# THE SLAVIC-BALKAN CONTACT: THE CASE OF LIPOVAN ROMANIAN

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#### Abstract

Despite having Romanian as an official language, Dobrudja represents rather a multilingual region within Romania. Within this peculiar linguistic context, Romanian – Russian language contact found in Lipovan communities is clearly of interest, inasmuch as here (a variety of) Daco-Romanian meets a particular dialect of Russian, i.e. Lipovan Russian; thus, the Romanian spoken in these communities, i.e. Lipovan Romanian, is expected to be quite different than the standard language, bearing the signs of a long-lasting contact. In this paper I will focus on the effects of this contact upon the morphosyntax of Lipovan Romanian. In doing so, I will bring new data gathered from different ethnographic and linguistic fieldwork I have conducted in Lipovan communities (i.e., certain villages from Tulcea county) since February 2018.

**Keywords:** contact language; morphosyntactic consequences; Lipovan community; Romanian-Russian contact language.

### 1. Aim of the Paper

This paper is devoted to the examination of the Romanian variety spoken in the Lipovan community from Dobrudja<sup>2</sup>. I analyse the

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morphological and syntactic effects of language contact and the subject is very interesting, especially with respect to language contact (Weinreich 2013 [1953]; Sala 1977; Windford 2003; Matras 2010, etc.), since Romance, Balkan, and Slavic features overlap in this variety.

The paper aims to offer: (i) a descriptive account of the Romanian variety spoken in the Lipovan community from Dobrudja; (ii) the presentation of a set of constructions found in the Romanian variety spoken in this area, which are different from standard Romanian; the data gathered and their analysis are based on a fieldwork study.

## 2. Linguistic Contact and its Consequences

When two (or more) languages are spoken at the same time by people living in a specific area, these languages are considered to be in contact. Consequently, linguistic material can be transferred from one language to the other (Kuteva 2017: 163), resulting in a range of possible linguistic innovations. The most straightforward cases, where the source and target languages are fairly easy to identify, involve lexical borrowings (Grenoble 2010: 581-582; Gardani 2018: 1). Thus, in the overwhelming part of the literature, two opposite points of view on linguistic contact have been expressed: one claims that linguistic contact cannot affect all the domains of a language (Weinreich 2013 [1953]: 41, among others), whereas the other states that there are no limitations on the influence of one linguistic system over the other (Sala 1997: 133, among others). Areas such as phonology, morphology, and syntax can also be affected (Matras 2010: 66; Heine/Kuteva 2010: 86; Kuteva 2017: 163), but in such cases contact should not be automatically seen as the only source of change (Thomason 2010: 32).

A more moderate approach, that I will adopt in the present paper, was put forward by Hickey (2010); in short, he considers that, although

Romania has the following historical regions: Transylvania, Banat and Crişana, Moldova, Maramureş, Walachia, and Dobrudja. The map inserted in the paper (see below) presents the Dobrudja area, with its villages: Sarichioi, Jurilovca, Carcaliu, etc. where Lipovan are living today.

every linguistic level could be changed as a consequence of linguistic contact, there are notable differences in the rhythm of change, i.e. isolated words and discourse markers can be easily borrowed (Hickey 2010: 14), while syntactic changes are less frequent (McMahon 2010: 141).

In Lipovan communities the contact between Russian and Romanian can be recognized easily even today: although the official language is Romanian, Russian remains the language for 'interethnic communication', and continues to be seen as a prestigious language.

In this paper, I will consider the case of the Russian influence on Lipovan Romanian with an examination of the constructions found in the Romanian variety spoken in this area.

## 3. A Bird's Eye View on the Lipovan Community

In this section, I will present the main data regarding the history of Lipovans, along with the context in which they arrived and settled on the Romanian territory, especially in Dobrudja.

### 3.1. The history of Lipovan migration

The history of Lipovan migration is enormously diverse, as it goes back to the 17<sup>th</sup> century and needs a lot of background information. The mid-17<sup>th</sup> century Schism made the Old Believers leave Russia. The term "Old Belief" refers to the churches and religious communities that do not recognize the reforms launched in the Russian Orthodox Church in the 17<sup>th</sup> century by Patriarch Nikon (1652-1666) (see Chirilă 1993; Vascenco 2003; Tudose 2015).

It is important to mention that there are multiple countries in Europe (besides Romania and the Republic of Moldova) and even on different continents where Russian Lipovans found shelter after the church split. There are Russian Lipovan settlements in Ukraine, Bulgaria, Hungary, Turkey, and even USA, China, and Uruguay (Ipatiov 2001: 30-31; Tudose 2015: 129-130).

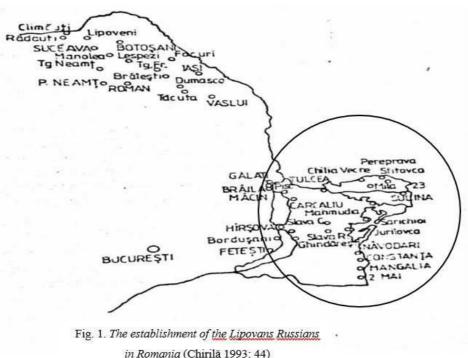
There are around 70 settlements with predominantly Lipovan population around Romanian territories. Most of them are located around the Northern- or South-Eastern part of the country (Bukovina, Dobrudja, and Wallachia). Moreover, besides rural, 100% Lipovan inhabited areas, it is important to mention that most of busy industrial cities include Lipovan neighbourhoods (Bucharest, Constanța, Brăila, Iași, Botoșani, etc.). In cities, Lipovans live in closed, religiously confined communities. However, urbanized Lipovans have less traditional roots and religious backgrounds than their village peers; unfortunately, Russian Lipovans in Romania no longer attend Russian schools.

According to Farisenkova and Izotov (2014), the migration of Russian Lipovans took place gradually, but the first Lipovans' attempts to come to Romania and the Republic of Moldova happened in the later part of the 17th century. The geographical point earliest inhabited (the oldest records) by Lipovans was a village named Lipoven', which is situated in Bukovina county. A decade and so later, in 1743, some Lipovan groups migrated further, to Moldova (close to Fălticeni), and they established a village of their own in a place that was a linden tree forest before. Finally, the most populated Lipovan Romanian area is Dobrudja, which was officially claimed by Russian Lipovans in the second half of the 18th century, and where the habitants built female and male monasteries at the beginning of the 19th century; these are still the hubs of Romanian-Russian Lipovan cultural lives.

#### 3.2. The establishment of the Lipovan Russians in Dobrudja (Romania)

The immigration of Lipovans in Dobrudja took place in several stages, gradually making up a compact community in which traditions, language, and confessional character have been preserved and consolidated. They use Russian in the family, at home, and Romanian as the official language of the community. The Russian language has been an important means of maintaining the Lipovan identity and has served to separate members of the religious community from their non-Russian-speaking neighbours. Children are still learning Russian and it is still extensively used in the social life. A written tradition has

developed through the publication of *Zorile*, a bilingual Romanian-Russian newspaper, and through the writings of numerous Lipovans about their own history. There is no doubt that the Lipovans have preserved much of their cultural and linguistic identity. The oldest generation of Lipovans has lived through much of this complex group history.



in Romania (Chirilă 1993: 44)

We can see in *Fig. 1*, one of the areas (Dobrudja, situated in South-Eastern Romania) where Lipovans have settled.

The history of Prigarin (2007) discusses the stages of the formation of this community:

- 1. From the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century until 1740: the presence of Lipovan Russians is not massive.
- 2. 1740-1770: this period witnesses the beginning of the consolidation of the first stable communities of Lipovan Russians, due to massive immigration to this area. Generally, they settled in Sarichioi, Jurilovca, Slava, or Vâlcov (see also Tudose 2015: 158).

3. 1780-1812: the geographical area of the population of Lipovan Russians is progressively growing, and they occupy more and more villages in the South-Eastern part of Romania.

- 4. 1812-1829: the status of the Southern villages of Moldova is legalized, a moment distinguished by the arrival of a new group of Lipovans, but also by the immigration of a group of Lipovans to the Ottoman Empire.
- 5. After 1830-1831: a large part of the population of Lipovans moves out of Dobrudja, forming a Lipovan community in Bugeac (Tudose 2015: 163).

Currently, according to the estimations of Russian researchers, the overall number of Old Believers in Russia and elsewhere is of approximately two millions, although others consider it to be of more than three millions. Active communities can be found in Romania, Russia, Ukraine, the Republic of Moldova, and other countries (Ipatiov 2001: 30-31; Tudose 2015: 129-130).

# 4. The Slavic-Balkan Contact: The Case of Lipovan Romanian. Consequences of Russian-Romanian Linguistic Contact

My research is based on empirical data I collected from the Lipovan community in Dobrudja. The area was chosen due to its large concentration of Lipovans, and the data are based on ethnographic and linguistic fieldwork (examples from spontaneous conversations between native Lipovan Romanian speakers and direct questions answered by native Lipovan Romanian speakers). The participants<sup>3</sup> were interviewed as part of a larger project examining issues on language contact in syntax (cf. Hickey 2010: 14; Weinreich 2013 [1953]: 41) and language variation and change.

speakers; given the absence of the corpora for Lipovan communities, recording an oral corpus is essential for my research.

The data were gathered within a linguistic fieldwork I have conducted in Lipovan communities (in 2018), where I talked with at least thirty Russian-Romanian bilinguals, aged 30-70, from the villages Sarichioi, Jurilovca, and Carcaliu. Over the last three years, I carried out four fieldwork trips in Lipovan communities, in Dobrudja, and Republic of Moldova, to analyse the linguistic behaviour of bilingual

There are many features which distinguish Lipovan Romanian from standard Romanian. Therefore, in this paper, I will focus on a set of constructions found in the Romanian variety spoken in this area, which are different from standard Romanian, such as: the absence of the (in)definite article, *fake locatives*, variation involving the non-anaphoric reflexive morpheme, the absence of the present tense form of the verb a fi "to be" (with all its values: predicative, copulative or passive auxiliary), the preference for [Adv - v] order in neutral reading, the preference for preverbal overt subjects in unmarked sentences, etc.

It is worthwhile to mention that a not too dissimilar syntactic situation is to be found in Moldovan Romanian, where Romanian and Russian have been in contact for over 200 years. For the sake of the argument, i.e. to prove that some phenomena are due to linguistic contact, I will offer examples from Moldovan Romanian alongside those from Lipovan Romanian.

## 4.1. Absence of the (in)definite article

In Lipovan Romanian (1a), a noun stripped of articles is preferred in contexts in which in standard Romanian a definite noun is usually employed. Ştefănescu (2016: 91-93) and Costea (2018), who analysed this phenomenon (also found in Moldovan Romanian (1b)), considered that this situation is the result of the intense linguistic contact between Romanian and Russian (i.e. in Russian articles are not to be found; hence, the bilinguals can be tempted to drop them in Romanian too) (for the cases in which the article may be dropped in standard Romanian, see Nicolae 2012: 474).

(1) a. Uite, botezat pe sot o look baptize.PPLE husband AUX.PF.3SG DOM țigancă în Dunăre. gipsy Danube "Look, my husband baptized a gipsy in the Danube." (RLRo 2018)

b. Sduce cumpără piață, go.IND.PRES.3SG CL.REFL to market buy produs... Şe-i trebuie. product what=CL.3sG need.IND.PRES.3SG "She is going to the market and buy the product she needs." (MRo, apud Costea 2018)

#### 4.2. Fake locatives

Given the Russian influence, whereby the possession is expressed through the preposition u "at" and a pronoun bearing genitive case, the Lipovans tend to frequently employ what Popuşoi (2013: 106) names "fake locative" (2a). Hence, the relation between the possessor and the possessee is expressed through the structure ["at" la + pronoun (+ verb "to be" a fi)] (see also Mătcaş 1995: 106; Popuşoi 2013: 106-107). A similar situation is also present in Moldovan Romanian (2b) (Costea 2018).

(2) a. La noi ș-acuma avem. port suit have.IND.PRES.1PL 115 even.now "We have a tradition suit even at the moment." (RLRo 2018) Îi Este b. alt drum la noi. drum de țară. another road at is country.road us "We have a different type of road. It is a country road." (MRo, apud Costea 2018)

## 4.3. Variation involving the non-anaphoric reflexive morpheme

Variation involving the non-anaphoric reflexive morpheme is also typical of Lipovan Romanian (3a). As in the cases mentioned above, this phenomenon can also be identified in Moldovan Romanian (3b); Popuşoi (2013) and Ştefănescu (2016: 231) have claimed that the presence of the reflexive morpheme in Moldovan Romanian is justified by the Russian-Romanian contact (see also Hickey 2010: 15; Thomason 2010: 36-37).

(3) a. Lumea **se sărbătorește**, se adună, people.DEF SE.REFL.3SG celebrate SE.REFL.3SG get.together cântă... sing.IND.PRES.3SG "People use to celebrate, get together, sing..."

(RLRo 2018)

b. vreau să **mă împart**want.IND.PRES.1SG SA.SUBJ CL.REFL.1SG share.SUBJ.1SG
cu o istorioară
with a little.story
"I want to share with you a story of mine"

(MRo, facebook.com4, 20.04.2017)

# 4.4. The absence of the present tense form of the verb a fi "to be" (with all its values: predicative, copulative or passive auxiliary)

In Lipovan Romanian, I found many contexts where *a fi* "to be" is absent (see (4) below); this can also be considered a consequence of Russian-Romanian contact.

Unde blonzi, la (4) copiii mei Paște, children.DEF where my blond at Easter când venea... when come.IND.IMPF.3PL "Where my blond children are, at Easter, when they were coming..." (RLRo 2018)

#### 4.5. Low verb movement

In the Romance languages there is evidence that the IP domain is split into three fields (i.e., MoodP, TenseP, and Asp(ect)P) (on the basis of the formal approach proposed by Giorgi/Pianesi 1997, Ledgeway/Lombardi 2005, and Schifano 2015, which keeps a balance between

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> The page from where I selected this example is a public one and the text was written by a speaker from Republic of Moldova.

Cinque's (1999) cartographic approach and the minimalist approach); the Romance languages show different options with respect to verb raising along the clausal spine: to the MOOD-field in French (5a) and Romanian (Nicolae 2015); to the TENSE-field in Northern regional Italian (5b); to the ASPECT-field in European Portuguese (5c) or just outside of v-VP in Spanish (5d), as briefly shown below.

(5) a.	Antoine confond	probablement	(*confond)	le	poème.
	Antoine confound	probably	counfound	the	poem
	"Antoine probably of				

(French, apud Schifano 2015: 59)

b.	Nonna	conosce	già (*conosce)	la	ricetta.	
	Nonna	knows	already knows	the	recipe	
	"Nonna already knows the recipe."					

(Northern regional Italian, apud Schifano 2015: 12)

c. O João vê sempre (\*vê) este tipo de films. João sees always sees this kind of movies "João always watches this kind of movie."

(European Portuguese, apud Schifano 2015: 68)

d. Sergio contesta bien (\*contesta) las preguntas.

Sergio answers well answers the questions

"Sergio is answering well to the questions."

(Spanish, apud Schifano 2015: 63)

In contrast to other Romance languages, in Lipovan Romanian the verb apparently does not raise out of the *v*-VP domain, surfacing to the right of both high and low adverbs from Cinque's (1999) hierarchy, and even to the right of *bine* "well" in neutral readings (6) (a situation which is also found in Moldovan Romanian). However, the preference for the [Adv – V] word order is not always a reliable diagnostic for verb movement (Costea 2019: 11-16 put forward this hypothesis for Moldovan Romanian, too; (7))<sup>5</sup>; instead, it would make more sense to claim that, as in Russian (8) (Koeneman/Zeijlistra 2014: 584; Gribanova 2013: 92-95; Harizanov/

For a discussion regarding *The Rich Agreement Hypothesis*, which should also be taken into account when discussing this phenomenon, see Pollock 1989; Bobaljik 1995; Koeneman 2000; Koeneman/Zeijlistra 2014.

Gribanova 2019: 471; Roberts 2019), with which Lipovan Romanian is in contact, the Lipovan Romanian verb raises to a very low position within the ASPECT field<sup>6</sup>.

(6) a.	Eu I "I work	bine well well her	lucrez work.in e."	D.PRES.1s	6G		aici. here	(RLRo 2018)
b.	Ea she "She al	mereu always ways talk	s about tl		ște PRES.3SG	despre about	asta. this	(RLRo 2018)
c.	Noi we "We ha	deja already ve alread		am AUX.PF.1	lpL	mâncat. eat.PPLE		(DI Do 2019)
(7)	potrivit match.I	ation.DEF t.		bine well hrough v	s- CL.REFL. vell."			(RLRo 2018) PF.3sG Costea 2017)
(8)	Gosti guests "The gu	5	vosli came-in kly came	into	dom. house house."			

# 4.6. Use of the first person plural instead of the first person singular

(SRu, apud Harves 2002: 113)

Under the pressure of Russian, in Lipovan Romanian the expression "me and you" (eu și cu tine (lit. I.NOM and with you.ACC) in standard Romanian) is translated as "we with you" noi cu tine (lit. we.NOM with

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> The same level of verb movement was previously claimed by Costea (2019) for Moldovan Romanian. This situation makes sense given that both Lipovan Romanian and Moldovan Romanian are in contact with Russian.

you.ACC) (9). Russian Lipovans from Dobrudja employ the first person plural with the meaning of first person singular in these contexts, showing the same syntactic preference as Moldovan Romanian speakers (10) (Costea 2018).

(9) a.	Şi and am fost were		aicea, here		școală, school	with	bunicii grandparents.DEF
	"And I	was here	at schoo	l with n	ny grandpa	arents."	(RLRo 2018)
b.		ne CL.REFL cineva someor D.IMPF.1F dn't go to	s ne SĂ. PL	să SUBJ de toa every	D.IMPF.1PL ne CL.DAT.1P ate. thing.	aduc L brin	,
(10)	dorm,	cu with împreu togethe		Al	UX.PF.1PL	trăit live.PPL	la E at  o, apud Costea 2018)

# 4.7. Atypical use of the adverb tot "also"

In Lipovan Romanian, the lexeme *tot* "everything/anything" has also the meaning "also", under the pressure of Russian term *moжe* "also" (11a). Marin *et al.* (2000 [1988]: 88) and Costea (2018) observed the same tendency in Moldovan Romanian (11b), mentioning the fact that this element typically occupies a preverbal position.

The equivalent utterance in Standard Romanian is: "Şi eu am fost cu bunicii aici, la şcoală." / "And I was with my grandparents here, at school."; the form of the subject is the first person singular.

(11) a.	- Deci	sunteți		și	dumne	avoastră	în	cor?			
	so	are.IND.	PRES.2PL	too	you		in	choir			
	- Da.	Şi	sora		ei	tot.					
	yes	and	sister.DE	EF	her	too					
	"- So ar	"- So are you a part of the choir, too?									
	- Yes. A	and her si	ster, too."	,							
								(RLRo 2018)			
b.	Eu	tot	am	s	perat	să		fie			
	I	too	AUX.PF.1	lsg h	ope.PPLE	SĂ.SUBJ		be			
	mai cald.										
	warmer										
	"I hoped that it will be warmer, too."										

(MRo, apud Costea 2018)

## 4.8. Use of (pseudo)negation in nonspecific free relatives and unconditionals

Negation without a negative meaning, found in sentences like the ones under (12a) – in Lipovan Romanian – and (12b) – in Moldovan Romanian, was signalled in the literature concerning Moldovan Romanian, and it was explained through the speakers' tendency to copy the Russian pattern, for example: *Kogda by ty ni uezjal, ja by tebja soprovojdala* "Whenever you left, I would have come with you" (Marin *et al.* 2000 [1998]: 84; Crijanovschi 2000: 275-276; Condrea 2001: 81-82; Popușoi 2013: 108-110, among others).

A difference between Russian and Lipovan Romanian is represented by the fact that in the contexts selected from Lipovan and Moldovan Romanian the negation does not necessarily appear with a verb in the conditional (for a formal semantic approach of the phenomenon in Russian and Hebrew, see Citko 2003: 5).

(12) a. Unde **nu** ne ducem noi și acolo Where NEG CL.REFL.1PL go.IND.PRES.1PL we too there vorbește limba rusă în coruri. speak.IND.PRES.3SG language.DEF Russian in choirs "Everywhere we go, (people) use Russian in choirs too." (RLRo 2018)

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b.
         La
                 Monalisa,
                                                        ai
                                 unde
                                                te-
                                         nu
         At
                 Monalisa
                                 where NEG
                                                CL.2SG AUX.COND.2SG
         mișca, ochii te
                                 urmăresc.
         move
                 eves
                        CL.2SG follow.IND.PRES.3PL
         "At Monalisa, everywhere you go, her eyes will follow you."
                                                   (MRo, apud Costea 2018)
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# 4.9. Absence of clitic doubling

In Lipovan Romanian, I noticed a situation of variation regarding clitic doubling. In contrast to standard Romanian, where clitic doubling is compulsory in certain contexts, in Lipovan Romanian I found many examples in which clitic doubling is absent (see 13).

(13)	La at cade	noi us	se CL.REFL.3SG buricu,	botează baptize.IND.PRES.3SG ducem	cum when la			
			,	ducein	la			
	fall.IND	PRES.3SG	navel.DEF	bring.IND.PRES.1PL	to			
	botez.			_				
	baptism							
	"We baptize (the child) when the navel falls off, we take him to get							
	baptize	d."						
	-			(R	LRo 2018)			

A possible explanation for these situations can be the contact with Russian; given that the phenomenon of direct object doubling is completely absent from Russian (14), native speakers of Lipovan Romanian tend to also employ this syntactic pattern in their variety of Romanian.

(14)	Ivan	ljubit	ego.
	Ivan	love.IND.PRES.3SG	him.ACC
	"Ivan l	oves him" (*Ivan = him)	
			(SRu, apud Dyakonova 2009: 6)

## 4.10. Preference of overt subjects in unmarked sentences

The use of overt subjects in Lipovan Romanian (see (15) and (16) below) is also a result of longstanding Romanian-Russian contact, given the fact that in Russian preverbal overt subjects are often used. To account for this, I will follow Costea's (2019) analysis (proposed for Moldovan Romanian); in short, it states that, given that the lexical verb raises to a low position within the ASPECT field, when the subject raises to SpecTP, it raises above the lexical verb as well, i.e. above the ASPECT field, rendering a preverbal placement of the subject; in other words, low verb movement ensures that SpecTP (preverbal) is free to accommodate the subject (hence preverbal).

- (15) **Noi** foarte, foarte încurcat vorbim.

  we very very convoluted speak.IND.PRES.1PL

  "We speak in a very, very convoluted way."

  (RLRo 2018)
- (16)Acolo unde el stă. where there he live.IND.PRES.3SG cea mai frumoasă casă făcut. the most beautiful house AUX.PF.3SG make.PPLE "He made the most beautiful house where he lives." (RLRo 2018)

# 4.11. Use of headed relative clauses introduced by cine "who" instead of the relative pronoun care "which"

In standard Romanian, the relative pronoun *care* "which" is employed in both headed and headless relative clauses, and can refer to both animate and inanimate entities ([±Animate]). It also anaphorically conveys the morphological information of the antecedent. Unlike the relative pronoun *care* "which", the relative pronoun *cine* "who" only refers to animate entities, occurs exclusively in headless relative clauses (SOR 2016: 482), and the verb which undergoes subject-predicate agreement with *cine* "who" can only be in the singular; unlike *care* "which", *cine* "who" is a default singular, which does not convey the phi-features of its antecedent.

The situation is entirely different in Lipovan Romanian: in contrast to standard Romanian (17), the Lipovans use headed relative clauses introduced by *cine* "who" (18), under the influence of Russian (19), where the invariable pronoun *kto* "who" is employed, and also display plural agreement on the embedded verb when the antecedent is in the plural. Examples (17) and (18) show the different word choice for the relative pronoun.

(17)	Familia	cheamă	părinții,		nașii
	family	invites.IND.PRES.3SG	parents.DEF		godparents.DEF
	care	sunt	mai apropia		ți.
	which	are.IND.PRES.3PL	more	close	
	"Family	invites the parents (and) g	godparents who a		e closer to them."
					(SRo counterpart)

(18) a.	Familia	cheamă	părinți,	nași		
	family	invites.IND.PRES.3SG	parents	godparents		
	cine	sunt	mai	apropiați.		
	who	are.IND.PRES.3PL	more	close		
	"Family	invites the parents (and) godparents who are closer to them.				
				(RLRo 2018)		

k	).	Ei	cântă		cântece	de	Maslenița,
		they	sing.IND	.PRES.3PL	songs	on	Maslenița
		toți	cine	sunt		lipoveni asta	fac.
		all	who	are.IND.I	PRES.3PL	lipovans this	do
		"They si	ng songs	on the o	ccasion c	of Maslenița (= pre-	-Christian holiday),
		all who	are Lipov	ans do tl	nis."		
							(RLRo 2018)

(19)<u>Te</u> iz kto čitali stihotvorenija, nas. those of who read.PAST.3PL poem us byli v vostorge. were. delighted "Those of us who read the poem were delighted."

(SRu, apud Wade 2011:

122)

## 5. Conclusions

In this paper, I focused on the morphosyntax of the Lipovan Romanian spoken in Dobrudja, a variety which has remained largely unexplored.

What clearly distinguishes the people who speak Lipovan Romanian from those who speak standard Romanian is the fact that Lipovans are bilinguals and they use both Romanian and Russian in their speech.

Romanian-Russian linguistic contact is extremely interesting per se, given that it can trigger multiple and diverse morphosyntactic phenomena, such are those identified in Lipovan's discourse: the absence of the (in)definite article, fake locatives, variation involving the non-anaphoric reflexive morpheme, the absence of the present form of the verb  $a\ fi$  "to be" (with all its values: predicative, copulative or passive auxiliary), the preference for [Adv – v] order in neutral reading or the preference for overt subjects in unmarked sentences. Thus, a detailed exploration of the linguistic situation characterizing LRo can throw much-needed light on the degree to which the morphosyntax of a given language can be (re)shaped through contact.

#### **CORPUS**

Facebook.com, https://www.facebook.com/1535933136682721/posts/vreau-sa-ma-impart-si-eu-cu-o-istorioara-cu-vreo-4-5-ani-in-urma-trebuia-sa-ma-d/2278796432396384/, 20.04.2017
RLRo 2018 = records from Lipovan Romanian (fieldwork study in Lipovan communities from Dobrudja, Romania), 2018

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#### **ABBREVIATIONS**

- 1 = first person
- 2 = second person
- 3 = third person
- ACC = accusative
- AUX = auxiliary
- CL = clitic
- COND = conditional
- DAT = dative
- DEF = definite
- DOM = differential object marking
- IMPF = imperfect
- IND = indicative
- LRo = Lipovan Romanian
- MRo = Moldovan Romanian

NEG = negation

PAST = past tense PF = perfect

PL = plural

PPLE = past participle

PRES = present tense

REFL = reflexive

SG = singular

SpecTP = specifier of the tense phrase

SRo = standard Romanian

SRu = standard Russian

SUBJ = subjunctive