

The language of the Sinte (called *Romanes* by its speakers) is one of the Romani (Gypsy) languages. It belongs to the Indo-Aryan branch of Indo-European. Romanes (Sinte) is spoken by about 100.000 - 200.000 people mainly in W-Europe: Germany, France (Manuš), Netherlands, Belgium, Austria, N-Italy and N-Yugoslavia. The Sinte were the first Gypsies to arrive in W-Europe about 500 years ago. Most of them are semi-nomadic travelling around in summer time to earn their living.

Due to the long stay in a German speaking environment, the Sinte language (esp. the syntax) is quite strongly influenced by German. The morphology however ist still intact. Most of the Sinte people use their language. As a minority language it has a strong group defining function. Since it is very hard for gadze (non-gypsies) to gain access to Romanes, the linguistic description at hand is quite a rarity.

The sketch contains a short phonological and syntactic description and concentrates rather on morphology and features of narrative texts (aspects, word order, discourse markers, participant tracking). The grammatical description contains text samples in interlinear and free translation.

DANIEL HOLZINGER is member of the Department of Linguistics of the *University of Klagenfurt*.

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Romanes (*Sinte*)

Daniel Holzinger

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Abbreviations

Abl	ablative	1,2,3	first, second, third person
Adj	adjective		
Acc	accusative	?	a question-mark before linguistic structures indicates that the grammatical acceptance is questionable
Aff	affective		
Appos	apposition		
Art	article		
Attr	attributive		
Aux	auxiliary		In verb endings the unmarked indicative mood as well as the present tense is not marked in the texts.
Adv	adverb		
Cond	conditional (mood)		
Comp	comparative		
Dat	dative		
Eval	evaluative		
f	feminine		
Imp	imperative		
Ind	indicative		
Inf	infinitive		
Instr	instrumental (case)		
Ipfv	imperfective (aspect)		
m	masculine		
Mat	material		
n	neuter		
Neg	negation particle		
Nom	nominative		
NP	noun phrase		
Num	numeral		
Nzr	nominalizer		
Obl	oblique		
Part	participle		
Perf	perfect		
Perf.stem	perfect stem		
Pfv	perfective		
Pl	plural		
Poss	possession		
Prep	prepositional (case)		
Pres	present tense		
Ptcl	particle		
Quant	quantifier		
Rel	relative		
Sbj	subjunctive		
Sg	singular		
Sup	superlative		
V	verb		

0. Introduction

0.1. Romanes

The Sinte people refer to their language as 'Romanes' (with word initial or final stress). The language name can be split up morphologically as follows:

(1) rom-an-es
man (Gypsy)-Adj.stem-Adv.

Throughout the present grammatical sketch 'Romanes' only refers to the language as spoken by the Sinte even though other Gypsy dialects/languages are called 'Romanes' by their speakers as well.

0.2. The sociolinguistic situation of Romanes

The data basis of the present language description is the Romanes of the Sinte in Germany. The number of speakers in Germany is about 50 000. Furthermore there are Sinte in France, Holland, Belgium, Austria, Northern Italy and Slovenia and small groups in almost all remaining European countries. The estimated total number of Sinte is 100 000 to 200 000.

In spite of attempts to develop and introduce an orthographical standard of Romanes (Holzinger 1986) it has remained an unwritten language on the whole. There are many dialects even within Germany. Semimadic life (during the warm part of the year Sinte travel around to go about their business), Nazi holocaust (leading to a mixing of different dialect groups) and the influence of the different national languages in Europe have contributed to a very complex dialectal situation that is largely unexplored.

As a consequence of the permanent persecution of the Sinte throughout the past centuries Romanes is kept secret by its speakers. As a minority language it has an important function for the ethnical identity of the Sinte and their separation from the *gādže* 'Non-Gypsies'. Therefore, the Sinte want the use of their language to remain reserved to themselves. Every kind of interest in Romanes by outsiders is regarded with strong suspicion.

In the clans of the Sinte who contributed to the data basis of the description at hand (from Hameln, Cologne, Hildesheim) Romanes is spoken in almost all of the families. Therefore, children at the age of school entrance have problems with German. Young people and adults are bilingual to a high degree. However, their German is strongly influenced by their mother tongue and has a very restricted lexicon. According to Vossen (1983) about 35% of the adult Sinte are illiterate. As a matter of fact, only a small minority has complete command of reading and writing German.

0.3. Typology

Romanes belongs to the Indo-Aryan branch of Indo-European. As far as morphology is concerned it can be related to the inflexional type of languages. Romanes still has a strong morphology (e.g.

a rich case system). However, there are tendencies towards reducing inflexion. A consequence of the rich morphology is a relatively 'free' word order. The syntactic possibilities are used mainly for pragmatic purposes.

Word order in the isolated independent clause is SVO. Due to German influences a change to V-2-order (verb in second position) can be observed.

0.4. Historical sketch and position among other Romani dialects

During the past century North-west India was taken to be the Gypsies place of origin. Nowadays most linguists regard Central India as the origin of migration. Turner assumes that the Gypsies left Central India even before the mid of the 3rd century B.C. After a long stay in North-west India (till between the 5th and 11th century) they travelled to Persia, Armenia, Greece and Slavic territory. In Walachia and Moldavia many of the travelling Gypsies were kept as bondsmen for a period of about 500 years. The long influence of Rumanian language and culture brought about a separate group of gypsies that spread to all of Europe and even the Americas after their liberation in 1844. However, the ancestors of the Sinte reached Western Europe already in the beginning of the 15th century (e.g. first documents report about 'Tateren' in Hildesheim from 1407). Quite a short time after their arrival in W-Europe the persecution of the Gypsies began: they were suspected of being spies of the Turks, banished, outlawed, executed as magicians and witches, accused of spreading pestilence or it was tried to assimilate them to the majority by force. After a short time of 'laissez faire' policy towards the Gypsies during the Age of Enlightenment the hardest persecution the Gypsies ever experienced by the Nazis followed this century. Today's suspicion, fear and mistrust concerning any interest in Romanes by Non-Gypsies can be very well understood in this historical context.

Due to the long stay of the Sinte in German-speaking countries Romanes is characterized (as opposed to other Romani dialects) by strong German influence. All the Sinte, respectively their ancestors (including those living outside Germany today), were for a long time exposed to German influence.

1. Phonology

Since a detailed phonological description of Romanes already exists (Holzinger 1986), only a short overview of the phoneme system shall be given in the present paper.

1.1. Consonants

Table 1.

	labial	dental	alveolar	palatal	velar	uvular	glottal
stops	p ^h p b	t ^h t d			k ^h k g		
affricates		ts	tš dž				
fricatives		f (z)	s	š j		x	h
nasals	v m		n				
vibrants					R		
laterals			l				

As compared to German (and other European languages) the distinctive function of aspiration (of voiceless stops) is remarkable. Affricates (/ts,tš,dž/) function as units (monomorphemically). The alveolar fricative /z/ (above in brackets) occurs in a few words only. Furthermore it can only be found in word-initial position phonemically.

The vibrant /R/ is realized in uvular or dental position by different speakers/dialects.

Consonant clusters in Romanes consist of 3 consonants: at the most, the types of allowed combinations being highly restricted. Clusters of two consonants appear frequently.

1.2. Vowels

Table 2

	front	central	back
high	i:		u:
centr.	ɪ		ʊ
middle high			o:
centr.	ɛ		
low		ɑ	a

Phonemically the feature 'centralized' is linked to the feature 'short'. Phonetically, however, (as contrasted with German) there are also short non-centralized vowels in word final position. They are often interpreted as higher vowels by native speakers of German (compare the common orthography of Sinti instead of Sinté). The remaining realizations of vowel phonemes will not be dealt with in the present paper.

1.3. Stress

As far as stress is concerned, Romanes is in a stage of change. Stress on word-final syllables (in words ending with consonants) still occurs:

- (2) sonekáj 'gold'
 (3) patíb 'duty'
 (4) dūrál 'from far'

Furthermore, the most frequent stress pattern, that is, stress on the penultimate syllable of inflected words, represents an old pattern of accentuation as well:

Table 3

Sg.	1. giwáu(a) 'sing'	Sg.	Nom	ráklo	'boy' (Non-Gypsy)
	2. giwéh(e)		Acc.	raklés	
	3. giwél(a)		Dat.	rakléske	
Pl.	1. giwáh(a)		Prep.	rakléste	
	2. giwén(a)		Instr.	rakléha	
	3. giwén(a)		Abl.	rakléster	

The verb final vowels (above in brackets) are deleted most of the time in spoken language.

Stress on the first syllable is a new development: (most often in words with a word-final vowel):

- (5) háxo 'farmer'
 (6) tájsa 'yesterday, tomorrow'
 (7) kána 'now'

1.4. Orthography

Throughout this paper I use an approximation to the writing of Slavic languages in Roman characters common in Romani linguistics. The table on the next page shows the graphemes for the consonants.

The graphemes for the vowels are i,u,e,o,a. Vowel length is marked as: i,ü,ë,ö,ã.

Table 4

	labial	dental	alveolar	palatal	velar	uvular	glottal
stops	ph p b	th t d			kh k g		
affricates		ts	tš	dž			
fricatives		f v	s z	š		x	h
nasals		m	n				
vibrants				j		r	
laterals			l				

2. Morphology

2.0. Lexicon

Since the lexicon of Romanes has been of great interest to linguists since the very beginning of research on Romani languages a short overview will be given here. The lexicon to a great part consists of Old Indic roots. Furthermore there are Persian, many Greek, Slavic, few Romance words and lots of words borrowed from German. In the following we will present only a few examples from the languages just mentioned. The Old-Indian, Persian and Slavic forms of the data were taken from Wentzel (1980), Wolf (1960) and Pott (1844).

2.0.1. Indian

Romanes		Old Indic	
(8) bal	'hair'	vāla-	'hair, tail hair'
(9) bāro	'big'	vadra-	'big'
(10) berš	'year'	varša-	'year'
(11) bok	'hunger'	bubhukša-	'hunger'
(12) pāni	'water'	pāniya-	'water'
(13) rai	'lord'	raj-, rājan-	'lord'

2.0.2. Persian

Romanes		Persian	
(14) baxt	'luck'	bāxt	'fate, luck'
(15) mom	'wax'	mum	'wax'
(16) seria	'garlic'	sir	'garlic'
(17) tōver	'hatchet'	tābār	'hatchet, axe'
(18) zōr	'strength'	zor	'strength'

2.0.3. Greek

Romanes		Greek	
(19) drom	'street, way'	δρόμος	'track'
(20) epta	'seven'	ἑπτὰ	'seven'
(21) enja	'nine'	ἐννέα	'nine'
(22) fōro	'city'	πόρος	'city'
(23) sumi	'soup'	ζουμί	'soup'

2.0.4. Slavic

Romanes		Slavic	
(24) džamba	'frog'	žaba (Czech.)	'frog'
(25) dželto	'yellow'	žlutý (Czech.)	'yellow'
(26) isema	'room'	izba (Pol.)	'room'
(27) plaxta	'(bed) sheet'	plachta (Pol. Czech.) plahta (Serbo-Croat.)	'(bed) sheet'
(28) plāška	'coat'	plášť (Serbo-Croat.) plaszcz (Pol.)	'coat'

2.0.5. Romance

Romanes		Romance	
(29) kapa	'blanket'	cappa (lat.)	'coat'
(30) kukumri	'cucumber'	concombre (fr.)	'cucumber'
(31) libro	'book'	livre (fr.)	'book'
(32) tranšūri	'plate'	trancoir (fr.)	'wooden plate'

2.0.6. German

Romanes		German	
(33) dengev-	'think'	denken	'think, believe'
(34) lengsto	'long'	lange	'long'
(35) knēdle	'plums'	Knödel	'dumplings'
(36) šefefla	'ladle'	Schöpflöffel	'ladle'
(37) štaxlengro	'hedgehog'	Stachel	'sting'
(38) štrimpe	'stockings'	Strümpfe	'stockings'

The relatively large number of words borrowed from German can be seen in the text below (4).

2.1. Nominal morphology

2.1.1. Nouns

2.1.1.1. Inflexion

Nouns are inflected for gender, number and case. The endings are a fusion of all the three categories. Therefore, the synthetic (cumulative) forms cannot be presented separately.

There is a distinction between masculine and feminine gender in Romanes. There are only two categories of number; singular and plural. Due to the limited character of the present sketch only the most common realizations of the mentioned categories will be presented. The most frequent ending of masculine nouns is:

- o (singular) and
- e (plural).

(39) džuklo 'dog' džukle 'dogs'

Masculine nouns with zero-marking in the singular are marked by the suffix -a in the plural.

(40) phrāl 'brother' phrāla 'brothers'

For feminine nouns the most frequent ending is:

- i (singular) and
- ia (plural).

(41) phāvi 'apple' phavia 'apples'

Feminine nouns without any ending in the singular are marked as well by the suffix -ia in the plural.

(42) phēn 'sister' phenia 'sisters'

Romanes has a rich case system. There is a difference in marking animate and non-animate entities. For living beings case marking is more differentiated. For non-animate entities the nominative ending is used for the accusative and the prepositional case as well. In addition, the vocative case occurs only with living beings and is often replaced by the nominative form. However, even for animate entities spreading of the nominative ending to other cases is possible. In the following table I present data from oral texts demonstrating the continuum between the marking of referents as either animate or non-animate. The extreme positions (to the very left and right) are taken by entities that always have to be coded as either animate or non-animate. The frequency of occurrence of a referent with more or less differentiated case marking is the factor determining its position on the scale. Furthermore, the encoding is dependent on the register of language and the dialect. In very informal speech (or very 'young' dialects) the nominative ending can even be spread to entities at the left or right hand side of the scale (e.g. grandfather), if the meaning is clear by word order, the use of prepositions or the larger context.

Table 5

<-----		----->	
non-animate		animate	
tšūri (knife)	matšo (fish)	haxo (farmer)	dād (father)
	germo (worm)	valetō (servant)	papo (grandfather)
		grai (horse)	
		dšuklo (dog)	

There are seven to eight morphological cases in Romanes:

- Nominative
- Accusative
- Genitive (Possessive)
- Dative
- Prepositional¹
- Instrumental
- Ablative
- Vocative

The morphological case that has traditionally been called 'genitive' is used prototypically to express possession. However, words coded in this case function as adjectives as far as their position (before the noun) and their inflexion (agreement with the noun) are concerned. Furthermore, there is no

¹ In traditional descriptions the prepositional case is often referred to as 'locative' or 'directional'.

relationship of government with the verb or with a preposition. As a consequence possessive marking will be treated as adjectivization in the following (see 2.1.3.2. below):

- (37) o xālo
 'the man (Non-Gypsy)'
 i pirni
 'the lover(f)'
 o/i² xal-es-kr-i pirn-i
 the man-Acc-Poss-f lover-f
 'the man's lover'

The locative case is not used in a productive way any more. Compare the following example:

- (38) khēr 'house' khēre 'at home, home. (directional)'

The case endings express (cumulatively) gender, number and case. In the following we present just the most common endings for masculine and feminine nouns:

Table 6 'man' (Gypsy)

Singular.:	Nom.	rom	Plural.:	rom-a
	Acc.	rom-es		rom-en
	Dat.	rom-eske		rom-enge
	Prep.	rom-este		rom-ende
	Instr.	rom-cha		rom-entsa
	Abl.	rom-ester		rom-ender
	Voc.	rom-a		rom-āle

Table 7 'sister' p. 10

Singular:	Nom.	phēn	Plural:	phen-ia
	Acc.	phen-ia		phen-ien
	Dat.	phen-iake		phen-ienge
	Prep.	phen-iate		phen-iende
	Instr.	phen-iāha		phen-ientsa
	Abl.	phen-iater		phen-iender
	? Voc.	phēn-a		phen-iāle

Although there is no phonetical distinction any more between the final vowel of the instrumental and the ablative case (both ending in [a]) the different orthography is used for historical reasons (Finck, Pott). The vocative has lost its full productivity. For non-animate entities the nominative, accusative and prepositional are always expressed with the same ending. However, even with non-animate entities dative, instrumental, ablative and prepositional case are replaced frequently analytically by a preposition e.g. fir (+Dat), mit (+Instr.), fon (+Abl.) and the noun marked with the corresponding case or the nominative.

2.1.1.2. Derivation

Romanes has a relatively small lexicon. Therefore a higher degree of 'descriptivity' as compared to German can be observed.³ As a consequence, derivation (as well as composition, formation of syntagmas and relative clauses etc.) plays an important role in the language system.

2.1.1.2.1. Formation of abstract nouns

By adding *-pen* to the root of verbs (rarely to adjectives and exceptionally to nouns) abstract nouns are formed⁴.

(39)	rak- <i>ev-</i> rake pen	'to speak' 'language'	rak(root)- <i>ev</i> (stem)-
(40)	khīn- khīne pen	'tired' 'tiredness'	
(41)	duk duke pen	'pain' 'wound, scab'	

The deverbal nouns formed by *-pen* can be used in the different morphological cases. The instrumental case functions very much like the present participle of German, modifying the state of affairs expressed by the main verb.

³ compare Seiler 1978, p.78

⁴ After a root with a final consonant a Schwa-vowel is inserted.

In the example above the different meanings of one word formation in two dialects can be seen.

2.1.1.2.4. Nominalized possessive forms of 'nomina abstracta'

Possessive forms derived from 'nomina abstracta' occur frequently. The resulting word forms are mostly 'nomina agentis'. However, they can be 'nomina instrumenti' as well. Rarely they have other semantic functions.

Nomina Agentis:

				Verb:	
(50)	rakepaskro	'prattler'	rakepen	'language'	rak-ev
(51)	bašepaskro	'musician'	bašepen	'music'	baš-ev-
		'video recorder'			

Nomina Instrumenti:

(52)	dikepaskro	'TV'	dikepen	'watching'	dik-
(53)	ulepaskro	'vehicle'	ulepen	'going by...'	ul-ev-

2.1.1.2.5. Feminine formation

The feminine ending *-etsa* always refers to human beings:

(54)	sinto	-	sintetsa	'Gypsy (man) - Gypsy (woman)'
------	-------	---	----------	-------------------------------

Feminine formation by the suffix *-ni* is not productive any more:

(55)	rom	-	romni	'man - woman (only Gypsy)'
(56)	rai	-	rani	'lord - lady'

Furthermore composition of nouns is used to mark gender:

(57)	tšāvo	'boy, son, child'
------	-------	-------------------

Since *tšāvo* can be used with the general meaning 'child', the following composition disambiguates gender:

(58)	morš tšāvo	'son'
	man boy	

2.1.1.2.6. Negation

Nouns and adjectives can be negated by prefixes. However, these processes are not used productively any longer:

(59)	baxt	'luck'	bibaxt	'bad luck'
(60)	boldo	'baptized'	biboldo	'not baptized, Jew'
(61)	latšo	'good'	tšilatšo	'bad, wicked'

The particle *tši* as free form is used with the meaning 'nothing'.

2.1.1.2.7. Formation of 'nomina agentis' by *-ar-*

The suffix *-ar-* is mostly used for 'nomina agentis' loaned from German.

(62)	jegār-e	'hunter'	Germ.:	Jäger
------	---------	----------	--------	-------

2.1.2. Articles

The article takes the first position in the noun phrase. There is a definite and an indefinite form. In younger varieties of Romanes case marking has disappeared. In more conservative dialects case is still marked on the definite article in the singular. There is only a nominative and a non-nominative form.

The form of the definite article is the same as the most common ending of masculine and feminine nouns:

(63)	o rom	'the man'	i romni	'the woman'
------	-------	-----------	---------	-------------

The plural form for both genders is

(64)	i roma	'the men'	i romia	'the women'
------	--------	-----------	---------	-------------

The indefinite article has its origin in the numeral *jek* 'one'. The diachronic development of the indefinite article probably was as follows:

jek --> je --> ji --> i

Old speakers still use the indefinite article with word initial *j-*:

(65)	o rom	'the man'	i romni	'the woman'
(66)	ji rom	'a man'	ji romni	'a woman'

However, the most common form of the indefinite article is *i*. As a result the difference ‘+/-finite’ is not marked any more for feminine nouns. Indefinite plural nouns are marked by the missing article:

- (67) *Koi dživ-an gādž-e.*
 There live-3PlPfv Non-Gypsy-Pl.
 ‘There lived Non-Gypsies.’

The following table shows the forms of the definite article as used by old speakers/dialects. In ‘younger’ varieties the masculine is marked by ‘o’ for all cases in the singular:

Table 8:

		masculine	feminine
singular	Nom.	o	i
	Non-Nom.	i	i
plural	all cases		

Proper names are always used with the definite article:

- (68) o Bakro ‘Bakro’ (man’s name)
 (69) i Baxla ‘Bachla’ (woman’s name)

2.1.3. Adjectives

2.1.3.1. Inflexion

Adjectives can function as attributes or predicates:

- (70) i phūri romni ‘the old woman’
 (71) I romni hi phūro. ‘The woman is old.’

Adjectives are inflected for gender, number and (in more archaic dialects) case. Furthermore, they can be marked for comparison.

The singular ending of an adjective agreeing with a masculine noun is *-o*, for a feminine noun ‘*-i*’. In the plural both genders are expressed by *-e*:

- (72) o latšo tšāvo ‘the good boys’
 i latše tšāve ‘the good boys’
 (73) i latši tšai ‘the good girl’
 i latše tša ‘the good girls’

The following table gives an overview of the inflexion of the adjective in archaic dialects.

Table 9

	animate		non-animate
Nom.	o tikno tšāvo 'the little boy'		o tikno māro 'the small bread'
Non-Nom.	i tikne tšav-		- " - " - "
Nom.	i tikni tšai 'the little girl'		i tikni štādi 'the small hat'
Non-Nom.	i tikne tša-		- " - " - "

Only in the more archaic dialect of the Lalere marking of agreement between the subject and the adjective used as predicate can be observed. In the Hameln variety the masculine ending -o is used throughout.

Hameln:

(74)	Jōb hi gusev-o. He is clever-m. 'He is clever.'	Joi hi gusev-o. She is clever-m. 'She is clever.'	Jōn hi gusev-o. They are clever-m. 'They are clever.'
------	---	---	---

Lalere:

(75)	Jōb hi gusev-o. He is clever-m.	Joi hi gusev-i. She is clever-f.	Jōn hi gusev-e. They are clever-pl.
------	------------------------------------	-------------------------------------	--

There is only a small number of non-inflected adjectives, some of them are German loan words:

(76)	o šuker tšāvo 'the handsome boy'	i šuker tšai 'the pretty girl'
------	-------------------------------------	-----------------------------------

(77)	o hart džī 'the hard heart'
------	--------------------------------

2.1.3.2. Derivation

Adjectives can be derived from nouns and verbs by forming a stem in -l-, -n-, -d-.

(78)	tšik tšik-l-	'dirt' 'dirty'
(79)	trāš trāš-n-	'fear' 'fearful, timid'
(80)	lōn lon-d-	'salt' 'salty'

The ending marking the 'possessor' is formed by adding **-kr-/-gr-** (Sg./Pl.) to the accusative (oblique) ending. The possessive form is marked for gender, noun and case in agreement with the corresponding noun (the 'possessum') like an adjective. The modifications preceding the possessor refer to it only (and not to the whole phrase). These modifications are encoded in the nominative case, in older dialects the non-nominative form is used.

- 81) ko dramaskro 'that doctor'
 82) koi tušni 'that bottle'
- 83) kol/ko dramaskr-es-kr-i tušn-i
 the (Non-Nom)/Nom doctor-Acc-Poss-f. bottle-f.
 'the doctor's bottle'
- 84) o dēvel '(the) God'
 85) o khēr 'the house'
- 86) o devl-eskr-o bār-o khēr
 the God-Poss-m- big-m Haus
 'God's big house'
- 87) o bār-o devl-eskr-o kher
 the great-m God-Poss-m house
 'the house of the great God'

Nouns referring to nationalities or material can be adjectivized by the suffix **-tikr-**:

- 88) biboldo 'Jew'
 bibol-tikr-o them 'Jewish land'
- 89) kōr 'nut'
 kor-tikr-o kašt 'walnut (wood)'

Local adverbs can be adjectivized by adding **-stun-** to the root:

- 90) glān 'in the front'
 kol glanstüne heria 'the forelegs'
- 91) pal 'at the back'
 kol palstüne heria 'the hindlegs'

Many of the forms of the passive past participle have adopted active meanings:

- 92) kam- 'want, love'
 kam-lo 'dear' (not: loved)

Comparison is marked by suffixes. In the Hameln variety the superlative ending **-ester** can be freely exchanged with the former comparative ending **-eder**. The first ending is becoming more and more frequent.

- (93) Mīr-o ulepaskro naš-ela sik-ester/šik-eder hār tiro.
 my-m vehicle run-3Sg fast-Sup/fast-Comp than yours
 'My car runs faster than yours.'
- (94) Mīr-o ulepaskro naš-ela (am)⁵ sik-ester/sik-eder lauter-ender.
 my-m vehicle run-3Sg (Ptcl) fast-Sup/fast-Comp all-Pl.Abl.
 'My car runs the fastest of all.'

2.1.4. Pronouns

2.1.4.1. Personal pronouns

Personal pronouns are marked for number, person, case and gender (in the 3rd person). The inflexional endings in the third person are identical with the nominal ones.

The form of the 2nd person plural is also used as polite form referring to a single referent.

Table 10

Singular	1.P.	2.P.	3.P.	m.	f.
	Nom.	mē	tū	jōb	joi
	Dat.	mange	tuke	leske	lake
	Akk.	man	tut	les	la
	Präp.	mande	tute	leste	late
	Ins.	mentsa	tuha	leha	laha
	Abl.	mander	tuter	lester	later
Plural	1.P.	2.P.	3.P.		
	Nom.	mēr	tumēr	jōn	
	Dat.	menge	tumenge	lenge	
	Akk.	men	tumen	len	
	Präp.	mende	tumende	lende	
	Ins.	mentsa	tumentsa	lentsa	
	Abl.	mender	tumender	lender	

Personal pronouns also occur in dependent forms; clitics and verbal suffixes. Their occurrence is dependent on discourse factors (see Holzinger 1993: chapter 6.4.3.3.).

The verb suffixes encode gender of the subject in the singular, for the plural there is only one ending. Furthermore, there are only verbal suffixes for the 3rd person:

- (95) dža-j-as-o/-i/
 go-Perf.stem-3SgPfv-m/f 'he/she went'

⁵ The particle *am* loaned from German is not obligatory for marking the superlative.

- (96) dža-j-an-e
go-Perf.stem-3PlPfv-Pl 'they went'

The clitics only occur in postverbal position. They are never stressed like independent words. The forms are *lo* (m) *li* (f) and *le* (pl), e.g.:

- (97) dža-j-as peske⁶ lo
go-Perf.stem-3SgPfv himself(Dat) he.
'He went (away).'

2.1.4.2. Reflexive pronouns

Reflexive pronouns are only marked for case and number. The endings are those of the masculine noun.

Table 11

	Singular	Plural
Acc.	pes	pen
Dat.	peske	penge
Prep.	peste	pende
Instr.	peha	pentisa
Abl.	pester	pender

Traditionally the function of the dative of the reflexive pronoun has been described as 'expressing a personal view' or 'making a statement sound more emotional'. It occurs very often in statements where the speaker seems to be strongly personally involved, compare:

- (98) Rovas **peske** li.
cried herself(Dat) she 'She cried.'
- (99) Joi džajas **peske**.
she went herself(Dat) 'She went (away).'
- (100) Pi-au **mange** i lovīna.
drink-1Sg myself(Dat) a beer 'I drink (a bottle of) beer.'

⁶ For the use of the dative of the reflexive pronoun see below.

2.1.4.3. Possessive pronouns

Table 12

	Singular	Plural
1.	mī-	māf-
2.	tīr-	tumār-
3.m.	leskr-	lengr-
f.	lakt-	

2.1.4.4. Interrogative pronouns

Interrogative pronouns used as nouns are formed by adding the nominal endings to the stem *kon* 'who?' and *ho-* 'what?', e.g.:

Nom. kōn	'who?'
Acc. kones	'whom?'
Dat. koneske	'(to) whom?'
etc.	

Case marking is less elaborated for the pronoun referring to non-animate entities.

Nom. hoi	'what?'
Acc. hoi	'what?'
Dat. hoske	'why? (for what?)'

Conservative dialects have preserved more case forms:

Prep.	hoste	
	e.g. ap hoste	'on what?'
Abl.	hostester	'from what?'

There is only one interrogative pronoun functioning as adjective:

(101) sāv- 'which, such-'

As the translation above shows, the pronoun can be used interrogatively as well as demonstratively.

(102) sāv-o morš
 which-m man
 'which man?'

- 3) dui. sāv-e bār-e germ-e
 two such-Pl big-Pl worm-Pl
 'two such big worms'

4.6. Demonstrative pronouns

onstratives are marked for distance from the speaker (comparable to 'this-that'). A more exact
 ription of their use in narrative Romanes texts can be found in Holzinger (1993).

e 13:

	masculine	feminine:
lose Distance:		
Nom.	kava (short: kau) kava rom 'this man (here)'	kaia (short: kai) kaia romni 'this woman (here)'
Non-Nom.	kal	kal
l.	kala (short: kal)	
ar Distance:		
Nom.	kova (short: ko)	koia (short: koi)
Non-Nom.	kol	kol
l.	kola (short: kol)	

demonstratives used nominally there is also a form in the neuter. It is used as discourse deixis;
 es not refer to concrete entities but to states of affairs:

e Distance:

e 14

	Sg:	m.	f.	n.	Pl:
om.		kava	kaia	kava	kal
cc.		kales	kala		kalen
		etc.			

Far Distance: The forms are the same as above, except the root vowel **-o** (instead of **-a**).

It can be noticed that the roots of the local adverbs 'here, there' and of the demonstrative pronouns 'this, that' are identical:

Table 15:

kate (short: kai)	'here'	kote (short: koi)	'there'
kava (short: kau)	'this (m)'	kova (short: ko)	'that (m)'
kaia, (short: kai)	'this (f)'	koia (short: koi)	'that' (f)'

2.1.4.7. Indefinite pronouns

Indefinite pronouns can also be used nominally. They refer to an entity that is not marked for gender and number, e.g.:

- (104) jek 'somebody'
 (105) hakeno 'everybody'
 (105) tek 'nobody'
 (106) lauter / halauter 'all, everything'

The forms above are inflected regularly if they refer to animate entities.

2.1.5. Numerals

Cardinals are not inflected: Table 16: p. 21

Ordinals are formed (with the exception of 'jek' - one) by suffixing **-t-** and the adjective ending to the cardinals:

- (107) ersto (from German)
 (108) duito
 (109) tritō/trinto
 (110) šōbto....

2.2. Verbal morphology

Verbs are marked for tense, aspect, mood, number and person. The gender of the subject can also be expressed by a verb ending (see personal pronouns: bound forms).

1	jek	15	dēštapanṣ
2	dui	16	dēštašōb
3	trīn	17	dēštaefta
4	štār	18	dēštaoxta
5	pantš	19	dēštaenja
6	šōb	20	bīš
7	efta	30	bīštadēš / trianta
8	oxta	50	pāš šēl 'half hundred'
9	enja	100	šēl
10	dēš	200	duišēl
11	dēštajek	300	trīnšēl
12	dēštadui	1000	sēro
13	dēštatin	2000	duiseria
14	dēštaštar		

2.2.1. Mood

Four 'modi' are coded morphologically: Indicative, Conditional, Subjunctive and Imperative.

Conditional:

In the Hameln variety there is only one unmarked conditional paradigm that refers to the 'irrealis' in all tenses. It is formed analytically by adding -s to the perfective suffix⁷.

(111) **La-j-als** lenge dox i māro lo!
Fetch-Perf.stem-2Sg they(Pl.Dat) Ptcl. a bread he

referring to the past: 'If only he had fetched some bread for them!'
to the presence
or future: 'If only he would fetch some bread for them!'

The other rarely occurring more marked conditional paradigm only refers to the presence. The forms are the same as for the imperfective aspect in the indicative mood. They are made up by suffixing '-s' to the paradigm of present tense:

(112) **Mē kamau-s...**
I want-1Sg.
'I would like...'

Subjunctive:

The subjunctive is only used in sentential complements that are temporally dependent on the main clause (see dependent clauses). It is used to express fictional states of affairs that are to be realized

⁷ except 3.P.Sg. where the perfective ending ends in -s already

in the future (see complement clauses).

- (113) Me kamau tu te dž-as tuke.
I want you that go-2SgSbj you(Dat)
'I want you to go!'

The subjunctive form also occurs in main clauses with the meaning of obligation. The modal particle *hunte* is optional.

- (114) Dž-as tuke!
go- 2SgSbj you(Dat)
'Go! / You have to go!'

Imperative:

Imperative forms occur in the second person singular and plural. For the first person the indicative forms are used.

- (115) Dž-ah menge!
go-1Pl us(Dat)!
'Let's go!'

The subjunctive form is also used to express obligation. The use of the particle *hunte* is optional.

- (116) Dž-as menge (hunte)!
go-1PlSbj us(Dat) (Oblig.-Ptcl.)!
'We have to go!/Let's go!'

Wishes are formed by dependent clauses with the introducing conjunction *te* and the verb in the subjunctive mood.

- (117) Te dživ-as rāha!
That live- 1PlSbj long!
'May we live long!'
- (118) Te atš-as māla.
That remain-1PlSbj friend!
'Let's remain friends!'

With transitive verbs, the imperative in the second person is formed by adding *-e* to the root in the singular and *-en* to the plural stem:

- (119) rak-ev- 'speak'
rake 'speak Sg)!'
rakeven 'speak (Pl)!'

With intransitive verbs the imperative form is made up by the mere stem in the singular and the suffixation of *-en* in the plural:

- (120) phutš- 'ask' phutš 'ask (Sg)!'
 (121) phutšen 'ask (Pl)!'

In the third person the particle *mo* is used to express necessity.

- (122) Kova mo šun-el!
 That-one Ptcl hear-3Sg
 'That one ought to listen!'

Modal particles

Modal constructions are formed by a modal particle and the verb in the indicative or subjunctive mood. States of affairs that should/must/may be realized in the future are expressed by the subjunctive form.

Obligation and necessity are expressed by the modal operator *hunte*. It is optional in the first and second person, the position in the sentence is rather free.

- (123) Tū **hunte** kr-es kova! or: Tū kres kova **hunte**!
 You must make-2SgSbj that! or: (Tū) kres kova!

'You have to do it'.

The particle *brauchte* (loaned form German) expresses non-necessity, it only occurs in negated propositions.

- (124) Mē **brauchte** dž-ap gār khēre.
 I need go- 1SgSbj not home.
 'I need not go home.'

Permission is also expressed by a particle loaned from German; *darfte*:

- (125) Mēr **darfte** atš-as kai.
 We may stay-1PlSbj here.
 'We may stay here.'

If the inflected verb expresses a state of affairs in the past, the indicative form is used.

- (126) Hunte dž-a-j-**om** khēre.
 Must go-Perf.stem-1SgPfv home
 'I had to go home.'

The modal particles probably represent a composition with the conjunction *te* (that) that is used to introduce complement clauses in subjunctive mood.

The only modal particle used with the verb in the indicative expresses ability:

- (126) Mēr **našte/nai**⁸ bude-vāh tū-ḥa.
 We can work-1Pl you-Instr
 'We can work with you.'

2.2.2. Tense/aspect

In addition to the present tense, which can also be used to refer to the future, there are two aspects of the past, the perfective and the imperfective. The exact use of the aspectual forms is dealt with in discourse analysis (Holzinger 1993). The unmarked perfective is used to describe chronological events (foreground), whereas the more marked imperfective is used for states of affairs that are not complete in discourse (background). Events marked by the perfective represent the 'gist, skeleton, main line of the episode'. The imperfective is used for background material (e.g. explanations) scene setting (information about time and place of the narrated events), identification (description of participants) and collateral material (states of affairs that did not happen; negations; events in the future, questions, direct speech etc.).

2.2.3. Person

There are two paradigms of conjugation. The only difference is the 'theme vowel' -e- or -a-, e.g. the indicative paradigms of *dž-* 'go' and *sōv-* 'sleep':

Table 17

	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1.	dšaua	dšah	sovaua	sovah
2.	dšah	dšan	soveh	soven
3.	dšala	dšana	sovel	sovena

The verb endings (stem formation excluded) are presented in table 18, p. 26.

⁸ *nai* is the short spoken form

Table 18

Indicative		Present Tense	Perfective	Imperfective
Singular	1.	-ua	-om	-us
	2.	-h	-al	-hs
	3.	-la	-as	-hs
Plural	1.	-h	-am	-hs
	2.	-na	-an	-ns
	3.	-na	-en	-ns
Conditional				
	Singular	1.	-oms	Plural -ams
		2.	-als	-ans
	3.	-als	-ans	
Subjunctive				
	Singular	1.	-p	Plural -s
		2.	-s	-n
	3.	-l	-n	

The 'h' in verbendings indicates a lengthening of the preceding vowels. It is only pronounced in very archaic dialects, when a vowel follows: e.g. *sov-éhe* 'you sleep'.

2.2.4. Past Participle Passive

Sometimes the participle can also refer to the present or be interpreted actively.

- (127) tšiv- 'lay'
tšido 'laid'
- (128) phaskev- 'bury'
phaskedo 'buried'
- (129) kr- 'make'
kerdo 'made, done (food)'
- (130) kam- 'want'
kamlo 'dear'
- (131) pi- 'drink'
pi-l-o 'drunk, drunken'
- (132) mui- 'die (archaic)'
mūlo 'dead'

The spatial relationships of 'lying, sitting, standing' are expressed by a construction of a main verb and the participle:

- (133) beš- 'sit'
 (134) Me hom beschdo. 'I am sitting.'
 (135) tšiv- 'lay'
 (136) Me hom tschido. 'I am lying.'

2.2.5. Infinitive

The infinitive is a very young formation that is used rather rarely. The form ist that of the 3. Person Sg. Subjunctive; from where it developed. In today's Romanes infinitive constructions and subjunctive forms coexist.

- (137) Me kamau te dža-p khēre.
 I want that go-1SgSubj home
 (138) Me kamau te džal khēre. or Me kamau khēre te džal.
 I want to go home I want home to go
 'I want to go home.'

The function and distribution of the infinitive is described under the section of complements (3. Syntax).

2.2.6. Causative formation

Causative/transitive formation by adding -ev to the verbal root is no longer fully productive, e.g.:

- | | | | |
|--------------|-------------|-----------|-------------|
| (139) xatš- | 'burn' | xatš-ev- | 'burn (up)' |
| (140) duk- | 'ache' | duk-ev- | 'hurt' |
| (141) tas- | 'suffocate' | tas-ev- | 'strangle' |
| (142) xandž- | 'itch' | xandž-ev- | 'scratch' |

2.2.7. Auxiliaries

The inflexional forms of the auxiliary (present tense) are almost identical with the verbal endings of the perfective.

Indicative

present tense:	Sg	1. hom	past tense:	hom-s
		2. hal		hal-s
		3. hī		hī-s
Pl	1. ham	ham-s		
	2. han	han-s		
	3. hī	hī-s		

The forms of *va-* 'come, become' are used in the other tenses and moods, e.g. the imperative:

Sg	ab
Pl	aven

2.2.8. Adverbs

In most cases the adjective in adverbial function is not morphologically marked in a specific way. Therefore, we cannot talk about adverbs in these cases, e.g.:

(143) i **dinl-o** tšāv-o
a stupid-m boy-m 'a stupid boy'

(144) Jōb dik-el **dinl-o** vī.
He look-3Sg stupid-m out (v-ptcl). 'He looks stupid.'

However, there is still a process of adverbialization of adjectives that is restricted to a number of lexemes and used rather rarely. These adverbs are formed by adding **-es** to the roots of the adjectives, e.g.:

(145) tšatš-**es**
right-**Av**
'on the right'

(146) o tšatš-o **vast**
the right-m Hand
'the right hand'

The large number of non-inflected adverbs as well as quantifiers, prepositions and conjunctions cannot be dealt with here due to limitations of space.

3. Syntax

3.1. Phrases

Noun phrases:

The 'continuum of determination' developed by Seiler (1978) for German can be adopted for Romanes with a few modifications only:

Adv.	Dem	Quant.	Anaph.	Num.	Aff.	Eval.	Color	Mat.	Prep.	Rel.	Appos.
	Art.		Ptcl.		Adj.	Adj.	Adj.	Adj.	Attr.	clause	
		Poss.									

- (147) Hake dui nēve kāle tšuria, kai ginom mange.
 every two new black knives, where bought I (Dat).
Quant Num eval. Color Headnoun Relative Clause
 'All the two new black knives, that I bought for myself'
- (148) Kal būt šuker lōle kortikre kašt-a.
 These many beautiful red nutwood-Pl
Dem Quant eval. Color Material Headnoun
 'these lots of beautiful red (pieces of) walnut'

Possessive phrases were already presented above (2.1.3.2.). The position of all the other attributive modifications (relative clauses, prepositional phrases, adverbial phrases, appositions) is usually after the head noun.

Adverb- and adjective phrases usually consist of just one modifier and the adjective/adverb.

- (149) Mīr-o tsak nēv-o rīpen.
 mī-m completely new-m dress
 'my brand-new dress'

Verbphrases:

The passive construction consists of the auxiliary at the beginning of the phrase and the participle in sentence final position:

- (150) I merklin vajas taisa paš mande anlo.
 a cake came yesterday to me brought
 'A cake was brought to me yesterday.'

Verbal particles often have locative or directional meaning, but they can form idiomatic, lexical units with the verb as well, where a separation of the meanings is no longer possible. As in German, verbal particles occur at the end of clauses, when the corresponding verbs are inflected, otherwise they directly precede the verb:

- (151) Ko rom phardas taisa ap o maršto i šuker grai drē.
 the man exchanged yesterday at the market a beautiful horse in
 'Yesterday the man exchanged a beautiful horse at the market.'
- (152) I šuker grai vajas taisa ap o maršto drē phardedo.
 a beautiful horse was yesterday at the market exchanged
 'Yesterday a beautiful horse was exchanged at the
 market.'

Infinitive constructions are formed by the phrase-initial inflected verb and the infinitive at the end of the clause:

- (153) Mē kam-*aua* kau dīves i merklin te kr-*el*.
 I want-1Sg this day a cake to make-Inf.
 'I want to make a cake today.'

Modal constructions consisting of a non-inflected modal particle and the inflected verb were already presented above. The position of the particles is quite free, it can be realized post- and preverbally. In phrases with the auxiliary *hom* and the predicative complement the latter is at the very end of the clause:

- (154) *Homs* taisa naslo.
 was(1.Sg) yesterday ill
 'I was ill yesterday.'

3.2. Independent clauses

The shortest forms of independent clauses are those consisting of the verb by itself. Since person and number and (optionally) gender of the subject are expressed on the verb, subjects need not be coded if their reference is clear. Furthermore there are impersonal verbs and those expressing weather conditions that can form a clause by themselves:

- (155) Naš- as.
 run-3SgPfv
 'He/she ran.'
- (156) Khand-ela.
 stink-3SgPres
 'It stinks.'
- (157) D-ela.
 give-3SgPres
 'It is raining.'

In isolated declarative sentences the subject precedes and the object follows the verb (SVO). However, in narrative texts preverbal subjects express discontinuity. Therefore, subjects following the predicate are much more frequent. The Indirect Object usually precedes the direct:

- (158) Ko rom dajas les i štakepaskro.
That man gave him the carpet.
'The man gave him the carpet.'

By younger speakers however influence from German V-2 order can be observed. In sentences with initial adverbials the subject often follows the verb:

- (159) Ap i rati dža-j-as o rom khēre.
at the night go-Perf.stem-3Sgfv the man home
'In the evening the man went home.'

3.3. Dependent clauses

There are three main types of dependent clauses: sentential complements, relative and adverbial clauses.

The word order in dependent clauses is not uniform. There are three types of serialization:

a) Dependent clauses introduced by the conjunction *te* (that, if) are always temporally dependent on the main clause; the states of affairs expressed in the main and dependent clause are in chronological order.

(Subject) te V Subject Object

In conditional and complement clauses topicalized subjects can even take the position before the conjunction.

- (160) Me kamau te krel ko rom kova.
I want that make that man that.
'I want that man to do it.'

- (161) Me kamau tu te kr-es kova.
I want YOU that make-2SgSbj that.
'I want YOU to do it.'

b) All the other clauses with fully inflected verbs follow the same serialization patterns as main clauses.

- (162) Me džinau, kai kau rom dajas man i ladīni.
'I know that this man gave me a kick.'

In some varieties influences of German verb final word order in dependent clauses can be observed. However, at this stage, it can still be neglected.

c) Only the auxiliary takes the final position (except clauses of type a) above):

(163) Jōb ginas drē, kai koi ta koi o mūlo tšido hi.

he counted in that there and there a dead laid is

'He told that there is a dead man at such and such a place.'

3.3.1. Complément clauses

A clause is a complement, if it functions as subject or object. The semantics of complementation is dependent on the meaning of the main clause predicate (and sometimes of the complementizer). The verb of the independent clause determines the

- i) mood of the verb in the dependent clause
 - ii) the choice of complementizer
- and
- iii) word order.

ad i) Indicative and subjunctive are used to code the verbs in complement clauses. The relevant factor is the temporal dependency of the complement clause on the main clause predicate. A temporally dependent complement typically refers to the future relative to the temporal reference of the predicate of the independent clause. Predicates like 'to want' or 'to ask' express the wish that the state of affairs of the complement clause might be realized in the future (relative to the main clause events). In temporally dependent complements the verb is marked by the subjunctive.

(164) Me **kamau**, te dž-as tuke.

I want that go-1SgSbj you(Dat.)

'I want you to go!'

Other main clause predicates that take a temporally dependent complement (compare Noonan 1985):

- (165) mang- 'ask, beg'
- (166) dž-a- silāha ap jekeste 'force somebody'
- (167) traš- 'be afraid of'
- (168) ladž- 'be ashamed of'

Predicates that report an event or make comments about the truth value of events are temporally independent. The verb of the complement clause is coded in the indicative mood, e.g:

- (169) phen- 'say'
- (170) gin- drē 'tell'

- (171) dengev- 'think, believe'
 (172) da- pes sowel 'swear'
 (173) pats- 'believe'
 (174) khait- pes 'be sorry'
 (175) džin- 'know'
 (176) v- haiedo 'became aware of'
 (177) bistev- 'forget'
 (178) dik- 'see'
 (179) hī šuker/narvlo/fedester... 'it is nice/mad/better'

(180) Jōb dik-ela, kai v-aua.
 he see-3Sg, that come-1SgInd
 'He sees that I am coming.'

(181) Jōn phenena/patsaua, kai tu budev-eh büt.
 they say/believe that you work-2SgInd much.
 'They say/believe that you work a lot.'

ad ii) The conjunction *te* is used to introduce complements that are temporally dependent, *kai* is used for the remaining ones.

ad iii) The differences of word order were already stated above. In clauses introduced by *te* the subject follows the verb, in *kai*-clauses the word order is that of independent clauses.

Infinitive complements are very rare, they only occur with the main clause predicates *kam-* 'want', *muk-* 'let' and *haiev-* 'understand, be able to' and verbs of movement. The function of the infinitive is always that of the subject. Infinitives are introduced in most cases by the particle *te* (originally a complementizer). They represent the second part of a 'bracket construction' (consisting of the inflected verb and the infinitive).

(182) Jōb kamas les tasev-el.
 He wanted him strangle-Inf
 'He wanted to strangle him.'

(183) Kana kamas ko kirvo peskro tšaves te šun-el.
 now wanted that grandfather his son to listen-Inf
 'Now the grandfather wanted to listen to his son.'

The main clause verb *haiev-* is the only one that is commonly used without the infinitive particle *te*:

(184) Ko haievas gār bašev-el.
 That-one understood not play-Inf
 'That one could not play (the instrument).'

Furthermore, there is a construction with a topicalized infinitive that is dependent on the main verb *kr-* 'make, do'. It only occurs before the inflected verb:

- (185) **Phar-el** *kr-au gar.*
Exchange-Inf do-1Sg not.

Finally, verbs of movement also take infinitives:

- (186) **Mīri dai džal** *mang-el.*
my mother goes peddle-Inf
'My mother goes peddling.'

3.3.2. Relative clauses

The relative clause always follows the modified noun. The dependent clause is introduced by the subordinator *kai* 'where'. The syntactic function of the head noun in the relative clause can be expressed by a personal pronoun:

- (187) *Ko rom, kai brindžev-au les.*
that man, where know-1Sg him
'the man that I know'

Head nouns of relative clauses with a pronominal 'resumptivum' are always animate. The position of the pronoun is dependent on its syntactic function.

Direct Object:

- (188) *Kova hi ko rom, kai dik-om les taisa.*
that is that man where saw-1SgPfv him yesterday
'That's the man that I saw yesterday.'

Indirect Object:

- (189) *I roma, kai da-j-om len i māro, hi mīre phrāla.*
the men where give-Perf.stem-1SgPfv them(Akk) a bread are my
brothers
'The men I gave a loaf of bread are my brothers.'

If the head noun phrase functions as subject of the relative clause it is not expressed by a pronoun. Keenan (1977) proposed the 'accessibility hierarchy'. The lower a syntactic function is on the hierarchy the more likely it needs to be expressed by a personal pronoun.⁹

⁹ However, if the function of the head Np in the relative clause is clear by semant syntactic context, it need not be expressed by a pronoun even if it is very low on the hierarchy.

Table 19: Accessibility hierarchy (adapted to Romanes):

SUBJECT
DIRECT OBJECT
INDIRECT OBJECT
ADVERBIAL
POSSESSOR

(190) Koi romni, kai gin-om lakro khēr, hi tšorvelo.
 that woman where buy-1SgPfv her house is poor
 'The lady whose house I bought is poor.'

The resumptivum is not expressed if the head noun is non-animate. The syntactic function can be expressed by prepositions or verbal particles:

(191) Ko ruk, kai homs tel bešdo, hi phūro.
 the tree where was-1Sg under set is old.
 'The tree I was sitting under is old.'

There is another construction used to express the syntactic function of non-animate heads in the relative clause, called 'attractio inversa'. The syntactic function is marked on the head NP itself.

(192) O vürdi-eha, kai ulevēh, hi mīro.
 the caravan-Instr where ride-2Sg is my
 'The caravan you travel by is mine.'

3.3.3. Adverbial clauses

Adverbial clauses modify verb phrases or whole propositions. The word order is that of the main clause; except the clause initial subordinator¹⁰. The verb final position (due to German influence) is rare. For a semantic subclassification see Holzinger (1993).

(193) Hār homs kote, leskri dai meras.
 when was(1Sg) there his mother died
 'When I was there his mother died.'

3.4. Illocution

Different ways of expressing requests and wishes were already described above. There are two types of questions in Romanes. In Yes/No questions the verb is in sentence initial position:

¹⁰ Only conditional clauses have the word order: te V Σ O

- (194) Kam-eh pale te piel?
 Want-2Sg again to drink
 'Do you want to drink again?'

Information questions are characterized by a question word and the verb following it:

- (195) Hoi kr-ens tumer?
 what make-2PlCond you
 'What would you do?'

3.5. Passive

The passive is used very rarely. It is formed by a 'bracket construction' that consists of the auxiliary *va-* 'come' and the perfect participle.

- (196) I tšai vajas an o našlengro khēr anlo.
 the girl came in the ill-poss house brought
 'The girl was brought to the hospital.'

The passive expressing states is expressed by the auxiliary 'to be':

- (197) O vūder his phandlo.
 the door was bound
 'The door was closed.'

3.6. Negation of clauses

Clauses are negated by the particle *gar* or *nit* (loanword from German). They always occur after the predicate.

- (198) Mēr vāh gār paš tute.
 we come not at you
 'We don't come to you.'

The particle negating an imperative is *ma*:

- (199) Ma kre!
 Neg make(SgImp)
 'Don't do it!'
- (200) Ma trašen!
 Neg fear(PlImp)
 'Don't be afraid!'

Clauses with negated constituents can be negated additionally by the particle *nir*:

- (201) Men his tek māro nit.
 we(Acc) was no bread.Neg.
 'We didn't have (any) bread.'

4. Texts

The two narratives were told by a male speaker of the Lalere-Dialekt (with some Czech influence) about 70 years of age.

Text 1:

- (202) I rom dža-j-as an i virta.
 a man(Gypsy) go-Perf.stem-3SgPfv in a pub
 'A man went to a pub.'
- (203) Pi-j-as peske i pār bīr-e
 drink-Perf.stem-3SgPfv himself(Dat) a few beer-pl
 'He drank some (bottles of) beer.'
- (204) Un frīer his moda, his les ap peškr-i štādi,
 and formerly was custom, was he(Acc) on his-f hat,
 his les i aixe-tīkr-i patri.
 was he(Acc) a acorn-Adjzr-f leaf.
 'And in former times - (as) it was the custom - he had an acorn
 leaf on his hat.'
- (205) Naja, va-j-as drē, pi-j-as i pār
 well come-Perf.stem-3SgPfv in drink-Perf.stem-3SgPfv a few
 bīre:
 beer-pl
 'Well, he came in and drank a few (bottles of) beer.'
- (206) Un his i tšatšo koter naše-paske bis khēre.
 and was a right piece run-Nzr(Dat) till home.
 'And the way home was quite long.'
- (207) Un den d-ēhs i bisla winta.
 and then give-SgIpfv a little wind
 'And then it was a little windy.'
- (208) Na, naš-el o rom, džin-ēh?
 well run-3Sg the man, know-2Sg
 'Well the man runs, you know?'
- (209) Un rauš-ēhs imer.
 and rustle-3SgIpfv always.
 'And it was rustling all the time.'

- (210) His koi patri ap leskri štādi.
was that leaf on his hat
'There was that leaf on his hat.'
- (211) Naš-as-o, naš-ēhs-o, naš-ēhs-o.
run-3SgPfv-m, run-3SgIpfv-m, run-3SgIpfv-m
'He kept running.'
- (212) His o švaiso ap leste.
was the sweat on he(Prep).
'There was sweat all over him.'
- (213) Futer naš-ēhs-o trāš-ater, bis te
so-much run-3SgIpfv-m fear-SgAbl till that

va-j-as-o drē an o vurdin,
come-Perf-stem-3SgPfv inside in the caravan,

la-j-as i štādi tēne,
take-Perf-stem-3SgPfv the hat down,

un dik-as-o, kai koi patri his les prē ap o štādi.
and see-3SfPfv-m, that that leaf was he(Acc) up on the hat

'So much he ran of fear, till he came into the caravan, he took
off the hat and saw that that leaf was there on his hat.'
- (214) Na, den sa-d-as peske lo
well, then laugh-Perf.stem-3SgPfv himself(Dat) he(cliticon)

kokres.
alone

'Well then he (even) laughed himself.'

Text 2:

- (215) Me gin-au tumenge tšimone drē, hoi dik-om mit
I tell-1Sg you(DatPl) something in(to), what see-1SgPfv with

mīre eigen-e jag-entsa.
my own-Pl eye-InstrPl.

'I tell you something I have seen with my own eyes.'
- (216) Tumēr dengev-ēna, ko hī menšenunmēglix,
You(pl) think-2Pl, that is impossible,

āber ko hi tšatšepen.
but that is truth.

'You may think, that's impossible, but it's the truth.'
- (217) Far-āh an.
drive/go-1Pl on
'We arrive.'

- (218) Koi his tikn-e tan-e lauter.
there were small-pl fir-trees all
'There were small fir-trees all (over the place).'
- (219) Ap o haupdrom, koi dš-āhs sau tikn-i brika.
at the mainroad, there go-3SgImpv such small-f bridge
'At the main road there was a small bridge.'
- (220) Un koi hams tārdo o vurdi-eha.
and there were(1Pl) stand(PastPart) the waggon-Instr
'And there we stood with our waggon.'
- (221) Kai mē un mīro kamlo dād španeṽ-āh i grai-es
here I and my blessed father harness-1Pl the(Obl) horse-Acc
vrī.
out

'Here I and my blessed father unharness the horse.'
- (222) Un kana vrī, ła-j-am o tōver, džin-ēh,
and now out(side) take-Perf.stem-1PlImpv the chopper know-2Sg
da-j-am i pār ast-e tele.
beat-Perf.stem-1SgPfv a few branch-Pl down

'And now we (went) outside, we took a chopper (and) cut off
some branches.'
- (223) Hiš dui ruk-a, his-o kai anpand-edo un kai
were two tree-pl, was-m here fasten-PastPart and here
anpand-edo.
fasten-PastPart

'There were two trees, it(the horse) was fastened (to them)
here and there.'
- (224) Un maškral drē tšiv-āh o khas.
and in-the-middle in(to) put-1Pl the hay
'And in between we put the hay.'
- (225) Na mišto, rati tšiv-āh men hin.
well good night lay-1Pl us(Acc) there
'Well, in the evening we went to sleep.'
- (226) Ap jek kopo d-el mīro kamlo dād ap mande gōle:
at one time give-3Sg my blessed father at me(Prep) shouts

Tšav-ā, dž-a vrī, o grai hī lōs.
son-Voc go-2SgImp out, the horse is free

'Suddenly my blessed father shouts at me: Son, go out, the
horse is untied.'
- (227) Na, riv-om i koleb an, dža-j-om vrī.
well, put-1SgPfv a trousers on, go-Perf.stem-1SgPfv out
'Well, I put on a pair of trousers, I went out.'

- (228) Tapev-om i grai-es, pandev-om les
seize-1SgPfv the(Obl.) horse-Acc, fasten-1SgPfv him
pāle an.
again on
'I took hold of the horse and tied it up again.'
- (229) Mē homs nox nit an o vurdi drē, his o grai
I was yet not in the waggon in, was the horse
šon pāle lōs.
already again free
'I was not even in the waggon when the horse was untied again.'
- (230) Tšav-ā, hoi kra-j-al den, pand-al i
son-Voc, what do-Perf.stem-2SgPfv Ptcl., bind-2Sg the(Obl.)
grai-es nit rixtig fest?
horse-Acc not right fast
'Son, what did you do, didn't you tie up the horse properly?'
- (231) Dž-a vrī, pande i grai-es fest!
go-2Imp out, bind the(Obl) horse-Acc fast
'Go out, tie up the horse!'
- (232) Mē prē, tapev-om pāle i grai-es,
I up, seize-1SgPfv again the(Obl) horse-Acc.
pandev-om les an, ker-d-om knot-e drē,
bind-1SgPfv him on, make-Perf.stem-1SgPfv knot-Pl in(to),
menšenu mēglix-e knōt-e.
impossible-Pl knot-Pl
'I got up, I took the horse again, I tied it up, I tied knots,
impossible knots.'
- (233) Dža-j-om drē an o vurdi, tek pantš minut-e,
go-Perf.stem in(to) in the waggon, no five minute-Pl,
o grai pāle lōs.
the horse again free.
'I went into the waggon, it did not even take five minutes and
the horse was tied off again.'
- (234) Va-j-as mīro dad-es i xōli.
come-Perf.stem-3SgPfv my father-Acc the rage
'My father got angry.'

- (235) Šta-j-as mīro kamlo dād prē, mē prī,
stand-Perf.stem-3Pfv my blessed father up I up
dža-j-am vrl.
go-Perf.stem out
'My blessed father got up, I (got) up, we went out.'
- (236) Mīro kamlo dād ap koi rīg, mē ap kai rīg.
my blessed father at that side, I at this side.
'My blessed father stood at that side, I (stood) at this side.'
- (237) Pand-el-o kote fest, mē kate fest.
bind-3Sg-m there fast, I here fast
'He ties it up there, I (tie it up) here.'
- (238) Koi his švaiso ap leste.
there was sweat at him(Prep)
'There was sweat all over him.'
- (239) Draus i naselox-e phud-ēhs o grai.
out(of) the nostril-Pl snort-3SgIpfv the horse
'The horse snorted.'
- (240) O khas tel leste his wegšlaife-do,
the hay under him(Prep) was grind_away-Perf.stem
futer grabr-ēhs-o.
so-much dig-3SgPfv-m
'The hay under him was scratched away, so much it had been dig
ging/pawing (the ground).'
- (241) Pand-el mīro dād kote fest un mē kate fest.
bind my father there fast and I there fast
'He ties it up there and I here.'
- (242) Atš-am pašal tardo.
remain-1Pfv there stand-Past.Part
'We remained standing there.'
- (243) Dik-ehs original, har dša-ns kol knōt-e prē
see-2SgIpfv original, how go-3PlIpfv those knot-pl up
fōn i grai-eskro šelo.
of the(Obl) horse-Poss rope
'You could see directly how the knots of the horse's rope came
undone.'
- (244) Original dik-ehs, har dža-ns-e prē.
original see-2SgIpfv, how go-3PlIpfv-Pl up
'You could see directly how they came undone.'
- (245) Grauv-ehs o dives šon.
dawn-3SgIpfv the day already
'It was dawning already.'

- (246) Dan his mišto.
then was good
'Then it was good.'
- (247) Dan her-as prē, džin-ēh.
Then stop-3SgPfv, know-2Sg
'The it(the horse) stopped, you know.'
- (248) Dšin-ēh, taisarla frī št-āh prē,
know-2Sg, morning early stand-1Pl up

štr-ap i grai-es, kr-ap leske i futera,
brush-1SgSbj the horse-Acc, make-1SgSbj him(Dat) feed,

tšiv-ap o khas leske glān.
lay-1SgSbj the hay him(Dat) in front

'You know, early in the morning we get up, I have to brush the horse, to prepare the food and put the hay in front of him.'
- (249) Un dan mē dik-au, futer o grai grabr-ēles:
and then I see-1Sg, so much the horse dig-3SgIpfv
'And then I see, so much the horse had been digging:'
- (250) His i mūlo koi phaske-do.
was a dead man there bury-Past.Part
'A dead man was buried there.'
- (251) His direkt o grai ap leste tardo, lauter
was directly the horse on him stand(PastPart), all

knox-e, mul-engr-e Knox-e un mul-engr-o
bone-Pl, dead-Poss-Pl bone-Pl and dead-Poss-m

šēro, lauter koi tši-do.
head, all there lay-PastPart

'It stood directly on him, bones, bones of a dead man and a skull, all was scattered about.'
- (252) Futer o grai grabr-ēhs.
so-much the horse dig-3SgIpfv
'So much the horse had been digging.'
- (253) Džin-eh, glān his sau virta.
know-2Sg, in the front was such pub.
'You know, there was a pub in the front.'
- (254) Džin-ēh, koi his goiengr-e drē un
know-2Sg there were vagrants in and

khund-e un lauter.
loafers and all

'You know there were vagrants and loafers and all (sorts of people).'

- (255) Dža-j-as mīro kamlo dād glān mit i emra
 go-Perf.stem my blessed father in_the_front with a bucket
 te l-el-o pāni, džin-ēh gere-p-aske fir meli.
 that fetch-3Sg-m water.know-2Sg cook-Nzr-Dat for coffee
 'My father went to the front with a bucket to fetch water to
 make coffee.'
- (256) Phēn-aš-o tšimōne lo, haiev-ēh.
 say-3SgPfv-m something he, understand-2Sg
 'He said something, you understand?'
- (257) 15 berš oder 20 berš rod-ens-e pal kol xal-este
 15 year or 20 year look_for-3PlPfv-Pl after that man-Prep
 un hatš-an les gār.
 and find-3Pl him(Acc) not
 '15 or 20 years they had been looking for that man and they did
 not find him.'
- (258) Dan va-j-as feststele-do, kai kova
 then come-Perf.stem-3SgPfv find_out-PastPart, that that_one
 ko xālo his, kai da-j-an-e les mūlo.
 that man was where beat-Perf.stem-3PlPfv-Pl him(Acc) dead
 'Then it was found out that he was the man, who had been
 killed.'

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