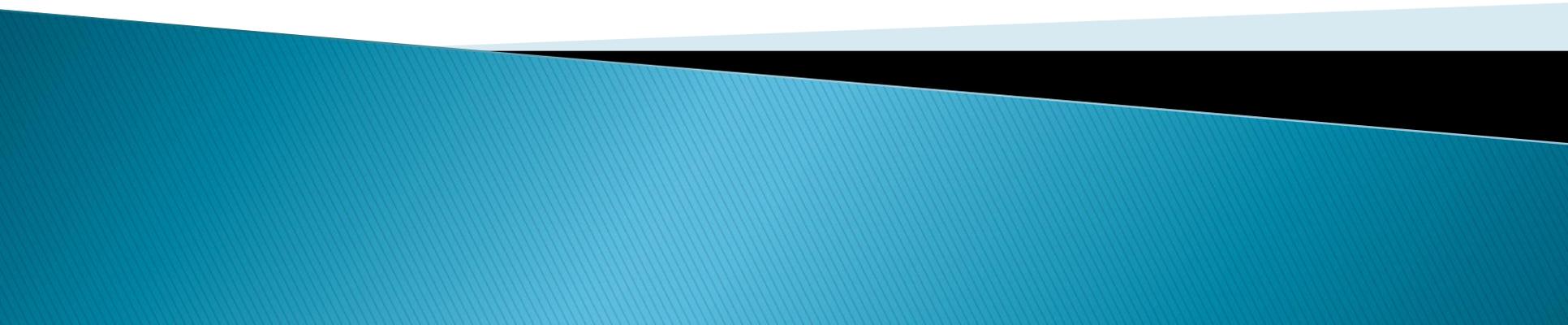
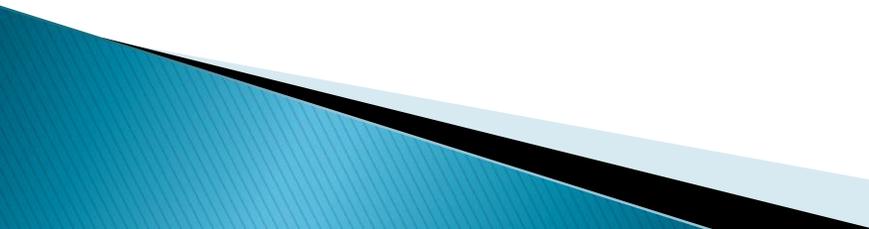


# **The contact-induced emergence of new constituents in Molisean Romani**

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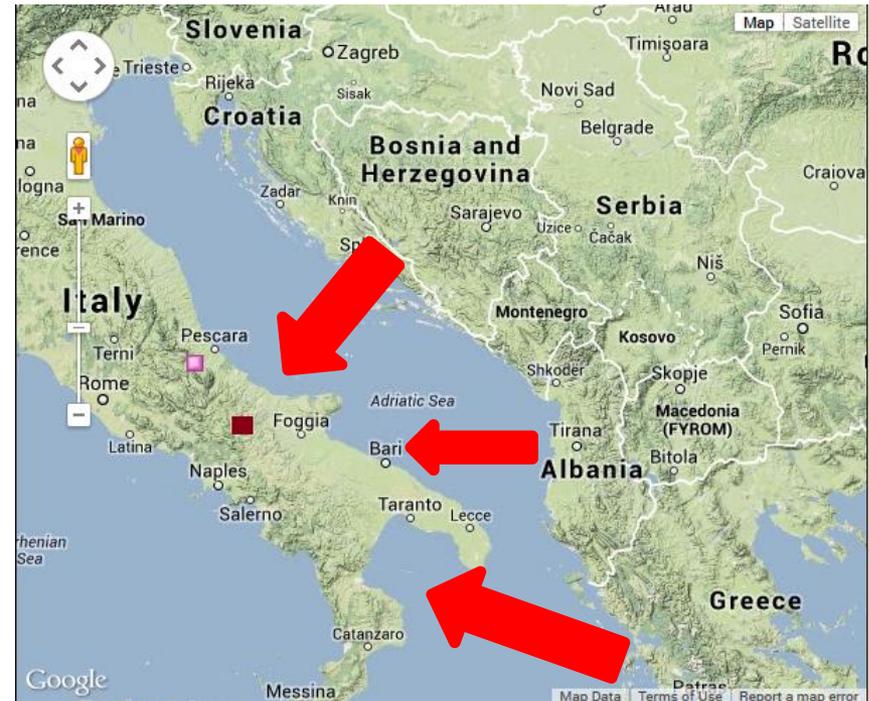


# Summary

- ▶ **Background**
    - Southern Italian Romani
    - Southern Italy sociolinguistic situation
  - ▶ **Theoretical framework**
    - Matras (2009) > Functional approach to language contact
  - ▶ **Fusion > emergence of new constituents**
    - Object clitics
    - Indefinite article
  - ▶ **Convergence > re-ordering of phrase structure**
    - Adjectives
    - Possessives
    - Co-occurrence of noun modifiers
  - ▶ **Conclusion**
- 

# Southern Italian Romani

- ▶ “Highly innovative and yet strangely conservative in some traits” (Soravia 1977:84)
- ▶ “Early offshoots of the Balkan dialects” (Matras 2002: 10)
- ▶ Allophone colonies in Southern Italy
  - Croats, Albanians, Greeks
  - Arrival in the late 14<sup>th</sup>/early 15<sup>th</sup> century
- ▶ Soravia (1972, 1977) documents Abbruzzian Romani (pink on map)
- ▶ **RMS** samples IT-007 and IT-010 document Molisean Romani (brown on map)

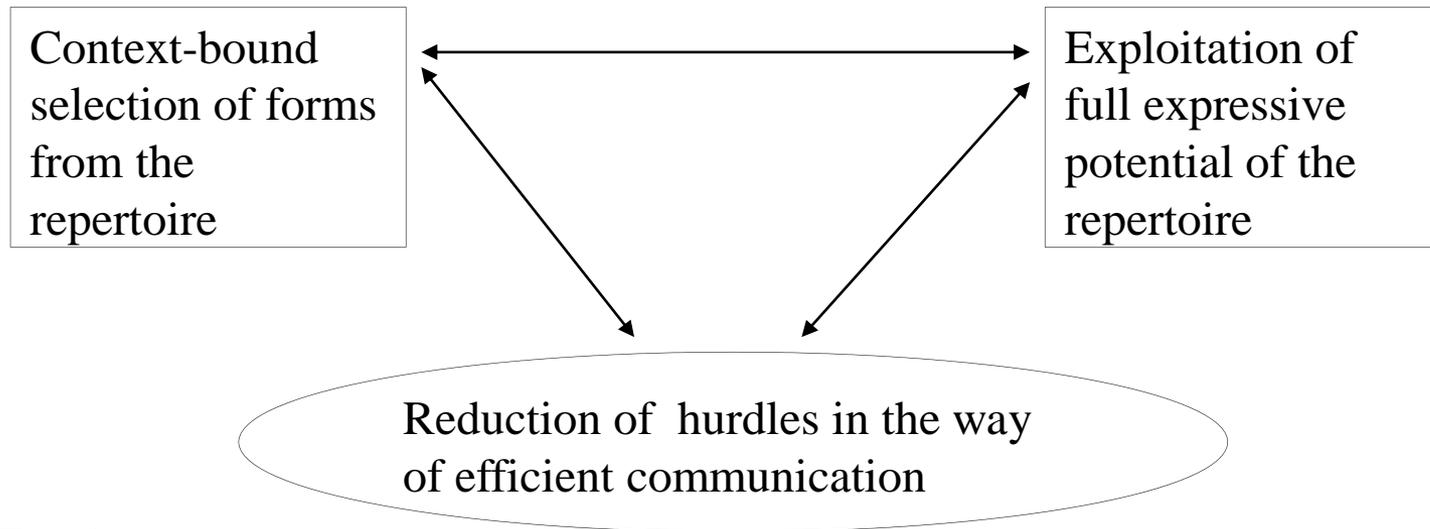


# Regional sociolinguistic profile

- ▶ Diglossia until 1861
  - Italian (modelled on Tuscan varieties) > literary language
    - Since the 15<sup>th</sup> century expanding into administrative and scientific domains at the expenses of Latin
  - Molisean > spoken-only language
  - Little to none mutual influence
- ▶ Since 1861 (unification of Italy) transition to bilingualism
  - Standard Italian becomes the national language
    - Early usages for oral communication: education, army, administration
    - Increased usage thanks to radio, cinema (1920s) and TV (1950s)
  - Molisean progressively retreating to rural context and informal domains
  - Emergence of Southern-Central Italian
    - Contact variety showing features of both Standard Italian and Molisean
    - Replacing Molisean as language of oral/informal interactions

# Functional approach to contact induced change

Matras 2009: 5



## ▶ Fusion

- “the wholesale, class-specific non-separation of two systems” (Matras 2000: 511)

## ▶ Convergence

- “the adaptation of an internal element of the A-system [to] match the distribution scope and compositional structure of a B-system component” (Matras 2000: 510)

# Clitics in Romani

- ▶ Post-posed 3<sup>rd</sup> person subject clitics
  - Early Romani legacy common in various dialects
  - *ekta-li* ‘there she is’, *ekta-lo* ‘there he is’ (Mitrovica Romani)
- ▶ Partial cliticisation of 1/2SG.OBL reduced forms
  - Recent development in some dialects only
  - *čindem ma čurasa* ‘I cut myself with a knife’, *žini tu maj špet!* ‘marry soon!’ (Mitrovica Romani)
- ▶ Soravia recorded full 1SG and 2PL object clitics
  - *dikke-mə* ‘s/he sees me’
  - *dikkente-və* ‘they see you’

# Molisean Romani object clitics (3<sup>rd</sup> persons)

<i>jov</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>dikkja-mə</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>dikkjom-lə</i>
he	not	he.saw- <u>I.OBJ</u>	I	not	I.saw- <u>3SG.M.OBJ</u>
He didn't see me, I didn't see him					
<i>kuandə</i>	<i>džjom</i>	<i>ako</i>	<i>tə</i>	<i>la-lə</i>	
when	I.went	there	COMP	I.take- <u>3SG.F.OBJ</u>	
[The bottle wasn't on the table] when I went there to take it					
<i>le</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>kala</i>	<i>činkuə</i>	<i>pabba</i>	<i>ta de-mme-lə</i>
take.IMP	all	thoe	five	apples	and give.IMP- <u>I.OBJ-3PL.OBJ<sub>2</sub></u>
Take all those five apples and give them to me					

**Molisean Romani**

<i>porta-lo</i>	<i>qua</i>
bring.IMP- <u>3SG.M.OBJ</u>	here
<b>St/SC Italian.:</b> Bring it here!	
<i>va</i>	<i>a prender-la</i>
go.IMP	to take.INF-3SG.F.OBJ
<b>St/SC Italian:</b> Go and take it	
<i>manda-me-li</i>	<i>in allegato</i>
send.IMP- <u>I.OBJ-3PL.M.OBJ<sub>2</sub></u>	in attachment
<b>St/SC Italian:</b> Send them to me as an attachment	

**Italian varieties**

# Intensive and reduplicated pronouns

<i>pijom-mə</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>bikkjerə</i>	<i>de</i>	<i>cafe</i>	
I.drunk- <u>I.OBJ</u>	a	glass	of	coffe	
I drunk a cup of coffe					
<i>dža</i>	<i>keram-mə</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>džirə</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>sulə</i>
I.go	I.do- <u>I.OBJ</u>	a	round	by	alone
I'm going to take a walk by myself					
<i>jov</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>dikkijan-čə</i>	<i>amende</i>		
he	not	saw.3SG- <u>1PL.OBJ</u>	1PL.LOC		
He didn't saw us					
<i>kala</i>	<i>butija</i>	<i>pinija-ttə</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>tut</i>	
this	thing	told.3SG- <u>2SG.OBJ</u>	at	2SG.OBJ	
He told you this					

**Molisean Romani**

<i>mi</i>	<i>mangio</i>	<i>un</i>	<i>panino</i>
I.OBJ	I.eat	a	sandwich
<b>Standard Italian (marked):</b> I eat a sandwich (and enjoy it)			
<b>Southern-central Italian (default):</b> I eat a sandwich			
<i>mi</i>	<i>faccio</i>	<i>un</i>	<i>giro</i>
I.OBJ	I.do	a	round
<b>St/SC Italian:</b> I take a walk			
<i>mmu</i>	<i>decettə</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>mme</i>
I.OBJ	he.told	at	I.OBL
<b>Molisean:</b> He told me (De Giovanni 2003: 113)			
<i>a</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>mi</i>	<i>piace</i>
at	I.OBL	I.OBJ	like.3SG
<b>Southern-central Italian:</b> I like it			

**Italian varieties**

# Emergence of object clitics

- ▶ Molisean and Southern-central Italian unstressed word final vowels realized as /ə/
  - Object clitics: *-mə, -tə, -lə, -cə, -və, -lə* (only with IMP and INF)
- ▶ Partial cliticisation of Romani 1/2SG reduced forms (*ma, tu*)
  - \*3SG/PL undergo same process (*les > le* ‘him’; *las > la* ‘her’; *len > le* ‘them’)
- ▶ Contact with Molisean and then Southern-central Italian
  - *ma > -mə, tu > -tə, le/la/le > -lə*
- ▶ Fusion reaches completion
  - *-čə* and *-və* replace Romani counterparts (*(l)ame* ‘us’ and *tume* ‘you.PL’)
- ▶ Process follows implicational hierarchy (Elšik & Matras 2006)
  - 1/2SG > 3SG/PL > 1/2PL

# Indefinite article

- ▶ *jekh* ‘one’ no longer used as indefinite article
- ▶ Molisean indefinite articles: *nu*, *nə*, *na* ( De Giovanni 2003)
- ▶ *jekh* replaced by *ni* in Molisean Romani

<i>pijomme</i>	<u><i>ni</i></u>	<i>bikkierə</i>	<i>de</i>	<i>kafe</i>
I.drunk.I.OBJ	<u>a</u>	glass.M	of	coffee

I drunk a cup of coffe

<i>dža</i>	<i>kerammə</i>	<u><i>ni</i></u>	<i>džirə</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>sulə</i>
I.go	I.do.I.OBJ	<u>a</u>	round.M	by	alone

I’m going to take a walk by myself

<i>joj</i>	<i>si</i>	<u><i>ni</i></u>	<i>čauri</i>	<i>ladžani</i>
she	is	<u>a</u>	boy.F.SG	shy.F.SG

She is a shy Romani girl

# Re-ordering of phrase structure

*i mer da kerel ta*

the.F my.F mother does COMP

*pabbarel ma i iddr pure*

burn.3SG me the.PL clothes old.PL

My mother makes me burn the old clothes

*ni lakli tarni vili*

a boy.F young.F came.F.SG

*ta keke ke manca*

COMP dance.3SG with.OBL 1SG.OBL.INSTR

A young girl came to dance with me

*kava si u ker mero*

this is the.M house.M my.M

This is my house

*i maestra nane d-u quartiere mengre*

the.F teacher.F is.not from- district our.PL  
the.M

The teacher is not from our neighbourhood

## Molisean Romani

Most common structures in Romani ART+ADJ+NOUN,  
POSS+ADJ+NOUN, !ART+POSS+NOUN, !NOUN+POSS

**All varieties** NOUN+ADJ as default

**Standard Italian** NOUN+POSS  
ART+POSS+NOUN  
!ART+NOUN+POSS

**Molisean > SC Italian** NOUN+POSS  
ART+NOUN+POSS

*passami il libro mio*

pass.IMPI.OBJ the.M book.M my.M

**SC Italian:** Pass me my book! (De Giovanni 2003: 59)

*se vuoi visitare la casa mia*

if you.want to.visit the.F house.F my.F

**SC Italian:** If you want to visit my house (De Giovanni 2003: 59)

## Italian Varieties

# Conclusion

- ▶ Contact profile
    - Extensive influence of Molisean and Southern-central Italian
    - No German or Northern Italian influences
    - Retention of Balkan features also shared by Southern Italian varieties
    - Minimal retention of Slavic lexicon
  - ▶ Confirms direct arrival from the Balkans
  - ▶ Indicative of
    - Continuous presence in the area
    - Early move from gravitating around other Balkan minorities to gravitating around 'Italians'
- 

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