

Chapter 15

Linguistics

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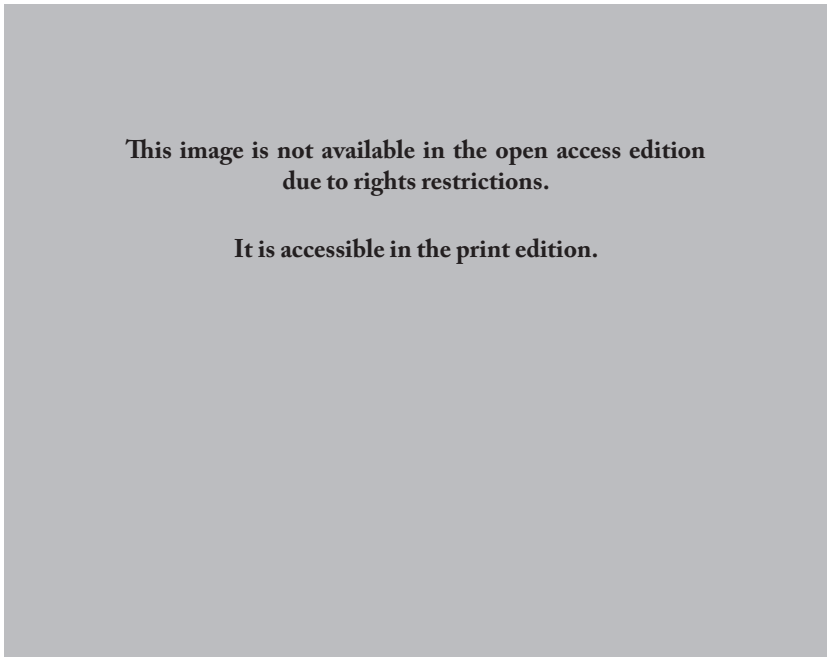
Strong cultural characteristics constituting cultural spaces have developed and steadily expanded from west to east in Europe since the high Middle Ages. Thus, from the medieval core-Europe of Charlemagne, there developed Latin Europe, with a Romano-Greek religious border from 1350; the Europe of the Enlightenment, bordering with Islam from the 1600s; and the Europe of the nation-states in the nineteenth century (Tornow 2010). Today, however, the borders of the classical spaces of Western Europe, Central Europe, and Eastern Europe, the conceptions of which are associated with the names of Jenő Szűcs and Oskar Halecki, are less and less clearly defined; the fate of Ukraine, unfolding before our eyes, is a particularly clear example. This likely holds true for all spaces of Europe: for the complex Central/East Central Europe as much as for Eastern Europe (Okey 1992) and the old controversy of Southeast Europe versus the Balkans (Sundhaussen 1999; Mishkova 2012). This is especially true given that the focal points of European identity formation have been inscribed into the mental map of Europeans for such a long period. Northern Europe and Southern Europe are not stable entities of cultural studies either, but rather geographically defined macrospace (Ureland 2005).

After 1989, the Iron Curtain, which sharply demarcated political blocs, transformed into a Velvet Curtain of living standards and the turbulence of neocapitalist praxis (Ureland 2010). For the last twenty-five years, Europe has fashioned itself into a new space according to its own laws, determined not only by politics but also dynamically conditioned by a multifaceted flow of traffic, primarily from east to west (Schlögel 2013). For this reason, *all* spatial concepts are being undermined and reshaped, and precise definitions are neither possible nor necessary: Europe is emerging into the twenty-first century, inventing itself anew. Europeans have come to see things from a multiplicity of perspectives, oscillating back and forth between political, economic, geo-

graphical, and cultural parameters. A brief overview of the current European space concepts is offered online by the EGO-Portal (2013).

In the future, all European spaces will come under the influence of increased permeability and mental convergence from within, and of the long-distance effects of other cultural macrospace from without. Perhaps because Europe as a whole is still undefined, in the twenty-first century it is likely to be conceptualized in a maximal way, expanding widely into the East, in accordance with those voices that have long looked to bring Turkey, and more recently also the Maghreb, into play, seeing the Mediterranean as a European sea. Corresponding to this trend is an increase in the number of languages in Europe, now brought to some 150 with the inclusion of the Caucasian languages (Bossong, Comrie, and Matras, 1987–2013).

Given the many, often divergent, definitions of spaces in Europe, this article treats “regions” as linguistically defined areas and spaces. The situation of Europe sketched above is clearly reflected in linguistics: “To date, there is . . . no uniform definition of Europe in European areal linguistics: . . . South Russia, West Kazakhstan, Transcaucasia, Turkey, . . . Cyprus and Malta, but also Greenland and the north Russian Arctic regions, are, according to different approaches, part of Europe or not part of it” (Stolz 2010, 402). The



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Figure 15.1. The new Europe (Copyright: European Commission¹)

larger and more diffuse Europe grows to the east and southeast, the more it is apparent that no closed and compact *Sprachbunds* (linguistic unions) can exist on the model of the Balkan Sprachbund, but rather open, complex networks of convergence clusters that Maria Koptjevskaja and Bernhard Wälchli (Koptjevskaja–Tamm 2010, 516) have named “contact superposition zones.” This is confirmed everywhere by linguistic landscapes (the relief of which reflects basic cultural patterns): between convergence areas there is often a language which is transitional between one area and the other—for example, Serbo-Croatian to the south in the Balkans, Serbo-Croatian between Central Europe and the Balkans, German between Eastern and Western Europe, and Russian between Europe and the Eurasian bloc.

The Pan-European/West European Area

Modern conceptions of a “European Sprachbund” were established around the turn of the century in Western Europe and are grouped around the nucleus of the Whorfian “Standard Average European” (SAE) (König and Haspelmath 1999). The great European Sprachbund and Western Europe were therefore conceptually bound together from the very beginning: typically, in areal linguistics, a term such as “West European area” was not used. This inherent “western orientation” is even more striking given the fact that already for fifty years or more, Europe has been a coherent language area on the linguistic agenda. Let us take a look at the prehistory.

In 1816, the German Indologist Franz Bopp discovered the relatedness of Indo-European languages in Europe and beyond. Nevertheless, it was not until 1942, 128 years later, that Europe was conceptualized for the first time as a *sui generis* language area (Lewy 1964). Against this background, the process of the linguistic regionalization of Europe can be divided into three phases (after Stolz 2010):

- An early phase between 1942 and 1975, in which there is an attempt to correlate certain linguistic features with worldview, culture, and society, associated with the names of Ernst Lewy, Henrik Becker, Gyula Décsy, and Vladimír Skalička.
- 1976–1989: “Revolution” and founding of a rigorous areal linguistics. With the work of Harald Haarmann, the cultural psychological phase ends and the discipline receives methodological foundations and linguistic terminology.
- 1990–2010: International projects such as the EUROTYP-Project spell out the linguistic material of the European languages (Bossong, Comrie, and Matras 1987–2013), leading to a new conception of a European Sprachbund (König and Haspelmath 1999). On the basis of Benjamin

Whorf's "Standard Average European," the perspective widens to encompass the entirety of Europe, as far as its edges in the East and Southeast (Haspelmath 2001). Two major international handbooks published around 2010 represent the new Europe not only with all its languages, language types, and language families on all its linguistic levels, but also as a historically developed, *sui generis* cultural space (Hinrichs 2010; Kortmann and Auwera 2011).

Parallel to this, the model Sprachbund region—that is, the Balkans—has been projected onto Europe as a whole. Therefore, all attempts to capture Europe as a holistic Sprachbund came to be seen through the methodological lens of Balkan linguistics. This had the advantage that the European Sprachbund could draw on the Sprachbund *par excellence*, and the disadvantage that it inherited all its associated problems and preconceptions. Already in the 1970s, however, the traditional and widespread conceptualization in Europe of relatively closed Sprachbunds was overlaid by an open and wide-ranging contact linguistics, defined by broad geographical lines, especially the seas and waters of Europe—stretching from the rivers of Russia, from the Baltic and the Atlantic down to the Mediterranean (Ureland 1996–2010; Koptjevskaja-Tamm 2010). There is a general orientation to mountains: two conferences of the Eurolinguistischer Arbeitskreis Mannheim (ELAMA)² in 1999, had as their theme "language contact north and south of the Alps"; see also the common terms "Balkan languages," "Caucasian languages," "Uralic languages," etc. If not only geographical metaphors underlie these terms, then the question of *sui generis* cultural spaces arises.

Representing the first phase, Ernst Lewy ([1942] 1964) described Europe as a geographical macroregion, ranging from the Atlantic to the Urals, including several subregions (so-called *Gebiete*). He attempted to work out key points within social and cultural macrospace without, however, deriving them from historical developments. Lewy was fighting against the positivism of the Neogrammarians as well as fashionable sociology, naïve *Völkerpsychologie*, and decontextualized structuralism. His "regions" represent language types that emerged in the context of *longue durée* areal codevelopment.

Lewy's areal typology divides Europe into five regions. His criteria are morphosyntactic in nature, but are not specific to the perspective of a holistic or even universal typology: they revolve around flexion, article systems, and syntactic organization. Lewy considers eighteen languages:

- Atlantic region: Basque, Spanish, French, Italian, Irish, Swedish. Characteristic feature: "isolating flexion"—the concentration of all flexional categories in an individual element of a construction.
- Central region: German and Hungarian. Characteristic feature: "word flexion."

- Balkan region: Albanian, Romanian, Bulgarian, Greek. The characteristic feature is called “demonstrative” because the definite article determines the word in a deictic manner.
- Eastern region: Latvian, Russian, Finnish, Mari, Mordvin. Characteristic feature: “stem flexion” and “subordination,” which is “dominance of the word root over the affixal apparatus.”
- Arctic region: Nenets, showing no correspondence with the rest of Europe.

The mixture of internal and external linguistics, of diachrony and synchrony, is also identifiable in Décsy’s (1973) compilation of Sprachbunds in Europe, voluminously republished in 2002 as *Language Story Europe*. Here social-historical, geographical, cultural, and linguistic factors are employed in a manner that is neither exact nor balanced. None of his zones are defined by unique characteristics and many features do not apply to all languages. Despite these systematic deficits, it is an ambitious design for outlining linguistic regions in Europe—a European mega-Sprachbund is subdivided into eight Sprachbunds, just like a great puzzle. For the first time, Décsy integrates Whorf’s idea of “Standard Average European” (SAE) from 1939 (even though Whorf spoke neither of a European language area nor a Sprachbund, but wanted merely to distinguish European languages, such as English or French, from North American indigenous languages, such as Hopi).

Décsy covers sixty-two languages presenting around one hundred features:

- The SAE Zone: German, English, French, Italian, and, surprisingly, Russian. Thirteen features: two phonetic, e.g., vowel reduction in unstressed syllables; seven morphological, e.g., definite and indefinite articles, simplified case inflection, suffixes and composition in word-building, analytic and synthetic verbal inflection; three lexical, e.g., lexical concords from Latin and Greek, Christian-based personal naming system; one syntactic: predicate not at the end of the sentence.
- The Viking Zone: all North Germanic and Celtic languages, Saami, Finnish, Veps, altogether twelve languages. Twenty-one linguistic features: seven phonetic, e.g., phonemes /θ ð/, apophony; eight morphological, e.g., conjugation in verbal inflection, *have/be* as auxiliary verbs; three syntactic, e.g., preferential treatment of verbal nouns and adverbs, word order with no distinctive function.
- The Littoral Zone: Frisian, Dutch, Basque, Spanish, Portuguese, Maltese. Characterized only by a vague geographical feature: position by the sea.
- The Peipus Zone: Estonian, Livonian, Votic, Latvian. Fifteen features: ten phonetic, e.g., great number of diphthongs, musical tone, distinctions of length, predisposition toward palatal correlation; three morphological, e.g., highly developed case system, evidentiality as a grammatical category; one lexical feature, i.e., loanwords from Baltic and German.

- The Rokytno Zone (from Ukrainian *rokyta*: “crimson willow”): Polish, Belorussian, Ukrainian, Kashubian, Lithuanian. seventeen features: nine phonetic, e.g., no quantity correlation, mobile word accent (not in Polish); seven morphological, e.g., well-developed case system, verbal prefixes; loanwords of Polish origin.
- The Danube Zone: Czech, Slovak, Slovene, Croatian, Serbian, Bosnian, Hungarian. Fifteen features: nine phonetic, e.g., distinction of length in vowels; four morphological, e.g., strongly synthetic case inflection, no synthetic form of the future tense; heavy Latin and German influence.
- The Balkan Zone: Romanian, Moldovan, Bulgarian, Macedonian, Albanian, Greek, Turkish. Décsy complements the eight known standard Balkanisms with other features: nine phonetic, e.g., presence of phoneme /ə/, mobile accent, presence of apophony; six morphological, e.g., rich verbal system, postposed article, absence of an infinitive; a large quantity of Balkan words of Turkish (and other) origin.
- The Kama Zone: Chuvash, Mari, Tatar, Bashkir, Mordvin, Udmurt, Komi, Nenets, Kalmyk. Nine linguistic features: five phonetic, e.g., absence of any distinctions of length; four morphological, e.g., large number of cases, no synthetic future, evidentiality.

With the establishment of the new discipline of Eurolinguistics in the 1990s and the extension of SAE to all languages of Europe, the “European Sprachbund” was conceptualized anew. This development was prepared by a wealth of materials from the EUROTYP-Project, 1990–94. In this project, one hundred linguists from two dozen countries worked to identify a European Sprachbund on the basis of nine selected grammatical fields, illustrated by many “name maps” (Bossong, Comrie, and Matras 1987–2013).

In their book, König and Haspelmath (1999) distill a European Sprachbund focusing on four core features (see Figure 15.2):

<i>Features</i>	<i>Examples</i>
(1) syntax of mental predicates	<i>ich habe Hunger</i> “I am hungry”
(2) dative external possessors	<i>mir zittern die Knie</i> “my knees are shaking”; Slovenian: <i>roka mu se je tresla</i> “his hand was shaking”
(3) intensifiers ≠ reflexive pronouns	<i>der Präsident selbst kommt</i> “the President himself is coming” vs. <i>der Präsident verteidigt sich</i> “the president protects himself”
(4) negation with pronouns	<i>niemand sah etwas</i> “nobody saw anything”; Italian: <i>nessuno è venuto</i> “nobody came”

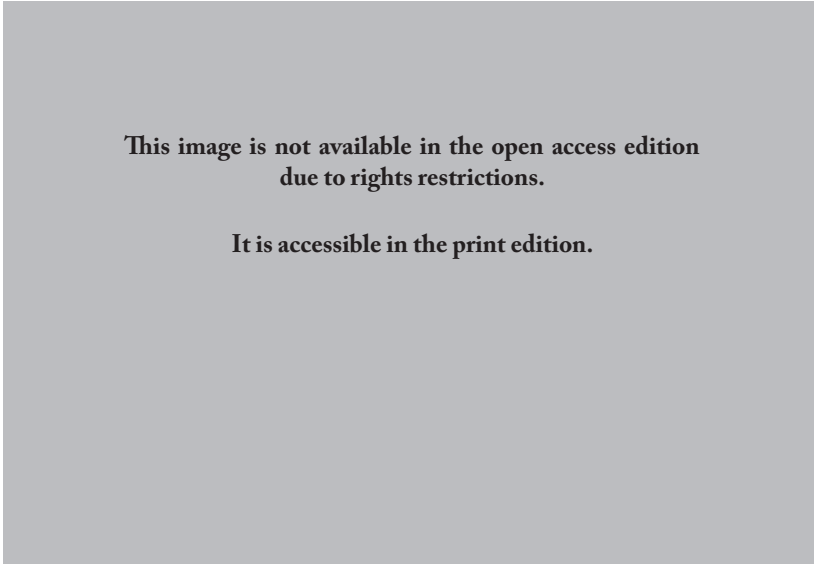


Figure 15.2. The European Sprachbund, after König and Haspelmath (1999)

The nucleus is composed of German, French, Dutch, and (North) Italian. This corresponds roughly to the borders of the medieval Frankish kingdom (Johan van der Auwera [1998, 824] refers to “Charlemagne-Sprachbund”). English, Scandinavian, the other Romance languages, together with the West and South Slavic languages and those of the Balkans, are peripheral. The Sprachbund borders with Baltic, East Slavic, Finnish, Hungarian, Georgian, and Armenian and excludes the Celtic languages and some others.

The improved version of the SAE-European Sprachbund (Haspelmath 2001) aims to eliminate those deficits identified by critics (Pottelberge 2001), such as Eurocentrism, the promotion of Western Europe, and arbitrary selection of features. Thirty-nine languages are included, which are examined according to nine linguistic core features (see Figure 15.3).

<i>Features</i>	<i>Examples</i>
(1) definite and indefinite articles	<i>ein Mann</i> “a man”; <i>der Mann</i> “the man”
(2) relative clauses with relative pronoun	<i>Der Mann der fortging</i> “the man who left”
(3) <i>have</i> -perfect	<i>Ich habe gesehen</i> “I have seen”
(4) participial passives	<i>Ich habe es gemacht</i> “I have made it”
(5) dative external possessors	<i>mir zittern die Knie</i> “my knee is shaking”

- | | |
|---|---|
| (6) negative pronouns/lack of verbal negation | <i>niemand sah etwas</i> “nobody saw anything” |
| (7) particles in equative constructions | <i>so groß wie stark</i> “as big as it is strong” |
| (8) strong agreement/non-pronoun-dropping | <i>ich gehe</i> “I go” |
| (9) intensifier-reflexive differentiation | <i>der Präsident kommt selbst</i> “the President himself is coming” vs. <i>Der Präsident verteidigt sich</i> “the President protects himself” |

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Figure 15.3. The improved European (SAE) Sprachbund, after Haspelmath (2001, 1054)

German and French have all nine features; Dutch and the Romance languages except Romanian have eight; English, Romanian, and Greek, seven; Icelandic, Norwegian, Swedish, and Czech, six; the other Slavic and Baltic languages, five. Finnish, Estonian, Turkish, and Basque, inter alia, have two or fewer features and no longer belong to the SAE Sprachbund. German, French, Dutch, English, and the Romance languages enjoy a clear methodological advantage in comparison to the Slavic languages, even though several Slavic languages can finally be considered part of the SAE sample, especially Czech. Although the database is impressive, in its subtext lies the old division between a “core-Europe” shaped by the Frankish agricultural and social order, and a “peripheral Europe” not shaped by that order, or at least not to the same extent (Mitterauer 2004, 66). In fact, from a typological point of view, depending on the choice of features, an “SAE center” in the East or South could be set up with equal justification, but would yield reversed results (Hinrichs 2008).

The crucial question for the future is whether the European macroregion can be captured as a Sprachbund at all. Stolz (2010, 398ff.) illustrates this complex of problems in a programmatic manner. Above all, four complexities must be clarified: the choice of features, the area as such, the ontological status of the Sprachbund, and its historico-cultural interpretation—a task for the future. The ideal would be a comprehensive, systematic analysis of all European languages, including all their existing forms, below the level of the written standards—probably a utopia. This would include an encyclopedia of the similarities between European languages identifiable at all linguistic levels, from the number of phonemes up to cultural-pragmatic similarities (see Hinrichs ed. 2010, 577–751). What is not a utopian idea is the fact that the network of these “Europemes” is an output of cultural identity building, pointing to the future and relating the regions and languages of Europe to each other. These manifest general typological lines present in Europe are the following: (1) the drift in European languages in the last thousand years from a synthetic to a more analytic type (Hinrichs ed. 2004) is a result of increased population density, migrations, the advent of vernaculars, and diverse language contact. (2) Most of the traits of the SAE Sprachbund apparently developed between antiquity and the Middle Ages, in the context of *Völkerwanderung* and ethnic mingling as the civilizational center of Europe moved from the southern regions of the continent toward the northwest (Haspelmath 1998). These traits are therefore contact induced. (3) The European language type—as vague as it still might seem—has apparently been a reality for a long time and is highly attractive: typologically distant languages such as Hungarian, Basque, and Finnish have increasingly converged on it over the course of time (for examples from Basque, see Heine and Kuteva 2006, 245ff.). (4) Fu-

ture research on the linguistic areas of Europe has several methods available to it that are not mutually exclusive but rather complementary (after Stolz 2006): (a) *the egalitarian approach*: exhaustive identification of similarities under the keywords “Europeme” and “Supraregionalization” (Haarmann 1976, 108ff.); (b) *the segregating approach*: investigation of sub-Sprachbunds under the umbrella of the European Sprachbund (Décsy 2002); (c) *the center versus periphery approach*: identification of concentrations of features in a linguistically polycentric Europe and their gradual dissemination in space (Haspelmath 2001); and (d) *the dynamic approach*: comparative analysis of levels of grammaticalization of selected categories (for example Heine and Nomachi 2010). These four approaches, with their internal orientation, stand in opposition to approaches contrasting the European areas with Sprachbunds and language areas in other parts of the world.

The Southeast European Area/Balkans

In linguistics, Southeast Europe/Balkans is usually understood *grosso modo* as a space “composed of the nation-states of Romania (along with Moldova), Bulgaria, Greece, European Turkey, Albania and ex-Yugoslavia” (Hetzler 2010, 457). Southeast Europe (SEE) is a macroregion, the extent of which is less in doubt than that of Eastern or Central Europe. For the region, as well as for Balkan linguistics, it is necessary to distinguish between SEE and the Balkans: SEE has a different terminological history, a different extent, and different connotations from that of the Balkans. Notably, neither name is indigenous; both are rather ascribed from the outside (see chapter 7 in this volume). SEE differs in its cultural characteristics from the “Balkan cultural space” (Burkhart 2014). It is not an oversimplification to characterize “the Balkans” in a general way as that region of Europe which was under Byzantine and later Ottoman rule and thereby developed its own cultural and civilizational physiognomy that distanced it from the rest of the continent (Sundhaussen 1999). This has fed into projections (Occidentalism; Orientalism) from both sides (see Todorova 1999). As a rough orientation, the natural lines of the Sava and Danube rivers and the artificially drawn borderline of Trieste-Odessa serve to demarcate the region. Southeast Europe as a space is broader in the north and east, comprising Hungary and Croatia as well as the Balkan states, and also the Vojvodina, all of Romania and Moldova with Budzhak, and sometimes even Slovenia and Slovakia. It has considerable lines of connection to the cultural spaces to the north.

Nowadays, nobody would seriously dispute that the so-called Balkan languages form a linguistic region with regard to their characteristics, or that, taken together, they form a cluster unique in Europe. The core zone of Bal-

kanisms is located in the Albanian, Macedonian, and Greek borderlands, a region that historically has the most languages, cultures, and contacts, gradually radiating toward the north. Even today, people live in that area who actively speak three or four Balkan languages. The so-called Balkanisms concern all linguistic levels, and meanwhile number between two and three dozen. However, not all features are equally strong, and they can have different values in the language system (Hetzer 2010). If the Balkanisms in the material are examined in detail, the number of variants increases and the distribution becomes more and more differentiated (Asenova 2002). At the core of the Balkan Sprachbund are the standard languages Albanian, Bulgarian, Macedonian, and Modern Greek, with Romanian, Serbian, Turkish, and Moldovan being peripheral.

List of Balkanisms (after Hetzer 2010):

1. Phoneme /ə/
2. Postposed definite article
3. Additional linking article after the substantive
4. Decrease in the number of morphological cases: Greek (3), Romanian (2), to the point of losing synthetic case-marking, e.g., Bulgarian
5. Retention of the neuter, i.e., development of heterogeneity (“Ambigender”), e.g., Romanian
6. Expression of possession by means of personal pronouns in the genitive or dative
7. Indeclinable particle instead of relative pronoun
8. Formulation of numbers 11–19 following the pattern “one *on* ten”
9. Pronominal reduplication of dative and accusative objects
10. Analytical comparative forms with particle
11. Gerund instead of participle for simultaneity
12. Substitution of infinitive by finite forms
13. Formation of the future with an invariant form of the verb “to want”
14. Retention of synthetic preterite tenses
15. Reinterpretation of forms of the perfect tense as mode of hearsay: evidentiality
16. Common vocabulary: substrate words, Turkisms and Graecisms.

The history of Balkan linguistics—that is, Southeast European linguistics—is almost two centuries years old. It can be subdivided into the following stages:

In the nineteenth century, in the framework of the flourishing of Indo-European studies, structural similarities in the Balkan languages, such as the postposed article, are identified by the Slovenes Jernej Kopitar (in 1829)

and Franz Miklosich (around 1862), as well as the German Gustav Weigand (1888). These “Balkanisms” are mostly attributed to the presence of an underlying substratum—for example, Thracian.

In the twentieth century, the Balkanisms are systematically categorized according to linguistic level and explained as being due to the influence of Greek (Sandfeld 1930) or later of Balkan Latin (Solta 1980). Toward the end of the twentieth century, extensive introductions and collections of materials become available—for example, by Helmut Schaller, Renatus Solta, Jack Feuillet, Petja Asenova, and Olga Mišeska Tomić. Balkanisms are increasingly seen as outputs of language contact, multilingualism, and interference (see Steinke 2014).

The paradigm of the twenty-first century is marked by the growing influence of other linguistic disciplines, such as contact linguistics, areal linguistics, language typology, Eurolinguistics, and even creole linguistics, which is, to some extent, a recession of Balkan linguistics in its narrower sense. Balkanisms are seen from a multiplicity of perspectives. One such perspective focuses on an early-sedimented and late-codified output of diffuse multilingualism, intensive language contact, and creolizing convergence processes in a lower, oral milieu of the social hierarchy in the Balkans in the first millennium CE (Hinrichs ed. 2004; Hetzer 2010). Another points at markers of a typically Southeast European expression of a pan-European tendency toward the development of analytic language structures (see Hinrichs ed. 2004). Of special importance is the identification of analytical iconicity as a structuring principle of the Balkan languages. A third aspect concerns the flexible isoglosses, ranging both in the north and west (e.g., the analytical comparative), as well as in the southeast (e.g., evidentiality) beyond the Balkans (Friedman 1988 and 2010). In a geolinguistic perspective one can find analogies in widely distant languages such as Farsi and Arabic (infinitive replacement) or in creole languages (Hinrichs 2012), as well as—curiously enough—in many European non-standards.

The linguistically relevant *differentium specificum* of the Balkans is constituted obviously not by the individual linguistic features as such, but rather by their massive condensation, interaction, sedimentation, and later codification in a very confined space and under special cultural conditions. More important than the exact geographical boundaries of the Balkans/Southeast Europe are the cultural factors that enabled the development, stabilization, variance, and strengthening, as well as weakening, of the typical Balkan convergences in a given temporal horizon. These are, according to Sundhaussen (1999, 36ff.), the following: the instability of settlement areas and consequent mixed ethnic composition, the loss of and postponed reception of ancient heritage, the Byzantine-Orthodox heritage, an anti-Western disposition, the Ottoman-

Islamic heritage as well as the wars of liberation, reinforced complex ethnic, linguistic, and confessional diversity and a “Balkan way of life” (“*balkanische Lebensform*”; Sundhaussen [1999, 39ff.]). Through “Balkan syncretism,” all these factors finally converged into a typical cultural and institutional pattern, which first kept the idea of the nation-state in the background but in the nineteenth century led to its overvaluation. In the twentieth century, and especially after 1989, its particular development was sharpened by the dissolution of the blocs. This heritage of diverse developmental velocities and trajectories results today in an often confused process of political rapprochement between the Balkans and the European Union. The differentiation of the “Southeast European” and “Balkan” macroregions will probably become weaker with the progression of EU integration processes and finally become obsolete. The distinctive features of the Balkans will, in the twenty-first century, fade and merge ever more with those of the rest of Europe. In particular, especially the multiethnic and multilingual past of the Balkans could serve as an example for the development of the language world of an integrating Europe. A “constitutive element of the southeast European regional self-understanding is . . . mutually overlapping and interpenetrating diversity with fluid ethnic, cultural, socio-economic and political border spaces” (Sundhaussen 1999, 42).

What does this mean for the Sprachbund of the Balkan languages? What future does it have? Answers to these questions are entangled with the political history of the region (Steinke 2009). The Sprachbund developed and stabilized long before the period of nationalism; it reaches back from the “Old Balkans” through Roman, Byzantine, and Ottoman rule up until the seventeenth century. When the great national movements were formed, the Sprachbund experienced a break, because the trend toward monoculturalism supports one state language at the cost of neighboring or minority languages: for example, at the cost of Greek in Albania, Turkish in Bulgaria, Hungarian in Romania, Albanian in Serbia, and Romani in all states. The parceling up of the Balkans into nations, accompanied by a simultaneous regression of Balkan multilingualism, is something like the “Epitaph of the Balkan Sprachbund” (Klaus Steinke). Its structures are available in a sedimented fashion, but it is rare for them to be actively revived interlingually. Even within the Balkans, the Sprachbund is not attractive enough, so powerful is the modern attraction to English (and to German)—which is also creeping into the Sprachbund.

The sedimented structure of the Balkan Sprachbund has a twofold significance. On the one hand, it remains a model for a European Sprachbund that is investigated worldwide and which is contrasted with other Sprachbunds, such as the Indian or Mesoamerican ones. On the other, the Balkan Sprachbund could, in the future, turn into its successor—a European Sprachbund, the political meaning of which cannot be underestimated in the *longue durée*.

The Central European Area

After the end of the Cold War, a new Central Europe (CE) emerged, which built on a tradition stretching back before the twentieth century. No region of Europe is more difficult to demarcate, because its “borders” spill over in all directions. The space concepts move between two extreme positions, one with a strictly geographical definition, from longitude 10 to 30° east (Paul Magocsi), the other arguing for a historically developed Central European mentality, the idea of a flexible “spiritual archetype” that cannot fit into stable political boundaries. Also, vertically, Central Europe (just like Eastern Europe and Europe itself) is today defined as a macroregion: it orientates itself to the old confessional borders, stretching from the north of Scandinavia, via the Baltic far down into ex-Yugoslavia, and measures over 3000 kilometers (Ureland 2010; see Figure 15.4).

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Figure 15.4. The Central Europe of today (after Ureland 2010)

Therefore, it cannot be wrong to consider Central Europe in many ways as a *Terrain Vague*, which is not clearly delimited: also in its own self-perception it is both Central Europe and an in-between Europe in transition (Breysach 2003). Its historical core undoubtedly comprises the multiethnic state of the Habsburg monarchy, as well as the Danube as a transport artery, providing external conditions for multiculturalism, multilingualism, and convergence. Until today, Central Europe has been shaped by the outstanding role of the German language, which has generated—as Földes (2011) emphasizes—an apparently typical “communications paradigm” in the region. Ureland (2010, 477) identifies here an “intermediate territory,” which acted as a “buffer zone” between East and West, especially in the Soviet period. After 1989, the traditional heterogeneity of the region was overlaid by common political interests, a new nationalism, and from 2004 the entry of its states into the European Union. According to Schlögel (2002) Central Europe rediscovered its old western orientation with axes between Warsaw, Vienna, Budapest, and Prague, and from Lviv to Sarajevo.

On the basis of migration-related, cultural, economic, and linguistic factors, which have caused specific convergences, the modern space of “Central Europe” can be divided into three areas, without laying down their borders too rigidly. Northern Central Europe is given the name “Circum-Baltic Area” (Maria Koptjevskaja) and encompasses languages and cultures around the Baltic Sea. Middle Central Europe comprises today’s Poland, Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary, and Germany, and occasionally Slovenia and parts of Ukraine. In cultural studies, a specific cultural space of *East Central Europe* (Ostmitteleuropa) is favored (e.g., at the university of Leipzig). Southern Central Europe is rather an offshoot, comprising Croatia, as well as parts of Bosnia as far as the Adriatic.

Just like other convergence zones, the Circum-Baltic Area (CBA) has been a stage for migrations and linguistic and cultural contacts for thousands of years, although it has never been a comprehensive political or economic union. Typologically, the CBA is not a clearly demarcated area with defined borders, but rather perhaps a “contact superposition zone” (Koptjevskaja-Tamm 2010, 516) with open boundaries. Indo-European languages (Baltic, Slavic) rubbed shoulders with Uralic (Finnish), Turkic (Tatar), and dialects of Romani in the area. The prehistoric contacts between Finns and Slavs were already intensive, with loanwords on both sides as testimony. The political history of the region favored language contact, interference and the formation of larger and smaller zones of convergence: one including, for example, Latvian, Livonian, and Estonian (Stolz 1991); a second called the “Karelian Sprachbund,” comprising east Finnish and north Russian dialects; and a

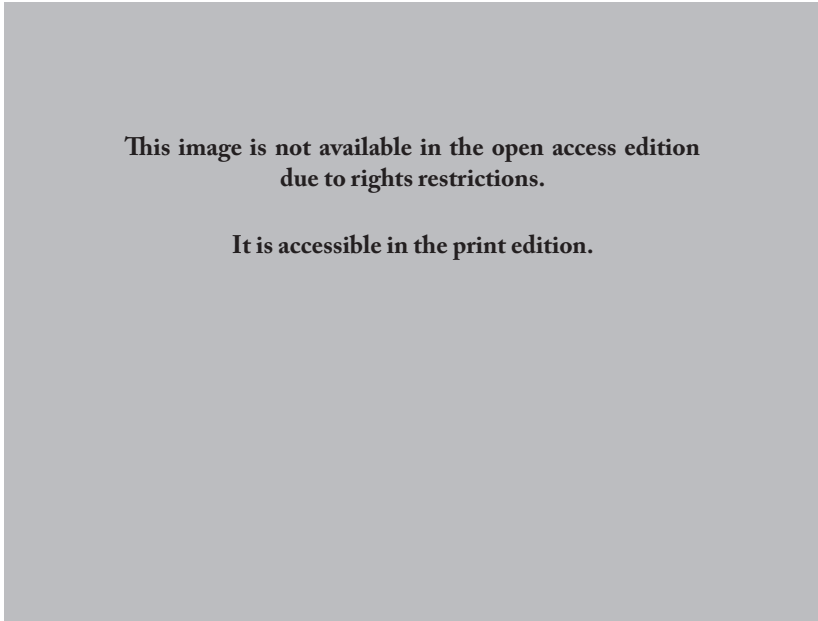


Figure 15.5. Languages around the Baltic Sea (after Koptjevskaja-Tamm 2010, 504)

third including a zone where Swedish, Finnish, and Saami were in contact (Koptjevskaja-Tamm 2010).

The high Middle Ages witnessed the formation of Scandinavian, Polish, and Russian states and the centuries-long expansion of Denmark. The German-dominated Hanseatic League and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth introduced new contact languages and dominant languages of prestige (German, Russian, Swedish, Polish) into the region, which always had unilateral influence. Multilingualism and diverse diglossia became the norm, and the religions supported these language hierarchies from another angle: German for Protestantism, Russian and Church Slavonic for Orthodox Christianity, and Yiddish for Judaism.

The CBA has one phonetic feature, two morphological features, four morphosyntactic features, and one syntactic feature (after Koptjevskaja-Tamm 2010). More than for other areas, it is also true here that the features are not universal, meaning that they very often concern only one group of the languages, in the west or the east of the CBA. No single isogloss covers all of the CBA languages. The CBA is therefore of an extensive rather than intensive nature. The most important features are as follows:

- *Polytony* is a strong super-feature that appears in most of the languages of the area. From a typological perspective, the feature of phonemic pitch accent connects the CBA, as a region of *restricted tone languages*, with Serbo-Croatian in Europe, and ultimately with *non-restricted tone languages* in Southeast Asia. The phenomenology of polytony in the CBA is complex and correlates with special suprasegmental conditions. In the Baltic variant, tone and (vowel) length are generally correlated: Lithuanian has two tones and Latvian three. In the Scandinavian variant (Norwegian, Swedish, Danish) it is correlated with syllable structure, while in the Estonian variant it is correlated with the quantity of vowels and consonants. But “there are no obvious connections among the three groups of polytonic phenomena found in the CB area” (Koptjevskaja-Tamm 2010, 509).
- *Postfixes*, that is, “the expression of certain verbal voice functions (reflexive, reciprocal, anticausative, passive) by means of verbal postfixes” (ibid., 511)
- *Evidentiality*: Estonian, Livonian, Latvian, and Lithuanian have special forms of verbs for hearsay
- *Word order*: Baltic and Scandinavian languages, Finnish, and Saami tend to place the possessor *before* the possessed
- *Accusative/genitive opposition*: Finn. *söi-n omena-n/en syönyt omena-a*; “I ate/didn’t eat the apple”
- *Predicative instrumental*: in Finnish and Baltic

Middle Central Europe is traditionally associated with the historic cultural space *Mittleeuropa*. It comprises, at its core, today’s Germany, Poland, Czech Republic, Austria, Slovakia, and Hungary, and occasionally also parts of Ukraine and Romania. In the 1930s, the “Prague School” linguists started to show interest in linguistic convergences in the Danube region (Donauraum). In 1947, the Hungarian Romanist László Gáldi used the term “Danube Sprachbund” for the first time. Although subsequently famous linguists, such as Henrik Becker, Vladimír Skalička, and Gyula Décsy, dealt with the Sprachbund, it was rather late, in 2001, when a comprehensive description of its linguistic structures was published (Pilarský 2001). The languages included are German, Hungarian, Czech, Slovak, Serbo-Croatian, and Slovenian.

Pilarský (2001) settles finally on eight strong features: three of them phonetic, three morphological, one syntactic and one lexical. The distribution of these features in the Danube Sprachbund can be found in Figure 15.6. Note that Figure 15.7 shows a hard core and a rather softer periphery, with a German taillight.

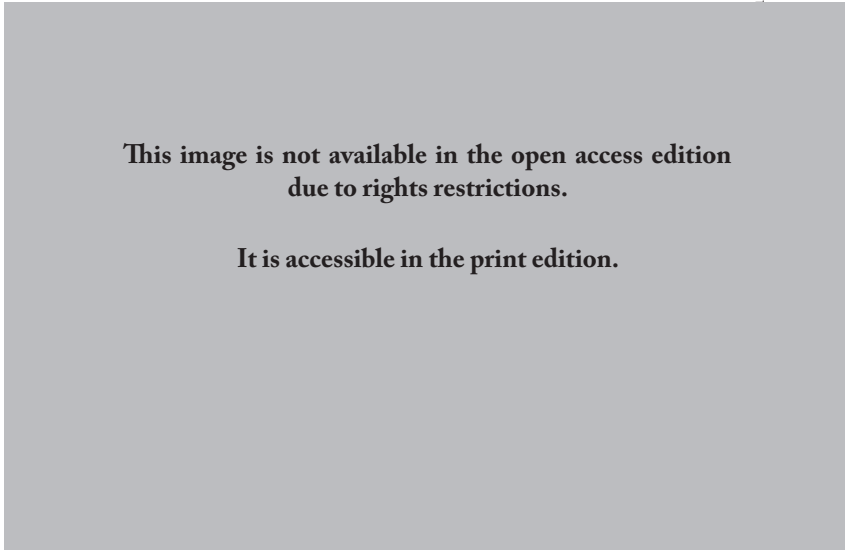


Figure 15.6. The distribution of Sprachbund features in the Danube Sprachbund (Pilarský 2001, 216)

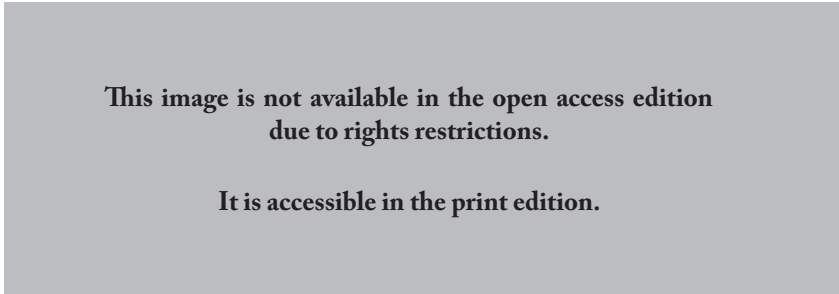


Figure 15.7. The strength of the Danube Sprachbund according to distribution of features (Pilarský 2001, 217)

In the following, I speak about the Danube Sprachbund (DSB) languages without considering the distribution of features in each concrete case (for details see Pilarský 2001, 57–219).

The DSB languages have a stable dynamic word accent on the first syllable (which is a continuation of the European tendency). It is generally not phonemic. German is atypical in this regard, as the accent is in principle fixed on the root syllable (*bedecken* “cover”), and there are minimal pairs such as *üb-*

ersetzen “ferry across” versus *übersetzen* “translate.” All DSB languages have a distinction between long and short vowel phonemes of the German type. *Bahn* “way” versus *Bann* “spell”: short vowels can be more open than short. German has seven such pairs, Czech five, and Hungarian seven. The Danube Sprachbund languages don’t reduce unstressed vowels in the standard pronunciation (such as, for example, Russian), in which regard German differs in many instances, such as *bedecken* “to cover” or *Tasche* “bag.” Bilateral features of the DSB languages include word final devoicing (*Auslautverhärtung*) (German, Czech) and the use of front rounded vowels (*ö; ü*) (German, Hungarian).

With regard to morphology, “prefixing is a tool of word formation in all languages of the Danube, comparatively far more productive than in the Balkan or SAE languages” (Haarmann 1976, 104). The enthusiasm of the Hungarian language for prefixes is recent; it is a phenomenon of convergence, which has become productive—for example, *bejár* “attend,” *megcsóvál* “wag once.” This isogloss can be found also at the boundaries of the Danube Sprachbund—for example, (Russian) *dopisat’* “write to the end.” It is possible that a common morphosemantic feature developed in the region under the influence of Slavic and German: the expression of the type of action by means of such verbal prefixes (Kiefer 2010).

All DSB languages are by a high level of synthesis in nominal flexion. The leading language in this regard is Hungarian, with eighteen to twenty-seven oppositions of case (depending on the definition of case), followed by the Slavic DSB languages with six or seven, and German with four. The DSB is at the end of a block of languages to the east being rich in case distinctions, and German is in this respect a transitional language to another block of languages, poor in case distinctions, to the west (SAE languages). Comparative and superlative forms of the adjective and adverb are also synthetic. Czech, Slovak, and Hungarian have a system of three verbal tenses, with present, preterite, and future (Serbo-Croatian usage is also tending in this direction). The copresence of the *Präsens pro futuro* (present tense for future) and the analytical future with auxiliary verbs is striking (Kurzová 1996). Peripheral morphological features of the Danube Sprachbund are preceding articles (Hungarian, German) and the structure of the numerals following the pattern “one *on* ten” (Czech, Slovak, Serbo-Croatian, Hungarian).

The syntactic field of the DSB is underrepresented in research. Structural convergences are evident in the periphrastic passive, in subject-verb-object word order, and in subordinate and relative clauses (Kurzová 1996, 57ff.). Only nominal phrases have been analyzed in detail to date, and it was found that there is a “light preference for a prenominal position for attributes” (Pílarský 2001, 117–39).

A separate research field arises from the overwhelming importance of the German language, which served as a kind of lingua franca in the region under the Habsburg monarchy for a period of centuries: a massive number of German loanwords testify to long cultural convergence on the lexical level (Newerkla 2002). Nearly a quarter of these are of Austrian provenance, and another quarter originate in other languages mediated by German. Since the fifteenth century, a large number of loanwords have spread into all languages of the area in the domains of military affairs, the urban bourgeoisie, agriculture, court life, knighthood, church, craft, kitchen, mining, and metallurgy. The intermediary function of German also finds expression in family names and idioms. Loanwords in the DSB were exchanged especially in the imperial capital of Vienna and also included loanwords from other Slavic languages, Hungarian, Romanian, and other languages. With the 1990s and EU enlargement, the number of Germanisms and Austrianisms decreased, but language contact between speakers of DSB languages increased, under the auspices of English. Common loanwords in the southern transition area of Hungary-Austria-Croatia-Italy are described by Vig (2007).

Semantics and pragmatics are entirely blank spots on the linguistic map of the Danube Sprachbund (as well as for other Sprachbunds or linguistic areas). Nevertheless, “[Zrinjka] Glovacki-Bernardi proves that there are similar salutation formulas, forms of address and topics of conversation in Southern Germany, Austria, Hungary, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Slovenia and Croatia which constitute a specific *Mittleuropa* communications paradigm” (Földes 2011, 12).

The East European Area

Given that the European continent in the twenty-first century is *per consensum* maximally conceptualized and the EU is steadily expanding politically, the old Atlantic-Ural Europe is losing its solid contours in the East and Southeast. Today, it is less clear than ever where Europe ends (Törnøw 2010). The “New Eastern Europe” (Rehder 1993) today extends beyond its traditional borders: Eastern Europe (EE) includes Poland, Belarus, Ukraine, and Russia, with its scattered Finno-Ugric and Turkic speaking peoples; Turkey, Armenia, and the Caucasian republics with Georgia and Azerbaijan; and to their north the Mongolic Kalmyk language areas and the western parts of Kazakhstan. The language list alone of the new Eastern Europe currently comprises one hundred and twenty standard, literary, and minority languages (Okuka 2002, 15). Eastern Europe is larger, more diverse, more Asian, less Indo-European, and is enriched by numerous languages and another religion (Buddhism/Kalmykia).

A Sprachbund or other convergence of languages in the East European area must first be established and constructed; it is possible that it will develop in the future. To date, however, the focal points of convergence can be identified, in which five or more languages interact with each other: Bukovina, the region of Vilnius or the so-called Budyak in the southwest of Ukraine, where in 1812, “Romanian, Bulgarian, Gagauz, German, Ukrainian and Russian settlers came to the area” (Weiss 2010, 437). However, there is no focused research on it as a Sprachbund (as there is for the Balkans).

Core to a potential wide-ranging EE convergence area would without doubt be the “high degree of synthesis” (Haarmann 1976) that connects all the Slavic languages of EE, especially in nominal declination (case, comparative), but also finding expression in the verbal system (Polish *czytaliśmy* “we have read,” Ukrainian (*voni*) *vidvezli* “they have departed”). In the focus of an EE area are further typological features, such as multiple negation, lack of obligatory subject marking (pronoun-dropping), special functions for peripheral cases, and possibly the area of verbal aspect.

Russian, with its very strong anti-analytical character (Weiss 2004) is here not only a typological extreme, but also a link to adjacent convergence areas in the eastern part of EE. As far as can be determined, high-level symmetrical convergence between Russian and many minority languages in the region (e.g., Mordvin, Tatar) has not occurred; but rather Russian, as a dominant donor language, has been the source of many loanwords, but itself has rarely adopted lexical items from elsewhere. Russians rather seldom speak Mordvin or Tatar. It should be examined to what extent Russian, as the core language of the EE area, during the course of its coexistence with other languages in the Euroasiatic bloc, adopted “foreign” structures—for example, the agglutinative morphology and rich case systems of the Finno-Ugric languages—and to what extent it has distanced itself from the European language type (or whether this type itself has been extended). The Finno-Ugric languages, such as Mordvin, Cheremis (Mari), or Zyrian (Komi), are clearly well ahead in this regard.

The parallels between Finno-Ugric (F-U) languages and Russian were so obvious (Veenker 1967) that without hesitation a Russian-Finnish Sprachbund could be postulated. In fact, almost all so-called exotic features of Russian have analogies in the structures of the F-U languages. Already the two features that characterize the auditory impression of Russian, namely vowel reduction and the palatalization of consonants, could have developed under the influence of F-U languages. A Finno-Ugric-Russian convergence can be postulated in various fields.

Most striking is the tendency to omit parts of the sentence which supports the thesis of a “Eurasian orientation,” meaning a grammar as sparse as possible in its expression: this is shown most explicitly by the empty copula (*on*

_ učitel' "he [is] a teacher"; *u menja* _ kniga "I [have] a book"), with parallels in many Finno-Ugric languages, such as Mordvin: *mon* _ *lomańan*. Also possible is the empty subject (*tam chorošo* _ *kormjat* "one can eat well there") or the empty connection—that is, causal, inter alia, subordinate clauses without conjunction, as described in detail in Weiss (2013). Structurally related to this is the structurally "un-European" asyndesis, which is widespread in the Russian colloquial: for example, *sadis' rasskazyvaj!* "sit down *and* tell me!" *stoit smotrit* "he was standing *and* staring." This occurs in many F-U languages, especially in Komi (Weiss 2012); and one has to reckon on further lexical reduplication of the type *bystro-bystro!* "quick-quick!" which is known also in the Turkic languages, such as Tatar: *želt-želt*.

The archetypal possessive expression *u menja kniga* "there is a book with me" = "I have a book," is available in seven Finno-Ugric languages, and also occurs in all of the Turkic languages. Furthermore, many peculiarities of the Russian case usage could go back to F-U influence, such as the casus negationis, the instrumental predicative (see above), or the so-called comitative—for example, *my s ženoy* "I and my wife."

The hypothesis of the Eurasian features of Russian culture and language was launched by the Russian émigré linguist Nikolai S. Trubetskoi in the 1920s and was revived in the 1950s by Lev Gumilev, to be represented on the European scene since the 1990s by the extreme right-wing politician and philosopher Aleksandr Dugin (Ignatow 1992). Eurasianism offers today a *Weltanschauung* for many Russian intellectuals (see chapter 10 in this volume). This neo-Eurasian paradigm includes the old cultural links to the Finno-Ugric and Turkic-speaking populations of Russia as well as, in a broader perspective, ultimately states such as Serbia and Bulgaria, and even Iran, China, Turkey, and India—in contrast to the "Germanic-Romanic" culture of Western Europe. It is beyond doubt that Russian has certain characteristics that distinguish it from the European Standard, particularly with regard to the categories mentioned above. The eurolinguist Helmar Frank even talked about Russian as a "Eurasian language." However, for modern Russian linguistics, affiliation with other Slavic languages is the prevalent theme, and thus a strong Eurasian hypothesis could hardly be seriously advanced, even though the "non-European" traits cannot be denied. This might well change in the future, however, following the change of the political context toward an ideologically motivated "distancing" from Europe.

Conclusion

The regionalization of Europe in linguistic areas has a long history. But only with the great projects and handbooks that established the new discipline of

Eurolinguistics after 2000 did it become possible to overcome Eurocentrism: Europe became conceptualized as a *sui generis* linguistic macro region, and its Eastern and Western regions are now placed in a non-normative and equal way next to each other. If one wishes to give a summary picture of the traditional linguistic regions of Europe at present, and especially in the future, one should distinguish three main lines and different dynamics of transformation, which mutually influence each other and which also to a certain extent overlap:

The *longue durée* perspective: over a period of about fifteen hundred years following antiquity, Europe's major regions and their language types had *grosso modo* emerged: in the first millennium the Balkans, the western Romanic-Germanic core Europe, then Russia and Eastern Europe and in-between also the elusive central Europe, ranging from the Baltic to Croatia. The strongest pan-European feature which links all these regions is the tendency toward more analytic language structures with a growing dynamic from East to West.

The middle-range perspective after the 1980s: in the framework of the continuous enlargement of the European Union—which sped up after 2004—due mainly to the growing mobility of people and increasing political and cultural contacts, the traditional regions lost their contours and the national borders became less sharp. Whether there “exists” a Central-European, Balkan, or Eastern European language type will most likely soon become an intralinguistic or historical issue, which will be superseded by contemporary historical developments. The discussion on the future of the Balkan language type (Steinke 2012) can be extended to other language types and regions as well: local or culturally bound language types or Sprachbunds do not seem to have a future in an integrating Europe, but will be further converging due to pan-European developments and the growing impact of English. Whether the linguistic interpenetration of all European languages and regions will eventually result in a European Sprachbund is a merely academic question to be decided by the future. What is important is that the development of modern area linguistics will in a way dissolve this problem altogether: most probably in Europe we have already been experiencing a convergence landscape, with a cluster of large-scale “contact superposition zones” (Koptjevskaja-Tamm 2010, 516). These zones cannot be neatly delimited from each other, as their peripheries overlap as “oscillating fields,” spreading across the European continent and, at least to the east and southeast, extending beyond it and connecting to other macroregions.

The current perspective from the twenty-first century: in the great metropolitan cities of Europe, unprecedented mixing of languages and cultures is taking place due to increased migration and integration processes. Such centers are Paris, Berlin, Amsterdam, Madrid, and London in the West—destinations and melting pots of multifarious migrations. Cities such as Mos-

cow, Riga, Warsaw, Prague, or Sarajevo, on the other hand, are departure and destination points of a new pan-European mobility of people, cultures, languages, and experiences, especially for the younger and educated groups. Due to different migration and refugee waves, it is not an exaggeration to predict a demographic situation in the next ten to twenty years that will radically change the face of Europe. As a result, Europe in the twenty-first century will be affected in linguistic terms—in different parts with different speed—by the tendencies of Creolization, typological equilibration, and possibly also simplification of more complex grammatical structures.

Current research takes these trends into account insofar as it deals with entities such as “European Sprachbund,” “European language type,” “Europeme,” etc. and is increasingly influenced by holistic paradigms (Stolz 2010). Today one can assume that the four macroregions, and the countless microregions within them, are as a whole illuminated from a linguistic point of view. There are, however, also locally bound countertendencies beyond the sphere of pure linguistics, at the level of everyday experiences and practical politics, which influence the direction of research. These include phenomena such as the “de-Europeanization” of the Russian language, the purist profiling of small languages such as Croatian, Bosnian, Moldavian, or Slovak, the resistance against the preponderance of English all over Eastern and Western Europe, the “antiquization” of Macedonian, or the rise of a number of microlanguages or minority idioms due mainly to linguistic(-political) motives. These are contradictory trends that mark out new mental borders and ideological competitions. They can overlap with and overwrite each other and thus defy a clear linguistic prognosis: the project of a holistic Europe is countered by nationally motivated trends, which gives the general development its specific dynamics. For the linguistic regions of Europe, this offers an analogy: the individual regions in their cultural and linguistic phenomenology will lose their importance, while their history and specific contribution to the typology of a European macrospace will remain relevant. On the whole, the gap between the practically spoken everyday language and the written standard will further increase—a tendency which will be to a certain extent triggered “from below” by the emergence of new Pidgins and other purportedly deficient language forms. It is also likely that a renaissance of the oral language modus will lend support to the linguistic approach to regions in the long term.³

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of *Multi Kulti Deutsch* (2013), which describes the influence of migrant languages on German colloquial language, and of *Die Dunkle Materie des Wissens* (2014), a theoretical work on the “dark fields” in various sciences.

Notes

1. <http://www.weltkarte.com/europa/europakarte/europa-karte.htm>. Used with permission.
2. Led by P. Sture Ureland.
3. This paper was translated from the German original by my colleagues Cormac Anderson and Beatrix Bukus (University of Leipzig).

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