



Morphology – Particle

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As for verbs, the particles of Romani can only be roughly outlined and presented in the way of excerpts in the context of this overview¹

Within the category of adverbs, we must differentiate between derived modal adverbs and inherited or borrowed local and temporal adverbs.

Modal adverbs are derived from adjectives through suffigation of {/es/e/} to the stem: bar-e(s), lačh-e(s), tikn-e(s), etc. *big, beautiful, small* etc.

For local adverbs, there are a. o. pairs with Old-Indo-Aryan locative and ablative suffixes, such as:

angle : anglal ("in front" : "from the front")

maškare : maškara ("in the middle" : "out of the middle")

tele : telal ("below" : "from below")

upre : upral ("above" : "from above")

These adverbs of place frequently function as prepositions. Hereby, the following definite article is assimilated if neutral form of the prepositions ends in a vowel:

anglo kher ("in front of the house")

maškar i len ("in the middle of the river")

telo bař ("under the stone")

upri bar ("on the fence")

Among the *Romani* varieties spoken in the Balkans, there is strong variation with regard to inherited adverbs of place (Boretzky/Igla 1994: 383):

kate / *kathe* / *khate*; *akate*, ...; *katka* / *atkha* (*here, here*)

kote / *kothe* / *khote*; *okote*, ...; *kotka* / *kutka* / *otkha* ("there", "there")

Romani retains only a few adverbs of time inherited from Indo-Aryan. The great majority are loans and derivations, which generally exist in a wide spectrum of variety-specific forms:

akanak / *akana* / *akan* / *kana* ... [←ai. k a a-{"now"}]

¹ For detailed information on grammar refer to the variety-specific descriptions in quotation as well as those listed in "literature". Further "comprised" information on grammatical structures of *Romani* are found among others in Boretzky/Igla (1994) and Matras (2002). Their origins are thoroughly discussed in Sampson (1926/1968) and also in Matras (2002) which is the most extensive and reliable description of *Romani* so far.



idž / iż / ič / ... [←ai. *hyas*] ("yesterday")

tehara / tahara / taha / tasja / ... [←gr. *ταχιά*] ("tomorrow")

čirla (Arlije- and Bug.-R.) [←gr. *καρρός*] ("a long time ago")

dumut / dumult / ... (Kald.-R.) [rum. *demult*] ("a long time ago")

mindig (Bgld.-R.) [←ung. *mindig*] ("always")

artík (Sep.-R.) [←tk. *artık*] ("immediately", "now")

arači / erači / irači / arati / ... adava rat (yesterday; "this night")

agjes / avdive / avdzis / adi / ... adava dives (today; "this day")

The common particle of negation *na* appears in all variations of Romani and is of Indian origin:

na ←pk. *na* ←ai. *na* vgl. hi. *na:/na* (not, no)

Of coordinating conjunctions that can be traced back to old Indian, there exist *thaj/taj* ("and") [←ai. *tatha:pi*] and *vaj* ("or") [←ai. *Va*], the latter of which, however, has been replaced by more recent loans in many varieties:

kalo thaj parno ("black and white")

kalo vaj lolo ("black or red")

As to the subordinating conjunctions, the generally persistent differentiation between indicative *kaj* (←ai. *kasmin*) and subjunctive *te* (←ai. *tad*), which is also true for the languages of the Balkans, is worth mentioning, as the following sentences demonstrate:

Džanav, kaj aves baxtalo. ("I know that you will be happy.")

Kamav, te aves baxtalo. ("I wish that you will be happy.")



References

Boretzky, Norbert / Iglá, Birgit (1994) *Wörterbuch Romani-Deutsch-Englisch für den südosteuropäischen Raum. Mit einer Grammatik der Dialektvarianten*, Wiesbaden.

Matras, Yaron (2002) *Romani: a linguistic introduction*. New York/Cambridge.

Sampson, John (1926) *The Dialect of the Gypsies of Wales. Being the Older Form of British Romani Preserved in the Speech of the Clan of Abram Wood*, Oxford.