

ROMANIAN DIALECTS FROM THE ROMANCE AND BALKAN PERSPECTIVE, BASED ON ALDRO*

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INTRODUCTION

Our article proposes to emphasise the dialectal similarities of North- and South-Danubian Romanian dialects (Daco-Romanian, Aromanian, Megleno-Romanian, Istro-Romanian) spoken in Romania, R. Moldova, Ukraine, Serbia, Hungary, Albania, Bulgaria, R. of North Macedonia, Greece, Croatia.

Our research is based on questionnaire in *Atlas Linguarum Europae* (ALE), ALE dialectal archive from Institute of Linguistic “Iorgu Iordan – Al. Rosetti”, Romanian Academy, in order to have a comparison with European dialects. In this way, the concordances with the Romance languages, related, with the languages of the Balkan linguistic union and with other European languages are highlighted. The aim is to highlight the Romance nature and the unity of the Romanian language in European context. Also, the onomasiological, semasiological and motivational isoglosses drawn on the territory of the Romanian language and on the territory where the Balkan languages are spoken demonstrate a common linguistic substratum.

Romanian dialects, Daco-Romanian, Aromanian, Megleno-Romanian and Istro-Romanian – are the successors of Latin spoken in the eastern parts of the former Roman Empire. The fact that Latin was spoken, within the Eastern Roman Empire, over a large area in the Balkan Peninsula explains the current geographical distribution of the Romanian dialects, in territories located both north and south of the Danube. Sextil Pușcariu emphasizes the unity of the South-Danubian dialects with Daco-Romanian by defining Common Romanian as “the language spoken by the ancestors of the Daco-Romanians, Aromanians, Megleno-Romanians and Istro-Romanians today, before any connection between them was interrupted”.

THE UNITY OF THE ROMANIAN DIALECTS FROM THE NORTH AND THE SOUTH OF THE DANUBE

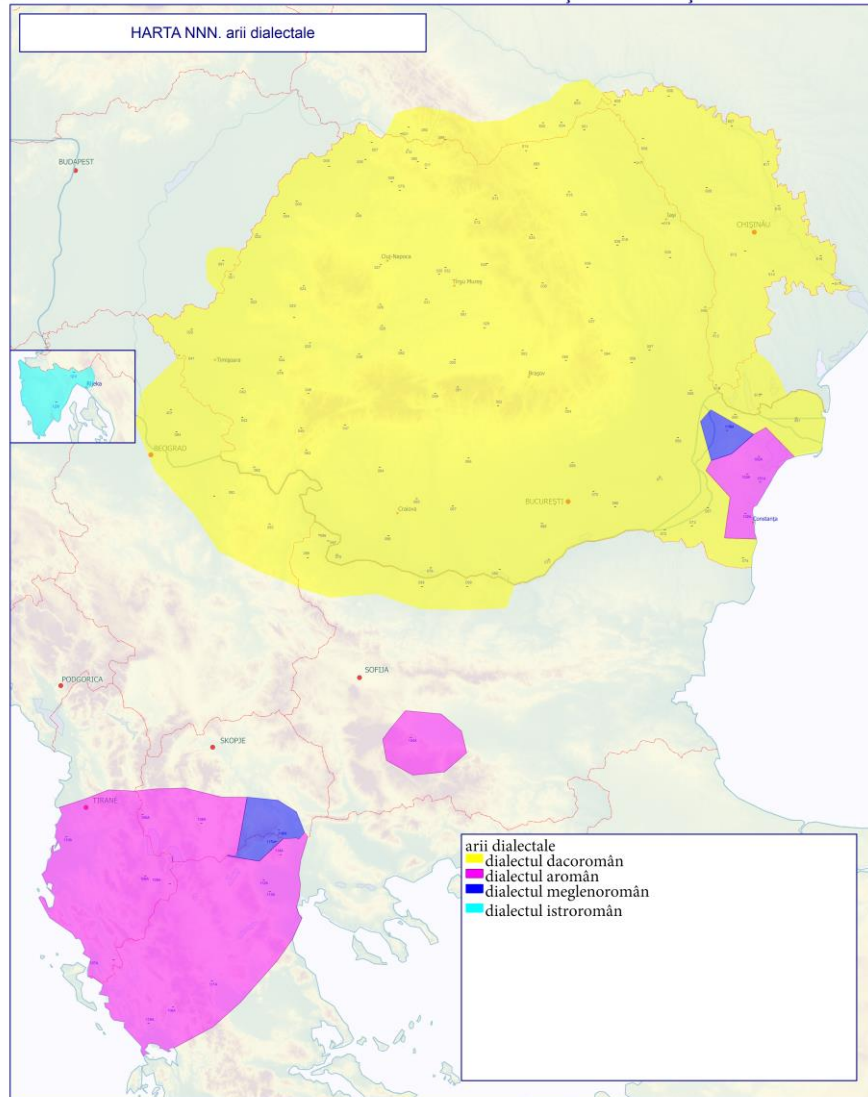
- We present below some linguistic features common to the Romanian dialects from the North and the South of the Danube (Daco-Romanian, Aromanian, Megleno-Romanian, Istro-Romanian), which show facts of conservatism or parallel

* The work presented in this paper was supported by the research grant from the Romanian National Authority for Scientific Research and Innovation CNCS = UEFISCDI, project no PN-III-P4-ID-PCE-2020-0451

innovations, spatially distributed. The comparison of these linguistic phenomena was possible through the detailed analysis at the level of the sub-subdialects of the dialects in question.

- Our analysis is based on the broader theme of the relationship between genealogical (Romanic features inherited by Romanian from Latin, that illustrate concordances within Romance languages) and the linguistic areal (i.e., convergences between the Daco-Romanian, Aromanian, Megleno-Romanian and Istro-Romanian dialects of the Romanian language and the languages spoken in the Balkan area).

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- Concordances are to be found: a) at the lexical level, b) in the principles determining the morphological structure, c) in the composition of the phonetic systems; to all these, a large number of words denoting common cultural realities are added. Concordances are genetic and are established between languages that are no longer in linguistic contact (e.g. Iorgu Iordan (1923–1928) studied Daco-Romanian and southern Italian dialects).
- On the contrary, linguistic convergence results from geographical proximity and direct contact between speakers: contact gives birth to imitation and imitation gives rise to linguistic convergence.
- Balkanism or Romanism / Romanianism?
- Eugeniu Coșeriu (1996: 37–43) raises a methodological problem: not all existing parallelisms in the Balkan languages are specific to the so-called “Balkan linguistic union”. Many of the “Balkanisms” taken into account by Balkanists are actually “Latinisms” or, better said, “Romanisms”, that is innovations of Balkan Romance as well as Vulgar Latin. In turn, sometimes these Romanisms could be “Greekisms” embedded in Vulgar Latin. Therefore, “if we are talking about a «Balkanism», from Romanian, it means that, before following other paths, we must first look for the respective facts in Latin and in the Romance languages. Historically speaking, Romanian is, first of all, a Romance language and only then a «Balkan language»” (p. 176). (Eugeniu Coșeriu, *Romanian language–Romance language* (editor Nicolae Saramandu)

Morphologically, in this presentation we took into consideration mainly the Romance and Balkan structures from the verbal system.

A. For instance, the structure of compound forms in the Aromanian subjunctive is explained by Nicolae Saramandu in comparison with the pattern from the Balkan languages, showing that they use ‘the same preverbal elements’ (Saramandu 1969: 152) to create periphrastic forms. Both Albanian and Modern Greek create the temporal equivalent of the perfect and pluperfect subjunctive in Aromanian with the auxiliary *amu* ‘have’ (Gr.: *εχω*; Alb: *kam*) in the present or imperfect (Saramandu 1969: 160). This pattern is Balkan: the conjunction *s-* + the auxiliary ‘have’ conjugated for the present or imperfect + the participle of the lexical verb. Building the compound subjunctive forms with the auxiliary ‘have’ for the present or imperfect + the participle of the lexical verb is nevertheless a Romance feature, developed in French, Italian, Spanish, Aromanian, as in the table below (cf. Lausberg 1988: 277; 299; 302):

	Perfect subjunctive	Pluperfect subjunctive
Fr.	(que j’) aie chanté	(que j’) eusse chanté
It.	(che io)abbia creduto	(se io) avessi creduto
Sp.	haya cantado	hubiera cantado
Ar.	s-am lucrătă	s-aveám lucrătă

B. Indicative pluperfect ‘mai-mult-ca-perfect’ in classic Latin, was subordinated to the perfect aspect, and it was a synthetic tense formed from the perfect. Used more and more rarely with its initial value of relational tense, in the transition to the Romance languages, it became a variant of the ‘perfect simplu’ and eventually it disappeared

(ILR 1969: 100). In Romanian it was inherited mostly as the Latin perfect subjunctive (Frâncu 1982: 282). To express anteriority, Late Latin used periphrastic constructions, which consolidated gradually after the appearance of the analytic ‘perfect compus’ form: *quod comparatum habebat* ‘what he bought’. This periphrasis made up of the imperfect indicative form of the auxiliary *habēre* and the perfect participle of the lexical verb was the basis of the ‘*mai mult ca perfect*’ from most present-day Romance idioms (Lausberg 1988: 270; Posner 1996: 112; Ronconi 1959:124)

It.	<i>trapasato prossimo:</i>	<i>avevo cantato</i>
Fr.	<i>plus-que-parfait:</i>	<i>avais chanté</i>
Cat.	<i>plusquamperfet:</i>	<i>havia cantat</i>
Sp.	<i>pluscuamperfecto:</i>	<i>habia tomado</i>
Port.	<i>mais-que-perfeito composto:</i>	<i>tinha cantado</i>

In Danubian Latin, the periphrasis perfect participle + *habēre* is limited to expressing the perfect, the disappearance of the ‘*mai mult ca perfect*’ being compensated by the extension of the subjunctive as pluperfect ‘*mai-mult-ca-perfect*’. The periphrastic ‘*mai mult ca perfect*’ forms from Aromanian and Megleno- Romanian probably represent more recent creations (ILR 1969: 96).

In Proto-Romanian, the analytic ‘*mai-mult-ca-perfect*’ was formed with the imperfect of the verb to have + participle of the main verb, attested in old Romanian (Densusianu 1961:144) and preserved in Aromanian and in Megleno- Romanian.

B.1. The pluperfect ‘*mai-mult-ca-perfect*’ indicative in Aromanian is an analytic tense (Capidan 1932: 463–464. Caragiu Marioțeanu 1968: 109; Saramandu 1984: 457), formed with the auxiliary *amu* “am” in the imperfect indicative and the participle of the main verb (augmented with a vowel -ă (ă)): Capidan 1932: 464: “as concerns the origin of this pluperfect ‘*mai-mult-ca-perfect*’, it must be traced to the Balkan languages: Greek, Albanian and Bulgarian, which influenced the Meglenit dialect”.

Papahagi (1924: 331) mentions forms of analitic pluperfect ‘*mai-mult-ca-perfect*’ in Maramureș: *aveam mâncată, aveam stătută*”.

B.2. In present-day Muntenian idioms we have identified periphrastic constructions equivalent to the pluperfect ‘*mai-mult-ca-perfect*’. The types of constructions found in Muntenian texts employ the auxiliary ‘*a fi*’ to be in the present tense, imperfect and ‘*mai mult ca perfect*’ along with a participle:

sunt, ești, este cântat
earam, erai, era cântat
fusesem, fusese cântat.

The constructions of the type *am fost cântat* appear frequently in old Romanian and can be found even nowadays on a fairly large dialectal area (North Moldavia, Maramureș, Crișana, Transylvania, Banat, Muntenia). The type with the auxiliary to be in the present tense + participle active is frequent in the Southern idioms and shifts the perspective from the action proper towards the result of the action, which thus appears as present.

The innovation of the compound analitic verb forms, in Romanian, is thus a Romance trend, developed in a favourable Balkan context.

**THE CONCURRENCE OF THE BALKAN AND ROMANCE ELEMENTS
BASED ON NEW FIELD RESEARCH, CARRIED OUT
WITHIN THE RODIAL PROJECT**

The long cohabitation of South-Danubian Romanians with Balkan peoples determined the natural process of penetration in their dialect of loanwords from Greek, Turkish, Albanian, Slavic languages. These loans, both old and new, give a specific shade to Aromanian in comparison with the other dialects of Romanian. They cover various fields, such as the social area: *bórġi* ‘debt’ (< Turk. borç), *bánă* ‘life’ (regressively derived word from the verb *bănéġu* < Alb. *banoj*); trade: *émburu* ‘trader’ (< Gr. *έμπορος*), *pázari* ‘fair’ (< Turk. pazar); military: *askéri* ‘army’ (< Turk. askerî); education: *dásçal* ‘teacher’ (< Gr. *δάσκαλος*), *ġráma* ‘letter’ (< Gr. *ġράμμα*); transport: *aftukínă* ‘automobile’ (< Gr. *αυτοκίνητο*), etc.

Another interesting fact emphasised in our research is the conservative feature of the Pind area. In the settlements from the Pind, an enclave in the Greek environment, the agricultural terminology of Latin descent is better kept as compared to other areas: *arátru* (< Lat. *aratrum*) ‘plough’, *strâmburári* (< Lat. **stimularia*) ‘prod’, *yizmáre* (< Lat. *vindemiare*) ‘vine harvesting’, *vómeră* (< Lat. *vomer*) ‘coultter, stubble plough’, *sărc’éġu* (< Lat. *sarculare*) ‘to hoe’. (cf. Nevaci 2013: 72).

For the Meġovo-Siracu areag, we have identified the preservation of some Latin words that have been lost in other Aromanian subdialects: *flóare* ‘flower’ (< Lat. *flos*, -rem), *anġiléġu* ‘understand’ (< Lat. *intelligere*), *mi cúlcu* ‘I sleep’ (< Lat. *collocare*), (the sun) *apúni* ‘sunset’ (< Lat. *apponere*), *cătuşă* ‘cat’ (< Lat. *catta* + suffix -uşă).

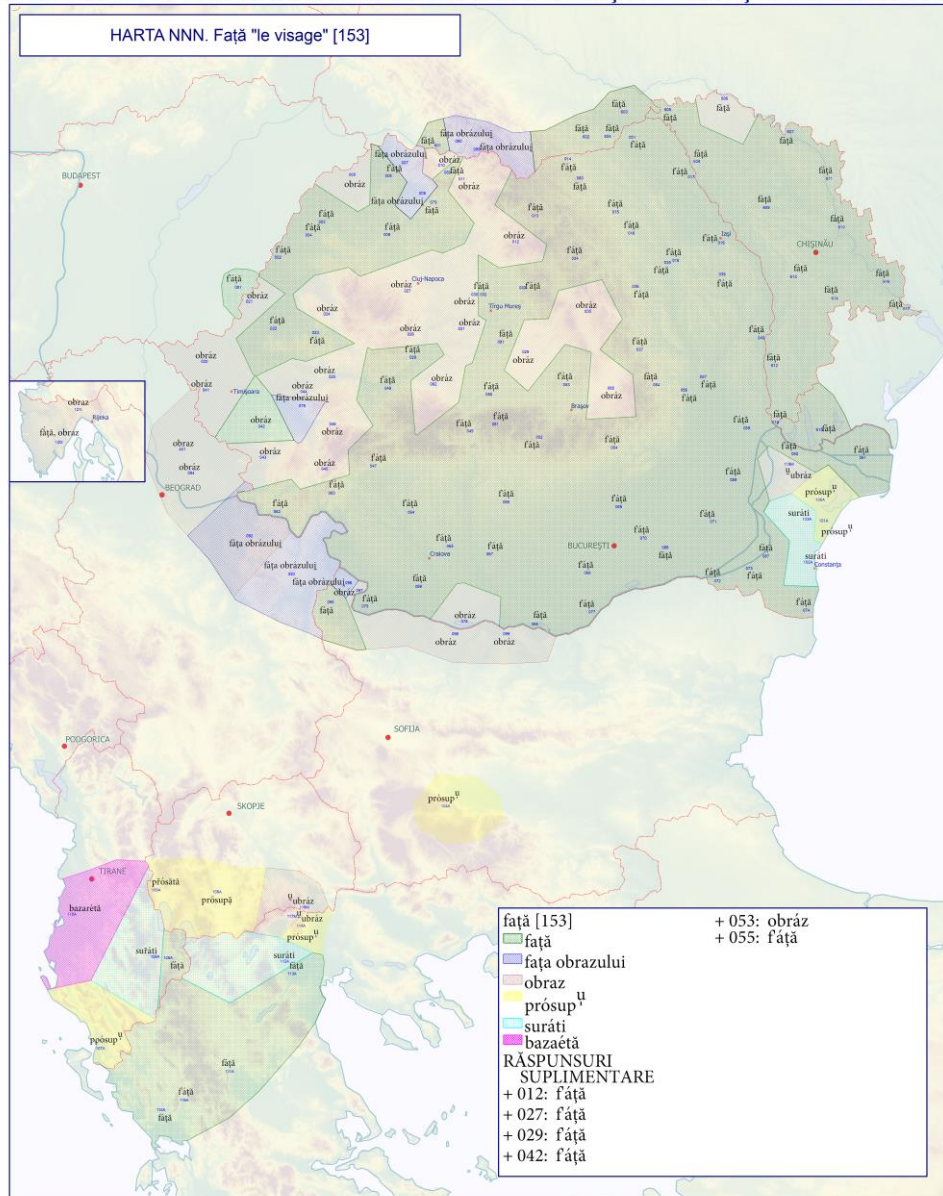
Question 153: FAġĂ ‘face’

In Daco-Romanian and Istro-Romanian the term inherited from Latin *faġa* is rivalled by the loan word from Slavic *obraz* (< Sl. *obrazŭ*) occurring in Banat, Crişana and in Transylvania (Daco-Romanian) and Suşnieviţa (Istro-Romanian).

For this question, we registered în Aromanian dialect both the term inherited from Latin *faġa* (< Lat. *facia*) in the Pindean subdialect – a conservatory area of the Aromanian dialect, in the subdialect of Mulovişte, in isolated cases at the Farsherot subdialect from Albania (Korcea area) and in northern Greece (Pisuderi), and loan words from Balkan languages: *suráti* (< Alb. *surát*) in the Farsherots subdialect spoken in Albania and in Greece, *prósup* (< Gr. *πρόσωπον*) in the Gramostean subdialect spoken in Bulgaria and R. Of North Macedonia. In isolated cases, the Farsherots of Diviaca, Albania, have the form *bazarétă*, a loan from Turkish *bessâlet* ‘courage, bravery’.

In the Megleno-Romanian dialect, we have, the same as in Daco-Romanian, a loan word from Slavic, *ubráz*.

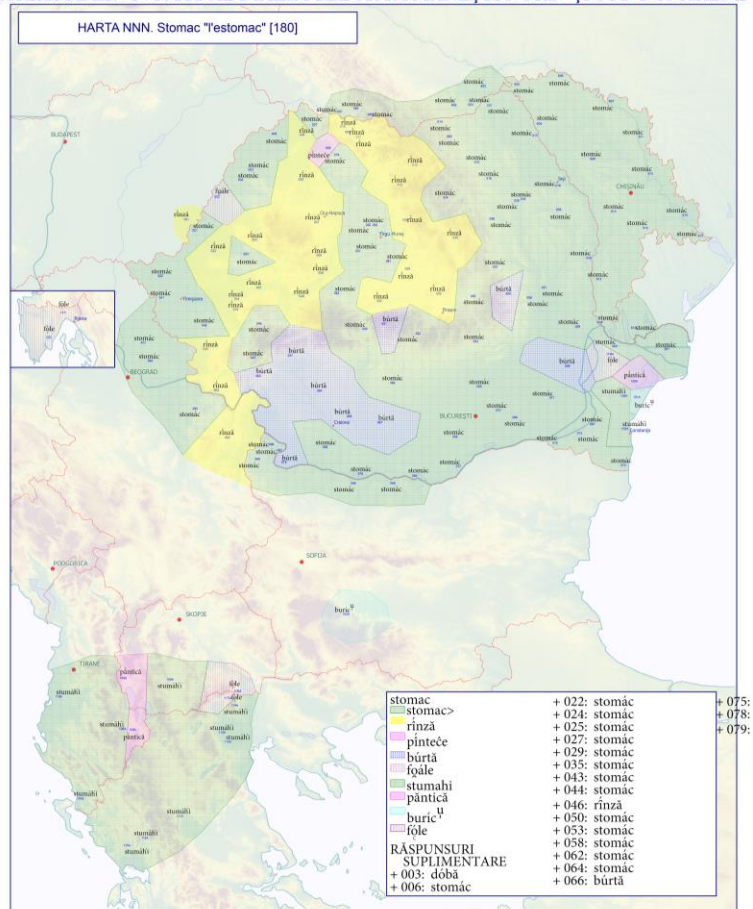
ATLASUL LINGVIC AL DIALECTELOR ROMÂNEȘTI NORD- ȘI SUD-DUNĂRENE



Question.: 311 STOMAC ‘stomach’.

A loan words from Balkan languages: *stumáhi* (< Gr. *στομάχ*) has an almost general distribution in Aromanian and Daco-Romanian dialects terms inherited from Latin *bāric* (<Lat. **umbilicus*), *pāndicā* (< Lat. *pantex*), indicated confusion with the notions ‘navel’ and ‘womb’ and a motivated term *moāră* ‘mill’ (< Lat. *mola*). In Megleno-Romanian and Istro-Romanin dialects, we have a term inherited from Latin, *fole* (< Lat. *follis*).

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Question.: 178. PLĂMÂN ‘lung’

In Daco-Romanian *plămân* ‘lung’ has an almost general distribution over the territory where Romanian is spoken, being also a literary term (over 1150 attestations out of 1205). It is weakly competed by terms of other origins

(Hungarian: *maiér*, Turkish: *gığér*, Russian: *lióhki*), in areas of contact with other languages. Etymological dictionaries of Romanian generally give as the origin of this word the Greek word *πλεμόνι*. The Latin word *pulmo*, *-onem* (which, in its turn, comes from the Greek *πλεμμών*; see also *πλεμμόνας* in Modern Greek), with distribution in Western Romance languages (Italian, French, Portuguese) has also been proposed as an etymon. Whichever of the two solutions we may adopt, we are definitely dealing with an originally ancient Greek term. The wide distribution of the word in Romanian is in favour of the idea that it is an old term in Romanian.

For this question, we registered in Aromanian dialect a term inherited from Latin, *hicát* (< Lat. *ficatum*) ‘liver’, *ábul h'icát* (< Lat. *albus ficatum*) ‘the white liver’ and a loan word from Greek, *plimóni* (< Gr. *πλεμόνι*). In the Megleno-Romanian and Istro-Romanian dialects, we have a loan word from Slavic *drob* (< Sl. *drob*).

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DISTANCE DIALECT

- Our research resulted in numerous similarities with Dacoromanian – conservative or innovation facts. As for innovations, we are talking about *parallel innovations*, which show that distance dialects, without any direct contact, like contemporary Aromanian, compared to Dacoromanian – develop not only divergently, but also in a convergent manner. This is in favour of using the term *distance dialect* (instead of *divergent dialect*), as these dialects have been called in the literature (Schimdt 2010: 201–225).
- To the same extent, we mention a concept recently added to dialectology, namely *distance dialect*, illustrated usually with examples from German (for instance, the idiolect of Transylvanian Swabians compared to the idiolect from the indigene German lands left centuries ago). The *distance dialect* concept emphasises the structure unity of some territorially separate idiolects in different historic eras. Such *distance dialects* are also the historical dialects of Romanian – Dacoromanian, Aromanian, Meglenoromanian and Istroromanian. We believe that this *distance dialect* concept is more productive than *divergent dialect*, as used in Romanian dialectology. It draws our attention to also showing the similarities, not just the differences. In various dialectology studies, for instance, examples have been given on the similarities between Aromanian and certain Dacoromanian idiolects (usually from Banat and Crişana) or similarities between certain idiolects of Aromanian, for instance the one in Gopeş and Mulovişte, and Dacoromanian (for instance, the phoneme *ĝ* compared to *j* in the rest of Aromanian: *joc, joi, ajutór*, compared to *ĝoc, ĝoi, aĝutór*).

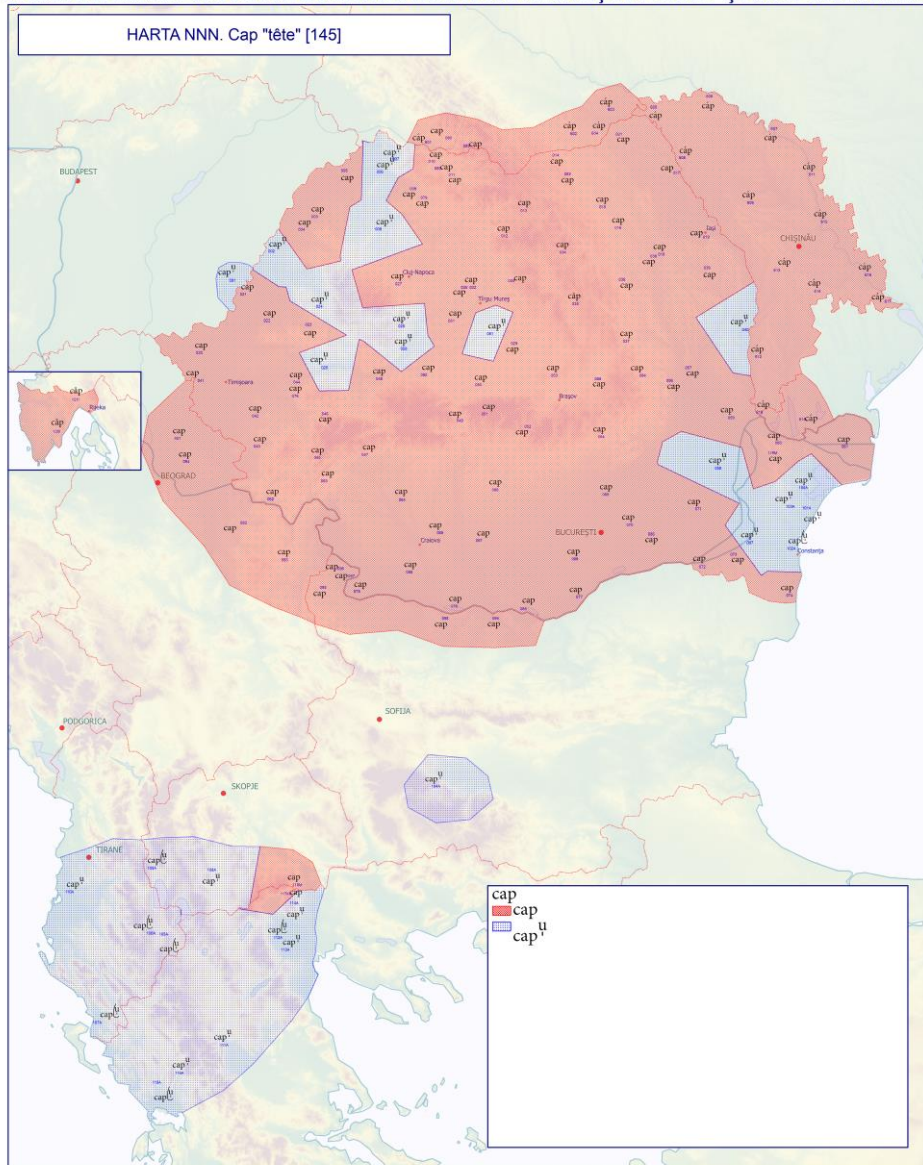
Here are a few examples which allow us to relate the South Danubian Romanian dialects, in general, to the Daco-Romanian dialects of the northwestdr.

- astarǎ* (Banat, Crişana, Maramureş, Transilvania) ‘disearǎ’; ar. *astarǎ*, megl. *starǎ*, ir. *astǎra*
 dr. *mǎ cuminec* ‘cuminec’ (Banat, Crişana, Transilvania), ar. *mi cumânic*, megl. *mi cuminic*
 dr. *dimic* ‘dumic pâinea în lapte’ (Banat, Crişana, Maramureş, Transilvania), ar. *diñic*
 (un) *pǎr* ‘fir de pǎr’ (Banat, sudul Transilvaniei, sudul Crişanei), ar., megl., ir. *per*.

There are, however, cases where the South Danubian dialects present concordances with the South of the Daco-Romanian territory: for example we encounter in north of Daco-Romanian the term *mai* ‘liver’, meantime in South of Oltenia *hicat* as in Aromanian dialect.

In phonetics, we mention keeping the final asyllabic [u] after consonants: *cap^u*, *bun^u*, *dor^u* etc.: în Daco-Romanian, in the Modovian subdialect, in the Transylvanian speeches and in the Crisean subdialect and Muntean suddialect, în a small area, in the Ialomita valley, a phonetic phenomenon brought by shepherds from Crișana through the process of transhumance and in Aromanian dialect.

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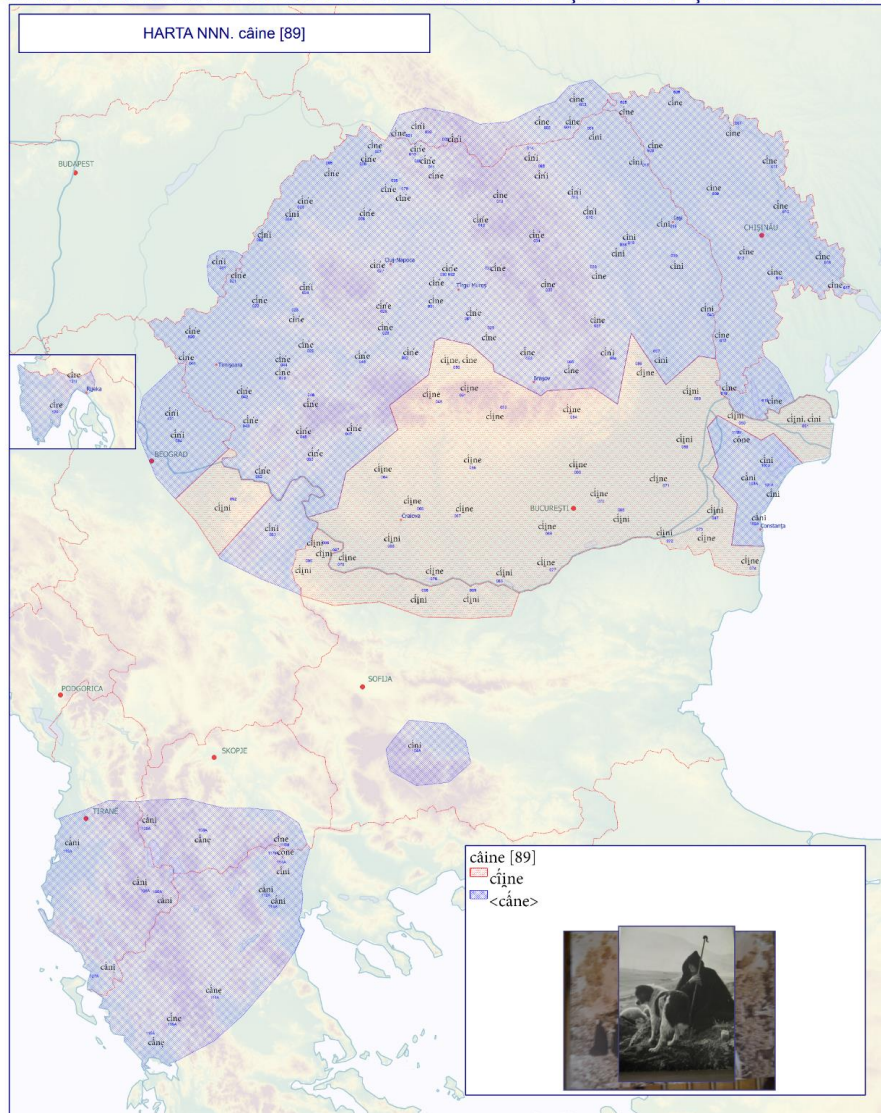
The prothesis of |a| occur sporadically in Daco-Romanian, in the Banat subdialect (*mă ascăld*, *arăgușeăști*, *asúgîț*, *asămt*, *amirós*), in the Crisean subdialect – center and north – (*mă ascăld*, *arăgușeăști*, *asúgîț*, *asămt*, *amirós*), in the Maramuresian subdialect (*asudǎre*), in the Transylvanian speeches (*apîpăj*, *asudǎre*, *amirós*) and in the Moldavian subdialect (*asudǎre*, *amirosí*) and it is general in Aromanian, even in Farsherot speeches (low frequency phenomenon).

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In the Romanian dialects, we identify both conservative elements, such as the presence of vowels *e*, *i* and the diphthong *ea* after labial consonants in words inherited from Latin: *per* ‘hair’, *ved* ‘I see’, *vină* ‘vein’, *vintu* ‘wind’, *cămeășă* ‘shirt’ (Banat, Crișana), etc., or the absence of the diphthong *îj* in *căni*, *măni*, *păni* (Banat, Crișana, Maramureș, Moldova).

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CONCLUSION

This dialectal field research on South Danubian dialects could not be done in the 1980s when ALE surveys took place in Greece and Albania due to the geopolitical conditions of the time. We, also, consider it opportune to include in the network a Romanian locality from Hungary, as well as the extension of the

network from the historical Maramures, now in Ukraine. Using the ALE's questionnaire, the Romanian material will be used in a complete form for the linguistic commentaries from the next ALE volumes, offering to the academic environment, and not only, an overview, from a scientific point of view, of the Romanian language and its dialects.

Although there is the *Atlasul lingvistic român pe regiuni. Sinteză I–III* (coord. N. Saramandu), *Atlasul lingvistic al dialectului aromân* (N. Saramandu, M. Nevaci) or *Atlasul lingvistic al dialectului meglenoromân* (P. Atanasov), *Atlasul lingvistic al dialectului istroromân* (R. Flora), *Atlasul lingvistic istroromân* (G. Filipi), the progress in knowing the Romanian language as a whole can be made only on the basis of a unitary material, elaborated with the same questionnaire, with a systematic study which allows comparison with European languages and dialects.

The preservation of characteristics inherited from Latin, which are built as a common base for all dialects of Romanian. *Atlasul lingvistic al dialectelor românești din nordul și din sudul Dunării* (ALDRO), engl. *The Linguistic Atlas of the Romanian dialects from the North and the South of Danube*, by comparing the Romanian dialectal material, by sub-subdialects, demonstrates the unity of the Romanian language in its spatial extension, in a territory of continuum romanicum, both the preservation of some facts from Latin at the phonetic, morphological, syntactic, lexical level as well as the manifestation of independent dialectal tendencies in the same direction.

As shown by our great linguists – Sextil Pușcariu, Ovid Densusianu, Al. Philippide, Al. Rosetti, I. Iordan – Romanian cannot be studied scientifically without knowing the south Danubian Romanian dialects and, first of all, the most important of them, the Aromanian dialect, since it has a “central position” in the Balkan Peninsula, as Eqrem Çabej put it, which explains the multiple relations between this Romanian dialect and the Balkan languages: “The central – geographically speaking – position of Aromanian in the Balkan Peninsula made this branch of Romanian have, pursuant to the secular cohabitation of Aromanians with neighbouring peoples, various relations with the languages spoken by these peoples” (Çabej 1976: 3).

The Linguistic Atlas of the Aromanian Dialect allows, for the first time, the delimitation of the Aromanian subdialects geographically, which was not possible from previous dialectology works. This is an important progress in the field on linguistic geography.

This brief analysis of the Aromanian spoken today shows the preservation of characteristics inherited from Latin that are built as a common base for all dialects of Romanian. Over time, this same common base allowed Aromanians to increase their Romanian awareness, considering themselves the same-people and using same-language with the Romanians from the north of the Danube.

The long cohabitation with the native speakers of other languages gave Aromanians the possibility to borrow elements from Greek, Albanian, Slavic, Turkish, languages with which however they have never identified themselves either ethnically or linguistically. In conclusion, we note that the Balkan influence was constant through the history of the Romanian language. As a language of culture, Greek was, in the Balkan area, the language with the strongest influence.

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ROMANIAN DIALECTS FROM THE ROMANCE AND BALKAN PERSPECTIVE, BASED ON ALDRO

Abstract

Atlasul lingvistic al dialectelor românești din nordul și din sudul Dunării (ALDRO), engl. *The Linguistic Atlas of the Romanian dialects from the North and the South of Danube*, by comparing the Romanian dialectal material, by sub-subdialects, demonstrates the unity of the Romanian language in its spatial extension, in a territory of *continuum romanicum*, both the preservation of some facts from Latin at the phonetic, morphological, syntactic, lexical level as well as the manifestation of independent dialectal tendencies in the same direction.

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