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A GYPSY GRAMMAR.

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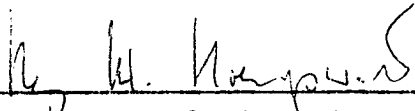
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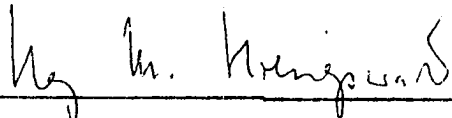
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These works are selected here because of their special relevance to the form of Gypsy described here. They contain occasional valuable information even when generally untrustworthy.

Preface

The work offered here is mainly a descriptive study of the Gypsy language as spoken by Mrs. Christina Ristick and her family, although some historical references are included in the analytical commentary on the text and lexicon. Even on synchronic level work needs to be pursued much further, and a historical study would yield more fruitful results only if sufficiently large amount of descriptive data on different Gypsy dialects is made available.

Preliminary information both direct and indirect about Gypsies was provided by many, including Prof. Alphonse Juilland of Stanford University, Prof. David French of Reed College, Prof. Eric Hamp of Chicago University, Dr. N.E. Collinge of the University of Durham, Dr. W.S. Allen of Cambridge University, Dr. and Mrs. Henry Hiz. I wish to express my sincere thanks to all of them. The main problem, namely that of finding Gypsies as informants was solved by Mr. Everett Clymer who with his fatherly affection and concern played a very important role. He supplied addresses of Gypsies which he obtained from Miss Carol K. Crouse of The Philadelphia Housing Authority and the Hon. Adrian

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O. Introduction

O.1. Preliminary remarks.

The Gypsy language is the language of those people who in a remote and unknown past left the soil of India and travelled almost all over the world. Although whatever little evidence we have proves their strong associations with the North-West or Hindi-speaking area there is no conclusive proof of their exact location. Many people have speculated on the reason of their migration from India but nothing appears to be based on conclusive evidence. Some of them settled in parts of Asia, Europe, and America and others kept on travelling; some are travelling even now. At a very early date two groups of Gypsies were recognized:

1. sedentary Gypsies, and
2. nomads

One thing, at least, may be made explicitly clear, viz. that all those who travel or lead some kind of romantic

life in popular conception are not Gypsies and all those who have settled and have become part of the community in which they live are not necessarily non-Gypsies. Because of several difficulties encountered by Gypsies in different parts of the world, it is becoming increasingly impossible for them to maintain the previous mode of travelling and following their occupations. Some of them have adopted modern methods of travelling and working and have adjusted somewhat, but many of them have settled at one place although they still maintain their separate identity. I have also come to know that several non-Gypsies have adopted certain modes of Gypsy life but they are not necessarily to be considered as Gypsies.

0.2. The Romani.

The name Gypsy is a misnomer. Gypsies may or may not have come to Europe from Egypt, but it is absolutely certain that Gypsies did not originate in Egypt. Linguistic similarities with Sanskrit and other Indo-Aryan languages are sufficient proof of their origin in India. In the scholarly world they are better known as Romani people and their language is also known as Romani. The etymology of the word rom (in the present

dialect, *ḡom*) is obscure but comparisons with Sanskrit *rāma* 'husband, lover', Persian *rūmī* 'Byzantine' (from Greek *Ῥωμαῖος* 'a Roman') and Sanskrit *ḡom* 'the name of a low-caste tribe in India' have been made. In spite of some anthropological objections raised against the etymology as *ḡom*, many scholars still favor the association of Gypsies with *ḡom*. This appears quite doubtful. In the absence of any systematic study or historical reconstruction it is almost impossible to come to any sensible conclusions at the present state of knowledge.

0.3. Dialects.

A complete study of all the dialects of the Gypsy language has not yet been attempted. Various dialectal names do appear in some descriptions of the language or in the papers published in scholarly journals. The following main dialects are known:

1. Armenian
2. Asiatic
3. European

The better-known sub-dialects of Asiatic are *karačī* (trans-Caucasian), Palestinian, Persian and Syrian. Several sub-dialects of European Gypsy are mentioned

which include, Bohemian, Bulgarian, English, Germanic, Greek, Hungarian, Norwegian, Rumanian, Russian, South-east European, Spanish and Welsh. Occasionally references are made to American dialects, but generally these are presumed to be part of any one of the European dialects. The dialect presented here is spoken by Gypsies in Philadelphia. These Gypsies, however, have friends and relatives in different parts of the United States of America who also speak the same dialect. This dialect can, therefore, fairly be considered as representative of American Gypsy. The comparisons of the different dialects of the Gypsy language have yet to be made. Only then will it be possible to come to a better classification of Gypsy dialects.

The term dialect might be taken to involve the question of a standard language. It may be remarked that while there is no such thing as a standard Gypsy language the idea of a higher and a lower form of speech does prevail among the Gypsies themselves. It is presumed that the older people speak a higher form of the Gypsy language because certain older forms are preserved in their speech. Members of the younger generation are beginning to forget most of those forms and so are not

well-versed in the "older" or "better" style. The main criterion is the intrusion of easily recognizable recent loan-words from English or some other language. One such example is the word for 'belt'. /beltā/ is supposed to be the lower form. The reason is quite obvious. /bricirī/ and /hārāwli/ are considered as higher forms of which /hārāwli/ is supposed to be the highest. /bricirī/ is probably an ancient loan-word; /hārāwli/ goes back into remote antiquity. Some of the old forms are being replaced by new ones and the older forms are either preserved in the memory of older people or are lost completely. Some words which have been replaced by new ones are not recognized to be regular Gypsy words. For example the regular word for 'butter' in the present dialect is /borā/; another word /khil/ (related to Sanskrit ghr̥ta) was given to me as an uncommon Gypsy word.

0.4. The present study.

The present study is based on the dialect spoken by Christina Ristick and members of her family. Christina, 55, was born in Chicago, Illinois where her parents alongwith other Gypsies had stopped for camping. To the best of her knowledge her mother was born in

Germany and her father in Mexico. My contacts with other Gypsies of Philadelphia and elsewhere are restricted to their occasional visits to the Ristick family. All those, I have met, are bilingual with English as their second language. This dissertation is divided into three main parts. In the first part a descriptive phonological and morphological study of the dialect is offered. In the second part some texts with analytic commentary are given. The third part consists of the lexicon. For the sake of convenience, references to the work of Sampson and Turner are included in the commentary and in the lexicon.

1. Phonemics

1.1. The Inventory of Phonemes.

The phonemes of the Gypsy language are as follows:

1.1.1. The Consonants.

	Bilabial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
		Dental			
<u>Stops</u>					
unasp.	p	t		k	
asp.	ph	th		kh	
voiced	b	d		g	
<u>Affricates</u>					
unasp.			c		
asp.			ch		
voiced			j		
<u>Nasals</u>					
	m	n		ŋ	
<u>Fricatives</u>					
voiceless	f	s	š	x	
voiced		z	ž	ɣ	h
<u>Lateral</u>					
		l			
<u>Flap</u>					
		r			
<u>Semivowels</u>					
	w		y		

1.12. Vowels

	Front	Central	Back
high	i		u
mid	e		o
low		a	

Vowel length /ː/

Nasalization /̃/

1.20. Phonemic contrasts

The following are examples of phonemic contrasts:

1.21. Consonants

/p/ : /ph/	pe 'on'	: phe 'sister'
/p/ : /b/	porī 'tail'	: borī 'daughter-in-law'
/ph/ : /b/	phāro 'heavy'	: bāro 'big'
	phāl 'board'	: bāl 'hair'
/t/ : /th/	tū 'you, sing.'	: thū 'smoke'
/t/ : /d/	te 'if'	: de 'give, imp.'
	tume 'you, pl.'	: dume 'shoulder'
/th/ : /d/	them 'country'	: dem 'I gave'
/k/ : /kh/	kar- 'to do'	: khar 'house'
	kāš 'wood'	: khās 'hay'
	nāk 'nose'	: nākh- 'to pass'
/k/ : /g/	kin- 'to buy'	: gin- 'to count'
	gī 'belly'	: -kī 'of fem.'

/kh/ : /g/	khino 'tired'	: gin- 'to count'
	khās 'hay'	: ges 'day'
	khurī 'mare'	: guruw 'ox'
/c/ : /ch/	cor 'thief'	: chār 'grass'
	ci 'not'	: chik 'sneeze'
	cum- 'to kiss'	: chungār- 'to spit'
/c/ : /j/	cāso 'time'	: jaj 'judge'
/ch/ : /j/	cheran 'star'	: janwarī 'January'
/m/ : /n/	māi 'more'	: nāi 'not'
	mākh 'fly'	: nākh- 'to pass'
	kerno 'worm'	: kerno 'rotten'
	kām- 'to love'	: kār 'ear'
/m/ : /ŋ/	cam- 'to chew'	: chāṅ 'knee'
	myūsikā 'music'	: bāṅyār 'to bend'
/n/ : /ŋ/	āwen 'they come'	: beṅ 'devil, mean'
	šin- 'to cut'	: šin 'horn'
/f/ : /p/	fārb- 'to paint'	: pārno 'white'
/f/ : /ph/	fārb- 'to paint'	: phābār- 'to burn'
	fātsā 'cloth'	: phāro 'heavy'
	frī 'free'	: phrāl 'brother'
/f/ : /b/	fārb- 'to paint'	: bars̄ 'year'
/s/ : /z/	so 'what'	: zurālo 'strong'
/s/ : /c/	cāso 'time'	: cāco 'true'

/s/ : /š/	so 'what'	: šo 'six'
	kās 'whom'	: kāš 'tree'
	ās- 'to laugh'	: āš- 'to remain'
	san 'are'	: šon 'month'
/š/ : /ž/	šo 'six'	: žow 'louse'
	lāšo 'good'	: gāžo 'non-Gypsy man'
	wūšār 'ashes'	: wūžār- 'to peel'
/š/ : /c/	šor 'beard'	: cor 'thief'
	šāi 'can'	: cāyo 'tea'
	še 'address to a girl'	: ce 'what'
/š/ : /z/	šin- 'to cut'	: zin 'saddle'
	šor 'beard'	: zor 'strength'
/z/ : /ž/	būzno 'goat'	: bāžno 'cock'
/x/ : /kh/	xās 'we eat'	: khās 'hay'
/x/ : /γ/	xunāw 'to dig'	: γom 'Gypsy'
	coxāno 'ghost'	: bāγāno 'stony'
	bāx 'fortune'	: bāγ 'stone'
/h/ : /x/	huteri 'hotel'	: xut- 'to jump'
/h/ : /γ/	duhāno 'tobacco'	: bāγāno 'stony'
	hāmisār- 'to stir'	: γom 'man'
/l/ : /r/	lāšo 'good'	: rāšāi 'priest'
	bāro 'big'	: bālo 'pig'
	bāri- 'to grow'	: bāl 'hair'
	mol 'wine, price'	: mor- 'to rub'

/y/ : /ȳ/	yā 'yes'	: ȳā- 'to go'
/y/ : /ø/	mārtiyā 'skeleton'	: mārtyā 'march'
/w/ : /ø/	wo 'he'	: o masc. article
	āzbāw 'I touch'	: āzbā 'touch imp.'

1.22. Vowels

/i/ : /u/	dikh- 'to see'	: dukh- 'to hurt'
	kirwo 'God father'	: kuruwā 'bad woman'
/i/ : /e/	ci 'not'	: ce 'what'
	dilo 'crazy'	: del 'Heaven'
/i/ : /a/	kirāw- 'to cook'	: karāw 'I do'
/i/ : /o/	bil 'a name'	: bol- 'to dip'
/e/ : /a/	bek- 'to bake'	: bākro 'lamb'
	ker- 'to care'	: kar- 'to do'
/e/ : /u/	per- 'to fall'	: purāno 'old'
/e/ : /o/	per- 'to fall'	: por 'feather'
/a/ : /u/	kamāw 'I love'	: cumāw 'I kiss'
	kar- 'to do'	: kuruwā 'bad woman'
/a/ : /o/	axanā 'now'	: konā 'corner'
/u/ : /o/	purāno 'old'	: por 'feather'
	zurālo 'strong'	: zor 'strength'
/i/ : /ī/	kirāw 'I cook'	: kīr 'ant'
/a/ : /ā/	ka 'that'	: kā 'to'
	rat 'blood'	: rāt 'night'

/u/ : /ū/	bukī 'work'	: būko 'liver'
/ī/ : /e/	bārī 'big fem. sg.'	: bāre 'big pl.'
/ī/ : /ā/	borī 'daughter-in-	: borā 'butter'
	law'	
	bāš- 'to rustle'	: biš 'twenty'
/ī/ : /u/	līl 'paper'	: lulugī 'flower'
/ī/ : /ū/	māmī 'grand mother'	: māmūno 'animal'
	māmīsā 'glove'	
/ī/ : /o/	līl 'paper, letter'	: lolo 'red masc.'
	lolī 'red fem.'	: lolo 'red masc.'
/ā/ : /e/	borā 'butter'	: bāre 'big pl.'
	phāro 'heavy'	: pherdo 'full'
/ā/ : /u/	pāy- 'to burst'	: puy- 'to tell'
/ā/ : /ū/	pāyā 'flame'	: pāyū 'change'
/ā/ : /o/	sā 'all'	: so 'what'
/ū/ : /e/	thū 'smoke'	: them 'country'
/ū/ : /o/	rūw 'wolf'	: row- 'to cry'
	sū 'needle'	: so 'what'

1.30. Phonetic description

1.31. Consonants

The stop consonants (generally unvoiced) are tense. There is threefold contrast among them as

illustrated above. But in the cases listed below there are phonemically different by-forms with voicing and aspiration instead of the voiceless and unaspirated stops; besides /pāikīw, pāpo, purāno, kānci, kalar, kālar, kejo/ 'party, grand father, ancient, something, colour, collar, cage' there occur / bāikīw, bāpo, phurāno, khānci, khalar, khālar, khejo/ respectively. On the other hand there are several unambiguous cases such as /pāi/ 'water' where this kind of fluctuation is not possible. Aspiration and friction also alternate. For example /foro/ 'town' is sometimes heard as /phoro/.

The unvoiced stops and affricates are pronounced with slight aspiration initially and at the end of a stressed syllable. In final position the aspiration of the aspirated stops is weak e.g. /nākh/ 'to pass'. Because of the slight aspiration heard after a stressed vowel, /nāk/ 'nose' may be homonymous with 'to pass' so that both are phonemically either /nāk/ or/nākh/.

/t, d/ are generally dental stops but because of the ever-present bilingualism they are sometimes pronounced as alveolar in English loanwords. For example, in /sodā/ 'soda' /d/ is pronounced alveolar

or dental. In some cases such as /batar/ 'butter' /t/ is always pronounced as alveolar. (Strictly speaking, this would call for the setting up of dental phonemes).

/c/ is an affricate; its phonetic value is [tʃ̣]. /ci/ 'not' and /cīb/ 'tongue' have by-forms with /ʃ̣/. It would furthermore be possible to phonemicize /ts/ as a unit phoneme /c/ (e.g. [tsano] = /cano/) and then write [tʃ̣] as /č/. But because phonetically /ts/ is pronounced most of the time either as cluster or as /s/ (with the stoppage lost) this has been treated as a cluster of two phonemes. /j/ occurs only in recent and clearly distinguishable loan-words from English, e.g. /jaj/ 'judge', /janwarī/ 'january' and may be regarded as a marginal phoneme.

/ŋ/ as a velar nasal occurs before velar consonants but contrasts with the bilabial nasal /m/ and the dental nasal /n/. /n/ has an allophone [ɲ] which is a palatal nasal and occurs before palatal consonants.

/s/ is a dental or alveolar fricative and /ʃ̣/ is a palatal fricative; there is phonemic contrast between the two as illustrated above. But before the front vowels /s/ is replaced by /ʃ̣/ in /sik-/ 'to show', /sigārā/ 'cigarette' as a by-form. This is because of

the strong palatalization before front vowels. Both of them are unvoiced. The voiced /z/ and /ž/ also contrast phonemically. Phonemically /ž/ and the front semi-vowel /y/ are quite distinct e.g. /žā/ 'to go' /yā/ 'yes'. Words beginning with /ž/ have by-forms with /y/ (/yā/ 'to go'). In final position it is replaced by /š/; e.g. /pānž/ → /pānš/.

The velar fricatives /x/ and /ɣ/ are clearly distinguishable from stops /kh/ and /g/. But /xolyārīko/ with /x/ has by-form with /kh/. /h/ is a voiced glottal fricative.

/r/ is mostly a single alveolar flap. Initially in non-clustering position it has an allophone which is strongly palatalized and optionally trilled [r̃]. /l/ is an alveolar lateral. It is strongly palatalized before front vowels. It is voiced but has a voiceless allophone in final position. Before an unvoiced bilabial /p/ it is fully unvoiced. Sometimes it is also heard as unvoiced bilabial semi-vowel [w̥] before unvoiced consonant; e.g. /pālpāle/ = [pālpāle] [pāw̥pāle] 'after'.

Semivowels /w/ and /y/ are phonemic entities because they contrast as illustrated above. In cases

such as /ȳilo/ 'heart', /yek/ 'one', /wūco/ 'high', tall', /wūšār/ 'ashes' etc. initial /y/ and /w/ appear to be as glides of the following vowels but because of their phonemic contrasts they have been treated as phonemic even in cases as above.

There is no phonemic contrast between [w] and [v] . [v] can be regarded as a free variant of /w/.

1.311. Palatalization

As illustrated above /y/ is admittedly a phoneme. But in certain cases it is predictable. In such cases it is simply a glide. The voiced and unvoiced stops, affricates, nasals, liquids and fricative /s/ are sometimes very strongly palatalized before front vowels. They are sometimes palatalized even before central vowels. In the absence of any contrast between palatalized and non-palatalized consonants and also because of their free variation in most of the cases, the palatalization has been considered non-phonemic. But in cases where there is a clear contrast, it has been regarded as a cluster with semi-vowel.

1.312. Aspiration

In Gypsy /h/ is a separate phoneme. There is a non-phonemic slight aspiration accompanying the unvoiced stops and affricate in the initial position and also after stressed vowel. But there is a clear-cut contrast between aspirate and non-aspirate phonemes. The aspirate phonemes /ph th kh and ch/ are unit phonemes and need not be considered as clusters of stop and affricate with /h/. The reasons are quite obvious: (1) phonetically the pronunciation of aspirates is simultaneous; (2) distributionally, the distribution of the aspirates is exactly parallel to those of the non-aspirates. Aspirate stops appear initially, medially and finally and form clusters with other consonants whereas the occurrence of /h/ is restricted to initial position and to medial position before /ā/ e.g. /duhāno/ 'tobacco'. Clusters of consonants with /h/ are not found in the Gypsy language.

1.313. Gemination

Generally consonants are not geminated. /t s š/ are, however, lengthened, as a matter of free variation, after a long vowel in unstressed position e.g. /kātār/

[kǎttār] 'from where'; /kotor/ [kottor] 'piece';
 /γūsūri/ [γǔssūri] 'Russian'; /wūšār/ [wǔššār]
 'ashes'. The preceding long vowel is correspondingly
 shortened.

1.32. Vowels.

/i/ is a high front unrounded vowel and is quite close to the cardinal vowel.

/e/ is a mid front unrounded vowel. It is little higher than the mid cardinal vowel. This is a close vowel. It has a quasi-allophone [ɛ] (lower mid front vowel) which occurs only in recent loan-words from English e.g. [kɛmp] 'camp'; this is freely variable with the close vowel even in these cases. /e/ has an allophone [ɪ] in unstressed position, e.g. /mer/ 'to die' [mɪres] 'you die'.

/a/ is a low central unrounded vowel. It has an allophone [ɤ] (central high unrounded) which appears in the final position of a monosyllable e.g. [sɤ mā duī phrāl] 'I have two brothers'. It is fronted if in the next syllable there is a front vowel, e.g. [sɪ les duī phrāl] 'he has two brothers'. If in the following syllable there is a back rounded vowel, it is pronounced as [ɯ̞] (rounded lower high central)

e.g. /maɣo/ = [mUɣo] .

/u/ is a high back rounded vowel and is quite close to the cardinal vowel. /i/ and /u/ appear to be freely variable before a cluster beginning with /r/; e.g. /girtāno ~ gurtāno/ 'gullet'; /ɣirco ~ ɣurco/ 'rat'.

/o/ is a mid back rounded vowel. In unstressed position it has an allophone [U] lower high back rounded vowel, e.g. /ɣom/ = [ɣom] but /ɣomānes/ = [ɣUmānes] .

1.321. Diphthongs.

The vowels are basically pure or simple vowels. But diphthongization occurs in some cases where it is environmentally conditioned. In some cases there is free variation. In the absence of any clear-cut contrast between diphthong and pure vowel, diphthongization has been considered non-phonemic. For example /de/ 'mother' has an alternant form, [dei]. The phoneme /ā/ has an [i] glide before /ǰī/; e.g. /gāǰī/ = [gāiǰī] 'non-Gypsy woman or wife' but /gāžo/ 'man or husband'. In the same way there is a [w] glide in words such as /šo/ 'six' [šow] . Vowel-sequences

do occur. They have been discussed under the section of phoneme-clusters.

1.322. Length

The length of vowels is phonemic as illustrated above with various examples. /e o/ are only long. The long vowels /ī ū e o/ are tense. The short vowels /a i u/ and long vowel /ā/ are slack. The long vowels /e o/ in unstressed position are slack.

1.323. Nasalization

Nasalization is partly phonetic and partly phonemic. Phonetically it is conditioned by the preceding or following nasal consonant. The following three degrees of nasalization of vowels can be determined:

1. Weak

After a nasal consonant there is weak automatic nasalization, e.g. [mě] 'I', [māyo] 'my'.

2. Moderate

Before a nasal consonant the nasalization is moderate and quite noticeable e.g. [ãn] 'bring', [ãme] 'we', [pãnz] 'five'.

3. Strong

Strong nasalization occurs in cases where it is not conditioned by the environment. The strong nasalization is very rare and is phonemic e.g.

/ĩyã̃/ 'nine'

/egmiyã̃/ 'one thousand'

/ã̃yo/ 'egg'

I was tempted to regard nasalization as completely non-phonemic but because of the few cases where nasalization occurs in the final position, it has become necessary to accept it as phonemic.

1. 324. Stress

Stress is markedly noticeable but is not distinctive. I have noticed that the loudness of vowels varies with different speakers. The stress is predictable in terms of the following statements:

1. The stress falls only on a long vowel.

2. In dissyllabic words with two long vowels, the stress generally falls on the second vowel but in certain sentence intonations it falls on the first, optionally e.g. [bāró] [báro] /báro/. In such cases it has a shortening effect on the unstressed vowel, which is quite prominent in [bári] [bári].

3. In trisyllabic words, the stress falls on the second vowel, if it is long otherwise on the next long vowel.

Unstressed long vowels are optionally shortened or replaced by their short phonemic counterparts (see also 2.1.2. (iv)).

1.4. Intonation.

The basic intonation is marked by the falling pitch. In questions the pitch rises on every stressed vowel. A rising of pitch is also noticed in emphasis and command where it is slightly higher than that of questions.

Stress plays an important role in sentence intonation. In rapid speech the stress shifts from one place to another depending on the position of pause or juncture; e.g.

[desá + búť + žené] 'many people' but
[desá + búžéne].

1.5. Juncture.

I have not been able to find any phonemic contrast with juncture in the Gypsy language. There

is no uncertainty about the terminal juncture which occurs at the end of an utterance. But there does not appear to be any necessity for fine distinctions of close or open junctures. Gypsy sentences are generally very short and there is not much scope for such distinctions. Word boundary does exist and governs the position of stress as discussed above.

1.6. Syllabic structure.

The syllabic nucleus is the vowel. A minimal syllable consists of a vowel e.g. /o/ 'masc. article' /i/ 'fem. article'. The consonant or consonant-clusters can precede and follow the syllabic nucleus. The following patterns occur:

v	/o/	'masc. article'
cv	/ci/	'not'
vc	/ɛn/	'bring'
cvc	/ɣom/	'man'
cvcc	/bars/	'year'
ccv	/tsano/	'small'
cccv	/stre-no/	'stranger'

1.7. Occurrence of phonemes.

There are few restrictions on the occurrences of

consonants. The aspirated consonants occur rarely in the final position. The velar nasal does not occur in initial position and occurs medially before /y, l/ or a velar consonant. Affricate /j/ occurs only in recent loanwords. /h/ occurs initially or medially before /ā/. /y/ does not occur finally.

All the vowels occur initially, medially and finally. Phonemically nasalized vowels are very rare.

1.8. Clusters of phonemes.

Phoneme clusters can be studied under two separate sections:

1. clusters of consonants
2. clusters of vowels

1.81. Clusters of consonants.

Clusters of two consonants are numerous. Clusters of three consonants are also possible. Generally, clusters of four consonants do not occur. There are very few exceptions such as /felāstryā/ 'windows' in which the last component is always a semivowel. Clusters consisting of more than four consonants are not found. The examples of two and three consonant clusters are

given in the following sections.

1.82. Two consonant clusters.

Clusters of the same phonemes cannot occur.

Clusters of /y and ɣ/ as first elements do not occur.

Among the clusters found are the following:

/pn/	:	sāpnī	'serpent'
/pl/	:	plāiŋ	'hill'
/pr/	:	prāwār-	'to feed', opre 'up, above'
/bl/	:	troblo	'trouble'
/br/	:	brāwāl	'wind'
/by/	:	byāmenga	'without us', ābyāw 'wedding'
/mp/	:	lāmpā	'light'
/mb/	:	āmbold-	'to turn'
/mn/	:	gurumnī	'cow'
/ml/	:	krīmlo	'bracelet'
/my/	:	myāa	'mule'
/ft/	:	yeftā	'seven'
/fl/	:	flodil	'it floats', muflo 'flat'
/fr/	:	frī	'free'
/fy/	:	swākofyālo	'everybody', strefyol 'he shines'
/ts/	:	tsano	'small', negotso 'small mole'
/tk/	:	kātkā	'here'
/tg/	:	tūtgo	'turkey'
/tr/	:	trīn	'three'

/ty/	: tyāwel 'if he comes'
/dr/	: drābā 'drug'
/dy/	: dyā 'he gave'
/nt/	: dāimānto 'diamond'
/nd/	: āndo 'in'
/ns/	: ansurime 'married'
/nz/	: ānzuw- 'to reach'
/nž/	: pānž 'five'
/nc/	: kopincitsuri 'orphan'
/nj/	: injāinsēr- 'to enjoy'
/ny/	: khāinyā 'chickens'
/nw/	: janwarī 'January'
/st/	: āstār- 'to catch'
/sk/	: kāsko 'whose?'
/sl/	: slūgo 'servant'
/sm/	: smāntānā 'cream'
/sw/	: swāko 'every'
/zb/	: āzbā- 'to touch'
/zm/	: mizmeri 'noon'
/zd/	: gāzdo 'owner'
/zn/	: būzno 'goat'
/zg/	: zgārdā 'ear-ring'
/zl/	: zlāgā 'necklace', arizle 'they arrived'
/zw/	: īzwāno 'bell'
/šp/	: āšpitāl 'hospital'

/št/	: štār 'four', rištešti 'a group of Gypsies'
/šk/	: brebiško 'kidney', freško 'fresh'
/žn/	: bāžno 'cock'
/žl/	: bežlo 'He stayed'
/kt/	: doktoro 'doctor'
/ks/	: bākso 'box'
/kl/	: klichisār- 'to comb', rāklo 'boy'
/kr/	: kretsa 'curl', bākro 'goat, lamb'
/ky/	: kyo 'your', mekyol 'He presses'
/khl/	: ārākhlem 'I found'
/gl/	: glāti 'child', māglā 'cloud'
/gr/	: grāpā 'hole'
/gy/	: gyorgi 'George'
/ŋk/	: aŋkli- 'to climb'
/ŋg/	: āngālī 'lap'
/ŋl/	: āŋle 'in front'
/ŋy/	: pānyār- 'to bend'
/xt/	: bāxtālo 'fortunate'
/cy/	: cyāwel 'He is not coming', cūcyā 'breasts'
/ck/	: meckā 'animal'
/jy/	: jyūso 'juice'
/lp/	: pulpā 'thigh'
/lm/	: axalmī 'one hundred thousand'
/lt/	: beltā 'belt'
/ld/	: kāldārās 'a group of Gypsies'

/ls/	: kālsā 'trousers'
/lk/	: fālkā 'chin'
/lg/	: pilgesā 'big days'
/lc/	: falcī 'jaw'
/ly/	: dilyār- 'to make crazy'
/rb/	: bārbišāb 'barber'
/rm/	: kermo 'worm'
/rf/	: kārfīn 'nail'
/rt/	: girtāno 'gullet'
/rd/	: kardem 'I did'
/rn/	: mirno 'silent', kerno 'rotten'
/rs/	: gitārs 'guitars'
/rš/	: barš 'year'
/rk/	: bārkā 'little boat'
/rg/	: gyorgi 'George'
/rc/	: yirco 'rat'
/rl/	: pherlo 'came back'
/rw/	: kirwo 'God father'
/ry/	: bāryol 'it grows'
/wd/	: kārāwdī 'crab'
/wk/	: āwkā 'may be'
/wl/	: būwlo 'wide', pīwlo 'widower'
/wr/	: āwrī 'outside'
/wy/	: birowyā 'bees'

1.83. Three-consonant clusters.

In three consonant-clusters or more the last member of the group is either a liquid or a semivowel or a fricative /s/. For example:

Clusters ending in liquids.

/skr/	:	āiskrīmo	'ice-cream'
/str/	:	strefyol	'he shines', felāstrī 'window'
/zdr/	:	īzdrāno	'paralyzed'
/ndr/	:	nindrālo	'sleepy'
/mbl/	:	āmbilāw-	'to hang'

Clusters ending in semivowels.

/khly/	:	ārākhlyām	'we found'
/rdy/	:	āstārdyo	'caught'
/ndy/	:	āśundyā	'he heard'
/wry/	:	āwryāl	'from outside'
/ldy/	:	dāndāldyā	'he bit'
/gly/	:	phāglyā	'broke'
/zry/	:	frānsūzryā	'French'
/mny/	:	gurumnyā	'cows'
/rfy/	:	kārfyā	'nails'
/kly/	:	meklyā	'He left'

/žgy/ : pāžgyol 'He lies down'

/žly/ : pužlyā 'He asked'

Clusters ending in /s/.

/nts/ : burbāntso 'pea'

/mps/ : lāmpso 'necklace'

1.84. Clusters of vowels.

Clusters of only two vowels are permissible. Of them only the following combinations occur. These clusters can be divided into groups:

(1) Those in which the first element is long,

/oi/ : woi 'she'

/āi/ : pāi 'water'

/āu/ : kāu 'to'

/eu/ : pātreuṣa 'autumn leaves'

(2) Those in which the second element is long,

/iā/ : borāniā 'string-beans'

/ui/ : dui 'two'

Clusters of two long vowels or two short vowels are not permitted.

2. Morphophonemics

Morphophonemic alternations can be classified into three main groups:

1. Regular alternations:

These are further subdivided into:

1. Phonologically conditioned
2. Morphemically conditioned

2. Irregular alternations.

3. Syntactico-phonemic.

2.1. Regular alternations.

2.1.1. Phonologically conditioned.

(i) Simplification.

$C_1 + C_1 \rightarrow C_1$ (in the absence of intervening juncture). Clusters of same consonants do not occur.

mārel les \rightarrow māreles 'He beats him'

kurel les \rightarrow kureles 'He curses him'

yek ges \rightarrow yeg+ges (see ii) \rightarrow yeges 'one day'

grāstes+sā \rightarrow grāstesā 'with the horse'

būt te thon → būte thon 'much to wash'
 sa les zor → sa lezor (<salezzor, see ii)
 'he has strength'
 ci sam me → ci same 'not I'

(ii) Assimilation.

n → m before bilabial
 māren pe → mārempe 'They fight him'
 l → n after m
 dem les → dem nes

Voiceless stop → Voiced stop before voiced consonant

nāk muflo → nāg muflo 'flat nose'
 mek les → megles
 s → z žānes lā → žānez lā 'you know her?'
 š → ž puš les → puž les 'ask him'

(iii) Loss.

/w/ is lost after /l/ with no intervening juncture.

xolyāil wo → xolyāilo 'He is mad (angry)'

/n/ is lost before /l/ with no intervening juncture.

āwen le pāχā → āwele pāχā 'flames come'

/w/ is lost before bilabial.

me žāw pāodrom → me žā pāodrom 'I go by road'

/l/ is lost after /r/.

sar le γom → sare γom 'like the Gypsies'

(iv) Change of a vowel to semi-vowel.

/o/ and wo → w before long vowel.

o ānāw → wānāw 'the name'

wo āžukarel → wāžukarel 'He is waiting'

e → y before a long vowel.

ānde āwer themā → āndyāwer themā 'in another
country'

i → y before e

pāi+esko → pāyesko 'of water'

(v) Contraction.

$V_1 + V_1 \rightarrow V_1$

dyā+āndra → dyāndra 'He walked in'

kānā + āwilyān → kānāwilyān 'when did you come?'

Also e + ye → e.

žālīl pe yek barš → žālīl pek barš 'He laments
for a year'

(vi) The change of a consonant cluster to a unit phoneme.

k+š → x . yek (ek~ak see 2.1.2 vii) +šal+mī →
axalmī 'one thousand'

The consonant cluster /kš/ does not occur; but with

word boundary /k+š/ this combination is possible e.g.
yek šon.

2.1.2. Morphemically conditioned.

(i) /n/ is lost between vowels in the feminine form of nouns (see 3.1.)).

purano (m.) --> purāi (f.) 'old' but purāne (pl.)

ɣomāno --> ɣomāi (šīb) 'Gypsy language' but ɣomnī

kežlāno --> kežlāi (f.) 'silken'

also:-

dušmāno (masc. sg.) --> dušmāyā (pl.)

(ii) /-t-/ is added before any vocalic suffix in the following:-

bāx 'fortune' --> bāxtālo 'fortunate'

wās 'hand' --> wāstes 'to the hand'

wāstesko 'of the hand'

kāš 'wood' --> kāštāno 'wooden'

Stems /bāxt/ etc. have not been set up because these final clusters do not occur and because the combination occurs only in this condition. The same reasoning applies to (iii) below.

(iii) /-l-/ is added after Ź- before any vocalic suffix:

kež 'silk' --> kežlāno 'silken'

(iv) shortening of long vowels in the I sg. imperfective form.

kām- 'to love' → kamāw 'I love'

(v) /e/ occurring at the end of a monosyllabic form is lost before -a in I person imperfective forms.

de ---→ dāw 'I give'

le ---→ lāw 'I take'

(vi) nominative plural ∅ alternates with e and ā in the following conditions:

-∅ after noun-stems ending with a consonant.

-e replacing the -o of noun-stems ending with this vowel.

-ā after the stems ending with -ī̄ e.g.

γom 'Gypsies, men'

bāle 'pigs' bālo 'pig'

lulugyā 'flowers'

The same conditions are applicable in the case of the oblique plural e.g.

-∅ γom

-en bālen

-ān lulugyān

In case of the oblique singular the following conditions are applicable:

- ∅ after noun-stems ending with a consonant and vowel, -*ī*,
- e.g. *γom*, *γomnī*
- es after replacing the -o of noun-stems ending with this vowel e.g. *bāles*.
- s after some proper names, e.g. *štewānos*.

(vii) Alternations in numerals.

Not many morphophonemic changes occur in numbers. Few examples are as follows:

- yek* 'one' → *ek* ~ *ak* e.g. *agmiyā* 'one thousand'
(for *k* → *g* see 2.1.1. ii)
- duī* 'two' → *don*, *du* e.g. *duwār* 'twice'
- trīn* 'three' → *trī* e.g. *trīwar* 'thrice'
- pānž* 'five' → *pā* e.g. *pāšalā* 'five hundred'

(viii) The second vowel of a dissyllabic is lost in the oblique case as follows:

- āwer* 'other' --- *āwres* (*āwer*+*es*)
- žukal* 'dog' --- *žukles* (*žukal* + *es*)

It is not phonologically conditioned because the

vowel in this environment is not lost in other morphemes
e.g. tekteri 'detective', seleri 'cellar'.

(xi) The final vowel (which includes the following semi-vowel) of a stem is lost before a derivational suffix beginning with vowel e.g.

kākāwi 'big pot' + āri → kākāwāri 'potter'.

2.2. Irregular alternations.

Irregular alternations are those which do not show any regularity of pattern. Many participle forms are irregular. They include the following:

The participle forms are given in the masculine singular:

mer-	'to die'	---> mulo
tāikyār-	'to heat'	---> tāto
row-	'to cry'	---> rūiyo
thow-	'to wash'	---> thodo, thodilo
nāng-	'to be naked'	---> nāngilo
kām-	'to love'	---> kāmādo
doš-	'to blame'	---> došālo
suw-	'to stitch'	---> suwdo, suwdilo
mor-	'to rub'	---> mordo, mordilo, morlo
sow-	'to sleep'	---> suto

māikār-	'to get or make drunk' -->	māikilo, māto
šāg-	'to vomit' -->	šāglo
āš-	'to stop' -->	āšilo
lāž-	'to feel ashamed' -->	lāžāilo
le-	'to take' -->	lino 'lit. taken, paralyzed'
žā-	'to go' -->	galo
bāri-	'to grow' -->	bāryo
mudār-	'to kill' -->	mudārdyo
phāg-	'to break' -->	phāglo
beš-	'to stay' -->	bežlo
biān-	'to bear' -->	biāndo

It may be mentioned that the participle suffix involved is -l- ~ -il- ~ -āl- ~ t ~ d ~ ād ~ dy ~ n ~ ∅. This statement is incomplete.

2.3. Syntactico-phonemic alternations.

Syntactico-phonemic alternations are generally governed by the rapidity of speech. If the juncture is lost, some changes occur and those changes affect some other phonemes. There are no regular rules but the following changes have been observed:

sā ci āwilo --> sā cyāwilo --> sā cāilo 'he never came'
 ci dārāl kātār le γom --> ci dārāl kātāle γom -->

ci dārāl kātāl yom 'she is not afraid of Gypsies'.
 sā le yom --> sāl yom 'all the Gypsies'
 perel o flor --> pelo flor 'falls on the floor'
 nāi āges --> nāyāges --> nāiges 'not today'
 te iṅkarel --> teṅkarel 'to hold'

The unstressed short vowels just before the stressed ones tend to disappear in the rapid flow of speech; e.g.

/šukār/ --> /škār/
 /tsanoʎo/ ~ /sanoʎo/ --> /snoʎo/
 /kuruwā/ --> /kurwā/

3. Morphology

3.0. Morpheme classes.

The morpheme classes are established on a morphological basis. These classes are: 1. Noun, 2. Pronoun, 3. Adjective, 4. Article, 5. Verb, 6. Adverb, 7. Post-position, 8. Preposition, 9. Conjunction. They are characterized by the affixes added to them. There are two types of affixes (mostly suffixes) :-
1. stem-forming or derivational 2. inflectional or those suffixes which are used after the stem.

The suffixes can further be sub-divided into two groups for the purposes of Gypsy morphology: 1. suffixes (mostly added), 2. Prefixes (rare).

3.1. Noun.

Noun-stems are those which take nominal affixation. These noun-stems are divided into two major classes, masculine and feminine. No natural or morphological correlation is possible. The only correlation is syntactic. All the nouns have to be

listed according to one or the other gender. Most of the nouns ending in -o are masculine and most of the nouns ending in -ī are feminine; e.g.

bālo	'pig'	bāli	'sow'
gāžo	'non-Gypsy man'	gāži	'non-Gypsy woman'
kālo	'black man'	kāli	'black woman'

some of the masculine nouns ending in a consonant have -nī as a feminine suffix e.g.

grās	'horse'	grāsnī	'mare'
γom	'Gypsy man'	γomnī	'Gypsy woman'

The noun-stems are characterized by being suffix-ed on the basis of case and number. There are three cases:

1. nominative
2. oblique
3. vocative

There are two numbers:

1. singular
2. plural

The vocative case formally appears in very few rarely existing forms in the singular otherwise the purpose of vocative is served by the bare stem. Some such exceptional cases are listed below:

stem		vocative
phrāl	'brother'	phrālā!
phe	'sister'	phene !
del ~ dewl	'God'	dewlā !

Some of the forms such as rāyā ! 'Gentleman ! ' bre ! 'sir' are known only in their vocative forms.

Other two cases are fairly distinguished by the following suffixes:

	Singular	Plural
Nominative	∅	∅ ~ -e ~ -ā
Oblique	∅ ~ -es ~ -s	∅ ~ -en ~ -ān

Exceptions.

In some recent borrowings from English the plural suffix -s also occurs; e.g. Sg. minit 'minute' Pl. minits. There are several forms which remain undifferentiated in all cases and numbers, e.g. xābe, pimos. Several nouns have special plural forms e.g. freno 'friend' frenuri 'friends'.

3.11. Nominal derivatives.

The following is the alphabetical list of derivational suffixes which are used after noun, verb and

adjective stems to form a nominal stem. Although some of these suffixes are exclusively used either after noun, verb or adjective stems but there are others e.g. ~~-imos~~ which can be used after the three classes. Therefore the classification such nominal, verbal or adjectival suffixes has not been made. It may be mentioned that the limited material has made an impressionistic approach necessary.

-āri : This is the suffix which is used after noun and verb stems to indicate the profession of a person. mās 'meat': māsāri 'meat-man'; tsokolā 'shoe': tsokolāri 'shoe-maker'; kākāwi 'big pot': kākāwāri 'potter'; āngār 'coal': āngārāri 'coal-man'; fārb- 'to paint': fārbāri 'painter'; māyo 'bread': māyāri 'bread-man' (for loss of final vowel in stem see 2.1.2. ix).

Some of the forms show an ending like this but are not further analysable. Such is the case with loan-words like žāndāri 'policeman', tekteri 'detective'. All these professions are supposedly professions of men and, therefore, the feminine forms do not exist. But sometimes a diminutive is used to give the feminine form e.g. tekteritsa 'woman detective'.

-be : Used after a verb stem to form an abstract noun, e.g. xā 'to eat', xābe 'food'.

-elī : The only example is mom 'wax' momelī 'candle'.

-engī fem. -engo masc. : -eng- is a suffix to form an adjective but in some cases it has nominal distribution. pānžengī 'five dollars', dešengī 'ten dollars', themengo 'foreigner'.

-ikāno : Added to adjective stems e.g. bāro 'big' bārikāno 'big man'. Examples are very few.

-ī : Added to verb stems to give abstract noun; (very rare) xut- 'to jump', xutī 'jump'.

-imā ; sāstimā 'good luck', sāsto 'good'.

-imātā : bārimātā 'showing off'.

-imos : This is added to noun, verb and adjective stems to give an abstract noun. e.g. phurimos 'old age', corimos 'theft', žānimos 'knowledge', karimos 'deed', thulimos 'fatness', perimos 'fall'.

-nī : This suffix is primarily added after masculine noun stems to produce a feminine form, e.g. yom 'Gypsy man', yomnī 'Gypsy woman', grās 'horse', grāsnī 'mare'. But there are few verbs which also take this suffix to form a feminine noun e.g. drābār- 'to tell fortune' drābārni 'fortune-teller'. (There is

no masculine form for this . Fortune-tellers are women.)

-oγo : Diminutive suffix. Forms masculine nouns e.g. bākroγo 'small goat', bāloγo 'small pig'. -oγa is the feminine form of diminutive suffix e.g. boryoγa 'bride'. In certain cases these diminutives are added to adjective stems to give a nominal meaning; e.g. kālo 'black', kāloγo (masc.) kāloγa (fem.) 'negro'.

-otori -ādori : This suffix is used with certain verbs to indicate the profession; e.g. rām- 'to write' rāmotori 'writer', khal- 'to dance', khalādori 'dancer' āmblāw- 'to hang', āmblādori 'hangman' (for loss of vowel and semivowel at the end of the stem see 2.1.2. ix).

3.2. Pronouns.

Pronouns form a class by themselves. Although they have similar distribution to that of nouns yet they have no attributes. Their distinction from the nominal class is rather based on syntactic function. Moreover, nouns, adjectives, adverbs can be derived from the pronominal stem. Also refer to 4.2. They are characterized by case and number. Pronouns have two numbers and two cases, the vocative is omitted. The following paradigms will illustrate this:

3.21. Personal Pronouns.

		Sg.	pl.
I person	nom.	me	āme
	obl.	mā, mān	āmen
II person	nom.	tū	tume
	obl.	tū, tūt	tumen
III person	nom.	wo, woi	won
		(masc.fem.)	
	obl.	le, les(masc.)	
		lā (fem.)	len

The third person pronouns have a possessive form, like other nouns, with post-positional -k- (ko ~ kī ~ ke). But the I and II person have irregular possessive formations, ma_{yo} 'my' āmāro 'our', kyo 'your sg.' tumāro 'your pl.'.

3.22. Reflexive.

The reflexive is used in the sense of 'one's own' only in the oblique case. The nominative form is used with a certain class of verbs in the sense of 'self, each other' (refer to 4.1.4.). The forms are as follows:

	Sg.	Pl.
nom.	pe	pe
obl.	pes	pen

3.23. Demonstrative.

		Sg.	Pl.
'this'	nom. masc.	kāko ¹	kākāle
<u>proximate</u>	fem.	kācyā	kākālā
	obl. masc.	kākāles	kākālen
	fem.	kācyā	kākālyā
'that'	nom. masc.	gādo	gādāle
<u>remote</u>	fem.	gādyā	gādālā
	obl. masc.	gādāles	gādālen
	fem.	gādyā	gādālā

3.24. Interrogative Pronouns.

<u>animate</u>	nom. Sg. and Pl.	kon
	obl. Sg. and Pl.	kās
<u>inanimate</u>	nom.	so, ce
	obl.	so, ce

3.25. Indefinite.

wārekon 'anybody, somebody'
wārekās
wāreso

¹ The pronoun kuko is also used to show proximity. This is also used in constructions such as kukāwer ges 'the other day'. An archaic pronoun showing proximity, ā or the like can be discovered through the analysis of ārāt 'lit. this night i.e. tonight' and āges 'lit. this day i.e. today'.

3.3. Adjectives.

Adjectives are defined by their order in the syntactical phrase structure which distinguishes them from nouns. Adjectives either precede or follow the noun in syntactical phrase structure e.g. *kālo ḡom* 'black Gypsy', *mās bālāno* 'pig's meat'. The adjectives are also characterized by their inflection for masculine and feminine, two cases and two numbers. The following are the suffixes:

	Sg.	Pl.
masc. nom.	-o	-e
fem. nom.	-ī	-ā
obl. nom. sg. and pl.		-e

But there are several adjectives such as *śukār* 'beautiful' *tāṅ* 'narrow' which have only one form in both the genders, numbers and cases. Such adjectives are endingless.

3.31. Adjectival derivatives.

The following is the alphabetical list of derivational suffixes which form the adjectival stem. The ending -o is added for masculine and -ī is added for feminine. I have not come across any derived adjective without these endings.

-āil- : Added to adjective stem. The only instance which I have is *bengāilo* 'having fits'.

-āko- : *bi-ponyāwāko* 'without a blanket'; *ponyāwā* 'blanket'.

-āl- : Added to noun stems. It is a very common suffix in the meaning of 'characterization'. e.g. *bālālo* 'hairy'

-āme- : Added to verb stem. The only example is *skutsa-* 'to sharpen' *skutsāme* 'sharp'

-ān- : A very common suffix added to nouns in the sense of 'full of' etc. e.g. *lulugī* 'flower' *lulugyāno* 'full of flowers'.

-āw- : Uncommon suffix added to nouns in the sense of 'related' e.g. *rūpāwo* (*rūp* 'silver') *kowāci* 'silver-smith'.

-eng- : The suffix is added to noun stems. The form is homophonous with the oblique plural case-ending *-en* + possessive *-k-*. Comparison may be made with the following *-esk-* which may be taken as the oblique singular *-es* + possessive *-k-*. Both these suffixes are very common. This may also be distinguished from nominal suffix *-eng-* which is uncommon. *sulumā* 'straw' *sulumengī stāigī* 'straw hat', *bi-lāmpengo khar* 'house without light', *sode-baršengo* 'of how many years'.

-esk- : Added to nouns. For comments see above
-eng-; e.g. bi-gādesko- 'without a shirt', bengesko
 'mean, crooked'.

-il- : Added to nouns. It can be compared with
-āil- above and -l- below. e.g. phurilo 'getting old'.

-l- : Added to adverbs; e.g. dūrlo 'distant'.

-oγ- : This is a diminutive suffix added to noun
 stems. (see 3.11.) But in some cases it has an adjecti-
 val meaning of characterization; e.g. chāroγo 'grassy'.
 This is also added to certain adjectives to emphasize
 the original meaning; e.g. tsano 'small' tsanoγo 'very
 small'.

-un- : Uncommon suffix added to few nouns such
 as kāštuno 'wooden'. (kaš- → kašt 'wood').

-wāl- : Uncommon suffix added to certain nouns
 e.g. danda 'tooth' dandwālo 'a person whose front teeth
 are sticking out' šorwālo 'a person with a beard'.

Adjectival prefix.

I have been able to find only one prefix bi-
 which has a privative meaning. Examples are numerous
 such as bi-bāxtālo 'unlucky', bi-xābesko 'without
 having food' (bāx 'luck', xābe 'food').

3.4. The article.

The definite article although overlapping with adjectives is distinct because it is never in equational position. It has the following forms:

	Sg.	Pl.
masc. nom.	o	e
fem.	ī	
obl.	le	le
	lā	

The gender, number and case of the article is determined by those of the noun which follows it.

3.5. Verbs.

The verb stems are those which take the verbal suffixes illustrated below. The suffixes of verbs are based on three tenses namely imperfective, perfective and habitative and two moods namely imperative and subjunctive.

3.51. Imperfective.

The imperfective conveys the idea of continuative action or action not completed; e.g. me žāw 'I am going', me ci žāw 'I will not go', so kares tū 'What are you doing?', woi ci karel 'she will not do'. The imperfective suffixes are as follows:

	Sg.	Pl.
I person	-w	-s
II person	-s	-n
III person	-l	-n

The verb-stems can be divided into four classes according to the theme vowel which is added to them:

I. In this class (which includes most of the verbs) the theme vowel \bar{a} - is added to the stem in the I person and the theme vowel e - in the II and III person.

II. In this class (which includes verb-stems ending in i and verbs like $p\bar{a}y$ - 'to burst') the theme vowel o - is added in all the persons.

III. In this class (which includes mostly the borrowings, old and recent) the theme vowel \bar{i} - is added in all persons.

IV. In this class (which includes verb-stems ending in \bar{a}) no theme vowel is added, e.g. $\check{z}\bar{a}$ 'to go' $\check{z}\bar{a}l$, $x\bar{a}$ 'to eat' $x\bar{a}l$.

In addition to them the verb sa - 'to be' is irregular in its imperfective and perfective forms. Imperfective forms are as follows:

	Singular	Plural
I person	saṃ	san
II person	san	san
III person	sa	san

3. 52. Perfective.

Perfective conveys the idea of action completed.

The perfective suffixes are as follows:

	Sing.	Pl.
I person	-em	-āṃ
II person	-ān	-ān
III person	-ā	-ā

The theme vowel in all the cases can be regarded as -e- which because of the following vowel either appears as -y- or merged in -e-. The verb-stem for the perfective is the participle which is fairly irregular. But in most cases it ends in d- and l-. In third person singular form the participle form with adjectival suffixes of -oṃ -ī- -e is also used. The auxiliary sās is very common in such cases.

The perfective forms of sa- 'to be' are as follows:

Sing. and Pl.

I Person	sanas
II Person	sanas
III Person	sās

3.53. Habitulative.

The habitulative tense is marked either by imperfective suffix or with another suffix $-ās$, e.g. $āme$ $trāwlisārās$ 'we used to travel' and so $karenās$ le $γom$ 'what the Gypsies used to do?'

3.54. Imperative.

The imperative forms are marked with a zero suffix only in the II person singular e.g. $žā$ 'go', kar 'do' sow 'sleep'. The plural imperative forms are the regular imperfective forms. The more emphatic forms are indicated by post-positions $-tā$ and $-bā$. These are used with a few verbs such as $āwtā$ 'come', $dikhtā$ or $dikhbā$ 'see', $āšuntā$ or $āšunbā$ 'listen', $debā$ $dūmā$ 'speak', $žābā$ 'go', $mārba$ 'beat'.

In some cases the subjunctive $-ā$ is also used. e.g. $sikā$ $mānga$ so $kindyān$ 'show me what you bought'.

3.55. The subjunctive.

The subjunctive is marked by post-positional -ā which is added to the imperfective form. This is used in the sense of possibility and probability. It is used in the conditional sense as well; e.g. xolyāwāw tyāwesā 'I shall be angry if he comes', žāw te māi mothosā 'I will go if you say (it) again'.

3.56. Other verbal constructions.(i) Possession.

Possession is indicated by the verb sa- 'to be' with the noun in the oblique case e.g.

sa mā duī phrāl 'I have two brothers'.

sāz mā de 'I had a mother'.

lā phuryā yomnyā sāz lā duī šāwe 'The old woman had two children'.

The negative possession is indicated by nāi and nās; e.g.

nāi les dād 'he does not have a father'.

nāz les phrāl 'he did not have a brother'.

The verb sa- 'to be' is not used with oblique case of noun outside this construction.

(ii) Obligation.

Obligation is indicated with *musai* placed before the imperfective form of the verb; e.g.

wo musāi žāl 'he must go'.

(iii) Ability.

The ability is indicated by *šāi*.

wo šāi žāl 'He can go'.

The negative is *nāšti*.

me nāšti sutem 'I could not sleep'.

(iv) Permission.

The permission in the sense of 'let' is indicated by *mek*; e.g.

mek pāyon 'let them burst'

mek rowen 'let them cry'

mek žāl 'let him go'.

musāi, *šāi* and *mek* are not inflected like other verbs but syntactically are part of the verbal phrase. They may be regarded as auxiliary verb forms. The main verb *mek-* 'to leave' is distinct from auxiliary *mek*.

3.57. The formation of stems.

The following suffixes have been identified:

-ār ~ yār : denominative suffix. e.g. lāšo 'good',
lāšār- 'to fix' lit. 'to make it good', šudro 'cold'
šudryār- 'to freeze', šuko 'dry' šukyār- 'to make dry'.

-āw : Causative suffix. dār- 'to fear' dārāw-
'to frighten'.

3.6. Adverbs.

The adverbs belong to that class of words which can occur before adjectives or verbs and are not inflected like nouns and adjectives. There is an overlapping of adjectives and adverbs but their distinction from adjectives is quite clear because of their indeclinability. Adverbs do not occur as attributes (of nouns). Some of the adverbs are as follows:

(i) Time.

kānā	'when', then'
kānāgori, kānāgodi	'whenever'
akānā	'now'
pālā	'after'
pāli	'again'
māi pāle	'later'

(ii) Place.

tele	'down'
opre	'above'
pālā	'after'
pālpāle	'behind'
kāi	'where'
oyoti	'wherever'

(iii) Direction.

īne	'there'
othe	'there'
kothe, khote	'there'
kātkā , kāte	'here'

(iv) Negative.

ci	'not'
kānci	'something, nothing'
sā ci	'never'
nā	'not'

(v) Manner.

sar	'as'
-----	------

(vi) Emphatic.

ī ~ yī	'also'
--------	--------

(vii) Comparative and superlative.

māi māi lāšo 'better, best'

māipheder 'rather'

māipheder ci žāw othe 'I will rather not go there'

3.61. Some adverbial suffixes.

Adverbs are not always marked by any suffixes, but the following stem-forming suffixes are identifiable.

-āl : e.g. opre 'above' oprāl 'from above'

-e : khar 'house' khare 'in the house'. This gives the appearance of a locative suffix but because the locative is not a marked case category in the Gypsy language, these have been included in the adverbs. See above.

-es : This suffix has the appearance of an oblique singular but gives an adverbial meaning of manner; e.g. cāco 'true' cāces 'truly'.

There is reduplication in pālpāle 'behind'; compare pālā 'after'.

3.7. Postpositions.

Postpositions occur after the noun and pronoun;

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ī ~ yī	'also'
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There is reduplication in pālpāle 'behind'; compare pālā 'after'.

3.7. Postpositions.

Postpositions occur after the noun and pronoun;

following postpositions occur after the oblique form of a noun or pronoun,

-ka	'for'
-sā	'with'
-tār	'from'
-te	'to'

The possessive postposition -k- with adjectival inflection -o ~ -e ~ -ī occurs after the noun stem e.g. grāsko 'of the horse'. Some pronominal forms are irregular; they are dealt with in the section 3.2.

3.8. Prepositions.

kā~kāu~kāi	(probably kā+o and +ī)	'to, at'
pe ~ po		'on'
pā		'by'
ān ~ and		'in'
āndāi		'from'

3.9. Conjunctions.

Conjunctions connect two elements. The following conjunctions are used:

thāi / hāi	'and'
ka	'that, because'
warka, worka	'or'

umā 'but'
te 'so that, if'
īkan yikan 'unless, until'

4. Syntax

4.1. Morpheme sequences.

A discourse is analyzable in terms of constituent phrases. Of all the morpheme classes discussed in the previous chapter only nouns, pronouns, adjectives, verbs, and adverbs can occur as utterances. Article, preposition and postposition occur only as an integral part of phrases. The phrases are noun phrase, pronominal phrase, adjectival phrase, verb phrase and adverbial phrase.

4.1.1. Noun phrase.

A noun phrase consists of a single noun or a noun (which is the head) and attribute which may consist of an adjective, article or noun (also pronoun) followed by the possessive postposition, e.g.

freno 'friend'

lāšo freno 'good friend'

le yom 'the Gypsies'

grāskī zin 'horse's saddle'

leskí̄ yomnī 'his wife'

mayo māi lāšo freno 'my best friend'

le purwe yom 'the old Gypsies'

The number, gender, and case of the attribute (adjective and article) is governed by the head noun.

A noun-phrase also consists of several nouns with conjunctions or comma intonation e.g.

yomnī worka slūgā 'wife or slave'

yom thāi yomnī 'husband and wife'

bākre, khāinyā, mās, bīrā 'lambs, chickens, meat, beer'

4.1.2. Pronominal phrase.

The distribution of the pronoun is similar to that of the noun phrase in the sense that it substitutes for the whole nominal phrase. But it is distinct in the sense that it has no attributes. On the other hand in cases of cross-references the noun phrase and pronominal phrase are in the relation of an apposition to each other, e.g.

lāko yomesko nāw me ci žānāw les
'Her husband's name I do not know it.'

4.1.3. Adjectival phrase.

In this phrase the adjective is the head and the modifier is either an adjective or an adverb; e.g.

būt lāšo 'very good'

māi lāšo 'better, best'

It may also be noted that the adjectival phrase includes nouns with possessive postpositions because of their similar distribution in adjectival as well as nominal phrase e.g.

grāsko 'of the horse'

lāko 'hers'

lesko 'his'

Number, case and gender of an adjective are governed by the noun which it modifies but in the absence of an apparent noun, the adjective has the form of a masculine singular nominative.

An adjectival phrase may also be in appositional relation with nominal phrase in cases such as:

sāwile le yom 'all came, the Gypsies, i.e.
all the Gypsies came'.

4.1.4. Verb phrase.

A verb phrase consists of a single verb or two verbs consisting of a main verb and an auxiliary verb; e.g.

āwilo 'came'

āwilo sās 'had come'

šāi āwel 'can come'

The auxiliary verb is either sa- 'to be' or other verbal constructions listed in 3.56.

The reflexive pronoun pe also forms an integral part of a certain class of verbs; e.g.

žālīlpe 'He laments (himself)'

mārempe 'they are fighting (lit. beating
each other)'

kuršempe 'They are cursing each other'

The verb agrees with the noun in number, person and gender.

4.1.5. Adverbial phrase.

An adverbial phrase may consist of one or more adverbs in which case it is an endocentric construction but an adverbial phrase may also consist of morphemes belonging to other classes. Such a construction is

exocentric. An endocentric adverbial phrase is formed of adverbs e.g.

māi cāces 'more truly'
 cyekdātā ci 'never lit. not once not'.

An exocentric adverbial phrase consists of nouns and pronouns with prepositions and post-positions, e.g.

po māškār 'on the waist'
 yomensā 'with the Gypsies'

4.2. Sentence.

Any discourse can be analyzed into shorter utterances marked by minimum free intonation. Such shorter utterances will be called sentences. The following sentence patterns occur: (N = noun, (includes pronoun) A = Adjective, D = Adverb, V=verb)

N V	āme trāwlisārās	'we travel'
V N	āwile le yom	'the Gypsies came'
A V N	sāwile le yom	'all the Gypsies came'
N V D	āme trāwlisārās le wurdonsā	'we used to travel with wagons'
	āme sam desā	'we are much i.e. we try our best'
D V	ci kamās	'we do not want'
V D	slāwīs büt	'we celebrate much'

D V N	yekdatā kardyam bārī yāg	'once we made a big fire'
V D N	āwilel yom grāstensā	'The Gypsies came with the horses'
V N ₁ N ₂	sāmengrās	'we had horses'

4.2.1. Sentence-types.

The structure of sentences appears from the above patterns. A sentence may consist of one or more morpheme sequences or phrases. Stylistically sentences may be grouped as conversational and narrative.

Conversational sentences are usually very short such as:

cācidos	'truth'	(i.e. it is true)
kon	'who'	(i.e. who is there)
lāšo	'good'	(i.e. he is good)
āwilo	'came'	(i.e. he came)
cāces	'truly'	

However such sentences can be expanded transformationally into sentences which will yield the patterns discussed in 4.2. Such sentences along with interjections and vocative forms e.g. ce lāšāw ! 'what a shame !' dilimos ! 'what a foolishness' bre ! 'sir, brother' rāyā ! 'gentlemen' can be regarded as minor

sentences. Narrative sentences have the favorite sentence form and are thus regarded as full sentences.

Full sentences are further divided into:

1. Subject-predicate type in which sentences of actor-action type and goal-action type are included e.g.

(i) actor-action type, in this type the actor is represented by a noun-phrase (including pronouns and adjectives) and action by a verb-phrase (including adverbs). The following varieties occur:

(a) The Verb-phrase precedes the noun-phrase
e.g. āwile le γom 'The Gypsies came'

(b) The noun-phrase precedes the verb-phrase
e.g. me phendem 'I said'

(c) verb-phrases occurs medially e.g.
sāwile le γom 'all the Gypsies came!'

(ii) goal-action type, in this action (represented by verb sa- 'to be') is directed towards a goal represented by a noun-phrase e.g. sa tū lowe literally 'is to you money' i.e. do you have money?

2. equational type in which two noun-phrases are equated by a verb (sa 'to be') e.g. wo sāz maγo

māi lāšo freno 'He was my best friend '. wo sa choro
'He is a thief' also with an inverse order choro sa wo.

Furthermore sentences are subdivided in two classes in terms of resultant phrase such as:

1. exocentric e.g.

āwile le γom 'the Gypsies came'

2. endocentric, further subdivided into:

(i) co-ordinative

so sam γomnī worka slūgā 'what am I, wife or servant?' The second part is co-ordinative in which γomnī and slūgā are noun with co-ordinator worka.

(ii) sub-ordinative

me žānāw lāšo mānuš 'I know he is a good man'.

kānā sās āwile le γom 'then (it) was, the
Gypsies came'

in this a phrase is sub-ordinated to another phrase.

4.2.11. Complex sentences.

Syntactically independent sentences are joined by a conjunction, pronoun, adverb or intonation; e.g.

phendem leska ka karāw pāikiw 'I said to him that I will do a party'.

dem kã žãmutro yek šal hãi pĩndã tyãrãkhel pe les.

'I gave one-hundred and fifty to son-in-law so that
he may keep it with him!'

me žãw te karãw ãbyãw. 'I am going to do the wedding'

žãs te kares ãbyãw. 'do you go to set the wedding?'

xolyãwãw tyãwesã. 'I shall be angry if he comes'

na phen maya dãkã kãwilem te dikhãw tũ.

' Do not tell my mother that I came to see you !'

wo žutisãrdyã mã kãnãgorĩ trubulaz mã. 'he helped
me whenever I needed it'.

mãngãw tũtãr lãyãnã pãlã wošo sar žãnes. 'I ask
Anne from you for Walter as you know'.

kãnã sãs, ãwile le yom. 'now it was the Gypsies
came'.

TEXTS WITH ANALYSIS

[including descriptive and historical notes]

A GYPSY PARTY

kānā dikhlem me le štewānos āndāi kāliforniā.
then saw I steve from California.
wo sāz maḡo māi lāšo freno. wo žutisārdyā mā
He was my best friend. He helped me
kānāgori trubulāz mā. kānā dikhlem leste pālā
whenever it needed me. Now I saw him after
duī šon. āwilo mānde kāu khar. dikhlem
two months. He came to me at the house. I saw
les kirādilem leska kāfā. bežlo mānde
him I cooked for him coffee. He stayed at my place
duī ges. phendem leska ka karāw
(for)two days. I said to him that I will do
leska pāikiw. wo phendyā, "ārāit." galem;
for him a party. He said all right I went
kindem bākre, khāinyā, mās, bīrā,
I bought lambs, chickens, meat, beer,
ḡakiā; ākhārdem ḡomen. āwile. thodyām
whiskey; I invited Gypsies. They came. We set
ī siniyā kā le dešoduī gale yī kā
the table at the 12 (o'clock) went also at
štar lā diminyātsāka. āwilo oiliyā o
four (o'clock) of the morning. came Ilia

tođoro o milāno o gyorgi hāi āwer ɣom nesko nāw
 tođor miller George and other man his name
 sās štewāno. khalde le šoɣāi, gilābāde le ɣom
 was steve. danced the girls sang the men
 thodine le myūsikī plesārde le gitārs, hāi sā
 set the music played the guitars and all
 khalde. kānā sās sāwoɣa injāinsāile hāi phende kā
 danced. now was all enjoyed and said to
 yek ci āwile ka sās māi lāši mādār . bežlo
 one(party) not came that was better than mine stayed
 mānde o štewāno duī ges . kānā sās, pālā
 at my place steve two days then was after
 pāikiw phendyā kāwel hāi māngel mādār
 party said that he will come and ask from me
 borī; māngel mādār lāyānā pālā
 daughter-in-law (He will)ask from me Anna after
 wošo lesko šāw. wo phendyā ka pherel
 Walter his son. He said that he will come back
 mānde pālā duī trīn ges. kānā pherlo le
 to me after two three days. now He came back
 duī trīn ges. āwilo ploskāšā
 (after)two three days He came with symbolic
 whiskey-bottle

phendyā "maro ! māṅgāw tūtār lāyānā pālā wošo sar
 said Mary I ask from you Anna for Walter as
 žānes." me phendem "ārāit, so sa kyo prāis."
 you know. I said all right what is your price?
 wo phendyā, "pālā tūte sa godo." me phendem, "sar
 He said after you is this. I said as
 žānes tū hāi me žānāw ka lāšo yom san lāši kī
 you know and I know that good man are good your
 fāmiliā, sāwoya san lāše hāi priznāin mā. hāi
 family, all are good and respect me and
 karāw fewar, māṅgāw tūka yeftā šalā
 I will do favor I will ask you seven hundred
 rīle." wo phendyā, "nāšti dāw yeftā šalā
 five-dollars. He said I cannot give seven hundred
 rīle ka nāi mā dostā so karāw
 five-dollars that not have I enough what I will do
 ābiyāw, so kināw xābe, so kināw
 wedding what I will buy food what I will buy
 chālyā āndo yeftā worka oxto šalā rīle
 clothes in seven or eight hundred five-dollars
 umā pe borī ! phendem leska kānā nāi
 just on daughter-in-law. I said to him then not have
 tū gādikī, de mā tā šo šalā rīle
 you that much give me then six hundred five-dollars

hāi le kyā boryā. wo phendyā ārāit.
 and take your daughter-in-law. He said all right
 dāw te šo šalā rīle ka wolīw
 I will give you six hundred five-dollars because I like
 lā šāwoya hāi wolīw sāwoyan lāiki fāmilijā. kānā
 the girl and I like all in her family. then
 sās pilyām tomnisārdyām lā šoya . thodyā
 (there)was we drank betrothed the girl. placed
 lāka zgārdā hāi zlagā, krīmle hāi kānā sās
 for her ear-rings and necklace bracelets and then were
 āndine. thodyām o ābyāw. kukāwer ges galo,
 brought. We set the wedding. the next day He went,
 lyā hālo, myusīkāyā, kindyā yeftā bāle, šo
 He got hall musicians, bought seven pigs, six
 khāinyā, pānž tutgī, horezo, šo-yeftā keso
 chickens, five turkeys, rice, six-seven cases
 yakiyā, dešo-šoingā bīrī; sāsō trubulyābyāweska
 whiskey, sixteen beer. there was what was needed
 for the wedding,
 hāi dikhle. kānā sās, sās āme te tholel lowe
 and ker-chiefs. then it was we had to put money
 pe sinīyā. wo dyā mā šo šalā rīle pe
 on the table He gave me six hundred five-dollars on
 šāwunga (šāya). kānā sās dem les duī šalā
 the girl now it was I gave him two hundred

pālpāle; dem kā žāmutro yek šal hāi pīndā
back I gave to son-in-law one hundred and fifty
tyārākhel pe les. kānā sās sās āme tsanoḡa
to keep on him now it was we had a sa small
pāikiw. pārme sas te kināw maya šoḡa gādā.
party and then I had to buy for my girl clothes.
kindem lāka pānž suturi sarmāka;
I bought for her five suits of an expensive cloth;
kindem lāka štār wunicāka, kindem lāka
I bought for her four wollen I bought for her
šo lešoška, kindem lāka yeftā žute
six lace-suits I bought for her seven pairs
tsokolyā te malāwel le suturī, hāi kindem
shoes so that it matches the suits and I bought
lāka būndā. kānā sās thodyām abyāw, sāwilele
for her coat. now it was I set the wedding, all came
ḡom ālā šo šalā žene hāi sā
the Gypsies at least six hundred people and all
khalde hāi swāko injāinisāilo.
danced and everybody enjoyed.

English translation

Then I saw Steve who had come from California. He
was my best friend. He helped me whenever I needed it.
Now I saw him after two months. He came to me at my

house. As I saw him, I cooked coffee for him. He stayed at my place for two days. I said to him that I would do a party for him. He said, all right. I went. I bought lambs, chickens, meat, beer, and whiskey. I invited Gypsies. They came. I set the table at 12 o'clock, and the party went on till 4 o'clock in the morning. Ilia Todor, Miller and George came and another man whose name was Steve. The girls danced, the men sang. They set the music, played on guitars, and all danced. Now everybody enjoyed himself and said that they had not gone to any party which was better than that which I gave. Steve stayed at my place for two days. And then after the party he said that he would come and ask for daughter-in-law from me. He will ask Anna from me for Walter, his son. He said that he will come back to me after two or three days. Then he came back after two or three days. He came with a symbolic whiskey-bottle and said, "Mary, I ask for Anna from you for Walter as you know." I said, "all right, what is your price?" He said, "This depends on you." I said "as you know, and I also know, that you are a good man, your family is good, all of you are good and respect me, I will do a favor. I will ask only for 3500 dollars from you. He said, "I cannot give 3500 dollars because I do not have enough. How will I make the wedding, how will I

pālpāle; dem kā Źāmutro yek Źal hāi pīndā
back I gave to son-in-law one hundred and fifty
tyārākhel pe les. kānā sās sās āme tsanoŷa
to keep on him now it was we had a sa small
pāikiw. pārme sas te kināw maya Źoŷa gādā.
party and then I had to buy for my girl clothes.
kindem lāka pānŹ suturi sarmāka;
I bought for her five suits of an expensive cloth;
kindem lāka Źtār wunicāka, kindem lāka
I bought for her four wollen I bought for her
Źo leŹoŹka, kindem lāka yeftā Źute
six lace-suits I bought for her seven pairs
tsokolyā te malāwel le suturī, hāi kindem
shoes so that it matches the suits and I bought
lāka būdā. kānā sās thodyām abyāw, sāwilele
for her coat. now it was I set the wedding, all came
ŷom ālā Źo Źalā Źene hāi sā
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English translation

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buy the food, how will I buy for 3500 or 4000 dollars just on daughter-in-law. I said to him. 'If you do not have that much money give me 3000 dollars and get your daughter-in-law.' He said, all right. I will give you 3000 dollars. I like the girl and I like everybody in her family. At that time we drank whiskey and betrothed the girl. He put forth ear-rings, necklaces, bracelets and all that was brought for the girl. We set the (date of the) wedding. The next day he went. He got a hall and musicians. He bought seven pigs, six chickens, five turkeys, rice, six or seven cases of whiskey, sixteen cases of beer. There was every thing needed for the wedding. There were kerchiefs. Then we had to put money on the table. He gave me 3000 dollars for the daughter. I gave him 1000 dollars back. I gave 750 dollars to my son so that he could keep it with him. Now we had a small party. Then I had to buy clothes for my daughter. I bought five dresses of an expensive cloth for her. I also bought four wollen dresses, six lace dresses for her. I bought seven pairs of shoes which matched the dresses. I bought coat for her. Now I set the wedding. All the Gypsies came. At least six hundred people were there. All danced and everybody enjoyed it.

ANALYSIS¹

1. kānā Adv.: 'when', then'. Also cf. akānā 'now'.

Etymology obscure. Comparison with Skt. kṣaṇa 'moment' and kadā 'when' has been made.

2. dikhlem 'I saw'. dikh- V. 'to see'; -l- 'part. ending'; -em 'perf. suffix'.

Skt. dr̥ś- 'to see'; drakṣyati 'He will see'.

3. me Pr. 'I'.

Skt. I pers. pronominal stem asmad- ; Instrumental sing. mayā ; cf. H. māi.

4. le Art. in the oblique case. Art. is used before proper names also.

Apparently the definite Art. has its origin in the demonstrative pronoun under the influence of non-Indo-Aryan languages. Skt. demonstrative pronominal stem tat- (ta-).

5. štewānos N. 'to steve'; -s oblique ending.

Eng. Steven + m. -o. (?)

6. āndāi Prep. 'from'

Probably this is related to ānd- 'in' āndāl 'from within', āndre 'inside' etc. Skt. antar- 'inner' antare 'in'.

¹ Etymologies included in commentary and lexicon are mainly based on Sampson and Turner. Most of them are worthless.

7. kāiforniā N.f. 'California', name of a state in United States of America'.

8. wo Pr. m. 'he'.

Skt. asau 'he' ? cf. H. wo 'he'.

9. sāz V. 'was' the perf. of V. sa-. The morpho-phonemic change of final -s to -z before the voiced consonant.

Probably related to Skt. as- 'to be'.

10. maŋo Pr. 'my'. Possessive form of Pr. me 'I'. The form is m. because of the following m. noun. Phonetically it is [mŪŋo] under the influence of back rounded vowel in the final syllable.

cf. Pra. mahārā, H. merā; perhaps formed from Skt. genitive me with post. -ko.

11. māi Adv. 'denotes comparative and superlative degree'.

12. lāšo m. -ī f. Adj. 'good' māi lāšo 'better, best'.

Etymology obscure. Relationships with Skt. accha 'pure, clear', dakṣa 'able', lakṣya 'note-worthy', lakṣmīwat 'lucky, handsome' have been suggested.

13. freno N.m. 'friend'

cf. Eng. 'friend'. (?)

14. žutisārdyā V. 'helped'. Perf. of žutisār- 'to help'.

15. mā Pr. 'me'. Oblique sing. of Pr. me 'I'.

The alternative form is mān. cf. Skt. mām 'to me'.

16. kānāgori Pr. 'whenever'.

The first element may be compared with kānā; see 1.

17. trubulāz V. 'needed'. perf. form with aux. sās. Morphophonemic change of s to z. It appears to be passive construction.

cf. Eng. 'trouble'? Gy. trobolo N.m. means 'trouble'.

18. leste Pr. 'to him'. les is the oblique form of demonstrative Pr. showing remoteness. te is the post.

Skt. ta- 'demonstrative Pr. stem. The etymology of te is obscure.

19. duī Adj. (num.) 'two'.

Skt. dwi- 'two'.

20. šon N.m. 'month, moon'.

cf. Skt. candra 'moon'.

21. āwilo V. 'came' part. form of V. āw- 'to come'

Skt. āpayati; cf. H. ā-na 'to come' cf. also Skt. part. -tas.

22. mānde Pr. 'to me' oblique form of me 'I' with Post. te. Morphophonemic change of t to d.

23. kāu Prep. 'to' cf. Prep. kā and kái 'to'.

Probably u is the shortened form of the definite Art. o.

cf. H. -ko.

24. khar N.m. 'house'.

Skt. gr̥ha- 'house', H. ghar 'house'.

25. kirādilem V. 'cooked', kirāw- 'to cook'.

This is the perf. form from the part. kiradilo.

26. lesko Pr. 'for him'. -ka is Post. in the dative sense. Also used to denote the direct object emphatically, e.g. phendem leska 'I told him'.

cf. H. ke (liye).

27. kāfā N. f. 'coffee'.

cf. Eng. 'coffee'.

28. bežlo V. 'stayed'. part. form V. beš-.

Morphophonemic change of s to z.

cf. Skt. upaviš- 'to sit' H. baithnā 'to sit'.

29. ges N.m. 'day'.

cf. Skt. divasa 'day'.

30. phendem V. 'I said'. perf. form of V. phen- 'to say'.

cf. Skt. bhaṇ- 'to say'.

31. ka Conj. 'that'.

cf. P. ke.

32. karāw V. 'I will do' imperf. form used in the sense of future. V. kar-. theme vowel -ā- and pers. suffix -w.

Skt. kr- 'to do' H. kar- 'to do'; -w Skt. mi?

Also cf. theme vowel -a- in Skt.

33. pāikiw N.f. 'party'. This is in free variation with bāikiw.

34. phendyā V. 'He said'. perf. form of V. phen- 'to say'. see 30.

35. ārāit 'all right'.

Eng. all right.

36. galem V. 'I went'; perf. I pers. sing. of V. žā- 'to go', part. galo.

Skt. yā- 'to go', cf. H. jā 'to go'. Skt. part. gata_ḥ (from gam- 'to go').

37. kindem V. 'I bought'; perf. of V. kin- 'to buy'.

Skt. kri- 'to buy'; cf. H. biknā (from Skt. vi-kri-) 'to get sold'. Also compare Gy. bikin- 'to sell'.

38. bākre N.m. 'lambs' pl. of bākro. The alternative form is bākuro. The medial vowel -u- is lost in unstressed position.

cf. Skt. varkara 'goat', H. bakrā.

39. khāinyā N.f. 'chickens' pl. of khāini.

40. mās N.m. 'meat'.

Skt. māṃsa 'meat'.

41. birā N.m. 'beer'.

Eng. beer.(?)

42. ɣakiā N.m. 'whiskey'. The alternative form is ikiā.

43. ākhārdem V. 'I invited'. The perf. form of V. ākhār- 'to invite'.

No satisfactory etymology. Comparison with Skt. kathaya- 'to tell' has been made. In some Gypsy dialects the form appears as khar-. ā- in this dialect appears to be a prefix, cf. Skt. ā-.

44. ɣomen N.m. 'to the Gypsies'. oblique pl. of ɣom-. It also means 'Gypsy man', husband'; cf. gāžo 'a non-Gypsy man, husband'.

The etymology is uncertain. Comparisons with Skt. rāma 'husband', P. rūmī 'Byzantine' (from Gk. ρωμαίος 'a Roman') Lat. romei and Skt. dom have been made. See Introduction, 0.2.

45. āwile V. 'They came' part. pl. of āw- 'to come'; see 21.

46. thodyām V. 'we set' perf. I pers. pl. of V. thol- 'to set'.

cf. Skt. dhar- 'to put'.

47. ī Art. 'the f. Art. because of the following f. N.'

The etymology is uncertain. But it appears that these articles have their origin in demonstrative pronouns.

48. siniyā N.f. 'table'.

49. kā Prep. 'at'.

50. dešoduī Adj. (num.) 'twelve'.

cf. Skt. dvādaśa 'twelve'.

51. gale V. 'They went' part. pl. of V. žā-
'to go' ; see 36.

52. yī Adv. 'also'. The initial y appears to be
a glide of the front vowel. The alternative form ī
also occurs.

cf. Skt. api 'also'.

53. štār Adj. (num.) 'four'.

Skt. catvāri, H. cār 'four'.

54. lā Art. f. oblique.

55. diminyātsāka N.f. 'of the morning'.

Etymology obscure. -tsa appears to be a diminutive
suffix.

56. o Art. m. nom. Article is used before proper
nouns also.

57. iliyā N.m. 'name of a Gypsy man'.

58. todoro N.m. 'name of a Gypsy man'.

59. milāno N.m. 'name of a Gypsy man'.

cf. Eng. Miller with -āno. (?)

60. gyorgi N.m. 'a name of a Gypsy man'.

cf. Eng. George. (?)

61. hāi Conj. 'and'

hāi and thāi are both indeclinable conjunctions meaning 'and'. The etymology is obscure. Probably it is related with Skt. atha 'now, and'.

62. āwer Adj. 'other'.

Skt. apara- 'other' H. aur.

63. nesko = lesko. Morphophonemic change of l to n.

64. nāw N.m. 'name'.

Skt. nāman, H. nām.

65. khalde V. 'They danced' III pers. pl. perf. of V. khal- 'to dance', 'to play'.

Skt. kriḍ- 'to play' H. khel- 'to play'.

66. šoyāi N.f. 'girls'. Irregular pl. form of šoya 'girl'. The masc. is šāw or šāwo, diminutive šāwoγo. šoya is the contracted form of feminine diminutive.

Skt. śāva, śāvaka 'child'.

67. gilābāde V. 'They sang'. III pers. pl. perf. of V. gilābā- 'to sing'.

cf. Skt. gāi- 'to sing', gīti 'song'. -bā appears to be a derivational suffix of unknown origin.

68. thodine V. 'They set'. part. pl. of thol- 'to set'; see 46.

69. myūsikī N.f. 'music'. Also myūziki.

Eng. music. (?)

70. plesārde V. 'They played' III pers. pl. perf. of V. plesār- 'to play'.

Eng. play with a derivational suffix -sār of unknown origin. Mostly added to loan-verbs, cf. injainsāile 73. (?)

71. gitārs N.m. 'guitars' irregular pl. suffix -s.

Eng. guitar; Eng. pl. suffix -s. (?)

72. sā Adj. 'all'. The alternative form is sāwo or sowo; sāwoya pl.

cf. Skt. sarva- 'all'.

73. injāinsāile V. 'They enjoyed'. perf. III pers. pl. of V. injāinsār- 'to enjoy'. Also injāinisār- cf. injainisāilo 180.

Eng. enjoy with suffix -sār of unknown origin. (?)

74. phende V. 'They said'. perf. III pers. pl. of V. phen- 'to say'. See 30.

75. yek Adj. (num.) 'one'.

Skt. eka- 'one' with an automatic glide of y- before a front vowel.

76. ci Adv. 'not' negative part.; less emphatic but more common than na and nāi. nāi is used in the sense of 'not is' and 'not has', and in all other contexts ci is used. Also nās 'not was'.

Etymology obscure. Comparison with Skt. cid (as in kiñcid) can be made. see also Gy. kāci.

77. lāšī , see lāšo 12. This form is feminine because it refers to pāikiw 'party' which is a f. noun.

78. māndār lit. from me; 'than that of mine' because of the preceding māi lāšī. mān- oblique form of me and -tār post. The morphophonemic change of t to d.

79. pālā Adv. 'after' cf. Gy. pālpāle 'behind' (it appears to be the reduplicated form of pālā), pāli 'again' māi pāle 'later'.

cf. Skt. pare 'later' ?

80. māngel V. 'he will ask'. III pers. sing. imperf. of V. māṅ- 'to ask for'.

cf. Skt. mārg- (denominative of marga 'track'); H. māgnā 'to beg'. -l Skt. -ti.

81. borī N.f. 'daughter-in-law'

cf. Skt. vadhū, vadhūtī, H. bahū 'daughter-in-law'

82. yānā N.f. 'name of a Gypsy woman'. Apparently y- is a glide. In sāntānā 'Saint Anne' this glide does not appear.

Eng. Anne.

83. wošo N.m. 'name of a Gypsy man'.

Eng. Walter. (?)

84. pherel N. 'He will turn, (come back)'. III pers. sing. imperf, of V. pher- 'to walk, to turn,

to come back'. In this unstressed position phonetically e is heard as [I] [phIrel] .

cf. H, phirnā 'to turn' from Skt. sphr- , sphur- 'to jerk' (* spher-).

85. trīn Adv. (num.) 'three'. duī trīn 'lit. or two or three. Also see šo-yeftā 'six or seven' later in this text.

Skt. tri- neut. trīni 'three' H. tīn 'three'.

86. pherlo V. see 84. part. sing. of pher-.

87. ploskā N.f. 'a symbolic whiskey bottle'.

If some one comes with this whiskey-bottle to a house, it is sufficient hint that he will ask for the unmarried daughter in the house. If the marriage is settled, the bottle is opened and all present drink whiskey.

88. -sā Post. 'with'

89. māro N.f. 'name of a Gypsy woman'. The form is vocative.

Eng. Mary. (?)

90. tūtār Pr. 'from you sing.' tu is II pers. sing. Pr. ; -tār is Post. cf. mādār 'from me'.

Skt. tvam , H. tū.

91. sar Adv. 'as'. This is also interrogative adverb 'how'.

Etymology uncertain. sar is related to Gy. so 'what' which is comparable to Gujrati sū 'what'. Probably from -sya of Skt. kasya.

92. žānes V. 'you know' II pers. sing. imperf. of V. žān- 'to know'.

Skt. Jñā- 'to know', H. jān- 'to know'; -s Skt.-si.

93. so Pr. 'what' see 91.

94. sa V. 'is'. III pers. sing. imperf. of sa- 'to be'. Phonetically [sI] .

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100. san V. 'you are' II pers. imperf. of V. sa- 'to be', see 9, 94.

101. kī Pr. 'your'. This form is fem. because of the following fem. N. see m. kyo 95.

102. fāmiliā N.f. 'family'.

Eng. family. (?)

103. lāše Adj. 'good' pl. of lāšo see 12.

104. priznāin V. 'They respect'. III pers. pl. imperf. of V. priznā- 'to respect'.

Eng. prize(?)

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Skt. gātra 'body'.

168. suturī N. 'suit'

Eng. suit + (Gy. suffix) rī.

169. sarmāka 'of sarma N.f.' 'an expensive cloth'. Also as sirmā -ka possessive postposition.

170. wunicāka 'of wool' wunicā N.f. +ka.

171. lešoš N.f. 'lace' -ka 'of'

Eng. lace. (?)

172. žūte N.m. 'pairs' pl. of žūto.

cf. H. jūtā 'shoe'.

173. tsokolyā N.f. 'shoes' pl. of tsokolī.

174. malāwel V. 'it matches' III pers. sing. imperf. of malāw- V. 'to match'.

It appears to be the causative (-āw-) of V. mal- cf. Skt. mil- 'combine'. H. milnā 'to meet'. The causative H. milānā is also used in the sense of 'to match'.

175. būdā N.f. 'coat'.

176. sāwilele ɣom sā+ āwile le ɣom 'all the Gypsies came'.

177. ālā Adv. 'at least'.

cf. Eng. at least. (?)

178. žene N.m. 'people' pl. of ženo 'man'.

Skt. jana-'man, people'.

179. swāko Adj. 'every, everyone'.

180. injāinisāilo cf. 73.

sāntānā

(Saint Anne)

slāwī sāntānā. ānās bākuro.

We celebrate Saint Anne We bring lamb

phābārāz momelī ānās xāimos, ānās pīmos,

We burn candle we bring food we bring drink

thāi yukīs āme kāi sāntānā. āme slāwīs sāntānā.

and pray we to Saint Anne we celebrate Saint Anne

kon sa nāswālo, helpi le sāntānā, kānā

whoever is ill helps them Saint Anne when

sa nāswāle āme trādās lowe ānde kānādā kāi sāntānā

are ill we send money in Canada to Saint Anne

trādelāmenga zetino thāi trādelāmenga tsano

she sends to us oil and she sends to us small

bufāri. trādelāmenga pesko pīcar . āme trādās

book she sends to us her picture we send

lāka lowe. šāi trādes pānžengī worka

to her money you can send five-dollars or

dešengī so kāmes te trādes kāi

ten-dollars whatever you want to send to

sāntānā. slāwīs e sāntānā swāko

Saint Anne we celebrate Saint Anne every

barš. āme pāikyās ānde sāntānā. slāwīs būt.
 year We believe in Saint Anne we celebrate much
 āme yī slāwī sāntā mariā, girgodyā, hāi
 We also celebrate Saint Mary St. George and
 sweti yowāno.
 St. John.

English translation

Saint Anne

We celebrate Saint Anne. We bring lamb. We burn candle. We bring food. We bring drinks and we pray to Saint Anne. We celebrate Saint Anne. Whenever we are ill we send money in Canada to Saint Anne. She sends oil and a small book. She sends her picture. We send money to her. You can send five or ten dollars whatever you want to send to Saint Anne. We celebrate Saint Anne every year. We believe in Saint Anne. We celebrate much. We also celebrate St. Mary, St. George and St. John.

Analysis

181. sāntānā N.f. 'Saint Anne'. Most of the Gypsies, I have been told, are Roman Catholic. They have faith in several Saints especially in Saint Anne.

There is Ste. Anne de Beaupre in Canada to which this may refer. . cf. yānā 81.

182. slāwīs V. 'we celebrate'. I pers. pl. imperf. of slāw- 'to celebrate' with -ī- as theme vowel and -s as personal ending. The final -s is lost because of the next word beginning with s-.

cf. Skt. I pers. pl. suffix -mas.

183. ānās V. 'we bring'. I pers. pl. imperf. of ān- 'to bring' with -ā- as theme vowel and -s as personal ending see āndine 134.

184. phābārās V. 'we burn' I pers. pl. imperf. of phābār- 'to burn'. Note morphophonemic change of s to z before voiced m-.

185. momelī N.f. 'candle', mom N.m. 'wax' with suffix -el-.

P. mom. Also cf. H. mom.

186. xāimos N.m. 'food' V. xā- 'to eat' with -mos. cf. xabe 114.

187. pīmos N.m. 'drink' V. pī- 'to drink' see 117.

188. thāi Conj. 'and'. Alternative form of hāi, see 61.

189. yukīs V. 'we pray' I pers. pl. imperf. of yuk- 'to pray'. The medial k is also pronounced as g. yugī N. f. 'request, prayer'.

190. kāi Prep. 'to'. This appears to be kā+i (definite feminine article). cf. kāu (kā+o) 23.

191. kon Pr. 'who'. This is an interrogative pronoun but is used here as an indefinite pronoun.

Skt. kaḥ punaḥ, Pra. kavaṇa, H, kaun.

192. nāswālo Adj. 'ill, sick'. It appears to be a participle formation of a non-existing verb *nās-.

Etymology uncertain. Comparison with Skt. na + sabala 'not powerful' and Skt. V. naś- 'to perish' have been made. The etymology with Skt. naś- appears to be more probable.

193. trādās V. 'we send'. I pers. pl. perf. of V. trād- 'to send' with -ā- theme vowel and -s (personal suffix).

194. ānde Prep. 'in'. ān, ānde-āndo appear to be the different form of the same prep. ānde before f., āndó before m. probably ān+e+o (definite article).

195. kānādā N.f. 'Canada'.

Eng. Canada. (?)

196. āmenga Pr. 'for us' āme 'we', āmen 'us' +ka post. 'for'. Note the morphophonemic change of k to g.

Skt. oblique pl. asmān Ved. Skt. asme.

197. zetino N.m. 'oil'.

198. pesko Pr. 'her own', his own'. The possessive form of reflexive pronoun pe. The form is masculine because of the following masculine N.

cf. Skt. ātman 'self', H. āp. ?

199. pīcar N.m. 'picture, photo'. Also pīcestu and pīcesturi see in the text 'The old Gypsy life'.

cf. Eng. picture.(?)

200. šāi V. (aux.) 'can' šāi trādes 'you can send' cf. nāšti 'cannot' see 110.

cf. Skt. śak- 'to be able'.

201. pānžengī N. f. 'five pieces of anything', in this context 'five dollars' pānž 'five' + engī. cf. dešengī N.f. 'ten pieces of anything' in this context 'ten dollars'.

202. kāmes V. 'you want, you like', you love'.

II pers. sing. imperf. of V. kām- 'to want, like, love'.

Skt. kam- 'to wish, to desire, 'caus. kāmāy-.

203. pāikyās V. 'we believe' I pers. pl. imperf. of V. pāiki- 'to believe, to have faith'.

Etymology uncertain. But cf. Gy. pāko 'ripe' pāikī f. from Skt. pakva.

204. būt Adj. 'many, much'.

cf. Skt. bahu, bahuta, H. bahut.

205. sāntā mariā 'St. Mary'.

Eng. St. Mary. (?)

206. girgodyā 'St. George'. cf. Gypsy name

gyorgi.

Eng. George. (?)

207. sweti yowāno 'St. John'

Eng. St. John. (?)

so karenās le purwe yom

(The old Gypsy life)

āme trawlisārās le wurdonensā. sāmeņgrās

We used to travel with wagons We had horses
wurdon. žās phirās āndo gāw. žās kā le fārme
wagons we go walk in the city we go to the farm
māngās xābe. prosesārās, den āme lowe den āme
we ask food we ask give us money give us
xābe. žās kālpaī. thās gādā. āwen
food we go to the water we wash clothes come
žāndāryā hāi gonīn āme kai dyām rīgāte. žās
policemen and chase us where we camped we go
drābārās. karās yek telyāri duī. nāi āme
tell fortune we make one dollar two not have we
mirno te bešas kātārle žāndāryā. āwilel
peace to live from the policemen came the
žāndāryā hāi goninsārdyāmen pā o thān.
policemen and chased us from the place
āresās po thān hāi gonīn āme ipā godo
we come on a place and they chase us even from that
thān. so karās ame ? žās pālā o pāi. ānās
place what do we we go to the water bring
pāi. ānās kās. kirāwās xābe. kirāwās kāfā
water we bring wood we cook food we cook coffee

thās gādā. thās fotsa. wāzdāz le
 we wash clothes we wash pillow cases we pick up the
 šaranda. šulāwās āndel tsari. pricosārās.
 pillows we sweep in the tents we talk
 sūwās. hulāwās āme. gātiz le šāyun. plāšārās
 we sew we comb we dress the children we fix
 āndel wurdonā. iqkarās le grāsten. dāz le pāi
 in the wagons we take the horse we give the water
 prāwārās le grāsten. dāz le khās. dāz le
 we feed the horses we give them hay we give them
 žow. kirāwās xābelšāwoyanga. mārempel šāya
 oats we cook food for the children fight the children
 hāi kuršempe. maskarimpe. nāi mirno kātār šāya.
 and curse call names no peace from children
 mārde pel dui šāya. ākušempe. karen nāyāme
 fought two children insulted/cursed they do not have we
 hodinā. āme huladiwās tumendār soste ka nāi
 peace we split from you because not have
 mirno māre šāwen kātār tumāre šāwen. pāyuwenās
 peace our children from you children used to trade/
 le yom grāsten hāi bikinenās grāsten.
 exchange the Gypsies horses and sell horses
 karenās bukī xārkuī bešanās iwende
 used to do work coppersmith used to stay in the winter

ānde tsari. dārānās le gāže ka
 in the camp used to fear the non-Gypsies that
 corās lenga rākloyan. le yom ci corde
 we steal their children the Gypsies not stole
 rākloyan. le yom ci bādīn khānikās sā peskī
 children the Gypsies not bother anyone all their
 wiātsā. won drābāren hāi won karen bukī.
 life they tell fortunes and they do work.

samās ande kāliforniā. āwilel gāže te
 we were in California came non-Gypsies to
 karā šoyo. āme phendyām ci kamās te karā šoyo
 do the show we said that not we want to do show
 ka soste ci kamās te cumīndempe āmāre šeyā le
 because not we want that kiss our daughters
 gāžensā. āme sām desā te nā karen āmāre
 with non-Gypsies we were much that not do our
 šeyā lāžāw. āmenkarās āmāre šeyān. ci mekāz
 daughter shame we hold our daughters not we leave
 le korkoḡa te žān. nāi le lāwo te žān
 them alone to go not have they law/right to go
 korkoḡa khātende byāmenḡa.
 alone anywhere without us.

yekdātā kardyām bārī yāg. kirāwās xābe.
 Once we did big fire we were cooking food
 thās gādā nāiwās āwilel
 we were washing clothes we were swimming came the
 gāže hāi len āmende pīcestu. āme nāžlyām
 non-Gypsies and take our pictures we ran
 te nā len āmāre pīcesturi. soste ka ci
 so that not they take our pictures because not
 kamās te mekās te karen šoyo āndārende kāmenga
 we want to leave to do show on us because our
 sa lāžāw hāi žālāmārī wyāstā ka sam
 is shame and goes/spreads our news that we are
 kurwī. ci žās te karās šoyo. nāi lāšo,
 bad women we do not go to do a show not good
 karen āmāre pīcesturi le gāže. āme ci
 that they do our pictures the non-Gypsies we not
 kamās te karās te cumindās āmelgāžensā kā-
 want to do to kiss we with the non-Gypsies that
 me cyekdātā ci galyām gāžensē hāi cyekdātā
 we never not went with non-Gypsies and never
 ci phirāwāsāme gāžensā. le ŷom ci bādīnāspe
 not we will go with non-Gypsies not we used to bother
 gāžensā. le pīnda bars̄ pālpāle. akanā
 with non-Gypsies the fifty years before now

pāyudile le yom hāi karen swākofyālo.
 are changed the Gypsies and do everything

English translation

We used to travel with wagons. We had horses and wagons. We used to go into the city. We used to go to the farms. We used to ask for the food. We used to ask "Give us money. Give us food." We used to go to the water. We used to wash clothes. The policemen came and chased us where we camped. We used to go and tell fortunes. We used to make one or two dollars. We had no peace to live because of policemen. Policemen came and chased us from the place. We used to go to another place and they would chase us away even from that place. What used we to do? We used to go to the water. We would bring water. We used to bring wood. We used to cook food. We used to cook coffee. We used to wash clothes. We used to wash pillow cases. We used to pick up the pillows. We used to sweep the tents. We used to talk, sow, comb ourselves, dress the children, fix the wagons, take the horses, give them water, feed the horses, give them hay, give them oats, cook food for children. The children fought and cursed. They called names. We have no peace because of the children. Two children

fought. They curse each other. They do such things that we have no peace. We split because our children have no peace from your children.

The Gypsies used to trade horses and sell them. They used to do the work of coppersmiths. They used to stay in the camp during winter. The non-Gypsies used to fear that we steal their children. The Gypsies did not steal children. The Gypsies do not bother anyone throughout their life. They tell fortunes and they work.

We were in California. The non-Gypsies came to do a show. We said that we do not want to do the show because we do not want that our daughters should kiss non-Gypsies. We were too much concerned that they should not bring shame on our daughters. We keep control of our daughters. We do not let them go alone. They have no right to go alone anywhere without us.

Once we made a big fire. We were cooking food. We were washing clothes. We were swimming . The non-Gypsies came and they were taking pictures on our side. We ran so that they would not take our pictures because we do not permit them to make a show of us because it is a shame for us and news spreads that we are

bad women. We do not want to do a show. It is not good that the non-Gypsies should take our pictures. We do not wish that we should kiss non-Gypsies. We never went with non-Gypsies and never will go with non-Gypsies. The Gypsies did not use to bother with non-Gypsies fifty years before. Now they are changed and do everything.

Analysis

208. karenās V. 'used to do' III pers. pl. habituitive of kar- 'to do' (kar- + e+n+ās) see 32. The habituitive suffix -ās appears to be a contraction of sās perf. of V. sa- 'to be'; le purwe γom 'the old Gypsies'. purwe Adj. 'first' 'old' pl. of purwo.

Skt. pūrva 'first, old'.

209. trāwlisārās V. 'we used to travel' I pers. pl. habituitive of V. trāwlisār- 'to travel'. -ās is a habituitive suffix which is not added to I pers. pl. imperf. because of the sameness.

Eng. travel, +-sār.

210. wurdonensā 'with wagons'. wurdon N.m. 'cart, carriage, wagon' -en 'obl. pl. suffix', -sā post. 'with'.

cf. Ossetic uordone, ordon. Also P. kurd. garden 'wheel'. (?)

211. sāmengrās = sa āmen grās. Note morphophonemic combination of a+ā =ā and change of n to ŋ. grās N.m. 'horse' 'we had horses'.

Comparisons of Gy. grās with Skt. ghoṭa, ghoṭaka H. ghoṭā 'horse' and Arm. grast 'beast of burden' have been made. Arm. grast appears to be better or more probable etymology.^(?) Note the morphophonemic change in the oblique case, Gy. grāstes 'to the horse'.

212. gāw N.m. 'city, town'

cf. Skt. grāma 'village'

213. fārm N.m. 'farm'

Eng. farm. (?)

214. prosesārās V. 'we ask', I pers. pl. imperf. of V. prosesār- 'to ask, beg'. The alternative form is pros- .

215. kālpāi = kā le pāi. Note the loss of vowel, see 2.3. pāi N.m. 'water'.

Skt. pāniya, H. pānī. Also note the loss of n medially between vowels. cf. γomnī 'a Gypsy woman' but γomāi (*γomānī) 'belonging to Gypsy'.

216. thās V. 'we wash' I pers. pl. imperf. of tho- or thow- 'to wash'. Note the loss of o; tho+ā+s = thās.

Skt. dhāv- 'to wash'.

217. žāndāryā N.m. 'policemen', pl. of žāndāri.

Appears to be a loan-word through some European channel; cf. Fr. gens [žā] 'people, persons' and arme [ārm] 'arm, weapon'. (?)

218. gonin V. 'They chase'. III pers. pl. imperf. of gon- 'to chase'.

219. kāi Adv. 'where' used as interrogative and relative adverb both.

cf. Skt. interrogative pronoun stem ka- .

Comparison with Skt. kva 'where' has been made which is unconvincing.

220. dyām rīgāte 'camped'. I pers. pl. perf. of V. de- 'to give'. rīgāte 'putting aside' is further analyzable as rīg + āte. rik or rīg 'side'.

Gy. rik or rīg has been considered as cognate with dhig 'side' from Skt. diś which appears to be quite doubtful.

221. drābārās V. 'we tell fortune', I pers. pl. imperf. of V. drābār- 'to tell fortune'. Only women, according to Gypsy practice, are permitted to tell fortunes. drābārānī 'a woman who tells fortunes'.

222. telyāri N. m. 'dollar'.

Eng. dollar. (?)

223. mirno Adj. 'quiet', 'peaceful' cf. beš mirno 'keep quiet'. Here the phrase is nāi āme mirno te bešas

'we do not have that we may live quiet or peaceful
i.e. we do not have a peaceful life'.

224. kātār Prep. 'from' cf. kātār 'from where'
which is analyzable as ka- (oblique stem of kon) + -tār
Post. 'from where' e.g. kātār āwes 'where are you
coming from'. The alternative form is kātāi 'from'.

Skt. ka- (interrogative pronoun stem) + tas;
cf. kutaḥ 'from where'.

225. āwilel žāndāryā = awile le žāndāryā 'the
policemen came'. Note the loss of vowel in le.

226. gonīnsārdyāmen = goninsārdyā III pers.
perf. pl. of gon- , gonīnsār- and āmen 'to us'. Note
the combination of vowels ā+ā = ā.

227. pā Prep. 'from'; In combination with the
definite article also pāu and po.

228. thān N.m. 'place'

Skt. sthāna- 'place', Panj. thā 'place'.

229. āresās V. 'we come or reach'. I pers.
pl. imperf. of āres- 'to arrive, come, reach'.

Etymology uncertain. Comparison with P. rasidan
'to reach' has been made. ā- can be regarded as a
Gypsy prefix; cf. 43, 113 etc. '(?)

230. po Prep. 'on, to' cf. pe + o (definite
article) see 118.

231. kāš N.m. 'wood, tree'. Note the morphophonemic change in kāštes (kāšt + es).

Skt. kāṣṭha 'wood', H. kāth.

232. fotsa N.m. 'pillow-cases' pl. of fotsa.

233. wāzdāz V. 'we pick up' I pers. pl. imperf. of wāzd-. Note the morphophonemic change of final s to z.

234. šaranda N.m. 'pillows'; pl. of šaranda. cf. šoro or šaro N.m. 'head' + anda.

Skt. śiras- 'head' ; H. sirhānā 'pillow'.

235. šulawās V. 'we sweep' I pers. pl. imperf. of šulāw- 'sweep'. -āw- appears to be a causative suffix. The alternative form is šalāw-.

Etymology uncertain. šalāv- in Welsh Gy. means 'to peel'. Comparison with Skt. śat, śātayati 'to cleave' has been made.

236. āndel tsari = ānde le tsari. Note the loss of vowel. tsari N.f. 'tents'. sing. tsara.

237. pricosārās V. 'we talk'. pricosar + ā + s I pers. pl. imperf.

238. sūwās V. 'we sew' I pers. pl. imperf. of sūw- 'to sew'.

Skt. sīv- 'to sew', 'to stitch' H. sīnā.

239. hulāwās V. 'we comb'; I pers. pl. imperf.

of V. hulāw- 'to share, divide, split, comb'. The by-forms xulāw-, γulāw- and hulādiw- also appear in the language. hulādiw- appears to be related to participle form hulādilo. The meaning 'to comb' appears to have originated from 'dividing the hair into two parts' as this is an old practice with Gypsies.

240. gātīz V. 'we clothe, make dressed' I pers. pl. imperf. of gāt-, gād- 'to clothe, to dress' cf. gād. 'cloth' 167. Note the morphophonemic change from s to z.

241. plāšārās V. 'we fix'. I pers. pl. imperf. of plāšār- 'to fix'. The root appears to be *plāš- with suffix -ār. cf. Gy. lāšār-.

242. inkarās V. 'we take' I pers. pl. imperf. of inkar- 'to take, hold, keep'.

Etymology uncertain. It is presumed that this is a compound of an (ān-) 'to bring' + ker (kar-) 'to do'.

243. prāwārās V. 'we feed' I pers. pl. imperf. of prāwār- 'to feed'.

cf. Skt. prati- (or pari-)pālaya- 'to protect, cherish, nurse'.

244. khās N.m. 'hay'.

Skt. ghāsa 'food, fodder, pasture grass' from
Skt. ghas- 'to eat'.

245. žow N.m. 'oats'.

Skt. yava 'grain, corn'.

246. mārem pe 'they are fighting'. Note the
morphophonemic change of n to m. III pers. pl. imperf.
of V. mār- 'to blow, to hit', pe is reflexive which
gives the meaning 'they are fighting to each other'.
Also cf. kuršempe 'they are cursing each other',
maskarīmpe 'they are calling names to each other',
mārde pe 'they fought to each other'. see 4.1.4.

Skt. māraya- 'to kill' caus. of mṛ 'to die'
Gy. mer-. cf. H. marnā 'to die' mārṇā 'to kill, to beat'

247. kuršempe 'they curse each other'. Note the
morphophonemic change of n to m. pe refl. ; III pers.
pl. imperf. of kurš- 'to curse'.

Eng. curse.^(?) Also cf. Gy. ākuš- 'to insult' 'to
curse' 250.

248. maskarīmpe 'they call names to each other'.
III pers. pl. imperf. of maskar- 'to call names'.

Probably of Persian origin. cf. H. loan-word
masxarī 'joke'. (?)

249. nāi mirno kātār šāya 'no peace from
children' cf. 223 and 224.

250. ākušempe 'they insult each other' III pers. pl. imperf. of ākuš- 'to insult, to curse'.

Skt. kruš. 'to cry', ākruš 'to abuse' H. kosnā 'to curse'.

251. hodinā N.m. 'peace'.

252. tumendār 'from you' tume pl. II pers. Pr. tumen (oblique) + tār.

Skt. *tuṣme, H. tum. (There is RV yuṣme loc. pl.).

253. soste Conj. 'because' interrogative Adv. 'why' .

254. māre = āmāre 'our'. Note the loss of vowel ā. āmāro is the possessive form of āme.

cf. Skt. asmadiya. More probably from Pra. amhārā (*amhakara) cf. H. hamārā.

255. tumāre 'your' tumāro is the possessive form of tume.

Pra. tumhārā, H. tumhārā.

256: pāywenās V. 'used to trade'. The habitutive form of V. pāy- 'to trade, to exchange' 'to change'.

Etymology uncertain. It is presumed that this form has its origin in Skt. compound para-rūpa (*pararuvāva-) 'another shape'. Comparison with Skt.

parivṛt (from vṛt- 'to turn') has also been made.

257. bikinenās V. 'used to sell' cf. kin-37.

258. bukī N.f. 'work, thing'.

cf. Welsh Gy. buti, compared with Skt. vṛtti
'mode of life'.

259. xārkuī Adj. f. 'pertaining to copper'. The form is f. because of bukī being f. Note the order of Adj. which can precede and follow the N. xārkumā N.f. 'copper', xārkuno Adj. m. see 3.3.

260. īwende 'towards the winter'. īwen N.m.
'winter' + te. It is also possible to analyze īwen + e
(locative suffix) cf. khar 'house' khare 'in the house'
-d can be considered a morphophonemic insertion before
vowel; cf. grās 'horse', grāstes. īw N. m. 'snow'.

Skt. hima 'snow', hemanta 'winter'.

261. dārānās V. 'used to fear'. Habituaive form
of V. dār- 'to fear'. The caus. dārāw- 'to frighten'.

cf. H. ḍarnā 'to fear', ḍarānā 'frighten'.

262. gāže N.m. 'the non-Gypsies' pl. of gāžo
'non-Gypsy man, husband' gāži f. 'non-Gypsy woman,
wife' cf. γom 44.

The etymology is obscure but relation with Skt.
garhya (?grhya) 'domestic' and gaya (?) 'house' have
been suggested.

263. corās V. 'we steal' I pers. pl. imperf.
of cor- 'to steal' cf. cor, coro N.m. 'thief'.

Skt. cur- 'to steal' corayati 'he steals' H.
cor 'thief', curānā 'to steal'.

264. rākloḡan 'to the boys'. rāklo N.m. 'boy'
-ḡo diminutive suffix in obl. pl. form. cf. rāklī
N.f. 'girl'.

Etymology uncertain. Comparison with Skt. dāraka-
'boy' has been made. Also cf. H. laṛkā 'boy' of unknown
origin but has been compared with Skt. laṛ- 'to be a
child' (only Dhp.) or laṛ- 'to sport'.

265. bādīn V. 'They bother' III pers. pl. imperf.
of bād- 'to bother'. (?)

Eng. bother.

266. khānikās 'to anybody' the obl. sing. form
of khanik.

Probably konik , cf. Gy. kon 'who' see 191.

267. wiātsā N.f. 'life' sā peskī wiātsā 'in all
their life'.

268. šoyo N.m. 'show'. Note the loss of s in
karās šoyo .

Eng. show. (?)

269. cumindempe 'kiss themselves' reflex. pe .
Note the morphophonemic change of n to m. III pers.

pl. imperf. of cum-, cumind- 'to kiss'.

Gy. cum from Skt. cumb- 'to kiss', H. cūmnā.
cumind- appears to be a participle stem. cf. Skt.
part. stem cumbant- .

270. desā Adv. 'much' āme sam desā 'lit. we
were much i.e. we tried our best'.

271. lāžāw N.f. 'shame'. Also lāž- 'to feel
ashamed or shy'. nā karen ānāre šeyā lāžāw 'they should
not put our daughters to shame'. Because according to
the Gypsy custom it was considered shameful to be
photographed by non-Gypsies or take part in any show
organized by non-Gypsies.

cf. Skt. lajjā, H. lāj.

272. āmenkarās = ame+ inkarās 'we hold' or 'we
keep in check' see inkar- 242.

273. mekāz V. 'we'leave'. I pers. pl. imperf.
of mek- 'to leave, to give up, permit' cf. mek which
is used as a particle expressing permission, with the
sense 'let'. This originally appears to be the im-
perative form of V-stem mek- .

Skt. muc- , muñc- 'to leave' Pra. part. mukka.

274. korkoḡa Adj. 'alone' pl. and f. of korkoḡa.
It appears to be korko + ḡo (diminutive suffix).

Etymology uncertain. Comparisons with Skt. ekaka 'single' and ekala 'solitary' have been made.

275. lāwo N.m. 'law'

Eng. law (+ o). (?)

276. khātende Adv. 'anywhere' cf. khāte 'here'.

277. byāmeᅅga = bi + āmeᅅga 'without us'. bi-privative prefix.

Skt. pref. vi- denoting 'separation' privation, also see Skt. vinā 'without' H. binā.

278. yekdātā Adj. 'once'. It is compound of yek+ dātā. Also yegdātā. yek see 107; dātā is of unknown origin.

279. bārī Adj. 'big' f. of bāro.

Skt. vaᅅra 'great' Pra. vaᅅᅅa, H. barā.

280. yāg N.f. 'fire'.

Skt. agni , H. āg 'fire'

281. nāiwās 'we were taking bath or swimming'. I pers. pl. imperf. of nāiw- 'to take bath or swim'.

Skt. snā- , H. nahānā 'to take bath'.

282. nāžlyām V. 'we ran' I pers, pl. perf. of nāš- 'to run, to flee'.

Skt. naš- 'to run, perish' cf. Panj. nassan 'to flee'.

283. wyāstā N.f. 'news' žāl ēmārī wyāstā '

our news spreads' i.e. people will come to know about this and we will be ashamed of ourselves'.

284. kurwī N.f. 'bad woman'. Alternative form kuruwā, kuruwī. The medial -u- is lost in this unstressed position. Also kurwāri N.m. 'whore-monger'.

This has been compared with Skt. kaṭu-, kaṭuka- 'bitter'. It could better be compared with kuṭṭinī 'prostitute, bad woman'.

285. cyekdātā = ci + yekdātā 'lit. not once'.

286. bars̄ N.m. 'year'

Skt. varṣa.

287. akānā Adv. 'now' cf. kānā see l.

288. swākofyālo N.m. 'everything'. Compound of swāko (see 179) + fyālo.

Bereaved husband

(husband to his wife)

Oi brušundel brāwāl mārel
 O! it is raining wind is hitting
 hāi maḡa gāžī nāi khare
 and my wife is not in the house
 Oi hāidi hāidi maḡa gāžī
 O! come come my wife
 tā rowen tūka šāwe
 that are crying for you children

(wife to her husband)

Oi mek rowen mān mek pāyon
 O! let(them) weep to me let(them) burst
 tā me khare ci awāw
 that I in the house not will come

(mother-in-law to daughter-in-law)

Oi hāidi hāidi maḡa borī
 O! come come my daughter-in-law
 tā rowel tūt maḡo šāw
 that is weeping for you my son

(daughter-in-law to mother-in-law)

Oi meg mudārdel meg merel

O! let (him) kill (himself) let (him) die

tā me khare ci awāw

that I in the house not will come

(mother-in-law to daughter-in-law)

Oi hāidi hāidi hāidi khare

O! come come come in the house

kināw tūka kež hāi sirmā

(I) will buy for you silk and a kind of expensive
cloth

(daughter-in-law to mother-in-law)

Oi ci kamāw kež hāi sirmā

O! not (I) want silk and a kind of expensive cloth

tā māi lāšo mānga pīpīseri

that more good for me coarse cotton

It is raining and wind is blowing. And my wife is not
in my house. O my wife! come to my house your children
are crying for you.

Let them cry for me, let them burst.

But I will not come to your house.

O my daughter-in-law, come please come.

My son is crying for you.

Let him kill himself, let him die.

But I will not come to your house.

Come please come to the house.

I will buy silk and an expensive cloth for you.

I do not want silk and expensive cloth.

My coarse cotton is the best for me.

Analysis

289. oi This is the form of address.

290. brušundel V. 'it rains' III pers. sing. imperf. of V. brušun-. The alternative form buršun- also exists.

Skt. varṣ- 'to rain' participle varṣan (*varṣant-)
H. barasnā.

291. brāwāl N.m. 'wind'. Because of the accent on the second syllable, the first vowel ā is usually short.

Etymology uncertain. Comparison can be made with Skt. balvat- 'powerful' (cf. Gy. brāwālo 'rich') and Skt. vāta- 'wind'.

292. hāidi 'come'. āw- 'to come' is the verb stem but in the imperative this form is used. It can also be translated as 'let us go', but the general meaning is 'come'.

293. tā Conj. 'that'

294. rowen V. 'they cry, weep' III pers. pl. imperf. of row- 'to weep, cry'.

Skt. rū- ruvati 'to yell, to cry'; also rud- (roditi) 'to weep', H. ronē.

295. mek rowen 'let them weep' mek pāyon 'let them burst' see 273.

296. pāyon V. 'they burst' III pers. pl. imperf. of V. pāy- 'to burst'. pāyā as an unrelated noun-stem means 'flame'.

297. tūt 'for you'. Alternative oblique (used in the dative sense here) of II pers. sing. Pr. tū cf. tūka see 106.

298. meg The final k of mek is voiced because of the following voiced consonant.

299. mudārdel 'he kills' i.e. let him kill himself. imperf. III pers. sing. form of mudārd- 'to kill'.

cf. Skt. mār- 'to kill' or mr̥- 'to die'; -d- appears to be from the participle form i.e. mudārdo 'killed'.

300. kež N.m. 'silk'

P. kaz 'raw silk'. (?)

301. pīpīseri N.m. 'cotton'.

Lexicon

(Gypsy-English)

Notes: (1) Gypsy words are given in alphabetic order which is based on Roman order with necessary changes:

a ā b c ch d e f g γ h i ī j k kh l m n
ŋ o p ph r s š t th u ū w x y z ž.

- (2) Cognates from other languages are given in the transliteration in Roman except from Gk. which are given in Greek script. Skt. palatal sibilant has been transliterated as š instead of ś or ṣ.
- (3) Numbers refer to item numbers in the analysis of text.
- (4) List of abbreviations used is given at the end of lexicon.
- (5) Etymologies included in commentary and lexicon are mainly based on Sampson and Turner. Most of them are worthless.

akanā Adv. 'now' see 287 also kānā 1.

akloḡo Adj. 'alone'.

Skt. ekatara.

aṅlušti N.f. 'ring'.

Skt. aṅguṣṭhi, H. aṅgūṭhī.

ansurime Adj. 'married'.

aṅkli- V. 'to climb'.

axalmī Adj. (num.) 'one hundred thousand' (yek+šal+mī).

ābiyāw, ābyāw N.m. 'wedding' see 113, ābyāweska see 151.

āges Adv. 'today' see ges.

āiskrīmo N.m. 'ice-cream'.

Eng. ice-cream. (?)

ākuš- V. 'to insult, to curse' see 250.

ākhār V. 'to call, to invite' ākhārdem see 43.

ākhor N.m. 'walnut'.

Skt. akṣoṭa 'walnut', H. akhroṭ.

ālā Adv. 'at least' see 177.

Eng. at least. (?)

āmbilādori N.m. 'hangman' see āmbilāw- .

āmbilāw- V. 'hang'.

Skt. lamb- 'to hang down' with ā (prefix).

āmbold- V. 'to turn'.

āme Pr. 'we' āmeṅga see 196, āmāro see 254.

ān- 'to bring' āndine see 134, ānās see 183.

ān, ānde, āndo Prep. 'in, on' see 194.

ānā N.f. 'the name of a Gypsy woman' see 82, sântānā

'Saint Anne'.

ānāw N.m. 'name' also nāw.

Skt. (ā+) nām.

āndāi Prep. 'from' see 6.

ānzuw- V. 'to reach'.

āngāli N.f. 'lap'.

āngār N.m. 'coal'.

Skt. āngāra- 'coal'.

āngārāri N.m. 'coal-man' see āngār.

ārāiki Adv. 'yesterday'.

ārāit 'all right' see 35.

ārākh- V. 'to keep, to find, to guard, to protect,
see 164.

ārāt Adv. 'tonight' see rāt.

āres- 'to come, to arrive, to reach' see 229, ārizlo
'he arrived'.

ās- V. 'to laugh'.

Skt. has- 'to laugh', H. hāsnā.

āstār- V. 'to catch'.

Skt. ā+sthā- 'to stand' with caus.

āswā N.f. 'tear'.

Skt. āśru 'tear', More probably cf. Skt.

vāṣpa 'tear'.

āš- V. 'to remain'.

Skt. ṛch- 'to meet with, to attain', more probably
akṣeti 'abides, dwells in'.

āšpitāl N.m. 'hospital'.

Eng. hospital. (?)

āšun- V. 'to hear'.

Skt. ā+ṣṛ+ṇo-ti 'He hears'.

āw- V. 'to come' part. āwilo see 21, āwile see 45,
hāidi see 292.

āwer Adj. 'other' see 62.

āwerfyālo Adj. 'different'.

āwkā Adv. 'may be, perhaps'.

āwrī Adv. 'outside', āwryāl 'from outside'.

Skt. bahir- 'outside'.

āzbā- V. 'to touch'.

āžukar- V. 'to wait'.

āγo N.m. 'egg'.

Skt. aṇḍa- 'egg'

barš N.m. 'year' see 286.

bāžāš N.m. 'a kind of Gypsy'.

bād- V. 'to bother' see 265.

bāγ N. 'stone'

Etymology uncertain. Comparison with kurd. bar,

Dard. batt, bort 'stone', kaf. wott Skt. vaṭa,
 vartaka 'round', vartih 'orbit' have been made.
 cf. L. waṭṭā.

bāyāno Adj. 'stony' see bāy .

bāikiw N.f. see pāikiw.

bākro N.m. 'lamb' see 38. Also bākuro.

bākroyo N.m. 'small lamb' see bākro.

bākso N.m. 'box'.

Eng. box. (?)

bāl N.m. 'hair'.

Skt. vāla, bāla 'hair'.

bālālo Adj. 'hairy' see bāl.

bālo N.m. 'pig' see 141.

bāloyo N.m. 'small pig' see bālo.

bānyār- , benyār V. 'to bend' see beny.

bār N.f. 'gate, fence'.

Skt. vaṭa 'enclosure' vāṭikā 'garden' H. bārī.

bārbišāb N.m. 'barber'.

Eng. barber. (?)

bāri- V. 'to grow'

Skt. vṛdh- , H. barhnā 'to grow'.

bārikāno N.m. 'big man' see bāro.

bārkā N.f. 'little boat'.

bāro Adj. 'big' see 279.

bāš- V. 'to rustle'.

Etymology uncertain. Comparisons with Skt. bhāṣ-
'to say' and vāš- 'to cry' have been made.

bāx N.f. 'fortune'.

P. baxt 'fortune'. Comparisons with Skt. bhāgya
'fortune' and demotic Gk. *μπάχι*^(?) have also been
made.

bāxtālo Adj. 'fortunate' see bāx.

bāžno N.m. 'cock'.

Probably related to Gy. bēš- 'to rustle' with
part. suffix -no.

bek- , pek V. 'to bake'.

Eng. bake. (?) cf. Skt. pac- 'to cook', H. pakānā.

beltā N.m. 'belt'.

Eng. belt. (?)

beṅ N.m. 'devil, mean'.

Skt. vyanga 'limbless'; also cf. Skt. vakra-
'crooked'.

bengāilo Adj. 'having fits' see beṅ.

beš- V. 'to stay' bežlo see 28.

bi- 'with-out' privative prefix see 277, byāmeṅga
'without us'.

biān- 'to bear, to give birth'.

Skt. vi-jan- 'bring forth', H. byānā.

bi-bāxtālo Adj. 'unlucky' see bāx- .

bikin- V. 'to sell' see 257. cf. kin 37.

bil N.m. 'a name'.

bi-lāmpengo Adj. 'without light' see lāmpā.

bilāw- V. 'to melt' caus. of *bil- .

Skt. vi + lī- 'to be dissolved'.

bimbūryā N.m. (pl. of *bimbūri) 'a Gypsy tribe'.

bi-ponyāwāko Adj. 'without a blanket', see ponyāwā.

birowī N.f. 'bee'.

bistar- V. 'to forget'.

Skt. vismr̥- , H. bisarnā 'to forget'.

bi-xābesko 'without having food' see xābe.

bībī N.f. 'aunt'.

bīrā N.m. 'beer' see 41, bīrī see 149.

bīš Adj. (num.) 'twenty'.

Skt. viṃśati, H. bīs 'twenty'.

bokhālo Adj. 'hungry' (from *bokh- 'hunger').

Skt. bubhuṣā, H. bhūkh 'hunger'.

bol- V. 'to dip, to baptize'.

Etymology uncertain. cf. with H. būḍna, dūbnā

and Skt. vruḍ- 'to sink' have been made'.

borā N.m. 'butter'.

Eng. butter. (?)

borānī N.f. 'string-bean' cf. Gy. borā.

borī N.f. 'daughter-in-law' see 81, boryā 122.

boryoḡa N.f. 'bride' see borī.

brāwāl N.m. 'wind' see 291.

brāwālo N.m. 'rich' see 291.

bre voc. 'sir ! '.

brebiško N.m. 'kidney'.

bricirī N.f. 'belt'.

brušund- , buršun- 'to rain' see 290.

bufāri N.m. 'book, wallet, purse'.

bukī N.f. 'work, thing' see 258.

būko N.m. 'liver'.

Skt. bukka 'heart'.

burbāntso N.m. 'pea'.

burīko N.m. 'navel'

būndā N.f. 'coat' see 175.

būt Adj. 'many, much' see 204.

būwlo Adj. 'wide'.

cf. Skt. bahula- 'broad, wide, much'.

būzno N.m. 'goat', f. būznī.

P. buz 'he-goat'. (?)

bužo N.m. 'face towel'.

cay- V. 'to lick'.

cf. H. cātnā 'to lick'.

cam- V. 'to chew'.

Denominative of Skt. jambhā 'jaw' ?

cāco Adj. 'true'.

Skt. satya 'truth', H. sac.

cāyo N.m. 'tea'.

cf. H. cāya ?

cāso N.m. 'time'.

Etymology uncertain. Comparison with M. Gk. *καλρός*

'time' has been made. (?)

cāsuriyā N.f. 'watch' see cāso.

ce Pr. 'what'.

ci Adv. 'not' see 76.

cikanālo Adj. 'fatty, fat'.

cikāt N. m. 'forehead'.

P. *čakād* 'crown of the head, forehead', Arm.

čakat. (?)

ciriklo N.m. 'bird'.

cf. Skt. *ciri* 'parrot', H. *ciriyā* 'sparrow'.

coyo Adj. 'poor, bad'.

cf. Skt. *kṣudra* 'small'.

cor- V. 'to steal' see 263.

cor, coro N.m. 'thief'.

corimos N.m. 'theft' see cor.

coxāno N.m. 'ghost'.

cf. Arm. civaȳ , jivaȳ 'monster'. (?)

cum, cumind- 'to kiss' see 269.

cūcī N.f. 'breast'.

Skt. cucī 'female breast' cuṣ- 'to suck'.

chālī N.f. 'cloth' see 115.

chāṅ N.f. 'knee'.

Skt. jaṅghā 'leg'.

chār, chāro N.m. 'grass'.

Skt. car- 'to roam' , H. cārā 'grass'.

chāroyo Adj. 'grassy' see chār.

chuṅgār- V. 'to spit'.

cf. H. thūkna 'to spit' from Skt. thutkr ?

cheran N.m. 'star'.

cf. P. carkh 'sky, heavens' (?)

chīk- V. 'to sneeze', N. 'sneeze'.

Skt. chikkā 'sneezing' , H. chīṅk, chīṅknā .

dand (a) N.m. 'front tooth' V. 'to bite'.

Skt. danta 'tooth'.

dandwālo Adj. 'a person whose front teeth are sticking out' see dand- .

dāb N.f. 'blow, hit'.

Skt. dabh- 'to hurt' ?

dād N.m. 'father'.

Skt. tāta 'father'. Also cf. Dard. dado.

dāimānto N.m. 'diamond'.

Eng. diamond. (?)

dāimo N.m. 'dime'.

Eng. dime. (?)

dār- V. 'to fear' dārāw- 'to frighten' see 261.

de- V. 'to give' dāw see 111. dyām riḡāte 'camped'
see 220.

de, dei N.f. 'mother'.

Etymology uncertain. But comparison with *dādī
f. of Gy. dād, H. dādī 'grand-mother' and dāī 'nurse'
have been made.

de- dumā V. 'to speak'.

del N.m. 'heaven, God'.

Skt. devatā 'God'.

desā Adj. 'much' see 270.

deš Adj. (num.) 'ten' see 107. dešoduī 'twelve' see 50.

dešo-šo Adj. (num.) 'sixteen' dešošoingā see 148.

dešengī N.f. 'ten dollars' see 201.

dikh- V. 'to see' see 2. dikhlo see 152.

dikhlo N.m. 'kerchief' see 152.

dilo Adj. 'crazy, mad'.

Etymology uncertain. Comparison with Skt. *dīna-* 'wretched' and part. form of *dā-* 'to give', *datta* (Gy. *dilo*) have been made.

dilyār- V. 'to make crazy' see *dilo* 'crazy'.

diminyātsa N.f. 'morning' see 55.

doktoro N.m. 'doctor'.

Eng. doctor. (?)

diwāno N.m. 'conversation'.

dopāš Adj. 'half'.

Probably from Skt. *dvi-* *pārśva* 'two sides' cf.

also Gy. *pāša* 'near' .

doš- V. 'to blame'.

Skt. *duṣ-* 'to spoil', *doṣa*.

drābā N.m. 'drug'.

Skt. *dravya* 'substance' *dru-* 'to run'.

drābār- V. 'to tell fortunes' see 221.

drābārnī N.f. 'fortune-teller' see 221.

drom N.m. 'road, way'.

Gk. *δρόμος* 'road, way'. (?)

duhāno N.m. 'tobacco'.

duī Adj. (num.) 'two' see 19, 107.

dukh- V. 'to hurt'.

Skt. *duḥkha* 'pain'.

dumo N.m. 'shoulder'.

Etymology uncertain. Comparisons with P. dum(?)

'tail' Skt. druma 'tree' and M. Gk. *κορμός* 'trunk of a tree' from *κορμί* 'body' (d ?) have been made.(?)

dušmāno N.m. 'enemy'.

P. dušman. (?)

dūr Adv. 'far'.

Skt. dūr 'distant'.

dūrlo Adj. 'distant' see dūr.

egmiyās Adj. (num.) 'one thousand'.

falcī N.f. 'jaw'.

fālkā N.f. 'chin'.

fāmiā N.f. 'family' see 102. Also fāmiyā.

fārb- V. 'to paint'.

fārbāri N.m. 'painter' see fārb- .

fārm N.m. 'farm' see 213.

fātsā N.f. 'cloth'.

felāstri N.f. 'window'.

fewar N.f. 'favor' see 105.

fistāno N.m. 'dress'.

flod- V. 'to float'.

Eng. float. (?)

fotsa N.m. 'pillow-case'.

foro N.m. 'town'.

frānsūzuri N.m. 'French'.

freno N.m. 'friend' see 13.

freško Adj. 'fresh'.

Eng. fresh + Gy. -ko. (?)

fri Adj. 'free'.

Eng. free. (?)

gād N.m. 'cloth, shirt' see 157. cf. gāt- 240.

gādo Pr. 'that' also godo see 98.

gārāw- V. 'to hide'.

cf. Skt. guh- 'to hide'.

gāt- 'to clothe, to make dressed' see 240. cf. gād.

gāw N.m. 'city, town' see 212.

gāzdo N.m. 'owner' gāzdī f. 'landlady'.

gāžī N.f. 'non-Gypsy woman, wife' see 262.

gāžo N.m. 'non-Gypsy man, husband' see 262.

ges N.m. 'day' see 29.

gilābā- V. 'to sing' gilābāde see 67.

girgodyā N.m. 'St. George' see 206, cf. gyorgi.

girtāno, gurtano N.m. 'gullet'.

gitār N.m. 'guitar' see 71.

gin- V. 'to count'.

Skt. gana 'host', H. ginanā 'to count'.

gī N.f. 'belly'.

glāso N.m. 'sound'.

glāti N.m. 'child'.

godo Pr. 'that' see 98. Also see gādo.

gon- V. 'to chase' see 218, gonīnsār- , gonīnsārdyā
'they chased' see 226.

grāpā N.f. 'hole'.

grās N.m. 'horse' see 211.

grimmā N.f. 'bracelet'.

gulo Adj. 'sweet'.

Skt. gūḍa.

gunerešti N.m. 'a group of Gypsies'.

guruw N.m. 'ox', f. gurunī 'cow'.

Skt. go- 'cow'?

gyorgi N.m. 'a name of a Gypsy man' see 60.

γakiā N.m. 'whiskey' see 42. Also γakiā, ikiā.

- γo 'diminutive suffix' see 165. γa f. and pl.

γoi N.f. 'spoon'.

Skt. darvi 'spoon'?

γom N.m. 'Gypsy man' γomen see 44.

γudār, hudār, wudār m. 'door, gate'.

Skt. dvār 'door'.

γuk- V. 'to pray' see 189.

γukī, γugī N.f. 'request, prayer' see γuk- 189.

hāi Conj. 'and' see 61.

hāidi 'come' imp. of āw- 'to come' see 292.

hālo N.m. 'hall' see 138.

hāmisār- V. 'to stir'.

hārāwlī N.f. 'belt'.

hodinā N.f. 'peace'.

horezo N.m. 'rich' see 145.

hulāw- , hulādiw- 'to comb, to split, to divide, share'
see 239.

huryā- V. 'to fly'.

Skt. uḍḍi- 'to fly'.

huteri N.m. 'hotel'.

Eng. hotel. (?)

ikiā N.m. 'whiskey' see γakiā.

iliyā N.m. 'name of a Gypsy man' see 57.

injāinsār- 'to enjoy'. injāinsāile see 73.

injāinisāilo see 180.

inkar- 'to take, hold, keep' see 242, 272.

ī Adv. see yī.

ī Art. see o .

īne Adv. 'there'.

īw N.m. 'snow' see 260.

īwen N.m. 'winter' see 260.

īzdrā- V. 'to tremble'.

īzdrāno Adj. 'paralyzed' see īzdrā.

īzwāno N.m. 'bell'.

īyā Adj. (num.) 'nine' see 107.

jaj N.m. 'Judge'.

Eng. judge. (?)

janwarī N.m. 'January'.

Eng. January. (?)

jyūso N.m. 'juice'.

Eng. juice. (?)

ka Conj. 'that' see 31. 'because' see 123.

-ka Post. 'for' see 26, 106.

kar- V. 'to do' karāw see 32, karenās see 208.

karāw- caus. of kar- 'to get done'.

karimos N.m. 'deed' see kar-.

kā Prep. 'to, at' see 49. kāu see 23, kāi see 190.

kāfā N.f. 'coffee' see 27.

kāi Adv. 'where' see 219.

kāi Prep. 'to' see 190. cf. kā, kāu.

kāk N.m. 'uncle'.

cf. H. kākā 'uncle'.

kākāwī N.f. 'big pot'

Skt. kaṭāha- 'sauce-pan with handles'?

kākāwāri N.m. 'potter' see kākāwi.

kāko Pr. 'this'. Also kukō.

kāliforniā N.f. 'California' see 7.

kāldārāš N.m. 'a group of Gypsies'.

kālo Adj. 'black'.

Skt. kāla 'black'.

kāloḡo N.m. kāloḡa f. 'negro' see kālo.

kālsā N.m. pl. 'trousers'.

kām- 'to want, like, love' kāmes see 202.

kān N.m. 'ear'.

Skt. karṇa, H. kān 'ear'.

kānā Adv. 'when, then' see 1. kānāgori 'whenever' see
16.

kānādā N.f. 'Canada' see 195.

kānāgor (d)i Adv. see kānā.

kānci Adv. 'something, nothing'.

Skt. kiñcid- 'something'.

kāṅlī N.f. 'comb'.

Skt. kaṅkaṭīkā, H. kaṅghī 'comb'.

kārāwdī N.m. 'crab'.

kārfin N.f. 'nail'.

M. Gk. κάρφι 'nail'. (?)

kās Pr. 'whom' oblique sing. of kon.

kāš N.m. 'wood, tree' see 231.

kāštuno Adj. 'wooden' see kāš. Also kāštāno.

kāšuko Adj. 'deaf'

Etymology obscure. Comparison with Skt. śuška

(Gy. šuko) 'dry' has been made.

kātār Prep. 'from' see 224; also kātāi.

kātār 'from where' see kon.

kātkā Adv. 'here'.

kātkār Adv. 'from here'.

kāu Prep. 'to' see 23.

kāyo N.m. 'thorn'.

Skt. kaṇṭaka 'thorn', H. kāṭā.

keso N.m. 'case' see 147.

kemp- V. 'to camp' N. 'camp'

Eng. camp. (?)

ker- V. 'to care'.

Eng. care. (?)

kermo N.m. 'worm'

Skt. kṛmi 'worm'.

kerno Adj. 'rotten'.

Etymology obscure. Comparison with Skt. kīla

'stake', pin' has been made. But see kilo.

kež N.m. 'silk' see 300.

kežlāno Adj. 'silken' see kež.

kilo N.m. 'a weapon'.

Skt. *kīla-* 'stake, pin' ? see also Gy. *kerno*.

kin- V. 'to buy' *kindem* see 37. *kindyā* see 140.

kingo Adj. 'wet'.

Skt. *timita* from *tim-* 'to become wet' ?

kirāw V. 'to cook' *kirādilem* see 25.

kirāl N.m. 'cheese'.

Etymology uncertain. Comparisons with Skt. *kṣīra* 'milk' and *kilāṭa* 'co-agulated milk, cheese' have been made.

kirwo N.m. 'God-father' f. *kirwī* 'God-mother'.

kī Pr. 'your f.' see *tū*.

kir N.f. 'ant'.

klichisār- V. 'to comb'.

-ko, -kī, -ke Post. 'of'. In some cases it is also pronounced as *ka*, see 56. -ko see 63.

koḡo N.m. 'blind'.

P. *kur* 'blind'. (?)

kukālo N.m. 'bone'.

M. Gk. *κοκκαλόρ* 'bone'. (?)

kon Pr. 'who, whoever' see 191. *kātār* 'from where' see 224, *kās* 'whom', *kāsko* 'whose'.

konā N.m. 'corner'.

Skt. *koṇa*, H. *konā* 'corner'.

kopincitsuri N.m. 'orphan'.

korkoγo 'alone' see 274. Also cf. akloγo.

kotor N.m. 'piece'.

Arm. kotor 'piece'. cf. H. kutárnā 'to tear
in pieces'.(?)

kowāci N.m. 'smith'.

kowlo Adj. 'soft'.

Skt. komala.'

kretsa N.f. 'curl'.

krimlo N.m. 'bracelet' see 133, cf. grimnā.

kui N.f. 'elbow'.

Skt. kaphonī, H. kohnī 'elbow'.

kuko Pr. 'this' kukāwer 'the other, next'.

kur- V. 'to curse' cf. kurs.

kurko N.m. 'week, Sunday'.

M. Gk. κυριακή 'Sunday'. (?)

kurš- V. 'to curse' see 246, 247.

kurwā, kurwā, kurwī N.f. 'bad woman, prostitute'
see 284.

kurwāri N.m. 'whore-monger' see 284.

kyo see tū.

khal- V. 'to dance' khalde see 65.

khalādori N.m. 'dancer' see khal- .

kham m. 'sun'.

Skt. gharma 'heat'.

khamnī N.f. 'pregnant woman'.

Skt. garbhiṇī , H. gābhin 'pregnant'.

khār N.m. 'house' see 24. khare see 260.

khāngari N.f. 'church'.

Etymology obscure. Comparisons with P. kangura (?)

turret' and Skt. ghaṇṭāgāra or ghargara 'little bell' have been made.

khāinī N.f. 'chicken' khāinya see 39.

khānik Pr. 'anyone', any body' khānikās 'to anybody' see 266.

khās N.m. 'hay' see 244.

khās- V. 'to cough'.

Skt. kās- , H. khāsnā 'to cough'.

khāte Adv. 'here' see 276.

khil N.m. 'butter'.

Skt. ghr̥ta 'clarified butter'.

khino Adj. 'tired'.

Skt. khinna 'tired'.

khoro N.m. 'jug'.

Skt. ghaṭa , H. gharā 'pot, jar'.

khos- V. 'to wipe'.

Skt. ghr̥ṣ- 'to rub', H. ghisnā.

khur, xur N.m. 'hoof'.

Skt. khura 'hoof'.

khurī N.f. 'mare'.

Skt. ghoṭa, ghoṭaka, H. ghoṛā 'horse' H. ghoṛī
'mare'.

khuw- V. 'to knit, to plait'.

Skt. guph- 'to twist, to wind', H. gūthnā.

lā Art. see o.

lāmpā N.f. 'light'.

Eng. lamp. (?)

lāmpso N.m. 'necklace'.

lāngo Adj. 'lame'.

Skt. lang- 'to limp', H. langarā 'lame'.

lāšār- V. 'to fix' denominative of lāšo, see also 241.

lāšo Adj. 'good' see 12. lāšī see 77, lāše see 103.

lāwo N.m. 'law' see 275.

lāžāw N.f. 'shame' see 271.

le Art. see 4 and o.

le, les etc. Pr. see wo.

le- V. 'to take'.

Skt. labh- 'to get', H. lenā 'to take'.

lešoš N.m. 'lace' see 171.

lino Adj. 'paralyzed' see le- 'to take'.

lim N.m. 'mucus from the nose'.

Skt. *limpa* 'smearing' from *lip-*, *limp-* 'to besmear'.

līl N.f. 'paper' .

Etymology uncertain. Comparisons with Lat. *libellus*, Hung. *level* 'letter', (?) Skt. *likh-* 'to write' (*likhita*) and Gk. *βιβλίον* have been made. (?)

lolo Adj. 'red'.

Skt. *lohita* 'reddish', H. *lāl* 'red'.

lon N.m. 'salt'.

Skt. *lavāṇa* 'salt' , Panj. *lūṅ*.

lowe N.f. 'money' see 157.

lulugī N.f. 'flower, a name of a woman'.

lulugyāno Adj. 'full of flowers' see *lulugī*.

malāw- 'to match'. see 174.

maskar- V. 'to call names' see 248.

math- V. 'to say, mean, intend'.

mācuwāyā N.m. (pl. of **mācuwāi*) 'A Gypsy tribe'.

māglā N. 'cloud'.

māḡo N.m. 'bread'.

Skt. *maṇḍa* 'scum of boiled grain'.

māḡāri N.m. 'bread-man' see *māḡo*.

māi Adv. see 11, also *māipheder*.

māikār- 'to get drunk'.

Probably from Skt. *matta* 'drunk' cf. Gy. *māto*.

māipheder Adv. 'rather'.

mākh N.m. 'fly'.

Skt. makṣa, makṣikā, H. makkhī 'fly'.

mānī N.f. 'grand-mother'.

māmūno N.m. 'animal'.

mānuš N.m. 'man, person'.

Skt. manuṣya 'man'.

māṅ- V. 'to ask for' see 80.

mār- 'to blow, to hit' see 246.

māro N.f. 'name of a Gypsy woman' see 89.

mārtā N. 'March'.

māryā N.m. 'sea'.

Skt. *marya- in maryādā 'limit' ?

mās N.m. 'meat' see 40.

māsāri N.m. 'meat-man', butcher' see mās.

māškār N.m. 'centre, waist'.

Skt. madhya 'centre, middle' (+kār ?).

māškāre Adv. 'between' see māškār.

māšāri N.m. 'fisherman' see māšo.

māšo N.m. 'fish'.

Skt. matsya.

māto Adj. 'drunk' see māikār-.

me Pr. 'I' see 3; maḡo 'my' see 10; mā 'to me' see 22;

māndār see 78.

meckā N.m. 'animal'.

M. Slav. Serv. Czech mǎčka 'cat'. (?)

mek- V. 'to leave', to give up' see 273.

mek 'let' imperative of mek-, see 273, meg see 298.

meki- V. 'to press'.

mel N.m. 'dirt'.

Skt. mala 'dirt, filth'.

melālo Adj. 'dirty' see mel.

mer- 'to die' see 246.

micilešti N.m. 'name of a Gypsy tribe'.

milā (i) N.m. 'summer'.

milāno N.m. 'name of a Gypsy man' see 59.

mirno Adj. 'peaceful' see 223.

mišto Adv. 'well'.

Skt. miṣṭa 'sweet'.

miyā Adj. (num.) 'thousand'.

Rum. mue, M. Gk. *μύη*. (?)

mizmeri N.m. 'noon'.

mol N.m. 'wine'.

Skt. madhu 'honey'.

mol N.m. 'price'.

Skt. mūlya 'price'.

molo N.m. 'bank, shore'.

mom N.m. 'wax' cf. momelī see 185.

momelī N.f. 'candle' see 185.

mor- V. 'to rub'.

Skt. mṛd- 'to grind'.

mudār- V. 'to kill' see 299.

muflo Adj. 'flat' nāg muflo 'flat nose'.

muī N.m. 'mouth'.

Skt. mukha 'mouth'.

murkī N.f. 'skin'.

cf. Arm. morth 'skin'. (?)

murš N.m. 'man'.

Etymology obscure. Comparison with Skt. manuṣya

has been made. see mānuš.

musāi V. (aux.) 'must'.

Germ. muss. (?)

mutra N.m. 'urine'.

Skt. mūtra.

mutso N.m. 'cat'.

myūla N.m. 'mule'.

Eng. mule. (?)

myūs(z)ikā, myūsikī N.f. 'music' see 69.

myūsikānto N.m. 'musician' pl. myūsikāyā see 139.

cf. myūsikī.

na Adv. 'not' see 76.

nāi 'not is' see 76.

nāiw- V. 'to take bath', swim' see 281.

nāk N.m. 'nose'.

Skt. nāsikā, H. nāk 'nose'.

nākh- V. 'to pass'.

Skt. nakṣ- 'to approach'.

nāmuri N.m. 'relative'.

nāng- V. 'to be naked'.

Skt. nagna 'naked'.

nāngilo Adj. 'naked, empty', see nāng-.

nāngo Adj. 'naked' see nāng-.

nāngyār- 'to lighten, to denude' see nāng-.

nās (na+sās) 'not was' see 76.

nāšwālo Adj. 'ill, sick' see 192.

nāš- V. 'to run, flee' see 282.

nāšti V. (aux.) 'cannot' see 110.

nāw N.m. 'name' see ānāw.

Skt. nām 'name.'

nego N.m. 'mole'.

newo Adj. 'new'.

Skt. nava 'new'.

nindrālo Adj. 'sleepy'.

Skt. nidrā 'sleep', nidrālu 'sleepy'.

o Art.(m.) see 56, ī f. see 47, le obl. see 4, lā see 54.

oi general form of address, see 289.

oprāl Adv. 'from above' see opre.

opre Adv. 'above'.

Skt. upari 'above'.

ordāi Adv. 'across'.

cf. Welsh Gy. pārdāi, Skt. para from pr̥ 'to cross'

othār Adv. 'from there' see othe.

othe Adv. 'there'.

oxto Adj. (num.) 'eight' see 107.

pā Prep. 'from' see 227 'by'.

pāy - V. 'to burst' see 296.

pāyā N.f. 'flame' see 296.

pāyū V. 'to trade, to exchange, to change' see 256.

pāyū N. 'change' see pāyū 256.

pāi N.m. 'water' see 215.

pāiki- V. 'to believe, to have faith' paikyās see 203.

pāikiwālo Adj. 'virtuous' see pāiki- .

pāikiw N.f. 'party' see 33.

pākh N.f. 'wing'.

Skt. pakṣa , H. paṅkh 'wing'.

pālā Adv. 'after' see 79.

pāli Adv. 'again' see 79 māi pāle 'later'.

pālpāle Adv. 'behind', see 79.

pānš, pānž Adj. (num.) 'five' see 107, see 143.

pānžengī N.f. 'five dollars' see 200.

pāpil, pāpin N.f. 'goose'.

M. Gk. πάπιλα 'duck'. (?)

pāpo N.m. 'grand father'.

pārāmīcī N.f. 'story'.

M. Gk. παραμύθιον 'tale'. (?)

pārāštuno Adj. 'relating to Friday'.

M. Gk. παρασκευή. (?)

pārme Conj. 'and then' see 166.

pārno Adj. 'white'.

Skt. pāṇḍu 'whitish, pale'.

pāša Adv. 'near' cf. dopāš.

Skt. pārśva.

pātreuṣa N. (pl.) 'autumn leaves' see pātrin 'leaf'.

pātrin N.f. 'leaf'.

Skt. patra 'leaf'.

pāw Adv. 'from'. Probably pā + o (Art.).

pāžgi- V. 'to lie down' see pāša.

pe Pr. (reflexive) 'oneself, herself' pesko 'one's own' see 198, with verbs see 246.

pe Prep. 'on' see 118.

per- V. 'to fall'.

Skt. pat- 'to fall'.

perimos N.m. 'fall' see per- .

petālo N.m. 'horse-shoe'.

M. Gk. ΠΈΤΑΛΟΝ 'horse-shoe'. (?)

pilgesā N.m. (pl.) 'big days' see ges.

piškīri N.m. 'towel'.

pī- V. 'to drink' pilyān see 127.

pīcar N.m. 'picture, photo' see 199. Also pīcestu
and pīcesturi.

pīcestu, pīcesturi see pīcar 199.

pīmos N.m. see 187. V. pī-'to drink' see 127.

pīndā Adj. (num.) 'fifty' see 163.

pīpīseri N.m. 'cotton' see 301.

pīwlo N.m. 'widower' pīwlī 'widow'.

Skt. vidhavā 'widow' ?

plāiṅ N. 'hill'.

plesār- V. 'to play' see 70.

ploskā N. f. 'whiskey-bottle' see 87.

po Prep. 'on, to' see 230 cf. pe 'on'.

podo N.m. 'bridge'.

Etymology obscure. Comparison with P. pul

has been made. (?)

ponyāwā N.f. 'blanket'.

por N.m. 'feather'.

Skt. patatra 'wing, feather' or parṇa 'leaf'?

porī N.f. 'tail'.

prāis N.m. 'price'.

prāwār- V. 'to feed' see 243.

pricosār- 'to talk' see 237.

pros- , prosesār- V. 'to ask, to beg' see 214.

puḡ- V. 'to tell'.

Etymology obscure. Comparison has been made with

H. pukārnā 'to call' (Skt. sphūtkāra).

pulpā N.f. 'thigh'.

purāno Adj. 'old'.

cf. H. purānā 'old'.

purwo Adj. 'first, old, ancient' pl. purwe see 208.

puš- V. 'to ask'.

Skt. pṛech- 'to ask'.

putar- , phutar- 'to open'.

Skt. sphuṭ- 'to burst', H. phūtnā.

pūḡo N.m. 'foot'.

Skt. pāda , H. pāv.

purum N.m. 'onion'.

Lat. porrum 'leek' (?)

pūška N.f. 'big gun'.

M. Slav., Bulg., Serb. puška 'gun'.

phābār- V. 'to burn' see 184.

phāg- V. 'to break'.

Skt. bhañj- 'to break'.

- phāgo Adj. 'broken' see phā-
- Skt. bhagna.
- phāl N.f. 'board'.
- Skt. phalaka 'board, plank'.
- phānd- V. 'to lock up, tie, bind'.
- Skt. bandh- 'to bind'.
- phāro Adj. 'heavy'.
- Skt. bhāra 'burden', H. bhārā 'heavy'.
- phe N.f. 'sister' cf. phrāl, phene.
- Skt. bhaginī , H. bahin 'sister'.
- phen- 'to say' phendem see 30, phendyā see 34, phende
see 74.
- phene voc. of phe 'o sister'.
- pher- , phir- V. 'to walk, to turn' see 84, pherlo
see 86.
- pher- V. 'to fill'.
- Skt. bhr̥- , H. bharnā 'to fill'.
- pherdo Adj. 'full' see pher- 'to fill'.
- phrāl N.m. 'brother' cf. phe.
- Skt. bhrātr̥- , H. bhāi 'brother'.
- phurd- V. 'to blow, to breathe'.
- Skt. sphuṭ- 'to burst'.
- phurilo Adj. 'getting old' see phuro.

phurimos N.m. 'old age' see phuro.

phuro Adj. 'old'.

Skt. vṛddha, H. būdhā 'old'.

phū N.f. 'native country, land'.

Skt. bhū- 'earth'.

rat N.m. 'blood'.

Skt. rakta 'blood'.

rāklī N.f. 'girl' see 264.

rāklo N.m. 'boy' see 264.

rām- V. 'to write'.

rāmotori N.m. 'writer' see rām- .

rāt N.f. 'night'.

Skt. rātri , H. rāt 'night'.

rāyā ! 'Gentleman'.

Skt. rājan 'king'.

rištešti N.m. 'a group of Gypsies'.

rik, rīg N.f. 'side' rīgāte 'putting aside' see 220.

rin N.f. 'knife-grinder'.

M. Gk. *ῥίχι* 'file'. (?)

rod- V. 'to look for, to search'.

cf. H. dhūṇḍhnā, probably from Skt. dhūṇḍh-.

row- V. 'to cry, weep' see 294.

rowlī N.f. 'cane'.

M. Gk. *ῥάβδος* 'rod, baton'. (?)

rūp N.m. 'silver'.

Skt. rūpya 'silver'.

rūpāwo Adj. 'relating to silver' see rūp.

rūw N.m. 'wolf'.

Skt. ṛkṣa, vṛka ?

-s pl. suffix see 71.

sa- V. 'to be' sās (z), see 9, sa see 94, san see 100.

sano Adj. see tsano.

sar Adv. 'as' interr. Adv. 'how' see 91.

sarmā, sirmā N.f. 'an expensive cloth' see 169.

sā Adj. 'all' sāwo, sowo, sāwoḡa see 72, sāwoḡan
see 125.

-sā Post. 'with' see 88.

sāntā Adj. 'Saint' see sāntānā, mariā.

sāntā mariā N.f. 'St. Mary.'

sāntānā N.f. 'Saint Anne' see 181 cf. ānā.

sāp N.m. 'snake'.

Skt. sarpa, H. sãp 'snake'.

sāpnī f. 'snake' see sãp.

Skt. sarpiṇī, H. sãpnī.

sāpuī N.m. 'soap'.

M. Gk. σαποῦνι , Ital. sapone. (?)

sās V. 'was' see sa- 'to be'.

sāstimā N.f. 'good luck' see sāsto.

sāsto Adj. 'good'.

sāstri N.m. 'Iron'.

Skt. śastra 'weapon' śastraka 'Iron' .

sigo Adv. 'quickly'.

Skt. śighra 'quick'.

sigyār- V. 'to hurry' see sigo.

sik- V. 'to show' cf. sikāw, sikiw.

Skt. śikṣ- 'to teach'.

sikāw- V. 'to teach' cf. sik- , sikiw.

sikiw- V. 'to learn' cf. sik- , sikāw- .

sinīyā N.f. 'table' see 48.

skuts(a)- V. 'to sharpen'.

skutsāme Adj. 'sharp'.

slāw- V. 'to celebrate' see 182.

slāwā N.f. 'celebration, party' see slāw- 182.

slūgo N.m. 'servant'.

smāntānā N.m. 'cream'.

M. Slav., Bulg. Czech smetena, smetana 'cream'. (?)

so Pr. 'what' see 91, 93 sode 'how many'.

sodebaršengo Adj. 'of how many years' see so and barš.

solā N.m. 'oath'.

Skt. śapatha 'oath'?

soste Conj. 'because' interr. Adv. 'why'.

sow- V. 'to sleep'.

Skt. svap- , H. sonā 'to sleep'.

stāigī N.f. 'hat'.

M. Gk. *-κίβη* . (?)

strefi- V. 'to shine'.

štreno N.m. 'stranger'.

Eng. stranger. (?)

sulumā N.f. 'straw'.

sulumengo Adj. 'made of straw' see sulumā.

sumākāi, sumnākāi N.m. 'gold'.

Skt. suvarṇa 'gold'. The etymology of -kāi is uncertain but comparison with Skt. kāya 'body' has been made.

suno N.m. 'dream'.

Skt. svapna , H. sapnā 'dream'.

suturī N. 'suit' see 168.

suw- V. 'to sew' see 238.

sū N.f. 'needle'.

Skt. sūcī, H. suī 'needle'.

swāko Adj. 'every, everyone' see 179.

swākofyālo N.m. 'everything' see 288.

swāturi N.m. 'word, question'.

sweti yowāno N.m. 'St. John' see 207.

suṅ- V. 'to smell'.

cf. H. sūṅhnā 'to smell'.

šal N. pl. šalā N. 'hundred' see 108.

šaranda N.m. 'pillow' see 234.

šād, šāg - 'to vomit'.

šāi V. (aux.) 'can' see 200 cf. nāšti see 110.

šāw N.m. 'child, son', šāwo 'male child', šāwcyo
'small child', šoya 'daughter, girl', šoyāi 'girls'.
see 66, 158, 159.

šāx N.m. 'cabbage'.

Skt. śāka 'a vegetable'.

še N. vocative of šāwoya f. 'o girl ! o daughter !

šin- V. 'to cut'.

Skt. chid- 'to cut'.

šin N.f. 'horn'.

Skt. śṛṅga, H. sīng 'horn'.

šib N.f. 'language'.

Skt. jihwā, H. jībh 'tongue'.

šo, šow Adj. (num.) 'six' see 107, 142.

šolo N.m. 'rope'.

Skt. śulba, śulva 'string, cord'.

šon N.m. 'month, moon' see 20.

šor N.m. 'beard'.

Skt. cūdā 'tuft of hair'?

šoro, šaro N.m. 'head' see 234.

šorwālo Adj. 'having beard' see šor.

šošoi N.m. 'rabbit'.

Skt. šāša, šāšaka 'hare, rabbit'.

šoyo N.m. 'show' see 268.

štār Adj. (num.) 'four' see 53, 107.

štewāno N.m. 'steve, a name' see 5.

šudro Adj. 'cold'.

Skt. śītala 'cold'?

šudryār- 'to freeze' see šudro.

šukār Adj. 'pretty, beautiful'.

Skt. śubhakar 'beautiful'?

šuko Adj. 'dry'.

Skt. śuṣka 'dry'.

šukyār- 'to make dry' see šuko.

šul, šal N.m. 'cold'.

Skt. śita 'cold'.

šulāw, šalāw- V. 'to sweep' see 235.

šurī N.f. 'knife'.

Skt. kṣurī, H. churī 'knife'.

šut N.m. 'vinegar'.

Skt. śukta 'sour'.

šutlo, šuklo Adj. 'acid, sour' see šut.

šuw- V. 'to swell'.

Skt. svā- , H. sūjnā 'to swell'.

šuwlo Adj. 'swollen' see šuw- .

tarno Adj. 'young'.

Skt. taruṇa 'young'.

tā Conj. 'that' see 293.

tā Adv. 'then' see 120.

tāikimos , tātimos N.m. 'heat' see tāto.

tāikyār- V. 'to heat' see tāto.

tāṅ Adj. 'narrow'.

H. tanga from Skt. taṅc 'to contract'.

-tār Post. 'from' see mādār, 78; tūtār see 90.

tāto Adj. 'hot'.

Skt. tapta 'burnt'.

te Post. 'to, towards' see 18; morphophonemic change
to de, see 22.

te Conj. 'so that' see 155.

tekteri N.m. 'detective'.

tekteritsa N.f. 'woman detective' see tekteri.

tele Adv. 'down'.

Skt. tale 'under'.

telyāri N.m. 'dollar' see 222.

todoro N.m. 'name of a Gypsy man' see 58.

trīn Adj. (num.) 'three' see 85. duī trīn 'few';

see also 107.

trobolo N.m. 'trouble' see 17, trubu- V. 'to need'.

trubu- V. 'need' trubulāz 'it was needed' see 17, cf.

trobolo N.m. 'trouble' trubulyā see 151.

trušālo Adj. 'thirsty' from *trušā 'thirst'.

Skt. tṛṣālu 'thirsty'.

trušūl N.m. 'cross, trail'.

Skt. triśūla 'trident of the God śiva'.

trušulā N.f. 'grave-yard' see trušūl.

tsano, sano Adj. 'small' also tsano o 'lit. very

small' see 165.

tsokolī, tsokolā N.f. 'shoe' see 173.

tsokolāri N.m. 'shoe-maker' see tsokolī.

tsanoḡo Adj. 'very small' see tsano.

tūtgo N.m. 'Turkey' see 144.

tū Pr. 'you sing.' tūtār 'from you' see 90, kyo

'your sing.' see 95, kī see 101, tūte see 97, tūkā

see 106, kyā see 121, tūt see 297.

tsarā N.f. 'tent' see 236.

tume Pr. 'you' tumendār see 252, tumāro see 255.

thāi Conj. 'and' see 188 and hāi see 61.

thākh N.f. 'armpit'.

Skt. kaksī- 'armpit'.

thān N.m. 'place' see 228.

thār N.f. 'back teeth'.

Skt. tālu 'palate'. ?

thāw N.m. 'thread'.

Etymology uncertain. Comparisons with Skt. sthāman 'warp' (cf. Gk. $\sigma\tau\eta\mu\omega\nu$), Skt. dāman 'cord, rope' and H. dhāgā have been made.

them N.m. 'country'.

Skt. dhāman 'abode'.

thol- 'to set, to put, to place' thodyām see 46.

thodine see 68, thodyā see 129, tholel see 156,

tho, thow V. 'wash' see 216.

thud N.m. 'milk'.

Skt. dugdha, H. dūdh 'milk'.

thulimos N.m. 'fatness' see thulo.

thulo Adj. 'fat'.

Skt. sthūla.

thū N. 'smoke'.

Skt. dhūma 'smoke'.

umā Conj. 'but' Adv. 'just, only' see 117.

uš - V. 'to arise'.

Skt. ud+sthā 'to arise'.

-wār 'time'.

Skt. vāra- .

wārekon Pr. 'who'.

Rum. oare. (?)

wās N.m. 'hand'.

Skt. hasta ?

wāzd- 'to pick up, to lift, to raise' see 233.

weselo Adj. 'happy'.

wiātsā N.f. 'life' see 267.

wo Pr. m. see 3. les 'to him' see 18, leska see 26.

lesko (nesko) see 63, lāikī see 126, lāka see 130.

wol- 'to love' see 124.

worka, warka Conj. 'or' see 116.

wošo N.m. 'name of a Gypsy man'. see 83.

wunicā N.f. 'wool' see 170.

wurdon N.m. 'cart, carriage, wagon,' wurdonensā see
210.

wuš N.m. 'lip'.

Skt. oṣṭha 'lip'.

wūšār N. 'ashes'.

wūžār- V. 'to peel'.

wūžo Adj. 'clean'.

Skt. ṛju 'straight'. Comparison with śuci 'bright' has been made, which does not appear to be convincing.

wūco Adj. 'tall, high'.

Skt. ucca.

wyāstā N.f. 'news' see 283.

xā- V. 'to eat' see xābe 114, xāimos 186.

xābe N.m. 'food' see 114.

xāimos N.m. 'food' see 186.

xāiṅ N.f. 'well of water'.

Skt. khani, khani 'pit'.

xārāno Adj. 'intelligent, smart'.

xārkumā N.f. 'copper'.

xārkuno Adj. m. xārkuī f. 'concerning copper' see 259.

xolyār- V. 'to get angry'.

xorāxāi Adj. 'foreigner'.

Etymology uncertain. Comparisons with khorasan(?)

'a name of a place' Skt, gharghara 'speaking indistinctly' and Skt. *ghorghora from ghora 'dangerous' have been made.

xoxāmno Adj. 'liar' see xoxāw.

xoxāw- V. 'to tell lie'.

Etymology obscure. Comparison with Skt. kakh-

'to laugh' has been made.

xunāw V. 'to dig'.

Skt. khan- 'to dig'.

xut- V. 'to jump'.

cf. H. kūd^hnā 'to jump'.

xutī N.f. 'jump' see xut- .

yā Adv. 'yes'.

Am. . Eng. yā from yes. (?)

yāg N.f. 'fire' see 280.

yākh N.f. 'eye'.

Skt. akṣi , H. ākh 'eye'.

yānā see ānā.

yeftā Adv. (num.) 'seven' see 107.

yek Adj. (num.) 'one' see 107.

yekdātā Adv. 'once' see 278.

yel Adv. 'also'.

yīkan Adv. 'until'.

yī Adv. 'also' see 52.

yowāno N.m. 'a Gypsy name = Eng. John' see 207.

zeleno Adj. 'green'.

O. Slav. zelenz 'green'. (?)

zetino N.m. 'oil'.

zgārdā N.f. 'ear-ring' see 131.

zeyā N.f. 'back'.

zin N. . . 'saddle'.

zlāgā N.f. 'necklace' see 132.

zor N.m. 'strength'

P. zor 'strength'. (?)

zurālo Adj. 'strong' see zor.

žā- 'to go' galem see 36, gale see 51, galo see 136.

žāl- V. 'to lament'.

M. Gk. *ζαλίβω* 'to feel faintness'. (?)

žāmutro N.m. 'son-in-law' see 162.

žān- V. 'to know' see 92, 99.

žāndēri N.m. 'policeman' see 217.

žānimos N.m. 'knowledge' see žān- .

ženo N.m. 'man, people'.

Skt. jana- 'people'.

žow N.m. 'oats' see 245.

žutisār- V. 'to help'. See 14.

žuto N.m. 'pair' see 172.

žukal N.m. 'dog'.

Etymology uncertain. Comparisons with Skt.

jākuṭa 'dog' and P. śaghāl 'jackal' (cf. Skt.

śṛgāla) have been made.

žuw N.m. 'louse'.

Skt. yūka , H. jū 'louse'.

žuwindo Adj. 'alive'.

Skt. jīvant- 'alive'.

žuwli N.f. 'young woman'.

Skt. yuvatī 'young woman'.

Alphabetical list of
abbreviations used

Adj.	adjective
Adv.	adverb
Arm.	Armenian
Am.	American
Art.	Article
aux.	auxilliary
Bulg.	Bulgarian
Conj.	conjunction
Dard.	Dardic
Eng.	English
f.	feminine
Gy.	Gypsy language(the dialect described in this dissertation).
Germ.	Germanic
Gk.	Greek
H.	Hindi
imperf.	imperfective
interr.	interrogative
Lat.	Latin
M. Gk.	Modern Greek
M. Slav.	Modern Slavic.

m.	masculine
N.	Noun
neut.	neutral
nom.	nominative
num.	numerical
obl.	oblique
Panj.	Panjabi
P.	Persian
perf.	perfective
pers.	person
pl.	plural
poss.	possessive
Post.	Postposition
Pr.	Pronoun
Pra.	Prakrit
Prep.	Preposition
Serb.	Serbian
Skt.	Sanskrit
sing.	singular
V.	Verb
voc.	vocative
(?)	loanword