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CULTURĂ IDENTITATE
Investește în OAMENI

Manuela NEVACI

Identitate românească în context balcanic

Editura Muzeului Național al Literaturii Române

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IDENTITATE ROMÂNEASCĂ ÎN CONTEXT BALCANIC

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Autor: **Manuela NEVACI**
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Colecția *AULA MAGNA*

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ADDENDA

Overview

THE ROMANIAN IDENTITY IN THE BALKAN CONTEXT

This paper presented the results of our field research on Aromanians from Greece, Albania, F.Y.R. Macedonia from the perspective of preserving the Romanian dialect they speak in the Balkans. By preserving the dialect, which they use in their day-to-day conversations, the Aromanians from these areas have kept alive the *Romance and Romanian awareness*. This is obvious not only in the areas where they form a compact group (for instance, in Pind – Greece, especially in Metsovo, or in the area of Korce-Moscopole in Albania), but also in isolated places showing a great cultural tradition (for instance, Siracu in Greece). This awareness is old, being the exclusive result of Romania's cultural and national awareness revival action from the second half of the 19th century and the first half of the 20th century, by means of education and church service in the Romanian language. It is to be found everywhere, i.e. even in places where it did not exist before, for instance, education in Romanian as tuition language.

The national awareness indications are strongly rooted historically speaking, the most important being the 'Moscopole moment – Albania' (the end of the 18th century), when scholars like Constantin Ucuta printed an Aromanian textbook for the children to learn. *Codex Dimonie* dates from the same period (discovered at Ohrida, F.Y.R. Macedonia), a collection of religious texts translated in Aromanian. There is information that these texts were used by Aromanian families.

Another important element in preserving the Romance awareness is represented by Roman artefacts to be found everywhere. The famous Via Egnatia used to cross in antiquity the territories inhabited today by Aromanians; this was the most important traffic road built by Romans, which even today Aromanians call the *Big Road*. Its traces are present even today, both in Albania, where it started, in Apollonia (today Poian), on the Adriatic shore, and in Greece or F.Y.R. Macedonia. We mention the fact that the most important mountain defiles preserve Latin names: *Giug* 'grub' (< Lat. *jugum*), near Metsovo, at the junctions of waters between Thessaly, Epir and Macedonia. Near the Aromanian place called Pisuderi,

the *Vigla* (< Lat. *vigilia)* mountain gate is to be found. Here, near Pisuderi, between lakes Kastoria and Prespa, for the first time in history Aromanians were attested under the name of *vlahi oditi* 'wandering Vlachs' by the Byzantine historian Kedrenos, and the author claims they killed David, Bulgaria's tsar's brother, Samuil in 976. The terms *βιγλα* and *ζυγος* are Greek terms of Latin origin. Also, through Beala de Sus, a Roman road is crossing connecting Macedonia to Epir. It is not accidental that next to these gates we find until today Aromanian settlements (guarding places). And it is not at all surprising the fact that Aromanians from all researched areas show a lively Romance and Romanian awareness. This finding has been put forth before on another occasion, when presenting the Albania's plain area, where once the Romans troops settled.

Aromanian is represented in the Balkans by several groups, historically established: *the Pindens, the Farsherots, the Gramostens, the Grabovens*, completed by the group from Gopeş and Mulovişte (F.Y.R. Macedonia). Due to the extraordinary mobility of Aromanians, both in the past and in the recent period (when new settlements have been established once the transhumant Farsherots have settled: Andon Poçi in Albania, Kristallopiyi in Greece), it is not possible to have a clear-cut geographical delimitation of these groups. While in Albania the entire Aromanian population is made of the Farsherots (added by the small Grabovens' group), in Greece there is a great diversity. With the exception of the Pindens' compact group, settled in the mountainous area of the Pind – North Thessaly, the south of Epir, in the rest of Greece (northern half) we can find representatives of all main groups. For instance, in the Greek Macedonia we find Pindens settlements (Veria area), Farsherots (Edessa area, ex-Vodena – Naussa, ex-Neaguşte), Gramostens (Mount Paic area, at the border with F.Y.R. Macedonia). In F.Y.R. we find Gramostens (Ştip-Kočani-Veles area), Farsherots (Struga area: Beala de Sus, Beala de Jos), Grabovens and Farsherots (together with Gramostens in Ohrida area, in the small town of Cruşova), the Gopeş-Molovişte group, etc. At the same time, in the Thessaly Plain we find Pindens and Farsherots, who have settled in the shepherds' wintering places.

An interesting phenomenon is to be found in some old settlements, where the base population has added across time members of other groups. Without being the only example, it is representative the situation from the small Aromanian town of Meţovo (Arom. Aminciu), the most important Aromanian community in Greece. In Aminciu – old Pindens place, first mentioned in documents of the 13th century – in time a group of Farsherots have joined. For a long time, the two groups had kept very well their own speech. In time though, mixed marriages (hardly accepted by indigene population; see the text from Meţovo) have led to what today's dialectology calls *dialect mixture.* Even if linguistic theory does not accept the existence of *mixed languages*, or a 'combined language', we identify this 'dialect

mixture' *at the speech level*. Thus, in the speech of Meţovo, a Pindean idiolect, we identify elements of the Farsherot idiolect, such as the presence of final asyllabic *u* after a consonant cluster (in the Pindean idiolect *u* is voiced in this position, the same with the Gramostean idiolect). We identified the same phenomenon in the small town of Cruşova, the most important Aromanian settlement from F.Y.R. Macedonia, established 200 years ago, after the destruction of the prosperous Aromanian centres of Moscopole (where the Farsherots were the base population) and Gramoste, Niculiţa, Linotopi (Gramostens settlements). The base idiolect in Cruşova is the one that was once spoken in Moscopole (the 6-unit vowel system was kept, lacking the opposition *ă* / *î*, like the Farsherot idiolect), but there are also elements of the Gramostean idiolect (for example, voiced *u* after consonant clusters).

Supported by texts with comments, we have provided examples to explain this phenomenon of *dialect mixture*, emphasising the theoretical importance of our research.

To the same extent, we mention a concept recently added to dialectology, namely *distance dialect*, illustrated usually with examples from German (for instance, the idiolect of Transylvanian Swabians compared to the idiolect from the indigene German lands left centuries ago). The *distance dialect* concept emphasises the structure unity of some territorially separate idiolects in different historic eras. Such *distance dialects* are also the historical dialects of Romanian – Dacoromanian, Aromanian, Meglenoromanian and Istroromanian. We believe that this *distance dialect* concept is more productive that *divergent dialect*, as used in Romanian dialectology. It draws our attention to also showing the similarities, not just the differences. In various dialectology studies, for instance, examples have been given on the similarities between Aromanian and certain Dacoromanian idiolects (usually from Banat and Crişana) or similarities between certain idiolects of Aromanian, for instance the one in Gopeş and Mulovişte, and Dacoromanian (for instance, the phoneme *ž* compared to *Ì* in the rest of Aromanian: *joc, jo˜, ajutór*, compared to *Ìoc, Ìo˜, aÌutór*. To the already known information, our research brings new elements, for example, the adverb *amú* 'now', registered in the speech from Siracu, Greece, compared to *tóra* (< gr. *τώρα*), general for the rest of the idiolects. In Pind, the most conservative area, we identified the word *floare* 'flower', replaced in the rest of Aromanian with loans from other languages: *lulúδă* (< gr. *λουλούδα*), *lilice* (a derived form; cf. Alb. *lulë*), *Öítcă* (< Mac. Sl. *kitka*), or the word *pęáră* 'pear', replaced in other idiolects with *dárdă* (< Alb. *dardhë*), or *górţu* (of Slavic origin).

Another interesting fact emphasised in our research is the conservative feature of the Pind area. In the settlements from the Pind, even if it is a mountain area as an enclave in the Greek environment, the agricultural terminology of Latin

descent is better kept as compared to other areas: *arátru* (< *aratrum*) 'plough', *strâmburári* (< Lat. **stimularia*) 'prod', *Ðizmáre* (< Lat. *vindemiare*) 'vine harvesting', *vómeră* (< Lat. *vomer*) 'coulter, stubble plough', *sărc×éË°* (< Lat. *sarculare*) 'to hoe'. In other Aromanian dialects, these terms have either not been attested, or they do not exist: *strâmburári*, *Ðizmáre* (*strâmburári*, *Ðizmári*, *vómeră*, *sărc×éË°*), or they have been replaced with loan words (*domaluc* 'plough', cf. Alb. *domalug*).

Our research resulted in numerous similarities with Dacoromanian – conservative or innovation facts –, some of which never mentioned before. As for innovations, we are talking about *parallel innovations*, which show that distance dialects, without any direct contact, like contemporary Aromanian, compared to Dacoromanian – develop not only divergently, but also in a convergent manner. This is in favour of using the term *distance dialect* (instead of *divergent dialect*), as these dialects have been called in the literature (Schimdt 2010: 201-225).

A research direction initiated by G. Murnu but less subsequently cultivated is identifying words of Aromanian origin in the northern Greek idiolects. G. Murnu analysed the Pind area, where up till now there is a compact Aromanian community, isolated from the Greek environment. A similar phenomenon is to be found in the Pieria land from Greece (the area around Katerini town, placed at the border between Thessaly and F.Y.R. Macedonia). In the villages from this area, where there is no longer an Aromanian community, the local Greek idiolects have kept so many Aromanian words, that we have to admit that this community once existed but it was assimilated by the Greek population. It is significant that a lot of these words keep the Aromanian phonetics (for instance, the consonants *ş*, *É*, that Greek does not have): *aúş* 'old', *caÉúla, capúşa, gúşa, vitú×* 'heifer, one-year-old kid', etc. This is added with several Greek toponyms based on words of Latin origin, kept until today in Aromanian: *Disicata* (Arom. *disíc* 'I rift' < lat. *dissecare*), *Karpenisi* (< Arom. *cărpiníş*, derived from *cárpin* < Lat. *carpen*), *Vigla* (Arom. *vég×u* < Lat. *vigilare*). We also mention some local Aromanian toponyms, based on terms of Latin origin: *Ĝug* (< Lat. *jugum*), mountain gate close to Meţovo, *Ampirătoare* (< Lat. (*Via*) *Imperatoria*, a toponym close to Meţovo, probably the Roman name for *Via Egnatia*), as well as some Latin village names: *Cornu, Paltin*, etc.

The continuous presence of the Romanian and Romance element in the area we have researched may be illustrated with some ethnographic elements, common with Dacoromanian: the *Căiuţi* 'little horses' dance and *Sânzienele* 'fairies'. Aromanians call *Căiuţi aruγuÉári* (cf. Gr. *άλογος* 'cal'), and this tradition is played by people wearing masks in the New Year morning. We identified this

tradition in Vlahoclisura in Greece. Aromanians call the Sânziene tradition *Tainí* 'St. John' (Lat. *Sancta dies Johannis*) which is played by young girls on June 23-24.

The long cohabitation of Aromanian with Balkan peoples has determined the natural process of penetration in their dialect of loan words from Greek, Turkish, Albanian, Slavic languages. This loans, both old and new, give a specific hue to Aromanian in comparison with the other dialects of Romanian. They cover various fields, such as the social area: *bórÌi* 'debt' (< Turk. *borç*), *bánă* 'life' (regressively derived word from the verb *bănéË°* < Alb. *banoj*); trade: *émbur°* 'trader' (< Gr. *έμπορος*), *păzári* 'fair' (< Turk. *pazar*); military: *as0éri* 'army' (< Turk. *askerî*), *pólim* (Gr. *πόλεμος*); education *dáscal* (< Gr. *δάσκαλος*), *yrámă* 'letter' (< Gr. *γραμμα*); transport: *aftu0ínă* 'automobile' (< Gr. *αυτοκίνητο*), *staşóni* 'railway station' (< Macedonian Sl. *stašoni*), etc.

Another aspect of Aromanian cohabitation in the Balkans is strongly illustrated by greetings, often common with those from Balkan languages. There are similarities with Albanian: *mi nclín° áli tiâíe* '[lit.] I bow in your honour' = Alb. *falemenderit*; with Greek: *hiratímati múlti* 'many compliments' = Gr. *πολλά χαιπετίσματα*; *cu n0érdu* 'be it with luck' = *με κέρδος*, etc.

Numerous texts registered on field in a great number of places from Greece, Albania and F.Y.R. Macedonia have allowed us to develop an updated description on the one hand of the dialect as a whole and, on the other hand, of various idiolects: *Pindean, Farsherot, Gramostean*, as well as the particular idiolects of Molovişte, Cruşova, Vlahoclisura.

The most important part of our research is the description – in general and for each region – of contemporary Aromanian based on the texts recorded on field. This description took into account the results of previous research, enriched with phenomena which are either new or never mentioned before. A special attention was the specific characteristics of different idiolects.

This presentation first mentions some particularities of the Aromanian dialect in general.

With regard to Aromanian as a whole, we mention that we identified two large dialect groups based on the inventory of vowel phonemes: the Farsherot - Grabovean group, with 6 vowels (*a, e, i, ă, o, u*) and the Gramostean – Pindean group, with 7 vowels (*a, e, i, ă, â, o, u*); the first two idiolects, for instance, make no difference between, for instance, *ră©* and *râ©*, both of them being pronounced as *ră©*.

In the Aromanian spoken today, we identify both conservative elements, such as the presence of vowels *e*, *i* and the diphthong *ea* after labial consonants in words inherited from Latin: *per°* 'hair', *ved°* 'I see', *vínă* 'vein', *víntu* 'wind',

fe̯átă ‘girl’, *cămeáşă* ‘shirt’, etc., or the absence of the diphthong *î˜* in *cáni*, *máni, páni*, as well as innovations, such as the consonantization of semiconsonant © in falling diphthongs: *ávdu* ‘I hear’ (< Lat. *audio*), *cáftu* ‘I search’ (< Lat. **cauto*). The consonant system also contains conservative and innovative elements. The former includes keeping the consonants ˣ and *â* (also to be found in Banat) in words inherited from Latin: ˣ*épur*° ‘rabbit’ (< Lat. *lepus, -orem*), *aÐíne* ‘vine’ (< Lat. *vine̯a*); affricates *Ë* and *Ì* are also kept (which occur in some varieties of Dacoromanian): *Ëâc*° ‘I say’ (< Lat. *dico*), *gúdic*° ‘I judge’ (< Lat. *iudico*), etc. Innovations are the change of [ˣ] to [y], a recent change, identified in the Farsherot idiolect and partly in the Gramostean idiolect: *fume̯ýa* ‘the children, the brothers’, *păpínţyi* ‘the parents’ *ey* ‘they’ for *fumé*ˣ*a* ‘the children, the brothers’, *păpínţ*ˣ*i* ‘the parents’, *e*ˣ ‘they’ at the other Aromanians.

As far as morphosyntax is concerned, we have identified some particularities of the noun inflexion, such as the opposition sg./pl- with masculine nouns taken from Greek and Turkish: *amirắ / amiráË* ‘emperor’, *udắ / udáË* ‘room’. The plural in *-aË* which we identified with nouns is also found at adjectives taken from Greek: *hazó* (< gr. χαζός), pl. *hazáË*.

A particularity of Aromanian is the lack of the preposition *pe* for direct objects referring to people: *u ved*° *Ana* ‘I see Ann’, *îl*° *vâtâmắ fráti-su* ‘he killed his brother’, etc. An archaic syntactic feature is also the expression of the accusative referring to places, showing direction or state, without preposition (like Latin): *neg*° *Sărúnă* ‘I am going to Thessaloniki’, *De̯-a©á Kateríni treţ Ëáţi hór-* ‘From here to Katerini you pass through ten villages’, *şî-l dúsirâ Óhârda* ‘and they took him to Ohrida’; *BănéË*° *KurÉáu* ‘I live in Korcea’. We have identified contexts where these two features occur: *Fe̯áta u mârtắm*° *Ne̯águşte* ‘The girl I had her married in Neaguşte’.

The lack of the preposition *pe* also occurs with pronouns in a direct object accusative position: *îl*° *viËú˜ el*° ‘I saw him’.

The closeness and distance demonstratives do not change their form when used as adjectives: *aíst*° means ‘this one’ and ‘this’, *aţél*° means ‘that one’ and ‘that’: *aíst*° *víni* ‘this one came’, *ómu aíst*° ‘this man’. The dative-genitive forms are stressed on the ending, not on the root: *aistú˜*, *aţâlú˜*.

A characteristic of Aromanian as far as the verb inflection is concerned is the change of the verbs of the 3rd conjugation to the 2nd conjugation class, thus in most idiolects we have only three inflectional classes. A similar phenomenon occurs in Spanish, Catalan and Sardinian. Most of the idiolects use *umplém*°, *vindém*°, *spuném*°, *duţém*°, etc., switching the 3rd conjugation to the 2nd one.

The simple perfect maintains the strong etymological forms for 3rd conjugation verbs: *árşu* (< Lat. *arsi*), *cópşu* (< Lat. *coxi*), *Ëáş°* (< Lat. *dixi*), *feÉ°* (< Lat. *feci*). The pluperfect is analytic, like western Romance, built with the auxiliary *habere* at imperfect and the participle of the lexical verb (augmented with the vowel *ă*): *avẹ́ám° cântátă.* Similar forms are found in Balkan languages (Greek, Albanian, partly in Bulgarian and Macedonian Slavic). The future is built with the auxiliary *volere* + present subjunctive (like southern Dacoromanian idiolects): *va să spun°* 'I will say'. The negative imperative is formed with the negation *nu* + the affirmative form: *nu cắntă*.

Some Aromanian idiolects have a tertiary deictic system for locative adverbs *a¤á* 'here (next to me)' – *aţía* 'here (next to you)' – *acló* 'there' as the Oltenia idiolect (*ací – acía – acolo*); this phenomenon also occurs in Roman Iberia (Portuguese, Spanish, Catalan) and in Occitan.

A special attention was drawn in our research on the identification of characteristics for various idiolects. It is a less obvious issue in the general papers on Aromanian. Only a research carried out on field (questionnaire surveys, text recordings) makes it possible to identify such characteristics.

Among the particularities of the **Farsherot idiolect** we mention the fact that its vowel system counts 6 units, and the speakers make no difference between *ă* and *î*, *ră©* meaning both *rău* 'bad' and *râu* 'river'. Another particularity is the nasal vowels in the idiolect of the *Plisóţ* Farsherots: *sə̃bătă* 'Saturday', *pγə̃Ëe* 'he/she cries'. The *a* vowel prothesis is less frequent at Farsherots, however it occurs with some words: *acúmpur°* 'I buy', *acrésc°* 'I rise'.

A phenomenon occurring in the Farsherot idiolect is the labialisation of vowels *ă* and *i* in non-stressed syllable (pre-stress or post-stress): *lẹ́águn°* 'cradle' for *lẹ́ágăn°* in other idiolects.

The change of ˣ to *y* (˜), a recent change noticed for the Gramostean idiolect, occurs also at the Albanian Farsherots: *fúρyi* (*fuρ˜i*) 'the thieves', *yaρ* (*˜ar*) 'motley' for *fúrˣi*, ˣ*ar*.

There are also a lot of particularities as far as morphology is concerned. In the nominal inflection, we identified dative-genitive forms such as *a fiÉóρu* 'the son's' (< *a fiÉóru˜*, from *a fiÉórlu˜*, with *rl* > *r*). The Farsherots use such pronominal forms as *aiÉ* 'these', *a noÉ* 'ours', *a voÉ* 'yours'. The 1st person singular personal pronoun is *míni* (homonymous with the accusative), compared to *˜o*(*e©*) in other idiolects. At the 3rd person feminine, there is *í˜a* (disyllabic) compared to *ẹa* in the other idiolects. Together with *el*, *í˜a*, *eˣ*, *ẹ́ali* parallel forms occurs with 3rd person pronouns: *năs*, *nắsă, năş—*, *nắse* and *aţél°*, *aţẹ́au*, *aţéˣ*, *aţẹ́ali.*

In the verb domain, apart from the switch of verbs from the 3rd to the 2nd conjugation: *spuném°*, *vindém°* (see *supra*), we mention the switch of some verbs from the 4th conjugation to the 1st and the 2nd conjugations: *avËári* 'to hear', *aâurËẹári* 'to smell'. The verb *a fi* 'to be' has the form *esc°* '(I) am' at the *Plisóţ* Farsherots and *Ñi©* at *Şópaâ* Farsherots.

A particularity of the Albanian Farsherots is the 1st person singular and 3rd person plural present indicative form *mutrést°* 'I/they watch' (for *mutrésc°*). The 3rd person plural present indicative forms are also specific *ar°* '(they) *a©*', *ştir°* '(they) know'. The 2nd person plural of the imperfect indicative is *cântát°* (compared to *cântáţ* for the rest of Aromanian). We notice here the avoidance of the confusion with the 2nd person plural of the present tense, which led to a confusion with the simple perfect form. This way the opposition present/past is more clearly marked: *căntáţ* (present) / *căntát°* (imperfect, simple perfect). The future tense is no longer built with the conjunction *să*: *va spun*, *va ntreb°* (compared to *va să spun°*, *va să ngreg°*), like the Pindean idiolect. A similar phenomenon occurs in Greek and Albanian.

It is specific for the Farsherots to use the adjective *g¤álă* (feminine singular) with an adverbial value, meaning 'only, just': *víni el° g¤álă*, *víniră ẹáli g¤álă.*

As for the lexical field, we identified some words not registered in the DDA: *bi×óc°* 'place' (unknown etymology), *cóţă* 'tight, narrow' (< Alb. *koce*), *viÉ°* 'calf' (< Alb. *viç*), *grắmbă* 'couch grass' (unknown etymology). It is remarkable the use of the word *sărúnă* meaning 'town' (from *Sărúnă*, the dialectal name of Thessalonica).

We further notice some features of the **Gramostean idiolect**. The vowel system has 7 units (marking the opposition *ă/â*). Full-sounded *u* occurs after any consonant cluster: *cắntu*, *dórmu*, *scúmpu, sócru*, etc. At the end of a word, the voiced consonants become voiceless at some Gramostens from Bulgaria (under a Slavic influence): *slap°* 'thin', *asút°* 'I sweat'. The same Gramostens × >˜ (including in the consonant clusters *c×*, *g×*): *˜a©*, *gâ˜ínâ*, *Öem°*, *g lem°* (compared to *×a©*, *gâ×ínâ*, *c×em°*, *g×em°*).

The dative-genitive form of the feminine nouns [+Human] is both *a mu×ári×e˜* 'to the woman/woman's', and *áli mu×ári*.

The demonstrative pronoun has the form *aéstu, aéstâ* (compared to *aíst°*, *aístă*) at Farsherots. We have also identified some specific forms of the possessive pronoun: *a nóşţâ*, *a vóşţâ* (compared to *a nóştri*, *a vóştri* at Pindens). The relative-interrogative pronoun has the form *cári*, dative-genitive *a cúri* (compared to *ca˜*, *a cu˜* at Farsherots).

In the verb inflection, we notice the opposition *sc/şt*: *créscu/ créştâ* 'I rise/you rise', compared to *sc/şt* in other idiolects. The future tense keeps the conjunction *să*: *va să spun°* (compared to *va spun°* at Farsherots and Pindens).

We also note some specific terms, some of them not registered in the DDA: *armí* 'souse' (< Gr. *άρμη*), *bârgâdán°* 'polenta' (< Bg. *bŭrkadanŭ*), in other idiolects: *culeáş°, căÉimác°*; *Öítcă* 'flower' (< Bg. *kitka*), compared to *lulúðă* at Pindens, *liliÉe* at Farsherots, etc.

We have also identified for the **Pindean idiolect** some special characteristics. In phonetics, we mention keeping the final asyllabic *i* after consonants *ţ*, *Ë* (in morphophonological opposition with *c*, *g*): *saţ-* (sg. *sac°* 'sac'), *fuË-* (1st person singular *fug°* 'I leave'*)*, *porţ-* (sg. *pórcu* 'pig'), *múlË-* (1st person singular *múlgu* 'I milk'), compared to *saţ*, *fuË*, *pórţ(â), múlË(â)* in other idiolects.

In the consonant system, a special characteristic of the Pindean idiolect is the switch of voiceless consonants *c, t, p, ţ, Ö, É* to the respective voiced consonants, when they are followed by a nasal: *ngárcu* 'I load', *múndi* 'mountain', *scúmbu* 'expensive', *nËérnu* 'I sift', *scúnÍi* 'expensive PL.', *nÌórnic°* 'skew-eyed', etc., compared to *ncárcu*, *múnti*, *scúmpu, nţérnu*, *scúnÖi*, *nÉórnic°* in the other idiolects.

The syncope of the non-stressed vowels occurs most frequently at Pindens: *fţa* 'he was doing', *vËa* 'he was leaving', *mga* 'he was eating' *ţa* 'he was saying', *alná* 'he was climbing', *aná* 'to gather', etc., compared to *fãţá*, *fuËá*, *mâcá*, *dâţá*, *alína*, *aduná*.

With adverbs, the form *acşí* 'like this' (< Lat. *ac-sic*) is specific to Pindens (compared to *aşé*, *aşí* in other idiolects). We have also noted in Siracu the adverb *amu* 'now', replaced in the rest of the idiolects by *tóra* (< Gr. *τώρα*).

An interesting phenomenon is the presence of particularities common with the Farsherot idiolect, which we have identified at the Pindens from Aminciu (Meţovo) and which can be explained by the establishing, a long time ago, in this settlement of a community of Farsherot shepherds. Thus, in this settlement we have identified a final asyllabic *u* after a consonant cluster, like the Farsherots: *plăng°* 'I cry', *caft°* 'I search'. To the same extent, we have identified forms that switch the vowel *i* to *â* (*ă*) in non-stressed position: *trâcúrâ* 'they were passing', *vărÉú˜* 'I was seeing', etc., for *tricúră*, *viËú˜* .

Instead of *prindi* 'must': *príndi s-cântắm* 'we must sing', a usual construction at Pindens, in Aminciu *va* is used: *va s-cântắm* 'we must sing', like the Farsherots.

For the Meţovo-Siracu area, we have identified the preservation of some Latin words that have been lost in other idiolects: *fl¤áre* (< Lat. *flos, -rem*), *anţilég*

(< Lat. *intelligere*), *mi cúlcu* (< Lat. *collocare*), (the sun) *apúni* (< Lat. *apponere*), *cătuşă* 'cat' (< Lat. *catta* + suffix *-uşă*).

Among the features of the **Mulovişte idiolect**, in the phonetic field we mention the change of affricates *Ë, Ì* to *z, j*, like Dacoromanian: *Dumnezău* for *Dumniḑău*, *joc* for *ĝoc*. The definite article for masculine nouns is done like in Dacoromanian: *ánul, bărbátul, cápul* (compared to *ánlu, bărbátlu, cáplu* in other idiolects).

The indefinite pronoun occurs as *tot, tọátă tóţ, tọáte,* like Dacoromanian, compared to *tut, tútă tuţ, túti* in most of the idiolects.

The Cruşova idiolect has some characteristics determined, among others, by the mixture of the Aromanians come from Moscopole, speaking a Farsherot idiolect, and of Gramostens come from Gramoste. Thus, the vowel system has six units, with no *î* vowel, like the Farsherots. Instead, after consonant cluster, we have full final *u* like the Gramostens: *scúmpu*, *pórtu*, etc. The diphthongs *e͡a* and *¤a* occur the same way as the Gramostens use them; some speakers pronounce these diphthongs as *ę* and *o̯i̯*, which is specific to the Farsherot idiolect. A local particularity caused by the influence of the Slavic dialects is the presence of the cluster *şÉ* instead of *şt*: *aşĉéptu* 'I wait', *aşĉérgu* 'I delete', *şÉi©* 'I know', etc. for *aştéptu*, *aştérgu*, *şti©* in most of the idiolects. There are forms without syncope, like the Farsherots: *mu×ári* 'woman', *şuţálă* 'stirrer', as compared to *m×ári*, *şţálă* in other idiolects.

The relative superlative is built with *na˜* (of Slavic origin): *na˜ búnlu* 'the best', like the Gramostens. Also like the Gramostens, the future tense is built with the conjunction *să*: *va să sta©*.

As far as the lexical field is concerned, in Cruşova we registered the use of *furculíţă*, which we have not heard at other Aromanians (nor at those from Romania), which use *ţimbídă* (< Gr. *τσιμπίδα*), *bunélă* (cf. Bg. *bunela*), *pirúnă* (< Gr. *πιρούνι*).

This presentation of the Aromanian spoken today shows the preservation of characteristics inherited from Latin, which are built as *a common base for all dialects of Romanian*. This common base provided the field for developing the *Romance awareness*, to be found everywhere, by numerous artefacts in the lands inhabited by Aromanians. This same common base allowed for Aromanians to develop in the modern period their *Romanian awareness*, the same-people and same-language unity with the Romanians from the north of the Danube.

The long cohabitation with the peoples where Aromanians live has made it possible to develop loaned elements from Greek, Albanian, Slavic, Turkish,

languages with which however they have never identified themselves either ethnically or linguistically.

The geographic area and the social status of Aromanian spoken by different generations, as well as the characteristic of the selected lexical material have been described by making permanent comparisons with Dacoromanian, proving once again Dimitrie Cantemir's claim, in *Descriptio Moldaviae* (*De antiquis et hodiernis Moldaviae nominibu*s) (1716): "Thus, this Walachia, which is placed in Moesia, is a part of the great Walachia, i.e. the old Dacia, and its inhabitants are the remnants of those Romans which the Emperor Aurelianus, as I said, had transposed from Dacia to Moesia. No one could disclaim that these exact Romans [are the ancestors] of the Romanian population, that lives up to this day in the entire Epir and around Ianina, as the language itself stands as a proof, considering that they also speak Romanian [...]".

Aromanians are those by means of whom the Rome effigy persists in the Balkan area.

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