Deutscher Sprachatlas*, Philipps-Universität Marburg).

guistic features, personal impressions, socio-linguistic and social peculiarities on the situation in the village. The Cimbrian lemmas are regularly written in the Latin alphabet according to current orthographic standards, whereas the numerous annotations in German are in 'Sütterlin', i.e. that particular style of cursive used until the first half of the last century. The second folder (Version 2—V₂) is the result of the reorganisation of V₁'s materials and offers a first draft of glossaries with the German word and its Cimbrian equivalent. Everything is written in block letters, although with a particular spelling—different from that of V₁ and [ZGG]. This spelling is used for Cimbrian to represent, as faithfully as possible, the various phonic nuances of the language, partly taking up the linguistic notation customs of the time but also supplementing them with new symbols.

3.1 *The Informant's Linguistic Competence*

Interesting information on the language competence of the informants, in particular Giovanna Martini, emerges from V₁. After having extensively described the difficulty of finding someone in Foza who was still able to speak the language²⁴ and the informant's initial reluctance to respond to some of the requests, Schweizer notes how:

Die Martini weiss viele Dinge selbst nicht mehr, an andere erinnert sie sich oft nur mühsam, denn sie spricht das Zimbrische ja schon seit Jahren nur mehr selten. Sie wohnt ja auch nicht bei ihren Brüdern. Dadurch ist es leicht zu erklären, dass die Fleriousformen des Zeitwortes nicht mehr so erhalten sind wie etwa in Giazza (dreizehn Gemeinden) [...] ich könnte mir aber nicht gut vorstellen, dass sich die Geschwister Martini einen ganzen Tag ausschließlich des Zimbrischen bedienen würden: Sie würden sich oft nicht verstehen u. dann selbstverständlich zu dem sehr ausdrucksfähigen u. ihnen geläufigen venezianischen Dialekt greifen.²⁵

24 Schweizer emphasised how many elderly people only remembered a few common words in Cimbrian or German, since they had often moved to Germany as seasonal workers. At the same time, he underlined how, among a not inconsiderable number of the inhabitants, the memory of the linguistic diversity that once characterised Foza in relation to the Veneto plain had also disappeared.

25 'Martini herself does not remember many things, and often only remembers others with difficulty, because for years she only rarely spoke Cimbrian. Moreover, she does not live with her brothers. This explains why the florid forms of the time are no longer preserved as they were in Giazza (thirteen communes), [...] I cannot imagine that the Martini siblings used Cimbrian exclusively for a whole day: they often did not understand each other and, therefore, naturally resorted to the very expressive and familiar Veneto dialect' (my translation).

Although the author points out how, through his insistence in demanding answers, the Cimbrian was gradually awakening in the consciousness of the informant, it is however clear that rather than knowing Cimbrian, Giovanna Martini and her brother simply remembered it. That was confirmed by the quote Schweizer reported in the Grammar ([ZGG]: 491): “in Foza war fast jedes vierte Wort der letzten Zimbrin J. Martini: “tüet, tüatz”, womit sie sagen wollte, es sei nun genug, sie wisse nichts weiteres mehr” [‘In Foza, almost every fourth word of the last Cimbrian speaker, G. Martini, was ‘tüet, tüatz’, by which she meant, that was enough, she knew nothing more’].

Possessing an incomplete linguistic competence G. Marini must therefore be considered a ‘semi-speaker’ according to the terminology proposed by Dorian (1977: 24). However, in the light of the metalinguistic clarification of the concept proposed by Grinevald Craig, who points out that the category can include speakers with different linguistic abilities (1998: 259), the linguistic competence of the informant is similar to that of ‘rememberers’, i.e. “speakers who may have been, at an early stage in life, native fluent speakers, or who may simply have learned only some elements of the language a long time ago, and who, in either case, have lost much of their earlier linguistic ability” (Grinevald Craig 1998: 259–260). As will be shown later, this condition will also affect the reliability of the linguistic data provided.

3.2 *The Cimbrian of Foza: Features in Common with Other Varieties*

In the data collected by Schweizer many similarities can be found between the variety of Foza and the others attested in the 7C.²⁶ The characteristics that we had considered before as being typical of this dialectal area are all present, including the regular maintenance of the final atonic vowels (e.g. Fo. *laita*, *düna*, *mano*), the coexistence alongside diphthongated forms in [ea] of variants with monotone [e:] (e.g. Fo. *érda*, *earda*; 2nd singular Present *6swerçt*²⁷ vs. Lus. *sbearst* ‘you swear’) and the preservation of the labiovelar MHG /v/ (e.g. *bendan* ‘find’ with *b-* < *v-, vro6 ‘frog’, *varjen* ‘take’). As far as the morphological level is concerned, the conjunction Fo. *wa*, *ba* ‘where’ (< MHG *wā*, *wō*) is typical of the 7C. (cf. [Pan], [Schm], [Vesc] *ba*), whereas 13C. and Lus. show a form

26 A precise examination of the numerous concordances is not possible here and would result in a somewhat repetitive task, since many data are already presented in the [ZGG] and [ZFS].

27 The spelling of Cimbrian makes use of the writing habits of 19th/early 20th century German dialectology. Specifically, <6> stands for [ʃ], <ç> for [z], while <x> as well <x̄>, which was created ad hoc, stand for [x] (although the possible phonetic difference between the two is not clear).

bo; the Participle prefix appears in the 7C. and Fo. as [ga-] (e.g. *gaxcöt* 'said', *gaçlafat* 'slept', *gabeçt* 'been'), while [ge-] is attested in 13C. and generalized in the north-western varieties (cf. [ZGG]: 167–168); the plural of the diminutive is [-len] in 7C. and in Fo. (e.g. *xörten* 'grains'), while in the rest of the domain [-ler] dominates, with the sole exception of part of the western area that shows [-la] (cf. [ZGG]: 544–551, [ZFS]: 354–355). Finally, a number of specific terms of Foza appears in the 7C. but not in the other groups. Thus Fo. *kxöila* 'nail' deverbal of MHG *krallen* 'to scratch' is formally analogous to 7C. [R] *khrröla* 'nail', and different from 13C. *nâgl* and Lus. *néigal* (cf. De. *Nagel*).

The Foza variety then shares some features which find correspondents only in other external varieties and particularly in those of the north-western area. Thus the diphthong MHG /uo/ (e.g. *bruoder* 'brother', *vuoz* 'foot'), which is preserved in 13C. [wo] (cf. [CC.] *pruodar*, *fuoz/vuoz*), transformed in [u:] in the 7C. (cf. [CC.] *pruudar*, *vuuz*) and rendered as [ua] in Lus. (cf. [Zb] *pruadar*, *vuaz*), appears in Fo. as [wi], i.e. *pbrüider*, *wüi*. This development finds correspondence only in the varieties of S.Seb./Carb. (cf. [NS] *pruidar*, *wuif*; cf. also [ZFS]: 172–173). Similarities with the north-western dialects can also be found in the comparative suffix Fo. [-ar] (cf. Fo. *voafarr* 'fatter', Lus. *voazar*, S.Seb./Carb. *kloandar* 'smaller') vs. 7C. [-or] and 13C. [-ur] (cf. [ZGG]: 198), or in the nominative masculine singular Article and agentive morphemes Fo. [der] 'the' and [-er], S.Seb./Carb. [NS] [der], [-er] (vs. Lus., 7C., 13C. [dar] and [-ar]) which are probably the result of influences from modern German.²⁸ On the other hand, there are no clear connections outside 7C. from a lexical point of view. The syntagmatic calque Fo. *tsüniç6te* (Lus. [R] *tznicht*, 13C. [R] *tznichte*), labelled on the Italian *da niente*, or the secondary meaning 'weak' acquired by Fo. *kranjk* and 13C. *krank* are probably due to independent innovations.

3.3 *The Cimbrian of Foza: Specific Features and the Problem of Data Reliability*

In any case the data elicited by the informants show a series of linguistic features too, which are not attested in other varieties. These could represent dialectal peculiarities of the dialect of Foza, although the assessment of their authenticity is not always straightforward for many reasons.

Firstly, the informants are siblings. Their acquisition of Cimbrian, together with the Veneto language, took place at an early age and from the same input. For a long time they used Cimbrian only in conversation between them and

28 According to Schweizer (ZGG: 436, *passim*), many similarities between S.Seb./Carb. and modern German depend on the influence that the German school exerted in the past. However, the same cannot be claimed for Foza where no German school was ever active.

with a third brother, who was not recorded by Schweizer because, as recognised also by the other family members, his long stay in Germany had led his idiolect to be influenced by modern German dialects. Therefore, it would be naive to believe that in the interaction between them some German influences originally belonging to the idiolect of the third brother had not spread to the varieties of the others. As consequence some elicited data could not belong to Foza variety at a level of 'langue', but merely pertain to the familiar idiolect.

On the other hand, it should be emphasised that the informants, as 'rememberers', had not used the language for a long time. Their scanty competence is proved by the few speech samples provided, which show strong phenomena of 'attrition', i.e. erosion or loss of linguistic structures at the level of the bilingual speaker.²⁹ The linguistic impoverishment, already noted in V₁, led Schweizer to wonder whether the siblings could communicate each other exclusively in Cimbrian. In addition to Schweizer's statements their semi-speakerness clearly emerges in the following passage, where phenomena such as the paratactic syntax, the lack of the auxiliary (e.g. *in treno saiŋ gabešt ogni stazióŋ gahabat ótaše* 'by train have been, each station had something'), the distorted syntax of the clitics³⁰ and the numerous non-integrated borrowings confirms that the informants were 'rememberers':³¹

Brandre alje dain gaŋet ka mačán un da dai gačtanjat an djār. un dopo is xemet der xojer ha xót kxe miar müačan gian dahí. alje alje gaŋet dahí. i han xót kxe ma ne gian i han s haje sovil kxloan, juŋkx. im ... ič kxen guita çait, alora i pin gaŋat dahí. ačt tãge han galēgat su gian a Palermo. in treno saiŋ gabešt ogni stazióŋ gahabat ótaše: ojer, proat, o xies an glas bãi. barandre a Palermo sãi gačtandet tredici mónate. ma haba nia sofferto ničt. alje guita löite. sãi xemet hia per salvare laip dopo tredici mánote ič kaŋan auŋar hoam a prudiar.

29 For the concept of 'attrition' see Scaglione (2000), Köpke (2004: 1342–1343).

30 In sentences such as *e dopo is xemet der xojer* or *alora i pin gaŋat dahí* the pronominal explication of the subject in enclisis to the inflected verb is missing. When the position in front of the finite verb is occupied by elements other than the pronominal subject itself, this inverts with the finite verb (cf. Bidese 2008; Tomaselli & Bidese 2019). Similarly, sentences appear with the implied subject in *ačt tãge han galēgat su gian a Palermo e sãi xemet hia per salvare laip*, according to a pattern not accepted in Cimbrian, but possible in prodrop languages such as Italian.

31 As shown by the studies of Cognola (2011) and Cognola & Bidese (2016: 337–369) on pupils in the Mocheno valley, the presence of code-mixing of morphologically non-integrated verbs and of aberrant miss of clitic pronouns are clear evidences of semi-speakerness.

[We have all gone to Bassano and stayed there a year. and then the policeman came, said we had to leave. all left. I said can't go I have the baby so small, young. in ... a better time came, so I left. eight days I stay to go to Palermo. by train have been, every station had something: eggs, bread, or cheese, a glass of wine. in Palermo have stayed thirteen months. but have never suffered anything. all good people. have come here to save the skin after thirteen months has come home a brother].

Finally, the ways followed by Schweizer during his research could have also influenced data reliability. As will be seen, especially with regard to the lexical level, the author did not passively record the forms elicited by the speakers. On the contrary he submitted a pre-printed questionnaire with a list of German words, whose correspondents in Cimbrian were asked, presumably after Albert's translation into Italian. The scholar's insistence and pressing requests meant that often, not remembering the appropriate word the informant would elicit the one in their Romance variety or the Cimbrian word that came closest to it.

In conclusion it is not always easy to define whether a linguistic datum can be considered structurally part of the variety of Foza or whether, on the contrary, it reflects the informant's idiolect or represents the result of the semi-speaker condition of the informants.

3.3.1 Phonetics

The authenticity of some phonetic data can clearly be assessed basing on a comparison with the scanty forms collected in the past by Schmeller. Thus the occasional tendency to generalise in [z] MHG /s/, /tz/ (e.g. *fo* vs. *tso* 'to' < MHG *zo*; *rof* vs. *ros* 'horse' < MHG *ros*) had been already pointed out by Bonomo "Kāzālūppa, Caglio in Asiago Kāsālūppa col s e non col z, e così per lo più sono tutti i termini, addoprono il *zitta* in vece dell'*esse*, e per questo suona più dolce. Questa è la grande differenza fra Asiago e Foza" (cf. Zuin & Bidese 2022b: 175) and Schmeller ([1938] 2020: 141). Surely the occasional realization of the mainly word-initial 7C. [z] (< MHG /s/, /z/, /tz/) as Fo. [d] is also authentic (e.g. *dain* 'to be' < MHG *sīn*, *desan* 'to put' < MHG *setzen*, *diela* 'soul' < MHG *sēle*, *gledar* 'galsses' < MHG *glezar*). Although this sound change is the result of the Alto-vicentino dialect influence, where Ven. *verzare* 'to open', *zenocio* 'knee' sound like *verdare*, *denocio*, it is doubtless systemic in the Foza variety, since a century earlier Schmeller (1855: 142) already noted the confusion between etymological MHG /z/ and /d/, e.g. *snaizer* 'tailor' < MHG *snaider*. Similarly, the presence in Schmeller (1855) of the form *puiwe* 'guy' besides *puibe* (< MHG *buobe*) confirms the authenticity of the partial defonologization of MHG /w/ and /b/ in

[β]³² observable in Schweizer's data, e.g. *haw^ben* 'have' < MHG *haben*, *wbaif* 'white' < MHG *wīz*, *traiwbat* '(he) leads' < MHG *trīben*.

In other cases, however, the assessment of the phonetic data's reliability is not easy. Schweizer's notes show besides the Cimbrian development [e:] and [e] from MHG /ë/ an allomorph [je], which is not attested in the earlier collected forms, e.g. *xjes* 'cheese' (vs. [Pan] *kheese*), *gjel* 'yellow' (vs. [Pan] *geel*), *vjestar* 'window' (vs. [Pan] *veestar* [Schm] *vestar*). On its authenticity Schweizer himself ([ZGG]: 23) raises some doubts: "Freilich ist auch m.A. dieses Wenige an Belegen aus Foza nicht genügend beweiskräftig, aber wie wollen wir mehr Material von dort bekommen, da doch der Dialekt inzwischen ausgestorben ist?" ['Of course, even this little evidence from Foza is not sufficiently conclusive, but how can we get more material from there, since the dialect has died out in the meantime?'].

Finally, some features surely belong just to the idiolect of the speaker. The scanty forms which show [o] for etymological /a/ (e.g. *kxrö* 'crow' vs. [Pan] *khraa*; *glos* 'glass' vs. [Pan] *glas*) are probably the result of the influence of Bavarian dialect, probably transferred in the familiar idiolect by the brother who worked in Germany.

3.3.2 Morphology

The same doubts about authenticity arise in morphology. The form of 1st plural nominative pronoun *miar*, *mar* 'we' is probably genuine, as opposed to the other varieties that unconditionally show *biar*, *bar* < MHG *wir*. The morphemes *miar*, *mar* find parallels exclusively in Timau [GG.] *miar* and more generally in Carinthia (cf. Lexter 1862), although it is not clear whether an influence from these places can be advocated to explain them.³³ Probably it is also authentic the paradigmatic levelling, which led the form of 1st singular Present *han* 'I have' to appear as 3rd singular Present besides the regular form *hat*, since the same development took place independently in Carb. 3rd singular Present [NS] *hon* too.

32 Most probably [β] of Fo. is not a direct development of MHG /w/ but presupposes an unattested phase [b] as in the other German varieties in Italy (cf. Kranzmayer 1956: 74).

33 Since in 7C. varieties an etymological /m/ sometimes appears as [w] ([ZGG]: 335), e.g. *bet*, *pet* 'with' < **wit* < MHG *mit* it is not unlikely that *mar*, *miar* of Foza could represent the result of hypercorrection that would have led to the interpretation of Fo. **w^biar* as deriving from *miar*. This hypothesis is supported by the fact that also the preposition 'with' in Foza appears as *met*. A similar change in the 1st plural pronoun can be found outside the Cimbrian domain in Moch., where besides the tonic form *biar*, the atonic allomorph is *dar* (cf. Rowley 2003: 180).

Instead, the authenticity of the 1st singular Present *habe*, which appears only in one case in place of the regular form *han*, is more uncertain. If the latter allomorph is typical in all Cimbrian ([ZGG]: 481) and Bavarian varieties in Italy (cf. Moch. [BB] *hon*, Sap. [BK] *òn*, Sau. [DG] *on*, Tim. [GG] *hon*),³⁴ *habe* without the realisation of the etymological /a/ as [o] and with the preservation of the final vowel cannot be traced back to Bav. *hob*, but has to be interpreted as the result of the influence of standard German on the idiolect of the speaker.

Some data are then clearly inauthentic and caused by the informant's status of semi-speaker. Again, in the paradigm of the verb 'to have', the form of 3rd Present *ha* which appears many times besides the regular *hat* (e.g. *ha gamaxt*, *ha gatant* 'has done', *ha gaport* 'has stung') is the result of the influence of the Italian 3rd Present *ha* on the informant's idiolect. The influence of Veneto dialect's Infinitive forms marked by [-ar] (e.g. *magnàr* 'to eat', *catàr* 'to find') explains then the odd forms Fo. *lofar* 'to run', *benar* 'to find' (vs. [Pan] *lóofan*, [Pan] *vénman*).

3.3.3 Lexicon

As far as the lexicon is concerned, although the majority of lemmas both of Germanic or Romance origin find parallels in the other varieties (e.g. *pom* 'tree', [Pan] *poom*; *amosa*, *amosa* 'ant', [Pan] *àmaza*; *vampa* 'flame', [Pan] *vampa*), others are only attested in Foza.

The verb MHG *sprechen* 'to speak', for example, is absent in all Cimbrian varieties, which replaced it with MHG *reden* (cf. [R] 7C. *rédián*, 13C. *rédián*, Lus. *rédn*), but appears in Fo. *sprexar*, *sprexan* and in the noun *z gasprochet* with the meaning of 'to pray' and 'the prayer'. The presence of such lexical-types can only be explained through the influence of a non-Cimbrian Germanic variety, but nevertheless the semantic metaplasm prevents them from being considered part of the informant's idiolect.³⁵

In other cases, the belonging of a certain lemma to the Foza variety can only be assessed probabilistically. Thus *vröttel* 'lizard' is undoubtedly of Germanic origin and probably authentic, although it finds no formal parallel in Cimbrian, which show the parallel of German *Eidechse* (cf. [R] 7C. *égaséga*, 13C. *éisedek*). With regard to linguistic borrowings one criterion for assessing authenticity is the level of formal integration, since it is likely that the more integrated a form

34 The only exception appears in the old German dialect of Roncegno and Torcegno in Valsugana (TN), which shows in the only linguistic evidence the 1st singular Present *hab* (cf. *Bibliothèque Municipale de Rouen*, Ms. Mbt. 489 o.N.).

35 Similarly in Moch. the modern German verb *sagen* 'to say' appears only in the variety of Palù del Fersina *zong*, whereas in Fierozzo and Roveda only *kein* is attested (cf. [BB]).

is, the more it was adopted in ancient times. Thus probably genuine are forms as *grüpel* 'hump, rump' from It. *groppa* (vs. [R] 7C. *pukkel*, 13C. *pukal*, Lus. *pukl* < MHG *buckel*), or *çliçolarn* 'to skate, to slide on the ice' from Ven. *slissolâr* with the insertion of the indigenous morpheme of Inf. [-n].

In the light of what has been said about the manner in which the Schweizer's investigation was conducted, it is impossible to define beyond any reasonable doubt whether a formally and/or functionally ambiguous lemma or construction is authentic, whether it can be traced back to the idiolect of the speaker, or whether it is clearly erroneous and the result of the informant's desire to provide at all costs a counterpart to the term requested. Sometimes it is clear that the speaker, under request and unable to remember the original term, elicited the concept closest to it. Thus the phrase *maxan hoasat*, composed with the Germanic verb for 'to do' (cf. [Pan] *machan*) and the word for 'marriage' (cf. [R] 7C. *hoasant*, 13C. *hoasat*, Lus. *hoasat*) is found as a counterpart of De. *feiern* 'to celebrate'. Again, for the concept De. *arbeitslos werden* 'to remain unemployed' the informant provided the phrase *dů vanen ane proat*, which has the literal meaning of 'to remain without bread' (cf. [Pan] *vangan* 'to take', *proat* 'bread') and represents a structural calque from Ven. *ciâparse sensa pan* 'lit. stay without bread'. On other occasions the impossibility of remembering the correct term has led to the elicitation of the non-integrated Romance word, which has to be considered as 'casual', i.e. occasional and non institutionalised borrowing, that results in a speaker's single act of speech (cf. Gusmani 1986: 18; *passim*). Such examples can be found in *festa* 'party' (< It. *festa*) for De. *Feiertag* (vs. [Pan] *vaartakh*, *vairtakh*), or *ajo* 'garlic' (< Ven. *ajo*) for De. *knoblauch* (cf. [Pan] *khnòvaloch*).

However, the assessment of data reliability is by no means straightforward. Sometimes constructions formally attested in other Cimbrian varieties show a different meaning. Some of these fall into the category of semantic calques, like *gawbërmat* 'warmed, angry' elicited for De. *wärmen* 'warmed' and *wutend* 'angry', with the second meaning derived from It. *scaldato* 'warmed, angry'. Others are structural calques such as *de çait kxomodart six*, for the concept of De. *sich richten (Wetter)* 'the weather settles down', borrowed from Ven. *el tempo se comoda*. Other constructions, however, find only limited semantic solidarity at the comparative level. One of these is *plüima*, indicated as counterpart to De. *Ähre* 'ear', while in other repertoires it has the value of De. *Blume* 'flower'; or *çü derran* (vs. 7C. [Pan] *roochan*) with the value of De. *räuchern* ('selchen') 'to smoke', while in 7C. the verb means only 'to dry'.

4 Summary

The so-called Cimbrian language actually represents a linguistic diasystem that in the past was spread over a relatively vast area and is composed of a series of varieties differentiated according to various parameters. First of all, with regard to vitality, the language today is spoken exclusively in the municipality of Luserna and remembered in those of Rotzo, Roana and Giazza by very few elderly people. Secondly, with regard to the quantity and quality of documentary evidences. If for the dialects of Roana, Rotzo, Asiago and Giazza we deal with 'Kleincorpusssprachen', with a relatively long documented history that has continued until recent times, others such as those of Foza and a majority of the north-western ones are to be considered as 'Restsprachen' transmitted by only a few or even a single document, and others have disappeared at different times without leaving a trace except in onomastics and toponymy. Finally, the different Cimbrian varieties, while sharing a number of common characteristics, likewise show a marked dialectal differentiation, both between the three main Cimbrian subgroups and between varieties belonging to the same subgroup. Underlying this differentiation are two main dynamics. On the one hand, the more or less intense relations that each variety historically maintained with neighbouring Romance varieties, which led to significant influences on phonological, morphological and lexical levels. On the other, the movement of settlers from Germany into the various areas of the dominion, continued with varying intensity until at least the 15th century, brought different diatopic and diachronic varieties to overlap with the original ones and contributed to shape them.

In the analysis of the Cimbrian dialect of Foza, another difficulty is represented by the impossibility of working with the historically elaborated tools of linguistics, due to the nature of the available evidences. Indeed, apart from a handful of forms collected by Schmeller in the 19th century, this Cimbrian dialect is only attested by the unpublished notes written in the mid-20th century during B. Schweizer's research. However through the analysis it is possible, on the one hand, to frame some characteristics of this variety from a comparative point of view, underlining how, although sharing a series of linguistic traits also typical of the other dialects of the Sette Comuni, it shows at the same time significant similarities to the north-western Cimbrian area. On the other hand, however, the semi-speaker status of the informants makes it necessary to question the authenticity of the data elicited, when these do not find comparative values in other Cimbrian dialects. In fact, an attempt has been made to demonstrate how, at all linguistic levels, phenomena authentically part of the Cimbrian of Foza can be identified. Others, peculiar to the idiolect

of the speaker and due to his condition of ‘rememberer’, remain manifestly inauthentic. And finally, between these two poles lie a series of intermediate situations for which authenticity or non-authenticity can only be defined probabilistically.

Abbreviations of Dictionaries

[B]	Bacher 1905
[BB]	<i>Bersntoler Beirterpònk</i> (Bernstoler Kulturinstitut/Istituto culturale Moche- no)
[BK]	Benedetti & Kratter 2010
[CC]	Cipolla & Cipolla 1883
[Cp]	Cappelletti 1956
[DG]	Denison & Grassegger 2007
[GG]	Geyer & Gasser 2002
[L]	Leck 1884
[NS]	Schweizer 2002
[Pan]	<i>Dizionario cimbro dei Sette Comuni</i> (Panieri)
[R]	<i>Cimbrisch-deutsches-Online-Gesamtwörterbuch</i> (Resch)
[Schm]	Schmeller 1855
[Vesc]	Vescovi circa 1880
[Z]	Zingerle 1869
[Zb]	Nicolussi Golo & Nicolussi 2014
[zFS]	Schweizer [1951–1952] 2012
[zGG]	Schweizer [1951–1952] 2008

Abbreviations of Varieties

13C.	Tredici Comuni (varieties)
7C.	Sette Comuni (varieties)
As.	Asiago (variety)
Bav.	Bavarian
Bos.	Bosco (variety)
C.Rov.	Camporovere (variety)
Carb.	Carbonare (Folgaria)
De.	German (language)
Fo.	Foza (variety)
Fol.	Folgaria

Germ.	Germanic
It.	Italian
Lat.	Latin
MHG	Middle High German
Moch.	Mòcheno (variety)
NHG	New High German
OBav	Old Bavarian
OHG	Old High German
Ro.	Roana (variety)
Rtz.	Rotzo (variety)
S.Seb.	San Sebastiano (Folgaria)
Sap.	Sappada (variety)
Sau.	Sauris (variety)
Tim.	Timavese (variety)
Ven.	Veneto (dialect)

References

- Bacher, Josef. 1900. Von dem deutschen Grenzposten Lusérn im wälschen Südtirol. *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde* 10: 306–319; 407–417.
- Bacher, Josef. 1901. Von dem deutschen Grenzposten Lusérn im wälschen Südtirol. *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde* 11: 28–37.
- Bacher, Josef. 1905. *Die deutsche Sprachinsel Lusern: Geschichte, Lebensverhältnisse, Sitten, Gebräuche, Volksglaube, Sagen, Märchen, Volkserzählungen und Schwänke, Mundart und Wortbestand*. Innsbruck: Wagner.
- Bartolomei, Simon Pietro. [circa 1760] 1910–1912. *Catalogus multorum verborum quinque dialectuum, quibus Montani Perginenses, Roncegnenses, Lavaronenses, Septempagenses et Abbatienses utuntur*. Ed. by Mario Filzi. *Tridentum* 12: 325–333, 381–386; 13: 420–426; 14: 164–169, 292–297, 450–456.
- Beltrami, Giampietro. [1820] 1883. Memoria intorno alla vita ed alla morte della lingua dei popoli di Terragnolo. *Atti dell'Accademia* 1: 117–124.
- Benedetti, Marcella & Cristina Kratter. 2010. *Plodar berterpuich. Vocabolario sappadino-italiano italiano-sappadino*. Crocetta del Montello: Grafiche Antiga.
- Bersntoler Kulturinstitut & Istituto culturale mòcheno (eds.). *Bersntoler Beirterpònk*. <https://kib.ladintal.it/> (last accessed on 30 June 2023)
- Bidese, Ermenegildo. 2004. Die Zimbern und ihre Sprache: Geographische, historische und sprachwissenschaftlich relevante Aspekte. “Alte” Sprachen. *Beiträge zum Bremer Kolloquium über “Alte Sprachen und Sprachstufen” (Bremen, Sommersemester 2003)*, ed. by Thomas Stolz, 3–42. Bochum: Brockmeyer.

- Bidese, Ermenegildo. 2010. Alle fonti scritte del cimbro: la 'letteratura' cimbra come esempio di genesi d'una tradizione scritta in lingua locale. *Il cimbro negli studi di linguistica*, ed. by Ermenegildo Bidese, 61–85. Padova: Unipress.
- Bidese, Ermenegildo. 2021. Introducing Cimbrian. The main linguistic features of a German(ic) language in Italy. *Energiea* 46: 19–62.
- Cappelletti, Giuseppe. 1956. *Il linguaggio dei Tredici Comuni veronesi*. Verona: Ghidini e Fiorini.
- Cipolla, Francesco & Carlo Cipolla. 1883. Dei coloni tedeschi nei XIII Comuni Veronesi. *Archivio glottologico italiano* 8: 161–192, 193–262.
- CLaM. 2021. *Una ricerca su multilinguismo e lingue di minoranza nelle province di Trento, di Bolzano e di Belluno*. <https://cimbro-ladino-mocheno-2021.lett.unitn.it/> (last accessed on 30 June 2023)
- Cognola, Federica. 2011. *Acquisizione plurilingue e bilinguismo bilanciato*. Padova: Unipress.
- Cognola, Federica & Ermenegildo Bidese. 2016. On language acquisition and language change. Is transmission failure favoured in multilingual heritage contexts?. *Theoretical Approaches to Linguistic Variation*, ed. by Ermenegildo Bidese, Federica Cognola & Manuela C. Moroni, 337–369. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Dal Pozzo, Agostino. 1820. *Memorie storiche delle popolazioni alpine dette cimbriche e vocabolarj de' loro dialetti. Volume II*. Vincenza: Paroni, 1820.
- Denison Norman & Hans Grassegger. 2007. *Zahrer Wörterbuch. Vocabolario saurano*. Graz: Institut für Sprachwissenschaft.
- Dorian, Nancy C. 1977. The Problem of the Semi-Speaker in Language Death. *Linguistics* 15: 23–32.
- Dow, James R. 2005. Bruno Schweizer's Gesamtgrammatik as a product of the Kulturkommission. *Das Zimbrische zwischen Germanisch und Romanisch*, ed. by Ermenegildo Bidese, James R. Dow & Thomas Stolz, 193–205. Bochum: Brockmeyer.
- Dow, James R. 2018. *Angewandte Volkstumsideologie: Heinrich Himmlers Kulturkommissionen in Südtirol und der Gottschee*. Innsbruck: StudienVerlag.
- Gamillscheg, Ernst. 1912. *Die romanischen Elemente in der deutschen Mundart von Lusern*. Halle (Saale): Niemeyer.
- Geyer, Ingeborg. 2012. Anmerkungen zu Slambrot. In *simplicitate complexitas. Festgabe für Barbara Stefan zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. by Peter Anreiter, Ivo Hajnal & Manfred Kienpointner, 99–108. Wien: Praesens.
- Geyer, Ingeborg & Anna Gasser. 2002. *Wörterbuch der deutschen Mundart von Tischelwang / Timau. Glossario Timavese. Bartarpuach va Tischlbong*. Wien: Edition Praesens.
- Grinevald Craig, Colette. 1998. Language Contact and Language Degeneration. *The Handbook of Sociolinguistics*, ed. by F. Coulmas, 257–270. Oxford/Cambridge: Blackwell.

- Gusmani, Roberto. 1986. *Saggi sull'interferenza linguistica. Seconda edizione accresciuta*. Firenze: Le Lettere.
- Heller, Karin. 1988. *Barocke Dichtung aus den 7 Gemeinde. Zimbrische Texte aus dem 17. und 18. Jahrhundert*. Wien: Verband der wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaften Österreichs.
- Hornung, Maria. 1987. Ist die zimbrische Mundart der Sieben Gemeinden althochdeutsch?. *Althochdeutsch*, ed. by Herbert Kolb, Rolf Bergmann, Heinrich Tiefenbach & Kothar Voetz: 1, 102–110. Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag.
- Klein, Karl K., Ludwig E. Schmitt & Egon Kühbacher. 1965. *Vokalismus. Tirolischer Sprachatlas. 1. Band*, ed. by Karl K. Klein & Ludwig E. Schmitt. Marburg: N.G. Elwert Verlag.
- Ködel, Sven. 2010. Die napoleonische Sprachenerhebung in Tirol und Oberitalien in den Jahren 1809 und 1810. *Ladinia* 34: 11–49.
- Kranzmayer, Eberhard. 1956. *Historische Lautgeographie des gesamtbairischen Dialektraumes*. Wien: Hermann Böhlau Nachf.
- Kranzmayer Eberard. [1923] 1985. *Laut- und Flexionslehre der deutschen zimbrischen Mundart: Das sind die Mundarten in den 7 vincentinischen Gemeinden, den 13 Veroneser Gemeinden und den deutschen Orten im Trentinischen (mit Ausnahme des Fersentales und des Nonsberges)*. Ed. by M. Hornung. Wien: vwgö.
- Leck, Hans. 1884. *Deutsche Sprachinseln in Wälschtirol: landschaftliche und geschichtliche Schilderungen*. Stuttgart: Aue.
- von Lexter, Matthias. 1862. *Kärntisches Wörterbuch*. Leipzig: Verlag von S. Hirzel.
- Mastrelli, Carlo Alberto. 1984. Una nota etimologica sui termini «sláparo» e «slambròt». *Le isole linguistiche di origine germanica nell'Italia settentrionale*, ed. by Giovan Battista Pellegrini, Sergio Bonato & Antonio Fabris, 87–101. Roana: Istituto di cultura cimbra.
- Matzel, Klaus. 1982. Zu einigen älteren Quellen des "Zimbrischen". *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur* 111: 81–102.
- Meid, Wolfgang. 1985. *Der zweite zimbrische Katechismus DAR KLÓANE CATECHISMO VOR DEZ BÉLOSELAND. Die zimbrische Version aus dem Jahre 1813 und 1842 des PICCOLO CATECHISMO AD USO DEL REGNO D'ITALIA von 1807 in kritischer Ausgabe. Einleitung, italienischer und zimbrischer Text, Übersetzung, Kommentar, Reproduktionen*. Innsbruck: Institut für Sprachwissenschaft der Universität Innsbruck.
- Nicolussi Golo, Andrea & Gisella Nicolussi. 2014. *Zimbarbort. Börtarpuach Lusérnesch—Belesch / Belesch—Lusérnesch. Dizionario del cimbro di Luserna*. Lusérn/Luserna: Kulturinstitut Lusérn/Istituto Cimbro di Luserna.
- Panieri, Luca. 2010. L'identità linguistica cimbra sotto la lente della filologia germanica. *Il cimbro negli studi di linguistica*, ed. by Ermenegildo Bidese, 25–40. Padova: Unipress.
- Panieri, Luca (ed.). *Dizionario cimbro dei Sette Comuni*. <http://dizionario.cimbri7comuni.it/> (last accessed on 30 June 2023)

- Pezzo, Marco. 1763. *Dei Cimbri veronesi, e vicentini*. Verona: Carrattoni.
- Scaglione, Stefania. 2000. *Attrition: mutamenti sociolinguistici nel lucchese di San Francisco*. Milano: Franco Angeli.
- Rapelli, Giovanni. 1983. *Testi cimbri. Gli scritti dei Cimbri dei Tredici Comuni Veronesi*. Verona: Bi & Gi editori.
- Resch, Hugo F. *Cimbrisch-deutsches-Online-Gesamtwörterbuch*, Cimbren-Kuratorium Bayern E.V. <https://www.cimbren-kuratorium-bayern.de/index.php/online-woerterbuch.html> (last accessed on 30 June 2023)
- Rizzolo, Dionigi. 1988. *La toponomastica storica dei comuni di Lusiana e Conco*. Roana: Istituto di cultura cimbra.
- Rizzolo, Dionigi. 2018. *Lusiana antica—il territorio, le contrade, le famiglie venete e cimbre, i cognomi dal Medioevo all'Ottocento*. Fara Vicentino: Grafiche Leoni.
- Rowley, Anthony. 2003. *Liacht as de sproch: Grammatica della lingua mochena*. Palu del Fersina: Pubblicazioni dell'istituto mocheno di cultura.
- Schmeller, Johannes Andreas. [1838] 2020. *Sui cosiddetti cimbri dei VII e XIII comuni delle alpi venete e sulla loro lingua [Ueber die sogenannten Cimbren der VII und XIII Communen auf den Venedischen Alpen und ihre Sprache*. It. translation by Francesco Zuin]. Pergine: Publiadige.
- Schmeller, Johann Andreas. 1855. *Cimbrisches Wörterbuch. Das ist Deutsches Idiotikon der VII. und XII. Comuni in den venetianischen Alpen. Mit Einleitung und Zusätzen im Auftrage der kais. Akademie der Wissenschaften*, ed. by Joseph Bergmann. Wien: Kaiserl. Königl. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei.
- Schmeller, Johann Andreas. [1801–1852] 1996. *Besuch bey den Deutschen der Berge von Ober-Italien*, ed. by Richard J. Brunner, Hans Tyroller. Landshut: Cimbren-Kuratorium Bayern E.V.
- Schmid, S. Monika & Barbara Köpke. 2004. *First language attrition: interdisciplinary perspectives on methodological issues*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: Benjamins.
- Schweizer, Bruno. 1948. Die Herkunft der Zimbern. *Nachbarn* 1: 111–129.
- Schweizer, Bruno. 2002. *Il vocabolario dei "Cimbri" di San Sebastiano e Carbonare del comune di Folgaria*, ed. by Carlo Nordera. Giazza/Verona: Taucias Garëida.
- Schweizer, Bruno. [1951–1952] 2008. *Zimbrische Gesamtgrammatik. Vergleichende Darstellung der zimbrischen Dialekte*, ed. by James R. Dow. Stuttgart: Steiner.
- Schweizer, Bruno. [1954] 2012. *Zimbrischer und Fersentalerischer Sprachatlas. Atlante linguistico cimbro e mócheno. Herausgegeben und kommentiert von/Edizione curata e commentata da Stefan Rabanus*. Luserna/Palù del Fersina: Kulturinstitut Lusérn/Istituto Cimbro/Bernstoler Kulturinstitut/Istituto Culturale Mócheno.
- Slaviero, Matteo I. 2014. *Rotzo. Toponomastica storica e aspetti di vita della comunità*. Roana: Istituto di cultura cimbra.
- Stefan, Barbara. 1998. Das zimbrische Marktgespräch mit Rechenexempel des D. Piermodesto Dalla Costa von 1763. *Wort, Text, Sprache und Kultur. Festschrift für Hans*

- Schmeja zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. by Peter Anreiter & Hermann M. Ölberg, 179–197. Innsbruck: Institut für Sprachwissenschaft.
- Sulzer, Giuseppe G. 1855. *Dell'origine e della natura dei dialetti romanici a confronto coi dialetti esistenti nel Tirolo*. Trento: Perini.
- Tomaselli, Alessandra & Ermenegildo Bidese. 2019. Subject clitic languages in comparison: Subject clitics, finite verb movement, and nominative case assignment in Germanic (Bavarian, Cimbrian) and Romance (French, North Italian) varieties. *La linguistica vista dalle Alpi. Teoria, lessicografia e multilinguismo/Linguistic views from the Alps. Language Theory, Lexicography and Multilingualism*, ed. by Ermenegildo Bidese, Jan Casalicchio & Manuela C. Moroni, 43–61. Berlin: Peter Lang.
- Untermann, Jürgen. 1989. Zu den Begriffen 'Restsprachen' und 'Trümmersprachen'. *Germanische Rest- und Trümmersprachen*, ed. by Heinrich Beck, 15–19. Berlin/New York: de Gruyter.
- Vescovi, Giulio. [circa 1880]. *Vocabolario cimbro dei Sette Comuni*. Manoscritto inedito.
- Zingerle, Ignaz. 1869. *Lusernisches Wörterbuch*. Innsbruck: Wagner.
- Zuin, Francesco. 2020. Una, nessuna centomila: nuove prospettive sull'origine dei cimbri. *Cimbri/Tzimbar* 60: 15–38
- Zuin, Francesco & Ermenegildo Bidese. 2022a. La Parabola del Figliol Prodigio in una varietà cimbra nordoccidentale dell'anno 1810: analisi testuale e linguistica. *Lingue minoritarie e ricerca linguistica*, ed. by Francesco Costantini, Diego Sidraschi, Emanuela Li Destri & Francesco Zuin, 117–152. Udine: Forum.
- Zuin, Francesco & Ermenegildo Bidese (eds.). 2022b. *L'antico cimbro di Foza e nei Sette Comuni. Dagli appunti inediti di Bruno Schweizer, integrati con altri repertori*. Pergine: Publiadige.

Notes on the Morphology and Syntax of a 'Restsprache in Re': Istro-Romanian

Michele Loporcaro

1 Introduction: 'Restsprachen in Re' vs. 'Post Rem'

A language that has come down to us only in fragmentary attestations was not necessarily, in the synchronic phase from which its documentation originates, an endangered language, although subsequently, by definition, it must have been. Thus, the connection between 'Restsprache' and endangered language proposed in the conference introductory text (see now Baglioni & Rigobianco, this volume) can be articulated by specifying that the status of 'Restsprache' can be 'in re' or 'post rem', which restates Untermann's (1980; 1983: 12 f.) distinction between 'Restsprachen' (stricto sensu), i.e. languages in decay (by language shift) at the time of their attestation, and 'Trümmersprachen', i.e. "Sprachen mit fragmentarisch erhaltenem Corpus" ['languages with fragmentarily preserved corpus'] (Untermann 1980: 7). The terminological distinction is thus updated to the current usage in historical linguistics, in which, again, the pre-existing term 'Restsprachen' seems to be used to denote both referents.

The fragmentary nature of the attestations may be due to external factors (desultory or undeveloped writing practices, or writing on perishable materi-

* The data on Istro-Romanian were collected during two fieldwork campaigns in Summer 2017 and 2018, funded by the SNSF Sinergia research project "Linguistic morphology in time and space (LiMiTS)" (SNSF CRSIII_160739), whose support is gratefully acknowledged. My heartfelt thanks go to the Istro-Romanians who were kind enough to share their native speaker intuitions with me and the colleagues on the crew during the fieldwork campaigns. I am also indebted to Marcello Barbato, Olga Tribulato, Olivier Winistörfer, two anonymous reviewers and the audience of the class lectures on language contact at the Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa in 2022–2023 for suggestions and comments on a previous draft. Usual disclaimers apply.

The following abbreviations will be used: (N/S)IR = (Northern/Southern) Istro-Romanian; DR = Daco-Romanian; AR = Aromanian; MR = Megleno-Romanian. Abbreviations featuring in grammatical glosses follow the Leipzig Glossing Rules. In addition: DO = direct object, IO = indirect object. Latin etyma are given in small caps.

I dedicate this work to the memory of Fredy Suter, in remembrance of the passion that ignited his gaze when he recounted his experiences in Istria and on his many other journeys.

als, so that documents were not being handed down to a substantial extent), which filter ‘post rem’ the documentation available to us, but it may also be due to intrinsic factors, which restrict ‘in re’ the vital space of this language.

For example, it is very possible that whoever wrote the well-known Gallo-Roman inscriptions of imperial times, a selection of which is presented in (1)—engraved on whorls and found at various locations between central-eastern France and Switzerland—divided their everyday linguistic life between Gaulish and Latin (respectively shown in capital and italic capital letters, while forms attributable to either language are shown in bold capitals), with a fair share of code-switching/mixing:¹

- (1) Gallo-Roman inscriptions (Loth 1916; Lambert 1997: 123–124; 2002: 323–333; Meid 1980: 1032–1038):
- a. GENETTA IMI | DAGA VIMPI ‘my girl/I’m a girl, good (and) beautiful’ (*Agendincum*, Sens; RIG II.2, L-120)
 - b. NATA VIMPI | · CVRMI DA ‘beautiful girl, give (me some) beer’ or ‘good beer’ (?), (*Augustodunum*, Autun; RIG II.2, L-112)
 - c. NATA VIMPI | POTA VI(NU)M ‘beautiful girl, drink (some) wine’ (?)² (*Autissiodurum*, Auxerre; RIG II.2, L-121)
 - d. AVE VIMPI ‘hello, (my) beautiful’ (*Noviodunum*, Nyon (CH); RIG II.2, L-122)
 - e. GENETA | VIS CARA ‘dear girl, will you?’ (*Augustodunum*, Autun; RIG II.2, L-114)

Gauls eventually shifted to Latin, and even on the same type of objects from the same places and time one can see inscriptions entirely in Latin, such as

-
- 1 Here are the Gaulish words featuring in the inscriptions in (1): **genet(t)ā* ‘girl’ EDPC 157, Welsh *geneth*; a doublet of this word may hide under *nata* (1b–c), a homograph to the Latin participle *nāta* ‘born.F.SG’ (> ‘daughter’) which Meid (1980: 1032) regards as ‘eine jüngere Form von *gnatha*’ [‘a more recent form of *gnatha*’] (attested in turn on a Gaulish inscription from St. Réverien, Nièvre; cf. Dottin 1918: 210, nr. 59), i.e. Gaul. (*g*)*nāta*, closely matching its Latin counterpart, both in terms of form (*gnāta* > *nāta*) and meaning (‘born.F.SG’ > ‘daughter’); **dago-* ‘good’ EDPC 86f., Gaul. *dago-marus*, Old Irish *dag-*; **wimpo-* ‘beautiful’ EDPC 422, Middle Welsh *gwemp* ‘excellent’; **kormi* ‘beer’ EDPC 217, *curmi* (Marcellus Burdigalensis, 4th century), XVI 33, *κορμί* (Dioscorides): Welsh *cwrw*, Irish *cuirn*; **kar-o-* ‘to love’ EDPC 191 Old Irish *caraid*, Middle Welsh *caru*.
 - 2 The interpretation of the second half of this inscription is debated, with uncertainties beginning with the order: given that it is written circularly around the whorl, it can also be read VIMPOTA (see discussion in Mullen 2022: 56f.).

AVE VALE BELLA TU, AVE DOMINA SITIIO 'hello, farewell, you (my) beautiful, hello (my) mistress, I'm thirsty' (from Autun; ILTG 524; Meid 1980: 1030; Lambert 1997: 123). By contrast, virtually none are entirely in Gaulish: "Il existe une dizaine de pesons de fuseaux portant des mots gaulois: mais un seul est entièrement en gaulois de façon certaine" ['there exist some ten whorls with Gaulish words on them: but just a single one is with certainty entirely in Gaulish'] (Lambert 2002: 320). The linguistic magmaticism of this corpus is palpable. For instance, Gaulish [wimpi] (*VIMPI* in (2a–d)), vocative feminine of *[wimpos] 'beautiful', is the pendant of the *BELLA* of the Latin epigraph now cited, while *NATA* is both Latin and innovative Gaulish (so Meid 1980: 1032),³ and *CARA* can be ascribed indifferently to either language.⁴ According to the editors' diagnosis, this is not an artificial mixture, first created at the time of writing, but the mirror of real-life linguistic conditions:

ces messages amoureux sont un mélange intime de gaulois et de latin. [...] Ce mélange de langues [...] illustre le caractère populaire des messages. Sans doute très proches à la langue parlée dans la société gallo-romaine, plusieurs de ces légendes associent des mots gaulois et des mots de latin vulgaire, et résistent à une classification schématique ['these love messages are an intimate mixture of Gaulish and Latin. ... This mixture of languages ... illustrates the popular character of the messages. Undoubtedly very close to the language spoken in Gallo-Roman society, several of these legends combine Gaulish words and words in vulgar Latin, and resist a schematic classification'] (Lambert 2002: 319).

In other words, these texts give a picture of systematic code-switching and code-mixing in the context of ongoing language shift, a shift that was to be completed by the end of the Western Empire.

Some believe that this switching practice precipitated a kind of transitional mixed language: "Avant de disparaître, il avait probablement formé, avec le latin, des parlers mixtes dont nous retrouvons quelques traces dans des inscriptions d'origine vulgaire" ['Before disappearing, it [= Gaulish] had probably formed, with Latin, some mixed dialects of which we find some traces in

3 An important clue attesting to its being (also) an autochthonous Gaulish word (in spite of *gn*->*n*-, see note 1) is provided by the gloss *nate fili* 'oh, son!' in the Vienna glossary (*De nominibus Gallicis*, written after the 5th century, whose earliest manuscript dates to the 8th), given its structure providing for "Gaulish words in the left-hand column" (Adams 2007: 302).

4 If this were indeed Celtic, it would require correcting the "unattested *karo- 'dear, beloved' < PIE **kh₂-ro-*" in EDPC 191.

inscriptions of vulgar origin'] (Dottin 1918: 70). This is also Meid's (1980: 1034) opinion, disputed, however, by Adams (2003: 197) according to whom

[t]here are certainly no grounds for setting up a mixed language, neither fully Latin nor fully Gaulish, which might have become established at a transitional stage in the process of Romanisation.⁵

Gaulish inscriptions (apart from those on spindle whorls exemplified in (1)) cease after the 2nd century CE, which might mean that at least of some of the spindle whorl inscriptions could provide the latest documents of Gaulish. Indeed, Mullen (2022: 46), summarizing earlier discussions on the dating of the whorl inscriptions, dismisses the claims (by Loth 1916: 169; Meid 1980: 1030; and Adams 2003: 196) that they date "to the third or fourth century AD" and, based on the evaluation of the relevant archaeological contexts, concludes for a time range between 90 and 235 CE.

A last certain metalinguistic attestation of its spoken usage is found in Sulpicius Severus' *Dialogues* (written c. 405), I 26, 5 (PL 20, 201), where a Gaul who does not speak Latin well is told: "Tu vero, inquit Postumianus, vel Celtice; aut, si mavis, Gallice loquere" ['You—Postumianus said—may speak Celtic or, if you prefer (calling it like that), Gaulish'] (cf. Lambert 1997: 10; Eska 2004: 857). At about the same time as Sulpicius' *Dialogus* is the floruit of Marcellus Empiricus (aka Marcellus Burdigalensis, cited in note 1), whose *De medicamentis* contains

some Gaulish words which had entered local Latin and were no longer recognised as Celtic by Marcellus (though for the most part in his linguistic observations he makes a distinction between Latin and Gaulish and thus seems to have known some of the words he comments on in Gaulish, an indication that the language lingered on) (Adams 2003: 195).

Thus, not in general, but certainly in the specific texts exemplified in (1)—characterised by what Baglioni & Rigobianco (this volume: 2) dub "constitutive 'incompleteness' ... of forms and functions"—Gaulish appears to us as a 'Rest-

5 Mullen (2013) offers an in-depth survey of language contact (crucially including code-mixing) in Southern Gaul. Note that there is no contradiction between assuming code-switching/mixing and the idea of a mixed identity, as Mullen (2022: 58 ff.) seems to imply, who instead appeals to translanguaging. After all, it has often been reported for second-generation communities to adopt a bicultural identity structured linguistically through code-switching and mixing within systematically mixed language use (see e.g. Pizzolotto 1991; Schmid 2020).

sprache in re', independently of its fixation in writing, at a stage where mixed linguistic usage, both in speech and writing, attests to the language's retreat on its way to extinction. Such a situation of linguistic mixing and language shift in progress is not very dissimilar to that observable today for Istro-Romanian, to which I now turn. The parallelism is more fitting when considering what is seen in (1), as argued for example by Dottin (1918: 70), some sort of contact language (in the sense of Matras 2009: ch. 10) or mixed language use, a reflection of bilingual speech (Mullen 2022: 58 ff.), while it would be less than perfect if that were "just" code-switching, since the Istro-Romanian facts to be discussed show the precipitate of code-switching/mixing as borrowing and calque.⁶

In what follows, having first provided some sociolinguistic information on Istro-Romanian (§ 2), I will go on in §§ 3–4 to discuss some examples of the dialectics between retention and innovation through contact. In § 3, a few words will be spent to introduce the effects of total language contact on IR, focusing on the lexicon. I will then concentrate on grammar addressing verbal aspect (§ 4.1), some verb tenses (§ 4.2), clitic placement (§ 4.3), conjunctions (§ 4.4), and finally the formation of comparatives and superlatives (§ 4.5).

The investigation of the effects of the pressure of language contact and its role as a driver of change, because of the uniformitarian principle—according to which “the linguistic processes taking place around us are the same as those that have operated to produce the historical record” (Labov 1972: 101)—, will be useful for the study of 'Restsprachen' from the past, at the stage when they were such 'in re'.

2 The Ecological Setting of Istro-Romanian

Istro-Romanian (henceforth IR) is one of the four subdivisions of Daco-Romance, according to the majority view to be found in handbooks (e.g. in Tagliavini 1972: 356–364). However, linguists from the local community (e.g., Vrzić & Doričić 2014: 105) prefer subsuming IR directly under a superordinate classificatory unit dubbed 'Eastern Romance', on a par with those varieties which the handbook view regards as the three further branches of Daco-Romance, viz. Daco-Romanian (DR), Aromanian (AR) and Megleno-Romanian (MR).⁷

⁶ Thanks to an anonymous reviewer for bringing up this point.

⁷ The subgrouping is controversial (Dahmen 1989: 436 f. reviews the different proposals, and Dahmen & Kramer 2021 even question, on extralinguistic grounds, the traditional grouping

IR is spoken by a vanishingly tiny number of speakers in a few villages in north-eastern Istria (see Figure 14.1) and comprises two mutually intelligible, yet clearly distinct varieties (northern and southern, henceforth NIR vs. SIR respectively), which have been spoken in isolation from each other since the late Middle Ages and thus came to diverge in both lexicon and grammar.⁸ NIR is spoken just in Žejane (IR *Jejān*, in the municipality of Matulji, Primorje-Gorski Kotar district), while SIR survives in an area lying some 20 km to the SSW as the crow flies, but at least 40 km on foot (see the list of the SIR villages in Filipi 2002: 31). This geographic setting favoured the mutual isolation and hence the structural divergence of the two branches, since they are separated by the Učka/Monte Maggiore massif. For SIR, the first-hand data cited in the following were collected with speakers from the variety of Šušnjevića if not otherwise specified.

The sociolinguistic setting of IR is one of total (or absolute) language contact (Breu 2011: 440), as its speakers are all bilingual with Croatian in the standard and the Čakavian dialect varieties and lack a separate ethnic identity, viewing themselves as Croats. Such a situation favours assimilation and its linguistic manifestation, i.e. language shift to the majority language. This shift is nearly completed nowadays (the Ethnologue classifies IR as ‘shifting’):⁹ fluent native speakers (probably around 100) are today over 50 years of age and the language is not being passed on to children any longer. Obviously, given this situation, earlier sources give higher and higher figures as one climbs back in time. Thus Ascoli (1861: 48 f.), elaborating on Combi (1859: 108 f.), reported over 3000 IR speakers, while about one century later, Tagliavini (1972: 364; first ed. 1949) and Kovačec (1971: 23) estimated some 1500 speakers. More recently, Filipi’s (2002: 53) figures indicate some 90 and 80 speakers for SIR and NIR respectively and, finally, Vrzić & Doričić (2014: 107) give a somewhat more optimistic estimate for NIR (120 fluent speakers), but the data are uncertain, as in the same year Vuletić (2014: 191 n. 9) indicates 53 NIR speakers (out of the 134 inhabitants of Žejane), based on information from the <http://www.vlaski-zejanski.com/> website (last accessed on 10 July 2023), provided by the first author of the article just quoted (Z. Vrzić).

within a unity of the four dialects). According to Pușcariu (1976: 254 f.), IR and DR form a western branch, AR and MR an eastern branch.

8 A certain amount of the differences in the lexicon (on which cf. Kovačec’s 1998 dictionary and Filipi’s 2002 atlas) depends on the different intensity of contact with other languages: for instance, for ‘newspaper’ SIR has the Italian loanword [dʒor’no] while NIR has borrowed [no’vine] from Croatian.

9 EGIDS level 7: cf. <https://www.ethnologue.com/language/ruo/> (last accessed on 10 July 2023).

3 Effects of Total Language Contact on Istro-Romanian

IR is well documented, starting with the first studies in the mid-19th century, which allows one to appreciate the increasing impact of total language contact (see § 2) on its structure. Before the eventual language shift, total contact has generally been observed to be conducive to simplification of the grammar of the minority language, so that “the reduction of language-specific rules seems to be the most important reason for language change” (Breu 2011: 440). Indeed, comparison with the other branches of Romanian shows that the grammatical structure of IR has been substantially reshaped (see the data discussed in Kovačec 1963; 1966; 1968; 1971; Filipi 2002; Sala 2013: 218–225; Vrzić & Doričić 2014; Loporcaro et al. 2021). For example, both IR branches have lost the palatal secondary articulation of consonants, as seen in DR *lup* ‘wolf’, pl. *lupi*, resulting in inflectional homophony across numbers in the nominative of many masculine nouns (IR *lup* ‘wolf=wolves’, Kovačec 1998: 108).¹⁰ Croatian too lacks this phonological contrast. The impact of Croatian is particularly evident in the syntax, where IR has copied the relatively free word order of Croatian, thus departing from the other branches of Romanian, as well as specific rules such as those for the placement of clitics (pronominal and auxiliaries; see § 4.3). Lexical borrowing led to relexification even in core domains such as those of body parts (Vrzić & Doričić 2014) or numerals (see Loporcaro et al. 2021 with references to the previous literature), so that it is often the case that whole IR sentences consist of Croatian lexemes “sans en changer autre chose que les morphemes grammaticaux” [‘without changing anything else but grammatical morphemes’] (Kovačec 1968: 81).

To give a graphic impression of this intermingling, consider a short excerpt from the collection of SIR texts published by Pușcariu (1906), reproduced in (2) with Pușcariu’s Romanian translation (displayed interlinearly, preceding the English one), to be used as a term of comparison (IR Slavicisms unknown to DR are boldfaced and italicized while Slavicisms common to the two varieties or occurring only in DR are boldfaced in both texts):

(2) SIR text from Pușcariu (1906: 8):

a. O vote un *hlapăț* sluzit-a *gospodăru* tota lui *ziv’ea*

Odată o slugă a slujit la un stăpân toată viața lui.

‘(There was) once a servant (who) had served a master all his life.’

¹⁰ For this lexeme, the alternative plural form *lúpure* ‘wolves’ is also available, in competition with the unmarked plural *lup* (Kovačec 1966: 64), where one sees the extension to original masculines of the *-ure* suffix originally restricted to neuters.

- b. Când-a vut *gospodâru za muri*, ie zis-a lu *hlapățu*:
 Când a fost *stăpânul* pe moarte, i-a zis *slugii*:
 ‘When the master was about to (literally: had to) die, he said to the servant.’
- c. “tu-mî-aî fost bur, ma ijo te rogu viro me *veglă* ța nopte țe me *zecopéiru*.”
 “Tu mi-ai fost bun, dar te rog vino și ține-mi veghea în noaptea când mă vor *îngropà*.”
 “‘You have been kind to me, but please come and watch over me on the night I am to be buried’”
- d. țela *hlapăț* a mes si se *imbaté* pre un om: țela fost-a ânêlu.
Sluga a mers și s’a *întâlnit* cu un om: acela erà îngerul.
 ‘That servant went and met a man: that was the angel.’

In (2), IR forms of Latin heritage not preserved in DR are given in italics: these include lexemes, such as *imbaté se* ‘to come across’ (< *IMBATTERE, Salvioni–Faré 4277a: cp. the Italian cognate *imbattersi*), and aspects of grammar, such as the preservation of the infinitive: *când-a vut za muri* (introduced by the Slavic preposition *za*), *viro me veglă* (< Lat. VIG(I)LARE; note here also the preservation of the palatal lateral in the consonant cluster [gʎ] from [gl]). In this passage, this is a minority component, as is the other—noted in spaced out italics—of forms of non-Slavic origin,¹¹ while Slavicisms are a clear majority.

As is well-known, Romanian itself is the Romance language with the lowest percent incidence of inherited Latin lexicon, which is estimated not to exceed 2000 entries, though mostly of high frequency (Sala 2006: 44). This original layer—unlike in the ‘România continua’—was not corroborated by the centuries-long osmosis with Latin and the learned loanwords that derived from it, in whose stead a host of loanwords entered Romanian from Old (Church) Slavonic. IR goes further: in (2), an IR Slavicism which is not found in DR is *živleña* (NIR *živleña* < Čakavian *življenje*) ‘life’, related to the verb of Slavic origin *živí/živí* ‘to live’ (< *živ(j)eti*), which replaced Lat. VIVERE to whose family DR *viața* (< VIVITIA DER 9323) belongs, along with its derivative *a viețui* ‘to live’, synonymous with the much more usual *a trăi*. Equally Slavic is *zecopéiru* ‘(they) will bury’ (inf. *zecopéi* IHR 223 < Croatian *zakopati*). This verb form simultaneously exhibits aspects of innovation (by contact) and preservation (with respect to DR), and these will be the two first structural features to be considered in § 4, with which we transition from lexicon to grammar.

11 These are *îngropa* ‘to bury’, from *groapă* ‘grave’, probably a substratum word (cp. Albanian. *gropë* ‘id.’, DER 3891), and the Magyarism *a întâlni* ‘to meet’.

4 The Changing Structure of Istro-Romanian

4.1 *Verbal Aspect*

The verb form *zecopéiru* in (2) shows at work a productive lexeme formation device, impacting verbal morphology, that was acquired by contact and undermined inherited mechanisms. A further example is given in (3) (again, the IR sentence in (3a) is followed by the DR counterpart in (3b), and Slavicisms are boldfaced):¹²

- (3) a. **o'bitfno** am kumpara'vei̯t 'k^wörne, **ali** jer am kumpa'rot 'ribe SIR
 b. **obišnuit** cumpăram carne, dar ieri am cumpărat pește DR
 'usually I bought meat, but yesterday I bought fish' (Hurren 1969: 66)

In the first verb form [kumpara'vei̯] 'to buy' in (3a), formed on a Romance basis (the same as in the second verb in (3a), [kumpa'rot] < Lat. COMPARĀRE REW 2094), the derivational suffix is Slavic, and serves the formation of an aspectual pair. Among the most discussed innovative features of IR, is namely that of having imported the Slavic system of forming pairs of verbal lexemes (variously shaped, as exemplified in Table 14.1) whose members are distinguished by aspect/Aktionsart.

Suffixation and prefixation occurring in such pairs are among the lexeme formation devices that IR imported from Slavic and uses productively, to the detriment of inherited strategies: thus, IR is possibly the only Romance language in which the inherited -ĀRE verb class has ceased to be productive and remains confined to the original Latin stock (e.g. *leḡó* 'to tie' < Lat. LIGĀRE).

4.2 *Istro-Romanian Future and Conditional*

In the inflection of the same verb form *zecopéiru* '(they) will bury' in (2c) we see—as mentioned while concluding § 3—also a conservative feature. Indeed, we are confronted here with a verb tense found in ancient DR but no longer in present-day DR, variously named as future subjunctive (Ascoli 1861: 67), restrictive future ("restrictivul viitor", Pușcariu 1926: 179; Kovačec 1971: 142), or (synthetic) conditional (Maiden 2020: 28; 2021: 296). All labels capitalize on the fact that, though in (2c) we see it occurring in an embedded temporal clause, its unmarked context of use is the protasis of a conditional sen-

12 The adverb meaning 'habitually' is a Slavicism in DR as well, but IR has borrowed it again and uses it as an unadapted loanword; the noun ['ribe] in SIR (= NIR ['riba]) replaces the Romance word *pește* (< Lat. PĪSCEM) of Romanian (3b).

TABLE 14.1 Aspectual-actional lexeme pairs in the 1R verb system (after Maiden 2016: 211; cf. Hurren 1969; 1999: 114–138; Kovačec 1971: 123–130)

	a. imperfective	b. perfective	
i.	<i>dopa'deḷ se</i>	<i>dopa'di se</i>	'to please, like'
	<i>ska'keḷ</i>	<i>ska'tfi</i>	'to jump'
	<i>spovi'deḷ</i>	<i>spovi'di</i>	'to confess'
	<i>'tortfe</i>	<i>po'tortfe (spre'di)</i>	'to spin'
ii.	<i>la'trṽ</i>	<i>zala'trṽ</i>	'to bark'
	<i>dur'mi</i>	<i>zadur'mi</i>	'to sleep'
iii.	<i>fare'kv</i>	<i>priku'ji</i>	'to shoe (a horse)'
	<i>'bε</i>	<i>po'pi</i>	'to drink'
	<i>matfi'rv</i>	<i>zme'ki</i>	'to grind'

tense introduced by the conditional conjunction *se* (< Lat. *sī*).¹³ Both contexts are exemplified in Table 14.2 (a), and the periphrastic indicative future, formed with the auxiliary verb 'to want' as in DR, is given for comparison in (b) (cf. Ascoli 1861: 65; Pușcariu 1926: 179; Kovačec 1971: 147; Hurren 1999: 90).

Etymologically, this verb tense ultimately stems from the Latin future perfect: e.g. *a'flvr* '(if) I find' < *ADFLAVERO, *a'vvr* '(if) I have' < HABU(E)RO/-IM, *'fur* '(if) I am' < FU(E)RO, etc. (Ascoli 1861: 67, Maiden 2021: 296), whose stem was analogically reshaped in several verbs: e.g. *askun'ser* '(if) I hide' < ABSCONDIRERO × ABSCONS-, *fa'kur* '(if) I make' < FECERO × FAC-, *'dvr/da'vvr* '(if) I give' < (DEDE)RO × DA(+v)- (cp. Croatian *davati/dati*), etc.

That of the definition of this tense is to some extent a nominalistic issue. The forms of the 1R future subjunctive are identical to those of the Old Romanian conditional, and these in turn are etymologically identical to those of the Spanish future subjunctive (ORo. *zisere, fure* = Sp. *dijere, fuere* etc., Maiden 2004: 84; Maiden 2008: 6). Now, "In old Romanian, the conditional is a kind of future tense form characteristically confined to the protasis of those conditional sen-

13 The outcome of Lat. *sī* has retained its original function in 1R as well as in AR (cf. (15) below).

TABLE 14.2 Future subjunctive and future indicative (NIR)

a. future subjunctive (NIR);				b. future indicative (NIR)				
1SG	se/kənd	jo	a'flɔ-r	fi'ni-r	(na)pi'sæj-r	jo	voi	a'flɔ
2SG	"	tu	a'flɔ-ri	fi'ni-ri	(na)pi'sæj-ri	tu	vɛr	"
3M/F.SG	"	je/jɔ	a'flɔ-re	fi'ni-re	(na)pi'sæj-re	je/jɔ	va	"
1PL	"	noĭ	a'flɔ-rem	fi'ni-rem	(na)pi'sæj-rem	noĭ	rɛm/rɛn ^a	"
2PL	"	voĭ	a'flɔ-rets	fi'ni-rets	(na)pi'sæj-rets	voĭ	vɛts	"
3M/F.PL	"	jeʌ/jɔle	a'flɔ-ru	fi'ni-ru	(na)pi'sæj-ru	jeʌ/jɔle	vor	"
'if/when find/found// finish/ finished// write/wrote' etc.; 'I will find etc.'								

a [rɛm] and [rɛn], occur in free variation, which is reminiscent of "[t]he historical change **-m > -n*" that occurs in Istrian Northwest Čakavian dialects and affects verb inflections such as 1SG *kopān* 'I dig' (< *-m*; see e.g. Kalsbeek 2011: 137).

tences whose apodosis contained a verb in the future" (Maiden 2021: 297). This means that even proponents of the 'conditional' label acknowledge the future semantic component, which actually seems the crucial one, so that the traditional label 'future subjunctive' seems preferable. Note that this semantic trait becomes the primary one in related Dalmatian, where the same forms gave rise to the unmarked (indicative) future:

- (4) *man'tf-ur-me e 'b-ar-me da'pu* Dalmatian
 eat-FUT-1PL and drink-FUT-1PL afterwards
 'we'll eat and drink afterwards' (Bartoli 1906: 242; Maiden 2016: 130)

Moreover, both IR speakers and linguists with a Slavic background use the Croatian future as a translational equivalent of this tense, as shown e.g. by Kovačec's (1998: 295) translations: *ĭé va verí cānd tot fúre ýótovo* 'on će doći kada sve bude gotovo' = 'he will come when everything is ready' (lit. 'will be ready'); *se veríri acāsa, na rem poġovarúĭ* 'ako dođeš kući, porazgovarat ćemo' = 'if you come home (lit. 'will come'), we will talk'. The same correspondence emerges in translations of Croatian questionnaire items given by our IR informants, as exemplified in (5):

- (5) a. *Ako će ti ju pokazati, svidat će ti se* (Croatian, questionnaire item)
 'if they show it (F.SG) to you, you'll like it' (lit. 'if they will show')

b. NIR 2017

se ts= vo= ara'tʷvru, dopa'di ti=
 if 2SG.DAT 3SG.F.ACC show.FUT.SBJV.3PL please.INF 2SG.DAT
se= 'vɒ
 REFL FUT.IND.3SG

c. SIR 2017

ʃe tsi= vo= ra'tʷv-ru, pja'zɛi tsi=
 if 2SG.DAT 3SG.F.ACC show.FUT.SBJV.3PL please.INF 2SG.DAT
se= 'vɒ /
 REFL FUT.IND.3SG
ʃe tsi= vo= ra'tʷv-ru, 'vɒ ≠tsi
 if 2SG.DAT 3SG.F.ACC show.FUT.SBJV.3PL FUT.IND.3SG 2SG.DAT
≠se pja'zɛi
 REFL please.INF

d. SIR 2017

ʃe ts= 'vɒ= vo= ra'tʷv, pja'zɛi tsi se 'vɒ
 if 2SG.DAT FUT.IND.3SG 3SG.F.ACC show.INF ...

Answers (5b–c) show that, given a question containing ‘if’ in the source language, followed by a verb in the future, the future subjunctive is a natural response for speakers from both branches. As shown in (5d) for SIR, however, this is not mandatory, as also the (periphrastic) future indicative is an option to fulfil the same task, which is all the more proof that not calling the verb tense at issue a future would miss a generalization.

4.3 *Clitics and Clitic Placement in IR*

The two variants of the SIR response in (5c) differ in the placement of pronominal clitics, which represents one of the many areas where the two grammars, Romance and Slavic, intersect, resulting in an intricate state of affairs. In examples such as those in (6), IR shows pronominal clitics apparently indistinguishable in terms of syntactic placement from the general Romance (and specifically Romanian) conditions:

- (6) a. *asku'tɔts=me 'bire*
 listen:IMP.2PL≠1SG.ACC well
 ‘listen to me well’

- b. *nu mi-ε 'frika*
 NEG 1SG.DAT_{is} fear
 'I am not afraid'

However, the affirmative counterpart to the negative clause (6b) is [*'frika mi-ε*] 'I am afraid', showing that the placement of pronominal clitics can diverge from the Romanian rules and take the second position dictated by Croatian Wackernagel clitic placement rules, though this is not a must, as will be shown in (8c), (10) (Dragomirescu & Nicolae 2020: 155 treat this duplicity as the coexistence of two cliticization sites, "a C-oriented site, specific to Wackernagel, 2nd position clitics, and an I-oriented site, the general option of the Romance languages"). In addition, again as in Croatian, clitic-hood is systematically observed with auxiliary verbs and the copula, as exemplified with the perfective auxiliary 'to have' in (7a):¹⁴

- (7) a. *kumpa'rvt-av 'kɔza* NIR 2017
 bought:M.SG_{have}.PRS.3PL house
 'they bought a house'
- b. *bepo fi adri'vna av= kumpa'rvt 'kɔza fi*
 Beppe and Adriana have.PRS.3PL_{bought} house and
mj-av=0=ara'tot
 1SG.DAT_{have}.PRS.3PL_{3SG.F.ACC}_{showed}
 'Beppe and Adriana bought a house and showed it to me'

Note that in (7b) the proclitic auxiliary [*av*] ends up sandwiched between two pronominal object clitics thus forming a sequence that is ungrammatical in DR (contrast the Romanian counterpart *mi-au aratat-o*).¹⁵ In addition to the parallelism with Croatian syntax, one has to mention the fact that in Old Romanian

14 The auxiliary form *av* in (7a–b) is both a phonological and syntactic clitic (see, e.g., Loporcaro 2012: 756 f., 765–769 for this distinction, though see Dragomirescu & Nicolae (2021) who argue that the auxiliary 'to have' in Istro-Romanian is not a clitic). This makes a difference with respect to the DR forms of *a avea* 'to have' that an anonymous reviewer brings up in this connection. These forms are indeed often described as 'clitic' (Maiden 2018: 237; Zafiu 2021: 360) since they are monosyllabic and, for the cited authors, lack lexical stress (which is questionable, however). Certainly, unlike its IR counterpart, DR *a avea* is not clitic syntactically.

15 As Oli Winistörfer pointed out to me, this sandwiching would be banned also in Slavic varieties of the region. The NIR example (7b) is at odds with Zegrean's (2012: 157) account, who argues that in IR "Unless other pronominal clitics are present, 3rd person auxiliaries are enclitic on the participle" and thus deems ungrammatical examples such as NIR

TABLE 14.3 Daco-Romanian and Croatian copula

	a. Daco-Romanian		b. Croatian	
	stressed	clitic	stressed	clitic
1SG	sunt	≈s	jesam	sam
2SG	ești	—	jesi	si
3SG	este / e	≈i	jest(e)	je
1PL	suntem	—	jesmo	smo
2PL	sunteți	—	jeste	ste
3PL	sunt	≈s	jesu	su

“unstressed pronominal elements (and auxiliaries) were subject to ‘Wackernagel’ conditions, tending to occur immediately after the first major constituent of the clause, and never clause-initially: e.g. *Văzutu-l-am*, lit. ‘seen him I.have’ vs modern *L-am văzut* ‘him=I.have seen’» (Maiden 2016: 105).¹⁶ Under such circumstances, it may be difficult to discern what IR owes to shared Romanian inheritance from what is due to Croatian contact pressure. However, this discrimination proves easier when it comes to the copula. Like IR, also DR possesses some clitic forms of the copula (the third persons and the first singular), which are displayed in Table 14.3 (a) alongside the Croatian enclitic copula paradigm in (b).

Unlike DR, Croatian displays no gaps in this paradigm.¹⁷ The same is true in IR, as exemplified in Table 14.4 with auxiliaries encliticizing to some place/time

**Dejan a mes în beserica* ‘Dejan has gone to church’ (instead of *Dejan mes-a în beserica*). Both orders are actually possible, as also seen e.g. in the SIR examples in (2d), with *țela hlapăț a mes* ‘that servant went’ alongside *țela fost-a ânelu* ‘that was the angel’.

16 That the possibility of enclitic placement of the auxiliary is at least partly hereditary suggests also the comparison with Megleno-Romanian, which has developed an “inverted perfect” with modal (evidential) functions resulting from the univerbation of an original participle+auxiliary sequence (Tomić 2006: 378–380). Though some authors prefer a compositional analysis of these forms (see e.g. Zegrean 2012: 43 n. 38), the inverted perfect of the verb *iri* ‘be’ (*fost-am* 1 (SG=PL), *fost-ai* 2SG, *fost-au* 3 (SG=PL), etc.), exemplified in (i) (cf. Tomić 2006: 378 n. 71, 380), provides particularly clear evidence for reanalysis since the participle **fost* does not occur on its own any longer in Megleno-Romanian (having been ousted by analogical *fută*; see Capidan 1921: 175):

(i) *nu ra casă; fostau la lucru.*

NEG was.3SG home was.EVID.3 at work

‘he wasn’t at home; (I understand that) he was at work’

17 The availability of a full enclitic paradigm for the copula is widespread in Southern Slavic: cf. e.g. Tomić (1997: 303) on Macedonian.

TABLE 14.4 Northern Istro-Romanian enclitic copula (NIR 2017)

	a. 'whence?'	b. 'where?'	c. pronoun	d. 'since when?'	e. 'here'
1SG	'dende-səm	'juva-səm	'jo?	də 'kənd s-səm 'dntf]	'dntf s-səm de la 'dɛset 'uri
2SG	'dende-f	'juva-f	'tu?	f	f
3SG	'dende-je/ɛ̃	'juva-je/ɛ̃	'je (M)/'jɔ (F)?	je/ɛ̃	je/ɛ̃
1PL	'dende-smo	'juva-smo	'noi?	s-smo	s-smo
2PL	'dende-ste	'juva-ste	'voi?	s-ste	s-ste
3PL	'dende-s	'juva-s	'jeɔ (M)/'jɔle (F)?	s	s
	'where am I from?', etc.	'where am I?', etc.	'I, you' etc.	'since when have I been here?', etc.	'I have been here since 10 o'clock', etc.

adverbs ([juva] < UBI + VOLET, ['dende] < DE + UNDE; ['dntf] < HA(N)C+CE; the reader is referred to Frăţilă & Bărdăşan 2010: 88, 154, 187 for the etyma):

The 2SG form seems explicable as a reduction of the common Romanian one, given palato-alveolar [ʃ], probably favoured by the Croatian parallel. For the rest, comparison with Table 14.3 (a) suggests that enclitic 3SG *ɛ̃* and 3PL *s* are while all remaining forms must be borrowed from Croatian.

As a further example of clitic placement, consider in (8a–c) the different linearizations which we have recorded for the parting formula meaning 'see you tomorrow':

- (8) a. *ve'dɛ-nɛ-rɛm* 'mɔre NIR 2017
see=REFL.1PL=FUT.1PL tomorrow
- b. (*noi*) *nɛ-rɛm-ve'dɛ* 'mɔre
(1PL) REFL.1PL=FUT.1PL=see tomorrow
- c. *rɛn-nɛ-ve'dɛ* 'mɔre
FUT.1PL=REFL.1PL=see tomorrow
'see you tomorrow'
- (9) *ve'dɛ-rɛn-nɛ* 'mɔre
see =FUT.1PL=REFL.1PL tomorrow
'we'll see (each other) tomorrow'

or the conditional) rather than an inflectional ending, given the homophony just mentioned that is observed in this one person.¹⁹

4.4 Some Conjunctions in Istro-Romanian

A further Slavicism boldfaced in (3), § 4.1, is the adversative contrastive conjunction *ali*, a Croatian loanword in IR which is unknown to DR, on a par with the other synonymous, but inherited, conjunction, *ma* (Kovačec 1971: 160), which occurred above in the textual excerpt in (2c):

- (12) Adversative contrastive/textual conjunction *ma* < Lat. MA(GI)S
- a. *no nu-i fome, ma lu fețóri* (SIR, IHR 110)
 'it is not I who am hungry, but the child'
- b. *ma ȝo te rogu (= (2c)); ma će am ió facút?* (NIR, IHR 110)
 'but I beg you' 'but what have I done?' (textual conjunction?)

Conjunctions offer one more chance to see how the picture offered by IR is variegated, also characterised by some aspects of preservation with respect to DR. Such is the case with *ma*, the outcome of Latin MAGIS, instead of which DR has *dar*, as an adversative contrastive conjunction, but which also remains in the other two branches: MR and AR *ma* 'but' (see Papahagi 1974: 762 and Bara 2004: 97 respectively). This (exclusive) adversative contrastive conjunction *ma* in IR is also reinforced by Croatian, which has in turn borrowed *ma* from Romance (i.e. Italian): e.g. *ma/ali što sam ja učinio?* 'but what have I done?' (Skok 1971–1974: II, 343).

Taking a somewhat broader look at coordination, one sees that the common Romanian copulative conjunction *și* occurs also in IR (in SIR also as *si*, IHR 190), as exemplified in (13):

- (13) Copulative conjunction: IR *și* (SIR also *si*) = DR/AR/MR *și* < Lat. SĪC
 'bepo ȝi adri'ona av kumpa'tót 'kɔza ȝi mj'av=ɔ ara'tót NIR (2017)
 'Beppe and Adriana bought a house and showed it to me'

However, its range of use is narrower than in DR, since alongside this conjunction, IR features a further one with a non-exclusive contrastive function (or

19 I have been following the descriptive literature (see especially Kovačec 1971: 143, 151) in transcribing with [ɛ] the auxiliary form and with [e] the ending, but indeed the vowel timbre is intermediate in both.

the function of contradiction of expectation, such as expressed by e.g. Spanish *pero/mas* contrasting with corrective *sino*, etc.; cf. e.g. Cuenca et al. 2019: 6). This is the outcome of Lat. ET, which modern DR lacks:

- (14) Adversative contrastive conjunction: IR *e* (IHR 75) < Lat. ET (MR *e* 'and', Papahagi 1974: 527; AR *e* 'and, but, or', Bara 2004: 58/*i* 'and', Cunia 2010: 552), inherited but with a changed function, viz. non-exclusive contrastive (= DR *dar*)
- a. 'bepo **fi**/*e adri'dna 'ji=vor la 'mɔre NIR (2017)
'Joe and Adriana will go to the seaside'
- b. 'jo voi=ji la 'mɔre **fi**/*e tu 'boʎe ku 'mire
'I'll go to the beach and you'll come with me'
- c. 'jo voi=ji la 'mɔre e/***fi** tu 'boʎe a 'kɔza
'I'll go to the beach and you go home'
- d. ku'tʃɔ tʃe am 'dɔt 'ʃoldi 'ditseʎej 'ji=voɨ ə(n) 'rai, e se nu raf'ost 'dɔ, 'ji=raf
'ost la 'drɔku
'for giving money to children I will go to heaven, but/and if I didn't
(give) I would go to hell' (/raf + 'fost/ → [ra'fost])

The examples in (14) show that IR [fi] and [e] are in complementary distribution, the latter only being felicitous when a contrast is implied, as in (14c–d) (contrary to (14b)). Again, the occurrence of this conjunction in IR is obviously a matter of preservation, combined, however, with an innovation, given the restriction in meaning to the non-exclusive contrastive function that pertains instead to *dar* or *iar* (the latter with a meaning halfway between 'and' and 'but') in DR (Cuenca et al. 2019: 8). This innovation is common to Aromanian, not to Megleno-Romanian, where *e* preserves its original copulative meaning.

Finally, in (15a) one sees another conservative trait of IR, in which the outcome of Lat. *sī* 'if' (> *se*, IHR 174) still fulfils its original function as a conditional conjunction, in the same way as observed for its counterpart *să* in Old Romanian (15b), which then became in DR a modal marker for 'irrealis' (the subjunctive and the 'viitor popular': *am/o să vin* 'I'll come'):

- (15) Conditional conjunction: IR *se* ≠ DR *dacă* (Old Romanian *să* < Lat. *sī*)
- a. se tu ve'riri, jo ts raf'dɔ baj'kot NIR (2017)
'if you came I would give you a cookie'

- b. *să ești ti* (Old DR, Coresi, 16th c., DER 7300.1)
 (= AR *și* ‘that; if’; Bara 2004: 140)
 ‘if it is you’

4.5 *Comparative and Superlative Formation*

I will now round off this short guided tour of some notable aspects of IR morphology and syntax by discussing a dramatic—and, to date, unparalleled—example of contact-induced change, which has taken place in the expression of the superlative. Prior to this change, IR must have formed both comparative and superlative in the same way as exemplified in (16) for DR, since all branches of Romanian have inherited this strategy from Proto-Romance:

- (16) a. *mare* ‘big’ b. *mai mare* ‘bigger’ c. *cel mai mare* ‘the biggest’
 bun ‘good’ *mai bun* ‘better’ *cel mai bun* ‘the best’

Proto-Romance has virtually generalized analytic comparative and superlative formation, which ousted the affixal strategy that Latin had inherited from PIE. In Latin, the comparative was formed by adding the suffix *-ior* (M/F.NOM)/*-ius* (N.NOM) to the root, with some cases of allomorphy ensuing in a handful of high-frequency lexemes: e.g. *magnus* ‘big’ → *maior/maius* ‘bigger’. This synthetic formation yielded in Proto-Romance to a periphrasis, whereby the adverb *MAGIS* (in peripheral varieties: Romanian, Spanish and Portuguese) or *PLUS* (in central varieties such as Italian and French) precedes the adjective. Alongside this regular strategy, most languages have preserved about half a dozen irregular high-frequency comparatives inherited from Latin: e.g. It. *maggiore* ‘bigger’ < *MAIŌREM* (alongside *più grande*, lit. ‘more big’). Romanian does not even preserve such scanty remnants and has generalized the periphrastic formation without residue, as shown in (16b). The same holds for superlatives, where remnants of the Latin synthetic formation never persist in the relative superlative, which consists of a periphrasis with the definite article (in most languages: e.g. Italian *il più grande* ‘the biggest’) while in Romanian it involves an articloid (*cel/cea mai mare*, M/F; see (16c)).

If the one seen in (16) must be the starting point for IR too, contact with Croatian has impacted the system. Unlike Romance, and like Latin, Slavic as a whole has retained synthetic comparatives and superlatives, as exemplified with Croatian in (17).²⁰ Small caps in (17c) highlight stress, as superlative form-

20 This is one of the structural properties which Breu (1996; 2019) capitalizes on to classify the types of contact-induced changes in Slavic languages. Note that it is not the case that

TABLE 14.6 Synthetic and analytical comparative and superlative formation in Slavisano

Slavisano	i. synthetic (irregular)	ii. analytical (regular)
a. comparative:	<i>bolji/bolje</i> 'better' (adj./adv.), <i>gori/gore</i> 'worse' (adj./adv.)	<i>veća velki/bògati</i> 'bigger/richer'
b. superlative:	<i>nâ(j)bolji</i> 'best', <i>nâ(j)gori</i> 'worst'	<i>naveća velki/bògati</i> 'the biggest/richest'

ation involves a tone/stress shift by which the superlative prefix receives prominence (see Jachnow 2001: 494):

- (17) a. *jasan* 'clear' b. *jâsnij* 'clearer' c. *NÂI-jasnij* 'clearest'
 lêp 'beautiful, nice' *lêpšij* 'nicer' *NÂI-lêpšij* 'nicest'

Given this substantial difference between the strategies in the two languages, it comes as no surprise that this is a privileged locus for contact-induced change, as witnessed especially in verbal repertoires where a Slavic minority language coexists, under full contact, with a Romance dominating language (several such cases are discussed in Breu 1996: 26–35; 2019: 414–415). Consider the following data from Slavisano (a Croatian dialect spoken in Molise, southern Italy; see Rešetar 1911: 127; Breu 2019: 415) displayed in Table 14.6.

As seen in Table 14.6 (i), just a few adjectives—the same as in standard Italian—retain the synthetic comparative and superlative, which becomes then in this dialect an irregular form while productive comparative and superlative formation is realized via a proposed adverb (Table 14.6ii) thus calquing the Romance pattern.

A similar situation obtains in Resian, a Western Slovenian dialect spoken in an enclave in Friuli under total contact with both Friulian and Standard Italian,

Slavic languages, on the whole, do not have any analytic formation processes at their disposal, as shown e.g. by the alternative, available in Russian, between (ia-b):

- (i) a. *on umn-ejš-ij paren' v mire*
 3SG.M smart-SUP-NOM.M.SG guy(M)[NOM.SG] in world
 b. *on sam-yj umn-yj paren' v mire*
 3SG.M most-NOM.M.SG smart-NOM.M.SG guy(M)[NOM.SG] in world
 'he's the smartest guy in the world'

Rather, the criterial property of Slavic, inherited from PIE, is the availability of synthetic formation, even if it co-occurs with alternatives. This generalized availability contrasts sharply with the non-occurrence in Romance.

TABLE 14.7 Synthetic and analytical comparative and superlative formation in Resian

Resian	i. synthetic (irregular)	ii. analytical (regular)
a. comparative:	<i>lípi</i> 'beautiful' → <i>lívča</i> 'nicer.NOM.SG.F'	<i>ko si bila bó na mála</i> 'when I was smaller'
b. superlative:	<i>najlívča</i> 'the nicest.NOM.SG.F'	<i>kíra je bó ta krátka</i> 'which one is the shortest?' (= thread)

where “[s]ynthetic comparative and superlative forms do not occur very frequently” (Steenwijk 1992: 115). Instead of those inherited forms (Table 14.7i), the analytical ones in (Table 14.7ii) occur more often in Steenwijk’s corpus.

Bukovina Polish, a dialect spoken in North-Western Romania within a repertoire which includes Romanian as a roofing language, takes a further step (see Breu 1996: 33–34). Not only do we find the calque of the Romance periphrasis but in addition, the adverb used in both comparative and superlative formation is directly borrowed from Romanian, as evident from the comparison of (18) with (16):

(18) Bukovina Polish (Breu 1996: 33–34):

- a. comparative: *maj novyj* ‘newer’, *maj dobryj* ‘better’ (= Romanian *mai nou/bun*) instead of the autochthonous Polish synthetic comparative *nowszy, lepszy*.
- b. superlative: *ten maj novyj* ‘the newest’, *ten maj vjel’ki* ‘the biggest’ (= Romanian *cel mai nou/mare*) instead of the autochthonous Polish synthetic superlative *najnowszy/największy*.

In Bulgarian too, comparative formation was reshaped under contact pressure, with the demise of the inherited comparative suffixation which was replaced by a prefix which somehow imitates the preposed adverb used to form comparatives in (Balkan-)Romance. Compare Bulgarian *ПО-силен* (*PO-silen*, where small caps stand for stress prominence, as in (17c)) ‘stronger’ (← *силен* [*silen*] ‘strong’), with the inherited suffixation exemplified by Russian *сильнее* (*sil’nee*) ← *сильный* (*sil’nyj*) ‘strong’. Bulgarian, in turn, provided the model for the closest match to the 1R facts which is described in the literature on contact influence in the opposite direction (Romance > Slavic) in this area of grammar. According to the description by Andreeva et al. (2017: 175), Bulgarian influence led Djudezmo—the variety of Spanish spoken in the region since the turn of the 16th century—to reshape the prosody of the inherited superlative (rather

than the comparative) to yield *MÁS fuerte* 'stronger' (vs. Spanish *más FUERTE*), as illustrated by the intensity curve on the sound wave in Andreeva et al.'s (2017: 175), figure 5.²¹

While, however, in Bulgarian Djudezmo the change is only superficial (as it affected only the phonetics), in IR the same prosodic device has acquired a grammatical function, signalling the superlative vs. comparative contrast, as seen in (19) (see Kovačec 1971: 108):

(19) a.	<i>mâre</i>	'big'	b.	<i>mai MÂRE</i>	'bigger'	c.	<i>MÂI mâre</i>	'biggest'
	<i>bur</i>	'good'		<i>mai BÛR</i>	'better'		<i>MÂI bur</i>	'best'
	<i>dróbna</i>	'small'		<i>mai DRÓBNA</i>	'smaller'		<i>MÂI drobna</i>	'smaller'

Compared to DR in (16), IR has kept the inherited formation of the comparative, through the adverb *mai*, followed by an adjective carrying the main stress in the phrase as is usual in Romance and as exemplified with Spanish a few lines above. By contrast, the superlative has been reshaped by dropping the articloid, making it segmentally identical to the comparative, except for the stress prominence, which falls on the adverb, as highlighted through the small caps in (19c). This calques the prosody of the Croatian superlative which, as seen in (17c), is formed by adding a stressed prefix *nâi-* to an inflected form of the adjective which is identical with the comparative (17b). However, while in the Croatian superlative this stress/tone pattern is just a concomitant of a morphological means (prefixation) distinguishing it from the comparative, in IR on the contrary it is just stress that signals the morphological contrast.

This makes the case now discussed, as stressed in Gardani et al. (2020), a virtually unique instance of contact-induced morphological change by which a prosodic calque (or pattern replication, in Sakel's 2007 terms) is introduced from the contact language to signal a contrast in inherent inflection (Booij 1994; 1996).

5 Conclusion

At the end of this guided tour through the grammar of IR, the reader will have appreciated that this Romance variety is a paradigmatic example of the kind of mixture of (originally) distinct systems that the pioneers of the study of lan-

21 What was replicated here is just the stress prominence of the comparative prefix, which "is always stressed, while the word to which it is affixed at the same time maintains its own word-level stress" (Leafgren 2011: 42).

guage contact qualified in the ways exemplified in the following definition of Romansh given by Ascoli (1880–1883: 411 f.), when he speaks of “lo spirito [...] tedesco, di cui la parola romana qui s’impregna” [‘the ... German spirit, with which the Roman [i.e. Latin-Romance] speech is here imbued’]. As we have seen, IR has reshaped its grammar by taking on board not only patterns but also linguistic matter from Croatian in all structural domains. Given the uniformitarian principle (Labov 1972: 101), a living language of this nature—observable in what are probably the last decades in which this is still feasible, because of the rampant language shift—may provide insights into the dynamics that also governed the crystallisation of mixed varieties in antiquity, as in the case of the one reflected in the Gallo-Roman texts from which I have taken my cue.

References

- Adams, James. 2003. *Bilingualism and the Latin language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Adams, James N. 2007. *The regional diversification of Latin 200 BC–AD 600*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Andreeva, Bistra, Snezhina Dimitrova, Christoph Gabriel, Anna Gazdik & Jonas Grünke. 2017. Intonation and convergence: evidence from Bulgarian Judeo-Spanish. *Надмошце и приспособяване. Международна научна конференция на Факултета по славянски филологии. Софийски университет “Св. Климент Охридски”* [Domination and Adaptation. International Conference of the Faculty of Slavic Studies. Sofia University “St. Kliment Ohridski”], ed. by Ekaterina Tarpomanova & Krasimira Aleksova, vol. II. LINGUISTICS, 169–177. Sofia: University “St. Kliment Ohridski”.
- Ascoli, Graziadio Isaia. 1861. *Colonie straniere in Italia. Studi critici*. Vol. 1, 37–85. Milan: Politecnico.
- Ascoli, Graziadio Isaia. 1880–1883. Annotazioni sistematiche al *Barlaam e Giosafat* soprasilvano. *Archivio Glottologico Italiano* 7: 406–602.
- Bara, Mariana. 2004. *Le lexique latin hérité en aroumain dans une perspective romane*. Munich: LINCOM Europa.
- Bartoli, Matteo. 1906. *Das Dalmatische. Altromanische Sprachreste von Veglia bis Ragusa und ihre Stellung in der apennino-balkanischen Romania*. 2 vols. Wien: Hölder [It. translation 2000. *Il Dalmatico Resti di un’antica lingua romanza parlata da Veglia a Ragusa e sua collocazione nella Romània appennino-balcanica*, ed. by Aldo Duro. Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana].
- Booij, Geert. 1994. Against split morphology. *Yearbook of Morphology 1993*, 27–49. Dordrecht: Kluwer.

- Booij, Geert. 1996. Inherent versus contextual inflection and the split morphology hypothesis. *Yearbook of Morphology 1995*, 1–16. Dordrecht: Kluwer.
- Breu, Walter. 1996. Überlegungen zu einer Klassifizierung des grammatischen Wandels im Sprachkontakt (am Beispiel slavischer Kontaktfälle). *Sprachtypologie und Universalienforschung* 49(1): 21–38.
- Breu, Walter. 2011. Language contact of minority languages in Central and Southern Europe: A comparative approach. *The Languages and Linguistics of Europe. A Comprehensive Guide*, ed. by Bernd Kortmann & Johan van der Auwera, 429–451. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Breu, Walter. 2019. Morphosyntactic change in Slavic micro-languages: the case of Moli-se Slavic in total language contact. *Slavic on the Language Map of Europe. Historical and Areal-Typological Dimensions*, ed. by Andrii Danylenko & Motoki Nomachi, 385–432. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.
- Capidan, Theodor. 1921. *Meglenoromânii*. I. *Istoria și graiul lor*. București: Cultura Națională.
- Cioranescu, Alexandre. 1958–1966. *Diccionario etimológico rumano*. La Laguna: Universidad de la Laguna.
- Combi, Carlo. 1859. *Porta orientale*, Anno III. Fiume: Schubart—Rezza/Trieste: C. Coen.
- Cuenca, Maria Josep, Sorina Postolea & Jacqueline Visconti. 2019. Contrastive Markers in Contrast. *Discours* 25: 3–31.
- Cunia, Tiberius. 2010. *Dictsiunar a limbâljei armânească (di-aoa sh-vără 100 di anj) după dictsiunarili T. Papahaqi, S. Mihăileanu shi I. Dalametra sh-cu turnarea-a zboarălor armăneshti tu limbili rumânească, frântsească shi inglizească Editsii Timpurară (proschiră)—Andreu 2008*. Editura Cartea Aromână.
- Dahmen, Wolfgang. 1989. *Areallinguistik III. Meglenoromänisch. Lexicon der Romanistischen Linguistik*. Vol. 3. *Die einzelnen romanischen Sprachen und Sprachgebiete von der Renaissance bis zur Gegenwart: Rumänisch, Dalmatisch / Istroromanisch, Friaulisch, Ladinisch, Bündnerromanisch*, ed. by Günter Holtus, Michael Metzeltin & Christian Schmitt, 436–447. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer.
- Dahmen, Wolfgang & Johannes Kramer. 2021. Rumänische „Dialekte“ auf dem Balkan?. *Bornistik. Sprach- und kulturwissenschaftliche Perspektiven auf die Romania und die Welt*, ed. by Anna Ladilova, Dinah Leschzyk, Katharina Müller, Nicolas Schweitzer & Falk Seiler, 293–305. Giessen: Giessen University Library Publications.
- DER = Cioranescu (1958–1966).
- Dottin, Georges. 1918. *La langue gauloise. Grammaire, textes et glossaire*. Paris: Klincksieck [reprinted München: LINCOM Europa 2014].
- Dragomirescu, Adina & Alexandru Nicolae. 2020. Particular features of Istro-Romanian pronominal clitics. *Studia UBB Philologia* 65: 147–158.
- Dragomirescu, Adina & Alexandru Nicolae. 2021. Romance and Croatian in contact: non-clitic auxiliaries in Istro-Romanian. *Languages* 6, 187. <https://doi.org/10.3390/languages6040187>

- EDPC = Matasović (2009).
- Eska, Joseph F. 2004. Continental Celtic. *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of the World's Ancient Languages*, ed. by Roger D. Woodard, 857–880. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Filipi, Goran. 2002. *Istrorumunjski lingvistički atlas. Atlasul Lingvistic Istroromân*. Atlante Linguistico Istrorumeneno. Pula: Znanstvena udruga Mediteran.
- Frățiță, Vasile & Gabriel Bărdășan. 2010. *Dialectul istroromân. Straturi etimologice. Partea I*. Timișoara: Editura Universității de Vest.
- Gardani, Francesco, Michele Loporcaro & Alberto Giudici. 2020. *A borrowed prosodic marker for inherent inflection in Istro-Romanian*. Paper given at the 19th International Morphology Meeting, Vienna, 6–8 February 2020.
- Hurren, Anthony H. 1969. Verbal aspect and archi-aspect in Istro-Romanian. *La Linguistique* 5(2): 59–90.
- Hurren, Anthony H. 1999. *Istro-Romanian: A Functionalist Phonology and Grammar*. PhD dissertation, University of Oxford.
- IHR = Kovačec (1998).
- ILTG = Wuilleumier (1963).
- Jachnow, Helmut. 2001. Komparationskategorie und Graduierung im Kroatischen/Serbischen. *Quantität und Graduierung als kognitiv-semantische Kategorien*, ed. by Helmut Jachnow, Boris Norman & Adam Suprun, 483–511. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Kalsbeek, Janneke. 2011. Contact-induced innovations in Istrian Čakavian dialects. *Language Contact in Times of Globalization (Studies in Slavic and General Linguistics 38)*, ed. by Cornelius Hasselblatt, Peter Houtzagers & Remco van Pareren, 133–154. Amsterdam/New York: Rodopi.
- Kovačec, August. 1966. Quelques influences croates dans la morphosyntaxe istroromaine. *Studia Romanica et Anglica Zagrabiensia* 21–22: 57–75.
- Kovačec, August. 1971. *Descrierea istroromânei actuale*. București: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România.
- Kovačec, August. 1998. *Istrorumunjsko-Hrvatski Rječnik (s gramatikom i tekstovima)*. Pula: Znanstvena udruga Mediteran.
- Labov, William. 1972. Some principles of linguistic methodology. *Language in Society* 1: 97–120.
- Lambert, Pierre-Yves. 1997. *La langue gauloise*. Paris: Errance.
- Lambert, Pierre-Yves. 2002. *Recueil des inscriptions gauloises: II. 2 Textes gallo-latins sur instrumentum. XLV^e supplément à "Gallia"*. Paris: CNRS.
- Leafgren, John. 2011. *A Concise Bulgarian Grammar*. Durham, NC: SEELRC [= The Slavic and Eurasian Language Resource Center, Duke University].
- Loporcaro, Michele. 2012. A new strategy for progressive marking and its implications for grammaticalization theory: the subject clitic construction of Pantiscu. *Studies in Language* 36(4): 747–784.

- Loporcaro, Michele. 2018. *Gender from Latin to Romance: history, geography, typology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Loporcaro, Michele, Francesco Gardani & Alberto Giudici. 2021. Contact-induced complexification in the gender system of Istro-Romanian. *Journal of Language Contact* 14(1): 72–126.
- Loth, Joseph. 1916. Remarques aux inscriptions latines sur pesons de fuseau trouvés en territoire gaulois et, en particulier, à l'inscription celtique de Saint-Révérien (Nièvre). *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 60(2): 168–186.
- Maiden, Martin. 2004. Perfect pedigree. The ancestry of the Aromanian conditional. *Oxford Working Papers in Linguistics, Philology and Phonetics* 9: 83–98.
- Maiden, Martin. 2008. Osservazioni sul futuro dalmatico (e guascone). *Bollettino linguistico campano* 11/12 [2007]: 1–19.
- Maiden, Martin. 2016. Dalmatian. *The Oxford Guide to the Romance languages*, ed. by Adam Ledgeway & Martin Maiden, 126–138. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Maiden, Martin. 2018. *The Romance verb. Morphomic structure in diachrony*. Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Maiden, Martin. 2020. Dalmatian (Vegliote). In *Oxford Encyclopedia of Romance Linguistics*, ed. by Michele Loporcaro (part of *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Linguistics* ed. by Mark Aronoff). New York: Oxford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780199384655.013.726>
- Maiden, Martin. 2021. The inflexional paradigm of the verb. *The Oxford History of Romanian Morphology*, ed. by Martin Maiden, Adina Dragomirescu, Gabriela Pană Dindelegan, Oana Uță Bărbulescu & Rodica Zafiu, 278–341. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Matasović, Ranko. 2009. *Etymological Dictionary of Proto-Celtic*. Leiden: Brill.
- Matras, Yaron. 2009. *Language contact*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Meid, Wolfgang. 1980. *Gallisch oder lateinisch? Soziolinguistische und andere Bemerkungen zu populären gallo-lateinischen Inschriften*. Innsbruck: IBS [reprinted in *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*. 11.29.2 *Sprache und Literatur (Sprachen und Schriften [Forts.])*, ed. by Hildegard Temporini & Wolfgang Haase, 1019–1044. Berlin/New York: Walter de Gruyter 1983].
- Mullen, Alex. 2013. *Southern Gaul and the Mediterranean. Multilingualism and Multiple Identities in the Iron Age and Roman Periods*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Mullen, Alex. 2022. Materializing epigraphy: archaeological and sociolinguistic approaches to Roman inscribed spindle whorls. *Dynamic Epigraphy: New Approaches to Inscriptions*, ed. by Eleri H. Cousins, 39–64. Oxford/Philadelphia: Oxbow Books.
- Papahagi, Tache. 1974. *Dicționarul dialectului aromân general și etimologic / Dictionnaire aroumain (macédo-roumain) général et étymologique*. Ediția a doua augmen-

- tată / Deuxième ed. augm. București: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România.
- Pizzolotto Giuseppe. 1991. *Bilinguismo ed emigrazione in Svizzera. Italiano e commutazione di codice in un gruppo di giovani*. Bern: Peter Lang.
- PL = Migne, Jacques Paul (ed.). 1844–1864. *Patrologiae cursus completus. Series Latina*. Parisiis: venit apud editorem in via dicta D'Amboise, près la Barrière d'Enfer ou Petit-Montrouge.
- Pușcariu, Sextil (în colaborare cu d-nii M. Bartoli, A. Belulovici și A. Byhan). 1906. *Studii istroromâne*. Vol. 1. *Texte*. București: Cultura națională.
- Pușcariu, Sextil (în colaborare cu M. Bartoli, A. Belulovici și A. Byhan). 1926. *Studii istroromâne*. Vol. 2. *Introducere, gramatică, caracterizarea dialectului istroromân*. Bucharest: Academia Română.
- Pușcariu, Sextil. 1976. *Limba română*. 1. *Privire generală*, București: Minerva.
- Rešetar, Milan. 1911. *Die serbokroatischen Kolonien Südtaliens*. Wien: Hölder [It. translation 1997. *Le colonie serbocroate nell'Italia Meridionale*, ed. by Walter Breu & Monica Gardenghi. Campobasso: Amministrazione Provinciale].
- RIG II.2 = Lambert (2002).
- Sakel, Jeanette. 2007. Types of loan: matter and pattern. *Grammatical Borrowing in Cross-linguistic Perspective*, ed. by Yaron Matras & Jeanette Sakel, 15–29. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Sala, Marius. 2006. *De la latină la română. Ediția a II-a revăzută*. Bucharest: Univers Enciclopedic.
- Sala, Marius. 2013. Contact and borrowing. *The Cambridge History of the Romance Languages*, vol. 2. *Contexts*, ed. by Martin Maiden, John Charles Smith & Adam Ledgeway, 187–236. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Salvioni–Faré = Faré, Paolo. 1972. *Postille italiane al "Romanisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch" di W. Meyer-Lübke. Compendenti le "Postille italiane e ladine" di Carlo Salvioni*. Milan: Istituto Lombardo di Scienze e Lettere.
- Sârbu, Richard. 1992. *Texte istroromâne și glosar*. Ediția a II-a revizuită și completată. Timișoara: Tipografia Universității din Timișoara.
- Schmid, Stephan. 2020. Swiss German dialects spoken by second generation immigrants: bilingual speech and dialect transformation. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*: 1–16.
- Skok, Petar. 1971–1974. *Etimologijski rječnik hrvatskoga ili srpskoga jezika = Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue croate ou serbe*. 4 vols. Zagreb: Jugosl. Akademija Znanosti i Umjetnosti.
- Steenwijk, Han. 1992. *The Slovene dialect of Resia-San Giorgio*. Amsterdam/Atlanta, GA: Rodopi.
- Tagliavini, Carlo. 1949/1972. *Le origini delle lingue neolatine*. 6th ed. Bologna: Pàtron.

- Tomić, Olga Mišeska. 1997. Non-First as a Default Clitic Position. *Journal of Slavic Linguistics* 5(2): 301–323.
- Tomić, Olga Mišeska. 2004. The syntax of the Balkan Slavic Future tenses. *Lingua* 114: 517–542.
- Tomić, Olga Mišeska. 2006. *Balkan Sprachbund morpho-syntactic features*. Dordrecht: Springer.
- Untermann, Jürgen. 1980. Trümmersprachen zwischen Grammatik und Geschichte. *Rheinisch- Westfälische Akademie der Wissenschaften*. Vorträge G 245. Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag.
- Untermann, Jürgen. 1983. Indogermanische Restsprachen als Gegenstand der Indogermanistik. *Le lingue indoeuropee di frammentaria attestazione—Die indogermanischen Restsprachen. Atti del Convegno della Società Italiana di Glottologia e della Indogermanische Gesellschaft (Udine, 22–24 settembre 1981)*, ed. by Edoardo Vineis, 11–28. Pisa: Giardini.
- Vrzić, Zvezdana & Robert Doričić. 2014. Language contact and stability of basic vocabulary: Croatian words for body parts in Vlashki/Zheyanski (Istro-Romanian). *Fluminensia* 26(2): 105–122.
- Vuletić, Nikola. 2014. Les minorités linguistiques invisibles et/ou cachées de la Croatie: les communautés arbënishtë, istro-roumaine et istriote. In *Les minorités invisibles: diversité et complexité (ethno)sociolinguistiques*, ed. by Djordjević Léonard Ksenija, 182–192. Paris: Michel Houdiard Éditeur.
- Wuilleumier, Pierre. 1963. *Inscriptions Latines des Trois Gaules (ILTG). XVII^e supplément à "Gallia"*. Paris: CNRS.
- Zafiu, Rodica. 2021. The morphological history of auxiliary verbs. *The Oxford History of Romanian Morphology*, ed. by Martin Maiden, Adina Dragomirescu, Gabriela Pană Dindelegan, Oana Uță Bărbulescu & Rodica Zafiu, 359–368. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Zegrean, Iulia-Georgiana. 2012. *Balkan Romance: Aspects on the syntax of Istro-Romanian*. PhD dissertation, Università Ca' Foscari Venezia.



MAP 14.1

Istro-Romanian

■ = Istro-Romanian; ◆ = Croatian; ● = Italo-Romance and Croatian; ○ = Italo-Romance

AFTER LOPORCARO 2018: 293, LOPORCARO ET AL. 2021: 75,
WITH MODIFICATIONS

Index

- Alexandrian Greek 9, 18, 83–85, 88–98
 See also Egyptian Greek; Greek; Hellenistic Greek; koine Greek
- alphabetic writing 28, 105, 108, 114*n*
- Anatolian languages 8, 18, 64, 66, 68, 70–71, 78–79
 See also Lydian
- Andalusi Romance 19, 150–168
- Arabic language 65, 150–156, 157*n*, 158–159, 161–165, 168, 191, 194, 206
- Arabic script 151, 155–156, 160, 161–163, 165, 167
- Arabo-Romance script 161*n*, 163
- asymmetric bilingual speaker 214
 See also bilingual speaker
- attrition 7, 9, 16, 18, 20–21, 214–216, 283
- Babylonian language 17–18, 26–35
- Babylonian script 30–31
 See also cuneiform script
- bilingual speaker 130, 214, 222*n*, 283, 300
 See also asymmetric bilingual speaker
- bilingual text 64, 151–152
- bilingualism 31, 141, 143, 150, 164, 175, 184*n*, 299
- borrowing 4, 9, 13–14, 16, 28, 31, 47–48, 57–58, 94, 109, 111*n*, 118, 125, 130–131, 141–143, 175, 177–182, 273, 283, 286–287, 299, 300*n*, 301, 303*n*, 309, 312, 316
 See also contact-induced change; loan
- calque 28, 31–33, 128, 282, 287, 299, 315–317
 See also contact-induced change
- Capraino 9, 20, 214, 217, 224–227
- Cimbrian 21, 239*n*, 256, 262*n*, 270–288
 See also Foza (Cimbrian variety)
- Cisalpine Celtic 19, 105, 109, 112–120, 128
- code-mixing 261, 262, 283*n*, 296–297, 298*n*, 299
- code-switching 296–297, 298*n*, 299
- comparative method 10–12, 103–104, 172–173, 176–177
- contact 2, 3*n*, 12, 19, 21, 26, 64, 125–128, 130, 141, 175, 181, 184, 192, 217, 233, 277–278, 295*n*, 298–301, 315, 317–318
- contact-induced change 6, 12, 16, 18, 19, 87, 108–110, 125–131, 132*n*, 139–143, 151, 154, 158, 165, 180, 183, 194, 252, 272–273, 299, 301–303, 308, 314–317
 See also borrowing; calque; loan
- contact language 189–190, 192*n*, 195, 205–206, 214*n*, 297–299, 317–318
 See also creole; pidgin
- corpus 1, 3, 5, 7*n*, 8, 11–13, 17–18, 26, 28, 33, 35, 40–41, 46, 57–58, 60, 68–70, 88, 102–105, 110, 114*n*, 118–119, 130, 138, 157*n*, 176, 189–190, 295, 297, 316
- Corpusprache 8, 18, 68–69, 79, 102, 176, 191
 See also Grosscorpusprache; Kleincorpusprache
- creole 189–190, 192*n*, 199, 206
- Croatian 21, 172, 174–175, 178*n*, 179–180, 182, 220*n*, 222*n*, 300–302, 304–305, 307–312, 314–315, 317–318, 324
- cuneiform script 27–35, 70
 See also Babylonian script
- Dalmatian (Romance varieties) 19–20, 172–184, 217, 222*n*, 305
 See also Vegliote
- dead language 1, 3–4, 7*n*, 8, 10, 17, 102, 127
 See also language death
- dying language 4*n*, 7*n*, 216, 223*n*
 See also endangered language
- Egyptian 3*n*, 18, 40–62, 84, 87, 89
- Egyptian Greek 84, 87–89, 90*n*, 93
 See also Alexandrian Greek; Greek; Hellenistic Greek; koine Greek
- endangered language 3–6, 7*n*, 9, 12–14, 16–18, 21, 271, 295
 See also dying language
- Etruscan language 1, 3*n*, 8, 19, 102–103, 125, 127–132, 136–143
- Etruscan script 109*n*, 114
- etymological method 15, 104, 110–111
- etymology 11*n*, 19, 89, 110–112, 117, 119–120, 126*n*, 132, 157, 196–197, 202*n*, 224, 233*n*, 276*n*, 304

- Faliscan 2*n*, 126*n*, 132–134
- Foza (Cimbrian variety) 9, 21, 270, 271, 275, 277–288
See also Cimbrian
- fragment 1, 3–5, 7, 20, 26–28, 31, 34–35, 41, 46, 49, 72, 74–76, 78, 88, 132, 152*n*, 193, 195, 205, 257
- fragmentary language 1–10, 12–20, 26, 28, 30, 44, 50, 63–65, 67, 69–70, 84*n*, 97, 102–103, 108, 115, 117, 126–127, 134, 172, 189–190, 195, 207–208, 295–296
- gloss 6, 11, 16, 18–19, 64, 66, 71–79, 151–152, 173, 196–197, 198*n*, 202, 234, 236, 271, 274–275, 280, 297*n*
- Greek 8, 18, 26–28, 31–35, 46, 51, 64–66, 72, 75, 77, 78, 83–84, 85*n*, 87, 89–95, 97, 102, 114–115, 117*n*, 133, 137*n*, 179, 181, 183, 191, 221, 222*n*
See also Alexandrian Greek; Egyptian Greek; Hellenistic Greek; koine Greek
- Greek script 18, 27–31, 73, 75–76
- Grosscorpussprache 8, 12, 69, 102
See also Corpussprache
- Hebrew language 64, 87, 151–152, 156, 163–164, 168
- Hebrew script 151, 156, 160–161, 163–165, 168
- Hebrew-Romance script 163
- Hellenistic Greek 84, 87
See also Alexandrian Greek; Greek; Egyptian Greek; koine Greek
- hypercharacterisation 3–5, 18, 20, 191, 217, 219*n*, 224–227
- hypercorrection 159, 285*n*
- informant 4*n*, 5, 7, 20, 200, 213–214, 216*n*, 217, 219*n*, 222, 225, 228, 236, 260*n*, 271, 280–284, 286–288, 305
- internal reconstruction 10–11, 107
See also reconstruction
- Istro-Romanian 17, 21, 295, 299–314, 316–318, 324
- jargon 189, 225
- Kleincorpussprache 8, 69, 102, 271, 288
See also Corpussprache
- koine Greek 18, 84, 85*n*, 86–87, 89–90, 92–98
See also Alexandrian Greek; Greek; Egyptian Greek; Hellenistic Greek
- language death 215, 285
See also dead language
- language shift 2, 20, 126, 141, 142*n*, 143, 214–215, 295–297, 299–301, 318
- Latin language 2*n*, 8, 11, 19, 65, 87, 102, 105–109, 111–112, 114, 116*n*, 117–119, 125–134, 137–143, 150–153, 157*n*, 161–165, 167–168, 174, 175, 182, 188, 191, 218, 220, 237, 253, 273, 296–298, 302–304, 312–314
- Latin script 116*n*, 153, 280
- Leponitic script 105, 114
- linguistic area 128
- loan 1, 6–7, 13, 16–17, 78, 109, 126–128, 129*n*, 130, 133, 137*n*, 141, 153–155, 164, 168, 175, 178–183, 222*n*, 243, 245, 247, 252–253, 256, 258*n*, 263–264, 276, 300*n*, 302, 303*n*, 312
See also borrowing; contact-induced change
- Lydian 18, 64, 66, 68, 70–79
See also Anatolian languages
- majority language 2, 12, 300
- Mediterranean Lingua Franca 20, 188–208
- Mòcheno 20, 233–234, 236–241, 243–265, 285*n*, 286
See also Vignola (Mòcheno variety)
- multilingual text 16*n*
- multilingualism 2, 31, 35, 97, 221
- Oscan 105, 135, 137, 141*n*
See also Sabellic languages
- Palaeo-Sabellic 134
See also Sabellic languages
- paraetymology 75
- Pidgin 20, 189–190, 192*n*, 199, 206–208
- Pre-Roman languages 19, 103, 105, 128, 154
- Pre-Samnite 135
See also Sabellic languages

- reconstruction 2–7, 9–19, 54–55, 58–60, 63–66, 73, 89, 104–107, 111–112, 114*n*, 116, 125–127, 131, 132*n*, 134, 137–138, 141–143, 162, 172, 175–176, 179, 190–191, 194, 207–208, 220*n*, 223, 254, 257
See also internal reconstruction
- rememberer 4, 7, 280*n*, 281, 283–284, 287–289
- residual language 2, 69–71, 103, 151, 153
- Restsprache 1–9, 12–15, 16*n*, 17–21, 26, 68–71, 84, 102–105, 110, 113, 116, 118, 125, 132*n*, 168, 188, 190–191, 195, 236, 271, 288, 295, 299
- Restsprache in re 2, 21, 295–296, 298–299
- Restsprache post rem 84*n*, 295–296
- Restsprecher 20, 214, 216, 228
- Sabellic languages 19, 105, 125–132, 134–135, 137, 139–143
See also Oscan, Palaeo-Sabellic, Pre-Samnite, South-Picene, Umbrian
- semi-speaker 3, 4, 7*n*, 12, 18, 21, 214–215, 216*n*, 217–218, 224–225, 228, 274–275, 281, 283–284, 286, 288
- Semitic scripts 156
- South-Picene 131
See also Sabellic languages
- stratum 6, 154, 278, 302*n*
- Trümmersprache 2, 8, 17, 18, 66, 68, 70, 79, 102–103, 295
- Umbrian 105, 135, 137*n*, 141*n*
See also Sabellic languages
- Vegliote 9, 20, 172–183, 214, 217–224
See also Dalmatian (Romance varieties)
- Venetic 19, 102, 105–112, 119, 128
- Vignola (Mòcheno variety) 20, 236–241, 243–248, 250–257, 264–266
See also Mòcheno
- writing system 5, 6, 8, 13–14, 27*n*, 35, 64, 66, 114*n*, 131, 299

The book deals with the concept of fragmentation as applied to languages and their documentation. It focuses in particular on the theoretical and methodological consequences of such a fragmentation for the linguistic analysis and interpretation of texts and, hence, for the reconstruction of languages. Furthermore, by adopting an innovative perspective, the book aims to test the application of the concept of fragmentation to languages which are not commonly included in the categories of ‘Corpusprache’, ‘Trümmersprache’, and ‘Restsprache’. This is the case with diachronic or diatopic varieties—of even well-known languages—which are only attested through a limited corpus of texts as well as with endangered languages. In this latter case, not only is the documentation fragmented, but the very linguistic competence of the speakers, due to the reduction of contexts of language use, interference phenomena with majority languages, and consequent presence of semi-speakers.

Daniele Baglioni is Professor of Italian Linguistics at Ca’ Foscari University of Venice. His main research interests are Historical Linguistics and Etymology applied to the Italo-Romance area, as well as the study of the diffusion of Italian in the Medieval and Early Modern Mediterranean, in contact with Greek, Arabic, Turkish, and other languages.

Luca Rigobianco is Researcher in Linguistics at Ca’ Foscari University of Venice. His research falls within the fields of Historical and Indo-European Linguistics and (Digital) Epigraphy, focusing on the fragmentary languages of ancient Italy and adopting a perspective attentive to textual and cultural aspects.

ISBN: 978-90-04-69462-0



Brill's Studies in Historical Linguistics, 23

ISSN 2211-4904
brill.com/bshl

978-90-04-69462-0
Downloaded from Brill.com 10/10/2024 11:51:53 AM
via Open Access.
https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/