Syntactic Reduplications of the *dremla dremlesta* Type Within the Gorani Ethnolect[*]

Reduplikacje syntaktyczne typu *dremla dremlesta* w etnolekcie gorańskim

NATALIA DŁUGOSZ

Adam Mickiewicz University, Poland

ORCID ID: https://orcid.org/0000-0001-5654-2018

e-mail: natrek@amu.edu.pl

Abstract. In this article I discuss the topic of the one type of Gorani syntactic reduplications such as *dremla dremlesta*, *cincar cincaresti*, *glitalan glitalanesti* examples and many more. The linguistic material comes from the Gorani-Albanian dictionary by Nazif Dokle: *Reçnik goranski (nashinski) – allbanski* (published in Sofia, 2007). Based on the material, I make a formal description of the mechanism, assess it in terms of productivity and regularity. I analyze selected reduplicated constructions in terms of their morphological and in particular semantic structure. I devote separate attention to the peculiar semantic iconicity of repetitions. Neither the index of 80 reduplication units used in my analysis, nor the several dozens of repetitions registered in the dictionary fully exhaust the resource of this type of construction in the Gorani ethnolect. This type of syntactic reduplications in Gorani ethnolect is productive.

Keywords: Gorani ethnolect, repetitions, syntactic reduplications

Abstrakt. Przedmiot niniejszego artykułu stanowią występujące w etnolekcie gorańskim reduplikacje syntaktyczne, takie jak *dremla dremlesta*, *cincar cincaresti*, *glitalan glitalanesti* i wiele innych. Materiał językowy pochodzi ze słownika gorańsko-albańskiego autorstwa Nazifa Dokle: *Reçnik goranski (nashinski) – allbanski* (opublikowany w Sofii w 2007 roku). Bazując na wyekscerpowanym materiale, opisuję mechanizm powstawania reduplikacji, badam go pod kątem produktywności

i regularności. Analizuję wybrane struktury reduplikacyjne pod kątem ich struktury morfologicz-
nej oraz struktury semantycznej. Specjalną uwagę zwracam na cechę ikoniczności semantycznej
interesujących mnie powtórzeń. Indeks 80 redukplikacji poddanych analizie podczas badania ani też
pozostałe zarejestrowane w słowniku jednostki nie wyczerpują w pełni zasobu tego typu konstrukcji
w etnolekcie gorańskim, co świadczy o dużej produktywności tego typu konstrukcji.

    Słowa kluczowe: etnolekt gorański, powtórzenia, reduplikacje syntaktyczne

1. INTRODUCTION

    The Gorani ethnolect is a Slavic language spoken by a southern Slavic Muslim
minority ethnic group living in the region of Gora, more precisely in the 19 villages
of the Dragaš region in southern Kosovo (town of Brod and 18 villages: Bokka,
Dikance, Globočica, Mali Kărstec, Gorni Kărstec, Kruševo, Kukaliane, Leštane,
Ljuboviše, Mlike, Dragaš, Orčuša, Radeša, Dolna Rapča, Gorna Rapča, Rastelnica,
Vranište, Zli potok), nine villages in Albania in Šištavec and Kukăs (Borje, Cărnelevo,
Košarišt, Očikăl, Orešek, Orgjost, Šištavec, Pakišt and Zapod) and two villages in
Macedonia (Jeloviane, Urvič). The local people call themselves *Goranians* (*Goranets*)
or *Nashinets*, and the language they speak is *Goran* or *Nashinsky* (Dokle, 2007, p. 11).
The Gorani language is classified as a Torlac dialect group, covering the south-eastern
area of Serbia, north-western North Macedonia and western Bulgaria. The Gorani
language is a subject of particularly heated discussions among political and intellectual
elites especially in Serbia, Bulgaria and North Macedonia, and recently also in Bosnia
and Herzegovina. It is also a contentious issue when it comes to discussions among
Balkan and Slavic linguists. It is important to remember that it is a non-standard and
uncodified language. Although in recent years more and more written testimonies
have been produced in this language and there is an increased interest in the Gorani
language among linguists, it has still been rather poorly studied. I write in detail
about the studies dealing with the Gorani ethnolect, as well as about the name, status
and language documentation created in Gorani in the article available in the virtual
encyclopedia the *Brill Encyclopedia of Slavic Languages and Linguistics* (Długosz,
2020). There is no doubt about the fact that the Gorani ethnolect has linguistic features
characteristic of the Balkan linguistic league. The most important or even emblem-
atic Balkan features, as is well known, and they include: the analytic declension, the
postpositional genitive, doubling of the complement, analytic gradation of adjectives
and adverbs, the disappearance of the infinitive and the formation of the future tense
with the auxiliary word "want". These features are also typical of the Gorani language.
I wrote about the most characteristic features of the Balkan language in detail in the
article published in "Poznań Linguistic Meetings" (Długosz, 2013). The Balkan eth-
nolect also includes numerous reduplicative constructions of various types – some of

which I describe in the article *Selected Types of Reduplication in Gorani Ethnolect (on Dictionary Material)* (Długosz, 2023).

The purpose of this article is to discuss a selected type of Gorani repetitions. This is the case of partial reduplications, which consist in the repetition of a noun and an adjective derived from the same stem directly one after the other. The source of the excerpted linguistic material is the Gorani-Albanian dictionary by Nazif Dokle – *Reçnik goranski (nashinski) – allbanski*. The dictionary material concerns the language of the Goran population living in nine villages in the north-eastern Albanian region of Shishtavec and Kukës (Borje, Cărnelevo, Kosharisht, Ochikăl, Oreshek, Orgjost, Shishtavec, Pakisht and Zapod). The entries in the dictionary are written using the Albanian alphabet, as the inhabitants of this region are educated in Albanian schools and often know no other alphabet. The author of the dictionary considers this notation readable also for Gorans living on the territory of Kosovo, who most often take up the study of the Albanian language. The linguistic material is presented in a graphic version according to the dictionary notation. The item in question covers about 43,000 units. The dictionary articles contain basic grammatical information. The grammatical information is followed by a definition in Albanian. Each article is accompanied by an exemplification in the form of a complete sentence, sometimes two or three sentences heard or constructed most probably by the dictionary author using his linguistic competence. The following are examples of dictionary entries:

"Kamençe ~to, ~vo, ~no. as. sh: kamençiqa ~ta, ~va, ~na. Gurz, guri vogël. (*Jeno kamençe mi vlezllo vo oko. Orlimi nekuje kamençe zgora.*)" (Dokle, 2007, p. 443)

"Gu-gu. Pasth. Përdoret për të treguar gugatjen e pëllumbave ose artikulimet zanore të foshnjeve. (*Gollubiti bezden samo çinet gu-gu.*)" (Dokle, 2007, p. 222)

I extracted the linguistic material of interest from the exemplifications that are part of the dictionary entry.

2. LINGUISTIC REDUPLICATION

In the most general terms, by reduplication I mean the repetition, in the terms of immediate temporal distance, with regard to linguistic units. I take the view that reduplication is primarily a morphological process,[1] where the word stem is doubled as a whole (complete reduplication) or in part (partial reduplication) (EJO, 1999, p. 483). In the present view, reduplication is not only the process involving

---

[1] The morphological character of reduplication is emphasised by many linguists (in Poland, e.g. Dobaczewski, Sobotka, Żurowski, 2018, p. 7).

the repetition of the stem, but above all the product of the reduplication process in the language, i.e. the product of the aforementioned process.

Reduplications are known to be a kind of linguistic universal, this means that the process of reduplication is a universal linguistic process (of universal and wide scope), and its products certainly occur in all morphological types of language (Antoniak, 2005, p. 8). There are many scattered studies on reduplication in different languages of the world. Researchers use very diverse and extensive terminology concerning the matter. Therefore, I find it necessary to specify in more detail which terms and in what sense I will be using them. In this respect I draw on the proposal of Dorota Antoniak (2005, pp. 4–5) and assume that:

– root words are the words on the basis of which reduplications have been formed,

– the components of a reduplication are called its constituents,

– I refer to the repeated element as a reduplicate, and the repeating segment – a reduplicant. They can only be distinguished in partial reduplications, while in complete reduplications this is not possible due to the complete homophonicity of the constituents,

– in the broad sense, reduplication (reduplication *sensu largo*) includes: stylistic, syntactic, semantic, partial, asymmetrical, multiple repetitions, unproductive reduplication,

– on the other hand, reduplication in the narrow sense (reduplication *sensu stricto*) is perceived as a phenomenon of morphological character. Reduplications *sensu stricto* are reduplications:

"1. where the words are completely homophonic and, moreover, belong to the same parts of speech and are derived from a single root word (as opposed to partial and semantic reduplications),

2. where the meaning is different from that of the original word, i.e. the set of objects denoted by this reduplication is not the same as the set of objects denoted by its original word (in contrast to stylistic reduplication and child words),

3. which form a single word (as opposed to syntactic reduplication) [cf. Wiltshire, Marantz, 2000, 558]" (Antoniak, 2005, p. 6).

The broad understanding of reduplication adopted here does not allow us to agree with the view that reduplication is a phenomenon "characteristic mainly for exotic languages, and rather alien to Polish (and most other European languages)" [translated by N.D.] (Dobaczewski, Sobotka, Żurowski, 2018, p. 7). Reduplication is not an uncommon phenomenon in Balkan languages. It certainly belongs to those properties of European Balkan languages that have not yet received comprehensive and extensive studies.[2]

---

[2] The Bulgarian linguist Živka Koleva-Zlateva even writes about ignoring reduplication in the study of Slavic languages (cf. Koleva-Zlateva, 2011).

3. LINGUISTIC ANALYSIS

I analysed the linguistic reduplication constructions where the same stem is repeated in a noun and then in an adjective derived from it (i.e. derived vocabulary-wise), e.g. *cincar cincaresti*, *domz domzesti*, *glitalan glitalanest*, *shapla shaplesta*, etc. I have taken the linguistic material from exemplifications in dictionary articles where the headword was one of the constituents of the reduplication, e.g.

Driclest mb. nj. m. tr shq: *driclest -ujet*, *-ujev*, *-ujen*. sh: *driclesti*. f: *driclesta*, *dricleste*. as. *dricleste*, *driclesto*. Që manifestom shenja purthaniku. (*Dricle driclest ne sedi na mesto svuje*.) (Dokle, 2007, p. 145).

The dictionary records several dozens of such repetitions. I describe the reduplications in terms of their morphological and semantic structure.

I have included some examples of Gorani repetitions below, along with a broader commentary. First, I indicate the reduplication and try to convey its meaning. At this point it is worth pointing out that such a translation can hardly be considered fully adequate. This is due to the systematic differences between the languages. The reduplicative constructions in question seem to be a common means of expressing negative emotions in the Gorani ethnolect, while English does not display such properties. I then identify the base word (vocabulary base) for the reduplicate together with the grammatical information contained in the dictionary and the definition of the meaning in Albanian. Finally, I cite an exemplification in Gorani and translate it.

Examples of reduplication constructions:

(1) *brukla bruklesta* literally, "a pimple, a snot"; a disparaging term for a young, inexperienced person
     from *bruka -ta*, *-va*, *-na* f. sh: *bruke -te*, *-ve*, *-ne*. Puçërr. "pimple"
     Brukla bruklesta se uqinilla da zbori za druge. (Goranian)
     "What a snot-nosed snot dares to speak to others".

(2) *cincar carest* literally, "a miser"; a person who is excessively frugal, reluctant to spend, greedy
     cincar -ot, *-ov*, *-on*. m. sh: *cincari -ti*, *-vi*, *-ni*. Koprac. "miser, greedy"
     Cincar cincaresti, *ne mu se davaje pet leka*. (Goranian)
     "The stingy miser is not able to spend 5 Albanian lek (ALL)".

(3) *dremla dremlesta* literally, "a sleepy sleeper"; a person inclined to sleep, phlegmatic, lazy
     from *dremem* Jokal. Dremis, kotem, më vjen gjumë, më varet koka e më mbyllen sytë dike ndejur. *drzemać*
     Dremle dremlesti, *samo da spije*. (Goranian)
     "A sleepy sleeper, just wants to sleep".

(4) *fuçla fuçlesta* literally, "grumpy grump"; a person (woman) who is grumpy, gruff, prone to quarrels

from *fuçim* Jokal. Shfryj, nxjerr shumë frymë me forcë e me hurm si pasojë e një shqetësimi apo të një pakënaqësie. "fuss, grumble, shout, row"

Fuçla fuçlesta, polaj shto mi kazhuje. (Goranian)

"Grumpy grumpy, listen to what he tells me".

(5) *gërble gërblesto* literally, "a hunchback"; of a person having a hump

from *gërba -ta*, *-va*, *-na* f. sh: *gërbe -te*, *-ve*, *-ne*. Gërbë. "hump"

Gërbke gërblesto, saka da se zheni. (Goranian)

"Hunchy hunchback wants to get married".

(6) *gërklanar gërklanest* literally, "a binge eater"; a disparaging and insulting term for a person who is immoderate in eating

from *gërklan -ot*, *-ov*, *-on*. m. sh: *gërklani -ti*, *-vi*, *-ni*. Ganzherr, fyt. "pharynx, oesophagus, trachea"

Gërklanar gërklanest shto najde ni izede. (Goranian)

"A gluttonous eater eats what he finds".

(7) *gjunup gjunupesti* literally, "a debauchee"; a person who does not maintain sexual purity (associated with the Muslim faith)

gjunup mb. I parastruar, i pa larë pas mardhënies sexually. "impure man, harlot, debauchee"

Gjunup gjunupesti mi kazhuje za paçllak i redoj verski. (Goranian)

"A debauch debauchee tells me about purity and the laws of faith".

(8) *llëzhla llëzhlesta* literally, "a lying liar"; of a person inclined to lie

from *llëzhim* Kal dhe jokal. Gënjej, rrej. "lie"

Llëzhla llëzhlesta samo llëzhi. (Goranian)

"Lying liar, tells nothing but lies".

(9) *smërdle smërdlesti* literally, "a stinking stinker"; contemptuously about a person who smells bad, or figuratively about a vile person

from *smërdim* Jokal. Kundërmoj. "smell"

Smërdle smërdlesti i on saka da pokazhe neshto. (Goranian)

"The stinky stinker also wants to show off".

(10) *zborle zborlesti* literally, "a talkative chatterbox"; about a talkative person

derived from *zborim* Kal dhe jokal. Flas. Kujtoj. "speak, talk"

Zborle zborlesti, ne mu zastanuje usta. (Goranian)

"He is such a talkative chatterbox, his mouth never closes".

The reduplications in question operate as whole words, and their parts do not together form a single linguistic unit that has been made generic. We are, therefore, dealing with syntactic reduplication,[3] where each constituent part undergoes a separate inflection. The reduplicate is a verb-noun or dative noun, which denotes a person displaying an inclination to a given action (to the action expressed in the verb base) or the bearer of a trait. These nouns belong to expressive formations and in themselves carry a strong pejorative emotional charge. They are most often derivations formed with the help of formants: *-llo*, *-lla*, *-lle*, e.g. *tutkallo tutkalesto* – about a bulky and stocky person/man; *flakla flaklesta* literally "clumsy clumsy" – a person/woman who is clumsy, chaotic, a wimp; *gërble gërblesto* literally "hunchy hunchback" – a person with a hump), rarely *-ko* (e.g. *buçko buçkest* literally "plump plump" – a plump, squat person), *-ar* (e.g. *cincar cincaresti* literally "stingy miser" – about a person who is exceptionally greedy), *-an* (e.g. *glitalan glitalanest* literally "gluttonous eater" – about a person who is extremely greedy, gluttonous) and so on and so forth. There are also cases where the first segment of the reduplication there is a diminutive derivative formation on *-çe* formed from an expressive noun, e.g.:

(1) *dërdalçe dërdalçesto* (*dërdallo*, *dërdla*)
derived from *dërdam* (idem, see *dërdla dërdlesta*)
Dërdalçe dërdalçesto ne znëje da zatvori usta. (Goranian)
"He is such a talkative chatterbox, his mouth never closes".

(2) *hërpliçe hërpliçesto* (*hërpallo, hërpla, hërple*) "about a person who scratches himself persistently"
derived from *hërpam* Kal. Kruaj me forcë trupin ose pjesë të tij "scratch, itch"
More bre hërpliçe hërpliçesto samo se hërpa da ne je fatillo voshke. (Goranian)
"My goodness, the scratchy itcher, all he does is scratch, I hope he hasn't got lice".

(3) *vërliçe vërliçesto* (*vërla, vërle*) "of a person who is easily carried away and offended, showing this by a meaningful rolling of the eyes"
derived from *vërlim* Kal. dhe jokal. Hap shumë, zgurdulloj sytë. "to glare, roll one's eyes" or "to rebuke with a look, rolling one's eyes".
Vërliçe vërliçesto i ona se uçinilla da zbori. (Goranian)
"The insulting one and she also spoke".

A reduplicant can also be any other expressive noun denoting a person showing some inclination or being the possessor of a given trait, e.g. *delixhe delixhesto* "about a person of convenience who does not want to work/ a slacker"; *dembel*

---

dembelest "about a very lazy person/ indolent"; *domuz domuzesti* "about a despicable man"; *mukajecëz mukajecëzest* "a very lazy person/vain" and many others.

Each time the negative meaning of the reduplicate is strengthened by the reduplicant, which is a dative adjective formed with the formant *-est(i)*, *-esta*, *-esto*, which then further indicates a high degree of intensity of the feature. The observation of the linguistic material shows that the connectivity of the adjective formant with the formant containing the basic segment *-est-* does not encounter any limitations, and the discussed reduplicative constructions have a serial and regular character in the Gorani ethnolect. Thus, we are dealing with a series of open repetitive systems. This means that it is possible to create analogous repetitions on an *ad hoc* basis in order to use them in a specific linguistic event (speech act).

The repetition of two lexemes containing the same root – a noun and an adjective formed from it – is not accidental. Reduplication serves to express the negative (even extremely negative) attitude of the speaker towards the object denoted by the phrase. The phrase is characterised not only by a strong emotional charge, but also by intensification – a greater intensity of the feature. In fact, it seems that in reduplication phrases we are dealing with the expression of the absolute intensity of the feature. In this sense it may be considered that the reduplication serves, on the one hand, to emphasise the highest degree of irritation on the part of the sender of the message, and on the other hand, it indicates the highest degree of intensification of the given feature, bringing in the meaning of "complete, finished, total, absolute X" (e.g. a complete fool, a complete overeater, a total slacker, etc.). Thus, although the elements of the reduplication are not fully coordinated – they are grammatically dependent – none of the elements narrows the meaning of the other and only together they form a new whole with a new meaning. The repetitive constructions in question are characterised as linguistic signs with a high degree of iconicity, based on indicating intensity through the repetition of a noun and a derived adjective containing the same root. There is a simple translation here that more form means more content.

4. CONCLUDING REMARKS

The Gorani-Albanian dictionary by Dokle records several dozens of reduplications, where the reduplicant is an expressive noun and the reduplicant an adjective derived from it. Neither the index of 80 reduplication units used in my analysis, nor the several dozens of repetitions registered in the dictionary fully exhaust the resource of this type of construction in the Gorani ethnolect. The analysis carried out shows that they can be created on the basis of any personal name, indicating an

inclination towards a certain activity or the bearer of a feature. Even more, these reduplications can be multiplied by creating them from diminutives formed on the basis of a reduplicate (a personal expressive noun). Thus, we are dealing with a productive type of reduplicative construction.

REFERENCES/BIBLIOGRAFIA

Antoniak, Dorota. (2005). Reduplikacje jako uniwersalium językowe. *Investigationes Lingvisticae*, *12*, pp. 1–16. DOI: https://doi.org/10.14746/il.2005.12.2.

Długosz, Natalia. (2013). Uwagi o języku gorańskim (tożsamość języka w aspekcie typologicznym). *Poznańskie Spotkania Językoznawcze*, *1*, pp. 61–79.

Długosz, Natalia. (2020). Language of the Gorani (Goranci). In: Marc Greenberg (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Slavic Languages and Linguistics Online*. DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/2589-6229_ESLO_COM_036103.

Długosz, Natalia. (2023). Selected types of reduplication in the Gorani ethnolect (based on dictionary material). *Die Welt der Slaven* (in print).

Dobaczewski, Adam. Sobotka, Piotr. Żurowski, Sebastian. (2018). *Słownik reduplikacji i powtórzeń polskich*. Toruń: Wydawnictwo Naukowe UMK.

Dokle, Nazif. (2007). *Reçnik goranski (nashinski) – allbanski*. Sofia: Płatnica Naukini Akademiji „Prof. Marin Drinov".

Koleva-Zlateva, Živka. (2011). Slavijanskie jazyki i reduplikacija. *Tractata Slavica Universitatis Debreceniensis*, *3*, pp. 11–30.

Polański, Kazimierz (ed.). (1999). *Encyklopedia językoznawstwa ogólnego*. Wrocław – Warszawa – Kraków: Zakład Narodowy imienia Ossolińskich. [EJO]

Wiltshire, Caroline. Marantz, Alec. (2000). Reduplication. In: Geert Booji, Christian Lehmann, Joachim Mugdan (eds.), *Morphology – an International Handbook on Inflection and Word-Formation* (vol. 1, pp. 557–567). Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.