

**STUDI ITALIANI  
DI LINGUISTICA  
TEORICA  
E APPLICATA**



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### PARTE I

LINGUA, IDENTITÀ E COMUNICAZIONE IN CONTESTI ANGLOFONI E ITALIANI

a cura di Antonia Rubino

MAGDALENA NIGOVIĆ

Split

## MORPHOLOGICAL ADAPTATION OF ROMANCE NOUNS IN DALMATIAN SPEECH

### 1. INTRODUCTION

#### 1.1. *Dalmatian speech*

Croatian is traditionally classified into three major dialects – Čakavian, Kajkavian and Štokavian, named after their respective forms for the interrogative pronoun meaning ‘what’ – *ča, kaj, što*. Čakavian is spoken on the Adriatic coast and islands, Kajkavian in the greater Zagreb region and Štokavian (which forms the basis of the standard language) in all other parts of Croatia. The city of Split, situated in Dalmatia on the Adriatic coast, is located in the midst of a traditionally Čakavian dialectal area. The Split dialect of today can not be called Čakavian any longer, since over the years it has absorbed many Štokavian features, and it could be recognised as a “special semi-Čakavian dialect” (Vidović, 1993: 11) or “the urban vernacular with recognisable dialectal characteristic” (Jutrović, 1998: 239). The linguistic situation of the city of Split is characterised on the one hand by the standard which is the language of the public sphere (school, media, institutions, etc.) and on the other hand by a specific variety of urban semi-Čakavian which reflects a strong Štokavian influence, predominantly used in everyday situations<sup>1</sup>. This variety has developed specific features as a result of century-long contact with other varieties and it can be described as an urban “dialect-coloured form of speech” (Kalogjera, 2001: 94).

Linguistic influences of Romance languages have played very important roles in Dalmatian speech. In some periods, the complete coexistence of Slavonic and Romance inhabitants may be observed. The Adriatic coast used to be a part of the Roman Empire, so when the Slavs arrived in the 7<sup>th</sup> century Latin was spoken there and it was inevitably used in addition to Slavic. Adriatic Latin gradually evolved into a new Romance language – extinct Dalmatian<sup>2</sup>. After the arrival of the Venetians in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, Venetian became the dominant idiom in Dalmatia. Due to the commercial, economic and cultural expansion of the *Serenissima*, Venetian was perceived as a very prestigious idiom, becoming

thus a *lingua franca*<sup>3</sup>, not only in Dalmatia, but in the whole Mediterranean area. After a long period of Venetian governance, Split was passed on to Hapsburgs Monarchy in 1797, but the change of government did not inflect a change of the language in the administrative domains. *Colonian Venetian*<sup>4</sup> or *veneziano* “*di là da mar*” or *croato-veneziano*<sup>5</sup> left considerable traces on the dialects of the Dalmatian coastal area and on its urban vernaculars. Because of geographic proximity and economic and cultural contacts, the linguistic influence from the Italian speaking area has continued uninterrupted to the present.

### 1.2. Romance nouns

First, it should be recognized that no language or dialect is pure or unchanging. It is indisputable that the sources of the origin of Romance elements are various and that they do not come from only one language, speech or dialect. Another reality is that the colloquial urban vernacular of the city of Split, as all other urban centres, is inhomogeneous and diverse. In order to avoid terminology doubts, the following terms will be used: ‘the giving language’ – the variant which is the source of Romance loanwords, and ‘the receiving language’ – the variant which borrows loanwords of Romance origin, ‘the model’ – the source word in the giving language and ‘the replica’ – the borrowed word in the receiving language. Empirical study on the European languages in contact has confirmed early claims (e.g., Haugen, 1950) that major-class content words are nouns, which is related to the basic principle of language borrowing<sup>6</sup> – the borrowed objects, ideas or notions require their names to be transferred into the borrowing language. That is the reason why we chose to examine the borrowed nouns of Romance origin present in Dalmatian speech, e.g. in the urban vernacular of the city of Split. The term ‘noun of Romance origin’ primarily refers to nouns borrowed from the Venetian language, standard Italian language and various North-Italian dialects.

### 1.3. Morphological adaptation of nouns

The integration of a great number of nouns of Romance origin into the receiving language, whose linguistic system is different from that of the giving language, requires a linguistic analysis to explain how the process functions. The nouns need to be adapted in order to be subsequently integrated into the receiving language. Their orthographic form has to be adapted and the pronunciation is determined on the phonological level according to the similarity and dissimilarity of the two phonological systems.

On the morphological level the citation form (free morphemes and bound morphemes) of a noun is determined through three different processes of transmorphemisation: ‘zero-transmorphemisation’ where the citation form of a noun can have the same form as the model, i.e. no suffix (bound morpheme) of the receiving language is added; ‘compromise transmorphemisation’ in the case when the noun preserves the suffix of the source language; and ‘complete transmorphemisation’ where the suffix of the source word can be replaced by a suffix of the receiving language with the same function and meaning as the original suffix. Moreover, the imported nouns have to be adequately adapted according to grammatical genders.

## 2. METHODOLOGY

The corpus consists of nouns of Romance origin found in the complete volume (55 issues) of the satirical magazine *Berekin* published in Split from 1979 to 2002 (Nigoević, 2005). The main assumption was that the local satirical magazine with its dialectally coloured texts would show that the urban core of the speech of Split, despite increasing standardisation and štokavisation, has still preserved a significant number of dialect nouns of Romance origin.

When analysing the adaptation of nouns, i.e. when determining their citation form and gender category, all three levels of transmorphemisation are applied: zero-transmorphemisation, compromise and complete transmorphemisation. The receiving language, like most other Slavic languages, has a rich system of inflection. Nouns change the word ending to reflect number (singular or plural) and a system of seven cases, i.e. grammatical category and function. Apart from the declension system, nouns in the receiving language have three grammatical genders (masculine, feminine and neuter) that correspond to a certain extent with the word ending, so that most nouns ending in *-a* are feminine, *-o* and *-e* neutral and the rest are mostly masculine. Nouns, in the source language, also have number (singular or plural). As for the system of grammatical genders, the giving language has only masculine and feminine, but no neuter, and it uses articles before nouns.

For the purpose of the morphological analysis, primary and secondary adaptations of nouns have been introduced. During the primary adaptation, methods of adaptation of Romance nouns into the system of the receiving language have been discussed. During the secondary adaptation, integrated nouns have become the basis for further word formation in the receiving language. Two methods of word formation have been presented: derivation and hybridisation.



## 3. PRIMARY ADAPTATION

## 3.1. Forming the citation form of the replica

## 3.1.1. Zero-transmorphemisation

Zero-transmorphemisation appears in primary adaptation and its changes are qualified as primary changes. (Filipović, 1986: 121) After adaptation at the phonological level, the loanwords from this group are transferred to the morphological system of the receiving language without changes. In that case, the loanword consists only of a free morpheme, which means that the model corresponds to the replica and vice versa. Borrowing of free morphemes is unlimited because lexis is an open system. Morphological adaptation is not necessary since there is no bound morpheme. This group consists of noun replicas of Venetian origin because they had undergone deletion of the bound morpheme, i.e. the final vowel *-o* and *-e'*. The compounds and syntagma taken from the giving language behave in the same manner. It has to be noted that this refers only to the nominative case of the singular form because in other cases the replica receives flexion endings of the receiving language. Some recorded examples are given in the table below:

Table 1.

MODEL Free morpheme + zero bound morpheme	REPLICA Free morpheme + zero bound morpheme
Venetian <i>armeròn</i>	<i>armerun</i> 'wardrobe'
Venetian <i>fachin</i>	<i>fakin</i> 'porter'
Venetian <i>garzòn</i>	<i>garzun</i> 'apprentice'
Venetian <i>cain</i>	<i>kajin</i> 'washbasin'
Venetian <i>casin</i>	<i>kazin</i> 'fuss, mess'
Venetian <i>sartòr</i>	<i>šaltur</i> 'tailor'
Venetian <i>zucaro d'orzo</i>	<i>cukaro de orzo</i> 'barley sugar'
Venetian <i>corpo morto</i>	<i>korpo morto</i> 'a heavy stone used as an anchor'
Venetian <i>pan de Spagna</i>	<i>pandešpanja</i> 'a kind of sweet bread'
Venetian <i>par e dispar</i>	<i>par-dišpar</i> 'game, a kind of counting rhyme'
Venetian <i>tiramola</i>	<i>tiramola</i> 'washing line'

The coincidence of morphological forms in our corpus may best be observed in feminine nouns ending in *-a* which retain the same form in the receiving language. There are numerous examples in this group: Venetian *bètola* > *betula* 'inn', Venetian *zima* > *cima* 'headfast', Venetian *fota* > *fota* 'anger', Venetian *mona* > *mona* 'fool', Venetian *piria* > *pirja* 'funnel', Italian *riga* > *riga* 'line', etc. This case does not belong to standard zero-transmorphemisation, because the bound morpheme, suffix *-a*, still exists. During the transfer from the giving language to the receiving language both free and bound morphemes are transferred. According to Sočanac, a new category of transmorphemisation should be introduced, since it is the case of the same bound morpheme with the same function in both languages. (Sočanac, 2004: 157)

## 3.1.2. Compromise transmorphemisation

In compromise transmorphemisation the loanword retains the suffix, the bound morpheme from the giving language which is phonologically adapted, but it does not conform to the morphological system of the receiving language. (Filipović, 1986: 121)

Masculine nouns which have the suffix *-o* in the model and retain it in the replica may be considered as examples of compromise transmorphemisation: Italian *fumo* > *fumo* 'smoke', Venetian *ganzo* > *ganco* 'a sly person', Italian *capo* > *kapo* 'boss', Italian *cappuccino* > *kapučino* 'cappuccino', Italian *cónto* > *konto* 'bill', Venetian *compagno* > *kumpanjo* 'companion', Italian *libréto* > *libreto* 'libretto', Italian *lòtto* > *loto* 'lottery', Venetian *nonzolo* > *nonculo* 'sacristan', Venetian *nono* > *nono* 'grandfather', Venetian *orzo* > *orzo* 'barley', Italian *pappagàllo* > *papagalo* 'parrot', Italian *rèsto* > *rešto* 'what remains', etc. The ending *-o* is also present in receiving language masculine nouns (*Marko*, *braco*), but its function is significantly limited in relation to the function of the same suffix in the giving language. Some of these examples refer to the change of category, namely, adjectives from the giving language became nouns in the receiving language and have retained the suffix *-o*, for instance: Italian adjective *discolo* > masculine noun *diškul* 'a useless and lazy person with bad habits'; Venetian adjective *rizo* > masculine noun *rico* 'a curly person'.

Examples of this type also include masculine nouns ending in *-e*: Venetian *café* > *kafe* 'coffee', Italian *papà* > *pape* 'daddy', Italian *presidènte* > *prešidènte* 'president'.

Furthermore, this group also includes all noun loanwords which end in a formative suffix of the giving language and retain in the replica the same bound morpheme, previously transphonemised, as in these recorded examples:

Table 2.

MODEL Free morpheme + the giving language bound morpheme	REPLICA Free morpheme + the giving language bound morpheme
Italian <i>bagatella</i>	<i>bagatela</i> 'bargain'
Venetian <i>bachetina</i>	<i>baketina</i> 'a twig smeared with resin used for catching birds'
Venetian <i>berechinada</i>	<i>berekinada</i> 'prank'
Italian <i>biciclétta</i>	<i>bičkleta</i> 'bicycle'
Venetian <i>becaria</i>	<i>bikarija</i> 'butcher's'
Venetian <i>zucarièra</i>	<i>cukarjera</i> 'sugar bowl'
Venetian <i>deboleza</i>	<i>debuleca</i> 'exhaustion'
Italian <i>differènzà</i>	<i>diferenca</i> 'difference'
Venetian <i>carozza</i>	<i>karoca</i> 'carriage'
Venetian <i>cassèta</i>	<i>kašeta</i> 'trunk'
Venetian <i>mareta</i>	<i>mareta</i> 'billowing see'

### 3.1.3. Complete transmorphemisation

The bound morpheme of the giving language, which does not correspond to the morphological system of the receiving language, is replaced by the bound morpheme (suffix) from the inventory of the receiving language of the same function and meaning. (Filipović, 1986: 123).

The most common situation at this level is the formation of the ellipsis with masculine nouns, mostly Italianisms, which delete the endings *-o* and *-e*: Italian *basso* > *bas* 'bass', Italian *giro* > *dir* 'walk', Venetian *ghéto* > *get* 'ghetto', Italian *fiorétto* > *fioret* 'small flower', Venetian *sesto* > *šest* 'style', Venetian *tingolo* > *tingul* 'chicken stew'; Italian *salàme* > *salam* 'salami'.

The standard examples of complete transmorphemisation are those in which the suffix of the giving language is replaced by the equivalent suffix of the receiving language, for instance: *-e* > *-a*: Italian *parte* > *parta* 'role', Italian *febbre* > *fibra* 'fever'; *-ione* > *-ija*: Italian *ricreazione* > *rekrejacija* 'recreation', Italian *speculazione* > *špekulacija* 'speculation'.

Complete transmorphemisation is also applied in cases of gender change. During the transfer from the giving language to the receiving language, our corpus contains more examples of transfer from feminine into masculine gender. The major part consists of nouns with the ending *-iône* which are integrated into the receiving language as masculine nouns ending in *-un*. This change may be explained by the fact that the speakers of the receiving language probably misinterpreted the suffix *-iône*, considering it as the suffix *-one* of the giving language that denotes the augmentative form of masculine gender nouns, which

consequently changed the gender. Other examples refer to feminine nouns of the giving language which were transferred into the masculine gender in the receiving language by deleting the ending *-a*.

Table 3.

MODEL feminine gender	REPLICA masculine gender
Venetian <i>bagolina</i>	<i>bagulin</i> 'cane'
Venetian <i>bibita</i>	<i>bibit</i> 'drink'
Venetian <i>bota</i>	<i>bot</i> 'knock'
Italian <i>decorazione</i>	<i>dekoracijun</i> 'decoration'
Italian <i>disposizione</i>	<i>dišpožicijun</i> 'disposal'
Italian <i>esplosione</i>	<i>ešpložjun</i> 'explosion'
Italian <i>ispirazione</i>	<i>inšpiracijun</i> 'inspiration'
Italian <i>intenzione</i>	<i>intencijun</i> 'intention'
Italian <i>commissione</i>	<i>komešjun</i> 'committee'
Italian <i>confusione</i>	<i>konfužjun</i> 'confusion'
Italian <i>corrente</i>	<i>korenat</i> 'draught'
Venetian <i>cornise</i>	<i>korniž</i> 'kerb'
Italian <i>lezione</i>	<i>lecijun</i> 'lesson, lecture'
Italian <i>opinione</i>	<i>opinjun</i> 'opinion'
Italian <i>posizione</i>	<i>požicjun</i> 'position'
Italian <i>processione</i>	<i>procesjun</i> 'procession'
Italian <i>protezione</i>	<i>protecjun</i> 'protection'
Italian <i>reclamazione</i>	<i>reklamacijun</i> 'complaint'
Italian <i>riservazione</i>	<i>rižervacijun</i> 'reservation'
Italian <i>sensazione</i>	<i>šenžancjun</i> 'sensation'
Italian <i>stabilizzazione</i>	<i>štobilizacijun</i> 'stabilisation'
Italian <i>stagione</i>	<i>štađun</i> 'season'
Venetian <i>sofita</i>	<i>šufit</i> 'attic'
Italian <i>televisione</i>	<i>televižjun</i> 'television'

In cases when masculine nouns of the giving language transfer to feminine nouns of the receiving language, contamination, which is caused by the semantic analogy between the loanword and receiving-language words, has an important role (Filipović, 1986: 132). Some of the nouns below owe the change of gender to the similarity in meaning with the nouns of the receiving language, for example: *rukavice* (f. pl.) 'gloves' = *gvante* (f. pl.), *naušnica* (f. sg.) 'earring' = *rečina* (f. sg.), *rajčica* (f. sg.) 'tomato' = *poma* (f. sg.), *grilje* (f. pl.) 'wooden blinds' = *škure* (f. pl.).

Table 4.

MODEL masculine gender	REPLICA feminine gender
Italian <i>guanto</i>	<i>gvante</i> (pl.) 'gloves'
Venetian <i>cazzavide</i>	<i>kacavida</i> 'screwdriver'
Venetian <i>contrabando</i>	<i>kontrabanda</i> 'smuggling'
Venetian <i>coròto</i>	<i>korota</i> 'mourning'
Venetian <i>cròstoli</i> (pl.)	<i>kroštule</i> (pl.) 'fried pastry'
Venetian <i>ligambo</i>	<i>ligambe</i> (pl.) 'stocking-suspenders'
Venetian <i>pomo d'oro</i>	<i>poma</i> 'tomato'
Venetian <i>recìn</i>	<i>rečina</i> 'earring'
Venetian <i>savòr</i>	<i>savura</i> 'sweet and savoury sauce used for preserving fish'
Venetian <i>santóchio</i>	<i>šantoča</i> 'female bigot'
Italian <i>schizzo</i>	<i>škica</i> 'draft, design'
Venetian <i>scuro</i>	<i>škure</i> (pl.) 'wooden blinds'
Venetian <i>tufo</i>	<i>tufina</i> 'mould'

### 3.2. Gender determination

The morphological adaptation of nouns, besides determining the base morphological form, also assumes determining the gender. The giving language and the receiving language both have the categories of natural and grammatical gender, where the receiving language has masculine, feminine and neuter gender, while in the giving language there is no neuter gender. In our corpus almost all noun replicas are of masculine or feminine gender. There are rare examples of neuter gender, like: Venetian *loto* > *loto* 'lottery', Venetian *merlo* > *merlo* 'lace' and Venetian *orzo* > *orzo* 'barley'.

Nouns of the receiving language which denote living beings correspond in gender with their models in the giving language<sup>8</sup>, for instance: Venetian *berechìn* (m. sg.) > *berekin* (m. sg.) 'rascal', Venetian *biondina* (f. sg.) > *bjondina* (f. sg.) 'blonde', Italian *ciccióna* (f. sg.) > *čičona* (f. sg.) 'fat woman', Venetian *garzòn* (m. sg.) > *garzun* (m. sg.) 'apprentice', Venetian *sartòr* (m. sg.) > *šaltur* (m. sg.) 'tailor', Italian *signorina* (f. sg.) > *šinjorina* (f. sg.) 'young lady'.

Feminine gender nouns with the suffix *-a* generally retain the same gender. Masculine gender nouns ending in *-o*, mostly Italianisms, lose the suffix and retain the masculine gender during the adaptation into the receiving language,

for example: Italian *fiorétto* > *fioret* 'small flower'. The same refers to the masculine nouns ending in *-e*: Italian *salàme* > *salam* 'salami'. Venetian nouns had already deleted final vowels and all such masculine nouns ending in a consonant, after phonological adaptation, transfer into masculine forms of the receiving language. Masculine gender nouns with *-e* or a consonant ending, retain the masculine gender: Venetian *bocòn* > *bokun* 'mouthful', Venetian *cafè* > *kafe* 'coffee', Italian *colóre* > *kolor* 'colour', Venetian *matòn* > *matun* 'brick', Italian/Venetian *portón(e)* > *portun* 'main entrance', Venetian *vapòr* > *vapor* 'steamer', etc. The same refers to feminine nouns which go through complete transmorphemisation, that is, the final vowel is changed: *-e* > *-a*, for instance: Venetian *cale* > *kala* 'narrow street', Italian *clàsse* > *klaša* 'class', Italian *parte* > *parta* 'role'.

A certain number of replicas were in the original context observed only in the plural form: *banji* 'public bath', *goluzarije* 'delicious food', *lavuratorije* 'doings', *škure* 'wooden blinds', *špale* 'shoulders', *šporkarije* 'filthiness'. However, the singular form of the model is not common for the following replicas either: *arti* 'fisherman's tools', *bafe* 'side-burns', *biži* 'peas', *gradele* 'grill', *gricule* 'goose-bumps', *gvante* 'gloves', *korjanduli* 'confetti', *marovele* 'haemorrhoids', *molete* 'coal tongs', *mu(n)dante* 'underpants', *mudantine* 'swimming trunks', *pošade* 'cutlery', *škovace* 'garbage', *špigete* 'shoe-laces', *špoži* 'newly-weds', *tirake* 'straps'.

Gender is determined by formal marks of the receiving language morphological system and represents complete transmorphemisation. Besides determining gender according to sex and grammar categories, gender determination follows the semantic similarity or contamination, which had already been treated in the previous section.

### 3.3. Change of category

In the process of linguistic interference, a speaker interprets a foreign language model using the grammar category which provides the best basis for comparison (Gusmani, 1986: 51). One of the results of the process is the agglutination of the definite article with a noun since in the receiving language there is no article. It is interpreted as one word with the definite article, e.g.: Italian ant. *l'ombrella* > *lumbrela* 'umbrella', Italian *l'ombrellino* > *lumbrelin* 'parasol'.

An interesting example is the noun syntagm from Italian '*luce elettrica*' > noun *letrika* 'electric power', adjective *letrišna* 'electric'. After the elision, the adjective *\*elettrica* acquires the noun form and is interpreted together with the definite article – *letrika*; in the process of secondary adaptation, the adjective *letrišna* was also formed.

## 4. SECONDARY ADAPTATION

After the replica has been integrated into the receiving language system, secondary changes follow which conform to the development of the receiving language and are in a way connected to the source language. (Filipović, 1986: 57) In the process of secondary adaptation, integrated nouns become the basis for further word formation in the receiving language. There are two methods of word formation:

1. By *derivation*: the newly coined word is directly related to one word and the result of the process is a derivative; derivation may be performed by:
  - suffixation – adding the formation ending or suffix to the root; the suffix itself has no meaning, but it modifies the meaning of the root; suffix formation may lead to the change of category of the root, and such newly coined words are called derivatives which can be motivated by nouns, verbs or adjectives;
  - prefixation – by adding a prefix before the root; prefixes may be independent, so this kind of word formation is close to hybridisation; this action does not change the grammatical category but only the meaning of the root;
2. *Hybridisation* – the coined word is linked to two words, and the result of the process is a compound noun. (Barić, 1990: 195-204)

## 4.1. Derivation

Suffix formation is the most prolific word formation method in the receiving language. The majority of derivatives in our corpus are motivated by nouns. Derivative for a female person is made by adding the suffix *-ica*: *štracunica* 'ragged woman' < Venetian *stràza* 'rag' + Croatian suffix *-un* (Babić, 1991: 336) + Croatian suffix *-ica*, if the root is a noun of the flexion type *jelen* which denotes a male person, then the derivative with the suffix *-ica* denotes a female person (Babić, 1991: 152); and the one for a male person by adding a Croatian suffix used for expressing ethnicity *-anin* (Babić, 1991: 220): *getanin* 'inhabitant of the ghetto' < Venetian noun *ghéto* 'ghetto' or suffix *-in*: *spalatin* 'inhabitant of the city of Split' < Italian/Venetian *Spalato* 'Split', or suffix *-ac*: *grintavac* 'person who constantly complains' < Venetian noun *grinta* 'scorn' + Croatian suffix *-av* meaning 'one that has' (Babić, 1991: 442) + Croatian suffix *-ac* denoting a person (Babić, 1991: 74).

The derivatives for abstract nouns are made by adding the suffix *-stvo*: *karonjstvo* 'badness, wickedness' < Venetian noun *carògna* 'villain' + *-stvo* 'what refers to the noun' (Babić, 1991: 277); or suffix *-ost*: *štraločost* 'being cross-eyed' < Venetian adjective *stralocio* 'cross-eyed'. Derivates with the suffix

*-ost* have an abstract meaning; they denote features, properties, and/or conditions typical of the notion which is denoted by the base adjective (Babić, 1991: 291).

Diminutives motivated by the feminine nouns are formed by adding the suffix *-ica*: *lamića* < Italian *lama* 'razor', *lumbrelića* < *lumbrela* 'umbrella' < Venetian *ombréla* 'umbrella', *moretića* < *moreta* < Venetian *morèta* 'mask', *škurića* < Venetian *scùro* 'dark', *štračica* < Venetian *stràza* 'rag', *tezića* < Venetian *teza* 'shed'; and diminutives motivated by masculine nouns are formed by suffixes *-ić* and *-čić*: *bokunčić*, *bokunić* < *bokun* < Venetian *bocòn* 'mouthful', *kantunić* < *kantun* < Venetian *cantòne* 'corner, angle', *kušinić* < *kušin* < Italian *cuscino* 'pillow'. An interesting example is double suffixation of the noun *moretica*: Latin *maurus* 'dark' > *mor* = *moro* 'black colour' + Italian diminutive suffix *-etta* > *mòreta* 'mask'. The bound diminutive morpheme of the adopted loanword has been retained (Italian *-etta*) but it lost its diminutive meaning in the Venetian term *moreta* and another bound diminutive morpheme of the receiving language *-ica* was added. The new word has two suffixes of the same function, in this case diminutive suffixes, one from the giving language and the other from the receiving language.

An example for the augmentatives is the word: *libretina* < Italian *libro* 'book', formed by adding the Croatian suffix *-etina*. The main meaning of the suffix *-etina* is augmentative, and additional meaning is emotional, stylistic, which is most frequently realised as derisive, abusive or contemptuous (Babić, 1991: 244). There is also an example with the suffix *-ača* which has strong stylistic characteristic (Babić, 1991: 92): *trikvartača* 'women of disputable moral' < Italian syntagm *tre quarti* 'three quarters'. Pejorative in our corpus may be illustrated by the following example: *šporkuja* 'dirty and messy woman' < Italian adjective *sporco* 'dirty' + Croatian suffix *-ulja* (in our example the dialectal variant *-uja*) "with a slightly abusive connotation" (Babić, 1991: 328).

Derivatives motivated by verbs refer to replicas of noun infinitive forms, i.e. verbal nouns with the suffix *-anje*: *busanje* < *busat se* < Italian *bussare* 'knock', *dištonavanje* < *dištona(va)t* < Venetian *destonar* 'sing out of tune', *diravanje* < Italian *girare* 'walk', *grintanje* < *grintat* < Venetian *grinta* 'scorn', *papanje* < *papat* < Venetian *papa* 'mash', *pituravanje* < *pituravat* < Venetian *pituràr* 'paint'.

Derivatives motivated by an adjective are: *diškulo* 'a useless and lazy person with bad habits' < Italian *discolo* 'lazy', *šepnja* 'a silly person' < Venetian *sempio* 'silly', *šporkica* 'dirt' < Venetian *sporco* 'dirty'.

In our corpus, prefix formation is most frequent with verb derivatives. The prefixes of the receiving language: *do-*, *iz-*, *na-*, *od-*, *po-*, *pri-*, *raz-*, *uz-* and *za-* are present only in the verb loanword, e.g.: Venetian *viziar* > *izvicjat* 'spoil', Italian *cantàre* > *zakantat* 'sing'. We were not able to find any loan noun of Romance origin formed by the process of prefixation, but being the speakers of

receiving language we could testify their existence by quoting one real example: \**domeštar* 'vice-teacher' < Italian *maestro* 'teacher'.

#### 4.2. Hybridisation

Hybrid compounds are formations in which the components are two free morphemes from two languages which function in the new lexical unit. In our corpus, there are two noun compounds: *manjamukte* which connotes 'parasitical person' < Venetian *magnar* 'eat' + Turkish *mukte* 'free of charge' and *plačimona* denoting 'cry baby' < imperative form of the Croatian verb *plakati* 'cry' + Venetian *mona* 'fool'. Both examples have one free morpheme of Venetian origin, in one it is a verb, while in the other it is a noun. The other compound has the imperative verb form of the receiving language as one of the components, while the first compound has the other compound part of foreign origin, in this case Turkish, which in fact precisely illustrates the linguistic influences in this area.

#### 5. CONCLUSIONS

The basis for the study of linguistic borrowing or languages in contact is a bilingual speaker. In our case, the bilingual relations among the Slavs and the Romance peoples, taken in its broadest sense, has gone on for centuries and evidence can be found in the process of "intimate borrowing" (Bloomfield, 1970). This kind of borrowing is always tied to different non-linguistic factors such as history, culture, politics, trade, etc. which reveal the background of the linguistic phenomena of language contact.

The lexical borrowing in this study is represented by the process of the morphological adaptation of the Romance noun in Dalmatian speech, because nouns are the most numerous categories of loanwords in our corpus.

In the process of primary adaptation, i.e. determining the citation form and gender category, the nouns go through all three types of transmorphemisation.

Having analyzed the adaptation of nouns' genders, it was proved that nouns denoting animate beings usually have the same gender in the two languages. Italian masculine nouns ending in a vowel usually lose the final suffix *-o* and they follow the declension of the masculine nouns in the receiving language. The nouns of Venetian origin ending in consonants, as they had previously lost their final vowels, are regularly assigned to the masculine gender too. The gender is generally determined by the so-called 'masculine tendency' which means that the majority of loan nouns are of masculine gender (Filipović, 1986). Gender can be determined following the morphological analogy as with the feminine nouns ending in *-a* because there is a concordance of form and function

in a noun from the source word and a noun in the receiving language, so these loanwords are integrated with no adaptation at all. The neuter gender in general is very seldom attributed to foreign nouns: we found only two examples in our corpus. Sometimes, gender determination follows semantic analogy or semantic influence when there is a similarity in meaning between the nouns existing in the receiving language and the loan nouns.

During the process of the secondary adaptation, nouns are completely adapted into the morphological system of the receiving language and they become the basis for further word formation. The most numerous examples of derivation are those made by suffixation. We have not found any examples of noun derivation by adding a prefix in our corpus, while the presence of the hybrid compound is rather insignificant.

The presented and analysed nouns of Romance origin give evidence of the centennial Roman and Slavonic contacts and the intertwining of their cultures, traditions and languages. This lexical material is a faithful illustration of all the diversity and complexity of this region and indirectly indicates its rich material and cultural history.

#### NOTE

<sup>1</sup> "In everyday communication at any level, from private exchanges to formal use [...], regional dialects (in their various forms: local dialects, regional koines, urban dialects) are noticeably present, primarily in accent and lexis but also in grammar and style, that is, they carry a considerable communication load. The urban version of these dialects (e.g. those of Zagreb, Split and Dubrovnik) enjoy obvious prestige in their appropriate areas and they are, as Haugen would have put it, *salon-fähig*. The more localised versions have a strong identity mark for their speakers and thus are kept alive, of course in constantly changing varieties with the inevitable influence of the standard" (Kalogjera, 2001: 94).

<sup>2</sup> The last speaker of Dalmatian died on the island of Veglia in the late nineteenth century. More about extinct Dalmatian in: Ž. Muljačić 2000. *Das Dalmatische: Studien zu einer untergegangenen Sprache*. Koeln-Weimer-Wien: Böhlau Verlag and Bartoli, M.G. (2000). *Il Dalmatico. Resti di un'antica lingua romanza parlata da Veglia a Ragusa e sua collocazione nella Romania appennino-balcanica*: Duro, A. (ed.). Roma: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana fondata da Giovanni Treccani.

<sup>3</sup> *Lingua franca* is "a language which is used as a means of communication among people who have non native language in common" (Trudgill, 1995: 133). For the description of the *lingua franca* in Dalmatia see M. Cortelazzo (1977: 526) and G. Berruto (2004: 149).

<sup>4</sup> This dialect may be called 'Colonial Venetian' since "in no case it represents development of an autochthonous Romance speech", but is "overlaid upon linguistic substrata which were either Slavic or non-Venetian varieties of Romance" (Bidwell, 1967: 13).

<sup>5</sup> "Non vedo buone ragioni contrarie all'introduzione del termine *croato-veneziano* per indicare un VC specifico (ossia il VC in Croazia, diventato col tempo il VC di Croazia)". (Muljačić, 2002: 108) VC - *veneziano coloniale*.

<sup>6</sup> Haugen defines borrowing as "the attempted reproduction in one language of patterns previously found in another" (Haugen, 1950: 212).

<sup>7</sup> "Nel settennario le consonanti doppie (o lunghe) latine vengono sistematicamente ridotte a consonanti semplici" (Lepschy, 1998: 51).

<sup>8</sup> "Gender of nouns denoting animate beings generally agree with their sexes" (Weinreich, 1953: 45).



## SUMMARY

Linguistic influences of Romance languages in Dalmatian dialects have played very important roles. In some periods, the complete coexistence of Slavonic and Romance inhabitants may be observed. Because of geographic proximity and economic and cultural contacts, the linguistic influence from the Italian speaking area has not been interrupted to the present. Following the principals of contact linguistics, the theoretical approach and terminology has been based on the theory of languages in contact. The methods of the adaptations of nouns of Romance origin in one Slavonic dialect have been discussed and analysed. The main aim of this paper is to estimate the actuality of the nouns of Romance origin and identify the modifications which developed in the process of their adaptation in the speech of Split, Croatia. After adaptation at the phonological level, the substitution of Romance elements at the morphological level is called transmorphemisation. While analysing the adaptation of nouns of Romance origin or identifying their main form and gender category, three types of transmorphemisation (zero, compromise and complete) have been applied. Primary and secondary adaptations of nouns at the morphological level have been introduced. Two methods of word formation have been presented: derivation (suffixation and prefixation) and hybridisation.

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LOURDES MARTÍNEZ CATALÁN

Siena

## L'INCAPSULATORE *LO QUE* NELL'AULA DI SPAGNOLO L2. CONTRIBUTO SULLA TRADUZIONE PEDAGOGICA

### 1. INTRODUZIONE

L'utilizzo della traduzione a fini pedagogici è un esercizio molto diffuso sebbene anche molto discusso. Uno sguardo al passato non troppo lontano, farà ricordare come bastasse nominare la parola traduzione, per far scatenare, fra i professori di lingue straniere, reazioni per lo più negative. Se si ripercorre la storia dell'insegnamento delle lingue, si vede come la traduzione sia stata il metodo di apprendimento per eccellenza delle lingue classiche e, in certa misura, anche quello delle lingue moderne almeno fino agli anni Sessanta-Settanta.

A questo proposito, Calvi (2001, 2003) ha rammentato come l'attività traduttiva, che era stata a lungo l'esercizio privilegiato dal metodo grammaticale-traduttivo, fu bandita dalle aule da quando, con l'affermarsi delle metodiche audio-orali, venne considerato come il principale responsabile delle interferenze della L1 sulla L2, e dunque come un ostacolo all'apprendimento. Soltanto più recentemente, in seguito al diffondersi di orientamenti didattici di tipo comunicativo e noziofunzionale, si è modificato l'atteggiamento rispetto alla traduzione e si è imposta una nozione meno repressiva nei suoi confronti<sup>1</sup>.

1.1 La traduzione pedagogica non si prefigge ovviamente il compito di insegnare a tradurre, compito che, lo ricorderò appena, viene da alcuni considerato impossibile. Per altri ancora, come per esempio Arcaini (2001), lo scopo precipuo della traduzione non è tanto pedagogico, quanto è quello di far conoscere le lingue da un punto di vista culturale.

In accordo con le attuali tendenze dell'insegnamento delle lingue straniere, sarebbe opportuno prediligere un'impostazione della traduzione pedagogica che rispetti un orientamento pragmatico-ermeneutico, dal momento che lo scopo principale dovrebbe essere quello di dare agli studenti una presa di coscienza più consapevole dei meccanismi – che, come già osservato da Steiner ([1975=] 2004), essi utilizzano d'istinto – per agevolare quella fase del processo che consente l'impossessarsi del senso<sup>2</sup>. Tradurre però vuol dire anche capire il sistema