

Part II

Phonology

2 Aromanian of Ohrid

2.1 Accent

- Like other Aromanian dialects, Ohrid Aromanian has mobile, distinctive, dynamic accent that triggers vowel reduction of unstressed vowels: 'punti 'bridge', bă'serkă 'church', 'inămă 'heart', sku'la 'became' (Mac. stana) (20).
- Accent is most frequently penultimate, but can also be penultimate in paradigms (20).
- Accent is fixed for nouns (20):

Sg		Pl	
Indef	Def	Indef	Def
bă'serkă	bă'serka	bă'serc	bă'serkăli
'frati	'fratali	frac	'fracă
măhă'lă	măhă'lău	măhă'lăc	măhă'lăcă
'lapti	'laptili	'lapturi	'lapturli

- Accent plays a grammatical role in verbs; present tense usually has stress on the root, whereas in the imperfect and aorist, the ending is stressed (20).

'fuži (pres.)	fu'zi (aor.)	go-3sg-pres / go-3sg-aor
'tală (pres.)	ta'lă (impf./aor.)	cut-3sg-pres / cut-3sg-impf/aor
'dormi (pres.)	dur'na (impf.)	sleep-3sg-pres / sleep-3sg-impf

- Accent is usually final in loanwords from Turkish and Greek; Slavic loanwords are old enough to be fully integrated into the system: kăsă'bă 'city', măhă'lă 'neighborhood', păpu'zi 'slipper maker', kí'ro 'time' (21).

2.2 Phoneme inventory and distribution

2.2.1 Vowels

- Stressed vowels: front vowels /i/, /e/, central vowels /ă/, /a/, back vowels /o/, /u/ (21)
- Diphthongs lost: /êa/ > /e/, /ôa/ > /o/. This also takes place across word boundaries, although there are traces of this left among the older population (22-23).
 - Monophthongization takes place word-finally regardless of the morphology (23).

	Krushevo	Ohrid	
/êa/	'fêatã	'fetã	girl
	'sêarã	'serã	evening
	vi'dêare	vã'deri	seeing
	trã'zêare	trã'zëri	running
/ôa/	'ôaje	'oie	ewe
	'ôarã	'orã	hour
	'pôate	'poti	can-3sg-pres
	'skôate	'skoti	take.out-3sg-pres
	'lôaj	'loj	take-1sg-aor

Underlying form	Krushevo	Ohrid	
mi af'lã	mêaf'lã	mef'lã	he/she/it found me
li adu'na	lêadu'na	ladu'na	he/she/it carried them
nu 'are	'nôare	'nori	there is none (Mac. nema)
nu ave'a	nôave'a	no've	there was none (Mac. nemaše)
tu a'lantã	tôa'lantã	to'lantã	in another-fem (Mac. vo druga)

Krushevo		Ohrid		
Indefinite	Definite	Indefinite	Definite	
'punte	'punteã	'punti	'punte	bridge
mu'lare	mu'larêã	mu'leri	mu'lere	woman, wife
'pade	'padêã	'padi	'pade	floor
'vale	'valêã	'vali	'vale	river

Krushevo	Ohrid	
frãn'zêã	frãn'ze	break-3sg-impf
pu'têã	pu'te	can-3sg-impf
vi'dêã	vã'de	see/look-3sg-impf
fu'zêã	fu'ze	go-3sg-impf

- Vowel reduction: e > i, o > u, a > ă, i > ă (occasionally).

- Ohrid Aromanian is not like Krushevo Aromanian, in which final short -i and -u are reduced after single consonants. Instead, in Ohrid Aromanian, all word-final -i and -u are deleted, and -i causes palatalization of preceding consonant (26):

Krushevo		Ohrid	
'porku	'porci	'pork	'porc
'frãngu	'frãnzi	'frãng	'frãnz
'drak ^u	'drac ⁱ	'drak	'drac
'neg ^u	'neg ⁱ	'neg	'neʒ

- Unstressed /e/ > [i] (27):

Krushevo		Ohrid		
Nouns				
Indef.	Def.	Indef.	Def.	
'munte	'muntile	'munti	'muntili	mountain
'frate	'fratile	'frati	'fratili ('fratāli)	brother
'kale	'kalēa	'kali	'kale	path, road
'vale	'valēa	'vali	'vale	river
Verbal nouns				
mă'kare		mă'kari		eating, food
pur'tare		pur'tari		wearing, bearing
luk'rare		luk'rari		working
Verb-3sg-pres				
'nēaže		'neži		goes
'duce		'duci		wears, bears
'fränže		'fränzi		breaks
'pôate		'poti		can

– unstressed /o/ > [u] (28):

present	imperfect	
'poti	pu'te	can
'portă	pur'ta	carry, bear, wear
'dormi	dur'na	sleep

– unstressed /a/ > [ă] word-internally; is preserved word-initially and word-finally, where it often carries grammatical information (28):

1sg-pres	1pl-pres	
'fak	fă'cem	do
'tak	tă'cem	be silent
'tală	tă'la	cut
indef	def	
'fetă	'feta	girl
'portă	'porta	=Mac porta
'mână	'măna	hand
'kasă	'kasa	house
'bună	'buna	good-fem
'albă	'alba	white-fem

– reduction of /i/ > [ă] is facultative; doublets with and without reduction appear. This reduction is almost regular before sonants and palatals, while it is facultative elsewhere (29).