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VOLUME IX PART 1

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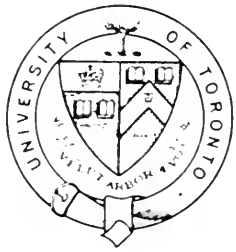
CONTENTS



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JOURNAL OF THE GYPSY LORE SOCIETY

NEW SERIES

Bohemiane disant la bonne avanture .

Tableau de Michel Ange Merigi, dit le Caravage, qui est dans le Cabinet du Roy.

JOURNAL OF THE

GYPSY LORE

SOCIETY

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VOLUME IX

(1915—1916)

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CONTENTS[1]

PART 1.

PART 2.

PARTS 3 AND 4.

[1] Complete Lists of the Reviews and of the Notes and Queries will be found in the Index under these headings.

ERRATA

Page 80, line 6, for *Siebenburgen* read *Siebenbürgen.*

„ 130, lines 9-16, for *As the Queen—There remains the* read *One of the two first suggestions is probably right. But there is just a.*

„ 154, line 2 from the bottom, for *kair* read *kēr.*

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JOURNAL OF THE
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NEW SERIES

VOL. IX YEAR 1915-16 No. 1

I.—REPORT ON THE GYPSY TRIBES OF NORTH-EAST BULGARIA

By 'PETULENGRO'

PRELIMINARY REMARKS

BEFORE setting forth the results of my researches during nearly four years' residence in Varna, I wish particularly to insist upon a fact which I may have occasion to illustrate more than once in the course of this report, namely, the unreliability of second-hand information, whether gathered from Bulgarians, Turks, or Gypsies themselves. The last-named race are indeed surprisingly ignorant with regard to anything and everything affecting any other tribe than the one to which they belong. They frequently do not even know the name of a neighbouring tribe, applying one particular denomination, which as often as not turns out to be a nickname, to two different tribes. I do not mean to say that information gathered from this source is altogether valueless. But it must be carefully sifted and checked by personal observation. As for the Turk, the only piece of information which I ever obtained from one of that race was to the effect that in order to light a match it was quite unnecessary

to possess a matchbox, provided that a Gypsy female were in the vicinity: you had merely to approach her person, and lo! the match would flare!

Bulgarians, the lords of the land, might be expected to know something more concerning the Gypsies, who are, after all, in Bulgaria, numerically no negligible quantity. Such is, however, not the case. To them every Gypsy man is just a gypsy, a dirty scoundrel, while every Gypsy woman is the fitting subject for some coarse joke. At the best some lawyer may give you a belated copy of a futile bye-law, which never interested any one save perhaps its author, and has remained a dead letter since its unfortunate birth. I would add that the Bulgarians' ignorance on this subject is only surpassed by their inability to understand that there is anything in it worth learning. I should not deem it necessary to mention these things but for the tendency, in England, to rely implicitly upon information obtained from persons 'on the spot,' who are therefore considered to be qualified to report upon the most puzzling questions.

Finally there is the testimony of English and other European travellers, showing frequently great insight and power of observation. But their statements are too often in the nature of generalizations, as though some Chinese explorer visiting London and Amsterdam might conclude, on the strength of certain outward similarities, that the inhabitants of those two cities belonged to one and the same race. In the interesting description of Bulgarian Gypsies given in their book, *A Residence in Bulgaria* (quoted in *J. G. L. S.*, vii. 158-160), it is not difficult to recognize that Captain S. G. B. St. Clair and Charles Brophy must have come across and yet treated as a whole numerous widely differing tribes, of whom some were professional thieves, and others comparatively honest. It is doubtful whether the Bulgarian peasants really did close their doors and 'keep a close watch upon their poultry, pigs, and other movable goods' at the approach of the Gypsy horde with a long string of oxen and buffaloes, for, as we shall see, these were in all probability the honest spoon-makers whom the police even now allow to camp for several days at a stretch on the plain to the north of Varna, near the State Hospital, where no ordinary Gypsy would be allowed to remain for an hour, thereby in practice belying the Bulgarian dictum that all Gypsies alike are thieves, and vagabond, good-for-nothing fellows. Actual experience of the honesty of

this tribe has forced the authorities to draw a line of distinction in their favour.

The whole question of Bulgarian Gypsies is summarily dealt with in a single paragraph in Mr. Arthur Thesleff's 'Report on the Gypsy Problem' (*J. G. L. S.*, v. 86). We shall see that the laws to prevent nomadizing and horse-stealing have largely remained without effect. It is true that 'the Christian Gypsies *have the reputation* [my italics] of being more orderly' (*ibid.*, p. 86), but this good reputation is scarcely deserved. The professional horse-thieves are Christians.

Paul Bataillard, in his *Les derniers travaux relatifs aux Bohémiens dans l'Europe Orientale*, observes, in a note on page 34, that it is a pity that Paspati did not study the Gypsies with special reference to their trades, which appear to divide them into various tribes. Later, on page 45, he insists upon the necessity of classifying the tribes to be met with in the Balkan Peninsula, and he mentions a class of very wild Gypsies, formerly found in Wallachia, called Netots, about which little or nothing is known. Paspati himself lays the greatest stress upon the distinction between Sedentary and Nomad dialects, and also between those of Christians and Moslems. Apart from this distinction, and from occasional references to the wild tribe of Moslem Nomads known as Zaparis or Djaparis, and to certain terms known only to some hordes, which he describes as 'Les Nomades de la Haute Bulgarie,' he treats all the materials at his disposal as forming one language.

A residence of four years at Varna has convinced me of the necessity of classification according to trades, in accordance with Bataillard's view. It is a classification recognized by the Gypsies themselves, as having an important bearing upon their language. Nothing is more common than to hear a Gypsy sieve-maker say of a particular word or phrase that it is used, not by his tribe, but by the Tinners. In discussing the different Gypsy tribes inhabiting the Balkan Peninsula, the following points must be borne in mind:—(1) the district; (2) the religion; (3) the mode of life, whether sedentary or nomad: (4) the occupation or trade.

With regard to the first point, I propose to examine the tribes to be met with in North-East Bulgaria, that is, roughly, in the district south of the Danube and Cape Caliacra, having for boundary on the east the Black Sea, on the south the Balkan

range, and on the west a line drawn from Rustchuk to the Shipka Pass. I may have occasion to mention tribes beyond these boundaries, as it is impossible to draw an absolutely accurate ethnic frontier. With regard to the fourth point, it is necessary to remark that those Gypsies who bear the distinctive name of a given trade do not necessarily all of them practise that trade at the present day. Their forefathers must have followed the occupation denoted by their trade-name for many generations, and they must have kept to themselves to a considerable extent, marrying within their own tribe. Intermarriage between the different tribes, especially between Sedentaries living side by side in the same *Mahala*, has become of recent years very frequent. I know a member of the Tinner tribe married to a man of the Sieve-maker clan, who has learnt his wife's language, and speaks it, or Turkish, at home, for he says he found it easier to learn his wife's language than to make her learn his.

I cannot claim to have discovered all the tribes of this district. New subdivisions are for ever cropping up when one hopes one has come to the end of the subject. The following divisions and subdivisions are, however, accurate, as far as they go.

Division of Tribes

A. *Sedentaries.*

1. Moslems.
   - (*a*) Kalburdjís or sieve-makers: habitat—Varna, Dobritch, and surrounding villages. Chief centre Dobritch.
   - (*b*) Kalaidjís or tinners: habitat—Baltchik, Kavarna, Varna, Rustchuk. Chief centre Baltchik.
   - (*c*) Demirdjís or workers in iron, of which two subdivisions, the first known as the Yerlis, or 'locals,' speaking no Gypsy, the second referred to as Ŭstalar, the 'artisans,' speaking Gypsy.
   - (*d*) Sepetdjís or basket-makers of Shumla, to which are closely allied the rush-carpet makers or Hasirdjís.
   - (*e*) Ćalgidjís or musicians, whose ancestors were wool cleaners, known as Drídaris, found in Kotel and surrounding villages, in Dobritch, Varna, Shumla, Slivna, Eski-Djumaya, and generally at all fairs. Centre Kotel.
   - (*f*) Demirdjís or iron workers of Kazanlik.

(*g*) Dawuldjís and Mehtéris, or drum and pipe players. Speak no Gypsy.

2. Christians.

(*a*) Sieve-makers of Dobritch and environs.

(*b*) Djezvedjís or coffee-pot makers of Shumla.

(*c*) Rustchuk Sedentaries (originally a tribe of Rumanian Gypsies, formerly Nomads). Highly criminal tribe (*vide* B. 2 (*a*) and (*b*)).

(*d*) Nalbandjís or horse-shoe makers.

B. *Nomads.*

1. Moslems.

(*a*) Sieve-makers, now mostly horse-dealers. Half sedentary. Original centre Silistria. Wander in summer from village to village along the river Kamtchia. Same race as Sedentary sieve-makers (A. 1 (*a*)).

(*b*) Zágundjis, origin of appellation unknown. Carrion eaters; no trade; converts to Islam two generations ago. Chief centres Varna, Rustchuk, and Burgas, and chief beat the intervening district.

(*c*) Demirdjís or Nomad iron workers, speaking the purest dialect yet recorded in the Balkans, and indistinguishable from the best Nomad dialects recorded by Paspati. Wander in the Eastern Balkans. Called by other tribes and perhaps by themselves Aidía. Claim Slivna as their chief centre.

(*d*) Dinikovlárs. Rear buffaloes, by which their carts are drawn. Men, horse-dealers. Women, great thieves: wear the *feredža*. Have no tents. Sleep in carts covered or tilted with rush matting. Found along the Danube.

2. Christians.

(*a*) Grebenáris or comb-makers. Beat — the whole of Eastern Bulgaria. No chief centre. Winter in villages, rarely the same one for two successive winters. Most criminal tribe in Bulgaria. Chiefly horse-thieves along the Rumanian frontier. Known to other tribes as Zavrakčía.

(*b*) Recent Rumanian invasion of a tribe practically identical with the comb-makers, and equally criminal.

(*c*) Burgudjís or gimlet-makers, known to other tribes

as Párpulia. Make also shepherds' crooks. Speak an exceedingly pure dialect, and are otherwise interesting, owing to the strangely elaborate form of their tents. Are honest.

(*d*) Kashikdjís or spoon-makers, who call themselves Rudáris, *i.e.* makers of small articles in wood, known also to the Bulgarians as makers of wooden troughs, Kopanáris or Koritáris. Rear buffaloes. Speak no Gypsy. Native language Rumanian, but know also Bulgarian and Turkish. The most honest tribe in Bulgaria, and perhaps the most numerous. Of very pure blood, and exceedingly dark.

[*N.B.*—Bulgarians have told me that there is a tribe of Kopanáris who rear horses as well as buffaloes, and are great thieves. I have not yet met them. See also notice of 'Turciti,' Turkish Gypsies in Rumania from across the Danube, tinkers and rearers of buffaloes.—*J. G. L. S.*, vi. 154. They are probably the Dinikovlárs. *See* B. 1 (*d*).]

The following notice of each tribe, together with an account of my dealings with them in so far as I have come into contact with them, may prove of interest to Gypsyologists.

The Sedentary Moslem Sieve-makers (*v.* A. 1 (*a*))

They call themselves Kalburdjía, the word being Turkish for sieve-maker, with the plural ending according to their dialect. This tribe is thoroughly sedentary, and they have no tradition of ever having been nomads. They also seem to think that they were always Moslems. But this is not the case. Their ancestors must have been converts to Islam, though sufficiently long ago for the present generation to have forgotten the event of their conversion. Or they may have been Moslems when still in Rumania. Anyhow, the point of interest is that they are called Vlachs by the tinners, and that they call the latter Turkish Gypsies. The sieve-maker calls his own language *Romanés*, *i.e.* Gypsy, and the tinner's language *Xoraχanés* or Turkish, meaning Moslem, and the Turkish language *gadžikanés*, or the speech of non-Gypsies. For the Bulgarian language he, like all other tribes, has got the word *Dasikanés*. The sieve-makers' dialect is in a splendid state of preservation, but the number of Rumanian words to be found in it makes it absolutely certain that they at one time lived among a Rumanian-

speaking population. They even refer to themselves at times as Vlachs, though apparently not knowing that they were ever in Rumania. I have often tried, without any success, to induce them to explain this to me themselves. 'You are yourselves Moslems,' I say to them, 'how is it that you call the tinners Moslems?' 'Yes, but we are different,' comes the answer; 'we are sieve-makers, they call us Vlachs, and we count in the Greek way.' The latter statement refers to the fact that they know that their words for seven, eight, and nine are Greek. This knowledge is not surprising, considering the large population of Greeks still living along the coast. They refer also to the more curious fact that the tinners, who are considered to be more Moslem than the sieve-makers, cannot count in Gypsy at all, while otherwise possessing a pure enough dialect. It is quite possible, and would be rather characteristic if it were so, that the Turks formerly forbade the tinners, who are likewise often well-to-do horse-dealers, to count in their own language!

The sieve-makers, as also the poorer tinners, work in the towns as porters and carriers (*hamals*); and the women of both tribes seek rough work in the houses, as charwomen, washer-women, etc. They are honest, clean, and work tidily. They are employed by all, and yet no one has a good word for the poor Gypsy. My own family is not behind the Bulgars in upbraiding them, and nevertheless employs them regularly in order to clear away the dirt produced by servants of other races.

The sieve-makers' houses, too, are clean, and consist of one room, rarely of two. The floor is the earth, beaten hard, portions of which are covered with rush-matting made by the tribe of mat-makers (*vide* A. 1 (*d*)). The walls are rarely of brick, generally a mixture of mud, laths, and reeds. The roofs are sometimes made of tin boxes, flattened out and padded with mud. The chimney is generally a concavity in the wall, topped by a hole in the roof. Cushions and eiderdowns are piled up along the wall, and a few cooking utensils stand round the hearth. The women of this tribe do not as a general rule wear the *feredža* or mantle for outdoor use worn by Moslem women. No cloak of any kind hides the multicoloured *shalvars*.

Once a year they leave their tidy little homes, and temporarily give up their rather humdrum, thrifty, homely Turkish mode of life. This is at the time of the harvest, when they camp out in the fields under the open sky, without any tent. More than half the

women, however, remain at home. The population in Bulgaria is scarce, and at this time all possible hands are required for the work of reaping, etc. It is at this time that all the tribes we are considering meet for a few weeks in the fields, and get to know something of each other's different mode of life. But their knowledge on these points is of the vaguest.

The Moslem sieve-maker to whom I am most indebted for my knowledge of this dialect is a little witch-like old woman about four feet high, almost black, with sharply-cut features and eyes which sparkle with mischief when she knows that she has an appreciative public. She sits on the carpet in my study, her legs tucked up underneath her in Turkish fashion, occupying an incredibly small space, and rocking herself with glee provoked by her own jokes and conceits, until she at times falls over on her side, but quickly rights herself and becomes serious for an instant, interpolating such a sentence as this into her conversation: 'Much thanksgiving to the Old Golden God (may I eat his little eyes), for that he has allowed me to sit and hold discourse with you,' passing her shrivelled old hand downwards over her forehead and chin, as do the Moslems after prayer.

Her name is Kara Hati, *i.e.* Black Hati. She was born at Dobritch, the centre of her tribe, which town was generally known in her day by its Turkish name of Pazardjik. This name has been officially revived since the Rumanian occupation. She came to Varna 'with the Cossacks,' that is, during the Russo-Turkish war. She was then aged about twelve, the daughter of a rich Dobritch horse-dealer, and herself very fond of riding, without saddle, bridle, or stirrups, upon her father's horses, her long black hair streaming behind her, so she says. She married at an early age, as all of them do, and soon settled down to the routine of working for a lazy husband and bearing him many, many children. When her father died, her brothers quarrelled over the inheritance and gave her nothing. But they did not prosper for all their wickedness. When the Turks left Varna they carried away with them what remained of the fortune in dispute, and the brothers died paupers. Kara Hati's husband likewise died after some time, and she was twice married after that. The last husband appears to have been the worst, for at his death he left her, as she puts it, with but two hens and a cock. All her children save one are married or dead. The remaining one had smallpox at an early age, as a result of which malady his arms are withered

from the shoulder to the elbow, and he is unmarried; for, says his mother, no girl will have him, as he cannot hold her in his arms.

In discussing and comparing the different dialects, I shall give specimens of the sieve-makers' speech from examples I possess taken down from Kara Hati, which, besides being good examples of Romani, are excellent examples of terseness and wit. Often they are quite epigrammatic. This is due to the influence of the Turkish language upon this dialect.

The Christian Sedentary sieve-makers, speaking exactly the same dialect as their Moslem brethren, inhabit chiefly Dobritch and the surrounding villages (*vide* A. 2 (*a*)). They are not so clean as the Moslems, dress like the Bulgarians, and build their houses on the Bulgarian model. Many of those inhabiting towns dress as town folk, more or less in European fashion. Closely allied to them in point of language appear to be the Christian sedentary coffee-pot makers of Shumla (A. 2 (*b*)). In fact, most of the Christian sedentary Gypsies of North-East Bulgaria, whatever their trade, appear to be linguistically allied very closely to the sedentary Moslem sieve-makers. There is therefore little more to report on the subject. It must be remembered that a sedentary life tends to abolish the points of divergence which may formerly have been more apparent as between the tribes. It is rather among the nomads that we should expect to find the greatest contrasts, and this, we shall see, is actually the case.

The Sedentary Moslem Tinners (*v.* A. 1 (*b*))

They call themselves Kalaidjídes, the word being Turkish for one who tins copper vessels, with the plural ending according to their dialect. Their present-day occupations and mode of life are identical with those of the sieve-makers. They practise their distinctive trade even less than do the Kalburdjís theirs. Their language is, however, as we shall see in a later section, of an altogether different order. As already mentioned, they are considered to be more Moslem than the sieve-makers. This may mean that they are the descendants of the original converts to Islam when the Turks first conquered the country, whereas the sieve-makers, emigrants at a more or less remote date from Christian lands where Rumanian was spoken, perhaps only then

adopted Islam, individual conversions to which faith have apparently continued until quite lately, as we shall see in the case of the nomad sieve-makers. The women wear the *feredźa* or *aba* when out of doors.

In type the tinners are on an average not so dark as the sieve-makers. They are often well-to-do, appear to be no longer of pure stock, having mixed greatly with the Turkish population, and are often ashamed of their language. Indeed many of them have entirely forgotten it. The clan or tribal spirit, which makes Sedentary loathe Nomad and Moslem despise Christian, is found to exist even between the sieve-makers and the tinners, though intermarriage is frequent. They mock each other's language, and each tribe claims that its speech is the clear, pure, straightforward, original language. It is difficult to decide which claim is on the whole better founded, as will be evident when I emphasize the lines of divergence between the two. I may mention here that Turkish is the lingua franca between all Moslem tribes.

The Drindaris (*v.* A. 1 (*e*))

This tribe is, linguistically, one of the most interesting in the Balkan Peninsula. I have described their dialect at length on another occasion. They are exceedingly numerous, and may be found in every town within the district we are considering, especially around Dobritch. They are, however, numerous in Shumla, and south of the Balkans in Slivna, and probably elsewhere. The Marquis Colocci's 'Lessico Italiano-Tchinghianè' (see Appendix II. to his *Gli Zingari*) is largely made up of this dialect, and as he tells me that he collected it from Nomads, we may infer that portions of this tribe were, when he wrote, and probably still are, in a nomad state, wandering in the region of the Rhodope Mountains. The north-eastern centre of the Sedentary portion of this tribe is the town of Kotel, about twenty miles north-east of Slivna.

Throughout the best months of the summer one may meet with numerous hordes of these Gypsies wandering from village to village all over North-East Bulgaria, and especially in the district between Dobritch and the old Rumanian frontier prior to 1913. During that year I was travelling in those parts and came across hundreds of them, often in bands of about sixty individuals, counting the women and children. Although Moslems, their

women generally wear skirts. They often present a very ragged appearance, less so, however, than the men, who wear every imaginable kind of coat and trousers that come into their possession, not even shunning bowler hats, though as Moslems many of them wear the red fez. The girls are said to dance in the villages to the accompaniment of music made by the men, who may be seen with great brass horns slung across their shoulders or violins under their arms, sauntering at a leisurely pace behind their donkeys, on which are packed their belongings. They have no tents, but in the fine weather they camp out in the open near a barn or on the banks of a ditch outside a village, where they may be seen at midday, munching bits of dry bread and lounging in the sun. There is about them a certain effrontery and an atmosphere of abandon associated with all members of the dancing profession in the East. One is surprised to see their women dressed as Christians. A large number of them were until lately beaters and cleansers of wool. Hence their name of Drîndari, perhaps from the sound *drin drin* made by the instruments when the hammer or *tulunk*, as they call it, beats the strings of the card in carding or teasing the wool. But they are, perhaps, more generally known as Čalgidjís, or musicians, and they are in fact the musicians *par excellence* among the Balkan Gypsies. The Bulgars call them *Kótlenski Tsigani*. The profession of music has been the cause of many of them leaving their tribe, settling down in towns where they are in demand in the *kóčeks* or low dancing-saloons, and in the *chantants* or music-halls. The Gypsy women are not found in these places. Here the men play nightly from 7 P.M. to 3 A.M., or to a less late hour if martial law happens to be in force, while the lowest of low houris of Bulgarian, Armenian, Rumanian, and Greek nationality perform variations of the *danse du ventre* or more European dances. Such Gypsies often intermarry with the Turkish population, and the offspring of such unions speak no Romani. Great numbers of this tribe still find work in the fields up in the Eastern Balkans, especially as mowers, to such an extent that one of the names by which they are known is that of Kosačis, *i.e.* mowers. Among so large a tribe one meets with many who have accumulated a certain wealth. Others are miserably poor and indescribably dirty. In the summer of 1914, after visiting their capital, the town of Kotel, I was obliged to return to Varna by forced marches, travelling day

and night, having been recalled by an urgent telegram. Owing to the atrocious weather, and also in order to let our horses rest, we frequently halted at some Turkish village along the northern slopes of the Balkans, and took shelter in barns and other poor dwellings, where we found many families of this tribe huddled on the floor under, to us, loathsomely dirty bed-coverings, swarming with vermin. I especially noticed one young man who was so sleepy that he lay down again almost immediately after we had entered, for which he was severely reproved by the woman at his side, who said to him in their own language: 'Are you not ashamed to lie by my side in front of strangers?' These people did not know that I understood their speech, for I spoke to them in Bulgarian, preferring in this way to overhear their conversation.

In the villages of Jeravna and Gradéts, in the neighbourhood of Kotel, there are a number of Christian Gypsies whom I have not included in the above division of tribes, who speak practically the Drîndari dialect. Many of the younger generation, however, have entirely forgotten all Romani save a few swear-words and obscene expressions.

The tribe of Drîndaris is looked down upon by other tribes, to whom Drîndari is incomprehensible, and does not mix with them. Still they are by no means, as a whole, the poorest Gypsies in the country, and the contempt in which they are held is due, no doubt, to their profession. Those who have regular employment in the towns as music-hall musicians are often strict Moslems, visiting the mosques regularly every Friday.

These have raised themselves above the rank and file of their tribe. They are often neither black-eyed nor dark-skinned, and that, combined with the respectability of their dress, makes it difficult to recognize that they are Gypsies at all. They are clad in ordinary black 'European' clothes, and often sport a cabman's greatcoat with an astrakhan collar to it, a watch chain, and well brushed leather shoes. One might easily take them for well-to-do Turkish cabmen, tailors, or cobblers in their Sunday best. They keep their wives closely veiled, indeed the women scarcely ever leave their homes, and I have never yet met any of them. Their playing is the best obtainable in Bulgaria, except, of course, that of the military bands. They never play out of tune as do the Bulgarian town bands, which latter are far worse than our so-called 'German' bands. These Gypsy musicians' voices, however, are harsh and nasal, and quite unmodulated, and are unpleasing

to the ears of most Europeans, who dislike Turkish music. The instruments used are violins, clarinets, and flutes, apparently all from Dresden, and native big-bellied Turkish guitars. From such as these I obtained all the necessary data for my sketch of the dialect of the Dríndaris (*J. G. L. S.*, vii. No. 4).

The Zágundjis (*v.* B. 1 (*b*))

In language apparently closely allied to the thrifty, poor-but-honest, clean, sedentary sieve-makers, are the lowest caste of Gypsies to be met with, perhaps, in the whole of Bulgaria. They are nomads, but not being thieves, for which occupation as a regular profession they are much too timid, they do not wander far nor more frequently than is absolutely necessary. They are eaters of carrion, and known to higher tribes as Zágundjis. This is said to imply that they eat 'dead meat,' as they themselves call it. But no Bulgarian or Turk whom I have met has been able to identify the word, which is, indeed, quite unknown outside Gypsy circles. They at times admit that they are Zágundjis, but they do not like the appellation. They prefer to call themselves, like all other tribes, simply Ṛoma,[1] *i.e.* Gypsies. They are Moslems in dress if in nothing else. They never enter a mosque, and do not make a pretence of fasting at Ramazan. They keep the more important Christian festivals, but never fast as do the Bulgars. They say they do not eat pork, but I think it probable that this is not true. However, I am less in a position to prove this than other things, not having sufficiently assimilated their ways to partake of their food, as I do with all other nomad tribes, fearing that were I to feast on any but very great red-letter days with them, I might, perhaps unawares, be consuming 'dead meat'! The grandparents of the present elders of the tribe were Christians, and bore Christian names. They have no distinctive trade, unless begging be called a trade, which is almost their sole means of subsistence. In the summer months, like most other tribes, they obtain a few weeks' work harvesting in different parts of the country. On Mondays in the market-place they will offer to carry one's purchases home. On such occasions they look rather attractive: their movements are not ungraceful, and their attire, both scanty and ragged, is often pleasingly bright in colour, in

[1] The Ṛ becomes an *r* grassayé in their dialect, *i.e.* an *r* produced by trilling the epiglottis. I represent it by ṛ.

spite of its dirt. But it is not thus that they must be seen, but rather whilst practising their trade of begging. When I say they, in connexion with begging, I refer to the women, for the men rarely condescend to go round the town begging. Outside the camp it is the women, the bread-winners, that we must observe.

Their appearance when bent on begging is truly repulsive, and apparently it is meant to be so. They put about their persons the most filthy and noisome rags, in order to excite pity. A greasy, colourless skirt hides the bright Turkish bloomers. Old rags[1] are wound round the feet. Another rag completely hides the hair and forehead, is wound round the neck, and ends up across the mouth, so that only the nose and eyes are visible. As often as not they wear a man's tattered cast-away coat. Thus gagged and bound and muffled, the Zágundji girl or hag—one is almost indistinguishable from the other—sallies forth with a dirty old sack slung across her shoulder and a thin stick in her hand, with which she knocks at doors and drives off dogs and children. She often drags about with her a deformed child of her own tribe (not a stolen child!), whom she makes beg. She is a most persistent beggar. She will stand from three to five minutes at the door of a house whose inmates do not immediately satisfy her wants or drive her away. The formula is generally: 'Give me a little bit of bread, lady; see, I am barefooted and bare-headed, kind lady (which she is not!); see what a way I have come and my little heart has fainted, lady!' always ending up on that one word 'lady,' the voice maintaining a highly unpleasant uniform one-noted whine until the two last syllables are reached, when it drops five notes or so in a sort of peevish complaint. She receives old bits of bread, or two centime pieces, and goes away without thanking. She scavenges the dust-bins, especially outside butchers' shops, thereby exceedingly annoying her fellow-scavengers the dogs. She extracts bones, old bits of meat not too fresh, the rotting halves of half-sucked oranges, dead chickens which have met with an accident and been killed in the street. (This is no calumny: I have seen them do it; I am only putting down in this report what I have myself seen.) She does not dare to steal, and is not often molested by the police. She very sensibly works different quarters of the town in this way on different days, so that one quarter may remain free from her visits for weeks at a

[1] Called *patavé*, cf. perhaps 'puttees.'

stretch. But this, of course, also means that they work in bands, which is often a disadvantage, for they are too careless to portion out the house-to-house visits equally among them, with the result that three or four visits within half an hour to one and the same house frequently exasperate the inmates and lessen the chances of obtaining the required provisions.

While the women are thus engaged the men are lazily lounging in their tents outside the town, or if they feel in the mood for earning anything they mostly congregate outside a certain iron-monger's store, where they are employed for a few piastres a day in moving and loading and unloading iron bars, zinc sheets, etc.

The women return to the camp in the early afternoon, discard their begging rags, appearing in graceful, if not too clean, coloured bloomers and red or yellow shirts, and spend the rest of their time in attending to the children and preparing the evening meal, which they call *zumi*, and which is a more or less savoury stew, consisting of a judicious mixture from the contents of the filthy begging-bag. This is the only regular meal of the day, partaken of generally at sunset or somewhat earlier. With regard to their eating 'dead meat,' as they call it, they either deny it or allege, by way of justification, that what God has killed is better than what man has slaughtered.

A subject of great interest in the Balkans in connexion with Gypsies is the nature of the tent used by different nomad tribes. In this respect the Gypsies are, as in all other matters, intensely conservative, and each tribe appears to cling to its time-honoured tent. One never finds, for instance, a gimlet-makers' tent, the most elaborate I have yet discovered, in an encampment of Zágundjis. The Zágundji tent is generally very ragged, the original goats'-hair cloth being patched up with old bits of sacking or even with petticoats. For the rest, it consists of the usual *berand* or ridge-pole, two pairs of *čakals* or crossed poles supporting the *berand*, and the *beli*, or perpendicular post at the back, strengthening the whole structure. There is no *vurdon*, that is, *taliga* or cart, as in the case of the comb-makers, built into the back of the tent, which is closed with a simple flap of cloth. The tent is of course pitched with its back to the wind, but unless the wind changes round completely, so as to blow right into the tent, they do not trouble to move it continually, as do the comb-makers, but they add a flap, or several flaps, to the front, stretched over minor *čakals*, and in rainy weather the front is often com-

pletely closed in this way, save for a crack through which to let out the smoke of the fire. Often two friendly tents combine face to face, and in bad weather are so completely closed that it is difficult to find an entrance.

It must be noted that no two Zágundji tents are alike: in theory they should be as above described. In practice they differ according to the degree of poverty, indolence, or eccentricity of the inmates. A *čakal* may be shorter than its fellow. The *berand* may be almost broken half-way across, and mended with a string or a shred of cloth, the *beli* may be so small as to necessitate the undue spreading out of the hind-*čakals* in order to bring the ridge-pole, already half broken, down to the level of the *beli*. The result of all this is a queer, nondescript, tattered structure, which when two friendly families combine, presents an appearance not unlike that of a wrecked Zeppelin, from the top of which proceeds the thinnest little spiral of blue smoke, accompanied by the sound of outlandish curses, yells, and peals of laughter.

The encampment, which they occasionally refer to as *thana*, reminding one of the Anglo-Romani *tan*, and which here in Varna consists of from twenty-five to thirty tents, is spread about in the wildest confusion, but the position of the tents is determined largely by the sympathy or antipathy which the inmates cherish towards their neighbours. The constant recurring of quarrels, which spring up on the slightest pretext, makes it advisable to pitch the tents at a convenient distance from one another. Only at the Feast of the *Hederlez*,[1] the Bulgarian *Georgiov Den*, *i.e.* St. George's Day, on the 23rd April (old style, our 6th May), or on the Feast of the Assumption (Bulgarian *Sreta Bogoroditsa*, 15th August old style), which the Zágundjis call *Bogoritsáko*, and which though Moslems they observe with as much pomp as the Christian Gypsies, do they bury their feuds for a few hours, and assemble to feast in brotherly love. On such occasions tent hugs tent, and the encampment looks like a Red Indian wigwam village. This, however, is of short duration. Feasting would not be feasting for them without drunkenness, and though such drunkenness is far removed from the English sodden variety, it nevertheless produces, among a race so excitable, fearfully riotous results, so that before twenty-four hours are up it is generally thought advisable to spread out the encampment as before the feast.

[1] Turkish, from Arabic *Khadr Elias*, St. Elijah, who in the Orient is confused with St. George the Dragon-killer.

There is no sight more fascinating than a Zágundji quarrel. The Zágundji has plenty of time for quarrelling, having no trade or occupation. His quarrels appear to take the place, say, of an Englishman's outdoor games. In them he finds both relaxation from the occasional work of lifting the ironmonger's iron, and welcome exercise of muscle and limb when he has been sitting all day in his tent waiting for something to happen. For the Zágundji is the most typical Gypsy in that he has no trade whatsoever. He is proud of the fact, and often alludes to it boastfully: 'We have no business, we just sit like a *Čokói*.[1] Gypsydom is splendid!'

The rows among the women often arise over the question as to who is to fetch water from the spring, often half a mile to a mile distant from the camp, or as to who is to go a-gathering firewood. Such may be the original cause of a feud kept up on and off for several days. In the course of mutual vituperation it may suddenly become apparent to an infuriated female that her child is unwell, and instantly she will accuse her opponent, in all sincerity, of having given the infant the evil-eye, of having made him *jakhalo*. They do not often come to blows. The tents are, as above mentioned, pitched at a distance calculated to prevent such a contingency. But they advance slowly from their respective tents, their pent-up rage causing them to take sharp queer little stiff steps, as if they were walking on a narrow curb-stone, the bloomered thighs swaying as if to balance the body. Their arms are stretched out before them, imprecations flow in torrents from their mouths in harsh, half men's voices, while their eyes look straight before them in the direction of the enemy, with a fixed and evil intensity. No one not having seen this would suspect that these wild furies were the same pitiable whining beggars, muffled in filthy rags, who are to be met with in the town. Often the two opponents are separated by the distance of half the encampment, several peaceful neutral tents intervening, but they always manage sooner or later to get that bee-line for the hostile gaze, which nothing can divert. I have often crossed and recrossed the line, endeavouring to draw their attention from the concentrated fury which is consuming them. They appear totally oblivious of my presence, seeming to see their opponent through me. I have even photographed them at such moments, but have not obtained good results owing to a bad lens and the

[1] Landed proprietor: a Rumanian word.

impossibility of choosing a suitable background. Occasionally the outstretched hands descend to earth, the arms still stretched out as in some gymnastic exercise. A handful of earth, pebbles, and grass is picked up: 'May your child wither like this grass, may my curse pursue you to the throne of God,—and beyond it!' Sometimes they will tear their garments, baring and beating their breasts, or, turning round violently, strike their posterior parts to enhance their mutual contempt. Having considerably spent their fury, they return to their respective tents, often without having actually come within fifty yards of each other. To complete this picture, I must add that the imprecations often begin before either party issues from the tent. The effect is thus most ludicrous, no enemy being seen, only the volleys of words being heard. If one walks up to the entrance of the tent, one will find a woman sitting on the ground, rocking herself and gesticulating while apparently addressing her remarks to the ground in front of her. At times she will cease for an instant, the better to hear the return volley, and in order to regulate her reply accordingly.

The rows between the men are more violent, though they by no means always come to blows. They invariably announce their intention of doing so, however, and when they are forcibly restrained by their friends, they tear their clothes, strip naked to the waist, seat themselves on the ground, and rocking themselves from side to side, bemoan their fate. Their language is, on the whole, much less violent than their actions, and consists of a simple statement of fact that their enemy has cursed them, coupled with the fear that he will give them the evil-eye. Frequently they shed tears in great profusion. If the row continues, they will tear down their own tent, never that of the enemy, the inmates having already cleared out, anticipating the event. The ridge-pole is then used as a weapon with which to strike the earth in token of rage, or to hurl at, and fortunately miss, the enemy, during which proceeding it is frequently badly damaged, so that when the tent is again pitched it will have lost a little more of its already doubtful symmetry.

The majority of Zágundjis possess no carts, and seldom horses. When they move from one encampment to another they pack their tents and belongings upon the backs of donkeys, by the sides of which they proceed on foot, the whole tribe in Indian file. In this they resemble all nomad tribes save the criminal ones, who find it necessary to move from one district to another at a greater

speed, and are generally provided with good horses and strong light native carts, called *taligas*, and capable of travelling at a great rate. The Zágundjis do not steal chickens while on the move, as do the comb-makers, but they beg in the villages as in the towns. They do not cultivate any musical talent, and at marriages and feasts are obliged to hire members of the drum and flute tribe (*vide* A. 1 (*g*)), whose music they consider sufficient for their entertainment, never dreaming of obtaining the services of the Čalgîdjí tribe of musicians (*vide* A. 1 (*e*)). Like all Gypsies they at times deal in horses, but they appear to be too indolent to pursue the trade at all seriously. They are the most happy-go-lucky set imaginable, and in their rags and poverty appear to be the happiest of all Gypsies to be met with in the Balkans. The young men and women alike are for ever singing and dancing, laughing and poking fun at one another. Their jokes are childish and their tears turn to laughter in the space of a few minutes. They are content to live in rags, which would be cast aside as useless and altogether unwearable by Gypsies of any other tribe. But with respect to food they are perhaps not so poor as many others, for by begging they can always obtain at least a little bread, and I have rarely seen the flesh-pots of these 'Egyptians' empty towards sunset, whereas the nomad gimlet-makers (*vide* B. 2 (*c*)), who neither steal nor beg at all regularly, often go to bed hungry, as I know to my cost by personal experience on several occasions. The Zágundjis, though superstitious, are entirely free from the trammels, both social and religious, which beset members of other tribes of Gypsies, not to speak of the inhabitants of this town. The suggestion that they should go to the mosque on Fridays appears to tickle them very much, and still more so that they should go to church on Sundays. 'We have not money enough for ourselves, let alone for the priest. And we are not literate. What should we do there? Climb on to the roof like Čelebi Mustapha, the Cat in the Fairy Tale?' At the very mention of that cat, roars of laughter. 'But why do you not keep Ramazan?' 'We keep Ramazan, brother, all the year round, save when God throws before us a little bit of meat.' They marry at an early age, and several years before the women are old enough to bear children. They divorce during this period with the greatest ease, the cause being frequently the inability of the parents of the youth to pay the sum fixed upon for the purchase of the girl. A certain sum is paid down, the remainder to follow by instalments

after the marriage. When these instalments are not forthcoming the parents of the girl reclaim her, and filial obedience bids her return to the paternal tent, at least for a few days, when her husband, if he loves her, will elope with her, or, as the saying is, *nashalel la*, literally 'causes her to run away.' Other causes of divorce are the inability or refusal of either contracting party to provide his or her share of the means of subsistence, or simply, as the Americans put it, incompatibility of temper. When once children appear, usually two or even three years after an early marriage, they do so in great profusion, almost yearly, and divorce becomes much less frequent. Prostitution is almost unknown in this tribe, and I must warn the reader against assertions on this score made by persons who have no means of proving them, and little desire to do so. Such persons, rather than say, 'I don't know,' will tell almost any lie.

No doctor is called in at the birth of a child. A mother rarely dies in giving birth to her child, but perhaps more than half the children born do not survive the first six weeks. If they do survive they are of a mightily strong constitution, and will be rarely ill for the rest of their lives. There appears to be nothing characteristically Zágundji about the ceremonies attending marriage or death. They are according to the Moslem rites, and in Varna are celebrated by one Ali-Hodja, a Gypsy *hodja* of the tribe of tinners.

The Zágundjis, presenting such a contrast to other nomad tribes, have always attracted me in a special way. Neither thieves nor artisans, they have reduced the wants of existence to a minimum. Their detractors might contend that they are merely the dregs, the outcasts of more civilized tribes. In this they might appear to have judged rightly, inasmuch as the Zágundjis occasionally admit members of other tribes into their midst. I once saw a young Kalaidji girl, not more than fifteen years old, who had been bought, in order to be the wife of a youth of the same age. She looked clean and neat, and sadly out of place among the wild horde which had adopted her. But the contention that the Zágundjis are merely the riff-raff of other tribes, if ever seriously advanced, is effectually disposed of after an examination of their dialect, which, though allied to that of the sieve-makers, possesses sufficient peculiarities to warrant classification apart. Other tribes do not like associating with them. They are looked upon as unclean, as verily they are. When they feel themselves to be free from the restraints imposed upon them by their surroundings, while begging

or in the market, that is, when they are back in the tents, their rowdiness is almost unbelievable. The camp din continues well on into the night. The police move them from one camping-ground to another for this reason only. If you inquire why they moved from one corner of the low plain between Varna and the Quarantine Station, where they had been encamped for several weeks, they will tell you that the neighbours complained that they could not sleep owing to the noise made by the boys; and by neighbours, they mean some factory hands living in buildings situated at least a quarter of a mile from their camp.

The period of greatest din is just after sunset, when all stragglers have returned to the tents and the evening meal, the one meal of the day, has just been dispatched, and the life-force is at its highest. Often when returning at nightfall from some lengthy expedition, I have been attracted by the twinkling of camp-fires and by the noise arising from the wilderness of the sandy plain where there are no houses. Ascending a small sand-dune, I have seen spread before me a scene so unlike anything to be met with in Varna that the fancy would come to me that I had been transported by magic to some other land which nurtured a different race of mankind. Black ridge-poles point skywards like the bowsprits of wrecked ships, tattered sackcloth flaps in the seaward breeze, twenty-five or more fires I descry in various stages of combustion, some smouldering so low as scarcely to admit of my recognizing the crouching figures around them, others flaring high and throwing into strong relief a half naked, gesticulating, shouting rabble. Then there is a sudden rush to one spot, and amid indescribable confusion I behold the collapsing of a tent, all of a sudden, and the delirious joy of the youngsters at the sight of their elders' strife. And as the fire burns low the excitement vanishes, only to reappear at some other point of the long, straggling encampment.

The attraction of the tent life appears to be quite irresistible. It is not that they practise some trade requiring them to leave their winter quarters, as might be said of the comb-makers. In the spring of 1915 they had most of them paid for their houses up to Easter, at the beginning of April, but they were out already in February, and the severe snowstorms and sleet hurricanes at the end of that month did not drive them back to their houses. Some of the houses had been rented up to 23rd April (old style, our 6th May), the orthodox St. George's Day.

Before considering other tribes I should like to underline the fact of the Zágundji's honesty, both in the English and the French acceptance of the word. There is no love lost between them and other tribes, but according to my own experience, and what is just as important, according to the testimony of members of other tribes, they are above reproach with regard to these two points. They are lazy to a degree, and great brawny men, some of whom have been known as champion wrestlers, will complain of a back-ache after chopping wood for five minutes; but they do not steal as a rule, nor are their women of loose morals. Yet Bulgarians will laugh at you if you absolve the Zágundji as to the first accusation, and they will shrug their shoulders as to the second. Such is the bad reputation enjoyed by all Gypsies alike owing to the delinquencies of other thievish tribes on the one hand, and, on the other, owing to a purely superficial and apparent shamelessness of a race singularly free from the trammels which beset pre-eminently the middle classes in all human societies. I prefer to accept the testimony of all other tribes, honest and criminal, with regard to the Zágundjis, for while it is impossible to suspect the sieve-makers, tinners, or comb-makers, to select widely differing tribes, of a desire to whitewash the Zágundjis whom they despise as unclean, one may safely credit them with greater knowledge of the subject than the Bulgarians whose attitude towards this race I have tried to sum up in the opening paragraphs of this report.

The Comb-Makers

Of a very different order of Gypsies are the Christian Nomad Comb-Makers (*vide* B. 2 (*a*)). Their language, as a whole, is intelligible to the Zágundjis, but the accent is so different, the number of Rumanian loan words so great, the almost total absence of Turkish loan words so noticeable, that the Zágundjis often address them in Turkish or Bulgarian rather than in Gypsy. Their voice and accent seems to me to be one of their chief characteristics. The accent is softer, and the voice more musical, than those of any other Balkan race I have yet met with, and presents a marked contrast to the guttural and nasal Drîndari, the bullying or whining Zágundji, or the rugged Bulgarian. The tone or ring of the voice is musical to a degree, and the manner of delivery is never coarse, as with the Zágundjis, who shout at each other like Armenian porters or English bargees. To hear the comb-makers

gently discussing the affairs of the day, or the prospects of the morrow, around their camp-fires of an evening, is like listening to the warbling of birds. They rarely raise their voices above a normal pitch, excepting when excitement or a desire to persuade makes them intersperse their syllables with falsetto notes. Their laughter veritably ripples. This applies equally to both sexes. Whether the women are fortune-telling, or the men are seeking a victim on whom to practise the famous Hokano Baro or Great Deceit, the voice is always the same, one of gentle and refined persuasiveness. I am inclined to think that we have here an altogether different category of Gypsy from the other tribes to be found in Bulgaria. They themselves tell me that they were formerly in Rumania, but not for many generations, and that again before that they were in Bulgaria. They have a knowledge of the tradition that they originally came from Egypt, which tradition does not seem to be generally known to Balkan Gypsies. They have more of the pride of race found among Gypsies farther West than is to be met with among other Balkan Gypsy tribes within my experience, though even among the comb-makers, as with all peoples in the Near East, including, of course, the Bulgarians, the greatest compliment you can make to a mother is to tell her that her child is beautiful *and white*. It is only among the Gypsies described in B. 2 (*b*) that one finds that pride of the dark race colour.

The men of this tribe are rarely seen in the towns, whither they come only for a few hours on market days, in order to buy, sell, or exchange a horse. They would scorn the work of porters and carriers, and never offer their services as such. When business brings them near a town, the women will occasionally go a-begging from house to house, but they do not dress in rags, nor do they whine as do the Zágundjis. They beg in couples, and while one is demanding a piece of bread, the other is most likely taking an egg from the hen-coop or a handkerchief or cloth which may be hanging up to dry in the yard. Similarly, both men and women seldom enter a shop to buy a trifle without taking something, as they say for a keepsake, from the counter. They have told me that it is a disgrace to leave a shop without stealing something. The thing taken is often of little or no value to them, but the idea appears to be that the theft must be at least attempted, perhaps to keep them in training. I had a visit in the autumn of 1914 from a woman of this tribe who had that day been released from

the Varna prison, where she had been detained for over a year for theft. She asked me if I had news of her brother's whereabouts, as she wished to rejoin him, and she said how good it was to be free once more. 'And,' she added, 'I have already a chicken in the bag,' saying which she opened the inner, concealed portion of the begging-bag, the mouth of which lies under the armpit, and disclosed a fat and somewhat ruffled hen. I asked her if it were not tempting Providence to start that sort of thing the very day she had left prison for theft, and whether she was not just a bit afraid. She said she was not, and that it was all a matter of Kismet, adding, 'Don't you know our Romany ways?' I once witnessed the stealing of a chicken. I had followed a party, three women and a man, who were all well known to me, at a distance, so that they could not know of my presence, desiring to ascertain in what direction lay their encampment. When they were about two kilometres out of the town, along the high road to Dobritch, and myself about half a kilometre behind them, I saw the women stop within a hundred yards of some houses, while the man continued walking on ahead. One of the women stooped down, throwing something on the ground, while the other two stood guard, looking up and down the road. Then I noticed what at the distance looked like a rat darting across the road, at which the crouching woman made a grab. Away it darted, soon to return once more. Again she failed to seize it. A third time it approached, and she got it. There was a flutter, a little dust arose from the road, and the women proceeded to overtake the man, who was waiting for them on the roadside, seated on a heap of stones. Quickening my steps I soon caught them up. '*Dobre tumen!*' I said. '*Nais tuke,*' they answered. After which tribal greeting I asked whether the chicken was a fat one. 'God! You saw it?' was their astonished reply. 'It is as dry as bones, but we have others, and fat ones. Come to the tents, and you shall taste them to-night,' saying which they opened the inner pocket of the bags and showed me two fine plump hens which they had picked up on the outskirts of Varna. The birds were somewhat choked, for the Gypsy women are in the habit of holding their necks tight under their arms to prevent their making a noise and betraying their presence to passers-by. In this way they are able to carry several chickens concealed. They never kill them themselves, for, according to their tribal custom, which is not shared by other tribes which I have met, the flesh of an animal killed by a woman may

not be eaten. The killing is done by the men when they reach the tents. I cannot imagine why the hens return to the charge when the Gypsy woman has missed them the first time. Mr. Macfie witnessed a better instance of hen stealing on the part of this tribe. The woman sat sewing in camp out on a common, and allowed the village chickens to stray within her grasp. Mr. Macfie was a little sleepy, having travelled a long way with the tribe that day, but he noticed a little scuffling, after which the number of chickens diminished, diminished by one, that is, after each scuffle. And all the time the woman sat sewing unconcernedly.

The members of this tribe are comb-makers, in Bulgarian Grebenáris, in Turkish Tarakdžis. They are known to other tribes as Zavrakčis. They buy the horns of slaughtered animals at the slaughter-houses in large towns, or elsewhere in the villages, and skilfully work them into combs, bending them straight by making them hot, and polishing them and cutting the teeth by means of special instruments. They work at irregular intervals, sometimes remaining idle for months at a time. Indeed, their trade is merely a blind, a sort of curtain of respectability to hide their real occupations. They are probably the most thievish tribe in Bulgaria, and there is scarcely a man among them who has not been in prison at some period of his life for horse-stealing. This latter form of theft they practised on quite a large scale along the old Rumanian frontier prior to 1913, and the trade will doubtless continue to flourish now as heretofore. They collaborated with Rumanian Gypsy bands of about the same tribe as themselves, only if anything more criminal, from whom they received, and to whom they remitted, stolen horses, sometimes as many as from ten to fifteen in a batch. Of course, owing to the stringent Bulgarian and Rumanian laws, according to which horses are entered on a registration roll, their owners receiving a corresponding numbered and dated ticket describing the age and appearance of the horse, the name and residence of the buyer and seller, and also the price of the animal, it would be impossible for the Gypsies to practise their trade without the help of disreputable Bulgarian scribes and petty practitioners, who for a small consideration supply spurious tickets to the Gypsy horse-thieves. Armed with such documents they set out to find the animal answering vaguely to the description on the ticket, and having found a likely animal, though not at first sight the one to which the ticket belongs, they proceed to tamper both with the

animal's appearance and with the data on the ticket, until the two are made to correspond. I do not know much about this art of horse-faking, but I imagine it is much the same among Gypsy horse-dealers all the world over. With regard to the tickets, I may mention that I have never yet met one of the tribe of horse-thieves who could read or write. They get to know the tickets as they do the horses, by their appearance, as a bird-fancier can distinguish one from the other scores of birds which to outsiders are indistinguishable one from another. They also know the contents of the tickets by heart, having caused them to be read over to them on so many occasions.

The most usual method of tampering with a ticket is to get some one who can write to alter the specified age of the animal. This is easily done, as the age is not put down in letters. For instance, they know full well, although they cannot read, that in order to 'rejuvenate' a ticket describing a horse as being fifteen years old, it is sufficient to erase the 'stick,' as they call the first of the two figures, in order to be the proud possessor of a five-year-old. Times out of number they have requested me to remove the stick, but I have told them that the most I could do for them was to teach them to write themselves. They have always been too lazy to avail themselves of these opportunities for learning.

The stealing of horses on a large scale is carried out in the summer months, when large flocks of horses are left to graze all night on the extensive pasture ground extending for miles along the borderland between Bulgaria and Rumania. Here hundreds of horses roam day and night, with here and there at a great distance a solitary watchman to guard them. As the night wears on and the stars change their position, the watchman, who generally manages to keep awake until midnight, grows weary of his own laments upon the *kaval*, or native flute, and lays himself down on the lee-side of a tuft of grass. Why should he not rest? No one is about, as far as the eye can see in the moonlight. It would be a different matter if the night were moonless. Extra watches might then be required. He is soon a motionless heap, snoring under his thick shepherd's cloak, which he has pulled over his head, for the Judas hours are chilly out on the border plateau, even in June. And well may he continue snoring thus, while three dark and silent men, armed with heavy wooden cudgels, approach stealthily and squat upon the grass, forming a triangle around him. Not a word is spoken. The night breeze whistles in the

grass, an occasional snort is heard to proceed from some contented steed, for the grass is at its best and grazing is a delight. Thus half an hour passes, and then the three dark men who have watched the watchman depart as silently as they came. But could the sleeper be endowed with second sight, he would assuredly see, some two miles off, fifteen accursed Gypsy men, mounted upon as many horses, making their way with all possible haste compatible with safety and with being unobserved towards the Rumanian frontier, where they are met by fifteen other men of their tribe, from whom they receive money and to whom they give up the horses. And while the newly mounted cavaliers depart 'within,' as they call it, meaning into Rumanian territory, the fifteen who have remained 'without' disperse and rejoin their several camps before daybreak. Had the sleeping watchman awakened, he would have been told: 'Lie down, sleep, or we will knock your brains out,' and he would have perforce complied.

This tribe deplores the present-day strict laws against horse thieving, and the less restless among them recognize that it might be better for them to give up the custom. Vlačano, my guide, has even expressed the wish that the laws be made even more stringent in order to cure his people of the habit, which entails years of imprisonment for the perpetrator of the deed, much misery to his family, and not infrequently the breaking up of a home, as is the case when a man's long imprisonment causes his wife, who is the mother of several children, to accept the courtship of another in order to provide a home for herself and her offspring.

It is natural that the feeling of the peasantry towards these Gypsies is one of exasperation. Their property is never safe when the tribe is about the neighbourhood. They surprise a village by the suddenness of their appearance, and at an hour when all hands are busy in the fields several miles around the village, the gang descends upon the unprotected houses, bribes the watchdogs, and plies its dangerous trade under cover of selling combs. In a surprisingly short time they can put a good twenty miles between themselves and the scene of their nefarious exploits, for each *taliga* is drawn by a couple of wiry horses accustomed to being driven at a gallop when speed is thought to be advisable, and they know all the ways and cross ways and 'black ways' across country, and are experts at doubling back parallel to their flight down some unfrequented ravine or across some lonely moor, separating, if need be, for greater safety, in order to reunite a couple of days

later, when each little band will of a certainty have some interesting notes to compare concerning fresh exploits, good stuff for low-voiced conversation at sunset, when the dish of chicken broth and rice has been disposed of, and the women have poured water on the men's hands, and the men have rinsed their mouths and rolled and lit their cigarettes, and the tent-cloth has been rolled up to the first horizontal pole in order to admit the evening breeze.

The attitude of the authorities towards these nomads is no more lenient than that of the peasantry. A whole camp is at times arrested and severely punished on the flimsiest of charges, but it is doubtful whether strict justice is thereby violated, for the tribe has assuredly been guilty, on the very day of their apprehension, of some undiscovered crime quite as serious as the charge which has brought about their arrest. On the evening of the day upon which I witnessed the theft of the chicken as above described, when towards sunset I was sitting by the camp-fire lazily watching the roasting of one of the five chickens which constituted the day's bag, and drowsily thinking how much more pleasant it would be to remain in that high and breezy camp for the night than to return on foot fourteen kilometres to Varna, there arose a great hullabaloo upon the roadside at about a hundred yards distance. Before we had time to intervene an irate peasant had felled with one blow of his heavy stick a young Gypsy lad, by name Ristem, who had carelessly allowed his horse to stray into a neighbouring cornfield. Ristem was carried unconscious to the tents, where his wrinkled old stepmother had already started chanting a lamentation, and she proceeded to bleed him in the nape of the neck with a kitchen knife. Meanwhile the peasant, doubtless fearing he had killed the boy, gave the alarm in the neighbouring village of Dervent, saying that there was a dangerous gang of Gypsies up on the hill, who had threatened him with revolvers and had boasted that the Rumanians would soon annex that part of the country as far as Varna. The accusation was serious, as at that time martial law forbade the carrying of firearms. A band of peasants came up to the camp and began searching for revolvers, pulling the screaming women and girls by the legs out of the tents, to the accompaniment of the ever-increasing wails and lamentations of old Totana, Ristem's stepmother. Altogether a tremendous uproar, owing to the shrieks of the women and the shouting of the Bulgarians. The male comb-makers were gently argumentative, as ever. Of course, no revolvers were found. I

believe there were none. In any case, the peasant's accusation that they threatened him was a lie told in order to screen himself. However, the news was conveyed to Varna by the owner of a bicycle shop in the town who happened to be passing, and about an hour later, when at length supper was ready and I had just received a 'drum-stick,' a lump of bread, and a little heap of salt, a detachment of armed patrols silently surrounded the encampment and arrested its inmates, including myself. It was only after some hours, at about midnight, that I was able to establish my identity, and was offered profuse apologies and a bicycle to return to Varna. Even then, the Gypsies were still considered suspect, and the whole camp, including horses and dogs, were taken to Varna, the men passing the remainder of the night in the prison, and the women camping in the market-place surrounded by police. I was able to procure their liberation on the following day. This much I have told to illustrate the attitude of the authorities and peasantry towards the tribe of comb-makers, an attitude which on the whole seems to me to be quite natural, for the whole tribe consists of gangs of restless ne'er-do-wells and professional thieves, who, whether they enter a shop and contrive to filch some trivial article of little value—as a keepsake, as they are in the habit of saying (Bulgarian *za spomen*, Gypsy *liperi-maske*)—or whether they are to all appearances harmlessly making combs, are in reality committing, or planning to commit, some act of 'devilry.'

It will, therefore, easily be understood why they are constantly getting into trouble with the police, and why every prison on both sides of the frontier can boast of one or more representatives of the comb-making fraternity, of both sexes. Indeed, the prison of Costantsa, in Rumania, and those of Varna, Razgrad and Shumla in Bulgaria, are used by the comb-makers as the most convenient postes restantes for correspondence. Such letters are written in Bulgarian or Rumanian, according to the knowledge of the amanuensis at hand. The male members of the tribe, in Bulgaria, speak four languages: Gypsy, Bulgarian, Rumanian, and Turkish. I have had such letters dictated to me in Gypsy on the understanding that I would cause them to be sent in Bulgarian. Individual members of the tribe at times travel by train in order to fetch such letters, or when a lawsuit brings them alone to a town, and they occasionally use the telephone, speaking Bulgarian, owing to a naïve idea that the 'machine' might not work if Gypsy

were used. Prison life in Bulgaria is tedious, but not at all harsh. Mr. Scott Macfie told me that when at Razgrad the comb-makers took him to the prison to visit one of their comrades incarcerated for horse-stealing, and that the delinquent received them in a pleasant courtyard, bright with roses, and that the jailer himself served Turkish coffee while they smoked their cigarettes.

The tents of the comb-makers, unlike those of the Zágundjis, are always made of good, strong goats'-hair cloth. Besides the *čakala*, *berand* and *beli* (*vide* description of Zágundji tent), they have two horizontal poles attached about half way up the *čakals* (called *vrzždia*) which run the length of the tent under the cloth and end in the *taliga*, which is always built into the tent crossways, so that the breadth of the tent is the length of the *taliga*. The extra poles add greatly to the strength of the structure. One of them is frequently the shaft of the *taliga*, turned round at right angles to the latter. The *taliga* is hidden from view by carpets and hanging cloths which form a wall at the back of the tent and prevent the wind from reaching the interior from between the wheels. But the *taliga* is itself covered by the tent-cloth, and when there are many inmates one of them often sleeps in the *taliga*. The back of the tent is always kept facing the wind, and the whole structure is continually being wheeled round whenever the wind changes.

The Grebenáris are not fond of the vicinity of towns. Many town Bulgarians do not even know of their existence. When one mentions them, they, the Bulgars, will answer: 'Ah yes, you mean the Kopanáris,' whereas there is all the difference between the Grebenáris and the Kopanáris that there is between an honest man and a thief, not to mention the differences of language and trade, and perhaps of origin. Even the word Grebenári, though obviously meaning a maker of *grebens* or combs, seems unfamiliar to many Bulgarians. It is, however, found in all dictionaries, and is the name which the tribe itself uses, and by which they are designated on occasional certificates of good character which they obtain from the mayors of villages. Specimens of these I have frequently been shown: the horse-thief listens with a complacent smile to the perusal of the document to the effect that he, Ivan Nicoloff, is personally known to the undersigned, and that he is a native of such and such a village, and a maker of combs and withal honest and of a good disposition.

The camp is pitched on a high common, well away from the

village to which it belongs, and the comb-makers endeavour not to steal from that village, as the camping ground is valued, and they do not wish to be driven away or refused permission to camp on a subsequent occasion. In such villages, which they so to speak patronize, they are often on good terms with the peasantry, who will treat them to drink, and allow themselves to be treated by the Gypsies in the village *krĭčma*. But it often happens that even there where they are known, the women cannot refrain from stealing. At Yasî Tepe, near Provadia, I saw a Gypsy girl return to the tents with an apronful of turf and dung cakes for the fire, stolen from a farmhouse on the outskirts of the village, and as she crossed the plain towards the encampment she was followed by the maledictions of the farmer's wife standing at her gate. The girl's father took the stolen property from his daughter and himself carried it back to the farm, apologizing and explaining how scarce fuel was in that neighbourhood. The girl appeared to be very cross with her father, but once in the tent comforted herself by producing from the folds of her dress, and showing to me, three new laid eggs which she said she had perquisitioned from the same farmhouse. The military word *requisitsia* has become very fashionable among the comb-makers since the Turco-Bulgarian War of 1912-13, in order to describe thefts from the peasantry. 'Only,' they say, 'we do not give receipts, as do the military authorities, because we cannot write!'

In point of food the contrast between the comb-makers and the Zágundjis is as great as in all other respects. They rarely beg their food: they buy or steal it. They eat meat almost daily, in the form of chickens. They prefer to make their own bread than to buy it ready-made. This may be because of the difficulty of getting bread in the villages. It is often quite impossible to get any. The peasants bake on certain days, and they will not give or sell any, as I have found on many occasions, for fear of running short of bread before the baking day. Whereas the Zágundjis, who like to camp near some larger village or town, always beg their bread, which consists of ancient lumps and odds and ends so hard that they have to be soaked in the stew-pot in order to be eatable. The comb-makers knead the flour on a large round metal tray and put it to bake in the camp-fire ashes, covering it up with them. Apparently they do not use any leaven. The bread is eaten hot. It is timed to be ready with the *zumi* or stew, which forms their staple dish. It is of a dark brown colour,

similar to that eaten by the peasantry. They generally possess a lump of rock salt for their animals to lick, portions of which are broken off and pounded when required at meals.

They observe with great solemnity the Feast of the Assumption, 15th August. Every tent, that is every family, slaughters a sheep on that occasion, and it frequently happens that several dozen tents are assembled in order to celebrate the festival together.

On 14th August of the year 1913 a member of this tribe fetched me in order to take me to his camp for the Feast of the *Bogoroditsa*, which they themselves call the Feast of *Sînta María*. We left Varna at sunrise, and arrived at the encampment at sunset, travelling slowly, owing to one of the horses being lame. The camp was at Yasî Tepe, a village in the district of Provadia. I thus had good occasion to watch their ways and customs during the three days' carouse. I also got an idea of what Gypsy life is like out in the open when the sun is not shining, for during the three nights, and most of the daytime as well, it rained in great downpours, and at night little ditches had to be dug around the tents to prevent our being swamped by the inrushing water. On the morning following my arrival, when the rain stopped for a moment, the sheep were slaughtered by the men, after thin wax tapers had been wound round the horns of such as had any, and lighted, and incense burnt about them in little metal trays, and afterwards in the tents, making them smell like the inside of churches. The poor beasts had been baaing piteously in the rain all night, pending the sacrifice. During the death struggle short prayers were said for the prosperity of the family and relatives, improvisations such as: '*T' ažutíl amén i Sînta María* (*χav láki khul*), *kadalé miláske, hai te del amén bu' sastimós hai baχt hai maygín i améyge i tuméyge, hai te traisarás saórr bute beršéyge, hai sastimós!*' That is to say: 'May Holy Mary help us (—— ——) for the coming summer, and grant us much health and luck and wealth, both to us and to you, and may we all live for many years, and health.' The actual words given are those I heard used at the Feast of St. George, to whom, as seen from the above, they do not pray; but the words used on the occasion I am describing were almost the same. The flaying of the animals was also done by the men, but the women did all the rest. While the usual stew, with rice and vegetables, was preparing, the girls quickly roasted little chips of *parnó bukó* and *kaló bukó, i.e.* of lungs and liver, and served them to us sprinkled with salt and

paprika, with small glasses of rakia and slices of bread. This by way of *hors-d'œuvre*, the Turkish and Bulgarian *mezé*, Russian *zakúski*. Before drinking each man made a little speech, wishing the assembly health and prosperity, and destruction to the Gentiles, 'and may we each of us steal thirty horses before the year is out.' Then came more rakia and private toasts, and resounding kisses on cheek and lip, and sworn friendships, and out came scraps of news which prudence had withheld before the advent of the liquor, and strange promises are made, and proposals for the loan of fabulous sums, until the women carry in the table, which, when placed amidst us, stands half a foot from the ground and upon which is a steaming dish of savoury *zumi*. We squat around the table and each man takes a morsel according to his fancy, or drinks of the broth with a wooden spoon. Now *bŭklitsas* full of red wine are handed round, and the gentle comb-makers become almost as noisy as the Zágundjis when they are sober.

On the following days the remaining portions of the sheep were roasted or rather grilled. But not a drop of alcohol was drunk, and after lunch we repaired to the village and drank good coffee and bad lemonade.

On the Feast of St. George, the Moslem *Hederlez*, much the same ceremonies are observed, only the meat is not cooked at home, but sent to a public oven, of which there are at least one or two in every village, and hundreds in the towns. This is in accordance with the Bulgarian custom, for the 23rd April (6th May new style) is a great feast day for all alike in Bulgaria, whether Christians or Moslems, Gypsy or Gentile. In fact, the feast is the celebration of the advent of spring. The tents of the Gypsies, the houses of the Gentiles, and the engines at the railway station are all alike decorated with green branches. The festival corresponds to the *Kakavá* mentioned by Paspati, the *Khadr Elias* of the Arabs, and the *Čember Suri* of the Persians.

I noticed the following difference in the manner of celebrating the two feasts. On 15th August, when we had finished eating in one tent we were invited to the next, and as there were seven of them we had all of us more than enough by the time we had finished. On that occasion, too, the women did not eat with us. On 23rd April all families brought their food out and spread it on a long series of carpets forming a huge banquet table. The women also sat down with the men on this occasion. The above prayer was said over the meat when spread on these carpets, and

the incense was passed round the table. After partaking of the food some very good acting was performed by the men, purporting to be the scene at a horse fair. The heads of the sheep represented the horses. Pieces of two francs were stuck into their mouths, and long stalks of garlic, at which we had been nibbling during the repast, were affixed to the back of their heads, and were meant to represent the reins. The haggling and bargaining was done in Gypsy, but Rumanian, Turkish, and Bulgarian was also used. In the latter language one man imitated the accent of a Bulgarian peasant from the villages high up in the Balkans. The Gentile was always made to be the loser in the bargain.

The tribe of comb-makers, as I have already mentioned, is not confined to Bulgaria. Numbers of them still inhabit Rumania, mostly in the district around Costantsa and Tulcea in the Dobrudja, right up to Bessarabia. They appear to have developed a degree of criminality in that district verging upon madness. Gypsies in Rumania have only lately been accused of the mutilation of stolen children used for begging purposes. This may be untrue or may be chargeable to others than the comb-makers, but they confess to housebreaking and murder. There is no death penalty in Rumania, but the authorities are determined to prevent the continuance of violent crime by the comb-makers. They have accordingly taken the following measures with regard to this tribe, according to the declarations of the Bulgarian branch of it, which is in touch with the Rumanian lot. Every Gypsy must live in a tent or hut, probably, as a matter of fact, a *burdei* (see below) provided for him outside the town or village. More than two heads of families may not live together, and these two may not be relatives. If any one wishes to go to town or to travel to any other spot he must get a written leave of absence from the police. Leave is never granted for more than two days, and if the Gypsy is absent longer than the time allowed he is liable to arrest and imprisonment. Police stations are established near all Gypsy dwellings, and the police knock at his door at all hours of day and night to ascertain his presence. This constitutes veritable slavery, and has been the cause of so many leaving the country and invading Bulgaria, where the laws are milder, and where they tend to become less criminal. Housebreaking is, however, not unknown among them. When I arrived once in their camp with a tin box full of sweets for the children, and asked a woman if she could

open it for me, the men replied for her: 'She opens houses, how should she not be able to open a box.' And Totana, already mentioned on page 28, who was present at Yasi Tepe when we were celebrating the Feast of *Sînta María*, ran away from her husband and returned calmly a few days later with a bag of money which she had procured by breaking into a farmhouse.

Many members of the tribe who have remained in Rumania have bought houses and settled down. These are not molested by the police. The drastic measures above described are designed to break the spirit (criminal) of the comb-makers, and this can only be done by making them sedentary.

Thus far my informant, a comb-maker himself, and I see no reason for doubting his word. He says there are Moslem Nomads in the Rumanian Dobrudja who are not criminal. There are Christian bear-leaders, according to him, of the same tribe as those hailing from Karnobad, near Burgas, in South-East Bulgaria, and beyond the confines of the district surveyed in this article. He says there are also the 'Pletoşĭ' or Long-Haired Gypsies, described as coming from Austria and Russia, coppersmiths with enormous tents, and Christians, not criminal and very rich, who camp out all through the winter as well as in summer-time. But all this is subject-matter for future investigation.

The tribe I met at Ilanlik, to the north-east of Dobritch, in 1913 (*v.* B. 2 (*b*)), was a Rumanian branch of this comb-making clan. I have classified them apart merely owing to certain characteristics which they possessed and which the Bulgarian branch has probably lost. They were good musicians, all of them playing the concertina with great effect, which not one of the Bulgarian lot can do. The Bulgarian variations of the national *horo* dance, pretty as they sometimes are, are clumsy when compared to the Rumanian variety.

At Ilanlik I found a colony of this tribe consisting of about a hundred and fifty men, women, and children, living partly in tents, partly in underground dwellings, called by them *burdeis*, which they had dug out for themselves in the sides of a gentle slope. They were hired at 1.40 francs per day to work in the fields of a Hungarian landowner, on whose property their camping ground lay. They worked exceedingly badly, quarrelling with each other, or stopping to tell some tale when half way up a furrow, and thus wasting so much time that the Bulgarian, Rumanian and other workmen employed by the *Čokói* would be half way down the

next parallel line before the Gypsies had again resumed their work. They had lived throughout the winter on the charity of the *Čokói*, and were then redeeming their debts in work. Any savings they were able to make they spent at the *krîčma* leased by the *Čokói* to a Bulgarian innkeeper. They referred to the *Čokói* as the *Rai*, which word is not lost to the tribe as to so many others in the Balkan Peninsula. Their hatred of him was great, for he used to beat them to make them work. So, too, was their fear and hatred of the Rumanian authorities from whom they had fled in order, they said, to escape military service, and for a host of other reasons already apparent to the reader. Among this branch of the tribe I found not only pride of race but even of colour, which is so rare among the tribes of Bulgaria. Their fear and dislike of me, too, was peculiar. Upon my arrival among them with my guide Vlačano they became exceedingly suspicious, and after the preliminary greetings which custom required they lapsed into long and sullen silence. It was soon apparent that they took me for a spy sent among them by the Rumanian Government, and Vlačano for a traitor to his people. It was only after the *Rai*, to whom they appealed in their fear, had assured them that he knew me by sight, and that it was impossible for me to serve the Rumanian Government, and invited me up to lunch with him, that they became more calm. But they wished to have read to them the contents of my notebooks, wherein I had lists of names of individuals and of tribes whom I had lately met. They could not understand the motives which had brought me among them. The matter ended in the evening by Vlačano's treating a large number of them to drink at the *krîčma* and himself getting drunk, on purpose, he afterwards explained, in order to create a favourable impression, the whole jollification being at my expense, during which my guide was as profuse in curses for those who had suspected us (always absent ones), as he was in kisses for such as had bravely maintained that it was a shame to treat guests so inhospitably. After this we were admitted to the *horo*, which had been progressing furiously the whole afternoon on the hillside in front of the underground dwellings. To their dancing they imparted a grace and agility quite un-Balkan, in fact one recognized the Rumanian influence. The concertina was handed from one to another when a player wished to dance in his turn. As the night came on the girls became less shy, throwing their legs about in wilder capers, as the men do. Two boys danced together

the *csárdás*[1] or Hungarian heath dance, facing each other. Not a muscle of the body was at rest. The head and shoulders were thrown from side to side in gentle rhythm, while the lower part of the body executed the wildest capers. I am not sure whether this Gypsy variety is altogether in the approved style, but the effect was marvellous.

During my stay at Ilanlik parties kept arriving and leaving at a furious speed, seemingly bent on the most urgent business, and the one theme of conversation was *furt de cai*, or horse-stealing, past and future.

These Gypsies dress in every conceivable shade of compromise between some form of Rumanian peasant costume unknown to me and European clothes, and no two men were dressed alike. Some men wore high-crowned Rumanian *kalpaks*, others wide-brimmed straw hats. Their Bulgarian Gypsy brethren of the horse-stealing persuasion, on the other hand, dress in a sort of cross between Turkish and Bulgarian peasant dress.

As in Rumania, so too in Bulgaria, some of the comb-makers have settled, to a certain extent, without giving up their criminal ways. And this brings us to the Christian Sedentaries of Rustchuk, who were lately nomad comb-makers, and we must now consider their iniquitous mode of gaining a livelihood.

Christian Sedentaries of Rustchuk (*v.* A. 2 (*c*))

I have met but few members of this tribe, if indeed it may be called a separate tribe at all. They were all related to one another, and their dialect was that of the comb-makers, with the same pleasing peculiarity of voice and accent. Their favourite pursuit is the practising on a huge scale and for huge stakes the well-known 'Great Deceit,' immortalized by Borrow as the Hokano Baro. The following facts would appear almost incredible. I can, however, vouch for their accuracy, as having occurred in my presence. Some time after our Honorary Secretary had left Rustchuk and his friends the comb-makers, with whom he had travelled to that Danubian city from Varna, I received a visit from a most villanous-looking creature with only one eye, and horribly marked with smallpox. His skin was dark, and he was dressed in black clothes, like an undertaker. But they were all shiny with over-wear, and his trousers were tucked into his high

[1] Pronounce *čârdāš*.

boots. He wore a broad-brimmed soft felt hat, and he had a red handkerchief round his neck. He was accompanied by three other individuals who were somewhat less striking in appearance than himself, and whom he introduced as a brother and cousins. Having handed me Mr. Macfie's card, and also a letter of introduction, he immediately broached the subject of his visit, and gave me to understand that all I had heard from the comb-makers concerning his power to convert one pound into two, or, for that matter, five hundred into a thousand, was true, and that if I was agreeable he would conduct a little séance in my house on the following day. All that would be required of me would be a half-sovereign and a tray of glowing charcoal. It may be well to mention here that a month before this encounter Mr. Macfie and myself had been spoken to by the comb-makers concerning the wonderful powers possessed by an American inhabiting the town of Sistov on the Danube, whereby he was able to make two out of one, four out of two, and so on, 'and would I care to make his acquaintance?' And so when the one-eyed man, self-styled Emperor of the Gypsies, and his confederates, proposed their little entertainment for the morrow I at once agreed, being unwilling to miss such an opportunity of verifying some new instance of the famous Great Trick.

Having thus obtained my consent, the one-eyed one at once became much more confidential, and before long he made known to me the real object of his visit. Would I not produce five hundred napoleons, in order that he might convert them, there, before my eyes, into a thousand? I tried to beat him down, flabbergasted at the audacity of the man. At last he came down to two hundred and fifty napoleons in gold. Nothing would make him agree to work a lesser sum. Why? The reader may guess at the end of the story. The reason he gave, however, was a cock-and-bull tale about the indivisibility of the linoleum in which he must wrap the money, preparatory to putting it into the melting-pot. So much linoleum was required for such and such a sum, the exact amount being known to experts who provided him with the requisite sheets of linoleum. He possessed sheets for the doubling of five hundred, seven hundred, and larger sums, but none for dealing with sums under two hundred and fifty napoleons. 'It is just like in the making of bread,' he added, 'so much yeast is required for such and such a quantity of flour.' True it was he had a limited number of small bits of linoleum,

for experimental purposes, for the conversion of sovereigns and half-sovereigns. Anyhow, would I not go down to his hotel, and further discuss the matter with him in the evening. I accordingly paid him a visit the same evening at six o'clock. In the hotel garden, overlooking the principal street of the town, I was introduced casually by him and his confederates to two well-to-do-looking Bulgarian peasants, who, however, did not speak to me, but sat watching me intently while I conversed with the one-eyed one in Gypsy. I was surprised at the worried look upon their faces, which, however, brightened when they observed me in high spirits. After drinking a glass of beer, I left them, on the understanding, between myself and the Gypsies, that the burning charcoal and the half-sovereign should be ready punctually at half-past ten on the following day.

At nine o'clock the next day I went to a money changer, and got the required gold piece. Punctually at the appointed time the ex-comb-maker and his brother and cousins arrived at my house. We repaired to the dining-room. The Gypsies numbered four, and we were three: myself, wife, and mother-in-law. We served them with brandy. The villain was in his most insinuating mood. I was to understand that this was merely a *proba*. But if I were willing to fetch the required sum from the bank, we would repeat the experiment on a large scale, and I should be rich, very rich. No one would suspect us. No one would intrude. 'And, brother,' producing as he spoke the necessary ingredients from his pocket, 'this piece of linoleum, of which I receive a supply periodically from Constantinople (it is, of course, contraband), and this *furkalamentu* (you see it looks like a bit of caked earth) will enable me to convert your half-sovereign into a whole one of such apparent genuineness that it will deceive the cleverest experts. If you take it to the money changer, he will accept it. If you take it to the police, accusing me of coining false money, they will arrest you for defamation of character. As for the *furkalamentu*, it is the most expensive of the ingredients. A man brings me a supply twice a year from Italy, down the Danube, smuggling it into the country at Rustchuk. I am a great artist, brother. My wife being from Rumania, and I having often visited her people, I have learnt from our brethren over the water (the river Danube) the art of successfully forging Rumanian bank-notes. But I prefer to work in Bulgaria among a few trusted friends. I do no harm to any one. I merely help in a modest way to increase the supply of gold in

the country, which, as you know, is scarce. But you will do as you like, brother. You have a family and an establishment to keep up. What is your fortune?' I mentioned haphazardly a sum about twice my actual income. 'That is indeed little, brother. Perhaps you cannot produce the money at present without difficulty. *Ka-užarel tut*, it will pinch you. If so, have you no friends from whom you could take the money on loan? Could you not telegraph to Mr. Scott Macfie? You will do what you wish, brother; if you agree, well and good, if not . . . *sastimós*, your health, brother, no harm is done.'

We listened with admiration to this flow of eloquence, punctuated by gentle, mesmeric gestures, the voice rising and falling in well-tempered persuasiveness. I have spoken before of the strangely gentle quality of voice possessed by the comb-makers. The swindler spoke in the same way, with the same gentle querulous note dominating his discourse. 'Why should I be unreasonable. But if I were unreasonable, *sastimós*, your health.'

Then we produced a tray of glowing charcoal, and at his request a franc. This he put into a little iron bowl, together with a bit of charcoal, upon which he commenced blowing. 'Observe,' he said, 'it will not melt. Now give me the half-sovereign, which I wrap up in the bit of linoleum, thus.' He then wrapped up the franc in a similar piece of linoleum. Then he suddenly became exceedingly worried, and said that he had lost the small piece of *furkalamentu* which he had brought with him. He searched in all his pockets, asked his accomplices whether they had got it, looked on the floor, and under the charcoal tray, we helping him all the time. At last it was found in his own waistcoat pocket. We were completely taken in by the Gypsy's first-rate acting. The two pieces, or what we thought were the two pieces, were now wrapped up in one single bit of linoleum, and the little packet placed upon the red-hot coals. Almost immediately it melted into a white liquid metal. By this time beads of perspiration covered the forehead of the Gypsy, produced, doubtless, by the strain of having to act his part in the presence of an audience presumably somewhat more wide-awake than his usual Bulgarian victim. His hands, too, were trembling violently. Then all four Gypsies made the sign of the cross in the Orthodox fashion, from right to left, and hastily muttered a prayer that God and the *Sînta María* might help them, and carefully poured the contents of the iron cup into a small pocket mould. This consisted of an iron frame

shaped like a brandy flask, with an iron neck to it, the body of the flask being solid, and made of sand baked black and damped into consistency with water. This mould was divided lengthwise into two portions exactly similar, save that on the inside of one of them was the hollowed-out impression of a sovereign joined by a narrow canal to the impression of a smaller coin. The two portions were, of course, tightly clapped together when the metal was poured in. After a minute the Gypsy opened the mould, and we beheld two white coin-shaped pieces of metal, without, however, a trace of the necessary effigy and design. 'It is nevertheless there,' said the Gypsy, 'and only requires the heat of fire to bring it out into relief.' The fire would also produce, he said, the right hue. We watched breathless, while with great swiftness the Gypsy wrapped up the coin in a fresh piece of linoleum, and held it over the hot coals by means of some small pincers. After some time the linoleum was consumed and there appeared a dirty smoky sovereign, which he again held over the flame, to give it, he said, the right ring. He then polished it with some sand, and handed it over to us.

He soon left us, after drinking some more brandy, and assuring me that if I required his services I had merely to telegraph to Rustchuk, whither he was returning that afternoon, and he would immediately come to me. He said, however, that he had but a limited supply of linoleum, and that if he did not hear from me within a month he would no longer keep it for me, as he had applicants who desired to double their fortunes in this easy and withal safe manner. In the hall he met my baby daughter, and insisted upon giving her a two-franc piece for luck, which he said he had that morning coined at the hotel. He must now return to the hotel, he said, in order to occupy his time advantageously until the hour at which the train for Rustchuk was timed to leave. When about to leave, and already in the garden, he knocked the pocket mould against his heel, as one might a pipe, and there fell to the ground a lot of fine black sand. 'You see,' he said, 'no one can know what we have been doing. All traces have disappeared.'

It might have been about two months later that one of the peasants whom I had seen in the company of the Gypsy at the hotel at Varna paid me a visit. His appearance had sadly changed. He was worn and haggard, and badly clothed. Upon my inquiring the reason for this visit he told me that he was

getting very anxious about his money. The one-eyed one had been in possession of five hundred napoleons belonging to him, the peasant, since the previous month of March, and it was now October. I was well known to the Gypsies, and it was for this reason that he had dared approach me on a matter which he knew was exceedingly shady. I might call in the police and have him arrested as a would-be coiner of false money, for he knew that I worked among the Gypsies for scientific reasons, as he had been told in the town. Still I would perhaps take into consideration that he was the father of a large family, and (beginning to cry) would I not use any influence I might have with the one-eyed one in order to induce him to finish the business satisfactorily, and without further delay? For he had borrowed money from five different villages, and he dare not return to his own village with his creditors unsatisfied. Did I not know all about these matters? Was it possible that the Gypsy would endeavour to keep the doubled five hundred, the thousand napoleons, for himself? Was he only trying to temporize in insisting that another two hundred must be produced before he could work the whole satisfactorily, owing to the indivisible piece of linoleum requiring a larger sum than he had anticipated?

With the deepest misgivings as to the result of my words upon the poor peasant, I set about the unpleasant duty of explaining to him the truth that he was not only himself a rogue, but the dupe of a rogue greater than himself, that the talk of a thousand napoleons was a myth, and that there had never been more than five hundred, which he was not likely ever to see again. I might have spared myself my uneasiness. Such was the ascendancy gained over him by the wily one, that the Bulgar simply would not believe me. Had he not seen one piece converted into two? Had not the Gypsy left a great mass of metal, in a molten lump, in his possession, which only required working? And then again, this time cringingly, could I not do something for him?

He came to me again a week later, and the whole story was repeated once more. Since then I have not seen the miserable man.

I can add very little to the above narrative. The reader must himself try to fill in the gaps. Since the occurrence of the events above described, I have naturally lost no opportunity of picking up here and there information of a supplementary nature. I find that the Gypsy was well known to the police authorities and had

frequently been to prison, but succeeded in bailing himself out by means of huge deposits. In theory his numerous cases are due to come on some day. What this means is best inferred from the opening chapters of *Bleak House*. It is not a discussion within the strict province of this report. Let me confine myself strictly to what the Gypsies themselves have told me, and what I have myself seen. The one-eyed one employs agents for finding victims all over the country. Such agents are chiefly recruited among the tribe of comb-makers, but the nomad Moslem sieve-makers (*v.* B. 1 (*a*)), who are recent converts to Islam, are often pretty useful in this connexion. It will be, of course, understood that the victims cannot themselves appeal to the police, for they are themselves criminals, would-be coiners of bad money. According to the Gypsies, the trick is most successful in the district of Rustchuk, where it has become, again according to my informants, so to speak an established custom, bound to occur from time to time, like, for example, occasional disastrous hailstorms. In that district, according to my Gypsy informants, a rough and ready remedy is always applicable, for in the event of the proceedings being brought to a sudden close, in a manner *perhaps* (?) unforeseen, the sum at stake is so huge as to satisfy all parties who, by mutual consent, divide judiciously among each other rather than see the money eaten, say the Gypsies, by lawyers.

For the rest, to the questions: What was the nature of the metal left in the hands of the peasant?[1] where does the Gypsy generally go through his wizard-like performance, whether outside some village or in some lonely dell? and does he often prolong the agony of his victim in the hope of getting more out of him at some future date, as in the case of my peasant, or do he and his fellow-conspirators sometimes undeceive him in the above-mentioned lonely dell, knowing that he dare not appeal against them? at what stage of the performance does the Gypsy usually put off the final touch to a later date (I am told he at times feigns a fainting fit when the metal is a molten heap)? how many victims he makes per annum? whether he really thought me a likely victim? To these and similar questions I can only answer at present: 'I don't know.' I have merely set forth all available details in the above narrative as a true genuine 1913 instance of the feat known to Gypsyologists as the 'Great Deceit,' the Hokano Baro. In the linguistic section of this report, by way of a specimen of the dia-

[1] I have since been told that it is *arćić*, *i.e.* lead, *not* tin.

lect, will be found the letter which the Gypsy dictated to Mr. Scott Macfie at Rustchuk, to be taken by the Gypsy to me, by way of introduction, and in which he recommends himself to me as a most excellent fellow.

The Nomad Sieve-Makers (*v.* B. 1 (*a*))

These Gypsies are merely the Nomad branch of the sieve-maker tribe. Like their sedentary brethren, they, though Moslems, are but recently converts to Islam, some indeed so recently as to remember the fact. In appearance they much resemble the sedentary portion of the tribe. Among all nomads it is their women who dress in the brightest colours. They are pretty and neat, a great contrast to the Zágundjis. They are not beggars. The men are now more horse-dealers than sieve-makers, and they have intimate trade relations with the comb-makers (horse-thieves), for whom they procure spurious horse certificates, selling them to their Christian cousins of the road for a good price. I was once able to frustrate the plans of one of these brokers who was endeavouring to palm off on a comb-maker a ticket so old as to be quite useless for the purpose for which it was required. 'Dog of a *Horahai!*' remarked the comb-maker, as the turbaned Moslem left our tent in discomfiture.

The one-eyed one, he of the Hokano Baro, uses many of these nomads to find him victims for his 'conjuring trick.' But they can scarcely be called a criminal tribe. They do not themselves practise the Great Deceit, nor are they horse-thieves, nor house-breakers.

Strange to say, their tents are often poorer and more ragged even than those of the Zágundjis; of the same shape as the latter's tents, they are not made of goats'-hair cloth, but of sacking. They rarely come to Varna, preferring the vicinity of the smaller towns and villages of the interior. They wander a lot in the basin of the winding river Kamtchia, but they say they hailed originally from the district of Silistria, now in Rumania. They do not appear to be numerous. Their dialect, being identical with that of the sedentary Moslem sieve-makers, has not been discussed separately in the linguistic section.

The Párpulia or Gimlet-makers

Towards the end of the month of June of the year 1914 I saw in the streets of Varna a number of Gypsies, men and women,

gazing about them with big eyes and open mouths, as if they had never seen a town before. They were spread about the street in knots of two and three, and members of one batch continually loafed back to join the others, so that it was not quite certain in which direction the lot of them were proceeding. At first sight it was clear to me that these were members of a tribe hitherto unmet. There was none of the self-assurance and freeness and adaptability to their surroundings shown by the horse-thieves. By their dress it was plain that they were Christians. The men were rather ragged, and wore their hair somewhat long in front, and did not press down the crown of their *kalpak*s. The women wore fewer and tighter-fitting petticoats than do the Christian peasant women of Varna and neighbourhood. They also behaved as naïvely as the men, here again contrasting with the quick-witted women of the horse-thieves' tribe. Several men carried a roughly turned gimlet in their hand, but they were not hawking. I discovered a few days later, from casual conversation with a sedentary Gypsy, that they were 'Burgudjís' or gimlet-makers, known to other tribes as Párpulia, and that they camped every year during the harvest which had just then begun, at the village of Pasha Kiöi, some seven kilometres from Varna.

I accordingly repaired to the village, upon the outskirts of which I found five tents of the Rudáris (*v.* B. 2 (*d*)), of whom I took but little heed, for they were Romans without Romani, men who had, moreover, renounced the ways and crafts of Little Egypt. Just beyond them I found, pitched upon the sandy rising ground, six tents of the nomad Moslem sieve-makers (*v.* B. 1 (*a*)), bright colour within and without, many-coloured *shalvars* and sashes, a feast of red and white, the light brown sackcloth of the tents still further dispelling the sombre impression produced by the black goats'-hair tents and tawny clothing of the Rudáris.

Beyond these there suddenly appeared before me, hidden hitherto by the nature of the ground, twenty dark and gaping tents, looking like large Gothic arches, and of a shape unknown to me. These were the homes of the Párpulia.

The tent-cloth is made of the same strong black goats'-hair used by the comb-makers and the Zágundjis. When wet it shrinks and becomes practically rainproof. It expands when dry so much that it is possible to discern through it the movements of persons outside the tent.

The *čádkala* of other nomad tents are here replaced by what

the Párpulia call *čakmákja*, which are bent or curved *čákala*, two in front and two behind. The entrance to the tent is thus given the shape of a Gothic archway, very different from the triangular-looking entrance to the tents of the comb-makers. All the way up the *čakmákja* pegs are stuck pointing outwards, and on these are laid horizontal poles running the length of the tent, and sometimes slightly protruding in front. The topmost one is thicker and stronger than the rest, and is called a *berand* as in the tents of other tribes. The protruding parts are used as wall pegs on which to hang various household goods. Against the sides of the walls formed by these horizontal poles perpendicular sticks, known to the tribe as *vrážde*, are leant, and over this cage-like structure the tent-cloth is stretched. The back of the tent is closed by stretching a cloth over the entire archlike aperture. No cart is ever built into the back, as in the case of the comb-makers. Indeed the gimlet-makers possess neither carts nor horses, and, like the Zágundžis, move from village to village on foot, their goods and chattels being packed on the backs of donkeys.

The interior of the tents is strikingly bare. During the day-time no carpet or cloth covers the floor, which soon loses any grass it may have possessed and becomes hard, beaten earth. Near the entrance are to be found the hearth, large bellows, and all the instruments required for their trade. They make, besides gimlets, shepherds' crooks.

Like so many other tribes they have not the remotest connexion with music, and on festivals have to call in other Gypsies to play for them.

It is interesting to observe how certain characteristics of Gypsies in Central and Western Europe are found in the Balkans among one set of Gypsies, whilst they are totally unknown to other tribes. The '*mulo mas*' propensity is not unknown in England: we have seen that here the Zágundjis are alone addicted to this loathsome habit. The Gypsy taste for the *hedgehog*, the *hotchi-witchi* in England, or the *štaχelengro*, as it is called in the Rhine Province, is well known all over Western Europe. Here the gimlet-makers alone hunt and eat the *kanzaúrka*, as they call the animal. The ending *-ka* is the Bulgarian diminutive. Other tribes call the hedgehog *kanzaúri*.[1] The word means literally the prickly pig, and is an instance of the preservation from old times of Greek

[1] ἀκανθόχοιρο, often pronounced *kanθóiro*.

words among Balkan Gypsies who cannot speak Greek. For hunting out the hedgehog the Párpulia keep a multitude of dogs. They are even known occasionally to other tribes as the hedgehog eaters. I have unfortunately not had an opportunity of observing how the food is prepared.

The Párpulia are very much nomads. During more than half the year they wander over the whole of North-East Bulgaria, and frequently go as far south as Karnobad, in the latitude of Burgas, the town famed of yore for a tribe of bear-leaders, who may be identical with the Ursari of Constantinescu.

There appears to be no Moslem branch of the tribe. They are honest, and enjoy a good reputation among the peasantry who know them. Townsfolk naturally see no difference between them and any other tribe. They are, however, rarely seen in towns. The products of their trade are best disposed of in remote villages miles away from any centre, where gimlets and suchlike small tools cannot be procured every day. They are rarely met with even on the highroads. Having no carts, and having no reason to flee, for they never steal, they have little use for metalled roads, which hurt the feet of their unshod animals, preferring the soft byways, or 'black roads,' where their donkeys can proceed more comfortably from village to village.

They rarely beg. Probably for these reasons they are, among all the tribes I have met, the one that feeds the least well. As frugal as the Bulgarian peasant, or more so, they live for days on blackish bread alone, which they buy in the villages. I have known them go to bed without a meal. I have not seen them bake their own bread as do the horse-thieves (comb-makers).

They refer to the last-mentioned tribe as the *Bare-Katuniéygere*, or they call them the *Zavračídes*. *Zavračí* is said by them to mean thief, swindler. It is a Rumanian word, and is applied to coppersmith Gypsies. The comb-makers say they were at one time coppersmiths.

In winter the Párpulia may be found, so they themselves say, in the village of Kjokludža, which has been quite meaninglessly re-named by the Bulgarians Zvézditsa, some eight miles from Varna to the south of Lake Devna. I had hoped to gather more information concerning this tribe during the winter of 1915, had not events necessitated my sudden departure from Bulgaria. For further notes I must refer to the linguistic section.

The Rudáris

Let us suppose a Romany *Rai*, newly arrived in the Balkans, and longing to meet for the first time some nomad branch of the race known to him only from his *Vade Mecum*, the Great Paspati. Chance might bring him to Varna or to Rustchuk without having seen any Gypsies except the sedentaries of one tribe or other who abound in all Bulgarian towns. Wandering disappointedly in the commonplace, dusty streets of those ports, he might suddenly hit upon a couple of dark girls, clad in some local peasant dress, with large silver clasps strapping their waists, and long poles carried loosely in one hand, whilst a bundle of wooden spoons, spindles, and other wooden articles occupied the other, with as often as not a large wooden trough tucked under the arm. Glad to have come across nomads at last he would follow them about for some time until, their hawking over, they would thread their way out of the town. The indefatigable *Rai* would follow them at a distance, bent on beholding a Balkan Gypsy encampment. After a tramp of two hours, the latter half of it on 'black roads,' he would suddenly see a large and irregular camp on a rising heath outside a village in a ravine. Large tents of the triangular sort, but so tall as to remind him forcibly of Punch and Judy booths, would meet his gaze, with here and there a toy wooden windmill attached to the protruding *berand* and turning merrily in the evening breeze. Numerous carts, with their hoop-like skeleton roofing, over which a strong straw matting is stretched, would be standing here and there, cocks and hens pecking and scratching about the wheels. No horses would be visible, but at one end of the encampment a herd of some twenty black buffaloes would be grazing or chewing the cud, many of them with blue-white eyes, and also blue beads on their horns to keep off the evil eye.

All around the tents the ground would be white with wood choppings, whilst tiny fires, steaming pots, busy women squatting over the simmering *kakavja*, ragged packs of hungry children buzzing around, would denote that the pleasantest hour of the day, that of the sunset meal, which for them is breakfast, dinner, and supper combined, had once more arrived.

Then would come the disappointment. The *Rai* would approach the most inviting tent with chosen greetings selected from Paspati upon his lips and rehearsed again and again during

the long tramp from the town. The eldest man of the tent, with a long white beard and enormous brown *kalpak*, would remain squatted and reply: '*Nu înțelég, Dómnule.*' And seeing the *Rai*'s astonished disappointment—nay, rather, incredulity—he would quickly add: '*Dar víno incoáce, fráte, bíne hai venít, să ședĭ puțín cu noi, aicĭ pe álbie!*'[1] And the Rai, if he were something of a Lavengro, would not be disappointed after all, for had he not been hailed in Latin, still alive and unforgotten throughout the ages, and handed down from a vanguard of Latinity amongst the Slavic hordes?

The *Rai* would have been right not to have left them, for they are the Rudáris, the darkest skinned, and the most numerous nomad tribe in North-East Bulgaria. They are the descendants of the ancient Rumanian Rudári or Aurári Gypsies, who in summer sifted gold from the rivers for their Rumanian overlords, and in winter made small wooden instruments. For generations they have spoken no Romani. Those who are now in Bulgaria speak fluently Bulgarian and Turkish besides their native Rumanian. (See Colocci, pp. 197-200.) As in Hungary in the time of Maria Teresa, so too in Bulgaria their descendants think themselves insulted if called Gypsies. But if asked to state what they are they will answer, 'We are Koritáris' (trough-makers). You cannot get from them a racial name. Only among themselves do they, in Bulgaria, call themselves Rudári. The Rumanian Standard Etymological Dictionary says the word is Gypsy, and means gold workers. It is scarcely of Gypsy origin, though it may now be felt to be a Gypsy word.

The Rudáris never beg nor steal, and are well treated by the Bulgarian peasants who call them 'Vlasi,' *i.e.* the Wallachians. Their women are so modest that they refuse to enter the court-yard or front garden of houses, selling their wares from the street. Nor do they tell fortunes, or, as is the habit of many others, enter into light conversation with grocers' boys. They appear to have the nickname of 'Maria' among the shop-assistants and lower townsfolk, who thus address them when wishing to buy their wares. The poles they are said to carry to keep off dogs. But other Gypsies don't carry them. The pole, and also the large silver clasps known as *páfti* or *čaprázi*, not generally worn by other tribes

[1] Translation: '*I do not understand, Sir.*'

'*But come here, brother, welcome, sit down a bit with us here upon the trough.*'

Albie (the Romani *balai*, Bulgarian *korito*) is derived from Latin *alveus*, and denotes a wooden trough.

except on very grand occasions, are instances, parallel with the different shaped tents, of the conservativeness of all these tribes. The poles are quite unnecessary, and must be irksome, as the Rudári girl has so much else to carry. Perhaps they are a badge, or indeed a weapon, of respectability.

In the summer, towards harvest time, the Rudáris congregate for the purpose of cutting the corn. This is still done to a large extent by hand, though machines are rapidly being introduced. In 1913 I met a procession of Rudáris forming a caravan two miles long, a couple of slow, awkward buffaloes dragging each creaking cart at a slow walking pace, the whole family in almost every case asleep inside with the exception of one man or youth who sauntered beside the animals. Like other nomad tribes they repair to the various harvest centres at different dates, the corn being cut earlier in the plains than on the plateaux.

Towards the last days of June they arrive every year at the village of Ruslar, where two large camps may be seen at either end of the village. Lesser contingents are found at Adžemler. Pasha Kiöi is the village patronized by the Párpulia at harvest time, but small detachments of Rudáris, without their carts and buffaloes, may be seen alongside the other tents, at a little distance. Pasha Kiöi can also boast a small camp of nomad Moslem sieve-makers.

The horse-thieves prefer the village of Indže Kiöi, on Lake Devna.

When the Rudári encamp quite near Varna, in order to sell their wares in the town, they do so likewise without bringing their whole families, their carts and buffaloes, chiefly owing to the difficulty of finding suitable pasture-ground for the animals. On such occasions they put up small tents, as shown in Mr. Macfie's article on p. 54 of the *Journal*, vol. vii. In the said article will be found mentioned their implements and the nature of their work. As soon as their wares are sold, and their supply of raw material exhausted, they rejoin the mother camp. This takes at the most four days, during which time the Bulgarian authorities allow them to camp on the plain to the north of Varna, near the State Hospital, where no mere Gypsies would dream of pitching their tents. Indeed, such is the love of the go-ahead Bulgarians for the best approved sanitary methods at present in vogue, that were they to read these lines they would probably indignantly deny that Gypsies of any kind were ever allowed to camp on the plain near

the Hospital. We have, however, the photograph referred to above. The Rudári men serve in the Bulgarian army. In the photograph just mentioned is seen one of them just returned from the front and still in his uniform.

The Rudáris must not be confused with another tribe which, though exceedingly thievish, nevertheless moves about in lumbering carts likewise drawn by the slow buffaloes, and covered with rush matting.

The Dînîkovlár Gypsies (*v.* B. 1 (*d*))

These are the Dînîkovlárs. The origin of the name is uncertain, and I have found as yet no satisfactory explanation of the word. They are Moslems. The men are horse-dealers, and the women do most of the thieving. I know very little about them. Their haunts are chiefly the vicinity of the Danube, from Nicopolis to Rustchuk. They are reported as having no tents, but they spread their mats from the shady or sheltered side of the cart slantwise to the ground by way of an awning, and under this they squat. The men wear white turbans, and the women the *feredža*, or Moslem black female cloak.

At Eski-Djumaya, during the fair in the summer of 1915, I watched the extraordinary conduct of a party of Gypsies—two men and two women—whom I have reason to believe were of the Dînîkovlár tribe. It was on a Sunday, and a special train had brought the Varna townsfolk in thousands to the fair. Peasants thronged in from far and near. The narrow streets formed by the specially erected booths were packed. The heat and dust were stifling. One booth formed the corner of two streets. In it were displayed temptingly packets of Sunlight soap, cheeses, scrubbing brushes, and rolls of cheap and brightly coloured cloth, and daggers in embroidered leather sheaths. The goods were there to tempt the public, and to stand and gaze at them, whilst waiting for the crowd to move on, did not excite the suspicions of the two youths who were serving customers with a great show of bustling. One might even pick up a packet of soap to examine the mark. And it was just this that the four Dînîkovlárs were doing when I arrived upon the scene. I stood among the crowd at some distance. The coolness with which one of the Gypsies took up one packet, then another and yet another, and instead of putting it down upon the counter, transferred it to the expectant hands of his wife, to be

hidden in the folds of her clothing, was astounding. 'After all, of what use can all this soap be to them,' I mused. 'Now if they were to take some yards of cloth . . .' Scarcely had the thought struck me than I saw one of them approach the rolls of cloth, and taking one when no one was looking, hold it lengthwise behind his back, so that it reached from his neck to the back of his knees. Immediately the second man sandwiched himself up against his companion, the two standing back to back, and holding the roll between them by pressure only. The first man was already rolling a cigarette, while the second chatted with one of the women, who placed herself casually between the upright piece of cloth and the gaze of the shopkeeper, should he perchance look in that direction. The second woman, who carried an infant in her arms, now drew near the only unprotected side, and I was obliged to shift my position in order to see the roll of cloth fall into the folds of her *feredža*, the end of which she picked up with a show of wrapping the child in it. All this was done perfectly calmly, without any haste. What more natural than to see a woman endeavouring to readjust, with her only free hand, her clothing, in order to wrap up a squealing infant! Gradually the little group broke up, only to try their luck at another booth. I followed, fascinated at the cool daring displayed, and each time astonished at the complete success.

At length the party repaired to the outskirts of the fair, where the woman with the child squatted on the ground to rewrap the baby and to hide more thoroughly the stolen goods about her person.

I then approached the men and congratulated them in Romani. They looked somewhat alarmed, but a few words reassured them, and they asked me what success I had had. They took me, I suppose, for a shop thief. It is not uncommon to find Bulgarians, dressed *à la Franga*, skilled in horseflesh, and knowing a little Romani. With a knowing look I pointed to the handle of a large dagger which I had that day bought, and which I made protrude slightly from an inner pocket. They smiled, but as I withdrew I noticed their eyes following me suspiciously, and three minutes later they had left the fair.

I was not able in a three minutes' conversation successfully to place the dialect of these Dinikovlár thieves, if indeed the four above described were of that tribe. They spoke a non-Vlach dialect, of great phonetic purity. They also had the *γ*.

The Aidía

About the Aidía, or nomad Moslem ironworkers, I know next to nothing (*v.* B. 1 (*c*) and Section 2, p. 103). I once met a great number of them travelling in Indian file along the crest of some mountains in the Eastern Balkan range, not far from Kotel. I was not even able to discover the shape of their tents, as they halted without pitching them, while their leaders endeavoured in vain to obtain permission to camp on the heights above the village of Gradéts. Though the chiefs were absent but half an hour, the whole camp set to work to batter and beat into various shapes old bits of iron in rapidly lighted charcoal fires, and to make their rough iron implements ready for sale in the next village. With regard to their name, I got it, not from them, but from the Zágundjis, who occasionally meet them at Burgas, and buy wives from among their women.

I know so little of the horse-shoe makers that I am not even sure if they are correctly classified (*v.* A. 2 (*d*)). I believe that they live between Razgrad and Rustchuk, on the outskirts of various villages, notably Pisanets, in artificially dug-out caves, and that they are Christians, and speak a dialect roughly described by the horse-thieves as being Zágundji.

I have little data whereon to build a description of the Demirdjís found at Varna, the Sepetdjís, and Hasîrdjís, the Kazanlik ironworkers, and the Dawuldjís or Mehtéris (*v.* A. 1 (*c*), (*d*), (*f*), and (*g*)).

The Varna Demirdjís, the Sepetdjís, and the Hasîrdjís, are closely allied. They are of the old Moslem stock, and their language is of the family of the tinners' speech. They do not all speak Romani, and those who have forgotten their language have, generally speaking, adopted the ways of the Turk, on whom they model their mode of living. Their women veil, and parents have their children circumcised.

All I know of the Kazanlik ironworkers will be found in the second or linguistic section of this report.

The Dawuldjís cannot speak a word of Gypsy, at least this is the case with regard to those inhabiting this district.

They are a ragged, plebeian lot, with little of the Gypsy about them, and are often hard to distinguish from the lowest class of the Turkish population.

Instead of the shrill, piercing pipe, they sometimes play the native bagpipe or *gaita*. They are in great demand at Gypsy marriages and festivals, notably at those of the Zágundjís. They also play from house to house in the towns at the New Year.

(*To be continued*)

REVIEW

Report of the Departmental Committee on Tinkers in Scotland. His Majesty's Stationery Office, Edinburgh, 1918 (4s. net)

CONSCRIPTION and the various restrictions under which we are living in war-time have made the position of Gypsies difficult in every case, in some cases impossible. We have met with a family of Gypsies, driven by fear of air-raids from the eastern counties, now living in Cheshire, and one hears complaints of the abandonment of many fairs at which these people used to congregate. The life of a parasite becomes wellnigh impossible to members of a community engaged in a war that taxes every energy, and extends its influence to all grades of society. Though, normally, the Gypsy mode of life is that of a parasite, let it never be forgotten that the Gypsies in the United Kingdom are members of the community; that, while their mode of life does not commend itself to the purblind view of modern civilized man, they follow a natural and a healthy instinct in pursuing a nomadic life, and it is rather the clash of two kinds of civilization than any innate depravity that forces them so often to make a living in the less generally reputable walks of life, and out of the foibles and follies of their more sophisticated brethren. The difficulties under which Gypsies are labouring in England at present are enhanced tenfold in so poor and scantily populated a country as many of the remoter parts of Scotland. To the honour of the race be it said that not all male Gypsies of military age waited to be conscripted; numbers, especially from the New Forest, volunteered in the early days of the war. The same is true of Welsh Gypsies: in particular, the Roberts family. In the New Forest a relaxation has been made in the forest laws by which Gypsy families are no longer compelled to strike camp frequently and migrate to a fresh camping-place. The late vicar of Bransgore and others were instrumental in securing this temporary concession. In Scotland

the necessities of the time make it undesirable that there should be migrants camping out and lighting fires promiscuously, and the tinkers have been driven into the towns. Members of the Gypsy Lore Society are well aware of the almost inevitable results of herding such people in towns. It has sometimes been said that they sink speedily to a position moral, sanitary, and social, that is lower than the lowest of our slum-dwellers. This is often due to prejudice against letting decent houses to Gypsies.

On 19th September 1917 His Majesty's Secretary of State for Scotland, acting on representations made to him by various interested bodies, appointed a Committee to inquire into the conditions under which tinkers live, and, 'keeping in view the recommendations relating to such persons made by recent Commissions and Committees, to report as to any steps which might be advisable in order to secure or confirm an improvement in these conditions.'

This Committee, composed of the Rev. R. Menzies Fergusson, D.D., Her Grace the Duchess of Atholl, Miss Agnes Campbell, the Rev. G. A. Jeffrey, Donald Mackay, Esq., and G. A. Mackay, Esq., have issued their report.

The problem is attacked in a comprehensive manner, beginning with an excellent sketch of the past history of the tinkers and Gypsies in Scotland. Part II. contains a description of their present conditions, and in Part III. the Committee's recommendations are detailed. There are thirteen appendices, giving in some cases most interesting statistics. We have no hesitation in saying that every member of the Gypsy Lore Society should obtain this Report, and we take this opportunity of thanking those concerned for the valuable information they have collected and here exhibit.

In summing up the evidence bearing upon the question of tinker origins the Report says: 'The varying elements in the ethnography of the Scottish tinker can probably best be summarized through his speech. Romani words, though universal, are chiefly found in the south; Shelta is hardly spoken save in the west; Old English "cant" appears to have left its traces everywhere except in Tiree. It should be added that the Highland tinker also knows Gaelic—possible evidence of his descent from "broken men" of the clans' (19).[1]

'The tinker therefore must be regarded as of mixed blood' (20).

[1] The numbers refer to paragraphs in the Report.

The fact that Highland tinkers speak Gaelic is not enough to support the suggestion that any considerable tincture of Scottish Gaelic blood is to be found among them. No doubt there is some. The English Gypsies are described by Borrow as having recently abandoned their former strict ideas with regard to intermarriage with 'gorgios.' The same thing is said by Gypsies to-day, nearly forty years after Borrow's death. Perhaps they have always said the same, looking to a Golden Age of race purity, not in the remote past, but ever in the near past. Gypsies marry outside the blood fairly frequently; they have done so for centuries. There is no reason to suppose that Scottish Gypsies have been any more exclusive of alien blood. Further, as regards a knowledge of Gaelic, no one would suggest that Welsh blood is an original element in the family of Abraham Wood on the grounds that most of the descendants of that enigmatic person speak Welsh with considerable fluency. They are bi-lingual, or rather tri-lingual, by circumstance rather than by origin. The Scottish Gypsy speaks Gaelic probably because he travels in a Gaelic country in like manner. That there were wandering tinkers in Scotland, as in England, before ever a Gypsy set foot in that land is, however, certain. The tinker of the present day is descended from both stocks; the original tinkers may or may not have been recruited from among the 'broken men' of the clans. The possession of the Gaelic tongue proves nothing either way. Much firmer ground for the suggestion is to be found in the physical appearance of these people. Ethnological arguments based on language are seldom anything but fallacious.

An interesting point is mentioned in the course of the historical survey. The anti-Gypsy legislation of Scotland 'gradually fell into disuse, though not actually repealed until the twentieth century.' A footnote adds (page 8), 'By the Statute Law Revision (Scotland) Act of 1906.'

In dealing with the public interest manifested in the Gypsies early in the nineteenth century the Committee seems to have overlooked a series of letters that appeared in the *Northampton Mercury* in 1814-15, which preceded the articles in *Blackwood*. (*J. G. L. S.*, New Series, i. 333). The Report gives the date of Baird's efforts to educate Gypsies as 1839. Mr. Winstedt (*loc. cit.* 334) makes it a year earlier. Baird's efforts were more successful than Mr. Winstedt seems to imply if their fruit is to be seen to-day in the more settled habits of the Kirk Yetholm colony (33).

Mention might have been made of the statement that 'so far back as the beginning of the last century, Bailie Smith found that the Gypsies of Scotland gave their children as good an education as the lower classes of natives.'—(*J. G. L. S.*, i. 340.)

The Report takes for granted the truth of the common story of Gypsies kidnapping children (34(*a*)). It would have been better to have given definite evidence on the point, or to have mentioned the scepticism about the charge which is prevalent among most students of Gypsy problems.

Hitherto legislation has aimed at dispersing vagrant bands without much concern as to what became of those so dispersed. It is true that the vagrancy problem has been reduced within narrower limits (34), but at the expense of producing other and more serious problems. We welcome the evidences shown in this Report of a deeper study of the question, and a more far-sighted view in the Scottish Office at Whitehall.

Part II. of the Report, dealing with the present condition of the tinkers, is of extraordinary interest. The special census of tinkers made on the evening of Sunday, 21st October 1917, was carefully planned, and is probably as reliable as any such census can be. It is of interest beyond the borders of Scotland, for it affords a basis upon which one may estimate the number of Gypsies in England, as to which widely dissimilar guesses have been made. In this census settled and well-to-do Gypsies were excluded. Including 309 men in the Army and 171 children in industrial schools, the gross total for Scotland is 2728. Ross-shire has the greatest number among the counties; Dundee among the burghs. 'Among tinkers large families may be said to be the rule' (42). The Rev. A. B. Scott, of Kildonan, Sutherland, in giving evidence before the Committee, divided the Sutherland tinkers into three classes. 'The first have money, reside in villages in winter, wander in summer, attend markets, and deal in horses. The second come from southern counties in summer (I have met them from Forfar and Perth); camp out, sell German wares, wash gold, fish for pearls, poach, steal, beg, and generally have a good time. They are the sort who love "the wind on the heath." The third live in caves, rock-shelters, and tents. They look degraded, although they have many good qualities. Physically they are weak; much given to liquor. They beg, steal, and poach. The only articles I have seen them selling are heather-brooms, and rinsers. The MacPhees and others of the class are said to be

remnants of broken clans' (43). This last is interesting. We should like to know by whom this is said of the MacPhees—by themselves, or by others? The probability is that those belonging to this third class are mainly non-Gypsy. Only 122 tinkers reside in the Islands. Family names go by localities to some extent. 'The tinker in Caithness or Orkney is a Newlands, a Williamson, or a MacPhee. In the heart of the country, about Perthshire and Forfarshire, are to be found Whites, Townsleys, Reids, Stewarts, and Camerons. Among the Border "muggers" the names Douglas, Watson, Blyth, Norris, and Young are common; while Galloway is the home of the Marshalls, Macmillans, Watsons, and Wilsons. This list does not by any means exhaust the tinker names in Scotland' (53).

It is of interest to note that one witness described the women as being greater wanderers than the men. Among the coppersmith Gypsies, Tinka it was, and not her husband, who urged the tribe from country to country (*J. G. L. S.*, viii. 252).

It is surprising to learn that the tinkers of the north look upon the police as their best friends (63). All honour to the Scottish police!

The points that seem to be of greatest interest are (1) the health conditions of the nomadic life; (2) the treatment of children by their tinker parents; (3) the effect of town life on the morals of tinkers; and (4) the effect of strong drink on the tinkers.

With regard to the effect of a nomadic life under the strenuous conditions of climate in Scotland, and the general poverty of the class of people with which the Report deals, we are given a number of statements which go to show that great suffering is entailed, and that there is some possibility of this affecting the general health of the tinkers, while witnesses are agreed as to its effect on their children. Their mode of life 'exposes the children, in winter more especially, to very severe physical suffering and hardship' (64). 'The majority of the witnesses spoke of the health of the tinker as being good. Nevertheless, there are tinkers who are poor physically and below the normal' (78). 'As to the effect of the camping life on the health of the young children. There seems to be a consensus of opinion that the exposure of such children in tents and caves in the winter time is causing them unnecessary suffering, and even injury to health' (80). 'These tents could not be regarded as sanitary. While he (Dr. Roger

M'Neill) was not prepared to say they were dangerous to health in summer, he would be disposed to condemn them from the public health point of view as unsuitable for habitation' (82). Statistical tables prepared by the Committee show that among children under five years of age the proportion of deaths is abnormally high.

With regard to the former of these two statements, we think it would have been better if the Committee had more clearly specified the circumstances in which the deaths tabulated took place. The large majority were in towns, so that no real evidence is to be obtained in this way for the alleged unhealthiness of vans and tents. English Gypsies complain of suffering from colds and chest complaints during the winter when they are in houses in towns. Something similar has been the experience of soldiers who have gone into billets out of the trenches. As to the abnormally high death-rate among children under five, the suggestion has been made that this may run parallel to the abnormally high birth-rate among these people. A study of a normal English pedigree seems to support the notion that where there are a large number of children in a family there is likely to be a large infantile death-rate. On the other hand, such statistics as the present writer can obtain for the population of an agricultural district in Yorkshire, where there are also a few cotton factories, and where large families mean increased income, show that the larger families are most free from deaths of infants under five years old. The point ought to be investigated more thoroughly.

In the case of Caithness, births as well as deaths are taken into account, so far as possible, from which it appears that the infantile mortality rate is 216 per 1000 tinker children born, as against the normal rate for that county, 99 per 1000 (87). These figures undoubtedly disclose a serious state of things. We should suggest that efforts should be made to instruct the mothers in proper methods of feeding and caring for infants, a work that is being done with considerable success among the cottagers in England, where, in a district that is well known to the present writer, an amount of prejudice has to be overcome that can scarcely be exceeded among the migrant peoples in Scotland. Further we would suggest that steps should be taken to provide the tenters with more commodious and weather-proof tents. Pneumonia seems to be the most frequent cause of death. The proposals of the Committee will be dealt with later in this paper, when we shall take the liberty of suggesting what seems to us a

wiser course than that which they recommend. For the moment we note that the conditions as to the health of young children constitute a serious menace, and must needs be dealt with. In any case there does not seem to be any very positive evidence pointing to unhealthiness in the tenting life for those who practise it.

Tinker parents are fond of their children. A Report issued in 1895 says, 'In their domestic relations they are depicted as faithful to their own marriage ties, and fond of their children' (60). One of the witnesses in the present inquiry says, 'Fond of their children, to whom they seem greatly attached' (63). The former General Secretary of the Scottish National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children says, 'The attention of the Society was not directed to the tinkers as a class by any allegation or suspicion of cruelty to children, as the term is popularly understood. On the contrary, there was ample testimony that tinkers are specially fond of their children, who were usually found to be healthy, well nourished, amply clad, and less verminous than generally supposed. Their condition, on the whole, compared favourably with the children of city slums' (64). Mention is made of 'the sociability and strong family affection which characterize the tinker tribes' (135). Again, 'almost every witness we examined testified to the deep affection existing between tinkers and their children. Many facts have been brought to our notice which afford confirmation of this view' (162).

The Report is equally emphatic on the dangers which attend the transfer from tenting life to life in a city. 'In Perth city the circumstances and conditions of the tinkers were described to us as low, "almost animal"' (45). 'There can be no doubt that the conditions under which tinkers are at present living in "D" are fraught with danger, physically and morally. Women and children accustomed to an open-air life, totally ignorant of hygiene, and necessarily brought up with little regard for personal cleanliness, are living herded together in single-room slum tenements, and children accustomed to country surroundings are being given every opportunity of rubbing shoulders with the lowest of a town population' (123). 'The desire for the country is very generally expressed for the sake of the children's health' (125). 'Our visits could not but leave on our minds a marked impression of the disabilities entailed by illiteracy and ignorance among a primitive people forced into contact with civilization' (135).

'Certain evidence placed before us points to the danger of definite moral declension on the part of tinkers as a consequence of town life' (150).

Intemperance in the use of strong liquors is spoken of as 'the bane of the tinker's life.' 'Some witnesses stated that any scheme for the reformation of the tinker would fail unless buttressed by drink prohibition' (72). 'Though strongly favouring prohibition, certain witnesses doubted whether it would be practicable to enforce such a measure for a limited class' (75). The witnesses quoted in the Report seem all to find the worst evils of the tinker's way of life due to over-indulgence in strong drink.

The Committee were of opinion that the disturbance in the habits of tinkers brought about by the war, and the necessity of taking some steps to ameliorate the condition of these people at the present time, afford an excellent opportunity for dealing with the problem comprehensively, and once and for all extinguishing the anomaly of a class of people living among us who are not of the orthodox fashion. The members of the Committee have done their work with the utmost fairness: we have no criticism to offer as to their genuine wish to find the best way out of a difficult position both for the nation at large and for the tinkers. But they have not been able to free themselves entirely from the artificial view of life which masquerades as modern civilization. We ask in amazement, why should it be thought desirable to bring the tinker's way of life to an end? The Report itself gives reasons why it should still be allowed to exist. In paragraph 143 we are told that 'tinkerdom is a very real social disease.' This is no doubt the case viewed from the standpoint of modern industrial towns, Local Government Boards, the Poor Law, and the like. May we not, however, with just as much reason, look at it from the tinker's point of view, and see in modern civilization, with its working class spending their days in factories from five in the morning till nearly five at night, with black smoke poisoning the air and blighting the sweet natural growths of the countryside, with cut-throat competition, with education of children who are driven at the age of fourteen from the study of literature and painting to the back-breaking task of potato-picking in the fields, with rows of sanitary houses each the exact replica of its neighbour, with its cinema shows provided to keep the victims of system amused, with all the paraphernalia of these modern days, a real social disease that cries aloud to be extinguished by the energies

of all right-thinking men. We have no scheme of so-called Socialism to propound, but we are convinced that for the vast majority of our fellow-countrymen there is, under modern conditions, existence only, but no real life. Why should the tinkers, who are a people that have for generations revolted from this sort of thing, be compelled or cajoled into submitting to the chains that are becoming ever more and more galling to ourselves? Says the Report, 'In all communities there are born men and women who do not take kindly to settled industrial conditions' (143). Thank God for that! 'The blood of the primitive hunter or of the pastoral nomad has bridged a gap of centuries and found a modern setting. The machinery of industry has scant tolerance for this type. . . . The lot of such persons, if isolated, would be pitiable. But they find easy admittance to a class which has developed a social economy of its own' (143). If the recommendations of the Committee are carried out and meet with full success, obviously a new situation will arise, and persons of atavistic type will have to endure the lot which the Committee rightly stigmatize as pitiable. Surely the better course would be to acknowledge the inevitability of some such class of people as the tinkers within the bounds of more settled, stolid humanity, and scheme to ameliorate their condition, while at the same time respecting the inherent right to freedom and self-determination which we so loudly uphold yet so seldom practise. It is a pity that more weight was not allowed to the very just remarks of Provost M'Cormick in his statement (Appendix No. IV. to this Report). As he says, 'Why drive them into slums, when social reformers are trying to do away with slums?' Again, 'Tinklers and Gypsies are the only people who never seem to have forgotten the advantages of open-air life.' Here lies our main criticism of this Report.

The Committee, hoping to extinguish in due time every remnant of nomadic life, make a number of recommendations with a view to settlement and employment of tinkers, their proper housing, financial assistance, supervision of families, education and industrial training, drink prohibition, and the like. On one point, that of drink prohibition, a reservation is made by the Duchess of Atholl and Miss Campbell, who deprecate such action as should mark tinkers off as a class by themselves under special disabilities. We agree with these two ladies. The drink problem must be attacked in a comprehensive way, and can be made to apply to

every member of the community to their great benefit. Surely the experiences of war-time have taught us this much. With the details of the Committee's scheme we have no quarrel. There are among the tinkers individual persons who do not like tenting, who do like industrial employment, who can benefit by education. Let all this be provided. There is always a need for town dwellings for such people during the winter months. Let these be provided. But do not attempt to convert to a settled life a whole class whose wandering 'is more than an inclination: it is an instinct. That instinct is inbred and ingrained' (Rev. A. B. Scott, 54). There is no serious charge against these people of being unusually criminal. 'The tinker does not take what is not his own until he is driven by necessity' (66). 'Any departure on their part from strict truthfulness may, we think, not unfairly be attributed, not so much to a deliberate desire to deceive as to a habitual concern to agree with their questioner' (111). 'The Vagrancy Committee indeed point out that the gypsy, though a source of annoyance in certain districts, usually exercises some handicraft or industry, and "though he may be at times addicted to petty pilfering, poaching, and other like offences, *he is often of a respectable character*"' (139). 'The tinker is a member of a community with definite ideas of right and wrong' (144).

It would have been well had the Committee examined witnesses as to the tents used in various parts of England by Gypsies. There are several types of these. As a rule they are warm, airy, comfortable, and sanitary, far removed from the miserable dwellings we have seen in photographs of Scottish tinkers. The Government would be well advised to try, by providing better tents and by careful financial assistance, to carry out a genuine 'reformation' of the tinker. In our reading, to 're-form' does not, and cannot, mean 'to do away with.' We are sorry for the tinkers who love the wandering life, if they are to be forced into a manner of life that appeals to the few among them who do not love a wandering life. We are sorry for the community that, by blindly trying to extinguish conditions that could as easily be ameliorated, is surely about to entail on people, whether 'cairds,' Gypsies, 'broken men of the clans,' or merely revolters from the constraints and the dullness of life in factories and slum dwellings, a lot that the Committee allow to be pitiable.

Nevertheless we would heartily commend many of their

recommendations, while we hope that our forebodings will not be fulfilled.

The Report is carefully printed, but the short Bibliography on pages 50 and 51 contains two deplorable slips. Dr. Black's book is *A Gypsy Bibliography*, and is a Monograph of the *Gypsy Lore Society*: in both cases *Gypsy*, not *Gipsy*.

NOTES AND QUERIES

1.—Spanish Romani

The following 'couplets' were given to M. Tathes at Majorca in 1836 or 1837 by an Andalusian artillery officer. Bataillard thought they were a specimen of Catalonian Romani, but they are almost certainly Spanish Romani, and probably have only a fortuitous connexion with the Catalonian district.

'Sarasén de la Carábea
A villila puchardá,
Socarrien de variven
Camelár é anasiolár.

'Arrimate á esa bangri
No sea que venga el chiné
Y por malo te jonjáve,
Y te lleve al estarivér.

'Si me diñas un chupendo
De esa fila tan seré,
Yo te diñaré unos cales
Para tus pulidos pinrrés.

'La Rumi que yo camelo
Si otro me la camelára,
Tiráva de mi chuli,
Y la fila le cortára.

'Al pan le llaman Manro,
Al tocino Valevále,
À la yglesia la Cangri,
Y Essarivér a la cárcel.

'Anoche estuve en tugué
Rumi, para piravárte,
Y me chumillastes en caló,
Que estabas con el arate
Te no podia sér.

'Estando yo piravando
En el palomár de Andares
Me afanavon los estronques
Que abelava en los alares.'

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I.—REPORT ON THE GYPSY TRIBES OF NORTH-EAST BULGARIA

By 'PETULENGRO'

(Continued)

2.—DIALECTS

IN making a comprehensive survey of the Gypsy dialects of the whole Balkan Peninsula one would probably begin by distinguishing two great divisions—(1) the non-Vlach Dialects; (2) the Vlach Dialects. It is not possible to find a suitable name applicable to the first division. The Gypsies themselves call them the Moslem dialects, on account of their being largely spoken by the original Gypsy converts to Islam centuries ago, the memory of such conversion having been entirely lost. But the term must not be taken to mean that there are not Christians who must be linguistically included in the first division, nor that there are not Moslem tribes speaking Vlach dialects. Such tribes, as we have seen, do exist. They are, however, all recent converts to Islam, some as recent as a generation ago. One might call the first division the Greek dialects. Not that those who speak them have necessarily a knowledge of Greek, but that the elements of that language, which from ancient times have been permanently

incorporated into their speech, are found in greater abundance therein than in the Vlach dialects, where Rumanian loan words have ousted the Greek loan words, and, not infrequently, the original Romani. Beyond this, each of the two groups of dialects also possesses, to a certain extent, a genuine original Romani vocabulary of its own, unused by the other.

It seems to me that these must be regarded as the two important primal groups, to one or the other of which all dialects can be attached. Future investigations in different parts of the Balkan Peninsula will show how far I am right. I am even of opinion that it will be possible to classify to a certain extent the European Gypsy dialects as having sprung from one or other of these two groupings. For instance, the 'Lalere Sinte,' and the Nomad Coppersmiths recently in England do belong, on the whole, to the second division, whereas the Gypsies of the Rhine Province may possibly be relegated to the first group. These considerations, however, would lead us beyond the scope of this report.

With regard to the dialects spoken by the tribes here surveyed, the two groupings undoubtedly hold good. Within the second group are found the following chief subdivisions, arranged according to their relationship one to another:—

(1) The Sieve-maker dialects, Moslem and Christian, Sedentary and Nomad, which may be taken as typical, at the same time, of *all* Christian Sedentary tribes within the district, such as the Coffee-pot makers of Shumla, and many Christian Sedentaries scattered throughout the villages around Varna and Dobritch, who practise no distinctive trade, and call themselves Yerlía or local Gypsies.

(2) The dialect of the Zágundjis. It appears to stand by itself, and I have not met any Sedentaries or Christians, or other Nomad tribes speaking it.

(3) The dialect of the Comb-makers. It is found also beyond the frontiers of Bulgaria. (See account of this tribe.)

Within the first group, which embraces all the more primitive dialects, are found the following subdivisions, arranged according to their degree of kinship one to another:—

(1) The dialects of the Aidía and of the Párpulia.

(2) The dialect of the Sedentary Iron-workers of Kazanlîk. I have not at present sufficient material in order to be sure which of the dialects just mentioned is the purest, but

they are all very near to each other, and are all very primitive.

(3) The dialects of the Tinners and Basket-makers, and of the Mat-makers, and of some of the Iron-workers found in Varna (*v.* A. 1 (*c*)), all of which are almost identical one with another, and may be looked upon as a sort of half-way house towards Dríndari.

(4) Dríndari, comprising all the varieties, differing slightly among each other, of the dialect spoken by the Gypsy musicians who hail from the district of Kotel, and a vocabulary of whose dialect is embodied in Colocci's appendix to his work *Gli Zingari*, entitled 'Lessico Italiano-Tchinghianè.'

I may mention, in passing, that the dialect of the Sofia Sedentary Moslems who call themselves Yerlídes, *i.e.* locals, belongs to the group of non-Vlach dialects, as will be apparent from a comparison of the Sofia Gypsy fairy tales with examples published below.

Miklosich, in Book VI. of his *Mundarten*, gives a vocabulary of the Gypsies of Galicia which, in many instances, resembles the dialects of our non-Vlach group. *Balania, dilino, čečipo, gelom, melinel, darinel, kaχni, rukono, pipirus, phus, stavos, svetos, rosolos, vaker*, are all words and forms typical of one or other of the non-Vlach dialects. However, the above-mentioned vocabulary, and still more the ones following it in the same Book VI. contain many forms peculiar to both groups. This is to a certain extent true of one of our dialects, that of the Comb-makers, in fact just of that one which most nearly resembles the dialect spoken in Rumania. It is also true of the Bukovina fairy tales. It may be therefore objected that the expression Vlach dialects is misleading, since many dialects spoken in Rumania, and influenced by Rumanian, are not of the group. As an alternative one might talk of the Ṛ group and the R group. But here again one would meet with exceptions, although not in this district. Or one might call them A and B.

Before going further I should like to emphasize a point, the importance of which is not always realized. Students of Romani, admiring the purity and splendid preservation of the Balkan Gypsy dialects, are inclined to consider quaint and highly expressive phrases and idioms found in South-East European Romani as the undisputed property of the Gypsies, brought by them from

other lands. This is not the case. It is not the case in any European dialect, and those of the Balkans are no exception to the general rule. It would be interesting to collect the real Romani phraseology found in these pure dialects. Genuine instances would be found to be very rare. Among such is probably the expression, common to nearly all dialects, *lav tut palal*, meaning to drive or send away some one. But the majority of much admired forms and expressions are directly due to the existence of the same in Turkish, Bulgarian, or Modern Greek. Compare the expression *dikhljardás pes e doftoróste*, 'he caused himself to be examined by the doctor,' with the Turkish *kendisini doktora bakdîrdî*, of which the Romani is a literal translation. Such are also: *pále kanarakhádjovas*, Turkish, *jine bulušadžaǵiz*, 'we shall meet again,' where tribes not usually speaking Turkish would say, *kadikhás amén*. *Dikhádjovas* is the Turkish *gjörüšmek*, to meet and hold discourse together. *Te arakhádjovav leske tsíra lové*, 'Let me come to his assistance with some money,' is the Turkish *bulunajîm ona biraz para*. There are hundreds of such examples in the language of the Sedentary Moslem Sieve-makers, the whole dialect being deeply influenced by Turkish idiom. The same may be said of Drîndari expressions. They are the literal translation of the Bulgarian spoken by the people with whom the Drîndari come most into contact. For instance, the expression *lotsilú tuke?* meaning literally 'has it become lighter, easier for you?' i.e. 'do you feel relieved?' said after a person has wept or given way to a fit of rage, is simply the literal translation of the Bulgarian *ulekna ti?*

For the rest a host of expressions must be regarded as neither exclusively Turkish, Bulgarian, Rumanian, nor Greek, but as being common to them all, and to the four can be added Romani and Albanian, and, it is to me a foregone conclusion, also Armenian, as spoken in the Balkan Peninsula, although I have not yet been able to test it. All this forms a Balkan *Sprachschatz*, a striking evidence of influence and counter-influence exercised for centuries among races in spite of their mutual hostility to one another. Papahagi, in his 'Parallele Ausdrücke und Redensarten im Rumänischen, Albanesischen, Neugriechischen und Bulgarischen,' published in Professor Gustav Weigand's 14*tes Jahresbericht des Instituts für Rumänische Sprache* (Leipzig, 1908), shows by means of some four hundred and fifty examples how deep this influence has been. In perusing his article I was struck by the

numerous instances in which I could supply a Romani parallel to his examples. Here are only a few of them:—

The formula for greeting, *Mišt' avilán*, to which is answered *mišt' arakhádilam* by the Zágundjis, otherwise *mišt'araklám*, is Rumanian: *bine ai venit, bine am găsit*; Bulgarian: *dobre došăl, dobre nameril*; Modern Greek: *kalós írthes, kalós evríka*. And all these expressions are probably copied from the Turkish, of which they are faithful translations: *xoš geldin, xoš bulduk*. Compare, too, Romani: *geló kai geló*, with Rumanian: *merse ce merse*; Bulgarian: *vărve što vărve*: Greek: *píye ti píye*. Romani: *sa rovél*, meaning 'he does nothing but cry,' is Rumanian: *tot plânge*; Greek: *ólo klêi*; Bulgarian: *vse plače*; Turkish: *hep aǧlayor*. Also *arakhádilo lake čhavorró*, i.e. 'a little boy was found (born) to her' is literally, passive form and all, the Modern Greek: *tis vréthike éna mikró*; Bulgarian: *nameri i se malko*, and Rumanian (Kutso-Vlach): *l'i se aflu un ńic*. This will suffice to show the reader what is already a recognized fact among students of Balkan philology.

It is the Greek language, either directly or through the medium of Rumanian or Bulgarian, that has had the greatest influence in moulding the syntax and idioms of the Romani dialects of the Balkans.[1] In point of actual vocabulary, if we except Moslem Romani dialects directly affected by Turkish, and borrowing freely from that language in order to supplement the deficiencies of their own, and in many cases, when an equally good Romani word, known to them, already exists, Turkish has had wonderfully little influence upon Romani, and none at all outside the Balkan Peninsula, for we can suppose such so-called Turkish words as do exist to have been taken from the language of some Christian Balkan race. Greek, and a long way after it Rumanian, are the two languages which have most deeply affected Romani as a whole, in and outside of the Balkan Peninsula. The case of Armenian is somewhat different. Apart from the Armenian words adopted by the Drîndaris, which are consciously borrowed for purposes of secrecy, the well-known Armenian elements in European Gypsy dialects were probably adopted in Armenia, or any how before Armeno-Gypsy contact in Europe.[2]

[1] See Ch. Sandfeldt Jensen, *Rumænske Studier* (Danish text), who, I think, conclusively proves that it is Greek, and not, as sometimes believed, Albanian, which has left its original *cachet* upon all the languages of the Balkans.

[2] It has been admitted that Miklosich's list of Armenian words found in Romani required overhauling. Dr. Sampson did this perhaps a little too thoroughly in his

The influence of Greek and Rumanian upon Gypsy is so well known that I need not insist upon it here. A lot of words may yet be found to be Greek that have been considered *dunkel* hitherto. Since I have been in Bulgaria I have noted the following, of which some have been hit upon independently by Dr. Sampson:—

trómav, I dare, *dunkel* according to Miklosich, and wrongly explained by Pott. Modern Greek, *tromázo, troméo.*

prépel (Sofia Dialect), to fit. Greek, *prépi*, to be suitable.

note on page 10 of the first number of the new series of the *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*. The list certainly required revising. Miklosich himself left out words which he elsewhere admits are of Armenian origin: *džoró* and *džorní*, a mule; *raš*, on account of; and to these must be added *χanamík*, a relative by marriage, and *čikát*, a forehead. To this I must add the following word found in some of the dialects under consideration in this report: *χunk* (fem.), incense. Also a verb, *χungisaráv*. E.g. *Xungisarél e mulén χungidsa*, he incenses the dead with incense. The word is found in the dialect of the Sedentary Moslem Sieve-makers.

Xóratas, speech, is found in several of the non-Vlach dialects, and *χoratínav*, found in Sofia. The word is of doubtful origin. Bulgarian has, in certain dialects, *χórtuvam*, *χóratča*, I speak. The word, however, exists as a noun in vulgar Armenian, and in Modern Greek as *χóratas*, a joke. (The West European Romani word for a joke, namely, *perjas*, is found in nearly all the dialects of Eastern Bulgaria in the form of *pherás*, and it also often simply means speech, words. This is not Armenian.)

With regard to the words concerning which there is believed to be some doubt as to their origin, *arčić*, tin, was defined as mercury by an Armenian whom I questioned, and *bor* was said to mean the pipes of an oven through which the heat runs. For the rest, the Romani word for crumbs, *puršukó* (see Dr. Sampson's note above quoted), known to the Zágundjis and to the Moslem Sedentary Sieve-makers is, in my opinion, undoubtedly an Armenian word. Miklosich quoted the Armenian equivalent in the Armenian plural, *p'rank'*. But in the Armenian singular the word is *pušork*, and *pušorka*, *puršuka*, i.e. the singular of the Armenian with the Romani plural, are similar enough to convince any one of the derivation of the Romani word, especially as exactly similar transpositions occur in the Sieve-makers' dialect, both in native and loan words: cf. *nafsalo* for *nasvaló*, and *koináko* for *koniáko*, French brandy. Here I might record the rare word, found in the Sieve-makers' dialect as well as in Colocci's Drindari and somewhere in Miklosich, *isalt* (not Armenian) also meaning brandy, beside the original word *tharí*.

Kočak is pure Armenian, pronounced as in Romani. The so-called Slavic word is *kopča*, probably from the Turkish *kopče*. Balkan Gypsies use the Armenian *rogí*, *ogí* in the sense of the soul, the principle of life, the seat of the affections, the heart, also courage, character, power of resistance. It translates the Persian word *džan*, adopted by the Turks.

Godí always means the mind, the reasoning faculty, and translates the Bulgarian-Turkish *akíl* (from the Arabic). The Gypsies never confuse this word with *rogí*. *Godí* is also a feminine noun, whereas *rogí* is generally masculine. The words must be of different origin. I am told that *godí* in Armenian means a girdle. The word, I suppose, must remain *dunkel* for the present.

As for *mušonói*, which Miklosich refers to Armenian *mrcjun*, it is pure Rumanian. The Sedentary Moslem Sieve-makers have *mušorói*, and it means a mole and a mole heap, not an ant and an ant heap as it does in some Rumanian dialects. There is another well-known word ending in *oi* used by the same tribe, namely, *kandói*, a mouse. I have not found any more probable origin for the word than Modern Greek *pondiki*, of which it is possibly a corruption.

liperáv, to remember, mourn, regret (cf. Bohemian Gypsy *leperav* and Welsh Gypsy *reperáva*), Modern Greek root *lip* (*vide* Paspati, *lipa*).

rumusaráv, I destroy. Miklosich has *musarav*. (Cf. Puchmayer, quoted and unexplained by Pott, Wörterbuch, 275.) *rumínav*, I destroy. It is probaby Greek *kremnízo*, which would give first of all *kremisaráv*, or with an *-in* stem, *kremínav*.

kanzaúri, a hedgehog. Greek, *skanzóiro*, *skantsóχiro*, for *akanthóχoiros*, i.e. a prickly pig.

thrima (Dríndari), a little. Greek, *thryma*, a bit, fragment.

kandoi, a mouse. Perhaps a perversion of *pondikós*, *pondíki* the Modern Greek word for a mouse.

furuvlí, a lime tree. Greek *filýra*. Also used for the wood. Heard from the Sedentary Moslem Sieve-makers.

The Greek, or non-Vlach, or ʁ group, call it what we may, contains by far the most primitive dialects, the richest mine for the philological explorer, whether he examine the rapidly disappearing dialect of the Tinners or Kalaidjís, the linguistic monstrosity of the Dríndari dialect, or the ancient and classical speech of the Aidía and Párpulia. All dialects of this group possess the old ʁ sound.[1] The Vlach dialects, on the other hand, have either lost the ʁ entirely, as in the case of the Sieve-makers, or converted it into another sound, as in the case of the Zágundjis, which, however, they do not use with perfect regularity, and which one might have easily overlooked, had one not been acquainted with the ʁ of the non-Vlach dialects. I refer to an *r grassayé*, which I represent as ɾ. It is pronounced by trilling the epiglottis. It is used by the Zágundjis in rapid speech in words where there was originally, and is still in the other group of dialects, the ʁ. But if one asks them to repeat such a word they will probably use an ordinary *r*. They will say in talking *phaʁavél*, but will repeat the word as *pharavél*. In the dialects which have preserved the ʁ, the pronouncing of the sound is never optional.

[1] My article on the ʁ sound was written in Beirut, from memory, without it being possible for me to check the words by reference to Balkan Gypsies. Three words must undoubtedly be struck off the list set forth in that article: *parno*, *χarnó*, and *uri-* the root of the verb to fly. The word *koʁó*, blind, should have been on the list. *Buʁ*, *buʁá*, dry grass, twigs, brushwood, heath, must be added. It is Paspati's *o reš o bur*, forests and heaths; Borrow's *o baval po bur*, the wind on the heath, the *bor*, bush, of the Gypsies of the Rhine, and the *bur*, mountain, of the Spanish Gypsies. Also almost certainly the word *akhoʁ*, a walnut. But I am, with regard to the last, again writing from memory, far away from any Balkan Gypsies.

The Comb-makers also have a very strongly trilled *rr*, trilled, however, with the front part of the tongue. It may or may not correspond to the original *ɣ* of the older dialects. The difficulty here again is, that if asked to repeat the word, the *r* will in all probability be an ordinary one. The non-Vlach tribes, having preserved the *ɣ*, of course use it in the formation of the diminutives in *-oɣo, -oɣi*. The corresponding Vlach form is *oro, oɣo,* or *orro*. Strange to say, there is in this group no feminine to such diminutives. Non-Vlach *čhaioɣí*, a little girl, becomes in the Vlach group *čheioró, čhioɣó,* or (Comb-makers) *šeiorró, šiorró.* Likewise *borioró,* a little bride, in the dialect of the Sieve-makers, applied to a weazel after the Turkish *gelindžik*. Even the words *laloró, kórkoro, savoró* (in non-Vlach dialects *laloɣó, kórkoɣo, savoɣó*), diminutives in form though not in meaning, have no feminine. Example: *i čhei naští džal kórkoro avrí.* So strictly is this rule adhered to, that the word *čoró*, poor, has no feminine in this class of dialects, probably owing to its having been originally *čoɣó*, which syllable *ɣo* came to be felt as a diminutive. *Koró*, which was originally *koɣó*, has likewise no feminine. Example: *Kadajá romní si but čoró. Oi si koró e čhelátar.* 'That woman is very poor. She is blind from smallpox.' The rule as to the invariability of the *ro* diminutive, whether it be a diminutive in fact or in form only, is so strictly adhered to by the Sieve-makers, that there is, in their dialect, no plural to the words discussed above.

Loan verbs are conjugated in the non-Vlach dialects generally from a stem in *-iz*. The *-sar* stem is found at times in the past tenses. The Yerlídes of Sofia, however, replace this *-iz* by *-in*. Párpulia *irízava* is in Sofia *erínav*, I turn. The Vlach dialects use the *-sar* stem for all tenses, with the alternative, in the case of the Comb-makers, of adding to the loan verb, in the present tenses, the Romani personal endings minus their vowels, thus *(a)v, (e)s, (e)l*, to the root, borrowed from the Rumanian, and ending in *'i'* : *trais, trail*, for *traisarés, traisarél* (Rumanian root *trai*). There is a small class of verbs of Greek origin, already mentioned above, which add the Romani personal endings *with* their vowels, but minus a stem in either *-sar, -in* or *-iz* : *liperáv*, I remember with yearning (perhaps only Vlach); *prépel*, it is fit, or it fits; and *trómav*, I dare, both of the non-Vlach group.

The *-sar* stem is sometimes used incorrectly in both groups, in the passive voice, present or past tenses, of genuine Romani verbs,

instead of the regular Romani formation. Sofia: *lošasájlo* for *lošánilo*; Sieve-makers: *kanbikindisájol* for *kanbikíndjol*, it will be sold; and *ašundisájol*, it is heard, i.e., the sound of cannons. Kazanlik Iron-workers: *uštisáilo* for *uštinó*, and *dikhisáilo* for *dikhiló*, it was seen.

List I

The following alphabetical list of words will give a general idea of the difference, as regards vocabulary alone, between the two main groups. The list is not exhaustive. There are cases in which one group possesses both words, while the other has retained only one. There are also instances in which individual dialects possess words not otherwise known to the group to which they belong. All such cases are mentioned in footnotes.

Meaning	Non-Vlach	Vlach
understand	*aχáljovav*	*hakjaráv*
finger	*angášt*	*nai*
destroy	*araráv*	*rumusaráv*
trough	*balaní*	*balái*
marriage feast	*biáv*	*abiáv*
spit, skewer	*bust*	*šíši*
mother	*dai*	*dei*
foolish	*deniló*	*diló*
sea	*derjáv*	*denízi, máre*
day	*diés*	*givés*
town	*dis*	*fóro*
wake	*džangaráv*	
pocket	*džéba*	*póski*
alive	*dživdó*	*traimé*
mule	*džoró, džorní*	*katíro*
chew	*čámkerav*	*čambáv*
call	*čándav*	*akharáv*
empty	*čučó*	*bóši*
girl	*čhai*	*čhei, šei*
raisins	*čhamiká*	*moskíni*
dust, ashes	*čhar*	*práχos*
chick	*čhavrí*	*púju*
boots	*tsiraχá*	*kherá*
to-morrow	*javiné, tasjá*	*tehára, thedehára*
chicken	*kaχní*	*khainí*
tent	*katúna*	*sára, tsíhra*

Meaning	Non-Vlach	Vlach
bitter	*kerkó*, fem. *kerkí*	*kerkín*, *kerkí* (both masc. or fem.)
mouse	*kermusó*	*kandói*
curse	*kušáv*	*akušáv*
flay, peel	*kušáv*	*užaráv*, *kušáv*
fat, dripping	*khaní*	*khoi*
plum	*khiljáva*	*prúna*
load	*ladáv*	*ladaváv*
word, name	*lav*	*aláv*
camp	*lodáv*	*înzaráv*
rejoice	*lošánav*	*bukurisájovav*
can	*khoró*	*akhoró*
month, moon	*másek*	*čhon*
necklace, rosary	*miṛiklí*	*kléja*
shave (transitive)	*muṛaváv*	*rangljaráv*
arm	*musí*	*vast*
name	*nav*	*anáv*
lose	*našaláv*	*χasaráv*
summer	*niláí*	*miláí*
bury	*paronáv*	*praχosaráv*
exchange, change	*paruváv*	
open, free (adj.)	*piṛó*	*phutardó*
open (verb)	*phiṛaváv*	*phuteráv*
bridge	*phurt*	*pódo*
reach	*resáv*	*aresáv*
bear	*ričhiní*, *méčka*	*méčka*
dog	*rikonó*, *džukél*	*džukél*
tree	*ruk*	*kašt*
brother-in-law	*saló*	*kumnáto*
basket	*sevlí*	*sepéto*
hammer	*sivrí*	*čokáno*
gold	*somnakáí*	*gálbeno*
wet	*susló*	*kingó*
rope	*šeló*	*šoló*
head	*šeró*	*šoró*
hear	*šunáv*	*ašunáv*
clean	*šužó*	*temízi*, *užó*
cup (of metal)	*taχtáí*	*nastrápa*
burn, shine	*thábjovav*	*phábjovav*
wait	*(u)džakeráv*	*ašukjaráv*

Meaning	Non-Vlach	Vlach
fly	*urjáv*	
speak	*vakeráv*	*orbisaráv*
forest	*veš*	*voš*
flax	*vuš*	
sword	*χaṛó*	
a little	*χaṛí*	*χantsí, tsíra*
clothes	*χurmut, dréχes*	*rúba*
mushroom	*χuχáṛ*	*čupérka*

Notes to the List

Angúšt. Even in the Sofia Sed. Moslem dialect *nai* is frequently used as a synonym for *angúšt, anguštó.* The use of *vast* for *must* reminds one of the Bulgarian *rǝ̑ká,* which means both hand and arm.

aravár is found also among the Vlach dialects, but the Vlach Romani equivalent *rumusarár* is not found among the non-Vlachs. *Arará́r* is mentioned in the vocabulary to the Bukovina fairy tales (Mik., *Mundarten,* Bk. v.).

derjáv. The equivalent word *denizi* is from the Turkish, and used by the Sieve-makers. The nomad Comb-makers use the Rumanian word *mare,* but they also have a form *dorjáv,* applied to the Danube.

džangarár. The Vlach tribes have no common word corresponding to *džangarár.* They borrow from Turkish, Bulgarian, or Rumanian.

džéba. The word is Turkish. The corresponding word *póski,* used by the Vlachs, may be akin to *potísi.*

džoró. The Comb-makers use this word also, although they are of the Vlach group.

kušár, to flay. The corresponding word *užarár* of the Vlachs is probably akin to the adjective *užó.* See under *šužó,* clean.

lošinav. The Vlach word *bukurisajorav* is only used by the Comb-makers. Otherwise tribes borrow from the Turkish.

mášek. The word *čhomút,* also known in Sofia, has not yet been recorded in North-East Bulgaria.

našalár. The word is also used by the Vlachs in the sense of to make run away, to elope with.

nav. The Vlach form *anár* is only known to the Comb-makers. Other Vlach tribes use the word *alár.*

parurár. The Vlachs use *arlía kerár.* The word *arlía* is very usual, meaning barter. For 'to change clothes' they would use a Turkish loan word.

piṛó. Phutardó is also known to the non-Vlachs, but *piṛó* is not known to the Vlachs.

resár. The Sieve-makers have also this word, without the prefix '*a.*'

rikonó. The non-Vlachs have also *džukél.*

ruk. This word is exceedingly rare, even among the non-Vlachs. I have so far recorded it only among the Gimlet-makers and the Drindáris of Žeravna. It is on a par with *rai,* so far recorded only in the dialect of the Comb-makers.

saló. All tribes in this district tell me that the feminine *salí* does not exist.

somnakái. The word is known to the Comb-makers. A form *somnál* in the expression *o somnál phuró Devél,* the old golden God, is also much used among the Sieve-makers.

šužó. The Vlach word *užó* is only used of food in the sense of unadulterated, clean, not spoilt. The verb *užarár* is probably from this adjective. (See *kušár.*)

thábjovav. The transitive *thabjaráv* is used by the Comb-makers in the sense of to shoot.

vuš. The Vlach group of dialects, which has lost *vuš*, has no common word, each dialect borrowing from Turkish, Bulgarian or Rumanian.

χaɣó. The same remark as for *vuš* holds good here.

χuχúɣ. *Čupérka* is used by the Sieve-makers and Zágundjis. The Comb-makers know it, but prefer the Rumanian *bureátsa.*

The words *dorekerár*, to tell fortunes, and *nasúl* bad, and *nais* thanks, appear to belong only to the Vlach Group. *Por*, a feather, unknown to most Vlachs, is yet well known to the Comb-makers. *Durulí* a flute, in the non-Vlach dialects, means a barrel among the Vlachs.

Besides the words contained in the above list, there are many test words in Romani, the knowledge of which enables one to locate a dialect. No single word exists, perhaps, which cannot be found in the same form in more than one dialect. Taking, for instance, the seven following dialects found within the district here examined: the dialects of the Párpulia, of the Kazanlik Iron-workers, of the Dríndaris, Kalaidjís, Kalburdjís, Zágundjis and Grebenáris, it is not possible to find a word which possesses seven variations corresponding to the seven dialects. Some, however, vary five times, such as the verb 'to extract,' which has the following forms:—*nikalára*, *ikanár*, *inkalá*, *ikalár*, *inkalár*, and *inkalarár*, the latter form being a barbarous invention of the Comb-makers. Such test words are the words for bread, water, something, a little, how much, so much, such, more, yet, the words expressing negation, prohibition, possibility and impossibility, affirmation, those translating to come and to become, the preterite first and third person singular and third person plural, the endings of abstract nouns, the form of the so-called adjectival genitive, and finally the following verbs:—to ascend, descend, arise, go out, extract, dig, scratch and comb, wrestle, sift, knead, and carry, lead. The following giving the Romani translations of the above test words and forms, and of a few others, in the above-mentioned seven dialects, plus the Sofia dialect for the sake of comparison, will show to what extent both the vocabulary and the grammar of one tribe differs from that of another.

	Non-Vlach.					Vlach.		
Word.	Sofia Erlides.	Párpulia Gimlet-makers.	Kazanlik Iron-workers.	Drindari Musicians.	Kalaidji Tinners.	Kalburdji Sieve-makers.	Zágundji Carrion-eaters.	Grebenári Comb-makers.
bread	*maró*	*maró*	*maró*	*maró*	*maró*	*marno*	*marno*	*manro*
water	*paní*	*paní*	*paní*	*pẽi*	*pai*	*pai*	*pai*	*pai*
something	*čípota*	*čípota*	*ek korá*	*ek čhipás*	*ek idás*	*váreso*	*váreso*	*váreso*
a little	*χaṛí*	*χaṛí*	*χaṛí*	*thríma*	*tsíma*	*tsíra*	*síra*	*tsíra* (*χantsí*)
how much	*kití* (*kebór*)	*kibór*	*kebór*	*kitsí*	*kibór* (*kizóm*)	*kazóm*	*kazóm*	*kazóm*
so much	*aborká*	*kibór* (*kiborká*)	*kitsí*	*keitsí* (*kikitsí*)	*kidebór*	*kadikín* (*kadikinoró*)	*kadikín*	*kadikín*
such	*edekí, asavká*	?	*kidiá*	*kikesá*	*kidiá*	*kasaró*	*kasavó*	*kasavó*
thus	*ačoká*	*kidiál*	*kidiá*	*kidé*	*kidiá*	*agadiá*	*agadiá*	*agadiá*
more (yet)	*pánda*	*pánda*	*pánda*	*pánda*	*dahá*	*dahá* (*mai*), (*adžéi*)	*dahá* (*adží*)	*mai* *adžéi*
not	*na* (*nána*)	*na* (*nána*)	*na*	*na* (*nána*)	*na*	*in* (*inči*)	*in*	*nji* (*niči*)
no, is not	*na* (*nanái*)	*na* (*nanái*)	*na* (*nanái*)	*na*(*nanči*)	*nai*	*nai*	*nai*	*nai* (*niči*)
do not	*na*	*na*	*na*	*na*	*na*	*na*	*na*	*na*
can	*aští*	?	?	*ši*	?	*daští*	*daští*	*daštiv, šai*
can not	*naští*	*naští*	*naští*	*nāši*	*nai* (*naši*)	*naští*	*naští*	*naštiv*
yes	*va*	*eiva*	*va*	*hã*	*va*	*va*	*va*	*jei*
he came	*aló*	*aló*	*aviló*	*alú*	*ajás*	*aviló* (*avilás*)	*aviló*	*aviló*
he became	*uló*	*uló*	*oviló*	*ulú*	*ojás*	*avilás*	*aviló*	*aviló*
I went	*geljóm*	*gelóm*	*gelóm*	*genkím*	*gijóm*	*gelém*	*dželém*	*gzlém*
I took out	*ikalghjóm*	*nikaldóm*	*ikandóm*	*inkím*	*inkaldóm*	*inkaldém*	*inkaldém*	*inkaladém*
gave	*dinjóm*	*dióm*	*dinóm*	*dim*	*dióm*	*dem*	*dilém*	*dem*

	Non-Vlach.			Vlach.				
Word.	Sofia Erlides.	Pârpulia Gimlet-makers.	Kazanlik Iron-workers.	Drindari Musicians.	Kalaidji Tinners.	Kalburdji Sieve-makers.	Zâgundji Carrion-eaters.	Grebenâri Comb-makers.
heat	*tatipé*	*tatipé*	*tatipén*	*tatsipí*	*tačipó*	*tatipé*	*tatipé*	*tatimós*
I ascend	*ukljáv*	*ukljáva*	*ukláv*	*inkə̂a*	*ikisáva*	*inkljáv*	*inkljáv*	*inkljáv*
he ascended	*uklístilo*	*úklilo*	*úklilo*	*inkistú*	*ikistás*	*inklistó*	*inklistó*	*inklistó*
I descend	*uχljáv*	*uχljáva*	*uχláv*	*uχáa*	*uχusáva*	*fuláv*	*χuláv*	*χuláv*
he descended	*uχístilo*	*úχlilo*	*úχlilo*	*uχistú*	*uχustás*	*fulistó*	*hulistó*	*hulistó*
I arise	*uštjáv*	*uštjáv*	*uštjáv*	*ušáa*	*učáv*	*uštjáv*	*uštjáv*	*uštjáv*
he arose	*uštinó*	*uštinó*	*uštinó*	*ušinú*	*učiás*	*uštiló*	*uštiló*	*uštiló*
I go out	*íkljovav*	*ukljáv* (*niklják*)	*ukljáv*	*inkə̂a*	*ikisáca*	*inkljáv*	*inkljáv*	*inkljáv*
he went out	*ikístilo*	*úklilo* (*niklistó*)	*úklilo*	*inkistú*	*ikistás*	*inklistó*	*inklistó*	*inklistó*
I pluck flowers	*uχtjaváv*	?	?	*uχtaá*	*uχtaváva*	*futaváv*	?	?
I trample on	*uštjaváv*	*uštjaváva*	?	*uχčaá*	?	*uštaváv*	?	?
I jump	*uχtjáv*	?	?	*oχtsə̂a*	?	*χutjáv*	*χutjáv*	*χutjáv*
I dig	*χrándav*	*χrándav*	*χramisaráv*	*χaná*	*rándav*	*hanaváv*	*hanaváv*	*hanaváv*
I scratch	*χrándav* (*χaraváv*)	*χaráva*	?	*χránda* *χará* *χaravá*	?	*χarnódav*	?	?
I comb	*χrándav* (*uχljaváv*)	*χrándava*	*χaraváv*	*χránda*	?	*fulaváv*	*fulaváv*	*fulaváv*
I praise	*ašaráv*	*ušaráva*	?	?	?	*ašaráv*	?	?
I wrestle	*ašaráv*	*ušaráva*	?	?	*ašaráv*	*ašáridav*	*ašaráv*	*ašaráv*
I sift	*učhanáv*	*ušanáv*	*učhanáv*	*čhaná*	*učhanáv*	*učhanáv*	?	?
I knead	*ušljeráv*	*ušljeráv*	?	?	?	*ušanáv*	?	?

Appendix to List II

To fly: *Urjáv* is one of the rare words in Balkan Gypsy dialects. It is found only in the dialect of the Sofia Erlídes and in that of the Párpulia. Other dialects have a loan verb, as Dríndari: *frknízaa*, or express the idea by means of such verbs as *vázdel-pes* (Kazanlîk), or *učiéla* (Kalaidji), from *uštiéla*.

Rai, a lord, gentleman, is still rarer. It is only found in the Comb-makers' dialect.

Ruk, Rukh, a tree, is found only in the dialect of the Párpulia and of the Dríndaris.

To-morrow, in Sofia (Erlídes dialect) *tasiá*, is usually expressed by *javiné* (Párpulia, Kazanlîk); *avînlará* (Dríndari); *amilára*, or *aminára* (Kalaidji); *tehára, thedehára* (Kalburdji, Zágundji, and Comb-maker); also *teiskáke* (Kalburdji).

To camp, *lódav*, has only been recorded with any certainty in the dialect of the Párpulia, though it is probably known to the Aidía also. I have not recorded Paspati's *radáv* anywhere.

The Dríndari feminine of the adjective *gudló*, sweet, is *gudí*, according to Dríndari phonetics. The Kalaidjís also say *gudí*, but they have taken this to be a regular feminine from an adjective *gudó*, which form they actually use for the masculine. In the Vlach dialects the word is *gugló, gugí*, and the Comb-makers generally pronounce the words without the *g*: *guló, gulí*.

ingjeráv forms *ga* in the Dríndari dialect and *ingeláv* is an alternative form in Sofia, and the only one used by the Párpulia, whilst the Sieve-makers have *inganáv*.

Notes to List II

Bread. Wherever variations of the word *čam*, bread, exist, they are considered to be '*garadí čhib*.'

In the same way as *manró* the Comb-makers form *munró, munrí*; *kanró*, a thorn, *punró*, a foot; *anró*, an egg. *χanró*, a sword, is not recorded in their dialect. In the same way as *marnó* the Sieve-makers form *karnó, pirnó, arnó*.

something. Ek čhipís is quite peculiar to Drindari. I cannot suggest a satisfactory etymology. *Ek idós* may be Greek, εἶδος, a little. *thríma* and *tsíma* are the Greek *thryma*. *χantsí* may be a variation of the word *χaχí* formed when it was still *χandí*.

so much. Note that the word *kitsí* means, in Kazanlîk, so much. Elsewhere it means, how much.

such. With the form *kikitsí* and *kikesõú* (from a *kikesavó*), compare the other Dríndari word *kíkida*, I collect, elsewhere *kidav*.

can and cannot. Dríndari *ši* is probably *nāší* minus the *na*, and has nothing to do with *šai, šei*, found in the Comb-makers' dialect. The Comb-makers always conjugate the words *daští* and *naští* thus: *daštív* or *daštisarív*.

gave. The Zágundji form, *dilá*, he gave (*dilém*, *dilán*, etc.), is peculiar to their dialect.

heat. The form of the abstract noun in *-pen* has, so far, not been recorded in the Balkan Peninsula elsewhere than in the dialect of the Kazanlik Iron-workers. This, too, applies to the participles in Greek *-menos*, e.g. *χoliamén*, angry.

Abstract nouns in *-po*, the characteristic of our Tinners, are also found in Siebenburgen, according to Miklosich's collections (v. Book xi., Cardinal Mezzofanti's collection). The Comb-makers use also *-pe*, but prefer *-mos*.

ascend, and go out. These two verbs have been confused by most Gypsies. Only the Sofia Erlides dialect distinguishes regularly between 'to ascend' and 'to go, or come out.' The highly irregular Tinner form for the present tense, *ikiáva*, is worth noting. Like its fellow, *uχusáva*, to descend, it is probably formed from the participle, dropping, however, the *t*, *uχus(t)áva*.

to comb. The Sofia form, *uχljavár*, literally, to loosen, to comb out, has its counterpart in the Sieve-makers' *fulavár*, used like *uχljavár*, as meaning to comb, but also to take anything down, e.g. from a cupboard. See Miklosich, Book vii., *chulár*. The verb is also found in Welsh Romani.

to sift and knead. The two words have got confused by the Gypsies. The Gimlet-makers alone have Paspati's form, *ušanár*, I sift. Elsewhere we find *uchanár*. *Užanár*, meaning to knead, is used by the Sieve-makers. Elsewhere, *ušljerár*, *ušljarár*.

carry. I once thought and wrote (v. *J. G. L. S.*, v. 288) that *iygjarár* came from *andjarár*. However, I find *andjarár* used by the Sieve-makers, and meaning to have brought, to cause to be brought, and it is not confused with *iygjarár*.

List III

Sentences Compared

Kl. = Kalaidji. Dr. = Dríndari. Kz. = Kazanlik Iron-workers.

1. Kl. *Kánna abrón ané ziz na alápčon.*
   Dr. *Kžkalá ambról u zizáte na alápina.*
   Kz. *Kadalá ambról ándo fóro na aráklon.*
   These pears are not found in the town.
2. Kl. *Liné o čhejá, nasiardé o dadéske kherástar.*
   Dr. *Liní u čha, našikerdí u dzíska khərístar.*
   Kz. *Liné e čhijá, našaldé e dadéskere kherástar.*
   They took the girl, made her run away from her father's house.
3. Kl. *O čikonó čirikló učiéla.*
   Dr. *U tsikoró čiriklú frkízela.*
   Kz. *O tsiknó čirikló upré vádel-pes.*
   The little bird is flying.
4. Kl. *Kavá mas na keriás, dáha čima mo-ačhél opré, kaoél.*
   Dr. *Kžká mas na kerzilú, panda thríma ko-mu-kerél, mo-oí(l).*
   Kz. *Kadavá mas na kérdilo, dáha χarí me-kiról, kaovél.*
   This meat is not cooked, let it cook a little more and it will be done.

5. Kl. *Kidiá idós hič na dikizias kallé brešénde.*
Dr. *Kikesəí butsí hič na dišii-tar e svetóste.*
Kz. *Kidiá ek ková hič dikisáilo ándo them.*
Such a thing was never seen in the world.

6. Kl. *Yetér kidebór.*
Dr. *Resíla keitsí.*
Kz. *Kitsí reséla.*
It is sufficient. Turkish *yeter okader.* Bulgarian *stiga tolkos.*

7. Kl. *Aŋgál o jagáte beštás.*
Dr. *Turjé e jagáti beštá.*
Kz. *Aŋglál e jagáte bešló.*
He was seated before the fire.

8. Kl. *Me phaléste mo manzín dušadóm.*
Dr. *Mu phralísta mo manzín dišəím, diším, dišarím.*
Kz. *Me baiéste mo maŋgín sikadóm.*
I showed my wealth to my brother.

9. Kl. *Rodióm, nai alakhóm, taršáziom.*
Dr. *Rozím, nāší alakhím, trašáziim.*
Kz. *Rodinóm, našti arakhlóm, trašáinilom.*
I searched, but could not find and got frightened.

10. Kl. *Tasára* (or *amináru*) *kokhá kamalápčos.*
Dr. *Avînlará kotká mo-alápisa.*
Kz. *Javiné othé ka-aráklos.*
To-morrow you will be there, lit. will be found there.

11. Kl. *Učióm katár, naštóm.*
Dr. *Uším koitár, nahčím.*
Kz. *Uštisáilom okotár, našlóm.*
I arose from there and fled.

12. Kl. *O pai pénziol. Kavá mas na χánziol, khainó.*
Dr. *O pəi piízila. Kəká mas na χəízila, khəinú.*
Kz. *O paní píndol. Kadavá mas na χándol, sugutnó nanái.*
The water is drinkable. This meat cannot be eaten, it stinks, is not fresh.

13. Kl. *Avréste te rodizarél les.*
Dr. *Avrísta te rozikerél les.*
Kz. *Avréste te rodindarél les.*
Let him make some one else look for it.

14. Kl. *Ek kujés rándav me loví andé thojáva, garajáva, učharáva.*
Dr. *Ek trápus χaná, endrí thoá mə parés, garaá, učhará.*

Kz. *Ek χev χanaváva, andré me lové thoáva, garaváva, učharáva.*
I dig a hole and put my money into it, hide, cover it up.

15. Kl. *Kolé kašténdar o patrjá piiné.*
Dr. *Kəzkəlé kaštíndar o patrá pelí.*
Kz. *Kadalé kašténdar o patrjá pelé.*
The leaves have fallen from those trees.

16. Kl. *Kavá basmás pajáas (pajáajas), piršindéste.*
Dr. *Kidé čérya pəjéii*[1] *brišindísta.*
Kz. *Kadavá basmás e brišiméste sáslilo.*
This cloth got wet in the rain.
(*cf.* Sieve-makers:—*Kadajá basmáva* (fem.) *e brišindéste khingili.*)

17. Kl. *Dúi saχáči ičindé* (Turk.) *kai mo kher nai ajáva.*
Dr. *Doné saχatsínda náma mo-resá ko khər.*
Kz. *Ané do saχaténde naští resáva me thanéste.*
In two hours I shall not (be able to) reach my home.

18. Kl. *Pheriás o mui pai.*
Dr. *Pherilú* (*pherzilú*) *o mui lésku pəi.*
Kz. *Léskoro mui phérdilo paniésa.*
His mouth became filled with water.

19. Kl. *Akaná kapiičájola.*
Dr. *Akaná-to mo piltséila.*
Kz. *Akaná kaprandízela.*
Now he will marry.

Having given the reader some idea of the broad lines along which the two chief groups of dialects have developed, and further illustrated by means of a comparative list of test words (List II.), and of sentences (List III.), the differences existing between individual dialects of either group, I now propose to give texts in some of these dialects, preceded by remarks concerning the peculiarities of each, in so far as they have not yet been mentioned.

The Dialect of the Kalburdjis or Sieve-makers

Embracing that of the Moslem and Christian Sedentaries, and Moslem Nomads (*v.* A. 1 (*a*) and 2 (*a*) and B. 1 (*a*), and in general all Christian Sedentaries in North-East Bulgaria, such as A. 2 (*b*), and perhaps (*d*), other than those specified in A. 2 (*c*)).

The language spoken by these Gypsies may perhaps be regarded as the purest of the great family of Vlach dialects. As spoken in

[1] From **panínilo* (**panínjovava*).

this district, whether by Moslems or Christians, its phonetics are deeply influenced by the local Turkish language. The influence, however, is naturally most apparent among the Moslem branch of the tribe, both Sedentary and Nomad. It is from an old Moslem Sedentary Gypsy, mentioned on page 8, that I have obtained the sentences printed below, which are excellent samples of the dialect. The pronunciation is slow and very distinct, as in local Turkish. The *r* has disappeared entirely and is replaced by a simple trilled *r*. The *ĕh* is everywhere preserved. The other aspirated consonants are likewise very pronounced—*kh*, *ph*, *th*, giving the well-known Romani *cachet* to the language. There is no *Mouillirung* in the past tense: they say *phendás*, never *phendjás*, *phenghjás*. The vocabulary betrays the Rumanian origin of the tribe, but Turkish loan words often exist alongside of the Rumanian loan word, and they have a tendency even to oust the latter. For 'spider,' it is, for instance, more usual to hear the word *örümdžáva*, from the Turkish *örümdžé*, than the word *pižiáno* from the Rumanian *paienjan*. So, too, *saléggo* is often used for a snail, from the Greek, through the Turkish, *saljankos*, instead of the word *iskóiče* from the Rumanian *scoicea*. *Kîvîrmáva* (from the Turkish *kîvîrmá*), a species of rolled cake, called also at times by the Romani word *boldiná*, has almost ousted the Rumanian word *plačénta*, still occasionally used.

It will be noticed from the above examples that this dialect uses the ending *-va*, tacked on to loan words ending in a vowel *e* or *a*. This is done to a certain extent by all Vlach tribes, and is not unknown among the Sofia Erlídes. Examples: *kînáva*, henna (Turk. *kînâ*): *dünïáva*, the world (Turk. *dünjâ*); *anteráva*, a shirt, in other dialects, *anteŕia* (from the Turkish *anterí*); *luljáva*, a pipe (Turk. *lulé*); *džezáva*, punishment (Turk. *džezâ*); *bajčáva*, a garden (Turk. *bajčé*); *basmáva*, cloth (Turk. *basmâ*); *kasáva*, a safe, a case; *Pembâva*, *Hanifjáva* (Turk. *Pembé* and *Hanifé*), both girls' names.

The ending is not altogether unknown in European dialects. It is not mentioned, however, by Miklosich in Book x. of his *Mundarten*. Its origin is as follows.

Rumanian fem. nouns ending in accented *a*, *ea*, and *i*, add an *a* to express the definite article, inserting a *u* or *o* between the termination and the said *a*, in order to avoid the hiatus. E.g., *basmá*, cloth, from the Turkish *basma*, *basmáua*, THE cloth. This ending has been adopted by the Gypsies of the Vlach group, or of Vlach influence, and tacked on as above described, having lost its meaning as definite article. Hence Romani: *basmáva*.

The grammar offers few peculiarities not already mentioned as belonging to the whole group. The future is formed by prefixing the syllable *kan-*, not *ka-* or *kam-*, to the present. Prefixed to the imperfect, it produces a conditional present, and also a present over which some doubt hangs. The future is negatived by prefixing *nai* to the future. Otherwise, in the present and past tenses, this is expressed by *in* or *inči*. (See note to sentence 44 below.)

In the past tense, first person plural, an unaccented foreign syllable, presumably Turkish, namely '*îz*,' is tacked on to the usual ending: *kerdámîz*, we did. 'He or she said' is translated by the enclitic *iće*, placed immediately after the quotation, and much used in narration. Is this related in any way to the Welsh Romani *hóči*?

The syntax is the result of years of Turkish influence. The speaker seems to think in Turkish, while speaking in Romani. The following sentences are very different from those given elsewhere in this report in order to illustrate different dialects. All the others were asked either in Turkish or in Bulgarian, according to the dialect in question, in order to entrap the Gypsy into betraying certain peculiarities of speech, and with a view to comparison with other dialects. They are, therefore, at the best, grammatical examples, although, of course, not invented, in Romani, by myself. Those published below are not translations, but spontaneous utterances heard and taken down by me during a space of two years from an old woman who worked in my house and gossiped between her work. They are, therefore, in their way, as valuable, from a linguistic and literary point of view, as the fairy tales which I collected at Sofia. The Turkish influence is so pronounced, and the way the Turk expresses his thoughts is often so different from that familiar to European languages, that I have thought it necessary in some cases to give the literal translation into English coupled with a freer translation illustrative of the meaning. Occasionally I have given the Turkish equivalent and a reference to the context which gave rise to the sentence.

1. *Śukár dikhádjol, šukár dikhaibé.*
   There is a beautiful view (*i.e.* from the terrace on the top of my house at Varna).
2. *Ínči piáv i luljáva ko dromá te na phenén ol Dasá kai astaráv man barikaní.*
   I do not smoke my pipe in the streets, that the Bulgars may not say that I give myself airs (lit. seize myself biggish).

3. *Χοχαimnáste ínči ínklistém mor Efendíske.*
   My master has not caught me telling a lie (lit. to a lie, I have not come out to my master.)
4. *Čhindárdjovas bokhátar.*
   We are dying of hunger (lit. are being caused to be cut up from hunger).
5. *Sígo phurjarél péski rúba.*
   He wears out his clothes quickly.
6. *Lopaténsa kíden i čik ándo fóro.*
   With spades they collect the mud in the town.
7. *Χadjaráv-leske mor borjáko rat, te n'avél mánde, or lubnó si.*
   May I cause him to eat my daughter-in-law's blood, let him not come to me, he is a whoremonger.
8. *Kána fulél o pižúno telé, kanavél músafiri.*
   When the spider comes down (from the ceiling on its thread it is a sign that) a guest will come.
9. *Kandžáv, kanpharadjaráv zl lové.*
   I will go and change some money.
   Pharadjaráv, to cause a thing to be made to burst, is the Sieve-makers' translation of the Turkish *bozdurmak*, to spoil (transitive), to change.
10. *Buruvén, janí daračísarén i pošám.*
    They comb the wool. (Vide Paspati *brivára*, and Rumanian *daraci* to comb, from the Turkish *darák*, a comb. *Janí*, 'videlicet,' Turk. from Arabic.)
11. *Kanpháhjon te píres.'*
    Your money will be squandered (lit. burnt.)
12. *Kanhanadjaráv i rez.*
    I am going to dig in the vineyard (lit. cause the vine to be dug, from *hanaváv*, I dig).
13. *Moró baró o Kóntolosi kanorbisarél man e theméste, 'činn' kankerél mo kan. Kanlipearél man.*
    My master the Consul will talk of me in his country, my ear will tingle (lit. will do *chinn*, imitation of sound). He will miss me.
14. *Te džav kheré, te kiraváv me gadá.*
    I will go home and do my washing (cause my shirts to cook).
15. *E učhaláte beš, ná-beš e khaméste, kannafsáilos.*
    Sit in the shade, not in the sun, you will fall ill.
16. *Bangés pášlilem, dukhál-man mor kor.*
    I slept crooked, my neck aches.

17. *Láko rat kirjól, in džanél, so kankerél.*
Her blood is boiling (said of a person with an abundance of animal spirits), she does not know what she will do next.

18. *Nevó kankérdjol o kilími, te thav ándo denízi, londó kai si.*
The carpet will be made as though it were new if I wash it in the sea, as it is salt.

19. *Akaná à la Fránga kérdilas: o baró savi rúba urjavél, o čoró-da urjavél, amá nái-léske marnó te χal. Per péste but rúba, te na ačhél e barvaléstar telé. Ando sokáko phukjarél-pes.*
Now (everything) has become in the Frenchy way: the great dress as the poor (lit. the great what clothes he wears the poor too wears), but he has not got bread to eat. On him (are) much clothes, that he may not remain beneath (*i.e.* appear inferior to) the rich man. He causes himself to swell (with pride and ostentation) in the street.

20. *Xevjárdili i síta.*
The sieve has become torn.

21. *Nakhél tut o kham, kham lián.*
You have got a sunstroke. (The sun passes you, you have taken the sun.)

22. *Pherdí lové i sasúi. Baré* (Turk.) *e χurdéyge faidáva* (Turk. *faidá*) *te kerél, amá ínči kerél, ínči urjavél e χurdén, ó-zaman síra jardímí* (Turk.) *avél.*
The mother-in-law is full of money. At least let her do something for the children, but she doesn't do, she doesn't clothe the little ones, and thus little help is forthcoming.

23. *Te na χurdisájol o tütűno.*
Let not the tobacco be chopped fine.

24. *E Stambolóske rigátar kanakél dži Varnáte.*
He will pass by way of Constantinople to Varna.

25. *Sar kaljardí gugló te kérdjos!*
May you become sweet as coffee. (Said out of politeness while sipping coffee. The passive of *keráv* is often used to replace *ováva*, which is lost to this dialect.)

26. *O pódo ínči nakhén gemásа, ínči den e romnjá buljása.*
They don't pass across a bridge in a ship, nor give a girl in marriage for nothing. (Lit. with her podex. This is a Turkish rhymed proverb: *Köprüyü gečmezlér potlán, karîyí vermezlér götlán.* It is as impossible to get a wife for nothing as it is to pass over a bridge in a boat.)

27. *De siknára si gadjá.*

She has been like that since her babyhood.

Instead of '*de*' they often use the Turkish particle *-berí*, placed after the word, thus: *siknára-berí.* The Turkish ablative particle is even added to the word, as *siknara-dán-beri*, on the analogy of the Turkish *Küčük-dán-beri* (NOT *küčük-dén-beri* in the local dialect). The particle *de* is Rumanian. It is sometimes prefixed when the Turkish particle is used: *de idžára-berí*, since yesterday, from *ič, idžé*, yesterday. Thus, too, in the dialect of the Tinners, who have no Rumanian influence, *račjardán-beri*, since the night began. What is the origin of the element *-ára* in these words? Compare *amilára* (Tinners) to-morrow, (also *tasára*), Dríndari *avíulará*, and the well-known Romani word *tasárla*, and *tehára, de-thehára.* The form with the *l* is also found in the Kazanlik dialect (Iron-workers): *edžárla-berí* since yesterday. Miklosich, Book x., Suffix *-ra* (adverbs), has little to say about it.

28. *Risardé lésko aláv.*

They have changed his name, its name, *i.e.* the town of Dobritch.

29. *Čhórdile ol balá, kai but phábilem mor čháke.*

My hair fell out (was poured out) as I was in great grief over the death of my daughter (lit. as I was burnt for my girl).

30. *Thoimása suvimása χaljarél pe čhavén.*

With washing and sewing she feeds (procures food for) her sons.

31. *E-páš kérljol.*

It is broken in two (lit. has been made half).

32. *Ič nai, avgutnó givés. Tehára nai, ovér tehára. Ižitnó, avgiesitnó.*

Not yesterday, the day before yesterday. Not to-morrow, the day after to-morrow. Yesterday's, to-day's.

33. *Sániol i dünjára akaná, sánile savoró.*

The world is thinning out (becoming less populous owing to the war), all have thinned out. Note that *savoró* not only has no feminine in this dialect (*v.* p. 72), but also no plural form.

34. *Savé mósa kandžás ándi kalí phuv!*

With what a face (*i.e.* in what state of mind), shall we go

down into the black earth! (Kara Hati was always talking of death and fearing it very much.)

35. *O Somnál Phuró Devél das e vošóske o kahíri* (Turk.), *phágilo. E baréske das, pharádilo. 'Ač te dikhár'-iče, 'te dav les e manuséyge.' Kímisi* (Turk.), *asálas, kímisi rovélas. 'E, odolá dajániorlar'-iče, 'lénde te ačhel o kahíri'-iče.*

The Old Golden God (the Divinity is nearly always thus referred to by this tribe, not by others) gave to the forest sorrow, it broke. He gave it to the stone and the stone burst. 'Wait,' He said, 'that I may see, let Me give it to men.' Some laughed, others cried. 'Ha!' said He, 'they will stand it, let them have sorrow,' He said.

36. *Láki godí láke čaŋgénde. Oi džaŋglí mánde.*

Her brain is in her knees (*i.e.* she has no sense in her). She is known to me.

37. *Sóde bukró sas i páika! Kheré χadjarén la ándo tsíkno čhon. Nai páres, dav buljé o baripé!*

The turkey was as big as a sheep! They fed it at home in the little month (the month of February). We have no money, what matters! (lit. *futuo majestatem*).

38. *Ič makljardém o kher e čhejende.*

Yesterday I got the girls to whitewash my house (lit. caused it to be smeared by the girls, expressed by dat.).

39. *Učhárdjol o mastráfi.*

The expenses have been met (lit. are being covered).

40. *El romniéygo givés si akaná. E purané zamaniénde anénas el čeribašídurja e čhején. Akaná ínči kerén agadjá. Odolá breš mulé, thai odolá manúš. E purané brešénde ačhénas el čhejá, pašá pe dadés bešénas dži bišebrešénde; kai dénas len, othé džánas.*

Now the day of women has come. In the olden times the gypsy chiefs brought the girls (*i.e.* so to speak, to the marriage market). Now they don't do so. Those years are dead, and those folk. In the olden years the girls remained, sat by their father until they were twenty years old; whither they gave them (*i.e.* in marriage) thither they went.

41. *Kasavé manušénde but páres kanavél, zaér!*

To suchlike people there will be plenty of money, forsooth!

42. *Te si bukí kanačháv, te nanái kandžáv.*

If there is work I 'll stay, if there is not I 'll go.

We have seen that the usual negative, in the present and past tenses, is *in, inči*, and in the future *nai. Nai* is also used to translate the negative in conjunction with the verb 'to be,' e.g. *nai bukí*, there is no work; *nai sem barvalí*, I am not rich. *Nanái* is *only* used, in Vlach dialects, in dependent clauses, as in the above sentence 42, or in the following: *te nanái čhavó, pále kankerés mange šalvári*, if it is not a boy, you will nevertheless make me a pair of bloomers.[1] In non-Vlach dialects *nanái* can stand in a principal clause. Finally *na*, as meaning *not*, is only used in dependent clauses, where it is the *only* form admissible, in Vlach dialects, e.g. *te na désas kadará so kankerávas?* If you did not give it, what should I do? In non-Vlach dialects *na* can stand in a principal clause.

43. *Savoró adathé sámîz.*

We are all here. Note the plur. *Savoró* and the ending *îz*.

44. *Pe pe giresá si. Áke láko luχusósko than kai kankérdjol luχúsa, othé kanpášljol pe χurdésa.*

She is upon her days (*i.e.* about to give birth to a child). Behold her lying-in place, where she will become a mother, there she will lie with her child.

45. *Čheimáste gelí léste.*

In her maidenhood she went to him. (He was her first husband).

46. *Kasavé vudaréste manúš naští piél pai, kai si nekéska. Kathár sîkajór, kathár-da jallajór te χal. Muló láko rom. Phirlí ačhilí. Lah-la mor čhavó, o Sáli. Akaná ov da muló. O Kalíri-da phenél: 'Astardém me phralés čangátar, amá nai man kon t'astarél man me čangátar, t'iŋgjarél man ándo limóri.' Oi, i nekéska, pe dadéske vudaréste čoró sas, varená, pe reméske vudaréste dikhlás. Görmemiše vudaréstar evladí avúdž ačhén. Pe phejása bešélas, e rahmetlikása.*

Literal translation: At such a door a man cannot drink water, for she is a miser. From here she squeezes, and from here she licks, in order to eat. Her husband died,

[1] I had promised Kara Hati a new pair of bloomers if my second child proved to be a boy.

and she remained a widow. My son Sali married her. Now he too is dead. And Kadir says: 'I seized my brother by the leg, but there is no one to seize me by the leg, to carry me to the grave.' She, the miser, was poor at her father's door, don't you see, at her husband's door she saw. The children of a door which has not seen remain hungry. She sat with her sister, the deceased.

Free translation of the difficult portions: 'In such a house a man cannot even get a glass of water, for she is a miser. From this side (pointing to her closed fist, which she supposes is holding a piece of bread dipped in broth) she squeezes, and from this side she licks (*i.e.* the broth which would ooze out, by a figure of speech much used to describe miserliness) when she wishes to eat.' The other passages, not immediately obvious to a stranger, are the expression to see, meaning to see wealth, to experience well-being. To see at one's father's door is therefore to have a comfortable home, while the children of the poor go hungry, a platitude, this, which is quite *de rigueur* in chatting Turkish. The reference to seizing the man's leg refers to the fact that the poorer Moslems carry their dead to the cemetery without a coffin. Altogether the sentence, which was taken down from Kara Hati in exactly the form given, may be considered typical of the dialect in every way. The order of the words, the way of expressing herself, the Turkish verbs conjugated in Turkish fashion in the middle of an otherwise irreproachable Romani sentence, the interspersion of loan words, all go to make this a very good example of the way in which the Moslem Sieve-maker uses his language in everyday conversation.

47. *Ándo muró čačipé χav sovél.*
I swear upon my honour.

48. *Phutrés jek vudár, kerés jek sebápi.*
You feed and clothe the inmates of a poor house, and thereby win grace (lit. you open a door and do a *sebápi*). (Turkish-Arabic *thevab*, divine grace, also the act whereby you gain it.)

49. *Pai-anipé, poš-anipé, opré-vazdipé mayyél mo kher.*
My house requires the carrying of water, of earth (*i.e.*

mortar), and the lifting of it (her house required rebuilding, and she wanted me to hire men to do this for her as she was too feeble to carry water and mortar herself).

50. *Ínči dikhés les baŋgé jakhása, ama sar phraloró.*
You don't look at him askance (lit. with a crooked eye), but as a brother.

51. *But Mehtérja gelé Varnátar Stambolóste kána o Dasipé kérdilo. Bikinalé po than, gelé-tar.*
Many of the Drum and Fife Tribe of Gypsies went from Varna to Constantinople when Bulgaria was created independent (lit. when Bulgardom was made). They sold their ground and departed.

52. *El Ŭstadurjéŋge romnjá ínči sikájon, našén.*
The wives of the Tribe of Craftsmen do not unveil before men, but they conceal themselves (lit. do not show themselves, but run. The stricter Moslem women run when they see a man coming).

53. *Biruvésko gav ínči avél.*
There is no village without its wolf. (*Avél* is here used, not in the sense of to come, but to replace the *orél* which is lost to this tribe. *Ínči avél* translates the Turkish *olmaz*. The sentence is the translation of the Turkish proverb *Kurtsúz kiöi olmáz.*) The meaning here was that even in a small village one finds at least one woman of evil repute.

54. *Lel po trušúl.*
He crosses himself, makes the sign of the cross (lit. takes his cross). Although herself a Moslem, Kara Hati knew a good deal of the ways of Christians. *Kirró* she only used in the sense of a Christian godfather.

55. *Rakjása, nai girésé risarél i bukí.*
He does (lit. turns) the work by night, not by day.

56. *Ná-hadjáv amaré mahalaváte.*
Do not come to our mahala. (The verb *hadjaráv*, to come, is of unknown origin and unrecorded elsewhere, to my knowledge. It cannot be the interjection *háide* coupled with *aváv*, or it would scarcely be used with the negative, as above.)

57. *Čumidén-pes, kernarén-pes.*
They kiss and fondle each other (lit. to make rotten, *kernó*. The expression is Turkish).

58. *Káske avél dušljarél-pes i Níška. Thudalí but. 'Mánde ná-dikhén,' phenél, 'panšé grosonéyge kána kandáv, kon avél kanavél.' Marél la ol limórja ko šoró, kai si Níška, gurumní! Te na sikjól mánde t'avél. Sa kídel-pes pe amalinéntsa. Láke órba láte, džanén jek avréske el doš'á. Lubimáske órba kerén. Améyge jarîlmáz. Kovlí si láki órba. Kovljarél manušén. Deš manúš te orbisarén, mruš, odól manúš ínči ašunén: jek romní te orbisarél, kóvljol o manúš.*

(This virtuous tirade against her neighbours is another splendid example of Sieve-maker Romani.)

By whomsoever comes Niška causes herself to be milked. She is full of milk. 'Do not look at me,' she says, 'if I will give myself for five groats, he who will come will come.' May the gravestones strike her on the head, for she is Niška, the cow! (Niška was a Tinner woman, and in the Tinners' Dialect *niška* means cow. I cannot trace the origin of the word.) Let it not be seen (lit. shown) that she should come to me. She continually assembles with her companions. Her word is to her (her speech is fit for her, not for others), they know each other's sins. Their speech savours of harlotry. It is not fit for us. Her words are soft. She softens men. If ten men talk, and they be males, men hear them not: but if one woman speaks, man softens.

For *Káske* one would expect the usual dative in *-te, káste*, after the causative verb. *Amalín* is a female companion, fem. of *amál*.

59. *E toveréyge móste thon o aspín, ó-zaman* (Turk.) *čhinél. E čhurjéyge-da thovén, keskíni kerdjól kána astarén ki jasán.*

On the edge of the axe they put steel, then it cuts. They put it (use it) also for knives, it (the knife) becomes sharp when they whet it at the whetstone (*astaráv* is to sharpen, as in Paspati).

60. *Akhár les te dikháv saví doš si léste, te phirél thanéste.*

Call him that I may see what is his guilt, that he may go about his business (lit. to his place). If one wanted a typical sentence to illustrate the sound of Romani, one could not do better than pronounce this one, with its

aspirated consonants. It was given me without any other context, by Kara Hati when I first arrived at Varna and asked her if she knew the word *akharáv*.

61. *Bolén les e zumjáte.*
They dip it into the broth or stew.

62. *Bólden len, tu sóru léygo aláv thovén, el kivré, ja!*
They baptize them, and then they give them their names (lit. place the names), the godparents, to be sure!

63. *Íněi džanáv so χalém ič. Bulandí mor ogí, čhaglém. Kérmayge jek kerkí kajáva te piáv, ná-čuv šekéri andré.*
I don't know what I ate yesterday. My inside (stomach, heart, etc., they are very vague about what is inside them) is upset, I was sick. Make me a bitter cup of coffee to drink, don't put sugar into it.

64. *Íněi avilém tumaré marnéske, avilém tumaré guglé čhibáke.*
I did not come for your bread, I came for your sweet conversation. (This was the usual preamble to begging.)

65. *Te dav χîns mor bárkéste.*
Let me give a thrust into my bosom.
Χîns is the *khendj* of Paspati (*v.* Paspati, p. 312). See also Sofia dialect (*Čordilendžis, J. G. L. S.*, New Series, iii. 182).

66. *Χumuréstar kerén i boldiní, i kîrmáva* (Turk.), *makén i sinjá khojásu, te na phábol i boldiní.*
Out of dough they make the cake, they smear the tray with dripping that the cake may not burn.

67. *Ikhilí, phirdás but, rakjáke kunχás.*
She is tired, she has walked much, at nightfall we shall eat. This is the *khinili* of other dialects. The Sieve-makers appear to have entirely lost the adjective *khinó*, having preserved only the verb.

68. *Arakhádjovavas láke bukjáke.*
I was busy looking after her affairs. (A literal translation of the local Turkish, *išiné bulunúrdum*, I was found at her business. But note that the Romani translation has, *I was caused to be found*, also that the Turkish dative is translated in Romani by the dative in *-ke*, in this case.)

69. *Kanarakhádjovas.*
We shall get on well together, shall meet and converse.

70. *Arakhádilo láke χurdó.*
A child was born to her.

71. *Averčándes kankinés do-grosonéyge jek okáva thud.*
Otherwise you will buy one oka of milk for two groats (piastres).

72. *Jek brȧš avgós muló lésko dad.*
His father died a year ago.

73. *Mándar baredér phen si oi.*
She is my elder sister. The comparative in *-der* is only used in comparing age.

74. *Drabaikjarél o rašái.*
The priest reads, *i.e.* prays. The Turks use *okumák*, 'to read,' also in the sense of 'to pray,' hence the double meaning in many Romani dialects, and also the meaning 'to exorcise' and 'to tell fortunes.'

75. *E barvalésko kéifi dži kai avél e čorósko ogi ínklél.*
A literal translation of the Turkish: *zenginin keifi gelindže, fukaranin džaníčikár.* Literally: Until the wellbeing of the rich man comes (is reached), the poor man's heart is eaten out. That is: The rich man's comfort is only possible at the expense of the poor man's suffering.

76. *Xurdimáta murdimáta.*
Odds and ends, all sorts of small rubbish.
All through the Near East in all languages words may be thus reduplicated, changing the first letter into *m*. E.g. in Turkish *čoráb moráb*, stockings, and similar bits of clothing. Levantines even do this when speaking French: *Toutes sortes de chapeaux-mapeaux*, hats and such like.

The Kalaidji Dialects (Tinners), (*v.* A. 1 (*b*))

Since beginning this report I have amassed a considerable amount of information concerning the Tinners which would have been better included in the first section.

The dialect of the Tinners comprises several subdivisions. All tribes speaking it are Moslems. If the Drindaris are the musicians *par excellence*, combining to form orchestras, the ballad singers, who accompany themselves on a rude form of mandoline, are recruited almost exclusively from the Tinner caste. This is so much the case that if one attempts to take down a song from the Zágundjis or from the Sieve-makers, one will find that it is generally not given in pure Zágundji or Sieve-maker dialect, but

is, as it were, a parody of the Tinners' language, the speaker having heard the songs only in that dialect, which he, of course, knows but imperfectly. Hence the strange versions so frequently offered.

It is difficult to get a text of any length in pure Tinner dialect. Everywhere Turkish is creeping in, ousting the old Romani. Some of the tribe cannot count at all in Romani, others only up to four.

Some subdivisions of this tribe have lost the aspirated *kh*, *ph*, and *čh*, rarely however the *th*. *Ǔ* and *dž*, as in a subdivision of Drîndari, are pronounced by curving the tongue round, and making it touch the beginning of the hard palate. This is most often heard in the continually repeated expression: *Pek lāčhó*, very good or very well; Turkish *pék-eyi*, *péki*. As a general rule Drîndari *ts* becomes *č* in Kalaidji, hence the following forms: *čima*, a little, *rači*, by night, *buči*, work, *čikonó*, little, small, *tačipó*, heat. Some subdivisions have however the *ts*.

As in Drîndari, the *dj* of phonetically purer dialects becomes *z*. As in Drîndari an *i* susceptible of *Mouillirung* causes a preceding *l* to drop out: *kanyí*, a comb, *gudí mol*, sweet wine. But they have forgotten that there ever was an *l* in *gudló* and say *gudó pai*.

Other forms, reminding one of Drîndari, may be seen from the following: *loí gurí*, a red cow. (However, there is no nasalisation); *di man*, give me; *čermái sanzí*, a worm-eaten plank (*kermalí sanidí*); *piitó*, married (Drind. *piltá*); *piičáia*, *piičáva*, I take in marriage, become married, 3rd pers. sing. *piičájol*: *piičaráva*, I give in marriage; *dišárzias*, it appeared (cf. Drind. *dišilá*); *dušaváv* and *dišavzaráv*, I show (cf. Drind. *dišará*): *pióm*, I fell and I drank (Drind. *pím* and *peím*).

Pulái, a street, and *idós*, a thing, are both peculiar to this dialect.

Na is the simple negative used everywhere, with no discrimination such as we have seen among the Sieve-makers: e.g. *na džanáva*, I don't know. It is also the prohibitive. *Nai* is 'cannot,' the *naští* of other dialects.

To go out and descend have been already referred to in the List of Test Words.

The shortened gerundive is found: *phirí phirí*, by dint of walking. (*phirí phirí joruldú*. He walked a lot and grew tired). In the 3rd pers. sing. past tense the participial form, i.e. *geló*, *aviló*, etc., is never used. They say *gijás*, *ajás*, *rodiás*, *diás*. This is

also the case with the passive verbs: *taršázias*, he was frightened, *garázias*, he hid, *barvájas*, *nafsájas*, *déijas*, he went mad. Note *pheriás*, he she or it became full, where the *d* has gone, as in Drîndari.

The *l* in such forms as *mulé*, they died, *gelé*, they went, *avilé*, they came, is replaced by *n*, as with Patkanoff's Russian Gypsies. Examples: *muné*, they died, *ainé*, they came. Sometimes the singular is used for the plural: *mujás*, they died.

As in other dialects *-iz* stems are often tacked on to genuine Romani verbs: *na pučízola mándar*, no one is asking for me (lit. it is not being questioned concerning me), *dikízias*, he was seen. Note too: *rodíziol*, it is being looked for. Note the form *arápčiava*, from *arápjovava*, I am being found.

The enclitic pronouns *-lo*, *-li* (cf. Germ. Romani *vijas-lo gar*, he came not) are apparently found here. Forms recorded are: *beštás-li*, she sat down; *mačiás-li*, she became drunk; *piás-le*, they drank or fell. I am not aware that these forms have yet been recorded so far East as in the Balkan Peninsula.

There is no tendency, as among the Greek Gypsies to pronounce *š* as *s*. The more remarkable therefore are the following forms: *pasióm*, I lay down, *pasiardóm*, I put him to bed. In these words most dialects have *š*, but if I am not mistaken Patkanoff strangely enough again agrees with the Tinners in having *s* in just these words.

Breš, a year, is continually being used in the sense of country: *kale brešénde*, in these countries, places, hereabouts. 'Here' is *kāká*, and 'there' is *kōká*. These are looked upon as test words by the Gypsies themselves, as the Tinners' *ále kāká*, or 'come here,' is in Sieve-makers' language *av khathé*, and in Drîndari *éla kîtká*.

The article *o* is used in the oblique cases, even when the feminine is meant: *di les o čeiényge*. (Nominative is *čhai*, not *čai* or *čei*.)

And here must end this jumble of notes, from which it will be seen that the dialect, though in places dying out, has still preserved its grammar intact.

For examples of the dialect I must refer the reader for the present to the List of Compared Sentences. Later I hope to publish, in Kalaidji speech, a good version of the famous 'Ballad of the Bridge' (see Paspati's *Conte du Pont*), together with other ballads in the same dialect; taken down from an old blind singer from Rustchuk.

The Dialect of the Comb-Makers (*v.* B. 2 (*a*))

Of all the dialects mentioned in this Report, that of the Comb-makers is the nearest to those of the 'Lalere Sinte,' of the Nomad Coppersmiths, recently in Liverpool, or of the 'Zidaris' or Builders of Bucharest, and, in fact, to all dialects represented in Constantinescu's *Probe de limba şi literatura ţiganilor din România*, excepting that of the 'Ursari,' or Bear-leaders. These latter, by the by, may be related to the Gypsy monkey-trainers, and formerly bear-leaders, of Karnobad, west of the Bulgarian port of Burgas, who speak a dialect which is decidedly 'non-Vlach' in the sense of that expression used in this Report.

I have already said enough concerning the soft accent and pleasing voice of the Comb-makers. The dialect is not far removed from that of the Sieve-makers, with whom, and with all those speaking at all like them, the Comb-makers can converse in Romani with perfect ease, save perhaps with the Zágundjis, owing to the latter's uncouth accent.

Like all Romani dialects this one has, as it were, constantly at its elbow, a *gadžó* language on which it models its syntax, and from which it borrows words and particles with the greatest predilection. It is, in this case, the Rumanian language that is at the back of the Comb-maker's mind when he is speaking, and a knowledge of Rumanian phonetics, word formation, and syntax is to be recommended to any one who would speak fluently the language of this criminal tribe. Particles thus borrowed are, amongst others, *mai* (untranslatable), in such phrases as '*so mai kerés?*' how are you? (Rumanian *ce mai faci?*), *numai*, only, *de mult*, long since, a long time already, *de diminâtsa*, early, etc., *decât*, since, and many more which are all replaced by corresponding Turkish or Bulgarian words in other dialects.

Amongst dialectical peculiarities may be mentioned the following:—

č and *čh* are replaced by *š*. They have the word *Rai*, so unexpectedly absent from all the other dialects dealt with in this Report. They alone have also the well-known verb *bušól-pe*, he is called, named. They use the Rumanian names of the week, to translate Monday, Tuesday, Thursday, just as do the 'Lalere Sinte' and other kindred tribes, and where the Sieve-maker dialects use either Turkish or translations from the Turkish, such as *Palá o kurkó*, Monday, *salíja*, Tuesday, *čarsambáva*, Wednesday, *peršambáva*,

Thursday. They have a special liking for the passive formation where the Sieve-makers use the reflexive: *ži kána kamárdjon?* how long are they going to continue fighting? Note also *nji žángljol*, it is not ascertainable, the *nanái pendžár* of the Sofia Erlídes.

El grastá ašídile means the horses are tired out. I have not been able to place the verb. The *reperáva* of some western dialects finds its counterpart in *liperimós*, remembrance, keepsake, souvenir, almost always heard in the dative, as: *de man kadavá liperimáske*, give me that as a keepsake.

The Comb-makers use the abstract noun *Raimós* in talking to superiors, thus: *Ko Raimós*, Your Lordship, thereby translating literally the Rumanian *Dumnia-tá* or *Dumnia-Voástra*. They also rarely give a positive or negative answer without adding *χav ki khul*, literally may I eat your excrement, but which is apparently not any stronger than the English 'yes indeed' or 'no indeed.'

Te dilávav, literally, may I go mad, is also constantly used in simple asseveration, seemingly having no more meaning than the English 'Yes, by Jove,' and used much more frequently.

The following two letters will serve as examples of the dialect, which is not unfamiliar to students of Romani:—

1. Letter, dated at Rustchuk, May 27, 1913

Me gəlem ándo Ruščúko. Xalém pilém, nakadém but miští. Bišaláv tuke but sastimós, but štar vagóna sastipé po Miláno e Nikolásko. O múi-lesko čupimé. I ják-leski, i stíngo, rimomé. Thagár Romanó si, hai but lašó manúš. Hai bišaláv-tuke skriipé but te primís kadalé manušés, le Milanós sar kai žanés man kadá i les. Vo kaavél-tuke peske-žuvliása. Rugí-ma, primisár le manušés munré rigátar. But rugí-ma túkə. Me kána avéla táte te skris máyŋgə lésa jek lil ándi munró them, i me kaskrív i tuméyŋgə. But sastipé mándar.

Translation

I have gone to Rustchuk. I have eaten and drunk and passed (the time) very well. I send you much health, many four wagon (-loads) of health from Milan, the son of Nicolas. His face is marked with smallpox. His eye, the left one, is jammed in. He is a Gypsy

King, and an excellent man. And I send you written (*i.e.* recommendations) to receive much (*i.e.* well) this man, Milan, as you know me even so him. He will come to you with his wife. I beg you receive the man from my part I beseech you much. I (*sic*) when he comes to you, you write me with him a letter to my country, and I will write to you (plur.). Much health from me.

NOTE

' *nakadem* : a causative verb, where possible, or in any case a transitive one, is used in all Balkan languages, not followed by any accusative, in this well-known phrase, which may be heard daily in Levantine and Balkan French, thus: 'O Madame! nous avons passé admirablement en villégiature,' or 'Comment avez vous passé, bien?'

2. Letter written at Shumla to Roman Ilia at Gelendžik, near Dobritch.

But sastimós e Ankutsátar. Te des kadavá lil kai Vristáki. Ja t'avés mánde Šumnóste, ja te bičhalés loré, sóske naští bešáv kathé e χurdéntsa, bi-loréggo. Te na gîndís kai ti romní avréste geli. Te naští t'aésa tu, te bišalés el loré kai ko sókro ándo phanlimós. Lésko ábáv Šerbán Ispáso. But sastimós le Nikulaéstar ke kumnatóstar. Kai sanas užilé andár grast, liné el rom, ašilé e šaiéntsa pe pojún. Románe, maygáv te mothós-mayge andár munrá dad, o Rádulo, hai but sastimós e Dudátar. Amé sam ándo Šúmen. Hai bu' sastimós le Kostandinóstar, kai arakhádjol vinagi ándi Šúmen.

Translation

Much health from Ankutsa. Give this letter to Vristaki. Either come to me at Shumla, or send money, because I cannot sit here with the children without money. Do not imagine that your wife [the author of the letter] has gone to another man. If you cannot come yourself, send the money to your father-in-law in prison. His name is Sherban Ispasu. Much health from Nicolai, your brother-in-law. The men have taken that which was owing to them for horses, (and thus) they have remained with the children upon the field. O Roman! (well-known Rumanian proper name) I want you to tell me about my father Radul, and much health from Duda. We are in Shumla. And much health from Constantine, who is always to be found in Shumla

The Dialect of the Zágundjis

Nearest allied to the dialect of the Sieve-makers is that of the Zágundjis (Carrion-eaters), concerning whom I have given a somewhat lengthy notice. Although I have frequented this tribe perhaps more than any other, I am not in possession of any very valuable texts wherewith to illustrate their speech. The story of 'Čámpara Büjüklú Célebi Mustafá,' which is in their dialect, and has already been published (*J. G. L. S.*, vol. vi. p. 141), and other fragments which I have at times taken down, have lost half their value owing to the fact that the Zágundjis' everyday speech is very different from that of the songs and fairy tales. The Zágundji shouts and mutters, and jabbers and whines, but he is very incoherent, being unaccustomed to fix his mind on any one subject for more than a few minutes at a time. The more carefully he speaks, the nearer he approaches to the dialect of the Sieve-makers.

Among the few peculiarities of his speech, apart from his rough accent and general uncouthness, which at once mark him out as of the Carrion-eating caste, I may mention the ɣ̰, which is apparently a further development of ɣ (see p. 71), and which seems to be produced by vibrating the epiglottis. The sound is a voiced one. Note too, as characteristic of the dialect, within the area covered in this Report, the past tense of the verb to give, *dilém*, *dilán*, *dilá*, etc., and that of to go, *dželém*, *dželán*, *dželá*, etc., also *dó* = he gave.

Specimen of the Dialect

(Like Paspati's *Conte du Pont* this tale, or rather fragment of one, is rather rambling. It was dictated to me on the heights of Gündúz Češmé in the summer of 1913, and the Gypsy was impatient to finish in order to join in a drinking carouse which had already started on the grass some yards distant.)

Si kai si jek phurí phivlí, si kai si jek phuró phivló. E phurjáko kher moméstar, e phurjésko kher lonéstar. Áke o phuró phenéla: 'De Dévla jek brišín te bilál e phurésko kher, te našél mánde.' I phurí-da phendás e Devléske: 'Dé Dévla jek kham, te našél o phuró mánde.'

Áke, Efendimizé, do o brišín, našló ki phurí. O phuró phenél: 'Muk, phuríje, kai ko vudár te pášljovav kairát, khiŋgilém!' Pále i phurí: 'Xírčî pírčî, nášov e vudaréstar, ín-kamá-tut.'

Ek drom, pále dui drom, thai tsîrdá le paš o umblalá. Bristaldí i phurí ándi líndri, nakél o phuró palá láte. Ḫom ɣomnijása ačhiló.

Ikalél i phurí péske tránda miškojá, χurdéŋge thanéste. Léŋgi dei kerél marnó thedarása. Čorén o χumél te kerén-peske bokoljá. 'Phuréja, le adalén, îŋgjardé ándo voš te χasáon.' (A sentence is missing here.) *'Mor dad kaštá čhiŋgjarél.' Léŋgi phen phenél: 'Bokháilem.' Pále e gurúv kai χîndá kerél léŋge bokolí. Thol léŋge jak, pekéla. Fulél o phuró Del: 'So 's kathé, kîzîm?' Oi phenél: 'Gošní si, mor phralén χoχaváva.'*

Translation

There is where there is an old widow, there is where there is an old widower. The widow's house is of wax, the widower's house is of salt.

Behold the old man says: 'Give, O God, a (shower of) rain, to melt the old man's house (*sic*) that he may come to me.' And the old woman said to the God: 'Give, O God, a sun (sunshine), that the old man may run to me.'

Behold, My Masters, the rain fell, and he fled to the old woman. The old man says: 'Let me, old woman, lie at your door to-night, I am wet through. Then the old woman: 'Heigho, begone from the door, I don't want you.'

Once twice and she drew him up to the embers. The old woman forgot herself in sleep. The old man passed over to her side. They remained husband and wife.

The old woman takes out thirty mice instead of children. Their mother is making bread early in the morning. They steal the dough to makes cakes for themselves. 'Old man, take them, lead them out into the forest, that they may be lost.' 'My father is cutting wood.' Their sister says: 'I am hungry.' Then she makes them cakes from the dung of cows. She puts fire to them (puts them on the fire), it bakes. The Old God descends: 'What's here, my girl?' She says: 'It is dung, I am deceiving my brothers.'

NOTES

The tale is a hopeless jumble of many well-known fairy tales, good versions of which I have already published in this *Journal* (see the 'Sofia Gypsy Fairy Tales').

do: generally in conversation *dilá*.

bristaldi: probably for *bristáldili*.

marnó. The *r* is not usually heard in the grouping *rn*, *marnó*, *karnó*.

The Dialect of the Párpulia (Gimlet-makers)

The dialect is one of the purest of the primitive non-Vlach type. I have no texts, but have noted, in conversations with these Gypsies, various peculiarities, the most important among which may be set forth as follows.

The verb is of the type of Paspati's Nomads. The long endings to the present are preferred: *-áva*, *-ésa*, *-éla*, etc. The loan verbs, of which there are many, mostly from the Bulgarian, as these Gypsies are Christians, are conjugated from an *-iz* stem. *Bašaváva*, which in most other dialects here discussed becomes *bašaláva*, is here pronounced *bašaráva*. The primitive verb *ladáva*, to pack up, is found. As in all dialects considered in this Report, the verb *dživáva*[1] is missing, save in its participial and gerundial forms: *dživdó* and *dživindó* (hence also *dživindipé*, life, health). The nearest form to Paspati's *nikáva*, namely *nikláva*, is here found. Also *nikljovava* and *nikaláva* (see Test Word List). They have such primitive forms as *khinílile*, for the more usual *khínile*. *Bianáva* is used for to lay eggs. *Térjovava* is their nearest form to Paspati's *teráva*, nowhere found in this district.

They know the word *ruk*, so rare in East Bulgaria, and they do not aspirate the *k*. (A sub-dialect of the Drindari language has *rukhá*.) The Drindari *sivamlí*, betrothed, is here *siamé*, a participle in *-menos*. It may be the Modern Greek *simioménos*, signalled out, signed, the more so as this would be a literal translation of the Turkish *nišanlí*, used in the sense of betrothed.

They have Paspati's word *vuš*, flax, unknown even to most other non-Vlach dialects. Also the rare word *žam*, desire, mentioned by Paspati. It is here found in the combination: *Džam-Baχt te del o Del*, recorded nowhere else hitherto, and used as a toast meaning: May God grant every one's wishes and luck to all. They often use *davári* for a horse, a word not used in local Turkish in that sense. Turkish has no direct influence upon this dialect, which in most of its forms may perhaps date back to before the Turks' entry into Europe. (See Paspati for the origin of *davári*.)

For Thursday they use the Greek *péfti*. For Monday and Tuesday they have the Bulgarian words, with endings according to the genius of their dialect, *pondélnikos*, *ftórnikos*. For the

[1] It is doubtful whether *džirízela* (sentence 5 below) should be considered as a Romani verb wrongly conjugated from an *-iz* stem, or whether it is a loan-word from Bulgarian *živ*, the initial being pronounced *dž* by analogy with *džindo*.

other days of the week they use the usual Romani words of Greek origin.

The rare words *astér* and *pasterní* are found: both, however, in the sense of apron.

Like Paspati, they have the prepositional combination: *andré ko, andré ki, an ko, an ki, katár ko, andár ko,* etc.

I have heard the following pronominal forms: *adavá, kadavá, kaká, akaká,* all meaning this, the feminine *adaiká*, and the oblique singular *adalké*.

The Test Word List may also be consulted with profit. The following are a few selected sentences taken down, using Bulgarian as the language in which to ask the questions:—

1. *Akaká nevé postalé kerdás-peske.* He had new shoes made.
2. *Kibór kérla adaiká katúna?* What is the price of this tent-cloth?
3. *O katúnes katká, amá nanái paní adalké gavéste.* The tents are here, but there is no water in this village.
4. *Kaprandízela pále jekhé beršéste.* He will marry in a year.
5. *Dživízela katká.* He lives here.
6. *Kiborká khinó sinóm naští phiréva.* I am so tired I cannot walk.
7. *Čholéla, kušéla kartóji.* He is peeling potatoes.
8. *Čhiggjaréla mas.* He is chopping up meat.
9. *Thábilo o sastó kher.* The whole house burnt down.
10. *I kaχní vaјé bianéla.* The hen lays eggs.
11. *Áčhona pála ko kher, odothé térjona.* They are waiting behind the house, there they are staying.
12. *Šužárla i čik andár ko drom.* He is cleaning away the mud from the road.
13. *Sári rat gilábindom, bašardóm, kheldóm χoróskoro.*[1] The whole night I sang, played, danced the horo.

The Nomad Iron-workers (Aidía)

I have no notes on this dialect, but as far as I could judge from one short interview with the tribe, when I met them up in the Eastern Balkans whilst they were on the move in long Indian file, each man behind his donkey, and each family behind its chief, their language can best be learnt by studying Paspati. It is pro-

[1] Scil., *χoróskoro khelipé.*

bably nearest to that of the Párpulia, though with Turkish influence, as they are Moslems.

Of the language of the Dînîkovlárs and of the Horse-shoe-makers I know nothing. The former is probably akin to other Moslem non-Vlach dialects; is certainly so, and phonetically pure, (*i.e.* unlike the Kalaidjis' and Drîndari languages), if the thieves I met at the fair of Eski-Djumaya in 1915 were of this tribe. (See account above.) The Horse-shoe-makers, if they are Christians, and Sedentaries, probably speak a Sieve-maker dialect like the Christian Sedentary Coffee-pot-makers.

The Dialect of the Demirdjís (Iron-workers of Kazanlîk)

The *Čerîbaši*, or chief of the Moslem Sedentary Gypsies at Varna, hailed from Kazanlîk, a town lying south of the Shipka Pass, and the centre of the Attar of Roses district. He was of the tribe of Kazanlîk Iron-workers. Unlike Varna, Kazanlîk harbours, according to him, but one other Moslem Sedentary tribe, the Basket-makers, brethren of the Basket-makers of Shumla (*v.* A. 1 (*d*)). From the *Čerîbaši* Osman, and from his brother, I learnt something of the Kazanlîk dialect. It is of the non-Vlach group, and is extremely pure. *It is remarkable as being the only dialect hitherto recorded in the Balkan Peninsula possessing the full ending -pen, -ben for abstract nouns, as well as -men for the Greek participles in -menos, instead of -pe, -be, -me.* It also has the emphatic forms *méja*, *túja*, corresponding in meaning to the French *moi*, *toi*. The genitive is formed from the *-kara* stem. The past tense has no *Mouillirung*. The syntax is modelled on the Turkish as far as this is possible in the case of an Aryan language like Romani. The word *ková*, thing, so common in most European Romani dialects, and so rare in the Balkans, is here used. Here I have also found a preposition hitherto unknown, which exists also in Drîndari, namely, *astár* or *astár-če*, which, like the *asál* of the Sofia Erlídes, to which it may just possibly be akin, governs the dative in *-ke*, and means for the sake of, or for, on behalf of.

For the rest, details concerning this dialect can best be studied in the List of Compared Sentences.

There is, however, one more peculiarity of this dialect to which I should like to give special prominence. It is that the usual Romani word *phral* or *phal*, a brother, is not generally used, and the word

which replaces it is the Urdu word *bhâi*! How this comes to be so I cannot explain. This *Bai* might be the Bulgarian *Bai* which is used as a sort of familiar title much as *Oom* in Transvaal Dutch, but which never means brother.

Specimen of Dialect

The following is a copy of the letter received by me from Osman Osmanoff, *Čerîbaši*, when he had been deposed from his throne with all other Bulgarian officials, high and low, upon the fall of the Nationalist (*Narodniak*) Party in 1913. He had retired to Provadía, whence after some time he sent me this petition, asking me to intercede with the new Prefect, in order that he might be reinstated as chief at least in that small provincial town:—

Phrála!—Me naští avilóm pašál táte. Tu mâyge ma-χoljáze, me gelóm Pravadiáte. Me tut isí te vakeróm ek órba: molízava tut te džas kai Uprarítelo, te rakerés astár mâyge te kerél mi butí t'ováv Pravadiáte sar tu džanés ayglé sinómas othé, athé-da; te kerés meŕí butí. Tu-da te džanáv kai san mo phral kai nanái so te vakerár.

But sastipén e borjáke ve te čhiáke, pále e sasáke, saverépyge sastipén-vestipén. Te del o Del bu' sastipén mándar, e Osmanóstar. Ač e Devlésa. Me gelóm me kheréste.—Sas Počitanie,

O. OSMANOFF

2 *Oktombri* 1913 *godina*
grad Provadia

NOTES

órba and *phral*. In his own dialect he would say *pherás* and *bai*, but through having been chief of a mixed crowd of Tinners and Sieve-makers in Varna for twenty years on and off, his dialect has become somewhat contaminated.

ve. This is apparently an attempt at being literary. *Ve*, 'and,' is used in written Turkish, never in the local dialect.

Translation

BROTHER!—I have been unable to come to you. Do not be angry with me, I have gone to Provadia. I much wanted to say a word to you: I beg you to go to the Prefect and speak to him on my behalf, that he may arrange the matter for me that I may become at Provadia as you know I was before there (in Varna) so too here; please arrange this matter. As I know that you are my brother there is nothing (further) that I need say.

Much health to your wife and daughter, also to your mother-in-law, and to every one health and good luck. May God grant you much health from me, Osman. Remain with God. I have gone to my home.—With respects,-

O. OSMANOFF

2 October 1913,
Provadia

While in Varna I used to be constantly receiving begging letters and others from different tribes. Unfortunately most of them had been dictated to non-Gypsies, who did not understand what they were writing, and they were consequently often quite undecipherable. In one letter I was only able to make out that a certain horse-thief, who was dictating it, made his amanuensis write that he, the amanuensis, was a fool.

Occasionally, however, a Gypsy was found who could write, as in the case of the following specimen, sent me by a horse-thief, but dictated to a Sedentary Christian, according to a postscript not here published. It will be seen that the writer wrote in his own dialect, which was the Sieve-makers' speech, only now and again putting down faithfully what he was told, as when he writes '*sastimós*.'

Grad Rasgad, 28 XII/13 godina.

Phrála!—But selámo mándar, e Nikulinátar, e borjátar savoroséndar-da, hem e Turéstar. Vov si akaná but barvaló. Adál gesá las pínda gálbea, andár ek-dui. But selámo mándar, e Vlačanóstar. But molisaráv tut, bu jakîndá nai man χaršlíki, te bičhalés máyge trin gálbea, čŭnkim si man gras, amá nai man so te χandjaráv léste. Túke dikháv ándo drom te bičhalés máyge trin gálbea, sóske nai averéstar, káste te džav ta te maygáv páres tútar-baská. Čŭnki džanés e Turésko phral bičhaldá' leske šel léfurja Angliátar, i tu-da bičhál máyge trin gálbea, ta me kána kazanîrîm kanrisaráv len túke.

Akaná but sastimós bičhaláv e borjáke ke romnjáke, e sokráke. But molisaráv tut sar kabúl edérsîn o mektúpo te bičhalés máyge karšílíki.—Sās Pózdrav,

VLAČÁNO

NOTES

E boriátar. From the *borí*. The word is in apposition to *e Nikulinátar*. His sister was, by courtesy, *borí* to me. See below, where he sends *selámo* to my wife, who is *borí* to him. This is the universal use of the word, and is found also in

Sofia. *Borí* is a young bride, and also means daughter-in-law, the Turkish *gelén*, Bulgarian *snax*. You address any married woman as *borítje*. To an unmarried girl you say generally '*phéne*!' *i.e.* sister (more rarely *phenítje*).

andár ek-dui. Literally from one-two, *i.e.* from the Hokano Baro, the doubling money, making two coins out of one.

Túke dikháv ándo drom. Literally, I look for you upon the road, *i.e.* I rely upon you. One would like to see in this a beautiful Nomad figure of speech, and, as a matter of fact, I know of no Bulgarian or Turkish equivalent. The Turkish found in the letter is as follows :—

selám = salaams : *hem* = also ; *bu-jakindái* = shortly, at present ; *χarčílk* = earnings ; *čünkim* = because ; *baški* = other ; *čünki* = because ; *kazanírim* = I earn, gain ; *kabúl-edérsin* = receive ; *mektúb* = letter ; *karšilík* = by return.

Translation

BROTHER,—Many salaams from me, from Nikulina, the bride, and from all, also from Turi. He is now very rich. These days he took fifty pounds by means of 'one-two' (the Great Deceit). Many salaams from me, Vlačano. I earnestly pray you, at present I am earning nothing, send me three pounds, for I have a horse, but I have not wherewith to feed it. I rely upon you to send me three pounds, for there is no other (lit. there is not from another) to whom I may go to ask for money, other than you. For you know Turi's brother sent him a hundred leva from England, and you too send me three pounds, and when I earn them I will return them to you.

Now I send much health to the bride, your wife, and to your mother-in-law. I beseech you, when you receive this letter to answer by return.—With greetings,

VLAČANO

It will be noticed that this Report is in many instances incomplete. This is partly owing to the meagreness of available data concerning some of the tribes which are fast disappearing, but it is also due to my hurried departure from Bulgaria in the autumn of 1915.

In the absence of reliable historical references to the Gypsies of Bulgaria I have been obliged to confine myself to setting down a personal record of my dealings with the tribes, many of which I know but slightly. I thought it better to include all the tribes, however sketchy the description of some may be, for the sake of completeness, and in order to help future students of the Gypsies of the Balkans.

The best way of procuring good examples of the dialects is to discover a good story-teller, His tales, however uninteresting they

may appear, will be of value if only for the sake of the priceless sentences and words which are sure to be found interspersed here and there in the narrative. Such tales in the dialects of the Aidía, the Párpulia, the Kazanlîk Iron-workers, the Dînîkovlárs, would certainly supply us with new and interesting linguistic material. In the summer of 1914 I was able to procure several fairy tales in the dialect of the Drîndaris, from the village of Žeravna on the heights around Kotel (Kazan). The dialect in which they are told is not so typically Drîndari as that of the specimens I have already published in this *Journal*, but it is sufficiently near to the prototype Drîndari to be worth while printing.

It is difficult to predict the fate of Ṛomanipen in the Near East as the result of great upheavals. The race cannot be merged in the surrounding population. For that the Gypsies are both too numerous and too despised. There were few signs, before I left, of an awakening sense of nationality, and yet the wave of nationalism is not likely to leave them altogether untouched. If we are spared the sight of a Gypsy Imperialism, and a Gypsy Yellow Press, I cannot but delight in the thought that a poet may arise who will know how to express in song and in prose the simple soul of his nation, in his own language, which in South-Eastern Europe is as capable of cultivation without the help of foreign elements as are the Bulgarian, Modern Greek, or Serbian languages. What matter if this last statement raise a howl of indignant protest on the part of the 'dóbri patrióti' and 'vatandžís' of the Balkans. The language is there, in all its archaic purity. Foreign elements have crept in, as they have in Bulgarian and Rumanian, but this fact has not prevented Botjev in Bulgaria or Eminescu in Rumania from being great poets. And why should not the Romani muse sing of the forest and heath, *o veš o buṛ*, and the wind that blows across them?

And now, to close this Report, I have an etymological discovery which I hit upon, as it were, by inspiration, at three o'clock in the morning of the 18th January 1918. It is no less than an elucidation of the word *nais*, which baffled Miklosich, and has, I believe, puzzled most students of Romani. The root of the word is the same as that to be found in the English word 'hygiene.' I can see with my mind's eye the looks of incredulity on the faces of some of my readers. And yet it is quite simple: the Ancient Greek adjective *ὑγιής* and the substantive *ὑγιεία* (both of which I believe I am right in stating are used in the modern Romaic), produced

a late Byzantine verb *ὑγιείω*. All such forms have for centuries past been contracted in the spoken language and are conjugated as follows: *ὑγιῶ, ὑγιεῖς, ὑγιεῖ*, etc., and these are pronounced *iyó, iyís, iyí*, etc. *Nais* is therefore *νὰ ὑγιεῖς* (*na iyís*), and means 'may you be healthy, may you prosper.' It has its exact counterpart in all Balkan languages, including Gypsy, e.g. Turkish, *sáğolsun*; Rumanian, *să fiĭ sănătos*; Bulgarian, *da si zdrav*; Drindari, *te sahtsis-tu*; Romani, *te sástjos*. It will be remembered that *siás*, or *siá*, used in proposing a toast, has the same root origin: *εἰς ὑγειάν*, pronounced *isián*, and of daily use among modern Greeks. I have heard Gypsies use both words in the same toast. The proposer says *siá*, the person toasted answering *nais*.

The word *nais* is used in the 'Vlach' dialects of this Report, and is known elsewhere as far west as in the dialect of the 'Lalere Sinte.' *Tuke* is often appended, as an ethical dative, I suppose similar to *dža-mayge*.

And now *nais, phrála*, may you be hygienic, and *dža Devlésa!*

EDITORIAL

IN presenting the second portion of the Report on Gypsy Tribes of North-East Bulgaria, which forms the sole article in this part of our *Journal*, we wish to explain that delays, directly or indirectly due to the war now happily over, have prevented the regular issue of the quarterly parts of the *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*.

Owing to the enhanced cost of printing and of paper, we have been compelled to reduce the size of the separate issues. It is hoped that the excellent quality of the work published will atone for the loss of a certain number of pages of printed matter.

The further issue of the *Journal* will now follow in as rapid succession as possible. Consideration is being given to a suggestion that three years' issues should be published together in one volume, so that we may resume the preparation of our quarterly parts from the beginning of our financial year in July 1920.

The Society holds a goodly stock of manuscripts and first proofs, and we look forward to much valuable and interesting material coming in for the future. The great disturbance of the

habits of the Gypsies all over Europe and the Near East may well bring strange visitors to our shores in greater numbers, and more frequently than in former years. However that may be, there is sure to be a good opportunity anywhere on the Continent for the study of tribes that have not hitherto been classed among the wide-wanderers. It is conceivable that the reconstruction of Europe may adversely affect the Gypsies, and lead to their extinction, or absorption, at a more rapid rate than in former times. At any rate, much remains to be gathered, and the opportunity to gather more may soon have passed away. We urge on all who have the chance to collect what they can of Gypsy Lore.

While the immediate need is to save what may be saved from the wreck of the old world that has gone from us, old records are not to be despised, and there is a wealth of information, and doubtless the solution of many problems, locked up in Parish Registers, Municipal Records, and the files of old newspapers. We want to publish everything of this kind that is of value, and appeal to the public to help in this work.

The financial position is by no means secure. A vastly extended membership would remove this anxiety. Former members have died, others cannot be traced; some libraries that used to subscribe may, for all we know yet, have been destroyed. Our field of inquiry may seem but a limited one, yet it is world-wide. It has been said that the study of Gypsies is interesting because it is of no earthly use to any one. Surely the Report of the Scottish Commission which we reviewed in our last issue demonstrates the fact that our work has really considerable value, not only to the politician, but to all who are engaged in what may be called humanitarian work. The study of Romani, furthermore, is of great use to the philologist, and has already helped to stimulate research into some of the lesser known dialects of India. What Pott and Miklosich found no unworthy subject for their genius, cannot be thought of as beneath the notice of the student of to-day, now that our knowledge of the language is so much more extensive and exact than it was when these two giants of Romani philology devoted time and thought to it.

NOTES AND QUERIES

2.—Shelta

Muilsa. I have been thinking that this is probably not *mo bheul sa*, but *mo shuil-sa*, 'in my eyes.' The pronunciation would be exactly *muilsa* since in the Gaelic aspirated—or, as James Munro quaintly writes, 'asperated'—*s* practically disappears from the pronunciation. D. F. de l'Hoste Ranking.

3.—The Roumany Chai or Gipsies

Can any one tell me who wrote an article with the above title which appeared in the *Illustrated London News* for September 20th, 1856?

Tom Taylor's 'Gypsey Experiences' were published in the supplement of the same paper on November 29th, December 13th, and December 27th, 1851.

Though both Tom Taylor and the author of this article agree in the spelling *Roumany* they differ in the spelling of *Gypsey*.

Were it not for the peculiar use of the word *chai* I should have been inclined to ascribe the authorship to my old friend the Reverend R. N. Sanderson, afterwards sub-master of Ipswich Grammar School, and a past-master of Romani: it was he who first set Frank Groome, a pupil of his, on the quest. Sanderson must have been about twenty-six or twenty-seven years of age at the date of the article.

The author was evidently a serious student as well as a lover of the Gypsy race. He mentions the labours of Vulcanius, Grellman, Rüdiger, Barmeister, Marsden, Bryant, Richardson, Harriott (whose vocabulary the author had compared with one made by himself), Kraus, Zippel and Pott.

He could also put his true value on Borrow, of whose works he says: 'they are more interesting as records of personal adventure than valuable as contributions to philology. The "man of words" is not to be trusted as a theorizer about language.'

The author was, as I gather, also a student of thieves' slang; he mentions the *Kataphiani* of Turkey, the *Hantyrka* of Bohemia, the *Germania* of Spain, the *Gergo* of Italy, the *Rothwelsch* of Germany, the *Langue Blesquin* or *Argot* of France: and points out that none of these has anything to do with Romani. He also mentions the vocabularies of slang in the 'English Rogue,' and in the life of Bampfylde Moore Carew.

In the course of the article the following words and phrases occur: *hotchy-witchy; bourri-zimmins; bash; bashingro; parrakaro-tut; kamchava ta chuma tut, rinkai rakli* or, says the author, 'as spoken by the English Roumani *komma ta chuma ye, rinkai rakli*.'

Till some other authorship is proved I shall be inclined to look upon the article as the work of my dear old friend. D. F. de l'Hoste Ranking.

4.—The Seven Jargons

In *J.G.L.S.*, Old Series, iii. 128, Mr. MacRitchie asks whether the phrase 'he understands the seven Gypsy jargons' (*Bible in Spain*, chapter xxxix), has any connexion with 'the seven languages' of Mr. Groome's Gypsy (*ibid.* i. 375).

Now Borrow was fond of reading the Welsh bards, and may very well have come across the couplet

Ef a gâr awdl ac araith,
Ef a ŵyr synnwyr y saith.

This is quoted by J. Morris Jones (*A Welsh Grammar*, Oxford, 1913, p. 34), who translates 'He loves song and speech, he knows the meaning of the seven [sciences].' It is sufficiently easy Welsh to have been readily intelligible to Lavengro, who may have filled in the hiatus wrongly. It would be quite in Borrow's vein to put a Welsh phrase into the mouth of a Spanish Gypsy.

FRED. G. ACKERLEY.

5.—GYPSIES AND BEARS

'I have heard of a case of alcohol being administered also to bears in a very cruel, indeed a revolting, manner. This occurred some time ago when I had sold several large European bears to a menagerie owner of the name of Malferteiner. This man used to wander about the country with an itinerant exhibition, and his cages were of a somewhat light make, scarcely strong enough to keep securely the exceptionally fine animals which I had sold him. There seemed considerable danger that, by gnawing, scratching, or breaking, they would soon succeed in gaining their liberty. He was therefore rather pleased when, soon afterwards, he fell in with a tribe of Gypsies, who were much interested in the bears and offered to purchase them. As they had some ready money he completed the transaction, and waited with curiosity to see how the Gypsies were going to take over the captures, for they had no luggage and no cages in which they could keep the bears. When Malferteiner asked them how they were going to manage it, they replied that he need not worry about that, they would look after it. He could not see, however, how they were going to avoid running into considerable danger, for no attempt had ever been made to tame the bears or break them in in any way. The first thing that the Gypsies did was to leave the creatures for a couple of days without food. They then brought a cask of salted herrings, which they put in the cages. The bears did not like this food at all, but their dislike availed them nothing, for no other was offered them ; and on the third day their hunger became so acute that they devoured the herrings. Forthwith they became, of course, exceedingly thirsty, but no water was given them. Instead of water, bowls of sweetened spirit were placed before them, and this they greedily lapped up. They were then thoroughly intoxicated and sank into a very deep sleep. The Gypsies were now in a position to carry out their evil purpose without fear. They walked into the cages where the formidable animals lay as harmless and motionless as sacks of flour ; they extracted their large canine teeth with pliers, and cut away the claws from their paws. Even the deep wounds in the flesh which they made in this operation did not arouse the bears, and the Gypsies knew no pity. Rings were drawn through their noses, and to each animal two chains were attached, one round the neck and another to the ring on the nose. The creatures had now been altogether deprived of their weapons of offence and defence. They were placed upon a cart, and the Gypsies drove off with them. After many hours the unfortunate animals awoke and fell out of the cart ; but, held as they were by the chains, they were compelled to run behind. The Gypsies had taken the additional precaution of muzzling them, but this was entirely unnecessary, for the poor brutes, stupefied and weakened by pain, had no spirit left for attacking their persecutors. Let us hope that in these civilized days such barbarous and cruel treatment would be impossible. Under enlightened laws the punishment would indeed be swift and severe for offenders of this detestable description.'

The above is an extract from *Beasts and Men*, by Carl Hagenbeck ; an abridged translation by Hugh S. R. Elliot and A. G. Thacker, A.R.C.S. (London). Reissue, London, 1911, pp. 226-228. J. R. MORIARTY.

17*th July* 1916.

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I.—VALE ET AVE!

By JOHN SAMPSON

O KRALIS sī mulō: me jivél o kralis!—In recording the passing of the Second Series of the *Gypsy Lore Journal* it is a pleasure to be able to announce in the same breath its third Avatar under the presidency of Mr. William Ferguson. That at least is the name by which this Scholar-Gypsy is known to house-dwellers; the Gypsies of England and Wales, who have so often hailed the arrival of his caravan and enjoyed the hospitality of his tent, are more familiar with the Romani obverse of his name-plate. The new Editor will be Mr. E. O. Winstedt of the Bodleian Library, the Honorary Secretary Mr. T. W. Thompson, and the Honorary Treasurer Mr. Fred Shaw—three names which our members will associate with devotion to the aims and interests of the Society.

It is now thirty years since Charles Godfrey Leland, in reviewing the work accomplished by the original Gypsy Lore Society during the four years July 1888 to April 1892, showed how entirely it had justified its existence. With a limited membership, which never I believe exceeded a hundred, it had attracted

to its ranks most of the English and Continental authorities on Gypsy lore and language, and greatly advanced our knowledge of Romani in almost every province.

For the Second Series on still weightier grounds of achievement the same claim may be made. The interest in Gypsy studies fostered by the earlier Society had grown quietly but steadily. New workers had sprung up wherever Gypsies were to be found, and it was felt that the time was ripe for the revival of our confraternity. At a friendly meeting in an Edinburgh *kirčima* this long-cherished project was discussed with the present writer by Mr. David MacRitchie, who with the collaboration of Mr. Francis Hindes Groome had acted as Editor of the old *Journal*. After a survey of the field, it was decided to invite Mr. Robert Andrew Scott Macfie to undertake the duties of Editor and Honorary Secretary, and the offer was accepted. To the ability, scholarly ideals, and tireless energy of this gentleman, the Society owes the wonderful success which attended our adventure. The membership increased from an original 91 to over 200. The *Gypsy Lore Journal*, enlarged in size, became the medium through which eminent scholars from every part of the globe communicated their collections, discoveries, and theories to the learned world; and the high standard maintained soon met with universal recognition. For this it may be said in a word the members of the Society are beholden chiefly to the personality of Mr. Macfie. His genius for friendship which endeared him to all our number, from the learned expert to the youngest tyro; his ingenuity in suggesting to each lines of study which might profitably be pursued; his determination that every important article, whether anthropological, philological or historical, should be written by scholars for scholars made the *Journal* what it is—or what it was until the outbreak of the War, when our Secretary at once joined the British Expeditionary Force in the ranks of the Liverpool Scottish. *Hora novissima, tempora pessima!* In spite of the endeavours of the Rev. Canon Ackerley to keep the members together, the Society languished and collapsed, and on Mr. Macfie's return from his four years' service in France, it was decided to wind up its affairs.

In a short survey like the present it is impossible to deal adequately or in detail with all the important contributions to Gypsy Lore which appeared in this our Second Series. To do so would be to reprint the admirable indexes, which we owe to the

industry of the late Sidney W. Perkins and Alexander Russell. Some of the ground covered may however be briefly indicated.

Among vital additions to our knowledge of the Gypsy language we should place in the foreground Professor R. A. S. Macalister's *Grammar and Vocabulary of the Nawar of Palestine*, a collection which enables us for the first time to compare with confidence and certainty this long separated Syrian dialect with the better known varieties of European Romani. Beside this, though in a different category, are Professor Finck's analysis and specimens of Armenian Gypsy brought together from various sources. Patkanoff's specimens of the speech of the Transcaucasian Boša and Karaći have also been made available for the general reader in the translation of Dr. Fearon de l'Hoste Ranking. Another notable dialect has been added to European Romani by the copious collections of Bulgarian Gypsy recorded by Bernard Gilliat-Smith, with special notice of the interesting Drindari tribe, first mentioned by the Marquis Colocci. The dialect (essentially Rumanian) of the Nomad Coppersmiths, who visited Great Britain eleven years ago, has been studied by several members, and their collections have been analysed by the Rev. Canon Ackerley. Among other Romani dialects investigated and illustrated in our pages by Dr. Henri Bourgeois, Johan Miskow, and others, are the Gypsy vernaculars of Russia, Rumania, Hungary, Catalonia, and Germany. From the contributions of several writers our knowledge of English and Welsh Gypsy has also been advanced.

A great number of folk-tales and songs, the simple staple of Romani literature, have been added to the common stock in the Bulgarian tales of Gilliat-Smith, and the German examples of the same collector; the Russian, French, and Spanish specimens of Augustus John; the French of Bataillard, edited by E. O. Winstedt; the English Gypsy tales of T. W. Thompson; the Scotch of Provost Andrew M'Cormick, and the Welsh Gypsy tales and riddles of the present writer.

From past gleaners of Romani we have also learned much. New collections have come to light, and old and valuable published material has been made accessible in reprints edited with knowledge and scholarship. Among the former are the vocabularies of Whiter and Norwood edited by Lady Arthur Grosvenor, and an early glossary of Flemish Gypsy (before 1570) edited by Dr. Kluyver; among the latter, the earliest specimen of the

Gypsy language, the Anglo-Romani of Andrew Borde (1542), edited by H. T. Crofton; the later vocabularies of Bryant, Harriott, Bright, Samuel Roberts, and Tom Taylor, as well as the dialect of the Scottish Tinklers. Lastly, in his learned article on 'The Secret Languages of Ireland,' Professor Kuno Meyer has reproduced in facsimile the two pages of *Dúil Laithne* containing early Irish references to Shelta.

In Romani philology, apart from the informing notes which accompany so many of the papers, we have had special articles of great importance. Professor Finck has dealt very thoroughly with the phonology and etymology of Armenian Gypsy. Professor Wackernagel in his paper on '*Č* and *J*' supplements and corrects the phonetic equations of Ascoli and Miklosich. Gilliat-Smith by his discovery of the *ṛ* in Bulgarian Gypsy has lit upon a new and surprising Indian survival, since this sound would seem to be identical with the rhotacized cerebral *ṛ* (from *ḍ*) of the modern Indian languages. In his comparison of the Gypsy personal pronouns with those of the Indian dialects, Professor Woolner prosecutes a fruitful line of research, which should lead to more definite conclusions as to the original 'beat' of the Gypsies than have hitherto been reached. The reviews of Professor Kuhn, Professor Finck, and Monsieur de Goeje and the notes of many of our members are also of great value.

From the historical side, in his articles on 'Gypsy Nobles,' 'Gypsy Privileges,' and other papers, David MacRitchie has continued the illuminating studies associated with his name. H. T. Crofton has greatly supplemented his useful 'Annals of English Gypsies,' and continued his chronicle of the 'Affairs of Egypt.' To Signor Spinelli we owe the early annals of the Gypsies of Modena; and to Professor Leo Wiener articles on the 'Gypsies as Fortune-tellers' and 'Ishmaelites'; to E. O. Winstedt a helpful paper on the Gypsies of Modon, and to Harald Ehrenborg, Frederick Wellstood, F. W. Brepohl, and Monseigneur J. de Carsalade du Pont noteworthy studies. Early tracts, proclamations, and ordinances dealing with the Gypsies have been reprinted and translated, while Pischel's suggestive *Heimat der Zigeuner* has been presented to English readers in the version of Miss D. E. Yates.

In the fascinating field of anthropology we have had many notable contributions. Dr. Eugène Pittard supplies an authoritative monograph on the physical features of the Gypsies. From

Messrs. Winstedt, Thompson, and Atkinson, Dr. W. Crooke, the Revs. D. Bartlett and H. H. Malleson, and Miss M. E. Lyster we have interesting accounts of Gypsy customs, forms, and ceremonies. To Dr. Crooke and H. L. Williams we owe recondite articles on the pseudo-Gypsy criminal nomads of India, and to John Myers some curious information on Gypsy *Drab*. We have had papers on the 'Gypsy Lathe' by Julius Teutsch, and on the 'Tarot or Gypsy Cards' by Dr. Ranking. Gypsy costume has been interestingly dealt with by H. T. Crofton and Sir J. H. Yoxall. By the labours of the Rev. George Hall, our Secretary, and others, we have been able to print elaborate genealogies of English and Welsh Gypsy families.

Regional, statistical, and descriptive accounts of various Gypsy tribes and bands have been given in our pages. Arthur Thesleff has treated exhaustively of the Finnish Gypsies, Gilliat-Smith of the Gypsies of the Rhine and the *Lalere Sinte*, and Macfie of the Balkan Gypsies, with some of whom he travelled across Bulgaria. Andalusian Gypsies have been described by Gallichan, Bosnian by Gjorgjević, Danish by Miskow, Oriental Gypsies by Sinclair, and the Nawar by Père Anastās.

In the realm of art, we have had literary articles by Arthur Symons and Charles Bonnier, Romani poems by Sir Donald MacAlister, delightful presentations of Gypsies by Augustus John, sketches by Joseph Pennell, and photographs by Fred Shaw. Lastly, published as special monographs of the Gypsy Lore Society, we should mention the invaluable *Gypsy Bibliography*, a work initiated by Macfie and compiled with scholarly care by Dr. G. F. Black; the Index of the Old Series by Alexander Russell; and R. A. S. Macalister's *Grammar and Vocabulary of the Language of the Nawar* already mentioned.

Since 1914 *Ō Meriben*, that merciless *Čeribaši*, has taken grievous toll of our members.

> 'For some we loved, the loveliest and the best
> That from his Vintage rolling Time has prest,
> Have drunk their Cup a Round or two before,
> And one by one crept silently to rest.'

Reading the roll in order of membership, we have lost in Archibald Constable a 'verray parfit gentil knight,' and a staunch upholder of the Society; and in Justin Huntly M'Carthy a gifted dramatist, novelist and translator of Omar Khayyam and Hafiz. Professor John Ferguson of Glasgow, in addition to his reputation

as a chemist (and alchemist), was a distinguished archæologist and bibliographer, and a member of the Royal Company of Archers, the King's Bodyguard for Scotland. Dr. Ernst Kuhn's world-wide renown in the field of comparative philology is familiar to all: the Society remembers with gratitude his courteous and helpful response to every appeal. From the roll of original members the names of Colonel W. F. Prideaux and Captain Frederick Huth are also missing. Our members will regret the loss of Sidney Perkins, a genial personality and ardent linguist, who has repeatedly placed his knowledge of little-known languages at the service of the Society. The Rev. Herbert Harry Malleson will be remembered for his inimitable sketches of English Gypsy Life in his *Napoleon Boswell*. So, too, will his, and our, old friend the Rev. George Hall, raciest of raconteurs and author of *The Gypsy's Parson*. The genealogies of English Gypsies collected by the latter gentleman, as illustrated by his comprehensive pedigree of the Herons, are a model of their kind. Our esteemed member Captain Charles Dennis Fisher fell at the Battle of Jutland, and with his name may be remembered that of Captain L. G. Baker. In Monsieur Léon Clugnet and Señor Professor Don Samuel Quevedo we have lost two scholars, whose Gypsy studies extended to almost every dialect. Arthur Thesleff, in virtue of his *Wörterbuch des Dialekts der finnländischen Zigeuner*, takes rank as one of the greatest of Gypsy collectors. The dialect, which he records in so faithful and scholarly a fashion, is of the utmost interest, especially to English tsiganologues, who will recognise in Finnish Gypsy a close kinship with older British Romani. The roll of dead members would not be complete without adding the names of Lord Moreton and the Honourable Robert Phillimore. Two other names of scholars, contributors to our *Journal* though not members of our Society, should not be forgotten, that of Reinhold Urban, *Zigeunerfreund* and editor of the *Hefte für Zigeunerkunde*, and that of my one-time near and dear friend Kuno Meyer, to whom, as in the Transylvanian folk-tale, Death came indeed as a lover and a friend.

Te sovén miští!

II.—STUDIES IN ROMANI PHILOLOGY

By Alfred C. Woolner

I

Personal Pronouns

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.—In so far as the solution of the problem of the origin of the Gypsies can ever be determined by philology, that solution, I am convinced, will be largely bound up with the progress made in working out the history of the Indo-Aryan vernaculars. Since the days of Miklosich a great advance has been made in Indian philology. There is still a great deal to be done; but, thanks especially to the labours of Sir George Grierson, the editor of the *Linguistic Survey of India*, a new field of research has been opened up, and the story of the Indian languages has become at once more complex and more coherent.

The publication of certain volumes of the *Survey* has been unfortunately delayed. The minute phonetic study of Indian dialects is only in its infancy. We may yet expect more information about the dialects in the Apabhraṃśa stage that followed (linguistically) the stage known to us from the literary Prākrits. There are many MSS. in the more archaic forms of the modern vernaculars yet to be critically examined.

Hence it may seem premature to attempt any revision of Romani philology.

Nevertheless there is already material available that seems to warrant a modification of views widely prevalent.

Romani as it left the Indian area was not necessarily an unmixed dialect, hence it is desirable that any general conclusion should be based on an open-minded examination of particular features and groups of words.

In the case of certain such particulars, the evidence seems to me to point to two conclusions with regard to at least the main part of the structure of the Indian stratum. Those conclusions would be (*a*) that this Indian stratum is in essentials later than Apabhraṃśa; (*b*) that it belonged rather to the Central area than to the extreme North-West or the Hindu Kush. One of the features that seems to point to these results is supplied by the personal pronouns.

Personal Pronouns[1]

1*st Person*

Nom. Singular. *me* = 'I.'

As in many Indian and Iranian languages, Romani has replaced the original Nominative by an Oblique form.

The Nominative was in Sanskrit *aham*, in Prākrits *ahaṃ*, *haṃ*, in Apabhraṃśa *haũ* (through **ahakaṃ*, Pischel, *Prākrit Grammar*, p. 293). From this came the archaic Hindī forms *haũ*, *hũ*, and old Panjābī *haũ*. It has survived in Sindhī *ãũ*, *ã*, Gujarātī *hũ*, and Rājasthānī *hũ*; also in several Himālayan dialects, *e.g.* Kuḷuī, Cameāḷī (and Sãsī) *haũ*, Kāngṛī, Gujurī *hũ*, Bhagāṭī *aũ*, and others *hã*, *ã*, *āẽ*. In other languages this Nominative has been replaced by the Agent form derived from the Old Indian Instrumental.

Sanskrit, *mayā* 'by me'; Prākrit, *mae* (Māgadhī, *maï*, *me*).

Apabhraṃśa, *maī*.

Hindī, Panjābī,[2] *maĩ*; Rājasthānī, *maĩ* and *mã*; Bihārī, *mẽ*.

Himālayan dialects, *maĩ*, *mẽ*, and *mũ*.

Marāṭhī, *mī*; Oṛiyā, *mu*; Bengali, *mui*; Nepali, *ma*.

Apart from the nasalisation, the Romani form coincides with Bihārī and Himālayan dialects—Punchī, Ḍhūṇḍī, Tināulī.

We may compare also the Agent forms distinct from the Nominative of Kāshmīrī and allied dialects, *mĕ*, *mĕh*, also used for Accusative and Dative. The Agent forms have in fact tended to fuse with the Accusative-Dative; Ardhamāgadhī *me* (coincides with Sanskrit enclitic Dative-Genitive), Apabhraṃśa *maï*. Hence if Romani *me* is Indian we have a wide area whence it could have come; but the general indication is against Sindhī and Gujarātī, where the old Nominative survives, and the Oṛiyā and Bengali, where the characteristic forms have the vowel *u*. The form *could* be *Iranian*. Persian and Baločī replace the old Nominative (represented by Pashtu *za*, Kurd *az*) with what was originally an Oblique form.

Persian, *man*; dialects, *me*, *mun*, *men*, *mu*, *mi*.

Baločī, *man*, *ma*.

The pronominal system as a whole, however, seems to be Indian rather than Iranian.

[1] Miklosich, *Mundarten*, xi. 22-24.

[2] The pronunciation of the Panjābī word differs from the Hindī, but this difference is unimportant here.

Of the *Dardic* forms, Kāshmīrī *mĕ* has been mentioned, but this is still distinct from the Nominative *bŏh*. Šiṇā has *mā*, Maiyā *mă*. Other forms are still more distant, *e.g. onĕ, awa, ya, unzū*.

Oblique Singular. *man* = 'me.'
Acc. *man*.
Dat. *mande* for **man*+*te*.
mange for **man*+*ke*.

In *India* the Oblique form is generally derived from a Prākrit Genitive (Beames, *Comparative Grammar*, ii. 305).

Prākrit, *majjha*; Hindī, *mujh*; Gujarātī-Marāṭhī, *maj*.

Apabhr., *mahũ*; Bengali, Oṛiyā, Old Hindī, *mo*; Maithilī, *mohi*; Nepali, *mo*; Sindhī, *mã, mă*.

Beames proposed to bring in Rom. *man* here by writing it *mă*; but (*a*) Romani has *mo* for the Genitive;
(*b*) the vowel of *man* appears to be short;
(*c*) Romani is generally *less* nasalised than Sindhī.

Romani *man* may have been borrowed from, or influenced by, the Persian *man*, which was originally Oblique, is still so used in the Genitive construction *dost-i-man* 'friend of me = my friend,' and is used as an Accusative in some dialects instead of *marā* (for **man-rā*).

It is, however, probably unnecessary to go out of India to account for the *n* of *man*. Whatever be the correct derivation, in each case *n* or corresponding nasal appears in the following Indian forms.

Dative-Acc. Gujurī, *mana*; Maṇḍeāḷī, *mun-jo* (also *mã-jo*); Kāngṛī, Cameāḷī, *minjo*.

Ablative. Baghātī, *man de*; Choṭā Banghāḷī, *mañge*.

Genitive. Curāhī, *mindā*; Pangwāḷī, *mān*.

Gujurī is the dialect of the nomad race of Gujurs closely allied to the Mewāṛī dialect of Rājasthānī; the others are Himālayan dialects (*vide* Grahame Bailey, *Languages of the Northern Himālayas*).

The parallels *mande* and *mange*, though used for a different case, are striking. We must, however, not conclude that the Romani forms are necessarily derived from the Northern Himālayas, for many of these hill dialects are derived from Rajputānā. (See however Grierson's Pahāṛī volume.)

Genitive Singular. Possessive adjective ='my.'

Romani *mo*; also *minro* and *mro*, all declined.

Pott., i. 229, quotes also *miro*, Anglo-Rom. *meero*.

Miklosich (xii. 9) for the Greek dialect *munro*.

Von Sowa (*Mundart d. slov. Zig.*, p. 68) also gr. *mindo*, mg. *mundo*.

Of these forms we may distinguish *mo* from the rest.

(1) *mo* is an old Oblique form used for the Genitive and also other cases (see under *man* above). It was so used in Old Hindī, as in Chand Bardai about the fourteenth century A.D. Romani declines it by analogy with *minro*, *amaro*, etc.

This Oblique *mo* appears in Bengali, Oṛiyā ='me'; combined with Genitive suffix *r*, *mor* ='my' in Bihārī, Bengali, Oṛiyā, Assamese. Dat.-Accusatives are formed from it by Curāhī *mõnī*, Pangwāḷī *mõdī*.

The Sindhī *māhūjo* and Bihārī, Braj, *mohi* show more archaic forms nearer the Apabhraṃśa *mahũ*.

(2) *minro* was regarded by Miklosich as having developed in Romani from **man-ro* (x. 15). Von Sowa considers it to be Indian.

The suffix *ro*, *rā*, etc., is widely used in India to form the Genitive adjective of the 1st and 2nd person pronouns. (In Rājasthānī it is used with nouns.) Thus we have *merau*, Braj, Kotgurū; *mero*, Rājasthānī, Gujurī, Nepali; *māro*, Gujarātī, Marwāṛī; *merā*, Hindī, Panjābī; *meru*, Bhadrawāhī. The Eastern languages have the short form *mor*.

For the element *min* we may compare Curāhī *miṇḍā* and the Dat.-Acc. *minjo* in Cameāḷi and Kāngṛī.

Granting that *min* is in each case derived from *man*, this change, *a* becomes *i*, is common in Hindī and Panjābī, still more so in Sindhī and Rājasthānī.

Apabhr. *ganéi* 'he counts,' Hindī √*gin*, Rom. *gen*.

Apabhr. *khaṇaṃ* 'a moment,' Sindhī *khin*, Hindī, Panjābī, etc. *chin*.

By way of contrast may be added Marāṭhī *mājhā* (Apabhr. *majjhu*, Pkt. *majjha*); Kāshmīrī *mion*" and similar forms in related dialects in the Northern Himālayas; Sirājī *mīṇo*.

For the *Dardic* languages other than Kāshmīrī Sir George Grierson gives *ĩ*, *ima*, *um*, *endeš*, *mēnā*, *mai*, *mă*, *mei*, *me*, and in one dialect *mo*. None of these apparently is declined.

In the *Iranian* languages there is no such possessive adjective.

In Persian one can say *dost-i-man* or *dostam* for 'my friend.'

In some dialects *min* and *mun* occur instead of *man*. A suffix *-ro, -rā* occurs and is added to Oblique forms to form Dative-Accusatives corresponding to *marā*. The forms in other Iranian languages are of no assistance. None of the Iranian forms are declined.

Hence we may conclude the Romani forms are of Indian origin. *mo* is evidence against Sindhī or Kāshmīrī. *minro, mindo* (like *mande* above) suggests relationship with the Himālayan dialects, the history of which has yet to be worked out. *miró* may be a later derivative of *minró* (for dropping of *n* cf. *yāro* = egg, with *anḍu*, Apabhr. *aṇḍu*) or a weakened form of *mēro. mro* obviously from *miró. mun* for *min* or *man* could have originated anywhere along the line.

Nom. Plural. amén = 'we.'

Russian Gypsy, according to Patkanov, has *amé.*

As in the case of the singular, the Old Indian Nom. plural (Skt. *vayam* and some Pkts. *vaaṃ*) has disappeared in Romani and nearly all the modern Indo-Aryan vernaculars. It survives in Koṭhāi *ẽ* and *āẽ*, and in Eastern Kiũṭhalī *āẽ* (Himālayan).

Most Prākrits had *amhe*, Apabhraṃśa *amhe* or *amhaĩ*, in origin an Oblique form (= Vedic *asmé*, Dative and Locative).

Derived from this we have *amhe* in Oṛiyā; *āmhī*, Marāṭhī; *mhẽ, mẽ*, Rājasthānī; *ame*, Gujarātī; *ame*, Bhīlī; *āmi*, Bengali; *hāmi*, Nepali; *hāmẽ*, Outer Sirājī; *hamẽ*, Baghāṭī, etc.; *ham*, Hindī; and others.

From the same or another form such as the Apabhr. Genitive *amhahā, hamā* in Rājasthānī, and *amā* in Bhīlī.

A distinct family is found in the North-West.

Sindhī, Panjābi, *asĩ*; Lahndā, *assā*; Kāshmīrī, *ạsi*; Himālayan dialects *āssẽ, asĩ, asā, as, ās, āh.*

This group is derived from the Old Indian Genitive *asmākam* or from *asme*, by assimilation *-sm-* becomes *-ss-*. Grierson has suggested that it is due to Dardic influence. Besides Kāshmīrī other dialects of the Hindu Kush group have the forms *asẽ, ispā*; also *asei* = 'our,' *as* = 'our,' *zā* = 'our.' Others again show *ema, yema, ama, hamā, ābi, beh, be, ma.*

Here again the evidence favours the Central languages as against the N.W., the extreme East, and the South.

Some of these *amhe* languages develop a secondary Oblique form by analogy with nouns, *e.g.* Hindī, Nom. *ham*, Oblique *hamõ*. Very possibly Romani has done the same. If so, *amé*, as in Russian Gypsy, is the original Nominative and *amén* is a secondary Oblique corresponding to the Oblique plural of nouns.

Of Iranian languages Kurdish has *am*, *áme*; the others can be safely ruled out in this case.

Persian *mā* (dialects *hămā*, *amā*, omitting irrelevant variations), Baloči *mā*, and so on.

Oblique Plural. *amén* = 'us.'

Identical with the Nom., as in several Indian languages.

Hindī *hamõ* has been quoted above. It is a secondary Oblique by analogy with the noun. Cf. Nom. plural *ghoṛe* 'horses,' Oblique plural *ghoṛõ*. Other Oblique forms of the *amhe* group differ only slightly from the Nominative (frequently ending in *ā*, while the Nom. has *e*) and add nothing to the elucidation of *amén*. Similarly with the *as* group.

Apart from the addition of *rā* for Dative-Accusative, as in Persian and Baloči, the Iranian forms are mainly identical with the Nominative. In the Caspian dialects of Persian there is a variety of forms, including *amā* = 'we,' *amĭ* = 'us.'

Genitive Plural. Possessive adjective, *amaro* = 'our.'

The Old Indian *asmākam* (Gen. pl.) is represented in Apabhraṃśa by *amhahā*; to a derivative of this was added a Genitive (adjectival) suffix. Thus with suffix *-ro*, *-rā*, or *-r* we have Braj, *hamāran*: Hindī, *hamārā*; Gujarātī, *āmāro*; Bhīlī, *amāro*; Nepali, *hāmro*; Rājasthānī, *mhāro*, *māro*; Kāngṛī, Sā̃sī, *mhārā*; Himālayan dialects, *māhrā*, *māhro*; Bhojpurī, *hamār*; Bengali, *āmār*; Oṛiyā, *amhar*; with suffix *-no*, Rājasthānī *mhā̃no*; with *-ko*, Rājasthānī *mhā̃ko*; and with *-tsa*, Marāṭhī *āmatsa*.

Other forms are derived from the *as* form of the pronoun.

So Panjābī *āsā-ḍā*; Lahndā *assāḍā*; Sindhī *asā̃-jo*; Himālayan dialects *assārā*, *sāṛā*, *asrā*, etc.

Kāshmīrī has *sân*^{u}; Kishṭawāṛī, *asun*; other Himālayan dialects *hiēāṇ*, *hĕṇ*, *hin*.

Other Dardic languages have forms identical with the Nominative, and *amo*, *homa*, *mo*. None of them are declined.

There is nothing in the Iranian languages that could have produced *amāro*.

Again the indication is to the Centre, not to N.W., East, or South.

2nd Person

Nom. Singular. *tu* = 'thou.'

This form is found in Indian, Dardic, and Iranian languages.

In India *tu, tū, tũ, tẵ* are derived from Apabhraṃśa *tuhũ*.

Oblique Singular. *tu-* (Acc. *tut*) = 'thee.'

From Apabhraṃśa *taũ* (Genitive) came Old Hindī *to*, a form which is still widely spread. *Tu* or *tū* appear in Marāṭhī, Rājasthānī, and in the Halabī Dat. *tuke*. Apabhr. *tujjhu* accounts for W. Hindī *tujh*, for *tuj* in Braj, Gujarātī, and Rājasthānī, and for *tudz* in Marāṭhī.

Apabhr. *taī* for Panjābī *tai*, Rājasthānī *taī*, Bhīlī *te*, Nepali *ta*.

Sindhī *tūhũ*, Braj *tohi* (also Bhojpurī) are more archaic.

None of these elucidate *tut*. Kalina said this was short for *tu-tu*!

Conceivably it could be a shortened form of *túte*.

There is a possible Indian derivation. Bhaṭeāli has the Agent and Prepositional form *tuddh*, Maṇḍeāḷī (another Hill dialect) has Ablative *tuddh-ge* and *tut-the*. This base *tuddh* should become *tuth* in Romani.

It is evidently related to the Apabhraṃśa (Genitive) *tudh-ra* given by Hemacandra, who lived in N. Gujarat in the twelfth century. Pischel described the form *tudhra* as remarkable (*Prākrit Grammar*, p. 297).

Dardic and Iranian dialects throw no light on the question.

Genitive Singular. *to, tinro* = 'thy.'

These rhyme with *mo, minro*. Similarly in India we find *merā terā, māro tāro, mor tor*, in Old Hindī *mo to*, in Sindhī *muhũ jo, tuhũ jo*, and so on. Similarly Curāhī *miṇḍā tiṇḍā*.

Two Dardic dialects have *to*, the rest and the Iranian languages have nothing that can be compared with the Romani or Indian forms.

Nominative Plural. *tumén* = 'ye.'

Russian Gypsy *tumé*.

Probably *tumén*, like *amén*, is a secondary Oblique, and *tumé* is the original Nominative in Romani; while *tumé* itself, like the

parallel Indian forms, is by origin Oblique. The Old Indian Nominative *yūyam* has completely disappeared. Even in the Prākrits it was replaced by *tumhe, tubbhe,* or similar forms. Apabhraṃśa *tumhe* (Oblique *tumhahā*). In the modern vernaculars we find *tumhī* in Marāṭhī; *tumhā* in Oṛiyā; *tumh* in Eastern Hindī; *tum* in W. Hindī, etc.; and in some of the Hill dialects *tumẽ, tume, tumme, tŏmme.* Due apparently to rhyming with the 1st person plural are Gujarātī *tam, tamē*; Bhīlī *tamā*; Rājasthānī *tam*; Gujurī *tam*; and other variants with the vowel *a.*

Another method of treatment is shown in Sindhī *tahvī, tahĭ,* etc.; and Rājasthānī *thē, thẽ.*

A separate group (corresponding to the *as* group in the 1st person) is represented by Panjābī *tusĭ*; Lahndā *tussā*; and Himālayan forms *tus, tŭsse, tussẽ, tusī,* etc.

Of the Dardic languages Kāshmīrī has *toh*ᵘ, one *thā*, another *tus.* The rest are entirely different. Persian *šumā* and other Iranian forms are irrelevant.

Oblique Plural. tumán = 'you.'

Some Indian dialects distinguish an Oblique form, *e.g.* Marāṭhī *tumhā* or *tumhã* (Nom. *tumhī*), derived from Apabhraṃśa *tumhahā*; but in the majority Nom. and Acc. are identical. The two forms are often used indifferently for either case, *e.g.* Bhīlī *tamā* or *tamẽ.*

Genitive Plural. Possessive adjective, *tumaro* = 'your.'

Apabhraṃśa *tumhahā* + suffix *-ro*, cf. *amaro.*

Clearly shown in Braj, *tumhāran*: W. Hindī, *tumhārā*; Old Āwadī *tumhārā*, modern *tumār*: Oṛiyā, *tumhar*; Eastern Hindī, *tumhār*; Kiũṭhalī, *tumāhro*; and Bundelī, *tumāro.*

With *a* for *u*, Old Gujarātī *tamhāran*, modern *tahmāro*; Rājasthānī, Bhīlī, *tamāro.*

Shorter forms are Marāṭhī *ṭhāro*, Rājasthānī *thāro* (also in the Hills). Other Genitive suffixes are shown by Panjābī, *tumāḍā, tuhāḍā*; Sindhī, *tahvā jo*; Marāṭhī, *tumtsa*; Kāshmīrī, *tuhund.* Then there is a *tus* group, *e.g.* Kuḷuī, *tussārā*; Tināulī, *tusdā*; Kishtawārī, *tusun.*

The Dardic, besides Kāshmīrī, have one *thō.* The others are strikingly different, e.g. *šā, vima, asēn, hemā, me, mīmī, pisa, čei.*

3rd Person

	Singular		*Plural*
Nom. Masc.	*ov* (*yov*).	Fem. (*oi yoi*).	*ol* (*yon, yol*).
Oblique	*les.*	*la.*	*len.*

The Indian languages have, strictly speaking, no 3rd person pronouns, but have always used one or other of the demonstrative pronouns.

So in Sanskrit *tam* meant 'him,' 'that one' (masc.), or could be added to a noun '*tam rājānam*' = 'that king' or 'him the king.'

saḥ, so = he, *sā* = she, *tad* = it, that; all other forms being derived from base *ta-*, rarer *syaḥ, syā, tyad* (the rest from *tya*), still rarer and defective the base *ena*.

Prākrit used the bases *sa-, ta-, eṇa-*, and also *ṇa*.

Apabhraṃśa also *usa-* (Skt. *asau*, 'that,' masc. nom.), *aha* (*s*→*h*) and apparently *ava-* (a pronominal base also found in Iranian), *e.g.* *oi* nom. plural.

Forms from *sa-* still survive, *e.g.* Hindī *so* (generally a correlative).

From *ta-* Old Hindī had *taun*, Oblique *tas*. Modern Hindī has Oblique *tis*; several Hill dialects *tĕs*; Sindhī *tāhī*, and so on.

From *aha-* or *ava-* Hindī *u, ō, vah* (Chand *uh*); Urdū *wuh*, Braj *wō*; Panjābī *uh*; Sindhī *ū, hū, hō*; Bengali *ō*; Bihārī *ō* or *ū* = he, she, it. Oblique *us, uh*. Plural *ve, wai, un*, etc.

The derivation of some of the forms is made the more obscure by the development of a formal principle by which the vowel *u* indicates the far-demonstrative 'that' and the vowel *i* the near 'this.' This was not the case in the older stages of the language.

Turning now to the Romani forms, we find *ov* = 'he' corresponds to the widely spread *ō* (cf. *√*sov* to sleep, Hindī √*sō*; √*thov* to wash, Hindī *dhō*).

Šiṇā has *ō*, the other Dardic dialect forms with *s-, t-*, or of a different type. Middle Persian had *ō*, Modern Persian *ō* or *ū*, Kurdish *āu*.

oi 'she.' This is possibly a Romani formation, as the Indian languages rarely distinguish 'she,' but Apabhraṃśa *oi* = 'they' shows the possibility of a derivation from **avī*.

The plural *ol* is for **on* (*l* for *n* is a common change in India and in Romani), and the form *yon* is nearer the original. Cf. Hindī *un*, Awadhī *on*, Bhadrawāhī *oṇ*, etc.

Kāshmīrī *timan* is from a different base; nor do any of the

Dardic dialects show any form resembling *on* or *ol*. Among the Iranian forms the nearest are Persian *ūnó* (Central dialect)= literary *ēšān*; *yun* (Caspian dialect) and Kurdish *avān*.

The forms in *l-*, *les-*, *la-*, *len-* are generally referred to the Indian base *ta-*, so that *les* corresponds to Himālayan *tĕs*, Old Hindī *tas*, Prākrit *tassa*. There seems, however, to be no other instance of an *initial* Indian *t* becoming *l* in Romani; whereas in Armenian Gypsy, where initial *d*→*l*, this happens every time, *lui*=*dui*, *leval* =*deval*, etc. Hence it seems more probable that the *l-* forms are derived from the Prākritic base *ṇa-*.

At the same time it is true that *t-* forms are very common, and *ṇaṃ*, etc., was never common in literature, and does not seem to have survived in India.

les-, *la-*, *len-* follow the nominal declension.

The forms discussed above are all used as separate words. The Iranian languages use also pronominal suffixes, *e.g.* Persian *dast-aš* 'his hand,' *dīdam-at* 'I saw thee.'

The same phenomenon is apparent in nearly all the Dardic languages. It is also found in India in the North-West, as in Sindhī and Lahndā, and in the East as in Bihārī. In these the pronominal affix is commoner with verbs, but instances with nouns occur, *e.g.* Sindhī *piu-me* 'my father,' *piu-e* 'thy father,' *piu-se* 'his father,' *piu-va* 'your father.'

The question of pronominal affixes in Romani verbal forms may be reserved for consideration in connection with the conjugation of verbs. In the meantime I believe it is true that Romani does not add pronominal suffixes to nouns.

[*Note.*—Since the above was written more volumes of the *Linguistic Survey of India* have appeared: in particular, Vol. VIII. Pt. I., Sindhī and Lahndā; Pt. II., Dardic or Piśācha Languages; and Vol. IX. Pt. IV., Pahārī and Gujurī. Some of the dialects quoted above have been more accurately classified, and some modifications made in the names used.

Koṭkhāi is a small state about 20 miles E. of Simla, lying in the Kiũṭhalī area, and divided between the Simla Sirājī and Barārī dialects.

Koṭgurū (Kotgarh), about 20 miles N.E. of Simla, lies in the area of Grierson's Šodōchī.

Choṭā Banghālī is a dialect of Mandeālī spoken in the extreme N. of the Mandi State.

Ḍhūṇḍī is a dialect of Lahndā spoken in the hills of the Hazara district near Muree.

Tināulī is a dialect of Lahndā spoken in the Tināwal hills on the West of Hazara district.]

III.—THE NORWOOD GYPSIES AND THEIR VOCABULARY

By Eric Otto Winstedt

OF the several places in England which have been famous as the haunts of Gypsy fortune-tellers, none has been quite so well known or so long patronized as Norwood. Indeed, though it may be true that Margaret Finch was, as she is generally said to have been, the first of the actual Norwood Queens, one may almost claim that our knowledge of English Gypsies begins there. For Norwood is in the parish of Lambeth: and the earliest definite reference to a Gypsy in England—as distinct from Scotland—is one in a work of Sir Thomas More[1] to an 'Egypcian' woman who 'was lodged' at Lambeth and told fortunes in 1514. She was said—though perhaps only on her own authority—to have left England. But it would seem that she had successors: at any rate, when Pepys says that his 'wife and Mercer and Deb. went with Pelling to see the gypsies at Lambeth, and have their fortune told,'[2] he speaks as though Lambeth were a well-known resort of Gypsies, as Norwood was later. And it is probably this Lambeth colony which, soon after Mrs. Pepys' visit, shifted further from the town into the woodland district that stretched on either side of Norwood from Dulwich to Penge and Anerley. Possibly Dulwich was the next step, as on June 2, 1687, 'Robert Hern and Elizabeth Bozwell, king and queen of the gipsies,' were married at Camberwell,[3] which then served as the parish church for Dulwich. Norwood, however, may have been their centre even then, since the chapel of Norwood does not seem to have contented the Gypsy potentates when they wished for a church ceremony. Bridget, a later queen, was buried at Dulwich in days when the College was not too exclusive to include ordinary parishioners, as it had been till the end of the seventeenth century:[4] and her aunt,

[1] *A dyaloge of syr Thomas More* (London. 1529), bk. iii. ch. 15, fol. xci. recto; and *J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, i. 7.

[2] Pepys' *Diary* under the date Aug. 11, 1668. The connection of this colony with that at Norwood has been suggested by several persons, *e.g.* T. Allen, *The History and Antiquities of the Parish of Lambeth* (London, 1827), pp. 425-9; J. Larwood and J. C. Hotten, *History of Signboards*, 3rd ed. (London, 1866), p. 503; J. Timbs, *English Eccentrics* (London, 1866), vol. i. pp. 192-3.

[3] Lysons, *The Environs of London*, vol. i. (London, 1792), p. 83, and Groome, *In Gipsy Tents*, p. 109, to which I am indebted for several other references.

[4] Lysons, *op. cit.*, vol. i. p. 107.

Margaret Finch, was buried at Beckenham, though both died at Norwood. It is, therefore, perhaps worth pointing out that the Beckenham parish registers contain a 'curious entry in November 1711, the meaning of which we have not been able to ascertain, "old Goody Musgrave (vulgo dicta ye Queene's mother)." Whether the old lady was so called from her resemblance to, or whether she claimed to have been foster-mother of, some Royal Personage, or possibly the mother of the Queen of the Gipsies, is uncertain.'[1] As the Queen of England at that time was Caroline of Anspach, it seems improbable that the inhabitants of Beckenham would have been familiar with the features of her mother, who presumably lived in Germany: nor is it very likely that her foster-mother would be living at Beckenham: and why the old lady should have been called the 'mother of the Queen,' if she had been the foster-mother of any other royal personage, is incomprehensible to me. There remains the possibility of her being mother to a Queen of the Gypsies, though one must admit that it is odd to say simply 'Queen' when one means 'Queen of the Gypsies,' even in a district where Gypsy Queens were familiar. Also the name Musgrave is not a known Gypsy name: indeed, I can only quote three instances of vagrants with a similar name—Anthony Musgrove, who was sentenced at 'High holborne' to be whipped and burned on the right ear for his vagrancy in 1573;[2] 'William child of William Musgrave, beggar, wandering in the cuntre; his wyffe being delivered of her child-birth at Hibsapittes,' baptized November 23, 1578, at Leeds;[3] and 'Christofer Musgrave a poore travellinge boy,' buried at Whitburn, November 22, 1624.[4]

Still comparatively little is known of Gypsy names of this earlier period, and the name of the only known Gypsy King contemporary with Goody Musgrave and in the same locality, George Powell, who was buried at Newington, aged forty-six, in 1704 or 1705,[5] will probably strike most people as equally improbable. Yet

[1] R. Borrowman, *Beckenham Past and Present* (Beckenham, 1910), p. 24.

[2] *Middlesex County Records* . . . ed. by J. C. Jeaffreson, vol. i. p. 81, under the date 17 March, 15 Elizabeth. It is, however, a name in use among the potters of the north of England.

[3] *Leeds Parish Church Registers* (Publications of the Thoresby Society), vol. i. part i. (Leeds, 1889), p. 22. The entry reads: $\begin{cases} \text{Fraunces} \\ \text{William} \end{cases}$, but Fraunces is partly erased and seems to be repeated from the previous line.

[4] H. M. Wood, *The Registers of Whitburn* . . . *Durham* (Sunderland, 1904), p. 142.

[5] Aubrey, *Natural History and Antiquities of the County of Surrey*, vol. v. p. 136, and *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 319. Mr. G. Waine of Newington kindly informs me

it was a Gypsy name in the seventeenth century; for 'on the 21 December [1658] Robert Poole and Mary his wife, of "Rumnell," Kent, and William Finch and Madlyn his wife, of Church Tanton, Devon, were sent in [to the house of correction at Marlborough] for travelling up and down the country "in the tire of Egiptians." They all had "sharp correction," and were sent home with passes.'[1] Nor is that the only evidence for the clan, as the following most unusual notice, which appeared in *Mist's Weekly Journal* for March 12, 1726, shows: 'This is to give Notice, that there are several idle vagabond People called Gypsies, and distinguish'd by the Name of Powell's Gang, about fifty in Number; and are lodg'd and entertain'd at a House in Kent-street, and in Bird-Cage-Alley opposite to the King's-Bench, that go about the City and Suburbs pretending to tell Fortunes, and and [*sic!*] thereby cheat and impose upon young People, and the Ignorant and Unwary.—Now any Person that has been defrauded or cajoled out of Money or Goods by them, are [*sic!*] desired to apply to William Jones at the Raven and Bottle in the Old Mint, who will help you to them, and also to a Person that will be at the Charge of prosecuting them.' No prosecution appears to have followed; so perhaps the gang got wind of that vindictive person's threats and dispersed. One of them was in Oxfordshire a few months later, as 'William a Son of one Powell a travelling tinker' was buried at Watlington on December 20, 1726: and that is the last occurrence of the name, as a Gypsy surname, known to me, except for 'Mary Powel, a Traveller,' who was buried at West Wycombe, Bucks., on July 12, 1766.[2]

The first of these references is of special interest, as it suggests a connection between the Powells and the next royal dynasty—the Finches—in the childhood not only of George Powell but also of Margaret Finch, the best known of the Norwood Gypsy Queens, and the one from whom the inn called the Gipsy House, or the Old Gipsy House, took its name. Of her and her eccentricities many accounts have been given:[3] but none of them adds

that the register gives the date of Powell's burial as 3rd January 1705/6, a year later than the tombstone copied by Aubrey.

[1] *Report on MSS. in Various Collections* (Historical MSS. Commission), vol. i. Records of Quarter Sessions in the County of Wilts., p. 136.

[2] Both these references are taken from the bishop's transcripts of the registers, now in the Bodleian Library.

[3] *E.g.* D. Lysons, *The Environs of London*, vol. iv. (London, 1796), pp. 301-2, where the entry in the Beckenham parish register is quoted—'Margaret Finch, buried Oct. 24, 1740'—and an account of her niece and granddaughter is given;

anything, except the exact date of her death, to the excellent, though rather incoherent, account given at the foot of the engraving executed in 1742 by H. Roberts from a painting by J. Sracho in 1739, and printed and sold by W. Richardson, Antient and Modern Print Warehouse, 174 Strand. The print represents her squatting in the opening of what is generally referred to as her tent, though the catalogue of portraits in the British Museum [1] elects to call it a cave.[2] In reality the print leaves no doubt that it was a tent-shaped wattled hut made of boughs of trees and shrubs, and perhaps covered with turf. Such huts erected over a shallow hole in the earth were in use by Gypsies on Finchley Common as late as 1818.[3] The lettering beneath the print reads:—

'Margaret Finch, Queen of the Gypsies at Norwood.
This remarkable person was Born at Sutton in Kent, lived to y^e^ Age of 108 [4] Years, after a Course of Traveling y^e^ Kingdom, as Queen of y^e^ Gypsie Tribe, her Place of residence was at Norwood

J. Caulfield, *Portraits, Memoirs, and Characters of Remarkable Persons, from . . . 1688 to the end of the Reign of George II.*, vol. iii. (London, 1820), pp. 247-9, with a copy of Sracho's portrait, engraved by Cook; R. Malcolm, *Curiosities of Biography*; T. Allen, *op. cit.*, p. 429; A. M. Galer, *Norwood and Dulwich* (London, 1890), pp. 10-11; R. Borrowman, *op. cit.*, p. 31; Groome, *op. cit.*, pp. 115-16.

[1] F. O'Donoghue, *Catalogue of Engraved British Portraits . . . in the British Museum*, vol. ii. (1910), p. 212.

[2] Actual caves are attested as Gypsy dwellings at Granada (*J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, i. 287, ii. 192), at Cromarty (*ibid.*, iii. 59), and for Austrian and possibly German Gypsies (Grellmann, *Historischer Versuch*, 2^te^ Aufl. Göttingen, 1787, p. 71, and Heister, *Ethnographische und geschichtliche Notizen*, Königsberg, 1842, p. 25). The two latter refer also to constructed caves, made either by digging up the ground or hollowing the side of a hill. In the first case a roof, and in the second an extension, made of boards and sticks and covered with straw and turf, is added. These constructions are said to be thick and to resemble Kalmuk 'tents,' which are described by Grellmann as having the appearance of 'hooped' petticoats. Margaret Finch's hut looks rather like a section of such a 'beehive' shaped construction of boughs, thickened with straw and turf. Compare also A. F. Crosse's description of a colony of Gypsies near Klopotiva: 'The huts are formed of plaited sticks, with mud plastered in the interstices: this earth in time becomes overgrown with grass, and as the erection is only some seven feet high, it has very much the appearance of an exaggerated mound or anthill' (*Round about the Carpathians*, 1878, p. 143). Cf. also H. Smith, *Tent Life with the Gypsies* (London, 1873), p. 518.

[3] H. Smith, *l.c.*

[4] Her age is given as 109 in most contemporary accounts, *e.g.* the *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. x. (Nov. 1740), p. 571, among deaths in October, 'Margaret Finch, called the Queen of the Gypsies, at Norwood, aged 109'; the *Champion*, No. 151 (Oct. 30, 1740), 'Last Friday Night, after a Funeral Sermon, was buried at Beckenham in Kent, Margaret Fytch, for many Years called the Queen of the Gipsies: Her great Age, which was 109, excited the Curiosity of several to see her at her Palace, which was no farther off than Norwood, by which Means she had collected together a considerable Sum of Money, which enabled her Companions to hire a Hearse and Coaches, when they proceeded to the Place of her Interment with no inconsiderable Solemnity.'

about eleven Years before her decease; & by her constant Custom of Sitting on y^e^ Ground with her Chin resting on her Knees (as above drawn) her Sinews became so Contracted, that she cou'd not extend herself or change her Position, so that when she died her Corps was fore'd to be cram'd into a Box sizeable to her usual Posture, and therein convey'd in a Hearse accompany'd by two Coaches to Becknam in Kent, where she was decently inter'd with a Funeral Sermon Preach'd on y^e^ Occation in y^e^ Year 1740: y^e^ Expence of w^ch^ was defray'd by y^e^ Neighbouring Publicans.[1] The Oddness of her Figure & y^e^ Fame of her Fortune telling, drew a vast Concourse of Spectators from y^e^ highest Rank of Quality, even to those of y^e^ lower Class of Life; these with many other Circumstances (too tedious to Mention) render her an Object of Admiration to this & all future Ages.'

If the account of her age is correct, Margaret may be the person mentioned in the following entry in the Cranford parish registers: '—— Finch, wife of —— Finch, being delivered of three children, two of whom were baptized; one called Faith, and the other Hope; and the third was intended to be called Charity, but died unbaptized. The two were baptized the 22d day of Feb. 1666, but they died and were buried together the next day, being the 23d day of February, 1666-7.'[2] Nothing is said of the parents being travellers: but the omission of their Christian names points that way, as the parish clerk would have known those of his fellow-villagers. Finch itself is an exceedingly unusual name among Gypsies, and I cannot quote any other earlier parallel for it, unless 'Johannes Finch, peregrinus,' who was buried at Birchington, Kent, on September 23, 1615,[3] was a Gypsy. But 'peregrinus' is a very vague term. Nor is the name at all frequent later, though there are still a few travellers who bear it.

One might infer from Pococke's statement in his travels, written in 1754, that Norwood used to be a famous resort for Gypsies,[4] that it was deserted for a time after Margaret's death; but in 1750 the Gypsies were there and received a visit from the

[1] From this one infers that the information was obtained at Norwood at the time of, or soon after, the funeral—and from a publican.

[2] Lysons, *Historical Account of those Parishes in the County of Middlesex which are not Described in the Environs of London* (London, 1800), p. 30.

[3] *The Parish Registers of Birchington, Kent.* Printed at the private press of F. A. Crisp (1899), p. 127.

[4] *The Travels . . . of Dr. Richard Pococke . . .* ed. by J. J. Cartwright, Clarendon Soc., 1889, vol. ii. p. 172.

Prince and Princess of Wales,[1] during the reign of Margaret's niece and successor. Of that successor nothing seems to be known save that she died in her hut at Norwood on August 4, 1768,[2] and was buried at Dulwich. Even her proper name is not mentioned, the newspapers of the time merely referring to her as 'Bridget, Queen of the Gipsies,' and the entry in the Dulwich College register, quoted by Lysons,[3] being 'Old Bridget, the Queen of the Gypsies, buried August 6th.' She is stated to have left behind her a fortune varying in different accounts from £200 to £1000.[4] This estimate did not include all she left, as a year later one finds a notice in the papers that 'A few Days ago a Gypsey Woman, known by the Name of Lady Lincoln, found in a Hole of a Wall, at her Lodgings in Kent-street, Seven Dials, the Foot of an old Stocking, in which was carefully tied up Twenty Pounds seven Shillings and Sixpence, all in Silver. The lodgings were inhabited, during the Winter Season, for nearly thirty Years last past, by Old Bridget, the Norwood Gypsey, who died about three years ago in the same Lodgings.[5] Wednesday Lady Lincoln, the Gypsey, gave an Entertainment at a House called Allen's in the Wood, near Dulwich, to about twenty People, in Memory of Old Bridget, imagining her late good Fortune was owing to her. Lady Lincoln graced the Head of the Table, and a Person who lately kept a Public-House on Norwood-Hill, and goes by the Name of the Secretary to the Gypsies, sat at the Lower End. Music of all Sorts was played till Seven in the Evening, by Gypsies, and then the Company adjourned to Kent-street, Seven Dials'[6]—the street in which Powell's gang was lodged forty years earlier.

[1] Cf. *The Diary of the late George Bubb Dodington, Baron of Melcombe Regis* . . . publ. . . . by Henry Penruddocke Wyndham (Salisbury, 1784), p. 80, under the date June 28, 1750: 'Lady Middlesex, Lord Bathurst, Mr. Breton, and I waited on their Royal Highnesses to Spitalfields, to see the manufactory of silk, and to Mr. Carr's shop in the morning. In the afternoon, the same company with Lady Torrington in waiting, went in private coaches to Norwood Forest to see a settlement of gypsies'; and Groome, *op. cit.*, p. 116.

[2] So the *London Chronicle*, vol. xxiv. No. 1816, Aug. 4-6, 1768, and Lysons, and all subsequent accounts. But oddly Dodsley's *Annual Register* records the death nearly two years later in vol. xiii. (1770), 5th ed., p. 102, April. 'Died lately, at her hut at Norwood, Bridget, the Queen of the Gipseys, who died worth above 1000*l*.' Is this the same person? If so, it is difficult to account for the change of date. Possibly the name Bridget was assumed as a trade name by a successor.

[3] *The Environs of London*, vol. i. p. 107.

[4] According to the *London Chronicle*, *l.c.*, 'upwards of 200*l*.': 'above 1000*l*.' Dodsley's *Annual Register*, *l.c.*

[5] Presumably incorrect, as all other accounts say she died at Norwood; and she died in the summer.

[6] Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, June 3, 1769.

It would appear that a brother or sister of Bridget married a daughter or son of Margaret Finch, and their child, Elizabeth—niece of Bridget and granddaughter of Margaret—was the reigning 'queen' when Lysons wrote, though he says 'Her rank seems to be merely titular; I do not find that the gipsies pay her any particular respect: or that she differs in any other respect, than being a householder, from the rest of the tribe.'[1] She was inhabiting a cottage near the inn called the Gipsy House, which bore as its sign a portrait of her grandmother.[2] Lysons was probably referring to some date between 1790—when, according to the *Dictionary of National Biography*, he was appointed curate of Putney and began his survey of the environs of London—and 1792, when the first volume of his work was published, as in that volume he gives details of Bridget in his account of the parish of Camberwell, and says that he will treat later of Margaret Finch, when he deals with Beckenham. The actual account in which he includes the mention of her granddaughter did not appear till 1796.

There were, however, lesser luminaries at Norwood during the last-mentioned Queen's reign, since 'an aged sybil of some authority among them, named Sarah Skemp, died there in 1790';[3] and it is hardly stepping outside the prescribed area to quote the description of the odd funeral at Newington Butts in October 1773 of one who may have played the 'queen' at Norwood between Bridget and her niece: 'Wednesday evening were interred in the parish church of Newington Butts the remains of an antient Gipsey Woman. The whim of the funeral procession was extremely remarkable; on the hearse, instead of black plumes were placed a number of chimney-sweepers' boys: the procession consisted of a numerous train of coaches filled with persons of both sexes of the Deceased's relations, acquaintance, and complexion, which, together with an immense crowd of the same, who attended, not only intirely filled the church, but afforded to the spectators a sight as extraordinary as it was odd.'[4] Indeed, she is called the 'Queen of the Gypsies' in the account of the burning of her clothes in the middle of the Mint, Southwark, which appears in the *Annual Register*.[5] There her name is given as Dinah Boswell; and,

[1] Lysons, *op. cit.*, iv. p. 302.
[2] Larwood and Hotten, *History of Signboards*, 3rd ed. p. 508.
[3] Cf. F. W. Hackwood, *The Good Old Times* (London, 1910), p. 215.
[4] Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, Oct. 30, 1773.
[5] Vol. xliii. p. 521, Oct. 21; cf. Groome, *In Gipsy Tents*, pp. 116-17.

though they seldom occur in records which mention Norwood itself, the Boswells are known as claiming royalty among the Gypsies in the neighbourhood at that date. The Dianah Boswell, who married a Joseph Lovell at Isleworth on August 9, 1771, was probably a near relative of the old lady buried at Newington; and in the following account of the marriage, which I take from the *London Chronicle*,[1] she is called the 'King of the Gypsies' daughter':—'A few days since was married at Isleworth, the King of the Gypsies' daughter to a second husband: She is about 22 years of age, and the man 17. About twenty couple walked from the Bell to the Church, and returned in the like manner to the same place, after the ceremony was performed; only as they went, the women leant on the men; but on their return back, the men leant on the women. The dinner was served under the four elms on Hounslow-heath, and forty Gipsies sat down together. There was great plenty of all kinds of provision, fowls not excepted, and liquor in the same measure. When they had dined, the standers-by regaled themselves with what they had left, whose number amounted to some hundreds. The bridegroom's pockets were well lined with gold, and the father declared he could give him a thousand pounds.' This Joseph Lovell may be identical with one of the two persons of that name mentioned by Hoyland, and with the Joseph Lovell from whom Copsey derived his vocabulary. But he can hardly be the Joseph Lovell who was condemned to death for damaging houses in Southwark in the Gordon riots in 1780, but reprieved; as this Joseph had a son, Robert, aged 26, who was executed for the same offence along with his paramour, Elizabeth Collins.[2] It was during this period, too, that the presence of a band of Gypsies, who spoke very bad English, and were 'blacker than those who formerly used to be there,' was noted at Norwood.[3] Presumably they were foreign Gypsies, and it is interesting to know that the English Gypsies were already noticeably lighter in hue than their foreign kinsfolk. Unfortunately the meagre notice does not enable one to be certain whether they mixed with the English Gypsies or held aloof from them like the recent bands of foreign Gypsies. The mere fact of their

[1] Aug. 20-22, 1771. The names I owe to the Vicar of Isleworth, who has kindly sent me a copy of the entry in the register, which runs:—'On August 9, 1771, were married in Isleworth Church, Joseph Lovell, Bachelor, and Dianah Boswell, Spinster.'

[2] *London Chronicle*, July 8, 11, 13, 15, 29 and Aug. 8, 1780.

[3] Cf. *London Chronicle*, Jan. 24, 1761 and *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 307.

presence at a well-known resort of English Gypsies is not sufficient evidence of intercourse with them, since the coppersmiths who visited England in 1911, almost as soon as they landed in Liverpool, pitched their tents on a spot much frequented by English Gypsies, though they were incapable of conversing with each other. But, as inflected Romani was in use among English Gypsies 150 years ago, there would not have been the same difficulty: and, though it is improbable that the entire band stayed in England, it is possible that intercourse with, or perhaps even intermarriage between, them and the English Gypsies accounts for the tradition among the Smiths and Lees of East Anglia, that their ancestors came from abroad 150 years ago.

Those were the peaceful days of the Norwood Gypsies: but with the advance of civilization they soon fell on troublous times, and what further news one gets of them is mainly gleaned from police court records. In October 1795 Stephen Lee, John, Robert, Thomas, and Adam, his sons, and Ambrose Boswell[1] were arrested there on suspicion of having committed 'divers footpad robberies in the neighbourhood of Norwood. . . . The prisoners are all tall stout men, and under the denomination of Norwood Gypsies. On the magistrate asking them how they got their living, they replied, by fortune-telling and horse-dealing. It appeared that the prisoners were the terror of the neighbourhood of Norwood; and not one of them has any visible means of getting an honest livelihood.'[2] From which it would appear (perhaps with justice) that horse-dealing is not an honest means of livelihood: also that a fortune-teller should carry an outward and visible sign about with him. It was wiser, however, for him not to carry a watch at this date, as it was specially noted as a suspicious thing that between the six of them they had two silver watches and had recently tried to sell a gold one.[3] Unfortunately I have not been able to find out what their fate was; but, as Adam appears again in 1812

[1] The *London Chronicle*, vol. lxxviii. No. 5672 (Oct. 13-15, 1795), p. 363, gives the names as above. I was, therefore, probably wrong in calling Adam Lee the father of the rest of the party in the *J. G. L. S.*, vi. 19-20. When I did so, I had not seen the account in the *London Chronicle*, and was combining the statement of Frost (*Reminiscences of a Country Journalist*, 1886, pp. 4 *seqq.*) that Adam Lee was the father of Thomas, who was executed with him in 1812, and the account of this band as 'John, Stephen, Robert, Adam, and Thomas Lee (father and sons)' given in Jackson's *Oxford Journal* (not *The Times*, as there stated) for Oct. 17, 1795. Apparently the Thomas of 1812 was different from the Thomas of 1795, and was a grandson of Stephen.

[2] *London Chronicle*, *l.c.*

[3] Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, Oct. 17, 1795.

as an elderly man, charged with a similar crime, I infer that they escaped execution, the surest means of getting one's name mentioned in a newspaper at that date. Indeed, they may have been falsely accused and maligned, as, though Adam was condemned on the next occasion, we shall see that the neighbourhood, of which the family are said to be the terror, regarded him as an inoffensive old fiddler,[1] unjustly condemned.

If, however, as is probable, the John Lee of 1795 was identical with a Gypsy of the same name who was arrested in London only a few months later, in January 1796,[2] the family, if altogether innocent, had a faculty for getting into trouble. He was arrested in a public-house in Butcher Row, the police having traced him thither by following a messenger, whom he had sent to Bow Street to make inquiries after his wife and brother, who had been committed to prison the day before. All were suspected of being concerned in the burglary of a farm-house at Mencedon in Essex. A day or two earlier a Gypsy named Richard Lee had been arrested on the same charge in another public-house in the parish of St. Giles:[3] and probably he was John's brother, though one cannot be sure of that, as two others were already in custody.[4] His arrest was due to the energy of a parson, 'the Rev. Bate Dudley, one of the Magistrates of the county of Essex,' who, knowing him by sight and hearing of his habit of visiting the house in question, obtained a search warrant, which resulted in the arrest of thirty-two men, mostly chimney-sweeps, dustmen, and such like, who, 'with a number of women, had assembled at what is termed a Cock and Hen Club.'[5] Richard was found in a cellar, and taken to the watch-house, 'but in the course of the night got rid of a coat he had on, every button of which was made out of a dollar, and had been particularly described by the persons robbed.' Evidently

[1] Cf. T. Frost, *l.c.*

[2] *London Chronicle*, vol. lxxix. No. 5715 (Jan. 21-23, 1796).

[3] *Ibid.*, No. 5714 (Jan. 19-21, 1796). The *Minutes of Evidence on Mendicity*, 1814-15, vol. iii. p. 66, mention an inn in St. Giles kept first by a man named Hughes, which is known as a traveller's name, then by one Buckley, who made £1500 to £2500 there. A Sheen kept another (p. 65), and a Mary Hearn and a Jones are mentioned as living in St. Giles, as well as a Gypsy girl begging there.

[4] Their names are not given in the *London Chronicle*; but in the *Index to the Times*, 1796, *s.v.* Police Court, the names of Richard Chilcott, Wm. Smith, and —— Lee are quoted for Jan. 21, from which it seems probable that Smith and John Lee's wife were the other two, as Chilcott will be seen to be an alias of Richard Lee.

[5] A strange place to find a Gypsy; but probably he was a fiddler and was there to 'excite the unholy dance, technically called the two-penny hop,' like the three Gypsy fiddlers of Crabb's acquaintance, who succeeded each other in a house of ill-fame in Southampton (*The Gipsies' Advocate*, 3rd ed., London, 1832, p. 37).

John had worn a similar coat, as a pawn-ticket for a watch was found on him, and on going to the pawn-broker the police learned that he had pledged thirteen buttons made of dollars on the 2nd of January, suspiciously near the date of the robbery. However, at the Assizes at Chelmsford in March John's name does not appear, though Richard Chilcott, alias Lee, and George Smith, both belonging 'to the fraternity of Gipsies,' were condemned to death for the robbery at Mencedon, and were informed that they must not entertain the least hope of mercy on this side the grave, as the robbery had been 'accompanied with several acts of cruelty.'[1] John presumably had been discharged; and it seems probable that he is the John Lee who appears twenty years later on the list of metropolitan Gypsies procured for Hoyland[2] by William Corder of St. Giles and his son.

As charges of highway robbery and burglary may come as a surprise to some of our members, it may be as well to add that many instances of the former, and more than one would have supposed of the latter, may be found in old newspapers; also that there is at least one old Gypsy, a nephew of Ryley Boswell's wife Yoki Shuri, still living in London, who makes no secret of having been a burglar in his younger days.

It is noticeable that Stephen Lee and his sons openly professed to fortune-telling as though it were permissible, but two years later that alone brought on the Norwood Gypsies a raid by the police: 'On Sunday morning, about five o'clock, ten Police officers came to Norwood in three hackney-coaches, threw down all the gypsey tents, and exposed about 30 men, women, and children, in the primitive state of man. They carried them to prison, to be dealt with according to the Vagrant Act.

'It appears that they have made good harvest, this summer, of female credulity, and have often gained a guinea on a Sunday. Not only young girls, panting for matrimony, have been their dupes, but the well-experienced dames, curious to trace the steps of their dear *spouses*, have paid liberally for discovery, as the following story will prove: On Thursday, as two Gentlemen, who dined at Norwood, were looking out of a window, they observed a respectable, well-dressed woman in deep consultation, for a sum paid to the old gypsey. They observed the good (?)[3] woman greatly

[1] *London Chronicle*, vol. lxxix., No. 5737 (March 12-15, 1796).
[2] *Historical Survey . . . of the Gypsies* (York, 1816), p. 185.
[3] The query is my own.—E.O.W.

agitated, and heard her ask "If she was sure it was true?" On being answered, "As sure as God was in heaven," she gave the gypsey a further sum, and made further enquiry, and at last gave her a good pocket-handkerchief, and departed seemingly full of vengeance. The gentlemen, curious to learn the nature of the good woman's consultation, sent for the old gypsey, who candidly told them that she enquired of her if her husband was continent, and that she answered he was not, and thereby obtained three presents instead of one.'[1]

In spite of danger attaching to the practice of their most paying profession Gypsies still clung to the neighbourhood. Mary Howi.., when a child at school at Croydon in 1809, in walks to Norwood sometimes 'came upon an encampment of gipsies, with their tents and tethered horses, looking to us more oriental than any similar encampment in our more northern lanes,'[2] and Byron, when a lad at school at Dulwich, used to visit them there and picked up some cant from them, but so far as one knows, no Romani. That is natural enough, if the Gypsies with whom he consorted were like those who came into prominent notice in 1802, when arrested on suspicion of the murder of the Dulwich Hermit.[3] This eccentric personage was a man named Samuel Matthews, who had lived for some twenty-eight or twenty-three years in a cave with a hut over it, which he had obtained the permission of the authorities of Dulwich College to make on Sydenham Common at the back of the College wood. Of his previous life little is known. All authorities agree that he had lived in London with a tradesman for some time, and he is generally credited with a wife and daughter, the former of whom died, while the latter either obtained a situation or married a respectable tradesman in London, before he started life as a hermit. He was seventy at the time of his death, and had come to Dulwich some thirty years earlier, according to the newspapers, as a gardener to some gentleman, though later he only did odd jobs as a gardener and subsisted on gifts from visitors who came to see the 'wild man of the woods.' Kirby, however, denies that

[1] An extract from *The Times*, Aug. 22, 1797, in J. Ashton's *Old Times* (London, 1885), p. 332.

[2] *Mary Howitt, an Autobiography*, ed. by Margaret Howitt (London, 1891), p. 50. Her home was at Uttoxeter.

[3] The details of his life and death are gleaned from R. S. Kirby, *The Wonderful and Scientific Museum*, vol. i. (London, 1803), pp. 53-67; the *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. 73 (1803), pt. i. pp. 84 and 280; and the other papers mentioned in the next note.

he was ever a proper gardener, and says that he came to Dulwich as a vagrant, and was frequently sent away as such before he built his hut. Visitors to the cave were sufficiently plentiful for people to suppose that Matthews had a hoard of money, and it is commonly stated that he was attacked by Gypsies some five years before he was murdered; that they broke his arm and robbed him of 12s., all that he had on him, and that he was absent from his cave for a year and a half, and had to make another on his return. But this again is denied by Kirby, who says he went away for three months to Pembrokeshire or to Shropshire, of which he was a native. At any rate, on the 28th of December 1802 he was found murdered near the mouth of his cave with an oak stick under him; and a Gypsy chimney-sweep, named Joseph (or Benjamin) Sprague, Spragg, Cragg, or Craggs,[1] with his wife's son-in-law,[2] Arthur Bowers, and the latter's son Robert, who were camping within two hundred yards of the cave, were arrested on suspicion. Sprague, whose movements were suspicious, as he had got up at one o'clock to go chimney-sweeping, and one of the Bowers,[3] were tried at the Surrey Assizes in March, but acquitted —and rightly so apparently, as one Isaac Evans, known as Wry-necked Isaac, is said to have confessed to the murder when dying in Lewisham workhouse in February 1809.[4]

To what extent there was any Gypsy blood in these people it is impossible to say; but they travelled after the manner of Gypsies of those days before the invention of caravans. Arthur Bowers in his evidence said that 'they, when they could not get permission to sleep in the barnes and outhouses of the farmers, generally pitched their tent as near a farm-house as they could.' They had come from Dorking, stopped near the Half Moon on the 26th, on Sydenham Common on the 27th, and were moving on to Green-

[1] This person's names are given in a different form in almost every account. In the *Gentleman's Magazine* he appears as Sprague: in the *London Chronicle*, vol. xciii., Dec. 30-Jan. 1, 1803, as Spraggs; Jan. 1-4 as J. Spragge; Jan. 4-6 as Joseph Spragge: in Kirby's book he is Joseph Spragg: in the index to *The Times* of 1803, on Jan. 3, he is J. Sprague; on Jan. 6 Sprague: on Jan. 13 Scraggs; on Jan. 20-25 —— Cragg: in the *Reading Mercury*, Mar. 28, 1803, and the *Leicester Journal*, Apr. 1, 1803, Benjamin Craggs.

[2] As all other accounts agree that Bowers was Spragg's son-in-law, it is presumably a mistake on Kirby's part when he makes Bowers say that 'his only relationship to Spragg was, that the latter lived with his wife's daughter by a former husband' (p. 65).

[3] In the *Leicester Journal* Ephraim Bowers appears as a witness, being apparently identical with the Arthur Bowers of the other accounts; while Arthur is here spoken of as the lad and at the same time as Craggs' son-in-law.

[4] Blanch, *Ye parish of Camerwell* (London, 1875), p. 385.

wich when arrested, having been warned to quit. Still Sprague or Craggs does not sound at all like a Gypsy name, though the variety of form may be due to it being an indefinite alias: but his trade is against him. Bowers, who sold trifles, did odd jobs and begged, strangely claimed to be a native of South Carolina; but his claim can hardly be taken seriously, unless he was the son of transported parents. At any rate, it seems probable that he was connected with the Bill Bowers whom Leland[1] knew, and another Bowers who was transported some seventy years ago with Hector Buckland, the eldest brother of Nili Buckland or Fenner, for horse-stealing. The grandson of this latter Bowers assures me that his ancestors were 'Barks,' thereby proving that they were both Irish and speakers of cant; and by other travellers all the family are regarded rather as Irish travellers than as Gypsies. On the whole, it seems not improbable that they have long been on the roads, since Henry Bower,[2] with John Allen and others, was arrested at 'Harrowhill' and sentenced to be flogged and burned in the right ear for vagrancy on March 29, 16 Elizabeth.[3]

Oddly the name Allen too occurs among a band of Norwood Gypsies who appeared at the Surrey Quarter Sessions in October 1803, when 'Charlotte Allen, Jane Hern, Mary Ann Hern, Harriott Lee, Pentevinny Lovell, and John Lovell, all of the Gipsy tribe, were put to the bar to answer the matters of complaint exhibited against them.'[4] The prosecution was brought by the Society for the Suppression of Vice to prevent the Gypsies from 'bringing idle persons about them at Norwood, to have their fortunes told on a Sunday.' It was a common practice, the prosecutors stated, for 'abandoned libertines' to take young and

[1] *The Gypsies*, p. 141.

[2] The omission of the final s is of no importance, as the name seems to be spelled indifferently in either way; cf. the prosecution of 'James Bower, dealer,' for letting horses stray at Tiddington (*Oxford Times*, Nov. 12, 1910), and of 'James Bowers, gipsy'—doubtless the same person—for the same offence at Hartlebury Common two years later (*Worcester Herald*, Dec. 7, 1912).

[3] *Middlesex County Records*, vol. i. p. 87. Compare also 'James Bower of Mottram, Cheshire, paup. viator,' who was buried at Farndon, Notts., on Sept. 18, 1703 (*The Parish Register of Farndon. . . .* Ed. by Thos. M. Blagg (Worksop, 1899), p. 10).

[4] *London Chronicle*, vol. xciv., No. 6948, Oct. 13-15, 1803. On Allen as a 'Gypsy' name see *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 311-12, and to the references there collected add 'Isabell daughter of One Thomas Allen a Travailer out of the Grene Lane, buried the 3 of Feb. 1593' at Dagenham, Essex (J. P. Shawcross, *History of Dagenham*, London, 1904, p. 147); 'William Allen, a vagrant,' buried at Wolstanton, Staffs., June 2, 1706 (*Wolstanton Parish Register*, pt. i. p. 210); and 'Hannah, ye daughter of Eliz. Allen, Traveller,' baptized Feb. 10, 1735/6 at Little Brickhill.

inexperienced females to Norwood; and there, after a dinner, 'the poor girls, flushed with wine, sally forth to get their fortunes told; the Gentleman has his fortune told first. The plan is then laid what is to be said to work upon the feelings of the poor victim, who thus, by a combination of circumstances, is plunged into inevitable ruin. This fact, melancholy as it is, has been established beyond contradiction.' At least so said the Society for the Suppression of Vice, which, like many people, seems to have believed that vice is peculiar to the male sex.

The Society asked for the acquittal of the prisoners, if there were any hope of amendment, and 'the whole were examined, and the charge of fortune telling proved against them, but on expressing their contrition for the past, and promising never to offend again in like manner, they were liberated.' Clear as that statement seems, it is not to be taken to mean what it says, since the writer of the paragraph adds that Charlotte Allen, who appeared to be the 'mother and leader' of the party, was discharged on finding bail for her future good behaviour, mainly because she had six young children, and that Pentevinny Lovell, who had offered to 'so work upon' a girl, brought to her by a young gentleman, that she would be 'subservient to all his desires,' was sentenced to six months' imprisonment in the house of correction at Newington.

Five years later, according to Sir Walter Besant,[1] the common at Norwood was enclosed: and Caulfield,[2] writing in 1820, asserts that about thirty years earlier the Gypsies began to desert Norwood, and that since the murder of the Dulwich hermit 'it is a rarity to meet with a single straggler of that description.' Yet, when Cox the artist first went to live at Dulwich in 1808, 'it was much frequented by gipsies, who hovered about the extensive woods belonging to Dulwich College'; and he is said to have made many studies of their donkeys and encampments on the common.[3] On the other side of Norwood Gypsies were plentiful in the woods at Penge and Anerley, among them the Adam and Thomas Lee, who have already come under notice at Norwood, until they were hanged in 1812 for a highway robbery, of which they were commonly believed to be innocent. At the time of the robbery they were living in a hut at Rixton causeway, and produced an

[1] *London South of the Thames* (London, 1912), p. 271; T. Manning and W. Bray, *The History . . . of the County of Surrey*, vol. iii. (1814), p. 434, refer to this common as 'now enclosed,' and say that Dulwich Common was enclosed in 1805 (p. 435).

[2] *Portraits, Memoirs*, etc., *l.c.*

[3] N. N. Solly, *Memoirs of the Life of David Cox* (London, 1873), p. 21.

alibi to that effect. The proceedings in the case were a little extraordinary, as Adam was not arrested, but merely promised to come up for examination, and did so; and even after the preliminary examination he was released on a promise to come up for trial, which again he carried out. One would have thought that his readiness to appear, in days when he could quite easily have disappeared with little chance of being found, was sufficient evidence of his innocence. However, he and his son were hanged and buried at Streatham, close to Norwood; and a few days after their burial both graves were rifled.[1]

Again, it is stated that a celebrated King of the Gypsies, 'after lying in state on Penge Common, was followed to the grave by a number of his tribe, clad in velveteen coats, the buttons of which were made of half-crowns, those on their waistcoats being made of sixpenny pieces,'[2] and was buried at Beckenham. Norwood itself was not deserted, and still retained its fame; and it was to Norwood that those in search of knowledge about Gypsies or their language naturally made a pilgrimage. Bright, the discoverer of the disease named after him, wishing to compare English Romani with specimens he had collected from Gypsies during his travels in Hungary, went straight to Norwood in 1815[3] and collected there the words and sentences printed in the Appendix to his book of travels. He had better luck than Hoyland, who paid the place a visit later in the same year, and heard from the deputy constable that about two months before the Gypsies in the neighbourhood had been apprehended as vagrants. He also states that 'having been considerably inclosed of late years, it [Norwood] is not now much frequented by the Gypsies,'[4] so that probably at this date, and perhaps at any time, one must take the name Norwood, as I have taken it, to embrace the neighbouring commons and woods for several miles on either side.

The raid mentioned by Hoyland took place in July 1815, as the following extract from the *London Traveller*[5] of July 24 shows:—

[1] T. Frost, *l.c.*; *The Times*, 1812, Apr. 3, 7, and 20; *J. G. L. S.*, vi. 19, 20; and Groome, *In Gipsy Tents*, pp. 245-6.

[2] R. Borrowman, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

[3] R. Bright, *Travels from Vienna through Lower Hungary* (Edinburgh, 1818), p. 528, and Preface, pp. ix.-x. His vocabulary, though far better than Hoyland's or Copsey's, is not included in this article, as the editing of it had already been undertaken by Mr. Russell.

[4] J. Hoyland, *A Historical Survey of the Customs, Habits, and Present State of the Gypsies* (York, 1816), p. 180.

[5] Quoted in Niles' *Weekly Register*, vol. ix. p. 41 (Sept. 16, 1815).

'On Sunday the police officers attacked the Gipsey encampment at Norwood, from which they made a precipitate retreat; they, however, captured three coach loads, together with their queen and princes Thomas and John! The officers were attacked by a rallying party of about 40, in an attempt at rescue, in which they failed. They were committed as vagrants.'

It is probable that this party consisted largely of Lovells, and that their sentence was light, since Hoyland, following the directions of the deputy constable and the landlord of the Gipsy House, visited the winter quarters of the tribe in London, and on the list of Gypsies living there he obtained from James Corder[1] are two Thomas Lovells and one John. Charlotte Allen, the 'mother and leader' of the party arrested in 1803, is on the list too, and probably Harriet and Pentevinny Lovell were wives of some of the Lovells mentioned by Corder. Nor is there much doubt that the Joseph Lovell, tinker, aged about sixty, from whom Copsey[2] obtained his vocabulary at Braintree, in Essex, was also one of the two persons of that name who appear on the same list, especially as he told Copsey he spent the winter months in London. So Copsey's vocabulary may be counted as that of a Norwood Gypsy. So, it seems, may the list collected by Marsden and Sir J. Banks in 1783 or 1784, though one can hardly assert it definitely. Certainly some of the words collected by Banks were obtained from a gorgio, married to a Gypsy, who was also interviewed by Sir J. Phillips in 1816 somewhere between Mortlake and Kew.[3] On the latter occasion this gorgio stated that he was a tinker and lived in Shoreditch in the winter: and in his company were his wife's mother, his brother-in-law, and a young couple recently married at Shoreditch. Now, on Hoyland's list there are three persons mentioned who lived in Shoreditch, among them Mansfield Lee, married but childless. If, as is probable, this means that he was recently married in the autumn of 1815, he may well be identical with the youth mentioned by Phillips, and possibly the Diana Lee, widow with one child, of Hoyland's list may be the mother-in-law of the gorgio traveller. Next to Mansfield comes Zachariah Lee, a

[1] Hoyland, pp. 184-5.

[2] Copsey's article appeared in the *Monthly Magazine*, vol. xlvi. (London, 1818), pt. ii. pp. 393-5. It has been reprinted—without commentary on the words—by W. E. A. Axon in the *Antiquary*, New Series, vol. iii. (1907), pp. 181-4; and the reprint was reviewed in the *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, i. 183-5.

[3] Cf. the *Monthly Magazine*, vol. xlii. (1816), pt. ii. pp. 218 and 506; and *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, i. 184, and ii. 162.

fiddler, unmarried, and he is identical with the Zachariah Lee who travelled about Norwood and Epping Forest with his second wife, Charlotta Boswell or Boss, and was son of Samuel and grandson of another Zachariah Lee.[1] Mansfield himself was arrested a few years later in company with Ezechiel, Arthur and John Lovell for theft somewhere in the neighbourhood of London.[2]

Again, it seems likely that Corder's Lusha Cooper is identical with Elisha Cooper, who with Ann his wife, Eve Cooper, Anne Cooper, Anne Maria Cooper, Sabraina Cooper, Jane Cooper, junior, and Mary Ann and Sophia Lee appeared at Union Hall police court in August 1823 on a charge of vagrancy at Norwood.

In the same year a Gypsy woman, 'whose appearance is far superior to that of those who generally go about in gangs,'[3] was arrested at Southwark for stealing lace, and refused to give a name or address. She was, therefore, locked up with a 'female nose,' who extracted the information from her that she was living near Norwood 'in one of those buildings which a donkey can remove in a short time.' Her name turned out to be Sarah Lamb, still a name of travellers, though judging by specimens of the family whom I have seen at Maidenhead and in Norfolk, the Lambs have no claim and lay no claim to Gypsy blood. Still her husband seems to have professed the Gypsy trade of tinkering, if, as is probable, it was a child of theirs who was baptized at Putney, May 22, 1808, as 'Henry s. B. Lamb, travelling tink^r, by Sarah, b. May 6,'[4] and travellers of that name occur fairly frequently in registers from the seventeenth century to recent times. Proceeding on the information obtained by the 'nose,' officers went to Norwood and found in a lane between there and Peckham a 'gipsy's hut,' guarded by two fierce dogs. In the hut were two donkeys, and thirty pounds' worth of lace was found in the donkeys' hampers. The children were questioned, but naturally nothing was got out of them. Sarah herself, within a week of her arrest,

[1] Cf. *Notes and Queries*, 6th Series, vol. i. (1880), p. 258, where details of the family of Zachariah and Charlotta are given. Presumably he is identical with the Zachariah Lee, father of Blind David Lee, who gave the copper and brass tobacco box to George Smith of Coalville (*J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, i. 176), though David's name does not occur in the genealogy given in *Notes and Queries*. Was his father Samuel the Samuel Lee, 'gipsey,' who was condemned to death for horse-stealing at Gloucester in 1813? (Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, April 17, 1813).

[2] *The Times*, October 12, 1821.

[3] *John Bull*, Aug. 4 and 11, 1823; and Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, Aug. 16, 1823.

[4] A. G. Hare and W. B. Bannerman, *The Parish Register of Putney*, vol. ii. (Croydon, 1915), p. 492.

'made her way through the Borough Compter, by forcing the roof of the cell she was confined in, and effecting her escape by letting herself down the outer wall by a water spout'; and what became of her, her silent children, and her two donkeys is not recorded.

There is one mystery in this account, the portable hut. It can hardly have been a caravan of any sort, since the donkeys were in it: nor can this mean that they were harnessed in it, as they were obviously intended to carry the hampers mentioned pannier-wise. That the donkeys were in it at all seems odd; for no traveller, least of all a 'superior' one, would put a donkey in a hut inhabited by herself; of course they may only have strayed in; or one may assume that the hut was erected solely for their benefit, and the family lived in a tent which escaped observation. But the assumption seems to be unwarrantable: and, in any case, it still leaves the portable hut to be accounted for. Nor is this the only case in which huts have been mentioned. That in which Bridget died in 1762 may well have been a fixed hut, as she possibly stayed permanently at Norwood like her aunt; but Thomas Lee, who certainly travelled, was arrested in 'his hut,' and caravans were unknown till nearly twenty years after the date of his arrest.[1] When a marriage took place between the daughter of one of the kings of the Boswell gang to Phœnix Boswell at Leicester in 1785, the party is described as 'hutted in Humberstone-field.'[2] Presumably the same kind of structure is referred to by Peter Pindar as a 'humble shed';[3] and if so the huts cannot

[1] Cf. *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 96. [2] *Reading Mercury*, Aug. 1, 1785.

[3] In a poem called 'A Gipsy Ballad,' of which an English and a Latin version appeared in the *Kentish Register and Monthly Miscellany*, vol. i. (Canterbury, 1793), p. 194. The poem, which does not seem to be reproduced in the collected works of 1816, runs:—

A Wandering Gipsey, Sir, am I,
From Norwood, where we oft complain,
With many a tear—and many a sigh,
Of blustering winds and rushing rain.

No rooms so fine, nor gay attire,
Amid our humble sheds appear,
Nor beds of down, nor blazing fire,
At night our shiv'ring limbs to cheer.

Alas! no friends come near our cot—
The red-breasts only find the way,
Who give their all—a simple note,
At peep of morn or parting day.

But Fortunes here I come to tell,
Then yield me, gentle Sir, your hand:

have been merely wattled huts like that in Sraeho's picture of Margaret Finch. On the other hand, it seems hardly conceivable that Gypsies would burden themselves with planks and construct huts at every stopping-place; nor is any other evidence of such a habit forthcoming, so far as I am aware. Still it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that these Norwood Gypsies did use and move about some kind of structure, either of planks or of boughs, that could be called a hut. The point is of some interest for the history of Gypsy tents. For as Groome[1] has pointed out, there is no direct evidence for the use of tents in England until towards the end of the eighteenth century; and the English Gypsy tent differs entirely in shape and construction from that used by their foreign kinsfolk. It is possible that the more or less beehive-shaped tents, used by some Gypsies in the East and North of England, may be developments of a kraal like that in which Margaret Finch is depicted; but the ordinary low long tent of the South of England would seem to be modelled rather on the tilt of a covered cart, or, in its frequent form of a double tent, of two such tilts facing each other a few feet apart and joined by sacking or blankets in the centre—indeed, of precisely such a camp as that in which Borrow first saw Ambrose Smith's parents.[2] If so, the latter type of tent, at any rate, cannot have been in use till the days when panniered donkeys were replaced by covered carts; and for the use of such carts I cannot recollect any evidence earlier than the Borrovian passage just mentioned. Before their introduction, and indeed up to about one hundred years ago, Gypsies were far less afraid of living within four

> Amid those lines what thousands dwell!
> And bless me, what a heap of land!
>
> This, surely, Sir, must pleasing be,
> To hold such wealth in every line!
> Try, pray now try, if you can see
> A little treasure lodg'd in mine.

[1] *In Gipsy Tents*, pp. 54-9.

[2] *Lavengro*, ch. 5. The resemblance of such tents to waggon-tilts is frequently noticed. Cf. the description of a tent in an article in the *Christian Guardian* for 1812 (p. 100):—'These tents are formed by fastening wooden hoops into the ground, and then covering them with blankets, so that they resemble the tilt of a waggon; they are open at one end from the wind, and which can be closed by a kind of curtain'; or that in *An Artist's Reminiscences* by W. Crane (London, 1907, pp. 11-12) of encampments at Newton Abbott, *circa* 1850:—'Low-pitched, semi-circular, arched tents, canvas over hooped sticks, somewhat like the tilts of waggons.' The 'beehive' tent is less frequently described; cf., however, the following description of two kinds of tents at Hogdiggen-corner between St. Mary Bourne and Whitchurch, Hants, *circa* 1840, 'one circular with a semi-elliptical entrance-hole,' the other long enough to lie down in (J. Stevens, *A Parochial History of St. Mary Bourne*, London, 1888, p. 32).

walls and beneath a roof than their descendants would have one believe. Barns, outhouses, and hovels sheltered them during their travels in the summer and sometimes in the winter. For early days Groome quotes a reference to their meeting in Somersetshire in 'a great hay house'; to which may be added Decker's testimony in 1609 to their lodging in the 'Out-barnes of Farmers.'[1] The Gypsies in the Canning case move from one lodging in house or hovel to another; so apparently did a much earlier band, who passed through Norwich in 1544.[2] On Jan. 14, 1699, 'James Young the Son of James Young and Elizabeth his wife, travellers (shee lay[d] in at Honor-Inn barne in her necessity),' was baptized at Great Hampden, Bucks.[3] On May 23, 1693, 'a Travelling man, y[t] dyed in Mr. Norden's barn' at Ongar, Essex,[4] and on Feb. 8, 1748, 'John Smith, a traveller, who died in Mr. Martin's barn' at Lewisham,[5] were buried. These may, of course, have been gorgio travellers; but no such doubt attaches to 'Sophia Boswell, Boswell [*sic!*]; d. of Abraham Boswell and Sarah his wife (travelling Gipseys), born in a barn in North Lane, the parish of Westgate Without,' and baptized at St. Peter's, Canterbury, Oct. 5, 1788;[6] nor to Sarah Ayers, 'otherwise Shooler, a Gipsey found dead in Priler barn in Crafton Field 21 Feb.,' and buried Feb. 24, 1806 at Wing.[7]

It is noticeable that all these cases except one apply to the winter months. Against them I can only quote from registers one instance of a traveller—an undoubted Gypsy on this occasion—who disdained such a refuge:—'Plato son of Peter & Dorothy Buckley, a gipsy, Born under the Hedge in Crafton Field in the great Snow,' and christened at Wing, Bucks., on Feb. 9, 1772.[8] If

[1] *Lanthorne and Candle Light* (London, 1608), sig. G5 [=G3] verso; *J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, iii. 248-50.

[2] *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 159.

[3] *The Parish Registers of Great Hampden.* . . . Ed. by E. A. Ebblewhite (London, 1888), p. 34.

[4] *The Parish Registers of Ongar, Essex.* Privately printed for F. A. Crisp (1886), p. 116.

[5] *The Register . . . of Saint Mary, Lewisham.* Ed. by L. L. Duncan (London, 1891), p. 135.

[6] J. M. Cowper, *The Booke of Peyester of . . . St. Peter in Canterbury* (Canterbury, 1888), p. 62.

[7] *The Register of the Parish of Wing.* . . . Transcribed by A. V. Woodman, pt. ii. p. 279.

[8] *Ibid.*, pt. ii. p. 210. A Peter Buckland, King of the Gypsies, is said to have been buried in the chancel of Steeple Barton church in Oxfordshire in 1794, though unfortunately I have not been able to verify the fact. He would probably be identical with the Peter Buckley here mentioned, though another Peter Buckland, 'a Gipsie,' was buried at Shipton-under-Wychwood, June 10, 1809.

tents were used in early days, registers join in the universal conspiracy to ignore them. The earliest instance known to me in which one is mentioned in a register is in 1828:—'John, son of Edward and Jane Charlot. They were in a tent on the Hill. Traveller,' baptized March 23, at Cowley, near Oxford. Compare an entry among the baptisms in the Launton parish registers: '1852, June 1st. Jane (daughter of) Susannah Wood, traveller, Child born in parish in a camp on roadside. Single woman.'[1] The Sprague-Bowers party, whose habits seem to have been more Gypsy-like than their names or occupations, only erected a tent when they could not get a lodging in a barn. The Wood family in their early days in Wales used to beg lodgings in barns and other buildings.[2] Some of Hoyland's friends, the Corders, had for three generations allowed Gypsies to occupy such places on their farm;[3] and Crabb speaks of Gypsies fifty years before the date of his work as often staying for a month or two in farmers' barns.[4] In a play written about that date one of the characters, on being asked if there were not a good many Gypsies about, answers: 'I have a whole gang of them here in our barn; I have kept them about the place these three months.' It must be admitted that he speaks of it as an exceptional thing to do, and adds, 'Father is as mad with me about it, as Old Scratch.'[5] During the winter months Lysons says the Norwood colony mostly took to houses in London,[6] like Bridget and Lady Lincoln; and the arrest of William and John Lee there in 1796 supports the statement. Hoyland found them doing the same thing. Three Gypsies were killed in the fall of a hovel in which they were stopping at Hammersmith in October 1780.[7] Nor did they live in this way only near London. A few words recorded from a family living in Birmingham during the winter of 1811-12 will be mentioned later. That family used tents in the

[1] For these two references I am indebted to the incumbents of Cowley and Launton, who kindly allowed me to search their registers for Gypsy baptisms and burials, and to Mr. Atkinson, who assisted me in searching them.

[2] Groome, p. 58. [3] Hoyland, p. 155.

[4] J. Crabb, *The Gipsies' Advocate* (London, 1831), p. 22.

[5] *The Maid of the Mill*, by Isaac Bickerstaffe, 5th ed. (London, 1765), p. 21. Elsewhere in the play they are described as 'skulking about from barn to barn, and lying upon wet straw, on commons, and in green-lanes' (p. 59); and in a song by one of the Gypsy characters occur the lines—

> 'Clean straw shall be our beds of down,
> And our withdrawing room a barn' (p. 64).

[6] Lysons, *op. cit.*, vol. i. p. 302. Others, he adds, 'take up their abode in barns in some of the more distant counties.'

[7] Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, October 21, 1780.

summer time; but, when asked whether the women were delivered in their tents, they replied that they were not, but at public-houses.[1] Norwood's friend, Ned Buckland, had been a house-dweller for many years in his youth;[2] and some of another Ned Buckland's family had settled in Chipping Norton before 1822.[3] Hoyland quotes statements applying to Cambridge and to Northamptonshire, and William Bos, speaking for the Gypsies of Norfolk and Suffolk—which would probably include the Hearns, Boswells or Bosses and Smiths of Borrovian fame—in 1822, said that 'most of us "house" in winter.'[4]

That being the case, it is just possible that John and Matthew Lock, who were arrested in a cottage at Norwood in January 1817, on a charge of robbing a man on the highway between Sydenham and Dulwich, were Gypsies.[5] At any rate, Matthew[6] was the name of the grandfather of Esmeralda Lock, the wife of Hubert Smith and Groome; and though at the time of Matthew's birth the family still passed under their original name of Boswell, not under the alias of Lock by which they have generally been known for the last century, that alias had already been adopted before 1817, as on October 24, 1815, 'Unity, second daughter of Henry Locke, a gypsey,' was married at Chedworth, Gloucestershire, to a 'Mr. George Payne, late of Terrington.' Henry was father of Matthew, and so little averse was he to house-dwellers that, though the marriage took place in a 'Gypsey encampment,' he offered to give a dowry of '500 guineas with each of his two unmarried daughters, provided they marry men of good character, and householders.'[7]

It may seem improbable that the Locks, who now travel mainly in and on the borders of Wales, especially North Wales, should be found so far south as Norwood; but within the memory of the older living members of the family Gloucestershire, still the habitat of Mairik Lock's descendants, was the home of all the

[1] *Christian Guardian*, vol. v. (1813) pp. 412-14. Contrast the refusal of a Gypsy woman, who had a son born in a tent under Leckhampton Hill in severe weather in January 1830, to accept accommodation offered her in a room at Charlton Kings on the ground that 'if she or any of her tribe were to be confined in a room, they were sure to be unlucky' (Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, February 6, 1830, from the *Cheltenham Chronicle*). Does this indicate a difference in the characters of the two bands of Gypsies, or a change of custom due to the development of better tents?

[2] *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, iii. 216.

[3] *J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, ii. 252.

[4] *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 279.

[5] *The Times*, Jan. 8, 1817.

[6] S. B. James, 'English Gipsies' (*Church of England Magazine*, vol. 79, pp. 97-100).

[7] Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, Nov. 11, 1815.

family; and it was not till after the middle of the last century that Matthew and his descendants migrated, first to Shropshire, where some may still be found, and then to North Wales as a centre. One is more surprised to hear that one who may have been akin to the Welsh Gypsy Woods was landlady of the Fountains Inn at Southwark. But Mr. Thompson was assured by Saiki Heron that it was kept, probably about 1790, by Wester Boswell's grandmother, Cinderella Wood.

In 1827 the guests at the wedding of another house-dwelling Gypsy, 'Miss Nancy Cooper, the celebrated beautiful Gipsy of Hoop-cottage,' with Mr. William Sharpe, of Willow-cottage, were sumptuously entertained at the Gipsy House after the wedding ceremony at St. Luke's, Norwood. 'If the entertainment, the liberal gratuities to the officiating parties, the splendid habiliments of the nut-brown lass (white satin, lace, etc.), and the bridal favours displayed by the numerous group in the shape of white gloves and ribands, may be taken as earnest of the dower the bride is said to have received, it must pertain to something considerable.'[1]

It would seem that in spite of enclosures and of prosecutions Norwood was still sufficiently well known to make it a profitable residence for Gypsies up to about 1830; but thereafter one hears little of it. About that date an attempt was made to turn Norwood into a health resort: and building began there. The Beulah Spa Gardens were opened in 1831 and a *Guide to the Beulah Spa*, published seven years later, refers to them as 'the sole remaining vestige of the former haunts of the gypsies.'[2] This they were in more senses than one, since 'an old woman, the mother, I believe, of Gipsy Cooper, of pugilistic renown, was for many years allowed to pretend to reveal the fortune of all inquirers who crossed her palm with a piece of silver in the Beulah Spa Gardens.'[3] And even as late as 1876 some Gypsies still remained in the neighbourhood, as the inhabitants of Dulwich were annoyed by the presence of one or two hundred of them on a field purchased by a 'gipsy capitalist';[4] and in 1878 there was a quarrel at Christmas between a large party of Gypsies occupying a piece of land called The Freehold at Penge.[5]

[1] *The Times*, Sept. 1, 1827.

[2] Galer, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

[3] Frost, *op. cit.*, p. 4. Jack Cooper's mother was Truffeni Lovell: cf. Borrow, *Lavo-Lil* (London, 1907), p. 63.

[4] The *Builder*, Nov. 11, 1876.

[5] *The Times*, Dec. 30, 1878.

Hoyland's Vocabulary

Hoyland's contribution to the knowledge of English Romani consisted of two short lists obtained for him by others: for though, when he visited Uriah Lovell's family, they were 'greatly delighted at meeting with a person, acquainted, as they thought, with their language, and were remarkably free in speaking it,' Hoyland himself does not seem to have made any attempt at recording what they said. Indeed, his only personal contribution consists of two words, *sonnaka* and *roop* (p. 179), obtained from some Staffordshire Gypsies camping near Dagenham in Essex, who, though they promised to tell him anything he wished to know, did not explain their well-known pseudonym, Corrie,[1] to him.

Though he was too bashful to take advantage of his opportunities of collecting words, and, in spite of knowing of Marsden's and Bryant's vocabularies, still wished to do something to compare English Romani with that of Grellmann, he sent a list of words to James Corder, the son of the obliging grocer who had introduced him to Uriah Lovell. The list presumably consisted solely of English words, as he adds that the recorder did not know of Grellmann's work. One form however, *sonnekar* instead of the usual *sonəkai*, suggests that he may have mentioned to Corder this—one of the only two words he had recorded himself in what amounts to the same form, *sonnaka*.

Corder obtained his words from some of the Gypsies living in London—presumably from some of the Lovells mentioned on pp. 184-5 of Hoyland's work; and it seems probable that Hoyland's other co-operator, Robert Forster of Tottenham, recorded the few words he contributed from some of the same family, especially as they both have the remarkable form *tal* for *tatto*, hot. Not that that is strong evidence, as one can hardly attribute such an absurd form to any Gypsy, and it is more likely to have arisen from co-operation between the two workers. Hoyland's associates were not expert at hearing or recording words. For example *š* is represented by *sh* (*shil*), by *ch* (*charro*), and by *che* (*dyche*), the two latter presumably being due to a delusion on Corder's part that all tongues except English used French spelling. *ī* as usual is

[1] Harman's 'Core the cuckold' may perhaps be worth mentioning in this connection. Corry, Corrie, or Currie, is however an Irish name, and therefore might possibly be the actual name of travellers. But—so far as I am aware—there is no evidence that it is or ever has been.

represented by *ee*, *ô* in a monosyllable by a redundant *e* at the end of the word (*rupe*), elsewhere by *ou* and *ew* (*joukal*, *jewcal*) and by simple *u* (*duee*); *â* by *au*, *or*, and in one case by *o* (*bâlo*= *balâ*); while conversely *o* is represented by *au* (*maurau*, *parnau*). This last *o* would seem to have been of the low-back-narrow-round variety, which was used occasionally by the Coppersmiths[1] —sometimes, unless my memory misleads me, in final syllables as here, *e.g.* in the name *Woršo*.

I have combined the two short lists in one, leaving unmarked the words which occur only in Corder's longer list; and marking Corder's form with (C.) and Forster's with (F.) when the same word occurs in both vocabularies; and in Forster's case I have marked similarly the few words that he alone records :—

bâlo, hair. This extraordinary form must represent the plural *balâ*. But the turning of a short *a* into *â* is most unusual, especially as it would cause a confusion of this word with the next but one. Cf. Marsden's *bolau*.

bolko, sheep. A strange form due to substitution of *l* for *r* and metathesis of the two consonants.

borlo [=*bâlo*], hog.

charro, head. Presumably pronounced *šaro*, or perhaps *šɔro*. Cf. *dyche* [=*diš*], *jewcal* [=*jūkɔl*].

dewes (C.), *deues* (F.), day, in *shill-deues*, cold day; *du* (F.), in *taldu*, hot day. See under *tal*. Cf. Marsden's *dewas*.

duèe [=*dûi*], two.

dyche, ten. Presumably pronounced *diš*. Cf. *charro*.

grarre (C.), *gur* (F.), horse. Both these forms of *grai* seem to be caused by the pronunciation of a real—and in the first case a very forcibly pronounced—*r*, which so surprised its hearers that they heard nothing else except the initial *g*.

jewcal (F.), [=*jūkɔl*], *jukou* (C.), [=*jukû*], dog. I cannot find the form *jukû* recorded elsewhere, though a shorter form *juk* is to be found in S. and C., and is heard occasionally, especially from *poš-rats*. Final *û* for ordinary *o* is heard sporadically in England, but most frequently among English Gypsies who travel or have travelled in Wales, and among these most of the Lovells who remain in England may be counted.

kare [=*kair*], house.

kau, ear. A misprint for *kan*.

[1] *J. G. L. S.*, vii. 123.

kil, butter, in *kil-mor* (C.), *kil-maurau* (F.), [=*kil-mâro*], bread and butter.

livenar (F.), *limbar* (C.), beer. The latter form is probably due to a mixture of indistinct pronunciation and mishearing.

maurau (F.), *mor* (C.), [=*mâro*], bread. See *kil*.

marcho, fish. Apparently pronounced *mā̆čo*, though the *a* is usually, if not always, short.

moila, ass (F.).

nack, nose. Nearer the Continental Gypsy *nāk* than the ordinary English Gypsy form *nok*.

pan, five. A mistake for *panj*.

parnee [=*pānï*], water.

parnau, white. Again more correct than the normal English form *porno*.

raut, night. Normally *rāti* in English Romani, and surprising here, since in *parnau*, *nack* the usual change of *ā* to *â* does not occur. Cf. Marsden's *rautee*.

rupe [=*rûp*], silver.

šero, see *charro*.

shil, cold. Substantive misused as an Adjective in *shil-dewes* (C.) and *shill-dewes* (F.), cold day.

sonnekar, gold. Normally *sonekai*; but cf. Hoyland's *sonnaka* (p. 179).

stor, four.

tal, hot, in *tal-dewes* (C.) and *taldu* (F.), hot day; unless in the latter case *taldu* is a mishearing for *tato*, the proper form of the word. The form *tal* is senseless and unexampled. It suggests co-operation between Forster and Corder, one of them, who wrote *t* like *l*, passing his list to the other.

trin, three.

yake, one. Apparently *yēk* instead of the ordinary *yek*.

At the end of Forster's list Hoyland adds four words, or rather five (as one is a compound word), printed 'in the conversation a clergyman had with the Bosswell gang, as published in the *Christian Guardian* for 1812 and 1813.' The words are:—

chum, sun [=*kam*, confused with the next word].

chun, moon [misprint for *chun*].

kal-màro, bread and butter. [Really 'cheese and bread,' unless *kal* is a mishearing of *kil*. Note *màro* with the correct foreign *ā*, not *â*, as is usual.]

livina, drink.

Unfortunately I have not been able to verify this list, as I cannot find it in the *Christian Guardian* for 1812, and have not seen the volume for 1813.[1] But in the volume for 1812 (pp. 98-101) there is an interview by a curate, who signs himself 'A Clown,' with some Gypsies who settled in Birmingham in the winter; and that interview contains also four Romani words, though they were referred to as 'cant' by the Gypsies:—

kal, cheese.
mauro, bread.
lĭvĭnà, drink.
ràshē, parson.

The name of the Gypsies is not stated, but, as Birmingham has for many years been a centre for Smiths, it would at first sight seem probable that they belonged to that clan rather than to 'the Bosswell gang,' by which Hoyland probably meant the Derbyshire Boswells, who are mentioned under the same name on pp. 181-2 of his book, especially as the two parties differed in their trades. The 'Clown's' Gypsies were tinkers, fiddlers, and tambourine-players, and they also harvested and gathered hops; whereas 'Bosvile's gang,' a few years later, professed to be knife-grinders, chair-bottomers, and china-menders.[2] However, the Boswells were not unknown in Birmingham and its neighbourhood, as Riley Boswell wintered there on at least one occasion,[3] and some of the Boswells married into a Warwickshire Buckland family. And when one finds that the 'Captain' Bosvile mentioned in *The Gypsies*, like the grandson of the party met some ten years before by 'A Clown,' had a wife who could read, and that her stock of literature consisted of a 'fragment of an old Testament and an old Spelling Book,' which were precisely the two things that were given by the 'Clown' to the woman who could read, it seems likely that the two parties were identical. That woman had been in service in a farmer's family, and was probably a gorgio, as the family admitted that they intermarried with gorgios as well as with Gypsies.[4] Though this party certainly cannot be counted as

[1] *Vide* note 4 below.

[2] Cf. *The Gypsies* by 'a clergyman of the Church of England' (York, 1822), p. 21; or, as the tract is, I believe, rare, the quotations from it in Crabb's *Gipsies' Advocate* (1831), p. 134, or in S. Roberts' *Gypsies* (1836), p. 90.

[3] Roberts, p. 63.

[4] Since writing the above I have seen a copy of the *Christian Guardian* for 1813, and find that it contains a supplementary article by the same writer (vol. v. pp. 412-14). The only Romani words in it are *chum*, sun; *chun*, moon; *kal màrò*, bread and butter; so Hoyland's list combines the words given in the two articles,

Norwood Gypsies, it may be noticed that the 'Clown' asked whether they had been there, and they answered, 'We were there once. There is an inn there called the Gyptian Inn. The quality visited us on a Sunday in their carriages' (p. 99).

Intermarriage with gorgios at this date, or at any other, as I have argued elsewhere,[1] need not surprise any one; but one is a little surprised to hear Gypsies of a hundred years ago—the days of open commons and free camping-grounds, of which the older living Gypsies talk wistfully—answering a question as to whether there were many Gypsies in Birmingham, with the modern complaint, 'Formerly there were. At present there are but few, owing to so many inclosures.' It would seem, however, from the dates of the enclosure of the commons at Norwood and Dulwich, that such enclosures had already begun.

Copsey's Vocabulary

As has already been mentioned, Copsey obtained his list of words from a Gypsy named Joseph Lovell, presumably at or near Braintree, as his letter to the *Monthly Magazine* is addressed from that place. Joseph he describes as a man of about 60, and the family consisted of him, his wife, a daughter aged 18, and a boy belonging to another family. They were encamped in a tent 'which would not have protected them from a smart shower of rain,' which may be evidence of the flimsy character of the summer shelters of Gypsies at that date, who were accustomed, as this party was, to spending the winter months from the beginning of November to the end of March in houses in London. On the other hand, as Gypsy tents are often deceptive in their appearance, it may only show Copsey's inexperience of their quality. The family had spent the whole summer of 1818 in Essex, meeting, they said, only three or four travelling companies of other Gypsies during the season; and the previous summer they had travelled in the West of England.

'They denied practising fortune telling; but the old woman had too much the appearance of a sibyl to countenance such an

misprinting *chun* and omitting *rāshē*. In this second article the Gypsies are described as 'the Bosswel Gang'; and the sister-in-law of the woman who could read had a child baptized by the Clown with the name Sportcella, which they declared was a 'Scripture name.' The women said they disliked Gypsy life, and one of them had married a small tradesman in London about a year earlier, and still lived there. Mr. Thompson suggests that Sportcella may be Spōti, daughter of Peter and Waini Boss.

[1] *J. G. L. S.*, vi. 335.

assertion.' They also denied eating *mulo mas*, and asserted that they married in church and buried in consecrated ground; which last assertion was no doubt true, though one may have more doubt about the others. The girl had been to school in London, and had been taught to write; but the old people were (naturally) illiterate. They readily communicated all the information Copsey requested, and he put them through a catechism consisting of Hoyland's words, and found they knew nearly all of them. But he seems to have aimed at adding to the list rather than revising it. Only six of Hoyland's words occur in Copsey, and though two of these—*gri* and *rattee*—may have been corrections of Hoyland's forms, they were more probably volunteered by the Gypsies afterwards, as no alternative for the absurd *tal* (hot) is given.

Of his own spelling Copsey says: 'I am aware that my mode of spelling the words is open to much dispute and objection; I have endeavoured to choose such combinations of letters as serve to express, as nearly as possible, the sounds pronounced by the gipsies. In the phrases, I could not exactly discover the separate words of which they were composed, as these persons uttered them with great rapidity, and were unable to give me any information on this point.' One may doubt the inability of the Gypsies to separate one word from another, if they had wished to; but I fear there is no doubt at all that Copsey's method of spelling, like that employed by most, if not all, the pioneers of Gypsy lore, is open to much objection. Of course he employs the usual double vowels, *e.g.* *aa* (=ā), *ee* (=ī), and *oo*; but the latter seems to represent two sounds, the long ō in *dooster* (=*dōsta*) and *ûi* in *mooi* and probably in all other cases, while ā is possibly represented by *ah* in the first syllable of *ahwah* as well as by *aa*: *ûi* is also represented by *óe* in *dóe*. There may be a subtle distinction between *oo*, *óo*, and *oó*, all of which are used: but it is improbable.

â is represented by *aw* (*jaw*) and *or* (*jortookee*). The *kh* in *chaokhor* may represent χ, and so apparently must the *rh* in *chorhor* (cf. the Northumbrian *r*). *h*, when it occurs after final *a*, even when the *a* is not long, and the *e* in *naave*, are obviously redundant.

Besides Copsey's oddities in spelling, it may be well to note one peculiarity of pronunciation used by his Gypsies. They confused *r* and *l*, especially in the termination of the third person singular of the present tense. With the correct forms *dellah* (=*dela*) and *kannella* (=*kanela*), one finds *jara* for *jala*, and the

stranger forms *poorah*, 'it blows,' and *bilarrah*, 'kettle' (a mistake for 'it boils'). In the two latter cases there has been a shifting of the accent which has caused further corruption. The steps seem to be *pûdéla>pûdéra>pûdra>pûra*; *bilaréla>bilaréra>bilárera>bilárra*.

From these instances it will be seen that the third person singular of the present tense was in frequent use among these Gypsies. The first person occurs in an abbreviated form in *savâh* (=*suvá*) and in *jaw*, the second in *jasha*. Of the auxiliary verb the first person occurs four times as *shum*, the second once as *shin*, and once by mishearing as *sum* for *san*. The second person plural of the past tense is also represented by *veean*.

Considering how few sentences Copsey obtained, it would seem that verbal inflexions were used fairly regularly and correctly by this family.

Of nominal inflexions the only examples worth noting are the use of a vocative singular, *pallu* (=*palu*) and *pennah* (=*pena*), and the instrumental plural, *deverusa* (=*develesa*). The two vocatives occur in the list of words as though they were nominatives; but this is probably due to a mistake on Copsey's part. In the sentence *sársum pállah* the first is used correctly, and it is quite possible that he obtained the second by asking how they would address a woman. Here again the paucity of material makes it uncertain how 'deep' the Gypsies were; but they seem to have been quite up to the average as regards inflexions when compared with other early lists.

The list consists of forty-three words and seventeen phrases or sentences. The latter I propose to print first in their original form; and then a list of words in alphabetical order, including both the words in Copsey's list and those in the phrases, with remarks when necessary.

Sentences

1. *nah jálée shum*—I am sick. [=*nāfalí šum.*]
2. *jortóokee*—I walk, or am going away. [=*já tūkī*, 'go' (imp.).]
3. *kózo hóbben* [1]—good food.
4. *sársum pállah?*—How do you do, brother?
5. very *dooster shum*—very well.

[1] This occurs in the list of words, not in the phrases. But, as the single word *praaser* occurs among the phrases, I have replaced the one by the other.

6. *pen* your *naave*?—What is your name? [Tell your name.]
7. how *dóevee ánkee devús*?—How far have you travelled to-day? [=how *dûr vián ke-divús*?]
8. *gri jaramíshts*—The horse trots well. [=*grai jala mišto.*]
9. *kyshinka jásha káta devús*?—Whither are you going to-day? [*kai šan ka jáša káta divús.*]
10. I go *káta kongrée*—I go to church.
11. *bával póorah shil*—The wind blows cold.
12. *bókolo shum*—I am hungry.
13. *fina devús*—Fine weather.
14. *shillalée devús*—Bad weather.
15. *bíshenoo delláh*—It rains.
16. *sootée shum, mussa jaw saváh*—I am sleepy, and must go to bed.
17. *ah deverúsa*—Farewell. [The word '*ah*' is omitted in Axon's reprint of the Vocabulary.]

Vocabulary

ah, in *ah deverusa*, farewell. Sent. 17. Probably a mishearing of *jā deveresa* [=*jā develesa*], go with God, a farewell greeting to a departing person, rather than *aď develesa*, the departing person's farewell to those who remain. Cf. *J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, iii. 75, where both expressions are recorded from Philip Murray, who, however, did not understand them; Bright, *Travels in Hungary*, Appendix, p. lxxix., *Ache mai deviel*, 'May God bless you'; and Crabb, *Gipsies' Advocate* (1831), p. 127, *Artmee Devillesty* [=*ast*[1] *mi develesti*, a mistake for *develesa*] from William Stanley, who regarded it as an obsolete expression.

ahwah [=*āwa*], yes.

ankee, see *av-* and *ke.*

[*av-*], come, *veeán* [=*vián*], have you come. Sent. 7.

bángaree, waistcoat.

bával, wind. Sent. 11.

bilárrah, kettle, =*bilarela*, 'it boils,' as explained above. Groome (*In Gipsy Tents*, p. 83) takes this word as English 'biler'='boiler.' But this would leave the last syllable unaccounted for; and the parallel corruptions cited above leave no doubt

[1] *art* seems more easily explained as a misprint for *ast*, which is still in use in Welsh Romani (cf. *J. G. L. S.*, viii. 94), than as a mistake for *aď*.

that it is the third person singular present indicative of the verb *bil-*,[1] 'melt' (which is used by Greek, Rumanian, and Hungarian Gypsies; cf. Miklosich, vii. 22), with the suffix *-yar* or *-er* added, as in most English Romani verbs, even when they have not a causative sense.

A more corrupt form is found in Leland's *English Gipsy Songs*, p. 253, *buller*, to boil, *bullerin*, boiling, and in Way's *No. 747* (p. 68), *bullerin*.

Probably the mistake as to the meaning was due to Copsey, both in this case and in the similar mistake, *kannella*, 'bad food.' But it is perhaps worth pointing out that exact parallels for the misuse of the same verbal form for a substantive do occur among Gypsies and travellers nowadays, *e.g. rokerela*, 'conversation,' heard from Mrs. Cosby, a daughter of Spencer Draper; *brišinela*, 'rain,' from Esmeralda and Joe Lock. An even closer parallel, since the meaning is the same as that assigned to *billarrah* by Copsey, is a word I heard first from some of Dōsi Gaskin's wild brood in the form *singwela*, which can hardly be anything but *singavela* (from English 'sing'), and afterwards in a curious back-slang form, *walsingə*, from Tom Porter, a gorgio traveller's boy, who said he had picked up the word from Hampshire travellers.

bíshenoo, rain. Sent. 15.

bókolo, hungry. Sent. 12.

boolingoree, breeches.

bóshta, saddle.

cháavo, boy. The long *a* is unusual.

chaókhór, coat. Presumably *čoχa*.

chay, girl. Presumably pronounced *čai*, not *če*, in spite of the spelling, as *če* is unexampled in England.

chókenee, whip. Usually *čākni*.

chóoree, knife.

chórhór, shoes. Presumably an attempt at writing *čoχá*.

chórróo, plate or dish.

[*da-*], give. *delláh*, Sent. 15, in *bíshenoo delláh* (*bíšenu delá*), 'it gives rain.' the usual phrase for 'it is raining' among foreign Gypsies, but only recorded from English Gypsies by Bright (p. lxxxix., *dalo breschen*), whose vocabulary was also obtained from Norwood Gypsies at much the same date as

[1] A shortened form of *bilav-*, for which see *J. G. L. S.*, viii. 87.

Copsey's. Cf., however, a modern form, 'it's *del*in' *brišin*, which I have heard from George (alias Turuts) Green, whose 'old people' on his mother's side said they were Lovells, though their name for some generations has been Smith.

[*devel*, God]. *deverúsa* (instrumental case). Sent. 17.

devús, day.

dóe (=*dûr*), far. Sent. 7.

dooster (=*dōsta*), well. Sent. 5, 'very *dooster shum*,' an answer to the preceding question *sarsum*, *pallah* (=*sar san*, *pala*). It is hardly conceivable that the Lovells can have used *dooster* in the sense of 'well,' especially as *mišto* occurs in another sentence. Probably they gave Copsey the answer *mišto dōsta*—usually given even now by elderly Gypsies; and Copsey in recording it omitted *mišto* and inserted in its place 'very,' given as the meaning of *dōsta*.

falée. See *nah falée*.

fina, fine. Sent. 13. An English loan-word found in many of the older vocabularies, but very seldom used now.

góodloo, sugar.

gri (=*grai*), horse.

hóbben, food.

hóovelah, stockings. The normal English Romani form is *olivas*. For the metathesis of the two consonants cf. Leland, *English Gypsies*, p. 145, *horalos*; and for the incipient *h*, which is probably a relic of the original χ, cf. also Bright, p. lxxxii., *holowai*, breeches: *holove*, *holef*, stockings; Harriott, *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 10, *holave's* and the form *hoolavers* given in S. and C., s.v. *olavas*.

hormúngoree (=*hâmengri*), fork. The word does not seem to be recorded in this sense elsewhere.

[*is*-], to be. *shum*, I am, Sent. 1, 5, 12, 13; *shin*, are you, Sent. 9; *sum* (=*san*), are you, Sent. 4.

[*ja*-], go. *mussa jaw*, I must go, Sent. 16; *jásha*, are you going, Sent. 9; *jara* (=*jala*), it goes, Sent. 2; *jortóokee* (=*jâ tûki*), go (imperative), mistranslated 'walk.'

ka, that (?). Sent. 9, *Kyshinka jasha* =*kai šan ka jasha*, 'where are you that you are going'—a strange expression for 'where is it that you are going,' unless the Gypsies altered *Kai šan jas*ing into the more correct *kai jasa*, and Copsey recorded a mixture of the two alternatives. Cf., however, Borrow *Lavo-Lil*, p. 5. 'Necessity is expressed by the

impersonal verb and the conjunction "that" . . . *shan te jallan*, they are that they go.'

kair (=*kêr*), house.

káta, to (prep.). I go *kata kongree*, Sent. 10. Also strangely used in Sent. 9 to render the 'to' in 'to-day'—*kata devus*, unless in this case it is the pronoun, which is found in the Eastern European group of dialects as *kadava*, *kado*, 'this,' which seems unlikely.

For the preposition cf. *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, iii. 222; ix. 179; and Way, *No. 747*, p. 42.

kannélla, bad food =*kanéla*, 'it stinks,' as pointed out by Groome (*In Gipsy Tents*, p. 83) and Sampson (*J. G. L. S.*, New Series, i. 185).

kee (=*ke*) in *kee devus*, to-day, Sent. 7. Usually explained as a shortened form of *aka*, this; cf. Bright, p. lxxviii., *Chericloi, givella, ako dives*. But the use of *kata devus* above suggests that *ke-* in *ke-divus*, like *te* in *te-divus*, may be simply a preposition translating the English 'to.' Bright, it may be observed, gives an alternative form of the phrase quoted above—*Chericlo give to dives*.

kil, butter.

kongrée, church.

koshávv, wood. Plural for singular (*koš*), with the final *t* omitted, as is not infrequently the case.

kózo, good. Sent. 3. An unparalleled form of the English Romani *kūšto*, *košto*, *koško*. Possibly the *z* should be pronounced *ts* as in German, in which case this form would be nearer to the foreign Romani *kutš* than the ordinary form, in which the *t* and *š* have been transposed.

ky (=*kai*), where, whither. Sent. 9.

mooi, face.

míshts, well. Sent. 4. A misprint for *mishto*.

moómlee, candle.

moomlingoree, candlestick. Dr. Sampson has pointed out that this is unrecorded otherwise in England, and quotes Liebich for *momelinengero* (*J. G. L. S.*, New Series, i. 185).

moosh, man.

mootamóngree, tea. Generally *mūtamongri*, not *mûtamongri* as here.

mónishee, woman. A corrupt form of *monishni*, which, though not recorded in S. and C., still exists.

mussa, it is necessary. Sent. 16, *mussa jaw savah* = *mussa* [*te*] *jâ* [*te*] *suvá*. I cannot find any printed instance of this use in English Romani; but *mus te lel* has been recorded from Kadīlia Brown. It is not the English 'must,' but a Slavonic loan-word (cf. Mik., v. p. 40).

naave (= *nāv*), name. Sent. 6. Usually pronounced *nav*.

nah, no.

nah falée (= *nāfalí*), ill.

pállah (= *pala*), brother. On the list as though nominative, but correctly used as vocative in Sent. 4, from which it may have been transferred to the list.

páwnee (= *pâni*), water. This pronunciation of the word, though found in most vocabularies, is seldom, if ever, used now.

pen, tell (imperative). Sent. 6, mistranslated 'what is.'

pénnah (= *pena*), sister (vocative). Possibly given correctly as an alternative for *pallah* in Sent. 4, though recorded in the list as though nominative.

péro, foot. An unusual pronunciation of *pīro*, unless *é* stands for *ī*, not merely for accented *e* as in *kannélla*.

[*pood-*], blow. Sent. 11, *poorah* = *pûdela*, v. supra.

praaser, I run, = *prāster*, to run. The omission of the *t* is unusual.

ráttee, night. Usually *rāti*, not *rati*, which is presumably implied by the double *t*.

rotsch, spoon. This interesting form of *roi* should probably be regarded as a misprint either for *roitsch* or for *roisch*. In any case the ending is the diminutive suffix *-iča*, found in English Romani also in the word *bokočo*, *bokača*, and possibly in a form recorded by Miss Gillington in the New Forest, *kussnitch* for *kušni*. Cf. Philip Murray's form *roiχ* (*J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, iii. 78), which is found also in German Romani (Liebich, *Die Zigeuner*, p. 156 (*roich*); and Pott, ii. 268).

sar, how. Sent. 4, *sar sum* (= *sar san*).

saváh, see *suv*.

shil, cold, in 'the wind blows cold.' Sent. 11.

shillalee, cold (adj.). Sent. 14.

shin, see *is*.

shum, see *is*.

sootee, sleepy. Sent. 16.

stádee, hat.

sum, see *is*.
[*suv*-], sleep. Sent. 16, *suvah* = *suvā*, a shortened form of *suvāva*.
swéglah, pipe.
[*tu*], you. *tūki* (dative) in *jortookee*.
toovolóo, tobacco.
vast, hand.
yog, fire.

IV.—BRIGHT'S ANGLO-ROMANI VOCABULARY

By Alexander Russell

IN these days of book-making it is surprising that no one has reprinted chapter xi. of Richard Bright's *Travels from Vienna through Lower Hungary* (1818), for these pages 519-544 and the Appendix, 'written by a friend' on the 'State of the Gypsies in Spain, 1817,' contain more valuable information than any other English books on the subject, till we come to the time of Borrow. Grellmann's work first gave Bright an interest in Gypsies, and 'when he found himself surrounded by these people in Hungary, he was naturally led to inquire into their habits and condition.' It is to be regretted that his modesty made him abandon, on the appearance of Hoyland's book, his project of investigating the subject, for he had more understanding of the Gypsy character than had the Yorkshire Quaker, and he was singularly free from that attitude of mind, common to Hoyland, Crabb, Baird, and Roberts, which would lose a friend to save a soul, forgetting, as a great living essayist has said, 'that souls are many and friends are few.'

Bright's sympathy with the race is shown in that noble passage quoted by Groome,[1] the echo of which we hear again in Smart and Crofton's introduction to their *Dialect of the English Gypsies*. His remarks on the difficulty of collecting the language and on its value for light on the origin and history of the race show equal wisdom and clear-sightedness. 'No one who has not had experience can well conceive the difficulty of gaining intelligible information from people so rude, upon the subject of their language. We all know how difficult it is to translate literally from one language into another; but with these people, who have never weighed the import of a single word, and scarcely know

[1] *In Gipsy Tents*, p. 226.

how to divide their phrases into words, it is laborious, and almost impossible. If you ask for a word, they give you a whole sentence; and on asking a second time, they give the sentence a totally different turn, or introduce some figure altogether new. Thus it was with our gypsey, who at length, tired of our questions, prayed most piteously to be released, which we granted him, only on condition of his returning in the evening; and it will be seen, by the shortness of the vocabulary which is preserved in the Appendix, how little, by our exertions, in five hours, we were enabled to extract from him.'

His remarks on the language as a proof of the common origin of speakers of Romani are also worth quoting:—'The identity of this people in the different countries of Europe is so obvious, from a comparison of their manners, that on this alone we might rest our conviction of their common origin. Their peculiar cast of countenance, their complexion, their gay and cheerful turn of mind, their bodily agility, are all distinctly marked, and specifically mentioned by different travellers who have met with them in distant regions. But the great confirmation and completion of the argument lies in the similarity of their language. That a race of beings, in the lowest degree of civilisation, who, for four centuries, have been wandering about in every part of Europe, acquiring the language of every country which they have frequented, and claiming no country of their own, should have lost their original language altogether, would not be a matter of astonishment. That they should have retained their peculiar language would have been little less than miraculous; if, therefore, we can trace but a few words, common to the whole race in every country, and which have no affinity to the language of any nation inhabited by them at present, we are led irresistibly to the conclusion, that they are derived from a common source. This fact has been established by former writers, and the result of my inquiries can only be considered as an additional evidence in its favour. Having collected a few words from the Cyganis, in the south of Hungary, I lost no time, on my return to England, in seeking out a family of gypsies at Norwood. I commenced my inquiries, without much expectation of success; but my doubts were immediately dispelled, and almost every word which I could recall, was at once recognised by the first gypsies I accosted. To find, crouched beneath a hedge at Norwood, a family who expressed their ideas in the same words as those with whom I

had conversed but a few weeks before, in the most distant corner of Europe, and having no relation whatsoever to the languages of the countries in which they were respectively settled, gave rise to a singular train of feelings, and to a confirmed conviction in the fact, that they had been derived from one common stock. The specimens of the language which I have obtained from Spain are not so satisfactory upon this point; yet the perfect accordance which will be seen in a few cases, such as dog, bread, wine, an old man, water, child, the nostrils, the mouth, and some others, appear to me so convincing, that the circumstance scarcely admits of any other solution: and it must always be remembered, that the situation of the Gitano of Spain is infinitely more exposed to that intercourse with the people of the country, which must be instrumental in contaminating their language, as well as their character, than either the Gypsey of England, or the Hungarian Cygani.'

He anticipates the theory worked out by Miklosich: 'Vocabularies formed of the gypsey languages, used among their different tribes, might probably throw much light upon the era in which these people quitted the east, and even on the route by which they entered Europe': though he does not avoid the error, very disastrous in this connection, of suggesting to his English Gypsies words which he had learned in Hungary, and of taking for granted that they were Anglo-Romani also, if his hearers said they knew them.

Bright's list is important also because it contains sentences as well as single words, and so preserves grammatical forms and inflexions all too rarely recorded for Anglo-Romani. To save space and for convenience of reference, these sentences are here gathered together and given numbers, by which they will be referred to in the Vocabulary.

1. *me oium, boot, mauro* 'I eat much bread.'
   [*me hawom*[1] *bût mawro* I ate much bread.]
2. *du, chi, oias, boot kul* 'thou, wife, eatest much cheese.'
   [*du— tshai hawas bût kul* thou—the girl ate much cheese.]
3. *jov ne oila, kek, kill* 'he eats no butter.'
   [*yov ne hawla kek kil* he eats no butter.]
4. *soimende, oaim, jarroi* 'we all of us eat eggs.'
   [*saw mende hawam yaraw* we all ate eggs.]

[1] See footnote to *ha-* in Vocabulary.

5. *jov soimende oias macho* (or) *machai* (pl.) 'ye all of you eat fish.'
   [*yov* (*saw mende*) *hawas matsho* (*matshê*) he (we all) ate fish (fishes).]
6. *kek, da oimas, bitta, haben, sako, devis* 'I shall eat no food to-day, *lit.* not, shall eat, little, food, all this day.'
   [*kek na hawmas bita haben sa'ko dives* I had not eaten a bit of food all day.][1]
7. *oisa du, kosliko haben, akai, rat* 'thou wilt eat a good supper to-night, *lit.* thou wiltst eat a good food this night.'
   [*hawsa du koshko haben akê rat* wilt thou eat good food this night?]
8. *jov oila, callako, haben* 'I will eat breakfast to-morrow, *lit.* you will eat, to-morrow, food.'
   [*yov hawla kalako haben* he will eat food to-morrow.]
9. *soimende, oissa, schach* 'we will eat cabbage, *lit.* all of us, we will eat, cabbage.'
   [*saw mende hawsa shaχ* we all shall eat cabbage.]
10. *jov emenga, keti, varingera* 'I go to the fair, *lit.* I go, to, the fair.'
    [*dzhova menga keti varingera* I go me to the fair.][2]
11. *chericlo give to dives* (or) *chericloi, givella, ako dives* 'the birds sing to-day, *lit.* the birds sing this day.'
    [*tsheriklo giv* to-*dives* (or) *tsheriklaw givela* [*givena*] *ako dives* the bird sings to-day (or) the birds sing this day.]
12. *sesso dove, kere, jekos* 'was that once a house, *lit.* was that, a house once.'
    [*ses odova kèr yekos* was that a house once?]
13. *bisto dikelo temn akonau* 'the country looks well now, *lit.* well, looks, country, now.'
    [*bisto dikel o tem akonaw* the country looks well now.]
14. *ee rukoi, rudai, kennessij* 'the trees will be dressed bye and bye.'
    [*î rukaw rudê kene-sig* the trees (will be) dressed by and by.]
15. *rudoman me kukero* 'I dress myself.'
    [*rudom man me kukero* I dressed myself.]
16. *sair sortisi?* 'what sort?'
    [*savi sorti si* what sort is it?][3]

[1] Dr. Sampson prefers *hoiom mas*, taking *bita haben* as an explanation of *mas*.

[2] Possibly a confusion of two alternatives, *dzhora mangi* and *dzhasa 'mengi* (let us go).

[3] Or possibly an answer to the question 'what sort?' *sair sorti si* 'it is all sorts': but *sar* appears as *soi* (=*sâ*) on all other occasions.

17. *savo temn* ? 'what country ?'
[*savo tem* what sort of country ?]
18. *mochto, paudo, touvelo* 'a box full of tobacco.'
[*moχto pawdo tûvelo* a box full of tobacco.]
19. *o tascho wast, es ker wangesto* 'the fingers of the right hand.'
[*o tatsho wasteski wangestaw* the fingers of the right hand.]
20. *miro romni an mi chi* 'my wife and daughter.'
[*miri romni* and *mi tshai* my wife and my daughter.]
21. *leo gri boudic* 'catch the horse.'
[*le o grai bondik* take hold of the horse.]
22. *chidom, leo gri, dre, puv* 'I have taken the horse into the field.'
[*tshidom le*[*s*]—*o grai*—*dre puv* I put it—the horse—into the field.][1]
23. *soi, chor, oias, ogri* 'the horse has eaten all the grass, *lit.* all, grass, eaten, the horse.'
[*saw tshor hawas o grai* the horse ate all the grass.]
24. *dictani, egreski, boshtoi* 'have you seen the saddle of that horse ? *lit.* have you seen, that horse, the saddle ?'
[*diktan e greski boshto* saw you the horse's saddle ?]
25. *jah dictove* 'I go to see.'
[*dzhâ t' dikov* I go that I may see.]
26. *deh, acove, a gresti giv chi* (or) *ri* 'give this corn to the horse, wife (or) sir, *lit.* give this to the horse, corn, wife, or sir.'
[*dė akòva gresti—giv, tshai* (*rai*) give this to the horse, corn, girl (sir).]
27. *leo giv, away, gresti, chi* 'take the oats from the horse wife, *lit.* the oats away from the horse, wife.'
[*le o giv* away *gresti, tshai* take the corn away from the horse, girl.]
28. *dictom, chov, gri edou, drum* 'I saw six horses in the road, *lit.* I saw six horses in the road.'
[*diktom shov grai adre o drum* I saw six horses in the road.]
29. *dictom, mai chov, gri, cheroi* 'I saw the heads of six horses, *lit.* I saw six horses heads.'
[*diktom mė shov grai sheraw* I saw six horses' heads.]
30. *dulo breschin* 'it rains.'
[*dalo breshin* it rains, *lit.* it gives rain.][2]

[1] More probably perhaps *leo* has been introduced from the preceding sentence.
[2] These sentences are suspicious, having evidently been suggested from Bright own 'Hungarian Gypsey.'

31. *dalo ogive* 'it snows.'
[*dalo o giv* it snows, *lit.* it gives snow.][1]
32. *mai is na falo* 'I am ill.'
[*mê* is *nafalo* I am ill.][2]
33. *pre si okam* 'the sun is up.'
['*prê si o kam* the sun is up.]
34. *kam pes* 'the sun shines.'
[*kam 'prê si* the sun is up.]
35. *sodiekaba* 'what do I see.'
[*so dîkaba* what do I see?][3]
36. *cana and sego* 'now, and make quick.'
[*kana* and *sigo* now and quick.]
37. *ma pehn pokopen* 'don't tell any stories.'
[*ma pên hokopen* don't tell a lie.][4]
38. *mai mang tut del mando wai* 'I pray you, give me that which I have deserved.'
[*mê mang tut del man lowê* I beg you to give me money.]
39. *me prautawai waffro manush* 'avoid, at all times, wicked men.'
[*me prast'* away; *wafro manush* I run away; bad man.]
40. *ashto leshto pre skamin* 'I heave up this chair.'
[*ashta lest' oprê, skamin* I lift it up—a chair.]
41. *paulae skamin* 'I push back the chair.'
[*pawlê skamin*, back the chair.]
42. *manga tut muk mon keres*, 'I beg you, humbly, let me go home.'
[*manga tut muk man kere* I beg you let me home.][5]
43. *me romni a che kere mangi* 'my wife awaits me at home.'
[*mi romni atshe*[*l*] *kere mangi* my wife stays at home for me.]
44. *ache mai deviel* 'may God bless you.'
[*atsh mê develesa* stay with God.]

[1] These sentences are suspicious, having evidently been suggested from Bright's own 'Hungarian Gypsey.'

[2] Dr. Sampson suggests *mai naisfalo*, for which strange transposition cf. sentence 25, *dictore*.

[3] The 'long' *i* is an echo of Bright's Hungarian record.

[4] The spelling *pehn* appears to be copied from the Hung. *paramisi pehnes* three sentences above. Bright misprints *p* also in Hung. Gyp. *opto* 'eight,' and in *spak* and *depesemengro*, *q.v.*

[5] This sentence can hardly be accepted as English Romani, every word of it having been suggested from Bright's Hungarian record. A similar influence can be traced in sentence 43.

The inflexions recorded by Bright may be classified as follows:—

Noun

(1) voc. sing. *dievla* [from Hung.].

(2) gen. sing. *wasteskee*, of the hand, *e greski*, of the horse.

(3) dat. sing. *gresti*, to the horse.

(4) abl. sing. *gresti*, from the horse.

(5) locat. sing. *kere*, at home.

(6) nomin. plur. (*a*) in *aw*: *catsaw*, scissors; *chericloi*, birds; *cheroi*, heads: *danow*, teeth; *jarroi*, eggs; *koschtoi*, sticks; *ranjoi*, rods; *rukoi*, trees; *wangesto*, fingers.
(*b*) in *ê*: *holowai*, breeches: *jackai*, eyes: *machai*, fish; *matschkai*, cats.

(7) gen. plur. formations *boschemengero*, fiddler (mistr. 'to fiddle'); *depesemengro*, mirror; *kuremangero*, soldier; *masengero*, butcher: *mashumangri*, violin; *porengri*, pen, feather.

Pronoun

	1st Person	2nd Person	3rd Person
Nom. sing.	*mai, me*	*du*	*jov*
Acc. sing.	*man, mon*	*tut*	*? le* [*les*]
Prep. sing.	*mende*		*lesht*
Dat. sing.	*mangi, menga*		
Abl. plur.	*mende* (in *soimende*).		

Verb

Present and Future

1st pers. sing. *ashto*, I lift; *diekaba*, I see; *jov, jah*, I go: *kamawa* [I owe]; *manga*, I beg; *sowawa* [I sleep].

2nd pers. sing. *oisa*, thou eatest.

3rd pers. sing. *dalo*, it gives; *dikel*, it looks; *givella*, he sings; *oila*, he will eat; *si*, is.

1st pers. plur. *oissa*, we will eat.

Past

1st pers. sing. *chidom*, I put; *dictom*, I saw; *oium*, I ate; *rudom*, I dressed.

2nd pers. sing. or plur. *dictan*, saw you ?

3rd pers. sing. *oias*, he ate; *sess*, it was.

1st pers. plur. *oaim*, we ate.

Pluperfect

1st pers. sing. *oimas*, I had eaten.

Imperative

2nd pers. sing. *ache*, stay; *deh*, *del*, give; *le*, take; *muk*, let; *pehn*, tell; *schiounta*, hearken.

Subjunctive

1st pers. sing. *dictove* [*te dikov*], to see [that I may see].

Participle

rudai dressed.

We have uninflected verbal forms in *del*, give; *give*, sings; *mang*, I beg; *praut*, I run (?). *Pes*, translated 'shines,' can hardly be anything other than *'prê si*, 'is up.'

PHONETICS

Bright's knowledge of a Continental dialect has influenced his spelling of the Anglo-Romani forms, but he has not used any system consistently. The following table exhibits in the first column phonetic symbols from Macfie's *System of Anglo-Romani Spelling* using χ for his *ch*, and in the others Bright's symbols, with one example of each.

â	*a* (*baro*)	*ah* (*jah*)			
a	*a* (*bal*)				
aw	*au* (*mauro*)	*aw* (*catsaw*)	*ow* (*danow*)	*oi* (*rukoi*)	*o* (*wangisto*)
é	*eh* (*deh*)	*é* (*raté*)	*ai* (*machai*)	*ae* (*panlae*)	
è	*e* (*chero*)	*e . . e* (*kere*)?			
e	*e* (*hev*)				
î	*ii* (*sic*)	*ee* (*wasteskee*)			
i	*i* (*manesche*)	*i* (*jukli*)	*ee* (*kahngree*)	*i . . e* (*give*)	
ô	*o* (*lorō*)	*o* (*gouro*)	*o . . e* (*lone*)	*oi* (*boshtoi*)	
o	*o* (*bock*)				
û	*oo* (*boot*)	*ou* (*gouro*)	*ew* (*jew*)		
u	*u* (*buko*)				
ù	*u* (*drum*)				
ai	*i* (*chi*)	*ai* (*dai*)	*ei* (*meila*)		
s	*s* (*saro*)	*ts* (*tsap*)			
sh	*sh* (*boshtoi*)	*sch* (*breschin*)	*ch* (*chero*)	*zh* (*truzhilo*)	*schi* (*schiounta*)
tsh	*tsch* (*tscham*)	*sch* (*schumoben*)	*ch* (*macho*)	*tzh* (*putzhum*)	
z	*z* (*zimin*)	*s* (*klesin*)			
dzh	*dg* (*goidgi*)	*g* (*gauge*)	*j* (*jew*)	*ch* (*chuquil*)	
k	*k* (*kokr*)	*c* (*cana*)	*ck* (*nack*)	*ch* (*richini*)	*qu* (*chuquil*).
y	*j* (*jov*)				
χ	*ch* (*mochto*)				

Note also the interchange of *b* and *m*: *bisto* for *misto*, *boschemengero* and *mashumangri*, and perhaps *mukso* for *burks*.

MISPRINTS, WORDS WRONGLY DIVIDED, MISTRANSLATIONS

(1) Misprints: *boudic* for *bondic*, *chacan* for *chacau*, *depesemengro* for *dikesimengro*, *goro* for *gono*, *gourumin* for *gourumni*, *keski* for *keshi*, *kosliko* for *koshko*, *kurhai* for *kurkai*, *punim* for *purum*, *pokopen* for *hokopen*, *praut* for *prast*, *spak* for *shak*, *tukel* for *jukel*, *vachi* for *raati*, and others.

(2) Words wrongly divided: See sentences 10, 12, 13, 15, 16, 19, 21, 22, 24, 26, 27, 31, 32, 33, 35, 38, 39, 40.

(3) Mistranslations: In addition to those corrected in the sentences numbered 1, 2, 5, 6, 8, 34, 38, 39, we have the following among the single words:—

boschemengero 'to fiddle' [fiddler]; *bukelo* 'hunger' [hungry]; *heretzi* 'breeches' [duck]; *kamawa* 'debt' [I owe]; *kellepen* 'to dance' [dancing]; *puro* 'age' [old]; *raté* 'dark' [at night]; *richini* 'beauty' [beautiful]; *sik* 'diligence' [quickly]; *sowawa* 'sleep' [I sleep]; *swa* 'fear' [a tear]; *truzhilo* 'thirst' [thirsty].

FOREIGN INFLUENCE

Of words absolutely foreign to Anglo-Romani Bright has introduced *chaori*, *gal*, *herrai*, *kemvah*, *swa*, *tschammedini*, *traster*, *vachi*, if it is anything other than a misreading of *raati*, and perhaps *bock* and others. On the other hand, the spelling and form of many of his words have been influenced by his reading of Grellmann and his study of the Hungarian dialect. Since in the past this fault has proved a dangerous trap for collectors who knew Bright's work, parallel forms from Raper's translation of Grellmann (marked 'Gr.') and from Bright's own Hungarian Romani columns (marked 'Hung.') are given in the vocabulary.

VOCABULARY [1]

ache. See *atsh-*.

acove, akai, ako. See *akôva.*

akonau, now. In sentence 13; also *kene* in *kennessij* (14) and *cana* (36). [S. and C. *konáw* p. 180, *kenáw, kánna.*]

[1] Bright's order of arrangement is not an alphabetical one either in the English or in the Romani, but a rough division into parts of the body, occupations, food, dress, animals, weather, money, common objects, adjectives, verbs. I have arranged the words from the Sentences and the Vocabulary in alphabetical order according to Bright's spelling, inconsistent though it is, adding cross references to forms which would have been brought together, if he had used any regular phonetic system.

akôva, this. In sent. 26 *acove a* [=*akôva*]; in sents. 6 and 11 *ako* and *sako* [*sá 'ko*] 'all this'; in sent. 7 fem. *akai* [*aké*]. [S. and C. *akóva*.]

ashto, I lift. Sent. 40. [S. and C. *azer*. Mik. viii. 5.]

[*atsh-*], stay: *ache*[*l*] 3rd sing. pres. indic. in sent. 43; and sing. imperative in sent. 44. [S. and C. *atch*.]

bal, hair. [S. and C. *bal*.]

balo, swine. [S. and C. *báulo*. Gr. *balo*.]

balowas, bacon. [S. and C. *bálovás*. Mik. vii. 15.]

bangeri, waistcoat. [S. and C. *bángarée*.]

bango, crooked. [S. and C. *bóngo*. Gr. *bango*.]

bar, stone. [S. and C. *bar*.]

baro, great. Also in *barajil* 'cold' [*baro shil*, great cold.] [S. and C. *baúro*. Gr. *baro*.]

bascheno, cock. [S. and C. *bóshno*. Mik. vii. 18.]

beng, the devil. [S. and C. *beng*. Mik. vii. 19.]

bersch, year. [S. and C. *besh*. Gr. *bersch*. Hung. *bersh*. Mik. vii. 19.]

bis, twenty. [S. and C. *bish*. Gr. *bis*. Mik. vii. 23.]

bisto, well (adv.): in sent. 13. [S. and C. *mistó*, *míshto*. Mik. viii. 17.] For the form in *b*, cf. *J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, i. 46: New Series, iii. 208.

bitta. See *bitte*.

bitte, little. Also *bitta* in *bittachericle* 'small bird': *bitta kehr* 'small cottage'; *bitta haben* in sent. 6. [S. and C. p. 28.]

bock, a letter. [I can make nothing of this unless 'letter' was mistaken for 'let her' and *bock*=*muk*. Dr. J. Sampson suggests English 'book.' R. A. S. Macfie says, 'The Gypsy may have been telling Bright's fortune—"You will have luck (*bok*), you will receive a letter," and Bright took *bok* and "letter" as synonymous.']

bondié, hold: in sent. 21 misprinted *boudie*. [S. and C. *bónnek*.]

boot, a multitude. Also as adj. 'much' in sentences 1 and 2. [S. and C. *boot*. Mik. vii. 26.]

boschemengero, fiddler. Mistranslated 'to fiddle.' [S. and C. *bóshoméngro*. Mik. vii. 18.] See also *mashumangri*.

boshtoi, saddle; in sent. 24. [S. and C. *bóshto*. Mik. vii. 20.]

breschin. See *brischin*.

brischin, rain. Also in sent. 30 *dalo breschin* 'it rains.' [S. and C. *brishindo*. Mik. vii. 24.]

bukelo, hungry. Mistr. 'hunger.' [S. and C. *bókalo*. Mik. vii. 22.]

buko, liver. [S. and C. *boóko*. Mik. vii. 25.]

burk. See *mukso*.

butin, labour. [From Gr. *butin*. S. and C. *boóti*. Mik. vii. 26.]

c. See also *k*.

callako, to-morrow: in sent. 8. [S. and C. *káliko*.]

cana. See *akonau*.

catsaw, scissors. [S. and C. *kátsers*. Mik. vii. 75.]

ch. See also *sh*, *tsch*.

chacan. See *choik*.

chaori, female children. [A diminutive from Hung. *chaori*. S. and C. p. 18. Mik. vii. 30.]

chare. See *χare*.

chavais, male children. [S. and C. *chavies*. Mik. vii. 30.]

chericlo, bird. Mistr. 'birds.' Also in *bittacheriele* 'small bird.' Sing. and plur. *cherieloi* in sent. 11. [S. and C. *chériklo*, *chérikli*. Mik. vii. 34.]

chero, head; *cheroi* (plur.) in sent. 29. [S. and C. *shéro*. Gr. *cheru*. Mik. viii. 71.] French *ch*.

chi, daughter: in sent. 20. Also in *Romani chi* 'a Gitana (or female Gypsey).' Mistr. 'wife' in sents. 2, 26, 27. [S. and C. *chei*. Mik. vii. 30.]

chidom. See *chiv-*.

chilri, cold (adj.). The noun appears in *barajil*. [S. and C. *shírilo*. Mik. viii. 72.] French *ch*. Cf. also Simson's form *sheelra*, *J. G. L. S.*, viii. 64.

chiv, tongue. [S. and C. *chib*, *chiv*. Mik. vii. 31.]

[*chiv-*, to put]: *chidom*, 1st sing. past indic. in sent. 22. [S. and C. *chiv*. Mik. vii. 34.]

choik, shoe. Misprinted 'shoes.' The plur. appears as *chacau*, misprinted *chacan*. [S. and C. *chok*.]

choko, coat. [S. and C. *chókka*, *chóχo*. Mik. vii. 35.]

chor, grass. Also in sent. 23. [S. and C. *chor*. Mik. vii. 29.]

chov, six: in sents. 28 and 29, and in *schuchare* 'sixpence.' [S. and C. *shov*. Mik. viii. 73.] French *ch*.

chuquil. See *jukel*.

churi, a knife. [S. and C. *choóri*. Mik. vii. 39.]

corodo, blind: *corodo goidgi* 'the blind' [*lit.* blind men]. [S. and C. *kóredo*, *kórodo*. Mik. vii. 86.]

coshko, good, brave. See *kosliko*.

da. See *na*.

[*da-*, to give, strike]: *dalo*, 3rd sing. pres. indic., agreeing with Hung., in sents. 30 and 31; *deh* [*de*], 2nd sing. imperat. in sent. 26; uninflected verbal stem *del* in sent. 38.

dade, father. [S. and C. *dad*. Gr. and Hung. *dade*. Mik. vii. 40.]

dai, mother. [S. and C. *dei*. Mik. vii. 40.]

danow, teeth. [S. and C. *dányaw*, *danáw*, plur. of *dan*. Mik. vii. 41.]

deklo, pocket-handkerchief. [S. and C. *díklo*. Mik. vii. 43.]

depesemengro, mirror. [A misreading of *dikesimengro*. S. and C. *díkoméngro*. Mik. vii. 43.] For the *s* in this form Dr. Sampson compares the Welsh-Gypsy *dikšiben* and *dikšino*.

devel, God. Also *dievla* [vocat., agreeing with Hung.], and apocopated instrumental *deviel* [*develesa*] in sent. 44. [S. and C. *dúvel*, *doóvel*. Mik. vii. 42.]

devis. See *dives*.

dievla. See *devel*.

[*dik-*, to see]: 1st sing. pres. indic. *diekaba* in sent. 35, cf. Hung. *diekab*; 3rd sing. pres. indic. *dikel* in sent. 13; 1st sing. past indic. *diktom* in sents. 28 and 29; 2nd sing. or plur. past indic. *diktan* in sent. 24; 1st sing. subj. *dictove* [*t'dikov*] in sent. 25. [S. and C. *dik*. Mik. vii. 43.]

dives, day: in sent. 11; *devis* in sent. 6. [S. and C. *dívvus*. Mik. vii. 44.]

dori, string. [S. and C. *dóri*, *doóri*. Mik. vii. 45.]

dre, into: in sent. 22. Also *edou* [*adre o*] in sent. 28. [S. and C. *'dre*, *adré*.]

drum, road: in sent. 28. [S. and C. *drom*. Gr. *drum*. Mik. vii. 46.]

du. See *tu*.

dugilla, lightning. [Cf. Hung. *dergüner* 'it thunders,' p. lxxxix. S. and C. p. 159.]

dui, two. [S. and C. *doái*. Mik. vii. 47.]

dummo, back. [S. and C. *doómo*. Gr. *dummo*. Mik. vii. 47.]

edou. See *dre*.

ee. See *o*.

gad, shirt. Also *gadaw* [plur.]. [S. and C. *gad*, plur. *gádaw*. Mik. vii. 53.]

gal, village. [S. and C. *gav*. Gr. *gal*: but this form has been recorded in England. Mik. vii. 54.]

gauge, woman. Also the plur. masc. in *corodo goidgi* 'the blind.'

gero, man: *purogero* 'old man.' [S. and C. p. 22.]

[*giv-*, to sing]: *give*, the uninflected verb stem in sent. 11; also *givella*, 3rd sing. pres. mistr. 3rd plur. in sent. 11. [S. and C. *ghiv, ghil.* Mik. vii. 56.]

giv. See *give.*

give, wheat. [One syllable.] Also *giv* in sents. 26 and 27. [S. and C. *ghiv.* Mik. vii. 56.]

give, snow. [One syllable.] In sent. 31. [S. and C. *ghiv, iv*, etc. Mik. vii. 66.]

goidgi. See *gauge.*

gojee, pudding. [S. and C. *góï.* Gr. *goji.* Mik. vii. 57.]

goro, a knapsack. Misprint for *gono.* [S. and C. *góno, gonnó.* Mik. vii. 57.]

gouro, ox. [S. and C. *goóro* 'bull,' p. 168. Hung. *gouro.* Mik. vii. 58.]

gourumin, cow. [S. and C. *groóvni.* Hung. *gourumni.* Mik. vii. 58.]

gra, greski, gresti. See *gri.*

gri, gra, horse. Nom. sing. also in sent. 23; *gri* for acc. sing. in sent. 21; *greski*, gen. sing. in sent. 24; *gresti*, dat. sing. in sent. 26, abl. sing in sent. 27; *gri* for acc. plur. in sents. 28 and 29. [S. and C. *grei.* Gr. *gra*, etc. Mik. vii. 58.]

gudlo, sugar. [S. and C. *goódlo, goódli* 'sweet.' Mik. vii. 58.]

[*ha-*, to eat]: 3rd sing. pres. *oila* [*hawla*] in sents. 3 and 8; 2nd sing. pres. *oisa* [*hawsa*] in sent. 7; *oium* [*hawom*] 1st sing. past in sent. 1; 3rd sing. past *oias* [*hawas*] in sents. 2 and 5; 1st plur. past *oaim* [*hawom*] in sent. 4; 1st sing. pluperf. *oimas* [*hawmas*] in sent. 6; 1st plur. fut. *oissa* [*hawsa*] in sent. 9. [S. and C. *haw, hol.* Mik. vii. 59.][1]

haben, food: in sents. 6, 7, 8. [S. and C. *hóben.* Mik. vii. 59.]

hascht, wood. See *koscht.*

heretzi, duck. [Gr. *hiretza.* Cf. *herrai.* S. and C. *rétsi, rétza.* Mik. i. 35; viii. 54.]

heretzi, breeches. [A misunderstanding. Bright was wearing 'ducks' that day he strolled by the hedges of Norwood.]

herrai, gentleman. [A Spanish form, though Bright's Spanish form is *gerrés.*] See *ri.*

herree. See *herroi.*

herroi, herree, leg. [S. and C. *héro, hérer.* Gr. *heroi.* Mik. vii. 55.]

[1] The retention of Bright's *oi*, preferred by Dr. Sampson, suits the words where *oi* is followed by a vowel, but not the inflexions of the present tense, nor plurals like *rukoi.* Its use in *soi* (=*saw*, 'all') seems to show that it was Bright's strange method of representing the vowel in Eng. 'law' and that he noted no *i*-glide between it and the terminations of the past tense.

hev, hole, window. [S. and C. *hev*. Mik. vii. 62.]

hokopen. See *pokopen*.

holove, holef, stockings. [S. and C. *hoólavers*.] See *holowai*.

holowai, breeches. [Mik. i. 14.]

horō, sword. [S. and C. *haúro*. Mik. vii. 61.]

[*χare*, pence]: in *schuchare* 'sixpence.' [S. and C. *hárri*. Mik. vii. 61.]

[*is-*, to be]: 3rd sing. pres. *si* in sents. 16, 33, and 34; 3rd sing. past *sess* in sent. 12.

[*ja-* (=*dzha*), to go]: 1st sing. pres. [*jove*] in sent. 10; *jah* contr. from *java* (cf. *manga*) 1st sing. pres. in sent. 25.

jack (=*yak*), pl. *jackai*, eyes. [S. and C. *yok*. Mik. vii. 67.]

jarroi (=*yaraw*), eggs: acc. plur. in sent. 4. [S. and C. *yóro*. Mik. viii. 93.]

jeg (=*yeg*), one. [Hung. *jeg*. Mik. vii. 68.] See *jekos*.

jeg, jog (=*yeg, yog*), fire. [*jeg* is from Hung. S. and C. *yog*. Mik. vii. 67.]

jekos (=*yekos*), once: in sent 12. [S. and C. *yékorus*. Mik. vii. 68.] See *jeg*.

jew (=*dzhû*), louse. [S. and C. *joóva*. Mik. vii. 52.]

jil, in *barajil* 'cold' [*baro shil*, great cold]. See *shil*.

jog. See *jeg*.

jov. See *ja-*.

jov (=*yov*), he: in sents. 3, 5, 8.

jukel (=*dzhukel*), dog: misprinted *tukel*. Also *jukli* [fem.] and Spanish form *chuquil*. [S. and C. *joókel, joókli*. Gr. *jùkel*. Mik. vii. 51.]

k. See also *c*.

kahngeree, church. Cf. Hung. *kahngeri*. [S. and C. *kóngeri*. Gr. *kangheri*. Mik. vii. 73.]

kal, butter. In sent. 2 translated 'cheese.' [S. and C. *kal* 'cheese.' Mik. vii. 76.] See *kil*.

kalo, black. [S. and C. *kaúlo*. Gr. *kalo*. Mik. vii. 71.]

kam, sun. Also in sents. 33 and 34. [S. and C. *kam*. Gr. *cam*. Mik. vii. 77.]

kamawa, I owe. Mistr. 'debt.' [*J. G. L. S.*, viii. 81-2. Gr. *kammawa*, accusation, debt. S. and C. *kom*. Mik. vii. 71.]

kan, ear. [S. and C. *kan*. Mik. vii. 72.]

kani, hen. [S. and C. *kánni*. Mik. vii. 70.]

kanivoro, hare. Perhaps a misreading of *kanengro* or an adjectival form from *kan*.

kassoni, fork. [S. and C. *kásoni* 'billhook.' Hung. *kastoni*.]

kehr, house. Also in *bitta kehr* 'small cottage'; *kere* also as nom. in sent. 12; locat. sing *kere* in sents. 42 and 43. [S. and C. *kair*. Hung. *kehr*. Mik. vii. 79.]

kek, not or no. Also in sents. 3 and 6. [S. and C. *kek*. Mik. vii. 73.]

keleso, bone. [S. and C. *kókalo, kokálos*. Mik. vii. 85.]

kellepen, dance, dancing. Mistr. 'to dance.' [S. and C. *kélopen*. Mik. vii. 78.]

kemrah, book. From Hung. Cf. *J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, iii. 76; New Series, ii. 6: v. 31; vii. 176.]

kennessij, bye and bye: in sent. 14. [S. and C. *kenáw-sig, kánna-sig* 'just now, immediately.'] See *akonau*.

kero, cherry. [*J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, iii. 76, *kēra*. Mik. vii. 76.]

keski, silk. Either a misprint of *k* for *h*, or a contraction of *kesheski*, of silk, silken. [S. and C. *kaish*. Mik. vii. 77.]

keti, to: in sent. 10. [Leland, *Eng. G. Songs*, p. 202, *kéti*; *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, iii. 222, *ketty, kety*: ix. 163, *kátu*.]

kil, cheese. Translated 'butter' in sent. 3 (*kill*). [S. and C. *kil* 'butter.'] See *kal*.

kindo, wet. [S. and C. *kíndo*. Pott, ii. 103.]

kirmo, worm. Also *kirma*, p. lxxviii. [S. and C. *kírmo, kérmo*. Mik. vii. 76.]

klesin, a key. [S. and C. *klísin*. Mik. vii. 84.]

'ko. See *ako*.

koscht, pl. *koschtoi*, stick. [S. and C. *kosht*. Mik. vii. 74.] See also *hascht*.

kosliko, good: in sent. 7. A misreading of *koshko*. [S. and C. p. 26.] See *coshko*.

kukero, self: in sent. 15. [S. and C. *kókero*. Mik. vii. 86.]

kuremangero, soldier. [S. and C. *koóroméngro*. Gr. *kuromangri*, infantry. Mik. vii. 88.]

kurhai, Sunday. Probably a misprint of *h* for *k*. [S. and C. *koóroko, koóroki*. Mik. vii. 88.]

[*la-*, to take]: *le*, 2nd sing. imperat. in sents. 21, 22, 27. [S. and C. *lel*. Mik. viii. 3.]

lav, an answer. [S. and C. *lav*. Mik. viii. 5.]

les. See *lest*.

lest, it: in sent. 40, *leshto pre = lest opre*; *le*[*s*] in sent. 22.

lome, salt. [One syllable.] [S. and C. *lon*. Mik. viii. 8.]

lōvō, lowo, money. Perhaps disguised in sent. 38, *mando wai = man lowé*. [S. and C. *loóvo, lóvo, lúva*. Mik. viii. 9.]

ma, not: in sent. 37. [S. and C. *maa*. Mik. viii. 9.]

macho, fish; plur. *machai*: in sent. 5. [S. and C. *mátcho*. Mik. viii. 10.]

malo. See *mauro*.

mandi, *mangi*. See *me*.

[*mang-*, to beg]: 1st sing. pres. *manga* in sent. 42, agreeing with Hung.; uninflected verb stem *mang* as 1st sing. pres. in sent. 38. [S. and C. *mong*. Mik. viii. 11.]

manesche, woman, in *puromanesche* 'old woman.' [S. and C. *manoóshni*, *mónoshi*. Mik. viii. 12.]

manush, man. Also in sent. 39. [S. and C. *manush*. Hung. *manush*. Mik. viii. 12.]

mas, flesh. Perhaps also in sent. 6. [S. and C. *mas*. Mik. viii. 13.]

masengero, butcher. [S. and C. *maséngro*.]

mashumangri, violin. See also *boschemengero*.

matschkai, cats. [S. and C. *mátchka*. Mik. i. 23.]

mauro, *malo*, bread. Also in sent. 1. [*malo* is 'suggested' from Hung., cf. Gr. *malum*. S. and C. *maúro*. Mik. viii. 12.]

me. See *mi*.

me, I: Nom. sing. *me* in sents. 1 and 39: *mai* in sents. 29, 32, and 38; acc. sing. *man* in sent. 15: *mon*, agreeing with Hung., in sent. 42; dat. sing. *man* in sent. 38, *mangi* in sent. 43; abl. plur. *mende* in sents. 4 and 5; *menga* [ethic dat.] in sent. 10.

meila, *mila*, ass. [S. and C. p. 22.]

meja, mile. [S. and C. *meéa*. Mik. viii. 16.]

men, neck. [S. and C. *men*. Mik. viii. 15.]

meriben, death. [S. and C. *mériben*. Mik. viii. 15.]

mi, my: in sent. 20; *mai* in sent. 44; *me* in sents. 15 and 43. See *miro*.

mila. See *meila*.

miro, my: in sent. 20 (with false concord). [S. and C. *méero*, *meíro*. Mik. viii. 17.]

mischelli, table. [S. and C. *mísali*. Mik. i. 24; viii. 16.]

mochto. See *mokto*.

moi. See *mui*.

mokto, box. Also in sent. 18 *mochto* [=*moχto*]. [S. and C *mókto*, *móχto*. Mik. viii. 18.] See also *mukso*.

mon. See *me*.

mor, wine. [From Hung., cf. also Bright's Spanish form. S. and C. *mul*. Mik. viii. 18.]

motto, drunk. [S. and C. *mótto*. Mik. viii. 14.]

mui, *muî*, *moi*, face, mouth. [S. and C. *moói*. Mik. viii. 19.]

[*muk-*, to let]: imperat. in sent. 42. [S. and C. *mook*, *muk*. Mik. viii. 19.]

mukso, breasts. Possibly a misprint for *mukto*, chest. Or *m* may stand for *b*; cf. *mashumangri* and *boschemengero*, and *b* for *m* in *bisto*. [S. and C. *burk*. Mik. vii. 24.] See also *mokto*.

na, not: misheard as *da* in sent. 6.

nack, nostrils or nose. [S. and C. *nok*. Gr. *nàk*. Mik. viii. 22.]

nafalo, ill: in sent. 32. [S. and C. *náfalo*, *násfalo*. Mik. viii. 23.]

nai, nail. [S. and C. *nei*. Gr. *naj*. Mik. viii. 21.]

nango, naked. [S. and C. *nóngo*. Gr. *nango*. Mik. viii. 22.]

ne, no, not: in sent. 3. [S. and C. *né*, *naw*. Mik. viii. 21.]

nevo, new. [S. and C. *néro*. Mik. viii. 24.]

o, the: sing. masc. in sents. 13, 19, 21, 22, 23, 27, 31, and 33; sing. fem. perhaps in *heretzi*; oblique sing. in sent. 24: nom. plur. in sent. 14.

odove, that: in sent. 12. [S. and C. *adoóva*. Mik. vii. 4.]

oias, *oila*, *oimas*, *oium*, etc. See *ha-*.

opre, up: in sent. 40. [S. and C. *opré*, *'pré*. Mik. viii. 26.] See *pre* and *pes*.

pani, water. [S. and C. *páni*. Mik. viii. 31.]

papi, goose, agreeing with Hung. and Gr. For interchangeability of *-i* and *-in* terminations see Pott, ii. 403 f.n. [S. and C. *pápin*. Mik. viii. 31.] Cf. *skami* and *tri*.

patrin, leaf. [S. and C. *pátrin*. Gr. *patrin*. Mik. viii. 35.]

paulo, full: in sent. 18. [S. and C. *pórdo*. Mik. viii. 41.]

paulae, back (behind): in sent. 41. [S. and C. *paulé*. Mik. viii. 30.]

paunch, five, agreeing with Hung. [S. and C. *pandj*, *pansh*. Mik. viii. 31.]

[*pen-*, to tell]: 2nd sing. imperat. *pehn* in sent. 37. [S. and C. *pen*. Mik. viii. 41.]

peneka, nut. [S. and C. p. 161. Mik. viii. 36.]

per, belly. [S. and C. *per*. Mik. viii. 37.]

pes 'shines' in sent. 34 = *'pe si* = *'pre si* 'is up.' Cf. *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, iv. 183, no. 135.

pias, fun, frolic. [S. and C. *péias*. Mik. viii. 37.]

piro, feet. Mistr. for 'foot.' [S. and C. *píro*, *peéro*. Mik. viii. 47.]

plak, cup. ? Some confusion with Eng. 'plate.'

plasta, mantle. [S. and C. *pláshta*. Mik. i. 30; viii. 48.]

pokopen, stories: in sent. 37. Misprint or misreading of *p* for *h*; cf. *spak* for *shak*. [S. and C. *hoókapen, hóχaben*. Mik. vii. 63.]

por, porengri, feather or pen. [S. and C. *por*. Mik. i. 29; viii. 50.]

poshnechosh, neck-handkerchief. [S. and C. *póshneckus*, p. 175.]

[*prast-*, to run]: 1st sing. pres. in sent. 39; reading either *prasta* 'way, or *prast* away. [S. and C. *práster*. Mik. viii. 52.]

pre, up: in sent. 33. See *opre* and *pes*.

puh. See *puv*.

pul, straw. From Gr. [S. and C. *poos*. Mik. viii. 45.]

punim, onion. Misprint for *purum*. [S. and C. *poórumi*. Mik. viii. 53.]

puro, old. Mistr. 'age.' Also in *purogero* 'old man' and *puromanesche* 'old woman.' [S. and C. *poóro*. Mik. viii. 45.]

putzhum, flea. [S. and C. *poóshuma*. Gr. *putzjum*. Mik. viii. 54.]

puv, field: in sent. 22. Also *puh* 'the earth' for 'earth.' [S. and C. *poov*. Gr. *pu*, the earth. Mik. viii. 46.]

rai. See *herrai* and *ri*.

rakli, young woman. [S. and C. *rákli*. Mik. viii. 55.]

raklo, servant or boy. [S. and C. *ráklo*. Mik. viii. 55.]

ran, rod; pl. *ranjoi*. [S. and C. *ran*. Mik. viii. 55.]

raschei, preacher. [S. and C. *rásheí*. Mik. viii. 56.]

rat, blood. [S. and C. *ratt*. Mik. viii. 56.]

raté, dark [at night]. Also *rat* in sent. 7. [S. and C. *raáti*. Mik. viii. 56.] See *rachi*.

ri, sir: in sent. 26. [S. and C. *rei*. Mik. viii. 54.]

richini, beautiful. Mistr. 'beauty.' [S. and C. *ríkeno, rínkeno*. See also p. 27.]

[*riv-*, to dress]: 1st sing. past *rudom* in sent. 15. Past partic. in sent. 14, *rudai* [*rudé*]. [S. and C. *riv*. Mik. viii. 89.]

rohi, spoon, agreeing with Hung. [S. and C. *roi, róï*. Mik. viii. 58.]

[*Romano*, Gypsy]: *Romani chi* 'a Gitana (or female Gypsey).' [S. and C. *rómano, rómani*. Mik. viii. 58.]

romni, wife, woman. Also in sents. 20 and 43. [S. and C. *rómni*. Mik. viii. 58.]

rudo. See *riv*.

ruk, tree. Plural *rukoi* in sent. 14. [S. and C. *rook*. Mik. viii. 59.]

rup, silver. [S. and C. *roop*. Mik. viii. 60.]

sair. See *savo*.

sako. See *saw* and *akova*.

[*sap*]. See *tsap*.

savo, what: in sent. 17 *savo temn* 'what country': in sent. 16 *sair* [*savi*] *sorti* 'what sort.' [S. and C. *sávo*. Mik. viii. 63.]

[*saw*, all]: *soi* in sents. 4, 5, 9, 23; compounded with *ako* in sent. 6. [S. and C. *sor*. Mik. viii. 63.]

schach, cabbage: in sent. 9. Also with misprint of *p* for *h* in *spak*. [S. and C. *shok*. Gr. *schach*. Mik. viii. 70.]

schik, mud. [S. and C. *chik*. Gr. *schik*. Mik. vii. 32.]

schiounta. See *shun-*.

schoschi, rabbit. [S. and C. *shóshi*. Gr. *schoschi*. Mik. viii. 73.]

schuchare, sixpence. [S. and C. *shookhaúri*, *shaúhaúri*.] See *chor* and *χare*.

schud, vinegar, agreeing with Hung. [S. and C. *shoot*. Mik. viii. 75.]

schumoben, kiss. [S. and C. *choómaben* 'kissing.' Gr. *tchumoben*. Mik. vii. 38.]

sh. See also *ch*.

sego, quick: in sent. 36; also *sij* in *kennessij* 'bye and bye' and *sik* 'diligence.' [S. and C. *siy*. Gr. *sik*, diligence. Mik. viii. 64.]

sess. See *is-*.

shil, cough. Also *jil* in *barajil* 'cold.' [S. and C. *shil*. Mik. viii. 72.] Cf. *chilri*.

[*shun-*, hear]: imperat. in *schiounta* 'harken,' with emphatic suffix *-ta*. [S. and C. *shoónta*. Mik. viii. 75.]

si. See *is-*.

sie, heart. [S. and C. *zee*. Gr. *sie*.]

sij, *sik*. See *sego*.

skami, seat or chair. [Apocopated form from Hung. Cf. *papi*, *tri*.] *skamin* in sents. 40 and 41. [S. and C. *skámin*. Mik. viii. 66.]

skoni, boots. [S. and C. *skóni*. Mik. i. 37; viii. 72.]

so, what? in sent. 35.

sodiekaba. See *dik-* and *so*.

soi. See *saw*.

soimende. See *me* and *saw*.

sonokai, gold. [S. and C. *soónakei*. Mik. viii. 68.]

sorti, sort: in sent. 16. Eng. word with Romani termination.

sowawa, I sleep, from Gr. Mistr. 'sleep.' [S. and C. *sōv*. Mik. viii. 67.]

spak, cabbage. See *schach*.

sta, four. Cf. Hung. *stah*. [S. and C. *stor*. Mik. viii. 73.]

stadi, hat. [S. and C. *staádi*. Mik. iii. 40; viii. 68.]

starapen, prison. [S. and C. *'stáriben*. Mik. vii. 11.]

swa, tear. Mistr. 'fear.' From Gr. [S. and C. p. 162; *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 177. Mik. vii. 12.]

swegli, pipe: *tuviali swegli* 'tobacco pipe.' [S. and C. p. 22. Mik. iii. 41.]

tascho, right: *tascho wast* 'right hand.' Also in sent. 19. [S. and C. *tátcho*. Mik. vii. 27.]

tato, hot. [S. and C. *tátto*. Mik. viii. 78.]

temn, country. Also in sents. 13 and 17. [S. and C. *tem*. Gr. *temn*. Mik. viii. 82.]

thu, smoke. [S. and C. *toov*. Gr. *thu*. Mik. viii. 83.] See *tuviali*.

to. [? Eng.] in sent. 11.

tober, axe. [S. and C. *tōbár*, *tóber*. Gr. *tober*. Mik. i. 42; viii. 85.]

touvelo. See *tuviali*.

trast. See *traster*.

traster, *trust*, iron. Hung. *trust*, cf. Gr. *trascht*. [S. and C. *sáster*. Mik. viii. 70.]

tri, three. Bright, misled by Grellmann, has omitted the final *n*.

trupos, body. [S. and C. *troópus*. Mik. i. 42; viii. 87.]

truzhilo, thirsty. Mistr. 'thirst.' [S. and C. *troóshlo*. Gr. *truzhilo*. Mik. viii. 87.]

tsap, snake. From Gr.

tscham, cheek. [S. and C. *cham*. Gr. *tscham*. Mik. vii. 28.]

tschammedini, a slap on the face. From Gr. [Thesleff, *Wörterbuch des Dialekts der finnländischen Zigeuner*, p. 16, *čammedīni*. S. and C. p. 163.]

tschanga, knee. [S. and C. *chong*. Gr. *tschanga*. Mik. vii. 28.]

tu, thou: nom. sing. *du* in sents. 2 and 7; acc. sing. *tut* in sents. 38 and 42.

tud, milk. [S. and C. *tood*. Mik. viii. 83.]

tukel. Misprint for *jukel*.

tuliben, fat. [S. and C. *túllipen*. Mik. viii. 83.]

tut. See *tu*.

tuviali, tobacco: *tuviali swegli*, 'tobacco pipe.' *Tuviali* agrees with Hung. Also *touvelo* in sent. 18. [S. and C. *túvlo*, *túvli*. Mik. viii. 83.] See *thu*.

vachi, night. Can only be a misreading of a very badly written *raati*, unless it represents *râtshi* and has slipped into the wrong column. See *raté*.

vadros, a bed. [S. and C. *woódrus*, *wúdrus*. Mik. i. 27; viii. 96.]

varingera, fair. [S. and C. p. 149.]

waffro, wicked: in sent. 39. [S. and C. p. 28.]

wahlin, bottle. [S. and C. *wálin*, *válin*. Gr. *wahlin*. Mik. iii. 40; viii. 92.]

wai. [In sent. 38 may have crept in from *prautawai* in sent. 39 below, or it may be a corruption of *lowe*. Leland, *Eng. G. Songs*, p. 275, adopted it as *wye* 'due.']

wangar, coal. [S. and C. *vúngar*. Mik. vii. 8.]

wangesto. See *wangisto*.

wangisto, fingers. Also *wangesto* in sent. 19. [S. and C. *vóngusti*, *wónguski*. Mik. vii. 9.]

wangustri, ring. [S. and C. *wónguski*. Mik. vii. 9.]

wast, hands. Really 'hand.' Also in *tascho wast* 'right hand'; *zezro wast* 'left hand'; and in sent. 19 *wasteskee*, gen. sing. [S. and C. *vast*, *wast*. Mik. viii. 94.]

y. See *j*.

zezro, left: *zezro wast* 'left hand.' [S. and C. p. 163. Mik. viii. 98.]

zimin, broth. [S. and C. *zímen*. Mik. iii. 39; viii. 99.]

V.—AN AMERICAN-ROMANI VOCABULARY[1]

By George F. Black, Ph.D.

IN one of his manuscripts, apparently written in 1910, the late Mr. A. T. Sinclair states that, when learning to speak the American-Gypsy dialect, he prepared a list of words which he carried about in his pocket when visiting the Gypsies. All the words were collected by himself from Romani *rušta* before he had read any publications about Gypsies. The vocabulary, he added, was the result of inquiries among hundreds of Gypsies in different sections of the United States and Canada, and was confined strictly to the English-speaking Gypsies born in Great Britain, or their American descendants. He also says that no one Gypsy was familiar with all the words he had noted, but many of them knew nearly all. Most of the younger Gypsies born in the United States, however, understood very few of them. The Gypsies also

[1] A provisional issue of this vocabulary was published in the *Bulletin* of the New York Public Library, v. 19, pp. 727-738. New York, 1915.

knew some slang and tinker words, but never used them in conversation. The Continental Gypsies in America speak a very different dialect.

The vocabulary above referred to, a small leather-bound note-book, is now in the New York Public Library. It contains 481 words, and has been labelled by Mr. Sinclair 'American-Gypsy Dictionary.' The words are not in alphabetical order, but are grouped under their initial letters. In addition to this there is also a larger list of words written out on quarto sheets in a roughly alphabetical order. This list includes nearly all the words contained in the 'Dictionary.' These two collections have been made the basis of the vocabulary here published, with considerable additions derived from other loose sheets of manuscript and from a number of note-books the entries in which are written with lead-pencil.

A good deal of Mr. Sinclair's information in later years appears to have been obtained from Cornelius Cooper and his sister-in-law Lydia Cooper (*née* Hicks), both American-born Gypsies. The latter was described by Mr. Sinclair as an industrious, shrewd, and very intelligent woman.

A large number of words in this vocabulary do not occur in the English-Rommany list published by Professor Prince.[1] Where Professor Prince gives a different spelling or a different meaning, it has been added here in brackets. For comparison I have also added references to English-Romani sources as noted in the list of abbreviations.

The words and sentences are given here exactly as recorded in Sinclair's manuscripts. I have not ventured to take any liberties with his system of spelling or with his definitions, as my intercourse with American Gypsies has not been sufficiently extensive to allow of my attempting emendations. The sentences have been gathered from a number of loose sheets of manuscript, and for convenience of reference they are arranged here in alphabetical order under the first word.

Abbreviations

C. Crofton (H. T.), 'Additions to Gypsy-English Vocabulary' (*Gypsy Lore Society Journal*, v. 1, pp. 46-48. Edinburgh, 1889).

[1] 'The English-Rommany Jargon of the American Roads.' By J. Dyneley Prince (*American Oriental Society Journal*, v. 28, pp. 271-308. New Haven, 1907).

P. Prince (J. D.), 'The English-Rommany Jargon of the American Roads' (*American Oriental Society Journal*, v. 28, pp. 271-308. New Haven, 1907).

S1. Sampson (John), 'A Contribution to English-Gypsy' (*Gypsy Lore Society Journal*, v. 2, pp. 2-5. Edinburgh, 1891).

S2. Sampson (J.), 'Romani Flotsam' (*Gypsy Lore Society Journal*, v. 3, pp. 73-81. Edinburgh, 1892).

SC. Smart (B. C.) and Crofton (H. T.), *The Dialect of the English Gypsies*, 2 ed. London, 1875.

Key to the Pronunciation

a as in *rat*	*ia* as in *yard*	*č* as in *chin*
ā „ „ *father*	*ie* „ „ *yet*	*g* „ „ *gate*
â „ „ *yawn*	*iu* „ „ *you*	*χ* „ „ Scottish *loch*
ai „ „ *I*	*o* „ „ *not*	*j* „ „ *jest*
au „ „ *cow*	*ō* „ „ *no*	*ŋg* „ „ *singer*
e „ „ *met*	*oi* „ „ *boy*	*ŋgg* „ „ *finger*
ē „ „ *hay*	*u* „ „ *cur*	*s* „ „ *sin*
i „ „ *it*	*ū* „ „ *moon*	*š* „ „ *shin*
ī „ „ *breed*	*ūī* „ „ *gluey*	*z* „ „ *zeal*

b, *d*, *f*, *h*, *k*, *l*, *m*, *n*, *p*, *r*, *t*, *v*, *w*, are pronounced as in English.

Vocabulary

1. *aǎ*, to stay, stand, remain, pitch (camp). [P. *hāch*. SC. *atch*, *hatch*.]
2. *adârde*. See under *dârdi*.
3. *adoi*, there. [P. *adói*. SC. *adói*.]
4. *adré*, in, into. [P. *adrée*, 'in, within, into.' SC. *adré*.]
5. *akai*, here. [P. *aký*. SC. *akéi*.]
6. *and*, *han*, to bring, to fetch. [P. *rĭkker*, 'bring, fetch, carry.' SC. *and*, *hand*.]
7. *ānj*, *hānj*, to scratch. [SC. *honj*, 'the itch, to itch.' C. *hónjer*, 'to scratch.']
8. *ānjaben*, the itch; vb. scratches.
9. *ānjen*, *hānjen*, to itch, itching, scratch.
10. *anji*, *ânjī*, it itches.

10a. *ánker*, *ánko*, life (?). Cf. sent. 66.

11. *apoplī*. See under *póplī*. [P. *apópli* 'back' (adv.). SC. *apópli*, 'again.']

12. *apré, ūpré, upré, úpro, úprō, opré, prē, prō*, up, upon, on. [P. *aprée, pre.* SC. *apré, opré.*]
13. *árā*, cent (U.S. coin). [C. *hauré*, n. pl., 'pennies,' lit. 'coppers.' S2. *χâro*, 'penny.' SC. *kórro, horro.*]
14. *atraš.* See under *traš.*
15. *ávā*, come. [P. *av*, 'come' (only imperative). SC. *av.*]
16. *ávā*, yes. [P. *áro.* SC. *aáva.*]
17. *āvālī*, yes indeed, that is so. [P. *ávali*, longer form of *ávo.* SC. *aávali.*]
18. *avélen, evélen*, coming. [SC. *avélin.*]
19. *avrí, āvrī, ovrí*, out, away, off. [P. *avrée.* SC. *avrée, avrí.*]

20. *baiángero, baiángro, baiéngero, baiéngro, vaiángeri*, vest, waistcoat. [P. *vongree, wongree.* SC. *bángurée.* S1. *bai-engri.*]
21. *bákāro, bákarō, bákero*, sheep, lamb. [P. *băkro*, 'goat, sheep.' SC. *bókoro, bókro.*]
22. *bakt, baχ, baχt*, luck, fortune. [P. *bok.* SC. *bok, boχt.*]
23 *bal*, hair. Cornelius Cooper, May 1900, gave *bāl.* [P. *bāl.* SC. *bal.*]
24. *bálaras, bálevas, válevas*, bacon, ham, pork. [P. *bállovas.* SC. *báleno-mas, bálovás.*]
25. *bâlo*, pig. [P. *baulo.* SC. *báulo.*]
26. *bār*, stone; a pound sterling. [P. *bar.* SC. *bar.*]
27. *bâr*, fence, hedge. [P. *bar*, 'garden, hedge'; *bor*, 'hedge.' SC. *bor*, 'hedge.']
28. *bâri*, enceinte. [SC. *baúri*, 'pregnant.']
29. *bâro, bóro, pâro*,[1] big, heavy. [P. *boro*, 'big, large.' SC. *baúro.*]
30. *bārs*, testicles. [P. *pĕle.* SC. *báryaw.*]
31. *bāšāméngera*, fiddle. See under *bošaméngero.*
32. *bášav*, to play. [SC. *bosh.*]
33. *bášāven*, to play. [? Rather 'playing,' cf. sent. 21. See also *boš.*]
34. *bávlo*, rich. [P. *bárvelo.* SC. *bárvulo.*]
35. *bávol*, wind. [P. *bavól*, 'air, wind.' SC. *bával.*]
36. *beng*, devil, temper. [? Is the definition 'temper' due to confusion with 'tempter'?] [P. *bĕng.* SC. *bang, beng.* S2. *bing.*]
37. *béngalō*, bad-tempered, peevish. [SC. *béngaló*, 'wicked, devilish.' C. *béngales*, 'wickedly.' S1. *bongalo*, 'blackguardly.']

[1] Possibly a survival of *p'aro*, 'heavy'; but, as that is not found in any vocabulary of English Romani, it is probably only *bâro* mispronounced.

38. *bĕrū, bĕro,* boat, ship. [P. *beero.* SC. *baíro, béro.*]
39. *beš,* a year. [P. *bĕsh.* SC. *besh.*]
40. *beš,* to sit, stay, live. [P. *bĕsh,* 'sit, lie.' SC. *besh.*]
41. *bibi, bībī, bivi,* aunt. [P. *beebee,* 'aunt, any elderly female relative.' SC. *bébee* or *beébi.*]
42. *bičā, bičar,* to send. [P. *bĭcher.* SC. *bítcher.*]
43. *bíken,* to sell. [P. *bĭkkin.* SC. *bíkin.*]
44. *bīno,* born. [P. *beeno.* SC. *beéno.*]
45 *bišen,* rain. [SC. *bríshindo, bíshno.*]
45a. *bišeno,* rainy.
46. *bišens, bíševens, bíšums,* it rains. [SC. *bríshinéla.*]
47. *bita, bitā, bito,* little, a little. [P. *bitti*: as adj. *bitto.* SC. *bítto* (masc.), *bítti* (fem.).]
48. *bivi.* See under *bibi.*
49. *bívli júvol.* See under *pívli júvol.*
50. *bóngo, ronggo,* lame. [P. *bongo,* 'crooked, left hand.' SC. *bóngo,* 'left, wrong, crooked, lame.']
50a. *bŏro.* See under *bâro.*
51. *boš,* fiddle, music. [P. *bŏsh,* 'violin.' SC. *bosh,* 'a fiddle, to fiddle.']
52. *boš, báši*·en, to play, playing.
53. *bošaméngero, bašāméngero, bóšēméngero,* fiddle, any musical instrument. [P. *bŏshoméngro,* 'violin player.' SC. *boshonéngri* (*-gro*), 'piper, fiddler, a fiddle, music.']
54. *bóšto, bóšto,* saddle. [P. *bŏshto.* SC. *bóshto, bóshta.*]
55. brókla, caulitlower. [Eng. *broccoli.*]
56. *bâdīka, bâtēka,* store, shop. [SC. *boódega, boódika.*]
57. *bâgenis, bâgnis,* smallpox. [P. *bugnee.* SC. *boogéayas.*]
58. *bujénggeros, būjéngeros.* See under *bušéngeros.*
59. *bákło,* hungry. [P. *bákkalo.* SC. *bókalo.*]
60. *būl, anus,* buttocks. [P. *bull.* SC. *bool,* 'rump.']
61. 'bul'-*júkol,* bull-dog. This name is applied to a man, meaning, 'a disagreeable fellow.'
62. *bušéngeros, bujénggeros, būjéngeros,* spurs. [P. *búsaha,* 'spur.' SC. *poósoméngri,* 'spur.']
63. *bâšnikošt,* a spit. [SC. *spingaúrus,* 'skewer, spit.']
64. *bâšno,* a spit.
65. *bušnol,* a spit for meat.
66. *bāšo grai,* a stallion. [P. *pĕléngro.* SC. *baréngro-, baréskro-grei.*]
67. *bāt,* much. [P. *bāt, bāti,* 'much, very.' SC. *boot, boóti.*]

68. *būtedēr*, more, better. [See also under *fetērdēr*.]
69. *bútēka*. See under *búdīka*.
70. *búti*, work, to work. [P. *būt, būti*. SC. *boóti, boótsi*.]

71. *čâ, čâr*, grass. [P. *char*. SC. *chor*.]
72. *čâ, čok*, boot, shoe; pl. *čâs*. [P. *chokkas*, 'shoes.' SC. *chok, chókker*, 'shoe, boot.']
73. *čâ, hâ*, to eat, to chew. [The form *čâ* is probably due to the influence of American dialectal 'chaw.' P. *haw*. SC. *haw, hol, kol*. S2. *χâ*.]
74. *čáfa, čáfo, čáfa, čufa*, coat, skirt. [P. *chukko*. SC. *chókka, chóχo, chákka*. See also under *čáka*.]
75. *čâkéngerā, čokéngero*, shoemaker. [SC. *chokéngro, chokéngri*.]
76. *čal, čálor*, to take hold of, to strike. [SC. *chálav*, 'to touch, meddle.' Paspati *tchalaváa*, 'to beat.']
77. *čâr*. See under *čâ*.
77a. *čáve*, child.
78. *čâvī*, girl. [SC. *chávi*, 'child,' fem.]
79. *čávō*, boy. [P. *chāvo*. SC. *chávo*, 'child,' masc.]
80. *čéreno*. See under *čéro*.
81. *čériklo, čiriklo*, bird. [P. *chíriklo*. SC. *chériklo*, masc.; *chérikli*, fem.]
82. *čéro, čéreno, čéruno, čéruno, čáro, čóro, čúreno*, lean, poor, not rich. [P. *chōro*. SC. *choóro*, masc.: *choóri*, fem., 'poor, humble.']
83. *čib*, tongue, language. [P. *chĭb*. SC. *chib, chiv, jib*.]
84. *čičī, čičí*, very cheap, nothing [P. *chichi*. SC. *chíchi*, 'nothing.']
85. *čik*, mud, dirt, ashes. [P. *chĭk*. SC. *chik*.]
86. *číklo*, dirty, muddy. [P. *chĭklo*. SC. *chíklo* (masc.), *chíkli*, (fem.).]
87. *čil*. See under *til*.
88. *čin*, to cut. [P. *chĭn*. SC. *chin*.]
89. *činemángera, číneméngero*, a letter. [SC. *chínoméskro, chínoméngro, chínomóngri*.]
90. *čineméskero*, razor, axe, cutting instrument [in general]. [P. *chĭnaméskro* 'chisel.' SC. *chínoméskro, chínoméngro, chínomóngri*.]
91. *činger*, to tear, to quarrel. [P. *chĭnger* 'to tear, rip.' SC. *chíngar*.]
92. *činger*en, quarrelling.

93. *čiriklo.* See under *čériklo.*
94. *čírus, číris,* time. [P. *cherus.* SC. *cheérus, cheer.*]
95. *čiv, čuv,* to put, to place, to bury. [P. *chĭv,* 'put, set, place.' SC. *chiv,* 'to put, place, pour.']
95a. *čivet,* placed, buried.
96. *čok.* See under *čâ.*
97. *čokéngero.* See under *čákéngerā.*
98. *čon,* moon. So said Cornelius Cooper in 1909. [P. *chōn.* SC. *choom.*] See also under *kam.*
99. *čōr,* to steal. [P. *chōr.* SC. *chor.*]
100. *čōr,* a thief. [P. *chōraméngro.* SC. *chor, chóroméngro.*]
101. *čóro.* See under *čéro.*
102. *čáfa.* See under *čáfa.*
103. *čúka, čúpa,* sack, coat, a woman's jacket. [P. *chukko.* SC. *choóko.* See also under *čáfa.*]
104. *čúkeni, čúkni,* a whip. [P. *chukuee.* SC. *choókni, chooknée.*]
105. *čúma,* a kiss. [P. *chūmer.* SC. *choúma.*]
106. *čúmba, čúmbo,* a hill. [P. *chūmba.* SC. *choómba, choómbo.*]
107. *čúmini, čúmeni,* something. [P. *chúmanis,* 'anything, something'; *chúmano,* 'any one, some one.' SC. *choúmani.*]
108. *čúpa.* See under *čúka.*
109. *čúreno.* See under *čéro.*
110. *čúrī,* knife. [P. *chūree.* SC. *choóri.*]
111. *čúro.* See under *čéro.*
112. *čuv,* to bury. See under *čiv.*
113. *čúvihōn,* a witch. [P. *chovihānee.* SC. *choóvikon, chóvihóni.*]

114. *dad, dād,* father. [P. *dud, dádus.* SC. *dad, dádus.*] See *dádus.*
115. *dâde.* See under *dárdi.*
116. *dadéngero,* bastard. [SC. *dadéngro, dadoméngro.*]
117. *dádus, dádis,* father. See *dad.*
118. *dai,* mother. [P. *dy.* SC. *dei.*]
119. *dan,* tooth; pl. *dans.* [P. *dant.* SC. *dan.*]
120. *dánda, dándar, dánder,* to bite. [P. *dant.* SC. *dánder, dand, dan.*]
121. *dârdi, dórdī, dâde, adârde,* here, hither, look here. [P. gives *dordi* as an exclamation, 'O my!' SC. as an interjection, 'lo, behold,' etc.]

122. *del, dul,* to give, to strike: *dul*en *aprē,* reading. [P. *dĕl.* SC. *del,* 'to give, kick, hit, read.']
123. *delaben,* a present. [SC. *díno, del*-to-*mándi.*]
124. *del*ded, given.
125. *deš,* ten. [P. *dĕsh.* SC. *desh.*]
126. *dik,* to see, look. [P. *dik.* SC. *dik.*]
127. *díkelo.* See under *díklō.*
128. *dik*en, looking.
129. *díklo,* bed-bugs [? a corruption of *lik*].
130. *díklō, díkelo,* a handkerchief, table-cloth, towel, napkin, shawl, [P. *dĭklo,* 'flag, rag, dishclout.' SC. *díklo,* 'handkerchief, necktie, etc.']
131. *dínlo,* a fool, foolish. [P. *dĭnnelo.* SC. *dínilo, dínlo, dinlée* (fem.), 'fool'; *dínveri,* 'silly, foolish.']
132. *díves, dívis, dívus,* day. [P. *dĭvvus.* SC. *dívvus.* S2. *divéss.*]
133. *dívia mūš,* crazy man. [P. *dívius,* 'mad, crazy.' SC. *dívio, dívioo,* 'mad, wild.]
134. *dívis.* See under *díves.*
135. *dívus.* See under *díves.*
136. *dórdī.* See under *dûrdi.*
137. *dŏ́rī,* ribbon. [P. *dori,* 'rope.' SC. *dóri,* 'string, twine, riband, navel.']
138. *dŏ́rīs,* reins. [Colloquially 'ribbons.']
139. *dóstā,* enough, plenty, much, too much. [P. *dosta.* SC. *dósta.*]
140. *dóvā.* See under *dúva.*
141. *drab,* medicine, poison. [P. *drab.* SC. *drab.*]
142. *drabéngero,* doctor. [P. *drabéngro,* 'physician, chemist.' SC. *drabengro, drabéngri,* 'druggist, doctor.']
143. *dril, pedere.* [SC. *ril.*]
144. *drin.* See under *trin.*
145. *drum,* road. [P. *drom,* 'way, road.' SC. *drom.*]
146. *dūd,* a light. [P. *dūd,* 'light, moon, lamp, month.' SC. *dood.*]
147. *dúi, dúī,* two. [P. *dūee.* SC. *doóï.* S2. *dwī.*]
148. *dūka, dŭ́ker,* to hurt, to ache, pain. [P. *duk,* 'pain, spirit'; *dukker,* 'hurt.' SC. *doóker.*]
149. *dŭ́ker,* to ache. See under *dūka.*
150. *dŭ́ker, dŭ́ka, duker*en, to tell fortunes. [P. *dukker.* SC. *dúkker.*]
151. *duker*en. See under *dŭ́ker.*
152. *dul.* See under *del.*
152a. *dul*en, kicking.

152b. *dúlyer*, to hit, to strike.
153. *dŭmō*, back. [P. *dūmo*. SC. *doómo*.]
154. *dūr*, *dŭrō*, far. [P. *dūro*, 'far, distant.' SC. *door*, 'far, long.']
155. *dúva*, *dovā*, that (pronoun and conjunction, cf. sent. 52). [P. *dovo*. SC. *dóva*, 'that, it.']
156. *dúva čírus*, then. [Lit. 'that time.']
157. *dúvel*, *dúvahel*, God. [P. *dūvel*. SC. *doúvel*, 'God'; *dúvel*, 'God, sky, star.']

158. *evélen*. See under *avélen*.

159. *fíšeno*, false, counterfeit. [P. *fúshono*. SC. *foshono*.]
160. fēr, circus, fair. [=English 'fair.' SC. *fáirus*.]
161. *fetērdēr*, *feterdĕr*, better. [P. *fédaleer*. SC. *férradair*, *féttadair*, *féttadáiro*.]
162. *feterdérus*, best. [The only example of a superlative.]
163. flek, hog's fat. [English dialect 'flick.']
164. flick, flicken, flip, quick. [P. *flick*, 'clever.' Cf. Eng. dialect 'flick'=a sudden jerk or movement, to move rapidly.]
165. flip. See under 'flick.'
166 fóki, folk, people. [P. *fóki*. SC. *folki* (pron. *fō'ki*).]
167. for, before.
168. for*bísado*, forgotten. [P. *bisser*. SC. *bísser*, 'to forget.']

169. *gad*, shirt. [P. *gad*, 'shirt, chemise.' SC. *gad*.]
170. *gâjō*. See under *górjō*.
171. *gărjō*. See under *górjo*.
172. *gav*, town, city, village. [P. *gāv*. SC. *gav*. S2. *gov*.]
173. *gérī*. See under *gírō*.
174. *gérō*. See under *gírō*.
175. *gil*, *gíli*, newspaper. [SC. *ghilyaws*, *ghilyéngri*.]
176. *gil*, *gíli*, a song, to sing. [P. *gillee*, 'sing; a song.' SC. *ghil*.]
177. *giliéngro*, *gilier*, singer.
178. *gilier*. See under *giliéngro*.
179. *gírō*, *gérī*, *gérō*, boy, young man. [P. *geero*, 'person, fellow.' SC. *gáiro*, 'man. Only applied to *gaújos*.' S2. *gōra*, *gōro*, 'man.']
180. *giv*, oats, wheat, grain, any horse-feed. [P. *gĭv*. SC. *ghiv*.]
181. glim, sun. [A slang word.]
182. *gádlā*. See under *gádlo*.

183. *gódli*, trouble, noise. [P. *godlee*, 'thunder, noise'; *gudlo*, 'story, noise.' SC. *gódli*.]
184. *gódlō*. See under *gúdlo*.
185. *góī*, pie, sausage, pudding. [SC. *góï*.]
186. *górjiken*, non-Gypsy. [P. *górjiko*, 'Gentile.' SC. *górjikana*.]
187. *górjō*, *gûjō*, *gárjō*, a non-Gypsy. [P. *gorjo*. SC. *gaújo*, *gaújer*.]
188. *gráfnī*, *krófni*, a nail, button. [P. *kráfnee*. SC. *kraáfni*, *kráfni*. See also *kráfnes* and *krófni*.]
189. *grai*, horse. [P. *gry*. SC. *grei*. S2. *grast*.]
190. *grais čâi*, horseshoe. [The only name Cornelius Cooper, one of Sinclair's Gypsy informants, ever heard for 'horseshoe.' He never heard of *petalo*, the pure Gypsy name. Sinclair adds: 'I have asked several recently [1900] who say the same.' SC. *gréiesto-chok*.]
191. *gránza*, *gránzo*, a stable. [P. *grānya*, 'barn.' SC. *gráinsi*, *gránza*.]
192. *grásni*, mare. [P. *grasnee*. SC. *grásni*. C. *grésta*.]
193. *gruveni*, *grúvni*, *gúrūvnī*, *gúrūv*, *grūvilī*, ox, cow. [P. *grūvnee*, 'cow.' SC. *groóvni*, *groóven*.]
194. *grūvilī*. See under *gruveni*.
194a. *grúvni*. See under *gruveni*.
195. *gúdlo*, *gúdlā*, *gúdlō*, sugar. [P. *gudlo*, 'sweet, honey.' SC. *goódli*, *goódlo*.]
196. *gúno*, *gúna*, a bag, sack. [P. *gunno*. SC. *góno*, *gúnno*.]
197. *gúrūv*, *gúrūvnī*. See under *gruveni*.

198. *hâ*, to eat. See under *čâ*.
199. *hâben*, victuals, food. [P. *habben*. SC. *hóben*, *kóben*.]
200. *hâen*, eating.
201. *han*, bring. See under *and*.
202. *hānj*, *hānjen*. See *ānj*, *ānjen*.
202a. *hánke téri*, life (?), sents. 66, 121.
203. *hérā*. See under *húruv*.
204. *héruv*. See under *húruv*.
205. *hev*, window, hole. [P. *hěb*. SC. *hev*, *kev*. S2. *kev*, *χev*, 'hole.']
206. *hévias*, *hévyas*, nits.
206a. *hī*, is, sents. 58, 208. [Possibly borrowed from German Gypsies in America.] See also *sī*.
207. *hīdzās*. See under *īdzas*.

208. *hóčar, hóčer*, to burn. [P. *hŏcher*. SC. *hotcher, hotch*. S2. *χotcher*.]
209. *hóčaren*, burning.
210. *hočiwíči*, hedgehog. [P. *hŏchewíchee*. SC. *hótchi-witchi*.]
211. *húka*, to cheat. [P. *huker*, 'lie, boast, deceive.']
212. *húkāben*, a lie. [P. *húkerben*. SC. *hoókapen, hóχaben*.]
213. *húlero*, stocking; pl. *húlevās*. [P. *hóvalo*. SC. *hoólavers*, 'stockings.' C. *hólara*. S2. *χolavá*, 'stockings.']
213a. *húrrov*. See under *húruv*.
214. *húrus*. See under *húruv*.
215. *húruv, húrrov, héri, héruv, húrus*, leg. [P. *hĕrree*, 'leg, wheel of a wagon.' SC. *héro, héver*, 'leg, wheel.']

216. *ídzas, hūdzās*, clothes. [P. *heezis*. SC. *eézaw*. S2. *idza*.]
217. *ígur*. See under *ingger*, vb.
218. *ingger, jæces*, dung, manure.
219. *ingger, ígur, cacare*. [SC. *kinder*. S2. *hwing*, '*cacare*.']
220. *ir*, snow. [P. *yir*. SC. *hir, ir*.]

221. *jā, jà, jāl, jol*, to go. [P. *jaw*, 'go, walk.' SC. *jal, jaw*, etc.]
222. *jal*. See under *jā*.
223. *jin*, to know. [P. *jiu*, 'know, understand.' SC. *jin*. S2. *jan*.]
224. *jiv*, to live. [P. *jīv*. SC. *jiv*.]
225. *jol*. See under *jāl*.
226. *jūb*. See under *jūv*.
227. *júkal, júkō, jūkol*, dog. [P. *júkkal*. SC. *joókel, jook*.]
228. *júkō, jūkol*. See under *júkal*.
229. *jūv, jūb*, louse. [P. *jū*. SC. *joóra*. S2. *jūa*.] See also *píšum*.
230. *júvel, júrol*, woman. [P. *júva*. SC. *joóvel*.]

231. *kai*, where. [P. *ky*. SC. *kei*. S2. *kēa*.]
232. *kaiméngeros*, beau-catchers. [Flirts, coquettes.]
233. *kúkā*, uncle. Cornelius Cooper in 1909 gave *kākō*, 'grandfather.' [P. *kōko*. SC. *kóko*.]
234. *kal, kēl*, cheese. [P. *kil*, 'butter, cheese.' SC. *kal*.]
235. *kúla, kálo*, black. [P. *kaulo*, 'black, lazy.' SC. *kaúlo*, masc.; *kaúli*, fem.]
236. *káliko*, yesterday. [P. *káliko*. SC. *káliko*.]
237. *kam, kan*, moon. [P. *chōn*. SC. *choom, shoon*, etc.] See also under *čon*.
238. *kám, kom*, to love, like, desire, to want. [P. *kaum*. SC. *kom*.]

239. *kámaben*, love, a lover. [P. *kámmoben*, 'love' (abstract). SC. *kómoben*, 'love, friendship.']
240. *kan*, moon. See under *kam*.
241. *kan*, stink, to stink. [P. *kaun*. SC. *kan*, *kánder*.]
242. *kan*, ear; pl. *kaniā*. [P. *kan*. SC. *kan*.]
243. *kana*. See under *kenâ*.
244. *kána sig*, right away! now quick! [P. *kĕnná-sig*. SC. *kánna sig*, 'immediately.']
245. *kanángero*, *kanángerā*, *kanéngero*, rabbit, hare. [P. *kanéngro*, 'rabbit.' SC. *kanéngro*, *kanéngri*, 'hare.']
246. *káni*, *káno*, *kanhi*, chicken, hen. [P. *káni*. SC. *kánni*, *káχni*.]
247. *kār*. See under *kēr*.
248. *karákalo*, a servant. [C. *kairikeni*. 'housekeeper.' S2. *kerrikaní*.]
249. *kâri*. See under *kóri*.
250. *kas*, hay. [P. *kas*. SC. *kas*.]
251. *kastógis*, hay-rick. [P. *kas-stoggus*. SC. *kaséngro*, and stúg*hi*, 'stacks.']
252. *kašt*, *koš*, *košt*, stick, wood. [P. *kŏsht*. SC. *kosht*.]
253. *katsis*, scissors. [P. *kātsi*. SC. *katsers*, *katsies*.]
254. *kéd*ed, did, made. [SC. *kedo*, etc.]
255. *kek*, *kekā*, no, not. [P. *kĕk*, 'no more;' *kekker*, 'no, never.' SC. *kek*.]
256. *kēl*. See under *kal*.
257. *kel*, to dance. [P. *kĕl*, 'play any instrument, sport.' SC. *kel*.]
258. *kél*en, dancing. [SC. *kel*ling.]
259. *kenâ*, *kána*, now. [P. *kĕnnā*. SC. *kenáw*, *knaw*.]
260. *kēr*, *kār*, house. [P. *kair*. SC. *kair*.]
261. *ker*, *kur*, to do, make, put, shut. [P. *kair*. SC. *kair*.]
262. *ker aprē*, to write.
263. ***kérdo***, done. [P. *kerro*, 'made.' SC. *kédo*, *kairdo*.] See also *kairdo*.
264. *ker*en, putting.
265. *kĕri*, *kére*, *kărī*, to or at home. [P. *kĕrri*. SC. *kéri*, *keré*.]
266. *késter*, *kístā*, to ride. [P. *kĭstur*. SC. *késter*, *kister*. S2. *klister*.]
267. *kíčema*, saloon, tavern, inn. Cornelius Cooper in 1909 gave *kíčemo*. [P. *kichema*. SC. *kítchema*.]
268. *kil*, butter. [P. *kil*, 'butter, cheese.' SC. *kil*.]
269. *kin*, to buy. [P. *kĭn*. SC. *kin*.]

270. *kĭnō*, tired. [P. *kĭnlo*. SC. *kinó, kínno*, etc.]
271. *kísī, kísi*, pocket-book. [P. *kĭssi*. SC. *kísi*, 'purse.']
272. *kístā*. See under *késter*.
273. *klísen, klíssen, klíssene*, key, lock and key, handcuff. [P. *klĭsin*. SC. *klísin*, 'lock'; *klérin*, 'key.' S2. *klizn*, 'clasp, buckle.']
274. *ko*, who. [P. *kun*. SC. *ko*.]
275. *kóklō, kúkolo, kúkolo*, a doll. [P. *kúkalo*, 'goblin.' SC. *koókelo*.]
276. *kom*. See under *kám*.
277. *kómla, kómlo*, good-natured. [SC. *kómelo*, 'loving, kind, dear.']
278. *kona*, when. [SC. *kánna, kónna*.]
279. *kónger, kóngā*, to comb. [SC. *kónga, kóngl*.]
280. *kóngeri, kónglī, kóngo*, a comb. [P. *kongli*. SC. *kóngali*.]
281. *kóngerī, kónggrī, kōngrī*, church. [P. *kóngree*. SC. *kóngeri, kóngri*.]
282. *kónggo*. See under *kóngeri*.
283. *kónglī*. See under *kóngeri*.
284. *kópar, kóppo*, blanket; pl. *kópars*. [SC. *kóppa*.]
285. *kóri, kíri, penis*; domestic cock. [SC. *kuári*.]
286. *koš, košt*. See under *kašt*.
287. *kóva*, that. [P. *kóro*, 'this.' SC. *kóva*.]
288. *kóva, kúva, kúro* (sent. 22), thing, something. [P. *kóvva*. SC. *kóva*.]
289. *kráfnes*. See under *kráfnes*.
290. *kráfnes, kráfenes*, buttons. See also *kráfni* and *gráfnī*.
291. *kráfni*, button. See also under *gráfnī*. [P. *kráfnee*. SC. *kruáfui, kráfui*, etc.]
291a. *krákus*, Sunday. [P. *kurrikus*, 'week, Sunday.' SC. *kroóko*, 'week'; *koóroko, koóroki*, 'Sunday.']
292. *kūkávī*, kettle, tea-kettle. [P. *kekávi*. SC. *kekávi*.]
293. *kúkavī-košt*, kettle-stick, crane.
294. *kúkero*, self. [P. *kókkero*. SC. *kókero, kokeró*.]
295. *kūkólis*, bone. [P. *kókalos*. SC. *kokálos*, etc.]
296. *kúkolo*. See under *kóklō*.
297. *kūla*, a shilling. [SC. *kólla, kólli*, 'things, shillings.']
298. *kumier, kumini*, more. [P. *kúmee*. SC. *kómi, kómodair*, 'more,' *kúmeni*, 'some.']
299. *kur*, to do. See under *ker*.
300. *kūr*, to fight, beat. [P. *kūr*. SC. *koor*.]
301. *kúra, kúro, kúro*, cup, mug. [P. *kurro*, cup, glass. SC. *koóri, kóro, kúra*.]

302. *kūrāméngero*, soldier. [P. *kūroméngro*. SC. *koóroméngro*.]
303. *kúrdo*, done. [SC. *kaírdo*.] See also *kérdo*.
304. *kúrēdo*, blind. See also under *kúrono*. [P. *kordo*. SC. *kóro*, *kóredo*, *kórodo*, *kórdi*.]
305. *kŭrī*. See under *kéri*.
306. *kúrlō*, throat. [P. *gullo*. SC. *kárlo*, *kur*.]
307. *kúro*, *kŭro*. See under *kúra*.
307a. *kuro*, spoiled. Sent. 84b. [? a mistake for *puro*, 'old' or *kerdo*, 'done for.']
308. *kúrono*, *kúronō*, blind. See also under *kúrēdo*.
309. *kúrov*, to cook, boil. [SC. *kérav*.]
310. *kŭrr*en, war, to fight, fighting.
310a. *kúštā*, well.
311. *kúšto*, good. [P. *kushto*, good, happy. SC. *koóshto*, *koóshko*.]
312. *kúva*. See under *kóva*.
313. *kúvi*, onion. [?='things.']

314. *lač*, *láča*, to find. [P. *lach*, 'find, meet.' SC. *latch*.]
315. *láčerdo*, *loč*a*rd*, found. [SC. *látchno*.]
316. *láde*. See under *láke*.
317. *laj*, shame. [P. *laj*, 'shame, shamed.' SC. *ladj*.]
318. *lajd*, *laď*, ashamed. [C. *ladjado*.]
319. *ļáke*, *láde*, she, her. [P. *lāki*, *lātti*. SC. *láki*, *lákro*.]
320. *lav*, word. [P. *lav*. SC. *lav*.]
321. *lel*, *lul*, take, to take. [P. *lĕl*, 'get, receive, acquire.' SC. *lel*.]
322. *lénde*, he, him, she, they, them. [P. *lĕnde*, they, them. SC. *len*, 'them'; *léndi*, 'to them, them,' etc.]
323. *lendis*, they.
324. les, Engl. 'let us.'
325. *léste*, *lésti*, he, him, she, her, you, your. [P. *lĕster*, 'he, him.' SC. *lésti*, 'his, her, it.']
326. *líkia*, *likyas*, lice. [SC. *lik*, 'nit.']
327. *lil*, paper, letter, card, book, dollar; pl. *lilia* or *lilya*. [P. *lĭl*, 'letter, book.' SC. *lil*, 'book, paper.']
328. *lívena*, *líveno*, *lívna*, ale, beer. [P. *lĕvinor*. SC. *lívena*, etc.]
329. *loč*a*rd*. See under *láčerdo*.
330. *lŭer*. See under *lār*.
331. *lul*. See under *lel*.
332. *lúlo*, red. [P. *lollo*. SC. *lólo*, etc.]
333. *lūn*, salt. [P. *lun*. SC. *lon*.]
334. *lār*, *lŭer*, robber. [SC. *loor*, 'to rob, plunder.']

335. *lúva, lúvo,* money. [P. *lŭvvo.* SC. *lúva, loóvo, lóvo.*]
336. *láveni, lávnī,* prostitute. [P. *lŭbeni.* SC. *loóbni, lúvni.*]

337. *mā, mâ, mâr, mor,* do not. [P. *'mān, mōr.* SC. *maa, maw.*]
338. *máči,* fish. [P. *macho.* SC. *mátcho, mátchi.*]
339. *máčkâ, mâčka,* cat. [P. *machka.* SC. *matchka.* S2. *maksti.*]
340. *máilĭō, máilyā,* donkey. [P. *myla.* SC. *meíla, móila.*]
341. *mákli.* See under *márikli.*
342. *máklīs.* See under *máriklis.*
343. *man, mánde, mánge,* I, me. [P. *māndi.* SC. *man, mándi, mánghi.*]
344. *mánde.* See under *man.*
345. *mâng, mong,* to beg, to want. [P. *māng.* SC. *mong.*]
346. *mánge.* See under *man.*
347. *mār, mâr,* to kill. [P. *mōr,* 'die, kill.' SC. *maur, mor.*]
348. *márō.* See under *mâro.*
349. *márikli, mákli, múrikli,* a cake. [P. *málliko, máriklo.* SC. *márikli.*]
350. *máriklis, máklīs, múriklīs,* beads. [SC. *mérikios, mérikl*ies, 'beads, bracelets.']
351. *mâro, mârā,* bread. [P. *māro, mānro.* SC. *maúro.* S2. *mânro.*]
352. *mártīkō,* hammer. [Fr. *marteau.*]
353. *mās,* meat, flesh. [P. *mās.* SC. *mas.*]
354. *másor,* a fat animal [? Engl. 'mass of fat'].
355. *mâto, mâta,* drunk. [P. *mātto.* SC. *mótto,* masc.; *mótti,* fem.]
356. *men,* neck. [SC. *men.*]
357. *ménge, méngi,* we, us. [P. *mende.* SC. *ménde,* 'to us, we, us'; *ménghi,* 'me, we.']
358. *mer, mur,* to die. [P. *mer, mōr, muller.* SC. *mer, mel.*]
359. *mériben, múriben* life, to kill. [SC. *mériben, méripen,* 'death, life.']
360. *mī,* me, my. [SC. *mé,* 'I'; *mi-,* 'my.']
361. *mía, mīr,* mile. [P. *mee.* SC. *meéa.*]
362. *minč, minj,* female, woman. [Recte, *pudendum muliebre.* P. *minch,* 'pudendum feminæ.' SC. *mindj, minsh.*]
363. *mīr.* See under *mía.*
363a. *mírō,* my. [P. *méero,* 'my, mine.' SC. *meíro meíri,* etc.]
364. *místo,* more.

365. *míšto, múšto,* better. [P. *mĭshto,* 'glad, good.' SC. *míshto, místo,* 'well, good, glad.']
366. *móker,* to dirty or spoil (a dish or cup). [SC. *móker,* 'to foul, dirty.']
367. *mókerd,* spoiled.
368. *móklō,* dirty. [SC. *móχodo, moókedo.*]
369. *mong.* See under *múng.*
369a. *mor.* See under *mā.*
370. *mūī,* face, mouth. [P. *múee.* SC. *moúi.*]
371. *mūk,* let, allow. [P. *muk,* 'let, leave.' SC. *mook.*]
372. *múktā, múkto,* box. [P. *mókto.* SC. *mókto, móχto.*]
373. *múkyad, múkyerd,* a trunk, [a variant of *múktā*?]
374. *múlo,* dead. [P. *mullo,* 'corpse, dead man, ghost.' SC. *moólo.*]
375. *múlvat,* tin. [P. *mollávis,* 'pewter.' SC. *mólos, mólov,* 'lead.' S2. *mŭlavos,* 'lead, solder.']
376. *múmli, múmli, múmeli,* a candle. [P. *mŭmeli dūd,* 'candle,' lit. 'wax-light.' SC. *múmbli, múmli.* C. *moóvli.*]
377. *múmli koš,* a candlestick.
378. *mur.* See under *mer.*
379. *múrav,* to shave. [SC. *mórov.*]
380. *múrāven,* shaving.
381. *múren,* to die, dying.
382. *múriben,* to kill. See also *mériben.*
383. *múriben,* life. See under *mériben.*
384. *márikli.* See under *márikli.*
385. *márikliš.* See under *márikliš.*
386. *múskero, múskro,* policeman. [P. *gāv-mush.* SC. *moóshkero, moóshero.*]
387. *múskero-košt,* policeman's club. [SC. *moóshkero-kosht.*]
388. *mūš,* man: pl. *mūšas.* [P. *mush.* SC. *moosh.*]
389. *múšto.* See under *míšto.*
390. *mútər, mútər,* urine: vb., to urinate. [P. *mutter.* SC. *mútər.*]
391. *mútəraméngero,* teapot. [SC. *mútərimóngeri,* 'tea'; *mútərimóngeri-koorn,* 'teapot.']
392. *mútəreméngo, matula.* [P. *mutterméngri,* 'urinal,' also 'tea.' SC. *mutering-kóla.*]

393. *náfoli, náfolī,* sick, ill. [P. *náflo.* SC. *náfalo, náfali.*]
394. *nâh.* See under *nok.*
395. *nâk.* See under *nok.*
396. *nâkéngero.* See under *nokéngero.*

397. *nângo*, naked, bare. [P. *nāngo*. SC. *nóngo*.]
398. *nášav*, *nášov*, to lose, hang. [P. *nasher*, 'lose, forget, hang.' SC. *násher*. S2. *nashav*.]
399. *nášovd*, hanged. [SC. *náshedo*, etc.]
400. *nāv*, *nav*, name. [P. *nav*. SC. *nav*.]
401. *névi*, *nívi*, new. [P. *nĕvvo*. SC. *návo*, *névo*, *névi*.]
402. *nógī*, *nugi*, *núgi*, *núki*, own, my own. [P. *nóko*. SC. *nágo*, *nógo*.]
403. *nok*, *nâh*, *nâk*, nose. [P. *nāk*. SC. *nok*.]
404. *nokéngero*, *nákéngero*, a glandered horse. [SC. *nokéngro*, 'snuff, glandered horse.']
405. *nugi*, *núgi*. See under *nógī*.
406. *núki*. See under *nógī*.

407. *o*, the. [SC. *o*.]
408. *odoi*, there. [P. *adái*. SC. *odoi*, *odái*.]
409. *oprĕ*. See under *uprĕ*.
410. *óvā*, time, watch. [SC. *óva*.]
411. *ovrí*. See under *uvrí*.

412. *pábe*, *pábol*, apple. [P. *pabo*. SC. *pábo*, *pábi*.]
413. *pāča*. See under *pasa*.
414. *pādī*, *pāti*, lace.
415. *pâdo*, *pârdo*, *pardo*, full. [P. *pordo*. SC. *pórdo*. C. *pórder*, 'to fill.']
416. *pádol*. See under *pārdal*.
417. *páias*, *páiās*, *páriás*, fun. [P. *pjas*. SC. *péias*.]
418. *pal*, brother. [P. *pal*. SC. *pal*. S2. *pral*.]
419. *palál*, behind. [P. *pāller*, 'follow.' SC. *palál*, *pálla*.]
420. *pâle*, *pâli*, back. [P. *pauli*. SC. *paúli*, *paulé*.]
421. *pānī*, *pānī*, water, sea. [P. *pānee*. SC. *paáni*, *páni*.]
422. *panj*, *spānj*, five. [P. *panch*. SC. *pandj*, *pansh*.]
423. *pâno*. See under *pārno*.
424. *pánum*, *pánnam*, to tie. [P. *pānder*, 'shut.' SC. *pánder*, *pand*, *pan*, 'to shut, tie, bind, etc.'] See sent. 156.
425. *pápen*, *pápin*, duck. [P. *pappin*, 'duck, goose.' SC. *pápin*, 'goose.' S2. *popni*, 'goose.']
425a. *par*, wing. [P. *pori*, 'feather.' SC. *por*, 'feather.'] See *pórī*.
426. *párdal*, *pārdâl*, *pádol*, over, across. [P. *párdel*, *parl*. SC. *párdal*, *párdel*.]
427. *pârdo*. See under *pâdo*.

428. *pāriás.* See under *páias.*
429. *párno, pârno, pâno,* white. [P. *pauno.* SC. *pórno.*]
430. *pâro.* See under *báro.*
431. *pasa, pāsa, paser, pāča,* to believe. [SC. *pátser.* C. *pásser,* 'to trust, borrow.']
432. *pásādo,* believed.
433. *paser.* See under *pasa.*
434. *páten, patern,* bunch of leaves to show which way to go at cross-roads. [P. *pátteran.* SC. *pátrin, pátin.*]
435. *páti.* See under *pádi.*
436. *pek,* to roast. [P. *pĕkker,* 'bake, cook.' SC. *pek.* C. *péker,* 'to cook.']
437. *pen,* sister. [P. *pĕn.* SC. *pen.*]
438. *pen,* to say, tell, believe. [P. *pĕn.* SC. *pen.*]
439. *pénekel,* an iron nail. [? *peneka,* 'nut,' misused of an 'iron nut' or 'head of a nail.']
440. *per,* stomach, belly, inside. See also *véndri.* [SC. *per.* C. *peer, por,* 'stomach.' S2. *par.*]
441. *per, pur,* to fall. [SC. *per, pel.*]
442. *pérānī.* See under *pírānī.*
443. *pésā, péser,* to pay. [P. *pĕssur.* SC. *pésser.* S2. *plesser.*]
444. *petenéngero,* blacksmith. [P. *pĕtuléngro.* SC. *petaléngro.*]
445. *pī,* drink, to drink. [P. *pee.* SC. *pee.*]
446. *pīáméngero, pīámángera,* tea, teapot. [SC. *peeméngro.*]
447. *pīr,* to walk. [P. *pĭrri.* SC. *peer, pírav.*]
448. *pírānī, pérānī,* fem., lover. [P. *píreni,* 'sweetheart.' SC. *pírini.*]
449. *pírānō,* masc., lover. [SC. *pírino.*]
450. *pírāren,* to court, make love to. [SC. *pírin.*]
451. *pírdo,* one having a little Gypsy blood. [SC. *peérdo,* 'tramp, vagrant.']
452. *píren,* walking.
453. *pírī, píro, prō,* foot; pl. *pírīs.* [P. *pĭrri.* SC. *peéro, peéri.*]
454. *píri,* pot. [P. *kūri.* SC. *peéri,* 'cauldron,' etc.]
455. *pišum,* a fit.
456. *píšum, pášum,* louse, flea; pl. *píšums.* [P. *pĭshom,* 'bee.' SC. *pisham, poóshuma,* 'flea, fly, honey.']
457. píūk, pyuk, rat. [A cant word.]
458. *pívli júvol, bívli júvol,* widow. [P. *pĭvli,* 'widow.' SC. *peévli-gaíri.*]
459. *pívli mūš,* widower. [P. *pĭvlo.* SC. *peévlo-gaíro.*]

460. *plásta, plástā,* chain, shawl. [P. *plashta,* 'cloak, towel, dish-cloth.' SC. *plášhta,* etc.]
461. *póga, póger,* to break, broken. [P. *pŏgger,* 'break, smash.' SC. *póger, pog.*]
462. *ponjnékis.* See under *póšnekis.*
463. *póplī, pŏpolī, apóplī,* again. [SC. *pópli, apópli.*]
464. *pŏrī,* tail, feather. [P. *ɣori,* 'feather'; *poris,* 'tail.' SC. *por,* 'feather'; *pŏri,* 'tail, end.'] See *par.*
465. *pórus,* hill. [Evidently the same word as the following.]
466. *pórusez,* stairs. [*ez* = Engl. pl. P. *portus,* 'stair'; pl. *portuses.* SC. *poórdas.* C. *púlas.*]
467. *poš,* half. [P. *pūsh.* SC. *posh.*]
468. *pošĕra, poškĕra,* a cent. [SC. *posh-hórri,* 'half-penny.' See also under *árā.*]
469. *poškána,* half-crown. [SC. *posh-koórona.*]
470. *póšnekis, ponjnékis,* handkerchief. [P. *pong-dishler.* SC. p. 175, *póshneckus.* S2. *pósinakás.*]
471. *prásta, prástā, práster,* quick, go quick, hurry, run. [P. *prāster,* 'run.' SC. *práster, praáster.* S2. *prost,* 'to run.']
472. *prasteraméngero,* high-sheriff, deserter, run-away-horse. [P. *prāsterméngro,* 'policeman, runner.' SC. *prásterméngro,* 'runner, policeman, deserter'; *prásteroméngro,* 'deserter.']
473. *prē.* See under *aprē.*
474. *prō.* See under *aprē.*
475. *puč, pūč,* to ask. [P. *pūcher.* SC. *pootch.* C. *poótcher.*]
476. *púkenes, púkenis, púχenes,* a lawyer, justice of the peace. [P. *poknees,* 'magistrate.' SC. *pōkényus, poókinyus,* 'justice of the peace.']
477. *púker,* to tell. [P. *pūker.* SC. *poóker.*]
478. *púkeren,* lying, a liar.
479. *púχenes.* See under *púkenes.*
480. *pur.* See under *per.*
481. *púrav.* See under *púrov.*
482. *púrdō.* See under *púdo.*
483. *púrō, púrā,* old. [P. *pūro.* SC. *poóro* (masc.), *poóri* (fem.).]
484. *púrō kákā,* grandfather. [Lit. 'old uncle.' SC. *poóro-dád.* See also under *kákā.*]
485. *púrov, púrav, púruv,* to trade, exchange. [P. *pūr,* 'change.' SC. *púra, pára.*]
486. *púrum,* onion. [P. *pūrum,* 'onion, leek.' SC. *poórumi, póruma.*]

487. *púruv.* See under *púrov.*
488. *pūs,* straw. [P. *pus.* SC. *poos.*]
489. *púsengero,* adj., straw. [SC. *pooséngro,* 'straw-rick.']
490. *pūšum.* See under *pišum.*
491. *pútsi,* pocket. [P. *pūtsi.* SC. *poótsi.*]
492. *pútsi kétio,* pickpocket.
493. *pútso,* duck. [SC. *rétsi, rétza, rútsa.*] See also *rútso.*
494. *pūv,* earth, ground. [P. *pūv.* SC. *poov.* S2. *pov,* 'field.']
495. *pūvákero,* white turnip.
496. *pūvéngero,* potato. [P. *pūvéngri,* 'potatoes.' SC. *poovéngri, poovyéngri,* 'potato.']
497. pyūk. See under 'piūk.'

498. *ráfamyas.* See under *rokāimas.*
499. *rai,* gentleman. [P. *ry.* SC. *rei.*]
500. *ráker, ráker, ráker, róker,* to talk. [P. *rāker.* SC. *róker.*]
501. *rákli, ráklī,* girl. [P. *rākli.* SC. *rákli.* S2. *rokli.*]
502. *ráklō,* boy. [P. *rāklo.* SC. *ráklo.*]
503. *ran,* osier: pl. *rányas* or *ránias.* [P. *rān,* 'cane, rod, reed.' SC. *ran.*]
504. *ránī,* girl, young woman, lady. [P. *rānee,* 'lady.' SC. *raáni.*]
505. *ráši,* clergyman, priest. [P. *rashy.* SC. *rishei.* S2. *raíshai.*]
506. *rat, rāt,* blood. [P. *rāt.* SC. *ratt.*]
507. *ráti, ráti, rátti,* night. [P. *rāti.* SC. *raáti.*]
508. *ríga, ríger,* to bring, carry. [P. *rikker.* SC. *righer,* etc.]
509. *rínkna, rínkno, rínkeno,* pretty. [P. *rínkeno* (masc.), *rínkeni* (fem.). SC. *rínkeno,* etc.]
510. *riv,* to wear. [P. *riv.* SC. *riv.*]
511. *roi,* a spoon. [P. *roi.* SC. *roi, róï.* S2. *roiχ.*]
512. *rókāimas, rokéngeros, ráfamyas,* trousers. [P. *rokámyas.* SC. *rokonyus,* etc.] Cf. also *trányar.*
513. *rokéngeros.* See under *rókaimas.*
514. *róker.* See under *ráker.*
515. *rom, rum,* husband, a Gypsy. [P. *rŏm.* SC. *rom.*]
516. *rómāni, rómānis,* Gypsy. [SC. *rómano, rómani, rómanes.*]
517. *rómāničal,* a male Gypsy. [P. *rŏmnichāl.* SC. *rómanichal.*]
518. *rómni, rúmni,* wife, a Gypsy woman. [P. *rŏmni.* SC. *rómeni,* etc.]

519. *rov.* See under *ruv.*

520. *roven.* See under *ruven.*

520a. *rúdaben*, clothing, dress. [P. *rivvabens*, 'clothes.' SC. *roódopen*, 'dress, clothing.']

521. *rúdiben*, dressed.

522. *rájī, rāji*, clean, to clean.. [P. *yozho*, 'clean, pure'; *rūzhno*, 'bright, shining.' SC. *yoóso, yoózo*, 'clean, pure.' S2. *jŭzhū*, 'clean.']

523. *rūk*, tree; pl. *rúkyas* [a double pl.]. [P. *ruk*. SC. *rook*.]

524. *rúkia*, tree [? pl.].

525. *rum.* See under *rom.*

526. *rúmā, rúmar, rŭmer*, to marry. [P. *rummer*. SC. *rómer*.]

527. *rumadlā*, married. [SC. *rómado, rómered*.]

528. *rúmani.* See under *rómani.*

529. *rúmar.* See under *rúmā.*

530. *rúmer.* See under *rúmā.*

531. *rúmni.* See under *rómni.*

532. *rup, rūp*, silver. [P. *rup*. SC. *roop*.]

533. *rúpeno*, adj. silver. [P. *rúppeno*, 'silvern.' SC. *roóponо*, etc.]

534. *rútso*, duck. [SC. *rútsa*.] See also *pútso.*

535. *rur, ror*, to cry. [P. *rŏr, row*, 'weep.' SC. *rōr*.]

536. *ruven, roven*, crying.

537. *rūzi*, flowers. [P. *rūzha*, 'flower.' SC. *rózali, rósheo*.]

538. *sâ, sár*, all, every. [P. *sar*, 'all, how.' SC. *sor*.]

539. *sálā*, come up [? A mistake, cf. sent. 6].

540. *sálā*, morning. [P. *saula*. SC. *'saúla, 'saúla*.]

541. *salêni*, laughing, mocking. [?] See sent. 13a.

542. *sálovájes, solōváges*, bridle. [P. *soliváris*. SC. *sálivárus, sálivárdo*.]

543. *sap*, snake. [P. *sāp*. SC. *sap*.]

544. *sápen*, soap. [SC. *sápin*.]

545. *sár.* See under *sâ.*

546. *sār, sár, sō*, what, how, why. [SC. *sar, so*.]

547. *sāršán.* See under *sāšán.*

548. *sásta, sásta, sáster, sásto*, chain, iron. [P. *saster*. SC. *sársta, sáster*.]

549. *sáster.* See under *sásta.*

550. *sásto.* See under *sásta.*

551. *sāšán, sāršán, šášán*, how are you? [P. *sárishán*. SC. *sar 'shan*.]

552. *sášta, sášto, sášter*, kettle-stick, iron. [P. *sāshta.*]
553. *saštas, sásters*, handcuffs, irons. [C. *sasteré.*]
554. *sášto.* See under *sášta.*
555. *sasters.* See under *saštas.*
556. *sav*, to laugh. [P. *savvi.* SC. *sav.*]
557. *sī*, is, are. [P. *se*, 'it is.' SC. *'see, 'si.*] See also *hī.*
558. *sig*, quick. [P. *sĭg.* SC. *sig.* C. *sid.*]
559. *síker*, show, to show. [P. *sĭkker.* SC. *síker.* S2. *sikav.*]
560. *sis*, to have.
561. *siv*, a needle. [P. *sĭ.* SC. *soov.*]
562. *siv*, to sew. [P. *sĭv.* SC. *siv.*]
563. *síven*, sewing.
564. *skáme.* See under *skámin.*
565. *skámen, skámin*, brush, to brush.
566. *skámin, skáme, skámo*, chair. [P. *skammin.* SC. *skámin.*]
567. *skámo.* See under *skámin.*
568. skaut, a watch. [A Tinker word.]
569. *skúka.* See under *šúka.*
570. *skúnias, skúnyas*, boots, [a double pl.]. [P. *skūnya*, 'boot.' SC. *skrúnya, skónyaws*, 'boots.']
571. *sméltum*, cream. [P. *fino-tūd.* SC. *sménting, sméntini.* C. *sméltini.*]
572. *sō.* See under *sār.*
573. *solōváyes.* See under *salovájes.*
574. *sovōhál, súvāhál*, to swear. [P. *sóvahaul, sollahaul*, 'curse, swear.' SC. *sóverhol, sóvlohol.*]
575. *spānj.* See under *panj.*
576. *stádi, stádī*, hat. [P. *staddi.* SC. *staádi, stádi, státi.*]
577. *stádo*, arrested, imprisoned. [P. *stardo*, 'imprisoned.']
578. *stániā, stányā*, barn, stable. [P. *stānya.* SC. *stánya.*]
579. *stār, stár.* See under *štār.*
580. *stáraméngero*, prisoner. [SC. *'stéroméngro.* C. *staroméskries*, 'prisoners.']
581. *stáriben*, prison. [P. *staribeu.* SC. *'steripen.*]
582. *stéto, stéti*, proud. [? English 'state,' 'stately.'] [P. *buoino.* SC. *boóïno.*]
583. *stíga*, gate. [SC. *stígher.*]
584. *sūm*, to smell. [P. *sūm.* SC. *soom.*]
585. *súmin, sámun, zámun*, soup, broth. [P. *sĭmmun.* SC. *zímen.* S2. *zumen.*]
586. *súnikai, súniki, súneke*, gold. [P. *sonnaky.* SC. *soónakei.*]

587. *súnikō*, adj. of gold, golden. [SC. *soónakei.*]
588. *súti, sútī*, sleep. [P. *sūtto*, 'a dream, to dream.' SC. *soóti*, 'to sleep.' S2. *sut*, 'to sleep.']
589. *súvāhál.* See under *sovōhál.*
590. *súven*, coition; vb. to copulate. [SC. *sōv.* S2. *sŭv.*]
591. *súvōhálen*, swearing. See also under *sovōhál.*
592. *swágla, swáglā, swágli*, a pipe. [P. *swĕgler*, 'tobacco-pipe.' SC. *swágler, swegler.*]
593. *šádo*, a cup. [? Metathesis or back slang, cf. SC. *dash*: or as Dr. Sampson suggests, English 'shard,' cf. 'shard of tea,' ='cup of tea.' (Wright, *English Dialect Dictionary.*)]
594. *šádɜs*, dishes. [Cf. *šádo.*]
595. *šák*, cabbage. [P. *shok.* SC. *shok.* S2. *shoχ.*]
596. *šan*, are. [SC. *'shan*, 'art, are,' etc.]
597. *šášán.* See under *sāšán.*
598. *šel*, one hundred. [SC. p. 162, *shel.*]
599. *šelā, šélo*, halter, rope. [SC. *shélo, shólo.*]
600. *šéro*, head. [P. *sherro.* SC. *shéro.*]
601. *šil*, slow.
602. *šil*, a cold. [P. *shill*, 'ice.' SC. *shil*, 'cold, catarrh.']
603. *šíleno*, adj. cold. [SC. *shílino.*]
604. *šóšai.* See under *šúšai.*
605. *štār, stár, star*, four. [P. *shtor.* SC. *stor.*]
606. *šúba, šúbā, šúvā*, dress. C. Cooper in April 1883 gave *shūbo.* [P. *shubo*, 'dress, gown.' SC. *shoóba, shoóva*, 'gown, frock.']
607. *šūf, šūk*, six. [P. *shov.* SC. *shov.*]
608. *šūk.* See under *šūf.*
609. *šúka, šúkā, šúkar, šúko, škúka*, soft, low, nice, easy, slow. [SC. *shookár*, 'nicely, quietly, slowly.']
610. *šúkadilo*, a plate. [SC. *skoodálin.*]
611. *šúkar.* See under *šúka.*
612. *šukári*, sixpence. [SC. *shookhaúri, shaúhaúri*, etc.]
613. *šúko.* See under *šúka.*
614. *šūn*, to hear. [P. *shūn.* SC. *shoon.*]
615. *šūnta*, listen, silence! [SC. *shoónta.*]
616. *šúšai, šóšai*, rabbit, hare. [P. *shōshoi.* SC. *shoshó, shóshi.* S2. *shŭshaí.*]
617. *šut*, vinegar. [P. *shūt.* SC. *shoot.*]
618. *šúvā.* See under *šúbā.*
619. *šúvli*, enceinte. [P. *shúvali.* SC. *shoóvli, shoóbli.*]

620. *táči, táčo*, right, true. [P. *tācho*, 'true, faithful.' SC. *tátcho.*]
621. *tačipen*, truth. [P. *tāchoben.* SC. *tátchipen.* C. *tátchomus.*]
622. *táčo.* See under *táči.*
623. *tad, tād*, to pull, draw. [P. *tāder.* SC. *tárder.*]
624. *tai*, also, too. [SC. *tei.*]
625. *talé, telé*, down. [P. *talley*, 'below, under.' SC. *telé, talé.*]
626. *tan*, camp, tent, place. [P. *tań.* SC. *tan, táno.*]
627. *tánō.* See under *tárnō.*
628. *tárnō, tánō*, young. [P. *tāno.* SC. *tárno, taúno.*]
629. *táto*, hot. [P. *tātto.* SC. *tátto.*]
630. *táto čírus*, summer. [Lit. 'hot time.' SC. *táttoben.*]
631. *táto pánī*, whisky. [Lit. 'hot water.' P. *tātto pāni.* SC. *tátto-páni.*]
632. *tav, tāv*, a smoke, to smoke. [P. *tāv* (vb. and noun). SC. *toov, toof.*]
633. *tav*, thread. [P. *tav.* SC. *tav, taf.* S2. *tav*, '(lace) thread'; *tarr.*]
634. *te*, to. [SC. *te.*]
635. *telé.* See under *talé.*
636. *tem*, country. [P. *tem.* SC. *tem.* S2. *t'hem.*]
637. *teméngero*, an Irishman, Irish. [SC. *híndi-teméngro*, 'Irishman.']
638. *teri, tērī*, life, live. [?] Cf. sents. 66, 121.
639. *til, čil*, hold, to hold, to have. [P. *tūl*, 'hold, manage.' SC. *til.* C. *tíller.* S2. *til.*]
640. *tíro, trō*, thy. [P. *teero.* SC. *téro.*]
641. to-*dives*, to-day. [P. *to-dīvvus.* SC. *ke-dívvus.*]
642. *trányar, trányur*, trousers. See also *rókaimas.*
643. *traš*, a*traš*, fear, afraid. [P. *trāsh.* SC. *trash, trásher.*]
644. *trin, drin*, three. [P. *trin.* SC. *trin, tring.*]
645. *tringáši, trináši*, a shilling. [SC. *trin-górishi.*]
646. *trō.* See under *tírō.*
647. *trápias, trápyas*, corsets. C. Cooper in April 1883 gave *trūpios.* [P. *truppo*, 'body.' SC. *troópus, troópia, troopé*, 'stays.']
648. *túčni, túšini*, basket. [P. *trúshnee.* SC. *toóshni, túshni*, 'fagot, basket.']
649. *tūd*, milk. [P. *tūd.* SC. *tood.*]
650. *tūg, tūgā, tūgo*, trouble. [P. *tugnus*, 'grief, sorrow'; *tukli*, 'trouble, grief.' SC. *toog*, 'sorrow.']
651. *túlāben*, grease, fat. [P. *túlloben.* SC. *túllopen.*]

652. *túlo*, adj., fat. [P. *tullo*. SC. *túllo, túlli*.]
653. *túsá*, all about you, with you. [SC. *tússa*, 'with thee, thee.']
654. *túšini*. See under *tačini*.
655. *tūt, túte*, thou, thy, you, your, us. [P. *túté*. SC. *toóti*.]
656. *tūv*, smoke. See under *tav*.
657. *tūv*, to wash. [P. *tov*. SC. *tōv*.]
658. *tūv*en, washing.
659. *túvlu, túvlo*, tobacco. [P. *túvalo*. SC. *toóvlo, túvlo*.]

660. *áktā, ákto*, twenty. [So explained in two of Sinclair's manuscripts. Lydia Cooper knew the word in 1902, but was not sure of the meaning. The word really means 'eight.' P. *okdo*. SC. p. 161, *ochto, oitoo*.]
661. *upré, ūpré, úpro, úpro*. See under *upré*.

662. *vaiángeri*. See under *baiángero*.
663. *váino*. See under *váino*.
664. *válen, válin*, bottle. [P. *wallin*, 'glass.' SC. *válin, wálin*.]
665. *válevus*. See under *bálavas*.
666. *vángiš, váingiš*, a ring, a bit, a piece. [SC. *vóngusti*, 'ring, finger.']
667. *váro, vári*, flour, meal. [P. *voro*. SC. *váro, vóro*.]
668. *vásido*, bad. [P. *wáfedo*. SC. *vásavo, wáfido, wásedo*. S1. *bafedo*. S2. *basavo*.]
669. *vasival, vasivol*, sick, ill.
670. *vasival*nes, *vasivol*nes, sickness.
671. *vast*, hand; pl. *vastas, vast*es. [P. *wust*. SC. *vast*, etc.]
672. *velgórus, welgóro*, a fair. [P. *wĕllgúru*, 'fair, exposition.' SC. *walgaúrus*.]
673. *ven, wen*, winter. [P. *wĕn*. SC. *ven, wen*.]
674. *véndri, véndro*, belly, intestines. [P. *vĕndri*. SC. *véndri*.]
675. *veš*, a wood. [P. *wĕsh*, 'wood, forest, wild land.' SC. *vesh, wesh*.]
676. *vešéngero*, keeper. [SC. *veshengro*. 'gamekeeper.']
677. *vónggu*. See under *bónggo*.
678. *vúdur*. See under *wúdu*.
679. *vūšt*, lip. [SC. *wisht*.]

680. *wádres, wádrus*, bed. [P. *wadras*. SC. *voódrus*, etc. S2. *wedherus*.]
681. *wáino, váino*, angry. [P. *hánnalo, shánalo*. SC. *hóĭno*.]
682. waip, handkerchief. [Slang, a 'wipe.']
683. *wánga, wángar, wánger, wángo*, coal, money. [P. *wongur*. SC. *ángar, vángar*, etc.]

684. *wânger.* See under *wânga.*
685. *wângiš.* See under *vângiš.*
686. *wângo.* See under *wânga.*
687. *wáva, wáver,* other, another. [P. *wavver.* SC. *wáver,* 'other, others.']
688. *wáver dívis,* to-morrow. [SC. *ovávo-dívvus.*]
689. *welyóro.* See under *velgórus.*
690. *wen.* See under *ven.*
691. *wérdar, wérder, wúrdo, wúrdār, wúrdur,* wagon. [P. *wardo.* SC. *várdo, wárdo.* S2. *varton.*]
692. wid, a horse with the heaves. [English colloquial 'weed.']
693 *wída, wído, vúdar, wúdar,* door. [P. *wūder.* SC. *woóder.* S2. *wedher.*]
694. *wísa, wíser,* to throw, toss. [P. *wusser,* 'throw, pitch.' SC. *woóser, woósher.*]
695. *wúdar.* See under *wída.*
696. *wúrdār.* See under *wérdar.*
697. *wúrdās,* cards. [SC. *wárdi,* 'from the assonance of *carts* and *cards.*']
698. *wúrdo.* See under *wérdar.*
699. *wúrdur.* See under *wérdar.*

700. *yāg, yág,* fire, light. [P. *yāg.* SC. *yog,* 'fire.']
701. *yágā, yáger,* to hunt, shoot. [C. *yóger,* 'to fire (a gun).']
702. *yagāméngero,* keeper. [SC. *yógoméngro,* etc.]
703. *yāgāméngero, yágāménygro, yagaméskero,* a gun. [P. *yāgéngeri.* SC. *yogéngro,* etc.]
704. *yájáfo,* apron. [P. *jélliko.* SC. *yárdooka,* etc. S2. *jaróka, jarjóka.*]
705. *yāk, yák,* eye. [P. *yāk.* SC. *yok.*]
706. *yākmāš,* policeman. [P. *gāv-mush; prāsterméngro,* 'policeman, runner,' from the old English expression 'Bow-Street runner.' SC. *gavéngro, moúshkero.*]
707. *yáro, yáro,* egg. [P. *yora.* SC. *yóro, yóri.*]
708. *yek,* one. [P. *yĕk.* SC. *yek.* S2. *yŭk.*]
709. *yújī,* clean, to clean. [P. *yozho,* 'clean, pure.' SC. *yoóso, yoóser.* S2. *jŭzhū, yūzhū.*] Cf. also *rújī.*

710. *zī,* soul, mind, heart. [P. *zee,* SC. *zee.*]
711. *zúmun.* See under *súmin.*

SENTENCES.

1. *ač uprė́, ač aprė́*, get up.
2. *ač vaino*, to get angry.
3. *ač* your *tan*, pitch your camp.
4. *apóplī loč*a*rd*, found again.
5. *aprė́* the *drum*, on the road.
6. *āvā aprė́ sālā*, come up to-morrow morning.
7. *āvā dordī*, come here (*or* hither)!
8. *āvā kai*, come here!
9. *āvā prē*, to-morrow. [='come up': a misunderstanding of sent. 6].

10. *bā́ri gav*, city.
11. *bā́ro čumbo*, big hill.
12. *bā́ro pan̄ī*, ocean.
13. *bā́vlo mā́š*, rich man.

13a. *beng saléni*, bad devil. Lydia Cooper's mother often used the words in this sense. [? *beng si lendi*, 'the devil is in them.']

14. *beš talé*, or *beš telé*, sit down.
15. *beš talé ápro pāv*, sit down on the ground.
16. *bíšeno dives*, a rainy day.
17. *bíšums sā dives*, it rains all day.

18. can *tú*te *dul aprė́*, can you read?
19. Celia *bú*tid *dóstā*, Celia worked too much
20. Celia's *adré* the *wúrdār kér*en *ídzas uprė́*, Celia is in the wagon putting clothes away.
21. *čáves báš*ā*v*en *uprė́* the *drum*, the children are playing up the road.
22. *čéro kúvo már dóker lénde*, poor thing, don't hurt him.
23. *čin tú*te*s kárlō*, cut your throat.
24. *čiv duva adré tú*te*s pú*t*sī*, put that in your pocket.
25. *čiv* in the *pāv*, put in the earth. [Periphrasis for 'bury.']
26. *čiv lúva talé*, to gamble. [Lit. 'put money down.']
27. *čúmeni dánder*d *mánde*, something bit me.

28. *del aprė́*, to read.
29. *del mánde* a *čúma*, give me a kiss.

30. *del mánde bíta túvlo*, give me a piece of tobacco.
31. *del mánde máro* and *kúro líveno*, give me bread and a mug of beer.
32. *del mánde páni*, give me water.
33. *del mánde tútes řūrî, mánde koms te řin bita túvlo*, give me your knife, I want to cut a little tobacco.
34. *del mánde yág*, give me (a) light.
35. *del* me *řūrī*, give me (a) knife.
36. *del* me *hábeu*, give me food.
37. *del* me *sá*, give me all.
38. *del* the *rai řámeni te beš upré*, give the gentleman something to sit on.
39. did *túte and lákes lúlo pošnékis*, did you bring her red handkerchief?
40. *dik adáridi*, look here!
41. *dik avrī*, look out!
42. *díklo adré* the *wárdar*, bed-bugs in the wagon.
43. does *dúva rai jiv adré* the same *gav*, does that gentleman live in the same city?
44. *dóstā* fóki, enough people.
45. *dóstā tūgā*, lots of troubles.
46. *dúī múšās kúren*, two men (are) fighting.
47. *dúro drum*, a long road.
48. *dúva čáve* is *róren*, that child is crying.
49. *dúva* is *kúlo*, that is black.
50. *dúva mas sī hóřaren*, that meat is burning.
51. *dúva mūš* is *múto*, that man is drunk.
52. *dúva mūš pukerd mande dúva lénde kom túte*, that man told me that he loves you.
53. *dúva mūš sī jólen* to get *našov*, that man is going to get hung.
54. *dúva sī dóstā*, that is enough.
55. *dúva sī táči*, that is true.
56. *dúva mūš* is too *múto* to *ač upré*, that man is too drunk to stand up (get up).
57. *dúva sī kúkavī košt*, that is a kettle-stick.
58. *dúva sō hī*, what is that?
59. *dúva*'s a *dulen grai: kek tūd adré* the *wurdar*, that is a kicking horse; he doesn't pull in the wagon.
60. *dúva*'s a *kúšto grai te jol upré* the *řómbās*, that is a good horse to go over the hills.

61. *dúva sī feterdérus túvlo*, that is (the) best tobacco.
62. *dúva sī* a *kúšto tan* to *aǩ*, that is a good place to camp.

63. *fúšeno dans*, false teeth.

64. *górjiken lavs*, non-Gypsy words.
65. *gúno* of *giv*, bag of grain.

66. *hánke térī* (*ánker térí, ánko térí*), whole life.
66a. he is a *dulen apré* a *činamángero*, he is reading a letter.
67. how are the *čáves kéri*, how are the children at home?
68. how *púrā* is *túte*, how old are you?

69. I'm *jol*en to the *báro gav*, I am going to the big city.

70. *já pále grai*, go back, horse.
70a. *já* a *dúro drum*, to go a long road.
71. *jol avrí, mong mánde bitā túvlo*, go out, beg me a bit of tobacco.

72. *kai*'s Celia, where is Celia?
73. *kai sī*, where is it?
74. *kai*'s *mánde*'s *swágli*, where is my pipe?
75. *kánā sig*, now quick!
76. *kek kámie*r, no more.
76a. *kek rúmādlīd*, not married.
77. *ker upré bal*, do up the hair.
78. *kek pasa léste, léste*'s *páker*en *hókābens*, don't believe him, he is telling lies.
79. *ker dósta lóvo*, make plenty of money.
80. *ker* a *dād*, make a light.
81. *ker sig*, do it quick, hurry up.
82. *ker* the *wúdar, ker* the *wúdo*, shut the door.
83. *ker wúrdas*, play cards.
83a. *kera* (or *kere*) *yâg* [? *ker* a *yâg*], make a fire.
84. *klissen* the *wúdar*, lock the door.
84a. *klíssens* on *tútes vástās*, handcuffs on your hands.
84b. *kúro kúva*, a spoiled thing.
85. *kúrro*ven *kúšto*, cooking good.
86. *kóngā bal avrí*, to comb the hair out.
87. *kúšto bak* (or *baχt*), good luck, good-bye.

88. *kúšto dík*en *mūš*, good-looking man.
89. *kúšto jo*len *grai*, a good-going horse.
90. *kúšto sálā*, how does *leste ker* to-*dívis*, good morning, how are you to-day?
91. *kávā te lel* for *vásivā*lnes, something to take for sickness.

92. *lač avrí*, to learn. [Lit. 'find out.']
93. *lāke*'ll be *laj*d to *páker táte*, she will be ashamed to tell you.
94. *lénde* is a *pārō jí*nen *yek*, she is an old knowing one.
95. *léndes čí*red in the *gíli*, he is put in the newspaper.
96. *lénde sí bínō adré kóva tem*, he is born in this country.
97. *lénde sis kómlo dík*en *máī*, he has a pleasant-looking face.
98. les *jâ lel* a *pī*, let us go and take a drink.
99. les *jol avrí*, let us go out.
100. les *jâ* to *wâdres*, will you [let us] go to bed?
101. les *táte lel* a *tav*, let us take a smoke.
102. *léste* is a *čí*nen, you are cutting.
103. *léste* is *mírō rōm*, he is my husband.
104. *léste láčerdo* a *čárī*, he found a knife.
105. *léste sī stéti adré léstes ráji tdzas*, he is proud in his new clothes.
106. *léstes grai*'s *prásterd avrí*, his horse has run away.
107. *léste*'s a *kér*en a *čínemángero*, you are writing a letter.
108. *lul* a *siv* and *tav* and *siv apré* the *kev adré* the *čáfo*, take a needle and thread and sew up the hole in the coat.
109. *lálo máī*, red cheeks.

110. *má dul* it, don't give it.
111. *má riv yájáfo adré kóngerī*, *čiv* it *pále*, don't wear the apron to church, put it back.
112. *mánde* aj*ól*en *te ač čéruno*, I am going to remain poor.
112a. *mánde bóklo*, I am hungry.
113. *mánde* can *kékā pen dúva*, I cannot believe that.
114. *mánde* for*bísado tūt*, I forgot you.
114a. *mánde gíli kúštā*, I sing well.
115. *mánde jins kumi*er than *dúva mūš*, I know more than that man.
116. *mánde jivs akái*, I live here.
117. *mánde kams pāiás*, I like fun.
118. *mánde kéka jins dóva*; I do not know that.
119. *mánde kéka pásādo tūt*, I do not believe you.

120. *mánde kek šūnd dóvā*, I did not hear that.
121. *mánde keka šūnd dúva* in *sâ mē hánke térrī*, I never heard that in all my whole life.
122. *mánde koms čumini* to *há*, I want something to eat.
123. *mánde mārd* the snake, I killed the snake.
124. *mánde móng*ed *dúvā*, I begged that.
125. *mánde púrrovs gráis*, I trade horses.
126. *mánde sī dík*en for *lúvo*, I am looking for money.
127. *mánde sís dúī lil*, I have two dollars.
128. *mánde* was a *bíta čávo* when *mánde āvād pārdal* the *bárō pánī ákai*, I was a little boy when I came over the ocean here.
129. *mánde* will *kek lélie* (or *lúlie*) no *kumini*, I will never have you any more.
130. *mánde*'ll *del táte būt távlo* if *táte*'ll *pen mánde névi rómāni lavs*, I'll give you plenty of tobacco if you'll tell me (some) new Gypsy words.
131. *mándes čávi* had a *poškéru del*ded, my child had a cent given it.
132. *mánde*'s *dóstā tūgā*, I have lots of trouble.
133. *mánde*'s *jólen* to the *bíro gav*; *kai* is the *drum*, I am going to the city; where is the road?
134. *mánde*'s *jólen* a *kísta*, I am going to ride.
135. *mánde*'s *jólen te tóven* the *múš*'s *gad*, I am going to wash the man's shirt.
136. *mánde*'s *kérdó*, I am done.
137. *mánde*'s a *kóšto salavárges* and *bóšto te čiv apré grai te kíster apré* [*?avrí*] *sig*, I have a good bridle and saddle to put on a horse and ride away quick.
138. *mánde*'s *lač* of *táte, āvā dórdē* and *pen* the *rai sō pūrō*'s *táte*, I am ashamed of you, come here and tell the gentleman how old you are.
139. *mánde*'s *kâlo bal* and *kâlo yāks*, I have black hair and black eyes.
140. *mándes šéro dúkas man*, my head aches.
141. *mánde*'s *vásido*, I am sick.
142. *mâr čal čīčī*, don't take anything (nothing).
143. *mâr čiv táte*'s *lúvo talé*, don't gamble (lit. do not put your money down).
144. *mâr dul leste, ač wáino*, don't do it [don't hit him], he will get angry.

145. *mâr dul lénde apré* the *múī*, don't hit him on the mouth.
146. *mâr lel dúva*, or, *mor lel dóvā*, don't take that.
147. *ménge* are *dík*en for *lúvo*, we are looking for money.
147a. *mī dad gûjō*, my father was not a Gypsy.
147b. *mī núgi dan*s, my own teeth.
148. *móker kúro*, to spoil a cup.
148a. *mor del* it, don't give it.
149. *mūk lénde ač kúré*, let him stay at home.
150. *mūk túte lač avrí túsâ lénde* and *púker ménde*, let you learn all about them and tell us.
150a. *mūk* us *já kéri*, let us go home.
151. *mūk* us *ker rastas*, let us shake hands.
152. *mūk*'s *já avrí*, let 's go out.
153. *mūk*'s *já lul* a *pī*, let 's go take a drink.
154. *múrav kúkero*, shave yourself.
155. *mūš palál túte, dik avrí*, a man behind you, look out!
155a. *mūš kek kúšto*, (the) man is not good.
155b. *mūš pír*en up the *drum*, a man (is) walking up the road.
155c. *mūš* is a *súvāhál*en, (the) man is swearing.

156. *pánnam upré*, to tie up [*?pan* 'em, 'tie them'].
157. *pen man tačipen*, tell me (the) truth.
158. *per dúker*s *man* (or *mande*), my stomach aches.
159. *póger bávol*'d, broken winded. (Said of a horse.)
160. *prásta, del man sár*, quick [lit. 'run'], give me all.
161. *púker*en *húkābens*, telling lies.
162. *pur talé*, fall down.
162a. *púrō tem*, (the) old country.
162b. *púsengero stúdi*, straw hat.

163. *ráker múšto*, talk better.
164. *ráker šil* and *šúkā*, talk slow and soft.
165. *ráker* (or *róker*) *rómānes*, talk Gypsy.
166. *ráker romani*, (can you) talk Gypsy?

167. *sâr divus*, all day.
168. *sār* does *léste ker* to-*dives*, how are you to-day?
169. *sár dūr sī bâro gav*, how far is the city?
170. *sâr árū sī*, what time is it?
171. *sār sī léste*'s *nāv*, what is your name?
172. *sāršán, nūgi fóki*, how are you, my folks?

173. she *pákerd mande dúvā*, she told me that.
174. *sī kova mūš pír*en *upré* the *drum yek yórjo*, is that man walking up the road a non-Gypsy ?
175. *sī túte náfolī*, are you sick ?
175a. *sīs léste wánga*, have you (any) money ?
176. *síker* the *rai* the *rúpeno pāāméngero*, show the gentleman the silver teapot.
177. *síker* the *rai túte néri swagli*, show the gentleman your new pipe.
178. *sō bâro sī túte*, how heavy are you ?
179. *sō būt* will *léste lel* for the *grai*, how much will you take for the horse ?
180. *sō būt* would *léste mong*, how much would you want ?
180a. *sō dūr sī bâro gâv*, how far is the city ?
181. *sō púrō sī túte*, how old are you ?
182. *sō sī*, what is it ? (*i.e.* what do you want ?)
183. *sō sī* Dick *sorohâl*en about, what is Dick swearing about ?
184. *sō sī dâva*, what is that ?
185. *sō sī léste* a-*kér*en, what are you doing ?
186. *sō sī túte sár*en about, what are you laughing about ?
187. *šášân*, how are you ?
187a. *štār bār súneke*, four pounds (twenty gold dollars).
188. *šān man, túte ker dósto gódli*, hear me ! you make too much noise.

189. *tan te ker* the *yág adré*, place to make the fire in (periphrasis for 'stove').
190. *tánō jóvol*, young woman.
191. *til kóva grai*, hold that horse.
192. *til túte's čib*, hold your tongue.
193. *tūt diks sār yek rómāničál, túte's kálo būl, kâlo yāks*, and *túte rákers rómāni, pen mánde*, you look like a Gypsy, you have black hair, black eyes, and you speak Gypsy, tell me.
194. *tūt kíster*ed a *grai, bājéngeros apré túte čâs*, you rode a horse, spurs on your boots.
195. *túte kúšto dík*en *māš*, you (are) a good-looking man.
195a. *túte pūč láde* how *púro láde* is, you ask her how old she is.
196. *túte rínkna rání*, you (are) a pretty young woman.

197. *túte sī kúšto dan*s, you have good teeth.
198. *túte sī míšto adré* the *tem*, you are better in the country.

199. *túte tai*, you also.
200. *túte*'s *dósta lúvo; del mándes čavi yek pošérā*, you have plenty of money; give my boy a cent.
201. *túte*s *kóngerī púr*'d *talé*, your comb fell down.
202. *tút*'s *jól*en *adré párō tem áprō béro párdál bâro pánī*, you are going to the old country in a ship over the ocean.
203. *túte* wants a *wáva jávol*, you want another woman.

204. *áktā yek beš*, twenty-one years.

205. *vásido drum*, a bad road.
206. *vásido mūš*, a bad man.

207. *wáver jávol*, another woman.
208. where *léste hī jōl*en, where are you going?
209. will *túte lel lívna*, will you take beer?
210. *wísa* a *bār*, throw a stone.
211. *wísa mánde mī stadī*, throw me my hat.

212. *yákmūš avell*en, a policeman (is) coming.

Alphabetical Index of English Meanings

NOTES AND QUERIES

6.—The Valentines

In MacRitchie's *Scottish Gypsies under the Stewarts* (p. 99), a large party of Gypsy women, who were sentenced to death by drowning at Edinburgh on January 29, 1624, but reprieved and banished some six weeks later, is mentioned: and one of the names on that list is 'Margaret Vallantyne, relict of Johnne Wilsoun.' I do not think that any other evidence of a family of Gypsies in Great Britain bearing the name Valentine has ever been brought forward; but that such a family did exist is proved by the following records:—

(1) '1577 Jul. 1 Jane y^e^ daughter of George Volantyne and Margeret his wife, beinge rogues naming themselves Egiptians,' baptized at Horsham, Sussex. (*The Parish Register of Horsham*, . . . ed. . . . by R. G. Rice, Sussex Record Society, vol. 21, London, 1915, p. 138.)

(2) '1596, 4 Maii, Willielmus, filius Willielmi Volantyne Egyptii, baptizatus fuit' at St. Bees. (W. Jackson, *Papers and Pedigrees mainly relating to Cumberland and Westmorland*, vol. i. p. 71. Publications of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society, Extra Series 5, London, 1892.)

On this the author quaintly remarks:—'"Egyptus" certainly means gypsy, and I am not sure whether "Volantyne" is a surname, or we ought to read "Volan-

tis Egyptii"—"fleeing Egyptian," as that peculiar people were deemed, and, indeed, gave themselves out to be.' It hardly needs evidence for Volentine as a Gypsy surname to refute this absurd suggestion, since 'Volantis Egyptii'—even if it were found in the register—would not mean a 'fleeing Egyptian,' but a 'flying Egyptian'; and, as there is no reason for supposing that Gypsies had solved the problem of æronautics three hundred years ago, Plautus' dictum 'sine pennis volare haud facile est' still held good in those days.

This record is quoted with a few others relating to Gypsies by B. F. Thiselton Dyer in his *Old English Social Life* (London, 1898), pp. 75-77.

(3) 'Leticia fa. Willm. Voclentine Egiptian,' 3 Dec. 1602, among the baptisms in *The Registers of the Parish Church of Blackburn in the County of Lancaster* . . . transcribed by Henry Brierley, p. 6 (Lancashire Parish Register Society, vol. 41, Cambridge, 1911).

Here one does feel inclined to suggest an emendation, as the insertion of a *c* in the name is odd; and, if the writing is not very clear, *oc* and *a* could easily be confused.

Later evidence of the family in England I have not been able to find, unless 'John Penfold and Elizabeth Valentine,' who were married at Sunbury on November 3, 1771, were Gypsies (*Middlesex Parish Registers: Marriages*, ed. by W. P. W. Phillimore, vol. 4, p. 89). No other Valentines and only one Penfold occur in the Sunbury register, so far as it is printed there: but it is doubtful whether Penfold was a Gypsy name at that date, though it is now, and still more doubtful whether any of the Valentines survived in the land so late as the end of the eighteenth century. Indeed, from two references in W. Dirks' *Geschiedkundige onderzoekingen aangaande het verblijf der Heidens of Egiptiërs in de noordelijke Nederlanden*, it would seem as though the family had migrated to Holland in the seventeenth century.

The first of these, dated April 10, 1624, relates to the banishment from Friesland of a Gypsy named Margrietta Valentyn (*ibid.*, p. 102), who may possibly be identical with the Margaret Valentine who had been banished from Scotland a month and a half earlier, though the interval seems rather short. In the second, a larger band name, consisting of 'Abraham Jorisse, Emanuel Valentyn ende Anthony Valentyn, alle drie geboren to Middelburch, mitsgaders Jan Valentyn van Schiedam, Joris Valentyn vuyt Vrieslandt ende Abraham Farlant vuyt Waterlandt,' were banished from Holland on December 18, 1635 (*ibid.*, p. 123). There is evidence of Gypsies travelling from the one country to the other in the case of Catherine Mosroesse, born in Scotland and arrested in Holland in 1564 (*ibid.*, p. 130). On the other hand it is possible, and perhaps more probable, that the English family were an offshoot from this Dutch Gypsy family. From which—if from either—the Valentin family, which is in Finland (*J. G. L. S.*, v. 220-1), came, one cannot be sure.

It is very possible, since soothsaying is a profession to which Gypsies are inclined, that the following records of the Old Tolbooth at Edinburgh refer to one of the Gypsy Valentines:—

'Nove^{r} 18 day 1668

Sir bailie

Thes are only to transmitt to your prisone oure being unsufficient the persone of James Vallentyn, a man who takes vpon him to practice divina^{o}une & soothsaying and ffor money doeth ordenarly make a trade of discovering things lost & how & q^{r} they may be found, And by q^{m} they war taiken away or stollen: And in particular of leate hathe aspersed a gentillwoman as being guilty of the lyke notwithstanding she being known to the party who wants the guds to be a person of integretie and vntainted honesty. Wee belive him to be a lousse fflagitious ffellow and therfor Recomend him to be strickly keepe in prisson till he be presented by on james Dun serjant to the garison of the castell of Edr who hathe

received no small prejudice throw his debollicall lyeing discoverie or rather d[e]lusion w^ch he trades in of purposse to gaine money . . . yo^r very humbill servants the byillies of Leith.

Leith the 17th of nov^r 1668

Nov 23 1668

James Vallentyn soothsayer who is called so whom was sent from Leith to Edr tolbuth ffor his deabollicall tricks is aristed at the comand of Baylly Murray and during my Lord Lyon his pleasor.'—(J. A. Fairley, 'The Old Tolbooth,' in *The Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*, vol. v., Edinburgh, 1912, p. 143.)

Though it has nothing whatever to do with the Valentines, I cannot forbear mentioning that another of Dirks' Dutch records furnishes the first example of the name Demeter, common among the bands of nomad Coppersmiths in recent days (cf. *J. G. L. S.*, vi. 246, 250, etc.) :—'Pieter Dumiter zoon van Dominico Backer,' in a document dated August 2, 1536 (p. 120). E. O. Winstedt.

7.—Č and Čh

I have at last had the fortune to meet an educated Gypsy, formerly a schoolmaster, at present a postman in Varna. He is of the tribe of Christian Sedentary Sieve Makers, a native of the district of Dobrič. Talking to him some months ago, I asked him what was the difference in pronunciation between the Romani for 'a beard' and 'a thief.' He immediately spelled the words, the former чхоръ, the latter чорь, i.e. *čhor* and *čor*. B. Gilliat-Smith.

8.—Suridgees

I am now able to answer my own query, printed in *J. G. L. S.*, v. 239-40. The word occurs, in the form *Surujees*, in the Introductory Epistle to Morier's *Hajji Baba* (Dent's edition, p. 6), and is obviously the Turkish سورنجي *surunju*, 'a postilion or driver of post-horses.' See Redhouse, *A Turkish and English Lexicon*, Constantinople, 1890, p. 1090. Alex. Russell.

16*th Oct.* 1916.

9. Burrodêr Lavs from the Nevi Vesh

In reply to Mr. Lockyer's most interesting, and, I may add, most encouraging note in Vol. vii. Part 2, page 151 of the *Gypsy Lore Journal*, I hope to send in from time to time more New Forest words of Romanes, as I happen to come across them. So, in addition to the former ones, which were declared to have come from 'Old George Lee, who played the fiddle,' I subjoin others—amongst them a few belonging to the *Tshorihân*, who travels the Forest with a tent on her back.

bâmum, green broom.	*mormâsti*, midwife.
bengalo, furious.	*mâmmelôs*, beads.
driz, lace.	*ônya*, angry.
klizend, lock-up.	*yogga*, forest keeper.
mi Duvles kêr, Heaven.	*yoggamengri*, match.

belzooz, cocoanuts (presumably 'hairy strong ones').

fuzzlimengri, frying-pan. (Obviously a made-up word, like *toggri-kaushtas*, 'clothes-pegs,' the first part presumably being the English word 'frizzle.')

So tenacious are they of their Romany *rokra* that they will, if interrogated, quickly change the real word they have just uttered for a cant one with the same meaning. Alice E. Gillington.

INDEX OF VOLUME IX

By Alexander Russell

G = Gypsy. Gs. = Gypsies.

There are important sub-alphabets under 'Etymologies,' 'Names, G. Christian, 'Names, G. Surnames,' 'Names, G. Tribal or Race,' 'Names of people who may be Gs.,' 'Newspapers,' 'Notes and Queries,' 'Occupations, G.' 'Romani words worth noting.'

Gypsy Lore Society
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