

## *1.2 Schwa*

Schwa (used here as a cover term for central vowels ranging in realization from the low *ă* to high *î*) is a marginal phoneme in many Romani dialects and is generally restricted to words of foreign origin (cf. discussion in Friedman 1985, §1.1). It is excluded from the Fourth World Romani Congress orthography as well as the document produced at the 1992 Skopje conference (Friedman 1995), although RG proposed <ä> (Kjučukov 1993a uses <w>). In RS, schwa is indicated in the same manner as in Macedonian orthography -- where it is also

marginal -- by means of an apostrophe: *g'ndinaja* 'we think', *s'kldiba* 'care, concern', *c'knide* 'nettles', *sak'zi* 'chewing gum'. In the case of schwa plus sonorant (or vocalic sonorants), there is hesitation between zero and the apostrophe: *s'kldiba*, *frdingje* 'directed, sent, led', *prčo* 'goat', but *v'rda* 'wagons', also *gndinela* as well as *g'ndinela*. These can to some extent be treated as loan-vowels in the same manner as <ü> and <ö> in those dialects that have borrowed unadapted lexical items from languages such as Albanian, Turkish, and Hungarian.

### 1.3 The palatal quality of velars/dentals

The palatalization or palatal mutation of dentals and/or velars before front vowels and /j/ (cf. Friedman 1985, §1.4), continues to be problematic. In the Fourth World Romani Congress orthography, the problem is obviated in case endings (treated there as postpositional clitics), which are represented by the morphophonemic symbols 'q' and 'θ', although the same phenomena occur elsewhere. Thus for example, the same variation found in phonetic realizations of the dative suffix '-ke' occurs in roots such as *ker-* 'do' (cf. Friedman 1995). In RS, there is considerably less inconsistency in the representation of velars and dentals before front vowels and jot than in RG. Thus, although the principle of phonetic versus phonemic versus morphophonemic spelling is not consistently applied throughout RS, there is a tendency for certain lexical items and endings to follow one or another principle. For example, the verb *vaker-* 'say' is consistently spelled with <kj>, while the root *ker-* is generally spelled <kj> but also <k>, e.g. *kerel* and *kjerel* 'does'. Aspirated <kh> is never combined with <j>: either aspiration is not indicated or <j> is not written, e.g. *khere* 'at home', *khelela* 'plays' but *mukjen* 'they leave' vs *mukhel pes* 'he is left', *dikhlo* 'seen', *dikhljam* 'we saw', *dikhena* 'they see [long form]' but *dikjen* 'they see [short form]'.

The voiced variant of the dative suffix shows variation, e.g. *amenge ~ amengje*, but the voiceless variant and all other case affixes as well as roots only rarely indicate a palatal, palatalized, or jotted quality in spelling: *lengere*, *gelo*, etc., but *muzikakjere* 'musical/of music' ~ *anglunipaskere* 'progressive/of progress'. The root *kin-* 'buy' is consistently spelled *kjin-*, but the root *gil-* 'sing/song' occurs as both *gil-* and *gjil-*, similarly *mangela* 'wants' but *mangjindor* 'while wanting'. Elsewhere fronting before /i/ is not indicated, e.g. *lakiri* 'her', *ki Republika Makedonija*, etc.. The morphophonemic fronting of dentals before jotation is consistently spelled out: *buti -bukja* 'work sg/pl', *rat -rakja* 'night sg/pl', *kjerdi -kjergja* 'done - did'. Elsewhere, there is no graphic

indication of fronted dentals. Thus the orthographic treatment of these phenomena, while gradually standardizing, remains problematic.

#### 1.4 Jotation in feminine substantives

Romani dialects show variation in the jotation of oblique and plural forms of feminine stems, especially those with the nominative singular ending in a consonant (cf. Friedman 1985, §2.1). Moreover, oblique feminine stems in *-a(j)* frequently show contraction, e.g. *dajake ~ dake* 'mother (dat.)'. RS is consistent in the jotation or nonjotation of individual lexical items, e.g. *čhib* 'tongue' is regularly jotated (*čhibjakiri* '[F.gen]') while *jak* 'eye' is not (*jakha* [pl]). RS is also consistent in its use of uncontracted obliques of stems in *-a(j)*, e.g. *dajakiri čhib* 'mother tongue' (f. gen.), *ple čhajaja* 'with his own daughter'.

#### 1.5 The opposition *i/j*

Although RS displays more consistency than RG in distinguishing vocalic *i/i* from non-vocalic *j/j*, there is still some confusion (cf. Friedman 1985, §1.3). Thus, *duj* 'two' is consistently spelled but *šai* occurs alongside *šaj*. Vocalic *i/i* is spelled in *leindor* 'while taking', *deindor* 'while giving', *roiipe* 'weeping', *sasoitne* 'social' but *leibe ~ lejbe* 'taking', *asajbe* 'laughter/humor', *hajbe* 'food/nourishment'.

#### 1.6 The opposition *h/x*

The etymologically unmotivated distinction between */h/* and */x/* (cf. Friedman 1985, §1.2) is not made in Arli or Burgudži, although it occurs in Džambaz, e.g. *has-* 'laugh', *xas-* 'cough'.<sup>6</sup> While RG prescribes the distinction, it is not consistently followed, e.g. both *hiv* and *xiv* 'hole'. RS reflects Arli practice using only the letter */h/*, e.g. *hajlovela pes* 'it is understood/of course' (< h), *hošinēl* 'feel, please' (< Tk. *hoš*), *hevja* 'holes' (< x), *ha* (< *xa*) 'eat'. Only the root *xram-*, e.g. *xramovipe* 'writing', *xramone ~ hramone* 'written' (< *hram-* < Gk. *gram-*, cf. Boretzky & Igla 1994) occurs, but this may be an editorial oversight. Macedonian influence seems to appear in some items in the loss of */h/* or its passage to */v/* intervocalically: *asala* 'laughs' (< *hasala*), *hovaven* (< *xoxaven*) 'deceive'. Note also the loss of intervocalic */v/* as in Macedonian in *sikloibe* alongside *siklovibe* 'studying'.

### 1.7 *r / ř (rr, R, etc.)*

As in most Macedonian Romani dialects, the distinction between plain /r/ and marked /r/ (long, uvular, etc.) is not present and therefore not indicated. This is the practice in RS as well as RG and Kenrick (1981) (cf. also Friedman 1995), but not in Cortiade et al. (1991) where <rr> is used for the marked member.

### 1.8 *Clear, dark, and palatal /l/*

In Macedonian Romani dialects, as in Macedonian, /l/ is clear before front vowels and dark elsewhere (cf. Friedman 1985, §1.5). It also contrasts with palatal /l'/. Unlike RG, where <lj> is sometimes used for clear and elsewhere for palatal /l/, in RS the sequence <lj> is reserved for palatal or jotated /l'/, e.g. *lil* 'letter', *lel* 'one takes', *leljum* 'I took', *milje* 'thousand', *sikljovibe* 'study', *sikljiljum* 'I studied'. The graphic combination <ll> for final dark /l/, e.g. *dell* 'gives' occurs as if in imitation of Albanian graphic conventions, however these are probably simply errata. The form *moll* (pl. *molla*) 'value/price' is apparently a Vlaxism (i.e. a word recently borrowed from a Vlax dialect for purposes of vocabulary enrichment).

### 1.9 *Aspiration*

As Boretzky (1993) observes, there is some variation in the realization of aspiration in individual lexical items, and it is generally neutralized word finally. This neutralization is generally reflected in spelling in RS: *jek* 'one' but *jekhipe* 'unity', *jekhfär* 'once', *jak* 'eye' but *jakha* 'eyes', etc. Some roots, however, display inconsistency, e.g. *pučen* - *phučava* 'ask' (2 pl. imp. - 1 sg), *lači* - *bi-lači/bilači* 'good - harmful', *mukha* 'we leave' ~ *mukjen* 'they leave' (cf. 1.3 above). There are also several Indicisms written with unadapted voiced aspirates as in RG: *bhagja* 'consciousness/awareness', *dhamkjeribe* 'threat', *labhakjeren* 'use', *adhinel* 'depend'.

### 1.10 *Intervocalic -s- in grammatical affixes*

The treatment of original intervocalic /s/ and final /s/ in affixes (cf. Friedman 1985, §1.3)<sup>7</sup> is consistently modeled on Arli, i.e. with two exceptions

/s/ is generally lost, and in intervocalic position the resulting hiatus is spelled with <j> medially: *mangaja* 'we want', *šunaja* 'we hear', *kasetaja* 'with a cassette', *ple čhajaja* 'with his own daughter', *Ačhoven Devleja* 'Good-bye', *nijameja* 'with justification' (the lack of /j/ in *e čhavea* 'with the child' could be simply a typographical erratum) finally: *dikha* 'we see', *kjergja* 'he did', *ka la* 'we will take', *Džanena romane* 'they know Romani', *Me dikhava e manuše sar manuš* 'I look at a person as a person', *isi o le ~ ole ~ le* 'he/it has'. The first of the two exceptions is *isi* 'is, there is' (cf. the foregoing example). Although there is an alternative form in Arli without /s/, viz. *i*, only *isi* is used in RS. The other exception is original final /s/ in the reflexive accusative pronoun *pes*, which is important in the formation of various types of intransitives (on the model of Macedonian *se*). In RS, this final <s> is spelled with considerable inconsistency: *hajlovela pes* 'it is understood/of course', *džanela pes* 'it is known', *bistrela pes* 'is forgotten' but *kjergje pe* 'they pretended', *g'ndinela pe* 'it is thought of', *kamela pe* 'is liked, is wanted'. The three numbers of RS that appeared in 1993-94 displayed an apparent difference in editorial policy. Final <s> tended to be spelled with great frequency in the first number, omitted in the second, and spelled again in the third, although omission was not uncommon.<sup>8</sup>

### 1.11 The combination n+s at morpheme boundaries

The affixation of the instrumental *-sa[r]* to the oblique plural stem in *-n* results in a delayed release perceived as /t/ resulting in spellings such as *manušencar* 'with people', *lencar* 'with them' etc. Elsewhere, however, the combination /ns/ is spelled although it may be pronounced [nts], e.g. *sansara* 'peace'.

### 1.12 Combinations of preposition + definite article & obl. 3 sg. pronouns

In the Fourth World Romani Congress orthography, prepositions are connected to definite articles by means of a hyphen, as in Romanian, e.g. *k-o*, *k-i*, *tar-o*, *tar-i*, *baš-o*, *p-o* 'to the' (masc., fem.), 'from the' (masc., fem.), 'about the', 'on the' (cf. Friedman 1985, §2.3). In some orthographies, an apostrophe is used in place of a hyphen. The typical Arli initial *o-* and third person oblique pronouns are written together if at all: Fourth World Romani Congress orthography *olesqe*, *olage*, *olenqere*, etc. RS follows the practice of RG: prepositions of postpositional origin as well as underlying *p[e]* 'on' write the article with the preposition as one word: *ko Roma* 'to the Roms', *ki Japonija* 'in Japan', *taro*

VICTOR A. FRIEDMAN

*tiknipe* 'from childhood', *tari dar* 'from fear', *dži ki kasarna* 'toward the barracks', *dži ko gav* 'toward the village'.

The tendency is to write initial third person pronominal *o-* separately, especially in the genitive. Elsewhere there is some hesitation, e.g. *ola ~ o la* 'her, them', *uzal olende* 'besides them' but *mashkar o lende* 'among them', *Kjeren o leja lafi thaj pučen ole akala pučiba* 'Talk with him and ask him these questions', *O čhavo valjani te ovel o le plo than* 'The child should have its own place'. Although this *o-* is etymologically part of the pronoun (see Sampson 1926:161-63), it is sometimes interpreted as a type of definite article. This not only affects orthographic representation, but sometimes even results in grammatical reinterpretations, e.g. *baš i lakiri kariera* 'about her career' (see 2.3).

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