

Outline of Romani Grammar Victor A. Friedman  
based on Macedonian Skopje Arli (the basis of the Macedonian standard)  
with reference to other dialects as relevant<sup>1</sup>

## PHONOLOGY

Stress is generally final in native words, penultimate in loans borrowed after major influx of Hellenisms.

*dženó* ‘person’/dat. *dženéske*

*vogí* ‘soul, belly’/dat. *vogéske*

*džépo* ‘pocket’/dat. *džepóske*

*sfíri* ‘hammer’/dat. *sfíríske* (Greek σφυρί)

Unstressed suffixes of clitic origin can result minimal pairs:

džan-ás ‘we know’ džá-n-as ‘they used to go’,

cf. also phrála ‘O brother’ phralá ‘brothers’.

(Cf. also Bugurdži i kráva [nom.]/e kravá [acc.] ‘cow’)

Dialects in a country with fixed stress often follow that country’s stress pattern (penultimate or initial=

Central, NW). Some dialects in contact with Albanian tend to penultimate stress (B šéro~šeró ‘head’).

Dialects in countries with phonological length often develop phonological length (N, Central, N. Vlax).

Baltic/C del ‘give’ vs dēl (< devel) ‘god’

Šoka Sk (C) čāčo ‘true’ (non-attrib) vs

cačo va ‘right hand’ (attrib)

Some develop phonetic length. Lovari pre-tonic open vs closed: bāró ‘big’ vs tiknó ‘small’

All dialects have at least five vowels (a, e, i, o, u).

Some have schwa.

*sastrən*: *sastrun* - *sastrin* - *sastrn* ‘iron’

Some have high back unrounded î (î, y, ɪ).

*si* > *sy*, *sas* > *sys*, *sar* > *syr*, *-tar* > *-tyr* (N. Russian, Xal., Leshaki [Pol.])

Dialects in countries with other vowels can have those vowels in loanwords or even natively (ü in Turkish & Albanian words, also *dikhljum* > *dikhliim* in some Xoraxane Macedonian Arli; *jag* > *jåg* in Wales)

Most dialects share the following consonantism:

ptk, p<sup>h</sup>t<sup>h</sup>k<sup>h</sup>, č<sup>h</sup>, bdg, fv, sz, šž, čž, mnlrjh

(c,ž are marginal, except in dialects that affricate t [rarely d] before /i/ tikno ‘small’ > cikno, buti ‘work’ >

buci, divez > dzives, also some dialects č > c under Greek influence)

v > w in some environments in some dialects (K, C, Sinti)

<i>perel</i> ‘fall’	<i>pherel</i> ‘fill’	<i>kula</i> ‘tower’	<i>khula</i> ‘nonsense’
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<i>tar</i> ‘from’	<i>thar</i> ‘molar’	<i>čorel</i> ‘steal’	<i>čhorel</i> ‘spill’
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<i>ker</i> ‘do!’	<i>kher</i> ‘house’	<i>čaj</i> ‘tea’	<i>čhaj</i> ‘girl’
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Some dialects oppose uvular, retroflex, or long trilled ř or rr (< original \*ḍ) to flapped or short trilled /r/ (< \*r), e.g. řaj ‘branch’ vs raj ‘gentleman’ [Kalderaš]; others have only the latter.

Some dialects (Džambaz) oppose /x/ and /h/ (Džambaz *xasal* ‘cough’, *hasal* ‘laugh’), others have free variation.

In South Balkans, clear vs velar l = automatic alternation:

*gelo* ‘came’ m.                      *geli* ‘came’ f. = [gelo - gełi]

Some dialects have distinctive palatalization [N.Rus.(Xal.)

šîr ‘how’/šîr ‘garlic’ (< sar/sir)

some have final devoicing (in contact with Slavic, Turkish, German) [dat-dadeske] ‘father nom. dat.’

Aspiration is neutralized word-finally and before another consonant in some dialects (incl. most Balkan)

jek - jekhe

Devoicing+Neutralization of aspiration (some Balkan): [jak -> jakh[j]a/jaga ‘eye/fire’ nom.sg./nom.pl.]

In some dialects (N VI) č<sup>h</sup>,ž > ś,ž ; fem. aj > ej (all VI), e.g. čhaj>śej/čhej ‘Romani girl, daughter’

(vs paj < pani ‘water’)

In some dialects velars (and/or dentals) are palatalized before /i/ and/or /e/ (See Dialects).

Dialects can have foreign consonants in foreign words. [ɣ in Greek loans in Sepeči]

## SUBSTANTIVE

Most nouns in -o are masc, -i fem, -C unpredictable: rom-romni, čavo-čhaj, džamutro-bori, phral-phen

(m.) nakh, bal,lil, berš, beng, vast, mas<sup>n</sup>, anav<sup>n</sup>, giv  
nose, hair, paper, year, devil, hand, flesh, name, wheat

(f.) jakh, mol<sup>n</sup>, balval, aindž, džung, čang, jag<sup>m</sup>, bokh,  
fire, wine, field,wind, evil, leg, fire, hunger

rat 'night (f., < rātrī)' & 'blood' (m. < rakta- 'red')

xanamik/-es/-a 'co-father/mother-in-law' (sib-in-l)

masc: vogi, pani, muj, nilaj 'belly/soul, water, mouth/face, summer'

[a]bijav 'wedding', bař 'stone' = m (f)

In the oblique -o truncates, -i remains or jotates

Oblique feminine C-stems

džuv/džuva- 'louse' / suv/suvja- 'needle'

analogy results in confusion: čhib[j]a- 'tongue'

muj, nilaj, rařaj, xoraxaj; taxtaj, daj (Vje/a->o/a-, e.g. moste, nilaste)

mouth, summer, gentleman, Turk; glass, mother

SINGULAR		PLURAL		
masc.	fem.	masc.	fem.	
Nominative	čavo	džuv	čhave	džuva
Vocative	čhavea	džuve	čhavale[n]	džuvale[n]
Accusative	čhave[s]	džuva	čhaven	džuven
Dative	čhaveske	džuvake	čhavage	džuvenge
Locative	čhaveste	džuvate	čhavende	džuvende
Ablative	čhavestar	džuvatar	čhavendar	džuvendar
Instrumnt'l	čhave[s]a<r>	džuva[s]a<r>	čhavensa(r)	džuvensa(r)
Genitive	čhavesk[or]o	džuvak[or]o	čhaveng[or]o	džuveng[or]o

Arli loses final and intervocalic /s/ in cases (VsV>VjV)

Nom. pl. = -e for nouns in -o; -a elsewhere.

Some masc. can have Ø nom. pl. (vast 'hand')

Voc.: C-stem = masc. 'a, fem. add -e (var. -o)

no truncation: phrala (mo phral), phene, borie, Devla gudlea

ORTHOGRAPHY	Courthiade	Macedonia	Serbia&Montenegro
Rom (loc. sg.)	Romesθe	Romeste	romeste/romesće
Rom (loc. pl.)	Romenθe	Romende	romende/romende
Rom (abl. sg.)	Romesθar	Romestar	romestar
Rom (abl. pl.)	Romenθar	Romendar	romendar
Rom (dat. sg.)	Romesqe	Romeske	romesće romeske
Rom (dat. pl.)	Romenqe	Romenge	romende/romenge
done (pl. pt.)	kerde	kerde	ćerde/ćerde
Rom instr. sg.	Romeça	Romesa	Romea/Romesa
you do (sg.)	keresa	keresa	ćerea/keresa

## JOTATION

TJ/DJ ⇔ Č/Đ ⇔ KJ/GJ

## VOWEL REDUCTION

ə	I	U
↑	↑	↑
A	E	O

In most dialects, the accusative is only used for animate objects (sometimes only def.) and pronouns while inanimate substantives are in the nominative. However animate objects in the nominative and inanimate objects in the accusative also occur, esp. as topic.

*dikhlas jekh butdžandlo gadžo* 'he saw a wise non-Rom' (Loli Phabaj 11981:79); *gele ande jekhe vešes* 'they went into a forest' (Gilliat-Smith [Bulgarian Romani Tale 8] JGLS 1912:85) - cf. also 2 versions of O Čakali Rom.

Instr. {-ns-} = [-nts-] <-nc-> (cf. Sepeči -ndž-)

Arli instr. can add -r (esp. -nca-) sg. -e[j]a/[-a[j]a

if -s- drops, -r- is not added

Genitive = -k[V](r)V/-g[V](r)V

V= o +masc. nom. head, -i + fem. nom., -e elsewhere

Some Arli = short masc. sg. gen. w/out -k- (-eso...)

me phralesk(er)e kheresk(or)o vudar 'the door of my brother's house'

o vudar e kheresko me phraleskere

o vudar me phraleske kheresk(or)o

o vudar me phraleske[re] kherestar

\*o vudar e khereskoro me phraleskere

Džambaz - postposed genitives must modify another noun,

me dostesko[ro] čhavo 'my friend's son'

e kakeskoro čhavo me dosteskere phenjako 'my friend's sister's cousin'

\*čhavo me dosteske[re]

but, Prishtina Mohadžer: Isto isi an-o čhib[j]a e Indiake 'It is the same in the languages of India.'

than > thaneskere > thaneskerensar 'with locals'

The productive abstract noun formant has the shapes -pe/-be ~ -pa/-ba (In general -p- = denominal and -b- = deverbal ternipe 'youth', maribe 'war'). Oblique stem vowel is usually -a- but can be -e-. Oblique stem consonant is masculine (-s- / -n-). Older (& other dial.) -pen/-ben, obl. -pn/-bn-. (Vlax has also -mos obl. -mas., pl. -mata)

Non-native [Arlí]

Masculine in unstressed -o, -i, -a, Feminine in unstressed -a (dušmano, lafi, papus, gazda; tetka 'enemy, word, boss, grandpa, aunt'):

The final vowel does not truncate. Nouns of this declensional type are called "athematic" since the -e- of the native declension is treated as a stem vowel (hence "thematic").

Stress shifts onto it in oblique, but unstressed -i may instead become -j+e-. In nom pl -i/-o +[j]a, -a > -e.

Fem -a have voc. in -o, acc. shifts stress to final -a, nom. pl. = -e.

In Bugurdži, -s is added to (stressed) final vowel, which can also be -e- or -u- and also can be stressed, and nom. plural is V + -des or -da, to which case endings are added. (pašas, Bugurdžis, papus, kafes 'pasha, Bugurdzhi, gran'pa, coffee')

#### ADJECTIVES

Masc nom sg = -o, Fem nom sg = -i, other = -e (voc. -ea, -ie)

Comparative: po-, da[h]a, -eder, Vl. maj- (+ abl.)

Superlative: naj-, en/em-, Vl. maj-

baró, barí, baré, pobaro, bareder (pobuter)

Adjectives in a consonant do not inflect (šukar)

Borrowed adjectives are in invariant -o

[Vl. non-nom. sg./obl. -one; B obl -one)

but sometimes with interference.

*socijalno buti* 'social work' [uninflected < Mac. N.]

*buti normalni* 'a normal job' [= Rmi. F]

*kvalitetna evidentija* 'qualified documentation' [= Mac. F]

*privatikani karane* 'private reasons'. [= Mac. Pl.]

Derivation: -[a]no, -ikano, -alo/-valo, -u[t]no:

sikavno, Romano, Gadžikano, džungalo, ratvalo, dizutno, 'learned, Romani, non-Romani, bad, bloody, urban' [avel > avutno > avutnipe]

-ořo/i 'diminutive' čhavořo/čhajori 'boy/girl [dim.]'

## ADVERBS

-e[s] řomane[s]; [a/o]1k(h)2a/ot(h)3e 'here/there'

(a)[d/k]ari, (o)[d/k]ori, kata[r], kota[r], akana, atoska, irati-avdive-tajsa (B tasja, G tehara)  
here/hither, there/thither, here[hence], there[thence], now, then, yesterday-today-tomorrow

DEFINITE ARTICLE (proper names are definite except in the vocative)

accusatives tend to follow shape of noun

<table style="border-collapse: collapse; margin: auto;"> <tr> <td style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">masc nom sg</td> <td style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">fem nom sg</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; text-align: center;">O</td> <td style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; text-align: center;">I</td> </tr> <tr> <td colspan="2" style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; text-align: center;">E</td> </tr> <tr> <td colspan="2" style="text-align: center;">all other</td> </tr> </table> <p style="text-align: center;">Džambaz</p>	masc nom sg	fem nom sg	O	I	E		all other		<table style="border-collapse: collapse; margin: auto;"> <tr> <td style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">masc nom sg</td> <td style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">fem nom sg</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">all nom pl</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; text-align: center;">O</td> <td style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; text-align: center;">I</td> </tr> <tr> <td colspan="2" style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; text-align: center;">E</td> </tr> <tr> <td colspan="2" style="text-align: center;">all other</td> </tr> </table> <p style="text-align: center;">Arli / Bugurdži</p>	masc nom sg	fem nom sg	all nom pl		O	I	E		all other		<table style="border-collapse: collapse; margin: auto;"> <tr> <td style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">masc nom sg</td> <td style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">all other</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; text-align: center;">O</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td colspan="2" style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; text-align: center;">E</td> </tr> </table> <p style="text-align: center;">Gurbet / NE</p>	masc nom sg	all other	O		E		<table style="border-collapse: collapse; margin: auto;"> <tr> <td style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">masc nom sg</td> <td style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">fem nom sg</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; text-align: center;">O</td> <td style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; text-align: center;">E</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; text-align: center;">LE</td> <td style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; text-align: center;">LA</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="text-align: center;">all other</td> <td style="text-align: center;">fem obl sg</td> </tr> </table> <p style="text-align: center;">Kalderaš</p>	masc nom sg	fem nom sg	O	E	LE	LA	all other	fem obl sg
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## PERSONAL PRONOUNS

me

tu

[v]ov, [v]oj

amen

tumen

[v]on, ola

([v]=Vlax ol[a]=[Arli]/Bugurdži jon=N & N.Central; S.Central=on;  
cf. [j/v]aver 'other' [A,Pz/V,PI])

Accusative

ma[n]

tu[t]

le[s], la

(A 3rd obl. take o-, can be written separately)

ame[n]

tume[n]

le[n]

pe[s]

Base for remaining cases:

man-

tu-

le-, la-

amen-

tumen-

len-

pes- (G/NC pen-; A/SC pumen-)

Possessives = base + adjectival endings (Voc. = Nom. )

m[ir/l]-

t[ir/l]-

p[ir/l]-

3rd pers. = genitive

amar-

tumar-

[A pumar- K peng-]

Interrogatives

so (sos-) 'what, ko 'who' (kos-, kas-)

savo 'which' (saves-; savi/sav(j)a-, save/saven-)

kaj 'where', (Arl. kari, kote), kana 'when',

sar 'how', kobor (kozom) 'how much'

[(o)dobor 'so much'] A: ne- 'some' ni- 'no'

[karing 'whither' kotar 'whence'],

soske/sostar 'why & because' (khonik no one /khanči nothing)

## Demonstratives

(k)[a]da-v/j/l-[a] 'proximate, this; in the perception of hearer, here'

(k)[o]do-v/j/l-[a] 'remote, that; previously mentioned, there'

d -&gt; k = non-specific &gt; specific (one in a group)

		proximate	remote				
		a	o	nom	subst. obl.	attrib. obl.	
general	d	(a)da	(o)do	masc	va	les	le
specific	k	(a)ka	(o)ko	fem	ja	la	le
				pl	la	len	le

v/j -&gt; l in obl., decl. = reg.

## demonstratives

**Odoleske akava** 20 šelberšipe valjani te anavkera jekhe bare P-eja, ja palem PRIMITIVNOSASOITNIPE, a **adava** jekajekutno šelberšipe javere rigatar dengja **dobor** bare manušen.‘Therefore, we should label this 20th century with a big P or PRIMITIVE society, and yet this same century, on the other hand, produced so many great people.

## Relative

ko-v/j/l/-a | v/j -&gt; l in obl., kaj, so

o manuša maškar kolende vestinena, džanav kaj sikljovena/te sikljovav, o lil kaj/so dik(h)ljum ole

## NUMERAL

jekh, duj, trin, štar, pandž, šov, eftà, oxtò, ejnjà, deš, deš-u-jèkh, biš, biš-u-jekh, triànda, sarànda, pìnda, šov-var-deš, ... šel, milja, trinšelu biš thaj jekh, ordinal = -`to (indeclinable), e.g. *dújto*

## VERB

ker- 'do'

*present*

(long = progressive in Arli;

future marker in some north (NE, NC, NV)

kerav(a)                      kera[s](a)

kere[s](a)                    keren(a)

kerel(a)                      keren(a)

-e- truncates before stem-final -a: daral ‘fear’

ovel 'become' derives intransitives

loses -ve- in 3sg: barjovav, barjol 'grow' [&lt; bar- 'big'] [-el &gt; -ol in some other verbs, esp. instr.]

sijum/sem

sijam

sijan

sijen

[(i)s]i

[(i)s]i

Initial s&gt;Ø; j&gt;nj in some A [T]

negative 3sg nane (Džambaz naj, nae)

*ovel* supplies imperative & participle (> aor.)

Balkan copula tan+(o/i/e) Vlax n &gt; l

esp. kaj, ake, oke, (eke) naj (i)

[existence/possession (Mac. ‘ima’) - location - equivalence/state] O Šaip i tano Džambazi, akava tano o trito numero, Misalija isi but, Isi but Roma, (i)si la duj čhave, Ko Berlin isi Roma Union savi taro sumnaleskoro kongresi tani registririmi ko PN

'have' = therel OR 'be' + accusative (~nom+acc): si man, i daj/e daja si la [ Sakoja dujto diz isi la pli "Roma Union", e Mefoskere gilja isi len chachutno takti, vakerela pe kaj sakole shukaripa isi korkorutno bilachhipe, E azilantengere chhaven isi majbut problemija,]

imperative: sg = bare stem (-C, -a), pl = 2 pl

if bare stem is Cj > Cí (uštjav > ušti)

negative imperative: ma

participle: r, l, n, v + d, other + l + adjectival endings (this includes a-stem verbs, which, however, may also be irregular [T -andil-]; Cj > i us#tjel > us#ti-)

ker, khel, an, phrav, dikh-, phag, phuč, beš,

-ndj- > -ngj- > -ng+l- (džan 'Inow')

[heirarchy of variation in \*-t- assignment from least to most likely:

t > m > velar > pal. affric. > pal. fric.] ([xut]>[kam]>phag>phuč >beš)

irregular stems: del>dind-, rovel>rund-, sovel>sut-, avel>a[v[i]]l-, piel>pil-, lel>lil-, perel>pel-, merel>mul-, džal>gel-, xal>xal-, ovel->il-, ul-

aorist [perfective]

participle stem (± jotation) +

-um/-em -am ([T] -em)

-an -en (-an = C NV, Finn, Wales)

-a[s]/-o/i -e

(Prilep 'be'/ther- + pt.=Mac. calque) person=personal knowledge

gender=resultative, shared knowledge, deduction

*But zumavenas te integrujin pe, arakhenas bučja and-e fabriki. Ale či parúdzilas khanči pa ginduri sar train e Rom*

'Many tried to integrate, they found jobs in factories. But nothing changed with regard to prejudices about how the Roms live.'

*Sa khetane šaj phenav tumenge kado: Ke sar sas de katar avilam ame ande Europa ži adzves, či parúdzili pa amari situacija khanči.*

'All together I can tell you this: That as it has been since we arrived in Europe and until this day, nothing has changed with regard to our situation.'

imperfect: add -as to short present (-s to long present)

Arli: add [s]ine to present

3 pers. impf 'be' [s]ine

(Vlax: sas)

pluperfect = aorist + -as (A + sine)

future: ka + (short) present ka hav; ('have' + te) si man te hav, na[n]e (man) te hav

subjunctive: te + (short) present

conditional: te/ka + imperfect/aorist, bi + a-present

*Mangel te khelel!*

'He wants to dance'

*Te khelel!*

'Let him dance!'

*Te mange[s], khel!*

'If you want, dance!'

*Te khelelas, ka avavas*

'If he had danced, I would've come.'

*Te khelela sine, ka avava sine*

'If he were to dance, I would come.'

*Te khelela, me bi avava*

*O beng te hal tumaro šoro!*

'May the devil eat your head'

*Te si tut nieci bori mangibaske, mang.*

'If you have the intention of seeking a bride, seek!'

*Eger o manuš te na džanglja... esapi ka kerel pe... 'If the peron does not know' ... one counts...'*

<i>Ako e manuŝeske isi = Eger tejsi e manuŝeske...</i>	'If the person has...'
<i>Te gelam ničeja, ka džana kaj...</i>	'If we go in order, we will discover that ...'
<i>Kana šaj ov, soske našti me? = kana šaj ov, soske me te našti?</i>	'If (when) he can, why not me/why can't I?'
<i>Te avea sine javinate, ka lea sine thud gotten milk.'</i>	'If you had come in the morning, you would have gotten milk.'
<i>Me ka gilavgjum sine</i>	'I would have sung...'
<i>Te čingarea man, me bi avava</i>	'If you were to invite me, I would come'
<i>Te čingarea man sine, me bi avava sine</i>	'If you were to invite me, I would [have] come'
<i>So bi vakerela pes sine kaj to dad thaj me sijam dembelija</i>	'That would be to say that your father and I were lazy'
<i>Emen so rakilo sine, a o vakti kerela sine pes te rumungjol.</i>	'As soon as it got dark, the weather looked like it would get bad'

intransitive: -[j]ov-; pe; man, etc.  
 barjol 'grow', vakerel pe 'be said',  
 maĥol-matilo 'be drunk' rumindel/gjol 'be/destroy/ed'  
 causative: -av-; ker-; -ar-  
 daral 'be scared' daravel/darakerel 'frighten' kaljarel 'blacken'  
 loan adaptation: -in-  
 mislinel 'think', interesirinel pe 'be interested'  
 gerund: bare stem + indor (Burg. -indo; other -indo[s]) - phirindor 'walking', (h)asandor 'laughing'  
 emphatic particle (pt., impv.) add -tar  
 ethical dative: džā tūke, džal peske  
 modals: šaj/našti 'can/not'; si te, valjani/  
 treb-e/o-l/mora [G. trubul]; lazim, medžbur 'must, need'

## NEGATION

na in [SE V] či [N V]  
 modal: ma [ma te; V te na] -  
 Ma Zurefa, ma muk ma da

## PREPOSITIONS

### GEN

bi[z-o/i]	without (-zo = A)	sar	like, as
NOM / LOC [pronouns]		uzo/uzal	near
NOM / LOC [pronouns]		osim/sem	except, beside
and[a]r	out of, from (K, B)	[ka/ko]tar	from
andre > an[d(e)]	inside	ke	to, at, in
upr[al ] (u>o)	above, over	te	to, at, in (Greece)
opre > pe	over, on top	<i>ki jekh aindž = jekhe aindžate</i>	'in a field'
paš[e] ([-al])	near, at, by, along with	<b>CONJUNCTIONS</b>	
angle/al > angla(l)	before	and	t(h)[a(j)], (h)em, a, i, pa
palal > pal(e)	after	or	ili, ja, ja pale[m], vaj
tele/al > tel(e)	below, beneath	but	ama, no, ali, pale, po
maškar	between, among	if	te, ako, eger, kana
dži	up to, until		['when']
sebepi	because	although	and-if
okolo, trujal	'around'	however	good-but
mujal, mamuj	opposite, before,	also, too	vi, da, 'and'
except, beside		because	soske, sostar, sebepi kaj
baš (A), vaš, ača (B)	for, because of,	until, since	bisko (na) A&B
koro/i	hither, near		
karig (B), kare (D), karin (G), karing (K) whither			

## WORD ORDER TENDENCIES

VO = unmarked

OV = focus

VS = connective narrative

SV = contrastive-thematic

preposition determiner quantifier adjective noun options

(k'o jekh baro gav da 'to the one big town FOCUS')

ka lav la; o-la ka lav; ka lel la o čhavo thaj ka džan khere; o čhavo mangela la ama lakoro dad na dela .

*O Ajnuri thaj o Džemo tar-i Švedska bahtaren e pranden e Ramijeske thaj e Mirsadake a e Safeteske thaj e Sadijake bahtarena o bijav*

'Ajnur and Džemo from Sweden congratulate Rami and Mirsada on their marriage, and they congratulate Safet and Sadija on their wedding.'

## OBJECT REDUPLICATION

*O melalo pani na piena le ni o džungale ruva.*

'Even wicked wolves do not drink dirty water.'

*E Rifatos pendžarav, e čhaja da pendžarav, ama man**ma axmize man kidisave bucende ridžaj kerav tuke.*'I know Rifat and I know his daughter, but don't mix me up in this business, I beg of you.'*I daj si la duj čhave*

'The mother has two children'.

## DIALECTS

Vlax (Kalderaš, Lovari, Mačvaja, Gurbet) vs Non-Vlax (Arli, Burgudži, Džambaz)

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Arli	buti	maro	pani	dindjum	agjar, akhal	devlea	on, ola	o	miro, mlo, mo	čaj	-dže	oja
Bugurdži	buci	maro	pani	diyom	kidjal	devlesa	on, ol	o	moro, mro, mo	čaj	-ge	va
Džambaz	bući	manro	pai	diyem	gėja	devlesa	von	e	moro, mo	čhej	-đe	va
Gurbet	bući	marno	pai	diyem	geja	devleha	von	e	moro, mo	čhej	-de	va
Kalderaš	D/G	manro	pai	diyem	gaja	devlesa	von	le	munro	šej	-ge/ə	
English	<i>work</i>	<i>bread</i>	<i>water</i>	<i>I gave</i>	<i>thus</i>	<i>with God</i>	<i>they</i>	<i>the</i>	<i>my</i>	<i>girl</i>	<i>dat. pl.</i>	<i>yes</i>
						<i>(m. f)</i>	<i>(Npl)</i>	<i>(m)</i>				

Table 5: Examples of salient Romani dialectal differences

Key: 1. palatalization of dentals before front vowels; 2. reflexes of inherited \*nđ; 3. palatalization and loss of /n/ before stressed /i/; 4. preservation or loss of rounding in the first singular simple preterit (aorist, perfective); 5. distinctive lexical items; 6. preservation or loss of intervocalic /s/ in grammatical endings; 7. form of the third person plural pronoun and presence versus absence of a gender distinction; 8. shape of the nominative plural definite article (merger either with masculine nominative singular /o/ or oblique /e/); 9. shape of possessive pronouns; 10. aspirated affricate and -aj diphthong; 11. dat. pl.; 12 'yes'

Notes to 5: Burgudži=kidial; Džambaz=gija/gaja/gėja; Barutči/Topaana=agja[a]r; Priština=adjar; Arli/Topaana=akhal; Delčevski=ačka; adjukar, Gnjlane=ačikar; Bulgarian=čuka; Prizren=aika

<sup>1</sup>B=Bugurdži, K=Kalderaš, G=Gurbet, D=Džambaz, V=Vlax group