

If only Arvanitika had an admirative mood! Between evidentiality and counterfactuality¹

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1. Introduction

Speaking of the verbal category of mood in Albanian, DEMIRAJ (1976: 22) observes that while in the other Indo-European languages the number of moods has been reduced, mainly through syncretism of the subjunctive and the optative, in Albanian we have the opposite tendency, to grammaticalize in complete morphological paradigms as many aspects of verbal modality as possible. The result of this tendency is the division of the Albanian verbal system into five moods: as well as the indicative, the subjunctive, the optative and the imperative, it has also developed a fifth mood, the admirative (“habitorja”), “by means of which the speaker expresses [in the present] surprise at a repeated action” (146)²; in addition, according to NEWMARK (1982: 35), the modal function of three more structures based on the subjunctive often allows them to be classified as separate moods. These are the conditional, the jussive, and the so-called subjunctive-admirative.

It is almost a commonplace in research on the subject that the admirative (and therefore also the subjunctive-admirative), although extremely widespread in Albanian dialects, is absent from those of Greece and Italy, as well as from Çam, the southernmost dialect of the main Albanian-speaking area³. A logical approach to the problem of the absence of this mood in the above dialects leads inescapably to one or the other of the following conclusions: either the verbal system had once included an admirative which was lost for various reasons (e.g. in the case of Arvanitika as a result of intense contact with Greek, which does not possess this grammatical category; for a possible explanation of its absence from Standard Modern Greek see JOSEPH 2003: 315), or else it simply never developed (e.g. because these dialects were isolated

- 1 I am grateful to Professor TZITZILIS and Professor FRIEDMAN for carefully reading this article and helping me with valuable comments and suggestions to improve it. Of course, all responsibilities rest solely with the author.
- 2 It must be stressed here that research in this area has progressed considerably since the time of DEMIRAJ, and the concept of Albanian admirativity is no longer identified with the wider, typologically, concept of mirativity (AIKHENVALD 2006: 195–216), which is confined to the “unprepared mind”, unexpected new information or surprise resulting from it. According to FRIEDMAN (2000: 342–347, 2003: 191), the admirative mood of Albanian can have a mirative meaning, but this is not its basic sense. Therefore, admirativity is the Albanian equivalent of nonconfirmativity in Friedman’s terminology, and is covered by the more general term non-firsthand evidentiality in AIKHENVALD’s terminology (2006: 25, 210). For the relevant terminology see also footnote 4.
- 3 The observation that the admirative is not attested in Arvanitika and Arbëreshë first appears in AJETI (1969: 100), and has been reiterated many times up to the present day (e.g. ALTIMARI 1994: 215, FRIEDMAN 2004: 121–122, 2005a: 34, 2005b: 39, TOMIĆ 2006: 395 etc.).

before its use became general). DEMIRAJ (1976: 154) takes the former view, reaching the conclusion that the category was probably once present in all dialects. In support of his view that Çam once possessed an admirative mood he refers to PEDERSEN's (1895: 18) observation that "the admirative is used in songs, not in prose", in spite of the fact that in his own work, in the "Erveheja" of Çami (MYDERRIZI 1957) and in HAXHIHASANI's material (1971: 177) there is not one example of the use of the admirative. The small number of Arvanitika forms from REINHOLD and MEYER's published material which Demiraj interprets as probably admiratives rather than inverted past perfects will be discussed below. Demiraj's view is shared by TSITSIPIS (1981: 313–317), who supports the hypothesis of subsequent loss of the admirative in Arvanitika with three arguments: a) the mood is attested in the oldest known Albanian text, i.e. in BUZUKU (1555), b) it is present in both the main groups of Albanian dialects, Tosk and Geg, and c) it is retained in the Albanian dialect of the Ukraine (ISLAMI 1965: 165–186), which, like Arvanitika, is an isolated Tosk dialect outside today's Albanian borders.

The second position, i.e. that in fact the admirative mood probably never existed in these dialects, is accepted by ALTIMARI (1994) and adopted by FRIEDMAN (2005a: 34): "In the Arbëresh dialects of Italy, the Arvanitika dialects of Greece, and the Lab and Çam dialects of the extreme south of contiguous Albanian linguistic territory, it appears that the inverted-perfect-based admirative never developed [...]."

In this paper I analyse a series of "admirative" types from the Arvanitika dialect of the island of Hydra which until now had not attracted the attention of scholars, but which can not only help us to answer the question of whether Arvanitika ever had an admirative mood, but can also provide us with evidence for the way in which this dialect of Arvanitika codifies the category of evidentiality⁴; basically it is incor-

4 According to most definitions, evidentiality is the category used to present "a situation by reference to its reception by a conscious subject" (JOHANSON 2000: 61), or to show "the evidence they [= the speakers] have for the factual status of the proposition" (PALMER 2001: 8), or to mark "the source of the information of the statement" (DE HAAN 2000), or to codify "the speakers' evaluation of the narrated event [...] predicated upon the nature of the available evidence" (FRIEDMAN 2005a: 26). The speaker's access to the available sources or evidence may not be confined to his/her senses (and especially to sight), but may be indirect (reported) or inferential. For a typological division of evidentiality in the wider area of the Balkans and the Near East see COMRIE 2000: 3. For discussion of whether the generic grammatical category in which evidentiality (and admirativity) should be included is indeed that of mood (modality), or that of status, see JAKOBSON 1957, ARONSON (1977: 13–15), FRIEDMAN (1986: 169, 185). AIKHENVALD (2006: 3, 5–7 (and footnote 1), 18) considers that evidentials have the basic meaning "source of information", and are not necessarily connected with either the truth value of a statement, the speaker's level of certainty regarding it, or his/her attitude to it. She maintains that there is a clear distinction between evidentiality and the various modalities such as epistemic modality, conditionality, counterfactuality etc., which is often obscured by the attempts of linguists to describe "exotic" systems of evidentiality in terms of the modally oriented systems of European languages. She therefore comes to the conclusion that evidentiality is an independent category and not a subcategory of modality, aspect or tense (for similar conclusions see DELANCEY 1997, DE HAAN 1999;

porated into the system as a means of expressing counterfactual conditionality. This information, when viewed from the standpoint of comparative and Balkan linguistics, may be seen to have wider typological significance. The presentation and analysis of the material has therefore been organized on three levels, morphosyntactic, semantic and comparative/Balkan, while a sociolinguistic interpretation was also found to be necessary, since Arvanitika has always existed in a situation of intense language contact with Greek as the dominant language; also shows all the signs of a dying language.

2. The material

Almost all the “admirative” types I have collected are drawn from the work of the scholar Panagiotis KOUPIORIS⁵, a native of Hydra, in particular from his study (1879) of 3rd person pronouns in the Arvanitika dialect of Hydra. In his examples of the syntax and usage of these pronouns, which he subsequently translates into archaizing Greek, such “admiratives” appear quite frequently. Here I have put all these examples together with their context into two groups based on the presence or absence of the complementizer *tə*; the first group (A) consists of counterfactual conditionals, and the second (B) of counterfactual wishes. In the first line I present the phrases in phonetic transcription, retaining (in monotonic) the author’s translation because it is of some interest how Koupitoris, a fluent speaker of the dialect who was also familiar with the “Standard” Albanian of his time, interprets and finds equivalents for their usage and meaning. In the second line, I have added an English translation:

A. Complementizer *tə* + “admirative” (conditionals)

1. *t i dətəkɛʃə = ɛi oi doínɣi, t i θótəkɛʃɛ = ɛi oi éipɔis, t i dərgótəkɛɣi = ɛi oi pémpɣiɛn*
If I had given him, If you had told him, If he had sent him
2. *t e rráhəkɛʃə, nək e íkəɾə = ɛi masɣíɣɔsami avtón, ouk an apéfɣɣon avtón*
If I had hit him, I wouldn’t have avoided him
3. *t e dátəkɛʃə, e kéjə = ɛi stéɣɣɔsami avtínɣi, éixon an avtínɣi*
If I had wanted her, I would have her
4. *t e látəkɛʃə, e rbárə = ɛi kataleípɔimi avtó, apólɛsa an avtó*
If I had left it, I would have lost it
5. *t u dətəkɛʃinə = ɛi doíɛn avtoís, t u θótəkɛʃitə = ɛi éipɔitɛ avtoís, t u dərgótəkɛʃim = ɛi pémpɣamɛn avtoís*
If they had given them, If you had told them, If we had send them
6. *t i mánrəkɛʃə, do i kéjə = ɛi lɣɣɔíɣɔɣɣn avtá, éixon an avtá*
If I had taken them, I would have them
7. *t i strróɣəkɛʃɛ, nək i jóɣɣɛ mə = ɛi apɔpéɣɣɣias avtás, óúkɛt’ an éiɣɛs avtás*
If you had sent them away, you wouldn’t be able to see them anymore

LAZARD 1999, 2001). She considers those cases where it overlaps with this kind of “semantic extensions”, as she calls them, secondary.

5 For biographical and bibliographical details, see JOHALAS 2006: 397–416.

8. *tə mos i túndakeĩ, nək i ɲgrin* = *ει μη κινήσειεν αυτούς, ουκ αν ήγειρεν αυτούς*
If he had not moved them, he wouldn't have lifted them
9. *tə ʝa dərgótakéʃə* = *ει οι πεμψαμι αυτό, tə ʝa dótakéʃe* = *ει οι δοίης αυτό, tə ʝa θétakéĩ* = *ει οι είποι αυτό*
If I had sent it to him, If you had given it to him, If he had said it to him
10. *t u pəɲjérakéʃə* = *ει υποστρέψαμι*
If I had changed my mind
11. *t u rrúsakéʃe* = *ει καταβαίης, κατέλθεις*
If you had descended
12. *t u vrátakéʃim* = *ει φονευθείμεν*
If we had been murdered
13. *t u ʝéndakéʃinə* = *ει ευρεθείεν*
If they had been found
14. *t u rbárakéʃə* = *ει απολοίμην*
If I had been lost
15. *t u vjétakéĩ búkə, do hájəta* = *ει υπολειφθείη άρτος, έδοισθε αν = αν ήθελε μείνει ψωμί, θα ετρώγατε*
If there had been any bread left, you would have eaten it
- B. “Admirative” without marker (wishes)
16. *mos u ndódakéĩ* = *ώφελε μη είναι, να μην είχε υπάρξει*
I wish he had not existed!
17. *mos u létakéʃitə* = *ωφέλετε μη τεχθίηναι, να μην είχατε γεννηθεί*
I wish you had never been born!

Another example of the structure *tə* + “admirative”, but this time with the meaning of a counterfactual wish, appears in KOUPIITORIS’s dictionary of the dialect of Hydra (JOHALAS 2006) under the entry *φθάνω*⁶:

18. *tə mos arrétakéʃə* = *να μην ήθελα φθάσει*
I wish I hadn't arrived!

The oldest attested example of this structure, and the only one in the dialect of Hydra outside the works of Koupitoris, is to be found in a letter of 1824 written in the Greek alphabet, which is also published by JOHALAS (2006: 142). I present it together with a transcription in the phonetic alphabet (translation and underlining my own):

19. *ιδέ τάρδε κεγ τζι ντ' αρχή με Ζωγράφνι, τιέτρι σερέτ σι κιγ, σμπινμι κούρι σιοπέζ ιδέ τάρδα κεγ tʃə nd arci me zoɣráfna, tiétrə serét si kij, s bóɲəm kúrrə ʃir-pés⁷*

6 For equivalent cases where the subjunctive marker appears together with the optative in modern Arvanitika dialects βλ. TSITSIPIS 1981: 317–325, LIOSIS 2000: 79 (e.g. *tə rropʃ* ‘may you live!’ etc.).

7 The use of the Greek alphabet makes it difficult to determine the precise phonetic value of the central vowel ə, which is sometimes rendered with *ι* and sometimes with *ε*, e.g. *άρδε* but *μπίνιμ*.

otherwise, if he had come with Zografos from the start, the other useless person like him, we would never have done the job

All the above types, when compared with Standard Albanian admiratives, show many morphosyntactic peculiarities and are used in very specialized semantic fields. They can hardly be considered to have an original admirative meaning, i.e. to express the speaker's surprise or doubt regarding an unexpected situation.

3. Morphosyntactic analysis

All the recorded "admiratives" in the dialect of Hydra share the basic structure (*tə* +) admirative imperfect, cf. Alb. (*të*) *dhënkësba* '(If) I had (actually) given' or alternatively (*tə* +) inverted past perfect, cf. Arv. past perfect (*tə*) *këfə dhənə*, Alb. (*të*) *kisha dhënë* '(If) I had given'. In other words, the existing material in this dialect contains no examples of the admirative perfect, which is considered to be the historical prototype from which this mood developed (FIEDLER 1966)⁸, or of any of the other tenses, in contrast to Standard Albanian, which has developed fully inflected admirative paradigms for all tenses except the aorist and the aorist-pluperfect, thus presenting a much greater degree of paradigmatic integration (LEHMANN 2002: 120–121) of the structure in question than the dialect of Hydra.

Koupitoris himself gives the complete paradigm of the verb *rbar* 'lose' (passive voice), which I present here in phonetic transcription:

t u rbārəkefə 'If I had been lost'
t u rbārəkefe
t u rbārəkej
t u rbārəkeʃim
t u rbārəkeʃitə
t u rbārəkeʃinə

That he records each type monolectically and with a single accent on the fourth syllable from the end (and on the fifth for 2nd and 3rd pl.) shows an intermediate stage of phonetic reduction (BYBEE, PERKINS & PAGLIUCA 1994: 19–21) and morphologization (HOPPER & TRAUGOTT 2003: 140–59), without change of the root vowel as in Alb. *t' u barkësba*.

At first glance, the interpretation of these types seems somewhat problematic, especially with regard to the elements *-ə/-tə-* between the lexical and the grammatical morpheme, whose distribution appears to be quite balanced (as shown in the table below, in 10 out of the 18 types we have *-ə-*, and in the other 8 *-tə-*).

8 The perfect is a source of evidentials in many languages; see also COMRIE 1976: 109–110, DAHL 1985: 153, BYBEE, PERKINS & PAGLIUCA 1994: 95–97, WERNER 1998: 193–195, AIKHENVALD 2006: 112–116 etc.

-ə-	-tə
rráh-ə-keʃə	ðá-tə-keʃə
márr-ə-keʃə	θá-tə-keʃə
strós-ə-keʃə	dərgó-tə-keʃə
túnd-ə-keʃə	dá-tə-keʃə
pəɾjér-ə-keʃə	lǎ-tə-keʃə
rrús-ə-keʃə	vɾá-tə-keʃə
ndóð-ə-keʃə	lé-tə-keʃə
ʒénd-ə-keʃə	arrá-tə-keʃə
vjét-ə-keʃə	
rbár-ə-keʃə	

The choice between these two elements appears to be phonetically determined: the first is chosen when the lexical element of the verb ends in a consonant, the second when it ends in a vowel. How can we interpret the presence of these affixes, and more generally the construction of these “admiratives” from Hydra?

If we consider that the lexical morpheme of these types is derived from the truncated participle of the main verb – this is the case without exception for all Standard Albanian admirative types, as well as those in most of the Albanian dialects⁹ – we cannot explain why in the verbs in the second column the participle element ends in a vowel, e.g. *ðá-təkeʃə*, *dá-təkeʃə*, instead of **ðən-ə-keʃə*, **dáf-ə-keʃə*, cf. participle *ðónə*, *dáfur* and equivalent Standard Albanian types *dhën-këshə*, *dash-këshə*. The loss of the first members of the consonant clusters which would have come about as a result of *tə* being added to the truncated participle cannot be justified based on the phonetic rules of the dialect, e.g. **vráɾtəkeʃə* > *vɾátəkeʃə*, **dáfɾtəkeʃə* > *dátəkeʃə* (cf. types such as *i ártə* ‘gold’, *martón* ‘to marry’ (JOHALAS 2006, 1: 456, 783), *éɽər* ‘bone’, *aɽú* ‘like this’ (JOHALAS 2006, 1: 558, 2: 203) etc. Therefore, the Hydra admiratives cannot be constructed with the stem of the truncated participle.

However, we are also unable to accept the hypothesis that in these types we have the full rather than the abbreviated participle, which would mean that we are dealing with an archaic dialect that preserves the stage before the phonetic reduction of the participle (cf. example 24 below from Poros, where such a type has been recorded). If this was the case we would have to assume a generalization of the participle ending *-ə* from participles such as *márr-ə* ‘taken’, *sév-ə* (< *sétə*) ‘carried’, *dál-ə* ‘taken off’ etc., and that this ending has been reinforced in the “admiratives” of the second column with the element *-t-* of participles with the ending *-tur*, such as *váitur* ‘gone’, *mbítur* ‘drowned’ etc. This hypothesis, which would be based on the existence in the dialect of Hydra of two participle forms for the same verb, e.g. *léɾə* and *léitur* ‘born’ etc.,

9 The albanian type is constructed by means of inversion and grammaticalization of the auxiliary *kam* and truncated participle, i.e. without the ending *-ë* or *-ur*, e.g. *lakam* ‘I (actually) wash’, cf. participle *larë*, *hapkam* ‘I (actually) open’, cf. participle *hapur* (cf. NEWMARK 1982: 51–52).

cannot be valid, because this type of coalescence or hybridization is problematic in itself, because it presents phonetic difficulties, and because it does not provide any secure criterion for the choice of one or the other allomorph (-ə- or -tə-).

The best interpretation of the form of the first part is that these types are based on the stem of the optative rather than the participle, and that they are actually the result of syncretism of the “(subjunctive-)admirative” and the optative. This hypothesis is convincing for the following reasons: There is complete correspondence in the material between the phonetically-determined (i.e. following a vowel) grammatical allomorph -ff- of the optative and the middle element -tə-, e.g. *θə-ffa* → *θə-tə-kefə*, *δə-ffa* → *δə-tə-kefə*, *vrá-ffa* → *vrá-tə-kefə*, *lǎ-ffa* → *lǎ-tə-kefə*, *dá-ffa* → *dá-tə-kefə* etc. Types such as *dərgó-ffa* → *dərgó-tə-kefə*, where the diphthongization *o* → *ua* is absent, in fact constitute further proof that we are dealing with the optative stem and not that of the participle, cf. participle *dərgúar* and Alb. adm. perf. *dərguakēsha*. Correspondingly, the optative types formed with the phonetically-determined (i.e. following a consonant) allomorph -f- are equivalent to the middle element -ə-, e.g. *rbár-fa* → *rbár-ə-kefə*, *pəjér-fa* → *pəjér-ə-kefə*, *vjét-fa* → *vjét-ə-kefə* etc.¹⁰, and for the sake of completeness/economy we are obliged to accept that the types with -ə- are also based on the optative, despite the fact that in this case it coincides with the stem of the participle (e.g. *rbára*, *pəjéra* etc.). And it is most likely that, beginning with these last types, the stem of which was reanalysed as an optative stem, the stem of “admiratives” with the affix -tə- has also undergone reanalysis. We may conclude that the optative stem has (probably completely rather than partially) replaced the truncated participle in this particular dialect.

The only remaining problem is the interpretation of the affixes -ə- and -tə-: -ə- is definitely the result of a phonetic process, that is to say it is a vowel protecting the boundaries of the two morphemes, for example in the difficult triple consonant cluster -ndk- in the form **túndkefə* > *túndakefə*. Otherwise we must assume that the -tə- was also present together with the stems that end in a consonant (verbs of the first column) and that the -t- was deleted as the second member of various consonant clusters, e.g. **stróstakefə* > *strósakefə*, **rbártakefə* > *rbárakefə* etc. However, such developments are not consistent with the sound laws of the dialect, e.g. *pasłáj* (JOHALAS 2006, 1: 613), *i fórtə* (JOHALAS 2006, 1: 605) etc. As regards -tə-, it is most likely that we have here an inversion of the old past perfect subjunctive in a type which also incorporates structurally the subjunctive marker -tə-, which is then repeated/reinforced in its natural position, e.g. *tə kefə* *đəna* → **dəna tə kefə* → *də-tə-kefə* → *tə* *đətakefə*. As far as I could discern, the second stage is unattested in the dialect, but the negative (and consequentially more conservative) (GIVON 1979 [in: BYBEE, PERKINS & PAGLIUCA 1994: 237]) constructions B 16 and B 17 are an indication of the presence of the third stage (i.e. without the “repetition” of *tə*).

Ultimately, the question of why two different options coexisted in this dialect (the presence or absence of the marker *tə*) can be answered as follows: the affixization of *tə* ultimately resulted in perfect syllabic and accentual symmetry between the types in the two columns: they all have at least four syllables and are accented on the

10 All the above optatives are drawn from KOUPITORIS’s material.

fourth syllable from the end in the singular and 1st person plural, and on the fifth syllable from the end in the 2nd and 3rd person plural. If this were not the case, the types where the optative stem ends in a vowel would have three syllables, e.g. **ðǎkɛʃə*, **θǎkɛʃə* etc.

4. Semantic analysis

The basic question here is whether the recorded “admiratives” which appear in these few written texts from Hydra, almost two hundred years old, have developed, and/or preserved, or have lost the ability to codify the speaker’s attitude to an unexpected situation. I return to the question raised in the introduction of whether or not this mood is present in Arvanitika: the situation described in the bibliography also includes a historically and linguistically intermediate state: according to FIEDLER (1966: 526), the first uses of the present perfect-derived admirative retain the meaning of the perfect (and correspondingly the past perfect-derived admiratives retain past perfect meaning); for the conversion of the present perfect to the present (and of the past perfect to the imperfect) we must wait until 1685 and BOGDANI. This intermediate situation, although with many individual variations, still exists in the Geg dialect (Arbanasi) of Zadar (FIEDLER 1966: 562), partly in Arbëreshë (ALTIMARI 1994), where we have the so-called “passato presuntivo”, a non-inverted perfect with admirative meaning, the Tosk dialect of the Ukraine (KOTOVA 1965; FRIEDMAN 2005b: 39), which retains a form of inverted perfect with the non-confirmative meaning of the admirative but without the present meaning and also some northern Geg dialects (ÇABEJ 1979: 16–18), which either retain the non-admirative meaning of the inverted perfect, or have lost it due to the influence of the local Serbian dialects.

That Arvanitika is not an example of an intermediate stage, which has simply reached the point of inverting the perfect tenses, can be seen from the examples in REINHOLD (20–23) and MEYER (24). I present them here, as interpreted by DEMIRAJ (1976: 154–5 and footnote 43; for their translation see footnote 11):

20. *Klënë keshe* (= *klönnë keše*) *fundit i shurdhërë*.

21. *Nëkë më thua dah, çë klënë keshe* (= *klönnë keše*) *mushteri i mir!*

22. *Klënë keshë* (= *klönnë keše*) *i mārë, çë ri e çanj krietë me ti.*

23. *Pa fat klënë keshe* (= *klönnë keše*), *i bekuam!*

24. *Po më mirë të mos e ngrënë keshë, pse prë një kapshore mungull dua tri ditë të shëronj golënë.*

The latter notes that the first four examples (20–23) should be interpreted as imperfect admiratives rather than as (inverted) past perfects, and that while (24) could be considered to have the meaning of a (inverted) past perfect, syntactically this explanation will not hold, because we would expect a construction of the type **ngrenë të mos e keshë* – this is, however, the exact word order found in the examples from Hydra. He considers the impossibility of placing the elements *të*, *mos* and *e* between the participle and the auxiliary as the first step of increasing syntactic cohesion in these types, and thus in the genesis of the periphrasis which went on to give the admirative.

Utterances 20–23 come from the nearby dialect of Methana, and REINHOLD includes them in his glossary as examples of the use of the “archaic” participle *klënnë* of the auxiliary *jam*, which only appears in this type of “phrases”. The exact translation of these types is problematic¹¹, but their admirative meaning is clear. All these sentences are exclamations, accompanied by interjections such as *dah!* in (21) or by interjectory vocatives such as *i bekuam!* in (23). In utterance (20) the speaker expresses his surprise that the hearer cannot hear at all (or perhaps his annoyance at the fact that he cannot hear, if, with KLOSI (see footnote 11), we interpret the utterance as a question. (In this case the meaning of the utterance would be “but is it possible that you can’t hear at all?”). The same surprise is expressed by the speaker in (21), as he realises that the addressee (without having mentioned it himself) is such a good customer, and the speaker in (23) as he affirms that the person he is addressing is extremely unlucky. Similarly, in (22) the speaker has reached the point where he bemoans his regret that he is wasting his time dealing with the person he is talking to.

The close relationship of the admirative with interjectional sentences (with or without the use of actual interjections) and questions has been noted by FIEDLER (1966: 562–563) in his semantic analysis of the use of the Albanian admirative: „Am häufigsten kommen Prs. und Perf. des Adm. in Ausrufesätzen vor, in denen der Sprecher seine Verwunderung über eine Handlung (Zustand), die zu seinem Bewußtsein kommt, zum Ausdruck bringt (sagt oder denkt)“. [...] „Häufig dienen Interjektionen zur Verstärkung des Adm.“ And „Den Ausrufesätzen in der Bedeutung ähnlich sind Fragesätze mit Adm. Hierbei wird eine Entdeckung, die man mit Verwunderung konstatiert, noch einmal angezweifelt (es ist zwar eigenartigerweise so, man sollte es aber gar nicht glauben!)“.

The four utterances (20–23) show only the imperfect admirative (not the present, e.g. *klënë ke*), which is important for two reasons, a) because it links these admiratives with the equivalent types from Hydra, and b) because it is another indication of the genuine admirative nature of these utterances: FRIEDMAN (2001: 58) points out that “in the case of a newly-discovered pre-existing state, Albanian permits not only the present admirative but any of the past admiratives”, presenting the example of the imperfect admirative from KONSTANTINOV (1975: 24) *Ama njerëz fare pa mënd qenkëshin këta austriakët!*, which he translates with the present tense “My, what simpletons those Germans are!”. That these admiratives may have a present reading can be seen quite clearly in example (23), as the verbs in the complement clauses introduced by the marker *çë* appear in the present (*ri* and *canj*), not the imperfect. Thus the speaker’s attitude can here concern an event (or situation) that took place

11 See KLOSI’s (2005) edition of REINHOLD; as well as other divergences from DEMIRAJ’s reading, Klosi interprets Reinhold’s type *keše* as first person singular in every case, and utterance (20) as a question: *klënnë keshë fundi i shurdhërë?* Utterances 20–23 could be translated as follows: (20) I was (/you were) (actually) completely deaf! (/?), (21) Hey, you don’t say, I was (/you were) (actually) a good customer!, (22) I was (actually) a fool, because I sit here and trouble my mind for you!, (23) You were (/I was) (actually) an unlucky person, dear! Utterance (24) is translated as follows: It would be better if I had not eaten it, because for a mouthful of tufted oak I want three days to cure my throat.

(or had taken place) in the past, but which is relevant at the moment when it is being described.

Example (24), taken from one of the folk-tales published by MEYER, comes from the island of Poros and is even closer to the types from Hydra, not just because it is yet another example using the past perfect, but because the usage in question takes us further away from the area of evidentiality towards that of conditionality, and counterfactuality in particular. Although the morphological construction of this type is somewhat unexpected¹², we have here a counterfactual wish which is reminiscent of the counterfactual conditional *të mos e ngrënë keshë, s' doja tri ditë të shëronj golënë* 'If I had not eaten it ...', with reference to the past. In other words, the criterion by which we should consider (24) a type of "admirative" is not syntactic, as Demiraj would have it; in reality it does not differ semantically from the counterfactual structures from Hydra referred to above.

Conditional structures in Arvanitika appear to have been simplified during the 20th century, and are now completely parallel to the equivalent Standard Modern Greek model. SASSE (1991: 402–403), describing conditionals in the Arvanitika dialects of Attica and Boeotia in traditional grammar terminology, presents the following picture: real conditions are expressed with the indicative in the protasis and the indicative in the apodosis regardless of time reference, apart from in the case of future reference, where we have the subjunctive in the protasis and future/subjunctive/imperative in the apodosis, e.g. *po bie fi, kágatë déu* 'if it rains, the earth is watered'. Unreality is expressed with *të* + imperfect in the protasis and (*do* +) imperfect in the apodosis when the reference is to the future in relation to the moment of speaking, e.g. *po të bij fi, (do) kágej déu* 'if it rained, the earth would be watered', and with *të* + past perfect in the protasis and *do* + past perfect in the apodosis when the reference is to the past in relation to the moment of speaking, e.g. *po të kej ránë fi, do if kágurë déu* 'if it had rained, the earth would have been watered'.

Comparison with Albanian shows precisely that conditionality in Arvanitika as described by Sasse is subcharacterized. According to NEWMARK (1982: 107–108), when "the hypothesis is straightforward" there are four possibilities in Albanian, depending on whether in the if-clause or the main clause there is the chance that an event (or situation etc.) will be realized differently from how it has been described by the speaker: a) if the events in both clauses will definitely be realised, the indicative of the appropriate tense is used everywhere, e.g. *në vjen ai, unë iki* 'If he comes, I leave', b) if it is possible that what is described in the conditional clause may not actually take place, then in the conditional clause we have the subjunctive *po të mbarojë ...* 'if he finish ...' or alternatively, c) the optative *në paça kohë, do të shkoj*¹³ 'If I have time,

12 In the dialect of Hydra we would expect a type **ngrítakešë* or **hátakešë*, which does not however appear to be attested as far as I have been able to ascertain; compare the Albanian type constructed on the aorist stem *bëngërkam*.

13 SASSE (1991: 403) points out that the optative was once used in the conditional clause in combination with the marker *ndë* in some of the archaic dialects of Attica and Boeotia, but has now been replaced by structures using the present indicative, e.g. *ndë já ndoná nari ftohá tšë s mýndë për të víjē* 'If there is any poor who cannot live'. However, the structure using the optative is in fact still preserved sporadically in at least one dialect. I recorded the

I will go', and d) if it is possible that what is described in the main clause may not take place, then the main clause uses the subjunctive, with or without *do*, e.g. ... *do të vij unë* 'I will come'. However, if "the hypothesis is not straightforward", the verb appears in the imperfect or past perfect subjunctive tense, e.g. *po të isha në vendin tënd, do të çuditesha* 'If I were in your place, I would have been amazed'. Within the framework of a more general presentation, TOMIĆ (2006: 607–608) notes the regular use of future tenses in Albanian conditional structures. More specifically, *realis* is normally expressed with the parallel use of present subjunctive structures in the hypothesis and the apodosis, while for *irrealis* we have parallel use of imperfect subjunctive structures. The ambiguity inherent in the latter case ("a) *irrealis* from the point of view of the moment of speaking and b) *irrealis* from the point of view of a past moment") is removed by the use of the past perfect, which invalidates the first reading.

Conversely, the 19th century dialect of Hydra presents a system of conditionality which is richer than either modern Arvanitika or Albanian, with the addition of the "conditional-admirative" to the conditional clause. The ambiguity of *irrealis* described by TOMIĆ for Albanian and which is also inherent in the use of the SMG modal imperfect (see for example the utterance *αν μπορούσα θα πήγαυα* 'If I could, I would go / I would have gone', which admits of both past and future reference) is removed here not with the use of the past perfect, as in the type of Arvanitika described by SASSE, in Albanian and in Greek, but with the structure *tə* + imperfect admirative, which has the same function. Thus in the letter of 1824, the counterfactual reading of sentence (19) clearly has past reference. The same applies to the horse's wish from MEYER's folk-tale in (24). These two examples also definitively rule out the possibility that the counterfactuals from KOUPIITORIS's grammar are *ad hoc* creations of the scholar himself, who, it is worth noting, was also familiar with Albanian.

It is indeed fortunate that Koupitoris, in various parts of his work, gives enough examples to allow a full description of conditionals in the Arvanitika of Hydra: real conditions are consistently marked with the subjunctive *t e kem, e jap* 'If I have it, I will give it', *t e dem, e bəp* 'If I want it, I will do it'; the present optative is used when there is clear future reference, and for this reason the future particle is always present in the apodosis: *nd e dāffa, do e marr* 'If I love her, I will marry her'. Similarly, in a folk-tale from Poros (MEYER 1896: 12), the frogs' question concerning a well at present full of water is expressed using the optative *ndə u θāffetə e de ki, si do njiθemi lart?* 'If it dries up too, how will we go up?'. Conversely, unreal conditions are generally expressed using the modal imperfect, in both the protasis and the apodosis (in the former together with *tə*, in the latter with *do*, but not always, e.g. *t e kējə, e jāpə* 'If I had it, I would give it')¹⁴. However, when the reference is to the past, the "imper-

following utterance from a fluent speaker of Lakonian Arvanitika: *āndə rrōpsə dopəhērə mot, do t e drējə* 'If I lived a few more years, I would endow money to her' (LIOSIS 2007: 312) with clear future reference and *potentialis* content (see also below).

14 The absence of the future particle in the apodosis of unreal conditionals is not unusual in Albanian either. NEWMARK (1982: 109) notes "in proverbs and occasionally in ordinary language, the imperfect indicative is used in the consequent clause of the hypothetical sen-

fect admirative” may be used together with *tə*, e.g. *t' e dátakefə, e kéjə* ‘If I had loved her, I would have married her’ (cf. also Koupitoris’s “ancient Greek” translation, where the protasis is rendered with the aorist optative *εἰ στέροξαιμι αὐτήν* demonstrating the author’s need to convey the pragmatic distinction between the two types of unreal conditions)¹⁵.

The innovation of the Arvanitika of Hydra (and probably also of Poros) thus consists in the use of material which normally codifies the modality of the speaker’s “apo-stasis” (for this term see FIEDLER 1966: 566) from the state of affairs or the time described in the sentence (indirect knowledge, uncertainty, surprise, doubt, sarcasm) to mark an area which is closely related in semantic terms: the conditionality of the unreal, which is used “where the speaker indicates some kind of negative attitude towards the condition expressed in the protasis (the if-clause)” (PALMER 2001: 207). WALLACE & NICHOLS, in the introduction to their book on evidentiality (1986: vii), observe that there are some things that people are certain about (= they have proof of them), some which they are less certain about, and some which they attribute to the realm of fantasy. This categorization of knowledge about things corresponds very closely with the equivalent categories that arise when one makes predictions about them, and the close semantic relationship between the two categories has allowed a shift from the field of awareness of the relativity of truth to that of expectations regarding it. It is obviously quite likely that any unconfirmed or indirect piece of information may be found unacceptable by the recipient. The same applies to the possibility that the situation to which the piece of information refers may be realized in the future or have been realized in the past. In fact, according to FRIEDMAN (1986: 180) the surprise expressed by the Albanian admirative typically refers “to the real or hypothetical existence of a state rejected at the moment of speech”. The rejection of a hypothetical situation is precisely what is codified by counterfactual structures.

Within this framework the modal category that concerns us could be best defined as “admirative-conditional”, with a narrowing of the typical nonconfirmative meaning (“semantic reduction”: BYBEE, PERKINS & PAGLIUCA 1994: 19–21) to the point where the admirative meaning is lost in favour of the need for morphological marking of unreal conditionality with past reference. In other words, the difference be-

tences: *Të mos kisha ata kalamaj [...] shkoja edhe unë atje* ‘If I didn’t have those kids [...] I would be going (“was going”) there too.’ Similarly, in Greek the omission of *θα* is common in colloquial dialect speech, e.g. *ἀμα μαρτύραε, τους εσχολώνανε* (= *θα τους σκότωσαν*) ‘If he revealed the truth, they would kill (“were killing”) them’ (LIOSIS 2007; from a recording of a speaker from Lakonia). The use of the modal imperfect in Greek is of course much older (HORROCKS 2006: 354–356).

- 15 Naturally the removal of ambiguity is not achieved solely by morphological means. In a letter of 1858 from Poros we read: *E do tə tə θəm e δε u átə ksil tʃə θáinə tə mótratə ʃən Lázərit Kristit: ándə jéʃe kətu nəkə na vdis névet vɣáɪ-átə tə θəm e δε u. Pse ndə jéʃe ti ndə Pórje, nəkə mə vdis mua pəʃtréʃa.* ‘And I will tell you what Lazarus’s sisters said to Christ. If you had been here, our brother would not have died. I will say the same to you. If you had been on Poros my wife would not have died’ (WEIGAND 1926: 196, phonetic transcription and underlining my own). Here the imperfect is used in both clauses, and the past reference is defined exclusively by the context.

tween this and the equivalent Greek, Albanian (and also English etc.) conditionals is that rather than double past marking (= past perfect) “once for past time, once for unreality”¹⁶ (PALMER 2001: 208), we have here the imperfect for the past and the admiring for the unreal. The most conclusive proof of this is that in the 19th century sources for the Arvanitika dialects of this area, the structure *tə* + past perfect (i.e. the un-inverted structure) is completely absent from counterfactual periphrases.

In order to prove decisively that an innovation has taken place in Hydra (and Poros) Arvanitika, it remains to demonstrate that the Albanian admiring was never used in this way. There are two criteria by which this can be proved, one morphological and one semantic. Firstly, in Albanian, apart from the constructions with *të* + imperfect admiring, there also exist constructions with *të* + past perfect admiring (NEWMARK 1982: 86), and therefore the distinction between the ambiguous unreal and the unreal past is also a distinction of tense. Secondly, constructions of this type retain the original (nonconfirmative) meaning of the mood. NEWMARK (1982: 86) notes that: “In regard to use, it [= the so-called subjunctive-admiring] combines the meaning of the admiring with the syntax of the imperfect subjunctive: *Poshtë tufave të reve ngjyrë plumbi fluturojnë e sillen rrotull ca re të vogla, të zeza pis, sikur TË QENKESHIN tym prej dinamiti*. ‘Below the lead-colored cluster of clouds there fly around and roam about a few small clouds, pitch-black, as if THEY ACTUALLY WERE dynamite smoke’, *Sikur e gjyshja [...] TË mos E PASKËSH THIRRUR, kushedi sa gjatë do të kishte mbetur ashtu [...]*. ‘If his grandmother [...] HAD not ACTUALLY CALLED him, who knows how long he would have remained like that [...]’”¹⁷. Common denominator of the above is that these forms are all rare in Albanian (NEWMARK 1982: 86, FIEDLER 1966: 562, DEMIRAJ 1995: 294, 327), in contrast to the plethora of examples furnished by KOUPITORIS.

According to one point of view which is often articulated in the bibliography (e.g. HORROCKS 2006: 439, MARKOPOULOS 2006: 205, TSOLAKIDIS 2009: 423 etc.), new counterfactual structures often appear initially in assertive environments, in main clauses/apodoses, and then at some point, because apodoses and protases are equally modal, the protases are remodelled so that they are equivalent in form to the apodoses. Subsequently, a new counterfactual structure may appear in the main clause,

16 A past tense that is used modally, for marking of the unreal, or more generally as an *irrealis* marker, is called, in PALMER’s (2001: 13–14, 207–211) terminology, “modal-past”. An example of this is the use of the Greek imperfect in the utterance *Αν το ήξερα ...* (cf. English, *If I knew this ...*).

17 As noted above, the evidential function of these types has been lost in Hydra Arvanitika. However, Newton’s examples presented above demonstrate that this may be preserved even when it coexists with a counterfactual meaning; the fact that this is possible is a sure counterexample to the typological framework set out by ANDERSON (1986: 277–278), who claims that “evidentials are normally used in assertions (*realis* clauses), not in *irrealis* clauses, nor in presuppositions”, considering the following counterfactual utterance to be ungrammatical in English **If John had [apparently] arrived, he could help us*. Anderson’s typology is rejected by AIKHENVALD (2006: 257), who observes that evidentials can coexist with non-indicative modalities covering a variety of meanings, such as conditional, dubitative, probabilative and *irrealis*. In fact it is precisely this possibility of coexistence which demonstrates that modality and evidentiality constitute distinct categories.

and the cycle begins again (DAHL 1997: 108). This view constitutes another argument that the “admirative” types in Hydra Arvanitika, preserved only in if-clauses, are old.

Another point of interest is the use of “admirative” structures in wishes, exactly where other languages use past perfect structures “often along exactly the same lines as the protases of unreal conditions” (PALMER 2001: 216), i.e. when the reference is to the past. Sentences 16–18 (*mos u ndóðakei*, *mos u létakefitə*, *tə mos arrətəkefə*) are examples of such structures. In fact, in the first two the subjunctive marker *tə* is missing, proving that in this dialect the “admirative” may indeed be realized as an autonomous mood (see also above). Conversely, for wishes with a reference point subsequent to the moment of utterance, this dialect usually makes use of the optative. Under the entry *φθάνω* in ΚΟΥΡΙΤΟΡΙΣ’s dictionary, along with the “admirative” *tə mos arrətəkefə* we have the optative *mos arrəff*, which is translated *να μην φθάσης* ‘I wish you wouldn’t arrive!’. In addition, in a song from Hydra (JOHALAS 2006: 234) we have the following optative structure *Μος ι γκλιοφτ σσις* (= *mos i gáoft síf*) ‘may you be safe from the evil eye’¹⁸.

Frequent use of the present optative in conditionals and in wishes with future reference would seem also to provide a structural explanation for the innovation in this dialect. In this context, reanalysis of the admirative stem as the optative stem led, as shown above, to the creation of a new (but temporary) “optative of the past”, thus rendering the system of conditionals and wishes semantically and paradigmatically symmetrical (cf. the lack of optative types for the past tenses in the Albanian verbal system). Schematically:

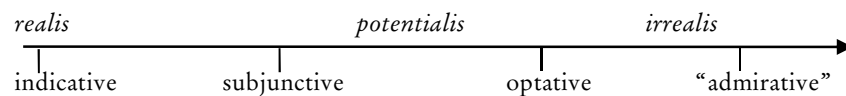
future reference	past reference
(tə) + present optative	(tə) + past “optative” (= imperfect admirative)

5. The Balkan / crosslinguistic dimension

FRIEDMAN (2005a: 26, 30), observing that in some Balkan languages there is some interplay between modal particles (future, subjunctive, conditional) and the “non-confirmative evidential meaning”, divides nonconfirmative structures into three categories: a) perfect-based discourse level (e.g. Turkish, Bulgarian etc.), b) perfect-based sentence level (Albanian, Aromanian etc.) and c) modal-based sentence level (Romanian and the Bulgarian dialect of Novo Selo). Leaving to one side the sentence ~ discourse distinction, the remaining criterion for categorization is morphological. For example, in Albanian and Turkish the admirative is constructed based on the perfect, while in Romanian a modal particle, *fi* (indeclinable type of the verb *to be*), is used in combination with the present gerund. The situation in Hydra Arvanitika in fact describes a shift from the first group (perfect-based) to a category which can

18 The use of the optative is today very rare in the surviving dialects (see also footnotes 6 and 13), and is mainly a matter of fossilized expressions. In the dialect of Achaia I recorded the following stereotyped curse: *ba pa máma u bəpf* ‘oh, I wish your mother would die!’ (LIOSIS 2000: 78).

only in the broadest sense be included in the second (modal-based). The best description would be to say that we have here a mood-based construction in which the stem of the optative mood has come to replace the lexical morpheme of the structure which historically derives from the past perfect and is equivalent to the Albanian imperfect admirative. If we recall COMRIE's (1986: 88–89) continuum of conditionality, where conditionals with the highest level of certainty are placed on the left, and those with the lowest, i.e. counterfactuals, on the right, the differences between degrees of conditionality in Hydra Arvanitika are basically expressed by means of the various moods:



It is also worth noting that the case of Hydra Arvanitika is not unique: similarly, in Frashëriot Arumanian, not only do we sometimes find constructions derived from the aorist rather than from a periphrastic perfective structure, but the types in question have also come about through reanalysis (of the equivalent Albanian model with which this language came into contact: FRIEDMAN 1994), showing that processes such as those which defined the development of the structures from Hydra, which do not necessarily derive from a participle form, are not unknown on a Balkan level.

The shift in Arvanitika from a nonconfirmative admirative type to a means of expressing unreality appears not to be unique on a larger crosslinguistic level. MITHUN (1986: 96), in a case study of the Northern Iroquoian languages, observes that one contrastive prefix, as she calls it, is sometimes used to indicate the level of truth of a situation, and sometimes as a counterfactual marker in conditional clauses.

6. The admirative from the point of view of language death theory¹⁹

The gradual loss of the optative mood during the course of the 20th century, and its replacement by subjunctive-based structures fulfilling the same function, is well-documented in the bibliography; it is usually ascribed to the catalytic influence of Greek as the dominant contact language, in which this verbal category is not expressed morphologically (among others, TSITSIPIS 1981: 317–325, SASSE 1991: 230–231, LIOSIS 2007: 312). Although the older texts of REINHOLD (KLOSI 2005), MEYER (1896), WEIGAND (1926) and FOURIKIS (1932) are full of such types, today this mood must be considered fossilized in all the Arvanitika dialects, its usage being basically confined to stereotyped wishes and curses (cf. also SASSE 1991: 230) and the marking of conditional clauses²⁰. Based on the above evaluations, the replacement of the optative by the subjunctive may today be considered a completed change which, although it has

19 For a general discussion of the relationship of evidentials with the phenomenon of language death see also AIKHENVALD 2006: 299–301.

20 According to FRIEDMAN (personal communication) the obsolescence of the optative is rather a general Albanian tendency. It seems to occur almost exclusively in blessings, curses, and other such formulae or in conditionals.

taken place comparatively recently so that some traces of its presence remain, is analogous with the loss of the admirative. The mechanism behind the remodelling, or rather reduction, of the mood system, based essentially on the bipolar schema indicative-subjunctive, is the same in the case of the admirative as in that of the optative. There is a syntactic typological criterion: before they are completely lost, these structures are preserved in more grammatical / conservative contexts (e.g. in subordinate non-assertive conditional clauses, and in negative utterances).

As in the case of the admirative, for the optative too we also have examples of hybrid constructions: in Lakonian Arvanitika (LIOSIS 2007: 313) I have recorded types such as *tə θótf* ‘may you say’, *tə kétf* ‘may you have’, which use the unexpected stems *θo-* instead of **θən-*, cf. Alb. *thën-ç* [θəntʃ] and *ke-* instead of **pa-*, cf. Alb. *pa-ç* [patʃ]. It is most likely that these are hybrids of the subjunctive (cf. subjunctives *tə θóf* and *tə kéf*) and the optative, i.e. they combine the endings of the latter with the stem of the former, in exactly the same way as the type *ðətə-kefə* from Hydra combines the admirative ending with the optative stem. The analogous nature of these cases allows us to formulate a morphological typological criterion: the old mood is preserved in the most grammatical part of the word, the ending, while the lexical morpheme is constructed from the mood which is still functional; of course this criterion still remains to be proven.

In reality, the mixed optative-subjunctive constructions produced today by fluent speakers are linguistic fossils and “exotic” types (LIOSIS 2007: 313), as the realizations of the admirative-optative must have been “exotic” for the speakers of KOUPITORIS’s time. However, they were preserved even when their admirative meaning had been weakened, because they could be used elsewhere. It was this usage that also favoured the reanalysis of the stem of the participle as that of the optative.

7. Conclusions

The above analysis shows that the Arvanitika dialect of Hydra no longer possesses an admirative mood, in the sense that the category of evidentiality is not grammaticalized by morphological means²¹. However, it made use of an old form, an inherited model which amongst other things served as a characteristic marker of *irrealis*, in a semantically parameterized or narrower area (also the unreal but by means of hypotheses with past reference). Replacing the lexical component of the inherited types with the optative stem, it created within the system of conditionals a morphological means for marking the past symmetrically opposed to the optative for present and future reference.

If we follow the historical development of an inherited admirative category – as REINHOLD’s examples demonstrate and as may be logically inferred from the speciali-

21 It should be noted that FRIEDMAN (personal communication) retains some reservations about the previous admirative meaning of these forms. The alternative scenario would be that the modal meaning could have developed independently of the admirative. He considers the early separation of Arvanitika from the main body of Albanian and the absence of *tə* exclusively when *mos* is present (see the wishes B16–17) as indicators of this independent development.

zation of its meaning and the use, cut off from the system of tense, of an imperfect “admirative” alone – we may speak of an enclave of usage which was initially made up of the three islands (Methana, Poros, Hydra) around the Argolic peninsula. Based on the available material, the dialect of Methana appears to have been the most archaic, preserving the admirative meaning of the structure, while in the latter two dialects the nonconfirmative structure was given a new meaning²² and embedded in a new modal schema, that of unreal conditionality; in Hydra in particular it was interpreted as the past optative which was missing from the system.

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22 For the term meaning/role redistribution see TZITZILIS (under publication). Of two morphologically identical periphrases, one in which the auxiliary is enclitic and the other in which it is proclitic, the first came to indicate counterfactuality and the second the remote past (past perfect).

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