

Surprise! Surprise! Arumanian Has Had an Admirative!

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The development of marked status categories -- i.e. verb forms and usages specifying the speaker's level of commitment to the truth of the utterance and referred to by terms such as evidentia reported, dubitative, admirative, witnessed, etc. -- has never figured in the catalogue of classic Balkanisms. This can be attributed largely to their apparent absence from Greek (but cf. Beševliev 1928) and Balkan Romance,¹ coupled with their elusive nature; unlike obvious phenomena such as definite articles, modal subordinators, future auxiliaries and numeral formation, status categories are difficult to define -- as seen in the voluminous literature that has evolved around them -- and sometimes even to identify -- as seen in the fact that they are not mentioned in the earliest grammars of the languages in which they are attested (cf. Pärvev 1975, Ismajli 1982, Kastrati 1980). Moreover, due to their expressive semantic nature, marked nonconfirmative status categories and usages are absent or rare in textual sources, especially ordinary narrative prose. In their studies of Balkan linguistics, Sandfeld (1930:119-120), Feuillet (1986:67), and Schaller (1975:79, 94) all treat the Albanian and Balkan Slavic phenomena as a bilateral correspondence at best.² To this can be added the fact that in the decades since Sandfeld's epochal study, the various Balkan languages have achieved significant degrees of standardization, with the result that the surveys conducted in recent decades rely mainly on literary sources rather than the dialectal material that was the basis of earlier works.³ Thus, for example, recent investigations generally take standard Romanian as representative of Balkan Romance as a whole.

In this paper I shall examine a specific realization of the category of status -- which for the sake of convenience and tradition I shall call admirativity -- namely, a verbal construction that occurs in an Arumanian dialect from the village of Gorna Belica (Beala di Sus), a village north of Struga in southwestern Macedonia near the Albanian border. This construction has not been noted in any previous description of Arumanian that I am aware of, and in fact stands in direct contradiction to Fiedler's (1968) claim that Arumanian lacks marked status categories. It also significantly alters the position of status categories in the Balkan languages. Before discussing the Arumanian phenomenon, however, it will be useful to review the expression of admirativity in those Balkan languages (and languages of the Balkans) for which it has heretofore been attested, since it is only in such a context that the significance of this Arumanian admirative construction can be properly understood.

The term admirative was first used by Dozon (1879:226) for Albanian, and first applied to Bulgarian by Weigand (1923/24), although the phenomenon was noted by Conev (1910/11:15-16), who compared it to Turkish; Gołąb (1960) first observed the same parallels between Macedonian and Turkish.⁴ Examples (1a)-(1d) in Bulgarian, Macedonian, Albanian and Turkish, respectively, are typical of the examples usually cited:

- (1a) Bravo, be Gunjo -- provikna se baj Ganjo,-- ti si bil cjal Bismark. (Konstantinov 1973:109)
- (1b) Bravo be Gunjo -- vikna baj Ganjo -- ti si bil cel Bismark! (Konstantinov 1967:119)
- (1c) Bravo ore Guno -- thirri baj Ganua i entuziazmuar- - ti qenke një Bismark i vërtetë (Konstantinov 1975:123)
- (1d) Bravo be Gunyo! dedi. Sen maşallah büsbütün bir Bismark'mıssın be. (Konstantinov 1972:188)

Bravo Gunjo -- exclaimed Baj Ganjo -- you are a veritable Bismark.

Although the Albanian, Bulgarian, Macedonian and Turkish phenomena are clearly similar and typologically if not areally related, the Albanian differs significantly from the other three. The term admirative for Macedonian, Bulgarian and Turkish applies simply to a marked usage of the nonconfirmative, or indefinite, past (i.e., the old perfect; in Balkan Slavic based on the old resultative participle in -l, in Turkish based on the perfect participle in -miş) to indicate surprise at a new!

discovered but already existing state of affairs. In Albanian the term *admirative* denotes a separate series of paradigmatic sets covering the whole range of marked nonconfirmative meanings (surprise/doubt/disbelief, report).

Table 1. 3SG Indicative of 'Have' in Albanian

	Nonadmirative	Admirative
Present	ka	paska
perfect	ka pasur	paska pasur
imperfect	kishte	paskësh
pluperfect	kish pasur	paskësh pasur
double perfect	ka pasë pasur	paska pasë pasur ⁵
double pluperfect	kish pasë pasur	paskësh pasë pasur
aorist	pati	---
2nd pluperfect	pat pasur	---
2nd double pluperfect	pat pasë pasur	---

Moreover, the Albanian present admirative, although diachronically derived from an inverted perfect, as can be seen in Table One, nonetheless in synchronic terms has a genuinely present meaning (cf. Friedman 1981a, 1982b, 1986). Thus, for example, of 59 present admiratives used in the Albanian translation of the Bulgarian novel *Baj Ganjo*, only six corresponded to Bulgarian admirative uses of the past indefinite, while 44 corresponded to ordinary Bulgarian present tenses.⁶ This can be seen in examples (2a)-(2d) in Bulgarian, Macedonian, Albanian and Turkish, respectively:

- (2a) *Vij sÿvsem bez hljab jadete!*--uçudva se baj Ganjo. (Konstantinov 1973:58)
 (2b) *Vie sosema bez leb jadete -- se çudi baj Ganjo.* (Konstantinov 1967:50)
 (2c) *Çudi qysh e hëngërkeni ju gjellën, fare pa bukë!*--tha baj Ganua i çuditur. (Konstantinov 1975:58)
 (2d) *Siz ekme siz mi içiyorsunuz şu çorbayı yahu? diye de şaşar Bay Ganü.* (Konstantinov 1972:79)

You are eating (the soup) entirely without bread--Baj Ganjo said amazedly.

Also, Albanian can use past admirative forms with an apparently present meaning when the expression of surprise concerns a pre-existing state, as in (3b)-(3d), the first two of which both occurred as translations of the Bulgarian (3a), the third being a translation of a similar expression:

- (3a) *Brej, hepten magare bil tozi çovek.* (Konstantinov 1973:88, 89)
 (3b) *Bre! gomar i madh paska qenë* [perf] *ky njeri!* (Konstantinov 1975:99)
 (3c) *Ore, fare gomar paskësh qenë* [plup] *ky njeri!* (Konstantinov 1972:98)
 What an ass that guy *is!*
 (3d) *Ama njerëz fare pa mend qenkëshin* [impf] *këta...* (Konstantinov 1972:24)
 What fools *are* these...

The striking similarities in origins and meanings of the admirative paradigms in Albanian, and admirative usage in Balkan Slavic and Turkish has been noticed by many scholars, although the question of autochthonous versus contact origin continues to be debated (e.g. Conev 1910/11, Demiraj 1971, Friedman 1978, Gołab 1960, Huntley 1979, Koneski 1965, Weigand 1923/24, to name just a few). I shall return to this point later. Be that as it may, until recently Balkan Romance appeared to represent an island (or rather, an archipelago) of non-evidentiality in the central Balkan zone that otherwise expresses this category and by it is connected, via Turkish, to a broader Eurasian linguistic area characterized by these types of status oppositions (cf. Friedman 1979, 1988a).

As mentioned earlier, Fiedler (1968:131) states that Arumanian lacks the type of what he calls *Admirativ-Kommentativsystem* found in Macedonian, Albanian, and Bulgarian. It was Atanasov (1984) who first observed that Megleno-Romanian (at present spoken in a few villages near Gevgelija in Macedonia and across the border in Greece) has an inverted perfect that behaves, according to him, just like the specifically nonconfirmative uses of the Macedonian l-form, i.e. reported, admirative

and dubitative. This datum was noted by Fiedler (1989) and discussed in greater detail in Atanaso (1990:220).⁷ Table Two gives the Megleno-Romanian inverted perfect (i.e., participle + auxiliary using the verb meaning 'see', and examples (4) - (6) illustrates the usage with Atanasov's Macedonia and French translations.

Table 2. The Megleno-Romanian Inverted Perfect 'see'

	vizút-ăm	vizút-ăm
	vizút-ăj	vizút-ăț
	vizút-ău	vizút-ău
(4)	ă bră, tu fost-ăj mări om! a be, ti si bil golem čovek! mais je viens d'apprendre que tu es une personne importante! (Atanasov 1990:221)	
(5)	nu vut-ău bun ġiit nemale dobar život on dit que leur vie conjugale n'est pas réussie. (Atanasov 1990:220)	
(6)	ier fost-ăj ăn cătún včera si bil na selo j'ai entendu parler (on m'a dit) que hiers tu étais (as été) au village/à la campagne. (Atanaso 1990:220)	

During fieldwork in Ohrid, Republic of Macedonia, in 1992, however, I discovered that an Arumanian dialect from the now-deserted village of Gorna Belica (Arumanian: Beala de Sus) does have a marked nonconfirmative form that functions like the Albanian admirative or the marked uses of the Macedonian I-form. There are two groups of Arumanians who came to Gorna Belica from different parts of Albania: the Mbaliote and the Frasherote (Făršaloci). The dialect described here is that of the Frasherotes. The following examples, with Macedonian and English translations, illustrate various uses of this Arumanian admirative. Example (7) is a typical expression of surprise involving 'be', (8) shows dubitative usage, (9) shows the admirative of 'be' and 'have' functioning as auxiliaries with an intransitive past participle, (10) illustrates an admirative perfect of a transitive verb, (11) shows future admirative constructions, (12) demonstrates that present and past stative admiratives can both function with apparent present meaning (cf. Example 3), and (13) shows that Arumanian and Albanian admiratives, like admirative usage in Macedonian, are incompatible with the expression of confirmative personal opinion. Example (14a) is from a text collected from a Mbaliote speaker from Gorna Belica, while (14b) is the Frasherote version. Example (14a) uses an ordinary imperfect in the subordinate clause, whereas (14b) has an admirative in reported usage.

- (7) Un a meu o^aspit bãnæzã tu Bitul'i, ma di multu o^arã nu n(ə) avem vãzutã. Aserã vini nã(n)ã la mini ku Mercedes. Mi l'oj di minti [Mi čudosì]: Abe tora tini fuskã avut om!
Eden moj prijatelj živee vo Bitola, no odamna se nemame videno. Včera toj dojde kaj mene s Mercedes. Se šašardisav: A be sega ti si bil bogat čovek!
A friend of mine lives in Bitola, but we had not seen one another for a long time. Yesterday he came to my place in a Mercedes. I was amazed: Hey, you are a rich man now!
- (8) Kum di nu, muntreckã televizije nalili!
Kako da ne, toj gledal tevezizijski vesti!
Yeah, sure [literally 'How that not'], he's watching/he watched the TV news! [ironic]
- (9) tini fuskã/avuskã dus Bitol'i
Ti si otiden/imaš otideno [vo] Bitola
You have been/have gone to Bitola
- (10) Abe Toma avuskã zãsã s-nu kãntãm kãntuc de rãmãnești?!
Abe Toma imal rečeno da ne peeme vlaški pesni!?
Whaaa...?!, Toma [has] said we shouldn't sing Arumanian songs?! [disbelief]
- (11) Kum di nu, vãzã vãnecka/u s-vãneckã

- Kako da ne, ke dojd^{el}, ke doš^{ol}
 Oh sure, he's gonna/he was gonna come [ironic]
- (12) tini ai / avuska / avuska avut^ă mult oi
 ti imaš / si imal / si simal imano mnogu ovci
 you have [apparently] a lot of sheep
- (13) Abe, mundue'm/*mundue'sk ka Silja k^ănta'cka!
 Abe, mislev/*mislam deka Silja peel!
 Ore, mendova/*mendoj se Silja k^{en}duaka!
 Hey, I thought/*think Silja is singing!
- (14a) Tu komša'c avea' ună ka'să, ci irea' (sic!) mu'ltu oa'rfăn' (Goļab 1984:184)
 Komšiite imale kuċa, ŝto bea mnogu siromašni .
 The neighbors had a house that they were (sic!) very poor
- (14b) Tu kumšă'c ave' u'nă ka'să, ci fu'ska mu'ltă orfă'nă.
 Komšiite imale kuċa, ŝto bila mnogu siromašna.
 The neighbors had a house that was very poor.

As can be seen from the foregoing examples, the Arumanian admirative functions much like other Balkan admiratives in conveying marked non-confirmativity. Its morphology, however, is unique. Unlike other Balkan admiratives, it is not simply a restructured or reinterpreted perfect. In view of the fact that until recently the Frasherote speakers from Gorna Belica were fluent in Albanian as well as Macedonian, I would argue that this admirative represents a combination of calquing and borrowing from Albanian, with possible Slavic influence. In Albanian, the admirative is derived from an inverted perfect, i.e. (short) participle + 'have' (3 sg ka) cf. Table One, e.g. ka pasur (long) ~ ka pasë (short 's/he/it has had' > paska! 's/he/it has!'. Apparently in the Frasherote Gorna Belica dialect of Arumanian (and possibly others) the morpheme -ka was interpreted as a marker of admirativity and added to a participial form.

This participial form is problematic. While some verbs use the expected aorist base that forms the perfect participle for all Arumanian compound tenses, most verbs apparently use an imperfect base despite the fact that Vlah lacks an imperfect participle. No verb uses both bases. Moreover, the form of the participle to which the suffix is added appears to be masculine plural -- as opposed to the invariant feminine singular (functioning as a neuter) that is used for the perfect -- so that the final consonant of the base appears as /c/ (/t/ -> /c/ before morphophonemic {-i} of the masculine plural) or /s/ (/c/ -> /s/ before /k/; elsewhere, the change of affricates to spirants before /l/ is well attested in Kruševo [Goļab 1984:42]).⁸ Thus, for example, the perfect participle (feminine singular) of 'be' is fută, and the base for the admirative appears to be the masculine plural, which would be fuċ. Although a few other verbs use the aorist (=perfect) base, e.g. avut-> avuska 'have', văzut-> văzuska 'see', the majority of verbs form their admirative from an imperfect base, as in the following example, where the asterisked form illustrates the non-occurring aorist-based form: năŝeska (*neska) 'walk', dusecka (*duska) 'go'; vanecka (*vănicka) 'come', kunušteska (*kănăskuska) 'know', becka (*bicka) 'drink'.

Although the problem of the base requires further investigation, Elson's (1994) arguments that the Romanian preterit was restructured under the influence of the Bulgarian I-participle is suggestive here. As Goļab (1970) has shown, Slavic-Romance bilingualism in southwestern Macedonian is the most likely source of the restructuring of both the Macedonian and the Arumanian perfect systems. Macedonian calqued a perfect using the auxiliary 'have' with an invariant neuter verbal adjective (the old past passive participle) on the model of the Arumanian perfect which, lacking a neuter, generalizes the feminine form of the perfect participle. Moreover, Arumanian calqued the Slavic perfect using 'be' and the perfect participle (cf. Goļab 1984:135). In view of the fact that the Common Slavic resultative participle was based only on the aorist stem whereas Macedonian (and Bulgarian) created the innovation of a parallel resultative participle based on the imperfect stem, it is at least

possible that in its creation of an admirative, Arumanian calqued an imperfect participial base from Slavic. The fact that it is precisely in the aorist that there is a gap in the Albanian admirative system (cf. Table One) and that it is precisely the (imperfective) imperfect l-participle that functions as the admirative with apparently present meaning in Slavic may also have affected the tendency to use an imperfect base.⁹ The choice of an apparently masculine plural form of the participle could have been influenced by the fact that Tosk (South Albanian, which is the relevant dialect region) participles usually end in schwa (orthographic *-ë*), which is also the adjectival marker of the masculine plural. It is possible that just as the Arumanian feminine perfect participle was calqued as a neuter verb/adjective in Macedonian by Slavic-Romance bilinguals (v. Goļab 1970:13-14), so the Arumanian speakers calqued a masculine plural participial base on a model reanalyzed from Albanian.

With regard to the shape of the suffix, I would suggest that the Albanian third person singular admirative marker, *-ka*, which is by far the most common and least marked admirative indicator, was interpreted as a particle. The suffix itself also shows variation: *-ka*, *-kă*, *-kră*, and *-kără*, and moreover is uninflected, i.e. the same regardless of person. Thus, for example, the admirative of 'b' can be formulated as *fu[c/s]k[(ă)r]a/ă*, i.e. *fucka*, *fuska*, *fuskă*, *fuskără*, *fuskără*, etc. The lack of inflection is accounted for by the interpretation of the suffix as a particle. The variation in the quality of the final vowel (/a/ ~ /ă/) could be due either to Albanian or Arumanian dialectal vowel reduction or the reduction of the unstressed auxiliary in Albanian is seen e.g., even in the shape of the literary Albanian imperfect admirative. The extra syllable (/ăr/ or /ră/) could also be the result of Albanian dialectal influence. The dialectal morphology of the Albanian admirative has yet to be adequately documented, but in the dialect of Përmet, which is less than twenty kilometers south of Frashëri, both long and short participles occur as the base of the admirative; the long participle typically ends in *-[u]r(ë)*, which is reduced to *-ër*. Moreover, the *k*- of the auxiliary 'have' is sometimes interpreted as a separate marker coming between the stem and participial formant, to which the suffixes derived from 'have' are then added or, according to Lambertz (1948:48-49), this /k/ is simply anticipatorily reduplicated. Thus, for example, Pekmezi (1908:198) cites the following 1 sg admiratives: *ubëkam* > *ubërkam* > *ubëkërkam*, *hûpkam* > *hûpërkam* > *hûpkërkam* and Lambertz (1948:48) gives these 1 sg and 2 sg admiratives: *kjënërkam*, *pasërke* and *paskërke*, *dhënkërke*, *ditkërke*, *kuptokërke*, *dashkërka* etc. (cf. Buchholz and Fiedler 1987:120). The modern Literary Albanian equivalents of the participle and third singular admiratives are the following: *u bërë/u bëka* 'become', *hipur/hipka* 'mount', *qenë/qenka* 'be', *pasur/paska* 'have', *dhënë/dhënka* 'give', *ditur/ditka* 'know', *kuptuar/kuptuak* 'understand', *dashur/dashka* 'love, want'. In view of this dialectal variation in a region of Albania where Arumanian is also spoken, it is not unreasonable to suppose that the variation in the Arumanian particle is due to the same type of variation in dialectal Albanian.

The compound tense system of Frasherote Arumanian is considerably more complex than that described for other Arumanian dialects. Table Three compares the third singular of 'work' in the compound pasts and admiratives of Albanian and the Frasherote Arumanian dialect of Gorna Belic. Given that this profusion of compound pasts is widespread in Albanian but unattested elsewhere in Arumanian, it seems clear that Arumanian reflects the influence of Albanian-Arumanian bilingualism.¹⁰

Table 3. Arumanian Compound Past & Admiratives Compared with Albanian

ari lukrată	ka punuar	lukracka	punuaka
ave lukrată	kish punuar	avuska lukrată	paska punuar
avu lukrată	pat punuar	--	paskësh punuar
ari avut lukrată	ka pasë punuar	--	--
ave avut lukrată	kish pasë punuar	ari avuska lukrată	paska pasë punuar
avu avut lukrată	pat pasë punuar	ave avuska lukrată	paskësh pasë punuar
		--	--

The existence of an Arumanian admirative has broader implications. As was indicated earlier,

central issue in the debate over the origins of Balkan nonconfirmative status categories has been whether they were calqued directly from the Turkish *miş* past or developed natively and simply give additional impetus by contact with Turkish. Demiraj (1971) has argued for the latter explanation in Albanian, and I have argued for it in Balkan Slavic (Friedman 1978), a conclusion recently supported by Fielder (1993). This in turn relates to the broader question of the natural tendency of perfects to evolve into marked status categories.

I have argued elsewhere (Friedman 1994) that at least some Balkanisms arose when speakers of different languages attempted to communicate more effectively. The place of these Balkanisms in the systems of the various languages can be described in terms of a continuum from pragmatic to grammaticalized, which in turn suggests that discourse functions are not merely subject to borrowing but actually serve as entry points for the development of structural change (cf. Prince 1988). The grammaticalization of discourse functions tends to occur in those regions where multilingualism is most complex. Moreover, grammaticalization of pragmatic devices is itself a dialectal function, and thus an additional category of isoglosses, i.e. degree of grammaticalization, is worthy of study in a Balkan context (cf. Friedman 1988b).

The new evidence from the Frasheriote Arumanian dialect of Gorna Belica is more than an interesting instance of a borrowed grammatical morpheme (the Albanian third person admirative marker) and a calqued construction (the use of the participial base), as well as a counterexample to the claim that Arumanian lacks evidential categories. It is also a completely unambiguous example of a borrowed evidential and stands both in close relationship to and stark contrast with the status categories and usages of Albanian, Balkan Slavic and Turkish. Thus, the form and function of the Arumanian admirative gives us a better understanding of the category of marked nonconfirmative status in general in terms of both its meanings and its potential origins.¹¹

Considerable debate has surrounded the subclassification of Balkan languages, e.g. periphery-core distinction, the position of Serbo-Croatian, the relationship of the Carpathian area, Hungarian and Slovenian, etc. The Arumanian admirative demonstrates the fact that there is still basic research to be done in Balkan linguistics. It not only points to the need for more dialect studies but to the need to pay more attention to the dialects, especially the northern Greek. If it turns out that the overt expression of status also occurs in northern Greek dialects, I would suggest that the presence of status categories and usage can be used to define a West Central Balkan core (cf. Hamp 1979) that includes all the classical Balkan languages.¹²

NOTES

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¹In the context of living Balkan languages, the term Balkan Romance serves as a cover term for Daco-Romanian (including the dialects of Eastern Serbia), Arumanian and Megleno-Romanian. Arumanian and Megleno-Romanian can be referred to collectively as Vlah.

²Asenova's (1989:144-50) treatment of dubitative and admirative meanings of dental modal subordinator (*da-të-să-ná*) constructions touches on some of the same concepts, but not on their grammaticalization.

³Asenova (1989:215-19) does deal with some dialectal differentiation, but without giving any concrete examples.

⁴A measure of the difficulty in grasping these categories can be seen in the fact that Dozon (1879:226) only describes the synthetic admiratives, present and imperfect, which he labels imperfect and preterit, respectively, although one of his examples is a perfect:

- (i) shpirti im pasëka qenurë shumë i ndershim sot ndë syt të tu (Dozon 1879:227)
my life has been very honored today in your eyes = you have saved my life

⁵Forms with the short participle pasë are marginal in literary Albanian, but are included here both for the sake of completeness and for their relevance to the Arumanian examples to follow. The double perfect functions like a perfect in those dialects in which the perfect is replacing the aorist as an unmarked past. The double pluperfect can be used in literary Albanian for events that took place prior to past events that are themselves specified as prior to other past events, as in the following example (see Friedman 1981b):

- (ii) Është e vetmja brengë, që më mbetet - shqiptoi më qartë ai, pasi kishte folur një copë herë, në mënyrë të ngatërruar, për një vajzë të bukur dhe inteligjente, me të cilën e kishin pasë fejuar prindët qysh në fëmijëri.
It's the only trouble I have." - he said [aorist] more clearly, after he had spoken [pluperfect] confusedly for some time about a beautiful and intelligent girl to whom his parents had engaged [double pluperfect] him from childhood.

⁶The remainder did not have direct correspondences due to stylistic differences in the translations. The figures were almost exactly the same for Turkish and Macedonian as for Bulgarian. See Friedman (1982a).

⁷It should be noted that Caragiu (1975:282) already observed the inverted perfect of Megleno-Romanian based on Capidan (1925), but she treated it as the ordinary realization of the perfect. According to Atanasov (1990:119-220), Megleno-Romanian has both inverted and uninverted perfects.

⁸I am indebted to Zbigniew Gołąb for this observation. I had hoped to discuss this data with him at greater length, but his unexpected and untimely passing prevented me from doing so.

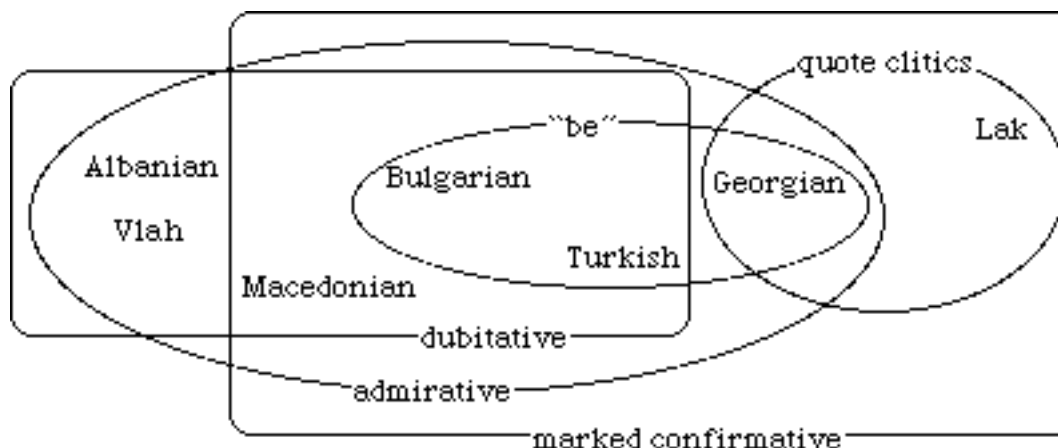
⁹The neutralization of the aorist/imperfect opposition in verbs such as 'be' and 'have' in Slavic (hence only one l-participle) may have contributed to the preservation of the aorist base for these verbs in Arumanian.

¹⁰The precise meaning and function of each of these tense forms is the subject of research in progress by Marjan Marković

¹¹ A similar phenomenon has been reported for Romani. According to Kostov (1973:108) the dialect of Romani spoken in Sliven in eastern Bulgaria has developed a reported marker under the influence of Bulgarian, viz. the particle -li added to the Romani imperfect and pluperfect. According to Kostov, this particle is derived from the -l of the Bulgarian past active participle. The following two examples with imperfects in Romani and their Bulgarian equivalents are cited by Kostov (1973:108);

- (iii) ti kanatu nakhinas-li manuša opre phrucjatar, šunejlas-li racjasa: Pavljo, Pavljo!
i kogato minavali xora po mosta, čovalo se prez nošta: Pavljo, Pavljo!
And as people passed over the bridge, through the night was heard : Pavljo, Pavljo!
(iv) Oda vakergjas mangi, či tu phirsas-li '
Toj mi kaza če ti si xodel
He told me that you were going

¹² The Arumanian phenomenon also modifies the map given in Friedman (1988a) to the following:



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