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SERBIAN NORTH METOCHIAN IDIOM OF THE VILLAGE OF TUCHEP IN THE ATLAS OF THE BALKAN LINGUISTIC AREA

Сербский северно-метохийский говор села Тучеп в Атласе балканского языкового ареала

Проект Атласа балканского языкового ареала предполагает создание базы данных по явлениям в языках Юго-Восточной Европы, обусловленным контактным взаимодействием, и нацелен на решение теоретических проблем в области ареальной лингвистики. Статья посвящена презентации 99 фонетико-фонологических, морфосинтаксических, семантических и лексических признаков анкеты-вопросника атласа в сербском северно-метохийском говоре села Тучеп. Делаются предварительные обобщения о сочетании в системе говора унаследованных славянских, благоприобретенных общебалканских и возникших под прямым турецким и албанским влиянием категорий и единиц. Основные характеристики славянского языкового типа в говоре полностью сохранены.

Ключевые слова: сербские диалекты, сербские диалекты Северной Метохии, говор села Тучеп, балканский языковой союз, лингвистическая балканизация, Atlas of the Balkan Linguistic Area.

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Serbian North Metochian idiom of the village of Tucep in the Atlas of the Balkan Linguistic Area

The Atlas of the Balkan Linguistic Area project implies the development of a database of language contact phenomena in the languages of Southeast Europe and aims to resolve theoretical issues in the field of areal linguistics. This article presents 99 phonetic-phonological, morpho-syntactic, semantic, and lexical features of the questionnaire survey of the Atlas in the Serbian North Metochian idiom of the village of Tucep. Preliminary generalizations are made about the combination of inherited Slavic categories and units, acquired pan-Balkan ones, and those originating from direct Turkish and Albanian influence in the dialect system. The idiom retains many typologically relevant systemic Slavic archaisms.

Keywords: Serbian dialects, Serbian North Metochian idiom, Tucep idiom, Balkan Sprachbund, linguistic Balkanization, Atlas of the Balkan Linguistic Area.

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1. Introduction

The objective of the paper is to showcase the Serbian dialect spoken in North Metochia, specifically at the locality of Tucep, as a representative point in the linguistic grid of the Atlas of the Balkan Linguistic Area, ABLA (Adamou and Sobolev 2023). Tucep’s idiom represents the Serbian dialect of the North Metochia region, as confirmed by Elezović (1932, 1935), Ivić and Remetić (1981) and Bukumirić (2003, 2007, 2012)¹. Tucep is included in the ABLA database as a locality within the Serbian autonomous province of Kosovo and Metochia, which is alternatively known as the partially recognized state of the Republic of Kosovo. The author responsible for the dataset within ABLA is A. N. Sobolev (Sobolev 2023). The Atlas of the Balkan Linguistic Area project will create a comprehensive online database of language contact phenomena across the Balkan languages with 100+ features and 70+ datasets, contributing to areal linguistics theory and setting an example for other linguistic areas, s. abla.cnrs.fr.

The official name of the village is Тучеп/Tučep within the Republic of Serbia, and Tuçep within the Republic of Kosovo. According to www.geonames.org, Tucep is located at coordinates 42.73528, 20.57639. Tucep officially belongs to the municipality of Rakosh within Serbia, and is considered a village in the district of Peja (Serbian Пећ/Peć), municipality of Istog within Kosovo. Tucep is situated in the historic-geographical region of Metohija (Метрохија/Metohija) in Serbian, also known as Rrafshi i Dukagjinit in Albanian geography.

The village was first mentioned in 1765. From 1455 to 1912, the whole area was under the rule of the Ottoman Empire, from 1912 to 1918 it was part of Serbia, and from 1918 it was part of Yugoslavia,

¹ Unfortunately, the manuscript entitled ‘Sintaksa govora Severne Metohije’ by Mileta Bukumirić was not accessible to me as of April 2023.

now situated on a disputed territory. As of 1989: agricultural, primary school in the nearby village of Osojane, a gravel road to Đurakovac (6 km). There have been no changes in the ethnic composition. Listed as locality number 79 in the Slavic Linguistic Atlas (www.slavatlas.org; Avanesov (Ed.) 1978: 103); listed in *Atlas Linguarum Europae*.

As of 1989, Tucep had an approximate population of 370 individuals, residing in approximately 50 households. This same number of households was recorded historically in 1765 (Bukumirić 2003: 24). The village is exclusively populated by Orthodox Christian Serbs who follow the Serbian Orthodox Church. Their L1 is Serbian; there is no information available about the use of Albanian as a second language, but it is possible to assume that some speakers in the area may use it as L2, given that it is the sociolinguistically dominant language in the region (Reljić 2013). The Serbian dialect continuum in North Metohija is non-existent. Therefore, the idiom of Tucep should be viewed as a linguistic island, which dialectologically consists a part of the Kosovo dialect group of the Kosovo-Resava dialect of Serbian.

After the Introduction, the paper proceeds with its main part titled 'Linguistic Features', which is subdivided according to the levels of language structure that are presented: Greetings, Borrowing, Lexicon, Prosody, Phonetics, Phonetics/Phonology, Phonology, Noun phrase, Numerals, Verb phrase, Simple clause, Complex clause, and Word order. The Data analysis section precedes the main findings of the research, which are summarised in the Conclusions.

2. Linguistic Features

The linguistic features were elaborated by the members of the ABLA project (Adamou et al. 2023). Textual examples are supplied as necessary to demonstrate the functioning of categories and forms. Although some text examples may contain multiple grammatical features, we sought additional phrasings to increase the quantity of data. Original Cyrillic examples were transliterated in the Latin script of Serbian.

Consistent with the academic tradition in Russia, glosses for Serbian examples are usually not provided, which is a reflection of the expectation that readers possess the necessary linguistic skills to interpret the examples themselves. The British English version of this paper has been generated by OpenAI (chat.openai.com).

The numbers in parentheses indicate the corresponding numbering on the ABLA website as of April 2023.

2.1. Greetings

1. (1) Greeting someone familiar: ‘How are you?’

The standard traditional greeting formula is *Pomaga Bog!* ‘May God help you!’, in the early morning — *Zdravo osamnuo!* ‘I hope you have a good morning! I hope you woke up well’. To address those who are working, the greeting *Jeste se umorili?* ‘Lit. Have you become tired?’ is used. In more recent times, the general greeting *Dobar dan!* ‘Good day!’ become widespread (Bukumirić 2007: 209).

The common and informal greeting used to ask about someone’s well-being or current state is *Kako si?* ‘How are you?’; ex. *Kako si, bre?* ‘How are you, mate?’; *Kako si, Radovane?* ‘How are you, Radovan?’; *Kako si, seko?* ‘How are you, sister?’; *Kako si, čora?* ‘How are you, daughter?’ (Bukumirić 2012: 551; Bukumirić 2003: 306, 183, 209).

The common and informal way of asking someone about their current activities or actions is *Šta radiš? Šta radite?* ‘What are you doing?’ (Bukumirić 2003: 183, 209); it can express surprise, disapproval, or annoyance *Šta radiš to, đavol’e* ‘What the hell are you doing?!’ (Bukumirić 2003: 146).

2.2. Borrowing

2. (2) Exhortative: ‘c’mon!’ ‘let’s go!’ (from Turkish: *hayde*)

One can encourage or urge someone to do something by using *aj, ajmo, ajte*, ex. *Aj d[a] ideš da vidiš...!* ‘Come on, you go and see ...!’; *Ajmo kući!* ‘Let’s go home!’ (Bukumirić 2012: 18); *Ajt nak uzme puškomitrol’ez!* ‘Come on, let him take a mashine gun!’ (Bukumirić 2012: 19).

3. (3) Unceremonious particle of address (from Greek: *more, vre*)

The particles of address *bre* and *more* can be used as full synonyms: *Kako si, bre, čora?* ‘How are you, daughter?’; *More, nesi ti čiš!* ‘Oi, you are not clean!’; *More, skin se s kol’i* ‘Hey, get off the cart’ (Bukumirić 2003: 312); cf. *More, snao!* ‘Hey, daughter-in-law!’, *Mori, domačine!* ‘Hey, domine!’ (Bukumirić 2012: 329).

4. (4) Term of endearment: ‘my soul’ (from Turkish: *canım*)

Not attested (Bukumirić 2003; 2012).

5. (5) Wishes (from Arabic and Turkish: *inshallah*)

The *inshallah* phrase is commonly used as an expression of hope when an event is out of human control and subject to the will of God: *Išala će dones Bog* ‘If God wills it, this will happen’ (Bukumirić 2003: 263). As a protective phrase against the evil eye *mašala* is used, cf. *Kad nešto l’epo čovek vidi, treba da kaže mašala da ga ne uroči* ‘When one sees something beautiful, it is customary to say ‘mashallah’ to avoid it being cursed’ (Bukumirić 2012: 315).

6. (6) Discourse modifier: ‘just right!’ (from Turkish: *taman*)

The adverb *taman* (also *tamən*) has two meanings: 1. which fits in size, cf. *Košulčići taman za ovu decu* ‘These t-shirts are just the right size for these children’; 2. exactly at that time, then, cf. *Ja taman na vrata da ulegnem...* ‘Exactly as I approached the door...’. (Bukumirić 2012: 595–596). The adverb *saglam* is a synonym of *taman* (Bukumirić 2003: 55).

7. (7) Adversative: ‘but’

No ‘but’ is a more frequently used conjunction than *nego* ‘but’, cf. *Može, no neće* ‘He is able to, but he is unwilling to’ (Bukumirić 2012: 595–303); *Neće devojka nikako da razgovara s tebom, nego će sa sinem* ‘The girl doesn’t want to talk to you, but she will talk to your son.’ (Bukumirić 2012: 358).

8. (8) ‘And, too, yet’ (from Turkish: *hem*)

The conjunction *em* ‘and; both’ is attested, cf. the proverb *Ne može em pare em jare* ‘You can’t have two things at once. Lit. You cannot keep both the kid goat and the money for it’ (Bukumirić 2012: 151).

9. (9) ‘Why, because, for that reason’ (from Greek: *oti*)

No reflex of Greek *oti* is attested. The most common conjunction of reason *se* ‘because’ has its origins in Albanian, cf. *Ajde, se sa[d] će kiša!* ‘Let’s go, because it will begin raining now!’ (Bukumirić 2012: 550). The conjunction *jer* is rarely attested and is only used by younger speakers, cf. *Nemojte da se predate Nemcima jer više kuće gl’edat nećete* ‘Do not give in to the Germans, because you will never return home’ (Bukumirić 2012: 224).

10. (10) Sentence negation: ‘no’

The negative particle *ne* ‘no’ is used in all moods, cf. ex. *Ne zovemo se ič — jok* ‘We do not invite each other at all, no’ (Bukumirić 2012: 226; 357); *Nemo da ne svratite!* ‘Don’t forget to

stop by my place. Lit. Don't not stop by my place' (Bukumirić 2003: 266); *Ne jeđi ne pi!* 'Don't eat, don't drink' (Bukumirić 2003: 265).

11. (11) Sentence negation: ingressive dental click (*tsk*)

Not attested (Bukumirić 2003; 2012).

12. (12) Word meaning for: 'mother, mom'

Only the reflex of the Proto-Slavic **matьka* 'mother' has been attested, ex. *Pričau o tvoje majke kako je bila l'epa* 'They say about your mother that she was beautiful' (Bukumirić 2012: 309).

13. (13) Word meaning for: 'father, dad'

Only the reflex of the Proto-Slavic **otьcb* 'father' has been attested, ex. *S majkom al'i sa snaom bi došla, a momak sas ocom il'i z bratom* 'The girl would come with her mother or daughter-in-law, while the lad would come with his father or brother' (Bukumirić 2012: 401).

14. (14) Word meaning for: 'husband's sister'

Only the reflex of the Proto-Slavic **zъly* 'husband's sister' has been attested, ex. *Zave se udal'e, ostal'i samo ja i moj čovek* 'All of my husband's sisters are married, only my husband and I have stayed here' (Bukumirić 2012: 162).

15. (15) Word meaning for: 'brother-in-law (husband of one's wife's sister)' (from Turkish: *bacanak*)

Two reflexes of the Turkic *bacanak* 'husband of one's wife's sister' has been attested, cf. ex. *Badžanak se z badžanacima nikad nije tužeo* 'Lit. A husband of one's wife's sister never sued a husband of another wife's sister' (Bukumirić 2012: 34–35); *Taj Mirković is Krstovca i ja smo pašanozi, naše žene su sestre* 'Mirković and I are husbands of one's wife's sister; our wives are sisters' (Bukumirić 2012: 414).

16. (16) Word meaning for: 'someone from the groom's side accompanying the bride to the groom's house'

The wedding ceremony is thoroughly described in the publication (Bukumirić 2007). A wedding figure from the groom's household, accompanying the bride from her parental home to the groom's home, is called *dever* < Proto-Slavic **děverь* 'brother-in-law' (Bukumirić 2007: 163).

There are separate groups of male and female wedding attendants (*svatovi*, pl (Bukumirić 2012: 546)) from the groom's household. The group of male wedding figures is called *imenjaci* 'lit. namesake, pl', and consists of *stari svat*, or *starojko* 'lit. old

wedding guest', *barjaktar* 'lit. flag bearer', *dever* 'brother-in-law', *kum* 'godfather; best man at a wedding' and *vojvoda* 'warlord'; cf. *Najpre se zovnu starojko, kum i bajraktar* 'To begin with, *starojko*, *kum* and *bajraktar* are invited' (Bukumirić 2012: 205, 546, 28). The group of female wedding attendants is called *enđe*; among them there are *deverska*, or *deverovica* 'the *dever*'s wife' and *debel'i svat* 'the *starojko*'s wife; lit. a fat *svat*'. The *muštulugdžije* are 'the ones who become a reward or a prize, *muštulug*, for bringing good news' (Bukumirić 2012: 151, 336).

17. (17) Turkish agentive suffix: *-ci [dʒi] / -çi [tʃi]*

Two classes of nomina agentis are built with this suffix, and can be distinguished. The first consists of words with a Turkish stem and Turkish suffix, which suggests that they are lexical borrowings, rather than examples of borrowing a word-formation element. Ex. *bunardžija* 'well-digger', *igbaldžija* 'the lucky one' (Bukumirić 2003: 144; Bukumirić 2012). The second group consists of Slavic words, mostly with a verbal stem, ex. *galamdžija* 'the one who makes noise', *drkadžija* 'ill-mannered', *zadevdžija* 'scandal-monger', *kosadžija* 'chief harvester', *lovdžija* 'hunter', *navodadžija* 'wedding broker', *poklondžija* 'a person who brings gifts for the wedding', *troškadžija* 'spendthrift', *šaldžija* 'joker', *šl'okadžija* 'heavy drinker' (Bukumirić 2012: 94, passim).

18. (18) Word meaning for: 'corn'/'maize'

This meaning can be expressed by two words, *kolomboć*, old and *kukuruz*, new; cf. *Pre smo zval'i kolomboć, a sad kukuruz* 'Previously, we used to call it *kolomboć*, but now we call it *kukuruz*'. Both words can be used to form derivatives such as *kolomboćni* and *kukuruzni* 'made of corn', *kolobotnjica* 'cornbread' (Bukumirić 2012: 255).

19. (19) Word meaning for: 'covered barn for the sheep'

A separate covered barn for livestock inside the house yard or in the mountains can be called either *košara* or *pojata*, cf. *U košare smo držali jalovinu* 'We kept the barren animals in barns'; *Pojate su bil'e pokrivene slamom* 'Barns were usually covered with straw'. The ground floor of the living house where animals were kept was called *izba*, cf. *L'eti u pojate, a zimi u izbe* 'In summer [we kept animals] in *pojata*, and in winter in *izba*' (Bukumirić 2012: 194, 267).

20. (20) Word meaning for: ‘to like (smth.)’

The meaning is expressed by the verb *volet*, ex. *Bil’e su neke jabuke kožarke, ja sam nji najvol’ela* ‘There were a type of apples called *kožarke* that I liked the most’ (Bukumirić 2012: 252). The reflexive verbs *sviđat se* and *dopadat se* can be used to express an emotional response or feeling, ex. *Sviđala mu se devojka, ali...* ‘He liked the girl, but...’ (Bukumirić 2012: 548); *Beše jedna kobila zekasta što mi se dopala* ‘There was a mare with a coat color resembling that of a wild rabbit, which I liked’ (Bukumirić 2012: 186). The borrowing from Albanian *knačit (se)* means ‘enjoy’, ex. *Vruća kolobotnjica da te knači da ješ* ‘Hot cornbread is a true delight!’ (Bukumirić 2012: 250).

21. (21) Borrowed numerals (1-10)

Not attested (Bukumirić 2003: 248).

22. (22) Numeral 1000

The meaning is expressed by the numeral *il’ada*, ex. *Jedan mu tražijo il’adu maraka da mu donese dve il’ade blokova* ‘One person asked for 1000 German marks in exchange for delivering 2000 building blocks from him’. A banknote of 1000 is called *il’adarka* (Bukumirić 2003: 249; Bukumirić 2012: 204).

2.3. Numerals

23. (24) Numerals: numeral (11–21) + preposition ‘on’

No prepositional phrase is used with numerals 11 and above, ex. *dvanaes roba* ‘12 family members; lit. 12 slaves’; *trinaes krava* ‘13 cows’, *dvaes-triez godina* ‘about 20–30 years’ (Bukumirić 2003: 248–249).

2.4. Lexicon

24. (25) Word meaning for: ‘Spring Day’

Not attested (Bukumirić 2003; 2007; 2012).

25. (26) Word meaning for: ‘St. George’s Day’

The name of the St. George’s Day, celebrated on 6 May (O.S. 23 April), is *Đurđevdan*, ex. *Do Đurđevdana smo čuval’i stoku po l’ivada bel’inačkija* ‘We used to graze the livestock in the meadows of Belinac until St. George’s Day’ (Bukumirić 2012: 149; Plotnikova 2004).

26. (27) Word Meaning For: ‘A Tree Or A Piece Of Wood Burned On Christmas Eve’

A bundle of oak branches with leaves or a small tree that is cut down and prepared for use in Christmas Eve celebrations is called

badnjak, ex. *Donesemo badnjak na Badnji dan* ‘We bring a *badnjak* for Christmas Eve’; *Kat se badnjak donese, prskaju ga žitem da ima beričet* ‘When the *badnjak* is brought, it is sprinkled with wheat for fertility’ (Bukumirić 2012: 27; Plotnikova 2004).

2.5. Noun Phrase

27. (28) Definite article

Not attested. The definite article is not present and thus not utilized in either referential or contextually determined circumstances, cf. *Oni, ti komunisti, došli, te da biju popa. Mi se pokupili, oko popa sedimo. ... Pop reče...* ‘They, these communists, appeared and intended to beat up the priest. We gathered around the priest and sat down. The priest said...’ (Bukumirić 2003: 321).

28. (29) Position of definite article

Not attested, cf. Definite article.

29. (30) Connecting article

Not attested, cf. the possessive phrase *stric tave ... moe snae* ‘[the] uncle of that my daughter-in-law’ and the attributive phrase *dete malo* ‘little boy; lit. little child’ (Bukumirić 2003: 319).

30. (31) Definite article dropped after prepositions

Not attested. The definite article is not present and thus not utilized in either referential or contextually determined circumstances after prepositions, ex. *Rešeto iznesu. U rešeto pčeneca* ‘They bring a sieve. Inside the sieve, there is wheat.’ (Bukumirić 2003: 321).

31. (32) Number of distinct demonstrative pronouns

Proximal, neutral and distal deixis are used to indicate the relative location of an object or person in relation to the speaker or the listener, ex. *tavaj*.M.SG ‘this here’, *tataj*.M.SG ‘this/that’, *tanaj*.M.SG ‘that there’ (Bukumirić 2003: 230).

32. (33) Gender distinction on pronouns

This idiom distinguishes between three genders, both in the singular and plural forms of personal pronouns, ex. *on* ‘he’, *ona* ‘she’, *ono* ‘it’; *oni* ‘they.PL.M’, *one* ‘they.PL.F’, *ona* ‘they.PL.N’ (Bukumirić 2003: 224).

Some parts of grammatical structure however may show reduced gender differentiation in the plural form, cf. attributive phrases and perfect forms such as *svi igrači* ‘all [the] players’, *sve ćerke* ‘all the daughters’, *sva deca* ‘all the children’ (Bukumirić 2012: 157; Bukumirić 2003: 233); *Žene su, maom, bojal’e same*

‘The women mostly dyed (the fabrics) themselves’ (Bukumirić 2012: 47); *Onojzina deca su se poženila* ‘All the children of this woman have married’ (Bukumirić 2012: 391) on one side with attributive phrases and perfect forms such as *I svi mnadi devojke* ‘And all the young girls’ (Bukumirić 2012: 124); *Žene su žnel’i* ‘Women were harvesting’, *Išli su i udate žene* ‘Married women went there as well’ on another side (Bukumirić 2003: 58).

33. (34) Ambigenous nouns

Generally, there are nouns that have one gender category in the singular form and a different gender category in the plural form. For example, there is a minor group of names for young animals that are neutral in the singular form and masculine in the plural form: *jagne, jagaci, jagacima* ‘lamb’; *jare, jaradi, jaradima* ‘kid’; *tel’e, telaci* ‘calf’; *tel’e, telad, troje teladi, sa teladima* ‘calf’ (Bukumirić 2003: 202–203), ex. *tel’e žarkasto* ‘red-coloured calf’; *Telaci mu ostali u blato* ‘His calves stayed in mud (a phraseologism with the meaning ‘His calves were stolen’)’ (Bukumirić 2012: 153, 601).

34. (35) Negative pronouns derived from interrogative pronouns

The following negative pronouns are derived from interrogative ones through a negation prefix: *niko* ‘nobody’; *ništa* ‘nothing’; *nikaki* ‘none’ (Bukumirić 2003: 225), ex. *Ko će ove jagnjad da podoji?* ‘Who will milk these sheep? Lit. lambs?’; *S nikim se nije svađao* ‘He didn’t argue with anyone’ (Bukumirić 2012: 250; 362).

35. (36) Adjective gradation: markers for comparative and superlative degree

An unusually broad range of markers is employed to indicate degrees of comparison: various affixes such as in *mnadi* ‘younger’, *zdraviji* ‘healthier’, and *slapši* ‘weaker’; a prepositive particle added to a positive form as in *po visok* ‘higher’ and *naj star* ‘the oldest one’; a combination of particles and affixes such as *po stariji* ‘older; less intensive degree if compared to *po star*)’ and *naj pametniji* ‘the cleverest one’ (Bukumirić 2003: 238–239).

36. (37) Reflexive possessive pronoun

A reflex of Proto-Slavic **svojb* is attested, ex. *za svou decu* ‘for one’s own children’ (Bukumirić 2003: 235). Cf. *Ja ot sebe sve dajem* ‘I give my all’ (Bukumirić 2003: 318).

37. (38) Possession in NPs with non-pronominal possessors

There are three ways that the possessor in non-pronominal NPs can be indicated: through a Slavic-type possessive adjective, through Genitive, and through Dative. The possessive adjective is typically but not exclusively constructed from proper names and kinship terms, such as in *Milova sestra* ‘Milo’s sister’ (Bukumirić 2003: 196); *Drži u sobu očevu i majčinu sl’iku* ‘He or she keeps the father’s and mother’s photographs in the room’ (Bukumirić 2012: 404). Genitive and Dative forms seem to compete, cf. *otac ove.GEN/DAT snae.GEN/DAT* ‘[the]father of this daughter-in-law’ (Bukumirić 2003: 340) and *majka toj.GEN/DAT devojke.GEN/DAT* ‘[the] mother of this girl’ (Bukumirić 2003: 229); *moemu.DAT svekru.DAT sestra* ‘[the] sister of my father-in-law’ (Bukumirić 2003: 234). The origin of a person can be expressed using the preposition ‘from’, ex. *ćerka od ovoj.GEN/DAT snae.GEN/DAT* (Bukumirić 2003: 245).

38. (39) Possession in NPs with pronominal possessors

Possessive pronouns are used in competition with enclitic Dative case forms, cf. *njojna majka* ‘her mother’, *Ko ju.DAT/ACC.POSS je majka?* ‘Who is her mother?’, *Eto ti ju ju.DAT/ACC.POSS majka* (sic!) ‘Here is her mother’ (Bukumirić 2003: 229, 223, 304); *Majka mu sirota prepuče od žalosti* ‘His poor mother succumbed to sorrow’ (Bukumirić 2012: 485).

39. (40) Possessive vs. pseudopartitive construction: structural split

Pseudopartitive constructions use the Genitive case, ex. *đugum vode* ‘copper jug of water’ (Bukumirić 2003: 52). If we observe a tendency for the Dative case to replace the Genitive case in possessive NPs, then we can talk about the emergence of a structural split between possession and pseudopartitivity.

40. (41) Doubled article use in NPs with adjectives

Not attested. The definite article is not present and thus not utilized in either referential or contextually determined circumstances in NPs, cf. *taj Laza stari* ‘this old Laza (proper name)’ (Bukumirić 2003: 236).

41. (42) Expressive *m*-reduplication

Not attested (Bukumirić 2003; 2007; 2012).

2.6. Simple Clause

42. (43) Core cases for nouns

The most central roles in a sentence are played by the Nominative (the case of the subject of a clause), the Accusative (the case of the object of a transitive clause), and the Dative (the case of the indirect object), ex. *Pobegla mu žena* ‘His wife ran away’; *Za ka će s uda devojka* ‘Who will the girl marry?’ (Bukumirić 2003: 271, 316); *...da ni da devojku za sina* ‘...to give us his daughter for our son’; *...d uzmeđu tavu ženu* ‘...to take this woman’ (Bukumirić 2003: 338; 230); *Da devojke* ‘He/she gave [it] to the girl’; *Reko žene* ‘I told the woman/wife’ (Bukumirić 2003: 208).

43. (44) At least one peripheral case for nouns

There are three peripheral cases with syntactic functional load, the Genitive, the Instrumental, and the Locative, ex. *majku moje žene* ‘[the] mother of my wife’ (Bukumirić 2003: 245); *sa svom ženom* ‘with his wife; lit. with all his wife’ (Bukumirić 2003: 233); *Pričau o tvoje majke* ‘People are saying things about your mother’ (Bukumirić 2003: 209).

44. (45) Genitive/dative merger

While there is no overall merger of the genitive and dative cases, partial case syncretism is observed in the feminine declension and not in the masculine declension, cf. *majka moje.GEN.M žene(F).GEN* ‘my wife’s mother’; *Reko moje.DAT.F majke(F).DAT* ‘I said to my mother’ and *staroga.GEN.M oca(M).GEN* ‘[the] old father’; *Mil’enkovome.DAT.M ocu(M).DAT* ‘To Milenko’s father’ (Bukumirić 2003: 244–245).

45. (46) Indirect object marking

The Dative case is the indirect object marker, ex. *Reko moje.DAT.F majke(F).DAT* ‘I said to my mother’ (Bukumirić 2003: 244).

46. (47) Differential object marking: animate direct object

The animate direct object is marked only in the masculine gender through the syncretism of the Genitive and Accusative cases, cf. *Rikao vo(M.ANIM).NOM* ‘The ox moored’, *preko vola(M.ANIM).GEN* ‘over the ox’, *Odena uzmeđu vola(M.ANIM).ACC* ‘They took the ox from here’ (Bukumirić 2003: 108, 531, 336) and *Prak(M.INANIM).ACC sam poljubila* ‘I kissed the doorstep’ (Bukumirić 2003: 108).

47. (48) Clitic doubling of pronominal object in VP

The conditions of clitic doubling are currently unknown. Under similar or identical circumstances, clitic doubling can either occur or be absent, cf.

the indirect object phrases *Daj mene!* ‘Give [it] to me’; *Mene dala* ‘She gave [it] to me’ with *Dođe mi mene* ‘He/she/it came to me’; *Tebe ti poznato* ‘It is known to you’; *Te mi mene kaza* ‘And he/she said to me’;

the direct object phrases *Gađa mene* ‘He/she/it is throwing something at me’, *Mene udari* ‘He/she/it hit me’; *Pita me mene* ‘He/she asks me’, *Ne vidim te tebe* ‘I don’t see you’, *Tebe te zvao* ‘He called you’ (Bukumirić 2003: 220).

48. (49) Clitic doubling in VP: order of constituents

If one considers pronominal clitics in VP only, the order of constituents can be any except for Object–Verb–Clitic, cf.

Object–Clitic–Verb: *Mene mi se ufatilo* ‘I caught it; lit. It clung to me’; *Mene me pusti* ‘He/she let me go’, *Tebe te zvao* ‘He called you’ (Bukumirić 2003: 220, 346);

Clitic–Verb–Object: *Ja ti poruči tebe* ‘I let you know’, ...*da ti da tebe* ‘...that he/she gives [it] to you’; *On me gađa mene* ‘He/she/it is throwing something at me’ (Bukumirić 2003: 220);

Clitic–Object–Verb: *Te mi mene kaza* ‘And he/she said to me’, *Fala mu njemu i fala ti tebe* ‘Thanks to you and thanks to him’ (Bukumirić 2003: 220, 236); *Da me mene slušo...* ‘If he had listened to me...’ (Bukumirić 2012: 297);

Verb–Clitic–Object: *Prevari ga njega* ‘He/she deceived him’ (Bukumirić 2003: 221).

49. (50) Clitic doubling in VP: indefinite article of the doubled object

Indefinite article is absent. No doubling occurs when the object is accompanied by the indefinite pronoun *jedan* ‘one; a; some’ in both non-referential and referential (for the speaker) contexts, cf. *Otišao jednoj ženi* ‘He went to one woman’ (Bukumirić 2012: 154); *Iskopamo jednu rupu* ‘We dug a hole’ (Bukumirić 2003: 71); *D idemo da tražimo jednu devojku*. — *De bre da tražimo? Tu i tu, ko tvojege sestrića* ‘Let’s go and search for a girl (to marry). Where should we look for her? Here and here, at your cousin’s house’ (Bukumirić 2003: 338); *Ubil’i su ednoga Živanovića Radoja* ‘They killed one person with the name Živanović Radoje’ (Bukumirić 2003: 323).

50. (51) Placement of pronominal clitic in VP

Pronominal clitics have the flexibility to either precede or follow the host verb, cf. *Da ti damo* ‘That we give it to you’; *Sam ve zvao* ‘I called you’; *Kaže mu* ‘He/she says to him’ (Bukumirić 2003: 221–222).

51. (52) Sentence initial clitic placement

Only verbal clitics have the ability to be positioned at the beginning of a sentence, ex. *Smo ju bil’i veril’i* ‘We had arranged her marriage’ (Bukumirić 2003: 269); *Ću da ju bacim u Bistricu* ‘I am going to throw it (lit. her) into the River Bistrica’ (Bukumirić 2012: 27).

52. (53) Impersonal construction meaning ‘feel like’: dative experiencer with verb

The experiencer in phrases conveying the meaning of ‘feel like’ can be expressed using both the dative and accusative case, ex. *Tebe ti zima* ‘You are feeling cold’; *Mene mi se ufatilo* ‘I caught it; lit. It clung to me’ (Bukumirić 2003: 220); *Mene me sram* ‘I am feeling ashamed’; *Ćef ju bilo* ‘She felt like she was enjoying it’ (Bukumirić 2003: 220, 221, 223).

53. (54) Zero-marking of spatial relations

Not attested. A wide range of prepositions are used to express spatial relations (Bukumirić 2003: 301–303), ex. *Tosmo u Istok* ‘We travelled to Istok town’, *Imala val’avica u Istok* ‘There was a factory that processed wool in the town of Istok’ (Bukumirić 2003: 120, 54).

54. (55) Distinction of basic instrumental and sociative constructions

The instrumental case can be used to express the instrument, as can the preposition *s(as)* ‘with’ followed by the Instrumental case form, cf.

Instrumental: *Oral’i smo oral’etem* ‘We plowed with a plough’, *Maži medom* ‘Smear with honey’, *Vozem dođomo* ‘We arrived by train’ (Bukumirić 2003: 201, 185, 187);

Prepositional phrase: *saz britvom* ‘with razor’, *Vežoval’i s prućom* ‘We bound [it] with rods’, *Zakiti ga s cvećom* ‘She/he decorated it with flowers’, *Oteral’i sa kamionom* ‘They carried it (away) by truck’ (Bukumirić 2003: 301, 202).

The sociative meaning is rendered by the preposition *s(as)* ‘with’ plus the Instrumental case form, ex. *saz decama* ‘with

children', *Sa svatovima me doveli* 'They brought me with the wedding attendants' (Bukumirić 2003: 301).

2.7. Verb phrase

55. (60) Infinitive: forms

The non-finite verbal form of the inherited Slavic infinitive is utilized as a complement to a modal verb, which includes core modals of verbal origin such as 'can', ex. *Može ju neko ukras* 'Somebody can steal her', *Ne bi smeli proj* 'They would not dare to pass' (Bukumirić 2003: 269, 27).

Infinitive is a part of the future tense form, ex. *Pomoj će Bog* 'God will help', *Rana će zaras* 'The wound will heal' (Bukumirić 2003: 269–270).

56. (61) Infinitive: functions

The infinitive has a comprehensive set of roles, but it does not cover all possible tautoprosopical functions selected for presentation in the ABLA features list.

Thus far, no instances have been presented where an infinitive is utilized as a complement to the modal verb 'must', a grammatical structure for which the bare present indicative or '*da* + present indicative' substitute are employed, albeit within parameters that lack clear distribution rules, cf. *S njim ja moram idem stalno* 'I must go with him every time' (Bukumirić 2012: 329), *Svaka mnadica morala da zapeva* 'Every young-wife had to sing' (Bukumirić 2003: 329).

As a complement of the modal verb 'want' the infinitive competes with the *da*-construction (*da* + present indicative), cf. *Ol' doj da mi pomogneš?* 'Do you want to come to help me?', *Ol' da dođeš?* 'Do you want to come?' (Bukumirić 2003: 270, 286).

The infinitive is a constituent of the analytical future tense structure without and with negation, as evidenced by the sentence *Će me ispeć* 'He/she will bake me', *Neće rađat* 'She will not give birth' (Bukumirić 2003: 270). However, it has been suggested that the *da*-construction (*da* + present indicative) is more commonly employed in such instances (Bukumirić 2003: 264).

The phasal verb 'to begin, start' appears to exclusively take the *da*-construction (*da* + present indicative), ex. *Počemo da pijemo* 'We started drinking', *Počela da se nadaje* 'She started quarelling' (Bukumirić 2003: 340, 277).

The phasal verb 'to finish' has the verbal substantive as a complement, ex. *...da završimo zidanje* '...to finish the process of

building' (Bukumirić 2012: 626); *Ka[d] se završi gospodanje, počnemo da pijemo* 'After we finish the prayer Gospodi pomiluj, we begin to drink' (Bukumirić 2012: 103).

The infinitive is a constituent of the analytical prohibitive, where it competes with the *da*-construction (*da* + present indicative), ex. *Nemo me mučit!* 'Do not torture me!'; *Nemo da se kaješ!* 'Don't regret it!' (Bukumirić 2003: 266).

No usage of the infinitive as a noun phrase (subject of a sentence) is attested.

57. (62) Evidentiality

There are no special forms that serve as evidential, nor is the perfect used in this function. Dubitative can be expressed by the adverb *bojagi* 'allegedly', ex. *Bojagi nije čuo ništa* 'Allegedly he heard nothing' (Bukumirić 2012: 47).

58. (63) Evidentiality: forms

Not attested (Bukumirić 2003; 2012).

59. (64) Evidentiality: semantics

Not attested (Bukumirić 2003; 2012).

60. (65) Perfect

The perfect tense is formed analytically, using the auxiliary verb *bit* 'to be' in the present tense, followed by the 1-participle of the main verb, ex. *Bogomi smo živel'i dobro* 'We've lived well, by God', *De ste bil'i?* 'Where have you been?' (Bukumirić 2003: 337).

61. (66) Perfect: auxiliary verb in the active voice

The perfect tense is formed analytically, using the auxiliary verb *bit* 'to be' in the present tense, cf. Feature 65.

62. (73) Perfect: lexical part

The perfect tense is formed analytically, using the the 1-participle of the main verb, cf. Feature 65.

63. (75) Pluperfect

The pluperfect tense is formed analytically, using the auxiliary verb *bit* 'to be' in the imperfect tense (or perfect tense) and adding the 1-participle of the main verb, cf. *Majka, otac, beu došl'i tu* 'The mother, father had come here' and *Ja sam bila pala* 'I had been fallen' (Bukumirić 2003: 262–263).

64. (76) Pluperfects: forms

The pluperfect tense is formed analytically (Bukumirić 2003: 262–263).

65. (77) Synthetic past tenses

There are two synthetic past tenses in active usage, namely the aorist and imperfect, cf. *Kako i zvađau*.IMPF ‘What were their names? Lit. How did they call them?’ and *Vozem dođomo*.AOR ‘We arrived by train’. The rules governing the distribution of synthetic and analytic past tenses are underinvestigated (Bukumirić 2003: 262, 259).

66. (78) Subjunctive: verb forms

Not attested (Bukumirić 2003; 2012), i.e. there are no subjunctive markers (such as endings) on the verb forms. Cf. *Prpostavimo da je*.IND *noć* ‘Let’s imagine that it is now night’ (Bukumirić 2003: 265).

67. (79) Verb inflection mergers

In present indicative, it is not attested (Bukumirić 2003; 2012), cf. *žnjem, žnješ, žnje, žnjemo, žnjete, žnju/žnjedu* ‘to harvest’ (Bukumirić 2003: 278).

68. (80) Aspect

The dialect effectively preserves the archaic Slavic aspectual category in which perfective and imperfective meanings are conveyed through the root morpheme, cf. *stat*(PF).INF, *staće*(PF).3SG/PL.FUT ‘to stop’ and *zvat*(IPF).INF, *zvaće*(IPF).3SG/PL.FUT ‘to call’ (Bukumirić 2012: 580, 184). It is not possible to use the perfective stem in the present tense to describe events that are currently happening at the time of speaking.

Only aorist past tense forms can be formed using perfective stems, and the imperfective tense cannot, ex. *Stadoše*(PF).3PL.AOR *volovi* ‘The oxen stopped’ (Bukumirić 2012: 330). This restriction does not apply to imperfective stems, which can form both imperfect and aorist tense forms, cf. *Oni me zvaše*(IPF).3PL.AOR ‘They called me’ and *Kako i zvađau*.IMPF ‘What were their names? Lit. How did they call them?’ (Bukumirić 2003: 260, 262).

69. (81) Aspect: forms

Opposite aspect forms can be derived by using suffixes and prefixes, ex. *zva*(IPF)-*t*, *zov*(IPF)-*em* ‘to call’ (Bukumirić 2012: 580) produces *zov-nu*(PF)-*t* ‘to call’ and *po*(PF)-*zva-t* ‘to call’, cf. *Nesu ktel’i da me zovnu* ‘They did not want to call me’ and *Pozovemo goste* ‘We use to call guests’ (Bukumirić 2012: 189, 443).

70. (82) Non-active voice

Non-active voice can be expressed by a participial construction with the verb *bit* ‘to be’ or by using verbal forms with a clitic reflexive particle, ex. *Nesam bila udavata* ‘I was not married’ and *Udala e se bila* ‘She had been married’ (Bukumirić 2003: 267, 263). There are no special passive conjugational endings or derivational suffixes.

71. (83) Verbal negation markers

Only one negation particle *ne* ‘no; not’ is used with indicative verb forms, modals, and non-finite forms, cf. *Ne znam* ‘I do not know’, *Ne zovte ga!* ‘Do not call him!’, *nezvan* ‘uninvited’ (Bukumirić 2003: 344, 265, 267).

72. (84) Imperative

There are special imperative forms, ex. *jeđi.2SG* ‘eat!’ (Bukumirić 2003: 265).

73. (105) Clitic order in clusters in VP

The standard clitic order follows the pattern Indirect object pronoun + Direct object pronoun, ex. *Ako ti.INDIR ga.DIR fiknem* ‘If I throw it to you’ and *Fikni mu.INDIR ga.DIR!* ‘Throw it to him’ (Bukumirić 2003: 150).

2.8. Complex clause**74. (85) Dental or alveolar modal subordinator**

The conjunction *da* ‘that’ (which begins with a dental sound) is used to introduce tautoprosopical subordinate clauses with modals in the main statement, ex. *Svaka mnadica morala da zapeva* ‘Every young-wife had to sing’; *Ol’ da dođeš?* ‘Do you want to come?’ (Bukumirić 2003: 329, 286).

75. (86) Subordination: finite/non finite verb forms

The tautoprosopical subordinate clauses can contain both non finite (infinitive and verbal substantive) and finite forms (bare present indicative and *da* + present indicative), ex.

Infinitive: *Ol’ dođ da mi pomogneš?* ‘Do you want to come to help me?’ (Bukumirić 2003: 270);

Verbal substantive: *...da završimo zidanje* ‘...to finish the process of building’ (Bukumirić 2012: 626);

Bare present indicative: *S njim ja moram idem stalno* ‘I must go with him every time’ (Bukumirić 2012: 329);

Da-construction (*da* + present indicative): *Svaka mnadica morala da zapeva* ‘Every young-wife had to sing’ (Bukumirić 2003: 329).

76. (87) Future in the past in conditional clauses

No future in the past form is attested (Bukumirić 2003; 2012), cf. the future and anterior future forms in conditional phrase such as *Dojću ako bidnem mogla* ‘I will come, if I [will] have been able to’ (Bukumirić 2012: 265).

77. (88) Relative clauses

The most common relative complementizers are

ko ‘who’: *Kome sam j... majku da mi mene uzima žito!* ‘A person whose mother I f...ed would take my grain from me!’ (Bukumirić 2012: 250);

koji ‘which’: *Jedu leba koji te d idedu na groblje* ‘Those who will go to the cemetery, eat the bread’ (Bukumirić 2012: 253);

čiji ‘whose’: *Poznau se deca čije su majke rabotne* ‘You can tell if a mother is a good worker by looking at her children’ (Bukumirić 2012: 510);

kad ‘when’: *Kad ga sednu na drugo mesto, zakače mu nešto pozadi* ‘After they seat him on another place, they hang something behind him’ (Bukumirić 2012: 229);

de/gde/đe ‘where’: *Ne znam, đe otide* ‘I do not know, where he went’ (Bukumirić 2012: 96);

se ‘why’, *jer* ‘why’: *Ajde, se sa[d] će kiša!* ‘Let’s go, because it will begin raining now!’ (Bukumirić 2012: 550); *Nemojte da se predate Nemcima jer više kuće gl’edat nećete* ‘Do not give in to the Germans, because you will never return home’ (Bukumirić 2012: 224).

2.9. Word order

78. (90) Order of subject, object, and verb

The sentence constituents order is typically Slavic, i.e. free and dependent on thematic-rhematic organisation of information, ex.: *A u Bel’icu, ka u Bel’icu, dete malo tu je pilo rakiju* ‘And in Belica, as it should be in Belica, babies drink alcohol here’ (Bukumirić 2003: 319).

2.10. Phonetics and phonology

79. (92) Mid-central unrounded vowel (schwa)

While the phonemic inventory of the idiom does not include the schwa sound (Ivić and Remetić 1981: 566, 573-578), the allophone

[ə] of /a/ may appear in certain sententially stressed forms as a result of reduction, particularly in expressive speech. Examples of this phenomenon include *bəš* ‘exactly’, *səl* ‘only’, *səmo* ‘only’, *svəki* ‘every’, *tamən* ‘exactly’, *kəd* ‘when’, *səs* ‘with’ (Bukumirić 2003: 74).

80. (95) High front rounded vowel /y/

According to (Ivić and Remetić 1981: 566, 573–578), the phonemic inventory does not include /y/. However, (Bukumirić 2003: 81) provides evidence for [y] in direct loanwords from Albanian, such as *gryka* ‘gorge’, *đyksor* ‘silver coin chest ornament’ etc.

81. (99) Mid vowel raising in unstressed syllable

Open and closed realizations of unstressed short mid vowels /e/ and /o/ (*dəvojka* ‘girl’ ~ *re^ašeto* ‘sieve’) as well as closed realizations of long mid vowels /e/ and /o/ have been identified following rules that are currently undefined (Bukumirić 2003: 75–79, 311).

82. (103) Epenthesis of the palatal semivowel /j/ between vowels

Preceding a front vowel, the articulation of [j] is weakened and it may disappear, ex. *stoi*.3SG ‘to stand’, *gree*.3SG ‘to warm up’, *lae*.3SG ‘to bark’, *zapisue*.3SG ‘to wright down’ (Ivić and Remetić 1981: 566, 575; Bukumirić 2003: 129–136).

83. (105) Reduced articulation (breathy voice) of word final vowels

Not attested (Ivić and Remetić 1981; Bukumirić 2003).

84. (107) Non-sibilant fricative velar /x/ (or glottal /h/) distribution

According to (Ivić and Remetić 1981: 566, 573–578), the phonemic inventory does not include /x/ or /h/. The Proto-Slavic *h has either been lost or substituted, cf. *rana* and *krana* ‘food’. However, in the speech of those who imitate the Serbian standard, [h] may appear in any position, as in the same word *hrana* (Bukumirić 2003: 147–148)

85. (108) /f/ consonant

This phoneme is rare, particularly in the eastern region of North Metochia where Tucep is located. Typically, it is substituted by the sound /v/, ex. *sovra* ‘low round wooden table’ (Ivić and Remetić 1981: 566, 573–578). On the other hand, in the western part of North Metochia, the /f/ is more usual, ex. *sofra*.

86. (109) Double vibrant [rr]

Not attested (Ivić and Remetić 1981; Bukumirić 2003), cf. *šara* ‘saw’, borrowed from Albanian *sharrë* (Bukumirić 2003: 688).

87. (111) Affricates inventory

Four affricates are attested by (Ivić and Remetić 1981: 566, 573–578), namely /č/, /ć/, /đ/, and /dž/.

However, according to Bukumirić (2003: 133–145, with a map), in the villages with a mixed Serbian and Albanian population, as well as in the Serbian villages surrounded by Albanian ones, the oppositions between /č/ and /ć/, and between /đ/ and /dž/, are neutralised, resulting in [ć] and [đ], ex. *čaša* ‘cup’, *isećemo* ‘cut’. Moreover, the same author provides data for the affricate /dz/ with at least peripheral phonemic status, ex. *dzvono* ‘bell’, *dzundzar* ‘a type of a large fly’, *pendzija* ‘pension’, *Dzunić* (surname), *dzukva* ‘wild, uncultivated fruit tree’, *Dzukva* (toponym), *džekar* ‘cow flight from insects’ (Bukumirić 2003: 154; Bukumirić 2012: 191).

88. (114) Weakening (lenition) of voiced stops

No fricativisation or elimination of intervocalic voiced occlusives, such as /d/ and /g/, is attested (Ivić and Remetić 1981: 566, 573–578; Bukumirić 2003: 178–180).

89. (116) Labial palatalized consonants /pʲ/, /bʲ/, /vʲ/, /fʲ/ distribution

Not attested (Ivić and Remetić 1981; Bukumirić 2003; 2012).

90. (118) Non-sibilant fricative dental consonant phonemes /θ/, /ð/

Not attested (Ivić and Remetić 1981; Bukumirić 2003; 2012).

91. (119) Word-initial occurrence of ND/NT clusters

Not attested (Ivić and Remetić 1981; Bukumirić 2003; 2012).

92. (120) Palatal consonants

Five palatal consonants are attested by (Ivić and Remetić 1981: 566, 573–578), namely /j/, nj/, /lj/, /ć/, /đ/, with a partially restricted distribution. For ex., the oppositions between /lj/ and /l/, /nj/ and /n/ is neutralized in front of front vowels, resulting in [lʲ] and [nʲ] (sometimes [n]) respectively, as in *mal'i* ‘little’, *l'eba* ‘bread’, *priatel'i* ‘friends; in-laws’, *bol'e* ‘better’, *n'iva* ‘field’, *kon'* ‘horse’, *na kona* ‘on the horse’. The oppositions between /č/ and /ć/, and between /đ/ and /dž/, are neutralised as well, resulting in [ć] and [đ] (Bukumirić 2003: 124, 127–128, 133–145). Finally, /š/ and /ž/ have

palatalized realisations [š'] and [ž'], ex. *ž'iv* 'alive', *duš'u*.ACC 'soul' (Bukumirić 2003: 141–142).

93. (123) Synalepha (blending into one syllable of two successive vowels of adjacent words)

The blending or merging of two syllables into one is observed, ex. *d idem ~ da dem* 'that I go' (Bukumirić 2003: 114, 117).

94. (125) Regressive vowel effects

The assimilative influence that a vowel in one syllable can have on the pronunciation of a vowel in a preceding syllable is attested in some lexicalized cases, such as *avako* < *ovako* 'this way', *Stajan* < *Stojan* (proper name), *do užene* < *do užine* 'prior to the meal before dinner', *surutka* < *sirutka* 'whey (dairy product)' (Bukumirić 2003: 55–56).

2.11. Prosody

95. (124) Stress-shifting: gradation

The particles *po* and *naj* bear stress similar to the gradated adjective, and there is typically no stress-shift. However, two lexicalized counterexamples can be cited: *p`ò veće* 'bigger; more', *p`ò više* 'higher; more' (Bukumirić 2003: 238, 239).

Additionally, it should be noted that the stress pattern in Albanian is also replicated: the regular (typical for the Kosovo-Resava group of the Štokavian dialect) shift of the short descending stress from the closed final syllable to the preceding syllable (*ž`ivot* 'life', *p`otok* 'river', *s`estra* 'sister') is not realized in loanwords from the Albanian language (*bin`ak* 'twin', *dorz`on* 'loan guarantor', *cul`ak* 'naked'), adding here some Slavic toponyms, due to the influence of the pronunciation of Albanian speakers: *Raškod`ol*' (Bukumirić 2003: 55).

2.12 Complex clause

96. (127) Subordination: complementizers

The most frequent complementizers are *da* 'that', *ko* 'who', *koji* 'which', *čiji* 'whose', *kad* 'when', *de/gde/đe* 'where', *se* 'why', *jer* 'why' (Bukumirić 2012: 224, passim).

97. (128) Modal complementizers

The modal complementizer is present in subordinate clauses only, ex. *Ol' da dođeš?* 'Do you want to come?' (Bukumirić 2003: 286).

98. (129) Subordination: clitic climbing

The movement of unstressed object pronouns from a postverbal to a preverbal position is not attested (Bukumirić 2003).

99. (130) Complement subjects for the verb ‘to want’

Both implicit and overt subjects are possible in subordinate clauses with the verb ‘to want’, cf. *Ol’ da dođeš?* ‘Do you want to come?’; *Traže da dođe snaša* ‘They want the bride to come’ (Bukumirić 2003: 286).

Data analysis

The data show a combination of Slavic traits passed down through inheritance, along with general Balkan innovations and direct influences from Albanian and Turkish.

Slavic archaisms are retained mainly in the lexicon (ex. kinship terms, traditional culture), gender differentiation in singular and plural (with some reductions in the latter), definiteness (this category is not acquired), case system (both core and peripheral), animate direct object marking, evidentiality (this category is not acquired), past tenses (analytic perfect and pluperfect tense, synthetic aorist and imperfect tense), aspect, verb inflection, non-active voice, subjunctive (this category is not acquired), clitic order in clusters.

Competing Balkan contact-induced innovative categories and forms, as well as retained Slavic ones, are salient features of the lexicon, adjective gradation, pronominal and nominal possession, distinction of basic instrumental and sociative constructions, infinitive, clitic doubling, affricates inventory, and palatal consonants, among others.

Direct Turkish influence is obvious in lexicon, including discourse, syntax (subordination with phasal verbs), modifiers and word formation. Albanian influence is evident in some segments of phonetics and phonology (ex., the stress pattern replication and sound [y], both in loan words), whereby no borrowing of typologically rare specific Albanian phonemes /rr/, /θ/, /ð/ occurs, and in lexicon (ex., *se* ‘because’; dozens of other instances can be found in (Bukumirić 2012)). Whilst there may be similarities between the grammatical systems of languages in contact, direct replication of rules from one system to another does not occur, for example, while Albanian permits sentence-initial placement of pronominal clitics, Tucep Serbian allows initial placement of verbal clitics instead. Beyond the cultural lexicon, it is feasible to

discern additional traces of Greek influence, presumably transmitted via Turkish and Albanian intermediaries.

Conclusions

The idiom spoken in Tuchepe can be considered a good representative of the Serbian North Metochia dialect. The idiom's structure displays some balkanizing innovations at all levels, but at the same time, it still retains many typologically relevant systemic Slavic archaisms (see Sobolev 2011). This places it on the periphery rather than at the core of the Balkan Sprachbund. The exact position of the dialect within the complex linguistic landscape of the Eastern Europe will become clearer upon the completion of the ABLA project.

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