Notes on the Istro-Romanian nominal domain

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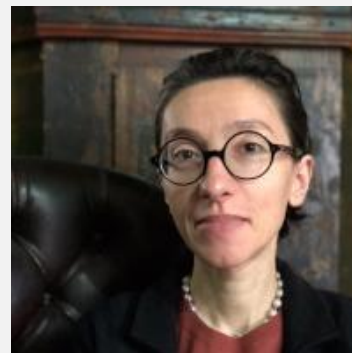Linguistics, Philology, and Phonetics Faculty

- **hISTROX** = *History of the Istro-Romanian Language (2024-2027)*

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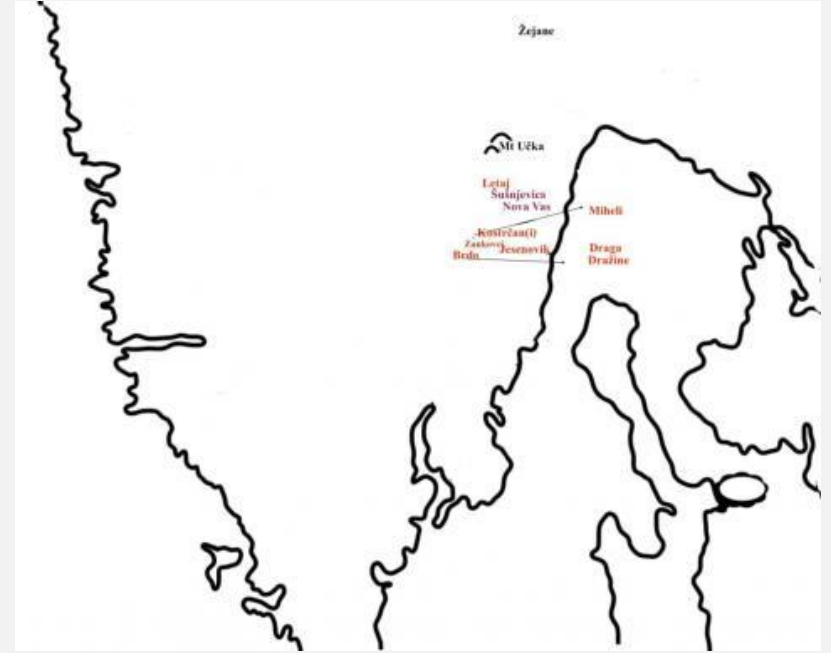
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1. Roadmap

- Daco-Romance & Istro-Romanian
- Corpus
- Possessives
- Case-marking
- Conclusions

Ukraine

Hungary

Croatia

Moldova

Romania

(Daco-)Romanian

Serbia

Bulgaria

Istro-Romanian

Albania

Macedonia

Aromanian

Greece

Megleno-Romanian

Daco-Romance

Zooming in on Istro-Romanian

- first mention of Istro-Romanian: end of the 17th c.
  (Ireneo della Croce, *Historia antica e moderna, sacra e profana della città di Trieste* 1698);

- Ireneo della Croce mentions the latinity of this language & its resemblance to what we now call 'Romanian' (its speakers referred to themselves as 'rumeri').

- **our data**: materials gathered from the 18th c. until 2014-2015; collections of dialect texts, linguistic atlases, glossaries, and the Istro-Romanian dictionary of Petru Neiescu (the last volume of which is in press) & recent archive material
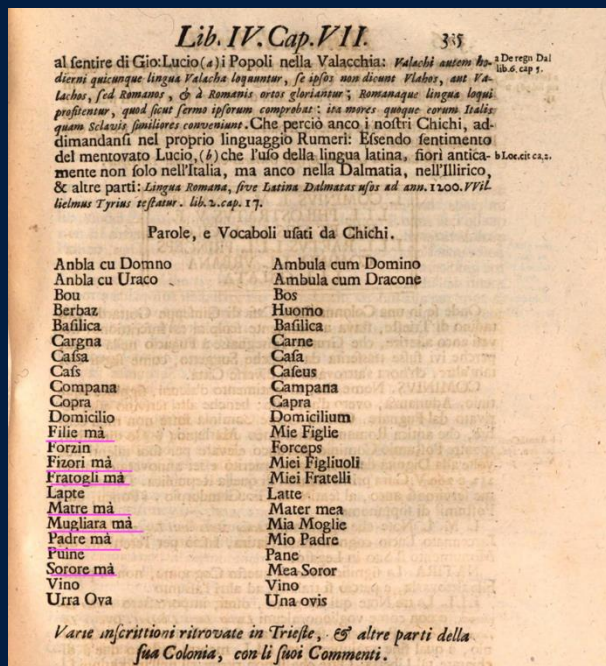
NB:

- collections of dialect texts & their limitations:
    - tendency to modify some forms on the model of (Daco-)Romanian;
    - forms rendered/transcribed in different ways;
    - materials gathered only from the 18th c. onwards and & all of them can be consulted directly.

- all Istro-Romanian speakers are bilingual ⇒ effects on linguistic structures;
    - Vrzić & Doričić (2014: 107-108): 'individual bilingualism' & 'pervasive individual bilingualism';
    - our study: the consequences of bilingualism for language use and structure.

NB:

- Vrzić & Singler (2016: 52): 'balanced bilinguals' *vs* 'typically Croatian-dominant';

- Istro-Romanian has been profoundly influenced by Čakavian (though no single generally accepted classification of Čakavian exists); Central Čakavian dialects: either CČ Mune for Zejanski (Northern Istro-Romanian) or the CČ area of Eastern Istria for Vlaski (Southern Istro-Romanian).

2.
Possessives

Lib. IV. Cap. VII. 335

al sentire di Gio: Lucio (a) i Popoli nella Valacchia: *Valachi autem ho-* a De regn Dal *dierni quicunque lingua Valacha loquuntur, se ipsos non dicunt Vlahos, aut Va-* lib. 6. cap 5. *lachos, sed Romanos, & à Romanis ortos gloriantur; Romanaque lingua loqui profitentur, quod sicut sermo ipsorum comprobat: ita mores quoque eorum Italis quam Sclavis similiores conveniunt.* Che perciò anco i nostri Chichi, ad- dimandansi nel proprio linguaggio Rumeri: Essendo sentimento del mentovato Lucio, (b) che l'uso della lingua latina, fiori antica- b Loc.cit ca.2. mente non solo nell'Italia, ma anco nella Dalmatia, nell'Illirico, & altre parti: *Lingua Romana, sive Latina Dalmatas usus ad ann. 1200. VVil- lielmus Tyrius testatur. lib. 2. cap. 17.*

Parole, e Vocaboli usati da Chichi.

Anbla cu Domno	Ambula cum Domino
Anbla cu Uraco	Ambula cum Dracone
Bou	Bos
Berbaz	Huomo
Basilica	Basilica
Cargna	Carne
Cassa	Casa
Cass	Caseus
Compana	Campana
Copra	Capra
Domicilio	Domicilium
Filie mà	Mie Figlie
Forzin	Forceps
Fizori mà	Miei Figliuoli
Fratogli mà	Miei Fratelli
Lapte	Latte
Matre mà	Mater mea
Mugliara mà	Mia Moglie
Padre mà	Mio Padre
Puine	Pane
Sorore mà	Mea Soror
Vino	Vino
Urra Ova	Una ovis

Varie inscrittioni ritrovate in Trieste, & altre parti della sua Colonia, con li suoi Commenti.

- Ireneo's list: some postnominal possessives; but they are invariable; these unusual forms are not attested later;

- Were these forms in use? Were they forms... *alla veneta*?

- configurations of (Daco-)Romanian noun phrases marked with oblique morphology:

  - the possessor phrase is (strictly) adjacent to the Determiner position of the preceding possessee phrase; the possessor phrases immediately follow the (suffixal) definite article (e.g., *carte**a** mamei* 'my mother's book', *prieten**ul** surorii lui Ion* 'John's sister's friend');

  - they are preceded by the so-called 'possessive-genitival article' **al**, a sort of prepositional determiner which agrees in gender and number with the 'possessee', displaying the forms **al** (masc. sg.), **a** (fem. sg.), **ai** (masc. pl.), **ale** (fem. pl.).

(1) *cartea interesantă **a** mamei* 'mother's interesting book' (⇒ a constituent intervenes between possessee and possessor)

(2) *cărțile sunt **ale** mamei* 'the books belong to my mother' (⇒ possessive predication)

(3) *cărțile mamei și **ale** colegilor ei* 'my mother's and her colleagues' books' (⇒ coordinated possessor phrases)

(4) *cartea mea este ruptă, o voi folosi pe **a** mamei* 'my book is torn, I'll use my mother's' (⇒ argument position; full possessive constructions)

- pronominal agreeing possessors ('possessive adjectives') have roughly the same distribution:

(5) cart*ea* *mea* 'my book'

(6) *o poză* ***a*** *mea din tinerețe* 'a picture of me from my youth', *această carte* ***a*** *ta* 'this book of yours', *cartea asta* ***a*** *ta* 'this book of yours'

(7) *cartea este* ***a*** *mea* 'this book is mine'

(8) *cărțile mamei și* ***ale*** *mele* 'my mother's books and mine'

(9) *cartea mea este ruptă, o voi folosi pe* ***a*** *ta* 'my book is torn, I'll use yours'

NB:

- pronominal agreeing possessors are typically postnominal;

- highly marked constructions with prenominal possessives, where the [**al** + Possessor] constituent occurs in DP-initial position.

(10) ***ai mei prieteni*** *au plecat toți* 'all my friends have left'

- in the recordings found in Zvjezdana Vrzić's ELAR archive (2009-2014) the situation is different from (Daco-)Romanian;

- puzzling data: **5** patterns of possessive configuration:

1 (11) ***mɒja mɛ mes‿a*** (ELAR.Ruov011) 'my mother went' (⇒ definiteness overtly expressed through the definite determiner & possessive follows the head noun)

2 (12) ***mɛ mɒje*** *zitʃɛja* (ELAR.Ruov024) 'my mother used to say'; *la **sɛ** **rodbina*** (ELAR.Ruov011) 'her relatives' (⇒ possessive precedes both definite & indefinite nouns)

3 (13) *kum a **Franina nostru** fost* (ELAR.Ruov014) 'how was our Franina' (⇒ head noun is a proper name ⇒ syntactic movement of the noun to the D position; Longobardi 1994)

4 (14) ***nostra Zvjezdana** zitʃɛja ʃɒ* (ELAR.Ruov016) 'our Zvjezdana used to say' (⇒ head noun is a proper name ⇒ no syntactic movement of the noun to the D position)

5 (15) *verit‿a **tʃɒtʃe me*** (ELAR.Ruov014) 'my father came' (⇒ no definite determiner & the posssessive follows the head noun)

- in all these configurations, possessives overtly agree in phi-features with the noun;

- **Is there really a Determiner-Possessive-Noun pattern in Vlaski?** Then one might assume that the Possessive-Noun pattern can be seen as derived from the pattern Determiner-Possessive-Noun, as the possessive is merged in the D position? But then can the Possessive-Noun pattern also be conceived of as derived from the pattern Determiner-Possessive-Noun, due to the syntactic movement of the noun in the D position?
  - no such assumptions can be made for Vlaski;
  - in Vlaski possessives very rarely appear in postnominal position; most frequently they appear in prenominal position and seem no longer to be sensitive to the adjacency constraint;
  - there is no insertion of the **linker *a***, unlike in Daco-Romanian.

- postnominal position is extremely rare, marginal in Vlaski, where the prenominal position is normal, almost generalized;

- postnominal configurations fall into two broad categories according to adjacency to the Determiner position:
  - configurations in which possessives appear to be adjacent to the determiner (as in Daco-Romanian) ⇒ kinship terms (e.g., *mɒja mɛ* 'my mother')?
  - configurations in which the adjacency constraint is not fulfilled & in which in Daco-Romanian a bare possessive is excluded (e.g., *tʃɒtʃe me* 'my father')

- a hundred years earlier: in the texts collected by the Belulović brothers for Pușcariu, the distribution of postnominal possessives was still controlled by the adjacency constraint;

- already in Pușcariu's texts, postnominal possessives have a much lower frequency than prenominal possessives:

   (16) *si mɛre nɒzat ən kɒla sɛ* (Pu.5) 'and he goes on his way'
   (17) *mes‿a saki pre sɛ kɒle* (Pu.34) 'each one went on their way'

NB:

- bare possessives in configurations either in which different nouns do not allow the suffixation of the definite article, or the Determiner position is lexicalized by a free standing indefinite article or a demonstrative (a morphologically complex determiner?): the postnominal position in contemporary Vlaski is no longer controlled by the constraint of adjacency to the Determiner position;

- few remnants that have been preserved from an earlier stage: kinship terms; 25 occurrences of postnominal possessive configurations, 15 with kinship nouns: 13 in the singular/2 in the plural, no person restrictions + 2 Vocative phrases with nominalized draga + 1 proper noun + 7 common nouns, postnominal forms are not limited to inalienable possession, they are restricted to human referents;

- **feminine nouns**: opposition between definite and bare largely retained in Šušnjevica and Nosolo but neutralized in other southern villages (i.e., Kostrčan, Letaj, Brdo, Miheli, Trkovci, Jesenovik-Sucodru, Škabići);

(18) *tʃale postole nostre* (ELAR.Ruov011) 'those shoes that belong to us'

(19) *okoli de nostra kɒsa* (ELAR.Ruov035) 'close to our house'

- Zjezdana Vrzić's recordings: speakers from these other villages use possessives in prenominal position with a noun that does not bear the definite article (e.g. *mɛ mɒjɛ* 'my mother') – which is to be expected – and with one that apparently has an article (e.g., *mɛ mɒja* 'my mother');

- younger speakers who have learned Vlaski as an L2 also use the *maja* form with prenominal possessives (*vostra mɒja* 'your mother').

Definite forms or maybe... not?

- **feminine nouns**: in Šušnjevica, an apparently definite-looking form is combined with an indefinite/nominal and followed by an agreeing pronominal possessor (20);

(20) *a fost **o** ɲiv**a** **nostra*** (ELAR.Ruov017) 'there was a plot [of land] of ours'

- not only nouns borrowed from Čakavian/Croatian/Venetian/Italian (e.g., *teta* 'aunt', *kujina* 'cousin', *kuɲɒda* 'sister-in-law' etc.) exhibit neutralization of the determiner – non-determiner distinction; so do those inherited from Latin (e.g., *kɒsɛ* 'house', *sor* 'sister').

(21) *ke ʃi* [**mɛ** *sor**a***] *a lukrɒt* (ELAR.Ruov014) 'my sister worked as well' (cf. Cr./Čak. *moja sestra*)

- **masculine or *genus alternans* nouns**: well-behaved, but here too an unexpected form occurs;

(22) *jo‿m zis* [*lu nostru prevtu*] (ELAR.Ruov016) 'I told our priest' (cf. Cr. *našem svedeniku*)

- Are the possessive forms in *tʃɒtʃe **me*** 'my father'/*nono **me*** 'my grandfather' enclitics (cf. Daco-Romanian *taică-**miu*** 'my father', *bunică-**miu*** 'my grandfather')?
  - there is no formal contrast between *tʃɒtʃe **me*** 'my father'/*nono **me*** 'my grandfather' and *fetʃuru **me*** 'my son' (cf. Daco-Romanian: *taică-**miu*** 'my father' vs *feciorul **meu*** 'my son') ⇒ enclitic possessives are phonetically reduced in Daco-Romanian; they are stressed;
  - the forms do not display a restricted distribution (they are not limited to singular, unmodified kinship terms, see ***none** vostre* 'your grandmothers'); enclitic possessives almost exclusively combine with closed list of singular kinship(-like) terms, usually terms that denote an inalienable possession, nouns denoting (close) social relations, and nouns like 'house, home';
  - the same forms appear in predicative position and in elliptical contexts.

Strong adjectival forms *vs* enclitics in Vlaski?

- Is the postnominal position associated with a focus interpretation?

  - more testing is needed (whether the speakers focalize the postnominal possessives by means of a marked intonation and a prosodic peak)

  (23) **baʃ** *la bloku* **nostru** (ELAR.Ruov026) 'exactly at our block'

- **vocatives** are taken to either lack a D head (Longobardi 1994, Szabolcsi 1994) or are regarded as regular DPs (Moro 2003) that allow for definite articles and adjectival modification (Hill 2007); vocative DPs occupy the structural position above ForceP, the highest functional projection within the CP domain (Moro 2003);

(24) *Drag**a m\varepsilon** Vivjanitsa!* (ELAR.Ruov021) 'My dear Vivjanitsa!'

- Are these remnants of previous configurations (configurations that are preserved until today in Daco-Romanian)? Are these examples indicative that the adjacency constraint to the Determiner position is still viable in Vlaski?
    - things must be interpreted *cum grano salis*; these configurations are attested both in Croatian & Čakavian (cf. *Djevojko **moja** lijepa!* 'My beautiful girl!')

(25) *Djevojko **moja** lijepa!* 'My beautiful girl!' ⇒ the vocative noun *djevojko* 'girl' moves from its base-generated position to Top^0, where it checks its [+specific] feature, leaving the possessive *moja* 'my' behind in Def^0; the adjective remains within the inflexional domain (Caruso 2016)

(26) *Djevojko lijepa **moja**!* 'My beautiful girl!' ⇒ the adjective *lijepa* 'beautiful', which is emphasized, moves to the specifier position of FocP (Caruso 2016)

- native speakers argue that there is another possible configuration: ***Moja** djevojko lijepa!* 'My beautiful girl!'; ***Moj** mužu drag**i**!* 'My dear husband!'

- **predicative positions**: bare possessives are generalized in predicative position; formally, there is no difference between possessives in DPs, those in predicative position, and in elliptical structures;

(27) *tʃəsta‿i̞ **mɛ*** (ELAR.Ruov021) 'this is mine'

(28) ***me** fost‿a bur* (ELAR.Ruov013) 'mine was good'

- bare possessives occur in such configurations due to Croatian/Čakavian influence;

- both Bošković (2005, 2008, 2009) and Zlatić (1998): determiners and adjectives are nondistinct categories in Croatian; since determiners behave as adjectival modifiers, they belong to the same class and have an adjectival status within NPs;
    - Bošković (2005, 2008, 2009) & Zlatić (1998): all prenominal elements are categorially adjectives (phrasal adjuncts); they occupy either the specifier position of the NP (multiple specifiers) or are adjoined to the NP ⇒ the NP is the highest nominal projection within the nominal complex;

- Should the data provided by Bošković and Zlatić lead to the conclusion that Croatian/Čakavian NPs lack a DP projection?

- the phenomenon of NP-coordination concerns the conjunction structures inside the noun phrase (cf. also Heycock & Zamparelli 2005): split *vs* joint conjunction in the DP;

(29) **mɛ** *mɒje ʃi* **me** *tʃɒtʃe* (ELAR.Ruov011) 'my mother and father'

(30) **te** *tʃɒtʃe ši mɒja* (ELAR.Ruov011) 'your father and mother'

(31) **vostra** *mɒja ʃi tʃɒtʃe* (ELAR.Ruov013) 'your mother and father' [+Politeness]

(32) **vostru** *nono ʃi non*a (ELAR.Ruov014) 'your grandmother and grandfather' [+Politeness]

- the syntactic position of determiners cannot be NP-internal; the agreement with the first NP within a coordinated phrase also shows that a coordinated phrase cannot be treated as a single plural constituent.

- Daco-Romanian: postnominal possessive must be strictly adjacent to the definiteness marker suffixed on the head noun (*fat**a** mea* 'my girl'); if the adjacency between the possessive and the definite nominal is violated, a functional element/linker ***a(-)*** must occur which agrees in gender and number with the head noun;

- the linker ***a*** - also attested in Vlaski - appeared when the adjacency constraint was not satisfied or when the possessive appeared in prenominal position, etc.
  - Pușcariu's texts (early 20th c.): under the influence of Croatian/Čakavian, the prenominal position starts to become more widespread; this context first gives way to the use of the linker ***a***.

NB:

- the linker **a** is used in Pușcariu's texts mostly in:

    - predicative position (e.g., *tu‿sti **a** mɛ* (Pu.46) 'you are mine');
    - elliptical contexts (e.g., *ts‿oi̯ **a** me dɒ* (Pu.28) 'I will give you mine);
    - contexts with the universal quantifier (e.g., *a tot **a** sev* (Pu.44) 'all of his…');
    - prenominal position (e.g., *lu **a** me kɒ* (Pu.29) 'to my horse').

- Istro-Romanian possessives were originally postnominal and that their selection was controlled by the adjacency constraint;

- under the influence of Croatian/Čakavian, Vlaski changed the patterns of possessives, placing them in the prenominal position;

- while the adjacency constraint was motivated, the insertion of the linker *a* was also motivated;

- as the adjacency constraint is no longer motivated, the prenominal position becomes more widespread, and the distribution of possessives according to Croatian/Čakavian patterns becomes more widespread, **the linker *a* disappears**.

3.
The rise and fall of synthetic case-forms

- from Latin to Romance: synthetic > analytic shift in the nominal domain (cf. Ledgeway 2012)

(33) Lat. *lup**ō*** > It. ***a**l lupo*,

(D)Ro. *lup**ului***

(STANDARD) DACO-ROMANIAN (GR, SOR, Maiden 2016)	AROMANIAN	MEGLENO-ROMANIAN	ISTRO-ROMANIAN
lupului 'to/of the wolf'	*luplui̯* 'to/of the wolf'	*boului̯* 'to/of the ox' & *lu pitʃworu* 'to/of the foot' & *lu kalului̯* 'to/of the horse'	*lupului̯* 'to/of the wolf' & *lu lupu* 'to/of the wolf'
fetei̯ 'to/of the girl'	*(a) fe̯atiʎei̯* 'to/of the girl' & *a li fe̯ati* 'to/of the girl'	*fe̯atəʎə, fe̯atəʎei̯, (a) fe̯atiʎei̯* 'to/of the girl' & *lu/la fe̯atə* 'to/of the girl'	*fɛteʎei̯* 'to/of the girl' & *(a) le fɛte* & *lu fɛtɛ* 'to/of the girl'

(STANDARD) DACO-ROMANIAN (GR, SOR, Maiden 2016)	AROMANIAN	MEGLENO-ROMANIAN	ISTRO-ROMANIAN
lupului 'to/of the wolf'	*luplui̯* 'to/of the wolf'	*boului̯* 'to/of the ox' & *lu piʧworu* 'to/of the foot' & *lu kalului̯* 'to/of the horse'	*lupului̯* 'to/of the wolf' *lu lupu* 'to/of the wolf'
fetei̯ 'to/of the girl'	*(a) fe̯atiʎei̯* 'to/of the girl' & *a li fe̯ati* 'to/of the girl'	*fe̯atəʎə, fe̯atəʎei̯, (a) fe̯atiʎei̯* 'to/of the girl' & *lu/la fe̯atə* 'to/of the girl'	*fɛteʎei̯* 'to/of the girl & *(a) le fɛte* & *lu fɛtɛ* 'to/of the girl'

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lupului 'to/of the wolf'	*lupluį* 'to/of the wolf'	*bouluį* 'to/of the ox' & *lu pitʃworu* 'to/of the foot' & *lu kaluluį* 'to/of the horse'	*lupuluį* 'to/of the wolf' *lu lupu* 'to/of the wolf'
fetẹi 'to/of the girl'	*(a) fẹatiʎeį* 'to/of the girl' & *a li fẹati* 'to/of the girl'	*fẹatǝʎǝ*, *fẹatǝʎeį*, *(a) fẹatiʎeį* 'to/of the girl' & *lu/la fẹatǝ* 'to/of the girl'	*fɛteʎeį* 'to/of the girl' & *(a) le fɛte* & *lu fɛtɛ* 'to/of the girl'

The view from Daco-Romance

Source: https://istrox.ling-phil.ox.ac.uk/istro-romanian-maps

Zooming in on Istro-Romanian

- **synthetic (oblique) case-marking**: obsolete today, but part of the southern Istro-Romanian system (e.g., *frate**lui*** 'of/to the brother', *ćaće**lui*** 'of/to the father', *zie**lor*** 'of/to the aunts')
  - Pușcariu (1926: 149) exclusively discusses the masculine singular definite forms & masculine and feminine plural definite forms

- **analytic (oblique) case-marking**: preposition *lu* followed by the relevant (pro)noun (Popovici 1914: 64-65; Pușcariu 1926: 148; Kovačec 1971: 105; 1984: 567)

  (34) ***lu** uomiri* (Ca.17) 'of/to the men', ***lu** țesaru* (Mo.41) 'of/to the king', ***lu** muľera* (Ca.19) 'of/to the woman', ***lu** mame* (Mo.86) 'of/to the mother', ***lu** Mario* (Ca.94) 'of/to Mario'
  (35) ***lu** te muľere* (Ca.70) 'of/to your wife', ***lu** ćåstă fętă* (Po1.54) 'of/to this girl'

NB:

- feminine singular nouns: the marker -*e* can be seen (Pușcariu 1926: 148); cf. *lu muľera* (Ca.19) & *lu muľere* (Po1.70) 'to/of the woman';

- throughout our corpora there are fewer than 10 examples with dative and genitive nouns from Nosolo and Šušnjevica where *lu* is also preceded by the preposition *a* (cf. Pușcariu 1926: 149): *a lu* grofu (Po1.60) 'to/of the count', *a lu* maie (Iro1.34) 'to/of the mother', *a lu* cesaru (Ca.72; 73) 'to/of the king', *a lu* våțile (SâFă.56) 'to/of the cows'.

- **synthetic (oblique) case-marking**: through inflexion (e.g., genitive/dative forms of the definite article: -*lui*, -*ľei*, and -*lor*);

(36) *muľerľei* (Mo.155) 'to/of the woman', *plugului* (Iro1.27) 'to/of the plow', *omului* (SâFă.46) 'to/of the man', *porčilor* (ELAR.Ruoz006) 'to/of the pigs', *ženskilor* (ELAR.Ruoz005) 'to/of the women'

- **analytic (oblique) case-marking**: through the particles *le* and *lu*, placed before singular feminine and masculine (common and proper) nouns.

(37) *lu craľu* (Ca.133) 'to/of the king', *le fiľe* (Mo.151) 'to/of the daughter', *le sore* (SâFă.62) 'to of the sister', *lu Pańoc* (SâFă.131) 'to/of Pańoc', *le Ånine* (ELAR.Ruoz029) 'to/of *Ånina*'

NB:

- almost no feminine singular definite oblique forms (cf. 20th c. southern Istro-Romanian; Pușcariu 1926: 149); only two attested examples: *muľerľei (a seľe)* (Mo.155) 'his wife' & *a muľarľei (a lu tatu)* (Ca.120) 'the thief's wife';

- feminine singular nouns: oblique case is marked through a final -*e* (Kovačec 1971: 99; 1984: 567), e.g., *le sore* (SâFă.62) 'to/of the sister';

NB:

- ***lu*** & ***le***: complex internal structure, i.e., they also mark gender, a characteristic typical of determiners (Kovačec 1971: 101; 105-106; 1984: 567);
    - ELAR & other corpora (e.g., Pu3, SâFă, Pe-Ne): ***lu*** found before plural nouns (*lu betâri* 'of/to the elder'; ELAR.Ruoz040) & singular feminine nouns (*lu måje Jeline* 'of/to mother Jelina'; ELAR.Ruoz005);
    - loss of gender agreement between *le*/*lu* & noun: ***lu*** = determiner > preposition (cf. southern Istro-Romanian).

"

Este posibil ca **lungimea cuvântului** să condiționeze exprimarea analitică sau sintetică a genitiv-dativului la singular, dar se pare că acestea [sunt] **variante facultative**.

(Kovačec 1971: 101)

- **Optionality?** Kovačec himself tried to put forward a series of explanations, e.g. nouns that precede adjectives in definite contexts encode oblique case synthetically (cf. Kovačec 1971: 101-102);

  - counterexamples: *lu omu bęt* (Po1.82) 'of/to the drunk man', *le måje betâre* (ELAR.Ruoz029) 'of/to the old mother' (cf. also Sârbu & Frățilă 1998: 28-29);

  - both 20th and 21st c. corpora show a clear preference for the analytic case-marking: *muľarľei* (Ca.120) > *le muljåre* (ELAR.Ruoz005) 'of/to the woman';

    - Mo: 6 nouns where oblique forms are synthetically encoded; SâFă: 6 nouns; ELAR: 20 nouns (but 12/20: *om* 'person/husband' or *omiri* 'people/husbands')

- the coexistence of the two forms: a consequence of an overall shift from syntheticity to analyticity (cf. southern Istro-Romanian);

(38) *muľarľei* (Ca.120) > **le** *muljåre* (ELAR.Ruoz005) 'of/to the woman'

- synthetic and analytic case-marking strategies: determiners (e.g., possessives, demonstratives, indefinite articles);

(39) a. *av **amelję** sore kuvintåt* (ELAR.Ruoz032) 'he talked to my sister'

    b. *Čåsta **le me** måje priiåteľniţa* (SâFă.141) 'this is my mother's friend'

(40) a. *c-av-o dat **acelve** om* (Mo.168) 'that they give it to that man'

    b. *zis-av ceaia **lu cela** betăru* (Mo.120) 'they told to that old man'

- such forms are deviant under Kovačec's account, i.e., no intrinsic functional explanation for why the same form can surface in the very same position, e.g., prenominally, in three different ways (cf. *čestvę om*, *lu čestvę om*, *lu česta om* 'of/to the man');
- synthetic > analytic shift in the case of determiners.

- the shift is not identical for (definite) nouns and determiners, inasmuch as the latter seem to be at an earlier stage;

  - intermediate stage of the shift (oblique case concomitantly marked through both *lu* or *le* & the oblique synthetic form): attested for determiners, but not for nouns (though cf. *lu oilor* (Bu.122), from Roć);

  (41) *fratele **le a melję** måje* (ELAR.Ruoz020) 'my mother's brother'

  - feminine singular synthetic oblique forms: attested for determiners, but not for nouns

  (42) **urlję ženke** din Žejân filja (ELAR.Ruoz020) 'the daughter of a woman from Zejane'

4. Conclusions

- Istro-Romanian possessives were originally postnominal and that their selection was controlled by the adjacency constraint; as the adjacency constraint is no longer motivated, the prenominal position becomes more widespread, and the distribution of possessives according to Croatian/Čakavian patterns becomes more widespread, the linker *a* disappears;

- the shift from syntheticity to analyticity seen in Southern Istro-Romanian at the beginning of 20th c. is now seen in present-day Northern Istro-Romanian; however, (definite) nouns and determiners are at different stages, with the latter displaying more synthetic forms.

Thank you

References

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Appendix

Adjacency to the Determiner position	Proper Nouns	Complex	Non-adjacency to the Determiner position
mɒja mɛ mes‿a ən trst la sɛ rodbina (ELAR.Ruov011)	ma ganes dosti ku Marica nostra din tʃepitʃ (ELAR.Ruov033)	je totu nɒrodu nostru trɒs‿a ən Trst (ELAR.Ruov024)	tʃɒtʃe me əʎ ganɛ (ELAR.Ruov012)
ke mɒja mɛ kosɛja (ELAR.Ruov012)	kum a Franina nostru fost (ELAR.Ruov14)	pokoịni frɒtele me (ELAR.Ruov011)	onda verit‿a tʃɒtʃe me (ELAR.Ruov014)
kaị mɒja mɛ (ELAR.Ruov012)		ma jo ʃtivu baʃ me tʃɒtʃe ʃi sta frɒtele me, jeʎ a pobirɛi̯t (ELAR.Ruov026)	nono me tʃija (ELAR.Ruov014)
mɒja mɛ pokoịna mɒje (ELAR.Ruov031)		jo‿m vut tʃale postole nostre (ELAR.Ruov011)	a ʃi none vostre dila tʃɒ, jɒle isto fost‿a isto tʃɒ (ELAR.Ruov033)
nona mɛ vut‿a vaịka, jɒ fost‿a dosta– vaịka (ELAR.Ruov033)		(VB): e tʃe vɛ domislits de pərva pritʃest vostra	ʃi inka prik a fost o ɲiva nostra (ELAR.Ruov017)

Configurations with postnominal possessives

Adjacency to the Determiner position			
VB: jo‿m untrɒt fost ku fetʃuru me (ELAR.Ruov026)			
a narodu s‿a fakut ʃi kɒsele, ʃi pinezi ʃi pus‿a fetʃori selj ən bure ʃkole (ELAR.Ruov037)			
je vut‿a feʃtidu se (ELAR.Ruov012)			
ʃkola nostra mɒnk/tʲe n‿a fost (ELAR.Ruov015)			
baʃ la bloku nostru (ELAR.Ruov026)			

Configurations with postnominal possessives

Br: a) nôno; b) nôna
Š: a) un n<u>o</u>no (doj n<u>o</u>ni)[222]; b) o n<u>o</u>nɛ (do n<u>o</u>ne)[223]
N: a) un n<u>o</u>no (doj n<u>o</u>ni)[224]; b) o n<u>o</u>nɛ (do n<u>o</u>ne)
J: a) un n<u>o</u>no (doj n<u>o</u>neti); b) o n<u>o</u>na (do n<u>o</u>ne)
L: a) un n<u>o</u>no (doj n<u>o</u>neti); b) o n<u>o</u>na (do n<u>o</u>ne)
B: a) un n<u>o</u>no (doj n<u>o</u>ni)[225]; b) o n<u>o</u>na (do n<u>o</u>ne)
Šk: a) un did (doj d<u>i</u>zi)[226]; b) o bǻba (do bǻbe)
T: a) un n<u>o</u>no (doj n<u>o</u>ni); b) o n<u>o</u>na (do n<u>o</u>ne)
Z: a) un did (doj did); b) o n<u>o</u>na (do n<u>o</u>ne)
M: a) un n<u>o</u>no (doj n<u>o</u>ni); b) o n<u>o</u>na (do n<u>o</u>ne)
K: a) un n<u>o</u>no (doj n<u>o</u>ni); b) o n<u>o</u>na (do n<u>o</u>ne)
Č: a) nôno; b) nôna
R: a) dj<u>e</u>də; b) mam<u>ə</u>

503. a) Unuk - Nepot al bunicului - Nipote (m.) di nonno; b) Unuka - Nepoată a bunicului - Nipote (f.) di nonno

Ž: a) ən un<u>u</u>k (doj un<u>u</u>č); a) o un<u>u</u>ka (do un<u>u</u>ke)
Br: a) unùk; b) unùka
Š: a) un un<u>u</u>k (doj un<u>u</u>c); b) o un<u>u</u>kɛ (do un<u>u</u>ke)
N: a) un un<u>u</u>k (doj un<u>u</u>č), un obn<u>u</u>k (do obn<u>u</u>č); b) o un<u>u</u>kɛ (do un<u>u</u>ke), o obn<u>u</u>kɛ (do obn<u>u</u>ke)
J: a) un obn<u>u</u>k (doj obn<u>u</u>č); b) o obn<u>u</u>ka (do obn<u>u</u>ke)
L: a) un obn<u>u</u>k (doj obn<u>u</u>č); b) o obn<u>u</u>ka (do obn<u>u</u>ke)
B: a) un obn<u>u</u>k (doj obn<u>u</u>č); b) o obn<u>u</u>ka (do obn<u>u</u>ke)
Šk: a) un nuk (doj nuč); b) o nuka (do nuke)
T: a) un obn<u>u</u>k (doj obn<u>u</u>č); b) o obn<u>u</u>ka (do obn<u>u</u>ke)
Z: a) un un<u>u</u>k (doj un<u>u</u>ci); b) o un<u>u</u>ka (do un<u>u</u>ke)
M: a) un obn<u>u</u>k (doj obn<u>u</u>č); b) o obn<u>u</u>ka (do obn<u>u</u>ke)
K: a) un obn<u>u</u>k (doj obn<u>u</u>č); b) o obn<u>u</u>ka (do obn<u>u</u>ke)
Č: a) nùk; b) nùka
R: a) ńepu<u>o</u>t; b) ńepu<u>a</u>tə

The data in Filipi's *Atlas* show that the forms are not necessarily definite, that the mere presence of -*a* at the end of a feminine noun is not irrefutable proof of definiteness.

Are *nona* and *rodbina* definite forms?

481. a) Rodbina - Rude - Parentela: b) Po ocu - După tată -
Paterna; c) Po majci - După mamă - Materna; d) Stečena
(brakom) - Prin căsătorie - Acquisita (in via di matri-monio)

Ž:	a, b, c, d) ən rod (doj rod)[191]
Br:	a) rodovîna, rödbina, rôd; b) po öcu; c) po mâjki; d) od žěne
Š:	a, b, c, d) o rodvinɛ (do rodvine), o rodbinɛ (do rodbine), o parentɛ (do parente)
N:	a, b, c, d) o rodvinɛ (do rodvine), o rodbinɛ (do rodbine)
J:	a, b, c, d) o rodvina (do rodvine)
L:	a, b, c, d) o rodbina (do rodbine)
B:	a, b, c) o rodbina (do rodbine)
Šk:	a, b, c, d) o rodvina (do rodvine)
T:	a, b, c) o rodbina (do rodbine)
Z:	a, b, c) o rodbina (do rodbine)
M:	a, b, c) o rodbina (do rodbine)
K:	a, b, c) o rodbina (do rodbine)
Č:	a) rôd; b) po ôcu; c) po mäteri; d) stečenä
R:	a) ńam; b) đi pi taṭ; c) đi pi mumɔ; d) đi pi mujarje, đi pi uom

The data in Filipi's *Atlas* show that the forms are not necessarily definite, that the mere presence of -*a* at the end of a feminine noun is not irrefutable proof of definiteness.

Are *nona* and *rodbina* definite forms?

486. Mati - Mamă - Madre

Ž:	o måje (do måje)
Br:	mâjka
Š:	o måjɛ (do måje)
N:	o måjɛ (do måje)
J:	o måja (do måje)[198]
L:	o måja (do måje)
B:	o måja (do måje)
Šk:	o måja (do måje)
T:	o måja (do måje)
Z:	o måjɛ (do måje)
M:	o måja (do måje)
K:	o måja (do måje)
Č:	màma, màt
R:	mu̱mə

The data in Filipi's *Atlas* show that the forms are not necessarily definite, that the mere presence of -*a* at the end of a feminine noun is not irrefutable proof of definiteness.

Are *nona* and *rodbina* definite forms?

fetʃori meʎ, nu spelavɛi̯ts kɒpu (ELAR.Ruov036) əntrɛba me, mila me (ELAR.Ruov021)	draga mɛ lipotitsa draga moja ljepotice (ELAR.Ruov021) draga mɛ Vivjanitsa draga moja Vivijanica (ELAR.Ruov021)
draga mɛ (ELAR.Ruov021)	mile me sore drago moje sunce (ELAR.Ruov036)
	mila mɛ ʃinjora draga moja gospođo (ELAR.Ruov036)
	mili me fetʃor drago moje dijete (ELAR.Ruov036)
	omu me dragi mužu moj dragi (ELAR.Ruov014)

Predicative position	Nominal ellipsis context (where there is elision of the possessee)
zlɒta‿i̯ mɛ (ELAR.Ruov011)	pre grɒnitsa nostri n‿a lasɒt, ma Talijɒni ne (ELAR.Ruov011)
kum əi̯ tɛ (ELAR.Ruov011)	me fost‿a bur (ELAR.Ruov013)
zlɒta‿i̯ tɛ (ELAR.Ruov011)	noʃtri n‿a nigdiri lukrɒt (ELAR.Ruov013)
tʃ‿a tʃa tsirut kaj ke‿i̯ ʃi nostru (ELAR.Ruov015)	ali saki re tʃast de pre seʎ pure tot tʃe mai̯ muʃɒt pote (ELAR.Ruov015)
ovu fost‿a te, a se nu, ai̯ pʎerzut (ELAR.Ruov018)	ʃi noʃtri pokle (ELAR.Ruov015)
tʃəsta‿i̯ mɛ (ELAR.Ruov021)	de noʃtri, de otʃa (ELAR.Ruov015)
tʃəsta‿i̯ mevo. tʃa ɒto n‿a fost mevo (ELAR.Ruov024)	kən verija de nostri otʃa zos (ELAR.Ruov015)
tʃa‿i̯ mevo (ELAR.Ruov024)	VB: noʃtri tot?
nanke Lugu juva‿i̯ nostru (ELAR.Ruov024)	meʎ (ELAR.Ruov016)
tʃa n‿ɒ fost tʃəsta‿i̯ te, tʃəsta‿i̯ me (ELAR.Ruov034)	VB: nitʃur n‿a mes fɒra, tʃe ne, de vostri (ELAR.Ruov016)