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

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22 Oct 69
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me from many errors through his lengthy correspondence and the latter for the invaluable and time-saving loan of his unpublished thesis on the Sofia dialect together with personal advice.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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<td>220</td>
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</table>
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'

b : balval 'wind'

č : čar 'grass'

čh : čham 'cheek'

d : dar 'door'

e : evin 'morning'

f : in loan words¹/

g : gonu 'sack'

i : indra 'sleep'

I : mangíla 'he wants'

k : kangli 'comb'

kh : kher 'house'

l : lon 'salt'

m : mol 'wine'

n : nevu 'new'

o : on 'they'

p : por 'feather'

ph : phen 'sister'

r : raklu 'boy'

ř : řom 'husband'

s : sap 'snake'

ś : štar 'four'

t : ternu 'young'

th : than 'place'

u : ušíla 'he gets up'

v : vadíla 'he lifts'

x : xer 'donkey'

z : zor 'strength'

ž : živdu 'alive'

@ : 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 /thríma/ 'a little'
STRESS\(^1\)

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

: usťla

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

: kon-tu (kontu)

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.)

/matili/ (matsi) 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)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>B. or Bulg.</td>
<td>Bulgarian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GS</td>
<td>Bernard Gilliat-Smith. His published works (see bibliography) and private communications. Where no additional reference is given GS implies texts in Kotel dialect.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gk.</td>
<td>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.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kot.</td>
<td>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).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pasp.</td>
<td>Paspati (see bibliography).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rom.</td>
<td>Romany or Gypsy language.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rum.</td>
<td>Rumanian.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scr.</td>
<td>Sanscrit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T. or Turk.</td>
<td>Turkish</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

See also p.220 for abbreviations of the bibliography.
List of Informants and Sources for the Kotel dialect
(and abbreviations used for them)


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.


GS  Gilliat-Smith's collection of words and phrases made in 1913 in Varna. The informant was Çakir, born Kotel approx. 1870, a musician.¹/

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GS</th>
<th>my transc.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>χ</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>w</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>æ</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɔ</td>
<td>ɔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j</td>
<td>i,I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>~</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>: dugjei</td>
<td>dugIeni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buztingʌ</td>
<td>buzinink</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

---

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), Sumen Sepirdzides (Basketmakers), Burgudzides (Gimlet-makers) etc.
b) Kalaidzides (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 Zeravna. 

The Kotel Gypsies - the subject of this study - call themselves ťomaitsia (probably a diminutive of ťoma, the name used by other Bulgarian Gypsies) or muzikantsia (musicians). They have been called by other Gypsies dr@ndari and k@tkadži and by the Bulgarians kotlenski tzigani. 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. 

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 

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Town</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kotel</td>
<td>4,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sumen</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liaskovets</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Razgrad</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tiča</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Omurttag</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zlataritsa</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

plus individual families in other towns.

1. recorded by G-S in 1914.
2. from the sound dr@m 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', zonki 'to go'

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

- 'they' Kotel on Sliven odana
- 'early' rano (B.) erken (T.)
- 'you came' (pl.) (aian) (ailI)

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. Since then, apart from a short vocabulary, nothing has been published on the dialect.

The Kotel dialect is still used as a home language by most adults 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 KrČstef and published by Seitanov. (See JGLS(3)xiii). At the time Seitanov was not aware of GS's work on Bulg.Romany
3. Kostov's unpublished study has some references (under 'Wollschláger') to Kotel Romany. It is perhaps worth pointing out that the 'musicians' referred to by Paspati 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.
Part I. Nominals

This part deals with the following units:

- Noun: \( \text{Base.Gender.Number.Case.} \)
- Pronoun: \( \text{Base.Gender.Number.Case.} \)
- Adjective: \( \text{Base.Gender.Number.Case.} \)
- Card.Numeral: \( \text{Base.Case.} \)

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 dlkhdim manusîs (acc.) I saw a man
      me dlkhdim maçu (nom.) I saw (some) bread
      me stardim maĉIs (acc.) I caught (live) fish
      me xalim maĉhu (nom.) I ate (dead) fish
      parxoddim i manûsîs (acc.) I buried a (dead) man
HOOTS AND PRONOUNS

Gender, Number and Case I are represented by merged affixes

masc. sing. nom. -u 18 fem. sing. nom. -i 2
acc. -Is(上面) 12 acc. -ia(下面) 5
voc. -Iia 8 voc. -ie 9

masc. plur. nom. -I 3 fem. plur. nom. -ia 6
acc. -In(上面) 11 acc. -in(下面) 10
voc. -aler 1 voc. -ialer 7

Case II is represented by the following affixes

genitive -ku 14
dative -kI 13
locative -tI 17
instrumental -sa 15
ablative -tar 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 /cipas/ 'something' have no plural.
ADJECTIVE

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

masc. sing. nom. -u 18  fem. sing. nom. -i 2
masc. sing. obl. -I 4  fem. sing. obl. -ia 5
m./f. plur. nom. -I 3
m./f. plur. obl. -I 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 (ii) used alone

nom. -u 18 nom. -u 18
obl. -I 4 acc. -In 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

Main form | Variants
---|---
1. -aler\(^1\) m.plur.voc. | -e after demonstratives
| : chav-aler 'Oh boys'

2. -i f.sing.nom. | -I after adjectivalized genitives (including possessive prons), the possessive pronouns /m-/ 'my' and /t-/ 'your'
| : rakl-i 'girl'
| : kâk-e 'this one'
| : tern-i 'young'
| : thagarîsk-I rakli 'king's daughter'
| : lîsk-I rakli 'his daughter'
| : m-I rakli 'my daughter'

-u after ordinal numerals
| : mî duit-u ʒumni 'my second wife'

-∅ after certain noun bases (listed in lexicon), /aver/'other', /kon/'who', /kon/'which', /kata/'every', /ekh/ 'one'
| : rat-∅ 'night'

1. also /-alen/ (IA), as in other Bulg. Romany dialects
3. -I (i) masc.pl.nom.  
(of nouns)  
: rakl-I 'boys'  
(ii) comm.pl.nom.  
(of adjs and pronouns)  
: tern-I 'young'

Variants  
-a after noun bases which have  
-∅ 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'

∅ 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'

-∅ after dui 'two' and kata/ 'each'  
: do-∅

-@ 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-/
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Main form</th>
<th>Variants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'what sort of', possessive pronouns and /avert/ 'other'</td>
<td>'what sort of'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ia fem.pl.nom.</td>
<td>s@-I 'what sort of'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>: rakl-ia 'girls'</td>
<td>-unl after ordinal numerals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. -ialer1/ fem.pl.voc.</td>
<td>duit-unl 'second'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>: phen-ialer 'Oh sisters'</td>
<td>-∅ after /kata/ 'each every'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. -Iia masc.sing.voc.</td>
<td>-@ after adjectivalized gens and poss.pronouns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>: rakl-Íia 'Oh boy'</td>
<td>lísk@ raklia 'his daughter' (acc.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rom-Íia 'Oh husband'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. also -ialen cf.f.n. on p.20
2. rom-Íia is probably by analogy with the fem. ðumniie 'Oh wife'
3. cf. Bulg. vocs in -e
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Main form</th>
<th>Variants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-o</td>
<td>after /romaiti/ and /pap-/ only</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>romaiti-o</td>
<td>'Oh Gypsy' (of the Kotel tribe)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pap-o</td>
<td>'Oh grandfather'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

9. **-íie** fem.sing.voc. of nouns and adjectives

- rakl-íie 'Oh girl'
- tern-íie 'Oh young one'

- e after bases which have -φ in sing.nom. and /čai/

- phen-e 'Oh sister'
- čhai-e 'Oh daughter'
- o after /dai/ 'mother'¹
- dai-o

10. **-in(-)** gem.plur.acc.

: rakl-in 'girls'

11. **-In(-)** (i) masc.pl.acc.

: rakl-Ín-sa 'with boys'

(ii) comm.pl.acc. (with pronouns and numerals)

: l-Ín-sa 'with them'

10. -in(-) gem.plur.acc.

: rakl-in 'girls'

11. -In(-) (i) masc.pl.acc.  -n after /dui/, efta, oxto, enia (2,7,8,9)

: rakl-Ín-sa 'with boys'

(ii) comm.pl.acc. (with pronouns and numerals)

: l-Ín-sa 'with them'

1. cf. Bulg. vocs in -o
2. cf. Bulg. maiko 'Oh mother'
12. -Is(-) (i) masc. sing. acc.  -as after ib (affix 43 see p. 47)
   : rakl-Is-sa 'with a boy'
(ii) comm. sing. acc.
   (with pronouns)  -n after me 'I'
   : l-Is-sa
   -t after tu 'you' (sing.)
   : tu-t
   -us after /s-/ 'what ?'
   : s-ús-kI 'for what (dat.), why ?'

13. -kI dative
   : rakl-Is-kI 'to a boy'

14. -ku genitive (also used as an adjective) 
   : bi rakl-iá-ku 'without a girl, daughter'
   rakl-iá-ku šeru 'a girl's head'
   -fu after /am-/ 'we' and /tum-/ 'you' (pl.)
   : am-In-ru 'our'
   -fu after me 'I' and /tu/ 'you' (s.)
   : bi man-ru 'without me'

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-ðaiáku 'he(she) is without a mother'

2. For the phonological development of /amInru/, /manru/ etc. see rules 5 and 6 on p. 204.
Main form

15. -sa instrumental
   : raklia-sa 'with a girl'

16. -tar ablative
   : raklia-tar 'from a
girl'

17. -tī locative
   : kherīs-tī 'in a
house'

18. -u (i) masc.sing.nom.(of -a
   nouns, adjectives,
demonstratives and o) -v
   : bar-u 'big'
(ii) comm.sing.nom.
   (of me 'I', /tu/ 'you', -∅
   and cardinals)
   after certain noun
   bases (listed in
   lexicon^), aver 'other',
   /cipas/ 'something',
   /ekh/ 'one', /kata/'each',
   /kon/ 'who', 'which', me 'I',
   /tu/ 'you'(s.), /nikhaactories
   : ḍom-∅ 'husband'

---

1. they are marked in the lexicon by absence of -u; in the
notes to the specimen texts -∅ is marked.
### Nominal bases with alternant forms

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

See also lexicon entries for bax, chov, dad, dai, del, kIsov, mui, rom, zes.
These paradigms incorporate the variants of affixes shown on pp 19-23.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>'boy'</th>
<th>'stone' (m)</th>
<th>'sister'</th>
<th>Affixes¹/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sing.</td>
<td>rakl-u</td>
<td>baɣ-∅</td>
<td>phen-∅</td>
<td>18/18/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>rakl-īia</td>
<td></td>
<td>phen-e</td>
<td>8//9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voc.</td>
<td>rakl-īs</td>
<td></td>
<td>phen-ia</td>
<td>12//5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>acc.²</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>phen-ia-ku</td>
<td>12/12/5.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gen.</td>
<td>rakl-īs-ku</td>
<td>baɣ-īs-ku</td>
<td>phen-īa-ku</td>
<td>12/12/5.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dat.</td>
<td>rakl-īs-kiI</td>
<td>baɣ-īs-kiI</td>
<td>phen-īa-kiI</td>
<td>12/12/5.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>loc.</td>
<td>rakl-īs-tI</td>
<td>baɣ-īs-tI</td>
<td>phen-īa-tI</td>
<td>12/12/5.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abl.</td>
<td>rakl-īs-tar</td>
<td>baɣ-īs-tar</td>
<td>phen-īa-tar</td>
<td>12/12/5.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inst.</td>
<td>rakl-īs-sa</td>
<td>baɣ-īs-sa</td>
<td>phen-īa-sa</td>
<td>12/12/5.15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

|       |             |             |                |            |
| plur. | rakl-I      | baɣ-a       | phen-ia        | 3/3/6      |
| voc.  | rakl-aler   |             | phen-ia-ler    | 1//7       |
| acc.  | rakl-in     |             | phen-in        | 11//10     |
| gen.  | rakl-In-ku  | baɣ-In-ku   | phen-In-ku     | 11/11/10.14|
| dat.  | rakl-In-kiI | baɣ-In-kiI  | phen-In-kiI    | 11/11/10.13|
| loc.  | rakl-In-tI  | baɣ-In-tI   | phen-In-tI     | 11/11/10.17|
| abl.  | rakl-In-tar | baɣ-In-tar  | phen-In-tar    | 11/11/10.16|
| inst. | rakl-In-sa  | baɣ-In-sa   | phen-In-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
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>I</th>
<th>you</th>
<th>he, it</th>
<th>she, it</th>
<th>himself etc.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>me-∅</td>
<td>tu-∅</td>
<td>o-v</td>
<td>o-i</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc. 1/</td>
<td>ma-n</td>
<td>tu-t</td>
<td>l-Is</td>
<td>l-a</td>
<td>p-Is</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>ma-n-ru</td>
<td>tu-t-ru</td>
<td>l-íš-ku</td>
<td>l-á-ku</td>
<td>p-íš-ku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>má-n-kl</td>
<td>tú-t-kI</td>
<td>l-íš-kI</td>
<td>l-á-kI</td>
<td>p-íš-kI</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>we</th>
<th>you(pl.)</th>
<th>they</th>
<th>someone</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>am-In</td>
<td>tum-In</td>
<td>o-n</td>
<td>*ekh-∅²/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>am-In</td>
<td>tum-In</td>
<td>l-In</td>
<td>ekh-íš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>am-In-ru</td>
<td>tum-In-ru</td>
<td>l-íń-ku</td>
<td>ekh-íś-ku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>am-Íń-kl</td>
<td>tum-Íń-kl</td>
<td>l-Íń-kI</td>
<td>ekh-Íś-kI</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>who</th>
<th>what</th>
<th>something</th>
<th>Nothing</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>kon-∅</td>
<td>kon-∅</td>
<td>s-u</td>
<td>cípas-∅</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>kon-Is</td>
<td>*kon-ia</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>kon-íš-kl</td>
<td>kon-iá-kl</td>
<td>s-úš-kI</td>
<td>cípas-íš-kl</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>this one</th>
<th>that one</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg.nom.</td>
<td>k@k-a</td>
<td>k@k-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>acc.</td>
<td>k@kal-Is</td>
<td>k@kal-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dat.</td>
<td>k@kal-íś-kI</td>
<td>k@kal-á-kI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl.nom.</td>
<td>k@kal-a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>acc.</td>
<td>k@kal-In</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dat.</td>
<td>k@kal-Íń-kI</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. The accusative form of these pronouns is used referring to inanimates.
   : d likhdian u iil ? d likhdim īIs.
   did you see the book? I saw it.
2. replaced in the nominative by /ake-kon/ or /kaikamanuš/
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>yonder one</th>
<th>two</th>
<th>three</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>m</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>nom.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sg.nom.</td>
<td>kud-a</td>
<td>kud-e</td>
<td>dui-Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>acc.</td>
<td>kudul-Is</td>
<td>kudul-a</td>
<td>do-Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dat.</td>
<td>kudul-Is-kl</td>
<td>kudul-á-kl</td>
<td>trin-Ø</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<p>| | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pl.nom.</td>
<td>kudul-a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>acc.</td>
<td>kudul-In</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dat.</td>
<td>kudul-In-kl</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Adjectives**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'young'</th>
<th>'this'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>masc.</td>
<td>fem.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sg.nom.</td>
<td>tern-u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>obl.</td>
<td>tern-I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl.nom.</td>
<td>tern-I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>obl.</td>
<td>tern-I</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'that'</th>
<th>'yonder'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>masc.</td>
<td>fem.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sg.nom.</td>
<td>kuk-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>obl.</td>
<td>kukul-I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl.nom.</td>
<td>kukul-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>obl.</td>
<td>kukul-I</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'my'</th>
<th>'my'¹</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>masc.</td>
<td>gem.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sg.nom.</td>
<td>man-ᵣ-u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>obl.</td>
<td>man-ᵣ-@</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl.nom.</td>
<td>man-ᵣ-@</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>obl.</td>
<td>man-ᵣ-@</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. see note 1 on following page
'our'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>masc.</th>
<th>fem.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg.n.</td>
<td>amIn-r-u</td>
<td>amIn-r-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o.</td>
<td>amIn-r-@</td>
<td>amIn-r-@</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl.n.</td>
<td>amIn-r-@</td>
<td>aver-I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o.</td>
<td>amIn-r-@</td>
<td>av(e)r-I</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NB. /tutru/ and /tu/ 'your' (sg.), /pu/ 'his own' etc. and /tumInru/ 'your' (pl.) follow the pattern of /manru/, /mu/, and /amInru/ resp. /lîsku/ 'his', /låku/'her' and /lînku/ 'their' follow the pattern of adjectivalized genitives below.

'which'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>masc.</th>
<th>fem.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>s.n.</td>
<td>kon-φ</td>
<td>kon-φ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o.</td>
<td>kon-I</td>
<td>kon-I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p.n.</td>
<td>kon-φ</td>
<td>s@-I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o.</td>
<td>kon-I</td>
<td>s@-I</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'second'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>fem.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>s.n.</td>
<td>ekh-φ</td>
<td>ekh-φ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s.o.</td>
<td>ekh-I</td>
<td>ekh-Ia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p.n.</td>
<td>ekh-I</td>
<td>duit-u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o.</td>
<td>ekh-I</td>
<td>duit-unl</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. The short forms /mu/ and /tu/ can only be used before a noun. The long forms /manru/ and /tumInru/ can be used before a noun or attributively:
   - mu phral / manru phral 'my brother'
   - k@ka iil si manru 'this book is mine'

2. for the difference in meaning between /s/ and /kon/ see lexicon.

3. plural means 'some'
'brother's'  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>masc.</th>
<th>fem.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>s.n.</td>
<td>phralísk-u</td>
<td>phralísk-I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s.o.</td>
<td>phralísk-@</td>
<td>phralísk-@</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p.n.</td>
<td>phralísk-@</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o.</td>
<td>phralísk-@</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'his'  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>masc.</th>
<th>fem.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>s.n.</td>
<td>lísk-u</td>
<td>lísk-I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s.o.</td>
<td>lísk-@</td>
<td>lísk-@</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p.n.</td>
<td></td>
<td>lísk-@</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o.</td>
<td></td>
<td>lísk-@</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NB. All adjectivalized genitives follow the model given for /phralísk-u/.

**Definite Article**

Base and affixes are merged giving the following forms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>masc.</th>
<th>fem.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sing.nom.</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>obl.</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plur.nom.</td>
<td>u</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>obl.</td>
<td>i</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 Affixes

Tense

(Non-perfect) Imperfect base.I.Person.-as 24-20
Present base.I.Person.-a 24-19
Future m@.base.I.Person 29-24
Subj. base.I.Person.Ø 24-31

Perfect base.d.Person 21
Imperative2/ base.Person

Person

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Main form</th>
<th>Variants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>19. <strong>-a</strong> present</td>
<td>-Ø with /s-/ 'to be'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>: mangīl-a</td>
<td>: s-Ø-im-Ø 'I am'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'he wants'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. <strong>-as</strong> imperfect</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>: mangīl-as</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'he used to want'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. <strong>-d-</strong> perfect</td>
<td>-an- after /as-/'laugh',</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>: mudar-d-iam</td>
<td>/dukh-/'love, hurt', /laẓ-/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'we killed'</td>
<td>'be ashamed', /pati-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'believe', /xas-/'cough',</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/zāb- 'sing'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-Il- after /ačh-/'become',</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/av-/'come', /ker-/'cook',</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/paš-/'lay down', /rov-/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'weep', /ter-/'stay',</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/trāš-/'fear', /thāb- 'burn'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-In- after /kid-/'move', /us-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'arise' and compounds with</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-d-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>: kān-d-Inu 'he listened'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-Ist- after /nak-/'pass' and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/ux-/'descend'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-In- after /uxt-/'jump down'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-l- after /axa-/'understand',</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/sikī-/'learn', /xa-/'eat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>: axa-1-ias 'he understood'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-n- after /de-/'give', /le-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'take', /pi-/'drink'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. The numbering continues from p.25 above
### Variants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Main form</th>
<th>Variants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-st-</td>
<td>after <strong>inkI-</strong> 'go out'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>: <strong>inkI-</strong>-st-u 'he went out'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-∅-</td>
<td>after <strong>mer-</strong> 'die',</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>per-</strong> 'fall', /phag-/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'break', <strong>sov-</strong> 'sleep',</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>and <strong>i-</strong> (the mediopassive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>affix)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>: <strong>pel-∅-u</strong> 'he fell'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

22. **-i(-)** 3rd sing. fem.  
: **sut-∅-i** 'she slept'

| -ias      | after transitive                |
|           | stems in perfect tense          |
|           | : **mudar-∅-ias** 'she killed'  |

| -l-       | after **-i-** (the affix        |
|           | for non-perfect tenses)         |
|           | : **mudar-∅-l-a** 'she kills'   |

| -li²/     | after stems in **∅-**           |
|           | (mediopassives)                 |
|           | : **mudard-∅-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.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Main form</th>
<th>Variants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>23. -I(-) 3rd plur.</td>
<td>-ll after stems in -fi- (medio-passives)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>: sut-φ-I 'they slept'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-n- after -I- (non-perfect tenses)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>: mudārd-I-ll 'they were killed'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24. -I- non-perfect tenses</td>
<td>-a- after /as-/ 'laugh'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>: dīkh-I-l-a 'he sees'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-e- after compounds with -d- (affix 38)¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>: vād-e-l-a 'he lifts'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-i- after /ker-/, /paš-/, /ter-/, /trāš-/ and /thāb-/²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>: ker-I-la 'it cooks'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25. -iam(-)³ lst plur.</td>
<td>-as- after -I- (non-perfect tenses)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>: dīkh-d-iam 'we saw'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>: dīkh-I-ás-a 'we see'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. There is a tendency for compounds in -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.
### Main form

26. **-ian(-)** 2nd sing.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variant</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-s-</td>
<td>after -I-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dIkh-d-ian</td>
<td>'you saw'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

27. **-ian(-)** 2nd plur.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variant</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-In</td>
<td>after base (in imp.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dIkh-d-ian</td>
<td>'you saw'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

28. **-im(-)** 1st sing.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variant</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-a-</td>
<td>after -I- (non-perfect)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dIkh-d-im</td>
<td>'I saw'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

29. **m@-** future

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variant</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>m@-dIkh-I-s</td>
<td>'you will see'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

1. A few stems have a vowel instead of -φ in the imp.
   : tras-a 'fear!' us-i 'get up'. These vowels are probably the earlier vowel stem endings. (Ljungberg)

2. -ian@s in Razgrad and Šumen sub-dialects cf. Turk.
   yaparsinz '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 C17th Italy tu gianes so ca ma cherao = Kotel tu žanîsa su (che) m@- kerîa 'you know what I will do' (JGLS (2)vii 65)
Main form

30. -u(-) 3rd sing. masc. sing. -i-
: sut-Ø-u 'he slept'

Variants

30. -u(-) 3rd sing. masc. sing. -i-
: sut-Ø-u 'he slept'
: -ias after /s-/ 'to be'
: s-Ø-i-as 'he was'
: -ias after transitive stems
: in perfect tense
: mudar-d-ias 'he killed'
: -l- after -l-
: mudar-I-l-a 'he kills'
: -lu after stems in -i-
: (medio-passives)
: mudard-i-lu 'he was killed'

21. -Ø subjunctive
: (tØ) dIkh-I-l-Ø
'(that) he may see'
PARADIGMS

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>see</th>
<th>laugh¹/</th>
<th>be</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>¹s.</td>
<td>dIkh-I-á-a</td>
<td>as-a-a-a</td>
<td>s-ϕ-im-ϕ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>²s.</td>
<td>dIkh-I-s-a</td>
<td>as-a-s-a</td>
<td>s-ϕ-ian-ϕ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>³s.</td>
<td>dIkh-I-l-a</td>
<td>as-a-l-a</td>
<td>s-ϕ-i-ϕ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>¹p.</td>
<td>dIkh-I-as-a</td>
<td>as-a-as-a</td>
<td>s-ϕ-iam-ϕ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>²p.</td>
<td>dIkh-I-n-a</td>
<td>as-a-n-a</td>
<td>s-ϕ-ian-ϕ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>³p.</td>
<td>dIkh-I-n-a</td>
<td>as-a-n-a</td>
<td>s-ϕ-I-ϕ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

imperf.

<p>| | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>¹s.</td>
<td>dIkh-I-á-as</td>
<td>as-a-a-as</td>
<td>s-ϕ-im-as</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>²s.</td>
<td>dIkh-I-s-as</td>
<td>etc.</td>
<td>s-ϕ-ian-as</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>³s.</td>
<td>dIkh-I-l-as</td>
<td></td>
<td>s-ϕ-I-as</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>¹p.</td>
<td>dIkh-I-as-as</td>
<td></td>
<td>s-ϕ-iam-as</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>²p.</td>
<td>dIkh-I-n-as</td>
<td></td>
<td>s-ϕ-ian-as</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>³p.</td>
<td>dIkh-I-n-as</td>
<td></td>
<td>s-ϕ-I-as</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

fut.

<p>| | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>¹s.</td>
<td>m@-dIkh-I-a</td>
<td></td>
<td>29-24-28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>²s.</td>
<td>m@-dIkh-I-s</td>
<td></td>
<td>29-24-26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>³s.</td>
<td>m@-dIkh-I-l</td>
<td></td>
<td>29-24-22/30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>¹p.</td>
<td>m@-dIkh-I-as</td>
<td></td>
<td>29.24.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>²p.</td>
<td>m@-dIkh-I-n</td>
<td></td>
<td>29.24-27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>³p.</td>
<td>m@-dIkh-I-n</td>
<td></td>
<td>29-24-23</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹. showing variant of affix 24.
². the numbers refer to the list of affixes on pp 34-38.
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 s̱i̱ and *na s̱I̱ become /nan@i/ and /nan@I/ respectively for 'is not', '(they)are not'.

---

1. i.e. an intransitive verb./̣-/ is a variant of -d-
As verbs with passive meanings have the same form as those meaning 'to become...', they have been analyzed in the same way.

/lol-i-I-á-a/ 'he becomes red' (for -i- see p.46 affix 41)
/mudárd-i-I-á-a/ 'he becomes killed' = 'he gets killed'

Phonological paradigms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'become red'</td>
<td>lol-i-I-á-a</td>
<td>mudárd-i-I-z-a-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 lol-i-I-s-a</td>
<td>mudárd-i-I-s-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 lol-i-I-l-a</td>
<td>mudárd-i-I-l-a arát-i-I-l-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'get killed'</td>
<td>lol-i-I-as-a</td>
<td>mudárd-i-I-as-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 lol-i-I-n-a</td>
<td>mudárd-i-I-n-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 lol-i-I-n-a</td>
<td>mudárd-i-I-n-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'become night'</td>
<td>lol-i-á-im</td>
<td>*mudárd-i-á-im</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 lol-i-á-ian</td>
<td>*mudárd-i-á-ian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 lol-i-á-lu</td>
<td>mudárd-i-á-lu arát-i-á-lu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>f. lol-i-á-li</td>
<td>mudárd-i-á-li</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>lp. lol-i-á-iam</td>
<td>*mudárd-i-á-iam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 lol-i-á-ian</td>
<td>*mudárd-i-á-ian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 lol-i-á-lI</td>
<td>mudárd-i-á-lI</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

: (benzim) < (benzim) < /bend-i-á-im/ 'I was born'
: (benzim) < /ben-d-á-im/ 'I gave birth'

For this reason they are usually replaced by a different construction:

: /me sim bendu/ 'I was born' cf. Bulg. az səm roden id.
Impersonal Verbs

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

- **arátiíla**
  - it becomes night
- **zivésiíla**
  - it becomes day
- **dešt a brišind**
  - it is raining lit. it gives rain etc.
- **aši**
  - it is possible
- **naši**
  - it is impossible (from *na asi)

And the loan words

- (ne) moźë (Bulg.1/)
  - it is (not) possible
- (ne) triábva (Bulg.2/)
  - it is (not) necessary

---

1. A verb with full forms is also occasionally found
   /moźizíla/ I can
   /moźizísa/ you can etc

2. Also in the assimilated form /trabuzíla/.
   The phrase /lázim si/ (from T.lazim) 'it is necessary',
   is also found.
Word expansion by Affixes

Prefixes

32. a-    NF2/ redundant only recorded in
          a-rát-illa 'it becomes night'
          <rat    night
          Cf./zivésiİla/ '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@ršvam
          '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 /khoš-/; but /kos/ is found in other
dialects. Cf.also Ukrainian Romany /khošno/ 'handkerchief'
For two other possible instances of redundant a-, see
the lexicon entries for /akhuru/ and /astar/.
34. na- NP redundant and optional added to adverbs (a loan from Bulg.)
   : na-avrl 'outside' (in free variation with /avrl/)
   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.
a) those which change the class of the word when they are added.

36. -al-  forms adjectives from nouns. $^1/$

\[ \text{\textit{cik-al-u}} \quad \text{dusty} \]
\[ \text{\textit{cik}} \quad \text{dust} \]

37. -al NP  forms adverbs and prepositions from nouns $^2/$

\[ \text{\textit{pal-al}} \quad \text{behind} \]
\[ \text{\textit{*pal}} \quad \text{('back')} \]

38. -d- NP  forms verbs from nouns $^3/$

\[ \text{\textit{kan-d-}} \quad \text{listen} \]
\[ \text{\textit{kan}} \quad \text{ear} \]

39. -d-  forms adjectives $^4/$ from trans. verbs

\[ \text{\textit{mudar-d-u}} \quad \text{killed} \]
\[ \text{\textit{mudar-}} \quad \text{to kill} \]

---

1. and in one case from an adverb; palal-\(\text{un}-u\) (see lexicon)
2. see also p.59 below.
3. The stress distinguishes compound verbs from simple verbs ending in -d
   Cf. (me kända) I listen
   (me phända) I close (not a compound)
   NB. The affix -d- is historically identical with the verb \(\text{\textit{d-}}\) 'to give'
4. passive past participles.
40. \(-e\) NP forms adverbs and prepositions from nouns: examples on p.52 below

41. \(-i-\) forms verbs from adjectives (including past participles) and (NP) nouns:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Affix</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&lt;bar-u</td>
<td>big</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;mudard-i</td>
<td>be killed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;mudard-u</td>
<td>killed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

42. \(-iar-\) forms verbs from adjectives and (in at least one case)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Affix</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&lt;lol-u</td>
<td>red</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;cord-iar-u</td>
<td>cause to be stolen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;cord-u</td>
<td>stolen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;dis-iard-u</td>
<td>show</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;dis-u</td>
<td>appear</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Singular</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>ziyesilla</em></td>
<td>day &lt; <em>zives (variant of /zes/ 'day'</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>aratilla</em></td>
<td>night &lt; rat 'night'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3. /astar/'to catch' is considered by some authorities to be ast+iardar. See lexicon entry for discussion of this.
43. -ibi forms nouns (usually abstract) from verbs, adjectives and (in at least one case) a noun\(^1\)
   : bašal-ibi 'music'
   <bašal- 'to play'
   (further examples on p.53)

44. -indus forms adverbs (gerunds) from verbs
   : rov-indus 'crying'
   <rov 'to cry'

45. -Is forms adverbs from adjectives
   : řuman-Is 'in Gypsy fashion, in Romany'
   <řuman-u 'Gypsy' (adj.)

46. -n- (NP) forms nouns (nomina agentis) from verbs\(^2\)
   : bašal-nu 'musician'
   <bašal- 'to play'

47. -t- forms ordinal numerals from cardinals
   : dui-t-u 'second'
   <dui 'two'

---

1. thagar 'king' < thagaripi 'kingdom'
   NB. Nouns formed in -ibi are masc.

2. for /buznu/, see lexicon entry.
(b) Suffixes which do not change the class of the word when they are added.

48. -a added to verbs causative: phir-a- cause to walk
   <phir- walk

49. -ikl- NP added to nouns diminutive / for examples see p. 55

50. -iz- NP added to verbs suitability 2 / piizlla be drinkable
   < pi- to drink

51. -ker- added to verbs causative 3 / per-ker- to drop
   < per- fall

52. -ni added to nouns (names ambrol-ni pear-tree
   of fruits) / < ambrol pear
   tree-names

53. -ni added to nouns feminine
   das-ni Bulgarian woman
   < das Bulgarian man

54. -ur- added to nouns adjectives and adverbs
   diminutive 5 /
   rakl-ur-u little boy
   < rakl-u boy

1. -ikl- can be followed by suffix 54 (-ur-) 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 -iker ; rodiker- 'cause to search'. Often added to past part. in GS: muterdiiker- '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 Paspati 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-baxtalnu
  'unlucky'

: ma dlkh
  'don't look'

: na mangIaa
  'I do not want'

: nlkon 'no-one'
  <kon/ 'who ?'

: nlSu 'none*(adj.)
  <su/'which'

: nlkhac 'nothing'
  nlkhanžu xu
  '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
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 -1- : 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 /šaluno/.
4. /barvalu/ 'rich' can be analysed as bar-val-u or bary-al-u.
5. /-Ikan-/ may be used after /breš/ by analogy with Bulg./-isen/ in godisen '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'

39. 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'
ekhl 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

\(<\text{rat-} 'last night', 'yesterday'\>

-nI after /tetrázi/'Wednesday', /pēvti/'Thursday' and /parastívi/'Friday' only\(^2\)

: tetrázi-nI

\(<\text{on Wednesday}\>

43. -ibi after verbs and before the nom. ending (-φ)

: rod-ibi-φ 'searching'

-\(imn-\) after verbs and before the accus. affix \(ɪ\)s

: rod-imn-ás-kl (dat. case)\(^3\)

-\(ipi\) after nouns and adjectives and before the nom. ending

: sast-ipi-φ 'health'

-\(ipn-\) after nouns and adjectives and before the acc. affix -\(ɪs-\)

: sast-ipn-ás-kl (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 /rodibnáskl/ (without the bym change). One informant (ZG) treats nouns in -ibi and -ipi as normal nouns: /rodiblskl/

For a discussion on the original forms of this suffix, see Kostov 'Noch einmal zum Abstraktsuffix -be/-pe im Zigeunerischen' in Münch. Studien zur Sprach. Heft. 18 p. 41 (1965) and S.E. Mann's review of this article in JGüS (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'
- čhad-ípi from the verb čhad 'vomit'

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

45. -∅ only in the loan word from other
dialects ſukar-∅ beautifully
< ſukar 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 /puran-i-/ 'grow old'
LZ has /puranipi/
2. ZG has /č@nkibi/, from the stem
49. -aiti  after /rɔm/ 'Gypsy' only
   \rom-aiti (male or female) Gypsy (of the Kotel tribe) \\
   \rom-aiti (male or female) Gypsy (of the Kotel tribe)

-ic-  after *bal 'pig' only
   bal-ic-u 'pig'

-ikl-  after *cir and *mir only
   cir-ikl-u 'bird'

-ink-  after /frim-/ only
   frim-ink-ur-u 'a very small amount'

-kә  after /phen/ and before vocative only
   phen-k-e 'Oh sister'

1. The word /rɔm/, used by many European Gypsies to describe themselves, has normally only the meaning 'husband' in Kot. In this meaning it has the diminutive /rɔm-ùru/. It is occasionally used for non-Kot. Gypsies.

2. bal- is found in other Rom. dialects

3. Cf. Scr. ciri 'parrot' and mani 'pearl'. Turner however derives /ĉiriklu/ from I-A caţaka (Comp. Dict. of the Indo-Aryan Languages item 4571)

4. -kә 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>I</th>
<th>II</th>
<th>III</th>
<th>IV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ic</td>
<td>al</td>
<td>an</td>
<td>ipi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>i</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ink</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ikl</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>bal-ic-ur-u</th>
<th>little pig</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bal-ic-an-u</td>
<td>trough (lit. pig's)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>frim-ink-ur-u</td>
<td>tiny bit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bas-al-ipi</td>
<td>playing, music</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xorax-an-ipi</td>
<td>Turkey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šut-al-an-ipi</td>
<td>Turkey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čir-ikl-ur-u</td>
<td>little bird</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Clitics

-da emphatic especially after pronouns

: mi dai but lɔsádili ɔi me-da
Unim t@ phirTa m@ dɔsa (AR)
My mother was very pleased that
I too began to travel with my
father.

Eh, faldzis, dɪkh mɑnkI ekh falus.
Hey, fortune-teller, tell my
fortune.

Ov-da dɪkhIla lákI falus (AK)
So he tells her fortune
/dɪkhIla ekh tendžere dui-da ʃɔia/
(AK) 'He sees a dish and two
spoons'
-da is a loan from Turkish.

ma,na negative before verbs

: me na manga 'I do not want'
ma dɪkh '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
  : līškI lāmpa thābili-tar
  its valve is complete burnt out

-tu redundant after relative pronouns
  : u manus kon-(tu) siias 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, ttr 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) Ėt.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 or me lIm-t@r I took
tu lIas only you took
oda lIas ? or Oda lIas-t@r ? did she take ?
oda lIas u phaba ? only 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.
A set of nouns is used to form adverbs and prepositions indicating place. Many of the gaps in the following table could be filled from other dialects. The nouns as free forms are rare.

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

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-formation

1) Combination of two bases\(^1\)/

\(\text{ž@nkI} \quad \)to go \(< \)\(^*\text{ža} \quad '\text{to go} \quad + \quad '\text{inkI} \quad '\text{to go out}'\)

\(\text{pi\'nangu} \quad \text{barefoot} \(< \text{píru} \quad '\text{foot} \quad + \quad \text{nangu} \quad '\text{naked}'\)

2) Reduplication

\(\text{kIkId} \quad \)to squeeze \(< \text{kId} \quad '\text{to push}'\)

\(\text{kIkIti} \quad \)so much \(< \text{ki\'ti} \quad '\text{how much}'\)

\(\text{mamui} \quad \)opposite \(< \text{mui} \quad '\text{face}'\)\(^2\)

Both these methods are non-productive

---

1. These are isolated examples of the addition of a base, as opposed to the use of \(-\text{ker} \)and \(-\text{d} \)in many compounds.

2. \(/\text{balval}/ \quad '\text{wind}' \)is historically a reduplicated form

Cf. Skr. \(\text{v\'ata}\)
A considerable number of words borrowed from Persian and about a dozen from Armenian 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, 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

Nouns from Greek are generally borrowed with their original suffixes:

- papus old man < παπούς
- ciraxa shoes < τζαζάκιά

---

1. Words which do not conform to the normal patterns of the language are classed as loan-words.
2. : /kisi/ purse < Pers. kise
3. : ozi heart < Med. Arm. ogi
4. AR would not believe at first that /tetrazi/ '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:

- **όδα** (room) < T.
- **пушка** (gun) < B.

Nouns ending in -e in Turkish add -s:

- **ğlûves** (son-in-law) < T.ğüvey
- **şîses** (bottle) < T.şîse

Nouns ending in -e in Bulgarian remain unchanged:

- **sobrânie** (meeting)

Nouns ending in -o in Bulgarian change this to -us:

- **pîsmus** (letter) < B.pismo

Nouns ending in a consonant in Turkish add -i:

- **sokâki** (street)
- **hamâli** (porter)
- **çâtûrî** (meadow) < T.çayur
- **sesi** (voice)
- **saxâtî** (watch, hour) < T.saat
- **zanaiâtî** (profession) < T.zanaat

Nouns ending in -i in Turkish add -s:

- **çîfçîs** (landowner) < T.çiftçi

---

1. The change o > u is one of the phonological characteristics of the Kot. dialect
2. çardakus 'a hut' is presumably from Bulg.çârdak (though this word is itself a borrowing from T.)
3. Two words have been recorded where T.-i becomes -ia in Kot. viz. çarşia 'bazaar' < T.çarşî and anteria 'blouse' < T.antenri. 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bulgarian</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>biletî</td>
<td>ticket</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>studéntus</td>
<td>student</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tréni</td>
<td>train</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>koriánus</td>
<td>root</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>učitélûs</td>
<td>teacher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Donálî</td>
<td>proper name</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Only -i has been recorded after /ts/:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bulgarian</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>zv@netši</td>
<td>bell</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All the other consonants add -us:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bulgarian</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>klúčus</td>
<td>key</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>óblakus</td>
<td>cloud</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fîlmus</td>
<td>film</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trúpus</td>
<td>body</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>máistorus</td>
<td>foreman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>glâsus</td>
<td>voice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mólivus</td>
<td>pencil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prázus</td>
<td>leek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tiražûs</td>
<td>(lottery) draw</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

-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:

: žółtu yellow 〈Bulg.žolt neut. žółto

There are few adjectives borrowed from Turkish or Greek:

: solaknu left-hand 〈T.solak

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

: misížíla he thinks 〈Bulg.misia 'I think'

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

xoıaz- get angry 〈Gk xoλίασω 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 pray2/

1. One example is /ućiz-/ 'fly' (recorded in Sumen)
2. cf. Sliven Ironworkers' živinz- 'to live'.
   -inz- is perhaps a combination of -iz- and the -in- added to loan verbs in other Bulg. Romany dialects.
   klainz- has been replaced by moiz- 〈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*
- **sísés** bottle < T. *šíşe*

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*
- **tsiárussa** 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):

- **misízIśa** you think < B. *mislia*
- **triabízIśa** 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:

   - (piśiszIśa) he writes (LZ)

   for /piśiszIśa/
A note on the Morphology of Loan-words.

**Nouns**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Sing.</th>
<th>Plur.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>tsiárus</td>
<td>tsiar-ui</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>tsiar-ús-kl</td>
<td>tsiar-uín-kl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>glúv-es</td>
<td>gluv-édes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>glúv-es</td>
<td>gluv-ed-úin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>gluv-és-kl</td>
<td>gluv-ed-uín-kl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>čífč-is</td>
<td>čifč-íd-es</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>čífč-is</td>
<td>čifč-id-úin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>čifč-ís-kl</td>
<td>čifč-id-uín-kl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>púšk-a</td>
<td>púšk-Is</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>púšk-á-kl</td>
<td>púšk-Ín-kl</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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, pendzere, vezmis)

**Adjectives**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Masc.</th>
<th>Fem.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>žált-u</td>
<td>žált-u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obl.</td>
<td>žált-u</td>
<td>žált-u</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'yellow'

**Verbs**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tense</th>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stem</td>
<td>piš-</td>
<td>'to write'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperat. sing.</td>
<td></td>
<td>piš-I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur.</td>
<td>piš-In</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present</td>
<td>piš-íz-a-a</td>
<td>piš-íz-ís-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perfect</td>
<td>piš-íz-im</td>
<td>piš-íz-ian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Gerund)</td>
<td>piš-indus</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past Part.</td>
<td>piš-imi</td>
<td>(invariable for feminine and plural)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

abstract noun piš-ibi 'writing'

1. Cf. Sliven Rom. tsiaruia and Sofia tsiaruvia
2. For nom. cf. Gk plurals in -ές
   for acc. cf. Sofia guvedonen
   one informant (Stefan Demirov) gave a mixed plural form:
   : gluveduia.
3. Cf. Gk. ending -ς sivaz- gives part. sivamlu (f.sivamli, m.sivaml) 'engaged'
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 cőurI.Mu
dad bašalIas tsimbal.Ov phirIas
avIr ędomissa - tsigularis -
dugléniİntar t@ bašalIn t@ možIİn
t@ inkalIİn pİ maşIİskiİ pares.Kana
avİIas u nİIai on leİIas pİs tİ
žonkİİnas i panairİntar. Sastu
nİIai phirİIas avIr kasabİntar.Čak
kana-tu m@-avIİ u ivend,toska
irizİIas 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-ϕ-I-as
   s-
   -ϕ-²
   -I-
   -as
   'be'
   non-perfect tense
   3rd person plural
   imperfect, 'they were'
4. but
5. cőur-I
   cőur-
   -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. ϕ has been omitted from the text for ease of reading.
7. dad-∅     dad-∅     father
              -∅       masc.sing.nom., variant of u affix 18.
8. baš-al-I-l-as baš-    make a sound
                  -al-     causative, affix 14
                  -I-      non-perfect tense, affix 24
                  -l-      3rd person sing.
                  -as       imperfect
                      'used to play'
9. tsimbal    o-       zither, unassimilated loan word.
               -v       third person pronoun
               -       masc.sing.nom.
                  'he'
11. phir-I-l-as phir-    go on foot, travel
                -I-l-as    see 8
12. avr-I     avr-      other, variant of aver (see p.30)
            -I       masc.sing.obl.
13. ľom-Is-sa ľom-      Gypsy, loan from other dialects replacing Kotel /ľomaiti/ or perhaps 'father of a family'. The usual meaning of /ľom/ in Kotel is 'husband'
           -Is-      masc.sing.acc.(acc.is used before oblique case endings)
           -sa       instrumental
14. tsigular-is tsigular- violinist, loan from Bulg.
            -is      masc.sing.nom., loan from Greek, see p.62
15. dugIeni-In-tar dugIeni- 'shop, inn' (from Turk.dukkan)
            -In-      masc.plur.acc.
            -tar      instrumental. Used here in meaning 'from.....to'
                        'from inn to inn'
16. t@        in order to
17. baš-al-I-n  baš-al-    see 8
                -n       3rd person plur.
               ≡16
18. mož-Iz-I-n-∅ mož-      be able, loan from Bulg.
              -Iz-     affix used with loan verbs, see p.64
              -I-      non-perfect tense
              -n-      3rd person plural.
              -∅       subjunctive
19. t@        ≡16
20. ink-al-I-n-∅ ink-       come out
             -al-     causative
             -In∅     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. mar-Īs-k-@ mar-       maru 'bread,food'
        -Īs-      masc.sing.acc.
        -k-       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
25. av-I-l-as | av-
|---|---
| come | see 8

26. u
27. nIlai-∅ | nIlai-
|---|---
| summer | masc.sing.nom.

28. o-n | o-
|---|---
| 3rd person pronoun | comm.plur.nom.

29. le-I-n-as | le-
|---|---
| take | non-perfect

30. p-Is | p-
|---|---
| 3rd person reflexive pronoun | comm.sing.acc.(used instead of the plur.acc. which is not used after /p/)

31. tI
32. zonkI-I-nas | zonkI-
|---|---
| go | the. comm.plur.obl.

33. i
34. panair-In-tar | panair-
|---|---
| fair. from Bulg. and Turk. | In-tar see 15

35. sast-u | sast-
|---|---
| whole (adj.) | see 6

36. phir-I-n-as | see 11 and 18
37. avr- I | avr-
|---|---
| see 12 | comm.plur.obl.

38. kasab-In-tar | kasab-
|---|---
| kasaba. 'small town' from Turk. | In-tar see 15

39. čak
40. kana-tu | kana-
|---|---
| when | tu redundant. modelled on Bulg.koga-to

41. m@-av-I-l | m@
|---|---
| future | come

42. ivend-∅ | ivend-
|---|---
| winter | masc.sing.nom.

43. toska

NB. tense of direct speech used

=26
Page...70

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.

my
fem.sing.nom. (variant)

mother
fem.sing.nom., variant

1
33

rich
comm.plur.obl.

non-Gypsy

wash
non-perfect
3rd person sing.
subj.

shirt

masc.plur.nom. (for object)

Cf.18

support, from B.podd@ržam
NB -iz- infix omitted

we
masc.plur.acc.

'us'

masc.plur.nom.

'we'

be
non-perfect (variant)

1st person plural

imperfect

six

child, from Turk.

masc.plur.nom.

return
affix used with loan verbs
*back, see p.
locative
'backwards, again'

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.
58. štar
59. phral-a
   -a
60. dui
61. phen-ia
   -ia
62. šov-I
   -I
63. k@zani-Ín-tar
   -tar
64. ačh-Il-iam
   -Il-
   -iam
65. u
   dui
66. mul-ø-I
   -ø-
   -I
67. ekh
68. s-ø-i-as
   -ø-
   -i-
69. panž-I
   -I
70. bres-Ín-tI
71. mul-u
72. oxtIk-á-tar
   -a-
73. i
74. aver-ø
   -ø
75. phen
76. kon-tu
   -tu
77. mul-i-tar
   -I-
78. o-i
   -i
79. bliznačk-a
80. enia

star = 58
dui = 60
mul-ø-I

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{star} & : & \text{four} \\
\text{phral-a} & : & \text{brother} \\
\text{phen-ia} & : & \text{two} \\
\text{šov-I} & : & \text{sister} \\
\text{k@zani-Ín-tar} & : & \text{masc.plur.nom.} \\
\text{ačh-Il-iam} & : & \text{fem.plur.nom.} \\
\text{sov-I} & : & \text{six} \\
\text{phen-ia} & : & \text{oblique} \\
\text{k@zani-Ín-tar} & : & \text{two} \\
\text{phen-ia} & : & \text{two} \\
\text{k@zani-Ín-tar} & : & \text{two} \\
\text{ačh-Il-iam} & : & \text{homo.plur.nom.} \\
\text{mul-ø-I} & : & \text{two} \\
\text{s-ø-i-as} & : & \text{one} \\
\text{panž-I} & : & \text{one} \\
\text{bres-Ín-tI} & : & \text{one} \\
\text{ekh} & : & \text{one} \\
\text{mul-u} & : & \text{one} \\
\text{oxtIk-á-tar} & : & \text{one} \\
\text{aver-ø} & : & \text{one} \\
\text{kon-tu} & : & \text{one} \\
\text{mul-i-tar} & : & \text{one} \\
\text{o-i} & : & \text{one} \\
\text{bliznačk-a} & : & \text{one} \\
\text{enia} & : & \text{one}
\end{align*} \]
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.

81. mas@k-Ìn-kl  
-Ìn-  
-kl  

to, at includes the masculine definite article (see lexicon) school. from Bulg.(učilište) nom.sing.masc.(loan affix)

82. ko

83. učilištus  
učilišt-
-us

go non-perfect 1st person plural imperfect

84. ž@nkI-I-às-as  
ž@nkI- 
-I-  
-as-  
-às

to, at includes the masculine definite article (see lexicon) school. from Bulg.(učilište) nom.sing.masc.(loan affix)

85. trin

86. žen-I  
žen-
-I

three

87. phen-Ø  
phen-
-Ø

sister fem.nom.sing.

mI  
-46

-31

-54

-65

-60

-59
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pal-I</th>
<th>Aver-Ø</th>
<th>However Cf.45</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Panda</td>
<td>Still</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tik-ur-u</td>
<td>Tik- Variant of tikn-. Small</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>De-in-a-s</td>
<td>De- Give</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bi-par-aduin-ku</td>
<td>Bi- Without (followed by genitive)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xa-mus</td>
<td>Xa- Eat</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pal-I</td>
<td>KAI</td>
<td>Pal-I also cf.87, 45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Av-I-1-as</td>
<td>Av- Come</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koleda</td>
<td>Christmas. Bulg.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barval-I</td>
<td>Barval- Adj.as noun. Rich person</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khid-I-n-as</td>
<td>Khid- Collect</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kher-I-n-tar</td>
<td>Kher- House</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pur-an-I</td>
<td>Pur- Non-extant noun 'age'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drex-Ias</td>
<td>Drex- Clothes. Bulg. drexa 'garment'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-In</td>
<td>1- 3rd person pronoun</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cour-I</td>
<td>Cour- Poor</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Column 1: Verbs
Column 2: Prefixes
Column 3: Word forms and meanings
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
106. but
107. dIkh-İ-n-as
108. dali
109. sikî-I-âs-a
110. ili
111. su-s-ki-tu
112. vaker-İ-n-as
113. ȇrum-an-I
114. žan-İ-n-a
115. frîma
116. piš-îz-İ-n-ö
117. gen-İ-n-ö
118. k@k-a

teacher.Bulg. (loan) plural nom.
advb.much
look, see
whether.Bulg.
learn
non-perfect
1st person plur.
present
or.Bulg.
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 zaštoto 'why?'
speak, say
variant of ɨom 'Gypsy' used before /-an-/ affix turning noun into adj.
comm.plur.
know
a little
write.Bulg.
read
this (pronoun)
masc.nom.sing.
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.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>131.</td>
<td><em>zes-∅</em></td>
<td>day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>132.</td>
<td><em>genkl-i</em></td>
<td>went variant of <em>/ž@nk-/</em> before perfect affix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-l--perfect affix (variant)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-i--3rd sing.fem.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>133.</td>
<td><em>ekh-ia</em></td>
<td>one</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-ia--oblique feminine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>134.</td>
<td><em>kul-I</em></td>
<td>free variant of kudul- that</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-I--oblique</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>135.</td>
<td><em>gaž-ia-tI</em></td>
<td>Gentile, non-Gypsy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-ia--accusative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-tI--locative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;to that Gentile there was a girl&quot; i.e. she had a daughter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>136.</td>
<td><em>rakl-i</em></td>
<td>(non-Gypsy) boy or girl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-i--feminine nom. sing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>137.</td>
<td><em>l-á-ku</em></td>
<td>her, his, their. variant before accusative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-a--accusative. variant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>≈k--genitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-u--masc.sing.nom.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>138.</td>
<td><em>anav-∅</em></td>
<td>name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>139.</td>
<td><em>kai</em></td>
<td>conjunction, here 'when'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>140.</td>
<td><em>dÌkh-d-ias</em></td>
<td>see</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-d--perfect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-ias--3rd sing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>141.</td>
<td><em>m-I</em></td>
<td>my</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-I--nom. (for obl.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>142.</td>
<td><em>dai-ia</em></td>
<td>mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-ia--accusative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>143.</td>
<td><em>vaker-d-ias</em></td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>144.</td>
<td><em>l-á-kl</em></td>
<td>137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>≈kl--dative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>145.</td>
<td><em>bib-o</em></td>
<td>bib-i. aunty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-o--vocative (loan from Bulg.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>146.</td>
<td><em>t-u</em></td>
<td>your (sing.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>147.</td>
<td><em>šhoy-∅</em></td>
<td>son (Gypsy)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>148.</td>
<td><em>sikl-I-1-a</em></td>
<td>learn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>but 106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>149.</td>
<td><em>lačh-Is</em></td>
<td>good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-Is--forms adverbs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>150.</td>
<td><em>l-Is-k-u</em></td>
<td>3rd person pronoun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-Is--acc. masc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>≈k--genitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-u--masc.sing.nom.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151.</td>
<td><em>amal-∅</em></td>
<td>friend (m.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>152.</td>
<td><em>u</em></td>
<td>the. used before names</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>153.</td>
<td><em>po-lačhIs</em></td>
<td>more</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>154.</td>
<td><em>l-Is-tar</em></td>
<td>ablative</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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.
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.
Kuitar iriziam tI mI dai but
lošádili či me-da lInim t@
phirIa m@ dadIssa tI t@
pečelízIa pares. Toska u p@rvu
drom genkliam mI dadIssa ekhI
dugIeniIstI kai-tu bikInína
drexis tI lInias mánkI ekh nevi
pantalóna tI me but lošádiim-tar.

From there we returned and my
mother was very pleased because
I too had started to travel with
my father and to earn money.
Then for the first time I and my
father went into a shop where
they sell clothes and he got a
new pair of trousers for me and
I was very pleased.
202. dad-Ís-sa  dad  father
   -Ís-  accusative
   <sa  instrumental

203. pečel-íz-I-a  pečel-  earn. Bulg. pecelia
204. toska  

205. p@rv-u  p@rv-  then
   -u  nom. loan adjs

206. drom  time

207. genk-l-iam  genk-  go. variant of /ć@nk-/ before
   -l-  perfect
   -iam  perfect

1st plur.

208. ekh-ia  ekh  one
   ia  femobl.

209. dugIéni-ís-tl  dugIéni-  shop
   -is-  obl.m.
   ~tl  loc.

210. kai-tu  kai-  where
   -tu  redundant. modelled on Bulg.

211. bikIn-I-n-a  bikIn-  sell
   drexis  102

212. 1In-ias  -ias  3rd sing.
   mánkI  174

213. nev-i  nev-  new
   -i  fem.sing.

214. pantalóna  trousers (sing.) Bulg.

215. lošádiim-tar  lošádi-  197
   -im  lst sing.
   -tar  emphatic
ii) a folk-tale told by Ali Kurtev

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).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>216. sias na sias</th>
<th>(see p.10)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>217. thagar-Ø</td>
<td>king</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>218. uš-İl-a</td>
<td>goes out, gets up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>219. čhai-Ø</td>
<td>girl (Gypsy)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>220. kud-a</td>
<td>nom. fem. sing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>221. parad-i</td>
<td>that, yonder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>222. av-İl-a</td>
<td>nom. masc. sing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>223. avrial</td>
<td>parade. Bulg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>224. vápor-i</td>
<td>come</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>225. and-u</td>
<td>outside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>226. deriav</td>
<td>ship. Rum. (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>227. sovr-ţi-u</td>
<td>in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>228. dİkh-d-İ-tar</td>
<td>before masc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>229. en-palal</td>
<td>sea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>230. ža-İl-a</td>
<td>all, each</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>231. čhi-d-ias</td>
<td>nom. sing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>232. p-İs</td>
<td>see</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>233. and-@r</td>
<td>perfect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>234. phand-d-d-i-lu</td>
<td>3rd plur.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>235. dar</td>
<td>emphatic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>afterwards</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>go. loan from other dials.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(for Kot. %onk-)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>non-perfect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>throw</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>perfect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>self</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>adverb ending, originally</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ablative but not here.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>shut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>passive part.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>become</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3rd masc. sing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>door</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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.
| 250. čerp-izīl-a | čerp- | | |
| 251. rakła | rakła | | |
| 252. de-īl-a | de- | | |
| 253. o sand@ | | | |
| 254. mul-i-tar | mul- | | |
| 255. čhov-uřu | čhov- | | |
| 256. m@-alakh-i-a | m@- | | |
| 257. t-I | t- | | |
| 258. ami | | | |
| 259. sar | | | |
| 260. l-a | l- | | |
| 261. m@-kerĪs | m@- | | |
| 262. m@-de-ī-s | m@- | | |
| 263. m-an | m- | | |
| 264. panž-I | panž- | | |
| 265. l-īn-k-u | l- | | |
| 266. kapitān-i | kapitan- | | |

U thagar ušīla, kerdias u vápori. U kapitānī thovīla līsku marū, bašlad@ t@ žaIl. Su-tu mothaḷla u kapitānī? Lis kerīla. Avīna andī ekhī balkāniīstī. U kapitānī mothaḷla. Eh. Kizi u vápori. O večik na mangīla t@ žaIl pīskī ko kher. Žaīla ekhī dromīstī. Arakhīla ekh kher. Dīkhīla ekh tendžere, dui-da ṭoia. 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  
268. thov-I-l-a  
269. mar-u  
270. bašlad@  
271. su-tu  
272. moth-a-I-l-a  
273. av-I-n-a  
274. and-I  
275. balkan-i-Is-tI  
276. kizin  
277. o  
278. večik  
279. mang-I-l-a  
280. p-Is-kl  
281. drom-Is-tI  
282. arakh-I-l-a  
283. tendžere  
284. dui-da  
285. roi-a  

Axmed.Ačh k@tka tu,t@ ker amǐnkI xaibi.  
Ov leIla pIs,žaIla andu balkānI, phirIla pIs.AvIlu planIa.InkIla ekh manuš.  
Eh,sǔskI oxladias i tendžere, phučIla.

- Ahmed. Stay here to make good 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.
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- grub
287. k@tka
288. tu
289. ker- grub
290. xa-ibi
291. le-I-la
292. phir-I-l-a
293. p-Is
294. planla
295. ink-I-l-a
296. manuš
297. su-s-kl
298. ox-I-ad-ias
299. phuc-I-l-a
300. akana
301. phand-I-l-a
302. i
303. kod-a
304. pur-an-u
305. xa-I-l-a

We have many persons. Now they are coming home, replies Ahmed. That old man gets up, ties up Ahmed and eats the food.
The captain comes back. He looks.
There is no food.
Hey, stay, (he says to another man)
so that man should stay and make
food.
Again he cannot find any food
(when he comes back).
—Today I will stay to make food,
he says.
Noon came. An old man came out. He
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. pali
307. av-zis
308. sig-u
309. puran-íia
310. ter-e
311. trima
312. thov-d-I

again
quickly. the expected adverbial
form *sigís is not recorded.
vocative
wait
optional addition (see p. 37
def. 1)
a little
perfect
3rd person plur.
-Old man. We have eaten. Bring a little wine so that we may drink.

What does the old man do¹? 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

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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.

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313. puranília vocative.
314. xa-l-iam 1st plur.
315. de-∅ give
316. mol wine
317. pi-I-as drink non-perfect
    -I- 1st plur.
    -as
318. ast hand
wall T.
begin
mat-u. drunk.
become
sword. Turk. kliuč
cut
give
kuitak
then
if
2nd sing.
other
206

Then he finds in (the ogre's) head the key. He puts the key in the door and opens the door. He opened all forty doors! He sees one door, the old man is sleeping inside in the blood. He opens the other door, and he finds the girl. She is making a carpet.
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
344. angurçi
345. dišar-İ-1-a
346. dad-İs-kİ

347. altan-i-a
348. thoy-I-n-a
349. altan-i
350. opr-I
351. pendžer-ia-tI

352. veçi
353. paš
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.

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.
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.
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-
379. sopa
380. sast-u sast-
381. porteféi-ís-tI portefei-
382. and-@r
383. phand-∅ phand-
384. m-I -I
385. iakh-a iakh-
386. kor-ur-ia kor-
    -ur-
    kasaba

pass
club. Bulg.
whole (adj.)
purse. Bulg.
inside
tie up
plural
eye
neck
dimin.
38
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.

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.
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 companions. The king asks the companions.

- 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.
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. Some 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.
ačhe-  (i) become 
   kana ačhili pladnIa    when it became noon
   m@-ačhIl bi-daiáku    he will become motherless
                          (lit. without a mother)

(ii) be
   (In the future and subjunctive /ačh-/ replaces /s-/)
   me mangIää tut t@ ačhus manři řumni
                          I want you to become my wife

   N.B. /ačh-/ 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-u free variant of /khur-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
  alap-i-na they are found
-p- ending of root in medio-passive also found
  in Varna Tinners' (GS) and Sliven sedentaries'
  (alapts-) dialects
ale interjection, calling attention to something.
  ale роi here is a spoon
  ale tu-da, thov tukI 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  pl rómísku  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 ź@nkIáa andu bazári  I am going to the bazaar  
andI  Bólgária  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  angaiáI  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
kurklstI A week ago
anglal i bukvíntI before the letters

angurči ring (on finger)
the form /angurči/ is found also in Šumen Basketmakers' dialect; it is connected etymologically with /angušt/ 'finger' (cf. the form anguštri in other dialects)

angušt m. finger, toe

u baru angušt 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-a-d-i- become spoilt

k@ka mas arádílu this meat has gone bad
arman f. curse
armi-a f. sour cabbage
ar-u egg
ás-us tear (from eye)

llnl 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.văshpa, așru
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-iëker- to make laugh (GS) lit. to cause to have laughed

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

ast m. hand

astar because of, on account of
astar tükI because of you
astar kuduliskI because of that, therefore

the form /astar/ is also found in Kazanl@k
Ironworkers' dialect (GS); other dialects have
/asal/
astar- see /star-/

asi it is possible (impersonal verb) & subj.
asi (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 dÍkhdim i avria I saw the other lady žuvelia
u po-aver vtórnikus last (or next) Tuesday but one

aver pronoun. other person
me dÍkhdim ekhI averIIs I saw another person

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
  
  parnī balā  
  white hair

  parnī balīŋku  
  white-haired

  cf. zar 'hair of body'

bal-al-u  
hairy

bal-u  
pig (AR)
  rare in this dialect, usually replaced by /balicu/

bal-an-u  
adj. used as noun
  balanu  
  pork sausage

  balani (f.)  
  pig-trough

bal-ic-u  
pig
  orig. diminutive

bal-ic-ur-u  
little pig

bal-ic-an-u  
adj. of a pig

balam-u  
Greek (noun)
  probably from ḫulg. balama 'a fool'

balval  
f. wind
  
i balval phudīla  
  the wind blows

bang-u  
lame, crooked

bâŋg-i-  
become lame, crooked

bang-iar-  
bend
  
bang-iar-īā mu ast  
  I bend my arm
bar-u  (i) big  (ii) old (of people)
  u nai-baru phral  the oldest brother
  lákI bari ğhai  her eldest daughter
  u barI manuša  the big people i.e. the government (AR)

bári-  become big, grow (intr.)
báriam-tar  we had grown up
also in the archaic greetings formula
  báriīsa ?  are you all right ?
  báriīaa  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

bar  m. stone
  deIla pīs but barīstar  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
  tumIbašalīna kētkā  do you play here every
  kata rat ?  night ?
bas-al-n-u musician (AR) less common than the loan word /muzikanti/
B. muzikant

bas-al-ibi m. music (AR)

baš-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

bes- (i) sit (action of sitting down)
(ii) live, dwell

na manglāsa t@ besīs maskar amIntīI
we do not want you to
live among us

bes-t-u seated

beštu sim phuviátī I am sitting (seated) on
the ground
bezex  f. sin

bian-   give birth, lay (of hens)
   i kaxni bianila aṭI the hen lays eggs

bian-d-u  born
   me sim biandu andu Kotel I was born in Kotel

bian-d-i-  (i) be born  (ii) (of the moon) appear on the horizon
   biándiIla 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-pareduńku xabi free food (without money)
   bi-маřI 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

*bich-
*bich-al-  send (a person or thing)
   this derivation (rather than bi-čhal) is based on the causative bichav in other dialects (Čerenkov p.c.)
bikIn-
sell
  ū ṭoma na bikInāna the Gypsies do not sell
phabaia apples
the etymology is probably bi-kIn, *kIn 'buy' being
the earlier form (retained in other dialects) of
/kɪn-/  
*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-i
diminutive form but has special meaning
younger brother's wife, son's wife  
borurīie ternīie Oh young sister-in-law

breš
year
  dui breš (sing.used) two years
  kIte brešǐnkə sian tu how many year's (old)
  (gen.) are you ?
  me sim sarānda brešInti I am forty year's old
  (dat.pl.)

breš-ikan-u
annual
  -ikan- suffix is probably the influence of
Bulg. godišen 'annual'

**brisind**
- m. rain
- deila briesind it is raining lit. is giving rain

**buka**
- f. piece (AR)
- Gk. ἑοκα
- 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.
- deila la bull 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)
mangīra tə phuchīa ekh  I wish to ask something
buti
kIti pares kerīla k@ke how much does this thing
buti
the spelling /buti/ rather than /buki/ is based
on Scr. vṛtti

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

buzn-i           female goat, also used for the species
                 buzñínk® 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         cunning (in a complimentary sense), knowing.
                 probably from /but enzhenus/ 'knowing a lot'
                 (Ijung.)
čač-u true
čač-Iš truly
čač-ipi m. truth

*čal-
čal-a- to hit
čalařa pu ast u duvarístl he bangs his hand on the wall
čalařáa ekh koredini I give (lit. hit) a slap (GS)
čalařa tut indrářI 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 /čon/ (LIA)

čand- variant of /čend-/ q.v.
čang f. leg
čar f. grass
čar-a- to pasture

*čen
čen-d- call
u bari manuša čendirna the important men call
lIš andI ziz him into the town
čerxan f. star

či coordinating conjunction
(i) that
misízlàa či mòg-mozìlìa tò kerèzarumanìs peras
(ii) because (GS)
pu šoru xaraîla či xanžîla lìs

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-ur-u bird (dim.)
cor m. thief Scr. cora

cor- steal

cor-d-u stolen

cord-i- be stolen

cord iar- cause to be stolen

he does not steal money

avrende corzjarela but he causes it to be

peski (GS) stolen by others.

avrende for /avrIntar/ (instrumental)

*cor-u poor

or-ippi m. poverty

*cor up-u poor (dim.)

has become /coru/ q.v.

ourn-u poor

Scr. kṣudra

uoš-i breast

uoš-u empty

ukat m. forehead

*čumin kiss

cumín-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
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, when a man is ill, someone
phenina, t@ sastill, says, so that he will get
m@-čhin@ laški bakrIs well, I will cut open his
čhinina u kar ? sheep (AR)
do they circumcise (cut the
čhin u tservulia penis) ?
cut off the sandals
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| čhipas | (i) something  
|       | m@-kinIa čhipas xámáskI  
|       | also /ekh čhipas/ (GS)  
|       | (ii) thing  
|       | me k@ka čhipas m@-mothaIa  
|       | tuIktI  
| čhib | f. language, tongue  
|       | thardim mI čhib  
|       | i tikni čhib  
|       | i groltsku čhib  
| čhor- | m. beard  
| čhor-val-u | bearded  
| čhor- | pour (tr. and intr.)  
|       | čhor mánktI pani  
| čhov | boy, son (among the Gypsies)  
|       | cf. /raklu/  
|       | ekh gažíkanu čhov  
|       | a Gentile boy (AR)  
|       | has variant /čhav-/ before acc. sing. affix and  
|       | before plural affixes  
|       | čhavIs  
|       | čhavl  
|       | boy (acc. sing.)  
|       | boys (nom. pl.)  

I will buy something for food
I will tell you this thing
I burnt my tongue
clitoris (lit. little tongue)
the Greek language
pour water for me
čhumut  m. moon

čunga  m. spittle
originally  čhungar (as in other dialects) and not a loan word

čunga-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

dešla brišind  it rains (lit. give rain)
dešna pīs  they argue (lit. give themselves)

ov na dešla amInr³ butiâtī  it is not our business (lit.
it does not give in our affair

has variant /dī/- before the perfect affix d and, in free
variation with /de-/, before the sing.imperative affix ō
odynede  fifteen

(Gk.

del  (i) God, god
    u del t' ſunIl 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. /zą devlīsa/'go with God' = goodbye and the reply /ačh devlīsa/'stay with God' are borrowings from other dialects of Bulgarian Romany.

denil-u  mad

denil-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 sovrI phrala dIkhīnas u drom  all the brothers were watching the road

(ii) think about
    mΘ-dIkhIa tΘ kinIa mānkI ekh kher  I will think about buying myself a house (AR)

dIš-  to appear, be visible
probably originally cognate with /dIkhs-

dis-a- show (trans.) (GS)
dis-iar- show (tr.)

do- see /dui/

drab m. plant

drakh m. grape

drom m. (i) road (ii) time (as Bulg. p@t)

u duitu drom the second time
/but drom/ many times, often
N.B. sing. as bulg. mnogo p@t

dugeni m. small shop, inn
also, in free variation, /dugIeni/
< Turk. dukhan

dui two

has variant /do-/ before oblique affix (cf. /mui/)

me dIkhdim do-β raklIn I saw two boys

dukh f. pain

dukh- (i) to hurt (followed by acc.)

tu šoru m@-dukhal tut your head will hurt you
(if you drink too much)

(ii) love (followed by dat.)

me but dukhaǎa τútkI I love you very much
but dukhána pÍskI they love each other a lot
dulh-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 dīkhdim ekhīs andī | I saw someone in your room
tūṯī stāia
me dīnim u iil ekhīstī | I gave the letter to someone
ekh-īstī | together
me mθ-avīa tūtsa ekhīstī | I will come (together) with you
ekh kas | variant (LŻ) of /ekh varš/ q.v. (under /vars/)
ienia | nine | < Gk.
usinim saxāti eniāntī | I got up at nine o'clock (AR)
tenia-tu | ninth
evend | m. winter
also /ivend/ in free variation
historically connected with /iiv/ 'snow'
evln | f. morning
andī evln | in the morning
u evlnāku kham pekīla | the morning sun is burning (words of a song)
has variant /avən/ in av@nlara/ q.v.

vaever
ever-rat | the day before yesterday
frima
free variant of /thrima/ q.v.

fur-ç-íz- to fly
u avioní furçízíla the plane flies
u čirkílí furçízína the birds fly
not used of humans: 'my husband flew to Paris'
is /mu řom genku avionísa ko Paris/ (lit. went with an aeroplane, by plane)

from Bulg. xfurča
GS also had the variant /furkíz-

ga-
take
galdias ñls ko kher he took him home
past participle /galdu/ (AK, BP) but GS recorded /gadu/

xgar-

gar-a- hide (trans.)
kaí t@ garaLa man where can I hide myself?
ov garaLíla plís he conceals the fact that he is a Gypsy (lit. hides himself)

garadí ñhib slang (lit. hidden language) (GS)

 gad
m. (i) long-sleeved vest (AR), as opposed to
teluni flanéla short-sleeved vest (lit. lower vest)

riška
(ii) shirt, vest (LIA)
oprunu gad shirt Bulg.
telunu gad shirt (lit. upper vest)
vest (lit. lower vest)
gav  m. village

gaz-u  non-Gypsy man

gaz-i  non-Gypsy woman

gaz-Ikan-u  adj. non-Gypsy

gelk-  past participle of /ʒ@nk-/ q.v.

gen-  read, count

na žanîla t@ genII  he doesn't know how to read

gen-  past part. of /gen-/  I have the paper read by

gen-d-  to have read

me kata rat i gazeta  her every night (GS)
gen-diar-  m. reading

gendiarlaa la

gen-d-  learned, educated (AR)

gen-di-pi  m. counting (GS)
gen-d-  past part. of /gen-/ 'went'
diar-d-  m. going (AR)

genk-u  past part. of /ʒ@nk-/ q.v.  well

genk-ibi-  (noun) well (AR)

see also /xaînk/

gom-i  woman (slang, GS)

gon-u  sack (especially of the large sack used by Gypsy

woman when collecting scrap etc)

goš-u  excrement (AR)

is fem. in most other dialects
goz-i  brain, mind
    ml goziatl nauqi  it is not in my brain (GS)
            na avila ml goziatl  (i.e. I cannot remember)
            dea man gozi  it does not come into my
            kai si ti gozi  brain (i.e. I forget)
            I think, consider
            where is your memory?

        gozal-u  clever

        gras  m. horse
        x 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)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>i</th>
<th>the (fem., obl., pl.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>iag</td>
<td>f. fire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iakh</td>
<td>f. eye</td>
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<tr>
<td>iás-us</td>
<td>variant of /ásus/ q.v.</td>
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<tr>
<td>iekh</td>
<td>free variant of /ekh/ q.v.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ii-</td>
<td>for words beginning with ii-, see their free variants in i-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>il</td>
<td>m. letter, book, magazine</td>
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<tr>
<td>il-u</td>
<td>heart</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mu ilu dukhála man</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>my heart is hurting me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>im</td>
<td>f. nazal mucus</td>
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<tr>
<td>imor-i</td>
<td>variant of /mori/ q.v.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>indai</td>
<td>m. relative, relation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>indr-a</td>
<td>f. sleep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>man si indra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I am sleepy (lit. I have sleep)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>usilían indrátar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>you got up from sleeping</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>čalaĩla indráI</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
|            | 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
  
  katar inkIla koka pheras where does this word come from?
  
  ov inkistu i penzeriatar 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
  manri xoi anger (i.e. made me angry)
  inkalina pares they earn money
  m-inkalls u evend kall you will see out the winter
  kastinsa with these logs (i.e. you
  have enough for the winter)

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

**ir-iz-**  
to return
  
  not a loan word. Other dialects have ris-
  cf. Scr. vrit

**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.

cai advb,conj.,rel.pron.
(i) where, where to
kai si u kIlIdI where is the key?
kai ð@nkIÍsa where are you going?
kai t@

kai t@ žas me m@-avIa wherever you go I will come
palal tútI after you (follow you)

(ii) when (= kana)
kai m@-irízIa andI BÎlgária m@-kinIa mánkI ekh kher when I come back to Bulgaria
I will buy myself a house

(iii) who, which (=kon) (rel.)
on si řoma 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 (=sísktu)
na irizailu po-pall andu universitēti kai
si u živōtus po-lachīs maškar i ūmīntī
he did not return to the
university again because
life is better among the
Gypsies

(v) that (=čī)
kana īkhīla u gažu kai i ūromani čhāi thai
u ūromanu čhov dukhāna pīskī...
when the Gentile sees that
the Gypsy girl and the
Gypsy youth love each other...

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

ka-iekh
adj., pron.
some, someone (=akekon) (AR)
ka-iekh manuš līnias mu saxātī
someone has taken my watch
dīkhān kā-iekhīs ? did you see anyone
rare in Kot. but Pasp. has kāyek

kak
uncle

kak
f. arm-pit

kal-u
black, dark brown (of skin colour)
on kāl sar mañti ? are they (the English
Gypsies) brown like me ?
ekāh 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
kán-d listen
na kándela tut he is not listening to you
also /de- kan/ (AR,AK)
súsík na dÍnim kan mí why did I not listen to my
¿umnia
these separated forms may be peculiar to a few idiolects.
AR also used /de- kÍkI/ for kÍkId- q.v.

kana interr. and conj. (=kana-tu)
when
kana ušinian indrátar when did you get up (from sleep)?
kana gell maškar i ¿omaitintI....
when they went among the Gypsies.... (AR)

kana-tu conj. when
i purt m@-kerÍas kana-tu we will build the bridge
ekhia ¿umíañkI siáńka when we take a woman's
m@-leIfas shadow

kangIrI see /khangIrI/
kangli f. comb
kar m. penis
karazi cray-fish
GS has /karaznI/
karfi  m. nail
Gk. καρφί

karik  towards
u sovřI phrala dIkhÍnas  all the brothers were
karik u drom  looking at the road

kař-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  adj. used as noun
dpun wool

kat-l-i  bobbin

kata  each, every
kata rat  every night
Gk. κατά

katun-a  f. tent
Gk. κατονα

kava  this
loan from other dialects

kaxn-i  hen

kaxn-up-i  dim. (BP)

keiti-ka  as much as (GS)
cf. kIti
ker-

(i) do, make
deš u dui phrala kerínas
ekh purt
twelve brothers were making

(ii) cost
kíti pares keríla k@ke
brádva
how much money does this

(iii) in idioms
ker- pheras
m@-možížIa t@ kerIa
yumanis pheras
m@-kerIas pheras i romínkI
ker- buti
we will speak to the Gypsies

ker- buti
kerdl buti
they worked

ker-
cook, boil (intr.)

u pani keríla
the water is boiling

Sor. kvath (Turner)

ker-a-
cook, boil (tr)

kermus-u
mouse

kiav
m. plum

kiavínkI thari
plum brandy

kid-
move (intr.)

mu ozi kidíla karík lístí
my heart moves towards him
(i.e. I am in love with him)

kidílní tI žaína
they set off and go (AK)

kidílní-tar
they set off (GS)

cf. kidíla po drom
he goes off on the road
(Żeravna dialect. GS)

kin-
buy

kiral
m. cheese

kirm-u
worm

kirm-u
rotten (GS)
possibly cognate with /kirmu/
kir-us
m. weather
Gk. καιρός

kiz-
(i) to pull
kizi u vapori 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-

kîde
thus
me sim kîde puranu sar I am as old as you (AR)
tuttî (kîti tu)
kîde ama however

kIk-e
recorded once (BP) for kôke q.v.

*kIkI
kIk'd-
squeeze

kIk'deIa limóni I squeeze a lemon
kIk'deIa tu vást I shake your hand
súsì kIk'de<ta tu ozi why are you frightened?
(lit. why do you squeeze your heart)

AR also used /kIkI de-/ I am excited (lit. my heart gives a squeeze)
probably originally reduplicated from khîd- and not a compound with -d-

kIke-savu
adj. such (GS,BP)

kIketi
so much (GS)

kIketi but thuv. dukhaikerîla mu soru so much smoke makes my head hurt

also kIkIti (GS) cf. kîti

kIlldI
variant of /kIlld/ q.v.

kIsal-u
adj. such (AR,LZ)

na mangÎa kIsalI manuṣîn I do not like such people (AR)
súsì kIsalu si tu mui kIsalu why is your face like that? (i.e. why have you that expression?) (AR)

kIs-i
f. purse
<T. keše Pers. kisi>
ki-sov  
  such (LZ) = kIsalu
has variant /kIsav-/ before -i- and -I-

kīti  
  how much, how many (followed by the singular of certain nouns)
  : kīti mas@k
  me sim kÍde puranu kīti tu  I am as old as you (AR)

kīti-ta  
  as much as (GS)
  cf. keiti-ka

klús-is  
  the beardless one (in folk tales)
klÍdlí  
  m. key
Pers.

ko  
  to, at
to the cinema
ko kínus
earlier /ko/ was used before masculine nominals and /kai/
before feminines but this distinction is not observed by
most speakers:
ko tu than
to your place (GS)
/koi/ 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/andÍ)
ko Sofia

ko  
  in order that (GS) (= t@)
panda thríma ko m@-keril
so that it will cook a little
more

koč  
  m. knee

kod-a  
  variant of /kuda/ q.v.

kon  
  who ?
kon-Ia-sa
  with whom ? (when answer is expected to be a female)
kon-Is dlkhían rati
  whom did you see yesterday ?
kon-Is-k-u  
  whose (interr. and rel.)
kon-Is-k-I rúmní m@-avíl
  (to see) whose wife will come first
po-anglí
also /kon-íá-k-u/ whose, of which female person

kon-tu  
  who (rel.)
ekh zes avílu aver rom kon-tu but la@hís ba@salÍías
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

korko-uru dim. alone, empty (GS)

korez-i blow, slap

koru-u blind possibly from an earlier dim. form koruru or koruru

kor-i- go blind

kos- wipe

kotka variant (LG) of kho-s- q.v.

kotor variant (GS) of /kotka/ q.v.

kovl-u sift, tender

kovl-i- become tender (GS)

kud-a yonder (adj. and pron.)

kuda thus, in that way

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.)
kuk-i  
seed
Gk.

kuku-i  
m. only recorded in
miṇiáku kukuí
Rum. kukuí
olitoris, the vagina's bump
N.B. fem in Æljung. (AR)

kukurik  
interjection. go away (BP)

kurk-u  
(i) week (ii) Sunday
also /kurkus/, as loan word

kus-  
wipe
variant of kheך- q.v., found only in compound a-kus-n-u q.v.

kutka  
adv. yonder

k@k-a  
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 žanĩsa k@tar inkIíla
dó you know where this word
k@ka pheras
comes from? (AR)
(ii) from (prep.)

k@-tak  
(i) from where
k@tak m@-nakhIas
through where will we pass? (LZ)
tu k@tak sian
where are you from? (LIA)
(ii) then (AK)
nan@i k@tak
there is no way out (Z)

k@zan-i  
m. child, baby
T. kuzan

k@zan-is  
variant of k@zani (acc. used as nom.) (AK, LIA)
the boy is looking (AK)
u k@zaniš diKhIla
ekh ekhI kurkIšk@ k@zaniš a week-old baby
khac \[\text{see } n\text{kha}c\]

khain-u

bad (AR, BP)
kain\[\text{perasa} \text{evil words (BP) Collocci also has } /\text{kainu}/ \text{ (as kainu)}

probably, via *khalinu, from /khanilu/ q.v.

khaink

variant (AR) of /xaink/ q.v.

kham

m. sun

k\[\text{oka kham i xer]s this sun kills the donkey}

mudar[\text{ila} \text{(i.e. it is very hot) (AR) }

khaml-i

pregnant

plur. khamll

the -l- is not justified etymologically, cf. khabni in other dialects, but is probably after participles in -l-

khan

f. smell, stink

kh\[\text{an-d-} \text{to smell, make a smell}

LZ does not treat as a compound in -d- but as a simple verb: khandiya for /kha\[\text{ndela/ he smells}

khaniar-

caus.

(i) break wind (AR) (ii) excrete (BP)

has meaning 'excrete' in Zeravna 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 khangili

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)

khoš-  to wipe

khul-an-u  recorded only in the fem. by GS in the slang word
khulani (i) fat woman (ii) anus (posterior?)

khur-u  pitcher
also recorded with epenthetic a- (LZ, AR) but khur-u
is the original form
cf. Scr. ghaṭa
l- variant of 3rd person pron. /o-/ before accusative affixes
lach-u beautiful, good
  i chai sias but lachi the girl was very beautiful
  replaces /sukar/ of other dialects in sense of beautiful.
  /sukar/ is known from songs but regarded as a loan word
lach-šs beautifully, well
  but lachšs basaldias viola he played the viola very well
  manžI kana na šunína my ears do not hear very
  lachšs well
  su kerísa ? how are you? (lit. what are
  you doing ?)
  lachšs well
  both question and answer are translations of the Bulg.
  greetings formula
  kakvo pravite ?
  dobre
lach-ar- to make pretty
  lačharlaa mI bala I am tidying my hair (AR)
lad- to load
  ladlaa u vagóni I am loading the waggon
lal-u dumb (orig. diminutive)
lal-ur-u
lal-š-
lam
lam-a- begin
  lamal ř piln they began to drink
laz- be ashamed
le-

(i) take, receive

I received a letter from my father

(ii) begin

the tears began to pour (AR)

(iii) in idioms

the fire has caught light

lit. taken itself)

we will meet again soon

lit. we will take each other in front)

the last idiom is also found in Sliven dial.

they set off (lit. take themselves)

has variant  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.

they wait for her

lok-u

(i) light (not heavy, not dark)

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
lok-i-  to get light  lok-i-Í-lu mánkI ml ozístí
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)
lol-i-  get red
lol-iar-  redden
lol-ipi  m. redness, lipstick, rouge

lon-  m. salt

loš  f. happiness
loš-a-  be happy (orig.caus.)
loš-ad-u  happy (lit.made happy)
loš-ad-i-  be happy

luluz-i  flower  < Gk. λουξ ούξ
ma
not (before imperatives only)
  ma ālkha
  do not look!
maṭh-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 i iv
  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
  mangIāā t@ mothIa tutkI
  I want to tell you
  me mangIāā tut
  I like you
manuš
(i) man
(ii) person (=ženu) (AR)
AR used /mruš/ for 'man' (as opposed to woman)
  me sim avrI manuš insa
  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)

marína pIs they fight (lit. beat each other)

mar-d-u past part.
mar-d-iar- to cause to fight (LZ)
mar-d-iher- 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@-terIa andu Berlin
I will stay in Berlin six months

but in oblique case plural used
enia mas@kÍnkI for nine months

maškar prep. among, between

maškar-un-u middle
u maškarunu angušt the middle finger (ZG)

mat-u drunk
mat-i- get drunk

me I
has variant /ma-/ before accusative affix

mel f. dirt
mel-al-u dirty
men
 to die
past part. is /mul-u/
mesal-i
 apron (AR)
Pasp. 'towel' (essuie-main)
milia
 thousand (AR)
not generally known (and replaced by B. or T.)
minz
 f. vagina
 dēāā lākī minz  I have intercourse with her
mir-ikl-u
 bead
probably originally a diminutive (see p. 55)
mir-ikl-I
 pl. of above
necklace
miuxliś
 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 mom-
mor-i  graveyard (AR, LIA, AK)
< *imori < *limori  Gk. (GS)

moth-

moth-a-  say

moth-a-d-u  past participle

moth-a-d-iker-  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  man (AR)
other speakers use /manus/ q.v.

m-u  my
before noun only

mudar-  kill

mui  m. (i) face (ii) mouth
has variant mo- before accusative sing. and pl.
: mó-s-tl 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-iker-  to let urinate (GS)

muterdíkerîla u grastîs  he lets the horse urinate
mə-  affix marking future tense

na  not (before indicative and subjunctive vbs)

na-avrI  see /avrI/

nag  m. nose

nai  most

nai  u nai-baru phral  the eldest brother

< Bulg.

nai  m. finger-nail

nair-  bathe (tr.)

oi nairíla pis  she bathes herself

nake-  pass, cross (a road)

u tření 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

nangI  = na + si

nangI  = 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 nángiláa pu gad  he takes off his shirt (LZ)

na-palal  see /palal/

* nasul-u  bad

nasul-ipi  m. evil (GS)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>nasv</strong></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nasv-al-u</td>
<td>ill, unwell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nasv-al-i-</td>
<td>be unwell, become unwell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nasv-al-ipi</td>
<td>m. illness</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>naš</strong></th>
<th>run</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>naš-íker-</td>
<td>make run (GS)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naš-al-</td>
<td>(causative of naš-), lose</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[\text{mi pares si našaldî} \quad \text{my money is lost}\]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>naši</strong></th>
<th>= na aši</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nev-u</td>
<td>new</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>niama</strong></th>
<th>negates the future tense</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>niama m@-xaLa</td>
<td>I will not eat (IS)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>also niama t@ xaLa</td>
<td>id. (AR)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>loan from Bulg.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cf. Bulg. niama da + future</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>ni-kai</strong></th>
<th>nowhere</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ni-karik</td>
<td>nowhere (arch.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ni-kač</td>
<td>nothing</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[\text{av-zis na xalim nikač} \quad \text{today I ate nothing}\]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>ni-kon</strong></th>
<th>no-one, not any-one</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>also /nikači/</td>
<td>(BP)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na dikhdim niKonIs</td>
<td>I saw no-one</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>ni-khanz-ur-u</strong></th>
<th>no-one (arch.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>ni-su</strong></td>
<td>adj. no, not any</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na sias man niSu il</td>
<td>I didn't have a letter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>has variant niSu before all affixes other than -u; paradigm as /s-u/ p.30</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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-a-k-u 'her', l-Is-k-u 'his', l-In-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

mort

ort-un-u  
right-hand (adj.)

mu ortunu ast  
my right hand
cf. Gk. ἄγων 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 ač-
ovarsíntl  day before yesterday (GS)

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

< ovarteszíntl (?)

oxl-  see uxl-

oxt-  see uxt-

oxto  eight

Gk.

oz-i  masc. (i) heart

phagu si mu ozi  my heart is broken (from love)

lísku ozi líniias t@ khellI  his heart began to dance (from fear)

(ii) soul, spirit

ozístar moizínas plis. they pray from the soul

ozístar dukhani lískI  from her soul she loved him

(iii) breath

leláa-mu ozi  I breathe

na aši leIn pu ozi  they cannot breathe (lit. take their breath)

(iv) stomach (LIA, Caramanos) = poř
cf. gozi 'brain, intelligence'
pak-u
soft (AR), clean (=šužu) (GS)
other Rom. dials have meanings 'ripe', 'bald' etc.
pakh
m. wing

pala
(i) prep. after (GS, Kr@stef, AR) (ii) advb. however (BP)
pala delcapnde zesíntI m®-avII
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 gell palI butíatI the brothers went again to work

papal-I
reduplicated from above, again
na dlnim papalI pheras I did not answer (lit. give back word) (AR)
cf. Pasp. palpale

po-pall
probably above falsely formed as comparative
irízíla i rakli po-pall (AK) the girl returns again
Samp. derives all above from Sor. paratas 'after, behind', however Kostov derives from Gk. παρά

pal
f. small stick of wood (for fire)

panda
still, yet
u xaibi panda keríla the food is still cooking
panda truima 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.

pá-r-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)

   parśila = /paránīlā/

parvar-  
feed, nourish (GS)

parxod-  
bury
pas
prep. near

i borurí avlli paś i phralínlI
the young bride came close
to the brothers

pas-
lie down, have intercourse

me mu-paśía máñkł
I will lay down (to me)

na aší pásítl, p@ rúmníása
he cannot have intercourse
with his wife

pati-
believe

na patiáá lístl
I do not believe in him

usually -a- for non-perfect affix, but GS and LZ had -I-

patrn-i
leaf

to (prep.)

žálíla 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-pélínku
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.
f. window
fem. after Bulg. (dial.) pendžera, although its form is from T. pencere

fifty
< Gk.

fall, faint
make fall, drop, abort
she aborted the child
that she might drop the bundle from her head (AR)

see /pheras/

Thursday on Thursday

loan from Vlax dialects

be drinkable

married et.dub.

get married

variant of pir-a cf. Pasp. piriavava
pi̱ṟ-a-n-u lover (AR)

pi̱ṟ-u foot

opra pi̱ṟ̱̱ṉ̱̱ḻ teṟ̱i̱li̱am we stood up (stayed on feet)

pi̱ṟ-nang-u barefoot

piš- to mill (BAP)

pisum f. flea

pi̱-Is himself, herself, themselves
also used (as is reflexive in Bulg.) for myself,
yourse-l-f-ves, ourselves

irizila pisiki he returns home

po more

po-baru bigger
loan from Bulg.

po at the rate of

po deš pares, po iekh for ten paras, one
kaves coffee (GS)
loan from Bulg.

por m. feather

poṟ̱ m. stomach

por-i tail (LZ)

posom f. raw wool

pras-a- to mock, insult
The languages resemble each other (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)

Know, be acquainted with

That the original ending was -r is shown by other dialects: Sofia pendžar, Jambol and Sliven punžar

His own etc.

Gun (LIA)

Perhaps onomat. *pumb + (adj. affix) -al-

N.B. Bulg. pumpal is 'spinning top'

Old (of persons and things)

Also used as noun 'old person'

He used to sell old clothes

I heard it from the old people

Only the old people go to church
puran-ipi  m. age (of people only)
         nasi phirila puranipnastar  he cannot walk from old age
         cf. phuripi

puran-i  get old

puran-ibi  m. ageing (GS,LZ)

purt  f. bridge
         AR had variant /purts/

purum  f. onion

puxki  sigh (GS)
         cf. Caramanos puski
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-  to break, tear, split

mI pheniákl sapka 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 maňkI u taxtai  fill the cup for me

pher-á-u  full

pher-á-i-  get full
pheras  m. word
kəkala ziniákə pherasa  the words of this song
also in idioms
ker- pheras  to speak (examples under ker-)
de- papall pheras  to reply

phik-u  shoulder

phir-  walk, travel
phir-a-  carry
su phiraśa tə astīstī  what are you carrying in your hand?

#phir-  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
súskī na phudīla ekh  why does a wind not blow?
balval
phuk-u  
fat

phur-u  
old
only in the expressions
  phuru dad  
  phuri dai  
cf. puranu

phur-ipi  
age (of things)
  cf. puranipi

phus  
m. straw

phutar-  
open (tr.)
  u dar/phutardias pis  
the door opened (itself)

phuv  
f. earth, ground
rakl-u  (non-Gypsy) boy, son
rakl-i  (non-Gypsy) girl, daughter
cf. /čov/ and /čai/

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-rati  to-night (GS)
ever-rat  night before last (GS)

rat-i-  become night
also /a-rat-i/

rat  m. blood
u rat si sar iekh  the blood (of all Gypsies) is as one (the same)
sovíla andI ratíntI  he sleeps in blood (plur.) (of a dead giant)

res-  (i) to reach  (ii) be enough
m@-resla ko kher  I will reach home (GS)
reslíla  that's enough (of sugar in coffee etc) = Bulg. stiga

rez-a  f. vineyard
ric-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 mánkî  do not weep for me

rov-ibi  m. weeping

rov-íker-  make someone cry (LIA)

ru-i  stick

rukh  m. tree

rup  m. silver (AR)
    not generally known in Kot.

rup-un-u  adj. silver (AR)

ruv  m. wolf
f. spoon

dim. coffee-spoon

(i) husband

(ii) Gypsy (this meaning is a loan from other dialects)

cf. řomaiti

husband (dim.)

m. and f. Gypsy (especially of Kotel tribe, but not invariably so):

me na sim i avří  I am not of the other Gypsies

řomaitintar  (in the town)

variant of řom/ before -an- and -ni

Gypsy (adj.)

ekh řumani zin  a Gypsy song

in Gypsy fashion, in the Gypsy language

(i) wife  (ii) Gypsy woman (loan from other dialects in this sense)
s-  
be
replaced in the future and subj. by ač-

s-u  
what? (pron)

s-u tu  
whatever
su-tu t@ vakerIs me kuda whatever you say I will
m@-kerIa do thus

sú-s-klI  
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

san-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
saranda  forty  
< Gk.

sast-u  whole, healthy

  sasti rat na sutim  the whole night I didn't sleep
  i sasti momi thábili  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 sikIáá i čhib I am learning the language
                   (LIA) (AR)

sik- teach
    me sikIáá 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-áž- get engaged (GS)
siv-aml-u engaged, fiance
siv-aml-i engaged, fiancee
    GS derives from Gk. ἀνάγκη
    cf. ἀνακτόρων 'signalled out'
soil m. oath (promise)
solak-u left-hand (adj.) (GS)
solak-n-u id. (AR)
    cf. Turk. solak
sosten f. underpants
sov- sleep
sovr-u (i) adj. all (ii) everything, everyone (pron.)
    sovr{I řoma phrala all Gypsies are brothers
    u sovr{I vakerina či si all say that there is a
    del God
    me u sovru pišízláa I write everything down
sovrû si lačhîs andu kher me risuízlâa tumîn sovrîn cf. i sovrî maţëssa i sastî maţëssa everything is all right at home I draw you all with all the bread with the whole loaf

to catch

mangîsa to starîs mačhîs? do you want to catch fish?

caught

(i) be caught (ii) tease, molest i.e. the sense of Bulg. zakačam se lit. catch oneself ma stárđi mansa don't bother me (AK)

GS had /asta/-
et dub. may be /star/ with epenthetic a- (cf. form istar in other dialects) or a causative ast-ar 'cause to remain' (/ast/ being a cognate of /ačh/)

hat, cap

<Gk. σκίδας

dream

to dream

sunûizim ekh sunu I dreamt a dream (LZ)
sunûiz- is a loan word cf. Bulg. sûnuvam but sun-u is not a loan cf. Scr. svapna

see /s-u/

see /siv/

see /s-u/
šarand  see /šerand/
šatr-a  f. tent (AR)
loan from Vlax dialects
cf. the more commonly used /katuna/ and /tserxa/
šax  m. cabbage
šel-u  rope
šer-u  head
pl šerísti phiraílas on her head she carried the
u boxcas bundle
šer-nangu in /šer-nangi/ (slang) 'woman' (lit. bareheaded)(GS)
šer-and- m. pillow (GS)
also /šarand/ (AR)
probably cognate with /šeru/ 'head', see p.49
šex-i  merchandise
usually in plur. (šexia)
Pasp. shekhi
šil  m. cold
avri si šil it is cold outside
šil si man I am (lit. have) cold
šil-al-u  cold (adj.) (used of people only cf. šudru)
me sim šilalu I am cold
šil-al-i- become cold, catch cold
šing  m. horn
šol f. whistling noise  
šol della he whistles (GS)  
N.B. kept as two separate words in most dialects

šor-u variant of /šeru/ q.v.

šošoi 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 manus he is an unfriendly person (AR)  
cf. šilalu

šukar good, beautiful  
loan from other dialects  
cf. lašhu

šukar-ipi m. good (noun), kindness  
me tut but kerdim šukari pi 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)

šúk-i- become dry  
 u maru šúkilo-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.)  of xoraxanu

šút-l-i become sour

deriving the verb from the adjective avoids the necessity for the special phonological rule which GS's šú- 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 tl q.v.

-ta emph. after imperative

šun-ta listen then

tar emph. after perfect

dīkhdim-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 teluni flanelá

vest (lit. undershirt) (LIA; AR)
sports-vest (AR) (trs of B.
dolina flanela)
ter-  remain

tern-u  young

tern-ur-u  young (dim)

boruříie ternuříie  Oh young wife! (AR)

tern-ipi  m. youth

tetrázi  Wednesday

< Gk.

tl  and

< earlier /tha/.

tikn-u  small

variants before dim. affix only

tik-ur-u  small (dim.)

rov t@ tikúpi k@zánÍskI  weep for your small child.

toska  then

(?) < Bulg. tozóa  id.

trad-  urge on

tradiáa i guruvIn  I urge on the cattle

trandáfil-us  m. rose (AR, LIA)

< Gk. τες ταφυλον

trap-us  m. hole (GS)

cf. xar, xev
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb</th>
<th>meaning</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>trąś-</td>
<td>be afraid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trąś̱lu-</td>
<td>he got frightened</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imp. ma trąśa</td>
<td>don't be afraid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trąś-a-</td>
<td>to frighten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trąś-a-d-u</td>
<td>frightened</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trąś-a-d-i-</td>
<td>be frightened (GS)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trąś</td>
<td>f. fear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trąśi-</td>
<td>I trembled from fear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trąbl-iz-</td>
<td>be necessary (used only in 3rd sing.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na trąbliẕla amínḵl</td>
<td>it is not necessary for us</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i.e. we do not need it (GS)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>me trąbliẕla t@ kínla</td>
<td>I need to buy a coffee-spoon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(AR)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ekh ɾoiuɾ̱i</td>
<td>such things are not necessary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na trąbliẕla kísalí butía</td>
<td>(AK)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>also /trąbliẕ-/ and /trąbluiẕ/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;Bulg. trąblvā</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>order</th>
<th>meaning</th>
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<tr>
<td>triánda</td>
<td>thirty</td>
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<td>&lt;Gk.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>trin</td>
<td>three</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>also /tri/ and /trnį/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tríma</td>
<td>a little</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>also /thríma/, /fríma/ and /ríma/ (the last probably back formation from /but tríma/ 'very little')</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;Gk. 𧎪&gt;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pala rímon-ístį</td>
<td>after a little while</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
trim-ink-uţ-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-ţ-u your
t-ţ-u your
only before noun cf. tutţu 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


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 tuskărla u phrala then the brothers made kerdi i purts the bridge
-rla is an old ablative ending preserved in many dialects.
(i) in order to (followed by the subj.)
  manglāa tə pisīzīla I want to write
  na sias man vakəti tə I did not have time to
  dikhla Ternovo see Ternovo
  also in compound conjunctions
  sar tə, źi tə etc.

(ii) in negative future (imitation of Bulg. usage)
  nīama tə xała I am not going to eat
  as Bulg. nīama da xapna id.
  nīama mə-xała is also used

(iii) if (followed by indicative)
  tu tə mangīsa man mə-əcḥīs if you love me you will
  manəl ɾumni become my wife (AR)
thá- variant of /tl/ q.v.

thá- burn (intr.)

i iag thábila
lískI lámpa tháblI-tar
tháblI

the fire is burning
its valve has burnt out
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
ekhlI thanásti
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
u čainikus si xeviardu tha
thávdela

my nose is dripping
the kettle is cracked and is
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

thrīma
variant of /trīma/ 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. učmak
   fərciz- from Bulg. is more common

učh-u  high

uxč-
uxč-iar-  to cover
uxč-iar-ibi  m. covering, roof (GS,Kr®steff)
uxč-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 ücha '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 ml unuka   he is my (fem.) nephew
   probably from Bulg. vnuk, via xvnuk, or from Serb.
   unuk via other Rom. dials; Plovdiv sedentary tribes
   pra-unuka    great-grandchild
upr
(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-
to dress

ur-a- urāila pīs 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)

kIti zes si ut-sar avIlian how many days is it since you came here ?
k@tka

Bulg. ot ka (Rom. sar = ka 'how')
also ot-sar in free variation

ut-tuskar(la) see under /tuska/

umbl-

umbl-a- hang up, strangle

umblalāa mu paltus I hang up my overcoat (AR)

umbl-a-d-u past part.

umbl-a-d-i- be hanged

umblādilu-tar he was hanged (GS)

us- arise (from bed, chair etc)

uši ordal get up from there ! (LZ)
When did you get up from (your) sleep?

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!

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)

**uxtadias luludia**

he plucked flowers (GS)

**uxta máńkI ekh dudum**

pick a pumpkin for me (AR)

Past part. of **uxt-i-** (instead of expected \(\text{uxtIlu}\) or \(\text{uxtilu}\))

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 (Krøsteff)

Past part. of **ux-**

**uxl-aa**

arrive (at a place)

**uxl-aa andI kasabáI**

I arrive in the town (AK)

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 /aźar-/  
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 (â) and (hâ) for 'yes' but these seem
to have died out

va-d-
lift
present tense /vá dela/ '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

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

vare-so
something
ekh vareso
loan from other dialects
/vare/ also appears in
u butia vare (GS)
some things

vars
in
ekh vars
ekh vars rat
šov tI ekh varsÍntI
a half
midnight
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.

vecik

already (AK)

cf. Bulg. veče id.

veki

(i) already (AR) (ii) for ever after

i purt na peli-tar vekl 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.

ves

m. forest, open space

has the various meanings of Bulg. gora (GS)
| xa-  | eat                        |
| xa-ibi | m. food                   |
|        | ne xaibi ne maɾu xaína    | they do not eat food or bread (AK) |
| xa-mus | m. food                   |
|        | loan from Vlax dialects   |
| xa-iz-  | 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.   |
| xanz-  | to itch (tr.)             |
|        | mu dumu xanzィla man       | my back itches me |
| xanz-al-u | temperamental (AR)   |
| xar    | f. large hole             |
|        | cf. xev (small hole)      |
|        | ʧeʧa lIIs andI ekI xariatI | they throw him into a hole (AK) |
| xar-u  | short (of people), low (buildings etc.) (AR) |
|        | Pasp. kharma               |
| xar-a- | (i) scratch (ii) itch (tr.)-xanz- |
|        | tu xaraʧa tut             | you scratch yourself (LZ) |
|        | mu ßhang xaraʧa man        | my foot itches me (LZ) |
xas- cough (vb)

xer donkey

xer-ni f. donkey

xer buz-u water-melon

cf. T. karpuz Rum. harbuz

xev f. small hole

cf. xar

xev iar- make holes in

xo-i anger

i gažískí xoí but inkístu the Gentile's anger came out a lot (i.e. he was very angry)

<Gk.

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. ἔξος and not Bulg. (which would give forms ἔξορα pl. ἔξορις)

xox-a  f. lie, fantastic tale
xox-a-  tell a lie, deceive
xox-a-ibi m. lying

xrán-d-  comb, brush, rake
   me xrándea mI bala  I brush/comb my hair with
      četkaša, kangiša  a brush, with a comb (AR)
   m-xränden i reza  they will rake the vineyard

xul  m. excrement

xul-a  f. upper throat
Caram. 'pharynx'

xuxur  m. mushroom
probably originally a diminutive of ἐξux.
sáb-  
sing  
stress on stem as it was originally a passive  
cf. Pasp. giliabovav from which /sáb-/ derives by  
palatalization  
/sáb-/ is historically cognate with /zin/ 'song'  
(earlier form ḳgili)

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 kerīna, i rat perlā    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 ḳgili)
variant of /zes/ 'day' in the following two words only; it is the earlier form (cf. the forms dives etc in other dialects)

in the day-time

become day, dawn

f. town

< Pers. diz

f. gum (of mouth)

GS had dziz

probably from Vlax dialects cf. Rum. džindžie; the Rom. word (lost in Kot.) is ñthar

f. strength

strong

the man is strong

the bread is hard

advb. hard

I hit him hard

see /zdra/

soup
go
loan from other dials. cf. /z@nkI/

aunt's husband, elder sister's husband
N.B. for younger sister's husband and son-in-law
/gl@ves/ (cf. T. güvey) is used

know
na zanlák@ti mas@k
kerdi buti
na zanl@a tΩ z@baa
I do not know how many
months they worked
I do not know how to sing

wake up (tr.)
woken up
wake up (intr.)

person

f. pocket
cf. cep (Turk.)
žeb@ may be a back formation from the oblique /žebi@ti/
(žebati). Pasp. has djebba

prep. to, towards, until
ži Sofi@ti
to Sofia
ži kinos
to the cinema (article
omitted as Bulg. za kino)
ži rat
until the evening
ži rat@
until the evening
ži rati
until nightfall (GS)
ži lIstI
to him
ži na-palal
forwards (LZ)
ži akana
up to now
ži tΩ
conj. until (AR)
ži tə žall plškl i borupi until the young wife goes home

ži kai until (conj.) (GS)

ži kai aratil until it becomes night

ži (in oaths)

ži mánkl ml dai tə... may my mother be forfeit to me if... (AK)

ži mánkl tu... may you be forfeit to me... (AK)

GS had džin

džin mánkl ml kəzania (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. cín 'demon'

žív- to live

replaced by /živiz-/ from B. živia

živ-d-u alive (past part. of živ-)

žor mule

žor-ni mule (f.)

žov m. barley

žukel dog

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

: me izpalláa i žuklIs I drive away the dog

žukl-ni bitch (GSp.c.)

žuvel woman
| zuv         | f. louse         |
| zuv-al-u   | lousy           |
| zuval-i-   | become lousy (AK) |

\[\text{ž\@nkI-}\]

to go

probably originally ža + inkl 'go' + 'go out' has the variant /genkl-/ before -d- (perfect affix), giving perfect tense genklim, genklia, *genklu, genkli genkliam, genklian, *genklii the starred forms are however replaced by the loan forms /gelu/ and /gell/ resp. (being the perfect of /ža-/ in other dialects

\[\text{ž\@nk-ibi}\]

going (IIA)

AR had /genklibi/, formed from the past part.
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

See lexicon

See lexicon under /tríma/
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Affix</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Affix Number</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-uin-</td>
<td>(loan) pl. obl.</td>
<td></td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-un-</td>
<td>forms adjs</td>
<td>36(a)</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-unl</td>
<td>masc. sing. obl., comm. pl. obl.</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-unl</td>
<td>fem. sing. obl.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-utn-</td>
<td>dim.</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-us</td>
<td>comm. sing. acc.</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-us</td>
<td>(loan) nom.</td>
<td></td>
<td>62,63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-utn-</td>
<td>adj.</td>
<td>36(a)</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-v</td>
<td>masc. sing. nom.</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-val-</td>
<td>adj.</td>
<td>36(a)</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-@</td>
<td>fem. sing. obl.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-@</td>
<td>comm. pl. nom.</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-@</td>
<td>masc. sing. obl., comm. pl. obl.</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-@</td>
<td>fem. sing. obl.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-@</td>
<td>comm. pl. nom.</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-@</td>
<td>masc. sing. obl., comm. pl. obl.</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-@</td>
<td>fem. sing. obl.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-@</td>
<td>masc. sing. nom., comm. s. nom.</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-@</td>
<td>present</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-@</td>
<td>perfect</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-@</td>
<td>2nd sing.</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-@</td>
<td>subj.</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-@</td>
<td>adj.</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-@</td>
<td>forms adverbs</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-Vnd</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**SOME NON-PRODUCTIVE ELEMENTS OF DEMONSTRATIVES AND ADVERBS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>av-</th>
<th>this</th>
<th>av-zis</th>
<th>to-day</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>a-kana</td>
<td>now (i.e. this moment)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ai-rat</td>
<td>to-night</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-de</td>
<td></td>
<td>kI-de</td>
<td>thus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ever-</td>
<td>other</td>
<td>ever-rat</td>
<td>night before last</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>oar-sende</td>
<td>day before yesterday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cf. aver</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>k@k-</th>
<th>this</th>
<th>k@k-a</th>
<th>this (adj. and pron.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>k@t-ka</td>
<td>here (i.e. this place)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kI-de</td>
<td>thus, in this way</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kI-salu</td>
<td>such a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kI-savu</td>
<td>such a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>-ka</th>
<th>place</th>
<th>k@t-ka</th>
<th>here (i.e. this place)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ka-i</td>
<td>where</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>k@-tar</td>
<td>whence</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| ka- | some     | ka-iekh | some-one             |

| kud- | yonder   | kud-a   | yonder (adj. and pron.) |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>kuk-</th>
<th>that</th>
<th>kuk-a</th>
<th>that (adj. and pron.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kut-ka</td>
<td>there</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kui-tar</td>
<td>from there</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ka-</th>
<th>some</th>
<th>k@t-ka</th>
<th>here (i.e. this place)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kI-de</td>
<td>thus, in this way</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kI-salu</td>
<td>such a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kI-savu</td>
<td>such a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-khač</td>
<td>thing</td>
<td>nI-khač</td>
<td>nothing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-khanž-</td>
<td>person</td>
<td>nI-khanž-uru</td>
<td>(arch.) no-one</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ot-</td>
<td>yonder</td>
<td>ot-ka</td>
<td>yonder (adv.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>o-tar</td>
<td>from yonder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-salu</td>
<td></td>
<td>kl-salu</td>
<td>such a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-savu</td>
<td></td>
<td>kl-savu</td>
<td>such a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tusk-</td>
<td>then</td>
<td>ut tusk-arla</td>
<td>since then¹/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vare-</td>
<td>some</td>
<td>vars-so</td>
<td>something</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹/ /ut/ (redundant), from Bulg. ot
### Members of Closed Word Classes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Article</th>
<th>Inside</th>
<th>Outside</th>
<th>At a Distance</th>
<th>Where, Whither</th>
<th>Here</th>
<th>There</th>
<th>From There</th>
<th>From There</th>
<th>From Here, From Where</th>
<th>Nowhere</th>
<th>Nowhere</th>
<th>From That Side (cf. Turk. Orda)</th>
<th>From Yonder</th>
<th>Opposite</th>
<th>Over, Above</th>
<th>Tonight</th>
<th>Tonight</th>
<th>Never (Turk.)</th>
<th>Now</th>
<th>Ago</th>
<th>Today</th>
<th>Tomorrow</th>
<th>Night Before Last</th>
<th>Yesterday</th>
<th>When</th>
<th>Then (Next)</th>
<th>Day Before Yesterday</th>
<th>Afterwards</th>
<th>Again</th>
<th>Still</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
papallI again
popallI again
rati yesterday
sigu soon (Bulg.)
sa always
tuska then (at that time)
tasia tomorrow
veki already (Bulg. vede)

but very, much
frima little
ma, na not
po more (Bulg.)
en more (Turk.)
nai most (B.)
avmil by heart
ama but (B.)
čak only (B.)
klde in this way
kuda in that way
keitIka the amount that
kleti so much
kiti how much
sůskI 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:

\[ \text{zuman-Is} \] in Gypsy fashion \(< \text{zuman-u} 'Gypsy' \) (adj.)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cardinal</th>
<th>ekh varš</th>
<th>½</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(ekh</td>
<td>1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>duí</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>trin</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>štar</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>panž</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>šov</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>efta</td>
<td>7 (Gk.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>oxto</td>
<td>8 (Gk.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>enia</td>
<td>9 (Gk.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>deš</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>deš u ekh</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>etc. 1/</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>biš</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>biš u ekh</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>etc.</td>
<td>triánda</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>saránda</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>peínda</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(the Turkish or Bulgarian numbers are used for 60-99)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5@1</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Conjunction</th>
<th>či</th>
<th>that (followed by indicative) &lt;B. če</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kana (-tu)</td>
<td>when</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kai</td>
<td>because, where</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sar</td>
<td>how</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sūskI(-tu)</td>
<td>because</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tl</td>
<td>and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>t@</td>
<td>in order to (followed by subjunctive)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. except for /dekapende/ 15
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indef. Adj.</th>
<th>kata</th>
<th>each</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kIIsalu</td>
<td>such a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kIkesavu</td>
<td>such a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kIIsov</td>
<td>such a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nIIsu</td>
<td>no</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sastu</td>
<td>all (whole)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sovru</td>
<td>all (every)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interr. Adj.</th>
<th>káskI</th>
<th>whose ?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kon</td>
<td>which ?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>savo</td>
<td>which ?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Poss. Pron.</th>
<th>mu, mańru</th>
<th>my</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tu, tutru</td>
<td>your (sing.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lIIsku</td>
<td>his</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laku</td>
<td>her</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mpu</td>
<td>one's own</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aminiru</td>
<td>our</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tumInru</td>
<td>your (pl.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>linku</td>
<td>their</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Preposition</th>
<th>agor</th>
<th>at the edge of</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>andar</td>
<td>from</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anglal</td>
<td>in front of, before</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>astar</td>
<td>on account of (plus dative)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>andu</td>
<td>in</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bi</td>
<td>without (plus genitive)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. only recorded in oblique
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>karik</td>
<td>towards</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ko, kai</td>
<td>at, to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k@tar</td>
<td>from</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mamui</td>
<td>opposite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maškar</td>
<td>among</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ut-sar</td>
<td>since</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pas(e)</td>
<td>up to, next to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pe</td>
<td>to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pu</td>
<td>at the rate of (Bulg. po)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pala</td>
<td>after</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sar</td>
<td>like</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sonra</td>
<td>after (GS) (T.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tela</td>
<td>under, from under</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>turie</td>
<td>around</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>upra, upre</td>
<td>above</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>́zi</td>
<td>up to, until, towards</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>me</td>
<td>I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tu</td>
<td>you (s.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ov</td>
<td>he</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oi</td>
<td>she</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pis</td>
<td>oneself (acc.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amIn</td>
<td>we</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tumIn</td>
<td>you (pl.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>on</td>
<td>they</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kon</td>
<td>who ?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>su</td>
<td>what ?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ake-kon</td>
<td>someone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aver</td>
<td>another person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>́chipas</td>
<td>something</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ekh</td>
<td>someone</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
kai
ka-iekh
nIkač
nIkon
nIkhanzuru
vare-so

who, what (relative)
someone
nothing
no-one
no-one (archaic, GS)
something
# Loan Words Belonging to Closed Semantic Classes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Day</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Language</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Monday</td>
<td>ponedělníkůs</td>
<td>(B.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuesday</td>
<td>vtřétníkůs</td>
<td>(Ř.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saturday</td>
<td>sobota</td>
<td>(B.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Autumn</td>
<td>oseň</td>
<td>(B.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noon</td>
<td>plaďnia</td>
<td>(B.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blue</td>
<td>sůlu</td>
<td>(B.sinio)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Green</td>
<td>zelénu</td>
<td>(B.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## 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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rule</th>
<th>Symbol Conversion</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>$n</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>nla $\rightarrow$ nna</td>
<td>in verbs only^2/&lt;br&gt;:/\tilde{\text{s}}\text{unla} &gt; (\tilde{\text{s}}\text{unna}) 'he hears'&lt;br&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>nIl$\phi$ $\rightarrow$ nIN$\phi$</td>
<td>in verbs only&lt;br&gt;/\tilde{\text{s}}\text{unIl}$\phi$/ $\tilde{\text{s}}\text{unIN}^3$/ 'he hears'&lt;br&gt;(subj.)&lt;br&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>dd $\rightarrow$ d$\phi$</td>
<td>in perfect verb only&lt;br&gt;/phanddim/&gt; phandim 'I bound'&lt;br&gt;/besdu/&gt; (besdu) 'he sat'&lt;br&gt;/dIkhdi/&gt; dIkhlli 'they saw'&lt;br&gt;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. This change probably took place at a time when this -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. \( \frac{t}{k} \) \rightarrow \frac{k}{s} \quad \text{in forms of } /\text{tu}/ \ 'you' \text{ only}

\( \frac{s}{t} \rightarrow \frac{t}{r} \)

\( \frac{t}{r} \rightarrow \frac{t}{r} \) \quad /\text{tutu}/ \rightarrow \text{turu} \ 'your'

6. \( \frac{\text{anru}}{\text{uru}} \rightarrow \frac{\text{uru}}{\text{oru}} \quad \text{in possessive pronouns only}

/\text{manru}/ \rightarrow (\text{moaru}) 'my'

/turu/ \rightarrow (\text{toru}) 'your'

/\text{amInru}/ \rightarrow (\text{amaru}) 'our'

/\text{tumInru}/ \rightarrow (\text{tumaru}) 'your' (pl.)

7. \( \text{khi} \rightarrow \text{tshi} \quad \text{in the following two words only}^1\)

/\text{makhi}/ \rightarrow (\text{matshi}) 'fly'

/\text{khil}/ \rightarrow (\text{tshil}) 'butter'

8. \( \text{khi} \rightarrow \text{pi} \quad \text{in the passive of } /\text{alakh-}/ \text{ only}

/\text{alakhilu}/ \rightarrow (\text{alapilu}) 'it was found'

9. \( \frac{\text{asis}}{\text{os}} \rightarrow \frac{\text{as}}{\text{as}} \quad \text{in oblique forms of } /\text{cipas}/ \text{ only}

/\text{cipasiski}/ \rightarrow \text{cipaski} 'to something'

/\text{koniski}/ \rightarrow \text{kaski} 'to whom'

---

1. but \( /\text{makhi}/ /\text{painting}/ \) does not show this change.

N.B. (\text{tsh}) only occurs in the two words given.
10. ści  (⇒) ći
   in medio-passives only
   /arıdılu/ (⇒) aratălu  'it became rotten'
   /bariaa/ (⇒) bariaa  'I become big'

11. @kal  (⇒) @l
    ukul  (⇒) ul
    in demonstratives only
    k@kala (⇒) (k@la)  'these'
    ulcul  (^)
    ul

B. General rules (applying throughout the language)

12. Vibi  ⇒  Vibi
    : /xaibi/  >  (xabi)  'food'

13. Ia  ⇒ a
    : /mangıaa/  >  mangaa  'I want'
    /dIkhas/  >  dIkhas  'we see' (subj.)

14. a I l  e l
    a n  ⇒  án n
    /leısa/  >  (lésa)  'you take'
    a s  ⇒  a s

15. aáa  ⇒ áa
    : xaaas  >  (xaaas)  'I used to eat'
    aáa (⇒) aá
    xaa ≤a (⇒) (xa)  'I eat'

1. the forms in -cí- are probably older
16. aia → a
aia → a

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

restriction
/daiia/ 'mothers' (plural) does not change

17. \( \gamma \) \( \gamma \)

: /bar\'issa/ > bar\'essa 'with a stone'

18. \( \gamma \) \( \gamma \)

: /ar\'I/ > (ar\'\) 'eggs'

19. \( m \) \( m \)

: /mI/ > (m\( \)) 'my' (obl.s., pl.)
20. Ξia $\rightarrow$ ɣła

: /soviča/ $\rightarrow$ (soviča) 'all'

(obl.f.sing.)

21. ėr̥la $\rightarrow$ ėr̥la

: kěrla $\rightarrow$ (kěrla) 'he does'

22. eCē $\rightarrow$ @ eCē

: /khere/ $\rightarrow$ (kheri) 'at home'

keri $\rightarrow$ (kēri) 'you do'

mořa $\rightarrow$ (mořa) 'my' (obl., pl.)

23. iā ($\rightarrow$) e

: /tasiča/ (> tasič) 'tomorrow'

mudarida (> mudarida) 'he killed'

24. gū $\rightarrow$ gū

: /lošiša/ > (lošäsa) 'with joy'

ləgiči $\rightarrow$ iagatli 'fire' (loc.)

25. ldi $\rightarrow$ i

: /basaldim/ > (basaim) 'I played'

26. ści $\rightarrow$ šči

: /besti/ > (besći) 'she sat'

27. d $\rightarrow$ z

: /phendias/ > (phenzias) 'he spoke'

/gaŋi/ $\rightarrow$ (gansi) 'crooked' (f.)

/loki/ $\rightarrow$ (lotsi) 'light' (f.)

/lisni/ $\rightarrow$ (leša) 'rivers'

/sastip/ $\rightarrow$ (sastipi) 'health'

/vuvičiI/ $\rightarrow$ phuviči '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.)

/puknizila/ 'it bursts'
do not modify

28. I → i

29. a| l a a l a
    o| v i n / o| i n /
    u| s   u| s

: rovila > (roila) 'he weeps'	
čhavis > (čhais) 'boy' (acc.)

30. vur → vr
    Vur → ur

: /čhovuru/ > (čhovru) 'boy' (dim.)

butsurji > (butsurji) 'work' (dim.)
31. ai $\rightarrow$ ei

in passive verbs only

šilaim $\rightarrow$ šileim 'I became cold'

32. äi $\rightarrow$ öi

ai $\rightarrow$ öi

dasikäi $\rightarrow$ dasiköi 'Bulgarian'

(fem. adj.)

ai $\rightarrow$ öi 'she went'

33. ŭzV $\rightarrow$ ĭzV

rivizila $\rightarrow$ (rivizila) 'he shouts'

i.e. -iz- always has stress

/kapitâniİstI/ $\rightarrow$ kapitâniİstİ

34. ns $\rightarrow$ nts

nz $\rightarrow$ ndž

lënsa $\rightarrow$ (lënsa) 'with them'

nânzila $\rightarrow$ (nânzila) 'he undresses'

35. ie $\rightarrow$ e

ii $\rightarrow$ i

butsiëti $\rightarrow$ butseti 'to work' (loc.)

(and its free variant)

butsiáti $\rightarrow$ butsiáti

k@z@in $\rightarrow$ k@z@in 'children' (acc.)

restriction

pii- 'drink' does not change

piïla 'he drinks'

1. this rule and the second part of rule 30 remove the -i- which has been used to preserve the palatalized sound of some consonants
36. \( b \)  \( p \), \( d \) \( t \)  
\( g \) \( k \) \( v \) \( f \)  
\( z \) \( s \) \( Ž \) \( Č \)  
: \(/iag/ \)  \( > \) \( (iak) \) 'fire'  
\( \text{cf. } (iaga) \) 'fires'  
N.B. \(/ž/ \)  \( > \) \( (č) \), the voiceless  
correlative of \(/dž/ \)  
from which  
Kot. \(/ž/ \) developed  
\( \text{cf. } \text{Sofia } /džukel/ \) \( (\text{Kot. } /žukel/ \)  
'dog')  

37. \( čh \) \( č \) \( kh \) \( k \)  
: \(/ačh/ \)  \( > \) \( (ač) \)  
'be' (imp.)  
\( \text{cf. } (ačhla) \)  
'he becomes'  
N.B. \(/th/ \) and \(/ph/ \) have not been  
recorded in final position.  

38. \( s \) \( č \) \( š \) \( š \)  
: \(/kašt/ \)  \( > \) \( (kas) \)  
'tree, wood'  
\( \text{cf. } (kašta) \)  
'trees'  

39. \( ss \) \( s \)  
raklíssa  \( > \) \( (raklísá) \) 'with the boy'  

40. \( nk \) \( a \) \( ng \) \( a \) \( u \) \( u \)  
máníki  \( > \) \( (mángi) \)  
'to me'  

41. \( ti \) \( tar \) \( n \) \( di \) \( dar \)  
mánti  \( > \) \( (mándi) \)  
'me' (loc.)  

42. \( ea \) \( ia \)  
deáa  \( > \) \( dia \)  
'I give'  
leása  \( > \) \( liása \)  
'we give'
43. azi  (➔) asi
   • lošážim (>) lošásim 'I was happy'

44. ViV  ➔ VjV
   • pilas  > (pijas) 'he drank'

jiV  ➔ jV
   • iak  > (jak) 'fire'

45. rz  ➔ r
   • phérzila  > phérlia 'it fills'(intr.)
Specimen text in phonetic

phonetic
sjas na sjas ek puranu djádus
do djádus si lis ek bábička
kai nan@i lin k@zëjsja
on si lin ek duđum andi kúmina
ti kai žána píski i rat
i bába lam@ ila t@ kha@ r@l
i bába z@rt, u pápa z@rt
ti phérila u duđum
kai phérila u duđum
puknízila u duđum
kai puknízila u duđum
praznízila
phérila u kher k@zëjsja

phonological
sias na sias ekh puranu dÍadus
do dÍadus si lis ekh bábička
kai nan@i IIn k@zánisia
on si IIn ekh duđum andI kúmina
tI kai žána píski i rat
i bába lamálIa t ò khaníarIl
i bába z@rt, u pápa z@rt
tI phérðíIa u duđum
kai phérðíIa u duđum
puknízIa u duđum
kai puknízIa u duđum
praznízIa
phérðíIa 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

dÍadus grandfather (Bul.)
bábička grandmother (B.)
kúmina hearth (B.)
z@rt defecated (Turk.)
puknízIa bursts (B.)
praznízIa 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 Paspati p.616, JGLS 3 x 78) and the houses of wax
and salt (Paspati 616, Kretschmer Neugrieohische Maerchen no.18)
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.
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.
phonetic
oj ẑ@nkîla
phral ti phen
ah, but lačhîs
vakîrla
kide ama u djađus vakîrla
me na kham čha
vakîrla
i baba vakîrla
me manga čha
u djađus vakîrla
na khamîla čha
ti ušîla u djađus
inkîla ẑ@nkîla kai pu kher

phonological
oi ẑ@nkÎîla
phral tî phen
ah, but lačhîs
vakerîla
kîde ama u dîđus vakerîla
me na kham čhaia
vakerîla
i baba vakerîla
me mangua čhaia
u dîđus vakerîla
na khamîla čhaia
tî ušîla u dîđus
inkîla ẑ@nkÎîla kai pu kher

translation
she comes,
brother and sister.
"Ah, very nice",
(the grandmother) says
but the grandfather says.
"I do not want a girl,
he says.
The grandmother says,
"I want a girl."
The grandfather says
he does not want a girl
and the grandfather goes out.
He gets up and goes to his own house.

notes
kham I like (loan from other
dials)
phonetic
kerillas piski andu kher
kana avila piski andu kher
pale bendias i kaznuqi
ek aru
u chovuru pas listi
i chaiuri pas i babati
pala nan@i lin lon
ti vakerilla baba
k@z@m
usi t@ z@nki t@ manga
vakerilla
k@z@m
usit@ z@nki t@ manga
vakerilla
kai tu papus
vakerilla
frima lon
t@ lonziaras amink@ aru
t@ xas

phonological
kerillas piski andu kher
kana avila piski andu kher
pale bendias i kaznuqi
ek aru
u chovuru paš listi
i chaiuri paš i babati
pala nan@i lIn lon
tI vakerilla i babä
k@z@m
usi t@ z@nki t@ manga
vakerilla
kai tu papus
vakerilla
frima lon
t@ lonziaras amink@ aru
t@ xalas

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.)
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.
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'"
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.
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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

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, Paspati 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 Dimitar 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).


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 (γ), corresponding to Sanscrit retroflex t and d (See _JGLS._ (2) iv. 292-6), in *γγ δδ* 'egg', *γο Gypsy' etc. It also occurs in *γκδια 'brandy' and *γιμα '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/α_ e.g. _ρα_ 'blood', _ρατ_ '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. _ςι_). 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', veselo, etc.). As a result, trubulas '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.


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
The author classifies the morphemes by what precedes and follows them, in addition to their own meaning. Thus the e in sileder 'colder' is distinguished from that in phureder 'older' and gadžikanes 'in non-Gypsy fashion', since the former occurs after noun stems and before -der only, whereas the latter occurs after adjectival 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
I- '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. *kero* 'do', where -<var>o</var> (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.


This is the first detailed account to be published in Hungary of the Lovari dialect: Archduke Jozef described it as the language of the Rospati 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 Lal ¹), 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 Sansi ² and many articles (one about the Nat and the Bazigar ³) 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'.