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 evidential, dubitative, admira tive, witnessed, etc. -- has never figured in the catalogue of classi fied Balkanisms. This can be attributed largely to their apparent absence from Greek (but cf. Beševlić 1928) and Balkan Romance, 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. Părvev 1975, Ismaili 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. 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 early works. 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 admiration 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. 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'mušin 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 newl


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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Nonadmirative</th>
<th>Admimative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Present</td>
<td>ka</td>
<td>paska</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>perfect</td>
<td>ka pasur</td>
<td>paska pasur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imperfect</td>
<td>kishte</td>
<td>paskësh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pluperfect</td>
<td>kish pasur</td>
<td>paskësh pasur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>double perfect</td>
<td>ka pasë pasur</td>
<td>paska pasë pasur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>double pluperfect</td>
<td>kish pasë pasur</td>
<td>paskësh pasë pasur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aorist</td>
<td>pati</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd pluperfect</td>
<td>pat pasur</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd double pluperfect</td>
<td>pat pasë pasur</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 admiratives of the past indefinite, while 44 corresponded to ordinary Bulgarian present tenses. This can be seen in examples (2a)-(2d) in Bulgarian, Macedonian, Albanian, and Turkish, respectively:

(2a) Vij sëvsem bez hljab jadete!–ućudva se baj Ganjo. (Konstantinov 1973:58)
(2b) Vie sosema bez leb jadete -- se čudi 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 ekmeksiz 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 admirable 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 admirable paradigms in Albanian, and admirable 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, Goğa 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 call 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 Gevgelij 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, admirable.
and dubitative. This datum was noted by Fiedler (1989) and discussed in greater detail in Atanasov (1990:220). 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'**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participle</th>
<th>Inverted Perfect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>vizút-äm</td>
<td>vizút-äm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vizút-äi</td>
<td>vizút-ät</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vizút-äu</td>
<td>vizút-äu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(4) ā brā, tu fost-āj mārī om!
a be, ti sī bil golem čovek!
mais je viens d'apprendre que tu es une personne importante! (Atanasov 1990:221)

(5) nu vut-aç bun ĝiĵit
nemar dobaj život
on dū que leur vie conjugale n'est pas réussie. (Atanasov 1990:220)

(6) jer fost-āj ān câtūn
vēera si bil na selo
j'ai entendu parler (on m'a dit) que hiers tu étais (as été) au village/à la campagne. (Atanasov 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) do not have a marked nonconfirmative form that functions like the Albanian admirable or the marked uses of the Macedonian 1-form. There are two groups of Arumanians who came to Gorna Belica from different parts of Albania: the Mbaliote and the Frasheriose (Fărșaloci). The dialect described here that of the Frasherioes. The following examples, with Macedonian and English translations, illustrate various uses of this Arumanian admirable. Example (7) is a typical expression of surprise involving 'be', (8) shows dubitative usage, (9) shows the admirable of 'be' and 'have' functioning as auxiliarie in an intransitive past participle, (10) illustrates an admirable perfect of a transitive verb, (11) show future admirable constructions, (12) demonstrates that present and past stative adjectives can function with apparent present meaning (cf. Example 3), and (13) shows that Arumanian and Albanian adjectives, like admirable usage in Macedonian, are incompatible with the expression in confirmative personal opinion. Example (14a) is from a text collected from a Mbaliote speaker from Gorna Belica, while (14b) is the Frasheriose version. Example (14a) uses an ordinary imperfect in th subordinate clause, whereas (14b) has an admirable in reported usage.

(7) Un a meo ošpit bānezā tu Bitul’i, ma di multu oćrā nu n(ə) avem vāžutā. Aserā vini nās(nas) la mini ku Mercedes. Mi l’oj di munti [Mi čudos]: Abe tora tini fuskā avut om!

(8) Kum di nu, munteckā televizije nalili!
Kako da ne, toj gledal televizijski vesti!

(9) tini fuskā/avuskā dus Bitol’i
Ti si otiden/imaš otideno [vo] Bitola
You have been/have gone to Bitola

(10) Abe Toma avuskā žāsā s-nu kāntām kāntuc de rāmānesti?! 
Abe Toma imal rečeno da ne peeme vlaški pesni!?
Whaaa...?! Toma [has] said we shouldn’t sing Arumanian songs?! [disbelief]

(11) Kum di nu, văzı̆ vānecka/u s-văneckā
Kako da ne, ŝe dojdel, ŝe došol
Oh sure, he's gonna/he was gonna come [ironic]
(12) tini ai / avuska / avuska avutâ mult oï
ti imaš / si imal / si simal imano mnogu ovci
you have [apparently] a lot of sheep
(13) Abe, mundue'm/*mundue'sk ka Silja kânta'cka!
Abe, mislev/*mislam deka Silja pee!
Ore, mendova/*mendoj se Silja kënduka!
Hey, I thought/*think Silja is singing!
(14a) Tu komša'c ave' unâ ka'sâ, ci irea' (sic!) mu'ltu oa'rfân' (Goľâb 1984:184)
Komšite imale kuka, što bëa mnogu siromašni.
The neighbors had a house that they were (sic!) very poor
(14b) Tu kumšâ'c ave' unâ ka'sâ, ci fu'ska mu'Itâ ofrâ'nâ.
Komšite imale kuka, što 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 Frasheriote speakers from Gorna Belica were fluent in Albanian as well; 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 Frasheriote Gorna Belica dialect and possibly others the morpheme -ka was interpreted as a marker of admirativity 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/ (l/ -> /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 [Goľâb 1984:42]). Thus, for example, the perfect participle (feminine singular) of 'be' is futâ, and the base for the admirative appears to be the masculine plural, which would be fuc!
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 admiratives (cf. Table One) and that it is precisely the (imperfective) imperfect participle that functions as the admirative with apparently present meaning in Slavic may also have affected the tendency to use an imperfect base. 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) participle 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 in Macedonian by Slavic-Romance bilinguals (v. Golać 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, -kä, -krä, and -kärä, an otherwise uninflected, i.e. the same regardless of person. Thus, for example, the admirable of 'be' can be formulated as fu[c/s]k(ä)r[a/ä], i.e. fucka, fuska, fuskä, fuskarä, 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/ ~ /ä/) could be due to Albanian or Arumanian dialectal vowel reduction. 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 (/är/ or /är/) 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 indicative; 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 > ubëkërka, hüpkam > hüpërkar > hüpkërka and Lambertz (1948:48) gives these 1 sg and 2 sg admiratives: kjenërkam, pasërke and paskanë, dithënë, dithërke, kuptkarë, kuptukarë, dashkërka etc. (cf. Buchholz and Frieder 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', gjenë/qenka 'be', pasur/paska 'have', dhënya/dhënka 'give', ditur/ditka 'know', kuptuar/kuptuak 'understand', dashur/dashka 'love, want'. In view of this dialectal variation in a region of Albanian dialects where Arumanian is also spoken, it is not unreasonable to suppose that the variation in the Arumanian participial form is due to the same type of variation in dialectal Albanian.

The compound tense system of Frasheriote 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 Frasheriote Arumanian dialect of Gorna Belica. 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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arumanian Compound Pasts &amp; Admiratives Compared with Albanian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ari lukratë</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ave lukratë</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>avu lukratë</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ari avut lukratë</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ave avut lukratë</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>avu avut lukratë</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The existence of an Arumanian admirable 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 mış past or developed natively and simply given 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 Frasériote Arumanian dialect of Gorna Belica is more than an interesting instance of a borrowed grammatical morpheme (the Albanian third person emphatic 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 or usage can be used to define a West Central Balkan core (cf. Hamp 1979) that includes all the classic Balkan languages.12

NOTES

* It is my pleasant duty to thank the International Researches and Exchanges Board for a travel grant that enabled me to conduct the fieldwork on which this article is based. I am deeply indebted to Marjan Marković, who helped me immeasurably with the collection and translation of the data essential to this paper. My deepest thanks also to his uncle, Tomislav Manovski/Toma Mani, as well as Vasilie Balukoski/Silja Baljuk, Andon Labrovski/Ndona Ljubr, and Kosta Panovski/Koči Pani who so generously and hospitably shared with me their knowledge of their native language. This article is dedicated to the memories of my teachers and mentors Zbigniew Gołąb and Blažej Koneski. Večna im slava.

1 In 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.

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

A 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

Forms 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) Eshtë 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.

The 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).

It 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.

I am indebted to Zbigniew Golił 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.

The 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.

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

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 nakhinasi-li manuša opre phrjcjatar, šunejasli racjasa: 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 či ti si xodel'

He told me that you were going

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