Lithuanian Romani

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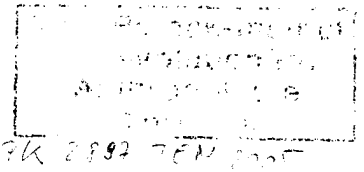

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Introduction

Lithuanian Romani is a dialect of the Romani language spoken historically on the territory of present-day Lithuania. The dialect is spoken by a relatively small population of speakers living in Lithuania, and recent asylum seeking migrants from Lithuania to Western Europe. A recent report (Kučinskaitė 2005) quotes the number of Roma in Lithuania as 2,571, according to the April 5, 2001 population census by the Department of Statistics of the Republic of Lithuania. The report suggests, however, that the real estimate of the number of Roma in Lithuania is between 5,000 and 7,000. The same report also shows that the highest concentration of Roma in Lithuania is found in the Vilnius, Kaunas, Siauliai and Panevezys counties.

The grammar of Lithuanian Romani has not been described prior to the present work, though the dialect was tentatively classified as belonging to the Northeastern group of Romani dialects (Matras 2002: 10). This group includes the North Russian or Xaladitka dialect (described in: Sergievskij 1931; Wentzel 1980), the Polska Roma dialect (described in: Matras 1999), and Latvian Romani, also known as Čuxny and Lotfitka (described in: Mānušs 1997; Kochanowski 1946). The present work will confirm the position of Lithuanian Romani in the Northeastern group by comparing some of its characteristic features to the features found in other dialects of this group.

Lithuanian Romani is characterized by the presence of certain lexical, as well as grammatical, borrowings from the Polish language, which has been the contact language of this dialect for several centuries, being the main form of communication for the Lithuanian upper class. More recently, and arguably until the present day, the main contact language of the dialect was Russian. A brief overview of the relevant events in Lithuanian history is provided below.

The year 1569 saw the unification of Poland and Lithuania into one commonwealth, with subsequent stability of the influence of Polish culture and language on the Lithuanians. This influence held strong at least until 1795, when the Lithuanian territories became part of the Russian Empire, and probably longer, until the 1860s, when the Russian government officially curbed the influence of Polish. The Russian influence in Lithuania has been strong since then, first during tsarist Russia and then during the Soviet period (Gerutis 1969).

It is important to note that during all this time Lithuanian Romani did not accumulate any significant borrowing from the Lithuanian language – a language that, despite being spoken by a considerable population, was not the dominant official or upper class form of communication on that territory. Thus, it seems that only the "higher" or more official languages bore influence on Lithuanian Romani.

Sergievskij (1931: 7) attests Polish loans, such as *breza* 'birch' and *venglo* 'corner', in the North Russian dialect, suggesting that the migration route for speakers of this dialect must have taken them through Poland. Lithuanian Romani has additional loans from Polish, however, that are not part of the North Russian dialect, loans such as *yoines* 'good', *sukenka* 'dress', *ljoxy* 'holes', interrogative particles *kjedy* 'when' and *čy/cy* 'whether', and an aktionsart prefix *pše-* 'over-'. The existence of the wider variety of Polish loans in Lithuanian Romani, and on the other hand the distinctiveness of this dialect from the Polska Roma dialect, suggests that the group has been living on the Lithuanian territory for a considerable part of the period from 1569-1860s, when the Polish influence was strong in Lithuania.

The Romani language is in a unique position among the languages of Europe. It is the only Indic language spoken on the European territories; wherever it is spoken, Romani is always a minority language, lending itself to sociolinguistic inquiries. Finally, Romani has been in contact with various European languages, acquiring layers of lexical and structural loans, making it an exceptional case for studying language contact (Matras 2002). The importance of Romani has been increasingly acknowledged in general linguistics literature. Within the context

of the EUROTYP project, for example, Romani data has been considered on various topics, including concessive conditionals (Haspelmath and König 1998), tense and aspect systems (Dahl 2000), and word order (Rijkhoff 1998: 338). Romani has been taken into account in general descriptions of agreement and case inflection (Plank 1995, Payne 1995). Campbell (1998: 363-5) discusses Romani in the context of historical reconstruction through linguistics. More recently, Romani has been considered as part of the Circum-Baltic linguistic area (Dahl and Koptjevskaja-Tamm 2001). Thus, while this work is predominantly empirical by its nature, it opens a possibility for future theoretical contributions to topics in general linguistics, especially to the ongoing discussion on the Circum-Baltic linguistic area.

The principal part of this work is a grammatical description of Lithuanian Romani, with focus on morpho-syntax. The present work is informed and guided in its structure by the Romani Morpho-Syntactic (RMS) Database (Elšík and Matras 2001a). The database is broken down into three main parts – Nominals and Adverbs, Verbs, and Syntax, which comprise the three main chapters of this work. The analysis and especially the examples in the present work rely on primary data – the recordings of the Romani Dialectological Questionnaire (Elšík and Matras 2001b) elicited and transcribed primarily by me from eight speakers. The speakers are from the Panevezys, Siauliai and Anyksciai regions. This primary data is supplemented by my personal communication with recent Lithuanian Roma immigrants from Siauliai to the Manchester area.

Picture taken from Lonely Planet website, 06-06-2005:
(http://www.lonelyplanet.com/mapshells/europe/lithuania/lithuania.htm)

Matters pertaining to language contact will be summarized in Chapter 5 of this work, while Chapter 6 will serve as a conclusion. It will focus on the classification of Lithuanian Romani as a dialect belonging to the Northeastern group and provide a list of diagnostic features of this dialect.

1 Phonology

1.1 Vowels

Like all Romani varieties, Lithuanian Romani has the basic five vowels inherited from Early Romani: / a, e, i, o, u /. Contact with Slavic languages has added two centralized vowels to this stock : /y/ and / ə/. The result is the seven vowel system shown in Table 1.1.

Table 1.1 Vowel system

i	y	u
e	ə	o
		a

Within the inherited material, /e/ vs. /ə/ variation is phonologically conditioned, with /e/ appearing after velars, aspirated or not, (*/khe̲r/* 'house', */ke̲rəl/* 'to do', */syge̲* /'soon'), and */ə/* appearing in all other contexts. /č/ is also necessarily followed by the uncentralized /e/ and /i/, in line with the rules of Russian phonology (*/phuče̲s/* 'ask.2SG', */čačji̯pən/* 'truth'). The choice of using centralized vs. uncentralized vowels within the borrowed lexemes follows the pattern of the contact language.
Lithuanian Romani exhibits neither diphthongs not long vowels in its vowel system.

1.2 Consonants

Table 1.2 Consonantal phonemes

		bilab.	lab.	dent.	dentoalv.	alv.	pal.	vel.
plosives	devoiced		*p*	*t*			*k*	
	dev. palatalized		*pj*	*tj*			*kj*	
	dev. aspirated		*ph*	*th*			*kh*	
	voiced		*b*	*d*			*g*	
	voiced palatalized		*bj*	*dj*			*gj*	
nasals	unpalatalized		*m*			*n*		
	palatalized		*mj*			*nj*		
affricates	devoiced			*c*				
	dev. palatalized				*čj*			
	dev. aspirated				*čh*			
	voiced palatalized				*džj*			
fricatives	devoiced	*w*	*f*	*s*	*š*			*x*
	dev. palatalized			*sj*				
	voiced		*v*	*z*	*ž*		*j*	*γ*
	voiced palatalized		*vj*	*zj*	*žj*			
laterals	unpalatalized					*l*		
	palatalized					*lj*		
vibrants	unplalatalized					*r*		
	palatalized					*rj*		

Table 1.2 presents the system of consonants in Lithuanian Romani. It shows the presence of the common Romani aspirates, /ph, th, kh, čh/, and of less common velar fricative /γ/.

Due to contact with Slavic languages, most of the consonants in Lithuanian Romani acquired a palatalized counterpart (marked with <j> in this work). The notable exceptions to this rule are affricates /čj/ and /džj/, neither of which has an unpalatalized counterpart; and /c/ and /š/, which are never palatalized. The affricate /ž/ is palatalized in only one word in the sample (*/užjakirəl/* 'to wait'). These exceptions are in line with the rules of Russian phonology.

Probably through contact with the Polish language, which has a semi-vowel */w/* - not an inherent Romani sound, word-final *-v* in Lithuanian becomes *-w*:

gaw 'village' < *gav*

jow 'he' < *jov*

1.3 Stress

There is a general rule for stress to fall on to the final syllable:

čhavó
boy

džulý
woman

ɣuč-í
tall-F

čač-ipé
truth-NR

ker-él
do-3SG

rakird-žá
talked-3SG

čhav-oró
boy-DIM

Borrowed lexemes tend to keep the stress found in the model language:

učítjeljo < Russian *učítjelj* 'teacher'

króliko < Russian *królik* 'rabbit'

In the inflected nominal and nominalized categories, Layer II markers are unstressed; the stress falls on the Layer I case ending

čhav-és
boy-OBL

for-ós-te
town-OBL-LOC

dal-és-a
this-OBL-INST

This rule takes precedence over the stress on the borrowed lexemes, yielding:

učitjelj-ós-te
teacher-OBL-LOC

krolik-ós-kro
rabbit-OBL-GEN

Similarly in verbs, the remoteness suffix *-as* and the future suffix *-a* are both unstressed, leaving the stress on the person inflection suffixes

dž-áv-as
go-1SG-REM
'I used to go'

phen-én-a
say-3SG-FUT
'they will say'

1.4 Historical Phonology

There are several phonological processes that took place since the Early Romani stage which are responsible for adding variation to the current Romani dialects (Matras 2002: 64–71). The outcome of these processes in Lithuanian Romani is representative of the Northeastern group of dialects. The historical */ndř/* cluster in Lithuanian Romani is reduced to */r/*:

maro 'bread' < **mandřo*

miro 'my' < **mindřo*

mirikly 'beads' < **mindřikli*

The historical processes of prothetic addition of */v/* and */j/*, and prothetic vowel truncation are examplified in Lithuanian Romani as follows:

prothetic *j-*:

jow 'he' < **ov*

jaržo 'flour' < **ařo*

jekh 'one' < *(j)ekh*

jiv 'snow' < *iv*

jav- 'come' < *av-*

jačh- 'remain' < *(j)ačh-*

prothetic *v-*:

vavir 'other' < *aver*

vangar 'coal' < *angar*

vurden 'cart' < *urden*

vušt 'lip' < *ušt*

other prothetic consonants:

ɣučo 'tall' < *učo*

ɣurj- 'dress' < *ur-*

ɣad- 'lift' < *azd-*

šašty 'able to' < **ašty*

vowel truncation:

kana 'now' < *akana*

(a)me 'we < ame

Addition of the prothetic /a-/ to consonant stems was not found in the sample. The lexemes that historically underwent this process in other dialects retain their consonantal stem in Lithuanian Romani, supporting the pattern of the Northeastern dialects of avoid the initial /a-/:

bjaw 'wedding' < *bijav*

law 'word' < *lav*

šun- 'hear' < *šun-*

rakh- 'defend' < *rakh-*

Another set of historical development across Romani dialects involves jotation and palatalisation. In Lithuanian Romani the copula is not jotated (som 'I.am'), but feminine noun inflection morphemes are: (*džuly* 'woman' > *džulja* 'women'; *čhajori* 'girl' > *čhajorja* 'girls'). The past tense conjugation morphemes are palatalized, to a great extent (*kerdzjom/kerdžjom* 'I did').

1.5 A note on Orthography

Since this description of the dialect will not focus on phonology, and since the variations in vowel centralization and affricate palatalization is largely phonologically conditioned, and thus predictable, I will allow myself the liberty of simplifying the orthography when giving examples in further chapters. Thus, both /e/ and /ə/, will be written as <*e*>, and all of the affricates will appear without the palatalization symbol <*j*>.

2 Nominals and Adverbs

This second section will deal with various nominal forms, such as nouns, pronouns, adjectives, adverbs, demonstratives. It will cover both derivational and inflectional morphology of the relevant word classes, sometimes making note of the synchronic as well as diachronic processes that might be responsible for the current state of affairs. For this, I will be drawing on information from Matras' chapter on nominal forms and categories (Matras 2002: 72-117), as well as on Elšík's papers on Romani nominal paradigms (Elšík 2000a) and Romani pronouns (Elšík 2000b). Comparisons with other dialects in the Northeastern group will also be given where relevant.

2.1 Noun Derivation

2.1.1 Nominalization

The pre-European suffix *-ipe(n)/-ibe(n)* – used to derive abstract nouns – exists in Lithuanian Romani, but is hardly productive, appearing only with the pre-European roots. It derives abstract nouns from adjectives:

gudl-ypen-a 'sweets' < *gudlo* 'sweet'

čač-ipen 'truth' < *čačo* 'true';

and from verbs:

xabe 'food' < *xa-* 'to eat'

rosphen-yben 'story' < *phen-* 'to tell' (+ Slavic aktionsart prefix *ros-*).

The Greek-derived nominal suffix *-imos* is not attested in this dialect.

Masculine loan nouns are incorporated into Lithuanian Romani through the addition of the Greek-derived nominative suffix *-o* < *-os*, putting them into what Elšík calls an athematic *o*-masculine inflection class (Elšík 2000a: 18). Some of the examples found in the sample are:

žylutk-o 'stomach' (from Russian *žyludok* > genitive *žylutka*)

ljod-o 'ice' < Russian *ljod*

konc-o 'end' (from Russian *konec* > genitive *konca*).

Note with *žylutko* and *konco* that it is the stem and not the base form of the loan noun that is incorporated into Romani, as noted in Elšík (2000: 20) for the Romungro dialect.

2.1.2 Diminutives

The common Romani pre-European suffix *-or-*, which is used to form diminutives, is present in the Lithuanian Romani dialect:

čhav-or-o '(little) boy' < *čhavo* 'boy'

čhaj-or-i '(little) girl' < *čhaj* 'girl'

The suffix is not found with loan nouns, and does not seem to be productive. A productive diminutive suffix with athematic nouns is *-ica*:

rubašk-ica 'little shirt' (from Russian '*rubaška*')

žamb-ica 'little frog' (from Polish '*žamba*').

It is used not only with loan words, but also with personal names, for example *Vandica* < *Vanda*. The suffix seems to operate only on feminine nouns.

2.1.3 Feminine formation

The formation of thematic feminine nouns from masculine nouns is accomplished through the common Romani suffix *-ni/-ny*:

Rom-ni 'Gypsy woman' < *Rom* 'Gypsy man'

guru-ny 'cow' < *guru* 'bull'.

The suffix is a marker of feminine gender, even when there does not exist a masculine counterpart: *kay-ny* 'chicken', *čovaxa-ny* 'witch'.
With feminine loan nouns, the gender morphology of the contact language is borrowed:

učiteljnica 'female teacher' (from Russian *učiteljnica*)

vs. masculine:

učitelj-o 'male teacher' (from Russian *učitelj*).

2.2 Noun Inflection

The nouns in Romani have three layers of inflection markers – Layer I and Layer II, Layer III (Matras 2002: 78, following Masica 1991: 232ff). Layer I markers attach to the noun base to give nominal and oblique endings, in the singular and plural. These markers reflect the declension class of the noun. Layer II markers are agglutinated to the Layer I oblique stem, indicating the grammatical cases; they are invariant across all declension classes. Layer III markers are adpositions, and will be discussed in the Syntax chapter of this work, as prepositions.

2.2.1 Layer I markers

Elšík (2000a: 14-18) distinguishes several declension classes for Romani in general, based on thematicity, gender and base form, and characterized by different sets of Layer I markers. The declension classes that are relevant for Lithuanian Romani will be discussed here, comparing the markers with the ones postulated by Elšík. The Layer I markers for Lithuanian Romani are given in Table 2.1 under the appropriate declension classes.

Table 2.1 Layer I Markers

Thematicity	Historical Class (after Elšík 2000)	Example	Nomin.		Oblique	
			SG	PL	SG	PL
Thematic	Ø-masculine	*kher* 'house'	*-Ø*	*-a*	*-es-*	*-en-*
	Ø-masc. abstract	*barvalype(n)* 'wealth'	*-Ø*	*-a*	*-as-*	*-an-*
	o-masculine	*čhavo* 'boy'	*-o*	*-e*	*-es-*	*-en-*
	i-masculine	*pani* 'water'	*-i*	*-inga?*	*-jes-*	*n/a*
	Ø-feminine	*phen* 'sister'	*-Ø*	*-ja*	*-ja-*	*-jen-*
	i-feminine	*džuly* 'woman'	*-y*	*-ja*	*-ja-*	*-jen-*
Athematic	*o*-masculine	*direktoro* 'director'	*-o*	*-y*	*-os-*	*-en-*
	u-masculine	*papu* 'grandfather'	*-u*	*n/a*	*-us-*	*n/a*
	i-masculine	-unattested-				
	a-feminine	*sukenka* 'skirt'	*-a*	*-i/-y*	*-a-*	*-en-*

The first declension class is the thematic Ø-masculines, ending in a consonant; it is characterized by the plural Layer I marker *-a*, and oblique markers *-es-* and *-en-* for singular and plural, respectively: *manuš* 'man', *manuš-a* 'men', *manuš-es-* 'man.OBL', *manuš-en-* 'men.OBL'. Within this class there is variation found with abstract nouns, the ones that end in *-ipe(n)*; the singular and plural oblique markers for these are *-as-* and *-an-*, respectively: *barvalypen* 'wealth', *barvalypn-as-tyr* 'with wealth.SG.OBL', *barvalypn-an-dyr* 'with wealth.PL.OBL'. As is evident from this last example, oblique markers undergo a phonological process of losing the last vowel:

barvalypn-as- < **barvalypen-as-*.

All of these markers agree with the Proto-Romani forms postulated by Elšík, except for the abstract plural oblique, which he has as *-en-*, rather than *-an-*. Thus there seems to be a leveling in the abstract Ø-masculines with regard to the suffix vowel.

Thematic *o*-masculines, such as *čhavo*, show Layer I markers in *-e*, *-es-*, *-en-* for plural, singular oblique and plural oblique, respectively: *čhav-o* 'boy', *čhav-e* 'boys', *čhav-es-* 'boy.OBL', *čhav-en-* 'boys.OBL'. These markers are also typical of Romani in general. Thematic *i*-masculines were represented in the sample by the word *pani* 'water'; only the oblique singular Layer I marker was attested for this class, *-jes-*: *mor vasta pan-jes-(s)a* 'wash hands with water'. From personal communication, it seems that the plural of *pani* in Lithuanian Romani is *pa-ninga* (rather than *panja*). It might be the case that the underlying historical form of the noun 'water' is *paning*, shifting it to the larger Ø-masculine class.

Thematic feminine Layer I markers in Lithuanian Romani match the ones proposed by Elšík as well. There are two classes distinguished here, the Ø-feminines and the *i/(y)*-feminines, both taking the jotated markers *-ja*, *-ja-*, *-jen-* for plural, singular oblique and plural oblique, respectively. The examples are: *phen* 'sister', *phen-ja* 'sisters', *phen-ja-* 'sister.OBL', *phen-jen-* 'sisters.OBL'; *džul-y* 'woman', *džul-ja* 'women', *džul-ja-* 'woman.OBL', *džul-jen-* 'women.OBL'. The unjotated variant of thematic Ø-feminines, observed by Elšík, was not attested in the sample, suggesting a leveling of these nouns into one class.

Out of the several declension classes proposed by Elšík for athematic nouns, only two are evident in Lithuanian Romani, *o*-masculines and *a*-feminines. These are the two classes into which all of the recently borrowed words fall. The Layer I markers for these also match the ones described by Elšík, with phonological adaptation of *-i* to *-y* in masculine plural. The *o*-masculine Layer I markers are *-y*, *-os-*, and *-en* for plural, singular oblique and plural oblique, respectively: *director-o* 'director', *director-y* 'directors', *director-os-* 'director.OBL', *director-en-* 'directors.OBL'. With the *a*-feminines the plural marker is *-i* after velars and *-y* elsewhere: *sukjenk-a* 'dress'/ *sukjenk-i* 'dresses', but *mašyn-a* 'car'/ *mašyn-y* 'cars' and *cygaret-a* 'cigarette'/ *cygaret-y* 'cigarettes'. The oblique singular Layer I marker for this declension class is *-a-*: *mašyn-a-* 'car.OBL', *tjotk-a-* 'aunt.OBL'. The oblique plural form for this class is not attested in the sample but, given the overall stability of the oblique plural markers, can be deduced to be *-en-*: *mašyn-en-* 'cars.OBL', *cygaret-en-* 'cigarettes.OBL'.

The *u*-masculines are represented in the sample by a single word *papu* 'grandfather'. The singular oblique form of this word found in the sample is *papus-*. From personal communication, it seems that although the plural form *papy* exists, the word is preferably uninflected for number, giving the form *duj papu* 'two grandfathers'. This serves as further evidence that the u-masculine class is in decline in this dialect.

2.2.2 Vocative case

The vocative case marker in Romani occupies the same morphological slot as the Layer I markers. In Lithuanian Romani, the vocative case is in decline, its place taken over by the nominative case: *pšal, pi!* 'brother, drink!'. There were a couple of vocative forms found in the sample,

though: *dad-e / dad-o* (from *dad* 'father'), *pšal-eja* (from *pšal* 'brother') for masculine, and *tjotk-e* (from tjotka 'aunt'), *mam-e* (from *mama* 'mother') for feminine. The diversity of the masculine vocative endings does not allow one to postulate a single marker; the feminine vocative marker, if it is used, is *-e*. The historical vocative forms of plural nouns, like *-ale,* are not used in the dialect. Instead, the nominative case is used: *murša, vidžan!* 'men, go away!'.

2.2.3 Layer II markers

Layer II markers are responsible for expressing case and are regular across all of the declension classes. The oblique stem serves as a base to which the Layer II markers attach. The accusative Layer II marker is *-Ø*, according to Elšík's (2000a: 13) analysis. The accusative is found only with animate nouns, inanimate direct objects taking nominative case:

me dykhtjom manuš-es
I saw.1SG man-ACC
'I saw a man'

me dykhtjom kher
I saw.1SG house
'I saw a house'

As elsewhere in Romani (Matras 2002: 87), the plural Layer II markers are the same as their singular cognates, except for their voice assimilation to the preceding voiced consonant. The genitive case shows both the long and the short forms, both of which are given below.

The functions of the cases will be dealt with in the Syntax chapter of this paper. It should be mentioned here, however, that the ablative case in Lithuanian Romani is undergoing a merge with the locative case in favour of the latter, but will be listed here. The Layer II markers are summarized and exemplified in Table 2.2.

Table 2.2 Layer II markers

	SG	Example	PL	Example
Accusative	*-Ø*	*manušes-Ø*	*-Ø*	*manušen-Ø*
Locative	*-te*	*manušes-te*	*-de*	*manušen-de*
Ablative	*-tyr*	*manušes-tyr*	*-dyr*	*manušen-dyr*
Dative	*-ke*	*manušes-ke*	*-ge*	*manušen-ge*
Instrumental	*-sa*	*manušes-(s)a*	*-ca*	*manušen-ca*
Genitive – short	*-k-*	*manušes-k-*	*-g-*	*manušen-g-*
Genitive – long	*-k(i)r-*	*manušes-k(i)r-*	*-g(i)r-*	*manušen-g(i)r-*

2.3 Adjective Derivation

2.3.1 Prefixes

Out of the several known Romani adjective prefixes, only one negational prefix *na-* was found in the sample. This prefix seems to be productive, modifying a variety of semantically different adjectives:

na-baro 'small' < *baro* 'big'

na-lačo 'bad' < *lačo* 'good'

na-but 'a little' < *but* 'much'

na-Romano 'non-Gypsy' < *Romano* 'Gypsy'

The historical Romani negation marker *by-* does not modify adjectives in Lithuanian Romani, and exists only as a preposition meaning 'without'.

2.3.2 Suffixes

Several well-attested Romani adjectival suffixes were found in the sample. Most of these were found with pre-European roots. The exception is the recent Russian loan, an adjectival diminutive suffix *-enjk-*, which was found to be used with an old Romani root:

tykn-enjk-o 'very little' < *tykn-o* 'little'

The attested adjectival suffixes are listed and exemplified in Table 2.3, with all examples given in a singular masculine form, taking the end suffix *-o*.

Table 2.3 Adjectival suffixes

Prefix	Example	Translation	Semantic function
-al-	*šyl-al-o*	'cold'	physical state
	mel-la-o	'dirty'	
	patyv-al-o	'proud'	mental state
-val-	*beng-val-o*	'devilish'	
-ikan-	*manuš-ykan-o*	'friendly'	
	džul-ikan-o	'feminine'	
	dur-ikan-o	'far'	
-an-	*Rom-an-o*	'Gypsy'	ethnicity
	sap-an-o	'wet'	physical state
-un-	*sunak-un-o*	'golden'	material
	kašt-un-o	'wooden'	
	phar-un-o	'of silk'	
	bar-un-o	'of stone'	
	čač-un-o	'true'	
-dun-	*ladžan-dun-o*	'shy'	mental state
	daran-dun-o	'afraid'	
	kan-dun-o	'obedient'	
-itk-	*balval-itk-o*	'windy'	nature
	kham-itk-o	'sunny'	
	kurk-itk-o	'weekly'	
	dyves-ytk-o	'daily'	
	jud-ytk-o	'Jewish'	
	vast-ytk-o	'manual'	
	cyp-itk-o	'of leather'	
	sabn-ytk-o	'funny'	

As is seen from this table, there are no direct correlations between the adjectival suffixes and semantic functions of the adjectives they derive. This is probably due to the fact that the suffixes are not currently productive, with many adjectives being fossilized as lexemes. The recent borrowings into the dialect do not take these suffixes, but rather retain the morphology of the model language:

spokoj-n-o 'peaceful' < Russian *spokoj-n-yj* < *pokoj* 'peace'

krong-l-o 'round' < Polish *krong-l-y* < *krong* 'circle'.

There are some semantic tendencies, however, to be observed with these suffixes. Thus, the suffix *-dun-* derives adjectives describing personality traits; and adjectives of material source have a tendency of being derived with *-un-*. The most productive adjectival suffix seems to be *-itk-*; in addition to tending to derive meteorological and temporal adjectives, it occurs with adjectives of a wide semantic range. It also appears to be the most frequent of all the adjectival suffixes.

2.4 Adjective Inflection

In the Lithuanian Romani sample studied, as in other Romani dialects, adjectives agree with their head nouns in gender and number, as well as in the nominative vs. oblique case. This agreement is relevant for both attributive and predicative adjectives. The consonant final adjectives, such as *šukar* 'nice' and *kuč* 'expensive', are excluded from this scheme - they do not inflect.

2.4.1 Thematic adjective markers

The adjectival inflection markers in Lithuanian Romani, for the most part, match the ones postulated for Early Romani in (Elšík 2000a: 25), with the masculine marker *-o*, feminine *-i/-y*, and plural *-e*:

tykn-o̲ čhavoro 'little boy'

tykn-y̲ čhajori 'little girl'

tykn-e̲ čhavore 'little boys'

tykn-e̲ čhajorja 'little girls'.

In the oblique case, the gender and number distinctions are neutralized to give a uniform marker *-e*. This process is common in other dialects as well (Matras 2002: 95). Table 2.4 gives examples of the thematic adjectival inflection markers.

Table 2.4 Thematic adjectival inflection markers

		Marker	Example	Translation
NOM	Masc	*-o*	*bar-o kxer*	'big house'
	Fem	*-y*	*nev-i mašyna*	'new car'
	Plural	*-e*	*bar-e mašyny*	'new cars'
OBL	Masc	*-e*	*jačela bar-e manušesa*	'will become a big man'
	Fem	*-e*	*o džukela straxaven tykn-e čhajorja*	'dogs frighten a little girl'
	Plural	*-e*	*te bajines-pe de štar-e roman-e čhajorjenca*	'to play with four Gypsy girls'

2.4.2 Athematic adjective inflection

Athematic, or loan, adjectives were found in the sample only in the nominative case. Here, their inflection markers match those proposed by Elšík (2000a: 25), namely masculine *-o*, feminine *-o*, plural *-a*:

malenko̲ džukel-or-o
little dog-DIM-M
'little puppy'

joj isys čužo do gaw
she was strange in village
'she was strange (new) in the village'

ratja isy le krotka
nights are CLT short
'nights are short'.

2.4.3 Comparatives and Superlatives

The comparative adjectives in Lithuanian Romani are derived synthetically, with the aid of the marker *-edyr*:

lesko kher isy bar-edyr syr miro
his.M house is big-CMPR than my.M
'his house is bigger than mine'.

This marker comes from the marker *-eder*, which is an inherited suffix of either Indo-Aryan or Iranian origin (Matras 2002: 78). The superlative adjectival formations rely on the same suffix, with an addition of two competing markers. One of these is the analytic *samo*, which is a Russian loan (compare with Russian *sam-yj*, masculine singular), the other one is the Slavic superlative prefix *naj-*. Thus, the two markers allow for two parallel forms - (a) and (b) below:

(a) *leskro kher ysy samo baredyr do gav*
his.M house is SUPEL big-CMPR in village

(b) *lesko kher isy naj-bar-edyr dro gav*
his.M house is SUPEL-big-CMPR in village
'his house is the biggest in the village'.

2.5 Adverbs

Several inherited Romani local adverbs were found in the sample with the old ablative marker *-al*:

joj dž-al palal pal romeste
she goes in.back behind man.LOC
'she is walking behind the man'

mire dadeskro kher isy le paš-yl
my.OBL father.GEN house is CLT nearby
'my father's house is nearby'

joj isys terdy maškir-al lende
she was standing.F between them.LOC
'she was standing between them'

čhavore javne izdural
boys came.PL from.far
'boys came from far away'.

The preposition *avri* was found in the sample to be used as an adverb in predicative positions:

joj isy avri
she is outside
'she is outside'

Several local adverbs used in the sample are borrowed from Russian:

mire dadeskro kher isy rjadom
my.OBL father.GEN house is nearby
'my father's house is nearby' (from Russian *rjadom* 'nearby')

čhon krencyn pe kruyom phu
moon go RFL around earth
'the Moon goes around the Earth' (from Russian *krugom* 'around').

The basic temporal adverbs found in the sample are quite typical of the Northeastern group of dialects:

dadyves 'today'

tasja 'yesterday' / 'tomorrow'

kana 'now'

Old locative case marker *-e* is used in the dialect to derive some of the temporal adverbs:

kurk-e 'on Sunday' < *kurko* 'Sunday'

beljvjelj-e 'in the evening' < *beljvelj* 'evening'

dyves-e 'during the day' < *dyves* 'day'

Various Layer II case markers were also found to serve this end:

utros-te 'in the morning' < *utro* 'morning' + LOC

lynas-kiro 'during the summer' < *lynaj* 'summer' + GEN

žima-ke 'during the winter' < *žima* 'winter' + DAT

beljvjejen-ca 'during evenings' < *beljvelj* 'evening' INSTR

Some temporal adverbs are expressed analytically, by phrasally combining with deictics:

dava berš 'this year'

dova berš 'last year' (literally 'that year')

vavir berš 'next year' (literally 'another year').

In expressing the adverbials pertaining to days of the week, there is a competition in the dialect between analytical paraphrasing and the synthetic marker *-ne*:

de pondjalko vs. pondjalko-ne 'on Monday'

This destribution of analytical vs. synthetic does not seem to be random. 'On Monday' and 'on Tuesday' are more often analytical across the eight speakers, while 'on Thursday', 'on Friday' and 'on Saturday' are more often synthetic. In the case of Wednesday, the adverb is derived with the suffix *-ke*. Thus, typically, these adverbs in Lithuanian Romani are as follows:

de pondjalko 'on Monday'

de ftorko 'on Tuesday'

srjoda-ke 'on Wednesday'

čvartko-ne 'on Thursday'

paraščivi-ne 'on Friday'

savato-ne 'on Saturday'

Only one denominal adverb was found in the sample, *khere* 'home'/ 'at home' (from the noun *kher* 'home'). The archaic locative marker *-e* is used to derive this word, although the lack of this marker's productivity suggests that the form *khere* is a fossilized form. Other adverbs in the sample are derived from adjectives – either inherent or borrowed – using the suffix *-es*, which is added to the base. The examples of such adverbs from the sample are:

syg-es 'quickly' < *syg-* 'fast'

točn-es 'exactly' < Russian *točn-* 'exact'

strog-es 'strictly' < Russain *strog-* 'strict'

yojnes 'well' < Polish *gojn-* 'hospitable'

2.6 Numerals

The numerals in Lithuanian Romani, as in Romani in general, are quite stable, with the only post-Greek borrowing being the Polish *tysjonca* 'thousand'. The numerals 11-20 are compounded using the marker *-u-*, which is omitted where the second part of the compound starts with a vowel. Numerals from 20-30 are compounded with the pre-European additive marker *-te-*, which is reduced to *-t-* when followed by a vowel. Numerals above 30 are formed without any conjunctions. The numerals are summarized in Table 2.5.

Table 2.5 Numerals

half	*paš*
1	*jekh*
2	*duj*
3	*trin*
4	*štar*
5	*pančˇ*
6	*šov*
7	*Efta*
8	*oxto*
9	*enja*
10	*deš*
11-19	10 + *u*/Ø + NUM: 11 *deš-u-jekh*, 14 *deš-u-štar*, 17 *deš-Ø-efta*
20	*biš*
20-29	20 + *t(e)* + NUM: 21 *biš-te-jekh*, 25 *biš-te-pančˇ*, 28 *biš-t-oxto*
30	*Trijanda*
31-99	NUMx10 + NUM: 31 *trijanda-jekh*, 56 *pančˇdeša-šov*, 98 *enjadeša-oxto*
40-90	NUMx10 + 10.PL : 40 *štar-deša*, 70 *efta-deša*, 90 *enja-deša*
100	*šel*
1000	*tysjonca*

The only two examples of ordinals found in the sample are: *vavir* 'other', which is used in the sense of 'second', and *oxto-to* 'eighth' (from *oxto* 'eight'). It seems that the suffix *-to* is productive in deriving ordinals from cardinal numerals; the same is attested for North Russian Romani (Istomin (Patkanov) 1900: 50). Multiplicatives are derived analytically, using the quantifying noun *molo* 'time' (from German *mal*):

jekh molo 'once',

každo molo 'every time'.

The numerals are inflected in Lithuanian Romani, with an oblique marker *-e*, for both singular and plural:

kromje jekh-e manušeste
except.for one-OBL man.LOC
'except for one man'

mire duj-e phenjenca
my.OBL two-OBL sisters.INSTR
'with my two sisters'

me užakirow trin-e terne muršen
I wait.1SG three-OBL young.OBL men.OBL
'I am looking for three young men'.

The numerals also optionally take a full nominal inflection; (a) below exemplifies full numeral inflection, while (b) shows the partially inflected counterpart, occurring in the same sentence:

(a) *me dyjom maro tumar-enge štar-enge gr-enge*
I gave.1SG bread your.PL-PL.DAT four-PL.DAT horse-PL.DAT

(b) *me dyjom maro tumar-e štar-e gr-enge*
I gave.1SG bread your.PL-OBL four-OBL horse-PL.DAT
'I gave bread to your four horses'.

This full nominal inflection is attested with attributive adjectives in the North Russian dialect (Wentzel 1980: 81).

2.7 Personal Pronouns

This section will describe personal, possessive and reflexive pronouns found in the Lithuanian Romani sample, making note of their variation in relation to the general Romani trends, as proposed by Elšík (2000b). Table 2.6 will summarize these pronouns.

Table 2.6 Pronouns

	NOMINATIVE	OBLIQUE	INDEPEND. OBLIQUE	POSSESSIVE	ENCLITIC REFLEXIVE
1SG	*me*	*man-*	*man*	*mir-*	*man*
2SG	*tu*	*tu-*	*tut*	*tyr-*	*pe*
1PL	*ame*	*amen-*	*amen*	*amar-*	*amen*
2PL	*tume*	*tumen-*	*tumen*	*tumar-*	*pe*
3SG.Masc	*jow*	*les-*	*les*	*les-k(r)-*	*pe*
3SG.Fem	*joj/jej*	*la-*	*la*	*la-k(r)-*	*pe*
3PL	*jone*	*len-*	*len*	*len-gr-*	*pe*
Reflexive	-	*pes-*	*pes*	*pes-kr*	-

2.7.1 First and second person pronouns

The first and second person (1+2P) personal pronouns in Lithuanian Romani match the ones reconstructed for Proto-Romani by Elšík (2000b: 68), both in the nominative and the oblique cases. The nominative pronouns are 1SG *me*, 2SG *tu*, 1PL *ame*, 2PL *tume*; the stems of the oblique cases for these are *man-*, *tu-*, *amen-* and *tumen-*, respectively. The regular Layer II case marking is agglutinated to the oblique stems. The independent oblique forms match the oblique stems for all of these, except 2SG, where the independent oblique is *tut*:

me dykhow tut
I see.1SG you.OBL
'I see you'.

It is believed that *tut* is the original oblique form that was reduced to *tu-* with Layer II markers to avoid consonant clusters: **tut-ke* > *tu-ke* 'you.DAT' (Elšík 2000b: 72, after Sampson 1926: 158).

The possessive pronouns in Romani act as adjectives, being in the attributive position, and in Lithuanian Romani have the stems 1SG *mir-*, 2SG *tyr-*, 1PL *amar-*, 2PL *tumar-*. These stems take adjectival inflections (gender, number, case):

mir-i phu
my-F ground
'my land'

tyr-e klydyna
your-PL keys
'your keys'

amar-e rajonoste
our-OBL neighborhood.LOC
'(from) our neighborhood'

tumar-o dad
your.PL-M father
'your(PL) father'.

2.7.2 Third person pronouns

Third person pronouns exhibit suppletion in their nominative vs. non-nominative forms. The nominative pronouns in Lithuanian Romani are 3SG.Masc *jow*, 3SG.Fem *joj*, and 3PL *jone*, the jotated forms of Proto-Romani *ov, oj, on* (Elšík 2000b: 75). The 3SG feminine pronoun also exhibits an umlauted variant *jej*, a phenomenon well attested in Romani (Elšík 2000b: 75). The oblique stems are 3SG.Masc *les-*, 3SG.Fem *la-* and 3PL *len-*. These stems then take Layer II case inflections:

me gijom la-sa
I went.1SG she.OBL-INSTR
'I went with her'

me šundjom pal les-te
I heard.1SG about he.OBL-LOC
'I heard about him.LOC'

me dykhow len
I see.1SG they.OBL
'I see them'.

The same oblique stems are also used as the base for the 3P possessive pronouns, which are then formed using the Layer II genitive marking:

les-kr-o šero
he.OBL-GEN-M head
'his head'

la-k-o raskazo
she.OBL-GEN-M story
'her story'

la-kr-e *bala*
she.OBL-GEN-PL hair
'her hair'

len-g-o *kher*
they.OBL-GEN-M house
'their house'.

As seen from the above examples, the 3P singular possessive pronouns can take either the short (*-k-*) or the long (*-kr-*) form of the genitive Layer II marker.

2.7.3 Reflexives and clitics

The reflexive pronouns in Lithuanian Romani exhibit the same behaviour as the 3P pronouns, with independent oblique showing *Ø* adaptation from the oblique stem, and the possessive formed by adding the long form of the genitive Layer II marker to the oblique stem. The reflexive stem is *pes-*, the independent oblique is *pes*, and the possessive reflexive pronoun is *peskr-*:

joj udykhtja pes
she saw.3SG RFL
'she saw herself'

joj kindja pes-ke vavir lovina
she bought.3SG RFL-DAT another beer
'she bought herself another beer'

me bikindjom gres pes-kr-e sasjedoske
I sold.1SG horse RFL-GEN-OBL neighbor.OBL
'I sold the horse to my own neighbor'.

The reduced form of the reflexive pronoun *pe* is generalized throughout the person/gender paradigm in Lithuanian Romani as an enclitic reflexive, attaching to the end of the verbs, and intransitivizing them in a pattern that seems to calque Russian (see section 3.5.2 of this paper for a discussion of this phenomenon):

tu garaves pe
you hide.2SG RFL
'you hide yourself'

joj garavel pe
she hide.3SG RFL
'she hides herself'

tume garaven pe
you.PL hide.2PL RFL
'they hide themselves'

This impersonalized reflexive is in competition with the enclitics that are marked for person, especially in the 1P verbs. The inflected enclitics match their respective oblique stems:

me garavow man
I hide.1SG RFL.1SG
'I hide myself'

ame garavas amen
we hide.1PL RFL.1PL
'we hide ourselves'.

The subject clitic found in the sample is the indeclinable *-le*, which is optional, and which attaches to the 3P present and past copulas:

leskre čhave sys le bolde
his.PL children were CLT baptize.PART
'his children were baptized'

joj isy le xolynakri
she is CLT angry
'she is angry'

odoj jow isy le
there he is CLT
'there he is'.

2.8 Demonstratives and Deictics

Traditionally, Romani has a four-way distinction in the demonstratives, based on two dichotomies: one of specificity and one of the source-of-knowledge (Matras 2000: 95). This four-way distinction has been reduced in Lithuanian Romani to a two-way distinction, corresponding to the English 'this' and 'that'. This reduction is typical of the Northeastern group; it is attested for both the Polska Roma and the North Russian dialects, although not for Lotfitka (Matras 2000: 106). It is likely that the reduction took place under the influence of the Slavic languages, which show only a two-way distinction in the demonstratives. The typical Lithuanian Romani demonstratives are presented in Table 2.7.

Table 2.7 Demonstratives

English	Maculine	Feminine	Plural	Olique
'this'/'these'	*(a)dava*	*(a)daja*	*(a)dale*	*(a)dale*
'that'/'those'	*(o)dova*	*(o)doja*	*(o)dole*	*(o)dole*

The two forms of demonstratives are characterized by the distinction in the stem vowel (*-a-* with 'this' and *-o-* with 'that'), both added to the root *d-*. The long and short forms of the root seem to be in free variation with each other:

dava kher isi le pašedyr čem dova kher
this house is CLT closer than that house
'this house is closer than that house'

The demonstratives are further inflected for gender, number and nominative vs. oblique case. The masculine marker is *-va*, the feminine marker is *-ja*, and the plural and the oblique markers have a homonymous form *-le:*

ada-va manuš
this-M man
'this man'

odo-ja rat
that-F night
'last night'

da-le ljoxy
these-PL holes
'these holes'

jej na da-le rajonoste
she NEG this-OBL neiborhood.LOC
'she is not from this neiborhoood'

The short uninflected demonstrative forms *da / do* were also found in the sample.

2.8.1 Location deictics

The location deictics ('here' and 'there') exhibit the same root as the demonstratives and have the same *a/o* vowel contrast between the proximate and distant, but these vowels are preposed to the root, giving stems *ad-* and *od-*. The location proper deictics are *adej* 'here' and *odoj* 'there', showing variants with neutralized suffix vowel (*adyj, odyj*):

mange če te skerow kicy butja adej
me.DAT need COMP make.1SG some work.PL here
'I need to do some things here'

me la na dykhtjom odoj
I she.OBL NEG saw.1SG there
'I did not see her there'.

The ablative direction deictic was found in the sample only in the proximate form, *(a)darik*:

me dživdjom dur adarik
I lived.1SG far here.DIR
'I lived far from here'

The direction specific (allative) deictics are expressed by either the location proper (b) and (d), or the ablative direction forms (a) and (c) below:

(a) *čhavore, javen darik*
children, come.PL here.DIR

(b) *čhavore, javen adej*
children, come.PL here
'children, come here'

(c) *syr gijom odorik*
how went.1SG there.DIR

(d) *syr gijom odoj*
how went.1SG there
'when I went there'.

The location deictics are summarized in Table 2.8.

Table 2.8 Location deictics

	'here'	'there'
Location	*adej / adyj*	*odoj / odyj*
Direction	*adej / adyj* *(a)darik*	*odoj / odyj* *(o)dorik*
Ablative	*(a)darik*	-unattested-

The fact that direction deictics are expressed by either the location proper or ablative direction forms is interesting, and can be explained by the fact that it shares certain semantic properties with both. With location proper deictics and direction deictics the referenced location matches

the location of the completed action (compare English 'He is there' and 'He is going there'). On the other hand, direction deictics and ablative deictics share the property of directionality (compare English 'He is moving there' and 'He is moving from there').

2.8.2 Comparative deictics

There were four comparative deictics found in the Lithuanian Romani sample: *izbit* 'such' / 'very', *dakicy* 'so much', and *daso* 'so'/'as', *dasav-* 'in such a way':

do čhavoreskro dadeste izbit bari broda
that boy.GEN.M father.LOC such/very big.F beard
'that boy's father has (such a) big beard'

dakicy but love
'so much money'

jow sys daso zuralo so sašty te sphagirel saster
he was so strong.M that able COMP bend.3SG iron
'he was so strong, that he could bend iron'.

joj dasavi rastroina
she such.F upset
'she is so upset'

The last three are compounds of the demonstrative *da* 'this' and the interrogative particles *kicy* 'how much', *so* 'what', sav- 'what kind'.

2.9 Interrogatives

Historically, Romani has two sets of interrogatives, one in *k-* and one in *s-* (Matras 2002: 112). Representatives of both these sets are found in Lithuanian Romani. The *k-* interrogatives from the sample are: personal *kon* 'who' (with oblique form *kones*), quantifying *kicy* 'how much' / 'how many', and location interrogative *kaj* 'where' (both static and directional):

kon dava skerdja?
who this made.3SG
'who did this?'

kicy leste sy mašyny?
how.many him.LOC are cars
'how manycars does he have?'

kaj joj gija?
where she went.3SG
'where did she go?'.

Another traditional interrogative from this group, *kana* 'when', is replaced in Lithuanian Romani by a Polish loan *kjedy*:

kjedy ame spotkinas amen?
when we meet.1PL RFL
'when are we going to meet?'.

The *s-* interrogatives are represented in the sample with *so* 'what', manner interrogative *syr* 'how', goal/reason interrogative *soske* 'why'/'what for', and determiner *sav-* 'which' (inflected for person and nominative vs. oblique):

so kerdja pe?
what made.3SG RFL
'what happened?'

save manuša adyj dživen?
which.PL people here live.3PL
'what kind of people live here?'

soske jej dava skerdja?
why she this made.3SG
'what did she do this for?'

syr jow adyj javja?
how he here came.3SG
'how did he get here?'

A synonym for *soske* found in the sample is *palso* (literally 'for what'), which is a loanshift modeled on the Polish *dla czego*, reinforced by Russian *dlja čivo*.

In addition, the Polish interrogative *cy/čy* is borrowed in Lithuanian Romani to optionally mark yes/no questions:

cy so skerdja pe?
INT what made.3SG RFL
'has anything happened?'

The interrogatives are presented in Table 2.9.

Table 2.9 Interrogatives

English	Lith. Romani	Borrowed/Inherited
'who'	*kon*	Inherited
'what'	*so*	Inherited
'which'	*sav-*	Inherited
'how'	*syr*	Inherited
'how much'/ 'how many'	*kicy*	Inherited
'when'	*kjedy*	Polish
'where'	*kaj*	Inherited
'what for' / 'why'	*soske* *palso*	Inherited Polish Loanshift
yes-no questions	*cy/čy*	Polish

The relativizers are partially derived from the interrogatives and will be discussed in Section 4.4.2.

2.10 Indefinite Pronouns

This section will deal with indefinites – words such as 'some', 'anybody', 'nothing', 'always', etc. The model proposed by Haspelmath (1997) calls for two dimensions to be considered here. The first dimension deals with the kind of entity that is under consideration, such as person, thing, time, location, manner and unspecific determiner. The second dimension is that of quantifying the entity that is under consideration, as in 'something' (specific) vs. 'nothing' (negative) vs. 'anything' (free-choice) vs. 'everything' (universal). These two dimensions form a grid that is presented in Table 2.10. Not all of the constituents of the grid were found in the sample, but there are some patterns that become obvious even with this limited data. Thus, the determiners on the one hand and the universals on the other are simple (non-

compounded) lexical items, whereas the rest of the indefinites are compounded. Also there is a tendency for universal indefinites to be borrowed, with two out of three available items being Russian loans: *každo* 'every' and *vsjegda* 'always'.

Table 2.10 Indefinite Pronouns

	Specific	Negative	Free-choice	Universal
Determiner	*kicy, save* 'some'	*na, nane* 'no', 'none'	*save* 'any'	*každo* 'every', 'each', 'all'
Person	*vari-kon* 'somebody'	*ni-kon* 'nobody'	*kon-nibutj* 'anybody'	*sare* 'everybody'
Thing	*vari-so* 'something'	*ni-so* 'nothing'	*so-nibutj* 'anything'	-unattested- 'everything'
Location	*vari-kajto* 'somewhere'	*ni-kaj* 'nowhere'	-unattested- 'anywhere'	-unattested- 'everywhere'
Time	*syr-kjedy* 'sometimes'	*ni-kjedy* 'never'	*kjedy-nibutj* 'anytime'	*vsjegda* 'always'
Manner	*vari-syr* 'somehow'	-unattested- 'in no way'	-unattested- 'in any way'	-unattested- 'in all ways'

There were two words in the sample that were used to express a specific determiner 'some', *kicy* (from interrogative 'how much'/'how many') and *save* (from interrogative 'what kind'):

ame kicy gostjenca gijam do baro
we some guests.INSTR went.1PL to bar
'we went to the bar with some friends'

maškir save manuša
between some people
'among some people'.

It seems that *kicy* is used when the nouns could be quantified, as in 'some number', while *save* is used in more qualitative meanings. The latter determiner, *save*, is also used as a free-choice determiner:

podle save panč phaba
take any five apples
'take any five apples'

The negative determiners are *na* and *nane* 'no':

leste de muj na isys danda
him.LOC in mouth NEG were teeth
'in his mouth there are no teeth'

paše tumende nane šteto
near you.PL.LOC no place
'there are no seats near you'

The universal determiner is *každo* 'every': *každo molo* 'every time'.

Going down the grid we find that one part of the indefinites comes from the related interrogatives: *kon* 'who' for person, *so* 'what' for thing, *kaj* 'where' for location, and *kjedy* 'when' for time. Going from left to write, we see that there are specific markers that signal the specificity of the indefinites: specific *vari* 'some-', negative *ni* 'no-', and free-choice *nibutj* 'any-' (a Russian loan). The former two are fronted to the interrogative. The latter one is

postposed, calquing Russian. A slight exception to this compounding is the specific time indefinite 'sometimes', which is *syr-kjedy*, rather than **vari-kjedy*.

The specific indefinite marker *vari* is a loan of a Romanian counterpart *oare-* and is found in a wide range of Romani dialects, including Vlax, Northern Central and Northeastern dialects, and British and Iberian Romani (Matras 2002: 115). Matras attributes this development to either a case of Romanian borrowing into Early Romani or a unique example of early inter-dialectal diffusion of this loan.

2.11 Articles

The use of articles is known to be in decline throughout the Northeastern group (Matras 1999: 9-10; Boretzky 2000: 34). Lithuanian Romani is not an exception in this respect. The use of the indefinite article is not attested in the sample at all. As in the Polska Roma dialect (Matras 1999: 9), as well as the North Russian dialect (Wentzel 1980: 134), the definite article survives in Lithuanian Romani mostly as part of prepositions, such as *paš-o/paš-e* 'near', *pal-o/pal-e* 'behind' and *tal-o/tal-e* 'under'. It is used optionally in other contexts, matching the paradigm proposed by Boretzky for the Northeastern group of dialects. This paradigm is presented in Table 2.11.

Table 2.11 Definite articles

	Nominative	Oblique
Singular Masculine	*o*	*e*
Singular Feminine	*e*	*e*
Plural	*o*	*e*

The examples of a definite article found in the nominative case are:

jone zagarade o xabe
they hid.3PL ART.M food
'they hid the food'

syr me mekhjom e škola
when I left.1SG ART.F school
'when I left the school'

te vykrasinow o khera
COMP paint.1SG ART.PL houses
'to paint the houses'

The oblique case examples are:

me lyjom e gres
I took.1SG ART.OBL horse.OBL
'I took the horse'

joj sykavel e čhake nevi angrusty
she shows.3SG ART.OBL daughter.DAT new.F ring
'she shows the daughter a new ring'

ame ranes čaravas e gren
we early feed.1PL ART.OBL horses.OBL
'we feed the horses early'.

3 Verbs

The verbs in Romani are composed of the lexical root, followed by a series of suffixes. The different verb morphology suffixes mark: loan-adaptation; valency; perfectiveness; person and number concord; and finally remoteness and modality (Matras 2002: 117). In the North-eastern dialects, as well as in the dialects of the Northern Central group, verb morphology is extended by the use of Slavic aktionsart prefixes, which modify verbs' aspect, as well as calquing Slavic post-positioned reflexives to derive or reinforce the intransitive nature of the verb, for example *garavel pe* 'he hides himself' (from *garavel* 'he hides (smth)').

3.1 Verb inflection – Present : Personal Concord

In Lithuanian Romani, the present tense personal concord inflections follow the usual Romani scheme, with slight phonetic modification. Thus the 1SG suffix is *-ow*, compared to *-av* elsewhere: *me rov-ow* 'I cry'. This change from *-av* to *-ow* also affects the verb stems ending in *-a*, with the stem vowel assimilating to the morphological suffix, thus resulting in forms such as *me x-ow* 'I eat', constrasted with imperative *xa*! 'eat!'. Similar to the North Russian dialect (Sergievskij 1938: 172), there is attestation in Lithuanian Romani of a 1SG ending in *-m* in the verb *kam-*: *me kam-om* 'I want/love'. The 2SG verb suffix is the usual Romani *-es*: *tu ker-es* 'you do', *tu phen-es* 'you say'. The verbs in *-a*, sometimes referred to as the vocalic class in contrast to the regular consonantal class (Matras 2002: 136), in the 2SG do not show verb stem assimilation to the inflection marker, giving the forms in *-as*: *tu dž-as* 'you go', *tu x-as* 'you eat'. The 3SG present person suffix, *-el*, is also typical of Romani: *jow dykh-el* 'he sees', *joj čamud-el* 'she kisses', *jow dživ-el* 'he lives'. The 3SG suffixes for verbs in *-a* and the verb *pi-* show the same pattern as the 2SG suffixes, the former keeping the *-a-* of the stem, and the latter showing jotation to separate the marker from the verb stem: *jow dž-al* 'he goes', *joj pij-el* 'she drinks'.

The 1PL marker in Lithuanian Romani is again typical of Romani in general, *-as*; with examples of *ame garav-as* 'we hid (sthg)', *ame dikh-as* 'we see'. The verbs in *-a* take an ending *-s*, thus leveling the distinction between 2SG and 2PL of these verbs: *tu x-as/ ame x-as* 'you eat/we eat'. The 2PL and 3PL person markers are merged in Lithuanian Romani, as elsewhere, and exhibit the same form as other dialects. The markers are *-en*: *tume mekj-en* 'you.PL leave (sthg), adopting to *-an* with vocalic verbs: *jone x-an* 'they eat'.

3.1.1 Deadjectival verbs – Personal Concord

In deadjectival verbs, the 1SG and 1PL is marked by an insertion of *-(j)ov-* between the stem and the person marker: *me bar-jov-ow* 'I grow', *me xolis-ov-ow* 'I get angry', *ame phur-jov-as* 'we get old'; with all other persons, this *-(j)ov-* is assimilated, modifying the vowel of the person marker to *-o-*, giving forms such as: *tu barj-os* (not *tu *bar-jov-es* or *tu *barj-es*) 'you grow', *jow xolis-ol* 'he gets angry', *jone phurj-on* 'they grow old'.

3.1.2 Loan verbs

Loan verbs have the same present personal concord markers as the inherent verbs. With loan verbs, however, there is an optional omission of personal concord markers in the 3SG and 3PL persons. Thus, the loan verbs optionally end with the loan-adaptation marker *-in/-yn*: *jow ljub-in* 'he loves' (from Russian *ljub-*), *joj kašl-in* 'she coughs' (from Russian *kašl-*), *jone mož-yn* 'they can' (from Russian *mož-*), alongside *ljub-in-el, kašl-in-el* and *mož-yn-en*. Judging from the available sample, this omission is not an option with other personal forms, nor with any personal concord markers of the inherent verbs.

The present tense personal concord suffixes for various types of verbs are summarized in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1 Present personal concord suffixes

	verbs in *-C*	example: *ker-* 'do'	verbs in *-a*	example: *xa-* 'eat'	deadj.	example: *bar-* 'grow'	exceptions	example:
1SG	*-ow*	*kerow*	*-ow*	*xow*	*-(j)ov-ow*	*barjovov*	*-om*	*kamom* 'I want'
2SG	*-es*	*keres*	*-s*	*xas*	*-os*	*barjos*		
3SG	*-el*	*kerel*	*-l*	*xal*	*-ol*	*barjol*	*-Ø* in loans (optional)	*ljubin* 'loves'
1PL	*-as*	*keras*	*-s*	*xas*	*-(j)ov-as*	*barjovas*		
2/3PL	*-en*	*keren*	*-n*	*xan*	*-on*	*barjon*		

The irregular verb *pi-* 'to drink' is adopted in Lithuanian Romani to the regular consonantal class of verbs through a glide insertion: *me pij-ow* 'I drink', *tu pij-es* 'you drink', etc. In addition, some verbs of movement are expressed only as participles, taking the adjectival inflection in *-o/-y/-e*; the examples found in the sample are: *me bešt-o* 'I am sitting.MSC', *joj sut-y* 'she is sleeping', *tume terd-e* 'you.PL are standing'.

3.2 Verb inflection – Perfective

3.2.1 Perfective Markers

Perfective verbs in Romani are derived by attaching the perfective marker to the root, followed by the perfective personal concord suffixes.

The markers used to signal perfectiveness vary among the different Romani dialects, as well as within each dialect, and can be traced to the split between the *-t-*(*-d-*) and *-l-* markers during the Proto-Romani stage (Matras 2002: 139). Furthermore, there are different suffixes for 2/3PL as compared to all other persons. This section will give the pairs of perfective markers (2/3PL vs. the rest) in Lithuanian Romani, regarding the verbs on the basis of their root endings, making note, wherever possible, of how typical these markers are of the Northeastern group, as listed in Matras (2002: 140). It will also make an attempt to group the verbs into five classes, based on the perfective markers that they take. Sergievskij (1938: 165–175) proposes five classes of verbs for the North Russian dialect; there is some overlap between Sergievskij's system and the one proposed here for Lithuanian Romani, but there are also significant differences. Table 3.2 shows the perfective markers of the various groups of verbs, giving examples. The present tense verb stems of the verbs are given in parentheses.

The first class that Sergievskij postulates consists of verbs with roots ending in *-r*, *-l* and *-n*, taking perfective markers *-dj-/-d-* (*-dl-* for verbs in *-n*). The same class can be proposed for the Lithuanian dialect, with the same perfective markers; I'll call it the sonorant class. The stems in liquid consonants (*-r* and *-l*) take the markers *-dj-/-d-*: *ker-dj-om* 'I did' / *ker-d-e* 'they did'; *khel-dj-om* 'I danced' / *khel-d-e* 'they danced'. Verbs in *-n* in Lithuanian Romani show variation in their 2/3PL marker. This marker varies from *-d-* to *-dl-*, and sometimes *-l-*, the other marker is *-dj-*, characteristic of the sonorant class. The examples found in the sample are: *kin-dj-om* 'I bought' / *kin-d-e* 'they bought', alongside *kin-dl-e* (from *kin-*); *šun-dj-om* 'I heard' / *šun-dl-e* 'they heard', alongside *šun-l-e* (from *šun-*).

It seems reasonable to add verbs with roots in *-v* to this first class of verbs, since the perfective markers for these verbs are also *-dj-/-d-*. It should be noted, however, that the verbs in *-v* show a tendency to avoid the cluster with a *-v-*, by either losing the final *-v* of the stem, or assimilating it to *-n-*. This assimilation of *-v-* to *-d-* was noted by Sergievskij (1938: 166), and

seems to have been the basis for assigning verbs in *-v* to a separate verb class in North Russian Romani. The case for grouping these verbs together with the sonorant class is strengthened by the fact that the verb *dživ-* 'to live' shows an optional *-v-* deletion in forming perfective verbs, giving dual forms: *dživ-dj-om* or *džin-dj-om* 'I lived' / *dživ-d-e* or *džin-d-e* 'they lived'. Other examples of verbs in *-v*, showing deletion or assimilation of *-v*, are: *gara-dj-om* 'I hid' / *gara-d-e* 'they hid' (from *garav-*); *ron-dj-om* 'I cried' / *ron-d-e* 'they cried' (from *rov-*). The exception to this is the verb *jav-* 'to come', which has the markers *-j-/-n-*: *jav-j-om* 'I came' / *jav-n-e* 'they came', putting this verb in the historical *-l-* category, with the complete palatalization of *-l-* to *-j-*.

Table 3.2 Perfective markers of various groups of verbs

Verb Class stem type	SG, 1PL	Examples:	2/3PL	Examples:
Sonorant *-r, -l, -n, -v*	*-dj-*	*ker-dj-om (ker-)* 'do' *khel-dj-om (khel)* 'dance' *šun-dj-om (šun-)* 'hear' *džin-dj-om (dživ-)* 'live' *ron-dj-om (rov-)* 'cry' *gara-dj-om (garav-)* 'hide' *šun-dj-om (šun-)* 'hear' *kin-dj-om (kin-)* 'buy'	*-d-* *-dl-*	*ker-d-e* *khel-d-e* *šun-d-e* *dživ-d-e* *ron-d-e* *gara-d-e* *šun-dl-e* *kin-dl-e*
Dental *-d, -t-, -s, -l*	*-yj-/* *-ij-*	*trad-yj-om (trad-)* 'ride' *ušt-yj-om (ušt-)* 'get up' *ris-ij-om (ris-)* 'return' *yal-yj-om (yal-)* 'understand'	*-yn-/* *-in-*	*trad-yn-e* *usht-yn-e* *ris-in-e* *yal-yn-e*
Sibilant *-š, -č*	*-tj-,* *-č-*	*beš-tj-om (beš-)* 'sit' *koš-č-om (koš-)* 'scold' *phu-tj-om (phuč-)* 'ask'	*-n-,-l-*	*beš-n-e/beš-l-e* *koš-n-e/koš-l-e* *phuč-n-e/phuč-l-e*
Vocalic + irregular	*-j-*	*xa-j-om (xa-)* 'eat' *pi-j-om (pi-)* 'drink' *pe-j-om (per-)* 'fall' *gi-j-om (dža-)* 'go' *me-j-om (mer-)* 'die' *kam-j-om (kam-)* 'love'	*-n-*	*xa-n-e* *pi-n-e* *pe-n-e* *gi-n-e* *me-n-e* *kam-n-e*
Velar *-k, -kh*	 *-sj-,* *-ij-,* *-tj-,* *-j-*	 *mek-sj-om (mek-)* 'let' *mek-ij-om (mek-)* 'let' *dykh-tj-om (dykh-)* 'see' *dykh-j-om (dykh-)* 'see'	*-sn-,* *-n-*	*pek-sn-e (pek-)* 'bake' *mek-sn-e* *dykh-n-e*

Another class that Sergievskij proposes for North Russian Romani is the verbs with roots ending in *-d*, with the perfective markers *-yj-/-yn-*. In Lithuanian Romani this class (let us call it the dental class) can be expanded by adding verbs with roots in *-t*, *-s*, and some verbs in *-l*. The examples of verbs in the dental class are: *trad-yj-om* 'I drove' / *trad-yn-e* 'they drove'; *ušt-yj-om* 'I woke up'; *yal-yj-om* 'I understood'; *ris-ij-om* 'I returned' / *ris-in-e* 'they returned'; *xoljas-yn-e* 'they got angry' (from adjective *xoljas-* 'angry'). The markers *-ij-/-in-* with the verb roots in *-s* do not seem to be attested with other Northeastern dialects, nor with other Romani dialects in general (Matras 2002: 140).

The verb *jand-* 'to bring' is the exception in this class; remaining in the historical *-d-* class, with the final *-d-* reanalyzed to be a part of the marker, rather than of the verb root: *jan-dj-om* 'I brought'/ *jan-d-e* 'they brought'.

The third class of verbs in Lithuanian Romani I will call the sibilant class. It is characterized by the perfective markers *-tj-(-č-)/-n-,-l-*, with *-n-* and *-l-* being interchangeable variants for the 2/3PL marker, and *-č-* being a palatalized variant of *-tj-* for the other markers. Sergievskij includes in this class the Russian Romani verbs with roots ending in *-s* and *-š*, which have only the *-l-* perfective marker for the 2/3PL. In the case of Lithuanian Romani, *-s* verbs, as mentioned above, move to the dental class, and the sibilant class is expanded with the verb roots in *-č*. The examples of sibilant class verbs are: *beš-tj-om* 'I sat' / *beš-n-e* or *beš-l-e* 'they sat'; *koš-č-om* 'I scolded' / *koš-n-e* or *koš-l-e* 'they scolded'; *phuč-tj-om* or *phu-tj-om* 'I asked'/ *phuč-n-e* or *phuč-l-e* 'they asked'. The perfective marker *-č-* is found with verbs ending in sibilants in the Polska Romani and Lotfitka dialects (Matras 2002: 140); the variation between *-n-* and *-l-* in the 2/3PL seems to be a characteristic only of the Lithuanian and North Russian dialects. The marker *-tj-* is an archaic Old-Romani perfective suffix. It links the sibilant class together with the sonorant class, both being a direct continuation of the historical Proto-Romani *-d-* class of verbs.

The class of verbs that Sergievskij does not distinguish is the vocalic class, with roots ending in a vowel. In Lithuanian Romani this class has the perfective markers *-j-/-n-*: *pi-j-om* 'I drank' / *pi-n-e* 'they drank'; *xa-j-om* 'I ate' / *xa-n-e* 'they ate'. In addition to the verbs ending in vowels, the vocalic class includes a number of irregular verbs, which undergo a change in their root in perfective tense as compared to the present tense. These include the following verbs: *pe-j-om* 'I fell' / *pe-n-e* 'they fell' (present root *per-*); *me-j-om* 'I died' / *me-n-e* 'they died' (present root *mer-*, adjectival form *mulo* 'dead'); *gi-j-om* 'I went' / *gi-n-e* 'they went' (present root *dža-*). The irregular verb *kam-* 'to want' can also be included in this group.

The pair of perfective markers *-j-/-n-* seems to be used with vocalic verbs in all of the dialects of the Northeastern group, with the marker *-j-* used also in some other dialects of Romani, such as Sinti, Welsh, Roman and Bugurdzhi (Matras 2002: 140). The exceptional vocalic verb found in the Lithuanian Romani sample is *sa-* 'to laugh', which has an *-n* appended to its root in the perfective tense, and accordingly moves to the sonorant class: *san-dj-om* 'I laughed' / *san-d-e* or *san-dl-e* 'they laughed'. One of the reasons for this irregularity might be to avoid confusion of this verb with the copula *san* 'they are'.

The verbs ending in velars have to be put in a separate class in Lithuanian Romani, but they exhibit variants in their perfective markers that can put them in any one of the other classes. This supports the hierarchical progression of the historical class re-assignment from *-t-* to *-l-* of Romani verbs, proposed by Matras (2002: 139). This scale has velars in the middle of the phonological progression from obstruents to fricatives, which allows for the volatility of the class assignment for the verbs ending in velars. The example of a verb in this velar class that might put it in the sibilant class (and in the historical *-d-* class) is *dykh-tj-om* 'I saw' / *dykh-n-e* 'they saw'. The other variant of this verb, *dykh-j-om*, as well as the verb *mek-j-om* 'I left', are not characteristic of the sibilant class. There was also in the sample the variant *mek-ij-om*, with the perfective marker extension characteristic of the dental class.

There were variants of the verbs in this class, however, with the perfective marker extension *-s-*, which renders it reasonable to postulate a separate class for these verbs. The examples of the variants with *-s-* extension found in the sample are: *dykh-sj-om* 'I saw' / *dyk-sn-e* 'they saw'; *mek-sj-om* 'they left' / *mek-sn-e* 'they left'; *pek-sn-e* 'they roasted'. This introduction of *-s-* in the perfective markers does not seem to be attested in other dialects of the Northeastern group, or indeed any other Romani dialect (Matras 2002: 140). It can be analyzed diachronically as an extreme palatalization of the perfective marker *-t(j)-*: *dykh-tj-om* > *dykh-tsj-om* > *dykh-sj-om*.

3.2.2 Perfective Personal Concord Suffixes

The set of perfective personal concord suffixes in Lithuanian Romani is typical of the Northeastern group; it is characterized by the loss of final *-s* in the 3SG, and especially by an analogy of the 2PL to the 3PL. The other suffixes are quite typical of the Romani in general. In

addition, in Lithuanian Romani, as in other Northeastern dialects, the suffixes with the initial vowel (in other words 1/2/3SG and 1PL) are preceded by a jotation, which is considered to be a Proto-Romani development (Matras 2002: 149).

The perfective markers in Lithuanian Romani are jotated; this is a conservative feature. The 1SG suffix is *-jom*, compared to *-om* and sometimes *-um* in other dialects: *me pi-jom* 'I drank', *me phuri-jom* 'I grew old', *me bešt-jom* 'I sat', *me kerd-jom* 'I did'. The 2SG suffix is *-jan*: *tu trady-jan* 'you drove', *tu sut-jan* 'you slept', *tu kerd-jan* 'you did'. The 3SG suffix is *-ja*, without the final *-s* found in other dialect groups: *jow kerd-ja* 'he did', *joj latj-ja* 'she found', *jow darandy-ja* 'he feared'. The 1PL suffix, which is probably the most consistent perfective suffix across all Romani dialects, is *-jam*: *ame kerd-jam* 'we did', *ame dykht-jam* 'we saw', *ame xa-jam* 'we ate'. And finally, the 2PL and 3PL suffixes are the same, taking the suffix that is historically 3PL, *-e*: *tume gin-e* 'you(PL) went', *jone kheld-e* 'they danced', *tume rondl-e* 'you(PL) cried'. The perfective suffixes are presented and exemplified in Table 3.3.

Table 3.3 Perfective personal concord suffixes

	Marker	Example in -C *ker-* 'to do'	Example in -V *pi-* 'to drink'
1SG	*-jom*	*me kerdjom*	*me pijom*
2SG	*-jan*	*tu kerdjan*	*tu pijan*
3SG	*-ja*	*jow kerdja*	*joj pija*
1PL	*-jam*	*ame kerdjam*	*ame pijam*
2/3PL	*-e*	*tume kerde*	*jone pine*

3.3 Tense and Aspect marking

The previous two sections dealt with suffixes used to inflect the verbs in present and perfective tenses. The other tenses in Lithuanian Romani, as well as in other Romani dialects are not expressed through inflected suffixes, but instead through single suffixes for all persons, or analytically.

The long form of the verb, ending in *-a*, is reserved in Lithuanian Romani for expressing the future tense, with the short form always expressing the present tense. The same scheme for conveying future and present tenses exists in Polska Roma, as well as in some other Romani dialects, but not in North Russian or Lotfitka, where it can express the present tense as well. Thus, *me javav-a* can only mean 'I will arrive' in Lithuanian Romani, and not 'I arrive'. Other examples of the future verbs found in the Lithuanian sample are:

tasja me končinav-a da buty i džav-a do foro
tomorrow I finish.1SG-FUT this work and go.1SG-FUT to town
'tomorrow I will finish this work and go to town'

me kindjom brasljeto, savo dav-a dake
I bought.1SG bracelet, which.M give.1SG-FUT mother.DAT
'I bought a bracelet, which I will give to my mother'.

An interesting thing to note here is that, in the long form of the verb, the 1SG personal concord marker vowel is *-a-*, giving *dž-av-a*, and not **dž-ov-a* (compared to the short form *dž-ow* 'I go'). This *-a-* is an older form, with *-o-* being a recent development. As with the short form of loan verbs, the personal concord suffix is optionally dropped, giving forms such as *me končin-a* 'I will finish' < *me končin-av-a*; *me navješčin-a* 'I will visit' < *me navješčina-av-a*; but whereas in the short form of the verb this omission occurs only in 3SG/PL, in the long form it is an option with 1SG. Unfortunately there were no long form examples of loan verbs for

other persons, so a more detailed analysis of this omission will be left for future investigation. The long form of the verb is also used in the conditional sentences:

no raz me xav-a bjeljvjelje
but if I eat.1SG-FUT in.the.evening
'but if I eat in the evening'.

3.3.1 Remoteness marker *-as*

What has been called in the literature a Romani remoteness marker, *-as* (Matras 2002: 152), is found in Lithuanian Romani. Usually, the marker can attach to the present personal concord markers to express imperfect tense, as well as to the perfective personal concord markers to express pluperfect tense. In the Lithuanian Romani sample available, the pluperfect tense in *-as* was not found, except for irrealis conditional:

te javjan-as tu tasja, tu la dykhjan-as
COMP came.2SG-REM you yesterday, you she.OBL saw.2SG-REM
'if you had come yesterday, you would have seen her'.

The examples of the imperfect tense with *-as* are habitual past, as well as the polite requestative:

me džav-as po rinka každo dyves
I go.1SG-REM to market every day
'I used to go to the market every day'

me kamav-as te phutjow
I want.1SG-REM COMP ask.1SG
'I would like to ask'

The example of the pluperfect that was found in the sample is:

jow isys vygiji
he was.3SG gone
'he had already gone'

The form *vygiji* does not inflect for person; the parallel feminine form is:

joj isys vygiji
she was.3SG gone
'she had already gone'

This can be analyzed as a gerund form, with a rough translation 'he/she is having gone'. The suffix *-as* after the perfective personal concord markers was found in the conditional clauses such as

te latjas-as jow o kher
COMP find.3SG-REM he ART.M house
'if he had found a house'

There is also evidence that the irrealis, which is expressed with *-as* attaching to the present personal concord markers in some dialects, can be expressed in Lithuanian Romani using the present form of the verb and the Slavic conditional/irrealis particle *by*:

me njikedy na khelav by pal o love
I never NEG dance.1SG COND for ART.PL money
'I would never dance for money'.

3.3.2. Imperative forms

The imperative mood in Lithuanian Romani is expressed in a way that is similar to other dialects in the group. In the singular, the imperatives take a *-Ø* marker:

pšal, pi-Ø!
'brother, drink!'

zaker-Ø udara!
'close the door!'

čhajori, vidža-Ø!
'girl, go away!'

and in the plural, 2/3PL marker *-(V)n*:

pšala, pij-en!
brothers, drink-2PL
'brothers, drink!'

tavarišy, na xolis-on!
friends, NEG become.angry-2PL
'friends, don't get angry!'

murša, vidž-an!
men, go.away-2PL
'men, go away!'

The *-Ø* marker is productive with the loan verbs:

pix-yn-Ø les!
push-LOAN he.OBL
'push him!'

(*-in*/*-yn* is the loan-adaptation marker for the verbs). Table 3.4 summarizes the ways of deriving the different tenses in Lithuanian Romani.

Table 3.4 Tense markers

Tense:	Marking:	Example:
Present	short form	*kerow* 'I do'
Future	long form (+ *-a*)	*kerav-a* 'I will do'
Perfect	perfect + *-Ø*	*kerdjom* 'I did'
Imperfect	present + *-as*	*kerov-as* 'I used to do'
Pluperfect	exceptional case (possibly gerund in *-i*)	*vigij-i* 'he/she had gone'
Irrealis	perfect + *-as*	*tu la dykhjan-as* 'you would have seen her'
Imperative	SG: + *-Ø*; PL: + 3PL *-(V)n*	*ker!* 'do!(SG)'; *ker-en!* 'do!(PL)'

3.4 Non-finite forms

There are several non-finite forms that are found in the Lithuanian dialect. There is a commonly found perfective participle, mentioned above, which in Lithuanian Romani seems to be applied to verbs of continuous physical state:

me bešt-o
I sit-M
'I am sitting (from the point of view of a man)'

joj bešt-y
she sit-F
'she is sitting'

tume bešt-e
you.PL sit-PL
'you (PL) are sitting'

The perfective participle marker found with the loan verbs is the common Romani *-ime(n)*: *mas vižar-imen* 'meat is roasted' (from Russian *žar-* 'to roast'), *kxer kras-ime* 'house is painted' (from Russian *kras-* 'to paint'), *jow zasvat-yme* 'he is engaged' (from Russian *zasvat-* 'to be engaged').

Two forms of gerund, or present participle, available in Romani in general (Matras 2002: 160), are found in Lithuanian Romani. The first one, in *-i*, was mentioned above. It is indeclinable, and was found in the sample with the verb 'gone': *jow/joj isys vygij-i*, and with the deadjectival verb 'become tired':

me somas roskhinjov-i
I was.1SG become.tired-GER
'I was tired'(from *khin-* 'tired' + Slavic aktionsart prefix *ros-*).

The other gerund form is marked by the suffix *-Vndoj*; examples of this type of gerund found in the sample are:

bag-andoj jej mordja patave
sing-GER she washed.3SG clothes
'singing she was washing the clothes'

rov-indoj joj beštja paš amende
cry-GER she sat near us.LOC
'crying she sat next to us'

It seems that the *-i* suffix in Lithuanian Romani is indicative of a completed action, whereas *-Vndoj* expresses a continuous state of action. Finally, there was one example of deverbal genitive derivation found in the sample:

pani pi-ebnas-kr-o
water drink-NOMINALIZATION-GEN-M
'the water is drinkable'.

3.5 Valency alternation markers

This section will deal with valency alteration, such as transitivising and intrasitivising, and aspect changing, through derivational morphology. As pointed out by Schrammel (2003; citing Matras 2002: 120), grammatical derivation is the most productive method of enlarging the verbal lexicon in Romani.

3.5.1 Transitive derivations

The oldest transitive marker in Romani is *-av-* (Matras 2002: 122). Its productivity is in decline in Romani as a whole and in many dialects, including the Northeastern group, its use is limited to verbs that have already been lexicalized. The original roots of these verbs are often obsolete. Lithuanian Romani is representative of its group in this respect. Perhaps the best example of the lexicalization of the transitive verbs with *-av-* marker is the treatment of the verb *garav-* 'to hide' that was found in the sample. The assumed original Romani root is **gar-* 'to

hide oneself', of which *gar-av-* is a causative derivation. In Lithuanian Romani, the verb 'to hide oneself' is constructed through an intransitive derivation of *gar-av-*, using a reflexive particle, thus giving the form *jow garavel-pe* 'he hides himself'. Other examples, all of them apparently lexicalized, are: *bič-av-* 'to send', *čar-av-* 'to feed' (from *čar* 'grass'), *džang-av-* 'to wake someone up', *syk-av-* 'to show', *baš-av-* 'to play an instrument' (compare with *bašade* 'guitar'). The verb *kir-av-* 'to cook', from the sample, comes from the verb *ker-* 'to do', which also exists in the Lithuanian dialect, but here a case can be made for lexicalization on the grounds of the root *-i-/-e-* variation between the two. The only verb in *-av-* that might suggest that this marker is at all productive in the dialect is *strax-av-* 'to frighten' < *straxo* 'fear'(from Russian *strax* 'fear'), although here once again an intransitive verbal form **strax(in)-* is not found in the sample. This verb, along with the verb *xox-av-* 'to lie', attests to the former productivity of the marker *-av-* in deriving transitive verbs from nominal forms.

The use of another transitive marker, *-ar-/-yr-*, is known to be restricted in the Northeastern dialects (Matras 2002: 124). The use of this marker was found in only one verb in the sample, *dandyr-* 'to bite' (from *dand* 'tooth'), which is a lexicalized form. Typical of the Northeastern group is the replacement of this marker with another transitive marker *-(a)kir-* (Matras 2002: 124), which is the most common transitive marker of the three found in the Lithuanian Romani dialect. Some of the examples of the use of the marker *-(a)kir-* are also found with roots which do not appear as independent stems: *pres-kir-* 'to pay', *sik-lj-akir-* 'to teach', *prindž-kir-* 'to know each other'. There are other examples, however, the roots of which are used in the dialect: *xač-kir-* 'to burn something' (from *xač-* 'to burn'), *pše-rov-lj-akir-* 'to make cry' (from *rov-* 'to cry'), *beš-lj-akir-* 'to sit someone down' (from *beš-* 'to sit'). Other examples derive transitive verbs from non-verbal forms: *dylynj-akir-* 'to drive crazy' (from *dylyn-* 'stupid), *za-melj-akir-* 'to make dirty' (from *mel-* 'dirty'). As is evidenced by some of these examples, the marker *-akir-* often attaches to the perfective/participle suffix *-l-*; this phenomenon is attested in other Romani dialects with the marker *-ar-* (Matras 2002: 124). It is also interesting to note that *-l-* is the only perfective suffix in the sample that occurs with the transitive marker, going against the regular rules (compare *beš-lj-akir-* 'to sit someone down' and *beš-tj-* 'sat'). This seems to suggest some degree of lexicalization, of these verbs.

The number of examples of transitive derivations in *-av-* and *-(a)kir-* is too scarce in the sample for a thorough analysis of the distribution of their functions; there is a general tendency to be noted, however, for *-av-* to derive transitive verbs from nouns, and for *-(a)kir-* to derive causitives from intransitive verbs. Still, the most productive way to derive transitive expressions in Lithuanian Romani is through analytic expressions:

čhave	*iskiren*	*kher*	*melalo*
children	make.3PL	house	dirty.M

'children make the house dirty'

(*iskiren* being extended from *ker-* 'to do/make')

zastavin	*man*	*te*	*zabistrow*
force.LOAN	me.OBL	COMP	forget.1SG

'makes me forget' (from Russian *zastav-* 'to make/force')

The use of analytic expressions is also the most productive way to derive transitive expressions in North Russian Romani (Sergievskij 1938: 180).

3.5.2 Intransitive derivations

The intransitive marker *-(j)o(v)* was found in the sample. Characteristic of some Romani dialects, the final consonant is present in the 1SG and 1PL verbs, but is lost in all other forms (Matras 2002: 121). This marker was found mostly with the deadjectival verbs in the sample:

bar-jov-ow 'I grow' / *bar-jo-s* 'you grow' (from *bar-* 'big'), *phur-jov-as* 'we get old' (from *phur-* 'old'), *parn-jo-n* 'they become white' (from *parn-* 'white'); but also deriving intransitive verbs from other verbs: *syk-l-jov-ow* 'I study' (from **syk-* 'to show'), *kir-jo-l* 'it is boiling' (from *kir-* 'to cook'). The other common intransitive marker, *-av-*, was not attested in Lithuanian dialect, except for an optional *j-av-av-a* 'I will become' (alongside *j-av-a*).

The most productive way to derive intransitive phrases in Lithuanian Romani is through the reflexive analytic construction, attaching an oblique form of the personal pronoun to the end of the verb, probably calquing the Slavic aspect distinction. Some of the examples of this from the sample are:

me garavow man
I hide.1SG RFL.1SG
'I hide myself'

tu upterdijam pe
you stayed.2SG RFL
'you stayed'

ame ženinas amen
we marry.LOAN.1PL RFL.1PL
'we got married'

tume san pe
you.PL laugh.2PL RFL
'you(PL) laugh'

This last verb appears optionally alongside the regular form

tume san
you.PL laugh.2PL
'you(PL) laugh'

which further suggests a calque from the Slavic languages (compare with Russian

vy smejote-sj
you.PL laugh.2PL-RFL
'you(PL) laugh', with *-sj* being a lexically fossilized Slavic reflexive particle).

3.5.3 Aktionsart

An additional way to modify verbs in Lithuanian Romani is through a set of Slavic aktionsart prefixes, which alter the aspect of verbs. The use of Slavic aktionsart is found throughout the Northeastern dialects, as well as in Central and some Balkan dialects of Romani (Matras 1999: 14). Many Slavic aktionsart prefixes were found in the sample; most of them can be traced directly to Russian, including *vy-*, *za-*, *ot-*, *po-*, *pod-*, *ras-*, but there was also a Polish prefix *pše-*, the Russian cognate of which is *pere-*. The integration of Slavic aktionsart into Lithuanian Romani can be divided into three stages, synchronically: I) borrowing of the Russian verb together with the prefix; II) prefixing inherent Romani verbs with Slavic aktionsart by calquing the same prefixing in Russian; III) prefixing inherent Romani verbs with Slavic aktionsart independent of the Russian analogue. The stages refer to the degree of semantic integration of the prefixes, and do not necessarily imply the diachronic chain of processes. These three stages are illustrated in Table 3.5 with some of the more common prefixes found in the sample. The examples from Stage III suggest that the whole system of Slavic aktionsart is adopted into the Lithuanian Romani, becoming fully productive. This productivity of Slavic

aktionsart prefixes is attested in Polska Roma by Matras (1999: 14-15), who proposes the term 'fusion' to describe this phenomenon, and for North Russian (Rusakov, 2001: 318).

Table 3.5 Aktionsart integration

Prefix	Borrowing		Calquing		Semantic integration	
	Romani stem	Russian equivalent	Romani stem	Russian equivalent	Romani stem	Russian equivalent
po-	*po-dumin-* 'to think'	*po-dum-*	*po-mang-* 'to ask'	*po-pros-*	*po-dykh-* 'to see'	*u-vid-*
pod-			*pod-gij-* 'to approach'	*pod(o)-šol*	*pod-l-* 'to take'	*Ø-vz-*
ros- (ras-)	*ras-pravin-* 'to fix'	*ras-prav-*	*ros-pxen-* 'to tell'	*ras-skaz-*	*ros-suv-* 'to sew'	*za-š-*
vy-	*vy-krasin-* 'to paint'	*vy-kras-*	*vy-pi-* 'to drink'	*vy-p-*	*vy-bič-* 'to send'	*ot-prav-*
za-	*za-stavin-* 'to force'	*za-stav-*	*za-pres-* 'to pay'	*za-plat-*	*za-xačkir-* 'to burn smth.'	*pod-pal-*

This data suggests that the borrowing of aktionsarts is not just lexical, but that the whole structure of Slavic prefixes, along with their abstact semantic values has been incorporated into the dialect, becoming productive beyond the lexical distribution in Russian.

3.6 Copula

The copula paradigm used in Lithuanian Romani is typical of the Northeastern group (Sergievskij 1938: 171 for North Russian, Matras 1999 for Polska Roma), with the past tense copula deriving from the present copula stem using an imperfective tense marker *-as*. The future tense copula expressions are accomplished using the verb *jav-* 'to come' (in the meaning of 'be') or *jač-* 'to become':

tasja me java khere
tomorrow I come.1SG.FUT home
'tomorrow I will be home'

jow jačela baro manuš
he become.3SG.FUT big.M man
'will become a great man'

The use of the verb 'become' as a future copula is an areal feature of Northern Europe (Dahl 2000: 351).

The copula for the present and perfective tense are presented in Table 3.6.

Table 3.6 Copula

Person	Present Copula	Past Copula
1SG	*me som*	*me som-as*
2SG	*tu san*	*tu san-as*
3SG	*jow isy*	*jow isy-s*
1PL	*ame sam*	*ame sam-as*
2PL	*tume san*	*tume san-as*
3PL	*jone isy*	*jone isy-s*

3.7 Modal Verbs

Most of the modals found in the sample are typical of the Northeastern group, and many of them are loans from Slavic languages – Russian and Polish (also Ukranian). The modals of necessity are *musin-* (possibly from Ukranian *mus-* 'must'/'need'), and *čep* (from Polish *čeb-* 'need'):

tu musines odoj te džas
you must.2SG there COMP go.2SG
'you must go there'

mange čep te džow
me.DAT need COMP go.1SG
'I need to go'

The modals of ability and inability are expressed in Lithuanian Romani by two competing sets of verbs. The first set is comprised of the impersonal Early Romani forms *našty* 'cannot' < *našti* and *šašty* 'can' < **šaj + ašti*. The form *šašty* seems to be unique to Lithuanian Romani. The other set is the loan from Russian or Polish: *možyn-* 'can' and its analytic negation *na možyn-* 'cannot'. These inflect for person (inflection is optional in 3SG). The examples of the ability and inability modals from the sample are:

cy šašty te keres buty molotkosa?
INT able COMP do.2SG work hammer.INSTR

with the counterpart:

cy tu možynes te keres buty molotkosa?
INT you can.2SG COMP do.2SG work hammer.INSTR
'can you work with a hammer?'

jow našty te vitradel
he not.able COMP travel.away.3SG

with its counterpart:

jow na možynel te vitradel
he NEG can.3SG COMP travel.away.3SG
'he cannot leave'

The modal of volition is the common Romani *kam-* 'to want', inflected for person:

jow kamel te javel barvalo
he wants.3SG COMP become.3SG rich.M
'he wants to become rich'

The modals for 'begin' and 'stop' are based on lexical items *l-* 'take' and *jačh-* 'stay', respectively:

pale panč minuty jow lyja te rakirel
after five minutes he began.3SG COMP talk.3SG
'after five minutes he started to talk'

syge bryshynt pšejačhela
soon rain stop.3SG.FUT
'soon the rain will stop'

In addition, there were two modality markers found in the sample, both of them loans from Russian. They are *možet* 'perhaps' and *vabše* 'at all'.

3.8 Loan verb adaptation

The loan verb adaptation marker in Lithuanian is *-in/-yn*, which is typical of the Northeastern group, as well as the Central group and extending to the South-Western Balkans (Matras 2002: 131). The uniqueness of Lithuanian Romani in this respect is in the fact that here this marker seems to be exclusive. It is used to mark both transitive and intransitive verbs:

pix-yn- 'push' < Russian *pix-*

kašl-in 'cough' < Russian *kašl-*

As mentioned above, the 3P concord markers are optionally omitted with the loan verbs in the present tense. This does not seem to be an option with the verbs in past tense, which always have the perfective personal concord markers, preceded by the perfective marker *-dj-*. This is true for both transitive and intransitive verbs:

jow nas-in-dj-a 'he wore' < Russian *nas-*,

ame jezd-in-dj-am 'we traveled' < Russian *jezd-*

As noted earlier, with the long form (future tense) loan verbs, the personal concord suffix is optionally dropped in the 1SG forms of the verbs: *me končina* 'I will finish', *me navješčina* 'I will visit'.

4. Syntax

The thematic roles of the nominal forms are expressed either through the use of prepositions or through the case inflections on the objects. The next two sections will survey the distribution of prepositions and cases found in the Lithuanian Romani sample. The use of prepositions and case inflections is often mutually exclusive, exceptions occurring mostly with the prepositional (locative) case. These exceptions will be discussed in the third section of this chapter.

4.1 Prepositions

The prepositions used in Lithuanian Romani are, for the most part, representative of Romani as a whole. They constitute a set of analytical case markers recruited from the stock of adverbs, plus a set of more recent prepositions that developed in the Early Romani period (Matras 2002: 91-92). There are only several prepositions that are borrowed from Slavic languages. It should be noted, however, that the system of prepositional agreement for gender/number is in decline in the Lithuanian Romani, as elsewhere in Romani dialects. Prepositions with the oblique morpheme *-al* are likewise rare in the dialect; the only two examples found in the sample were *maškiral* 'between' and *palal* 'behind', the later one used only as an adverb. The first one seems to be used alongside *maškir*, with both forms found in locative and nominative phrases:

maškir(al) skamint i ložko
between table and bed
'between the table and the bed'

joj ysys terdy maškir(al) lende
she is seated.F between them.LOC
'she was standing between them'

The decline of prepositional agreement for gender/number can be demonstrated with examples of use of the historical preposition **andre*, which can be translated as spatial 'in, into, on to, to' ('in the village', 'into the box', 'on to the carts', 'to town') and temporal 'on, in, at' ('on Thursday', 'in January', 'at 7 o'clock'). Different speakers seem to have their preference for how they pronounce this preposition. One speaker consistently uses *ando*: *ando veš* 'into the forest', *ando baro* 'in the bar', *ando janvarjo* 'in January', *ando ščoka* 'on the cheek'. The pattern for another speaker is to use the form *adre* for the spatial sense and *do* for the temporal sense: *adre veš* 'in the forest', *adre ščoka* 'on the cheek', *adre urden* 'on to the wagons', *do efta časy* 'at 8 o'clock'. The third speaker uses *do* for both temporal and spatial senses, sometimes varying it with the *de*, a form that is inflected with plural/oblique definite article *-e*: *do baro* 'in the bar', *do boko* 'into the side', *de ščoka* 'on the cheek', *do efta časy* 'at 8 o'clock', *de janvarjo* 'in January'. The use of *de* in *de ščoka*, as well as the use of *ande* in *ande komnata* 'in the room' by the first speaker, suggests that some remnants of the prepositional agreement still exist, with definite articles *o* and *e* incorporated into the preposition.

A common inherited preposition *pal* 'behind' assumes several functions in Lithuanian Romani which are typical of the Northeastern group. These functions are 'during', 'about' and 'for', as well as the historical Romani 'behind': *pal o dyves* 'during the day', *pal leste* 'about him', *me džow pal o thut* 'I go for milk', *pal o dumo* 'behind the back'. A similar pattern is seen with preposition *pe/po* 'on', with the extension of its functionality to mean 'to', locative 'at', temporal 'for': *po skamint* 'on the table', *po/pe rinka* 'to the market', *zaxolisadyja pe/po mande* 'he got angry at me', *plany pe/po bjeljvelj* 'plans for the evening'. With both *pal* and *pe*, the extension of functionality could be due to calquing from Slavic lan-

guages (compare the use of *pal* with Russian *za denj* 'during the day', *za spinoj* 'behind the back', *za molokom* 'for milk'). Other inherited prepositions found in the sample are *paš* 'beside, next to', *by/be* 'without', *karik* 'toward', *ke* 'to, toward', *tal* 'under':

paš do kašt
near that tree
'next to that tree'

by/be tyro
without you.GEN
'without you'

jow javja karik me
he came.3SG toward I.NOM
'he came toward me'

tu javes ke me
you come.2SG to I.NOM
'you come to me'

lyl isy tal o skamint
letter is.3 under DEF.M table.NOM
'the letter is under the table'.

There is also an attestation of a complex preposition found in the sample: *syr ke* 'among':

syr ke save roma čororybe ysy le baredyr čem adyj
how to some people poverty is.3 CLT bigger than here
'among some people the poverty is even worse than here'

Several common Romani prepositions are not attested in Lithuanian Romani. One of these is **angle* 'in front of', which is replaced by various forms of a Slavic *pretiv/protiv/pretju*:

protiv/pretju miri vokna
in.front my window
'in front of my window'

The preposition *avri* 'outside, out, from' exists in Lithuanian Romani only as an adverb, its prepositional function taken over by the ablative (locative) case:

joj vigija khereste
she went.3SG house.LOC
'she went out of the house'

podle paramaro šafkatyr
take cake cupboard.ABL
'take the cake from the cupboard'

Another common preposition that is not attested in Lithuanian Romani is *mamuj* 'past', its function taken over by *pal*.

On the other hand, there are a number of spatial and temporal prepositions found in the sample, which are loans from Russian or Polish. *Protiv* was already mentioned above as a loan with a meaning of 'in front of'; it is also used in the sample to mean 'across', as a shortened version of the Russian *naprotiv* 'across'. Other borrowed prepositions are *čem* 'than', *vmjesta* 'instead of', *kromje* 'except for', *vakrug/kruyom* 'around', *poslje/pošlje* 'after' and *paka* 'until'.

There were no postpositions found in the sample, which is also typical of the Northeastern group, and might be reinforced by the fact that postpositions do not exist in Slavic contact languages. The prepositions discussed are summarized in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1 Prepositions

Preposition	Translation	Source
pal	'behind', temp. 'during', 'about', 'for'	Middle Indo-Aryan
ando/adre/do/de	'in, into, on to, to', temp. 'on, in, at'	Middle Indo-Aryan
pe/po	'on', locative 'at', temp. 'for'	Middle Indo-Aryan
paš	'beside, next to'	Middle Indo-Aryan
tal	'under'	Middle Indo-Aryan
ke	'to'	Middle Indo-Aryan
maškir/maškiral	'between'	Early Romani
karik	'toward'	Early Romani
pretju/protiv	'in front of', 'across', temp. 'before'	Slavic
čem	'than'	Slavic
vmjesta	'instead of'	Slavic
kromje	'except for'	Slavic
vakrug	'around'	Slavic
pošlje/poslje	'after'	Slavic
paka	'until'	Slavic

4.2 Case representation

Matras (1999: 10) attests to the high productivity of synthetic case marking for the Polska Roma dialect. The same can be said of Lithuanian Romani where, on the whole, the use of case is more common than the use of prepositions. The exclusive use of case marking is often seen in Lithuanian Romani even when analogous phrases in Russian are reinforced by prepositions. This holds especially true for the Locative/Ablative and Instrumental cases:

joj rondja xolynate
she cried.3SG anger.LOC
'she cried of anger'

vs. Russian

ona plakala ot zlosti (Russian)
she cried of anger.GEN

me bajindjom man mire pšalesa
I played.1SG RFL my.OBL brother.INSTR
'I was playing with my brother'

vs. Russian

ja igralsja so svoim bratom (Russian)
I played with my.RFL brother.INSTR

where prepositions *ot* and *so* are used in Russian to reinforce the case inflection.

Lithuanian Romani stands out among other Romani dialects in the drastic reduction in the use of the synthetic ablative case. Its functions are being taken over by the locative case. Thus, while there are several instances where nouns in ablative case are found in the sample:

joj rundja xolyna-tyr
she cried.3SG anger-ABL
'she cried of anger'

me polučindjom da kvjaty mire phenja-tyr
I received.1SG this flowers my.OBL sister-ABL
'I got these flowers from my sister'

they always appear optionally alongside their locative case equivalents:

xolyna-te
anger-LOC
'from anger'

mire *phenja-te*
my.OBL sister.LOC
'from my sister'

In most examples, though, locative case completely takes over the functions of the ablative as an expression of general source,
either spatial:

les *pomikne* *bida-te*
him.OBL released.PART prison-LOC
'he was released from prison'

– material:

banko roskerdo *kaštes-te*
chair made.PART wood-LOC
'the chair is made of wood'

– origin:

jej javja *Germanija-te*
she came.3SG Germany-LOC
'she came from Germany'

– and cause:

joj zanasvaladyja pal les-te
she got.ill.3SG from him-LOC
'she got ill because of him'

This function of locative/ablative also extends to temporal relations:

me džow *palo thut ranes utros-te*
I go.1SG for milk early morning-LOC
'I go for milk early in the morning'

joj dživel *adej e* *ijuljos-te*
she lives.3SG here ART.OBL July-LOC
'she lives here since July'

The merge of locative and ablative case is attested in the Polska Roma dialect (Matras 1999: 10), but there it favours the ablative rather than the locative. In the North Russian dialect and in Lotfitka, both cases are present and functional (Sergievskij 1938: 156; Mānušs 1997: 335).

Locative relations with verbs of movement are expressed in Lithuanian Romani mostly through the use of prepositions, with pronouns and nouns, both inanimate and animate, taking the nominative case:

džuklore javne *ke joj*
police came.3SG to she.NOM
'police came to her'

me javava *ke tume*
I come.1SG.FUT to you.PL.NOM
'I will come to you'

miro pšal lydžija man ko vračo
my brother brought.3SG me.OBL to doctor.NOM
'my brother brought me to the doctor'

me dykhtjom stranno kher do gaw
I saw.1SG strange house in village.NOM
'I saw a strange house in the village'

jone maren pe palo pani
they fight RFL for water.NOM
'they fight for water'

The use of the nominative in locative relation is especially true for inanimate nouns. There are, examples, mostly with animate nouns and pronouns, where the locative case occurs alongside prepositions to express locative relations:

odoj sy le baro nadur khangirja-te
there is CLT bar not.far church-LOC
'there is a bar near the church'

joj jandja tykne čhavores pretju kralis-te
she brought.3SG small.OBL boy.OBL in.front king-LOC
'she brought the small boy in front of the king'

joj džal palal pal romes-te
she goes.3SG in.back behind man-LOC
'she is walking behind the man'

me beštjom pal la-te
I sat.1SG behind her-LOC
'I was sitting next to her'

joj isys terdy maškiral len-de
she was standing.F between them-LOC
'she was standing between them'

In addition, the locative case is used as a predicate in positive and negative possessive constructions:

la-te sy kher
her-LOC is house
'she has a house'

la-te nane pšal
her-LOC NEG brother
'she does not have a brother'

The locative is not used with the external and what is referred to as existential possession (Matras 2002: 174), for which the dative case is used. Locative/ablative is also found in Lithuanian Romani in the partitive sense:

duj len-de
two them-LOC
'two of them'

privative sense:

vmjesta goja-te
instead.of sausage-LOC
'instead of sausage'

kromje *papus-te*
except.for grandfather-LOC
'except for grandfather'

and referential sense:

rosphenyben *pale* *mire* *tavarišjos-te*
story about my.OBL friend-LOC
'a story about my friend'.

The genitive case is highly productive in Lithuanian Romani, as in other Northern dialects (Matras 1999: 10); it is the exclusive way to express genitive relations, even with loan words:

mire *tjotka-kir-e* *čhave*
my.OBL aunt-GEN-PL children
'my aunt's children'

The genitive is used with its usual genitive sense proper:

mire *dades-kir-e* *drugi*
my.OBL father-GEN-PL friends
'my father's friends'

lynas-kiro *krotka* *ratja*
summer-GEN short.PL nights
'nights are short in the summer' (literally, 'summer's nights are short')

It is used also in privative sense with the preposition *by/be* 'without':

me *som* *adinoko* *by* *t-yro*
I am lonely without you-GEN
'I am lonely without you'

te *reses* *foro* *by* *mašyna-kre*
COMP reach town without car-GEN
'to get to town without a car'

It seems reasonable to analyze this phenomenon as a calque from Slavic languages, where the genitive is used in these expressions as well.

The dative case marks the recipient or beneficiary, appearing regularly with verbs such as 'give', 'thank', 'order' and 'show':

me *možinow* *te* *dow* *da* *romes-ke* *sygarety*
I can.1SG COMP give.1SG this man-DAT cigarettes
'I can give this man some cigarettes'

jow *dophendja* *la-ke* *te* *utkerel* *udara*
he ordered.3SG her-DAT COMP open.3SG door
'he ordered her to open the door'

učitjeljo *posykadja* *kartiny* *učeniken-ge*
teacher showed.3SG pictures students-DAT
'the teacher showed pictures to the students'

It also marks the experiencer, accompanying the verbs 'like', 'seem' and 'need':

la-ke *kamne* *pe* *mire* *dakire* *patave*
her-DAT loved.PART RFL my.OBL mother.GEN clothes
'she likes my mother's clothes'

man-ge *zdajetsja* *so* *joj* *les* *kamel*
me-DAT seems SR she him.OBL loves.3SG
'it seems to me that she likes him'

man-ge *čep* *te* *džow*
me-DAT necessary COMP go.1SG
'I have to go'

The dative case is used in the general benefactive sense:

jow *mekhja* *da* *xabe* *tu-ke* *i* *tyre* *pšalen-ge*
he left.3SG this food you-DAT and your brothers-DAT
'he left this food for you and your brothers'

saren-ge *izvesno* *so* *jow* *isy* *barvalo*
everybody-DAT known SR he is rich.M
'it is known to everybody that he is rich'

me *lydžow* *tumen-ge* *zumi* *kana*
I bring.1SG you.PL-DAT soup now
'I bring you(PL) soup now'

As mentioned above, the dative is also used to indicate existential possession, and what is referred to as external possession by Crevels and Bakker (2000: 151):

la-ke *na* *isys* *zor*
her-DAT NEG was strength
'she does not have the strength'

man-ge *dukhal* *o* *nakh*
me-DAT hurts.3SG ART.M nose
'my nose hurts'

paka *na* *javela* *la-ke* *fedyr*
until NEG becomes.3SG her-DAT better
'until she gets better'

Crevels and Bakker also site dative as the external possession case in Lotfitka, but give a locative case for North Russian (2000: 168).

The case of the direct object is the accusative (independent oblique) case, taken by animate nouns:

me *les* *γaljuvow*
I him.OBL understand.1SG
'I understand him'

me *bikindjom* *gres*
I sold.1SG horse.OBL
'I sold the horse'

me *na* *možyndjom* *len* *te* *ubidinow*
I NEG could.1SG them.OBL COMP convince.1SG
'I could not convince them'

ci *začakirde* *čhaves* *koldrasa?*
INT covered.PART boy.OBL blanket.INSTR
'is the child covered with the blanket?'

In the Polska Roma dialect, the accusative functions as a case of the possessor (Matras 1999: 10); this function in Lithuanian Romani is reserved for the locative and dative cases, the latter with the external possessive constructions.

Finally, the instrumental case is used in the associative meaning, either comitative, or as an instrument:

me gijom la-sa
I went.1SG her-INSTR
'I am going with her'

me užjakirow trine muršen urden-ca
I wait.1SG three.OBL men.OBL carts-INSTR
'I am waiting three men with a cart'

cy tu možynes te keres buty molotko-sa?
INT you can.2SG COMP do.2SG work hammer-INSTR
'can you work with a hammer?'

As in North Russian Romani (Sergievskij 1938: 160), the instrumental is used in Lithuanian Romani to mark the predicate with connector verbs such as 'become', 'be made':

me jačjow direktoro-sa
I become.1SG director-INSTR
'I become director'

samo phuredyr manuš isys vikedyme krali-sa
SUPEL older man was made.PART king-INSTR
'the oldest man was made a king'

As is pointed out by Sergievskij, this function of the instrumental is a result of the contact with Slavic languages (compare above with Russian):

ja stanovljusj director-om
I become director-INSTR
'I become director'

The case functions are summarized in Table 4.2.

Table 4.2 Case functions

Function	Case	Example	Translation
Locative Relation Static	preposition + locative	*me beštjom pal late*	'I sat next to her'
Locative Relations movement	preposition + nominative	*me javava ke tume*	'I came to you.PL'
Positive possession	locative	*late sy kher*	'she has a house'
Negative possession	locative	*late nane kher*	'she does not have a house'
Existential possession	dative	*lake na isys zor*	'she does not have the strength'
External possession	dative	*mange dukhal nakh*	'my nose hurts'
Direct object Animate	accusative	*me bikindjom gres*	'I sold the horse'
Direct object Inanimate	nominative	*me dykhtjom khr*	'I saw a house'
Recipient	dative	*te dow da romeske sygarety*	'to give this man some cigarettes'
Beneficiary	dative	*sarenge izvesno*	'it is known to everyone'
Experiencer	dative	*lake kamne pe mire dakire patave*	'she liked my mother's dress'

Genitive relations	genitive	*mire tjotkakire čhave*	'my aunt's children'
Referential	locative	*pale mire tavarišoste*	'about my friend'
Partitive	locative	*duj lende*	'two of them'
Privative	locative	*vmjesta gojate*	'instead of sausage'
Privative exclusive	*by* 'without' + genitive	*me som adinoko by tyro*	'I am lonely without you'
Nominal predicate	instrumental	*me jačjow direktorosa*	'I become director'
Associative commutative	instrumental	*me gijom lasa*	'I went with her'
Instrument	instrumental	*te keres buty mołotkosa*	'to work with a hammer'

4.4.1 Structural borrowing in the domain of Case Representation

Rusakov (2004: 21–9) discusses a semantic shift in the domain of case representation that took place in North Russian Romani under the influence of the Russian language. Lithuanian Romani sample at hand provides evidence of this process in the structures discussed by Rusakov, including:

Non-nominative negative existence:

man *na* *sys* *khere*
me.OBL NEG was.3SG home
'I was not at home'

(compare to Russian)

menja *ne* *bylo* *doma* (Russian)
me.GEN NEG was.3SG home

Equating Russian possessive construction *'u + Genitive'* with Romani Locative:

mande *sy* *duj pšala*
me.LOC is.3SG two brothers
'I have two brothers'

(compare to Russian)

u ***minja*** *dva* *brata* (Russian)
at **me.GEN** two brothers

In addition to these two, there were other structures found in the sample, which appear to exhibit characteristic case marking as a result of contact with Russian. These include partitive and privative constructions discussed in the previous section, as well as object of comparison (exemplified below), in all of which Russian Genitive is equated with Romani Locative:

miro *kher* *baredyr* *tyre* ***khereste***
my.M house bigger your.OBL **house.LOC**
'my house is bigger than your house'

(compare to Russian)

moj *dom* *bolje* *tvoego* ***doma*** (Russian)
my.M house bigger your.GEN **house.GEN**

This equating of Russian Genitive to Romani Locative is extended to ablative constructions (remember that in Lithuanian Romani Ablative case marker merges with Locative case marker):

trin manuša rysjon pale ***targoste***
three men return.3PL back **market.LOC**
'three men return home from the market'

(compare to Russian)

troje muščin vozvraščajutsa domoj s ***rynka*** (Russian)
three men return.3PL home from **market.GEN**

me ušundjom novina ***čhavorende***
I heard.1SG news **boys.LOC**
'I heard the news from the boys'

(compare to Russian)

ja uslyšal novasjtj ot ***maljčikav*** (Russian)
I heard.1SG news from **boys.GEN**

(Note that, unlike Lithuanian Romani, Russian uses prepositions with ablative constructions.)

Other constructions, where case representation seems to have undergone the semantic shift through language contact, are privative exclusive, and nominal predicate (see examples in the previous section).

A brief look at case representation in other Northeastern dialects makes it plausible to propose that this semantic shift is a phenomenon characteristic of the whole group. This issue deserves a more detailed analysis in further research.

4.3 Prepositions and case inflection combined

As mentioned before, the use of prepositions and case inflection to express thematic roles of the nominal forms are usually mutually exclusive in Lithuanian Romani. This effectively means that, for the most part, nominal forms with prepositions take the nominative case. There are several exemptions from this tendency, most of them involving the locative case. Locative also stands out among the cases in the North Russian dialect as the one which takes prepositions (Sergievskij 1938: 150); it also often functions as the prepositional case in other Romani dialects. Prepositions *pal* and *pe* take locative case nouns for the referential object and cause, but not the reason or the source:

pal leskire papus-te
about his.PL grandfather-LOC
'about his grandfather'

jow zaxoljasyja pe man-de
he got.angry.3SG at me-DAT
'he got angry at me'

joj zanasvaldyja pal les-te
she got.ill.3SG from him-LOC
'she got ill because of him'

joj rundja xolyna-te
she cried.3SG anger-LOC
'she cried of anger'

me dolyjom šuba les-te
I received.1SG coat him-LOC
'I got the coat from him'

Privative meaning is also expressed through the combined use of prepositions and case marking:

vmjesta goja-te
instead.of sausage-LOC
'instead of sausage'

kromje papus-te
except.for grandfather-LOC
'except for grandfather'

me som adinoko by tyro
I am lonely without you.GEN
'I am lonely without you'

4.4. Subordination

This section will discuss adverbial clauses, relative clauses and embeddings. Most of the subordinating clauses in Lithuanian Romani are introduced with conjunctions and relativizers taken from the stock of interrogatives, which is a general tendency in Romani (Matras 1999: 17). Many subordination particles are borrowed from Russian and Polish. Various subordination particles and their functions are summarized in Table 4.3.

Table 4.3 Subordination particles

CLAUSE TYPE	Specifications		Particles	Borrowed/ Inherited
Adverbial Clauses	Conditional	Irrealis	*te*	Inherited
		Realis	*jesli (+ by)*	Borrowed
		Concessive	*xotj (+ i)*	Borrowed
	Temporal	Simultaneity	*syr*	Inherited
		Anteriority	*poslje*	Borrowed
		Posteriority	*pretju, paka*	Borrowed
	Addition		*kromje*	Borrowed
	Causal	Cause	*paldava so*	Russian Loanshift
		Reason	*paldava*	Russian Loanshift
Relative Clauses	Animate Exclusive		*kon*	Inherited
	Inanimate Exclusive		*sav-*	Inherited
	Animate and Inanimate		*kaj,* *kator-*	Inherited Borrowed
Embeddings	Relevant Interrogatives		*so, kon, soske/palso*, etc. *kjedy*	Inherited Borrowed
	Potential Condition		*cy/čy*	Borrowed

4.4.1 Adverbial clauses

The common Romani conditional conjunction *te* is in competition in Lithuanian Romani with the Russian loan *jesli*, optionally reinforced with the Russian conditional irrealis particle *by*:

te javen mande love, me udas len tuke
COMP became.3PL me.LOC money, I give.1SG.REM them.OBL you.DAT ***or***

jesli *mande* *te* *javen* *love,* *me* *davas* *tuke*
COND me.LOC COMP became.3PL money, I give.1SG.REM you.DAT
'if I had money, I would give it to you'

te *lasjasas* *jow* *o* *kher,* *jow* *kana* *by* *na*
COMP found.3SG.REM he ART.M house, he now COND NEG

javjasas *adej*
came.3SG.REM here
'I he had found the house, he would not be here now'

Concessive condition also relies on a Russian loan, *xotj*, reinforced by the modifier *i*, thus borrowing the whole *xotj...i* structure from Russian:

tu *musines* *te* *džas* *ody,* *xotj* *tu* *i* *na* *kames*
you need.2SG COMP go.2SG there, even you and NEG want.2SG
'you have to go there, even if you don't want to'

In temporal adverbial clauses, there is a three-way distinction between simultaneity, anteriority and posteriority. The first is expressed by *syr*, which is a common Romani occurrence (Matras 2002: 188); the other two rely on loan particles, Russian *poslje* 'after' for anteriority, and Russian *paka* 'until' and Polish *pretju* for posteriority. The examples of temporal adverbial clauses are:

syr *me* *somas* *terno,* *po* *rinka* *džavas*
how I was young.M, to market go.1SG.REM
'when I was young, I used to go to the market'

poslje *pašhdyves* *manuš* *rodyja* *tut*
after midday man searched.3SG you.OBL
'after midday a man was looking for you'

joj *ne* *možynel* *te* *vitradel* *paka* *na* *lastela* *klydina*
she NEG can.3SG COMP leave.3SG until NEG find.3SG.FUT keys
'she cannot leave until she finds the keys'.

Causal clauses are what is known as 'loanshifts' (Haugen 1950: 215) from Russian *poetomu* 'therefore' (literally 'for-this') and *potomu čto* 'because' (literally, something 'for-that what'), deriving Lithuanian Romani complex conjunctions *paldava/paldova* and *paldava so/paldova so* for result and cause clauses, respectively:

me *džow* *kana* *te* *sovov,* *paldova* *so* *me* *khino*
I go now COMP sleep.1SG, because SR I tired.M
'I am going to sleep now, because I am tired'

paldava *me* *la* *na* *dykhtjom* *odoj*
therefore I her.OBL NEG saw.1SG there
'therefore I did not see her there'

These forms are also attested for the North Russian dialect (Sergievskij 1938: 7).

4.4.2 Relative clauses

A number of inherited relativizers, derived from the interrogative particles, are employed in Lithuanian Romani. A particle *kon* 'who' is used exclusively with animate subjects, an inflected particle *sav-* 'which' is used exclusively with inanimates. A common Romani relativizer *kaj* 'where' (Matras 2002: 177) seems to be interchangeable with either *kon* or *savo*, and is used with both animates and inanimates:

me na tjerpinow draba saven čebi te pijow
I NEG endure.1SG medicine.PL which necessary COMP drink.1SG
'I hate the medicine which I have to take'

tykno čhavoro (kon/kaj) dava skerdja
little.M boy (who/where) this did.3SG
'the little boy who did this'

me dykhtjom kher kaj tu rosphendjan mange pal leste
I saw.1SG house where you told.2SG me.DAT about him.LOC
'I saw the house which you told me about'

A Russian loan relativizer *kator-* 'which' is also found in the sample, in some cases with Romani inflection:

me džinow čhajorja kator-yn-ate nikjedy nane love pesa
I know girl.OBL which-LOAN-LOC never NEG money RFL.INSTR
'I know a girl who never has any money with her'

murš kator-yn-es me dykxtjom tasja
man which-LOAN-OBL I saw.1SG yesterday
'the man who I saw yesterday'.

Pronominal resumption is found in the dialect when the subject of the main clause is different from that of the relative clause. In the sample, the pronominal resumption is found only with the relativizer *kaj*, with dative and instrumental cases:

e džuly kaj me rakirdjom lasa
ART woman where I talked her.INSTR
'the woman who I spoke her'

čhavoro kaj me dyjom leske love
boy where I gave.1SG him.DAT money
'the boy who I gave him.DAT money'.

4.4.3 Embeddings

Embeddings are introduced by the relevant interrogatives:

me na džinow kjedy te džow khere
I NEG know.1SG when COMP go.1SG home
'I don't know when to go home'

jow phučtja kon gija do foro
he asked.3SG who went.3SG to town
'he asked who went to town'

rosphen mange so tu dadyves reskerdjan
tell me.DAT what you today did.2SG
'tell me what you have done today'

me kamom te phučow leste (palso/soske) jow dava skerdja
I want COMP ask.1SG him.LOC (why/why) he this did.3SG
'I would like to ask him why he did this'.

The embeddings with potential conditional 'whether', just as simple interrogative clauses in yes-no questions, are introduced with a Polish loan interrogative particle *cy/čy*:

me phučtjom učitjeljoste cy jow javela po bijaw
I asked.1SG teacher.LOC whether he come.3SG.FUT to wedding
'I asked the teacher whether he will come to the wedding'.

4.5 Complementation

Complementation in this section is set apart from subordination following the structure of the RMS database, and based on the definition provided by Givón: "sentential complements are propositions functioning in the role of either subject or object argument of the verb" (Givón 1990: 515). The present discussion of complementation in Lithuanian Romani is going to be in the context of the factuality continuum proposed by Matras in his discussion of the Polska Roma dialect (1999: 18-20). As proposed in this discussion, there is a polar opposition between the non-factual predication and factual predication. The former is distinguished by Givón as complementation with modality verbs (1990: 517) and is characterized by the complement *te* in Romani dialects; the latter Givón refers to as complementation with cognition-utterance verbs (1990: 517). It applies to the epistemic complement phrases, and is commonly expressed in Romani by the complementizer *kaj*. In the middle of this continuum lie the manipulation and purpose clauses, which are less clear with respect to their independent truth-value, and clause-linking strategies for which are subject to greater variation across dialects. It should be noted that calquing Russian seems to be an effective strategy in Lithuanian Romani to accomplish several types of complementation.

4.5.1 Complementizers

In Lithuanian Romani modal clauses are introduced by the usual *te* particle, complementing verbs such as 'want', 'can', 'like', 'must', 'begin', 'try', etc.:

me kamjom te džow khere
I wanted.1SG COMP go.1SG home
'I wanted to go home'

ame na možynas te rysjovas
we NEG can.1PL COMP return.1PL
'we cannot return'

miri čhajori darel pe te džal palo mosto
my.F daughter fear.3SG RFL COMP go.3SG across bridge
'my daughter is afraid to go across the bridge'

čy tu džines syr te poljzines pe da mašynasa?
INT you know.2SG how COMP use.2SG RFL this machine.INSTR
'do you know how to use this machine?'

lyja te del bryšynt
started.3SG COMP give.3SG rain
'it started to rain'

This is also true with different subject clauses:

me užjakirdjom peskre čhaves te javela
I expected.1SG RFL.GEN son.OBL COMP come.3SG.FUT
'I expected my son to come'.

The *kaj*-type, or epistemic, complementation is accomplished in Lithuanian Romani through the use of the interrogative particle *so*:

me podykhtjom so la nane khere
I saw.1SG SR her.OBL NEG home
'I saw that she is not home'

me šundjom so vavir roma adej dživen
I heard.1SG SR other Gypsies here live
'I heard that other Roma live here'

me džinow so tute isys but buty
I know.1SG SR you.LOC was.3 much work
'I know that you had a lot of work'

me yaljovow so dava isy le pharo
I understand.1SG SR this is CLT difficult
'I understand that it is difficult'

The use of *so* in epistemic complement clauses seems to differentiate Lithuanian Romani from Polska Roma and North Russian dialects, both of which use *kaj* in this case. It can be explained as a calque from Russian, which uses *čto* 'what'/'that' to connect modal complements. The replacement of *kaj* with borrowed particles is attested for various Romani dialects (Matras 2002: 179), but not through calquing as in the dialect considered here.

The manipulation clauses in Lithuanian Romani have the same complementizer as the modal clauses, which could be viewed as a calque from Russian, or alternatively be interpreted as a universal tendency. Givón recognizes the structural similarity of manipulative and modal clauses based on "strong parallelism between the syntactic forms used cross-linguistically to code the complements of both verb-types" and further argues for the semantic parallels between the two (Givón 1990: 532). There is variation, however, within the North-eastern group on the manipulative clause complementizers. Polska Roma dialect, for example, uses a complex complementizer *kaj te* for this purpose. The examples of manipulation clauses from the Lithuanian Romani sample are:

me lake phendjom te mekjel
I her.DAT told.1SG COMP leave.3SG
'I told her to leave'

jow mangja mande te dow leske love
he asked.3SG me.LOC COMP give.1SG him.DAT money
'he asked me to give him money'

joj mekjel tarylkake te perel
she lets.3SG plate.DAT COMP fall
'she lets the plate fall'

There was one example of manipulation clause, where a complex complementizer *soby te* was used:

me kamom soby jow te vidžal
I want.1SG so.that he COMP go.away.3SG
'I want him to leave'

This also seems to be a Russian hybrid loan, or loanblend, as Weinreich (1953: 51) calls it after Haugen (1938: 218), since the Russian verb 'to want' necessarily takes *čtoby* 'so that' as its complementizer with a different subject clause, for example:

ja xaču čtoby on ušol (Russian)
I want so.that he left.3SG
'I want him to leave'

but not

*ja xoču evo ujti (Russian)
I want him.ACC leave

The great variation in the complementizers used with purpose clauses in Lithuanian Romani attests to the status of purpose clauses as ambivalent on the independent truth-value scale proposed by Matras. The complementizers range from the inherent variants *te* and *kaj te*, to simple calque *soby te*, to more complex complemetizers involving the discourse marker *djake* 'shuch and causal adverbial particle *paldava*:

te džas de krama, tu mušynes te pšedžas paše khangiri
COMP go.2SG to store, you need.2SG COMP go.over.2SG near church
'in order to go the store, you must go towards the church'

jow občhudja benzinasa kaj te xačon e kašta
he used.3SG petrol.INSTR where COMP burn.3PL ART.PL wood.PL
'he used petrol in order to burn the wood'

jow phučtja mandyr so te kerel soby te majin butyr love
he asked.3SG me.ABL SR COMP do.3SG so.that COMP have more money
'he asked me what to do in order to make more money'

me utkerdjom vokna djake soby te šunow tut
I opened.1SG window such so.that COMP hear.1SG you.OBL
'I opened the window so that I could hear you'

jow kindja neve rizy, paldava soby te džal po bjaw
he bought new.PL clothes, for.this so.that COMP go.3SG to wedding
'he bought new clothes so that he could go the wedding'.

Various complementizers are summarized in Table 4.4.

Table 4.4 Complementizers

	Clause Type	Particle
Non-Factual ↑	Modal	*te*
	Manipulation	*te, soby te*
	Purpose	*te, kaj te, soby te, djake soby, paldava soby te*
↓ Factual	Epistemic	*so*

4.5.2 Verb agreement

Going along with the overall tendency of Romani to be finite, Lithuanian Romani shows agreement of clausal verbs in person/number with their subjects. Some dialects, including Polska Roma, show a generalization of the verb agreement to an unvarying form (often 3SG), a phenomenon that is sometimes termed the 'new infinitive' (Boretzky 1996). Lithuanian Romani does not exhibit this generalization, showing full verb agreement:

me kamom te džow
I want.1SG COMP go.1SG
'I want to go.1G'

not

*me kamom te džal
I want.1SG COMP go.3SG

It should be noted that the clausal verbs take present tense agreement markers even when the main clause is perfective:

me kamjom te džow
I wanted.1SG COMP go.1SG
'I wanted to go'

not

*me kamjom te gijom
I wanted.1SG COMP went.1SG

4.6 Utterance modifiers

Matras (1998; 1999: 16) suggests that discourse markers across Romani dialects are commonly subject to fusion with the respective contact languages, designating the wholesale adaptation of Polish coordinating conjunctions into the Polska Roma dialect as an extreme case. Lithuanian Romani also exhibits this pattern, with all coordinating conjunctions borrowed from Russian: *ili* 'or', *ni - ni* 'neither - nor', *ili - ili* 'either - or', and a three-way distinction in the additive-contrastive coordination (*i* 'and', *a* 'and however', *no* 'but'). The exception is *dujžine* 'both', a form that is also attested for the North Russian dialect (Sergievskij 1938: 41). Most of the phasal adverbs and focus particles are also Russian loans: *do six por* 'still', *uže* 'already', *iščo* 'yet', *tože* 'also', *točnes* 'exactly', *snova* 'again'. The focus particles of inherited origin found in the sample are: *nane butyr* 'no more', and *fenjo* 'just'.

4.7 Word order

As is the tendency in Romani in general, all pronominal attributes are preposed to the noun (Matras 2002: 166), including determiners, quantifiers and adjectives, genitives and prepositions:

de štare romane čhajorijenca
those four.OBL Gypsy.OBL girls.INSTR
'with those four Gypsy girls'

mire pšalengre khera
my.OBL brothers.GEN houses
'my brothers' houses'

de da gaw
in this village
'in this village'

The exception, where a genitive is postposed to the noun, found in the sample is:

ratja lynaskro isy le krotka
nights summer.GEN are CLT short.PL
'summer nights are short'

The fact that *lynaskro* here appears after the head noun it supposedly modifies could suggest that it acts as a free genitive in this phrase. This is further supported by the fact that a different

speaker gave the following translation of the same phrase, where *lynasko* seems to be relatively independent of the noun *ratja*:

o *ratja* *isy le* *krotka* *lynasko*
ART.PL nights are CLT short.PL summer.GEN

Alternatively, this might be interpreted as a poetic device, putting an emphasis on the noun *ratja*, a phenomenon that is found in Russian poetic language as well. The relatively rigid format of the questionnaire does not allow for a more detailed analysis of discourse or issues of stylistics in the dialect. It may also be noted that in the work of Koptjevskaja-Tamm on Romani genitives a greater number of examples from various dialects have the genitives postposed to their head nouns (Koptjevskaja-Tamm 2000: 123-141). The positional alternation of the adnominal adjectives within a noun phrase is a known feature of the Balto-Slavic linguistic area (Rijkhoff 1998: 346). Specifically for Lithuanian, Rijkhoff reports that this variation carries stylistic significance.

With non-genitive nouns that specify head nouns, the specifications are postposed:

do koncu kurko
at end week
'at the end of the week'

kuča vangara
pile cole
'a pile of cole'

kofije thudesa
coffee milk.INSTR
'coffee with milk'.

In verbal phrases, the usual word order is SVO:

butylka peja skamindeste
bottle fell.3SG table.LOC
'the bottle fell from the table'

bida isy paše gaw
prison is near village
'the prison is near the village'

miri daj počhivel očki po skamint
my.F mother put.3SG glasses on table
'my mother put the glasses on the table'.

There is a tendency, characteristic of the Northeastern group, however, to prepose pronominal direct objects:

me lake phendjom
I her.DAT told.1SG
'I told her'

me somas lake izbit lači
I was her.DAT very nice.F
'I was very nice to her'

jow tuke dava phendja
he you.DAT this told.3SG
'he said this to you'

This happens especially with *te* clauses:

jej na smejindja mande te pomangel
she NEG dared.3SG me.LOC COMP ask.3SG
she did not dare to ask me',

me možynow tumenge te pomožynow
I can.1SG you.PL.DAT COMP help.1SG
'I can help you'.

The adverbial constructions and also tend to precede verbs:

me musinow adyj te skerow kicy djela
I need.1SG here COMP do.1SG some things
'I need to do some things here'

me konco kurko kamom te pšemekow
I end week want.1SG COMP leave.1SG
'I want to leave for the weekend'

syges ženine pe
soon marry.PL RFL
'marry soon'

Variants with VS word order are also attested in the sample:

poslje časa javja vavir murš
after hour came.3SG another man
'after an hour came another man'

pretju khangiri isy le škola
in.front church is CLT school
'in front of the church there is the school'.

These can be explained pragmatically as presentative constructions, where the introduction of the new subject/topic triggers the VS word order (Matras 2002: 169).

With interrogative sentences the subject usually precedes the verb, which has a tendency to occupy the final position. The interrogative particles occupy the initial position in the phrases:

soske jej dava roskerdja?
why she this did.3SG
'why did she do this?'

kon tusa javela?
who you.INSTR come.3SG.FUT
'who will come with you?'

syr jow adyj javja?
how he here came.3SG
'how did he get here?'

save manuša adyj džyven?
which people here live.3PL
'what kind of people live here?'.

Yes-no questions are fronted with the Polish loan interrogative *čy/cy* 'whether':

cy *so* *kerdja* *pe?*
INT what did RFL
'did something happen?'

cy *tu* *možynes* *te* *keres* *buty* *molotkosa?*
INT you can.2SG COMP do.2SG work hammer.INSTR
'can you work with a hammer?'

čy *pani* *kirjol?*
INT water boil.3SG
'is the water boiling?'

More rarely, the yes-no questions are formed by the head-movement of the copula:

sy *ady* *tyri* *čhaj?*
is this your.F daughter
'is this your daughter?'.

5. Borrowing

Throughout the previous chapters of this paper I pointed out words and structures in Lithuanian Romani that are loans from recent and current contact languages. Section 4.1.1 provided a short theoretical discussion of the Russian prepositions borrowed into the dialect. This chapter will serve as a summary and discussion of these loans, taking into account the itemized analysis of 'borrowability' in Romani provided in Matras (2002: 191-213). It should be pointed out that older Greek loans, which are found throughout all of the Romani dialects, are taken for granted in the present discussion.

Very high on the borrowability scale are what Matras (1998) calls utterance modifiers, which include coordinating conjunctions; sentence particles, such as 'well', 'so' and 'anyway'; fillers, tags and interjections; and focus particles, which include phasal adverbs (Matras 1998: 293-4). The sentence particles and fillers are omitted in the questionnaire, but the other two categories are attested in the sample and are indeed prone to borrowing. Coordinating conjunctions in Lithuanian Romani undergo fusion with Russian, adopting the whole three-way distinction in the additive-contrastive coordination (*i* 'and', *a* 'and however', *no* 'but'), and borrowing the conjunctions *ili* 'or', *ili-ili* 'either-or' and *ni-ni* 'neither-no'. As is obvious from Table 4.3, the subordinating conjunctions are also Russian loans, for the most part, including:

- conditional *jesli+by* 'if' and *xotj+i* 'even though';
- temporal *poslje* 'after', *pretju* 'before' and *paka* 'while';
- interrogative particles *cy/čy* 'whether', *kjedy* 'when' (both of Polish origin) and loanshift *pal-so* 'why' (modeled on Russian *po-čemu*);
- relativizer kator- 'which';
- loanshift causals *pal-dava* 'therefore' and *pal-dava so* 'because' (modeled on Russian *po-tomu* and *po-tomu čto*)
- loanblend manipulation clause complementizer *so-by* 'in order to' (modeled on Russian *čto-by*)

As was mentioned in Section 4.6, most of the phasal adverbs and focus particles found in Lithuanian Romani are also Russian loans: *do six por* 'still', *uže* 'already', *iščo* 'yet', *vdrug* 'suddenly', *tože* 'also', *točn-es* 'exactly' (from Russian *točn-*), *snova* 'again'. In the domain of indefinites there is a tendency to borrow universals: *každo* 'every' and *vsjegda* 'always'; as well as to adopt the free-choice and negative bound particles: *-nibutj* 'any-' and *ni-* 'no-'. The pattern of binding these particles to the interrogative base is likewise adopted from Russian, with *-nibutj* attaching to the end of the interrogative particle: *kon-nibutj* 'anyone', *so-nibutj* 'anything, and *ni-* attaching to the front: *ni-kon* 'noone', *ni-so* 'nothing'.

In the realm of verbs, several patterns of borrowing can be observed. Matras (2002: 202) notes that the domain of modality is prone to borrowing in Romani, drawing special attention to conditional particles and expressions of necessity. Both of these are Slavic loans in Lithuanian Romani: the particles *by* and *li*, and the modal verb *čep* 'need' (from Polish). In addition there are other loan modals found in the dialect: ability modal *možyn-* 'be able', *dumin-* 'think'/'believe', and modality markers *može(t)* 'maybe', and *vabše* 'at all'.

The system of verb derivation in Lithuanian Romani is strongly enhanced by borrowing of valency and aspect alteration markers from Slavic. The most productive way to intransitivize verbs in Lithuanian Romani is by post-positioning a reflexive marker, calquing Russian derivations involving the obsolete reflexive particle *-sja*. This phenomenon exists in other groups of Romani dialects, but in Lithuanian Romani, just as in North Russian, these derivations are patterned after Russian: compare Lithuanian Romani *darel-pe* 'she is afraid' (simply *darel* in other dialects) with Russian *boit-sja*; also *sal-pe* 'laugh' (*sal* in other dialects), modeled on Russian

smejat-sja. Constructions such as *darel-pe* and *sal-pe* may be analyzed as Haugen's (1950: 215) loanshifts. For aspect alterations Lithuanian Romani, just as other dialects in the Northeastern group, integrates wholesale the Slavic aktionsart prefixes, presented in Section 3.5.3 of this work.

As was mentioned in the Introduction, lexical loans in Lithuanian Romani come not only from Russian, but also from Polish. Some of the lexical Polish loans found in the sample are: *yojnes* 'good', *sukenka* 'dress', *noviny* 'news', *ljoxy* 'holes', *lytka* 'thigh', *dembo* 'oak' (generalized in Lithuanian Romani as simply 'tree'), and *tysjonca* 'thousand'. As would be expected, these are not part of the basic vocabulary, which is not prone to replacement by borrowing. These are, however, part of the common everyday vocabulary, which might explain the fact that they were not replaced by Russian loans in the six or so generations of contact with Russian.

On the borrowing scale proposed by Thomason and Kaufman (1988: 74-75), Lithuanian Romani can be said to be at least at the 3rd stage of borrowing from Russian, with the wholesale import, or 'fusion' (term by Matras 1999: 14), of Slavic aktionsart prefixes and a relative loosening of word-order restrictions, modeled on Russian. The optional use of full case agreements with adjectives, as well as the partial loss of articles, constitute a typological change, and may push the borrowing profile of Lithuanian Romani to the 4th stage.

6. Dialect classification

This last section of the work will serve as a conclusion and deal with the matter of dialect classification of Lithuanian Romani. It will outline the structural aspects that Lithuanian Romani shares with other dialects in the Northeastern group, as well as summarizing the characteristic features of the dialect. These have already been mentioned in the relevant sections throughout the work, but will be reiterated here, according to the following structure. Firstly, I will list the features of Lithuanian Romani that are shared by all of the dialects in the group. I will then present the aspects of the dialect which it shares with some but not all of the members of the group. I will conclude with a list of diagnostic features of Lithuanian Romani.

6.1 Northeastern group features

Some of the more prominent features that Lithuanian Romani shares with all of the dialects in the Northeastern group are:

- wholesale adaptation of Slavic aktionsart prefixes (also shared with the Northern Central group)
- use of reflexive particle *pe* to derive intransitive verbs.
- reduction of subject clitics (also shared with the Northern Central group). Lithuanian Romani, however, optionally shows an uninflected clitic after copula: *isy-le, isys-le*
- loss of distinction in perfective personal concord marking of the verb between 2PL and 3PL, in favour of the 3PL: *tume xane / jone xane* 'you.PL ate' / 'they ate'.
- loss of *-s* in 3SG perfective personal concord marking: *šundja* < **šundjas* 'he/she heard'.
- considerable decline of definite and especially indefinite articles
- language contact-conditioned restructuring of case representations
- no ablative preposition, all ablative relations are expressed through Layer II marking.
- loss of *-k-* forms in deictics/demonstratives: no **akaval/*okova*
- verb derivation in *-yr* is not productive, and is replaced by *-(a)kir*
- tendency to prepose pronominal direct objects: *me tumen dykhtjom* 'I saw you.PL' (also shared with the Northern Central group)
- use of Romanian loan marker *vari-* in the indefinites (also shared with Northern Central and Vlax groups)
- loan verb adaptation marker is *-in* for present transitive derivations: *me ljub-in-ow* 'I love' (from Russian *ljub-*).
- tendency to generalize *-ne* as a 3PL perfective marker: *beš-ne, xa-ne, dykh-ne*.

On the basis of this list it seems more than reasonable to consider Lithuanian Romani to be a part of the Northeastern group.

6.2 Features shared with some members of the group

The features that Lithuanian Romani shares with both the Polska Roma and the North Russian dialects, but not wit Lotfitka, are:

- two-way distinction in the demonstratives: *(a)dava / (o)dova* 'this' / 'that'
- loss of the athematic *i*-masculine declension class
- use of instrumental case to express change of state, or nominal predicate: *me jačjom direktoro-sa*

Features shared with North Russian and Lotfitka, but not with Polska Roma:

- use of negator *na* for imperative negation (compare with Polska Roma *ma*)

Features shared with Polska Roma, but neither North Russian nor Lotfitka:

- long form of the verb reserved for the future, short form for the present: *me džow / me džav-a* 'I go' / 'I will go'
- reduction in the case system (Lithuanian Romani is losing the ablative, Polska Roma is losing the locative)
- interrogative *cy/čy* 'whether'

Features shared with North Russian, but neither Lotfitka nor Polska Roma:

- optional nominative agreement on the adjectives, personal pronouns and numerals: *tumar-en-ge štar-en-ge gren-ge* 'to your(PL).DAT four.DAT horses.DAT'
- occurence of nominative pronouns with prepositions: *ke jow* 'to him'

Features shared with Lotfitka, but neither Polska Roma nor North Russian:

- dative is used to mark the external possessor: *mange dukhal nakh* 'my nose hurts'

Based on this list, it seems that Lithuanian Romani shares more similarities with Polska Roma and North Russian, than with Lotfitka.

6.3 Diagnostic Lithuanian Romani features

Some of the characteristic Lithuanian Romani features are:

- a merge of locative and ablative case, in favour of the locative; this merge occurs in favour of the ablative in Polska Roma, attested in (Matras 1999: 10).
- optional use of *-sj/-sn* as the perfective markers with velar stems: *dyk-sj-om, pek-sn-e*
- loss of the imperative plural suffix *-ale* in nouns, with replacement by the nominative: **čhav-ale > čhav-e*
- use of *so* 'what' as an epistemic complementizer, calquing Russian *čto*: *me podykhtjom so la nane khere* 'I saw that she is not home'
- use of loan verb adaptation marker *-in* seems to be generalized across present-past and transitive-intransitive derivations; for example, intransitive perfective *ame jezd-in-dj-am* 'we traveled'.

In addition, there are some characteristic lexical items found in the Lithuanian Romani sample, such as *yoines* 'good' and *rizy* 'clothes', both seemingly of Polish origin.

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160 **Upper Sorbian** G. Schaarschmidt
162 **West Greenlandic** Jerrold M. Sadock
165 **Dagaare** A. Bodomo
170 **Tol** Dennis Holt
173 **Khamnigan Mongol** Juha Janhunen
179 **Toba** H.E. Manelis Klein