

ICRL14  
14<sup>th</sup> International Conference on Romani  
Linguistics

BOOK OF ABSTRACTS

Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts

Institute for Balkan Studies  
Board for the Study of Life and Customs of the Roma



Belgrade, Serbia

# ICRL14

## 14<sup>th</sup> International Conference on Romani Linguistics

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We are pleased to announce that the *14<sup>th</sup> International Conference on Romani Linguistics* (ICRL14) will be hosted by the Institute for Balkan Studies and the Board for the Study of Life and Customs of the Roma (Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts), Belgrade, Serbia. The first part of the conference will be held as a virtual conference meeting on September 10-11, 2020, while the second part will be organized in 2021 (exact dates to be announced).

ICRL is a conference organized every two years that seeks to provide a forum for researchers interested in Romani linguistics. Our program includes 22 presentations of researchers coming from various countries. The present volume contains the abstracts of the presentations, ordered alphabetically by their first author.

We gratefully acknowledge the support of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Kneza Mihaila 35, Belgrade, Serbia.

The organizing committee: Academician Tibor Várady,  
Svetlana Ćirković, Mirjana Mirić, Annemarie Sorescu-  
Marinković

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## DOES PRIMING FACILITATE CONTACT-INDUCED CHANGE? EVIDENCE FROM ROMANI-ROMANIAN BILINGUALS

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At present there is abundant experimental evidence for structural priming in production, both among monolinguals and bilinguals (see a meta-analytic study in Mahowald et al. 2016). Some researchers consider that cross-linguistic structural priming might be a key mechanism driving structural changes in language contact (see Torres Cacoullos & Travis 2018 based on corpus data; Kootstra & Şahin 2018 based on experimental data). In this paper, we test this hypothesis on word order in NPs consisting of a determiner, an adjective, and a noun, among Romani-Romanian bilinguals. Word order in NPs is a conflict site for the two languages, as the native Romani order is ADJ-N (Adamou & Matras 2020) and the Romanian preferred order is N-ADJ.

First, to identify word order use in Romani nominal constructions, we analysed a 9,400-word Romani corpus of interviews with four elderly Romani-Romanian bilinguals from Romania (Furtună, Medeleanu, & Petrilă 2016). We found three different types of word order in NPs with a noun, an adjective, and a determiner (i.e., definite or indefinite article, demonstrative, or possessive pronoun):

- (a) DET-ADJ-N order, e.g., *kārde kola<sub>DET</sub> parne<sub>ADJ</sub> ròkie<sub>N</sub>* ‘(women) had those white dresses’;
- (b) DET-N-ADJ order, e.g., *äk<sub>DET</sub> nekàz<sub>N</sub> baro<sub>ADJ</sub>* ‘a big grief’;
- (c) DET-N-DET-ADJ order with determiner spreading (i.e., doubling of the determiner), e.g., *sikadän manqe i<sub>DET</sub> viàca<sub>N</sub> e<sub>DET</sub> nevi<sub>ADJ</sub>* ‘you’ve showed me the new life’, *keldäs i<sub>DET</sub> vèstèa<sub>N</sub> i<sub>DET</sub> bari<sub>ADJ</sub>* ‘s/he celebrated the great news’.

In sum, corpus analysis revealed that in addition to the native word order with a prenominal adjective, Romani-Romanian bilinguals also make use of post-nominal adjectives.

To test whether short-term priming in adjective/noun word order from Romanian could account for the use of post-nominal adjectives in Romani, we conducted an experiment with 66 Romani-Romanian bilinguals. We adapted the design from the monolingual priming experiment in Ziegler et al. (2019) where a priming trial consists of a sentence trial and a picture trial. In the sentence trial of our experiment, participants were asked to read out loud a sentence that was either written in Romanian or in Romani (e.g., “Select the brown dog”). In the picture trial, they would see two pictures depicting the same object in two different colours; one of the two objects corresponded to the sentence description they had just read, the other did not (e.g., brown dog vs. pink dog). Participants were asked to provide instructions in Romani that could guide potential listeners to select the object that was *not* the one mentioned in the previously-read sentence (e.g., “Now select the pink dog”). There were 18 target trials randomly interspersed with 20 filler trials. 6 Romanian-Romani trials tested N<sub>DET</sub>-ADJ prime sentences, 6 Romani-Romani trials tested DET-ADJ-N and 6 DET-N-DET-ADJ prime sentences.

Preliminary analyses indicate that cross-linguistic priming is indeed taking place, thus favouring the use of a N-ADJ order in Romani following a N-ADJ sentence read in Romanian. Within Romani, the ADJ-N order primes an ADJ-N order, and the DET-N-DET-ADJ order primes a

DET-N-DET-ADJ order. Overall these results confirm the hypothesis that priming is an important mechanism in contact-induced change.

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## MORE EVIDENCE FOR THE PARTIAL EXTENSION OF THE OIKOCLITIC NOMINAL INFLECTION

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While the general pattern of chronological compartmentalisation has been preserved in all Romani dialects, there has been some interaction between the oikoclitic and the xenoclitic compartments. Extensions affecting nominal inflectional classes are partial and while they may take both directions, oikoclitic extensions seem to be more prominent (Elšík & Matras 2006: 325-9). For example, in most Sinti varieties, borrowed and indigenous masculines in -o inflect according to the oikoclitic pattern. A possible explanation for this is a combination of the disappearance of the conservative stress pattern and the loss of the final -s on borrowed nouns, which make the two classes indistinguishable from each other (Elšík 2000: 26). Southern Central Romani also shows a high degree of levelling in the nominal inflection, which leads to the blurring of the thematicity dichotomy (Elšík 2000: 23).

On the one hand, fresh Sinti data from Hungary underline the complete assimilation of borrowed masculines in -o to the oikoclitic inflection, cf. e.g. nom. sing. *švigeſatro* ‘father-in-law’ > obl. sing. *švigeſatres-*; nom. sing. *frento* ‘stranger’ > obl. sing. *frentes-*; nom. sing. *hamro* ‘hammer’ > obl. sing. *hamres-*. On the other hand, the new data collected in the past five years in Hungary from speakers of Northern Vlax Romani varieties seem to confirm that the interaction between the oikoclitic and the xenoclitic compartments has begun to affect the nominal inflection of Vlax Romani as well. They also appear to corroborate the claim that the dominant direction of this interplay is oikoclitic. In addition, the lexemes under scrutiny vary between the oikoclitic and the

xenoclitic inflectional patterns, which suggests that this is an ongoing process in Vlax Romani, with no borrowed lexeme that would exclusively behave in an oikoclitic fashion.

The attested oblique forms of approximately 10 per cent of all the lexemes in the data show variation, for example: nom. sing. *čokano* ‘hammer’ > obl. sing. *čokanes-/čokanos-* (from Romanian *ciocan*); nom. sing. *dubano* ‘tobacco’ > obl. sing. *dubanes-/dubanos-* (from Serbian *duvan*); nom. sing. *mobilo* ‘mobile phone’ > obl. sing. *mobiles-/mobilos-* (from Hungarian *mobil*). While it would be appealing to speculate that older loanwords, where the speakers are not in contact with the donor language any more, tend to be reclassified as “indigenous” words, there is neither diachronic, nor synchronic evidence for a trend towards such reclassification, and the hesitation concerning new or on-the-spot borrowings contradicts such an analysis. The data provide no unambiguous proof of restructuring the distinction into one based on animacy, either, as noted for Roman (Elšík 2000: 24), for instance. However, as the lexemes affected almost exclusively belong to the xenoclitic compartment, the evidence definitely points to the dominant nature of the oikoclitic pattern.

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## STRUCTURAL CHANGES IN PREPOSITIONAL PHRASES OF SOUTH CENTRAL ROMANI

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In my presentation I will describe the linguistic changes which have led to the simplification of the definite article paradigm, or even to the entire loss of the definite article, in prepositional phrases of various South Central Romani varieties.

Romani has a preposed definite article which developed through contact with Greek (Boretzky 2000: 58, Matras 2002: 97, Elšík & Matras 2006: 54). The article is marked for gender (masculine, feminine), number (singular, plural) and case (nominative, oblique), while gender is only differentiated in the singular. The article is usually vocalic in the nominative, while the oblique forms are derived from the consonantal root in *l-*. In South Central Romani, the nominative form of the definite article is *i* in the feminine singular and *o* in the masculine singular and the plural.

When the definite article is used in prepositional phrases, it occupies the position between the preposition and the noun, e.g. *tel o vodro* ‘under the.M.SG bed.M’, *pal i kafidi* ‘behind the.F.SG table.F’. The articles are usually integrated into the prepositions with default forms in final *-e*, such as *ande* ‘in, into’, *uže* ‘at, by, next to’, *uppe* ‘on, above’, *tele* ‘under’, *angle* ‘in front of’, *pale* ‘behind’, etc. In such cases the final *-e* of the preposition is omitted, e.g. *\*ande o kber* ‘in the.M.SG house’ → *and-o kber* ‘in-the.M.SG house’. In several Romani varieties with present or earlier

contact with Hungarian, the definite article in these prepositional phrases is either deleted or it does not any longer encode grammatical gender.

I will try to identify the linguistic processes that may underlie these changes, such as analogy or contact-induced phenomena. In regard of the latter, I will discuss some of these changes in the wider context of the decline of gender marking in South Central Romani varieties in contact with genderless Hungarian. By that I will challenge the claim of Boretzky (2013: 414), according to which the “influence of [Hungarian] did not disturb the gender system of Romani dialects spoken in Hungary [...] even over a long span of time.”

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## BALKAN FEATURES IN THE GURBET ROMANI IN EASTERN SERBIA

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The issue whether Romani is a Balkan language has been a matter of dispute between the authors who claim that Romani does not belong to the Balkan Sprachbund (cf. Sandfeld 1930, Asenova 2002) and the ones who include it in Balkan languages (cf. Uhlik 1973, Matras 1994, Boretzky & Iglă 1999, Friedman 2000). Although Romani morpho-syntax was strongly influenced by late Byzantine Greek and other languages of the Balkans (RMS), modern varieties of Romani exhibit Balkan features to a different degree. At least the Balkan varieties of Romani are “Balkanized” at all levels of linguistic structure (Friedman 2000). As for the South-Vlax varieties spoken in the Balkans, previous research has not focused on the investigation of Balkanisms.

The aim of the study is to investigate morpho-syntactic Balkan features in the Gurbet (South-Vlax) variety of Romani spoken in the city of Knjaževac and the area (Eastern Serbia).

The corpus for the research contains transcripts of conversations with native speakers of the Gurbet variety (12 adults and 22 children aged 7-14), recorded in July 2016 (adults) and November 2017/May 2018 (children). All speakers are bilingual in the Gurbet Romani and local South-Eastern Serbian variety. The corpus is available in the Digital Archive of the Institute for Balkan Studies. It contains app. 39,000 word-tokens obtained from the adults and app. 9,000 word-tokens obtained from children.

Departing from the Balkan features described in the literature (cf. Matras 1994, Friedman 2000), the Balkanisms observed in the corpus can be divided into two categories:

- a) Features which have a restricted use, or the ones rarely found in the corpus:
- (1) Double accusatives  
*Si ma mi rromni.* ‘I have my wife.’
  - (2) Object reduplication  
*Perel breš, go arno tu phadje le...* ‘When a year passes, that egg you break it...’
- b) Prominent features, considerably present in both adult and child language:
- (3) Definite article  
*Kana sasa e slava [...], me dadesa čhindam o kolako.* ‘When it was Saint Patron’s Day [...], I cut the (ritual) cake with my father.’
  - (4) Analytic cases  
*Ćiravas fusuj, sa kokala, pasulj, kokalenca ćiravas.* ‘(We) cook beans, with bones, beans, with bones (we) cook.’
  - (5) Analytic comparative and superlative  
*Si ando Knjaževco radil jekb isto majpurano manuš.* ‘There is in Knjaževac, one also older man works.’
  - (6) Loss of the infinitive  
*Mora te džal te anel arro lendje grastesa.* ‘(He) must go to take flour to their horses.’
  - (7) De-volitive future  
*Phenda mo dad kaj ka del ma štar milje i me ka ćinav mae svara.* ‘My father told that (he) will give me four thousand and I will buy myself clothes.’

We assume that the Gurbet variety has retained different Balkan features under the influence of the local Serbian variety spoken in Eastern Serbia, which is considered to be a peripheral dialect of the Balkan Sprachbund (Соболев 2003), and due to the contact with the speakers of Arli variety (Ćirković & Mirić 2017, Sikimić 2018), which belongs to the Balkan group of Romani (Friedman 2000).

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## ONOMASIOLOGICAL NOMINALIZED GENITIVES IN ROMANI

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Onomasiological nominalized genitives (ONGs) in Romani are such nominalizations of inflectional genitive forms of nouns that serve onomasiological purposes, i.e. that are means of formation of separate lexemes, e.g. Bohemian Romani (*kašt* ‘wood’ → *kašteskero* ‘of the wood’ → *kašteskero* ‘carpenter’ (Puchmayer 1821: 42). While Romani (adnominal) genitives have received a fair amount of scholarly attention (e.g. Belugin 1978, Grumet 1985, Koptjevskaja-Tamm 2000, 2002, Matras 2002: 89–91, Ráčová 2004), there is no detailed and systematic comparative account of Romani ONGs (for brief discussions cf. Bakker 1999: 201 and Matras 2002: 77). The present paper reports on a cross-dialectal investigation into the structure and functions of Romani ONGs based on a corpus of over 2,000 instances from a number of dialects (and their lexical and grammatical descriptions).

In this paper I will: (1) describe Romani ONGs as a category, delimiting it against related morphosyntactic and onomasiological categories (e.g. elliptic genitive nominalizations and other types of converted genitives); (2) propose a structural typology of ONGs based on several parameters (e.g. structural complexity, gender, and number of their onomasiological bases); (3) provide some observations on the semantics of ONGs and their onomasiological bases; (4) present an overview of both contemporary and past cross-dialectal distribution of ONGs; and (5) discuss the reconstructability of ONGs for Proto-Romani, the ancestor of all Romani varieties.

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## USING ROMANI IN THE CONTEXT OF RELIGIOUS CONVERSION: BOUNDARY MAINTENANCE AND LANGUAGE REPERTOIRE

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Romani is primarily an oral language rarely supported in the past by public institutional structures. Communicative practices are intimately linked to informally well-defined social contexts. While most adult speakers have always been bilingual or even multilingual the use of Romani most often was confined to domestic and community. During the past decades we can witness a dramatic expansion of the social contexts and additional media channels where Romani is increasingly present. The growing involvement of Roma in religious activism is such a relatively new domain. The creation of Roma led churches and the increasing number of religious conversions offer new domain for using Romani and in the meantime contributes to the emergence of a linguistic repertoire in the context of ritual and religious activities.

My paper will investigate the process of the emergence of new repertoire of Romani in the case of the Pentecostal and charismatic forms of Christianity. These religious movements take the form of transnational churches; they are present simultaneously in the destination country and in the communities of origin of the Roma engaged in international mobility. Using the methodology of multi-sited ethnography and describing in detail the communicative practices within such Churches in Romania and Sweden. I will focus on the role of language use in creating and maintaining social distinctions and boundaries (converted / non-converted people, members of the religious assembly / outsiders, moral personhood / persons following sinful habits). These social distinctions also facilitate the process of adopting a religious language repertoire as index of belonging to an in-group, in this case the religious community.

The paper theoretically I will follow up the work of anthropologists who observed that Pentecostalism offers new arena for interaction and exchange between different Roma groups and produces an emerging new discourse of 'a people' which overarches divisions between different Roma groups (see Williams 1991). I will also revisit my earlier work on the revitalisation of religious rituals among the Romanian Roma (Fosztó 2009) and, more recently, the significance of cultural and linguistic differences in context of the migration and return to the communities of origin (Toma and Fosztó 2018). Focusing on the linguistic aspect of rituals and conversion narratives the role of non-state actors (religious assemblies in this case) will be highlighted documenting their contribution to the emergence of a transnational repertoire of the Romani language.

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**THE PROBLEM OF LONG VERSUS SHORT PRESENT TENSE FORMS  
REVISITED:  
CONDITIONAL CONSTRUCTIONS IN SEPEČIDES, OTHER BALKAN ROMANI  
DIALECTS, AND THEIR BALKAN CONTEXT**

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In Friedman (2018), I discussed the problem of the difference between the long versus short form present tense in *-a* (long) vs *-Ø* (short) in the Romani of the Balkans. Matras (2002: 117-118, 156 et passim) indicates that for many dialects in the Balkans, the difference is one of indicative versus subjunctive (marked by *te*, but also the future marked by *ka*, etc.) e.g. *me kerava* ‘I do/am doing’ vs *me te kerav/me ka kerav* ‘let me do~that I do/I will do’. Matras (2002:156) also notes an alternation between long and short for the indicative in Prilep but not for Arli or Sepečides, where the long/short opposition is presented as indicative vs subjunctive, but there is also alternation in these (or, for Arli, some of these) dialects. In Friedman (2018), based on data from Cech, Heinschink and Halwachs (2009: 168 et passim) as well as, Cech and Heinschink (2002), Boretzky (1993: 177-178), and my own fieldwork in various parts of what is now North Macedonia— all of which document that the *a/Ø* alternation in the present is not predictably a matter of indicative vs subjunctive — I came to the following conclusions:

1. Long presents become rare as one moves north. Possible SVlax influence?
2. Longs presents are used for heightened narrative moments (cf. N. Albanian epic admirative).
3. Long and Short presents are/were especially competitive in Skopje, but in general in the southern part of the Arli area, where contact with SVlax (Dzhambaz) is, perhaps, more recent (owing to social distinctions), Burgudzhi influence is also relevant.
4. It appears that verbs with no stem vowel sometimes behave differently with regard to */s/* loss, at least in the 2nd sg.

In the present paper, I shall build on and refine these suggestions. First, it is important to note that, as observed by Matras (2002: 156) and confirmed by Bernard Gilliat-Smith’s materials first published in the *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society* (now *Romani Studies*), as republished by Marushiakova and Popov (1998), Sofia Erli, like SVlax dialects, has completely lost the long present in *-a*. Here we must keep in mind that SVlax, having migrated as far as Greece and Turkey in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, may have been in a position to influence dialects south of its major area of concentration. Sechidou (2011) indicates that the dialect near Serres maintains a strict distinction, but in the absence of texts, one cannot ascertain whether or not there is variation. Paspatis (1870) has some interesting examples that support conclusion #2 above. Of particular interest in the investigation of this variation is Sepeči Romani, where long and short presents both occur in modal constructions, but with different values. As can be seen from Cech and Heinschink (1996: 56), long form presents in the protasis of certain kinds of realis conditionals occur, although apparently they are not mandatory. The present paper will therefore modify and expand on the conclusions of Friedman (2018). While Friedman (2018) drew on dialects from the former Yugoslavia, in this paper material from Albania (Tirard 2019) as well as what is now Greece and Turkey will provide a more nuanced picture of the dialectal distribution of long versus short presents in the Romani of the Balkans, both in terms of areal distribution and in terms of grammatical and pragmatic usages.

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## ROMANI IN FACEBOOK GROUP CONVERSATIONS: A PILOT STUDY ON DIALOGICALLY CONSTRUCTED INTERACTION AND STANCE

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My paper will contribute to the research on dialogicity (Marková 2003; Du Bois 2007; Linell 2009) and stance-taking (e.g. Biber & Finegan 1988, 1989; Biber et al. 1999; Haddington 2004; Englebretson 2007; Jaffe 2008; Kiesling 2009) in Romani.

My paper is a corpus-based study of dialogically constructed interaction and evidential and epistemic stance. I will study a corpus that will be extracted from a convenience sample of seven public Facebook group conversations containing posts in a variety of Romani dialects used in Europe, national languages and other languages such as English.

My paper will map lexical and grammatical patterns that mark evidential and epistemic stance (adverbs, adjectives, verbs etc.) in Romani. In addition, it aims at a cross-dialect comparison of stance markers in different Romani dialects, as well as comparison of stance marking in Romani dialects with their contact languages. This paper will combine a qualitative dialogical approach to epistemic and evidential stance and a quantitative corpus-driven quantitative analysis within a usage-based framework approach (in line with Pöldvere & Glynn (2013), Pöldvere (2014), and Pöldvere, Paradis & Glynn (2013)).

My paper will participate in quantitative corpus linguistics pertaining to Romani and in the study of computer-mediated communication in Romani (Salo 2016, 2017, 2020; e.g. Leggio & Matras 2017). This paper will contribute to recent trends in sociolinguistic studies on Romani (e.g. Halwachs 2012; Matras 2015; Leggio 2015; Matras & Robertson 2015; Gaiser & Matras 2016; the research programme “Romani language repertoires in an open world” (2019-2025)) and to the study of interactional practices of Roma. Furthermore, my paper will contribute theoretically to the research on Usage-Based Cognitive-Functional Linguistics (Fabiszak, Hilpert & Krawczak 2016) and shed light upon the intersubjective and interpersonal nature of stance-taking (Heritage 1984; Kärkkäinen 2003; Pöldvere 2014: 7; Linell & Lindström 2016).

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## REPertoire SHIFT IN PROGRESS

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From the 1960s on, Kalderaš have come as migrant workers from Serbia to Austria. Their immigration follows the typical pattern of work migration: in the beginning, the men come. They plan to return to Serbia once they have earned enough money. Because their stay ends up taking longer than intended, the families follow: first the women, then the children and sometimes also the grandparents, as well as further relatives or members of the extended family. In that way, the centre of the life of a whole clan shifts from Serbia to Austria, to the larger Vienna area. The children grow up and attend schools in Austria. Their ties to Serbia begin to fade. Those who have grown up in Austria have, if at all, only an indirect relationship to their grandparents' country of origin.

This process is reflected in the linguistic repertoires of the Viennese Kalderaš. During the late 1990s, Serbian loses its communicative functions among the group. The younger the person the less Serbian is actively used. Although families live dispersed over various parts of Vienna, the Kalderaš still formed a closed network society during this period. Thus, Romani was the language of internal communication of most members of the group. The fact that the young generations of the 1990s replaced lexical elements of pre-European and Romanian origin with Serbian lexemes while German loans were still rare has been dealt with in an unpublished paper presented in 2000 at the 5<sup>th</sup> *International Conference on Romani Linguistics* in Sofia. As Serbian had become a marker of origin and identity for the younger speakers, they perceived it as an equal part of their "own" ethnolinguistic heritage in opposition to the "other" language in their everyday life which is German. With the help of their linguistic repertoires, speakers generally

demonstrate their identity respectively that of the group. If two languages represent this identity, elements of both languages fulfill this function.

The current paper takes this situation as a starting point, presents the social development of the last twenty years among the Viennese Kalderaš and analyses its effects on the individual linguistic repertoires of members of nowadays younger generations.

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## LAYER I CASE-MARKING IN NORTHERN DOMARI

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This contribution aims at presenting Layer I case-marking in Northern Domari in contrast to its closest relatives Southern Domari and Romani. Most importantly, it reports on a so-far undocumented function of bare oblique marking as the marker of the standard in comparative constructions and a unique differential subject marker whose origin can be traced back to the Old Indic instrumental *-ena*. The data on which this presentation draws consist of audio recordings of both elicitation and spontaneous speech collected in Lebanon, Syria, southern Turkey and with Syrian Dom refugees in Western Europe from 2009 up to the present. It amounts to more than 30 hours. Domari is a lesser-studied Indic language spoken by service-providing communities in the Middle East. Two dialectal clusters have been identified, Southern Domari, spoken in Palestine and Jordan (Matras 2012) and Northern Domari, spoken in Lebanon, Syria and southern Turkey (Herin 2016). Case-marking in Northern Domari remains robust and like other Indic languages, is structured upon layers (Masica 1993). In this respect, Domari is to be added to the list of languages that exhibit case-stacking, understood as the “the obligatory affixation of certain case markers to already case-inflected bases” (Iggesen 2013): *dom-an-ki* ‘from the Doms’ (Dom-OBL.PL-ABL) in which the ablative marker *-ki* suffixes to the oblique stem *dōm-an*. The most striking innovation is the drastic reduction of allomorphy in Layer I markers and their restructuring as a result of the loss of grammatical gender. The marker *-a* (and its allomorph *-ē*), diachronically the most salient feminine singular oblique marker, has been reassigned as a gender-neutral singular oblique marker. The suffix *-as*, diachronically a masculine oblique marker, was generalized as a differential object marker (3). Despite this drastic innovation, example (1) shows that bare oblique marking can still be used in genitive constructions, an archaism found neither in Southern Domari nor in Romani. Example (2) illustrates a so-far undocumented function of bare oblique marking in Northern Domari, which is standard marking in comparative constructions.

- (1) *wyār-a*                      *dōm-an-ki*  
 Damascus-OBL.SG    Dom-OBL.PL-ABL  
 ‘From the Doms of Damascus’
- (2) *d-yā-r-s-e*                                      *bilʕəmər*    *xadr-ē*                      *drōn-tar*    *e*  
 see-PASS-SBJ.3SG-OBJ.3SG-PRS    age\_wise    Khadra-OBL.SG    big-COMP    COP  
 ‘He looks older than Khadra’
- (3) *fəkn-ar-a*                      *kaw-as*                      *kān*    *b-rəbʕ-āk*  
 sell.IPFV-3SG-PST    sieve-ACC    PST    with-quarter-INDF  
 ‘He used to sell the sieve for a quarter (250 Lebanese pounds)’

Another intriguing and archaic feature in Northern Domari is the existence of the differential subject marker *-ən(a)* (4) whose distribution largely reflects its etymology (OIA instrumental *-ena*).

- (4) wārzatōm      dirās-ēs      bass      oṛ-ən      kaffī      kra  
 leave.PFV.1SG   study-ACC   but   DEM.DIST-NOM   continue   do.PFV.3SG  
 ‘I dropped out of school but she went on’

In conclusion, although Northern Domari underwent far-reaching innovations instantiated in the reshuffling of its Layer I markers, it retained unusual conservative features such as bare oblique marking and a reflex of an Old Indic instrumental.

	Romani	Southern Domari	Northern Domari		
OBL.SG.M	-es	-as	-as	ACC (DOM)	< GEN.M.SG <i>-asya</i>
OBL.SG.F	-(y)a	-a	-a	OBL.SG	< GEN.F.SG <i>-āyāḥ</i>
OBL.PL	-en	-an	-an	OBL.PL	< GEN.PL <i>-ānām</i>
			-ən	NOM (DSM)	< INST.M.SG <i>-ena</i>

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## ROMANI IN CHILE: SEGMENTAL CONVERGENCE VS. PROSODIC DIVERGENCE

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Linguistic (e.g. Rebolledo & Salamanca 2012) and historical data (Dunin 1988) allow to identify Chilean Xoraxane Romani (CXR) as a Southern Vlax variety from Serbia. The present paper discusses the phonology of CXR based on recordings of spontaneous and elicited speech by low- to non-literate speakers varying in age and gender.

Most phonological divergences of CXR from Southern Vlax are also typically found in other languages subject to convergence to Spanish phonology. Examples are (1) the merging of /b/ and /v/ into a single phoneme /β/ with variable realization as [b], [v]. or [β], and (2) prothesis of /e/ before word-initial clusters of /s/ + consonant.

- (1) [βow] ‘he’ – cf. Gurbet Romani [vov]<sup>1</sup>  
 (2) [estolitʃa] ‘chair’ – cf. Gurbet Romani [stolitsa]

These phenomena can also be found in L2-pronunciations by L1-Spanish speakers, e.g. English [βojs] for ‘voice’ and [estop] for ‘stop’, as well as in Mexican Romani (e.g. Padure 2019) and Spanish Caló (e.g. Adiego 2005).

An exception is the merging of /f/ and /s/ into a single phoneme /s/, as illustrated in (3). This is yet another addition to the variety of directions taken by /f/ under Spanish influence: in L2-repertoires of hispanophones it typically tends to fricativization [č], in Spanish Caló it has velarized and merged with /x/, and in Mexican Romani it is preserved.

(3) [sukar] ‘nice, beautiful’ - cf. Gurbet Romani [ʃukar]

The lenition of /s/ in syllable-final position, seen in (4), is also found in Spanish Caló. This is a characteristic feature of meridional varieties of Spanish, to which both Chilean and Andalusian belong (but not Mexican, explaining its absence in Mexican Romani).

(4) [ehtolitʃa] ‘chair’

While the above phenomena are present in all CXR speakers, additional changes appear to be ongoing among younger speakers, namely the loss of aspirated plosives (5) and the devoicing of /dʒ/ (6). These changes are also attested in Spanish Caló.

(5) [penau] ‘I say’ – cf. Gurbet Romani [p<sup>h</sup>enav]

(6) [tʃukel] ‘dog’ – cf. Gurbet Romani [dʒukel]

All in all, anticipating completion of these two additional changes, a phonemic inventory arises that is identical to that of Chilean Spanish, with one exception: Romani /z/ is absent in Chilean Spanish, but appears stable in the face of convergence pressure.

An aspect of CXR that is also saliently distinct from Chilean Spanish is *intonation* (as defined by Hirst & Di Cristo 1998), as the present paper will illustrate using audio and PRAAT-visualizations. This finding contradicts the exceptional susceptibility of prosody to contact influences postulated by Matras and Adamou (2020). While data on intonation in Serbian Romani speakers would be needed to corroborate whether inherited patterns are indeed preserved, it is clear that CXR speakers intonate strikingly different from Chileans. It may be that, with the Spanish and Romani phonemic inventories being very close already from the onset, prosody acquired special importance as a vehicle for identity-marking. So much so, that the un-Chilean intonation is also characteristic of the *Spanish* spoken by the Chilean Xoraxai.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> All Gurbet examples taken from <http://romani.uni-graz.at/romlex/lex.xml>

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## LOAN VERB ADAPTATION IN RUSSIAN ROMANI: CORPUS-DRIVEN APPROACH

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In my talk, I will present my research on loan verb adaptation based on the two corpora of Russian Romani: the Corpus of Soviet Romani (available online at [http://web-corpora.net/RomaniCorpus/search/?interface\\_language=en](http://web-corpora.net/RomaniCorpus/search/?interface_language=en); it consists of the original texts and translations into Russian Romani published in 1920–30s in the USSR, in total ~ 750,000 tokens) and the dialectal Corpus of Russian Romani (consisting of the transcriptions of my own field recordings, in total ~ 50,000 tokens).

First, I show the difference between the two corpora in the dominant strategy used to adapt loan verbs from Russian: in everyday conversations, Russian verbs are usually inserted together with the Russian inflectional morphology (~ 85% of all borrowed verbs), whereas in the Corpus of Soviet Romani most Russian verbs are adapted with the special verbalizing suffix *-in-* (*xodinel* from Rus. *xodit* ‘walk’) or *-is-* (*borisol* from Rus. *borot'sja* ‘fight’) (~ 99%).

Second, I analyze the factors that may be at play when choosing for one strategy of adaptation over the other, as differently adapted verbs can coappear even in the same sentence, cf. the following example from the dialectal corpus where *ženinespe* is an indirect insertion (following Wohlgemuth’s (2009) terminology; i.e. it is used with a special affix) of the Russian verb *ženit'sja* ‘get married’, and *prijedu* is a Russian inflected form of the verb *prijexat* ‘arrive, come’:

...*soby tu-ke šukár te av-él, te žen-in-és-pe,*  
 so 2.SG-DAT well COMP come-3SG.PRS COMP get\_married-ADAPT-2SG.PRS-RFL  
*mé prijedu pe svád'b-a ke tú*  
 1SG.DIR come.1SG.FUT[RUS] on wedding-DIR.SG to 2.SG.DIR  
 ‘[I wish]...so you would be well, you would get married, I will come to your wedding’

Using statistical corpus-driven approach, I consider the following factors: i) regional distribution (there might be different distributions of the two strategies in different geographical areas), ii) specific lemmas (certain verbs might tend to be adapted with the special affix more often than others), iii) speakers or authors (different speakers might have different preferences for loan verb adaptation strategies), and iv) some morphological features such as tense, person etc. (certain morphological forms might be more often adapted by the affix than others).

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## BREAKING THE LANGUAGE BOUNDARY: A DISCOURSE-FUNCTIONAL PERSPECTIVE ON ROMANI LANGUAGE REPERTOIRES

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Despite the inherent presence of language contact and multilingualism in all Romani communities, relatively little attention has been given to the manner in which users of Romani manage their multilingual repertoires in interaction. Exceptions include Leggio's (2015) discussion of social media, Matras's (2009) discussion of examples of code-switching and Matras's (2010) account of the use of Angloromani; otherwise consideration of contemporary multilingualism in Romani is largely limited to drawing inventories of wholesale knowledge of languages across generations (e.g. Halwachs 2005). The paper takes inspiration both from established conversation-analytical approaches to language mixing, and from more recent discussions of the crossing of perceived language boundaries as 'crossing' (Rampton 1995), 'metrolingualism' (Pennycook & Otsuji 2015), or 'translanguaging' (Li Wei 2018). Continuing from the theory of language contact presented in Matras (2009), it approaches speakers' inventory of linguistic structures and communicative conventions as an integrated repertoire, where choices among 'features' (as described by Jørgensen 2008) are indexical and arranged on hierarchical scales (Blommaert 2015). Examples are provided from narratives in the Lovari variety, from conversational interaction in Angloromani, from turns in a Romani online chat forum, and from grammatical constructions in a number of Romani varieties as well as Domari. I identify three dimensions that are related to indexicality and that can account for the way users negotiate perceived language boundaries: interaction management, emotive mode, and fusion. The first concerns the negotiation of participant roles and the organisation of speech events. The second relates to negotiating the social relations and identity aspects of participants. The third, fusion, might be regarded as 'counter-indexical', in that it neutralises contrasts around certain language processing operations, thereby excluding them wholesale from the scalar indexicality process. I conclude by presenting a new model of multilingual repertoire management.

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## DATIVE-LOCATIVE SYNCRETISM IN SHINTO ROSENGRO

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Shinto Rosengro is a Sinti variety spoken in Central Italy until the early XX century and witnessed by some grammatical descriptions, dictionaries and texts written by Sigismondo Caccini. These documents (partly published in Caccini, Barontini & Piasere 2001) testify a variety in which Early Romani nominal and pronominal case system, encoded by Layer I and Layer II markers (Masica 1991, Matras 1997), is still preserved, but syntactic functions may be expressed even by analytic constructions and prepositions (Layer III markers). In comparison with the system reconstructed for the Early Romani and spread in many Romani varieties, the distribution of Layer II markers changed in this dialect, especially in the dative and locative domain. In Romani, the dative Layer II marker *-ke* usually encodes indirect object and, from a semantic point of view, the role of beneficiary or recipient, for example with trivalent verbs as *d-* ‘give’, *phen-/pen-* ‘say’. Dative occasionally expresses the possessor in existential expressions, usually encoded by the independent oblique, es. *si mange* ‘I have’ vs. *si man* ‘I have’. The locative *-te* encodes location or destination, i.e. both allative and stative cases (Matras 2002, Beníšek 2009), and it is used also as a prepositional case (it may express the possessor of existential expression, but allegedly as a contact-induced change). In Shinto Rosengro, dative and locative markers show instead a certain level of syncretism. See, for instance, the following examples: indirect object: *kana tute klor penava* ‘now I tell you everything’, *penava tuki sar fota keres* ‘I tell you how to do’, *i romni pendallalo penate* ‘the wife told it to the sister’; beneficiary: *manghial ta sivel lati* ‘he asked to sew it for her’, *sivanali tuki* ‘I will sew them for you’. Since the prototypical domain of locative is almost never encoded with dative and the indirect object in locative is common, the syncretism seems to point at the progressive erosion of the domain of the dative marker. The paper will propose the possible paths that lead to this syncretism in Shinto Rosengro. This overlapping is a marginal phenomenon in Romani, but it is attested also in other Northwestern varieties, for instance in Welsh Romani (Sampson 1926: § 371), Lombard Sinti (IT-011, RMS Database), Auvergne Manuš (Valet 1984).

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## SERBIAN LOANWORDS IN ROMANI-SPEAKING CHILDREN'S NARRATIVES

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The aim of the study is to investigate Serbian loanwords in the Gurbet Romani variety spoken by elementary-school children in Eastern Serbia. All Romani varieties are highly susceptible to loanwords, as almost all Romani speakers are bilingual and enter various types of language contact (Elšik 2007). The same holds for the area of Eastern Serbia, where extensive language contact between Serbian as a dominant language and different varieties of Romani has been reported (Ćirković & Mirić 2017), resulting in numerous Serbian loanwords.

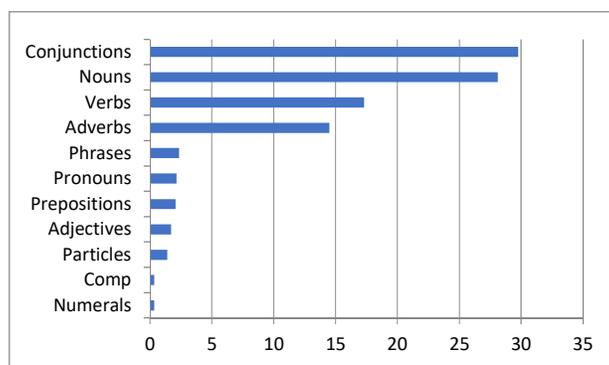
The corpus for our research consists of transcripts of conversations with 22 native speakers of the Gurbet Romani variety recorded in 2017 and 2018 in Knjaževac and Minićevo (Eastern Serbia). All speakers are elementary-school students aged 7 to 14, bilingual in Romani and Serbian. The open-ended interview was used as a method of data collection, with questions focusing mainly on autobiographic stories and traditional culture.

Code-switching passages were excluded from the analysis, as well as researchers' questions and comments. The corpus of narratives contains 8,736 word tokens. The corpus was manually annotated for parts of speech and the following categories of Serbian loanwords were retrieved: nouns, personal names excluded (e.g. *kreveltura* 'beds'); adjectives (e.g. *kožno* 'leather'); pronouns: demonstratives and positive/negative polarity items were found, but there were no instances of borrowed personal pronouns (e.g. *ništa* 'nothing'); numerals (e.g. *prvo razredo* 'first grade'); verbs (e.g. *slavisardam* 'I celebrated'); adverbs (e.g. *ponekad* 'sometimes'); conjunctions (e.g. *ali* 'but'); prepositions (e.g. *za* 'for'); particles (e.g. *bar* 'at least'); complementizers (e.g. *jel* 'if'); and phrases (e.g. *sneško belić* 'Snowman').

A total of 2,423 Serbian loanword tokens were found, which makes 27.74% of the overall corpus. The quantitative analysis has shown that in the sample of Serbian loanwords conjunctions (29.76%) and nouns (28.11%) are the most frequent, followed by verbs (17.29%) and adverbs (14.49%) (cf. Graph 1). This suggests that both lexical and functional words are borrowed. The most frequent loanword is the conjunction *i* 'and' (19.44% of the loanwords).

The results will be discussed in relation to the following points of the qualitative analysis:

- a) Certain loanwords are used together with their Romani counterparts (Serb. *i* – Rom. *thaj* 'and'), while for some of them a Romani counterpart is missing in the sample, although it exists in the language (cf. Serb. *posle* 'afterwards' and *onda* 'then' (Rom. *napal*)). Additionally, certain words are borrowed in order to fill a lexical gap in Romani (*slava* 'Saint Patron's day', *slavil* 'to celebrate').
- b) Serbian inflected loanwords (nouns, verbs, adjectives and some adverbs) are morphologically adapted to Romani. For instance, masculine nouns are adapted by adding the suffix *-o* in Nom.Sg. (*unuko* < Serb. *unuk* 'grandson'), nouns can be preceded by a definite article (*o mrako* 'the dark') or inflected for cases (*drugaricenca<sub>Inst.Pl.</sub>* < Serb. *drugarica* 'a female friend'); loan verbs are adapted by using appropriate adaptation markers (e.g. *-sard-* or *-salj-* in the past tense: *pričosardam<sub>Past.1Sg.</sub>* < Serb. *pričati* 'speak'); borrowed adverbs can be compared (the superlative *majfino* < Serb. *fino* 'nice').



Graph 1. Serbian loanwords by parts of speech.

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## SOME UNPUBLISHED CROATIAN DESCRIPTIONS OF ROMANI: LUKIĆ, DRAŠKOVIĆ AND MEDVEN

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Recently three Croatian unpublished manuscripts with descriptions of Romani have been discovered. The first ever known record of Romani in Croatia dates from 1901 and was made by ethnographer Luka Lukić, as a part of a broader ethnological survey among Southern Slavs. It is a manuscript of 30 pages, with a summary sketch of the local Vlax Romani dialect of Slavonia (Oprisavci, near Slavonski Brod). The second author, count Ljudevit Drašković was more ambitious. He was an Austro-Hungarian soldier and diplomat in the Sandžak region, where he collected specimens of the Gurbet dialect. Even 14 notebooks of his notes were found among the wastepaper of the Faculty of Philosophy in Zagreb, including sketches of Romani grammar and vocabulary; all written in German and occasionally in Croatian. He also recorded some specimens of Galician Romani, from one of his soldiers. The third recorder was a Croatian catholic priest Antun Medven, who learned Romani and preached in it. He also wrote a dictionary of a Vlax dialect of Sunja and collaborated with Rade Uhlik. He also wrote a Romani grammar, meant to be published, but any trace of it has been lost. There are some photos of his dictionary, Uhlik has also commented it, but it is not available for analysis, being in possession of Medven's family unwilling to publish it. The presentation will thus focus on the Lukić and Drašković and their still unknown manuscripts. Their recordings were and often just wrong, but they give a nice insight into these Romani dialects and Romani amateuristic studies of their time.

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## ARMENIAN LOANWORDS IN ROMANI: A GENERAL REASSESSMENT AND A NEW CASE STUDY

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Armenian loanwords represent a historically significant part of Early Romani lexicon. The number of loanwords that can be traced back to this exogenous layer consists of about 30 sure lexemes; further 20 possible loanwords could have an Armenian origin, but allow also an attribution to another layer, especially to the Iranian one (Dowsett 1973–74, Boretzky & Iglá 1994, Boretzky 1995, Orengo 2003, Scala 2004, Orengo 2007, Scala 2013). The phonetic shape shown by the Armenian loanwords in Romani (cfr. e.g. *balani* "tub" < Arm. *balanik'* "bath", *bov* "oven, stove" < Arm. *bov* "oven, furnace", *dudum* "pumpkin" < Arm. *ddowm* "pumpkin", *kočak* "button" < Arm. *kočak* "button", *grast* "horse" < Arm. *grast* "beast of burden" etc.) implies that they have not been acquired in a dialectal area that had undergone the so called 2<sup>nd</sup> Armenian consonant shift (a systemic innovation that changed Old Armenian voiceless occlusives and affricates in voiced occlusives and affricates, and Old Armenian voiced, probably aspirate, occlusives and affricates in voiceless aspirate occlusives and affricates). This fact can have two different explanations: Romani speaking people, in their migration, did not enter the area of this change, that in modern times corresponds to Eastern Anatolia, or they left Armenian speaking territories before the 2<sup>nd</sup> Armenian consonant shift took place or spread in the whole Eastern Anatolia. The rendering of Armenian proper names in some Byzantine sources such as Constantine Porphyrogenitus (begin of X century), together with some evidence coming from the Armenian tradition, suggests that the 2<sup>nd</sup> Armenian consonant shift was already ongoing in the last centuries of the 1<sup>st</sup> millennium (Karst 1901; Belardi 2006: 216). As for the chronological dimension, the Armenian loanwords in Romani often reproduce Arm. [h] with [l] (cfr. e. g. *balani* "tub" < Arm. *balanik'* "bath"; *val* "early, soon" < Arm. *val* "early" etc.). Such loanwords must have been acquired before the generalization of the change of [h] to [ɣ]/[ʁ], that is dated to XI century (Mowradyan 1982: 209–217). Interestingly, some loanwords reproduce Arm. [h] with [x] (cfr. *čovexano* "ghost, warlock" < Arm. *čoval* "warlock, witch") or swing between [l] and [x] (cfr. *pendex*, *pelendo* "hazelnut" < Arm. *pndet*; Scala 2004: 339–340, 344–345). From a cultural point of view it is worthy of mentioning the fact that a group of Armenian loanwords in Romani are related to spiritual and religious dimension; it is highly probable that Armenia has been a place where Roma had significant interactions with Christian faith and rites. The paper will shortly discuss these linguistic data and other open problems concerning the migration of Roma through Armenian speaking territories, with special attention to the chronological and the geo-linguistic dimension. Finally, this background will be used to discuss the origin of words such as Abruzzian Romani *pujá* "money" (Soravia-Morelli 1998: 178) and Crimean Romani *phol* "coin" (Toporov 2003: 22) as a new possible case of Armenian loanword in Romani.

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## FROM SPOKEN TO WRITTEN NARRATIVES IN ROMANI: A FOCUS ON EDITING PROCESSES

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Romani is a language with a strong oral tradition (cf. e.g. Matras & Elšík 2006: 53, Matras, White & Elšík 2009: 332) spoken in areas of the world that are characterised by a literacy-based culture. Meyer (2019: 129) emphasises that “[u]ntil about a hundred years ago, no written records by Roma themselves were conveyed.” Furthermore, oral features are often said to be present in Romani writing (cf. e.g. Eder-Jordan 2015). The main research interest of this talk is to examine such features in the transition of a text from speech to writing. There is a substantial body of research that investigates the relations of spoken and written forms of a language, but it is largely concerned with languages with a long-known tradition of writing.<sup>1</sup> Previous literature assumes a continuum of oral and literate features and in my study, I draw on this research, investigating how its predictions apply to the case of Romani.

The talk presents the results of a pilot study on spoken and written Romani narration, the genre that most studies on spoken and written language focus on. While several studies underline the differences of orality and scribality (e.g. Akinnaso 1982, Maas 2010) and aim to pinpoint features characterising the two modalities respectively, I am concentrating on editing processes that become observable when speakers write down their own spoken language. For this study, I worked with three speakers of three different dialects and two types of narratives. First, the FROG STORY (Mayer 1969) was used as a stimulus. Participants re-told the picture story semi-spontaneously. These stimulus-based audio recordings were complemented with video recordings of a text type familiar to the speakers: Stories (*paramisi*) they know were semi-spontaneously told as they remembered them. In sum, the data set comprises 42 minutes of

narration of which 20 minutes are audio recordings of the FROG STORY and 22 minutes video recordings of *paramisi* and similar stories.

Following the method of Maas (2010), speakers were asked to write down what they said by listening to the media file after the recording session. Speakers partly discussed the content of the spoken version while writing and wished to change elements of it. As the task leaves this possibility open, some parts differ greatly from each other while other parts either show minor differences or correspond to the spoken version. A comparison of these versions allows to scrutinize editing processes in the transition from speech to writing.

What my initial findings show is that, although none of the participating speakers has been formally educated in Romani literacy, several literate structures are present and the predictions from the literature largely hold for my data set.

## Note

<sup>1</sup> In a synopsis of work so far, Chafe & Tannen (1987) mention only few studies on languages other than English. Further languages studied in this regard yet include German (e.g. Boneß & Olfert 2010), Arabic (Maas 2010), Mandarin Chinese (e.g. Hong 2010), Japanese (e.g. Sadanobu 2013).

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## THE IMPACT OF SLAVIC ASPECT AND AKTIONSART ON ROMANI

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The category of verbal aspect is a hallmark characteristic of the Slavic languages. Aspectual prefixes have been borrowed into Romani to various degrees, and it seems that a relatively long period of contact was necessary for this development to have occurred. From the existing research literature, it can be seen that in the Balkans, the borrowing of Slavic verbal prefixes into Romani is rather restricted, whereas it is very distinctive in dialects in contact with East and West Slavic languages. A much rarer, but also very interesting case is the copying of Slavic imperfectivizing suffixes into Romani.

The aim of the present paper is a systematic, comparative analysis of the impact of Slavic aspect and aktionsart on all Romani dialects documented in the RMS database of the University of Manchester ([romani.humanities.manchester.ac.uk](http://romani.humanities.manchester.ac.uk)). The research questions to be answered are:

1. Which Slavic verbal prefixes (and suffixes) are borrowed into Romani? Which Romani verb stems do they combine with and how productive are they?
2. What is their function? Do they really have to do with aspect or ‘only’ with aktionsart?
3. Is there a system within the single dialects or is the choice arbitrary?
4. What can be said about the diachronic development of this phenomenon?

The corpus consists of two parts: The first part consists of 85 data sets from 15 different countries from the RMS database. The condition for the choice of a data set is that at least one current, recent or old contact language is Slavic. The second part of the corpus consists of written texts that have been collected by the author within the last couple of years, encompassing *paramisi*, poems, educational and political material, journalistic texts and comments on *YouTube* videos.

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## TRANSLATING IN ROMANI – BETWEEN CONVERSATIONAL AND STANDARD

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This paper deals with the experience of translation in the Romani context and presents the dilemma that arises between use of conversational and/or standard Romani čhib during the translation process. The dilemma around the use of ‘proper’ Romani čhib in translation consequently raises general questions about Romani čhib, Romani translation and translators, equivalency, understandability, and Romani readership.

When using a conversational written Romani čhib, Romani translators write in a way that reflects how the language is spoken in their communities. In such a translation context, translators do not pay strict attention to orthographic, morphological or syntactic norms, but rather pay attention to envisioning, addressing, and writing for an intended group of readers. When using a ‘standard’ approach, translators write in such a way as to “support regional initiative and creativity, while also strengthening international networking effort and exchange” (Matras 2004: 1), relying on widely accepted rules that serve as a norm (Matras & Reershemius 1991: 104). This paper treats ‘standard’ Romani in terms of the widely accepted rules presented in the document *Romani language standardisaton* (Đurić 2012). The orthographic, orthoepic, morphological, syntactic and lexico-semantic norms included in this work are used to design and develop activities for institutionalizing Romani through educational curricula within Romani communities in the region of Western Balkan countries (Bosnia, Croatia, Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia and Slovenia) (Đurić 2012: 7).

The paper draws its theoretical considerations from conceptual frameworks within two disciplines: Romani Studies and Translation Studies. From the first, it focuses primarily on linguistic studies carried out on the Romani language (Matras 1991, 2000, 2004, Halwachs 2011, Đurić 2012), while the second turns to a combined approach from Descriptive Translation Studies (DTS) (Toury 1995) and the comparative stylistic methodology of translation (Vinay & Darbelnet 1958/1995/2000). When these disciplinary approaches are combined, they provide complementary support for a more effective analysis and understanding of Romani translation (Tahirović-Sijerčić 2018, 2019).

In practice, and within the scope of this paper, an analysis is performed on an electronic bilingual corpus created from three Romani portals in three different countries within the region of ex-Yugoslavia. The corpus is comprised of similar text types and similar cultural content. It is extracted from the Phralipen portal from Croatia, Romalitika from Montenegro, and Rominfomedia from Serbia. The application of two of Vinay's and Darbelnet's (2000) general translation strategies – oblique and direct – as an interpretive lens allows me to find, describe, and compare the differences and similarities between language systems and grammar, in this case Romani and Croatian, Montenegrin, and Serbian. In so doing, it is possible to see the particular ways in which translators have developed and presented their content in translation from an original, majority language into Romani čhib, and the degrees to which conversational and/or standard have been used. Results of the analysis show that the conversational and standard are used simultaneously and interchangeably within each text.

The absence of education in Romani čhib in the region of ex-Yugoslavia hinders its development and has consequences on Romani translation education as well. It is likely that the conversational and standard Romani languages among Roma will gradually converge. The question on the dilemma of whether or not to use conversational and/or standard Romani in translation and writing remains uncertain.

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## LOMBARD SINTI IN CHANGE: AN OVERVIEW

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The paper provides a socio-linguistic overview on the Lombard Sinti usage in the fun fair socioeconomic niche. It also tries to examine the underlying forces which are driving the scenario of language change, as observed among the families travelling the region of north-eastern Italy.

The Romani spoken by Lombard Sinti is claimed to be one of the few Indic-inflected varieties still retained by the Sinti groups which arrived in northern Italy between the 15<sup>th</sup> and the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Despite the high status maintained by this variety within the Italian Sinti panorama, substantial differences in the Romani proficiency are detected among different generations.

In accordance with the speakers' age and the hierarchical position within the kin group, it is possible to observe a dissimilar active and passive competence of the language. This indeed, from being a full inflected resource for the elders, currently developed as a special lexical reservoir used in a "intertwined" construction with limited domains and purposes for the younger.

Having disappeared from the family context, the inflected Lombard Sinti is no more the variety of first socialization, but maintains a symbolical, age-bound relevance in specific endo-community situations, such as funerals, visits to relatives, mediation processes, storytelling and so on. In these socially ritualized arenas, Romani is used to mark family prestige and in-group solidarity, as well as to reaffirm age-related relationships of inequality.

Summing up, after a long period of participant observation within the community, two phenomena arise to our attention: the decreasing competence of the variety and the "turnover of function" (Matras 1998) of its usage. Then, it was possible to detect a strict correlation among these two identified transformations and the mutual socioeconomic influences elapsed over time between Sinti travellers and non-Sinti travellers entertainers.

In conclusion, the present analysis intends to investigate the changing attitude towards the language by relating it to the strategies of in/visibility that over time allowed the Sinti travellers to work in high competition with the *gaje* in such shared context.

It also attempts to explore the crucial role of Romani to display through the language a dynamic feeling of group affiliation, daily evolving in concrete acts of self-ascription.

### References

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## CREATING AND MAINTAINING ELECTRONIC LANGUAGE TECHNOLOGIES FOR ROMANI

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The so-called digital revolution has a huge impact on the daily lives of practical everybody on Earth. Modern technologies allow us – at least theoretically – to communicate with people all over the world instantly. Obviously, these technologies can only be used if one possesses the necessary electronic devices to take part in this form of globalised world. As a negative outcome, the digitalisation of our lives increases the gap between the privileged and those ones who are marginalised. Taking into account these new digital inequalities, it becomes obvious that languages less present in the digital sphere are more prone to lose ground to the surrounding dominant language(s). This can, of course, also be observed in the case of Romani. There are many reasons why it is hard for Romani to compete with the surrounding majority languages, especially in public domains: social marginalisation, lack of accepted Romani standard varieties and so on.

As Leggio (2020) shows, however, one should not think that Romani is absent in the electronic sphere. Roma use Romani next to other languages they speak to communicate in the internet, using different creative approaches in order to bring this mainly orally used language into a written form. The online services the Roma use are, of course, in most cases in another language than Romani. Consequently, both supporting and researching Romani in the digital world necessitates the development of electronic resources.

My presentation will, accordingly, be dedicated to the various electronic tools which have been developed in the last decades in order to document and further the use of Romani. The presentation will focus both on the scientific tools such as ROMLEX (<http://romani.uni-graz.at/romlex/>) and the RMS database ([romani.humanities.manchester.ac.uk/rms](http://romani.humanities.manchester.ac.uk/rms)) as well as on private initiatives to create electronic Romani language tools. I will provide information on their creation and their intention, i.e. the question for whom the respective electronic language resource has been created. My presentation is thus meant to give an overview of what exists, for whom it exists and how the various types of Romani electronic resources are distributed. The presentation will conclude with future prospects of how to increase the amount and the quality of Romani related electronic resources, both in scientific and non-scientific contexts. With these prospects I will conclude the presentation with the invitation to gather ideas and opinions in the discussion following the presentation.

### References

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