

MORPHOLOGY AND LEXICON OF THE ROMANY DIALECT
OF KOTEL (Bulgaria)

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Thesis submitted for the degree of Ph.D.
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ABSTRACT

This thesis describes the morphology and lexicon of the dialect of Romany spoken in Kotel, Bulgaria. The introduction shows the position of the dialect within Bulgarian Romany and gives brief details of its speakers (pp 12-15). A phonological transcription is used for the morphology and lexicon. This reveals the relationship between Kotel and other dialects, a relationship normally concealed by its phonetic system.

The paradigmatic affixes added to nominals are listed with their variants and specimen paradigms are given (pp 16-31). Verbs are similarly treated, with special notes on medio-passives and impersonal verbs (pp 32-42). The affixes used in building compound-words are listed with their variants and numerous examples (pp 43-59). A brief note is included on some non-productive methods of word-formation (p. 60).

The changes undergone by loan-words from Turkish and Bulgarian are summarized, together with the paradigmatic affixes used with loans from these languages and Greek (pp 61-66). Two texts are given in phonological transcription with a translation and notes, to illustrate the morphology (pp 67-94).

A Romany-English lexicon follows, together with some shorter word-lists(pp 95-202). The lexicon excludes those loan-words which

are freely formed by stated rules from Turkish and Bulgarian, languages with which the people are familiar.

Finally phonological rules are given which convert the symbols used up to this point into a broad phonetic transcription (pp 203-211), and a text in parallel phonological and phonetic transcription illustrates the application of these rules (pp 212-219). A concise bibliography concludes the study.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First I wish to thank Bernard Gilliat-Smith and Kiril Kostov who guided me in my early contacts with the Romany language, the former for saving me from many errors through his lengthy correspondence and the latter for the invaluable and time-saving loan of his unpublished thesis on the Sofia dialect together with personal advice.

Next, I must express my gratitude to Aivaz Raimov who patiently taught me his mother tongue, the subject of this thesis, my informants, many of whom I count as friends, and the other Gypsies of Kotel who made my stay among them so agreeable and who helped me to understand not only their language but their way of life.

Finally I would like to thank Professor Bazell, my tutor at the School of Oriental and African Studies for his painstaking guidance in the preparation of this thesis.

D.S.Kenrick

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Key to symbols and abbreviations
Transcription

The purpose of this transcription is to provide a normalized readable set of symbols for the purpose of this study.

a : amal	'friend'	o : on	'they'
b : balval	'wind'	p : por	'feather'
č : čar	'grass'	ph : phen	'sister'
čh : čham	'cheek'	r : raklu	'boy'
d : dar	'door'	ř : řom	'husband'
e : evin	'morning'	s : sap	'snake'
f : in loan words ^{1/}		š : štar	'four'
g : gonu	'sack'	t : ternu	'young'
i : indra	'sleep'	th : than	'place'
I : mangíla	'he wants'	u : ušíla	'he gets up'
k : kangli	'comb'	v : vadíla	'he lifts'
kh : kher	'house'	x : xer	'donkey'
l : lon	'salt'	z : zor	'strength'
m : mol	'wine'	ž : živdu	'alive'
n : nevu	'new'	@ : mas@k	'month'

These symbols will be resolved into a broad phonetic transcription by rules given on pp 203-211 below. It may be pointed out here that /h/ represents aspiration, /ř/ is a retroflex 'r'. /I/ represents the same vocalic pronunciation as /i/ but does not entail fronting of the previous consonant as does /i/. /@/ has been used in the typescript for (ə).

1. and also in /frima/, free variant of /thrima/ 'a little'

STRESS^{1/}

In the transcription stress is marked only when it is not on the last syllable of a word

: ušíla

Clitics - joined to the word by - do not have stress

: kon-tu (kóntu)

INTONATION

Intonation is not shown, except that /?/ at the end of sentence marks interrogative intonation.^{2/}

Sentences containing an interrogative word or particle do not have this intonation and /?/ is not used in this case.

-
1. Stress does not have phonological function though some words at the phonetic level are distinguished by stress alone.

: /mati/	(matsí)	drunk (fem.adj.)
/mátili/	(mátsi)	she is drunk, became drunk

2. Idea from Z.Harris.

Interrogative intonation consists of raising the tone of the first syllable of the word queried.

Other symbols

*	(i) reconstructed historical form
/ /	encloses spellings using the transcription on p.5 / / is omitted where no confusion would arise.
()	(i) encloses phonetic spellings, as developed by the rules on pp 203-211. (ii) encloses optional constituents of strings.
_____	The original orthography of the source used and quoted. N.B. All words from Turkish are quoted in the standard orthography of that language, preceded by Turk. or T., and are not underlined.
	(ii) the main member of a set of allomorphs.
= . >	becomes
(=)	optionally becomes
≠	initial and final juncture
∅	zero
-	separates morphemes within a word, marks affixes and (in the lexicon) verb stems.
' '	encloses English translation. It is omitted where no confusion would arise.
/	alternates with
<	from
:	for example
V	any vowel (including vocalic i,I)
C	any consonant (including consonantal i,I)

General abbreviations

B. or Bulg.	Bulgarian
GS	Bernard Gilliat-Smith. His published works (see bibliography) and private communications. Where no additional reference is given GS implies texts in Kotel dialect.
Gk.	Greek. All Greek words are quoted in their modern form although in many cases Kotel words were borrowed from Byzantine or dialect forms of Greek.
Kos.c	Kiril Kostov. His published works (see bibliography), unpublished doctoral thesis on the Sofia dialect and private communications.
Kot.	Kotel (see map p.11) The term Kotel Gypsies and Kotel dialect is used also of (the dialect of) Gypsies born elsewhere in families originating in Kotel (see p.13).
JGLS	Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society.
Pasp.	Paspati (see bibliography).
Rom.	Romany or Gypsy language.
Rum.	Rumanian.
Scr.	Sanscrit
T. or Turk.	Turkish

See also p.220 for abbreviations of the bibliography.

List of Informants and Sources for the Kotel dialect
(and abbreviations used for them)

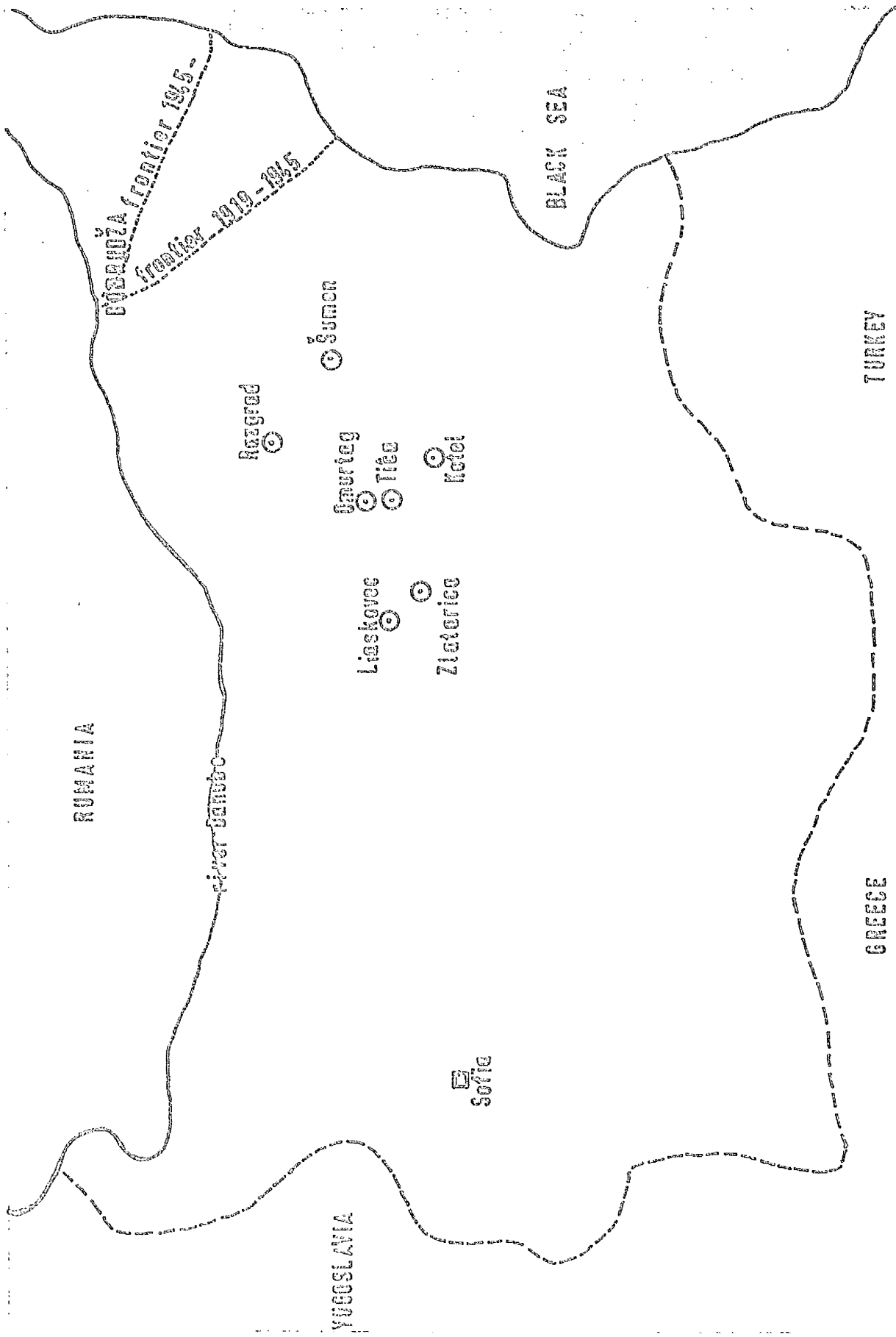
- AK Ali Kurtev. Musician. Born approx. 1926 in Dobrudža. Now living in Razgrad.
- AR Aivaz Raimov. Musician. Born Razgrad approx. 1916. (Wife born Liaskovets). Living in Plovdiv when recorded (1964-5) and now working in E. Germany.
- BP Bekir Pamukov. Labourer. Born in Dobrudža 1920. Now living in Kotel.
- LIA Three musicians living in Liaskovets; Ivan Badelov, Axmed Pamukov and Xristo Paterov. Ivan Badelov is originally from Zlataritsa.
- LZ Liubomir Zaxariev. Librarian. Born in Kotel approx. 1929 and still working there.
- ZG Zdravko Girginakov. Musician. Born Šumen approx. 1925. Now living in Liaskovets. His wife was born in Liaskovets.
- GS Gilliat-Smith's collection of words and phrases made in 1913 in Varna. The informant was Čakir, born Kotel approx. 1870, a musician.^{1/}

1. Forms from GS have usually been normalized as follows:

<u>GS</u>	<u>my transc.</u>
χ	x
W	v
ā	a
č, â	@
č	@
j	i, I
~	n
: dugjeĩ	dugIéni
buzĩingâ	buzinink@

A few examples in the lexicon have been left in the original spelling (underlined).

BULGARIA showing settlements of Kotel Gypsies



Introduction

It is generally accepted that the Gypsies' original home was India, that even there they were a wandering tribe^{1/} and that they emigrated westward in approximately the 10th century A.D. Their path to Europe is shown by the words they borrowed en route^{2/} and they must have reached Bulgaria in the early 14th century.^{3/} The majority of the Gypsies left Bulgaria and they are found to-day throughout Europe and, as a result of further migration, in America and Australia.^{4/}

The 200,000 Gypsies of present-day Bulgaria^{5/} are generally divided into two linguistic groups.^{6/}

- 1) Vlax. Gypsies who went north to Rumania from the 14th century onwards and returned to Bulgaria after their liberation from serfdom (1855) : Grebenari (Comb-makers).
- 2) Non-Vlax. Gypsies who remained in Bulgaria from their arrival until the present day.

The non-Vlax groups can be divided linguistically into three sub-groups.

-
1. See JGLS passim and Turner "The position of Romani in Indo-Aryan". (GLS Monograph)
 2. see below p.61
 3. No dates are available for Bulgaria itself but the presence or arrival of Gypsies elsewhere in the Balkans is attested in 1378 (Zagreb), 1348 (Serbia), 1346 (Corfu), 1322 (Crete) (Clébert The Gypsies) and c.1370 (Wallachia) JGLS (1)i pp 187-8.
 4. There are also groups in Asia and North Africa
 5. 197,865, according to the census of 1-xii-1956 (Statističeski godišnik na NRB. Sofia.1959 p.28). This figure is however too low as many Gypsies, including some of my informants, are classified as Turkish or Bulgarian.
 6. GS (JGLS ii 2).
Some tribes speak no Romany. There are also a few small groups who have been in Western Europe and Greece, and speak non-Bulgarian Romany dialects.

- a) Sofia sedentaries, Kazanl@k Demirdzides (Iron-workers), Šumen Sepirdžides (Basketmakers), Burgudžides (Gimlet-makers) etc.
- b) Kalaidžides (Tinsmiths) of Pazardžik, Varna and elsewhere.
- c) Musicians of Kotel, sedentary Christians of Sliven, Jambol, Straldža and elsewhere, the extinct dialect of the Moslem Gypsies of Žeravna.^{1/}

The Kotel Gypsies - the subject of this study - call themselves řomaitsia (probably a diminutive of řoma, the name used by other Bulgarian Gypsies) or muzikantsia (musicians). They have been called by other Gypsies dr@ndari^{2/} and k@tkadži^{3/} and by the Bulgarians kotlenski tsigani. They are nominally Moslems but the women do not wear the baggy trousers which distinguish other Bulgarian Moslem Gypsies and there is no mosque in Kotel.^{4/} In the past they worked as musicians, wool-spinners and mowers but now can be found in other trades and professions. Before 1894 they all lived in the town of Kotel in N-E Bulgaria but, when a considerable part of the town was burnt down in that year, many moved to other towns to find work. In 1913 Gilliat-Smith met some nomads of the tribe in the Dobrič (Tolbuxin) area but these probably all returned later to Bulgarian territory after the annexation of Dobrudža by the Rumanians. The tribes now number some 6,000, all sedentary. Approximate figures are^{5/}

Kotel	4,000
Šumen	500
Liaskovets	300
Razgrad	100
Tiča	100
Omurtag	60
Zlataritsa	50

plus individual families in other towns.

-
- 1. recorded by G-S in 1914.
 - 2. from the sound dr@n made by the wool-carders' mallet
 - 3. from the Kot. word for 'here' k@tka
 - 4. nor is there a Turkish community
 - 5. as stated by informants. The census figures do not distinguish between different Gypsy tribes

Although there are other tribes also settled in the above places, except for Kotel itself, they live separately and there is little intermarriage.

The dialect of the Kotel Gypsies and the others of sub-group 2c share a set of characteristics which distinguish them from the other non-Vlax dialects :

Future formed with ma- (and not ka-)

Extensive palatalization of consonants before -i-

Vowels -u- and -i- in certain conditions where other dialects have -o- and -e-

Certain words : piltu 'married', ž@nkI 'to go'

The Kotel dialect differs from that of Sliven and Jambol both lexically and morphologically :

'they'	<u>Kotel</u>	on	<u>Sliven</u>	odana
'early'		rano (B.)		erken (T.)
'you came' (pl.)	(aian)			(aill)

The Kotel and allied dialects must have developed separately after the arrival of the Gypsies in Europe as they share with all the European Romany dialects the phonological characteristics which distinguish them from Asian Romany.^{1/}

-
1. : European Romany has -kh- corresponding to Sanscrit -gh- where Asian Romany dialects have -g- :

European Romany	kham	'sun'
Asian Romany	gam	
Sanscrit	gham	

Similarly European Romany has (th) and (x) for Scr. (dh) and (kh). See Sampson Dialect of the Welsh Gypsies pp 30-7.

The existence of the Kotel dialect, long known to other Bulgarian Gypsies, was discovered for Western scholars by the British Consul in Varna, Bernard Gilliat-Smith, in 1913. Some people at the time doubted that a dialect so different from the others could have remained hidden so long and others considered it to be an "ugly" tongue unworthy of study. R.O. Winstedt wrote to Gilliat-Smith that he wished it had never been discovered.^{1/} Since then, apart from a short vocabulary,^{2/} nothing has been published on the dialect.^{3/}

The Kotel dialect is still used as a home language by most adults^{4/} though few children are fluent in it.

The material used in this study represents my own recordings made in Kotel and elsewhere from 1965 onwards, except where it is specifically stated to come from another source.

-
1. unpub.corr.
 2. collected by Kr@stef and published by Šeitanov. (See JGLS(3)xiii). At the time Šeitanov was not aware of GS's work on Bulg.Romany
 3. Kostov's unpublished study has some references (under 'Wollschläger') to Kotel Romany.
It is perhaps worth pointing out that the 'musicians' referred to by Paspatis spoke an entirely different dialect to the Kot. Gypsies.
 4. Bulgarian is generally the second language though in Razgrad it takes third place, after Turkish.

MORPHOLOGY^{1/}

Part I. Nominals

This part deals with the following units

Noun	> Base.Gender.Number.Case.
Pronoun	> Base.Gender.Number.Case. ^{2/}
Adjective	> Base.Gender.Number.Case.
Card.Numeral	> Base.Case. ^{3/}

The order of affixes is as shown above. Their forms are given below.

-
1. For the Syntax of Bulgarian Romany dialects in general see Kostov 'Aus der Syntax der Zigeunersprache Bulgariens' in Balkansko Ezikoznanie (Sofia) iv.p.131-146.
 2. Gender is not overtly expressed in the personal pronouns for the 1st and 2nd person, and in some other pronouns.
 3. I have treated /ekh/ 'one' as an adjective.

Nominals. General rules

Gender	> masculine/feminine	
Number	> singular/plural	
Case	> Case I. (Case II)	with nouns and pronouns/ nominative/oblique with adjectives and cardinal numbers ^{1/}
Case I	> nominative/accusative ^{2/} /vocative	
Case II	> genitive/dative/locative/instrumental/ablative	

Restriction.

Case II must be preceded by the accusative.

-
1. The adjective shows concord with the noun in gender, number and case. The cardinal numerals show concord with the noun in case.
 2. Inanimates use the nominative form when they are the object in a sentence :

me dikhdim manušIs	(acc.)	I saw a man
me dikhdim maṛu	(nom.)	I saw (some) bread

In the case of some animals a distinction is made between alive and dead states

: me stardim mačhIs	(acc.)	I caught (live) fish
me xalim mačhu	(nom.)	I ate (dead) fish

but dead human beings are treated as animate :

parxoddim i manušIs	(acc.)	I buried a (dead) man
---------------------	--------	-----------------------

NOUNS AND PRONOUNS

Gender, Number and Case I are represented by merged affixes

masc.sing.nom.	- <u>u</u>	18	fem.sing.nom.	- <u>i</u>	2
acc.	- <u>Is</u> ↵)	12	acc.	- <u>ia</u> ↵)	5
voc.	- <u>īia</u>	8	voc.	- <u>īie</u>	9
masc.plur.nom.	- <u>I</u>	3	fem.plur.nom.	-ia	6
acc.	- <u>In</u> ↵)	11	acc.	-in↵)	10
voc.	-aler	1	voc.	-ialer	7

Case II is represented by the following affixes

genitive	↵ <u>ku</u>	14
dative	↵ <u>kI</u>	13
locative	↵ <u>tI</u>	17
instrumental	↵ <u>sa</u>	15
ablative	↵ <u>tar</u>	16

Underlining shows that one member of a set of affixes has been quoted. The numbers refer to the alphabetical list of affixes on p.19 below.

Gender is not overtly expressed in the personal pronouns for the 1st and 2nd persons and in some interrogative, relative and indefinite pronouns. The masculine forms are then used as common gender. In the plural of the third person personal pronoun and the demonstratives gender is not overtly expressed. The masculine forms are used as common gender. Number is not overtly expressed with /kon/'who', /nikon/'no-one' and *ekh 'some-one'. The singular is used. /su/'what', /nikhač/'nothing' and /čipas/'something' have no plural.

ADJECTIVE^{1/}

Gender, Number and Case are represented by merged affixes.
In the plural Gender is not overtly expressed.

masc.sing.nom.	- <u>u</u>	18	fem.sing.nom.	- <u>i</u>	2
masc.sing.obl.	- <u>I</u>	4	fem.sing.obl.	- <u>ia</u>	5
m./f.plur.nom.	- <u>I</u>	3			
m./f.plur.obl.	- <u>I</u>	4			

N.B. In the definite article, the affixes merge with the base.
(See table on p.31 below).

CARDINAL NUMBERS

(i) used with nouns

nom.	- <u>u</u>	18
obl.	- <u>I</u>	4

(ii) used alone

nom.	- <u>u</u>	18
acc.	- <u>In</u>	11
gen.etc.	as Noun (see p.18)	

1. including demonstrative, interrogative and indefinite adjectives, possessive pronouns, /ekh/'one', the definite article and ordinal numerals.

NOMINAL AFFIXES

<u>Main form</u>	<u>Variants</u>
1. -aler ¹ / m.plur.voc.	
: čhav-aler 'Oh boys'	
2. -i f.sing.nom.	-e after demonstratives
: rakl-i 'girl'	: k@k-e 'this one'
tern-i 'young'	-I after adjectivalized genitives (including possessive prons), the possessive pronouns /m-/ 'my' and /t-/ 'your' : thagarisk-I rakli 'king's daughter' lisk-I rakli 'his daughter' m-I rakli 'my daughter'
	-u after ordinal numerals
	: mI duit-u rumni 'my second wife'
	-ø after certain noun bases (listed in lexicon), /aver/'other', /kon/'who', /kon/'which', /kata/'every', /ekh/ 'one' : rat-ø 'night'

1. also /-alen/ (DA), as in other Bulg. Romany dialects

Main formVariants

3. -I (i) masc.pl.nom.
 (of nouns)
 : rakl-I 'boys'
 (ii) comm.pl.nom.
 (of adjs and
 pronouns)
 : tern-I 'young'

- a after noun bases which have
 -ø in sing.nom. and
 demonstratives
 : phral-a 'brothers'
 kukul-a 'those (ones)'
 -In after /am-/ 'we' and /tum-/
 'you'
 : am-In 'we'
 -n after /o-/ 'he, she, they'
 : on 'they'
 -u after ordinal numerals
 : duit-u 'second'
 ø after /kon/ 'who' and /kon/
 'which'
 -@ after poss.prons and
 adjectivalized genitives

4. -I (i) masc.sing.obl.
 (ii) comm.pl.obl.
 : bar-I 'big'

- unI after ordinals
 : duit-unI 'second'
 -ø after dui 'two' and
 /kata/ 'each'
 : do-ø
 -@ after poss.prons and
 adjectivalized

5. -ia(-) (i) fem.sing.acc.
 (of nouns)
 : rakl-ia 'girl'
 (ii) fem.sing.obl.
 (of adjs)
 : bar-ia 'big'

- a(-) after o 'he, she, they'
 and demonstratives
 : l-a 'her'
 kudul-a 'yonder(one)'
 -I after /kon/ 'which', /s-/

Main formVariants

'what sort of', possessive
pronouns and /aver/'other'

: s@-I 'what sort of'

-unI after ordinal numerals

: duit-unI 'second'

-ø after /kata/ 'each, every'

-@ after adjectivalized gens
and poss.pronouns

lísk@ raklia 'his daughter'
(acc.)

6. -ia fem.pl.nom.
: rakl-ia 'girls'

7. -ialer^{1/} fem.pl.voc.
: phen-ialer 'Oh sisters'

8. - <u>Íia</u> masc.sing.voc.	-a	after bases which have -ø
: rakl-Íia 'Oh boy'		in sing.nom.(except for
rom-Íia 'Oh husband'		/rom ^{2/} /and /dad/
		: phral-a 'Oh brother'
	-e	after /dad/ only
		: dad-e 'Oh father' ^{3/}

1. also -ialen cf.f.n. on p.20

2. rom-Íia is probably by analogy with the fem. rumniie
'Oh wife'

3. cf. Bulg. vocs in -e

Main formVariants

-o after /romaiti/ and /pap-/
only.^{1/}

romaiti-o 'Oh Gypsy' (of
the Kotel tribe)

pap-o 'Oh grandfather'

9. -íie fem.sing.voc. of
nouns and adjectives
: rakl-íie 'Oh girl'
tern-íie 'Oh young
one'

-e after bases which have -ø in
sing.nom. and /čhai/

: phen-e 'Oh sister'

čhai-e 'Oh daughter'

-o after /dai/ 'mother'^{2/}
dai-o

10. -in(-) gen.plur.acc.
: rakl-in 'girls'

11. -In(-) (i) masc.pl.acc.
: rakl-Īn-sa 'with boys'
(ii) comm.pl.acc.(with
pronouns and numerals)
: l-Īn-sa 'with them'

-n after /dui/, eſta,
oxto,enia (2,7,8,9)
: eſtá-n-tI
'six'(loc.)

1. cf. Bulg. vocs in -o

2. cf. Bulg. maiko 'Oh mother'

<u>Main form</u>	<u>Variants</u>
12. - <u>Is</u> (-) (i) masc.sing.acc. : rakl- <u>Ís</u> -sa 'with a boy' (ii) comm.sing.acc. (with pronouns) : l- <u>Ís</u> -sa	-as after <u>ib</u> (affix.43 see p.47) : puran-ipn- <u>ás</u> -kI 'ageing'(dat.) -n after <u>me</u> 'I' : ma-n 'me' -t after <u>tu</u> 'you'(sing.) : tu-t -us after /s-/ 'what ?' : s- <u>ús</u> -kI 'for what(dat.), why ?'
13. <u>Í</u> -kI dative : rakl- <u>Ís</u> -kI 'to a boy'	
14. <u>Í</u> -ku genitive (also used as an adjective) ^{1/} : bi rakl- <u>íá</u> -ku 'without a girl, daughter' rakl- <u>íá</u> -ku šeru 'a girl's head'	- <u>ru</u> after /am-/ 'we' and /tum-/ 'you'(pl.) : am-In-ru 'our' - <u>ru</u> after <u>me</u> 'I' and /tu/ 'you' (s.) : bi man- <u>ru</u> 'without me' ^{2/}

-
1. When used as an adjective the final -u changes for gender, number and case (see paradigm on p.31 below), but not when used after the preposition /bi/ 'without'
 : ov (oi) si bi-daiáku 'he(she) is without a mother'
 2. For the phonological development of /amInru/, /manru/ etc.
 see rules 5 and 6 on p.204.

<u>Main form</u>	<u>Variants</u>
15. <sa instrumental : rakliá-sa 'with a girl'	
16. <tar ablative : rakliá-tar 'from a girl'	
17. <tI locative : kherís-tI 'in a house'	
18. -u (i) masc.sing.nom.(of nouns, adjectives, demonstratives and <u>o</u>) : bar-u 'big' (ii) comm.sing.nom. (of <u>me</u> 'I', /tu/ 'you', and cardinals)	-a after demonstratives : k@k-a 'this(one)' -v after <u>o</u> (third person pron.) o-v 'he' after certain noun bases (listed in lexicon ^{1/}), <u>aver</u> 'other', /čipas/ 'something', /ekh/ 'one', /kata/ 'each', /kon/ 'who', 'which', <u>me</u> 'I', /tu/ 'you' (s.), /nikhač/ 'nothing' and cardinals : rom-ø 'husband'

1. they are marked in the lexicon by absence of -u; in the notes to the specimen texts -ø is marked.

Nominal bases with alternant forms

<u>aver</u>	'other'	avr-	before obl.sing.affix and (in free variation with /aver/ before obl.plur.affix)
		aver	elsewhere
<u>dui</u>	'two'	do-	before oblique affix
		dui	before nominative affix
<u>k@k</u>	'this(one)'	k@k-	before nom.sing.affixes
		k@kal-	elsewhere
<u>kuk</u>	'that(one)'	kuk-	before nom.sing.affixes
		kukul-	elsewhere
<u>kud</u>	'yonder(one)'	kud-	before nom.sing.affixes
		kudul-	elsewhere
<u>me</u>	'I'	me	before nominative affix
		ma-	before accusative affix
<u>o</u>	'he, she, they'	o-	before nominative affixes
		l-	before accusative affixes
<u>s</u>	'which'	s-	before nom.sing.affix
		s@-	elsewhere

See also lexicon entries for bax,čhov,dad,dai,del,kIso^v,
mui,rom,zes.

PARADIGMS

These paradigms incorporate the variants of affixes shown on pp 19-23.

	<u>Nouns</u>			
	'boy'	'stone' (m)	'sister'	Affixes ^{1/}
sing.nom.	rakl-u	baɾ-ø	phen-ø	18/18/2
voc.	rakl-íia		phen-e	8//9
acc. ^{2/}	rakl-Is		phen-ia	12//5
gen.	rakl-ís-ku	baɾ-ís-ku	phen-ia-ku	12/12/5.14
dat.	rakl-ís-kI	baɾ-ís-kI	phen-ia-kI	12/12/5.13
loc.	rakl-ís-tI	baɾ-ís-tI	phen-ia-tI	12/12/5.17
abl.	rakl-ís-tar	baɾ-ís-tar	phen-ia-tar	12/12/5.16
inst.	rakl-ís-sa	baɾ-ís-sa	phen-ia-sa	12/12/5.15
plur.nom.	rakl-I	baɾ-a	phen-ia	3//6
voc.	rakl-aler		phen-ialer	1//7
acc.	rakl-In		phen-in	11//10
gen.	rakl-ín-ku	baɾ-ín-ku	phen-ín-ku	11/11/10.14
dat.	rakl-ín-kI	baɾ-ín-kI	phen-ín-kI	11/11/10.13
loc.	rakl-ín-tI	baɾ-ín-tI	phen-ín-tI	11/11/10.17
abl.	rakl-ín-tar	baɾ-ín-tar	phen-ín-tar	11/11/10.16
inst.	rakl-ín-sa	baɾ-ín-sa	phen-ín-sa	11/11/10.15

1. the numbers refer to the list on pages 20-25.

2. inanimate nouns have no accusative form, see p.17 f.n.2

Pronouns

	I	you	he, it	she, it	himself etc.
Nom.	me- \emptyset	tu- \emptyset	o-v	o-i	
Acc. ^{1/}	ma-n	tu-t	l-Is	l-a	p-Is
Gen.	ma-n-ru	tu-t-ru	l-Is-ku	l-a-ku	p-Is-ku
Dat.	ma-n-kI	tu-t-kI	l-Is-kI	l-a-kI	p-Is-kI

	we	you(pl.)	they	someone
Nom.	am-In	tum-In	o-n	*ekh- \emptyset ^{2/}
Acc.	am-In	tum-In	l-In	ekh-Is
Gen.	am-In-ru	tum-In-ru	l-In-ku	ekh-Is-ku
Dat.	am-In-kI	tum-In-kI	l-In-kI	ekh-Is-kI

	who	what	something	Nothing	
	m	f			
Nom.	kon- \emptyset	kon- \emptyset	s-u	cipas- \emptyset	nikhac- \emptyset
Acc.	kon-Is	*kon-ia			
Dat.	kon-Is-kI	kon-ia-kI	s-u-s-kI	čipas-Is-kI	nikhač-Is-kI

	this one	that one		
	m	f	m	f
sg.nom.	k@k-a	k@k-e	kuk-a	kuk-e
acc.	k@kal-Is	k@kal-a	kukul-Is	kukul-a
dat.	k@kal-Is-kI	k@kal-a-kI	kukul-Is-kI	kukul-a-kI
pl.nom.	k@kal-a		kukul-a	
acc.	k@kal-In		kukul-In	
dat.	k@kal-In-kI		kukul-In-kI	

1. The accusative form of these pronouns is used referring to inanimates.

: dIkhdian u iil ? dIkhdim lIs.

did you see the book ? I saw it.

2. replaced in the nominative by /ake-kon/ or /kaikamanuš/

	yonder one			two	three	
	m		f	nom.	dui- ø	trin- ø
sg.nom.	kud-a		kud-e	obl.	do- ø	trin-@
acc.	kudul-Is		kudul-a			
dat.	kudul-Is-kI		kudul-á-kI			
pl.nom.	kudul-a					
acc.	kudul-In					
dat.	kudul-ín-kI					

Adjectives

		'young'		'this'	
	masc.	fem.	masc.	fem.	
sg.nom.	tern-u	tern-i	k@k-a	k@k-e	18/2
obl.	tern-I	tern-ia	k@kal-I	k@kal-a	4/5
pl.nom.	tern-I		k@kal-a		3
obl.	tern-I		k@kal-I		4
		'that'		'yonder'	
	masc.	fem.	masc.	fem.	
sg.nom.	kuk-a	kuk-e	kud-a	kud-e	
obl.	kukul-I	kukul-a	kudul-I	kudul-a	
pl.nom.	kukul-a		kudul-a		
obl.	kukul-I		kudul-I		
		'my'		'my', l/	
	masc.	fem.	masc.	fem.	
sg.nom.	man-r̥-u	man-r̥-i	m-u	m-I	
obl.	man-r̥-@	man-r̥-@	m-@	m-@	
pl.nom.	man-r̥-@		m-@		
obl.	man-r̥-@		m-@		

	'our'		'other'	
	masc.	fem.	masc.	fem.
sg.n.	amIn-r-u	amIn-r-i	aver- \emptyset	aver- \emptyset
o.	amIn-r-@	amIn-r-@	avr-I	avr-I
pl.n.	amIn-r-@		aver-I	
o.	amIn-r-@		av(e)r-I	

NB./tut₃ru/ and /tu/¹/ 'your' (sg.), /pu/ 'his own' etc. and /tumInru/ 'your' (pl.) follow the pattern of /man₃ru/, /mu/, and /amInru/ resp.
 /l₁sku/ 'his', /l₁aku/ 'her' and /l₁Inku/ 'their' follow the pattern of adjectivalized genitives below.

	'which'		'which' ^{2/}	
	masc.	fem.	masc.	fem.
s.n.	kon- \emptyset	kon- \emptyset	s-u	s@-i
o.	kon-I	kon-I	s@-I	s@-I
p.n.	kon- \emptyset		s@-I	
o.	kon-I		s@-I	

	'one' ^{3/}		'second'	
	masc.	fem.	masc.	fem.
s.n.	ekh- \emptyset	ekh- \emptyset	duit-u	duit-u
s.o.	ekh-I	ekh-Ia	duit-unI	duit-unI
p.n.	ekh-I		duit-u	
o.	ekh-I		duit-unI	

-
1. The short forms /mu/ and /tu/ can only be used before a noun. The long forms /~~mona~~/ and /~~tona~~/ can be used before a noun or attributively

: mu phral / ^{man₃}~~mona~~ phral 'my brother'
 k@ka iil si ~~mona~~ ^{man₃} 'this book is mine'

2. for the difference in meaning between /s/ and /kon/ see lexicon.
 3. plural means 'some'

'brother's'			'his'		
	masc.	fem.	masc.	fem.	
s.n.	phralísk-u	phralísk-I	lísk-u	lísk-I	
s.o.	phralísk-@	phralísk-@	lísk-@	lísk-@	
p.n.	phralísk-@		lísk-@		
o.	phralísk-@		lísk-@		

NB. All adjectivalized genitives follow the model given for /phralísku/.

Definite Article

Base and affixes are merged giving the following forms

	masc.	fem.
sing.nom.	u	i
obl.	i	i
plur.nom.	u	
obl.	i	

MORPHOLOGY

Part II. Verb

Verb ➤ Base.Tense.Person.

Tense ➤ Non-perfect/perfect/imperative

Person ➤ 1st sing./2nd sing./3rd masc.sing./3rd fem.s./
1st plur./2nd plur./3rd plur.

N.B. The distinction between 3rd masc.sing.
and 3rd fem.sing. is expressed overtly
only in the perfect of intransitive verbs
(including medio-passives)

Non-perfect ➤ imperfect/present/future/subjunctive

Morphological AffixesTense

(Non-perfect)	Imperfect	base. <u>I</u> .Person.¿as	24-20 ^{1/}
	Present	base. <u>I</u> .Person.¿a	24-19
	Future	m@.base. <u>I</u> .Person	29-24
	Subj.	base. <u>I</u> .Person.ø	24-31
Perfect		base. <u>d</u> .Person	21
Imperative ^{2/}		base.Person	

Person

1st sing.	<u>im</u>	28
2nd	<u>ian</u>	26
3rd	f. <u>i</u>	22
	m. <u>u</u>	30
1st plur.	<u>iam</u>	25
2nd	<u>ian</u>	27
3rd	<u>I</u>	23

-
1. These numbers refer to the list of affixes and their variants on p.34 below.
 2. i.e. The second-person Imperative. The semantic equivalent in the 1st person plural and the third persons is expressed by the corresponding subjunctive form.

VERBAL AFFIXES

<u>Main form</u>	<u>Variants</u>
19. ¹ / - <u>a</u> present : mangíl-a 'he wants'	-ø with /s-/ 'to be' : s-ø-im-ø 'I am'
20. -as imperfect : mangíl-as 'he used to want'	
21. - <u>d</u> - perfect : mudar-d-iam 'we killed'	-an- after /as-/ 'laugh', /dukh-/ 'love, hurt', /laž-/ 'be ashamed', /pati-/ 'believe', /xas-/ 'cough', /zāb-/ 'sing'. -Il- after /ačh-/ 'become', /av-/ 'come', /ker-/ 'cook', /paš-/ 'lay down', /rov-/ 'weep', /ter-/ 'stay', /traš-/ 'fear', /tháb-/ 'burn' -In- after /hid-/ 'move', /uš-/ 'arise' and compounds with ≤d- : kán-d-Inu 'he listened' -Ist- after /nak-/ 'pass' and /ux-/ 'descend' -in- after /uxt-/ 'jump down' -l- after /axa-/ 'understand', /sikI-/ 'learn', /xa-/ 'eat' : axa-l-ias 'he understood' -n- after /de-/ 'give', /le-/ 'take', /pi-/ 'drink'

1. The numbering continues from p.25 above

Main formVariants

- | | |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 22. - <u>i</u> (-) 3rd sing.fem.
: sut- ø -i 'she
slept' | -st- after <u>inkI</u> - 'go out'
: inkI-st-u 'he went out'
- ø - after <u>mer</u> - 'die',
<u>per</u> - 'fall', /phag-/
'break', <u>sov</u> - 'sleep',
and <i- (the mediopassive
affix) ^{1/}
: pel- ø -u 'he fell' |
| | -ias after transitive
stems in perfect tense
: mudar-d-ias 'she
killed' |
| | -l- after - <u>I</u> - (the affix
for non-perfect tenses)
: mudar- <u>I</u> -l-a 'she kills' |
| | -li ^{2/} after stems in <i-
(medio-passives)
: mudar ^d -i-li 'she was
killed' |

1. For phonological variants of this affix, see rule 4 on p.203 below
2. This variant has been introduced to pattern with the masc. and plur.forms, although phonetically it is the same as the main form.

<u>Main form</u>	<u>Variants</u>
23. - <u>I</u> (-) 3rd plur. : sut- ø -I 'they slept'	-lI after stems in <u>ĭ</u> - (medio-passives) : mudárd-i-lI 'they were killed' -n- after - <u>I</u> - (non-perfect tenses) : mudar- <u>ĭ</u> -n-a 'they kill'
24. - <u>I</u> - non-perfect tenses : dIkh- <u>ĭ</u> -l-a 'he sees'	-a- after /as-/ 'laugh' /dukh-/ 'hurt', /laž-/ 'be ashamed', /pati-/ 'believe', xas 'cough', and /záb-/ 'sing' : laž- <u>á</u> -l-a 'he is ashamed' -e- after compounds with <u>ĭ</u> -d- (affix 38) ^{1/} : vād-e-l-a 'he lifts' -i- after /ker-/ , /paš-/ , /ter-/ , /traš-/ and /tháb-/ ^{2/} : ker- <u>ĭ</u> -la 'it cooks' - ø - after /s-/ 'be' : s- ø -im- ø 'I am'
25. - <u>iam</u> (-) ^{3/} 1st plur. : dIkh-d-iam 'we saw'	-as- after - <u>I</u> - (non-perfect (tenses) : dIkh-I- <u>ás</u> -a 'we see'

-
1. There is a tendency for compounds in ĭ-d- to be treated as regular
 2. see p.34 affix 21
 3. -iam@s in some idiolects (ZG). See footnote 2 on following page.

<u>Main form</u>		<u>Variants</u>
26. <u>-ian(-)</u> 2nd sing.	-s-	after - <u>I</u> -
: dIkh-d-ian		: dIkh- <u>I</u> -s-a 'you see'
'you saw'	- <u>ø</u> - ^{1/}	after base (in imper.)
		: dIkh- <u>ø</u> 'look!'
27. <u>-ian(-)</u> ^{2/} 2nd plur.	-In	after base (in imp.)
: dIkh-d-ian 'you		: dIkh-In 'look'
saw'	-n-	after - <u>I</u> - (non-
		perfect tenses)
		: dIkh- <u>I</u> -n-a 'you see'
28. <u>-im(-)</u> 1st sing.	-a-	after - <u>I</u> - (non-perfect)
: dIkh-d-im 'I		: dIkh-I- <u>a</u> -a 'I see'
saw'		
29. m@- ^{3/} future		
: m@ -dIkh-I-s		
'you will see'		

-
1. A few stems have a vowel instead of -ø in the imp.
: traš-a 'fear!' uš-i 'get up'. These vowels are probably the earlier vowel stem endings. (Ljungberg)
 2. -ian@s in Razgrad and Šumen sub-dialects cf. Turk. yaparsınız 'you did' etc. Šumen Basketmakers dialect adds -@s to the 1st and 2nd persons plural of the perfect.
 3. GS had /mu-----a/ in the future : *mu-dIkh-I-s-a 'you will see'. /m@-/ is typical of this group of dialects. There may be another example recorded in Cl7th Italy tu gianes so ca ma cherao = Kotel tu žanīsa su (che) m@- kerīa 'you know what I will do' (JGLS (2)vii 65)

Main formVariants

30. -u(-) 3rd sing.masc.sing. -i- after /s-/ 'to be'
 : sut- \emptyset -u 'he slept' : s- \emptyset -i-as 'he was'
 -ias after transitive stems
 in perfect tense
 : mudar-d-ias 'he killed'
 -l- after -I-
 : mudar-I-l-a 'he kills'
 -lu after stems in -i-
 (medio-passives)
 : mudárd-i-lu 'he was
 killed'
21. - \emptyset subjunctive
 : (t@) dIkh-I-l- \emptyset
 '(that) he may see'

PARADIGMS

These paradigms incorporate the variants of affix shown on pp 34-38

	'see'	'laugh' ^{1/}	'be'	
pres.				
1s.	dIkh-I-á-a	as-a-á-a	s-ø-im-ø	24-28-19 ^{2/}
2s.	dIkh-Í-s-a	as-á-s-a	s-ø-ian-ø	24-26-19
3s.	dIkh-Í-l-a	as-á-l-a	s-ø-i-ø	24-22/30-19
1p.	dIkh-I-ás-a	as-a-ás-a	s-ø-iam-ø	24-25-19
2p.	dIkh-Í-n-a	as-á-n-a	s-ø-ian-ø	24-27-19
3p.	dIkh-Í-n-a	as-á-n-a	s-ø-I-ø	24-23-19
imperf.				
1s.	dIkh-I-á-as	as-a-a-as	s-ø-ím-as	24-28-20
2s.	dIkh-Í-s-as	etc.	s-ø-ían-as	24-26-20
3s.	dIkh-Í-l-as		s-ø-í-as	24-22/30-20
1p.	dIkh-I-ás-as		s-ø-íam-as	24-25-20
2p.	dIkh-Í-n-as		s-ø-ían-as	24-27-20
3p.	dIkh-Í-n-as		s-ø-Í-as	24-23-20
fut.				
1s.	m@-dIkh-I-a			29-24-28
2s.	m@-dIkh-I-s			29-24-26
3s.	m@-dIkh-I-l			29-24-22/30
1p.	m@-dIkh-I-as			29.24.25
2p.	m@-dIkh-I-n			29.24-27
3p.	m@-dIkh-I-n			29-24-23

1. showing variant of affix 24.

2. the numbers refer to the list of affixes on pp 34-38.

subj.

1s.	dIkh-I-a-ø	24-28-31
2s.	dIkh-I-s-ø	24-26-31
3s.	dIkh-I-l-ø	24-22/30-31
1p.	dIkh-I-as-ø	24-25-31
2p.	dIkh-I-n-ø	24-27-31
3p.	dIkh-I-n-ø	24-23-31

imper.

2s.	dIkh-ø	26
2p.	dIkh-In	27

/sov-/ 'sleep'¹/

perf.

1s.	dIkh-d-im	sut-ø-im	21-28
2s.	dIkh-d-ian	sut-ø-ian	21-26
3mas.s.	dIkh-d-ias	sut-ø-u	21-30
3fem.s.	dIkh-d-ias	sut-ø-i	21-22
1p.	dIkh-d-iam	sut-ø-iam	21-25
2p.	dIkh-d-ian	sut-ø-ian	21-27
3p.	dIkh-d-I	sut-ø-I	21-23

NB. /s-/ has no perfect tense. The imperfect is used for all statements in the past. The future, subjunctive and imperative are wanting, and are replaced by the equivalent tense of /ačh-/ 'become'.

It will be noticed that the personal affixes of the present tense of /s-/ largely correspond to those of the perfect tense of other verbs. This is because the latter were originally formed by combining the past participle with the present tense of /s-/.

*na søiø and *na søIø become /nan@i/ and /nan@I/ respectively for 'is not', '(they)are not'.

1. i.e. an intransitive verb./ø-/ is a variant of -d-

Medio-passive

As verbs with passive meanings have the same form as those meaning 'to become...', they have been analyzed in the same way.

- : /lól-i-Í-l-a/ 'he becomes red' (for Í-i-see p.46 affix 41)
 /mudárd-i-Í-l-a/ 'he becomes killed' = 'he gets killed'

Phonological paradigms

	'become red'	'get killed'	'become night'
pres.1s.	lól-i-I-á-a	mudárd-i-I-á-a	
2	lól-i-Í-s-a	mudárd-i-Í-s-a	
3	lól-i-Í-l-a	mudárd-i-Í-l-a	arát-i-Í-l-a
1p.	lól-i-I-ás-a	mudárd-i-I-ás-a	
2	lól-i-Í-n-a	mudárd-i-Í-n-a	
3	lól-i-Í-n-a	mudárd-i-Í-n-a	
perf.1s.	lól-i-Ø-im	*mudard-i-Ø-im ¹ /	
2	lól-i-Ø-ian	*mudard-i-Ø-ian	
3m	lól-i-Ø-lu	mudard-i-Ø-lu	arát-i-Ø-lu
f.	lól-i-Ø-li	mudard-i-Ø-li	
1p.	lól-i-Ø-iam	*mudard-i-Ø-iam	
2	lól-i-Ø-ian	*mudard-i-Ø-ian	
3	lól-i-Ø-lI	mudard-i-Ø-lI	

NB. Many of the simple medio-passives in other dialects have become active in modern Kot.(:mer- 'die'). For those which remain, see p.34

1. with the tendency for Í-i- to become -i- (i.e. for the accent to become regularized) the starred forms above would resemble the active verbs phonetically

: (benzím) < (bénzim) < /bénd-i-Ø-im/ 'I was born'
 (benzím) < /ben-d-im/ 'I gave birth'

For this reason they are usually replaced by a different construction

: /me sim bendu/ 'I was born' cf. Bulg. az s@m roden id.

Impersonal Verbs

Some verbs only occur in the 3rd person singular with no expressed subject :

arátííla	it becomes night	
zivésiíla	it becomes day	
deíla brišind	it is raining lit. it gives rain	etc.
asi	it is possible	
naši	it is impossible (from *na asi)	

and the loan words

(ne) móže	it is (not) possible	Bulg. ^{1/}
(ne) triábva	it is (not) necessary	Bulg. ^{2/}

1. A verb with full forms is also occasionally found

/možízláa/	I can
/možízisa/	you can etc

2. also in the assimilated form /trabuízíla/.

The phrase /lázim si/ (from T.lazim) 'it is necessary', is also found.

Word expansion by Affixes^{1/}

Prefixes

32. a- NP^{2/} redundant only recorded in
 a-rát-iíla 'it becomes night'
 <rat night
 Cf./zivésiíla/ 'it becomes
 day'
 < *zives day
and a-kus-nu handkerchief (lit.
 'wiper')
 < *kus- 'wipe'^{3/}
33. do- 'completely' added to verbs (loan from B.)
 : do-ker 'build completely'
 Cf.Bulg.do-sv@rřvam
 'complete' (This prefix
 is rare)

1. The numbering of affixes continues from p.38
 See page 47 onwards for variants

2. Non-productive

3. The verb in Kotel is /khoř-/ , but /kos/ is found in other dialects. Cf.also Ukrainian Romany /khosno/ 'handkerchief'
 For two other possible instances of redundant a-, see the lexicon entries for /akhuřu/ and /astar/.

34. na- NP redundant and optional added to adverbs (a loan from Bulg.)
: na-avrI 'outside' (in free variation with /avrI/)
Cf.Bulg. na-v@n 'outside'
35. na not for details see under list of variants on p.50 below.

NB. /po/, and /nai/, used to form the comparative and superlative, are treated as adverbs.
/m@-/, used to form the future, is treated above p.37.

SUFFIXES

a) those which change the class of the word when they are added.

36.	<u>-al-</u>	forms adjectives from nouns. ^{1/}	:čik-al-u <čik	dusty dust
37.	<u>-al</u>	NP forms adverbs and prepositions from nouns ^{2/}	:pal-al <*pal	behind ('back')
38.	<u>-d-</u>	NP forms verbs from nouns ^{3/}	:kañ-d- <kan	listen ear
39.	<u>-d-</u>	forms adjectives ^{4/} from trans. verbs	:mudar-d-u < mudar-	killed to kill

1. and in one case from an adverb ; palal-utn-u (see lexicon)

2. see also p.59 below.

3. The stress distinguishes compound verbs from simple verbs ending in -d

Cf. (me kánda) I listen
(me phandá) I close (not a compound)

NB. The affix -d- is historically identical with the verb /d-/ 'to give'

4. passive past participles.

40. -e NP forms adverbs and prepositions from nouns : examples on p.52 below
41. -i-^{1/} forms verbs from adjectives (including past participles) and (NP) nouns^{2/} :
- | | |
|------------|------------|
| báři- | 'grow big' |
| < bar-u | big |
| mudárd-i | be killed |
| < mudard-u | 'killed' |
42. -iar- forms verbs from adjectives and (in at least one case) verbs^{3/} :
- | | |
|-----------|--------------------|
| lol-iar- | red |
| < lol-u | red |
| čord-iar- | cause to be stolen |
| < čord-u | stolen |
| diš-iar- | show |
| < diš- | appear |

1. there is a tendency for this affix to become -i-(i.e. not affecting the stress).
2. it has only been recorded after two nouns, viz.
 zivesiĭla it becomes day < *zives (variant of /zes/'day'
 aratiĭla it becomes night < rat 'night'
3. /astar/'to catch' is considered by some authorities to be ast+iar. See lexicon entry for discussion of this.

(b) Suffixes which do not change the class of the word when they are added.

- | | | | | |
|-----|----------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------|----------------------------------|
| 48. | - <u>a</u> | added to verbs
causative | : phir-a-
<phir- | cause to walk
walk |
| 49. | - <u>ikl</u> - | NP added to nouns
diminutive ^{1/} | for examples see p.55 | |
| 50. | - <u>iz</u> - | NP added to verbs
suitability ^{2/} | piizila
<pi- | be drinkable
to drink |
| 51. | -ker- | added to verbs
causative ^{3/} | per-ker-
<per- | to drop
fall |
| 52. | -ni | added to nouns (names
of fruits) ^{4/}
tree-names | ambrol-ni
<ambrol | pear-tree
pear |
| 53. | -ni | added to nouns
feminine | das-ni
<das | Bulgarian woman
Bulgarian man |
| 54. | -ur-
₇ | added to nouns
adjectives and
adverbs
diminutive ^{5/} | rakl-ur-u
<rakl-u | little boy
boy |

1. -ikl- can be followed by suffix 54 (-ur₅-) and is therefore not identical with it
2. only after /pi-/ and /xa-/ 'eat'; may be identical with the loan infix -iz- (see p.64)
3. GS had -íker ; rodíker- 'cause to search'. Often added to past part. in GS : muterdíker- 'cause to urinate'
 < muterd-u 'urinated'
4. probably identical with affix 53
5. also widely used where there is no real diminutive sense (as in Bulg.)

The ending -Vnd of three nouns cannot be analyzed as a suffix in Kot. Rom. though it appears to be one historically.^{1/}

It is possible to analyze /zab/ 'to sing' as z+ab.

/*z/ would be a variant of /zin/ 'song' and /ab/ a variant of the causative suffix 47.^{2/}

-
1. šerand 'pillow' Cf. /šeru/ 'head'
 brišind 'rain' (earlier 'rainy season') Cf. /breš/ 'year'
 ivend 'winter' Cf. /iv/ 'snow'

2. Cf. the Paspatti forms /gili/ 'song', /giliabov/ 'to sing'.

Variants of word-expanding affixes

35. bi-	before adjectivalized genitives and other adjectives (NP)	: bi-daiaku 'motherless' <daiaku 'of a mother bi-baxtalū 'unlucky', ¹ /
ma ² /	before imperatives	: ma dIkh 'don't look'
na	before verbs	: na mangIaa 'I do not want'
nI-	before /kon/, /su/, *khač̣ and *khanẓ̌ only	: nIkon 'no-one' </kon/ 'who ?' nIsu 'none' (adj.) </su/ 'which' nIkhač̣ 'nothing' nIkhanẓ̌uru 'no-one'

1. /bi-/ is also identified as a component in the traditional etymologies of /bister-/ 'forget', /bikIn-/ 'sell', /bičhal-/ 'throw', /biav/ 'marriage', /beng/ 'Devil', /phivlu/ 'widower' and other words.

2. /ma/ and /na/ are not prefixes but independent adverbs

36. (a) ^{1/}	-el-	after /č̣har/ only	č̣har-el-u	'grey'
			< č̣har	'ash'
	-Il-	after /khan/ only	khan-Il-u	'bad'
			< khan	bad smell
	-l-	after /č̣am/ and /šut/ only	č̣am-l-u	'bread' (slang) (GS)
			< č̣am	'leather'
			šut-l-u	'sour'
			< šut	'vinegar'
	-n-	after *solak only	solak-n-u	'left'
			cf. Turk. solak	
	-utn-	after /palal/ ^{3/} only	palal-utn-u	'last'
			< palal	'after'
	-un-	after all nouns of position (see p.59) and /rup/	opr-un-u	'upper'
			< *opr	
			rup-un-u	'silver' (adj.)
			< rup	'silver' (noun)
	-val-	after /č̣hor/ only ^{4/}	č̣hor-val-u	'bearded'
			< č̣hor	'beard'
	-al-	after all other nouns signifying inanimates (except /breš/, see below)	baxt-al-u	'lucky'
			< baxt	'luck'
			šut-al-u	'Turk' (slang) (n.)
			< šut	'vinegar'
36. (b)	-Ikan-	after /das/, /gaẓ̌u/ 'non-Gypsy' and the inanimate noun /breṣ̌/ ^{5/} 'year' only	das-Ikan-u	'Bulgarian' (adj.)
			< das	'Bulgarian' (n.)
	-an-	after all other nouns signifying animates ^{6/}	thagar-anu	'royal'
			< thagar	'king'

1. this affix has been divided into two groups as, in one word, /šut-al-an-u/ 'Turkish' (slang), two variants of it are used
2. This is probably an older form. cf. various adjs ending in -l- : buxlu 'broad', kovlu 'soft', thulu 'thick'.
3. NB. /palal/ is an adverb; this is the only case of suffix 36 being used after other than a noun. Paspati has the expected form /paluno/.
4. /barvalu/ 'rich' can be analysed as bar-val-u or barv-al-u.
5. /-Ikan-/ may be used after /breṣ̌/ by analogy with Bulg. /-išen/ in godišen 'annual'
6. also probably in /pur-an-u/ < *pur 'age' (?)

37. -a after some nouns of place see p.59 below for examples
- al after some nouns of place see p.59 below for examples
- ar after *and only : and-ar 'from' (prep.)
- ial after *avr only : avr-ial 'by heart'
- lara after *av@n only : av@n-lara 'tomorrow'
 < *av@n (variant of evIn) 'morning'
- rla after *tusku only : ut -tusku-rla
 'thenceforth'^{1/}
39. d the variants of this affix are the same as those of the perfect tense affix no.21 p.34-5 q.v.
 (NB. Only transitive verbs form adjectives using affix 39)
40. -e after *belv, /kher/, /than/: kher-e 'at home, homeward'
 and *zives only
 < kher 'house'
 ekhI-than-e 'together'
 (lit. in one place)
 < than 'place'
 zives-e 'by day'
 < *zives (variant of zes) 'day'
 belv-e 'in the evening'

1. also /ut-tuskar/, see lexicon.
 some other adverbs could be analysed as containing variants of this affix.

- I after /bul/'posterior' (see lexicon)
and after 'nouns of place' (see p.59)^{1/}
- i after /rat/ only : rat-i 'last night',
'yesterday'
< rat 'night'
- nI after /tetrázi/'Wednesday',
/pévti/'Thursday' and
/parastívi/'Friday' only^{2/} : tetrázi-nI
'on Wednesday'
43. -ibi after verbs and before the
nom. ending (-ø) : rod-ibi-ø 'searching'
< rod- 'to search'
- imn- after verbs and before the
accus. affix Is : rod-imn-ás-kI
(dat.case)^{3/}
- ipi after nouns and adjectives
and before the nom.ending : sast-ipi-ø 'health'
- ipn- after nouns and adjectives
and before the acc.affix
-Is- : sast-ipn-ás-kI (dat.)

1. -e (GS occasionally) may be an older form retained or a borrowing back from other dialects.
2. i.e. the three day names borrowed from Gk.
3. GS had /rodibnáskI/ (without the b>m change). One informant (ZG) treats nouns in -ibi and -ipi as normal nouns :
/rodibískI/

For a discussion on the original forms of this suffix, see Kostov 'Noch einmal zum Abstraktsuffix -be/-pe im Zigeunerischen' in Munch.Studien zur Sprach. Heft.18 p.41 (1965) and S.E.Mann's review of this article in JGLS (3) xlv p.60-2.

Some abstract forms in -mus have been borrowed from Vlax Romany dialects : xa-mus 'food', alongside /xa-ibi/

Exceptions in GS to the above rules include
 puran-ibi from the adjective puranu 'old',^{1/}
 čhad-ipi from the verb čhad 'vomit'

Occasionally -ibi is added to the past
 participle : genkl-ibi 'going' (AR)
 and not to the stem.^{2/}

45. -ø only in the loan word from other
 dialects šukar-ø beautifully
 < šukar beautiful
 -Is elsewhere lačh-Is id.
 < lačh-u id.
47. -g- after *av- 'one' (variant of ekh)
 only : av-g-u 'first'
 -t- elsewhere : trin-t-u 'third'
 < trin 'three'
48. -al- after /baš-/ only : baš-al- 'to play'
 < baš- 'sing,
 whistle etc!
 -a- elsewhere naš-a- 'lose'
 < naš- 'run'

1. or this could be from the verb /purán-i-/ 'grow old'
 LZ has /puranipi/

2. ZG has /ž@nkibi/, from the stem

49. -aiti	after /rom/ 'Gypsy' only	rom-aiti (male or female) Gypsy (of the Kotel tribe) ^{1/}
-iĉ-	after *bal 'pig' only	bal-iĉ-u 'pig' ^{2/}
-ikl-	after *ĉir and *miř only	ĉir-ikl-u 'bird' miř-ikl-u 'bead' ^{3/}
-ink-	after /frim-/ only	frim-ink-uř-u 'a very small amount' <frima 'a little'
-ka	after /phen/ and before vocative only	phen-k-e 'Oh sister' ^{4/} <phen 'sister'

-
1. The word /rom/, used by many European Gypsies to describe themselves, has normally only the meaning 'husband' in Kot. In this meaning it has the diminutive /rom-uřu/. It is occasionally used for non-Kot. Gypsies.
 2. bal- is found in other Rom. dialects
 3. Cf. Scr.ciri 'parrot' and maņi 'pearl'. Turner however derives /ĉiriklu/ from I-A caṭaka (Comp. Dict. of the Indo-Aryan Languages item 4571)
 4. -ka is probably the Bulg. diminutive -ka but see lexicon entry for alternative etymology.

Order of suffixes

When more than one word-expanding suffix is used in one word, the following order is observed

I	II	III	IV	
ič ^v	al	an	ipi	i
			n	
	ink		ur _ζ	
	ikl			

bal-ič ^v -ur _ζ -u	little pig
bal-ič ^v -an-u	trough (lit. pig's)
frim-ink-ur _ζ -u	tiny bit
baš ^v -al-ipi	playing, music
xorax-an-ipi	Turkey
šut-al-an-ipi	Turkey
čir-ikl-ur _ζ -u	little bird

Clitics^{1/}

-da	emphatic	especially after pronouns ^{2/}
		: mi dai but lošá <i>á</i> ili <i>či</i> me-da
		Unim t@ phirIa m@ ^{dad} ssa (AR)
		My mother was very pleased that
		I too began to travel with my
		father.
		Eh, faldžis, dikh mānkI ekh falus.
		Hey, fortune-teller, tell my
		fortune.
		Ov-da dikhíla lákI falus (AK)
		So he tells her fortune
		/dikhíla ekh tendžere dui-da roia/
		(AK) 'He sees a dish and two
		spoons'
		-da is a loan from Turkish.
ma,na ^{3/}	negative	before verbs
		: me na mangra 'I do not want'
		ma dikh 'do not look'
		These can be classed as adverbs.

-
1. Clitics do not follow the patterns of either affixes or words. They do not have stress.
 2. Cf. Sliven Ironworkers where the old Rom. pronouns have in 3rd person entirely coalesced with the -da giving oda 'he', odoi 'she' odana 'they' as the only forms in use.
 3. See also p.50

-ta	emphatic	after imperatives : šun-ta 'listen' NB. This -ta is found in many Rom. dialects
-tar	emphatic	after past tense : lĩskI lāmpa thābili-tar its valve is complete burnt out ^{1/}
-tu	redundant	after relative pronouns : u manuš kon-(tu) sijas k@tka 'the man who was here' Cf. Bulg. čovek@t koi-to beše tuk

Pause is acceptable to the native speaker between all the above and the adjacent words, except for -tar, which follows the verb without pause.

-
1. This clitic is perhaps connected with the use of Turkish -dir, tır etc., used for emphasis after the past dubitative (and other tenses). It is also found in Sliven and a few other dialects
: xasajlem-tar 'I got lost' (Lovari dialect) Ét.Tsig. 1965 No.4 p.3. Golemanov p.c. suggests there are some restrictions on its use in his (Sliven) dialect but these seem to be stylistic.
- | | | | |
|--------------------|-------------|----------------|--------------------------|
| : me lIm | <u>or</u> | me lIm-t@r | I took |
| tu lIas | <u>only</u> | | you took |
| oda lIas ? | <u>or</u> | Oda lIas-t@r ? | did she take ? |
| oda lIas u phaba ? | <u>only</u> | | did she take the apples? |
- The examples I have recorded in Kot. do not correspond to the use of the pluperfect in Bulgarian or those Rom. dialects that have this tense.
Taikon (Ljung) used it only after intransitive verbs.

'NOUNS OF PLACE'

A set of nouns is used to form adverbs and prepositions indicating place.^{1/} Many of the gaps in the following table could be filled from other dialects. The nouns as free forms are rare.

<u>noun</u>	<u>with affix No.40</u> <u>or no affix</u>	<u>meaning</u>	<u>with affix No.37</u> ^{2/}	<u>meaning</u>
agor 'edge'	agor	beside (pr.)		
	and-u	to, in (pr.)	and-ar	from (pr.)
	andr-I	inside (adv.)		
	angl-I	before (adv.)	angl-al	before (Pr.)
	avr-I	outside(adv.)	avr-ial	outside (adv)
	dur	far away		
	maškar	among (pr.)		
	pal-I	again (adv.)	pal-a	however (adv)
			pal-a	after (pr.)
			pal-al	afterwards(ad)
	paš	near (pr.)		
			tel-a	under (pr.)
			turi-a	around (pr.)
	upr-I	above (pr., advb)	upr-a	above (pr., adv)
			upr-al	from above(adv)

-
1. and (by extension) time. For a detailed consideration of the etymology of the words on this page, see Sampson.
 2. mainly -a for prepositions and-al for adverbs but not invariably (cf. Ljung p.137)

Other methods of word-formation1) Combination of two bases^{1/}

ž@nkI	to go	< *žā	'to go' +	'inkI'	'to go out'
piṛnangu	barefoot	< piṛu	'foot' +	nangu	'naked'

2) Reduplication

kIkId	to squeeze	< kId	'to push'
kIkIti	so much	< kIti	'how much'
mamui	opposite	< mui	'face' ^{2/}

Both these methods are non-productive

1. These are isolated examples of the addition of a base, as opposed to the use of -ker and -d in many compounds.

2. /balval/ 'wind' is historically a reduplicated form
Cf. Skr. vāta

LOAN WORDS^{1/}

A considerable number of words borrowed from Persian^{2/} and about a dozen from Armenian^{3/} have been absorbed into the Romany vocabulary and follow the normal patterns for phonology and the rules given above for word-formation and morphology. Such words are not classified as loan-words for the purpose of this study.

Borrowings from Greek, although they are thought by the Kot. Gypsies themselves to be native words^{4/}, do not fit into the general pattern of word-formation, syllable structure or morphology, and are treated here as loan-words.

Words borrowed from Bulgarian and Turkish are recognized as such as these languages are generally known by the Kot. Gypsies. These words, too, do not fit into the pattern of the language as given above.

Changes which occur when words are borrowed^{5/}

Nouns from Greek are generally borrowed with their original suffixes :

papus	old man	< παππous
ciraxa	shoes	< τσαρούκια

-
1. Words which do not conform to the normal patterns of the language are classed as loan-words.
 2. : /kɪsi/ purse < Pers. kise کيسه
 3. : ozi heart < Med. Arm. ogi ոգի
 4. AR would not believe at first that /tetrázi/ 'Wednesday' was a loan from Greek.
 5. I have only analyzed the changes in the endings and not internal phonological changes.

Nouns which end in -a in Bulgarian and Turkish are borrowed unchanged in respect of the ending :

óda	room	< T.
púška	gun	< B.

Nouns ending in -e in Turkish add -s. :

gŭves	son-in-law	< T.gŭvey
šišes	bottle	< T.şışe

Nouns ending in -e in Bulgarian remain unchanged :

sobránie	meeting
----------	---------

Nouns ending in -o in Bulgarian change this to -us :^{1/}

písmus	letter	< B.pismo
--------	--------	-----------

Nouns ending in a consonant in Turkish add -i^{2/} :

sokáki	street	
hamáli	porter	
čaróri	meadow	T.çayır
sési	voice	
saxáti	watch, hour	< T.saat
zanaiáti	profession	< T.zanaat

Nouns ending in -i in Turkish add -s :

čífčis	landowner	< T.çiftçi
--------	-----------	------------

-
1. The change o > u is one of the phonological characteristics of the Kot. dialect
 2. čardakus 'a hut' is presumably from Bulg.čardak (though this word is itself a borrowing from T.)
 3. Two words have been recorded where T.-i becomes -ia in Kot. viz. čaršia 'bazaar' < T.çarşı and anteria 'blouse' < T.anteri. These may have been influenced by forms in other Rom. dialects.

Nouns ending in a consonant in Bulgarian add *-us* (or, less commonly, *-i*).

/t/, */l/* and */n/* add *-i* or *-us*

:	bile [́] ti	ticket
	stud [́] entus	student
	tr [́] eni	train
	kori [́] anus	root
	u [́] čitelus	teacher
	Don [́] ali	proper name

Only *-i* has been recorded after */ts/*

:	zv [́] @nétsi	bell
---	------------------------	------

All the other consonants add *-us*

	klú [́] čus	key
	óblakus	cloud
	fílmus	film
	trúpus	body
	ma [́] istorus	foreman
	glá [́] sus	voice
	mólivus	pencil
	prázus	leek
	tirá [́] žus	(lottery) draw

-i was probably the earlier form, being used to make Turkish nouns conform to the pattern of Romany nouns in *-i* (although the loan words are always masc.). *-us* is from Gk. *-ous*. The *-i* is preserved before case affixes.

Adjectives from Bulgarian are borrowed in their neuter form which ends in -o

: ž@ltu yellow < Bulg. ž@lt neut. ž@lto

There are few adjectives borrowed from Turkish or Greek

: solaknu left-hand < T. solak

Verbs borrowed from Bulg. add -íz- between the stem and the personal endings, on the model of Gk. verbs in -ίξω

: misízíla he thinks < Bulg. mislia 'I think'

There are two loan verbs from Greek which have retained an -áz- affix, cf. Gk. -άζω

xoiáz- get angry cf. Gk. Χολιάζω I get angry
sivázíla he gets engaged (GS)

Verbs borrowed from Turkish are rare.^{1/}

GS recorded one example of an -inz- affix

: klainzen they pray^{2/}

1. One example is /učíz-/ 'fly' (recorded in Sumen)

2. cf. Sliven Ironworkers' živinz- 'to live'.
-inz- is perhaps a combination of -íz- and the -in- added to loan verbs in other Bulg. Romany dialects.
klainz- has been replaced by moíz- < Bulg. molia 'I pray'

STRESS IN LOAN WORDS

Loan nouns usually preserve the stress of the original language in the nominative, singular and plural :

glásus	voice	< B. glas
pétalus	horse-shoe	< B. pétalo
šísēs	bottle	< T. şíşe

With oblique inflection they follow the pattern of native nouns i.e. the stress is on the syllable before the oblique affixes :

tsiárus	medicine	< B. tsiar
tsiarússa	with medicine	

Loan adjectives preserve the original stress :

ž@ltu	yellow	< B. ž@lto
-------	--------	------------

Loan verbs have the stress on the -íz- infix (see p.64) :^{1/}

misízIsa	you think	< B. mislia
triabízIla	it is necessary	
		< B. triabva

Loan adverbs, conjunctions and prepositions keep their original stress.

-
1. However there is a tendency to shift this stress to the inflectional ending, in conformity with the general pattern of the language :

(pišízíla) he writes (LZ)
for /pišízIla/

A note on the Morphology of Loan-words.

<u>Nouns</u>		Sing.	Plur.	
in -us	:	Nom. tsiárus	tsiar-ui ^{1/}	'medicine'
		Dat. tsiar-ús-kI	tsiar-uín-kI	
in -es		Nom. gIúv-es	gIuv-édes	'male in-law'
		Acc. gIúv-es	gIuv-ed-úin	(see lexicon)
		Dat. gIuv-és-kI	gIuv-ed-uín-kI ^{2/}	
in -us		Nom. čífč-is	čifč-íd-es ^{2/}	'landowner'
		Acc. čífč-is	čifč-id-úin	
		Dat. čifč-ís-kI	čifč-id-uín-kI	
in -a		Nom. púšk-a	púšk-Is	'gun'
		Dat. pušk-á-kI	pušk-ín-kI	

Nouns in -i follow the pattern of Romany nouns. Nouns in -e are unassimilated and have no case endings. Exception to the rules on this page are listed in the lexicon. (See entries for levus, oda, pares, pendžere, ~~vainikus~~)

Adjectives

	Sing.	Plur.	
	Masc.	Fem.	
Nom.	ž@lt-u	ž@lt-u	ž@lt-a 'yellow'
Obl.	ž@lt-u	ž@lt-u	ž@lt-a

Verbs

stem	piš-	'to write' < Bulg. piša
imperat.sing.	piš-I	
plur.	piš-In	
present	piš-íz-a-a, piš-íz-ís-a	etc.
perfect	piš-íz-im, piš-íz-ian	etc.
(gerund	piš-indus)	
past part.	piš-imi ^{3/}	(invariable for feminine and plural)
abstract noun	piš-ibi	'writing'

1. Cf. Sliven Rom. tsiaruia and Sofia tsiaruvia

2. For nom. cf. Gk plurals in -~~h'ses~~

for acc. cf. Sofia guivedonen

one informant (Stefan Demirov) gave a mixed plural form

: gIuveduia.

3. Cf. Gk. ending -~~περος~~ sivaz- gives part. sivamli (f. sivamli, ~~pl. sivamli~~) 'engaged'

ANNOTATED TEXTS

The following texts were taken down from dictation. They are reproduced in the symbols listed on p. 6 (i.e. a phonological transcription). The translations are not literal.

(i) Part of the autobiography of Aivaz Raimov (see p.10)

AmInri familLa sIas but čourI. Mu
dad bašalIas tsimbal.Ov phirIas
avrI romissa - tsigulāris -
duglēniIntar t@ bašalIn t@ možizIn
t@ inkalIn pI mařIskI pares.Kana
avIas u nIlai on leInas pIs tI
ž@nkIInas i panairIntar. Sastu
nIlai phirInas avrI kasabIntar.Čak
kana-tu m@-avIl u ivend,toska
irizInas palI

Our family was very poor.My
father used to play the zither.
He used to travel with another
Gypsy - a violinist - from inn
to inn to play in order to be
able to earn money for their
food. When summer came they
used to set out and go from
fair to fair. All summer they
used to go to other towns.Only
when winter was about to come,
did they return.

1. am-In-ri	a m- -In- -r- -i	'we' accusative genitive fem.sing.nom.i.e. 'our'
2. famili-a	famili- -a	'family', loan from Rum. ^{1/} fem.sing.nom.(loan from Bulg. and Rum.)
3. s-ø-I-as	s- -ø- ^{2/} -I- -as	'be' non-perfect tense 3rd person plural imperfect, 'they were'
4. but		very
5. čour-I	čour- -I	poor comm.plur.nom.
6. m-u	m- -u	my masc.sing.nom.

1. the origin of loan words is given when they are not in the lexicon

2. ø has been omitted from the text for ease of reading.

7. dad-ø	dad-	father
8. baš-al-ī-l-as	-ø baš- -al- -ī- -l- -as	masc.sing.nom., variant of <u>u</u> affix 18. make a sound causative. affix 14 non-perfect tense, affix 24 3rd person sing. imperfect 'used to play'
9. tsimbal	o- -v	zither. unassimilated loan word. third person pronoun masc.sing.nom. 'he'
11. phir-ī-l-as	phir- -ī-l-as	go on foot, travel see 8
12. avr-ī	avr- -ī	other. variant of aver (see p.30) masc.sing.obl.
13. ɣom-īs-sa	ɣom- -īs- -sa	Gypsy. loan from other dialects replacing Kotel /ɣomaiti/ or perhaps 'father of a family'. The usual meaning of /ɣom/ in Kotel is 'husband' masc.sing.acc.(acc.is used before oblique case endings) instrumental
14. tsigulār-is	tsigular- -is	violinist, loan from Bulg. masc.sing.nom., loan from Greek, see p.62
15. dugIēni-In-tar	dugIēni- -In- -tar	dugIēni. 'shop, inn' (from Turk.dukkan) masc.plur.acc. instrumental. Used here in meaning 'from.....to' 'from inn to inn'
16. t@		in order to
17. baš-al-ī-n	bašali- -n	see 8 3rd person plur. =16
18. mož-īz-ī-n-ø	mož- -īz- -ī- -n- -ø	be able. loan from Bulg. affix used with loan verbs, see p.64 non-perfect tense 3rd person plural. subjunctive =16
19. t@		
20. ink-al-ī-n-ø	ink- -al- -Inø	come out causative see 18
21. p-@	p- -@	3rd person reflexive possessive pronoun comm.plur.nom. NB.nom.form of inanimates used for syntactical accusative(see p.17)
22. maɣ-īs-k-@	maɣ- -īs- -k- -@	maɣu 'bread, food' masc.sing.acc. genitive comm.plur.nom.

23. par-es	par-	money, from Turk.para but given a (loan from Greek) plural ending on model of Bulg. pari which is plural.
24. kana		when
25. av-Ī-l-as	av- -Īlas	come see 8
26. u		the. masc.sing.nom.(see p.31)
27. nĪlai-∅	nĪlai- -∅	summer masc.sing.nom.
28. o-n	o- -n	3rd person pronoun comm.plur.nom. 'they'
29. le-Ī-n-as	le- -Ī- -n- -as	take non-perfect 3rd person plural imperfect
30. p-Is	p- -Is	3rd person reflexive pronoun comm.sing.acc.(used instead of the plur.acc. which is not used after /p/) 'they set off'lit.' they took themselves'
31. tI		and
32. ž@nkI-Ī-nas	ž@nkI-	go
33. i		the. comm.plur.obl.
34. panair-Īn-tar	panair- -Īn-tar	fair. from Bulg. and Turk. see 15
35. sast-u	sast- -u	whole (adj.) see 6 =27
36. phir-Ī-n-as		see 11 and 18
37. avr- I	avr- - I	see 12 comm.plur.obl.
38. kasab-Īn-tar	kasab- -Īn-tar	kasaba. 'small town' from Turk. see 15
39. čak		'only' Bulg.
40. kana-tu	kana- -tu	when redundant. modelled on Bulg.koga-to In 24 /kana/ alone is used
41. m@-av-Ī-l	m@ -av- -Ī- -l	future come non-perfect 3rd person sing. NB. tense of direct speech used =26
42. ivend-∅	ivend- -∅	winter masc.sing.nom. NB. ∅ will not be included in this sense in future analysis
43. toska		then

44. ir-í̇z-Ī-n-as	ir- -í̇z-	return affix used with loan verbs
45. pal-I	pal- -I	*back, see p. locative 'backwards, again'

MI dai phirĪlas i barvalI
gažĪntar t@ thovIl gada t@
možízIl t@ putd@ržIl amIn.
AmIn siamas šov k@zania.
Štar phrala tI dui phenia.
ŠovI k@zaniĪntar ačhIliam
štar.U dui mulI.U ekh phral
sias panžI brešĪntI kana-tu
mulu oxtIkātar.I aver phen
kon-tu muli-tar - oi sias
bliznačka. Oi muli-tar enia
mas@kĪnkI.

My mother used to go round the
rich Gentiles' houses to wash
shirts in order to be able to
support us. We were six children.
Four brothers and two sisters. Of
the six children four of us
remained. Two died. The one brother
was five years old when he died of
consumption. The other sister who
died - she was a twin. She died at
the age of nine months.

46. m-I	m I	my fem.sing.nom. (variant)
47. dai-ø	dai- -ø	mother fem.sing.nom., variant
phirĪlas		11
i		33
48. barval-I	barval- -I	rich comm.plur.obl.
49. gaž-Īn-tar	gaž-	non-Gypsy
50. thov-I-l-ø	thov- -I- -l- -ø	wash non-perfect 3rd person sing. subj.
51. gad-a	gad- -a	shirt masc.plur.nom. (for object) Cf.18
možízIl		
52. putd@ržIl-ø	putd@rž-	support, from B.podd@ržam NB -í̇z- infix omitted
53. am-In	am- -In	we masc.plur.acc. 'us'
54. am-In	-In	masc.plur.nom. 'we'
55. s-ø-iam-as	s- -ø- -iam- -as	be non-perfect (variant) 1st person plural imperfect
56. šov		six
57. k@zani-a	k@zani- -a	child, from Turk. masc.plur.nom.

58. ˇstar		four
59. phral-a	phral-	brother
	-a	masc.plur.nom.
60. dui		two
61. phen-ia	phen-	sister
	-ia	fem.plur.nom.
62. ˇšov-I	šov-	six
	-I	oblique
63. k@zani-Īn-tar	k@zani-	child
	-Īn-	masc.plur.acc.
64. ačh-Īl-iam	ačh-	become
	-Īl-	perfect affix
	-iam	1st person plural
	ˇstar	=58
65. u		the. comm.plur.nom.
	dui	=60
66. mul-ø-I	mul-	die. variant of /mer/
	-ø-	perfect (variant)
	-I	3rd person plural
67. ekh		one
	phral	Cf.59
68. s-ø-i-as	s-	be
	-ø-	non-present
	-i-	3rd person sing.(variant)
	-as	imperfect
		'was'
69. panž-I	panž-	five
	-I	oblique
70. breš-Īn-tĪ	breš-	year
	-Īn-	see 15
	-tĪ	locative
		'five years old'
		=40
71. mul-u	mul-	see 66
	-u	3rd person sing. (variant) See p.38
72. oxtĪk-ā-tar	oxtk-	oxtika. 'consumption'. loan fr. B.
	-a-	fem.sing.acc.
73. i		the. fem.sing.nom.
74. aver-ø	aver-	other
	-ø	fem.sing.nom.(variant)
75. phen		sister
76. kon-tu	kon-	who
	-tu	redundant. loan from Bulg. Cf. B.
		koi-to and 40 above
77. mul-i-tar	-i-	3rd person sing.fem.
	-tar	emphatic clitic. See p.58
78. o-i	o-	see 10
	-i	fem.sing.nom.
		'she'
		=68
79. sias		twin.Bulg.
80. bliznačk-a		nine
80. enia		

81. mas@k- ^í n-kI	mas@k-	month
	-In-	see 15
	^í kI	dativ
<p>Ko učilištus ž@nkI^íásas trin ženI, mI phen tI amIn u dui phrala.Pale u aver phral sias panda tikuru. Ko učilištus de^ínas amIn bi-paradu^íнку xamus kata pladnIa. PalI kai av^ílas i koleda u barvalI khid^ínas i kher^íntar puranI drexis tI de^ínas lIn i čou^íI k@zani^íntI.</p>		
		Three members of the family used to go to school, my sister and us, the two brothers. But the other brother was still too young. At school they used to give us free food every lunch time. Also when Christmas came the rich people used to collect old clothes from their houses and give them to the poor children.
82. ko		to,at includes the masculine definite article (see lexicon)
83. učilištus	učilišt- -us	school. from Bulg.(učilište) nom.sing.masc.(loan affix)
84. ž@nkI-I- ^í as-as	ž@nkI- -I- -as- -as	go non-perfect 1st person plural imperfect
85. trin		three
86. žen-I	žen- -I	žen-u. person masc.pl.nom.
mI		-46
87. phen-ø	phen- -ø	sister fem.nom.sing.
tI		-31
amIn		-54
u		-65
dui		-60
phral-a		-59

88. pal-I aver-ø	aver- -ø	however Cf.45 other masc.sing.nom. -68
89. sias panda		still
90. tik-ur-u	tik- -ur- -u	variant of tikn-. small diminutive masc.nom.sing.
91. de- <u>I</u> n-a-s	d e- -I- -n- -as	give non-perfect infix 3rd person plur. imperfect
92. bi-par-adu <u>i</u> n-ku	bi- -par- -adu <u>i</u> n- -ku	without (followed by genitive) money, see 23 oblique plural (loan) affix genitive
93. xa-mus	xa- -mus	eat (loan) affix, forms abstract nouns from verbs i.e. food also cf.87, 45
94. pal-I		relative, here 'when'
95. kai		
96. av- <u>I</u> -l-as	av- -I- -l- -as	come non-perfect 3rd person sing. imperfect Christmas. Bulg.
97. koleda		
98. barval-I	barval- -I	adj.as noun. rich person comm.nom.pl.
99. khid- <u>I</u> -n-as	khid-	collect
100. kher- <u>I</u> -n-tar	kher-	house
101. pur-an-I	pur- -an- -I	non-extant noun 'age' forms adjectives comm.nom.pl
102. drex-Is	drex- -Is	clothes. Bulg.drexa 'garment' plural affix
103. l-In	l- -In	3rd person pronoun common plur.acc.
104. <u>č</u> our-I	<u>č</u> our- -I	poor obl.pl.

U učitelui but na dIkhÍnas
 amIn dali sikIIása ili na
 sikIIása súskI-tu on
 vakerÍnas.U řumanI k@zania,
 kana žanÍna fríma t@ pišízIn
 tI t@ genIn,k@ka lÍnkI resÍla.
 Pala amInr@ daia tI dada na
 dIkhÍnas amIn dali but
 sikIIása. on misízÍnas t@
 inkalIn mařÍsk@ pares zada t@
 na terÍas bokholI.

The teachers did not use to pay
 regard to whether we were
 learning or not,because they
 used to say.If the Gypsy children
 know how to write and read a
 little bit,that is enough for
 them.Also our mothers and fathers
 did not pay regard to whether we
 were learning much.They were
 thinking about earning money for
 food so that we should not remain
 hungry.

105. učitel-ui	učitel- -ui	teacher.Bulg. (loan) plural nom.
106. but		advb.much
107. dIkh-Í-n-as	dIkh-	look,see
108. dali		whether.Bulg.
109. sikI-I-ás-a	sikI- -I- -as- -a	learn non-perfect 1st person plur. present or.Bulg.
110. ilj		
111. su-s-ki-tu	su- -s- -kI -tu	what accusative dative i.e. for what 'because' and 'why' optional redundant (in Kotel Rom.) addition on model of Bulg. zaštoto 'because' as opposed to zašto 'why?'
on		-28
112. vaker-Í-n-as	vaker-	speak,say
113. řum-an-I	řum- -an- -I	variant of řom 'Gypsy' used before -an-/ affix turning noun into adj. comm.plur.
kana		-24
114. žan-Í-n-a	žan-	know
115. fríma		a little
116. piš-íz-I-n-ø	piš-	write.Bulg.
117. gen-I-n-ø	gen-	read
118. k@k-a	k@k- -a	this (pronoun) masc.nom.sing.

119. l- <u>In</u> -kI	l- <u>In</u> - -kI	-103 dative
120. res- <u>I</u> -l-a	res-	be sufficient
121. pal-a		variant of pal-e, see 94
122. am-In-r-@	-amInr- -@	our nom.plur.comm.
123. dai-ia	dai- -ia	mother plural
124. dad-a	dad- -a	father plur.
but		106
125. mis- <u>iz</u> - <u>I</u> -n-as	mis-	think. Bulg.mislia
126. ink-al-I-n-ø	ink- -al-	get up, come out causative i.e. to earn
127. maṣ- <u>Is</u> -k-@	maṣ- -Is- -k- -@	mar-u.bread, food accusative genitive plural comm.nom.concords with pares
pares		23
128. zada		so that. Bulg.(redundant here)
129. ter-I-as-ø	ter-	remain
130. bokh-al-I	bokh- -al- -I	hunger forms adjectives comm.plur.nom.

Ekh zes mI dai genkli ekhia
gažiātI t@ thovIl gada.Kuli
gažiātI sias rakli.Láku anav
sias Tsetsa.Kai dlkhdias mI
daiia vakerdias lákI.
Bibo Neike.Tu čhov na sikIÍla
but lačhIs.LÍsku amal u Xasan
po-lačhIs sikIÍla lÍstar.

One day my mother went to a
Gentile woman to wash shirts.
This Gentile had a daughter.
Her name was Tsetsa. When she
saw my mother, she spoke to her.
Auntie Neike.Your son does not
study very well.His friend Hasan
studies better than he.

131. zes-ø	zes-	day
132. genkl-i	genk-	went.variant of /ž@nk-/ before
	-l-	perfect affix
	-i	perfect affix (variant)
		3rd sing.fem.
133. ekh-ia	ekh-	one
	-ia	oblique feminine
134. kul-I	kul-	free variant of kudul- that
	-I	oblique
135. gaž-ia-tI	gaž-	Gentile, non-Gypsy
	-ia-	accusative
	-tI	locative
		"to that Gentile there was a girl"
		i.e. she had a daughter
136. rakl-i	rakl-	(non-Gypsy) boy or girl
	-i	feminine nom. sing.
137. l-ā-ku	l-	her,his,their. variant before
		accusative
	-a-	accusative. variant
	-k-	genitive
	-u	masc.sing.nom.
138. anav-ø	anav-	name
139. kai		conjunction, here 'when'
140. dIkh-d-ias	dIkh-	see
	-d-	perfect
	-ias	3rd sing.
141. m-I	m-	my
	-I	nom. (for obl.)
142. dai-ia	dai-	mother
	-ia	accusative
143. vaker-d-ias	vaker-	112
144. l-ā-kI	l-a-	137
	-kI	dative
145. bib-o	bib-	bib-i. aunty
	-o	vocative (loan from Bulg.)
146. t-u	t-	your (sing.)
147. čhoj-ø	čhoj-	son (Gypsy)
148. sikI-I-l-a	sikI-	learn
but		106
149. lačh-Is	lačh-	good
	-Is	forms adverbs
150. l-Is-k-u	l-	3rd person pronoun
	-Is-	acc.masc.
	-k-	genitive
	-u	masc.sing.nom.
151. amal-ø	amal-	friend (m.)
152. u		the. used before names
153. po-lačhIs	po-	more
154. l-Is-tar	-tar	ablative

PaI mI dai vakerdias lákI. U
 Xasan može t@ sikIII i Aiváztar
 po-lačhIs, ama i Xasanus nan@i
 lIs zanaiati. Pale manŕ@ čhavIs
 si lIs zanaiati súsKI-tu žánÍla
 t@ bašalIl tsigúlka. U Xasan
 m@-ačhIl xamáli pale u Aivaz
 m@-ačhIl muzikánti.

But my mother said to her.
 Hasan may study better than
 Aivaz but Hasan has no
 profession. But my son has a
 profession because he knows
 how to play the violin. Hasan
 will be a porter but Aivaz
 will be a musician.

dai	-	47
vakerdias		143
lákI		144
155. može		can. Bulg.
156. ama		but.
157. i		the. obl.masc.
158. Hasan-us	-us	loan nom.(and acc.) affix
159. nan@i	na-	not
	-n@i	is. form of /si/ used after na-
160. l-Is	-Is	acc. i.e. he has not lit. not to
		him is
161. zanaiat-i		profession. Turk.zanaiat
162. manŕ@	manŕ-	my.
	-@	obl.
163. čhav-Is	chav-	boy, son (Gypsy)
	-Is	acc.
164. s-i		is
suskItu		lll
165. žan-Í-l-a	žan-	ll4
166. bašal-I-l-ø	baš-	make a sound
	-al-	causative i.e. play
167. tsigúlka		violin. Bulgarian
168. m@-ačh-I-l	m@-	future
	ačh-	be. (replaces /s-/ in future)
169. xamáli-i	xamal-	porter. Turk.
	-i	affix added to loan nouns
170. muzikánt-i	muzikant-	Bulgarian

Me kana-tu ačhIlim dekapénde
brešIntI mu dad vakerdias mánkI.
Čožum.Tu trábva t@ avIs mánša t@
phirIs t@ bašalIs súskI-tu tu
lInian vekI t@ bárIIs.
TI ekh zes,mu dad tI panda averI
roma lIniam amIn tI genkIam
ekhi zborústI. Otká bašaldiam
trin zes.

When I was fifteen my father
said to me.
My son, you must come with me
to travel and play for you have
already started to grow up.
So one day I, my father, and
also other Gypsies, set off
and went to a fair. There we
played three days.

171. me	-	I.nom.
kana-tu		=40
172. ačh-Il-im	ačh-	be, become.
	-Il-	perfect
	-im	1st person sing.
173. dekapénde		Greek. fifteen. Deš-u-panž also used.
174. mán-kI	m-	me
	-an-	accusative
	-kI-	dative
175. čožum		my child. Turk.
176. tu		you
177. trábva		it is necessary. Bulg.
178. av-Is-ø	av	come
	-Is-	2nd person sing.
179. m-án-sa	-sa	instrumental
180. phir-Is-ø	phir-	travel, walk
súskI-tu		III
181. lI-n-ian	-lI-	begin (take)
	-n-	perfect
	-ian	2nd sing.
182. vekI		already
183. bár-i-Is-ø	bar-	big
	-i-	become
184. ekh-ø		one
185. zes		day
m-u		6
186. panda		still,also
187. aver-a	aver-	other
	-a	nom.plur.
188. rom-a	rom-	'Gypsy'. loan from other dials. (normally romaiti)
	-a	nom.plur.masc.
189. lI-n-ian	lI-n-	191
	-iam	1st pers, plur. i.e. 'set off'
am-In		54
190. genk-l-iam	genk-	went
	-l-	perfect
	-iam	189
191. ekh-I	-I	obl.

192. zbor-ús-tI	zbor- -us- -tI	religious festival (local) loan affix. locative	Bulg.
193. otka		there	
194. trin		three	

Kuitar iriziam tI mI dai but		From there we returned and my
lošádili či me-da lInim t@		mother was very pleased because
phirIa m@ dadíssa tI t@		I too had started to travel with
pečelízIa pares. Toska u p@rvu		my father and to earn money.
drom genkliam mI dadíssa ekhI		Then for the first time I and my
dugIéniIstI kai-tu bikInÍna		father went into a shop where
drexis tI lInias mánkI ekh nevi		they sell clothes and he got a
pantalóna tI me but lošádiim-tar.		new pair of trousers for me and
		I was very pleased.

195. kui-tar	kui-	there. probably variant of kot-
	-tar	(see p. 194)
196. ir-íz-iam	ir-	ablative
	-íz-	return
	-iam	infix with loan verbs
197. loš-ád-ili	loš-	1st person plur.
	-ad-	please
	-i-	past.part.passive
	-li	become
198. či		3rd fem.sing.
199. me-da	-da	because. Bulg.ce
200. lI-n-im	lI-n-	also
	-im	181
201. phir-I-a-ø	phir-	1st sing.
	-I-	180
	-a	non-perfect
	-ø	1st sing.
		subj.

202. dad-ís-sa	dad -Is- -sa	father accusative instrumental
203. pečel-íz-I-a	pečel-	earn. Bulg. pecelia
204. toska		then
205. p@rv-u	p@rv- -u	first.<Bulg.(also Rom.word av-gu exists) nom. loan adjs
206. drom		time
207. genk-l-iam	genk- -l- -iam	go. variant of /ž@nk-/ before perfect perfect 1st plur. the idiom is based on Bulg. az s bašta mi 'I with my father'
208. ekh-ia	ekh -ia	one fem.obl.
209. dugIéni-ís-tI	dugIéni- -Is- -tI	shop obl.m. loc.
210. kai-tu	kai- -tu	where redundant. modelled on Bulg. k@de-to 'where' rel.
211. bikIn-Í-n-a drexis	bikIn-	sell 102
212. lIn-ias mánkI	-ias	3rd sing. 174
213. nev-i	nev- -i	new fem.sing.
214. pantalóna		trousers (sing.) Bulg.
215. lošádiim-tar	lošádi- -im -tar	197 1st sing. emphatic

Sias na sias ekh thagar. Ušila
lÍskI čhai.Kuda zes parádi sias.
AvÍla avrial ekh vápori.DÍkhÍna
u vápori andu deriav. Sovru
dÍkhdI-tar.En-palal žaÍla i
thagarÍskI čhai.Kana čhidias pIs
and@r,phánddil u dar.ŽaÍna veči.

There was (there wasn't) a
king. His daughter goes out.
That day there was a parade.
A ship comes alongside. They
see the ship in the sea. They
saw everything. Last of all the
king's daughter goes. When she
has gone inside the door shut.
They go off already (with her
inside).

216. sias na sias

there was, there wasn't.
formula in tales (< Turk.)
king

217. thagar-ø

goes out, gets up

218. uš-Íl-a

girl (Gypsy)

219. čhai-ø

uš-
chai-
-ø

nom.fem.sing.

220. kud-a

kud-
-a

that, yonder

221. parád-i

nom.masc.sing.

222. av-Í-l-a

av-

parade.Bulg.

223. avrial

come

224. vápor-i

vápor

outside

225. and-u

and-
-u

ship.Rum.(?)

226. deriav

in

227. sovř-u

sovř-
-u

before masc.

228. dÍkh-d-I-tar

dÍkh-
-d-
-I-
-tar

sea

229. en-palal

en-
-palal

all, each

230. ža-Í-l-a

ža-

nom.sing.

231. čhi-d-ias

-I-
čhi-
-d-

see

232. p-Is

p-

perfect

233. and-@r

and-
-@r

3rd plur.

234. phán-d-d-i-lu

phand-
-d-
-i-
-lu

emphatic

most. Turk.

afterwards

go. loan from other dials.
(for Kot. ž@nk-)

non-perfect

throw

perfect

self

in

adverb ending. originally
ablative but not here.

shut

passive part.

become

3rd masc.sing.

235. dar

door

236. ža-í-n-a

cf.230

237. veči

already

Avzis tasia u thagar rodíla i
 čhaiia. U thagar čalaíla
 barabáni. Naši alakhíl la. Duitu
 zes leíla p@ askerIn. Čerpízíla, rakla
 deíla p@ čhaiiákI. O sand@ či muli-
 tar. Ušíla ekh čhovuřu. Me m@-
 alakhla tI čhaiia. Ami, sar m@-
 alakhIs la. M@-kerIs mánkI ekh
 vāpori, m@-deIs man panžI ženI,
 askerIn. Me m@-ačhla línku kapitáni.

That day, the next day, the
 king looks for the girl. The
 king bangs a drum. He cannot
 find her. The second day he
 collects his soldiers. He
 serves drinks, he gives out
 brandy in memory of his
 daughter. He thinks that she
 is dead. A youth comes forward.
 -I will find your daughter.
 -But how will you find her?
 -You will give me a ship. You
 will give me five men, soldiers
 and I will be their captain.

238. av-zis

av-
-zisthis
day i.e. 'to-day'
tomorrow, the next day

239. tasia

240. rod-í-l-a

241. chai-ia

rod-
chai-
-iaseek, look for
girl

242. čhala-í-l-a

243. barabán-i

244. na-aši

chala-
baraban-
naaccusative
knock (causative in form)
drum. Bulg.

245. alakh-I-l

246. dui-t-u

-aši
alakh-
dui
-t-not
it's possible
find

-u

two
forms ordinals

247. le-í-l-a

248. p-@

le-
p-
@masc.
take, collect
his (etc) own
oblique plur.

249. asker-in	asker	Turk.
250. ˇerp-íz-Í-l-a	-in	masc.acc.plur.
251. rakĭa	ˇerp-	pour out. Bulg. ˇerpia
252. de-Í-l-a	l	brandy. Bulg.
253. o sand@	de-	give
254. mul-i-tar	mul-	he thinks. Turkish
	-ø-	variant of /měr/ before perfect
	-i-	perfect
		3rd sing.fem.
255. ušĭla		218
255. ˇhov-uřu	ˇhov-	boy
	-uřu	dim.affix
256. m@-alakh-i-a	m@-	future
257. t-I	t-	you (sing.)
	-I	fem.variant of -i-
258. ami		but. Bulg.
259. sar		how
260. l-a	l-	3rd person pronoun
	-a	accusative fem.
261. m@-kerĭs	-ker-	make
262. m@-de-ĭ-s	-de-	give
263. m-an	m-	I. variant
	-an	accusative
264. panž-I	panž-	five
	-I	oblique
		=86
265. l-ĭn-k-u	l-	3rd person pronoun
	-ĭn-	accusative plur.
	-k-	genitive. 'their'
	-u	nom.plur.
266. kapitān-i	kapitan-	captain. Bulg.

U thagar ušĭla, kerdias u vāpori.

U kapitāni thovĭla lĭsku mařu,
bařlad@ t@ žaĭl. Su-tu mothaĭla
u kapitāni?

Lis kerĭla.

Avĭna andĭ ekhĭ balkāniĭstĭ. U
kapitāni mothaĭla.

Eh. Kizi u vāpori.

O veĉik na mangĭla t@ žaĭl pĭskĭ
ko kher. Žaĭla ekhĭ dromĭstĭ.

Arakhĭla ekh kher. DIkhĭla ekh
tendžere, dui-da řoia.

The king went out and made
the boat. The captain loads
his food. He set off to go.
What does the captain say ?

(He says) he will do it.

They come into a forest. The
captain says.

-Hey. Pull up the boat.

He does not want to go
home yet. He goes along a
path and he finds a house. He
sees a dish with two spoons.

267. ker-d-ias	ker- -d- -ias	make perfect 3rd singular
268. thov-I-l-a	thov-	put
269. mar-u	mar-	food, bread
270. bašlad@		Turk. began
271. su-tu	su- -tu	what redundant.relative particle
272. moth-a-ĭ-l-a	moth-a-	loan from Bulg. -to causative verb. speak (see lexicon)
273. av-ĭ-n-a	av-	come
274. and-I	and- -I	in oblique form of article, added to pronoun
275. balkan-i-ĭs-tI	balkan- -i- -ĭs- -tI	forest. Bulg. affix added to loan nouns accusative dative
276. kizin	kiz- -in	turn 2nd person plural
277. o		he. Turk.(for Rom. /ov/)
278. večik		still
279. mang-ĭ-l-a	mang-	want
280. p-ĭs-kI	p- -ĭs- -kI	ones own acc. dative i.e. to one's own home
ko		≈82
281. drom-ĭs-tI	drom-	road
282. arakh-ĭ-l-a	arakh-	loan from other dialects for Kot./alakh-/. find
283. tendžere		m.dish.Turk. Also fem., as Bulg. tendžera. id.
284. dui-da	dui -da	two also
285. roi-a	roi- -a	spoon plural
Axmed.Ačh k@tka tu,t@ ker amĭnkI		
xaibi.		
Ov leĭla pIs,žaĭla andu balkāni,		
phirĭla pIs.Avilu planĭa.InkIĭla		
ekh manuš.		
Eh,sūsKI oxladias i tendžere,		
phučĭla.		
-Ahmed.Stay here to make food		
for us (says the captain).		
He sets off, goes into the		
forest and walks about.Noon		
comes.A man comes out (and		
speaks to Ahmed).		
-Why did he take down the dish,		
he asks.		

AmIn manuša sI. Akana m@-avIn
pÍskI. UšÍla, phandÍla lIs (i
Axmedus). Koda puranu xaÍla u
xaibi.

We have many persons. Now they
are coming home, replies Ahmed.
That old man gets up, ties up
Ahmed and eats the food.

286. ačh-ø	ačh-	stay. loan from other dialects for Kot. /ter/.
	-ø	2nd person sing.imperative.
287. k@tka		here
288. tu		you
289. ker-ø		imperative, in place of correct subj. /t@ kerIs/
290. xa-ibi	xa-	eat
	-ibi	forms nouns. food
291. le-I-la	le-	take
	-I-	non-perfect
292. phir-I-l-a	phir-	'takes himself' i.e. goes
293. p-Is		walk
		himself. redundant, influence of
294. planIa		Bulg.xodia se
295. ink-I-Í-l-a	inkI-	noon. Bulg. padnia.masc.here
296. manuš		go out, come out
297. sú-s-kI	su-	man
	-s-	what
	-kI	accusative
298. ox-l-ad-ias	oxl-	dative. 'for what, why'
	-a-	go down (variant of uxl-)
	-d-	causative
	-ias	perfect
299. phuč-Í-l-a	phuč-	3rd person sing.
300. akana		ask
301. phand-Í-l-a	phand-	now
302. i		bind
303. kod-a	kod-	obl.article
	-a	that = kud-
304. pur-an-u	pur	masc.sing. nom.
	-an-	(meaning of root not known)
305. xa-Í-l-a	xa-	forms adjectives. old
		eat

Avíla pÍskI u kapitáni.Dlkhíla. The captain comes back. He looks.
 Nanai xaibi. There is no food.
 Eh.ačh,t@ ačhIl ov t@ kerIl xaibi. Hey,stay,(he says to another man)
 Pall naši alakhIl u xaibi. so that man should stay and make
 Avzis me m@-ačhIa xaibi t@ kerIa. food.
 PladnIa ačhIl u.InkIÍla ekh puranu. Again he cannot find any food
 Sigu oxladias i téndžere. (when he comes back).
 Puraníia. Tere trima. -Today I will stay to make food,
 He.Oxladias u kapitáni u tendžere. he says.
 ThovdI-tar mařu t@ xaIn. Kana Noon came.An old man came out.He
 xallI-tar,mothaíla i puranÍskI. took down the dish quickly.
 -Wait a little,old man,(says the
 captain).
 Ho,the captain took down the dish
 they set down food to eat.When
 they have eaten the captain says
 to the old man.

306. pall		again
307. av-zis		238
308. sig-u		quickly. the expected adverbial form *sigIs is not recorded.
309. puran-íia	-íia	vocative
310. ter-e	ter- -e	wait optional addition (see p.37 f.n.1)
311. trima		a little
312. thov-d-I	thov- a - -d- -I	268 perfect 3rd person plur.

Puraníia. Mařu xaliam amIn. Trima
de mol t@ pilas.

U puranu, su keríla ?

Čalaíla pu ast i duvarístI. Avíla
lískI mol. LamadI t@ piIn. U
puranu mátilu-tar. U kapitáni
lInias k@l@či. Čhindias lísk@
enia šerI, Čhindias lIn. Kuitak
u puranu mothaíla.

T@ sian manuš, Čhin man mu aver
šeru.

U kapitáni mothaíla.

Man kerdias mI dai ekh drom. Na
kerdias man dui drom.

-Old man. We have eaten. Bring
a little wine so that we may
drink.

What does the old man do^{1/}? He
bangs his hand on the wall.
Wine comes to him. They began to
drink. The old man got drunk. The
captain took a sword. He cut off
(the ogre's) nine heads. He cut
them off. Then the old man says.
-If you are a man, cut off my
other head.

The captain says.

-My mother made me once, she did
not make me twice.^{2/}

313. puran-íia	-íia	vocative.
314. xa-l-iam	-iam	1st plur.
315. de-ø	de-	give
316. mol		wine
317. pi-I-as	pi-	drink
	-I-	non-perfect
čalaíla	-as	1st plur.
		242
318. ast		hand

-
1. This and similar phrases seem to give the teller the time to collect his thought.
 2. The meaning is not clear. Similar phrases are found in Turkish folk-tales.

319. duvar-Īst-I	duvar	wall T.
320. lama-d-I	lama-	begin
321. mat-i-lu-tar	mat-	mat-u. drunk.
	-i-	become
322. k@l@čī		sword. Turk. killč
323. čhin-d-ias	čhin-	cut
324. enia		nine
325. sor-I	šor-	šor-u. head.
	-I	plur.nom.masc.
326. kuitak		then
327. t@		if
328. s-i-an	-an	2nd sing.
329. aver		other
drom		206

Kuitak alakhĪla lĪsk@ šerĪstI u Then he finds in (the ogre's)
klĪučus.ČheĪla u klĪučus i darĪstI. head the key.He puts the key
PhuterĪla u dara.SovrI saranda in the door and opens the door.
dara phuterdias.Ekh dar dĪkhĪla. He opened all forty doors! He
U puranu and@r sovĪla,andI sees one door,the old man is
ratĪntI.U aver dar phuterĪla. sleeping inside in the blood.
ArakhĪla i raklia.KĪlĪmi kerĪla. He opens the other door,and he
finds the girl.She is making a
carpet.

330. klĪuč-us	klĪuc-	key. Bulg.kliuč.
331. čhe-Ī-la	čhe-	put lit. throw
332. dar-Īs-tI	dar-	door
333. phuter-Ī-l-a	phuter-	open
334. dar-a	-a	plur.nom./acc.
335. sovr-I	sovr-	=227
	-I	plur.
336. saranda		forty
337. and-@r		advb. within
338. sov-Ī-l-a	sov-	sleep
339. rat-Īn-t-I	rat	blood
	-In-	acc.plur.
340. arakh-Ī-l-a	arakh-	in this paragraph both the loan and Kotel forms are used.
341. rakl-ia	rakl-	girl
342. xxxxxxxx	-ia	acc.fem.sing.
342. kĪlĪm-i	kĪlĪm-	carpet. Turk.

Eh.SúskI avilian k@tka.T@ dIkhÍla
 tut,m@-xall tut.
 U kapitáni mothaÍla.
 Me Ćhindim lIs.
 I angurĉi dišarÍla i rakliákI.
 I rakli kana dIkhdias-tar lákI
 dadÍskI angurĉi,kuitak leÍna
 sovřI altánia.ThovÍna andu
 vápori sovřu altáni.
 k@ka kapitáni,su t@ kerIl ?
 LeÍla pI angurĉi,thovÍla oprI
 i pendžeriátI.ŽaÍla veĉi.AvIlI
 paš u dromÍstI. I rakliákI
 mothaÍla.

-Hey,why have you come here ?
 If he sees you,he will eat you,
 (says the girl).
 The captain says.
 -I have slain him.
 He shows the ring to the girl.
 When the girl has seen her
 father's ring they take all the
 silver.They put all the silver in
 the boat.
 This captain - what is he to do ?
 He takes his ring and puts it on
 the window.He sets off.They came
 to the road.He says to the girl.

343. tu-t	tu-	you
	-t	accusative
344. angurĉi		ring
345. dišar-Í-l-a	dišar-	show
346. dad-Is-kI	dad-	father (variant)
	-Is-	accusative
	-k-	genitive
	-i	fem. (??)
347. altán-i-a	altan-	silver. Turk.
	-i-	affix to loan nouns
	-a	plural
348. thov-Í-n-a	thov-	put
349. altán-i		singular (here)
350. opr-I		over
351. pendžer-ia-tI	pendžer-	window.Bulg.pendžere
	-ia-	accusative
	-tI	dative
352. veĉi		already. Bul.veĉe
353. paš		near to

Ai.I angurčī mukdim-tar.Ah,su
m@-kerīas ?

Me m@-leīa tūtKI aver angurčī.
U kapitāni mothaīla.

TerIn k@tka.Me m@-žaīa t@ leīa
i angurčī.

Kana gelu-tar,u vāpori gelu-tar.
O ačhīlu-tar.Inkīstu oprī kī
kaikiīs.Inkīīla ekh balval.Perīla
andīpaniīstī.

-Oh,I have left the ring behind.

Oh,what shall we do ?

-I will get another ring for you.

The captain says.

-You all wait here.I will go and
get the ring.

When he had gone the boat went

(without waiting for him). He

was left behind.He got onto a

small boat.A wind arises and he

falls into the water.

354. muk-d-im

muk-

leave

355. ter-In

-In

2nd plur.

356. gel-u

gel-

variant of /ž@nk-/ before
perfect affix./gel-/ is a loan
from other dialects for Kotel
/genk-/

357. ačh-Il-u

ačh-

remain.loan from other dialects
for Kot. /ter/.

358. inkI-st-u

inkI-

go out

-st-

perfect

-u

3rd sing.masc.

oprī

350

359. kī

to. variant of kai.

360. kaik-iīs

kaik-i

boat. T. kayak

-īs

loan nom.sing.

361. balval

wind

362. per-ī-l-a

per-

fall

363. pani-īs-tī

pani

water

O su t@ kerīl ? U pani leīla,
čheīla līs andī ekhī xariātī.

Avīla ekh izmīius.Arakhīla u

kapitāni,leīla līs.Kuitak

galdias līs ku kher.Avzis dīnias

līs maṛu,tasia dīnias līs maṛu.

Terīlu-tar ekh mas@k.U puranu

deīla ekh šuval.O-da su kerīla ?

Mothaīla.

Ter t@ inkīla oprī.

What is he to do ? The water

takes him and throws him into a

hole.An old man comes.He finds the

captain and takes him up.Then he

carried him home.That day he gave

him food,the next day he gave him

food.He stayed there a month.The

old man gives him a broom.What

does he do ? He says,

-Wait until I come up.

364. xar-ia-tI	xar	hole
365. izmīi-us	izmīi	
	-us	loan nom.sing.masc.
366. dInias	dI-	give
	-n-	perfect
	ias	3rd sing.
367. ťuval		broom
368. t@		here 'until', normally /zi t@/
369. opr-I		up. advb.

Ekh dar dikhīla opra.U puranu
kana dikhdias lIs.
SuskI rodīsa kutka. Sigu t@
deIs m@ puranI grastIs tI mu
puranu k@l@či.
Ušīla, ťaīla ko deriav.Galdias
u puranu u kapitāniIs ku deriav.
KIti zesīntI avīlian ťi k@tka.
O mothaīla.
Deš breš phirdim-tar.
Akana andI panžI minutīntI
m@-ťaīas tūtKI.

He sees a door upstairs. When
the old man saw him (he said).
-Why are you searching here ?
Give me quickly my old horse and
my old sword.
He gets up and he goes to the sea.
The old man carried the captain
to the sea.
-In how many days did you come
here ? He says,
-I travelled ten years.
→ Now we will go to your home in
five minutes.

370. opra /		above
371. rod-I-s-a	rod-	look for, search
372. kut-ka		here
373. sigu		quickly. here followed by subjunctive
374. grast-Is	grast-	horse
	-Is	accusative(as animate)
375. kIti		how many
376. des		ten
377. phir-d-im	phir-	walk
	-d-	perfect
	-im	1st sing.

Nakíla andu ekhI balkániIs.
 Linias u kol@či.Mangdias t@
 čhinIl pīskI ekh sopa.0 su
 keríla ? Sastu balkáni čhindias.
 Ter t@ dIkhIa andI portefēiístI
 su sias and@r.
 Ek~~h~~ dar dIkhíla.Pares sI and@r.
 Ušíla u grast.
 KIti zes phirdian-tar andu pani.
 Phand mI iakha,phand mI enia
 koru₅ria.
 AndI panžI minutíntI oxladias lIs
 andI kasabátI.

He passes through a forest.
 He took a sword.He wanted to
 cut a club for himself.What does
 he do ? He cuts the whole forest
 -Stop,so I can see what was in
 the purse.
 He sees a door (in the purse).
 There is money inside.A horse
 comes out.
 -How many days did you travel in
 the water ? (asks the horse)
 Bind my eyes,bind my nine necks.
 In five minutes (the horse) took
 him down to the town.

378. nak-í-l-a	nakh-	pass
379. sopa		club. Bulg.
380. sast-u	sast-	whole (adj.)
381. portefēi-ís-tI	portefe-i-	purse. Bulg.
382. and-@r		inside
383. phand-ø	phand-	tie up
384. m-I	-I	plural
385. iakh-a	iakh-	eye
386. kor-u ₅ -ia	kor-	neck
	-u ₅ -	dimin.
kasaba		38

U thagar inkIíĽa. I rakli ĩnkIíĽa.
 Khiddias i askerIn. U thagar
 ĽerpízĽa astar pu giuvésKI Ľi
 mulu-tar u raklu. Ov-da dIkhĽa
 (u kapitáni) otka. I rakli rakĽa
 deĽa astar lísk@ ozÍstI. Kana avĽi
 paš i kapitániĽstI i rakli i rakĽa
 t@ deĽ, vaddias t@ piĽ rakĽa.
 DIkhĽa i rakli i angurĽi. IrízĽa
 i rakli po-pali.

The king comes out and the
 daughter comes out. He
 collected the soldiers
 together and pours out drinks
 in memory of his son-in-law,
 for the boy has died.^{1/} The
 captain is watching there. The
 girl serves out brandy in
 memory of his soul. When she
 comes to the captain to give
 him brandy, he lifts(his hand)
 to drink the brandy. The girl
 sees the ring and goes back.

387. khid-d-ias	khid-	collect
388. astar		on account of
389. giuvés-kI	giuv-	son-in-law. Turk
	-es-	acc. (loan affix)
	-kl	dative (after astar)
mul-u		= 71
390. otka		there
391. oz-Ľs-tI	oz-	ozi. soul
392. vad-d-ias	vad-	lift
393. po-pali	po-	more
	-pali	backwards

1. i.e. the supposedly dead captain. There is probably some confusion here between this ceremony and the wedding which is about to occur, in other versions of the story, between the princess and one of the captain's men who has claimed credit for rescuing her. There are other obscurities in the story. The Gypsy folk-teller assumes that the audience already know the tale and leaves out many links.

Kuitak čendíla la andu kher. I
rakli leíla trima rat. Thovíla
lísku dumístI. I rakli žaíla,
mothaíla p@ dadískI.

U kapitáni avílu.

Ža.ČendI líis.

Dikhína, vadína u gad. Dikhíla ov.

Čendína lísk@ arkadašIn. U thagar
phučíla u arkadašIn.

Kon alakhdias k@lI čhaiia.

U kapitáni alakhdias.

Ušíla kuitak u thagar. Kerína

ekh baru biav. Čendína muzikantI.

On otka, amIn línku pheras kerlása.

Then they call her into the
house. The girl takes some
blood and puts it on his back.
The girl goes and says to her
father.

-The captain has come.

-Go and call him.

They look, they lift his shirt.
He looks. They call his compan-
ions. The king asks the compan-
ions.

-Who found this girl ?

-The captain.

Then the king rose. They make a
big wedding. They call musicians.
They are there. We talk about
them.

394. čend-Í-l-a

cend-

call

395. rat

blood

396. dum-Ís-tI

dum-

dum-u. back

397. čend-I

cend-

-I

optional addition, perhaps for
emphasis

398. arkadaš-in

arkadaš-

-in

friend. Turk.

acc.pl.

399. kon

who

400. k@l-I

k@l-

this. variant of k@k-

before oblique affixes

-I

obl.fem.sing.

401. biav

wedding

402. muzikant-I

musicians. Bulg.root and plural

403. o-n

o-

3rd person pronoun

-n

nom.plur.

404. pheras

word, speech

405. ker-I-ása

we are making their words

i.e. speaking about them.

NOTES TO THE LEXICON

Words borrowed from Bulgarian and Turkish, the forms of which can be deduced from the rules on pp.61-4, are not included in the lexicon. Exception are loan-words used to form compounds or with new meanings in Romany.

Nouns are entered in the form of the nominative singular. The gender is not given for masc. nouns ending in -u and feminine nouns ending in -i.

Adjectives are entered in the nominative singular masculine. Verbs are entered in the base form.

Etymologies are not normally given. Persian and Bulgarian words have been transcribed with the same symbols as Romany words. ~~Sanskrit~~^{Sanskrit} etymologies are taken from Sampson and Paspati.

Words from GS are given in the original orthography underlined or in my transcription.

* indicates forms which have not been recorded or meanings which are not current in Kotel Romany.

Ø has generally been omitted in the lexicon for ease of reading.

- ačĥe- (i) become
 kana ačĥili pladnIa when it became noon
 m@-ačĥIl bi-daiáku he will become motherless
 (lit. without a mother)
- (ii) be
 (In the future and subjunctive /ačĥ-/ replaces /s-/)

me mangIáa tut t@ ačĥIs manři rumni

I want you to become my wife

N.B. /ačĥ-/ does not have the meaning 'remain' as in other dialects. See /ter-/.

- agor m. end, edge, peak
- agor prep. at the edge of
 agor i ziz at the edge of the town
 probably<earlier *agore (cf. p.59)
- ai-rat see /rat/
- akana now
- akana-tu conj. now that (GS)
- *ake only in ake-kon q.v.
- ake-kon some-one
 akekon vakerdias some-one said
- a-kus-nu head-scarf, handkerchief, dishcloth (i.e. all the meanings of Bulg. k@rpa)
 literally 'wiper' < *kus- 'to wipe'
- akuš- swear (use strong language)

akhor	m. walnut
akhor-ni	walnut tree
akhur _ɣ -u	free variant of /khur _ɣ -u/ q.v.
*al-	catch fire
al-a-	cause to catch fire, kindle
alakh-	find
alap-	variant of /alakh-/ before medio-passive infix -i- only
	aláp-i-na they are found
	-p- ending of root in medio-passive also found in Varna Tinnars' (GS) and Sliven sedentaries' (alaps-) dialects
ale	interjection, calling attention to something.
	ale ro _ɣ i here is a spoon
	ale tu-da, thov túk _ɪ I come on you too, take kaves coffee for yourself
	probably connected with /le-/ 'take'
al-u	damp
	u kašt si alu the wood is damp
amal	friend
amal-ni	female friend
ambrol	m. pear
ambrol-ni	pear-tree
am-In	we
	the accusative affix -In has replaced the nom. *-I retained in other dialects.

am-In-r-u	our	
an-	bring	
	t@ anIl pI romÍsku	to bring her husband's
	xamus	food
anav	m. name	
*and-e	to, into, in	
	has merged with the definite article to give the forms /andu/ (masc.s.), /andI/ (fem.sing.,comm. plur.). These forms are used before all nouns even when there would be no def. article)	
	me ž@nkIIáa andu bazári	I am going to the bazaar
	andI B@lgária	in Bulgaria
	andu ekh iil	in one book
	the original form *and-e is reconstructed on the pattern of other prepositions, see p.59	
and-ar	(i) from	
	me sim andar u	I am from Razgrad
	Rázgradus	
	(ii) from...to	
	m@-phirIs andar u	you will travel from
	gava	village to village
andr-I	inside, inwards	
	deIáa andrI	I go (lit. give) inside
	also /and@r/ (AK)	
andr-un-u	internal	
	ekh andrunu akusnu	an internal cloth (for menstruation)
anga-i	embrace	
	pI angaiiátI	in her arms (lit. her
	phiraílas pI k@zanis	embrace) she was carrying
		her child
angar	m. cinders	
	u angar mulu	the cinders (of a wood fire) have died out

*angl	see p.	
angl-I	adv. before, ago, in front of	
	ekh kurku anglI	a week ago
	káskI-tu rumni	whose wife will come first
	m@-avIl po-anglI	(lit. most in front)
angl-al	prep. before (time), in front of	
	anglal, ekhI	
	kurkIstI	A week ago
	anglal i bukvíntI	before the letters
angurč̣i	ring (on finger)	
	the form /angurč̣i/ is found also in Šumen Basket-makers' dialect; it is connected etymologically with /angušt/ 'finger' (cf. the form anguštri in other dialects)	
angušt	m. finger, toe	
	u baru angušť	thumb (lit. big finger)
	also /angušt-u/ in free variation	
api	adv. then (GS)	
a-rát-i	see rat-	
ar-u	flour	
*ar-	be rotten	
ar-a-	make rotten, spoil	
ar-a-d-u	spoilt	
	aradu xamus	spoilt (bad) food
	i pečka si aradi	the electric fire is broken
ar-a-d-i	fem.adj. used as noun	
	slut, harlot (i.e. a spoilt woman)	
ar-á-d-i-	become spoilt	
	k@ka mas arádilu	this meat has gone bad

arman	f. curse
armi-a	f. sour cabbage
ar-u	egg
as-us	tear (from eye)

lInI u ásui t@ čhorIn the tears began to fall
in spite of the stress and the morphology this is
not a loan word Cf. Pasp.asfa, Scr.vāshpa, aśru
some Kotel families have the variant /iásus/

as-	laugh
	has the affix -a- in non-perfect tenses (see p.36)
	(asasa) you laugh

as-an-u	past participle of above
as-an-ibi	m. laughter
as-an-íker-	to make laugh (GS) lit. to cause to have laughed

asa-i	mill
asai-džis	milller
	the Turkish (and Bulgarian) suffix is here added to a Romany word

ast	m. hand
-----	---------

astar	because of, on account of
	astar túkI because of you
	astar kudulíski because of that, therefore
	the form /astar/ is also found in Kazanl@k Ironworkers' dialect (GS); other dialects have /asal/

astar-	see /star-/	
aš ^v i	it is possible (impersonal verb) & subj.	
	aš ^v i (t@) avIs ?	is it possible for you to come ?
av-	come	
	kai avÍla u vtórnikus	when Tuesday comes (i.e. next Tuesday)
av-ibi	m. coming (AR)	
	samo platsiziam po trin	we only paid three lev
	leva genklimnáskI tI	each for going and
	avimnáskI	coming back
av-ipi	m. coming (IIA)	
	-ipi is less common in abstract nouns formed from verbs	
*av@n	morning	
	variant of /evin/ q.v.	
av@n-lara	tomorrow	
aver	(i) other (ii) next (in expressions of time, on model of Bulg. drug)	
	me dikhdim i avria	I saw the other lady
	žuvelia	last (or next) Tuesday
	u po-aver vtórnikus	but one
aver	pronoun. other person	
	me dikhdim ekhI averIs	I saw another person
	has variant /avr-/ (see p. 26) in some positions	
av-g-u	first	

*avr-

avr-I adv. outside
 avrI phudíla i balval outside the wind is blowing
 also /na-avrI/, na from Bulg. na-v@n

avr-ial adv. (i) outside (ii) by heart
 avrial sikIáa I learn by heart

avzin m. honey

av-zis today (lit. this day)

*ax-

ax-a- understand
 axalias he understood
 earlier a medio-passive (GS) and still used as
 such by some speakers

*axm- mix
 GS derives from Greek

axm-imi mixed (GS) with loan participle suffix

axm-ist-u mixed (AR) with Romany participle

bai	sleeve of shirt, coat	
bakr-u	sheep	
bakr-i	ewe	
bal	m. (single) hair of head	
	parnI bala	white hair
	parnI balínku	white-haired
	cf. zar 'hair of body'	
bal-al-u	hairy	
bal-u	pig (AR)	
	rare in this dialect, usually replaced by /baličú/	
bal-an-u	adj. used as noun	
	balanu	pork sausage
	balani (f.)	pig-trough
bal-ič-u	pig	
	orig. diminutive	
bal-ič-ur-u	little pig	
bal-ič-an-u	adj. of a pig	
balam-u	Greek (noun)	
	probably from Bulg. balama 'a fool'	
balval	f. wind	
	i balval phudíla	the wind blows
bang-u	lame, crooked	
báng-i-	become lame, crooked	
bang-iar-	bend	
	bang-iar-Iáa mu ast	I bend my arm

bar-u	(i) big (ii) old (of people)	
	u nai-baru phral	the oldest brother
	lákI bari čhai	her eldest daughter
	u barI manuša	the big people i.e. the government (AR)
bár-i-	become big, grow (intr.)	
	báriiam-tar	we had grown up
	also in the archaic greetings formula	
	báriĪsa ?	are you all right ?
	báriIáa	I am all right
bar-íker-	grow (tr.)	
	ov baríkerĪla duduma	he grows pumpkins
bar-i	garden	
	now largely replaced by the loan word /baxcēs/	
	< T. bahçe	
barn-i	bee	
*barv		
barv-al-u	rich	
	or this could be analysed as bar-val-u, see p.51	
baṛ	m. stone	
	deĪla pĪs but baṛĪstar	she is very proud (AR)
		lit. she gives herself
		much from the stone
baš-	whistle, sing, bray, bark etc. (not of humans singing)	
baš-al-	play (an instrument) lit. cause to make sound	
	tumIn bašalĪna k@tka	do you play here every
	kata rat ?	night ?

baš ^ˇ -al-n-u	musician (AR)	
	less common than the loan word /muzikanti/	
	B. muzikant	
baš ^ˇ -al-ibi	m. music (AR)	
baš ^ˇ -n-u	cockerel (lit. singer)	
	originally a nickname, this word has now replaced	
	the original word for cockerel	
bax-	variant of /baxt/ used before the nominative	
	singular affix (ø) only	
baxt	f. luck, fortune	T. baht
	lačhi bax	good fortune
	khanlli bax	bad (lit. stinking)
		fortune
baxt-al-u	lucky, fortunate	
baxt-ipi	m. luck	
*belv	evening. only in /belve/	
belv-e	in the evening	
beng	devil, Devil	
beng-al-u	mad, very ill	
	meaning 'very ill' probably generalised from	
	earlier 'epileptic', recorded in Jambol by	
	Caramanos	
béng-i-	go mad	
beš ^ˇ -	(i) sit (action of sitting down)	
	(ii) live, dwell	
	na manglása t@ beš ^ˇ Is maškar am ^ˇ IntI	
		we do not want you to
		live among us
beš ^ˇ -t-u	seated	
	beš ^ˇ tu sim phuviátI	I am sitting (seated) on
		the ground

bezex	f. sin	
bian-	give birth, lay (of hens)	
	i kaxni bianíla aṛI	the hen lays eggs
bian-d-u	born	
	me sim biandu andu Kotel	I was born in Kotel
bián-d-i-	(i) be born (ii) (of the moon) appear on the horizon	
	biándiíla u čhumut	the moon appears
bian-ibi	m. childbirth	
	bianimnáskI dukh	the pain of child-birth
	astardias la	gripped her (GS)
bi-	without, -less	
	preposition followed by the genitive	
	bi-butiáku	without work, unemployed
	bi-pareduíнку xabi	free food (without money)
	bi-maṛI	without me
	these genitives do not show concord	
	oi si bi-daiáku	she is motherless
bib-i	aunt (father or mother's sister), used also of any elder female as B.lelia	
*bičh-		
bičh-al-	send (a person or thing)	
	this derivation (rather than bi-čhal) is based on the causative bičhav in other dialects (Čerenkov p.c.)	

bikIn-	sell	
	u ʒoma na bikInĭna	the Gypsies do not sell
	phabaia	apples
	the etymology is probably bi-kIn, *kIn 'buy' being the earlier form (retained in other dialects) of /kin-/	
*bil-		
bil-a-	melt (tr. and intr.)	
bister-	forget	
	possibly originally a compound of bi + star 'hold'.	
biš [✓]	twenty	
bokl-i	cake (GS, ZG)	
bokh	f. hunger	
bokh-al-u	hungry	
bokh-ál-i-	get hungry	
bol-	dip, baptize	
bor-i	(i) uncle's wife, elder brother's wife (ii) bride (AK)	
bor-ur _ʒ -i	diminutive form but has special meaning	
	younger brother's wife, son's wife	
	boru _ʒ íie terníie	Oh young sister-in-law
breš	year	
	dui breš [✓] (sing.used)	two years
	kIti brešĭnku sian tu	how many year's (old)
	(gen.)	are you ?
	me sim saránda brešĭnti	I am forty year's old
	(dat.pl.)	
breš-ikan-u	annual	
	-ikan- suffix is probably the influence of	

Bulg. godišen 'annual'

brišind

m. rain

deĭla brišind

it is raining lit. is
giving rain

buka

f. piece (AR)

Gk. βούκα

the usual word is /kotor/

buk-u

liver, lungs

the two meanings are distinguished by calques on
Bulg.

parnu buku

Bulg. bial drob white 'drob'

kalu buku

čeren drob black 'drob'

N.B. Scr. bukka means 'heart'

bul

f. posterior

bul-I

archaic locative form, see p.

deĭla la bulI

he has intercourse with
her. (Paspati is wrong in
thinking the expression
is to be taken literally)

bunela

fork

but

advb.

much, many, very

but roviliam

we cried a lot

but grasta

many horses

but šukar

very beautiful

but frima

very little

but drom	often (lit. many times)
po-but	more

but-i (i) work (ii) matter, thing (as Bulg. rabota)
 mangIáa t@ phučIa ekh I wish to ask something
 buti
 kIti pares kerÍla k@ke how much does this thing
 buti cost ?
 the spelling /buti/ rather than /buki/ is based
 on Scr. vrtti

buxl-u broad, wide
 mI phikI si buxli my shoulders are broad

buzn-i female goat, also used for the species
 buznínk@ zara goats' hairs

buzn-u male goat
 this is a back-formation from the feminine, in
 fact the original masc. is *buz < Pers.

bužand-u cūnning (in a complimentary sense), knowing.
probably from /but žanindus/ 'knowing a lot'
(Ljung.)

čáč-u	true	
čáč-Is	truly	
čáč-ipi	m. truth	
*čal-		
čal-a-	to hit	
	čalaÍla pu ast u duvarÍstI	he bangs his hand on the wall
	čalaIáa ekh koredini	I give (lit. hit) a slap (GS)
	čalaÍla tut indrátI	it sends you to sleep
čal-a-d-u	wounded	
čam	f. (i) leather (ii) cheek	
čam-l-u	bread (slang. GS) i.e. leathery stuff (?)	
čan	f. ear-ring (AR) also /č@n/ (LIA)	
čand-	variant of /čend-/ q.v.	
čang	f. leg	
čar	f. grass	
čar-a-	to pasture	
*čēn		
čēn-ā-	call	
	u barI manuša čēndĪna	the important men call
	lĪs andĪ ziz	him into the town

čerxan	f. star	
či	coordinating conjunction	
	(i) that	
	misízláa či m@-možízla	I think I will be able to
	t@ ker ⁷ arumanis peras	speak Romany
	(ii) because (GS)	
	pu šoru xaraíla či	he scratches his head
	xanžíla lis	because it itches him (GS)
	from Bulg. če	
čiča-i	cat	
čik	f. mud	
čik-al-u	muddy	
čik	f. sneeze	
	has different etymology from čik=mud, see Samp.	
čik-d-	to sneeze	
čikikli	knife (BP)	
čingar	f. war, battle	
čirax	m. shoe	
*čir		
čir-ikl-u	bird	
čir-ikl-up-u	bird (dim.)	

čor	m. thief	Scr. cora	
čor-	steal		
čor-d-u	stolen		
čórd-i-	be stolen		
čord-iar-	cause to be stolen		
	<u>of na čorla loi ama</u>	he does not steal money	
	<u>avrende čorzjarela</u>	but he causes it to be	
	<u>peski</u> (GS)	stolen by others.	
	<u>avrende</u> for /avrIntar/ (instrumental)		
✱čor-u	poor		
čor-ipi	m. poverty		
*čor-ur-u	poor (dim.)		
	has become /čouru/ q.v.		
čour-u	poor		
	Scr. ksudra		
čuč-i	breast		
čuč-u	empty		
čukat	m. forehead		
✱čumin	kiss		
čumín-d-	to kiss		
čumin-s-ker-	to kiss (GS)		

čha-	variant of /čhov/ q.v.	
čhad-	be sick, vomit	
čhad-ipi	m. vomit, sickness	
čhai	girl, daughter (among Gypsies) Cf. /rakli/	
čhar	m. ash, dust	
čhar-el-u	grey	
čhav-	variant of /čhov/ q.v.	
čhe-	to throw	
	u pani leĭla, čheĭla lĭs variant -čh- before <u>d</u> (perfect affix)	the water takes him, throws him. him
	čhidias pĭs andri	she threw herself in
čhel	f. small-pox	
čhel-al-u	pock-marked	
čhid-	see /čhe-/	
čhin-	cut, cut off (someone's path), switch off (electricity), circumcise	
	kana ekh manuš si nasvalu, phenĭna, t@ sástĭll, m@-čhinĭa lĭskĭ bakrĭs	when a man is ill, someone says, so that he will get well, I will cut open his sheep (AR)
	čhinĭna u kar ?	do they circumcise (cut the penis) ?
	čhin u tservulia	cut off the sandals

čhipas	(i) something	
	m@-kinIa čhipas xamnáskI also /ekh čhipas/ (GS)	I will buy something for food
	(ii) thing	
	me k@ka čhipas m@-mothaIa tútkI	I will tell you this thing (GS)
čhib	f. language, tongue	
	thardim mI čhib	I burnt my tongue
	i tikni čhib	clitoris (lit. little tongue)
	i gr@tsku čhib	the Greek language
čhor-	m. beard	
čhor-val-u	bearded	
čhor-	pour (tr. and intr.)	
	čhor mánkI pani	pour water for me
čhov	boy, son (among the Gypsies)	
	cf. /raklu/	
	ekh gažĭkanu čhov	a Gentile boy (AR)
	has variants /čhav-/ before acc.sing.affix and before plural affixes	
	čhavIs	boy (acc.sing.)
	čhavI	boys (nom.pl.)

čhumut

m. moon

čhunga

m. spittle

originally *čhungar (as in other dialects) and
not a loan word

čhunga-d-

to spit

čhur-i

knife

-da	emphatic clitic, see p.57	
dad	father	
	has variant /da-/ before accusative singular and plural	
	: da-Is (acc.s.)	
dai	mother	
dand	m. tooth	
dand-	to bite	
	ekh barni dandias man	a bee stung me
dar	m. door	
	u pečkaku dar	the oven door
	also /dares/, with the suffix added to foreign words (BP), although it is of Indian origin	
darambuka	earthenware drum	
	T. darbuka Pers. tambūr	
das	Bulgarian man	
	is used in other dialects to refer to non-Gypsy Christians, e.g. 'Serb' in Yugoslavia	
das-ni	Bulgarian woman	
das-ikan-u	Bulgarian (adj.)	
das-ikan-Is	in Bulgarian (language), in the Bulgarian way	
de-	give	
	deíla brišind	it rains (lit. give rain)
	deína pls	they argue (lit. give themselves)
	ov na deíla amInr ² butiátI	it is not our business (lit. it does not give in our affair)
	has variant /dI-/ before the perfect affix <u>d</u> and, in free variation with /de-/, before the sing.imperative affix <u>o</u>	

dekapénde

fifteen

< Gk.

del

(i) God, god

u del t@ šunI1 tut

may God hear you (that you
may keep your promise)

(ii) heaven sky

u del si siiu

the sky is blue

has the variant /devl/ before the vocative affix :

devl-a

Oh God

N.B. /ǎ devlísa/ 'go with God' = goodbye and the
reply /aǎ devlísa/ 'stay with God' are
borrowings from other dialects of Bulgarian
Romany.

denil-u

mad

deníl-i-

become mad

deriav

f. sea

deš

ten

deš u dui

twelve (ten and two)

devl-

see under /del/

dI-

see under /de-/

dIkh-

(i) see, watch

u sovǎI phrala dikhínas u drom

all the brothers were
watching the road

(ii) think about

m@-dIkhIa t@ kinIa mánkI
ekh kherI will think about buying
myself a house (AR)

dIš-

to appear, be visible

dukh-al-u past participle

dukh-al-ibi love (noun)

dum-u back

dur advb.far

dur i ziziátar

far from the town

efta	seven	< Gk.	
efta-tu	seventh		
ekh	(adj.) one		
*ekh	(pron.) someone		
	me dikhdim ekhIs andI	I saw someone in your	
	tutrI stala	room	
	me dInim u iil ekhIstI	I gave the letter to someone	
ekh-Is-tI	together		
	me m@-avIa tutsa ekhIstI	I will come (together)	
		with you	
ekh kaš	variant (LZ) of /ekh varš/ q.v. (under /varš/)		
enia	nine < Gk.		
	ušnim saxati eniántI	I got up at nine o'clock (AR)	
enia-tu	ninth		
evend	m. winter		
	also /ivend/ in free variation		
	historically connected with /iiv/ 'snow'		
*ever			
ever-rat	the day before yesterday		
evIn	f. morning		
	andI evIn	in the morning	
	u evInáku kham pekíla	the morning sun is burning	
		(words of a song)	
	has variant /av@n/ in av@nlara/ q.v.		

- frima free variant of /thrima/ q.v.
- f@rč-íz- to fly
- u avióni f@rčízíla the plane flies
- u čiriklI f@rčízína the birds fly
- not used of humans : 'my husband flew to Paris'
- is /mu ŕom genku aviónísa ko Paris/ (lit. went with an aeroplane, by plane)
- from Bulg. xv@rča
- GS also had the variant /f@rkíz-/
- ga- take
- galdias lIs ko kher he took him home
- past participle /galdu/ (AK,BP) but GS recorded /gadu/
- *gar-
- gar-a- hide (trans.)
- kai t@ garaIa man where can I hide myself ?
- ov garaíla pIs he conceals the fact that he is a Gypsy (lit. hides himself)
- garadi čhib slang (lit. hidden language) (GS)
- gad m. (i) long-sleeved vest (AR), as opposed to
- teluni flanéla short-sleeved vest (lit. lower vest)
- ríska shirt Bulg.
- (ii) shirt, vest (LIA)
- oprunu gad shirt (lit. upper vest)
- telunu gad vest (lit. lower vest)

gav	m. village	
gaž ^ˇ -u	non-Gypsy man	
gaž ^ˇ -i	non-Gypsy woman	
gaž ^ˇ -Ikan-u	adj. non-Gypsy	
gelk-	past participle of /ž ^ˇ enk-/ q.v.	
gen-	read, count	
	na žan ^ˇ íla t@ genIl	he doesn't know how to read
gen-ipi	m. counting (GS)	
gen-d-u	past part. of /gen-/	
gen-d-iar-	to have read	
	me kata rat i gazeta	I have the paper read by
	gendiarIáa la	her every night (GS)
gen-d-ipi	m. reading	
gend-iar-d-u	learned, educated (AR)	
genk-u	past part. of /ž ^ˇ enk-/ q.v. 'went'	
genk-ibi-	m. going (AR)	
gerai	(noun) well (AR)	
	see also /xaink/	
gom-i	woman (slang, GS)	
gon-u	sack (especially of the large sack used by Gypsy woman when collecting scrap etc)	
goš ^ˇ -u	excrement (AR)	
	is fem. in most other dialects	

goz-i	brain, mind	
	mI goziátI nan@i	it is not in my brain (GS)
		(i.e. I cannot remember)
	na avíla mI goziátI	it does not come into my
		brain (i.e. I forget)
	deáa man gozi	I think, consider
	kai si tI gozi	where is your memory ?
goz-al-u	clever	
grast	m. horse	
*gras	variant of above used only before affix -ni-	
gras-ni	f. mare	
gudl-u	sweet	
	ekh gudli zin	a sweet song
gudl-ipi	m. sugar	
gudl-iar-	sweeten	
guruv	bull	
	N.B. for 'ox' the Bulg. word is used	
guruv-ni	cow	
guruv-an-u	adj.	
	guruv-an-u mas	beef (meat of the bull or
		cow)

i	the (fem.,obl.,pl.)	
iag	f. fire	
iakh	f. eye	
iás-us	variant of /ásus/ q.v.	
iekh	free variant of /ekh/ q.v.	
ii-	for words beginning with ii-, see their free variants in i-	
il	m. letter, book, magazine	
il-u	heart	
	mu ilu dukhála man	my heart is hurting me
im	f. nazal mucus	
imor-i	variant of /mori/ q.v.	
indai	m. relative, relation	
indr-a	f. sleep	
	man si indra	I am sleepy (lit. I have sleep)
	ušilian indrátar	you got up from sleeping
	čalaīla indráti	it sends one to sleep, is boring

in spite of its form, /indra/ is not a loan-word,
cf. Scr. nidra

indr-al-u sleepy

inkI- go out, come out

k@tar inkIíla k@ka pheras where does this word come
from ?

ov inkIstu i penžeriátar he got out by the window

*ink- variant of /inkI-/ used before word-building affixes

ink-al- take out, earn

kava manuš inkaldias this man brought out my
manři xoi anger (i.e. made me angry)
inkalína pares they earn money
m@-inkalIs u evend k@ll you will see out the winter
kaštínsa with these logs (i.e. you
have enough for the winter)

ink-ker take out for a walk (a child) (LA)

ir-íz- to return
not a loan word. Other dialects have ris-
cf. Scr. vřit

ispin lentils (AR)

iv m. snow

izpal-

drive away (AR)

/iz-/ probably by false analysis as iz-pal
after Bulg. verbs in iz-.

AK has the variant /ispal-/ which is closer to forms
in other dialects : Samp. spit

iže

yesterday (AR, LZ)

/rati/ q.v. is more common

ka

rare variant (GS, AR once) of /kai/ q.v.

kai

advb.conj., rel.pron.

(i) where, where to

kai si u kllIdI

where is the key ?

kai ž@nkIIsa

where are you going ?

kai t@

wherever

kai t@ žas me m@-avIa

wherever you go I will come

palal túttI

after you (follow you)

(ii) when (= kana)

kai m@-irízIa andI B@lgária m@-kinIa mánkI ekh kher

when I come back to Bulgaria

I will buy myself a house

(iii) who, which (=kon) (rel.)

on si roma kai but phirína they are Gypsies who wander
a lot

this meaning is probably the influence of Bulg.
colloquial usage where the relative /deto/ (lit.
where) is also used for 'who, which'

(iv) because (=súskItu)

na irízailu po-palI andu universitéti kai
si u živótus po-lačhIs maškar i romÍntI

he did not return to the
university again because
life is better among the
Gypsies

(v) that (=či)

kana dIkhÍla u gažu kai i romani čhai thai
u romanu čhov dukhána pÍskI...

when the Gentile sees that
the Gypsy girl and the
Gypsy youth love each other...

kai preposition
free variant of /ko/ q.v.

ka-iekh adj., pron.
some, someone (=akekon) (AR)
ka-iekh manuš lInias mu saxáti
someone has taken my watch
dIkhidian ka-iekhIs ? did you see anyone
rare in Kot. but Pasp. has kayek

kak uncle

kak f. arm-pit

kal-u black, dark brown (of skin colour)
on kalI sar mánItI ? are they (the English
Gypsies) brown like me ?
ekh kalu a cup of black coffee (AR)
probably from Hung. egy fekete (id.) via Hungarian
Gypsy musicians in Sofia

kal-iar-	make black	
kal-iar-d-u	coffee (slang GS) lit. 'blackened'	
kam-	to love (BP)	
	loan from other dialects of. mang-, dukh-	
	/kam/ 'I love' /kamam/ preserves an earlier 1st s. ending	
kan	m. ear	
kān-d	listen	
	na kāndela tut	he is not listening to you
	also /de- kan/ (AR,AK)	
	sūsKI na dInim kan mI	why did I not listen to my
	rumnia	whife ? (AK)
	these separated forms may be peculiar to a few idiolects.	
	AR also used /de- kIkI/ for kIkId- q.v.	
kana	interr. and conj. (=kana-tu)	
	when	
	kana ušinian indratar	when did you get up (from
		sleep) ?
	kana gell maškar i romaitintI....	
		when they went among the
		Gypsies....(AR)
kana-tu	conj. when	
	i purt m@-kerlas kana-tu	we will build the bridge
	ekhia rumiānkI siānka	when we take a woman's
	m@-lelas	shadow
kangIri	see /khangIri/	
kangli	f. comb	
kar	m. penis	
karazi	cray-fish	
	GS has /karazni/	

karfi	m. nail	
	Gk. $\kappa\alpha\epsilon\phi\acute{\iota}$	
karik	towards	
	u sovřl phrala dikhīnas	all the brothers were
	karik u drom	looking at the road
kar-u	thorn	
*kaš	in /ekh kaš/ a half (LZ), variant of ekh varš q.v.	
kašt	m. (i) tree (ii) wood (material)	
	u kašt si avilu	the wood (for the fire)
		has come
kašuk-u	deaf	
kat	f. scissors	
kat-	to spin	
kat-l <u>u</u>	adj. used as noun	
	apun wool	
kat-l-i	bobbin	
kata	each, every	
	kata rat	every night
	Gk. $\kappa\alpha\theta\epsilon$	
katun-a	f. tent	
	Gk. $\kappa\alpha\tau\omicron\upsilon\nu\alpha$	
kava	this	
	loan from other dialects	
kaxn-i	hen	
kaxn-ur-i	dim. (BP)	
keiti-ka	as much as (GS)	
	cf. kIti	

ker-	(i) do, make deš u dui phrala kerĭnas ekh purt	twelve brothers were making a bridge
	(ii) cost kĭti pares kerĭla k@ke brādva	how much money does this axe cost ?
	(iii) in idioms ker- pheras m@-možĭzĭla t@ kerĭla rumanis pheras m@-kerĭlas pheras i romĭnkĭ ker- buti kerdĭ buti	speak (lit. make word) I will be able to speak in Romany we will speak to the Gypsies work (lit. do work) they worked
ker-	cook, boil (intr.) u pani kerĭla Scr. kvath (Turner)	the water is boiling
ker-a-	cook, boil (tr)	
kermus-u	mouse	
kiav	m. plum kiavĭnkĭ thari	plum brandy
kid-	move (intr.) mu ozi kidĭla karik lĭstĭ kidInĭ tĭ žaĭna kidInĭ-tar cf. kidĭla po drom	my heart moves towards him (i.e. I am in love with him) they set off and go (AK) they set off (GS) he goes off on the road (Žeravna dialect. GS)
kin-	buy	
kiral	m. cheese	
kirm-u	worm	
kirn-u	rotten (GS) possibly cognate with /kirmu/	

kir-us	m. weather Gk. <i>kaleōs</i>	
kiz-	(i) to pull kizi u vāpori	pull the ship! (i.e. turn it)
	(ii) to weigh (tr) (LZ) kiz- may be cognate with kid-	
kin-u	tired	
kín-i-	get tired possible originally passive past participle of kiz-	
kIde	thus me sim kIde puranu sar	I am as old as you (AR)
	túttiI (kíti tu)	
	kIde ama	however
kIk-e	recorded once (BP) for k@ke q.v.	
*kIkI		
kIkId-	squeeze kIkIdelāa limóni kIkIdelāa tu vast sūsKI kIkIdesa tu ozi	I squeeze a lemon I shake your hand why are you frightened ? (lit. why do you squeeze your heart)
	AR also used /kIkI de-/ mu ozi della kIkI	I am excited (lit. my heart gives a squeeze)
	probably originally reduplicated from khid- and not a compound with -d-	
kIke-savu	adj. such (GS, BP)	
kIketi	so much (GS) kIketi but thuv dukhaikerīla mu šoru	so much smoke makes my head hurt
	also kIkIti (GS) cf. kíti	
kIIdI	variant of /kIIdI/ q.v.	
kIsal-u	adj. such (AR, LZ) na mangIāa kIsalI manušIn sūsKI si tu mui kIsalu	I do not like such people (AR) why is your face like that ? (i.e. why have you that expression ?) (AR)
kIs-i	f. purse <T. kese Pers. kisi	

kI-sov	such (LZ) = kIsalu has variant /kIsav-/ before -i- and -I-	
kĭti	how much, how many (followed by the singular of certain nouns) : kĭti mas@k how many months ? me sim kIde puranu kĭti tu I am as old as you (AR)	
kIti-ta	as much as (GS) cf. keiti-ka	
kIús-is	the beardless one (in folk tales)	
kIIdI	m. key Pers.	
ko	to, at ko kinus to the cinema earlier /ko/ was used before masculine nominals and /kai/ before feminines but this distinction is not observed by most speakers : kai tu than to your place (GS) /ko/ and /kai/ consist of *kV plus the definite article /u/ or /i/ and they are not followed by the article. : ko kavine to the coffee-house (GS) they are however used even where there would be no article (cf. andu/andI) : kai Sofia to Sofia	
ko	in order that (GS) (= t@) panda thrima ko m@-keril so that it will cook a little more	
koč	m. knee	
kod-a	variant of /kuda/ q.v.	
kon	who ? kon-Iá-sa with whom ? (when answer is expected to be a female) kon-Is dIkhdian rati whom did you see yesterday ?	
kon-Is-k-u	whose (interr. and rel.) kon-Is-k-I rumni m@-avIl (to see) whose wife will come po-angli first also /kon-ia-k-u/ whose, of which female person	
kon-tu	who (rel.) ekh zes avilu aver rom kon-tu but lačhIs bašalÍlas one day there came another Gypsy who used to play very beautifully	
kon	adj. which cf. /savu/ 'what sort of ?'	

kon zinia	which songs ? (expects as an answer the names of the songs)	
savi zinia	what sort of songs ? (expects as an answer 'Bulgarian songs', 'marching songs' etc.)	
kor	f. collar (of shirt), neck (of horse)	
✕korko	alone this form is found in Rumanian Rom. dialects	
korko-uru	dim. alone, empty (GS) GS had <u>kōrkoru</u>	
korez-i	blow, slap et.dub. could be from a Verb kor 'to hit' cf. Pasp. kur- (id.), or in its earlier form koredini mean 'a blow given on the neck' <kor 'neck' cf. Pasp. rupe-dini 'a blow given on the face' <u>dini</u> being the fem.past part. of de- 'give'	
kor-u	blind possibly from an earlier dim.form koru <u>ru</u> or ko <u>ru</u> <u>ru</u>	
kō <u>ru</u> -i-	go blind	
ko <u>š</u> -	wipe variant (LG) of kho <u>š</u> - q.v.	
kotka	variant (GS) of /k@tka/ q.v.	
kotor	m. piece Armenian	
kovl-u	sift, tender	
kōvl-i-	become tender (GS)	
kud-a	yonder (adj.and pron.) astar kudulīskī see p. 28 and 29	therefore, because of that (AR)
kuda	thus, in that way me kuda m@-kerIa	I will do it in that way (LZ)
kudu-tak	from there (= kuitar) (LZ)	
ku-i	elbow	
kui-tak	then, after that (AK)	
kui-tar	from there	
kuk-a	that, that one (adj.and pron.) see p.28 and 29	

kuk-i	seed Gk.	
kuku-i	m. only recorded in minžia ^ˇ ku kukui Rum. kukui	clitoris, the vagina's bump N.B. fem in Bl jung. (AR)
kukurik	interjection. go away (BP)	
kurk-u	(i) week (ii) Sunday also /kurkus/, as loan word	
*kus-	wipe variant of khoš- q.v., found only in compound a-kus-n-u q.v.	
kutka	adv. yonder	
k@k-a k@-tar	this, this one (see p.28 and 29) from here also /katar/ (AR) GS has /koitar/	
k@tka	here	
k@i	variant of /kai/ 'where' q.v.	
k@-tar	(i) from where (advb.) tu žanīsa k@tar inkīīla k@ka pheras	do you know where this word comes from ? (AR)
	(ii) from (prep.)	
k@-tak	(i) from where k@tak m@-nakhīas tu k@tak sian	through where will we pass ? (LZ) where are you from ? (LIA)
	(ii) then (AK) nan@i k@tak	there is no way out (Z :)
k@zān-i	m. child, baby T. kīzan	
k@zān-is	variant of k@zāni (acc. used as nom.) (AK, LIA) u k@zānis dikhīla ekh ekhī kurkīsk@ k@zānis	the boy is looking (AK) a week-old baby

≠khač	see nIkhač
khain-u	bad (AR,BP) khainī perasa evil words (BP) Colocci also has /khainu/ (as kainu) probably, via *khalinu, from /khanilu/ q.v.
khaink	variant (AR) of /xaink/ q.v.
kham	m. sun kəka kham i xerIs this sun kills the donkey mudarīla (i.e. it is very hot) (AR)
khaml-i	pregnant plur. khamlī the -l- is not justified etymologically, cf. khabni in other dialects, but is probably after participles in -l-
khan	f. smell, stink
khān-d-	to smell, make a smell LZ does not treat as a compound in -d- but as a simple verb : khandīla for /khāndela/ he smells
khan-iar-	caus. (i) break wind (AR) (ii) excrete (BP) has meaning 'excrete' in Žeravna dialect also (GS)
khan-Il-u	bad, shameless mamui khanili baxt against bad luck (AR)
khangIr-i	church (AR) Caramanos also has -ri ending, but GS recorded khangIII
khel-	to play, dance meaning 'dance' probably from Bulg. igra 'play' and 'dance'
≠khel-a-	
khel-a-d-i	prostitute (AR) lit. made to dance, play
kher	m. house
kher-e	at home (AR) this form is not known by all speakers. LZ used only /andu kher/

- khil m. butter. fat (GS)
see P.204 rule 7 for phonological development of this word.
- khid- to collect
i rakli khiddias i askerIn the girl assembled the
soldiers
- khon-i candle-wax (LZ); fat.grease (GS,LIA)
- khos^v- to wipe
- *khul
- khul-an-u recorded only in the fem. by GS in the slang word
khulani (i) fat woman (ii) anus (posterior?)
- khur₅-u pitcher
also recorded with ^{pre}epenthetic a- (LZ,AR) but khur₅-u
is the original form
cf. Scr. ghata

- 1- variant of 3rd person pron. /o-/ before accusative affixes
- lačh-u beautiful, good
 i čhai sias but lačhi the girl was very beautiful
 replaces /šukar/ of other dialects in sense of beautiful.
 /šukar/ is known from songs but regarded as a loan word
- lačh-Is beautifully, well
 but lačhIs bašaldias vióla he played the viola very well
 manŕI kana na šunína my ears do not hear very
 lačhIs well
 su kerísa ? how are you? (lit. what are
 you doing ?)
 lačhIs well
 both question and answer are translations of the Bulg.
 greetings formula
 kakvo pravite ?
 dobre
- lačh-ar- to make pretty
 lačharIáa mI bala I am tidying my hair (AR)
- lad- to load
 ladIáa u vagóni I am loading the waggon
- *lal-u
- lal-ur-u dumb (orig.diminutive)
- *lam
- lam-a- begin
 lamadI t@ piIn they began to drink
- laž- be ashamed

- le- (i) take, receive
~~le leka leka~~ lInim iil I received a letter from
 m@ daIstar my father
- (ii) begin
 lInI u ásui t@ čhorIn the tears began to pour (AR)
- (iii) in idioms
 u iag lInias pIs the fire has caught light
 (lit. taken itself)
 m@-leIas amIn mamui sigu we will meet again soon
 (lit. we will take each other
 in front)
 the last idiom is also found in Sliven dial.
 on leIna pIs they set off (lit. take
 themselves)
- has variant lI- before perfect affix and (optionally)
 in imperative
- len f. river
- lév-us lev (Bulg. monetary unit)
 plural is /léva/ as Bulg. and not the expected *lévui
- lI- see /le-/
- lo-íz- (i) wait for (ii) look after
 followed by dat.
 loízIna lákI they wait for her
- lok-u (i) light (not heavy, not dark)
 lískI gozi/si loki his brain is light (i.e. he
 is mad)
- (ii) slow
 i.e. has meanings of Bulg. leka although is of Indian
 origin (Wolf. P.137)

lok-Is	slowly	
	po-lokIs lokIs	gently, little by little as Bulg. poleka leka
lók-i-	to get light	
	lók-i-í-lu mánkI mI ozÍstI	it lightened to me in my heart (I became more happy) (GS)
lok-iar-	to make light	
lol-u	red (covers also some shades of brown)	
lól-i-	get red	
lol-iar-	reddden	
lol-ipi	m. redness, lipstick, rouge	
lon-	m. salt	
*lon-		
lon-d-u	salty	
lon-d-iar-	to salt	
loš	f. happiness	
loš-a-	be happy (orig.caus.)	
loš-ad-u	happy (lit.made happy)	
loš-ád-i-	be happy	
luluz-i	flower	
	<Gk. λουλούδι	

ma	not (before imperatives only)	
	ma dIkKh	do not look !
mačh-u	fish	
makh-	to paint, smear	
makh-i	fly (insect)	
	see p.204 rule 7 for phonological development of this word	
mal	f. field	
mamui	adv. and prep.	
	opposite	
	mamui si iiv	opposite (on the mountain)
		there is snow
	mamui m@ kherIstI	opposite my house
	probably originally reduplicated from /mui/ 'face'	
ma-n	see /me/	
ma-n-r-u	my	
mang-	want, like	
	mangIáa t@ mothIa tútkI	I want to tell you
	me mangIáa tut	I like you
manuš	(i) man (ii) person(=ženu) (AR)	
	AR used /mruš/ for 'man' (as opposed to woman)	
	me sim avrI manušInsa	I am with other people (not
		of my own tribe)
manuš-ni	woman (=žuvel) (GS)	
	not generally known in Kot.	
manz-	turn (AR)	
	manz-a	turn !

manzin	m. wealth, money	
mar-	to hit, beat (a drum)	
	marĭna pĭs	they fight (lit. beat each other)
mar-d-u	past part.	
mar-d-iar-	to cause to fight (LZ)	
mar-d-iker-	id. (LZ)	
mar-u	bread, food	
mas	m. meat	
mas-al-u	adj. used as noun	
	Bulgarian Tartar (GS) (slang)	
mas@k	m. month	
	sing. used after numerals	
	šov mas@k m@-terĭa andu Berlin	I will stay in Berlin six months
	but in oblique case plural used	
	enia mas@kĭnkĭ	for nine months
maškar	prep. among, between	
maškar-un-u	middle	
	u maškarunu angušť	the middle finger (ZG)
mat-u	drunk	
mát-i-	get drunk	
me	I	
	has variant /ma-/ before accusative affix	
mel	f. dirt	
mel-al-u	dirty	

men	f. neck
mer-	to die past part. is /mul-u/
mesal-i	apron (AR) Pasp. 'towel' (essuie-main)
milía	thousand (AR) not generally known (and replaced by B. or T.)
minz	f. vagina dēáa lákI minž I have intercourse with her
miř-ikl-u	bead probably originally a diminutive (see p.55)
miř-ikl-I	pl. of above necklace
miúxlIs	tomato (LIA only) no separate marked plural form < Bulg. dial.
⌘mo-	variant of /mui/ q.v.
mol	f. wine
⌘mom	m. candle-wax preserved in folk-tales, but the usual word is /xong/
mom-i	candle (AR, LZ) probably from earlier ⌘mom-el-i (the form in Pasp. and Sofia dial.)
mor-	shave
mor-ad-u	shaven (as if from ⌘mora-)

mor-i	graveyard (AR, LIA, AK)	
	< ^ʔ imori	< ^ʔ limori Gk. (GS)
^ʔ moth-		
moth-a-	say	
moth-a-d-u	past participle	
moth-a-d-íker-	get someone to tell (lit. cause to be said)	
	N.B. moth-a- can be analysed as mo-tha (cf. mui-thov-) 'put a mouth' (see JGLS 3 xix p.79)	
mrus ^ʔ	man (AR)	
	other speakers use /manus ^ʔ / q.v.	
m-u	my	
	before noun only	
mudar-	kill	
mui	m. (i) face (ii) mouth	
	has variant mo- before accusative sing. and pl.	
	: mō-s-tI	on a face
muk-	leave (tr.)	
	muk man	leave me (alone)
	muk !	start it! (of a tape-recorder)
mul-u	see /mer-/	
mundar-	variant (AR) of mudar-	q.v.
mus-i	arm (GS)	
muter-	to urinate	
muter-d-íker-	to let urinate (GS)	
	muterdíkeríla u grastIs	he lets the horse urinate

m@-	affix marking future tense	
na	not (before indicative and subjunctive vbs)	
na-avrI	see /avrI/	
nag	m. nose	
nai	most	
	u nai-baru phral	the eldest brother
	< Bulg.	
nai	m. finger-nail	
nair-	bathe (tr.)	
	oi nairíla pIs	she bathes herself
nak-	pass, cross (a road)	
	u tréni nakIstu	the train has passed
	kai nakIstu u mas@k	last month (lit. when the month passed) (GS)
	u April kai nakIstu	last April (AR)
nak-a-	cause to pass	
nang ^e i	= na + si	
nang ^e I	= na + sI	
nang-u	naked	
náng-i-	medio-passive in form but has active meanings	
	take off, undress	
	me nángiláa man	I undress myself (LZ)
	ov nángílla pu gad	he takes off his shirt (LZ)
na-palal	see /palal/	
*nasul-u	bad	
nasul-ipi	m. evil (GS)	

*nasv

nasv-al-u ill, unwell
 nasv-al-i- be unwell, become unwell
 nasv-al-ipi m. illness

naš- run
 naš-íker- make run (GS)
 naš-al- (causative of naš-)
 lose

mI pares si našaldI my money is lost

naši = na aši

nev-u new

nIama negates the future tense

nIama m@-xaIa I will not eat (LS)
 also nIama t@ xaiA id. (AR)
 loan from Bulg.
 cf. Bulg. niama da + future

nI-kai nowhere

nI-karik nowhere (arch.)

nI-kač nothing

av-zis na xalim nIkač today I ate nothing
 also /nIkači/ (BP)

nI-kon no-one, not any-one

na dIkhdim nIkonIs I saw no-one

nI-khanž-ur-u no-one (arch.)

nI-su adj. no, not any

na sias man nIsu il I didn't have a letter
 has variant nIs@- before all affixes other than -u;
 paradigm as /s-u/ p.30

*_o

o-i she
 o-n they
 o-v he

o- has the variant l- before acc.affix, giving l-a 'her',
 l-Is 'him', l-In 'them' etc. and the genitives l-á-k-u 'her',
 l-Ís-k-u 'his', l-Ín-k-u 'their'

od-a m. room
 from T. (hence is masc.) no marked plur.
 ombl- see umbl-
 opr- see upr-
 or-a- see ur-a-
 ordal from that side (< Turk.)
 ordon m. caravan

*_{ort}

ort-un-u right-hand (adj.)
 mu ortunu ast my right hand
 cf. Gk. $\beta\epsilon\sigma\sigma\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma$ straight

otka there
 samo dui zes terdim otka I only stayed there two
 days (AR)

otka-k-u (gen. of above) yonder one
 only recorded once (BP)

otar from there

ot-sar see ut-sar

ov- become (AR.GS)
 loan from other dials, normal Kotel is ačh-

ovarsintI day before yesterday (GS)

¹⁸ovar is probably a variant of /aver/ 'other'

< ^xovar zesíntI (?)

oxl- see uxl-

uxt- see uxt-

oxto eight

Gk.

oz-i masc. (i) heart

phagu si mu ozi

my heart is broken (from
love)

līsku ozi līnias t@ khelIl his heart began to dance (from
fear)

(ii) soul, spirit

ozístar moízínas pls.they pray from the soul

ozÍstar dukhani lískÍ from her soul she loved him

(iii) breath

leIáa-mu ozi

I breathe

na aši leIn pu ozi

they cannot breathe (lit.
take their breath)

(iv) stomach (LIA, Caramanos) = por_ξ

cf. gozi 'brain, intelligence'

- p- see /p-u/ and /p-Is/
- pak-u soft (AR), clean (=šůžu) (GS)
other Rom. dials have meanings 'ripe', 'bald' etc.
- pakh m. wing
- ≠pal
- pal-a (i) prep.after (GS, Kr@steff, AR) (ii) advb.however (BP)
pala dekapénde zesíntI m@-avIl
he will come after ten days (AR)
- ≠pal-al advb. only recorded in
na-palal afterwards (GS)
na- from Bulg. : nazad 'behind' etc.
en-palal last of all (BP)
en- from T. (most)
- pal-I advb.afterwards, again; however (GS)
u phrala gellI pallI butiátI the brothers went again to
work
- papal-I reduplicated from above. again
na dInim papallI pheras I did not answer (lit. give
back word) (AR)
cf. Pasp. palpale
- po-pallI probably above falsely formed as comparative
irízíla i rakli po-pallI (AK)
the girl returns again
Samp. derives all above from Scr. paratas 'after, behind',
however Kostov derives from Gk. παλι
- pal f. small stick of wood (for fire)
- panda still, yet
u xaibi panda keríla the food is still cooking
panda thrima ko m@-keril let it cook a little more (GS)
panda aver ? another (glass of brandy) ?

pan-i	m. water
[≠] pan-i-an-u	adj.
pani-án-i-	become wet (GS)
pani-iar-	make wet
	u brišind paniardias man the rain made me wet (AR)
pani-iar-d-u	wet
panž	five
papn-i	goose
paramitsa	f. folk-tale (AR) < Gk. not generally known by Kot. Gypsies, replaced by /masali/, from T.
parastsívi	Friday < Gk.
pár-es	money (pl.) from T. para, but made plural after Bulg. pari used in nom. only
[≠] par-ádes	plur. of above, used in oblique cases only
	paraduín-sa with money
	bi-paraduín-k-u free (without money)
parn-u	white
parn-ipi	m. whiteness
[≠] paran-u	variant of parnu used before affix -i-
parán-i-	become white (GS) <u>paréíla</u> = /parániíla/
parvar-	feed, nourish (GS)
parxod-	bury

paš	prep. near i boruři avili paš i phralĩntI the young bride came close to the brothers
paš-	lie down, have intercourse me m@-pašia mańkI I will lay down (to me) na aši pašit p@ rumniása he cannot have intercourse with his wife
pati-	believe na patiaa lĩstI I do not believe in him usually -a- for non-perfect affix, but GS and LZ had -I-
patrn-i	leaf
pe	to (prep.) žaĩla pe pi dai she goes to her mother (AK) possible abbreviated form of /upre/, so Ljung.p.309
pek-	bake, roast (tr.)
pek-u	past participle of above
pék-i-	be baked, roasted
pel-u	testicle bi-pelĩnku without testicles, castrated not connected with /pelu/ 'fell'; cf.Scr. pela
pel-u	past part. of per- q.v.
pen	bread (slang) recorded in Liaskovets by A.Mitev p.c.

pendžere	f. window	
	fem. after Bulg. (dial.) pendžera, although its form is from T. pencere	
penínda	fifty	
	< Gk.	
per-	fall, faint	
per-ker-	make fall, drop, abort	
	perkerdias i k@zánIs	she aborted the child
	t@ perkerIl u boxčas lák@	that she might drop the
	šerístar	bundle from her head (AR)
	GS had /períker-/	
peras	see /pheras/	
pévtsi	Thursday	
	pévtsi-nI	on Thursday
	< Gk.	
pi-	to drink	
pi-ibi	m. drink	
pi-mus	id.	
	loan from Vlax dialects	
pi-iz ³	be drinkable	
pilt-u	married	
	et.dub.	
pílt-i-	get married	
✠pir-		
pir-a-	fornicate	
	t@ piravIn pls	let them make love
	cf. piramlu 'bridegroom' in Caramanos and elsewhere	
✠piri-a-	variant of pir-a	
	cf. Pasp. piriavava	

piri-a-n-u	lover (AR)	
piř-u	foot	
	opra pirĩntI terĩliam	we stood up (stayed on feet)
piř-nang-u	barefoot	
piř-	to mill (BAP)	
piřum	f. flea	
p-Is	himself, herself, themselves	
	also used (as is reflexive in Bulg.) for myself,	
	yourse-l-f-ves, ourselves	
	irĩzĩla pĩskI	he returns home
po	more	
	po-baru	bigger
	loan from Bulg.	
po	at the rate of	
	po deř pares, po iekh	for ten paras, one
	kaves	coffee (GS)
	loan from Bulg.	
por	m. feather	
poř	m. stomach	
poř-i	tail (LZ)	
pořom	f. raw wool	
pras-a-	to mock, insult	

- prep-íz- resemble
 u čhiba prepízína píski the languages resemble each other (AR)
 < Gk. περιεπει >
- prin-žan- know, be acquainted with (AR)
 variant of prinžar-; under the influence of Kot. /žan-/ 'know' and the Bulgarian pair znaia 'know' (have learnt) and 'poznaia 'know' (be acquainted with)
- prin-žar- know, be acquainted with
 that the original ending was -r is shown by other dialects : Sofia pendžar, Jambol and Sliven punžar
- p-u his own etc.
- pumb-al-u gun (LIA)
 perhaps onomat. xpumb + (adj.affix) -al-
 W.B. Bulg. pumpal is 'spinning top'
- *pur
- pur-an-u old (of persons and things)
 also used as noun 'old person'
 bikInílas puranI drexí.he used to sell old clothes
 me šundim la i puranÍntar
 I heard it from the old people
 samo u puranI ž@nkIína andu khangIri
 only the old people go to church

puran- <i>ipi</i>	m. age (of people only) naši phiríla puranipnástar he cannot walk from old age cf. phuripi
purán- <i>i</i>	get old
purán- <i>i-ibi</i>	m. ageing (GS, LZ)
purt	f. bridge AR had variant /purts/
purum	f. onion
p@xkI	sigh (GS) cf. Caramanos <u>puski</u>

phaba-i	apple	
phag-	break (tr.)	
phag-u	broken (past part.)	
phág-i-	break (intr.)	
phand-	close, lock, tie up	
phand-d-u	locked up	
phand-d-ipi	m. prison (ZG)	
	not widely known in Kot.	
phánd-d-i-	be locked	
phar-u	(i) heavy (ii) difficult	
☞ phar-		
phar-a-	to break, tear, split	
	mI pheniákI šapka si	my sister's hat is broken
	pharadi (GS)	
phen	sister	
phen-ke	interj. calling someone's attention	
	possibly phen 'sister' + dim. -k- (from Bulg.) + voc. -e ;	
	Ljung. derives from phen 'speak' (p.313)	
phen-	say	
	cf. vaker-, motha- and ker- pheras	
pher-	fill	
	pher mánkI u taxtai	fill the cup for me
pher-d-u	full	
phér-d-i-	get full	

pheras	m. word	
	k@kala ziniák@ pherasa	the words of this song
	also in idioms	
	ker- pheras	to speak (examples under ker-)
	de- papalI pheras	to reply
phik-u	shoulder	
phir-	walk, travel	
phir-a-	carry	
	su phiraísa t@ astístI	what are you carrying in your hand ?
⌘phir-		
phir-a-	to open (GS)	
	not known by Kot. Gypsies today; replaced by /phutar-/ q.v.	
phivl-u	widower	
phivl-i	widow	
phov	m. eyebrow	
phral	brother	
	voc. phrala also used addressing another Gypsy	
phuč-	ask	
phud-	blow	
	súskI na phudíla ekh	why does a wind not blow ?
	balval	

phuk-u	fat	
phur-u	old	
	only in the expressions	
	phuru dad	grandfather (lit. old father)
	phuri dai	grandmother
	cf. puranu	
phur-ipi	age (of things)	
	cf. puranipi	
phus	m. straw	
phutar-	open (tr.)	
	u dar ph utardias pIs	the door opened (itself)
phuv	f. earth, ground	

rakl-u	(non-Gypsy) boy, son	
rakl-i	(non-Gypsy) girl, daughter	
	cf. /čhov/ and /čhai/	
rašai	m. Christian priest	
	generally replaced by /popus/ < B.pop	
rat	f. night	
	i rat	at night (AR,BP)
	ratiasa	by night (AAK)
	maškar ratia	at night (LZ)
rat-i	last night	
	ži rati	at nightfall (GS)
	a-rati	to-night (GS)
	ai-rat	to-night (GS)
	ever-rat	night before last (GS)
rát-i-	become night	
	also /a-rát-i/	
rat	m. blood	
	u rat si sar iekh	the blood (of all Gypsies)
		is as one (the same)
	sovíla andI ratIntI	he sleeps in blood (plur.)
		(of a dead giant)
res-	(i) to reach (ii) be enough	
	m@-resIa ko kher	I will reach home (GS)
	resíla	that's enough (of sugar in
		coffee etc) = Bulg. stiga
rez-a	f. vineyard	
rič-i	f. bear	
rig	f. side	

ríma	see /thríma/, /tríma/	
riv-íz-	call, shout	
rod-	search for	
rod-ibi	m. searching	
rod-íker-	make someone look for (GS)	
rov-	weep, cry	
	ma rov mánkI	do not weep for me
rov-ibi	m. weeping	
rov-íker-	make someone cry (LIA)	
ru-i	stick	
ruk	m. tree	
rup	m. silver (AR)	
	not generally known in Kot.	
rup-un-u	adj. silver (AR)	
ruv	m. wolf	

roi	f. spoon
roi-ur-i	dim. coffee-spoon
rom	(i) husband (ii) Gypsy (this meaning is a loan from other dialects) cf. romaiti
rom-ur-u	husband (dim.)
rom-aiti	m. and f. Gypsy (especially of Kotel tribe, but not invariably so : me na sim i avriI I am not of the other Gypsies romaitintar (in the town)
rum	variant of /rom/ before -an- and -ni
rum-an-u	Gypsy (adj.) ekh rumani zin a Gypsy song
rum-an-Is	in Gypsy fashion, in the Gypsy language
rum-ni	(i) wife (ii) Gypsy woman (loan from other dialects in this sense)

s-	be	
	replaced in the future and subj. by ačh-	
s-u	what ? (pron)	
s-u tu	whatever	
	su-tu t@ vakerIs me kuda	whatever you say I will
	m@-kerIa	do thus
	imitation of Bulg. kakvoto i da	
sú-s-kI	dative of su	
	why ?	
súskI-tu	because	
	imitation of Bulg. zaštoto (zašto=why)	
s-u	what sort of ?	
	s@i buti kerIla	what sort of work does he do ?
	has variant s@- before all affixes apart from nom.masc.sing.	
	-u (paradigm p.30)	
	cf. kon	
sa	always	
	sa piIla	he is always drinking
sañ-u	thin (of things and people)	
san-u	a thin person (adj. used as noun)	
	dIkhdim i sanIn	I saw the thin men
sap	m. snake	
sar	how, as, like	
	sar (i)ekh	the same (lit. as one)
sar-t@	how	
	sar t@ na rovia	how can I not cry ?
	modelled on Bulg. kak da	

saránda	forty < Gk.	
sast-u	whole, healthy sasti rat na sutim i sasti momi thábili	the whole night I didn't sleep the whole candle burnt away
sast-ipi	m. health	
sást-i-	get healthy, well	
sast-iar-	heal	
sastr-u	father-in-law	
sastr-is	m. iron not a loan, in spite of form cf. Scr. sastraka	
sasu-i	mother-in-law	
ser-	remember but seríla	he remembers a lot (has a good memory)
	probably cognate with /šeru/	'head'
sev-i	basket	
sig-u	adv. soon also 'recently' as Bulg. skoro oi sigu pilti	she is recently married
sig-u	adj. quick	
sii-u	blue Bulg. sinio	

sikI-	learn	
	me sikIIáa i čhib	I am learning the language (LIA) (AR)
sik-	teach	
	me sikIáa lIs	I am teaching him (LIA,AR)
sik-a-	teach	
sik-a-d-u	past part. educated (person) (LIA)	
sikh-	variant of sik- q.v.	
sir	f. garlic	
siv	f. needle	
	also /suv/ (AR)	
siv-	sew	
siv-ibi	m. sewing (GS)	
siv-áz-	get engaged (GS)	
siv-aml-u	engaged, fiancé	
siv-aml-i	engaged, fiancée	
	GS derives from Gk.	cf. 'signalled out'
	cf. σήμειον	
soil	m. oath (promise)	
solak-u	left-hand (adj.) (GS)	
solak-n-u	id. (AR)	
	cf. Turk.solak	
sosten	f. underpants	
sov-	sleep	
sovř-u	(i) adj. all (ii) everything, everyone (pron.)	
	sovřI řoma phrala	all Gypsies are brothers
	u sovřI vakerína čí si	all say that there is a
	del	God
	me u sovřu pišízIáa	I write everything down

sovru si lačhIs andu	everything is all right at
kher	home
me risuízIáa tumIn sovruIn	I draw you all
cf. i sovruI marÍssa	with all the bread
i sasti marÍssa	with the whole loaf

star- to catch
 mangÍsa t@ starIs mačhIs? do you want to catch fish ?

star-d-u caught
 stár-d-i- (i) be caught (ii) tease, molest i.e. the sense of Bulg. zakačam se lit. catch oneself

ma stárdi mansa don't bother me (AK)
 GS had /astar-/
 et.dub. may be /star/ with ^{pre}epenthetic a- (cf. form istar in other dialects) or a causative ast-ar 'cause to remain' (/ast/ being a cognate of /ačh/)

staz-i hat, cap
 < Gk. σκιάδι

sun-u dream
 sunuíz- to dream
 sunuízim ekh sunu I dreamt a dream (LZ)
 sunuíz-is a loan word
 cf. Bulg. s@nuvam
 but sun-u is not a loan cf. Scr. svapna

suskI see /s-u/
 suv see /siv/
 s@- see /s-u/

- ˇsarand see /ˇserand/
- ˇsatr-a f. tent (AR)
 loan from Vlax dialects
 cf. the more commonly used /katuna/ and /tserxa/
- ˇsax m. cabbage
- ˇsel-u rope
- ˇser-u head
 pI ˇserĩstI phiraĩlas on her head she carried the
 u boxčas bundle
- *ˇser-nangu in /ˇser-nangi/ (slang) 'woman' (lit. bareheaded)(GS)
- ˇser-and- m. pillow (GS)
 also /ˇsarand/ (AR)
 probably cognate with /ˇseru/ 'head', see p.49
- ˇsex-i merchandise
 usually in plur. (ˇsexia)
 Pasp. shekhi
- ˇsil m. cold
 avrI si ˇsil it is cold outside
 ˇsil si man I am (lit. have) cold
- ˇsil-al-u cold (adj.) (used of people only cf. ˇsudru)
 me sim ˇsilalu I am cold
- ˇsil-ál-i- become cold, catch cold
- ˇsing m. horn

šol	f. whistling noise	
	šol deĭla	he whistles (GS)
	N.B. kept as two separate words in most dialects	
šor-u	variant of /šeru/ q.v.	
šoši	m. rabbit, hare; recruit (as Bulg. zaek)	
šošanI	pl. moustaches (GS)	
šov	six	
štar	four	
šudr-u	(i) cold (of things)	
	u pani si šudru	the water is cold
	(ii) unfriendly (of people)	
	ov si šudru manuš	he is an unfriendly person (AR)
	cf. šilalu	
šukar	good, beautiful	
	loan from other dialects	
	cf. lačhu	
šukar-ipi	m. good (noun), kindness	
	me tut but kerdim šukaripi	I showed (lit. did) you much kindness
šuk-u	dry, wizened	
	u kašt si šuku	the wood is dry
	u mruš si šuku	the man is wizened (AR)
šuk-i-	become dry	
	u mařu šukilu-tar	the bread has gone stale

šun-	hear, listen	
	šun akana	listen now !
šut	m. vinegar	
šut-l-u	sour	
	šutlu thud	yogurt (trs. of Bulg. kiselo mliako id.)
šut-al-u	(slang) a Turk	
šut-al-an-u	(slang) Turkish (adj.)	
	cf. xoraxanu	
šút-l-i	become sour	
	deriving the verb from the adjective avoids the necessity for the special phonological rule which GS's *šút-i- requires (viz. no fronting of the consonant to avoid confusion at the phonetic level with šúk-i 'become dry')	
šuval	f. broom	
šuval-	to sweep	
šuž-u	clean (of things and people)	
šuž-iar-	to clean	
š@l	hundred	

ta	variant of tI q.v.	
-ta	emph. after imperative	
	šun-ta	listen then
-tar	emph. after perfect	
	dikhdim-tar	I saw
	see also p.58	
tal-us	m. chin (AR)	
	cf. Wolf. talonis, talubos	
tang-u	tight	
tartor	chief of Gypsy tribe (AR)	
tas-a-	to throttle (GS)	
tas-a-d-	past part.	
tas-á-d-i-	be drowned (GS)	
tasia	tomorrow	
tat-u	adj. hot	
	tatu si	it is hot (the weather)
tat-ipi	m. heat	
tát-i-	get hot	
tat-iar-	to heat	
taxtai	m. cup, glass	
	N.B. does not have the meaning 'knee' of other dialects	
	(see /koč/)	
tel		
tel-a	prep. under	
tel-un-u	adj. under-	
	telunu gad	vest (lit.undershirt)(LIA,AR)
	teluni flanela	sports-vest(AR)(trs of B.
		dolna flanela)

ter-	remain		
tern-u	young		
tern-ur-u	young (dim)		
	boru ^ř ie ternu ^ř ie	Oh young wife ! (AR)	
tern-ipi	m. youth		
tetrázi	Wednesday		
	< Gk.		
tI	and		
	< earlier /tha/		
tikn-u	small		
≠tik-	variant before dim. affix only		
tik-ur-u	small (dim.)		
	rov t@ tikur ^ř k@zán ^ř skI	weep for your small child	
toska	then		
	(?) < Bulg. tozčas	id.	
trad-	urge on		
	tradIáa i gurvIn	I urge on the cattle	
trandáfil-us	m. rose (AR.LIA)		
	< Gk. τελευτάφυλλον		
trap-us	m. hole (GS)		
	cf. xar, xev		

traš-	be afraid	
	trašilu-tar	he got frightened
	imp. ma traša	don't be afraid
traš-a-	to frighten	
traš-a-d-u	frightened	
traš-á-d-i-	be frightened (GS)	
traš	f. fear	
	trašiátar zdrálim-tar	I trembled from fear
triab-íz-	be necessary (used only in 3rd sing.)	
	na triabízíla amínkI	it is not necessary for us
		i.e. we do not need it (GS)
	me triabízíla t@ kinIa	I need to buy a coffee-spoon
	ekh poiuri	(AR)
	na triabízíla kisali butia	such things are not necessary
		(AK)
	also /trabíz-/ and /trabuíz/	
	< Bulg. triabva	
triánda	thirty	
	< Gk.	
trin	three	
	also /tri/ and /trni/	
tríma	a little	
	also /thríma/, /fríma/ and /ríma/ (the last probably	
	back formation from /but tríma/ 'very little')	
	< Gk. ὀλίγη	
	pala rimon-ístI	after a little while

trim-ink-ur-u	a very little (AR)
	other diminutives recorded are
	trim-ona, trim-ika, trim-ine (ZG)
truš	f. thirst
truš-al-u	thirsty
trušul	m. cross
tserx-a	f. tent
	et.dub. cf. Ljung. tsehra Samp. tsigaira
	more common is /katuna/
tu	you (sing.)
tu-t- r -u	your
t-u	your
	only before noun cf. tutru which can be used before a
	noun or predicatively
tum-In	you (pl.) For -In see under /am-In/
tum-In-r-u	your
turi-a	prep. around
	turig i iagiati around the fire (GS)
tuska	variant of /toska/ q.v.
tuska-r	only in ot tuskar 'then, from that time' (LZ)
	combination of Bulg. ot togava and Turk. o zamandar id.
tuska-rla	only in
	ot tuskarla 'then, from that time' (AR)
	ot tuskārla u phrala then the brothers made
	kerdI i purts the bridge
	-rla is an old ablative ending preserved in many dialects.

t@

(i) in order to (followed by the subj.)

mangl^áaa t@ piš^ízla

I want to write

na sias man vak@ti t@

I did not have time to

dikhla T^órnovosee T^órnovo

also in compound conjunctions

sar t@, ži t@ etc.

(ii) in negative future (imitation of Bulg. usage)

: nIama t@ xaIa

I am not going to eat

as Bulg. nIama da xapna id.

nIama m@-xaIa is also used

(iii) if (followed by indicative)

tu t@ mang^ísa man m@-ačhIs if you love me you willmanr^í rumni

become my wife (AR)

tha	variant of /tI/ q.v.	
tháb-	burn (intr.)	
	i iag thábila	the fire is burning
	líski lámpa thábili-tar	its valve has burnt out
	thábili	she was dying of thirst (GS)
thagar	king	
thagar-ni	queen	
thagar-an-u	royal	
thagar-ipi	m. kingdom	
than	m. piece of cloth (GS)	
	cf. Scr. tantu 'thread'	
than	m. place	
	ekhI thanístI	in one place = together
	cf. Scr. sthána	
thar-	burn (tr.), set light to	
thar-d-i	fem. past part. used as noun	
	brandy, rakia	
	abbreviation of /thardi mol/ 'burnt wine'	
	Pasp. connects with Hind.tari 'palm-tree juice' and	
	Scr. tala 'palm-wine'	
thav	m. cotton, thread	
tháv-d-	to drip	
	mu nag thávdela	my nose is dripping
	u čáinikus si xeviardu tha	the kettle is cracked and is
	thávdela	dripping
	may not historically be a compound with -d-	
	see Wolf. p.224	

them	m. country (land)
thov-	wash (tr.) cf. Scr. dhāv
thov-	put cf. Scr. dha
thríma	variant of /tríma/ q.v.
thul-u	thick, fat
thud	m. milk
thuv	m. smoke
thuv-al-u	adj. as noun cigarette (AR) other dialects have /thuvali/

u	the (masc.)
u	and (in numbers only) deš u šov sixteen (ten and six)
uč-íz-	to fly (Šumen sub-dialect) < T. uçmak f@rčíz- from Bulg. is more common
učh-u	high
≠učh-	
učh-iar-	to cover
učh-iar-ibi	m. covering, roof (GS, Kr@steff)
učh-iar-d-u	past part. as noun ceiling, blanket has same meaning in Sofia dial. probably not connected with /učh-u/ 'high' cf. the two Scr. words ūcha 'high' and chad 'cover'
ul-u	past part. of /ov-/ rare. loan from other dials
ul-a-	divide, share (GS)
unuk-a	f. nephew, niece, grandchild (i.e. the meanings of Bulg. vnuk) always with fem. adjectives ov si mI unuka he is my (fem.) nephew probably from Bulg. vnuk, via ≠wnuk, or from Serb. unuk via other Rom. dials : Plovdiv sedentary tribes pra-unuka great-grandchild

⌘upr		
uprI	(i) on (prep.)	(ii) above (advb.)
upr-a	(i) on (ii) above	
upr-al	from above (advb) (GS)	
	also opr-I etc. in free variation (these are the older forms)	
⌘ur-		
ur-a-	to dress	
	uraíla pIs	he dresses (himself)
ur-a-d-u	dressed	
	i čhai šukar uradi	the girl is nicely dressed(GS)
ur-a-d-i	f.adj. as noun	
	clothes (Kr@steff)	
ušt	m. lip	
ut-sar	since (conjunction)	
	kíti zes si ut-sar avIlían	how many days is it since you
	k@tka	came here ?
	Bulg. ot kak (Rom. sar = kak 'how')	
	also ot-sar in free variation	
ut-tuskar(la)	see under /tuska/	
⌘umbl-		
umbl-a-	hang up, strangle	
	umblaIáa mu paltus	I hang up my overcoat (AR)
umbl-a-d-u	past part.	
umbl-á-d-i-	be hanged	
	umbládilu-tar	he was hanged (GS)
uš-	arise (from bed, chair etc)	
	uši ordal	get up from there ! (LZ)

kana ušInian indrátar

when did you get up from
(your) sleep ?

ušInim saxáti eniántI I got up at nine o'clock
the imper. uštI is also used, a loan from other dialects
via songs :

uštI uštI baba

get up, get up, grandmother !

uš-In-ibi

getting-up (GS)

formed from past part. instead of stem as usual

ux-

descend (GS)

ux-Ist-u

past part.

ux-ist-i-

jump down, dance (GS)

uxt-i-

jump down, dance

possibly shortened form of above

uxt-a-

to pluck (lit. cause to have descended)

uxtadías luludia

he plucked flowers (GS)

uxta mánkI ekh dudum

pick a pumpkin for me (AR)

≠uxt-i-n-u

past part. of uxt-i- (instead of expected ≠uxtIlú or
≠uxtilu)

only in following word

uxt-in-ibi

the jerking movement of belly dancers (GS)

uxt-i-a-

trample on (GS)

uxt-i-a-d-u

torn (Kr@steff)

≠ux-l-u

past part. of ux-

ux-l-I-

arrive (at a place)

uxlIáa andI kasabátI

I arrive in the town (AK)

ux-l-a-

cause to have descended

u gažu uxladias pu šoru

the Gentile hung down his
head (AR)

N.B. most of the above occur with o- (the older form)

uz-ar-

wait

also /ažar-/

less common than loíz- q.v.

va

(i) heigh (GS)

(ii) yes (AR) (loan from other dials)

rarely used, replaced by repetition of the main verb of the question

N.B. GS recorded (ã) and (hã) for 'yes' but these seem to have died out

va-d-

lift

present tense /vádela/ 'he lifts' (as compound with -d-) and /vadíla/ (as simple verb), perfect with -In or -d- (or -in, LIA)

originally is a compound with -d-

vaker-

say

vapur-i

m. and f.

from T. vapur (but f. by analogy with Rom. fems in -i)

vare-so

something

ekh vareso

something

loan from other dialects

/vare/ also appears in

u butia vare (GS)

some things

varš

in

ekh varš

a half

ekh varš rat

midnight

šov tI ekh varšIntI

at half past seven (the plur.

ending refers back to /šov/)

cf. Pasp. yek pash

vast loan from other dials, for Kot. /ast/ q.v.

večik[✓] already (AK)
 . cf. Bulg. veče[✓] id.

vekI (i) already (AR) (ii) for ever after
 i purt na peli-tar vekI the bridge never fell (AR)
 Bulg. na vekI 'for ever' lit. for centuries
 the speaker probably left out /na/ before /vekI/ under
 influence of the earlier /na/ 'not' in the sentence.

veš[✓] m. forest, open space
 has the various meanings of Bulg. gora (GS)

xa-	eat	
xa-ibi	m. food	
	ne xaibi ne ma ₇ ru xaí ₇ na	they do not eat food or bread (AK)
xa-mus	m. food	
	loan from Vlax dialects	
xa-í ₇ -	be eatable	
xaink	f. well (AR)	
	cf. Ljung. xaiing Wolff item 1022	
xal-u	bald	
	u xalu	the bald one (hero in folk- tales from Gk. and T. sources)
xan-	(i) dig (GS) (ii) = xrand- q.v. (ZG)	
xand-	variant of /xrand-/ q.v.	
xanž-	to itch (tr.)	
	mu dumu xanží ₇ la man	MEM my back itches me
xanž-al-u	temperamental (AR)	
xar	f. large hole	
	cf. xev (small hole)	
	čheí ₇ la lí ₇ s andí ₇ ekhí ₇ xariá ₇ tí ₇	^{it} they throws him into a hole (AK)
xar ₇ -u	short (of people), low (buildings etc.) (AR)	
	Pasp. kharna	
xar ₇ -a-	(i) scratch (ii) itch (tr.)=xanž-	
	tu xar ₇ á ₇ sa tut	you scratch yourself (LZ)
	mu čhang xar ₇ á ₇ la man	my foot itches me (LZ)

xas-	cough (vb)	
xer	donkey	
xer-ni	fem. donkey	
xerbuz-u	water-melon	
	cf. T. karpuz Rum. harbuz	
xev	f. small hole	
	cf. xar	
xev-iar-	make holes in	
xo-i	anger	
	i gaž ^ǎ iskI xoi but inkIstu	the Gentile's anger came out
	< Gk.	a lot (i.e. he was very angry)
xoi-íz-i-	get angry	
	< Gk. also /xoi-áz-i-/	
xoi-iz-iar-	make angry	
	ov xoiziaríla man	he makes me angry
xong	f. candle-wax	
	Colocci 'incense'	
≠xong-al-u	smelly	
xong-al-I	pl.adj. noun	
	money (slang) i.e. smelly things (GS)	
≠xorax		
xorax-an-u	adj. and noun	
	Turk, Turkish	
xorax-an-Is	in Turkish language, in the Turkish fashion	
xorax-an-ipi	m. Turkey	

xor-us	dance (noun) (AK) from Gk. Χορός and not Bulg. (which would give forms ✕xora pl. ✕xoris)	
xox-a	f. lie, fantastic tale	
xox-a-	tell a lie, deceive	
xox-a-ibi	m. lying	
xrán-d-	comb, brush, rake me xrándeáa mI bala četkása, kangliása m@-xránden i reza	I brush/comb my hair with a brush, with a comb (AR) they will rake the vineyard
xul	m. excrement	
xul-a	f. upper throat Caram. 'pharynx'	
xuxur ₅	m. mushroom probably originally a diminutive of ✕xux.	

- záb- sing
stress on stem as it was originally a passive
cf. Pasp. giliabovav from which /záb-/ derives by
palatalization
/záb-/ is historically cognate with /zin/ 'song'
(earlier form ^zgili)
- zar f. hair (of body)
cf. bal
- zar-al-u hairy
- zdra- tremble
originally a verb taking -a- for non-perfect affix
cf. Russian Rom. izdr-
- zen f. saddle
- zes day (as opposed to night, and 24 hours)
samo dui zes terdim otka I only stayed there two days
u zes kerína, i rat períla in the day they work (at the
bridge), in the night it
falls down.
has variants /zis/ in /av-zis/ 'today' and /ziviz/ q.v.
- zif m. wheat
- zin f. song
also /zni/ which is an earlier form (with palatalization
and nasalization of even earlier ^zgili)

ⁿzivis	variant of /zes/ 'day' in the following two words only; it is the earlier form (cf. the forms dives etc in other dialects)	
zivis-e	in the day-time	
zivís-i-	become day, dawn	
ziz	f. town < Pers. diz	
ziz	f. gum (of mouth) GS had dziz probably from Vlax dialects cf. Rum. džindžie; the Rom. word (lost in Kot.) is ⁿthar	
zor	f. strength	
zor-al-u	strong	
	u manuš si zoralu	the man is strong
	u maṛu si zoralu	the bread is hard
zor-al-Is	advb. hard	
	čaldim lIs zorallIs	I hit him hard
zra-	see /zdra/	
zumi	soup	

✓ za-	go loan from other dials. cf. /z@nkI/	
✓ zamtr-u	aunt's husband, elder sister's husband N.B. for younger sister's husband and son-in-law /gIuves/ (< T.güvey) is used	
✓ zan-	know na žanIáakIti mas@k kerdI buti na zanIáa t@ zábaa	I do not know how many months they worked I do not know how to sing
✓ žang-a-	wake up (tr.)	
✓ žang-a-d-u	woken up	
✓ žang-á-d-i-	wake up (intr.)	
✓ žen-u	person	
✓ žeb-a	f. pocket cf. cep (Turk.) Žeba may be a back formation from the oblique /žebiatI/ (žebati). Pasp. has <u>djebba</u>	
✓ ži	prep. to, towards, until ži SofiátI ži kInos ži rat ži rati ži rati ži lIstI ži na-palal ži akana	to Sofia to the cinema (article omitted as Bulg. za kino) until the evening until the evening until nightfall (GS) to him forwards (LZ) up to now
✓ ži t@	conj. until (AR)	

ẓ̌i t@ ẓ̌aII p̣ĩskI i boruři until the young wife goes
home

ẓ̌i kai until (conj.) (GS)

ẓ̌i kai aráṭil until it becoomes night

ẓ̌i (in oaths)

ẓ̌i mānkI mI dai t@... may my mother be forfeit
to me if.... (AK)

ẓ̌i mānkI tu... may you be forfeit to me...(AK)

GS had dẓ̌in

dẓ̌in mānkI mI k@zania (glossed as) I swear on the head of
my children

AK explained the phrase as 'may my mother die', 'may you
die' etc.

there may be some connection with T. cin 'demon'

ẓ̌iv- to live

replaced by /ẓ̌ivíz-/ from B. ẓ̌ivia

ẓ̌iv-d-u alive (past part. of ẓ̌iv-)

ẓ̌or mule

ẓ̌or-ni mule (f.)

ẓ̌ov m. barley

ẓ̌ukel dog

has variant /ẓ̌ukl-/ before -Is- and -ni

: me izpalláa i ẓ̌uklIs I drive away the dog

ẓ̌ukl-ni bitch (GSp.c.)

ẓ̌uvel woman

žuv f. louse

žuv-al-u lousy

žuvál-i- become lousy (AK)

ž@nkI- to go

probably originally ža + inkI 'go' + 'go out'

has the variant /genkl-/ before -d- (perfect affix), giving perfect tense

genklīm, genkliān, *genklu, genkli

genkliām, genkliān, *genkli

the starred forms are however replaced by the loan forms /gelu/ and /gelli/ resp. (being the perfect of /žā-/ in other dialects)

ž@nk-ibi going (LIA)

AR had /genklibi/, formed from the past part.

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AND CLITICS^{1/}

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SOME NON-PRODUCTIVE ELEMENTS OF DEMONSTRATIVES
AND ADVERBS

av-	this	av-zis	to-day
		a-kana	now (i.e. this moment)
		ai-rat	to-night
-de		kI-de	thus
ever-	other	ever-rat	night before last
		oar-sende	day before yesterday
		cf. aver	other
-ka	place	k@t-ka	here (i.e. this place)
		ka-i	where
		k@-tar	whence
ka-	some	ka-iekh	some-one
kud-	yonder	kud-a	yonder (adj. and pron.)
kuk-	that	kuk-a	that (adj. and pron.)
		kut-ka	there
		kui-tar	from there
k@k-	this	k@k-a	this (adj. and pron.)
		k@t-ka	here (i.e. this place)
		kI-de	thus, in this way
		kI-salu	such a
		kI-savu	such a

-khač [✓]	thing	nI-khač [✓]	nothing
-khanž [✓] -	person	nI-khanž [✓] -uru ₃	(arch.) no-one
ot-	yonder	ot-ka o-tar	yonder (adv.) from yonder
-salu		kI-salu	such a
-savu		kI-savu	such a
tusk-	then	ut tusk-arla	since then ^{1/}
vare-	some	vare-so	something

1. /ut/ (redundant), from Bulg. ot

MEMBERS OF CLOSED WORD CLASSES

Article	u	the
Adverb	andri	inside
	avrI	outside
	dur	at a distance
	k@i	where, whither
	k@tka	here
	kutka	there
	kuitar	from there
	kudutak	from there
	k@tar	from here, from where
	nIkai	nowhere
	nIkarik	nowhere
	ordal	from that side (cf. Turk. orda)
	otar	from yonder
	mamui	opposite
	upri	over, above
	airat	tonight
	arati	tonight
	asla	never (Turk.)
	akana	now
	angli	ago
	avzis	today
	av@nlara	tomorrow
	erken	early (T.)
	everrat	night before last
	iZe	yesterday
	kana	when
	kuitak	then (next)
	ovarsinti	day before yesterday
	napalal	afterwards
	pall, pale	again
	panda	still

papalI	again
popalI	again
rati	yesterday
signu	soon (Bulg.)
sa	always
tuska	then (at that time)
tasia	tomorrow
vekI	already (Bulg. veče)
but	very, much
frima	little
ma, na	not
po	more (Bulg.)
en	more (Turk.)
nai	most (B.)
avrial	by heart
ama	but (B.)
čak	only (B.)
kIde	in this way
kuda	in that way
keitIka	the amount that
kIketi	so much
kIti	how much
súskI	why
sar	how
xepden	too (Bulg. dial) (T.)
xič	not at all (B.) (T.)

Adverbs can also be formed from all adjectives by adding the affix -Is

: ruman-Is in Gypsy fashion < ruman-u 'Gypsy' (adj.)

Cardinal	ekh varš [✓]	$\frac{1}{2}$
	(ekh	1)
	dui	2
	trin	3
	štar	4
	panž [✓]	5
	šov [✓]	6
	efta	7 (Gk.)
	oxto	8 (Gk.)
	enia	9 (Gk.)
	deš [✓]	10
	deš u ekh	11
	etc. ^{1/}	
	biš [✓]	20
	biš u ekh	21
	etc.	
	triánda	30
	saránda	40
	peínda	50
	(the Turkish or Bulgarian numbers are used for 60-99)	
	š@l	100

N.B. The Ordinal numbers are also a closed class
formed from the cardinals by affix no. 46.

Conjunction	či	that (followed by indicative) < B. če
	kana (-tu)	when
	kai	because, where
	sar	how
	súskI(-tu)	because
	tI	and
	t@	in order to (followed by sub- junctive)

	u	and (in numerals only)
	utsar	since
	and compound conjunctions	
Indef.Adj.	kata	each
	kIsalu	such a
	kIkesavu	such a
	kIsoV	such a
	nIsu	no
	sastu	all (whole)
	sovr <u>u</u>	all (every)
Interr.Adj.	káskI	whose ?
	kon	which ?
	savo	which ?
Poss.Pron.	mu, man <u>ru</u>	my
	tu, tut <u>ru</u>	your (sing.)
	lI <u>sku</u>	his
	la <u>ku</u>	her
	pu ¹ /	one's own
	amInru	our
	tumInru	your (pl.)
	lI <u>ngu</u>	their
Preposition	agor	at the edge of
	andar	from
	anglal	in front of, before
	astar	on account of (plus dative)
	andu	in
	bi	without (plus genitive)

1. only recorded in oblique

karik	towards
ko, kai	at, to
k@tar	from
mamui	opposite
mařkar	among
ut-sar	since
pař(e)	up to, next to
pe	to
pu	at the rate of (Bulg.po)
pala	after
sar	like
sonra	after (GS) (T.)
tela	under, from under
turie	around
upra, upre	above
zi	up to, until, towards

Pronoun

me	I
tu	you (s.)
ov	he
oi	she
pIs	oneself (acc.)
amIn	we
tumIn	you (pl.)
on	they
kon	who ?
su	what ?
ake-kon	someone
aver	another person
čhipas	something
ekh	someone

kai	who, what (relative)
ka-iekh	someone
nIkač	nothing
nIkon	no-one
nIkhanžuru	no-one (archaic, GS)
vare-so	something

LOAN WORDS BELONGING TO CLOSED SEMANTIC
CLASSES

Monday	ponedélnikus	(B.)
Tuesday	vtórnikus	(B.)
Saturday	s@bota	(B.)
autumn	ósen	(B.)
noon	pládnia	(B.)
blue	síiu	(B.sinio)
green	zelénu	(B.)

PHONOLOGICAL RULES

The following rules applied in order convert the symbols used so far into a broad phonetic transcription.

A. Specific rules (applying only to the words or classes mentioned)

1.
$$V \begin{array}{|c|} \hline n \\ \hline r \\ \hline l \\ \hline \end{array} \begin{array}{|c|} \hline \acute{I} \\ \hline \\ \hline s \\ \hline \end{array} \begin{array}{|c|} \hline n \\ \hline l \\ \hline a \\ \hline \end{array} \rightarrow \acute{V} \begin{array}{|c|} \hline n \\ \hline r \\ \hline l \\ \hline \end{array} \begin{array}{|c|} \hline n \\ \hline l \\ \hline s \\ \hline \end{array} \begin{array}{|c|} \hline a \\ \hline \end{array}$$

in verbs only

: / $\acute{s}un\acute{I}na$ / > ($\acute{s}unna$) 'they hear'

/ $\acute{ma}r\acute{I}na$ / > ($\acute{m}arna$) 'they hit'

/ $\acute{k}hel\acute{I}sa$ / > ($\acute{k}h\acute{e}lsa$) 'you dance'^{1/}
2. $nla \rightarrow nna$

in verbs only^{2/}

: $\acute{s}unla$ > ($\acute{s}unna$) 'he hears'
3. $nIl\phi \rightarrow nIn\phi$

in verbs only

: / $\acute{s}unIl\phi$ / $\acute{s}unIn^3$ 'he hears'

(subj.)

this change is by analogy with that in rule 2.
4. $dd \rightarrow d\phi$

in perfect verb only

/ $\acute{p}handdim$ / > $\acute{p}handim$ 'I bound'

/ $\acute{be}\check{s}du$ / > ($\acute{be}\check{s}tu$) 'he sat'

/ $\acute{d}IkhdI$ / > $\acute{d}IkhlI$ 'they saw'

-
1. This change probably took place at a time when this \acute{I} was not stressed.
 2. Cf. $av@nlara$ 'tomorrow' which does not change
 3. forms not enclosed in round brackets will undergo further change

5. $\begin{array}{c|c} t & k \\ s & \\ t & \\ r & \end{array} \rightarrow \begin{array}{c|c} k & \\ s & \\ t & \\ r & \end{array}$ in forms of /tu/ 'you' only
 : /tút^hkI/ > t^húkI 'to you'
 /tut^hru/ > tu^hru 'your'
6. an^hru → o^hru in possessive pronouns only
 u^hru → o^hru /man^hru/ > (mo^hru) 'my'
 Inru → aru tu^hru > (to^hru) 'your'
 /amInru/ > (amaru) 'our'
 /tumInru/ > (tumaru) 'your' (pl.)
7. khi → tshi in the following two words only^{1/}
 /makhi/ > (matshi) 'fly'
 /khil/ > (tshil) 'butter'
8. khi → pi in the passive of /alakh-/ only
 : /alákhilu/ > (alápilu) 'it was found'
9. as^hIs → ás in oblique forms of /čipas/ only
 : /čipas^hIskI/ čipáskI 'to something'
- on^hIs → ás in oblique forms of /kon/ 'who' only
 : /kon^hIskI/ > káskI 'to whom'

1. but : /makhibi/ 'painting' does not show this change.
 N.B. (tsh) only occurs in the two words given.

10. $\leftarrow i$ (\rightarrow) $\acute{e}i$ in medio-passives only^{1/}
 : /arádilu/ (\rightarrow) aradéilu 'it became rotten'
 /báriáa/ (\rightarrow) baréiáa 'I become big'
11. @kal (\rightarrow) @l in demonstratives only
 ukul (\rightarrow) ul : k@kala (\rightarrow) (k@la) 'these'
 udul (\rightarrow) ul
- B. General rules (applying throughout the language)
12. Vibi \rightarrow Vbi : /xaibi/ \rightarrow (xabi) 'food'
13. Ia \rightarrow a : /mangIáa/ \rightarrow mangáa 'I want'
 /dIkhIas/ \rightarrow dIkhas 'we see' (subj.)
14. $\begin{array}{c|c|c} e & \acute{I} & l \\ a & & n \\ & & s \end{array} \rightarrow \begin{array}{c|c|c} \acute{e} & & l \\ \acute{a} & & n \\ & & s \end{array}$: /leÍsa/ \rightarrow (lésa) 'you take'
15. $\begin{array}{c} a\acute{a}a \\ \acute{a}a\neq \end{array} \rightarrow \begin{array}{c} \acute{a}a \\ \acute{a}\neq \end{array}$: xaáas \rightarrow (xáas) 'I used to eat'
 $\begin{array}{c} \acute{a}a\neq \\ \end{array} (\rightarrow) \acute{a}\neq$ xaáa \rightarrow (xáa) (\rightarrow) (xa) 'I eat'

1. the forms in - $\acute{e}i$ - are probably older

16. aia → a
aiaa → a

: /daia/ > (da) 'mother' (acc.)
/phabaia > (phaba) 'apples'

restriction

/daia/ 'mothers' (plural) does not
change

17. $\begin{array}{c|c} \check{c} & \\ \check{ch} & \\ r & \\ r & \text{I} \\ s & s \\ x & l \\ \check{z} & n \end{array} \rightarrow \begin{array}{c|c} \check{c} & \\ \check{ch} & \\ r & \\ r & @ \\ s & s \\ x & l \\ \check{z} & n \end{array}$

: /baɾɪssa/ > baɾ@ssa 'with a stone'

18. $\begin{array}{c|c} r & \\ r & \\ s & \text{I} \\ \check{z} & \end{array} \neq \rightarrow \begin{array}{c|c} r & \\ r & \\ s & @ \\ \check{z} & \end{array} \neq$

/aɾɪ/ > (aɾ@) 'eggs'

19. $\begin{array}{c|c} m & \\ p & \text{I} \\ t & \end{array} \neq \rightarrow \begin{array}{c|c} m & \\ p & @ \\ t & \end{array} \neq$

: /mɪ/ > (m@) 'my' (obl.s., pl.)

20. $\begin{array}{c} \text{ria} \\ \text{r} \end{array} \rightarrow \begin{array}{c} \text{r}^{\text{a}} \\ \text{r} \end{array}$: /sov r^{a} / > (sov r^{a}) 'all'
(obl.f.sing.)
21. $\begin{array}{c} \text{ér} | \text{l} | \text{a} \\ \text{s} \\ \text{n} \end{array} \rightarrow \begin{array}{c} \text{ér} | \text{l} | \text{a} \\ \text{s} \\ \text{n} \end{array}$: k ér la > (k ér la) 'he does'
22. $\begin{array}{c} \text{e} | \text{C} | \text{e} \\ | \\ \text{@} \end{array} \rightarrow \text{@ C @}$: /khere/ > (kh er^{a}) 'at home'
ker @s > (k er^{a} s) 'you do'
or @ > (m er^{a}) 'my' (obl.,pl.)
23. $\text{ia} \rightarrow \text{e}$: /tasia/ (>) (tase) 'tomorrow'
mudardias(>) (mudares) 'he killed'
24. $\begin{array}{c} \text{g} | \\ \text{v} \\ \text{c} \\ \text{v} \\ \text{s} | \text{ia} \\ \text{x} \\ \text{v} \\ \text{z} \end{array} \rightarrow \begin{array}{c} \text{g} | \\ \text{v} \\ \text{c} \\ \text{v} \\ \text{s} | \text{a} \\ \text{x} \\ \text{v} \\ \text{z} \end{array}$: /loš i^{a} sa/ > (loš a sa) 'with joy'
/iagiátI/ > iagátI 'fire' (loc.)
25. $\text{ldi} \rightarrow \text{i}$: /bašaldim/ > (bašaim) 'I played'
26. $\text{šti} \rightarrow \text{šči}$: /bešti/ > (bešči) 'she sat'
27. $\begin{array}{c} \text{d} | \\ \text{g} \\ \text{k} \\ \text{l} | \text{i} \\ \text{n} \\ \text{t} \\ \text{v} \end{array} \rightarrow \begin{array}{c} \text{z} | \\ \text{z} \\ \text{ts} \\ \text{ø} | \text{i} \\ \sim \\ \text{ts} \\ \text{ø} \end{array}$: /phendias/ > (phenzias) 'he spoke'
/bangi/ > (banzi) 'crooked' (f.)
/loki/ > (lotsi)^{1/} 'light' (f.)
/peli/ > (pei) 'she fell'
/leñia/ > (leñ a)^{2/} 'rivers'
/sastipi/ > (sastsipi) 'health'
/phuviátI/ > phuviátI 'on the ground'

1. this conforms with the use of /ts/ in loan words; the symbol generally used by writers on Romany is /c/
2. ~ represents nasalization; this is strong in Kotel but less so in other communities of Kot. Gypsies

This rule (palatalization) is one of distinctive features of Kotel and neighbouring dialects. It has also been used as a writing device to cover the sound (ts) which only occurs, in native words, before (i).

restrictions

(i) this rule is only applied once to a cluster of consonants

: /rakli/ 'girl' > (raki), and the -k- is not modified

(ii) -kn- is not modified

: tsikni 'small' (f.)

puknizíla 'it bursts'

do not modify

28. I → i

29. $\begin{array}{c|c|c|c} a & l & a & \\ \hline o & vi & n & \neq \\ \hline u & s & & \end{array} \rightarrow \begin{array}{c|c|c|c} a & l & a & \\ \hline o & i & n & \neq \\ \hline u & s & & \end{array}$

: rovíla > (roíla) 'he weeps'
čhavis > (čhais) 'boy' (acc.)

30. vur_ξ → vr_ξ

Vur_ξ → ur_ξ

: /čhovur_ξ/ > (čhov_ξru) 'boy' (dim.)
butsiur_ξi > (butsu_ξri) 'work' (dim.)

36. $\begin{array}{c|c} b & p \\ d & t \\ g & k \\ v & f \\ z & s \\ \check{z} & \check{c} \end{array} \neq \rightarrow \neq$

: /iag/ > (iak) 'fire'
cf. (iaga) 'fires'

N.B. / \check{z} / > (\check{c}), the voiceless
correlative of / $\check{d}\check{z}$ / from which
Kot. / \check{z} / developed
cf. Sofia / $\check{d}\check{z}$ ukel/ (Kot. / \check{z} ukel/
'dog')

37. $\begin{array}{c|c} \check{c}h & \check{c} \\ kh & k \end{array} \neq \rightarrow \neq$

: /a \check{c} h/ > (a \check{c}) 'be' (imp.)
cf. (a \check{c} h \acute{e} la) 'he becomes'

N.B. /th/ and /ph/ have not been
recorded in final position.

38. $\begin{array}{c|c} s & s \\ \check{s} & \check{s} \end{array} | t \neq \rightarrow \neq$

: /ka \check{s} t/ > (ka \check{s}) 'tree, wood'
cf. (ka \check{s} ta) 'trees'

39. ss → s

rakl \acute{i} ssa > (rakl \acute{i} sa) 'with the boy'

40. $\begin{array}{c|c} a & a \\ nk & ng \\ i & i \\ u & u \end{array} \rightarrow$

: man \acute{k} i > (man \acute{g} i) 'to me'

41. $\begin{array}{c|c} ti & di \\ n & n \\ tar & dar \end{array} \rightarrow$

man \acute{t} i > (man \acute{d} i) 'me' (loc.)

42. ea → ia

dea > dia 'I give'

le \acute{a} sa > li \acute{a} sa 'we give'

43. azi (→) asi : lošázim (>) lošásim 'I was happy'
44. ViV → VjV : piias > (pijas) 'he drank'
- ≠iV → ≠jV : iak > (jak) 'fire'
45. rz → r : phérzila > phérila 'it fills'(intr.)

Specimen text in phonetic transcription^{1/}phonetic

sjas na sjas ek puranu djádus
 ko djádus si lis ek bábička
 kai nan@i lin k@zǎjsja
 on si lin ek dudum andi kúmina
 ti kai žána píski i rat
 i bába lam@íla t@ khǎj@r@l
 i bába z@rt, u pápa z@rt
 ti phérila u dudum
 kai phérila u dudum
 puknízila u dudum
 kai puknízila u dudum
 prazízila
 phérila u kher k@zǎjsja

phonological

sias na sias ekh puranu dIádus
 ko dIádus si lIs ekh bábička
 kai nan@i lIn k@zánisia
 on si lIn ekh dudum andI kúmina
 tI kai žaÍna pískI i rat
 i bába lamaÍla t@ khaniarIl
 i bába z@rt, u pápa z@rt
 tI phérdiÍla u dudum
 kai phérdiÍla u dudum
 puknízÍla u dudum
 kai puknízÍla u dudum
 prazníÍla
 phérdiÍla u kher k@zánIsia

translation

there was, there was not, an old grandfather
 the grandfather has an old wife
 Because they have no children
 they have a gourd in the hearth
 and when they go home at night
 the grandmother begins to defecate
 The old woman defecated, the old
 man defecated
 and the gourd is filled
 When the gourd is filled
 the gourd bursts
 When the gourd bursts
 the house is filled with children

notes

dIádus grandfather (Bul.)
 bábička grandmother (B.)
 kúmina hearth (B.)
 z@rt defecated (Turk.)
 puknízÍla bursts (B.)
 prazníÍla empties (B.)
 bába grandmother (B.)

-
1. transcribed from a tape recording made by B.P. in Kotel, August 1967.
 The subject matter is a combination of two common motifs - the birth
 from a gourd (see Paspatis p.616, JGLS 3 x 78) and the houses of wax
 and salt (Paspatis 616, Kretschmer Neugriechische Maerchen no.18)

phonetic

ti i bába kai dikhjas
 ti u djádus akana
 aj, su m@-keras
 vakér_la
 kikitsi k@zāj_n
 léla u šuval p@ astíndi
 kukulis pat kukulis pat
 u šoru kukulis pat
 u jakha kukulis pat
 u čhanga kukulis
 u jakha u piř₅@
 u sovř₅@ muli
 otkakis
 mudaras u sovř₅@n

phonological

tI i bába kai dIkhdias
 tI u dIádus akana
 ai, su m@-kerIas
 vakerÍla
 kIkIti k@zánin
 leÍla u šuval p@ astÍntI
 kukulIs pat kukulIs pat
 u šoru kukulIs pat
 u iakha kukulIs pat
 u čhanga kukulIs
 u iakha u piřa
 u sovřI mulI
 otkakIs
 mudardias u sovřIn

translation

and the grandmother when she looked
 and the grandfather now.

"Oh, what will we do"

he says,

"with so many children ?"

He takes the broom in his hands

That one plonk, that one plonk

the head, that one, plonk,

the eyes, that one plonk,

the legs, that one,

the eyes, the feet,

all died,

yonder one,

he killed all.

note

pat onomatop

phonetic

kide ama
 kai mudaras u sovř@n
 u jek svarízila t@
 garail pis tela i odar@sti
 ti ušila
 vak@rla
 kikesai k@tka
 našī mudarin
 a nikači
 vak@rla of
 u djádus kide ama
 pala rimonísti
 kana dikhíla pal i dares
 ek tsikuři čhajuri-da

translation

however
 when he killed them all
 one manages to
 hide himself under the bed
 and he gets up.
 He says,
 "such ones here,
 you cannot kill,"
 he says
 "Ah nothing (never mind)".
 The grandfather however
 after a little while
 when he looks behind the door
 (he sees) a little girl too.

phonological

kIde ama
 kai mudardias u sovřIn
 u iekh svarízÍla t@
 garail pls tela i odarÍstI
 tI ušÍla
 vakerÍla
 kIkesavI k@tka
 našī mudarIn
 a nIkači
 vakerÍla ov
 u dIádus kIde ama
 pala rimonístI
 kana dIkhÍla pala i dares
 ekh tikuri čhaiuri-da

notes

svarízÍla	succeeds (B.)
odar	bed (T.)

phonetic

kér|la píski andu kher
 kana aí|la píski andu kher
 pale benzias i kaxnuři
 ek a|ru
 u čhov|ru paš lí|sti
 i čhai|ři paš i babá|ti
 pala nan@i lin lon
 ti vak@|ra i bá|ba
 k@z@m
 uši t@ ž@nki t@ manga
 vak@|ra
 kai tu pá|pus
 vak@|ra
 frí|ma lon
 t@ lonziaras amíng@ a|ru
 t@ xas

phonological

kerí|la pískI andu kher
 kana aví|la pískI andu kher
 pale bendias i kaxnuři
 ekh a|ru
 u čhovu|ru paš lí|stI
 i čhaiu|ři paš i babatI
 pala nan@i lIn lon
 tI vakerí|la i bá|ba
 k@z@m
 uši t@ ž@nkI t@ manga
 vakerí|la
 kai tu pá|pus
 vakerí|la
 frí|ma lon
 t@ londiar|las amínkI a|ru
 t@ xa|las

translation

he settles himself in the house
 When he goes back to the house
 the hen layed again
 an egg.
 The little boy is with him,
 the little girl is with the old woman
 but they have no salt
 and the grandmother says.
 "My child,
 get up and go and ask,"
 she says,
 "your father
 for a little salt
 so we can salt our egg
 so we can eat.

note

k@z@m my child (Turk.)

phonetic

vak@rla
 ti bokhajam-tar
 lačh@s, vak@rla, bábo
 ušíla i čhajři
 ž@nkíla kai pu pápus
 pápo, vak@rla
 mi bába vak@rla
 t@ des fríma lon
 ċi trabuízila la láki
 u pápus vak@rla
 t@ désa t@ bába
 m@-dia tu lon

phonological

vakeríla
 tI bokhaliam-tar
 lačhIs, vakeríla, bábo
 ušÍla i čhaiurı
 ž@nkIÍla kai pu pápus
 pápo, vakeríla
 mi bába vakeríla
 t@ deIs fríma lon
 ċi trabuízÍla la lákI
 u pápus vakeríla
 t@ deÍsa tI bába
 m@-deIa tut lon

translation

she says,
 "for we have got hungry."
 "All right", she says, "grandma".
 The girl goes out,
 she goes to her grandfather.
 "Grandpa", she says,
 "My grandma says
 you should give (me) a little salt
 for she needs it."
 The grandfather says.
 "If you give me your grandmother
 I will give you salt."

phonetic

pala t@ na dása t@ baba
 me na dia lon
 i čhaiři-da xojasei-tar
 ž@nkíla kai pi bába
 su si ča k@z@m
 vak@rla
 eh, su t@ vakera bába
 mangim lísa lon
 pale vakerja
 t@ dása t@ bába
 m@-dia tu lon
 pala t@ na dása t@ bába
 me na dia tu lon

translation

but if you do not give (me)
 your grandmother
 I do not give you any salt"
 The girl became angry
 she goes to her grandmother
 "What is it then my child ?"
 "Oh, what shall I say, grandma?
 I asked him for salt
 but he said,
 'if you give me your grandmother
 I will give you salt
 but if you do not give me your grandmother
 I do not give you any salt'"

phonological

pala t@ na deísa tI bába
 me na deIáa lon
 i čhaiuři-da xoiaseíli-tar
 ž@nkIíla kai pI bába
 su si ča k@z@m
 vakeríla
 eh, su t@ vakerIa bába
 mangdim líssa lon
 pale vakerdias
 t@ deísa tI bába
 m@deIa tut lon
 pala t@ na deísa tI bába
 me na deIáa tut lon

note

ča interjection (Bul.)

phonetic

irízila ti déla lis arman
 danu, vakérila, k@z@m
 lísku kher lonístar t@ ačh@l
 pale amaru
 vakérila
 momístar
 ka t@ del ek baru brišint
 ka t@ gal lísku kher
 kide ama u del vednága
 sunzias la
 ti lamála ek baru brišint
 djas djas djas brišint
 i dadísku kher gajas
 língu ačhílu-tar
 sv@rsízei i prikózka

translation

she returns and gives him a curse.
 "My child", she says, "may
 his house become salt
 but ours
 wax,
 let a big rain come,
 let it take away his house."
 And God immediately
 heard her,
 and a big rain begins.
 it rained, rained and rained,
 it took away the father's house,
 theirs remained.
 The tale has finished.

phonological

irízíla tI deílla lís arman
 danu, vakeríla, k@z@m
 lísku kher lonístar t@ ačhíI
 pale amInru
 vakeríla
 momístar
 ka t@ deII ekh baru brišind
 ka t@ gaII lísku kher
 kIde ama u del vednága
 sundias la
 tI lamaíla ekh baru brišind
 dinias dinias dinias brišind
 i dadísku kher galdias
 líInku ačhílu-tar
 sv@rsízéili i prikózka

notes

arman curse (Turk.)
 danu may (Bulg.)
 vednága immediately (B.)
 sv@rsízéili finished (B.)
 prikózka tale (B.)

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SUBSIDIARY PAPERS

'Three Gypsy Tales from the Balkans'

Folklore

Reviews of

- (i) A Gypsy Grammar by R.G. Bhatia
- (ii) 'The Morphological Structure of a New Indo-Aryan
Language of Czechoslovakia' by V. Miltner

JGLS

Three Gypsy Tales from the Balkans

collected by D. KENRICK

THESE tales were collected in Bulgaria during 1965 and 1966.

1. *The Song of the Bridge*

Twelve brothers were making a bridge. They built the bridge but they could not complete building it. It always fell down again. I don't know how many months these brothers worked.

All the brothers were married and the wife of the youngest brother was the most beautiful. One day all the brothers went to work again and the oldest said to his brothers.

'We will build the bridge when we take the shadow of a woman. Whoever's wife comes first to bring her husband's food, we will take her shadow.'

When it was noon all the brothers looked toward the road.

Whose wife would come first?

All of them prayed to God from their souls.

'Don't let my wife come first'.

Then the youngest brother's wife comes. On her head she carries the bundle with the food, in her arms she carries her child. When the youngest brother sees his wife, his heart begins to tremble and the tears begin to pour from his eyes, and he begins to pray to God from his soul.

'Why does a wind not blow so that she drops the bundle from her head and goes home again?'

The young wife comes up to the brothers and sees her husband crying. She asks her husband.

'Why are you crying?'

He says to her.

'How can I not cry when my fate is such?'

The young wife understood everything and said to her husband.

'Don't cry for me but cry for your small child, for he will be motherless.'

The eldest brother saw the young wife and said to her.

'Oh young sister-in-law. Take this stone and lift it.' So she went to lift the stone and the eldest brother took her shadow so that the young wife went home and died.

Then the brothers built the bridge and it did not fall again.

Related by Ajvaz Raimov, a Musician from Razgrad.

THREE GYPSY TALES FROM THE BALKANS

This tale is common in the Balkans. Gypsy versions are recorded in *JGLS* (3) iv p. 103-114, xli p. 124-133, Paspatis p. 620-3, Gjorgjevic *Mitteilungen zur Zigeunerkunde* ii p. 121-3.

The incident of taking the shadow does not (to the best of my knowledge) occur in other versions. The wife lifting the stone seems to be confusion with the brothers picking up stones, in the standard versions, to kill or bury the victim.

2. *Why man lives for eighty years?*

When man was first created, his span of life was only twenty years. He complained about this and the donkey heard him and gave him twenty years of its life. Man continued to complain and this time the dog heard him and gave him twenty years of its life. Man was still not satisfied and this time his complaints were heard by the monkey who gave him twenty years of its life. At last man was satisfied.

Since that time man lives the first twenty years of his life as a man, the next twenty like a donkey, the next twenty like a dog, and the last twenty as a monkey.

As told by Dimiter Golemanov.

A similar tale is in Ramsay and McCullough, *Tales from Turkey*, p. 271-3.

3. *Why the Jews and the Gypsies are enemies*

In the time of the Gypsy king Pharaoh, the Jewish leader Moses came to the king and said that he and his people should worship the Jewish god. Pharaoh said that before they would consider being converted, Moses should show by a miracle that his religion was the true one and a meeting was arranged for the following day. Meanwhile Pharaoh's engineers set to work and built an installation on the Nile.

When Moses came on the following day Pharaoh asked him to make the waters of the Nile flow in the opposite direction. Moses could not do so. Then Pharaoh's engineers made the water flow in the opposite direction, and Pharaoh said.

You see, our brains can do more than your god.

Then Moses was angry and called upon God to curse Pharaoh and his people. God condemned the Gypsies to wander for ever over the face of the earth, and since that day the Gypsies and the Jews have been enemies.

Related (in Bulgarian) by Stefan Demirov, a Musician from Shumen.

Also deserving special mention is the rich, sometimes quite unique, photographic material, illustrating the life of Danish travellers. Anders Enevig has given us, indeed, a valuable book, which has to be considered a most important contribution to the understanding of the European problem of itinerancy and the history of outcast groups in Scandinavia.

ADAM HEYMOWSKI (Stockholm).

A Gypsy Grammar. By R. G. BHATIA. (Ph.D. thesis, Pennsylvania, 1963. Available from University Microfilms, P.O. Box 1307, Ann Arbor, Michigan.)

In this study the author analyses the Romani dialect spoken by Mrs C. Ristick who was born in Chicago in 1908. Her father came from Mexico and her mother from Germany, and the language she speaks is a variety of the common American dialect.

From the lengthy phonetic section we see that all four aspirates are retained and that there is a velar fricative (ɣ), corresponding to Sanscrit retroflex *t* and *d* (See *JGLS.* (2) iv. 292-6), in *ayo* 'egg', *yom* 'Gypsy' etc. It also occurs in *yakia* 'brandy' and *yudar* 'door', where it is not historically justified. There are five basic vowels and a phonemic contrast is set up between long and short *a*, *e* and *i*. Minimal pairs, however, are only given for the contrast *a/ā* e.g. *rat* 'blood', *rāt* 'night'.

The general approach is that of the American structuralists and, as a result, the reader will have to study the Morphophonemic section carefully in order to get a full picture of the 'grammar' (in its traditional sense). Thus, it is under Morphophonemics, rather than under the heading Noun, that we find the information that nouns ending in a consonant have no separate forms for the accusative singular and nom. and acc. plural. The Vlach element in this dialect comes out in the morphology as well as the vocabulary. The oblique definite article is *le*, *la*, *le* and the negative particle is *ci* (i.e. *či*). There is a fairly detailed treatment of the verb, although the passive is not dealt with as such, and it is not made clear in the morphology section whether the use of the past participle as an alternative in the third person singular of the preterite tense is for intransitive verbs only, as in many dialects, or is a free variant for all verbs. In fact, the texts show that the

former is the case. There are four texts included, with translation and commentary. Apart from their linguistic interest, they shed some light on the life of the U.S. Gypsies. 'A Gypsy Party' includes the arranging of a wedding and 'The Old Life' tells how the informant's family, now sedentary, used to travel. A few errors have crept into the Morphology section. It is stated that nouns ending in a vowel other than *o* have no accusative, but we find later (p. 55) the form *yomnya*, from *yomni* 'Gypsy woman'. The forms *le*, *la*, *le* of the definite article are also used as a nominative (e.g. p. 54) although this is nowhere stated. The list of formative suffixes, too, is not complete e.g. *-ime* and *-kar-* are not included.

The Vocabulary is unfortunately marred by a haphazard treatment of the Etymology. For some words an etymology is given in the Vocabulary section, while after those that occur in the texts, there is a reference back to the commentary on the texts which includes, in some cases, an etymology. For the larger part of the vocabulary, however, there is no attempt at derivations, though reference to dictionaries of Rumanian and the Slav languages would quickly have provided many, e.g. *diminyatsa*, *wiatsa*, *mamuno* 'animal', *weselo*, etc.). As a result, *trubulaz* 'it was necessary' and *priznain* 'they respect' are erroneously connected with English 'trouble' and 'prize' respectively, when they are, in fact, of Slav origin. The majority of the etymologies given are from Sanscrit. Mr Bhatia states three times (pp. ix, 79, 130) that these 'are based mainly on Sampson and Turner' and that 'most of them are worthless'. It is a pity that the author makes these unjustified criticisms while making use of Sampson and Turner's work. Apart from this, Mr Bhatia's work can be welcomed as a useful introduction to a hitherto neglected dialect.

D. S. KENRICK.

The Morphological Structure of a New Indo-Aryan Language of Czechoslovakia. By VLADIMIR MILTNER. (*Indian Linguistics* No. 26, 1965.)

This article consists mainly of an alphabetical list of the bound morphemes of Slovak Romani, i.e. the inflectional affixes and those used for word formation. The dialect is that described in Lipa's

Příručka cikánštiny (see *JGLS.* (3) xliv. 63-5). The author classifies the morphemes by what precedes and follows them, in addition to their own meaning. Thus the *e* in *šileder* 'colder' is distinguished from that in *phureder* 'older' and *gadžikanēs* 'in non-Gypsy fashion', since the former occurs after noun stems and before *-der* only, whereas the latter occurs after adjective stems and before both *-der* and *-s*. This is in accordance with the theory of 'contextual analysis' put forward by Dr J. Kalouskova, although similar ideas are found in some American works. The actual analysis is, in some cases, debatable. For example, the *-al* in *agoral* 'outside' and *anglal* 'in front' is treated as two morphemes on the (unstated) ground that *agor* is an extant noun, while **angl* is not, rather than for the reason given, that *angl-* is an adverbial stem. It seems unnecessary, too, to distinguish the *-es* of *pes* 'self' from that of *gadžes* 'non-Gypsy (acc.)', just on the grounds that *p-* can refer to a masculine or feminine subject. Similarly, there is no need to separate the *-e-* in *gadžeha* (instr.) from the *-es-* in *gadžeske* (dat.), since these are semantically, historically and synchronically identical. They could be treated as one morpheme and the change from *-es-* to *-e-* treated as a property of the following *-ha*, as is done elsewhere (item 54), where an *-as-* morpheme changes preceding *-s-* to *-h-*, e.g. **kerd'asas* becomes *kerd'ahas* 'he made'. It is, in fact, not as easy to treat the bound morphemes in isolation from the rest of the analysis of the language as the author suggests.

A more important criticism is that the alphabetical arrangement adopted makes the list difficult to refer to. One cannot be sure, for example, whether the expected entry

what precedes	morpheme	meaning	what follows
1- 'he, she'	-a*	acc. sg. fem.	—

has been left out by mistake, doesn't exist in this dialect or is included somewhere under another item. It would also be useful if loan-affixes from Slovak e.g. *od-*, *u-*, were marked as such, and also non-productive affixes, such as *-i* in *rati* 'by night'. A list of the closed or limited classes would be useful, as it would be interesting to see which nouns behave like *her* 'foot' and, even more so, the other pronominal stems like *m-* 'I' (item 119 etc.).

These criticisms do not detract from the article's worth as an application to Romani of modern linguistic methods. The use of zero morphemes, of which the author distinguishes nine, will be

new to many readers e.g. *kerø* 'do', where -ø (indicating the absence of any other ending) marks the second person singular imperative. Dr Miltner also introduces a 'direct' case, serving as the nominative of animate nouns and the nominative, accusative and vocative of inanimates. It will be interesting to see whether comparing morpheme lists drawn up on these lines in the various Indo-Aryan languages produces useful results.

D. S. KENRICK.

A Lovári Cigány Dialektus Leíró Nyelvtana. By MIKLÓS HUTTERER and GYÖRGY MÉSZÁROS. (Budapest 1967).

This is the first detailed account to be published in Hungary of the Lovari dialect: Archduke Jozef described it as the language of the ^{Carpathian} ~~Kalpati~~ Gypsies. There are sections on phonology, word-formation and accidence, followed by a vocabulary and four pages of texts. The material is presented in a scientific but clear style and much of it is accessible to the reader with only a limited knowledge of Hungarian.

D. S. KENRICK.

The Sikligars of Punjab (a Gypsy Tribe). By SHER SINGH 'SHER'. Sterling Publishers, Delhi. Rs. 35.

About three years ago, reviewing a book by an Indian on the Gypsies (*Gipsies, Forgotten Children of India*, by Chaman Lal¹), Mr. Brian Vesey-FitzGerald regretted that the author had not even mentioned the Gypsies of Modern India, about whom 'little or nothing is known'.

Mr. Sher Singh has dedicated himself precisely to the study of the so-called 'Gypsy tribes' of his country, particularly those of Panjab. He published a book on the Sansi² and many articles (one about the Nat and the Bazigar³) in which he generously pleads in favour of those groups of people who were for a long time branded with the name of 'Criminal Tribes'.

¹ *JGLS*. (3) xliii. 66.

² *The Sansis of Punjab*, Delhi, 1965.

³ In *The Hindustan Times*, June 26, 1960.