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DI ITALIANISTICA, ROMANISTICA,  
ANTICHISTICA, ARTI E SPETTACOLO

# **Proto-Albanian and Balkan-Romance: A phonological reflection.**

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# Does Balkan-Romance exist?



LATIN	Portuguese	Castilian	French (oil)	Italian (Tuscan)	Dalmatian (Vegliote)	Romanian
FŎCU(M)	<i>fogo</i>	<i>fuego</i>	<i>feu</i>	<i>fuoco</i>	<i>fuc</i>	<i>foc</i>
RŎTA(M)	<i>roda</i>	<i>rueda</i>	<i>roue</i>	<i>ruota</i>	-	<i>roată</i>
CAPU(T)	<i>cabo</i>	<i>cabo</i>	<i>chef</i>	<i>capo</i>	<i>kup</i>	<i>cap</i>
SĪCCA(M)	<i>seca</i>	<i>seca</i>	<i>sèche</i>	<i>secca</i>	<i>sikuor (SICCARE)</i>	<i>seacă</i>
VACCA(M)	<i>vaca</i>	<i>vaca</i>	<i>vache</i>	<i>vacca</i>	<i>baka</i>	<i>vacă</i>

## Does Balkan-Romance exist?

	<b>Western Romance</b>	<b>Italo- Romance</b>	<b>Balkan- romance</b>
<b>phonological lenition</b>	+	-	-
<b>degemination</b>	+	-	+

## Does Balkan-Romance exist?

Latin	Dalmatian (Vegliote)	Romanian
SĒPTE(M)	<i>sapto</i>	<i>șapte</i>
OCTO	<i>guapto</i>	<i>opt</i>
CŌXA(M)	-	<i>coapsă</i>
COGNATU(M)	<i>komnut</i>	<i>cumnat</i>

# Does Balkan-Romance exist?

## OVERALL DIPHTHONGIZATION

	Vegliote		Romanian	
	Open Syllables	Closed syllables	Open syllables	Closed syllables
Ě > /ɛ/	<i>i</i> DĚCE(M) > <i>dik</i> 'ten'	<i>ja</i> FĚRRU(M) > <i>fjar</i> 'iron'	<i>je</i> HAEDU(M) > <i>ied</i> 'kid'	<i>je</i> PĚCTU(M) > <i>pjept</i> 'chest'
A > /a/	secondary oxytones: <i>u</i> PRATU(M) > <i>prut</i> 'meadow' paroxytones: <i>ūō</i> CASA(M) > <i>kūōza</i> 'house'	<i>ua</i> BARBA(M) > <i>buarba</i> 'beard'		
ǫ > /ɔ/	<i>u</i> NŌVU(M) > <i>nuf</i> 'new.M.SG'	<i>ua</i> PORTU(M) > <i>puart</i> 'harbour'		

# Does Balkan-Romance exist?

<b>LATIN</b>	ī	ĩ	ē	ě	A	ǫ	ō	ŭ	ū
<b>Sardinia</b>	i		e		a		o		u
<b>Daco-Romance</b>	i		e	ε	a		o		u
<b>Romance (incl. Dalmatian)</b>	i		e	ε	a	ɔ		o	u

# Does Balkan-Romance exist?

<b>LATIN</b>	ī	ĩ	ē	ě	ā	ǎ	ō	ŭ	ū
<b>Southern Lucania</b>	i		e		a		o		u
<b>Daco-Romance</b>	i		e	ɛ	a		o		u
<b>Romance (incl. Italo-Romance)</b>	i		e	ɛ	a	ɔ	o		u

# Does Balkan-Romance exist?

<b>LATIN</b>	ī	ĩ	ē	ě	ā	ǎ	ō	ŭ	ū
<b>Southern Corsican</b>	i		e		a		o		u
<b>Daco-Romance</b>	i	e	ε	a		o		u	
<b>Romance (incl. Northern Corsican)</b>	i	e	ε	a	ɔ		o		u

# Does Balkan-Romance exist?

DIFFERENT FROM: SPRACHBUND

(FAMILY-TREE VS. LANGUAGE CONTACT; PHONOLOGY VS. MORPHOLOGY AND SYNTAX)

Western-Romance	Italo-Romance	Dalmatian	Daco-Romance	Albanian	Other Balkan Languages
			Substrate		
	Latin		(Balkan Latin)		
		Romance			
		Eastern Romance			
		Balkan-Romance			
			Balkansprachbund		

# Proto-Albanian and Latin

## Latin Inscriptions from the Balkans

- Dacia: 3728 inscriptions (many of them very short)
- only 3% Personal names belonging to substrate language(s)
- Confusion E/I: some cases
- Confusion O/U: only one case <σεκοδο> (*CIL* III, 25) = [sekodo]  
(eher mit geschlossenem [o], fast ein [u] = *secundo*)
- «purisme général de la Dacie» (Herman 1983)

## Jordanes, *Getica* (552)

- Much more confusion between <i>/<e> (esp. unstressed and stressed <ĩ>/<e>) than between <u>/<o> (Banfi 1991; Ferro 1998).

## Proto-Albanian and Latin

<b>Latin</b>	<b>Albanian</b>	<b>Romanian</b>
CĪCĒRE(M) 'chickpea'	<i>qiqër</i>	Arom. <i>țeațire</i>
PĪSCE(M) 'fish'	<i>peshk</i>	<i>pește</i>
FĒMINA(M)	<i>femër/-n</i>	Arom. <i>θeamin</i>
LĒGE(M) 'law'	<i>ligj</i>	<i>lege</i>
BĒSTIA(M) 'beast'	<i>bishë</i>	It. <i>biscia</i>
BŪCCA(M) 'mouth'	<i>bukë</i> 'meal'	<i>bucă</i>

Mihăescu 1993: 28; Orel 2000

# Proto-Albanian and Romance

## Diphthongization of Ě

<b>Latin</b>	<b>Albanian</b>
CASTĚLLU(M)	<i>kështjellë</i>
PĚRGŮLA(M)	<i>pjergull</i>
CĚRĚBĚLLU(M)	<i>krel</i>
LĚPŮRE(M)	<i>lepur</i>

# Proto-Albanian and Romance

Overall Diphthongization: not only Balkan-Romance

	Castilian	French ( <i>oil</i> )	Italienisch	Friulian	Rumänisch
*MĚLE(M)	<i>miel</i>	<i>miel</i>	<i>miele</i>	<i>mîl</i>	<i>miere</i>
FĚRRU(M)	<i>hierro</i>	<i>fer</i>	<i>ferro</i>	<i>fiar</i>	<i>fier</i>

→ Monogenetic and polygenetic phenomena

# Proto-Albanian and Balkan-Romance

EPA *\*nakti* > *natë* 'night' (Orel 2000: 101)

Latin	Dalmatian (Vegliote)	Romanian	Albanian
TACTU(M)	-	-	<i>taft</i> 'scorching heat'
TRUCTA(M)	-	-	<i>troftë</i> 'trout' (It. <i>tròta</i> )
TRACTU(M)	-	-	<i>trajt</i> 'cord, rope'
COTŌNEU(M)	-	<i>gutui</i> Arom. <i>gutun'iu</i>	<i>ftua/-e</i> 'quince' P(ŌMUM CO)TŌNEUM, Landi 1989: 120
LUCTA(M)	-	<i>luptă</i>	<i>luftë</i> 'fight'
DIRECTU(M)	<i>drat</i>	<i>drept</i>	<i>drejtë</i> 'straight'
UNCTU(M)	-	<i>unt</i> Arom. <i>umtu</i>	<i>undyrë</i> 'fat' (< UNCTURA)

# Proto-Albanian and Balkan-Romance

Di Giovine (1982):

-CT- > -jt-: first stage under the influence of coastal Latin.

TRACTU(M)	-	-	<i>trajt</i> 'cord, rope'
DIRECTU(M)	<i>drat</i>	<i>drept</i>	<i>drejtë</i> 'straight'

-CT- > -pt- > -ft- : second stage under the influence of Danubian Latin.

Landi (1989): -ft- as typical Greek outcome across -ht- (which in Romanian leads to -pt-): *luftë* as Latin-Romanian, *troftë* through Greek

→ but every loanword can be Latin-Romanian, even if disappeared in Balkan-Romance!

LUCTA(M)	-	<i>luptă</i>	<i>luftë</i>
TRUCTA(M)	-	-	<i>troftë</i> 'trout' (It. <i>tròta</i> )
TACTU(M)	-	-	<i>taft</i> 'scorching heat'

# Proto-Albanian and Balkan-Romance

EPA *\*apsera* > *afër* 'near' (Orel 2000: 95)

Latin	Dalmatian (Vegliote)	Romanian	Albanian
CÖXA(M)	(Dubrovnik: Cr. <i>kopsa</i> )	<i>coapsă</i>	<i>kofshë</i> 'hip'
METAXA(M)	-	<i>mătase</i>	<i>mëndafsh</i> 'silk'
FRAXINU(M)	-	<i>frasin</i> Banat: <i>frapsăn</i> Arom: <i>frapsin</i>	<i>frashër/-n</i> 'ash-tree'
*GRIPSA(M)? (<GRYPS)	-	-	<i>Grifshë</i> 'jay'

## Proto-Albanian and Balkan-Romance

<b>Latin</b>	<b>Dalmatian (Vegliote)</b>	<b>Romanian</b>	<b>Albanian</b>
COGNATU(M)	<i>komnut</i>	<i>cumnat</i>	<i>kunat/kunetën</i>

<b>Latin</b>	<b>Dalmatian (Vegliote)</b>	<b>Romanian</b>	<b>Albanian</b>
APTU(M)	-	-	<i>aftë</i> 'proper, able'

## Proto-Albanian and Dako-Romance

	Daco-Romance		Albanian	
PALAT(J)U(M) 'palate'		<i>păraț</i>		
PALA(M) 'shovel'			<i>palë</i>	
FLAMMULA(M)*		<i>flamură</i>	<i>flamur</i> 'flag'	
BENE 'good.ADV'	<i>bire</i> (Istro-Rom.)	<i>bine</i>		
ARĒNA(M) 'sand'			<i>râna</i> (Gheg)	<i>rërë</i> (Tosk)

\*DER § 3420 = «dar nu este cuvânt popular; greșeala a fost îndreptată în DAR».

# Proto-Albanian and Dako-Romance

Evidence of a strong articulation of *#r-*

Greek: *ῥ-*

Albanian: old opposition between *#r-* (strong) and *r-*  
*\*RADJU(M)* > *rreze* 'ray', *RĪPA(M)* > *rripe* 'precipice', *RĒSĪNA* > *rrëshinë/-rë* 'resin'

Aromanian: *#r-* > *#ar-*

*RAPERRE* > *arapire* 'to steal', *RŌTA(M)* > *arroată* 'wheel', *RUSSU(M)* > *arus* 'red-blond'

# Proto-Albanian and Dako-Romance

RĪVU(M) = *rîu* (Arom. *arîu*) 'river'

RĚU(M) = *rău* (Arom. *arău*) 'bad, angry'

INTEGRA(M) = *întreagă* (Crișana *intragă*) 'entire.F.SG.'

TR(AI)ĚCTA(M) = *treaptă* (Banat *traptă*) 'step'

FRENU(M) = *frâu* 'bridle'

CORRĪĜĪA(M) = *curea* (Reg. *cură*, Arom. *curauă*) 'belt'

'V[+ant] → 'V[-ant]/(#, r, C)r\_\_\_\_

Filipponio 2016: 19

→ Depalatalization of stressed front vowel after strong r

# Concluding remarks

Western-Romance	Italo-Romance	Dalmatian	Daco-Romance	Albanian	Other Balkan Languages
			(lexicon) strong #r-?		
	cicerem >			qiqër	
		pisce >		peshk	
			bucca	bukë	
		overall diphthongs?		(→???)	
		labialization of coda consonants?		→? ? ←	
				strong #r-?	