ICRL14
14th International Conference on Romani Linguistics

BOOK OF ABSTRACTS

Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts

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We are pleased to announce that the *14th 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 conference will be held in an online format on September 16-17, 2021.

ICRL is a conference organized every two years that seeks to provide a forum for researchers interested in Romani linguistics. Our program includes 15 presentations of researchers coming from various countries. The present volume contains the abstracts of the presentations, ordered alphabetically by their first author.

The Organizing Committee: Academician Tibor Várady, Svetlana Ćirković, Mirjana Mirić, Annemarie Sorescu-Marinković

The Scientific Committee: Yaron Matras, Evangelia Adamou, Svetlana Ćirković, Mirjana Mirić

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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., *kärde kola$_{DET}$ parne$_{ADJ}$ ròkie$_N$* '(women) had those white dresses';
(b) DET-N-ADJ order, e.g., *äk$_{DET}$ nekàʒo$_N$ baro$_{ADJ}$* 'a big grief';
(c) DET-N-DET-ADJ order with determiner spreading (i.e., doubling of the determiner), e.g., *sikadăn manqe i$_{DET}$ viàca$_N$ e$_{DET}$ nevi$_{ADJ}$* 'you've showed me the new life', *keldăs i$_{DET}$ vestea$_N$ i$_{DET}$ bari$_{ADJ}$* '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$_{DET}$-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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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', *uze* '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 kher* 'in the.M.SG house' → *and-o kher* '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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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, Rácová 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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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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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 *-eṇa*. 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) wyā̄r-**a**　　　　　dō̄m-an-ki
　　　Damascus-OBL.SG　Dom-OBL.PL-ABL
　　　'From the Doms of Damascus'

(2) d-yā̄-r-s-e　　　　　　　　bilʕəmər　xaḍr-ē̄　　　drō̄n-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**　　kā̄n　b-rəbʕ-ā̄k
　　　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   ōr-**ən**   kaffī   kṛa
    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 *-asya*
OBL.SG.F	-(y)a	-a	-a	OBL.SG	< GEN.F.SG *-āyaḥ*
OBL.PL	-en	-an	-an	OBL.PL	< GEN.PL *-ānām*
			-ən	NOM (DSM)	< INST.M.SG *-ena*

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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] [1]
(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 /ʃ/ and /s/ into a single phoneme /s/, as illustrated in (3). This is yet another addition to the variety of directions taken by /ʃ/ 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 [pʰenav]
(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
[1] All Gurbet examples taken from http://romani.uni-graz.at/romlex/lex.xml

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ON THE "NEW INFINITIVE" IN RUSSIAN ROMANI

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The "new infinitive" is an innovation in some Romani dialects under the influence of contact languages (cf. Boretzky 1996). According to Boretzky (1996: 6), in Russian Romani the new infinitive is based on 2SG and appears unevenly in different regions. In this paper I will demonstrate that in fact Russian Romani has a few forms that can be labelled as "new infinitive" (some of them were not described in the literature yet), cf. ex. (1–3) to illustrate some options:

i) the form based on SBJ.2SG:

(1) *nané*   *káj*   *skot-ós*   **te**   **mek-és**
     NEG.be.PRS.3   where   livestock-OBL.SG   COMP   let-SBJ.2SG
     'there is nowhere to let the livestock [be at grass]'

ii) the form with no inflectional suffixes

(2) *hará*   *na*   *sýs*   *só*   **te**   **xá**
     long.ago   NEG   be.PST.3   what   COMP   eat.NA
     'back in the day there was nothing to eat'

iii) the form based on a participle

(3) *čébi*   **te**   **phen-d-ó**
     need   comp   say-PTCP-NOM.SG.M.
     'one should say'

Using the data from two corpora of Russian Romani, I will show that these constructions function as "default agreement forms" and primarily appear in contexts when the subject for some reason cannot be specified. Only rarely this default agreement form may extend its use and appear in contexts with an overt subject as well, calquing the use of the Slavic infinitive. This significantly distinguishes Russian Romani from other dialects with the "new infinitive".

I will also show that although these forms have certain geographical tendencies, they can co-appear in the same speaker's speech.

Finally, I will discuss the rise of each of these constructions separately.

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IDEOLOGIES AND IDENTITY PERFORMANCE IN USERS' DISCOURSES ABOUT PARA-ROMANI VARIETIES

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The paper draws on testimonials from users of three speech varieties that are based on situation-specific, group-internal use of special vocabulary derived partly or mainly from Romani (so-called Para-Romani): those of Norwegian Travellers, English Gypsies, and the travelling Showpeople of northern Italy. Drawing on concepts of 'language ideology' (eg. Gal & Irvine 2019, Piller 2015) and on notions of language as a performative act of identity (cf. LePage, & Tabouret-Keller 1985) we argue that peripatetic populations forge ideologies around their distinctive linguistic features as a way of anchoring and presenting identities and shifting identities. We identify three recurring themes in users' discourses about their language and identity: The first purports to account for the language history through what we call the 'discourse of loss'. It explains linguistic features as a result of historical events marked by deprivation and anomaly and is intertwined with a notion of incompleteness of one's own identity that is symbolic of the lack of sovereignty and institutional protection. The second theme consists of a contemporary negotiation of identity that draws on external reference points, setting boundaries toward other population groups while mapping ongoing changes indexically onto different usages of linguistic features. The third theme consists of explications of language function, characterised by narratives that reconstruct context of usage. Moving beyond traditional discussions of the mere structural-lexical composition of Para-Romani and accompanying speculations about the social motivations that gave rise to them, we examine language ideologies directly, arguing that they constitute identity performances. We propose that users' testimonials and their perceptions of language history, language boundaries and language function give us insights toward a possible reconstruction scenario of the emergence of so-called Para-Romani varieties. We revisit the hypothesis first put forward by Hancock (1976; cf. also Matras 2010) that Para-Romani emerged through convergence between Romani speaking immigrant populations and indigenous peripatetic populations through a process that may have involved not just the loss of Romani grammatical inflection, but also full or partial relexification of indigenous special lexicons (Sondersprachen) drawing on Romani lexical material.

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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, e.g. *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 <u>tute</u> klor penava* 'now I tell you everything', *penava <u>tuki</u> sar fota keres* 'I tell you how to do', *i romni pendallalo <u>penate</u>* 'the wife told it to the sister'; beneficiary: *manghial ta sivel <u>lati</u>* 'he asked to sew it for her', *sivavali <u>tuki</u>* '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 (Elšík 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. *krevetura* '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*$_{\text{Inst.Pl.}}$ < Serb. *drugarica* 'a female friend'); loan verbs are adapted by using appropriate adaptation markers (e.g. *-sard-* or *-salj-* in the past tense:

pričosardam~Past.1Sg~ < Serb. *pričati* 'speak'); borrowed adverbs can be compared (the superlative *majfino* < Serb. *fino* 'nice').
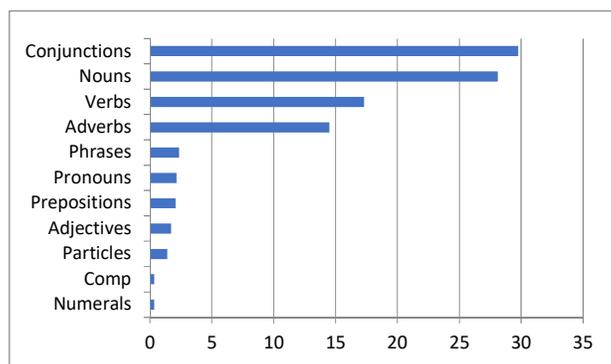
Graph 1. Serbian loanwords by parts of speech.

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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 amateurish studies of their time.

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 & Igla 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. *bałanikʿ* "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 2nd 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 2nd 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 2nd Armenian consonant shift was already ongoing in the last centuries of the 1st millennium (Karst 1901; Belardi 2006: 216). As for the chronological dimension, the Armenian loanwords in Romani often reproduce Arm. [l] with [l] (cfr. e. g. *balani* "tub" < Arm. *bałanikʿ* "bath"; *val* "early, soon" < Arm. *vał* "early" etc.). Such loanwords must have been acquired before the generalization of the change of [l] to [ɣ]/[ʁ], that is dated to XI century (Mowradyan 1982: 209–217). Interestingly, some loanwords reproduce Arm. [l] with [x] (cfr. *čovexano* "ghost, warlock" < Arm. *čovał* "warlock, witch") or swing between [l] and [x] (cfr. *pendex*, *pelendo* "hazelnut" < Arm. *pndeł*; 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 "[un]til 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.[1] 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

[1] 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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ROMANI BORROWINGS IN DIASTRATIC VARIETIES OF SLAVIC

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Despite being a minority language, Romani influences its contact languages on the lexical level due to the positive image of the Roma among certain (usually young and/or socially marginalized) groups of speakers. Whereas some European languages have already been studied in this respect (cf. Matras 1998, 2002; Burridge & Allan 1998), a lot of research can still be done for Slavic languages.

The present paper focuses on borrowings from Romani in six Slavic languages: Russian, Ukrainian, Serbian/Croatian/Bosnian, Bulgarian, Czech and Polish. Apart from presenting a systematic, comparative compilation of Romani lexemes, the paper focuses on these questions: which Romani lexemes are documented for historical Slavic argots from the end of the 19th and first half of the 20th century, and which of them have 'survived' in contemporary youth slang or even general colloquial speech? The historical part relies on data from studies by Argirov (1901), Uhlik (1954), Kostov (1956) etc., whereas for the contemporary part a wide variety of printed and online dictionaries, as well as national corpora, have been analyzed (cf. also Leschber 2002; Lapov 2005; Fałowski 2013).

The results show that both the amount of Romani borrowings and the most frequent lexemes differ significantly in the six Slavic languages. Among the most common are *chal* 'eat', *mindž* 'vagina', *čorel* 'steal', *džukel* 'dog', *love* 'money' and *marel* 'beat', which fits into the pan-European picture.

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