

Morphology

2.1 Nominative third person pronouns

The shape of the third person nominative pronouns (Friedman 1985, §2.3) is consistently Arli: *ov*, *oj*, and *ola ~o la* ‘he, she, they’, which latter is used for both genders, e.g. in reference to masc. pl. nouns such as *manuša*, as opposed to masc. pl. *on*, which occurs only rarely. In other dialects, the shape can be *vov*, *voj*, etc. (Džambaz, Gurbet, Kalderaš) or *jov*, *joj*, etc. (central and northern Europe).

2.2 The nominative plural definite article

The nominative plural definite article (Friedman 1985, §2.4) is consistently the Arli *o* rather than *e* as found in other dialects, e.g. *o Roma* ‘the Roms’.

2.3 The genitive marker

The long forms of the genitive (*-koro*, *-kiri*, *-kere*; cf. Friedman 1985, §2.3) are used with almost complete consistency: *baš i lakiri kariera* ‘about her career’, *baš o lakere učipa* ‘about her heights’, *baš o lakoro feniks* ‘about her phoenix’, *partijakere liderija* ‘party leaders’, *e romane poezijakoro dad* ‘the father of Romani poetry’, *duje čhavengiri daj* ‘mother of two children’, *o leskiri antropologikani*, *socijalakiri*, *thaj kulturakiri dimenzija* ‘its anthropological, societal and cultural dimension’, *e minoritetengeri dživipaskeri praktika ko Balkani*

'the reality (practicality) of life of minorities in the Balkans'. The one short genitive in *-ki* also shows a different shape in the internal vowel of a long form: *E civilzacijakeri asimilacijaki balval* 'the civilizing wind of assimilation'; cf. also *ki belgradeskeri TV*. The form *ko kher e Sakipengo* 'at the house of the Sakips' is the only other short genitive.

2.4 Possessive pronouns

The singular possessive pronouns of Romani (Friedman 1985, §2.2) show a variety of shapes, among which the most common in the Balkans are (taking the masculine first person as exemplary): *miro, mlo, mro, moro, mo* (for details, see Boretzky and Iglu 1994:388). Of these, the first two are markedly Arli, the third is Burgudži, the fourth is shared by Burgudži and Džambaz (Gurbet), while the last is common throughout Macedonia. Nonetheless, RS is distinctly Arli in its favoring forms of the type *mlo* and makes infrequent concessions by occasionally using forms of the type *mo*, e.g. *Dikhindor ma te našaven plo muj, našavgje pi bul* 'Taking care to save their face, they lost their butt.'

2.5 Aorist person markers

The shape of the first person aorist marker (Friedman 1985, §2.5) is a diagnostic feature separating the so-called Vlax from the Non-Vlax dialects of Romani.⁹ The former are characterized by *-em*, the latter by a back rounded vowel, *-om* or *-um*. All three endings occur in the Romani dialects of Macedonia, in Džambaz, Burgudži, and Arli, respectively. RS consistently uses the Arli *-um*, e.g. *ačhiljum* 'I remained', *bistergjum* 'I forgot', *geljum* 'I went', *khelgjum* 'I danced', *leljum* 'I took' *g'ndingjum* 'I thought'. There is not much dialectal variation in the markers of the other persons (aside from 2 sg *-al* (vs *-an*) in Sinti and some other dialects of former Austria-Hungary).¹⁰ RS, however, has a peculiar first person plural aorist marker, viz. *-em* rather than the expected *-am*, e.g. *bašalgjem* 'we played', *gelem* 'we went', *giljavgjem* 'we sang', *kjergjem* 'we did', *lelem* 'we took', *manglem* 'we wished', *vakjergjem* 'we spoke', *dikhlem* 'we saw'. On rare occasion, the expected *-am* is used: *ačhiljam* 'we remained', *dikhlijam* 'we saw'. In the conjugated forms of 'be', which constitute the historical source of these affixes, RS consistently has the expected 1 sg *sijum* and 1 pl *sijam*. This may be an attempt to incorporate a Džambaz feature with an altered meaning, but at present it remains unclear.

2.6 Imperfect/Pluperfect

RS is consistently Arli in its formation of the imperfect (Friedman 1985, §2.5) adding the analytic preterit auxiliary *sine* (functioning as a particle) rather than by suffixing *-as* to the conjugated present:¹¹ *Ko adava vakti kjerela sine pes vakti [sic! = lafi] baš o but love, a oj mi čhorori na džanela sine te čhorel.* 'At that time it was said that it was a matter of a lot of money, but she, poor thing, did not know how to [= would not have thought of] steal.' *A sako dive o la avena sine ko pobaro numero, pa akhal avilo pes dži ko adava o la te čhiven pes ki privatikane khera.* 'But every day they came in greater numbers, and thus it came to this: they had to be put [up] in private houses.' *Sa džala sine šukar dži na agorkjergjum o fakulteti.* 'Everything went/was going fine until I finished college.'

2.7 Long versus short present tense forms

RS almost always follows the practice articulated in RG of limiting short present forms (Friedman 1985, §2.5) to modal constructions *sensu largo*, i.e. subordination to the future marker *ka* and the modal (conjunctive/subjunctive/optative/conditional) marker *te*. The following examples are typical: *na mangaja te vakera* 'we don't want to talk', *tergjola thaj ka tergjol* 'it remains and will remain'. The following two sentences constitute exceptions to this practice: *Te perena tumare bala masirinen o la loneja a pali odova thoven o len sar sakana.* 'If your hair is falling out, rub it with salt and then wash it as usual'. *Ja ka ačhava bašijaver mlo dikhibe - bi cenzurakoro.* 'But I will leave my uncensored view for another time'. The first of these is explicable either as a progressive (Šaip Jusuf, pc) or as conditional versus conjunctive (Boretzky and Igla 1994:402).

2.8 Adjective comparison and agreement

This is an area of grammar in which RS reflects dialectal compromise (cf. also Friedman 1985, §2.2). The comparative is formed using the Arli/Burgudži prefix *po-* (from Macedonian) while the superlative is formed using the Džambaz prefix *maj-* (from Romanian, as opposed to Arli *naj-* [< Macedonian] or *em-* [< Turkish]), e.g. *baro, pobaro, majbaro* 'big, bigger, biggest'. The one remnant of the old synthetic comparative in *-eder* is the item *pobuter* 'more' (<but 'very'), which is used more frequently than *pobut*. RS shows ordinary adjective agreement, except for borrowings from Macedonian, which are taken over in the

Macedonian neuter, which looks like the Romani masculine (-o) but are then treated as indeclinables in RS, e.g. *socijalno buti* 'welfare' (literally 'social work', in which *buti* is feminine. If the adjective were made to agree, it would be *socijalni* [which would be identical to the Macedonian plural].)

2.9 Derivation of abstract nouns

RS uses both *-be* and *-pe* for the derivation of abstract nouns from verbs and adjectives (Friedman 1985, §2.1). It appears that *-be* is restricted to deverbal nouns, while *-pe* is used for both deverbal and deadjectival nouns: *akharipe* 'invitation', *bipakjavipe* 'distrust', *čačipe* 'truth, reality', *manušipe* 'humanity', *nanipe* 'destitution', *šajdipe* 'possibility', *dikhibe* 'view', *fiksiribe* 'establishment', *khelibe* 'playing', *pučibe* 'question', *s'kldiba* 'cares', *prandiba* 'weddings', *mariba* 'wars', *hardzhiba* 'expenses'. In at least one instance, the affixes are used to distinguish meaning in a single stem, viz. *mang-* which has such diverse but related meanings as 'want, wish, love, seek, beg, need, demand' etc., whence *mangipa* 'needs' but *mangibe* 'desire'; cf. also *namangibe* 'hatred'.

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