

THE INFLUENCE OF ITALIAN AND FRIULIAN ON THE CLAUSAL
CONSTRUCTIONS OF THE TER/TORRE VALLEY DIALECT OF SLOVENIAN

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1. The Ter/Torre Valley dialect of Slovenian in the frame
of the Slovenian dialects

The Ter/Torre Valley dialect is a Slovenian dialect spoken in Friuli Venezia Giulia and in some villages of the so called Breginjnski kot in western Slovenia. According to the diachronic division of the Slovenian dialects based on the older linguistic phenomena, i.e. development of OCSln. * \bar{e} /* \bar{o} , OCSln. * \bar{a} /* $\bar{\alpha}$ -, denasalization of Proto-Slavic nasal vowels * \bar{e} /* \bar{o} and lengthening of OCSln. short acuted vowels in a non-final syllable the dialect belongs to the north-western dialectal basis with diphthongization of OCSln. * \bar{e} /* \bar{o} > *ie/uo* (Tr.V.d. *sn̄e:x* ‘snow’, Tr.V.d. *n̄oǰe* ‘night’), OCSln. * \bar{a} /* $\bar{\alpha}$ - > *a:* (Tr.V.d. *ūa:s* ‘village’, Tr.V.d. *p̄a:sj̄a* ‘dog’s’), late denasalization of * \bar{e} /* \bar{o} (Tr.V.d. *l̄e:dat̄a* ‘to watch’, Tr.V.d. *m̄o:ka* ‘flour’) and early lengthening of OCSln. short acuted vowels in a non-final syllable and consequently merger of OCSln. * \bar{e} and * $\bar{\epsilon}$ - (Tr.V.d. *zv̄i:ezda* ‘star’, Tr.V.d. *br̄i:eza* ‘birch’).

According to the synchronic division of the Slovenian dialects based on the younger linguistic phenomena, like the presence of inherited tonal oppositions, the absence of accent retraction of the type OCSln. **sestr̄a*, **koz̄a* and **m̄agl̄a* > *s̄estra*, *k̄oza*, *m̄agla* (Tr.V.d. *sest’ra* ‘sister’, *ko’za* ‘goat’, *ma’la* ‘fog’), OCSln. **-m* > *-n* (Tr.V.d. *son* < *s̄am* ‘I am’) and language borrowing at all levels of language (phonology, morphology, syntax and lexicon), the dialect belongs together with the Nadiško/Natisone Valley dialect, Obsoško/Soča and Brda dialects to the Venetian Slovenian sub-group of the Slovenian Littoral dialect group.¹

¹ More about the Ter/Torre Valley dialect of Slovenian and the borrowing of phonemes, morphemes and lexicon in D. Zuljan Kumar, *Borrowing of forms and syntactic patterns in the Ter/Torre Valley Dialect of Slovenian*, “Europa Orientalis”, 33 (2014), pp. 343-354.



Due to its isolation from other areas where Slovenian is spoken, the Ter/Torre Valley dialect is along with the Rezijansko/Resian dialect which is spoken in the Alpine valley of Resia in Italy, the Ziljsko/Gail Valley dialect which is spoken Carinthia in Austria and the Prekmurje dialect spoken in the Slovenian minority in Vest Country in western Hungary, one of the most archaic of the Slovenian dialects, at the same time, due to the constant con-

tact with neighboring Romance languages, Friulian and Italian, it is one of the most Romanized Slovenian dialects. Borrowing from Friulian and Italian can be seen in all aspects of the language. In this paper I will focus on the clausal interference, but I will not examine only the borrowing of syntactic construction types or the so called structural calques, but also other changes at the level of clausal syntactic structures, for which I assume that they arose due to language contact with Romance languages. My research to date on language contact of the Brda and Nadiža/Natisone Valley dialects of Slovenian in the western Slovenian linguistic territory with Friulian and Italian has shown that certain structures which I assumed had been copied from Friulian and Italian are in fact also possible in Slovenian, but their use in the central Slovenian dialects and standard Slovenian is archaic or very rare.² Thus, for every potential interferential syntactic structure from neighbouring Romance languages in the Ter/Torre Valley dialect I verify, whether it is also possible in central Slovenian dialects and in standard Slovenian.

The study is contrastive and includes juxtaposition of the syntactic structure in the Ter/Torre Valley dialect (Tr.V.d.), in standard Slovenian (SSln.), in Friulian, and in Italian.³

2. Clausal Syntactic Interference

As mentioned above, I will examine changes in the Ter/Torre Valley dialect at the level of clausal syntactic structures, for which I assume that they arose due to language contact with Romance languages. My survey into the Ter/Torre Valley has shown that language contact includes not only the borrowing of forms and patterns, or in this case the borrowing of syntactic construction types, but also two other types of language impact: firstly, the influence on the frequency of use of certain syntactic structures that already exist in the Ter/Torre Valley dialect and secondly, the acquisition of a new function or meaning of the syntactic structure in addition to an existing function. Therefore, in the following chapter I will illuminate three types of contact-

² D. Zuljan Kumar, *Nekaj besednorednih posebnosti v nadiškem in briškem narečju*, "Jezi-koslovni zapiski" 9 (2003) 2, pp. 59-80; Ead., *Vpliv italijanščine in furlanščine na gradnjo zložene povedi v nadiškem in briškem narečju*, "Riječ" 10 (2004) 2, pp. 105-119.

³ Italian and Friulian examples are written mostly in standard Italian and Friulian except for the examples with a conditional clause, where example (9) c. is cited in colloquial Italian and example (9) d. in colloquial Friulian. Friulian examples are written in the official writing system, approved by the Province of Udine and used in official documents. I am profoundly grateful to dr. Giorgio Cadorini for the review of Friulian examples.

induced changes: firstly, clausal calques, secondly, a more frequent use of a clausal structure compared to its use in other Slovenian dialects and SSIn. and thirdly, the acquisition of a new function of a clausal structures, focusing on the formation of two types of implicit clauses, i.e. infinitival and gerundial ones, and three types of explicit subordinate clauses, i.e. attributive, object and conditional ones.

2.1 Infinitival Clause

Infinitival Clause Preceded by the Preposition za 'for' in the Function of Expressing Purpose. — In SSIn. purpose is expressed by means of an adverbial clause of purpose. In the Ter/Torre Valley dialect the structure *za* 'for' + infinitival clause is used much more frequently. This structure does not occur in SSIn. and central Slovenian dialects, but it is commonly used in Friulian and Italian.⁴ I assume that this is a case of linguistic interference which includes transfer of pattern to express purpose.

(1) a. Tr.V.d.: Toja je bla kontenta, kə jo je sriedla, ma ni pensala, kə dru dan je tiela spe prit jo ledat; nəme *za jo merkatə od delečami*.⁵

'Toja was happy that she met her, but did not think that the next day she wanted to come again; *only for her_{ACC} observe from the distance ('only to observe her from the distance').

b. It.: Toja era contenta quando l'ha incontrata, però non pensava che il giorno dopo sarebbe tornata di nuovo a vederla, *solo per osservarla da lontano*.

c. Friul.: Toja e jere contente cuant che le à incuintrade, na no pensave che la di dopo e sarès tornade une altre volte a viodile, *nome par cjalâle di lontan*.

Infinitival Clause Preceded by the Preposition prez 'without' in the Function of Expressing Manner. — Manner is expressed in SSIn. using an adverbial clause of manner. This is true also in the Ter/Torre Valley dialect, but it is more frequently expressed using an implicit subordinate clause or the structure *prez* 'without' + infinitival clause. The structure is present in western Slovenian dialects that are in contact with Romance languages but not in central Slovenian dialects. In this case as well we see transfer of pattern to express manner from neighboring Romance languages.

⁴ M. Dardano, P. Trifone, *La nuova grammatica della lingua italiana*, Bologna, Zanichelli, 1999³, p. 447. F. Zof, *Gramatiche pratiche de lenghe furlane*, Udine, Editrice Leonardo Pasian di Prato, 1999, p. 129.

⁵ All the examples are taken from B. Balloh, *Mlada lipa. Pravæce domah narete*, Izbor besedil iz publikacije *Mlada lipa* / Testi scelti dalla pubblicazione *Mlada lipa*, eds. R. Dapit, L. Trusgnach, D. Zuljan Kumar, Čedad, Kulturno društvo Ivan Trinko/Cividale, Circolo di cultura Ivan Trinko, 2010. The local dialect used is that of the village of Subid-Subit (UD).

(2) a. Tr.V.d.: Dan dan, *prez jatə majnemu nəč*, je šu tje u Čedad.

*One day without to say nobody_{DAT} nothing he went to Čedad.

‘One day without saying anything to anybody he went to Čedad’.

b. It.: Un giorno, *senza dire niente a nessuno*, è andato a Cividale.

c. Friul.: Une de, *cence di nie a nisun*, al e lât a Cividat.

Infinitival Clause in the Function of Object Clause. — In the Ter/Torre Valley dialect explicit object clause (finite object clause) is used as well as implicit object clause expressed by the infinitival clause.

(3) a. Tr.V.d.: *Če ćeš*, ja tə a čon stortə pritə ta s taa sveta nazaj.

*If you want, I_{YOU_{DAT}} he_{ACC} make come there from that world back.

‘If you want, I can make him come back from the other side’.

An infinitival clause in the function of an object clause also occurs in SSIn., but the structure is much less frequently used than in the Ter/Torre Valley dialect. In Italian and Friulian an infinitival clause is one of the most frequently used ways of forming an object clause.⁶ Considering that the structure is possible in SSIn. and in Slovenian dialects, we cannot refer to transfer of pattern. It would be more appropriate to use the term linguistic influence. This means that it is not a case of the adoption of a new structure that is not autochthonous in the target language but a structure that exists in the language whose use has spread under the influence of the same structure in the contact language. Frequency of use is one of the linguistic factors that facilitate diffusion of forms and patterns,⁷ according to the principle “the more frequent the category in one language, the likelier it is to diffuse into another”.⁸ Weinreich refers to this feature as linguistic impact of the source language on the target language in the use of a particular structure,⁹ while Aikhenvald calls it “enhancement of an already existing feature”,¹⁰ which means that language contact in languages which share a particular construction can under the influence of one of them increase the frequency of use in the other.¹¹

⁶ M. Dardano; P. Trifone, *La nuova grammatica della lingua italiana*, cit., p. 452. F. Zof, *Gramatiche pratiche de lenghe furlane*, cit. p. 132.

⁷ A.Y. Aikhenvald, *Grammars in Contact. A Cross-Linguistic Perspective*, in *Grammars in Contact. A Cross-Linguistic Typology*, eds. A.Y. Aikhenvald, R.M.W. Dixon, Oxford, Oxford Univ. Press, 2007, p. 27.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 29.

⁹ U. Weinreich, *Languages in Contact, Findings and Problems*, The Hague-Paris-New York, Mouton Publishers, 1953, p. 7.

¹⁰ A.Y. Aikhenvald, *Grammars in Contact. A Cross-Linguistic Perspective*, cit., p. 22.

¹¹ *Ibid.*; B. Heine, *Contact-Induced Word Order Change without Word Order Change*,

2.2 Gerundial Clause

There are four types of gerunds in Slovenian, formed using *-č* (*gredoč* ‘going’), *-aje* (*smehljaje* ‘smiling’), *-e* (*molče* ‘silently’) and *-ši* (*vstopivši* ‘entering’). Their syntactic function is to express relative time, in which gerunds formed with *-ši* express a completed preceding action and gerunds formed with *-č*, *-aje* and *-e* express simultaneity. These are forms inherited from Proto-Slavic which are gradually passing out of use in Slovenian as in other Slavic languages¹² and nowadays are almost completely absent in SSln. and Slovenian dialects. In the Ter/Torre Valley dialect, however, the gerundial clause formed with *-č* is a commonly used syntactic structure. As with the use of the infinitival clause in the function of object clause, in the case of the use of the gerundial clause we may also assume that the structure has been preserved and its use is frequent due to the presence and frequent use of the same structure in the same function in contact Romance languages.

(4) a. Tr.V.d.: An lesica, tej će je bla kapila, se je obrnila nazaj an je šla, ma druo nuojć an trejćo ... an tje do zime lesica je kompanjuala damou Tojo an nje mandrijo *hoduć okrajah ... čakuč ... se postaujoć ...*

‘And the fox, as if it had understood, it turned round and went home. But the next day, and the second one, and the third one ..., and till the winter the fox accompanied Toja and her group walking beside them, waiting for them and stopping with them ...’

b. It.: E la volpe, come avesse capito, si è girata ed è tornata sui suoi passi. Ma la sera seguente e l'altra ancora, la volpe accompagniava a casa Toja e la sua mandria, *camminando sospettosa, aspettando, fermandosi...*

c. Friul.: E la bolp, come che e ves capît, si je voltade e e je tornade indaûr. Ma la sere dopo e chê altre ancjemò, la bolp e companiave a cjase Toja e la sô mandrie, *cjaminant, sospetose, spietant, fermantsi...*

2.3 Ellipsis of Anaphoric Pronoun in Attributive Clause

A special feature of relative pronouns in SSln. is that in addition to establishing a link with the main clause they also establish an anaphoric linking which is encoded in the pronoun itself (example 5). An exception is when attributive clause is introduced by the relative pronoun *ki*, and the anaphoric relation in non-nominative cases must be established with a pronoun.¹³ In the

Language Contact and Contact Languages, “Hamburg Studies on Multilingualism”, vol. 7, eds. P. Siemund, N. Kintana, Amsterdam-Philadelphia, John Benjamins Publ. Co., 2008, p. 56.

¹² M. Jesenšek, *Deležniki in deležja na -č in -ši: razširjenost oblik v slovenskem knjižnem jeziku 19. stoletja*, Maribor, Zora, 1998, p. 216.

¹³ In the nominative the place of the anaphoric link remains empty, and a cohesive link is established with the main clause by means of the verbal ending.

example (6) a. the pronoun *jo* ‘her’ refers anaphorically to the noun *ruta* ‘scarf’ in the function of subject of the main clause.

In the Ter/Torre Valley dialect there is no anaphoric relation with the pronoun in the dependent clause introduced by the pronoun *ki* in non-nominative cases, example (6) b. The anaphoric pronoun is omitted, which means that *ki* can relate to the preceding noun in non-nominative case by analogy with a noun in nominative case, or that this feature can be attributed to the influence of Friulian and Italian languages, which do not have this kind of anaphoric relation, what seems a more likely explanation.

- (5) SSln.: Nisem vedel, o katerem človeku je bilo govora.
‘I didn’t know of which_{LOC} person you were talking about.’
- (6) a. SSln.: Tako ji je padla z glave na ramena ruta, ki jo PRON.ACC.F je imela okoli sebe.
‘That’s how the scarf that she had around her fell down to her shoulder.’
- b. Tr.V.d.: Tako je je padu dou ta z laue an tə od ramanah dou, facleton, kə Ø je miela uoku nje.
- c. It.: Così dal capo e dalle spalle le è caduto uno scialletto *che* aveva intorno a sé.
- d. Friul.: Cussi dal cjâf e da lis spalîs i je colât un sialet *che* e veve intor di se.

2.4 Sequence of Tenses in Finite Object Clause

In SSln. and Slovenian dialects (including the Ter/Torre Valley dialect) simultaneity of an action in the finite object clause using reporting verbs with an action in the main clause is expressed using an imperfective verb in the present tense, regardless of the tense in the main clause (examples 7 a., 7. b.).¹⁴ However, in the Ter/Torre Valley dialect also the past tense is used to express simultaneity of the action described in the dependent clause with the past action in the main clause, which indicates that there is likely interference from Italian and Friulian (examples 8 a., 8 c., 8 d.).

- (7) a. Tr.V.d.: Dna cingerca, kə jo je vidala tako žalostno, jo je uprašala, zakuo *joče* PRED.PRES.T təkəj.
b. SSln.: Ko jo je ciganka videla tako žalostno, jo je vprašala, zakaj tako *joče*.
‘When the gipsy woman saw her so sad, she asked her why *she is crying.
‘she was crying.’
- (8) a. Tr.V.d.: Se je uornu Medved prelijat med tu pejé an je vidu, kə a *ni blo* PRED. PAST.T vič.
b. SSln.: Medved se je vrnil prelit med v kamen in je videl, da ga *ni*PRED.PRES.T več.
‘The bear returned to pour honey over into the stony bowl and saw *that it is no more there’ (‘that it was not there anymore’).

¹⁴ J. Toporišič, *Slovenska slovnica*, cit., p. 511.

- c. It.: L'orso è tornato a versare il miele nel sasso incavato e ha visto che il miele *non c'era* più.
- d. Friul.: L'ors al è tornât a spandi la mîl su la piere e al à viodût che la mîl *no jere* plui.

In Slovenian the past tense in these types of clauses is used, but to express a preceding action. I thus assume that under the influence of neighbouring Romance languages the Ter/Torre Valley dialect developed an additional meaning for the use of the past tense in the finite object clause for reporting verbs, namely, to express simultaneity. Both patterns coexist in the Ter/Torre Valley dialect. In this case we cannot refer to language borrowing, but to language influence. This means that what occurs is not the adoption of new, non-autochthonous structures in the target language but rather that a structure that already exists in the language expands its functions. This is a form of hidden interference which Weinreich calls “interlingual identification”.¹⁵ Interlingual identification occurs when some structure in the target language acquires an additional function alongside its usual one due to copying of a pattern from the source language. Aikhenvald calls this manner of including a foreign pattern in a language in which an existing structure develops additional meaning, matching the one in the source language, “extension by analogy”.¹⁶

2.5 Use of Indicative Mood in Conditional Clause of Rejected Condition Referring to Past Tense

In conditional clause of rejected condition referring to the past tense, SSIn. uses conditional mood in conditional and main clauses (example 9 a.). The Ter/Torre Valley dialect uses the indicative mood instead of the conditional in both parts of the sentence. In Slovenian the use of indicative mood instead of conditional is possible but rare (example 9 b.).¹⁷ In Italian and Friulian the imperfect subjunctive (trapassato del congiuntivo) is used with the same meaning in the conditional clause, while in the main clause the past conditional (condizionale composto) is used;¹⁸ however, in spoken language the use of indicative mood in both parts of the sentence has become more widespread (examples 9 c., 9 d.). Given this fact we can assume that the use of an

¹⁵ U. Weinreich, *Languages in Contact, Findings and Problems*, cit., p. 7.

¹⁶ A. Y. Aikhenvald, *Grammars in Contact. A Cross-Linguistic Perspective*, cit., p. 23.

¹⁷ J. Toporišič, *Slovenska slovnica*, cit., p. 645.

¹⁸ M. Dardano, P. Trifone, *La nuova grammatica della lingua italiana*, cit., pp. 462-463; G. Faggin, *Grammatica friulana*, cit., pp. 135, 139, 173.

already existing structure in the Ter/Torre Valley dialect has spread under the influence of its use in contact languages. This means that speakers of the Ter/Torre Valley dialect have equated the frequency of use of the indicative mood in their language system with its use in Italian and Friulan. It is thus an example of interlingual identification in the use of a structure or enhancement of an already existing feature.

(9) a. Tr.V.d.: *Če son viedala, kə nisə miela soude, tə jəh son posodila.*

b. SSIn.: *Če bi/sem vedela, da nimaš denarja, bi ti ga posodila.*

*If I knew you had no money, I had lent you some.

'If I had known you had no money, I would have lent you some.'

c. Coll. It.: *Se sapevo che eri senza soldi te li prestavo.*

d. Coll. Friul.: *Se o savevi che no tu vevis bêçs, ti ju imprestavi jo.*

3. Conclusions

The paper examined three types of language impact from Friulian and Italian on the Ter/Torre Valley dialect of Slovenian, firstly, copying (calquing) of Romance syntactic structures. Infinitival clause preceded by the prepositions *za* 'for' and *prez* 'without' in the function of expressing purpose and manner belongs to this type. Ellipsis of anaphoric pronoun in attributive clause can also be included here. Secondly, influence of the source language on the frequency of use of the already existing syntactic structures in the target language. Included in this type are infinitival clause in the function of object clause, the use of gerundial clauses, and the use of indicative mood in a conditional clause. Thirdly, syntactic structures in the target language acquire alongside an already existing function or meaning an additional function or meaning. The use of past tense to express simultaneity in the object clause belongs under this type.

The three types of interference confirm Siemund's assumption that languages in contact replicate structures and categories that their language already possesses.¹⁹ This is actually one of the ways of language levelling, which occurs in close language contacts, or the "gradual convergence of languages, whereby the conceptual categories of one language are replicated in another".²⁰

¹⁹ P. Siemund, *Language contact. Constraints and common paths of contact-induced language change*, in *Language Contact and Contact Languages*, cit., p. 10.

²⁰ A.Y. Aikhenvald, *Reflections on Language Contact, Areal Diffusion, and Mechanisms of Linguistic Change*, in *Sprachbund in the West African Sahel. Afrique et Langage 11*, eds. B. Caron, P. Yima, Paris, Peeters, 2006, p. 31.

As I mentioned in the introduction, the Ter/Torre Valley dialect is one of the most Romanized Slovenian dialects. The process of its restructuring or reorganization can lead to structural isomorphism, whereby the grammatical and syntactic systems of the Friulian and Italian languages will be almost fully replicated in it. However, research on the formation of subordinate clausal structures in the Ter/Torre Valley dialect²¹ has shown that the basic model of forming sentence structures is still Slovenian despite the observable influence of the construction of Romance sentence structures. This confirms Aikhenvald's claim that "convergence does not always result in the creation of identical grammars [...]. Languages in contact often obtain their distinct typological profiles".²²

List of abbreviations

ACC = accusative, coll. Friul. = colloquial Friulian, coll. It. = colloquial Italian, DAT = dative, Friul. = Friulian, It. = Italian, LOC = locative, OCSln.= Original common Slovenian, PAST T = past tense, PRED = predicate, PRES T = present tense, PRON = pronoun, PSl. = Proto-Slavic, SSl. = Standard Slovenian, Tr.V.D = Ter/Torre Valley dialect, * = literally

²¹ D. Zuljan Kumar, *Neosebne glagolske oblike in gradnja podrednih stavkov v subiškem terskem govoru*, "Jezikoslovni zapiski" 19 (2013) 2, pp. 237-254.

²² A.Y. Aikhenvald, *Reflections on Language Contact, Areal Diffusion, and Mechanisms of Linguistic Change*, cit., p. 32.