

BORROWING OF FORMS AND SYNTACTIC PATTERNS
IN THE TER/TORRE VALLEY DIALECT OF SLOVENIAN

Danila Zuljan Kumar

Slovenian in the Autonomous Region
of Friuli-Venezia Giulia in Italy

The Ter/Torre Valley dialect is spoken in Venetian Slovenia. The area of Venetian Slovenia represents the westernmost part of the Slovenian ethnic territory. It is located in the Italian province of Udine, one of four provinces in the Italian autonomous region of Friuli-Venezia Giulia. Venetian Slovenia measures about 577 km² in area and is divided into east, west, and central parts. The area's inhabitants are called Venetian Slovenes. The name was acquired in the Middle Ages in order to distinguish the Slovenian population of the foothills of the Alps from the Romanic inhabitants of this region living in the plains of Venetian Slovenia.

The forebears of the Venetian Slovenes quite likely settled the area in the first half of the 8th century. The incoming Slavs drove the Lombard tribes into the plains and settled the hills and high valleys, leaving the lowlands to the Romanized Lombards and the even earlier Romanized Gauls, the future Friulians. It was during this period in the history of Venetian Slovenia that the Slovenian-Romance language border was established and stabilized. The Germanic Lombards created a state on the territory of present-day Italy, fortifying its eastern border with the Avar state by means of a defensive system – the Lombard limes. This ran along the edge of Venetian Slovenia and later on contributed to the creation of the Slovenian-Friulian-Italian linguistic boundary at the edge of the Friulian plain.¹

Following the collapse of the Patriarchate of Aquileia in 1420, the territory of Venetian Slovenia came under the Venetian Republic, which granted it a

¹ B. Marušič, *Brda in državne meje*, in *Briški zbornik*, ed. P. Stres, Dobrovo, Občina Brda, 1999, pp. 116-131; M. Kos, *Zgodovina Slovencev od naselitve do petnajstega stoletja*, Ljubljana, Slovenska matica, 1955, pp. 22-34.

large measure of autonomy in administration and the judiciary due to its peripheral location. When the area came under Austrian rule after the fall of the Venetian Republic in 1797, those special rights were abolished. In 1866 Venetian Slovenia once again came under Italy, where it has remained to the present day, albeit with a brief intervening period (when it was taken over by Austria in 1917 and 1918). Due to its remoteness from industrial centers, the area began to experience strong emigration of Slovenes after the Second World War, primarily to western European countries (especially Belgium). Emigration was further accelerated by a devastating earthquake in 1976, which claimed many victims among the population.²

In the past Slovenes living in the Province of Udine did not have the same recognized minority rights as Slovenes in Italy living in the provinces of Trieste and Gorizia, which means that Venetian Slovenia did not have a Slovenian school, and Slovenian language also disappeared from use in church. Today the center of Slovenes in Venetian Slovenia, the town of Špeter/San Pietro al Natisone, has a bilingual primary school and preschool. However, the problem of emigration from the sparsely populated mountain villages remains critical even today. In contrast to the situation in the past, people now emigrate to lowland villages and towns of Friuli-Venezia Giulia, which indicates that in future Slovenian language in Venetian Slovenia will not be as territorially limited as it was in the past, when it was known exactly which villages were Slovenian and which were settled by the predominant Friulian population. However, it will be up to social groups as to whether the use of Slovenian will be preserved in interpersonal communication or not.

Three Slovenian dialects are spoken in Venetian Slovenia: the Natisone Valley dialect (the *nadiško* dialect), which is spoken along the Nadiža/Natisone River and its tributaries, the Resian dialect, which is spoken in the alpine valley of Resia, and the Ter/Torre Valley dialect, which is spoken along the Ter/Torre River and its tributaries in eastern Venetian Slovenia in Italy and in the village of Livek in Slovenia.

Ter/Torre Valley dialect of Slovenian

This article focuses on the contact of the Ter/Torre Valley dialect with Friulian and Italian. The Ter/Torre Valley dialect was first recorded as early as 1479, in the Cividale manuscript, but was later not used in written form. Today, for various reasons – emigration, lack of a language policy, Italiani-

² *Enciklopedija Slovenije I A-Ca*, Ljubljana, Mladinska knjiga, 1987, pp. 227-235.

zation – the dialect has a highly reduced number of speakers and is threatened with extinction. In 2009, a dictionary of the Torre Valley dialect was published, based on material collected mainly at the end of the 19th century by the Polish linguist Baudouin de Courtenay.³

The main characteristics of the Ter/Torre Valley dialect of Slovenian

Due to the low population density of the area settled and its isolation from other areas where Slovenian is spoken, this dialect is one of the most archaic of Slovenian dialects. It has preserved archaic Slovenian linguistic features like:⁴

- a. the PSI. prefix *vy- ‘from, out of’: TrV.d. *vebie'ratə*, SSln. *izbrati* ‘to choose’; TrV.d. *vedri:etə*, SSln. *izdreti* ‘to pull out’; TrV.d. *vesie'katə*, SSln. *izsekati* ‘to cut out’; TrV.d. *vlá:žja* ‘spring’ (< PSI. *vylazb ‘spring’);⁵
- b. the ending -e (< PSI. *-ě) in DAT and LOC SG of o-declination: TrV.d. *pə'ce* ‘to a dog’, TrV.d. *tu če'le* ‘on the forehead’;
- c. the expression of future time with the verb *hoteti* ‘to want to’: TrV.d. *ja 'čon nardi:tə* *I want to do it ‘I will do it’: SSln. *jaz bom naredil* ‘I will do it’.

Since the area across which the Ter/Torre Valley dialect is spoken is extensive, its local speeches differ considerably among themselves. Their shared characteristics are the following:

- a. the presence of the inherited tonal opposition on the long vowels; the distinction

³ L. Spinozzi Monai, *Il Glossario del dialetto del Torre di Jan Baudouin de Courtenay*, Udine, Consorzio Universitario del Friuli – S.-Petersburg, S.-Petersburg Branch of the Archive of the Russian Academy of Science – Ljubljana, Inštitut za slovenski jezik Frana Ramovša, ZRC SAZU, 2009.

⁴ The examples in the following sections are mainly taken from the local dialect of the village of Subid – Subit (D. Zuljan Kumar, *Vprašalnica za Slovenski lingvistični atlas: Subid – Subit*, 2011, [manuscript]), some examples are taken from the speeches of the villages of Bardo – Lusevera (T. Logar, *Vprašalnica za Slovenski lingvistični atlas: Bardo – Lusevera*, 1965, [manuscript]) and Viškorša – Monteaperta (T. Logar, *Vprašalnica za Slovenski lingvistični atlas: Viškorša – Monteaperta*, 1996 [manuscript]). The examples are written in the Slovenian national phonetical transcription. The examples (from 1 to 15) in sections *Borrowing of syntactic patterns* and *Syntactic interferences in word order* (see below) are taken from B. Balloh, *Mlada lipa. Pravāce domah narete*, izbor besedil iz publikacije *Mlada lipa / testi scelti dalla pubblicazione Mlada lipa*, ur. R. Dapit, L. Trusgnach, D. Zuljan Kumar, Čedad, Kulturno društvo Ivan Trinko / Circolo di cultura Ivan Trinko, 2010. In the examples from 1 to 15 a simplified phonetical transcription is used.

⁵ F. Bezljaj, *Etimološki slovar slovenskega jezika* 4, eds. M. Snoj, M. Furlan, Ljubljana, SAZU, Inštitut za slovenski jezik, 2005, p. 310.

- between a rising and a falling pitch is phonologically relevant: TrV.d. *lá:s*, SSIn. *glas* ‘voice’ : TrV.d. *lâ:s*, SSIn. *las* ‘hair’;
- b.* the presence of the opposition between long and short vowels in both final and non-final stressed syllables, in contrast to most other Slovenian dialects, in which this opposition only exists in final stressed syllables: TrV.d. *la'kota* ‘hunger’, TrV.d. *ža'lostan* ‘sad’;
- c.* contrastive vowel length is phonologically relevant; TrV.d. *p'rax* ‘threshold’ : TrV.d. *prâ:x* ‘dust’;
- d.* the absence of the accent retraction of the types **sestrâ* ‘sister’, **kozâ* ‘goat’, **mâ-glâ* ‘fog’: TrV.d.: *sest'ra*, *ko'za*, *ma'la*;
- e.* accent retraction of the type *mo'ža* > Tr.V.d. *mó:žâ*_{GEN.SG} ‘of husband’;
- f.* PSl. **ŋ* > TrV.d. *ń*: TrV.d. *ó:ń*, SSIn. *ogenj* ‘fire’;
- g.* PSl. **ǰ* > TrV.d. *j*: TrV.d. *z uó:jo*, SSIn. *z voljo* = *z veseljem* ‘with pleasure’;
- h.* SSIn. **-m* > TrV.d. *-n*: *jú:dan*_{DAT.PL} ‘to people’;
- i.* PSl. **ř* > TrV.d. *č*: TrV.d. *nù:ajč*, SSIn. *noč* ‘night’;
- j.* SSIn. **g* > TrV.d. *Ø*: TrV.d. *bó:at*, SSIn. *bogat* ‘rich’ TrV.d. *le'datâ* SSIn. *gledati* ‘to watch’, TrV.d. *ó:bâce*, SSIn. *gobice* ‘little mushrooms’, TrV.d. *potení:tâ*, SSIn. *potegniti* ‘to pull’, TrV.d. *'ært*, SSIn. *grd* ‘ugly’, TrV.d. *ospodâ:r*, SSIn. *gospodar* ‘landlord’, TrV.d. *ò:ujje*, SSIn. *oglje* ‘charcoal’;
- k.* in loan words *g* is preserved: TrV.d. *gò:la* ← It. *gola*, Friul. *gole* ‘fondness of sweets’, TrV.d. *golâ:r* ← Friul. *golâr* ‘collar’, TrV.d. *guštuò:zøn* ← Friul. *gustôs* ‘tasteful’ TrV.d. *cin'gerca* ← Friul. *zingar* ‘gipsy’, TrV.d. *magâ:ri* ← It., Friul. *magari* ‘if only’, TrV.d. *marangòn* ← Friul. *marangon* ‘joiner’, TrV.d. *səgura:tâ* ‘to assure’ ← Friul. *sigurâ* ‘to assure’;
- l.* traces of vocal harmony: TrV.d. *há'a*_{GEN,ACC.SG}, SSIn. *njega* ‘him’, TrV.d. *ma'a*, SSIn. *moja* ‘my’;
- m.* under the influence of Friulian and Italian the case system is also simplified in the Ter/Torre Valley dialect, with one case ending for non-nominative forms being generalized to all other cases apart from the nominative, for example TrV.d. *par oknah*_{LOC} ‘by the windows’ = *v čaštâ od našeh hišah*_{GEN} ‘in the attics of our houses’ = TrV.d. *pod ščelinah*_{INSTR} ‘under the stairs’.⁶

Borrowing of forms and patterns

While the Ter/Torre Valley dialect is a highly archaic dialect of Slovenian, at the same time, due to the constant contact with neighboring Romance lan-

⁶ D. Zuljan Kumar, *O subiškem govoru terskega narečja*, in *Globinska moč besede*, ed. M. Jesenšek, Maribor, Dravska tiskarna, 2011, pp. 370-378. M. Šekli, *Tersko narečje v kraju Subid*, in *Terska dolina: Terska dolina v besedi, sliki in pesmi Viljema Černa*, *The Torre Valley: The Torre Valley in Speech, Photos and Songs of Viljem Černo*, ed. M. Kožuh, G. Avon, Celje, Celjska Mohorjeva družba; Gorica, Goriška Mohorjeva družba, 2006, pp. 161-188.

guages, Friulian and Italian, it, along with the Resian dialect, is one of the most Romanized Slovenian dialects. Borrowing from Friulian and Italian can be seen in all aspects of the language and includes borrowing of forms and patterns.

Borrowing of forms

Borrowing of forms or “direct diffusion”⁷ involves an outright transfer of elements: phonemes, morphemes and vocabulary. The examples of borrowed forms in the Ter/Torre Valley dialect from Friulian and Italian are the following:

- a. phonemes: Friul. *ǵ*: TrV.d. *ǵeli:ezo*, SSln. *železo* ‘iron’, TrV.d. *partiǵà:n*, SSl. *partizan* ‘partisan’; TrV.d. *ja obrè:jnǵen* ‘I find’ (*obri:əstə* ‘to find’);
- b. morphemes: Friul. augmentative suffix *-on*:⁸ TrV.d. *uocò:n* ‘ram’, TrV.d. *muxò:n* ‘hornet’ TrV.d. *babòn* ‘ugly authoritative woman’ and Friul. diminutive suffix *-in*: TrV.d. *jopi:n* ‘pullover’, TrV.d. *ouci:n* ‘little sheep’;
- c. vocabulary; TrV.d. has many Friulian loanwords: TrV.d. *bake’tatə* ← Friul. *bachetâ* ‘to chatter’, TrV.d. *bara’tatə* ← Friul. *baratâ* ‘to change’, TrV.d. *bú:orja* ← Friul. *buerie* ‘chestnut’, TrV.d. *konda’natə* ← Friul. *condanâ* ‘to condemn’, TrV.d. *morò:za* ← Friul. *morose* ‘girlfriend, fiancée’, TrV.d. *tà:ula* ← Friul. *taule* ‘table’, TrV.d. *trò:ja* ← Friul. *troi* ‘path’;
- d. loanwords from Italian are of latter origin: TrV.d. *gù:da* ← It. *guida* ‘guide’, TrV.d. *anti:fona* ← It. *antifona* ‘hint, tip’, TrV.d. *ospì:cjo* ← It. *ospizio* ‘orphanage’.

Borrowing of patterns

In contact linguistics, borrowing of patterns is called “interference which does not involve an outright transfer of elements”,⁹ “transfer of patterns”,¹⁰ “indirect diffusion”,¹¹ “copying semantic or functional properties of structu-

⁷ Y. A. Aikhenvald, *Reflections on language contact, areal diffusion, and mechanisms of linguistic change*, in *Sprachbund in the West African Sahel. Afrique et Langage 11*, eds. B. Caron and P. Zima, Paris, Peeters, 2006, pp. 23-36.

⁸ Interestingly, in the majority of the western Slovenian dialects the meaning ‘male cat’ is expressed by the Friulian suffix *-on* to the root *mačk-* while in TVR.d. the Slovenian suffix *-ak* (*má:čak*) is used instead.

⁹ U. Weinreich, *Languages in Contact, Findings and Problems*, The Hague, Paris, New York, Mouton Publishers, 1953, p. 9.

¹⁰ Y. A. Aikhenvald, *Reflections on language contact, areal diffusion, and mechanisms of linguistic change*, cit., p. 25.

¹¹ *Ibidem*.

ral units”,¹² “syntactic calques”,¹³ “grammatical and lexical replication”,¹⁴ “structural borrowings”¹⁵ etc. In this article I examine (potentially) copied syntactic structures first at the phrase level, then in the word order. The study is contrastive, in which I juxtapose the syntactic structure in the Ter/Torre Valley dialect, in standard Slovenian, in Friulian, and in Italian.¹⁶

Borrowing of syntactic patterns at the phrase level

The analysis at the phrase level is limited to the verb phrase, because it is “of central importance in linguistic crossing of languages in contact”.¹⁷ I focus on the so-called syntactic calques (or loan syntactic translations) in verb phrases, in which we copy a structure in the source language (language A) using the linguistic structure of the target language (language B). Ter/Torre Valley calque verbal structures are composed of the phrase primitive verb (*delati* ‘to do’, *imeti* ‘to have’, *biti* ‘to be’, *dati* ‘to give’) + noun or adjective, as in the source language, i.e. Friulian and Italian. Examples [1], [2], [3] and [4] follow this pattern.

Example [1]

TrV.d.: On je *dielu za guido* ruomarjan.

*He worked for a guide.

‘He was a guide to the pilgrims.’

¹² P. Siemund, *Language contact. Constraints and common paths of contact-induced language change*, in *Language Contact and Contact Languages* [= Hamburg Studies on Multilingualism, Vol. 7], eds. P. Siemund, N. Kintana, Amsterdam, Philadelphia, John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2008, p. 7.

¹³ M. Skubic, *Skladenjski kalki romanskega izvora v zahodnih slovenskih govorih*, “Razprave”, 13 (1990), p. 153; M. Skubic, *Interferenze sintattiche di origine romanza nelle parlate slovene occidentali. La strutturazione del sintagma aggettivale, della frase, del periodo*, “Linguistica”, 31 (1991), p. 361.

¹⁴ B. Heine, *Contact-induced word order change without word order change*, in *Language Contact and Contact Languages*, cit., p. 37.

¹⁵ M. Bayer, *Sprachkontakt deutsch-slavisch. Eine kontrastive Interferenzstudie am Beispiel des Ober- und Niedersorbischen, Kärntnerslovenischen und Burgenlandkroatischen*, [Berliner Slavistische Arbeiten, 28], Frankfurt am Main-Berlin-Bern-Bruxelles-New York-Oxford-Wien, Peter Lang, 2006, p. 309.

¹⁶ Friulian examples are written in the official writing system, approved by the Province of Udine and used in official documents. I am grateful to dr. Giorgio Cadorini for the review of Friulian examples.

¹⁷ J. Holm, *Languages in Contact, The Partial Restructuring of Vernaculars*, Cambridge, Cambridge Univ. Press, 2004, p. 72.

It.: Lui faceva da guida ai pellegrini.
 Friul.: Al faseve di guide ai pelegrins.

Example [2]

TrV.d.: Će ćeš, ja tə a *ćon stortə pritə* ta s ta svéta nazaj, ma tuo će biet zlo težko zate an zanj!

‘If you want, I can make him come back from the other side, but it will be very hard for you and him!’

It.: Se vuoi, te lo farò tornare di nuovo in questo mondo, ma questo sarà terribile per te e per lui.

Friul.: Se tu vuelis, jo tal fās tornā di chel altri mont, ma chel al sarà une vore teribil par te e par lui.

Example [3]

TrV.d.: *Ma potriebo* dne hčere za mo ni vidə njaa ženo an njaa hči, kə *nimajo zdrauja*.
 *He has a need for a girl to look after his wife and his daughter who do not have health.

‘He needs a girl to look after his wife and his daughter who are not healthy’.

It.: Ha bisogno di una ragazza per aver cura di sua moglie e di sua figlia che non stanno in buona salute.

Friul.: Al a bisugne di une frutate che viodi di so femine e di so fie, che no an salūt.

Example [4]

TrV.d.: Hoduč an hoduć so pəršli tə pred dno veliko rieko, kə je *dielala strah*.

‘Walking and walking they arrived to a big river that stroke them with awe’.

It.: Camminando e camminando sono arrivati fino a un gran fiume che faceva paura.

Friul.: Cjaminant e cjaminant a son rivâts a di un grant flum che al faseve pôre.

However, in the Ter/Torre Valley dialect, phrases consisting of a primitive verb + noun or adjective which are not calqued are also in use, but these are used in place of semantically awakened verbs, as cited in example [5]. In such cases there is an expansion of the meaning and syntactic role of verbal primitives, which on the one hand indicates reduced linguistic competence of speakers¹⁸ as a result of the development of the Ter/Torre Valley dialect in isolation from the rest of the Slovenian hinterland and on the other hand the general characteristic of spoken language to use verbal primitives instead of semantically explicit verbs.¹⁹

¹⁸ V. Caharija Pizzolito, *Interference z italijanščino v pisnih izdelkih učencev srednje šole v Nabrežini*, “Jezik in slovstvo”, 37 (1992), pp. 223-224.

¹⁹ Ibidem, pp. 224-225; M. Skubic, *Romanske jezikovne prvine na zahodni slovenski jezikovni meji*, Ljubljana, Znanstveni inštitut Filozofske fakultete, 1997, p. 122; M. Bayer, *Sprachkontakt deutsch-slavisch. Eine kontrastive Interferenzstudie am Beispiel des Ober- und Niedersorbischen, Kärntnerslovenischen und Burgenlandkroatischen*, cit., pp. 289-291.

Example [5]

TrV.d.: Je se je *djelala motæca* merkat uodo.

*Her_{DAT} was doing dizziness when observing water

‘She became dizzy when she was observing water.’

Syntactic interferences in word order

In this section I examine changes in word order in the Ter/Torre Valley dialect, for which I assume that they arose due to language contact with Romance languages. I will focus on the contact-induced changes in sentences with adverbial adjunct in initial position, contact-induced changes in word order of a subordinate clause introduced by a lexical subordinator and the exposed sentence elements.

Word order is one of the most likely linguistic features to be affected by language contact.²⁰ Thomason notes that in addition to vocabulary borrowing, word order is one of the linguistic elements in which borrowing is easiest.²¹

Although in this paper I treat only contact-induced word order changes in the Ter/Torre Valley dialect in sentence structure, we also find word order changes in phrases, for example in the position of nominal attributes, which rather than preceding the nominal head tend to be postposed, thereby matching the word order of the Italian and Friulian source (model) languages.²²

Example [6]

TrV.d.: dna sklieda lesena, SSln. lesena skleda.

*one dish wooden.

‘a wooden dish’.

²⁰ D. F. Reidl, *Language contact: German and Slovenian* [Diversitas linguarum, vol. 21], Bochum, N. Brockmeyer, 2008, pp. 97-98; S. Grey Thomason, *Language Contact. An Introduction*, Washington DC, Georgetown Univ. Press, 2001; B. Heine, *Contact-induced Word Order Change Without Word Order Change*, cit., p. 33. Y. A. Aikhenvald, *Grammars in Contact, A Cross-Linguistic Perspective*, in *Grammars in Contact, A Cross-Linguistic Typology*, eds. Y. Alexandra Aikhenvald, R. M. W. Dixon, Oxford, Oxford Univ. Press, 2007, p. 16.

²¹ S. Grey Thomason, *Language Contact*, Edinburgh, EUP, 2001, p. 69.

²² In Italian the so-called relational adjectives (aggettivi di relazione/relazionali) postpone the nominal head (M. Dardano, P. Trifone, *La nuova grammatica della lingua italiana*, Bologna, Zanichelli, 2007⁵, p. 198). In Friulian adjectives can precede or postpone the nominal head, however, the most frequently they are placed after the noun (J. Erat, *Furlanska slovnica, Gramatiche furlane*, http://sabotin.p-ng.si/~jezik/furlanscina/Erat_2006_furlanska_slovnica.pdf, 2006, pp. 167-169).

Adverbial adjunct in initial position

In comparison to morphologically modest languages, like English, where word order in some cases is the only “clue to the identity of the grammatical roles of the subject and direct object of the verb”,²³ the word order in SSln. and Slovenian dialects is free due to the well-developed case system. However, the most usual word order is SVO.

Example [7]

SSln.: Juana je kuhala juho.

TrV.d.: *Juana*_{sub} *je*_{cop.be.3.sg} *kuhala*_{past.partic.F} *župo*_{obj.acc.}

‘Juana was cooking soup.’

If a sentence expressing a completed or intended action, i.e. an action in the past or future tense, introduces an adverbial adjunct, the order SVO in SSln. and all Slovenian dialects except western ones changes to the order ADV.ADV + COP + SUB + PAST.PARTIC + OBJ

Example [8]

SSln.: *Vsak dan*_{adv.adv} *je*_{cop.be.3.sg} *Juana*_{sub} *kuhala*_{past.partic.F} *juho*_{obj.acc.}

*Every day was Juana cooking soup

‘Juana was cooking soup every day.’

In TrV.d. word order remains the same as if introduced by the subject.

Example [9]

TrV.d.: *Usak dan*_{adv.adv} *Juana*_{sub} *je*_{cop.be.3.sg} *kuhala*_{past.partic.F} *župo*_{obj.acc.}

‘Every day Juana was cooking soup.’

I assume that in the Ter/Torre Valley and other western Slovenian dialects there has been a copying of word order from Friulian and Italian, since in these two languages the inversion described above does not occur.

It.: Ogni giorno Juana cucinava la zuppa.

Friul.: Ogni di Juana e cusinave la sope.

Word order in subordinate clause introduced by a lexical subordinator

In SSln. SVO word order in subordinate clause introduced by a lexical subordinator (a subordinate conjunction, a relative or interrogative pronoun) is reversed: the subject is placed in the third position, after the copula, like in the examples [10] and [12].

Example [10]

SSln.: *Noč je bila globoka*, *KO*_{subord.conj} *so*_{cop} *naši zvončki*_{sub} *začeli*_{past.partic} *zvoniti*_{inf.}

²³ P. Downing, M. Noonan, *Word Order in Discourse* [Typological Studies in Language, 30], Amsterdam-Philadelphia, John Benjamins Publishing Company, 1995, p. 9.

*Night was deep, when COP_{BE.PL.PAST.T} our bells began to ring
 ‘It was a deep night, when our bells began to ring.’

In TrV.d. and other western Slovenian dialects word order remains the same, and the subject is placed immediately after the lexical subordinator, like in the examples [11] and [13].

Example [11]

TrV.d.: *Je bla nuoic vesoka, kar našje zuončičəSUB soCOP.3.PL počneləPAST.PARTIC.F zuoniətINF.*
 *was night high, when our bells COP_{BE.PL.PAST.T} began to ring.
 ‘It was a deep night, when our bells began to ring.’

In these examples as well there is transfer of the Romance word order.

It.: Era notte fonda quando le nostre campane hanno cominciato a suonare.
 Friul.: E are gnot alte cuant che lis nestrīs cjampanīs e an tacāt a sunā.

Example [12]

SSIn.: *ČeravnoSUBORD.CONJ jeCOP bilaBE.PAST.PARTIC.F ta uboga ženaSUB zelo prestrašenaSUB.COMP, je šla vseeno k sveti maši.*
 *though was_{BE.PAST.PARTIC.F} that poor woman very scared, COP.SG went nevertheless to holy mass.
 ‘Though the poor woman was really scared, she nevertheless went to the holy mass.’

Example [13]

TrV.d.: *CelihSUBORD.CONJ ta boa ženaSUB jeCOP.SG blaBE.PAST.PARTIC.F zlo prestrašenaSUB.COMP, je šla uselih h svete maše.*
 *though that poor woman was_{BE.PAST.PARTIC.F} very scared, COP.SG went nevertheless to wholly mass
 It.: Anche se la povera donna era molto spaventata, è andata comunque alla santa messa.
 Friul.: Ance se la puere femine e are tant spaventade, e je lade istes a mese.

Exposed sentence elements

In the Ter/Torre Valley dialect the subject [14] or adverbial adjunct [15] of the main clause can be placed in front of the dependent clause, which is followed by the main clause.

Example [14]

TrV.d.: *NonaSUB, kar je pāršla uon s hišeDEP.CLAUSE, je čula jokuć še nje hčiMAIN.CLAUSE.*
 *Grandma when came out of the house, heard crying her daughter.
 ‘When grandma came out of the house, she heard her daughter crying.’

Example [15]

TrV.d.: *Dan dan, prez jatə majnemu nač, je šu z Bərbotan tje u Čedad.*
 *One day without to say nobody_{DAT} nothing he went with Barbo_{INSTR} to Čedad.
 ‘One day without saying anything to anybody he went to Čedad.’

In SSln. an exposed sentence element is possible only if it is repeated in the predicate with a demonstrative pronoun,²⁴ as in examples [16] and [17].

Example [16]

SSln.: *Jurij, ta pa zna.*

'Jurij, he is the one that knows how to do things.'

Example [17]

SSln.: *V gore, tja vodi moja pot.*

'To the mountains, there leads my way.'

An exposed subject or adverbial adjunct does not occur in Slovenian dialects except for those dialects in contact with Italian and Friulian.²⁵ I therefore assume that examples [14] and [15] are cases of transfer of word order pattern from Italian and Friulian.

It.: Un giorno, senza dire niente a nessuno, è andato a Cividale.

Friul.: Une de, cence dî nie a nisun, al e lâ t a Cividat.

It.: La nonna uscendo di casa, ha sentito anche sua figlia piangere.

Friul.: La none, jessint di cjase, e à sintût ancje sô fie a vai.

Conclusions

The Ter/Torre Valley dialect syntactic system is in process of restructuring of patterns due to the influence of Italian and Friulian languages. We can assume that this process can gradually lead to structural isomorphism, whereby the syntactic systems of the Friulian and Italian languages will be almost fully replicated in the Ter/Torre Valley dialect. On the other hand, research on the formation of subordinate clause structures in the Ter/Torre Valley dialect has shown that the basic model of building sentence structures in the dialect is still Slovenian despite the observable influence of the construction of Romance sentence structures.²⁶ This confirms Aikhenvald's claim that convergence does not necessarily result in the creation of identical grammars and that languages in contact often "obtain their distinct typological profiles",²⁷ no matter how intensive the language contact is.

²⁴ J. Toporišič, *Slovenska slovnica*, Maribor, Obzorja, 2000, p. 634.

²⁵ D. Zuljan Kumar, *Nekaj besednorednih posebnosti v nadiškem in briškem narečju*, "Jezikoslovni zapiski", 9 (2003), p. 76; M. Skubic, *Romanske jezikovne prvine na zahodni slovenski jezikovni meji*, cit., p. 112.

²⁶ D. Zuljan Kumar, *Neosebne glagolske oblike in podredne stavčne strukture v subijektem terskem govoru*, "Jezikoslovni zapiski" [in print].

²⁷ Y. A. Aikhenvald, *Reflections on language contact, areal diffusion, and mechanisms of linguistic change*, cit., p. 13.

List of abbreviations

ACC = accusative, ADV.AD = adverbial adjunct, COP = copula, DEP.CLAUSE = dependent clause, GEN = genitive, F = feminine, Friul. = Friulian, INSTR = instrumental, It. = Italian, LOC = locative, OBJ = object, PAST.PARTIC = past participle, PAST.T = past tense, PRED = predicate, PRES.T = present tense, PRON = pronoun, PSl. = Proto-Slavic, SSln. = Standard Slovenian, SUB. = subject, SUB.COMP = subject complement, SUBORD.CONJ = SUBORDINATE CONJUNCTION, Tr.V.D = Ter/Torre Valley dialect, 3.SG = third person singular, 3.PL = third person plural