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## **Notes on the contact between Italo-Albanian and Romance (Calabrian, Lucanian) varieties: borrowings, code-mixing and convergence.**

In this work we will investigate hybridization, borrowing and grammatical reorganization phenomena in the communities of *Ginestra* (Lucania), and *Vena di Maida* (Calabria). Because of the political and cultural factors that for centuries have kept the Italian peninsula in conditions of great administrative and social fragmentation, dialectal differentiation in Italy has been preserved longer (i.e. up to the present day) than in other areas of Western Europe, including Romance speaking ones (Manzini and Savoia 2007, 2011a). This particularly holds for minority languages like the Arbëresh varieties, namely the Albanian varieties spoken by communities escaped from Albania as a consequence of the Ottoman occupation. Arbëresh varieties present the kind of variation from one another that we expect in natural languages in the absence of external constraints. Moreover, their long time contact with neighbouring Romance varieties is reflected in the extended code-mixing phenomena which characterize their lexicon and their morpho-syntactic organization (Savoia 1984, 2008).

Code-mixing and other processes of variation raise questions concerning the nature of the variation and its meaning for the theory of language, in other words about the internal factors that drive it. According to Chomsky (2000: 119), “the human language faculty and the (I-)languages that are manifestations of it qualify as natural objects”. This approach – that “regards the language faculty as an “organ of the body” ” – has been labelled the “biolinguistic perspective” (cf. Hauser, Chomsky and Fitch 2002, Chomsky 2005). Again according to Chomsky “There is a reason to believe that the computational component is invariant, virtually . . . language variation appears to reside in the lexicon”. (Chomsky 2000: 120). Suppose then that the lexicon is the locus of linguistic variation—in the presence of a uniform, that is, invariant, computational component, and of an invariant repertory of interface primitives, both phonological and conceptual. We take this to mean that there is a universal conceptual space to be lexicalized and variation results from different partitions of that space. So-called functional space

is just like all other conceptual space and there is no fixed functional lexicon which varies along the axis of overt vs. covert realization.

In the internalist (i.e. biologically, individually grounded) perspective that we adopt, variation and contact between two or more dialects (linguistic communities) is in fact not qualitatively different from variation within the same dialect (community), or even within the productions of a single speaker. To the extent that speakers alternate, say, between stylistic levels according to the situation of use, they will have a bilingual competence of sorts – which given the lexical parametrization hypothesis adopted here, can be accounted for as the co-existence of different lexicons with a single computational component (MacSwan 2000).

As we will show, the mechanisms of variation stem in the last analysis from the fundamental structures of human language rather than from the simple external pressure of cultural and communicative necessities, as functionalist conception would maintain. We are obviously aware that the socio-cultural context and communicative relevance requirements may motivate linguistic variation, directing the attention of the speakers and driving their communicative intentions. Nevertheless, the way that language mixing, borrowing and change work depends on the cognitive constraints that define the Faculty of Language in the sense of Hauser, Chomsky and Fitch (2002). More directly, the sensory-motor (SM) and conceptual-intentional (CI) interface levels are activated, which associate phonological and semantic interpretations to the linguistics objects created by the mental grammar of the speaker.

### **1. Romance relexification in Arbëresh.**

The descriptive literature on mixing phenomena supports the conclusion that in mixed languages the lexical bases of one language combine with the inflection system of the other one ('language intertwining', Bakker and Muysken 1994). Matras and Bakker (2003:1) provide the following definition of the phenomenon: "In the discussion context on Mixed Languages, we are concerned [...] with varieties that emerged in situations of community bilingualism, and whose structures show an etymological split that is not marginal, but dominant". The relation between the language which supplies morphology and syntax and the language which supplies the lexical items corresponds to the distinction between 'embedded language' and 'matrix language' (Myers-Scotton 2003). Contact, mixing, pidginization/creolization and other mechanisms, like 'setting' factors (Hymes 1974) and bilingual interaction, define the external conditions of variation.

Arbëresh varieties are associated with extensive relexification by Romance. Nominal bases illustrated in (1a)-(2a) take on the noun class, case, plural and definiteness morphology of Arbëresh; verbal bases, illustrated in (1b)-(2b) similarly take on distinctive Arbëresh inflections (Savoia 2008, 2009, 2010; see the detailed classification in Altımarı 2011). For comparison we provide selected examples of the same (Romance) bases associated with Romance inflections, in (a')-(b'), and selected examples of the inflections associated with native Albanian bases in (b'').

- |     |     |                         |                    |                    |
|-----|-----|-------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| (1) | a.  | <i>singular</i>         | <i>plural</i>      |                    |
|     |     | furtʃinnə               | furtʃinna          | 'fork(s)'          |
|     |     | furtʃinn-a              | furtʃinn-ətə       | 'the fork(s)'      |
|     |     | kətsə                   | kətsa              | 'head(s)'          |
|     |     | kanarunnə               | kanarunna          | 'neck(s)'          |
|     |     | məlunnə                 | məlunna            | 'melon(s)'         |
|     |     | kriateurə               | kriateura          | 'boy(s)'           |
|     |     | vətrinnə                | vətrinna           | 'glass(es)'        |
|     |     | məsələ                  | məsələ             | 'tablecloth(s)'    |
|     |     | martilələ               | martilələ          | 'hammer(s)'        |
|     | a'. | (local Romance variety) |                    |                    |
|     |     | furtʃeina               | furtʃeina          | 'fork(s)',         |
|     | b.  | tsumbəɔ̃/tsumbənnə      |                    | 'I jump/ he jumps' |
|     |     | fuməɔ̃                  |                    | 'I smoke'          |
|     |     | fərməɔ̃                 |                    | 'I wait'           |
|     |     | turnəɔ̃                 |                    | 'I come back'      |
|     |     | fərnəɔ̃                 |                    | 'I finish'         |
|     |     | sfrizəɔ̃                |                    | 'I fry'            |
|     | b'. | (local Romance variety) |                    |                    |
|     |     | tsumbə/tumba            | 'I jump/ he jumps' | <i>Ginestra</i>    |
| (2) | a.  | <i>singular</i>         | <i>plural</i>      |                    |
|     |     | hərmikulə               | hərmikula          | 'ant(s)'           |
|     |     | hərmikul-a              | hərmikul-ətə       | 'the ant(s)'       |
|     |     | kanarəts                | kanarətsə          | 'throat(s)'        |
|     |     | məlun                   | məlunə             | 'melon(s)'         |
|     |     | sədʒ                    | sədʒ               | 'chair(s)'         |
|     |     | stip                    | stipe              | 'sideboard(s)'     |
|     |     | martələ                 | martələ            | 'hammer(s)'        |
|     |     | hadalic                 | hadalice           | 'apron(s)'         |
|     | a'. | (local Romance variety) |                    |                    |
|     |     | hərmikula               | hərmikuli          | 'ant(s)',          |

b.	kriðijna /kriðin	'I believe/ he believes'	
	rispundijna	'I answer'	
	ʃundijna	'I untie'	
	kaminajna	'I go away'	
	pændzajna	'I think'	
	kapiʃijna	'I understand'	
	leʃijna	'I read'	
	preɣajna	'I pray'	
	sətahəmə	'I sit down'	
	kardzejna	'I jump'	
	ripettsajna	'I darn'	
	frijijna	'I fry'	
	humajna	'I smoke'	
b.	(local Romance variety)		
	krijju/kriðe	'I believe/ he believes'	
	rispundu	'I answer'	
	ʃundu	'I untie'	
	kaminu	'I go away'	
b".	(native Albanian bases)		
	prijɛɟəm	'I answer'	
	ʒgʌiðijna	'I untie'	
	ikijna	'I go away'	<i>Vena di Maida</i>

Merging nominal or verbal hybrid forms in the sentence gives rise to morphosyntactic structures of the type in (3)-(4), where all the bases are Romance, and all the inflections and structures of syntactic embedding, for instance the article preceding the adjective in (4a) or the embedding by oblique case (without a Preposition) in (3a), are Albanian.

(3)	vətrin-a	kristalir-əsə		
	the.window-Nom	the.cabinet-Gen		
	'the glass of the cabinet'			<i>Ginestra</i>
(4)	a.	bɹɛstə	stip-in	i ri
		I.bought	the.sideboard.Acc	the new
		'I bought the new sideboard'		
	b.	həŋgrə	ʌnɛʎ-in	
		I.ate	the.lamb.Acc	
		'I ate the lamb'		<i>Vena di Maida</i>

### 1.2 Conceptual categories in borrowing.

In the literature the acquisition of loans into a language is connected with functional generalizations, implicationally ordered like the one in

(5), from Romaine (1995: 64).

(5)	<b>Hierarchy of borrowing</b>	<b>Ease of borrowing</b>
	Lexical items	High
	Derivational morphology	↑
	Inflectional morphology	↓
	Syntax	Low

As for lexical classes, the literature suggests that nouns are favoured as possible borrowings, as indicated in the hierarchy in (6).

(6) *nouns > adjectives > verbs > prepositions*  
(Appel and Muysken 1987; Muysken 2000; Myers-Scotton 2006).

The tendency to prefer nouns is related by such authors as Poplack, Sankoff and Miller to the wider autonomy that nouns have in the discourse (Romaine 1995). On the contrary, verbs need to be integrated in the morphosyntactic system of the host language. Another generalization concerns the fact that loan processes and interference would tend to spare the nuclear lexicon – nouns denoting body parts, numbers, personal pronouns, conjunctions, etc. (Romaine 1995, Muysken 2000). These generalizations reflect the theoretical setting of the functionalist approach, inspired by notions like economy, processing facility, and so on, that are undermined, or called into question, by the data. In the case of the Romance borrowings into Arbëresh varieties, we see that nouns are regularly integrated in the case paradigms, as in (3)-(4) – so that it is far from obvious in which sense nouns would be less integrated into morphosyntax; more in general, inflectional elements treat all borrowings like the hereditary lexicon. Besides, a clear preference for the nominal borrowings in comparison with the verbal ones does not show up in (1)-(2). The borrowing of grammatical elements is also frequent, including formatives like the complementizer, which are generally taken to be immune from being borrowed (see section 2.1).

In short, lexical borrowing is traditionally dealt with as an external phenomenon, that does not affect the grammatical system. More precisely, it is seen as determined by extralinguistic pragmatic and cultural mechanisms. On the contrary, we see lexical borrowing as driven by cognitive constraints inherent to the language faculty. The literature on language acquisition highlights the fact that the word-world relation favours words that refer to concrete things or events, perceptible and identifiable in the experience stream. Hence ‘dog’ or ‘jump’ are preferred to ‘believe’ or ‘know’ (Gleitman et al. 2005). We may therefore expect that this basic level of conceptual organization

causes the corresponding subpart of the lexicon to be more resistant to hybridization or to favour it, respectively. Other types of splits observed in the literature on language disorders and acquisition concern the different cognitive status of nouns and verbs (Luzzati and Chierchia 2002, Gleitman et al. 2005, Caramazza 1997). Caramazza and Shelton (1998) provide experimental evidence supporting the hypothesis that the animate/inanimate distinction is basic in the organization of the conceptual space, relating this categorial split to an evolutionary pressure that has fixed a specialized cognitive tool. Further identifiable categories include the 'imageability' of a referent and the frequency of the words in the denomination tasks, though Luzzatti and Chierchia (2002) observe that the verb-noun dissociations cannot "be simply discarded as an artifact resulting from unbalanced word frequency or imageability, but have to be accepted as a genuine part-of-speech effect". Dissociations which can be related to semantic properties of the event include the number of arguments, hence the contrast between transitives and intransitives, etc. In general, the results of researches into noun/verb dissociations in linguistic disorders suggest that the noun/verb split is translatable (largely) in terms of primitives like imageability, animacy, argumental structure, and frequency. We can think that such categories belong to the system of cognitive devices that organize our lexical knowledge, thus affecting acquisition processes that create mixed or secondary languages as well.

The distribution shown by the loanwords in the Arbëresh lexicon in (1)-(2) bears witness to differential access to borrowing and code-mixing, whereby the majority of the loanwords denote artefacts and activities. The fact that the biological lexicon (body parts, animals, plants, etc.) resists can be explained as due to the precocity of its acquisition, which in turn reveals the crucial role played by genetically determined conceptual primitives. By contrast, artefacts involve properties like imageability and frequency of use of the relevant lexical elements, implying external socio-cultural and pragmatic factors. As for verbal borrowings, imageability seems to be again a relevant component: indeed, psychological and directional verbs, i.e. the less imaginable events, are the most persisting ones. The greater availability to borrowing in the case of verbs denoting activities can be related to a clearer imageability.

## **2. Convergence in sentential embedding**

Gumperz and Wilson (1971) call convergence a type of grammatical reorganization associated with mixing and bilingualism, whereby coexisting languages have parallel or coinciding morphosyntactic systems. Some of the correspondences between Albanian and Romance varieties are not due to the specific contact between them.

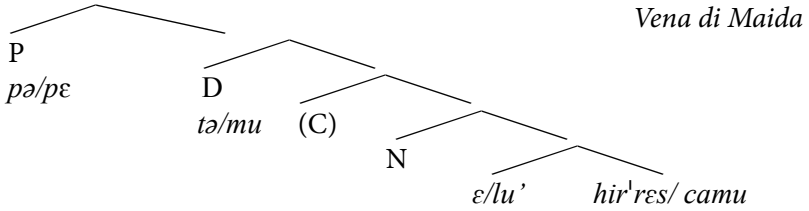
For example, the absence of the infinitive and the use of subordinate sentences introduced by a particle in control contexts is a general Balkan feature, shared by Italian varieties of the extreme South. The syntactic constraints on these constructions are the same in the Romance and Arbëresh varieties of *Vena*, as shown in (7a-f) for Arbëresh and in (7a'-f') for Romance. The subject of the subordinate can occur in a post-verbal or topicalized position preceding the particle, for instance in (7b-b'), but it cannot insert between the complementizer and the embedded verb. The subordinate clause preceded by the particle can be inserted under a finite complementizer, as in (7c-c'). Arbëresh borrows the complex particle *pε mu* which is reproduced as *pə tə* in (7e), cf. (7e'). Some differences remain: in negative structures Albanian uses the specialized negation *məs*, in (7d).

- (7) a.   dua                   tə        ha  
 a'   vəʝʝu                 mu       məɲdʒu  
      I.want               Prt       I.eat  
      'I want to eat'
- b.   bəɲna (kria'turatə)   tə       frənə               (kria'turatə)  
 b'   hattsu (li hiʝʝi)       mu       <sup>l</sup>ðormenu(li hiʝʝi)  
      I.make               the children   Prt   sleep       the children  
      'I make the children sleep'
- c.   dua                   (hε)   ai       tə       viɲna       ndzitu  
 c'   vəʝʝu               (ka)   iɮu     mu       vεnε       prεstu  
      I.want               that   he       Prt   comes     soon  
      'I want him to come soon'
- d.   ka   tə   ri   cεtu   pə   məs   ε   zʒɔna  
 d'   aju   mu   stɔu   tʃittu           nɔ   mu   lu   rizbiʝʝu  
      I.have Prt   I.stay   silent   for   not   Prt   him I.wake.up  
      'I must be silent not to wake him up'
- e.   ju   harrɔva           (pə)   tə   ləʝiɲ  
 e'   mi   skɔrdai           (pε)   mu   ləʝia  
      me   I.forgot       for   Prt   I.read  
      'I forgot to read'
- f.   ka   tə   daɮ                   pə   t   ε   hir'res  
 f'   aju   mu   nεʃʃu             pε   mu   lu   camu  
      I.have Prt   go.out           for   Prt   him I.call  
      'I have to go out to call him'
- Vena di Maida*

The combination of a *tə* sentence with a preposition, in particular the preposition *pə* observed in the purpose clauses and infinitival relatives of Arbëresh dialects, gives rise to a structure in which the preposition

represents an independent predicative head, taking the *tə* sentence as its complement, as illustrated in (8), which pairs the Romance and Albanian structure showing the strict parallelism.

(8)



The literature on subjunctive constructs identifies the particle with a Mood head (Rivero 1994) or more recently with a Modal complementizer in a split CP field (Roberts and Roussou 2003). Manzini and Savoia (2007) assume that introducers of the type of *mu* in South Calabrian varieties or *tə* in Albanian are not modal elements. Rather they contribute to the embedded clause EPP properties involved in control and raising interpretations (Manzini and Savoia 2005, 2007). Briefly, in this analysis *tə* and *mu* introduce a variable, very much as the infinitival inflection of Romance, accounting for control and raising (on PRO as a variable cf. Lebeaux 1984). The *tə/ mu* variable can be identified with the matrix subject, therefore mediating the co-reference between the matrix subject and the embedded D inflection of the verb. It is also possible for the EPP variable introduced by *tə/ mu* to be identified only locally by the inflection of the verb and to therefore lack the control property. This corresponds to the presence of an overt subject in particular in the right periphery of the sentence, as in (7b-b'). Furthermore, if *tə/mu* imply that the EPP argument is a variable, we expect the lexicalization of an overt subject between *tə/mu* and the verb, i.e. in the EPP position, to be excluded, correctly.

The fact that *tə/mu* is not in complementary distribution with sentential introducers, including both complementizers and prepositions, provides an obvious argument for treating it as different from both. Furthermore, in *Vena di Maida*, where the negation normally combines with *pə* or the complementizer, it is in complementary distribution with *tə*, further distinguishing these various elements.

### 2.1 Convergence in the complementizer system

A second convergence which does not reflect the specific contact between Albanian and Romance is observed in the complementizer system, as in (9). Two finite complementizers, one of which coincides with the relative pronoun, as in (9b-b'), characterize not only standard

Albanian, but also Romance varieties not in contact (e.g. Abruzzese). It is of note that the relative pronoun/ complementizer can occur in the progressive structure in (9c-c'), again shared by the Albanian and Romance varieties of *Vena*. What we do not find in standard Albanian is the further coincidence of the relative complementizer with the interrogative *wh*-phrase (which characterizes instead many Romance varieties, in contact and not), illustrated in (9d'-e').

- (9) a. θɔnə                    hɛ/ sɛ    'viŋŋənə  
 a'. 'ðitʃɛnu            ka            vinne  
 they.say            that            they.came(A)/he.came(R)  
 'The say that they/he came'
- b. dɔla                    ðɔpu                    tʃə            ɛrðɛ            ti  
 b'. nɛʃʃivi            ðɔpu                    ki            venisti            tu  
 I.went            after                    that            came            you  
 'I went out after you came in'
- c. jan                    tʃə            han  
 c'. sunu                    ki            'mantʃanu  
 they.are            that            they.eat  
 'They are eating'
- d. ai            ɐʃt    ɲɛriu    tʃə    mə hər'rɛt  
 d'. ɛ            kkiλλɔ mu    ki    mi cama  
 he.is    the man            that    me calls  
 'He is the man who is calling me'
- e. tʃə            bbən?  
 e'. ki            hai?  
 what    you.do  
 'What do you do?'

*Vena di Maida*

Two complementizer systems in Romance have been taken to be an overt realization of the structural possibilities implied by the split CP (Ledgeway 2005). On the contrary, Manzini and Savoia (2003, 2005, 2011a) argue that they should be interpreted in an altogether different way, as providing evidence for the fact that complement sentences are a sort of free relatives, requiring a nominal embedding provided by the complementizer (cf. also Kayne 2010). This latter analysis can be applied to Albanian, though its extension goes beyond the limits of the present work.

### 3. Convergence in verbal structures

The Romance and Arbëresh varieties of *Vena* share a scheme of auxiliary selection which requires 'have' with all verb classes (active, middle-reflexive, unaccusative), as illustrated in (10a-c), except for the passive,





independent parameters of auxiliary selection, crossing to yield finer grained parameterization. Auxiliary selection and participle agreement are taken to be independent. We further reject the identification of adjectival passives with stativity (Wasow 1977), as can be seen from the fact that the adjectival participles in (11') easily combine with agent *by*-phrases.

### 3.1 Convergence in the perfective past paradigm.

Arbëresh verbs with thematic vowel *-a*, *-ε*, *-i* form the perfective past by the addition of the inflection *-ft/-st* in all the persons, corresponding to Romance *-ft/-st*, which is however found only in the 2<sup>nd</sup> person in the paradigm in (13b). Arbëresh also shows the morphological alternant *-v* in the 1<sup>st</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> singular (see the Romance paradigm in (13b)) and *-u* in the 3<sup>rd</sup> singular, which in turn coincides with the Romance inflection in the 3<sup>rd</sup> singular. Both the verbal bases with Romance etymology as in (13a) and native Albanian bases, as in (13c) are characterized by these innovations; comparison with the local Romance variety is provided in (13b).

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| <p>(13) a.   ripettsa-st-a/ ripettsa-v-a   (A)</p> <p>          ripettsa-st-ε/ ripettsa-v-ε</p> <p>          ripettsa-st-i/ ripettsa-u</p> <p>          ripettsa-st-əmə</p> <p>          ripettsa-st-ətə</p> <p>          ripettsa-st-ərə</p> <p>          ‘I darned, etc.</p><br><p>          kriði-st-a/ kriði-va</p> <p>          kriði-st-ε/ kriði-ve</p> <p>          kriði-st-i/ kriði-u</p> <p>          kriði-st-əmə</p> <p>          kriði-st-ətə</p> <p>          kriði-st-ərə</p> <p>          ‘I believed’, etc.</p> | <p>b.       ripettsa-i   (R)</p> <p>          ripettsa-st-i</p> <p>          ripettsa-u</p> <p>          ripettsa-mε</p> <p>          ripettsa-sti-vu</p> <p>          ripettsa-ru</p><br><p>          kriði-v-i</p> <p>          kriði-st-i</p> <p>          kriði-u</p> <p>          kriði-mε</p> <p>          kriði-sti-vu</p> <p>          kriði-ru</p> |
| <p>c.       λa-st-a</p> <p>          λa-st-ε</p> <p>          λa-st-i / λa-u</p> <p>          λa-st-əmə</p> <p>          λa-st-ətə</p> <p>          λa-st-ərə</p> <p>          ‘I washed’, etc.</p>  |   |

*Vena di Maida*



c.	i	mōra	mə	tə	mbiðeɾ
c'	li	pijjai	ccu		vaffi
	them	I.took	more	Art	short
		'I took them shorter'			
d.	j-	a	ðe		
d'	ɲtʃi	la	detsi		
	to.him	it.m/f.	I.gave		
		'I gave it to him'			

*Vena di Maida*

The choice of *-a*, generally associated with the feminine nominal class, as inflection for the (gender neutral) accusative clitic is particularly worthy of note and may relate to the overall properties of the Albanian accusative clitic *ε*. This element occurs as feminine singular inflection in some nominal classes, cf. *dελ-ε* 'sheep' and represents the pre-adjectival article specialized for feminine in particular in the nominative singular (hence in all copular contexts, Franco, Manzini and Savoia 2015). An interesting point is that unlike clitics, *Vena's* Romance articles maintain the morphological distinction between *la* and *lu*. In fact, this different treatment between clitics and articles seems to confirm the lexical identification between the Albanian formative and the Calabrian one, given that the article systems of the two varieties are not homogeneous; indeed Albanian has an post-nominal article (more properly a definiteness inflection), while Romance has a pre-nominal element. The fact that in clusters with the dative, the *a* allomorph for the accusative shows up in Albanian, as in (16d) may also influence the Romance alignment.

#### 4.1 *Embedding in NP: nominal complements.*

In Albanian varieties, the genitive complement of a noun is introduced by an article agreeing with the head noun, as for instance in (18a) (Manzini and Savoia 2011a, Franco, Manzini and Savoia 2015). Arbëresh however admits of constructions shaped on Romance syntax, in which the complement is introduced by a preposition, which in some dialects can be *ðə*, in turn a Romance borrowing, as in (17). In other instances, the Albanian preposition *ɲga* is used, as in (18b). Having resort to a preposition (either borrowed or native) suggests a strong degree of unification between the two lexicons, and grammars, leading to the projection of the same syntactic structures in the two languages.

(17)	ɲə bukir	ðə vitrə
	a cup	of glass

*Ginestra*

(18) a.	tə	biçətə	ε	saçə	
	Art	children	Art	hers	
		‘her children’			
b.	tə	biçətə	ŋga aɔ		
	Art	children	by her		
		‘her children’			<i>Vena di Maida</i>

#### 4.2 Romance adjectival borrowings in Albanian.

Romance adjectival borrowings are generally characterized by an inflection *-u*, invariable in many varieties, for instance in *Ginestra* in (19b) – or possibly inflected in the plural where an *-a* ending is inserted, as in *Vena* in (19a). The formative *-u* is independently present in the inflectional system of Albanian, though it has a restricted distribution after bases with final velar obstruent.

(19)	<i>singular</i>	<i>plural</i>		
a.	autu	autu/ auta	‘tall’	
	vaɟu	vaɟu/vaɟa	‘short’	
	kruðu	kruðu/ kruða	‘raw’	<i>Vena di Maida</i>
b.	grassu		‘fat’	
	magru		‘thin’	
	mbunnu		‘deep’	<i>Ginestra</i>

More to the point, loaned adjectives lack the preposed article typically selected by the native adjectives (Turano 2002), as in the copular sentences in (20), where Albanian grammar requires a preadjectival article, or linker (Manzini and Savoia 2011b, Franco, Manzini and Savoia 2015)

(20) a.	iɬt	mbunnu		
	it.is	deep.m/f		
a’	jan	mbunnu		
	‘they.are	deep’		<i>Ginestra</i>
b.	ɛɬt	kruðu/autu		
	(s)he/it.is	raw/tall		
b’	jan	kruðu/kruða/autu/ auta		
	they.are raw/tall			<i>Vena di Maida</i>

In Romaine’s (1995) hierarchy in (5), the adjectival borrowings are in an intermediate position between the nouns and the verbs. The examples in (19)-(20) show that adjectival borrowings cover cognitive domains which include both individual-level properties

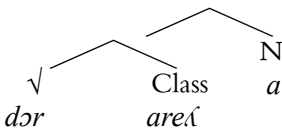
denoting spatial properties and dimensions, like *magru/autu*, and stage-level properties, like *kundënd/kuntënt*. On purely functional grounds, we may expect a particular resistance of the native lexicon in these areas concerning basic conceptual distinctions. On the contrary, the properties of these adjectives, either spatial/dimensional, or inherent perceptible ones, recalls the distribution of verbal borrowings.

In fact, we expect that other types of predicative elements will be borrowed, independently of the category they belong to; this may be true for the hypocoristic suffixes borrowed from Romance like *-(ar)ελ-*, combining in (21) with native Albanian bases and inflections.

(21)	<i>noun</i>	<i>hypocoristic form</i>		
a.	krax-u	krax-ariλ-i	‘arm/little arm’	
	vaiz-a	vaiz-arελ-a	‘girl/little girl’	<i>Ginestra</i>
b.	krah-u	krah-arελ-i	‘arm/little arm’	
	dɔr-a	dɔr-arελ-a	‘hand/little hand’	<i>Vena di Maida</i>

Nouns may be analysed as predicates specifying properties (Higginbotham 1985). In this perspective, we may think of hypocoristic suffixes as secondary predicates that individuate a sub-set of referents characterized as ‘little/small’. These suffixes, introducing elementary properties concerning body size, affective components and so on, are labelled as Classifier in (22). The phi-features inflection introduces a further set of specifications concurring to individuate the referent (Manzini and Savoia 2011a, 2011b, 2014), by classifying it in terms of gender (nominal class) and number (i.e. countability). In (22) the inflectional element *-a* is indicated as N, for nominal class, and denotes feminine.

(22)



Crucially, hypocoristic elements, as conventionally morphological elements, escape the restriction that favours borrowing of complete lexical items, confirming that this generalization is merely superficial. A correct characterization of the hypocoristics as predicates comes much closer to predicting their availability for borrowing.

## 5. Phonology.

The vowel system of the Romance variety of *Vena* presents three height distinctions [i ε ə u], as generally Calabrian varieties do; there is, however, an important difference, since the phonology of *Vena* does not have metaphony (Savoia and Maiden 1997, Savoia 2015). In North and Central Calabrian varieties, including those neighbouring *Vena*, stressed [ε ə] are excluded when followed by unstressed [i u]. In these contexts the metaphonic diphthongs [iə uə] occur, as in (23) for *Iacurso*.

(23)	[kur <sup>1</sup> tɛzə]	‘knives’	[kur <sup>1</sup> tiəzɯ]	‘knife’	
	[ <sup>1</sup> pɛðɛ]	‘foot’	[ <sup>1</sup> piəði]	‘feet’	
	[ <sup>1</sup> rɔta]	‘wheel’	[ <sup>1</sup> ruəti]	‘wheels’	
	[lan <sup>1</sup> tsuɛlu]	‘sheet’	[lan <sup>1</sup> tsɔla]	‘sheets’	<i>Iacurso</i>

In government phonology terms, metaphony stems from the fact that the height feature of an unstressed vowel (here the final vowel) must be licensed by the same feature associated to the stressed nucleus, as in (24a). This constraint yields surface harmony (i.e. metaphony), as in (24b).

(24)	a.	<i>ATR metaphony</i>				
		[+high] and [+ATR] in the stressed nucleus license [+high, +ATR] in the following vowel.				
	b.	O	R	O	R	<i>Iacurso</i>
			<u>N</u>		N	
		p	i \ e	ð	i	
			[+high] [+low]		[+high]	[ <sup>1</sup> piəði] ‘feet’

The Romance dialect of *Vena* lacks the constraint in (24a), and low-mid vowels [ε ə] occur also in contexts where they precede final [i u], as in (25a) – paralleling the Albanian variety in (25b).

(25)	a.	[ <sup>1</sup> pɛðɛ]	[ <sup>1</sup> pɛði]	‘foot/feet’	(R)
		[mar <sup>1</sup> tɛλλu]	[mar <sup>1</sup> tɛλλi]	‘hammer/hammers’	
		[ <sup>1</sup> dɔrmu] [ <sup>1</sup> dɔrmi]	[ <sup>1</sup> dɔrmɛ]	‘I sleep/you sleep/he sleeps’	
		[ <sup>1</sup> rɔta]	[ <sup>1</sup> rɔti]	‘wheel/s’	
	b.	[mar <sup>1</sup> tɛλ-i]		‘the hammer’	(A)
		[lɛn <sup>1</sup> dzɔl-i]		‘the sheet’	

*Vena di Maida*

### 5.1 *Vena's consonantism*

The consonantal inventory of *Vena's* Romance variety lacks the retroflex which is normally present in Calabrian dialects. Instead we find the palatal lateral [ʎʎ], as in (26a), which characterizes Romance borrowings into Arbëresh as well, as in (26b).

- |         |             |             |                |     |
|---------|-------------|-------------|----------------|-----|
| (26) a. | [kur'teʎʎu] | [kur'teʎʎi] | 'knife/knives' | (R) |
|         | [iʎʎu]      |             | 'he'           |     |
| b.      | [mar'teʎ-i] |             | 'the hammer'   | (A) |

*Vena di Maida*

Similarly, intervocalic [h] corresponding to etymological \*f in the Romance variety in (27a) appears in the Albanian variety in (27b) as well. However [h] in place of original \*f characterizes some bases of the native Albanian lexicon, as in (27c), suggesting that the weakening of \*f has been incorporated into the grammar of Arbëresh as a phonological rule.

- |         |               |             |                            |
|---------|---------------|-------------|----------------------------|
| (27) a. | [had'dalɛ]    | 'apron'     | (R)                        |
|         | [himiɲi]      | 'women'     |                            |
|         | [hɔku]        | 'fire'      |                            |
|         | [hɔr'mikula]  | 'ant'       |                            |
|         | [humu]        | 'I smoke'   |                            |
|         | [buha]        | 'toad'      |                            |
| b.      | [hada'lic-i]  | 'the apron' | (A)                        |
|         | [hɔr'mikul-a] | 'the ant'   |                            |
|         | [hu'maɲa]     | 'I smoke'   |                            |
|         | [buh-a]       | 'the toad'  |                            |
| c.      | [i'hɔrtɔ]     | 'hard'      | (Albanian <i>i fortë</i> ) |
|         | [i'cah-a]     | 'the neck'  | (Albanian <i>cafa</i> )    |
- Vena di Maida*

### 5.2 *Diphthongization of the stressed nucleus in the Arbëresh of Ginestra.*

In the Arbëresh variety of *Ginestra* stressed vowels in open syllables diphthongize, as in the Lucanian dialect also spoken by bilingual people. The data in (28)-(28') compare stressed syllables occurring in penultimate position in (a-d), and in antepenultimate position in (d'-d''), in the Albanian and Romance dialects. The Arbëresh data show a subtly different diphthongization pattern, in that diphthongization takes place also in antepenultimate position, cf. (28d'-d''), contrary to the Romance pattern, for instance in (28'd').

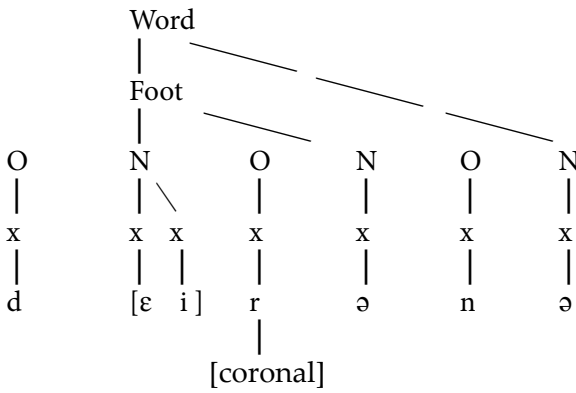
- |         |        |          |          |     |
|---------|--------|----------|----------|-----|
| (28) a. | t      | a        | beimi    | (A) |
|         | to.you | it       | we.bring |     |
| b.      | əɲ     | a.meua   |          |     |
|         | give   | it.to.me |          |     |

c.	a/u	ðəbœura		
	it/Refl	I.lost		
d.	dɛirə		d'. dɛirə-nə	
	hand		hand -Acc	
			d". kriateurə-tə	
			boys-pl	
(28')	a.	sə	deitʃə	(R)
		one	says	
	b.	nu	mələunə	
		a	melon	
	c.	lu	mœuvə	
		it	I.move	
	d.	lu	steutə	d'. lu stutənə
		it	I.turn.off	it they.turn.off <i>Ginestra</i>

In Romance Lucanian varieties, including that of *Ginestra*, diphthongization takes place when the stressed vowel is followed only by one moraic position 'μ' (mora), as (29). In government phonology terms, the requirement is that the head of the nucleus must govern a second vocalic position, as in (29), or a coda in the rime (cf. f[ɪ]ʎʎə) or a second mora in the foot (cf. d[ɪtʃə]nə).



Diphthongization in antepenultimate position in Arbëresh corresponds to structures of the type in (30). A further difference between Romance dialects and Arbëresh is that in the latter the diphthongization process is triggered before a coronal or a sonorant adjacent to the nucleus, as in (30). The reduced phonological content of coronals and sonorants seems to be involved in this restriction.



## 6. Summing up: Models of bilingual competence.

Poplack (1980), in a classical work examining the code-switching between Spanish and English in a Portorican community in New York, concludes that code-mixing is structurally restricted, by the constraints in (31). (31a) excludes (32a), given the incompatible linearizations of English and Spanish in (32a'). (31b) excludes (32b), namely morphological code-mixing.

- (31) a. *The equivalence constraint:*  
Codeswitches will tend to occur at points in discourse where juxtaposition of L1 and L2 elements does not violate a syntactic rule of either language, i.e. at points around which the surface structures of two languages map onto each other.
- b. *The free morpheme constraint:*  
Codes may be switched after any constituent in discourse provided that constituent is not a bound morpheme.
- (32) a. \*told le/\*le told  
a'. Yo le dije  
I told him
- b. \*eat-iendo'

In reality it is far from clear that the constraints in (31) hold – or at least to what extent they hold. Bokamba (1988), Muysken (2000) among others argue against the free morpheme constraint on the basis of examples like (33). Other counterexamples to it potentially include all of the Albanian-inflected Romance nouns and verbs in section 1.

- (33) na- mi- demand- àkà... (Bokamba 1988: 38)  
I- Refl- ask- present habitual  
'I wonder'

Nevertheless (31b) is taken up again by MacSwan (1999, 2010) in the context of an interesting attempt to model code-mixing within a competence-based minimalist framework. MacSwan (2005: 5) assumes that “Code-switching is formally the union of two (lexically-encoded) grammars, where the numeration may draw elements from the union of two (or more) lexicons”. He further assumes that “the PF component consists of rules/constraints which must be (partially) ordered/ ranked with each other, and these orders vary cross-linguistically” while “ordering relations are not preserved under union”. This means that “code-switching within a PF component is not possible” – effectively yielding the free Morpheme Constraint.

MacSwan is of course aware of well-known evidence like (33). In his terms, the hybrid forms that we have considered in section 1, are simply loans (of lexical bases). However the ‘intertwining’ between Arbëresh and Romance lexical material involves not just lexical bases but also inflectional devices, for example the inflection of the perfect *-t* or the perfective *-st-* in (12)-(13), which find themselves sandwiched between an Albanian base and an Albanian ending. Mixing further includes aspects of phonology, for instance the [h] outcome for \**f* in the native Albanian lexicon of *Vena* in section 5.1. Similarly, the shared vocalism and consonantism of *Vena*’s Romance lexicon in the context of both Romance and Albanian grammars (inflectional and syntactic structures) is compatible with the hypothesis that borrowing is itself a mechanism of code-mixing and not the result of extrapolating items from systems external to one another.

Manzini and Savoia (2007, 2011b) attempt to capture the relation between lexical elements and syntactic structures in a simpler theoretical framework than other current models, such a Distributed Morphology, requiring a dedicated Morphological Structure (MS) interface (as assumed by McSwan). In our model, syntax is projected directly from lexical items, including both lexical bases and inflectional material. We may assume that in a bilingual grammar the lexical bases which are identical both in Romance dialect and Arbëresh, are registered once in the grammar of the speaker. The separation between the two lexicons concerns morpho-syntactic devices, building the structures in (33).

- (33) a.  b. 

In conclusion, our discussion of Arbëresh-Romance contact and

Arbëresh variation pursued a specific conception of lexical variation: there is a conceptual and grammatical space to be lexicalized and variation results from the different partition of that space. Our approach leads to a redefinition of the categories that play a role in organizing the conceptual space and hence in defining variation. Change results from existing lexical resources finding a new structural collocation ('alignment', cf. Gumperz and Wilson 1971), in conditions of systematic bilingualism ('contact'). A theoretical point that emerges from the case studies considered in this contribution is that the reorganization deriving from language contact and mixing is not necessarily due to the transfer of one grammar to the other one, since the process is often bidirectional, and in some instances has no clear directionality at all.

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### Abstract

The paper investigates hybridization, borrowing and grammatical re-organization phenomena in the *Arbëresh* communities of *Ginestra* (Lucania), and *Vena di Maida* (Calabria). *Arbëresh* varieties present the kind of variation that we expect in natural languages in absence of external constraints. Moreover, their long time contact with neighbouring Romance varieties is reflected in the extended code-mixing phenomena characterizing their lexicon and morpho-syntactic organization (Savoia 1984, 2008). Code-mixing and other processes of variation raise questions concerning the nature of the variation and its meaning to the theory of language.

The authors are obviously aware that the socio-cultural context and communicative relevance requirements may motivate linguistic variation, directing the attention of the speakers and driving their communicative intentions. However, the way that language mixes, borrows and change depends on the cognitive constraints defining the *faculty of language* in the sense of Hauser, Chomsky and Fitch (2002). The two linguists demonstrate that the mechanisms of variation spring forth from the fundamental structures of human language rather than from the simple external pressure of cultural and communicative necessities as functionalist conception maintains.