

Projet ANR IMMOCAL

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# Forms of imperfectivity in the Slavic of Molise

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# The Slavic of Molise (SLM)



- History

The Slavic language is in this area since late XV-XVI century.

- Nowadays it is spoken in three villages:

- Montemitro - *Mundimitar*
- Acquaviva Collecroce - *Kruč*
- San Felice del Molise - *Filič*

- 1,500 inhabitants (not all of them know and speak the local Slavic language)

# Sociolinguistic conditions of SLM

- Differences in the three villages
  - > different sociolinguistic vitality and endangerment degree( see Unesco 2003)
- All Slavic speakers are at least bilingual:
  - Slavic of Molise
  - Regional Italian
  - Molise Romance varieties



# SML in the Serbo-Croatian dialectology

- In the continuum of Serbo-Croatian varieties
- Štokavo-ikavian variety
- Serbo-Croatian varieties groups  
*'what'*
  - Štokavian (< 'what' = *što*)
  - Čakavian (< 'what' = *ča*)
  - Kajkavian (< 'what' = *kaj*)
- Sub-groups (< a.sl. 'jat' = lat. Ě)
  - Ikavian (*lipi* 'beautiful')
  - Ekavian (*lepi* 'beautiful')
  - Jekavian (*ljepi* 'beautiful')



Distribution of central South Slavic dialects before 16th century migrations:

- - Chakavian
- - Kajkavian
- - Western Shtokavian
- - Eastern Shtokavian
- - Torlakian

Note: countries and cities presented in this map are those from the early 21st century.

# Languages and contact

- Historical minority language of ancient settlement
- Prolonged language contact
- Unbalanced multilingualism (> interferences, borrowings, functional and formal reduction from Romance varieties to SLM)



- ❖ Conservative features
- ❖ Innovative features
- ❖ Internal variation

# Language in contact, between preservation and innovation

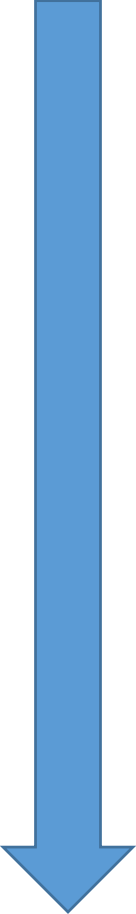
## Some conservative features

- phonology: preservation of the syllabic vibrant -R- (*prst* 'finger', *srca* 'heart', *krpalj* 'tick', *vrnit* 'to give back'.... )
- nominal morphology: preservation of the case system
- verbal morphology fairly conservative in comparison with other Croatian varieties (e.g. presence of imperfect forms, especially of perfective verbs, preservation of aspectual opposition, ...)
- ....

## Some innovative features

- phonology: introduction of the postalveolar voiced affricate [dʒ]
- nominal morphology: loss of neuter gender in nouns and adjectives
- new formation of the indeterminative article *na* (*jena* 'one')
- loan words (also functional words)
- verbal system: evolution of future tense forms
- verbal morphology: new distribution of Slavic forms (e.g. in future tense)...

# Serbo-Croatian verbal morphology for past tenses: **tendencies**



|    |                          |                               |  |                                     |
|----|--------------------------|-------------------------------|--|-------------------------------------|
| a. | CONSERVATIVE<br>DIALECTS | imperfect<br>(synthetic form) | simple perfect<br>(synthetic form: aorist) | composed perfect<br>(analytic form) |
| b. | REDUCTION 1              | -----                         | simple perfect<br>(synthetic form: aorist) | composed perfect<br>(analytic form) |
| c. | REDUCTION 2              | -----                         | -----                                      | composed perfect<br>(analytic form) |

# SLM verbal morphology for past tenses

## **MOLISE SLAVIC**

imperfect  
(synthetic form)

-----

composed perfect  
(analytic form)

- Composed perfect (analytic form)
- Present of auxiliary to be + past participle of the main verb



# Pisat (PFV/IPFV) 'to write'

|             | <b>IMPERFECT</b> | <b>COMPOSED PERFECT</b><br>(Present aux <i>to be</i> + Past Participle) |             |
|-------------|------------------|---|-------------|
|             |                  | M   | F           |
| <b>1 sg</b> | Pisa-h(u)        | Sa pisa   | Sa pisal(a) |
| <b>2 sg</b> | Pisa-š(a)        | Si pisa   | Si pisal(a) |
| <b>3 sg</b> | Pisaš(a)         | Je pisa   | Je pisal(a) |
| <b>1 pl</b> | Pisahm(a)        | Sma pisal   | Sma pisal   |
| <b>2 pl</b> | Pisaht(a)        | Sta pisal   | Sta pisal   |
| <b>3 pl</b> | Pisah(u)         | su pisal  | su pisal    |

# SLM and Romance varieties

|                      |                               |       |                                     |
|----------------------|-------------------------------|-------|-------------------------------------|
| <b>MOLISE SLAVIC</b> | imperfect<br>(synthetic form) | ----- | composed perfect<br>(analytic form) |
|----------------------|-------------------------------|-------|-------------------------------------|

Cfr.

|                               |                               |  |                                     |
|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|--|-------------------------------------|
| STANDARD ITALIAN              | imperfect<br>(synthetic form) | simple perfect<br>(synthetic form: aorist)       | composed perfect<br>(analytic form) |
| <b>LOCAL ITALIAN</b>          | imperfect<br>(synthetic form) | [[ simple perfect<br>(synthetic form: aorist) ]] | composed perfect<br>(analytic form) |
| <b>ROMANCE LOCAL DIALECTS</b> | imperfect<br>(synthetic form) | -----  | composed perfect<br>(analytic form) |



# Imperfectivity in SLM

- Imperfect (synthetic form of the indicative mood) (IMPERF)
- Imperfective aspect (IPFV)
  - «[...] aspectual opposition encompasses all verb forms, including the imperfect and perfect with the “contradictory” combinations of a perfective imperfect and an imperfective perfect having functions of their own.» (W. Breu 2019 : 397)

# Aspect in SLM

- **Preservation** of the aspectual opposition in the system
- Couples of of verbs of different aspectuality
  - trough morphological derivation: *dat* (PFV) > *d-ava-t* (IPFV) ‘to give’
  - trough suppletive forms :
    - mečat* (PFV) *vrč* (IPFV) ‘to put’ (cfr. It. *mettere*)
    - stocat* (PFV) *drobit* (IPFV) ‘to chunk’ (cf. Romance dial. *stocca’*)
- Bi-aspectual verb forms: *pisat* (PFV / IPFV) ‘to write (cf. *na-pisat* (PFV) ‘to write too much’)
- Mono-aspectual verb forms (with no other-aspect correspondent)
  - called “imperfetti /perfettivi *tantum*” (ipft /pft) in Breu-Piccoli 2000
    - stat* (only IPFV)

# Mono-aspectual verb. Points of view...

Breu-Piccoli 2000:

- **zagledat** (PFV) ‘to glance, to give a quick look’ (pft. in Breu-Piccoli 2000)  
cf. *gledat* (IPFV) ‘to look at’ (ipft. in Breu-Piccoli 2000)

Cfr. Standard Croatian

- *gledati* (ipf.)      **pre-gledati** (PFV)      ‘to look at’  
                                 **po-gledat** (PFV)      ‘to have a quick look’

# Aspect in SLM.

## Morphological features of aspectual couples

- Derivation

- Prefixation: imperfective aspect > perfective aspect

*krest* (IPFV)    *u-krest* (PFV)    ‘to steal’

*gušit* (IPFV)    *za-gušit* (PFV)    ‘to drown’

(with different prefixes, which can have also specific actionality meanings)

# Aspect in SLM.

## Morphological features of aspectual couples

- Derivation

- Suffixation: perfective aspect > imperfective aspect

- |    |               |       |                           |        |           |              |
|----|---------------|-------|---------------------------|--------|-----------|--------------|
| 1. | <i>kupit</i>  | (PFV) | <i>kup-<b>iva</b>-t</i>   | (IPFV) | ‘to buy’  | (Acquaviva)  |
| 2. | <i>kupit</i>  | (PFV) | <i>kup-<b>ilija</b>-t</i> | (IPFV) | ‘to buy’  | (Montemitro) |
| 3. | <i>dat</i>    | (PFV) | <i>d-<b>ava</b>-t</i>     | (IPFV) | ‘to give’ |              |
| 4. | <i>prodat</i> | (PFV) | <i>prod-<b>ava</b>-t</i>  | (IPFV) | ‘to sell’ |              |

# Aspect in SLM.

## Morphological features of aspectual couples

- More complex derivational forms: affixation + change in the root

|    |                |       |                |        |           |
|----|----------------|-------|----------------|--------|-----------|
| 1. | <i>umbrit</i>  | (PFV) | <i>umirat</i>  | (IPFV) | ‘to die’  |
| 2. | <i>počinit</i> | (PFV) | <i>počivat</i> | (IPFV) | ‘to rest’ |
| 3. | <i>niknit</i>  | (PFV) | <i>ničat</i>   | (IPFV) | ‘to born’ |
| 4. | <i>počmit</i>  | (PFV) | <i>počat</i>   | (IPFV) | ‘to born’ |

- More than a form, more than a couple...

*tvorit / otvorit* (PFV)      *tvarat / tvorivat / otvarat / otvorat* (IPFV)      ‘to open’



# Loan word and aspect

## Derivation with suffix: perfective > imperfective

|                |       |   |                    |        |              |                       |
|----------------|-------|---|--------------------|--------|--------------|-----------------------|
| <i>kalat</i>   | (PFV) | > | <i>kal-iva-t</i>   | (IPFV) | 'to go down' | It. <i>calare</i>     |
| <i>prmitit</i> | (PFV) | > | <i>prmič-iva-t</i> | (IPFV) | 'to promise' | It. <i>promettere</i> |
| <i>partit</i>  | (PFV) | > | <i>parč-iva-t</i>  | (IPFV) | 'to leave'   | It. <i>partire</i>    |
| <i>tokat</i>   | (PFV) | > | <i>tok-iva-t</i>   | (IPFV) | 'to touch'   | It. <i>toccare</i>    |

## Derivation with prefix: imperfective > perfective (less common) (often also with actionality meaning)

*Gledat* (only IPFV) 'to look at' > ***zagledat*** (pf.) 'to glance, to give a quick look'

# Loan word and aspect

## Biaspectual forms

*kapit* (PFV / IPFV) ‘to understand’ < It. *capire*

*kandat* (PFV / IPFV) ‘to sing’ < It. *cantare* / Rom.dial. *canda*’



## Monoaspectual forms

*sumiljat* (only IPFV) ‘to look like’ < It. *somigliare* / Rom.dial. *sumiglia*’

# Aspect in SLM

- Perfective: bounded event, focus on result, punctual, ...
- Imperfective : event in process, iteration, habituality, ...

 **To be combined with indicative imperfect forms**

- Theoretically all combinations are possible:
  - Imperfective imperfect
  -  ○ Imperfective perfect
  -  ○ Perfective imperfect
  - Perfective perfect

# Focus on process

‘While I was talking, you **were cleaning** the room’

(1)



SLM: **Imperfective imperfect**

|                 |           |                       |           |                       |               |
|-----------------|-----------|-----------------------|-----------|-----------------------|---------------|
| <i>Tramjend</i> | <i>ja</i> | <i>govora-h-u</i>     | <i>ti</i> | <i>čisti-š-a</i>      | <i>kamaru</i> |
| While           | I         | talk.IPFV- IMPERF-1SG | you       | clean.IPFV-IMPERF-2SG | room          |

(2)

ST. CROAT.

|            |            |           |                     |           |            |                      |             |
|------------|------------|-----------|---------------------|-----------|------------|----------------------|-------------|
| <i>Dok</i> | <i>sam</i> | <i>ja</i> | <i>govori-o</i>     | <i>ti</i> | <i>si</i>  | <i>čisti-o</i>       | <i>sobu</i> |
| While      | be.AUX.1SG | I         | talk.IPFV-PTCP.SG.M | you       | be.AUX.2SG | clean.IPFV-PTCP.SG.M | room        |

(3)



ITALIAN


|               |             |                   |           |                  |           |               |
|---------------|-------------|-------------------|-----------|------------------|-----------|---------------|
| <i>Mentre</i> | <i>(io)</i> | <i>mangi-av-o</i> | <i>tu</i> | <i>pul-iv-i</i>  | <i>la</i> | <i>camera</i> |
| While         | (I)         | talk.IMPERF-1SG   | (you)     | clean.IMPERF-2SG | the       | room          |

# Focus on temporal delimitation

'While I was talking, you **cleaned** the room

(4)

SLM > **Imperfective perfect**

 *Tramjend ja govora-h-u ti si čistí-n kamaru*  
While I talk.IPFV- IMPERF-1SG you be.AUX.2SG clean.IPFV-PTCP.SG.M room


(5)

ST. CROAT.

*Dok sam ja govori-o ti si očisti-o sobu*  
While be.AUX.1SG I talk.IPFV-PTCP you be.AUX.2SG clean.PFV-PTCP room

(6)

ITALIAN

 *Mentre (io) mangi-av-o tu hai puli-to tutta la camera*  
While (I) talk.IMPERF-1SG (you) have. AUX.2SG clean-PTCP whole the room

# Focus on habitually iteration

## (7) SLM: **Perfective imperfect**

Večaru      *kada*      *ostana-h-ma*      *rabi*      ***jope***      *nasa*      *vamiva-h-u*  
Evening      when      stop.PFV- IMPERF-1PL      to work      **again**      us      take.PFV- IMPERF-3PL  
'In the evening, when we stopped working, they used to take us again'

Cf. Italian : use of imperfect

# Focus on temporal delimitation with atelic verbs

## (7) SLM: **Imperfective perfect**

Sa                      *Rabi-ja*                      *na*      *gošta*      *mbača*      *jene*                      *magine*  
be.AUX.1SG      work.IPFV-PTCP                      one      year                      **at**                      one                      car  
'I worked for one year on a car'

Cf. Italian : use of perfect

- imperfective imperfect: processual, habitual, static situations
- perfective perfect: single total (completed) states of affairs
- perfective imperfect: habitually repeated sequences of events
- imperfective perfect: temporal delimitation of **atelic** actions and states



Even though the aspectual opposition is very strong, imperfect vs perfect forms play a great role in imperfectivity /perfectivity meanings

# Among things still to be done:

- Systematic control of verb forms
- Questionnaire /Transaltion in the different villages
- Questionnaire and collection also among younger and less fluent speakers
  
- To verify supposed trends in Acquaviva: lower use of perfect (aorist); and wider use of the analytical/compound perfect
- To verify the spread of some calques from Romance varieties (as *hod* 'go' + gerundive > *Grem pisajuč* lit. 'I go writing' > 'I'm writing')