Aspects of Balkan Latin

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Abstract

This paper consists of some considerations arising before the start of an ambitious project in connection with the research desideratum to produce an augmented and ‘updated’ version of Kristian Sandfeld Jensen’s pioneering *Linguistique balkanique*, which appeared in French in 1930. This investigation will provide a prolegomena to this edition which should encompass an account of the historical and geographical background as well as studies providing an adequate explanatory theoretical framework. It includes a state-of-the-art survey of the most influential contributions that led to progress in the domain of Balkan linguistics. Our starting points will be based on significant reference books inspired by Sandfeld’s approach that date from the last decades of the 20th century. Among them are, in particular, Schaller’s monograph on Balkan languages, Mihăescu’s work on Vulgar Latin in South-East Europe, Radoslav Katičić’s two volumes on ancient languages in the Balkan Area, some publications by Harald Haarmann and, above all, Georg Renatus Solta’s *Einführung in die Balkanlinguistik*.

Keywords

Balkan linguistics; Sprachbund; koine; balkanisms; plurilinguism; substratum; Transhumanz; Balkan Latin; Vulgar Latin; Dacoromanian; lexical borrowing; structural borrowing; analytical future formation; numerals between 11 and 19

The claim of this paper seems modest and at the same time demanding. Our article is not conceived of as a contribution in the traditional sense, but it consists of some considerations arising before the start of an ambitious project in connection with a long nurtured research desideratum in the domain of areal and contact linguistics, namely to produce an augmented and ‘updated’ version of one of the most important books on areal linguistics, namely Kristian Sandfeld Jensen’s pioneering “Linguistique balkanique”, which appeared in the French edition in 1930. It has been envisaged that this comprehensive investigation will provide a sort of prolegomena to this edition, which should encompass – inter alia – an account of the historical and geographical background as well as investigations providing an adequate explanatory theoretical framework primarily on the causation of the phenomena under consideration. Also included will be a state of the art survey of the most influential contributions that led to the progress that has been achieved in the domain of Balkan linguistics. With these aims in mind, our starting
points will be based on significant reference books inspired by Sandfeld's approach that date from the last decades of the 20th century. Among them are, in particular, Schaller’s monography on Balkan languages, Mihăescu’s work on Vulgar Latin in South-East Europe, Radoslav Katičić’s two volumes on the ancient languages in the Balkan Area, some publications by Harald Haarmann and, above all, Georg Renatus Solta’s “Einführung in die Balkanlinguistik” – rather a handbook and exhaustive ‘bibliographie raisonnée’ than a conventional introduction. Before going into details we will comment on a number of quotations, lists and maps taken from some of those reference works.

Under (1), the reader is reminded of the 12 points of convergence and mutual influence Sandfeld had discovered and dealt with.


Under (2), we provide the inventory of languages that according to Günther Reichenkron belong to the so called “Balkan Sprachbund”. The enumeration in this important article from the year 1962 (pp. 91f.) is rather a maximum model than a structured and organized image of linguistic reality. Recent attempts therefore exclude Slovenian and Hungarian, as being outside the borderline of the Balkan region and treat Turkish as a special case.

(2) Es sind dies die beiden, den alten indogermanischen Charakter in verschiedenem Maße bewahrenden Sprachen des Griechischen und Albanischen; die drei südslavischen Sprachen: Bulgarisch, Serbokroatisch und Slowenisch; das romanische Rumänisch, und bis zu einem gewissen Grade die nicht indogermanischen, zugleich auch, jedenfalls in ihrer ursprünglichen Herkunft, nicht miteinander verwandten Sprachen des Türkischen und Magyarschen.

In our contribution, we will follow a narrower i.e. a more specific concept of Balkan languages, which is represented e.g. by Schaller (1975: p. 33) under (3): His account encompasses two or three Slavic languages – the number depends on the status of Macedonian –, Albanian, Romanian (with different variants such as Daco-Romanian, Aromanian, Istro-Romanian etc.) and (Modern) Greek.

(3) I. Slavisch, hier Südslavisch:
(4. Slowenisch, das aus geographischen und sprachlichen Gründen nicht zur
Gruppe der südslavischen Balkansprachen gehört),
II. Albanisch,
III. Romanisch, hier Ostromanisch: Rumänisch mit seinen verschiedenen
Vertretungen auf dem Balkan, das u.a. zusammen mit dem Italienischen die
Gruppe der ostromanischen Sprachen bildet,
IV. Griechisch mit der heutigen Vertretung des Neugriechischen.

Furthermore, following Schaller, we distinguish between ‘first grade’ Balkan languages,
i.e. main or core Balkan languages like Albanian and Bulgarian, which share a maximum
of grammatical properties, and ‘second grade’ Balkan language types, such as Serbian or
Greek with only a smaller amount of common features.

As far as the phenomenon of ‘Language Union’ or ‘Sprachbund’ is concerned, our au-
thority remains Nikolai Trubetzkoy, whose definition – as summarized and explicated by
Solta (1980: pp. 3f.) – is quoted under (4): According to Trubetzkoy’s conception and
analysis, the most prominent positive characteristics are striking similarities in syntax
and morphology as well as remarkable agreements in the cultural part of the vocabu-
ulary. On the other hand – negatively speaking –, languages of a ‘Sprachbund’ do not
converge in their sound system and in the phonological representation of morphemes.
Likewise there are no correspondences in the basic or elementary part of the lexicon. A
‘Sprachbund’ is founded and supported by long-term and continuous contacts between
persons, families and social peer groups. For this convergence phenomenon to emerge,
to be effective and to become resistant, a considerably large population of bilingual indi-
viduals is necessary. Genetic relationship of the respective languages is neither essential
nor inconvenient.

(4) Ein Sprachbund ist nach Trubetzkoy charakterisiert im positiven Sinne durch
a) große Ähnlichkeit in syntaktischer Hinsicht,
b) Ähnlichkeit in den Grundsätzen des morphologischen Baues,
c) große Anzahl gemeinsamer Kulturwörter;

bzw. in negativer Hinsicht durch
a) keine systematischen Lautentsprechungen,
b) keine Übereinstimmung in der lautlichen Gestalt der morphologischen Elemente
– und
c) keine gemeinsamen Elementarwörter.

Die Basis für das Entstehen eines Sprachbundes ist der Kontakt, und dieser erfolgt
durch eine große Anzahl bilingualer Personen. In der Zugehörigkeit zweier oder
mehrerer Sprachen zu einer Sprachfamilie ist noch kein Hindernis zu sehen, daß
diese zur gleichen Zeit auch zum selben Sprachbund gehören [...].

1 Cf. Trubetzkoy’s original formulation: „Jede Gesamtheit von Sprachen, die miteinander durch eine erheb-
liche Zahl von systematischen Übereinstimmungen verbunden sind, nennen wir eine Sprachgruppe. Un-
ter den Sprachgruppen sind zwei Typen zu unterscheiden: Gruppen, bestehend aus Sprachen, die eine
grosse Ähnlichkeit in syntaktischer Hinsicht, eine Ähnlichkeit in den Grundsätzen des morphologischen
Baus aufweisen, und eine grosse Anzahl gemeinsamer Kulturwörter bieten, manchmal auch äussere Ähn-
Under (5), we find two maps – taken from Mihăescu’s monography – showing the Balkan provinces of the Roman Empire before and after 300 A.D. and pointing at the most important sites and spots of excavations.

(5)
For the history and development of the correspondences and features, which we are accustomed to call ‘Balkanisms’, we may distinguish among at least three steps or stages. According to Eugen Seidel (cf. 6) these convergences have their starting point in a period of ‘prehistory’, when the conditions for the mutual approach arise. In a phase of ‘emergence’, the phenomena themselves develop. In a final stage of ‘fading’ or ‘decay’ the similarities do not grow any further: they become frozen, sometimes with a tendency to decrease. For the Balkan region this period begins in the 19th century. Political reasons play an important role.

(6) History of correspondences (‘Balkanisms’):
   a) prehistory
   b) emergence
   c) fading-decay (Seidel)

It has been Ellis, who proposed three types of comparison for the subject of Balkanisms (7): the descriptive approach tries to quantify the amount of relationship; the institutional attempt draws attention to the social status and the historical conditions of the relevant peoples and ethnic groups; the genetic perspective points out that language families are distinctive entities, but may belong to different convergence areas.

(7) Types of comparison:
   descriptive
   institutional
   genetic (Ellis)

In this branch of language investigation, genealogical, general, comparative and diachronic interests, standpoints and criteria have to be met, as in (8). For most of the scholars dealing with Balkan linguistics this discipline is an intersection of the following four aspects:

(8) ‘Balkanlinguistik’/ ‘Linguistique balkanique’ as an intersection of
   a) genealogical
   b) general
   c) comparative
   d) diachronic aspects and criteria

For the purposes of the current paper, it seems expedient to present an outline of three of the most important notions in connection with a possible causation account of the convergence phenomena under discussion, as in (9):

(9) ‘Plurilinguism’
    ‘Categories of stratification’
    ‘Transhumanz’ (transhumance)
Plurilinguism seems to be the indispensable basis for all types of mutual adjustment; the well-known categories of stratification namely substratum, superstratum and adstratum can be specified in the field of Balkan philology: According to Günther Reichenkron, the East Romance group has developed at least five different states or alternatively stages and ‘readings’ of language: The situation of Latin in Greece may be defined as an interstratum; for immigrating peoples like Hungarians, Serbs and Croats, Romance has the status of a substratum; with respect to Albanian, Late Latin or Proto-Romance plays the role of an adstratum; Dalmatian (Vegliotic and Ragusian) can be characterized as a language in the proper sense; but only Romanian instantiates the level or standard of a true literary and national language. What we want to adopt from ethnology is the concept and term ‘Transhumanz’(transhumance), which has been coined for a pastoral and nomadic tribe depending on climate or conditions and pasture opportunities.

Our next point (10) pertains to lexical correspondences in the sense of isoglosses between Romanian and Albanian, which may be candidates for a pre-Roman substrate, either belonging to languages like Dacian and Thracian as the prototypes of Albanian or even to an altogether Pre-Indo-European layer.

(10) Correspondences Romanian-Albanian (substratum)

a. băc – baç (“shepherd”);
    țarc – thark; zară / zar – dhallë
b. căciulă – kësulë (Bulgarian kacula, dialectal Greek κατσούλα)
c. vatră – vatër (taboo? cf. Havers 1946)
d. baltă – baltë; pădure – pyll (“wood, forest” < paludem); mal – mal (“mount”)
e. viezure – vjed(h)ullë / vjetullë
f. mazăre – modhullë

The common feature of the selected words listed under (10a–10f) is the lack of a satisfying and generally accepted Latin or Indo-European etymology. (11a–11f) offer translations of the items above and some additional explanatory notes.

(11) There are involved lexemes concerning

a) stock-farming (“herdsman, cheese”; “fold”; “whey, butter-milk”);
b) garments (“fur cap”);
c) settlement (“fireplace”);
d) soil condition (“pool, swamp”; “wood” – if pădure comes from paludem; only the semantic change has to be explained!, “mountain, hill”);
e) animals (“badger”);
f) plants and vegetable (“pea”)

As far as the often discussed prehistory of Romanian (12) is concerned, there exist the diametrically opposed opinions of continuity vs. immigration in their modern residence. The following phases have been proposed:
(12) Prehistory of Romanian

   a) Continuity vs. immigration; as a compromise term: dynamic continuity.
   b) Late (Vulgar) Latin as a ‘Koiné’ in the sense of colloquial language.
   c) As an indispensable source cf. Eutrop. 8,6,2: *Traianus victa Dacia ex toto orbe
   Romano infinitas eo copias hominum transtulerat ad agros et urbes colendas – “Trajan,
   after he had subdued Dacia, had transplanted thither an infinite number of men
   from the whole Roman world, to people the country and the cities”; 9,15: *provinciam
   Daciam, quam Traianus ultra Danubium fecerat, intermisit, vastato omni Illyrico et Moesia,
   desperans eam posse retineri abductosque Romanos ex urbibus et agris Dacie in Moesia
   collocavit appellavitque eam Daciam, quae nunc duas Moesias dividit et est in dextra
   Danubio in mare fluenti, cum antea fuerit in laeva – “The province of Dacia, which
   Trajan had formed beyond the Danube, he gave up, despairing, after all Illyricum
   and Moesia had been depopulated, of being able to retain it. The Roman citizens,
   removed from the town and lands of Dacia, he settled in the interior of Moesia,
   calling that Dacia which now divides the two Moesiae, and which is on the right
   hand of the Danube as it runs to the sea, whereas Dacia was previously on the left”.

Since the Roman province Dacia was part of the Empire only for a relatively short pe-
riod, some scholars (following Roesler 1864) guess that the ethnogenesis of the Roma-
nian people has taken place in Moesia, Dardania or Thracia. According to this point of
view the Romanians should have immigrated in their later areas not before the Middle
Ages. But, on the other hand, it seems possible, that not all Roman inhabitants left Dacia
on the orders of Emperor Aurelianus (cf. the second passage from Eutropius under c).
During the last decades a compromise view has been developed, which figures under
the mediating term ‘dynamic continuity’. A material support for this position may be
 gained from the function of Latin as a colloquial language or Koiné for this region. Such
an assumption seems to be compatible with the first quotation from Eutropius (under c)
which confirms the language policy of Traianus.

Let us now focus on the delicate topic of ‘Balkan Latin’. Since this subject is far from
totally free of political, patriotic, even chauvinistic moments, some of the positions ap-
parently are pretended *cum ira et sine studio*.

There exist two prototypic standpoints (13):

(13) Prototypic standpoints: Rosetti (Balkanistic) – Iordan (1962) (Mihăescu 1978,
Niculescu 1981): see below.

Following Rosetti’s (1985) opinion, some scientists are convinced that there has been a
sort of Latin with characteristics only represented in the Balkan area. Another group of
scholars agree with Jordan and Mihăescu in denying the existence of such a special vari-
ety of Vulgar Latin. So Niculescu wrote the pointed maxim: “Nihil est in Daco-Romano,
quod non est in Latino”.
To achieve progress in this complex situation, it will be necessary and helpful to consider some special features of the Romanian lexicon. Since Bartoli (1906) we are acquainted with a paradoxical status of the Romanian language: “Il romeno è in certo modo il più latino e il meno latino tra i linguaggi neolatini.” This point can be summarized under (14):

(14) a. First of all, we find as a conservative trait Latin words that among the Romance languages survive only in Romanian: a runca “throw away” (< averruncare), ierta “forgive, permit” (< libertare), plăcintă “pancake” (< placenta).
b. In another subtype, Romanian preserves the regular sound development, whereas other languages offer ‘mots avants’: cf. ager “quick, sharp-witted” (< agilis). Some genuine Latin lexemes are completely lost and substituted for by loan words (amare – Slav. iubi; inimicus – Turk. dușman; negare – Hungar. tâgădni).
c. As a language on the Eastern periphery of the Romance area Rumanian shares some lexemes with other border dialects, whereas the central idioms had lost them: cf. Lat. vitricus “stepfather” > Rum. vitreg (Alb. vitkur), Calabrian vitrichi and Logudorese bidrigu.

Looking for causes of lexical loss or replacement in the stock of Latin heritage one may take into consideration different aspects along the lines of (15):

(15) a. shortness of the word, lack of weight or clear structure: ua (< uva) “grape” has been substituted by strugure / struguri, nea (< nivem) “snow” by zăpadă, omăt.
b. lack of cognates and therefore isolation: acera (< aguila) “eagle” or aget (< agestum) “wash, deposit”.
c. flight from homophony: sanus “sound” > sănătos, because the regular result a *sin would be identical with the successor of sinus; lat. pecorarius “shepherd” which develops into pacurar becomes replaced by cioban in the regions where mineral oil păcură (picula > picularius) is found.

The amount of Slavic loanwords in Romanian is remarkable (cf. 16) and can be assigned to some prominent thematic fields, such as agriculture, craft and trade, social relations, kinship and cultural as well as religious subjects.

(16) plug “plough”, coasă “scythe”, brazdă “furrow”, grădină “garden”
mac “poppy”, ovăs “oats”
zidar “mason”, covaciu “blacksmith”, zlătar “goldsmith”
bogat “rich”, sărac “poor”, a iubi “to love”, drag “dear, darling”, prieten “friend”
babă “grandmother”, maică “mother”, nevastă “wife”
molitvă “prayer”, greşeală “guilt”, a izbăvi “redeem”, sfînt “holy”, duh “spirit”

Among the lexical elements of Greek origin in (17), one must distinguish between popular words of Ancient Greek (like broatee βρόταχος “frog”; mic mικκός “small”; stur στύλος
“icicle”; frica φρίκη “fear”) and items dating from the Byzantine period (folos “profit, advantage” < ὀφέλος; a lipsi “lack, fail” < λείπω, ἔλειψα; a sosi “arrive” < σώνω, ἔσωσα).

(17) broatec < βρόταχος “frog”
mic < μικκός “small”
stur < στύλος “icicle”
frică < φρίκη “fear”
folos < ὀφέλος “profit, advantage”
a lipsi < λείπω, ἔλειψα “lack, fail”
a sosi < σώνω, ἔσωσα “arrive”

The best testimonies for the existence of a special Balkan-Latin seem to be some exclusive isoglosses between Romanian and Albanian going back to Latin words in a specific or (in a way) marked meaning: the examples under (18) illustrate this point.

(18) cuvînt – kuvend “word, speech” (< conventus);
drac – drec “devil” (< draco);
a merge – mërgoj “go, walk” (< mergere);
sot – shok “husband” (< socius);
ses – shesh “plain” (< sessus).

Special cases of semantic change in Romanian are bărbat “man” (< barbatus “bearded”) and femeie “woman” (< familia, not < femina). Though for this instance we may point at typological parallels of semantics such as German Stute “mare” or Ancient Greek δάμας “wife”, the meaning of both lexemes should be influenced by similar polysemic relations in Turkish.

A further source of evidence to support a particular variant of Latin consists of Albanian lexemes coming from this sort of koine, such as the examples under (19).

(19) parmendë “plough” < apparamentum;
bujk “peasant” < bubulcus;
gershi “cherry” < cerasus;
ullashtër “savage olive-tree” < oleaster;
kërshëndella “Christmas” < Christi Natale.

A peculiar semantic change appears in qytet “city” < civitatem and rrugë “road, gateway” < rugam “wrinkle”.

Coming to the end of the presentation, we want to mention at least the problems in connection with two ‘Balkanisms’ [along the lines of Sandfeld’s list: 3) Formation du futur; 4) Le génitif-datif. Emploi de pronoms personnels datifs au lieu de possessifs]:

The well-known merger of genitive and dative in the core Balkan languages (cf. 20 below
– the examples [lightly modified] are taken from Solta 1980: pp. 205f.) should not be considered as an exclusively Balkan Sprachbund phenomenon.

(20) Die Sätze „das Haus des Alten“ und „er sagte (es ihm) dem Alten“ lauten folgendermaßen:

rumän. casa moșului,
bulgar. krštata na starikvт,
alban. shtëpia e plakut,
griech. το σπίτι του γέροντα, το είπε του γέροντα

Already in postclassical ancient Greek, there is convincing evidence for the loss of distinction between the aforementioned two cases some centuries earlier, and the genitive was the case that has survived: cp. the example of Joh.13, 6: σύ μου νίπτεις τοὺς πόδας vs. Latin: tu mihi lavas pedes. In Latin, we can find possessive datives, which turned from adverbial use into adnominal position, already in Roman comedy: Philocomasio amator. Further evidence in favour of this construction type can be found in the Dalmatian inscription (CIL III 9552: area Stephano presbytero...) and in the bilingual epigraphic text in Egger’s collection: νιός Ευφρασίου κόμητος vs. filius Euphrasio comiti. Because of numerous examples of this merger in other languages (genitive in Old Persian, Pali, dative in German dialects: dem Vater sein Hut) the phenomenon becomes a specific Balkanism only in the context of other traits.

The same holds for the analytic formation of the future (21; examples taken from Tomić 2006 and modified) by employing a frozen form of the verb “will”: comparing English and Danish data as opposed to corresponding German constructions under (22), we find the same type of formation.

(21) a. Do ta blej
will subj.mark+3sg.dat.cl+3sg.acc.cl buy.1sg
librin nesër.
book+the.m.sg tomorrow
‘I will buy the book tomorrow.’

b. Šte napravi tova utre.
will.mod.cl do.3sg.perf.pres that tomorrow
“(S)he will do that tomorrow.”

Bulgarian

c. Tha su po avrio.
will.mod.cl 2sg.gen.cl say.1sg.subj.aor.tomorrow
‘I will tell you tomorrow.’

Modern Greek

d. Ion o sā-i ceară
Ion will.mod.cl subj.mark-3sg.dat.cl ask.3sg.subj
mašina.
car+the.f.sg
'Ion will ask him for the car.' Colloquial Romanian

(22) a. Danish
Hvad vil der nu ske?
b. English
What will happen now?
c. German
Was wird jetzt passieren?

In the synthetic verb inflection of ancient Indo-European languages (e.g. Ancient Greek) the same element -s- is used to characterize future tense and volitive derivation. The priority of Albanian or Bulgarian is not so clear as it has been sometimes maintained by scholars from these countries, as you can see in the correlation volentes suscipere (Itala) vs. suscepturi (Vulgata) or in some examples from CIL III: si quis volet imponere; si velit appearire. Once again only the cumulative evidence turns this trivial feature into a Balkanism.

Even the most striking instance of convergence between Albanian, Bulgarian and Romanian, namely the procedure of forming the numerals between eleven and nineteen by means of a preposition meaning “on” (one-on-ten etc., cf. 23a) is not a unique Balkanism, since there occur sporadic examples of the same type in ancient Greek authors too (cf. 23b).

(23) a) Bulg. šest -na- decet
   Alb. gjashtë -mbë- dhjetë
   Rom. şais -pre- zece

b) Plut., Theseus 24.4: ἔθυσε δὲ καὶ Μετοίκα τῇ ἐκτῇ ἐπὶ δέκα τοῦ Ἑκατοβαϊνόνος, ἣν ἔτι νῦν θύουσι
   “He instituted also the Metoecia, or Festival of Settlement, on the sixteenth day of the month Hecatombaeon, and this is still celebrated.”
   Dem., 19.57: τρίτῃ ἐπὶ δέκα τοῦ Σκιροφοριῶνος μηνός...
   “on the thirteenth day of the month Skirophoron”

Future work will attempt a critical survey of the most influential specialized contributions of the last three decades in the domain of Balkan linguistics (such as Tomić 2004 and 2006, Joseph 1983/2009, Asenova 1989/2002) as well as significant investigations in the fields of language contact and typology (such as Thomason 2001 and Hickey 2010) that are relevant to Sprachbund phenomena.

Bibliography


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