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## Turkish Grammar in Balkan Romani: Hierarchies of Markedness in Balkan Linguistics

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### 0. Introduction

Like the development of the typically Balkan invariant future marker derived from etymological 'want' (*ka[m/n]* in most Romani dialects), Turkish lexical influence is one of the defining features of the Romani dialects of the Balkans.<sup>1</sup> These two features taken together demonstrate both the significance of the Ottoman period in the formation of the Balkan linguistic league as we know it today and of Romani in delineating the linguistic Balkans. Thus, as with Balkan Slavic, these morphosyntactic and lexical contact phenomena are shared by dialects that have otherwise diverged into different groups.<sup>2</sup> In the case of Romani, the relevant dialectal differentiation appears to have begun precisely during the onset of Ottoman rule in the Balkans, which corresponds temporally — perhaps not coincidentally — with the dispersal of Romani throughout Europe (*cf.* Friedman and Dankoff 1991, Matras 2005). Of the four major Romani dialect groups recognized by most linguists (North, Central, Vlax and Balkan), two are represented in the Balkans: the Balkan group — divided into North (NB) and South (SB) branches — and the southern branch of the Vlax group (SV). Dialects in all branches of Romani spoken in the Balkans show Turkish conjugation, although the phenomenon is not present in all dialects of the Balkans.

The role of Turkish in these Romani dialects varies from limitation to lexical borrowing through calquing and grammatical borrowing to complete language-shift in some formerly Romani-speaking groups such as the *Millet* of Bulgaria. Turkish influence on Romani dialectal grammatical systems in the Balkans is considerably more varied than is the case for the influence of other Balkan languages on Romani. The integration of Turkish grammatical structure in various Romani dialects thus provides important examples of the possibilities of grammatical borrowing and at the same time gives test cases for numerous variables in bi- and multi-lingual adaptation. Especially salient in this respect is the use of Turkish verbs with Turkish verbal inflections in a significant number of

Romani dialects of the Balkans.<sup>3</sup> Such conjugation varies from the use of Turkish paradigms limited to those categories that fit into the inherited Romani tense/aspect system (two oppositions that give present, aorist, imperfect and pluperfect) to dialects wherein the Turkish optative is used in subjunctive and even future clauses to those where other synthetic forms — sometimes even the infinitive — are used for verbs of Turkish origin. In this article, I shall examine the implicational hierarchy of Turkish conjugations in Romani dialects as well as speculate on the place of the phenomenon in Romani in general. I shall argue that it is another case of what I call *code compartmentalization*, which is a long-standing strategy in Romani grammar, and develop an idea proposed by Adamou (forthcoming), that the differences in linguistic ecology help explain differences in the distribution of the phenomenon.

### 1. Romani Inflection

Two aspects of Romani inflection are crucial to this article. The first is what I have called *compartmentalization*, i.e., the creation of inflectional categories determined by perceived language source. This is a characteristic of the nominal inflection of the overwhelming majority of Romani dialects. In this system, substantives of native (i.e., Indic) origin or those which entered the language up to the time of contact with Byzantine Greek are declined using stem vowels of native origin (-e- in the case of masculine nouns) and words which entered the language at any later date do not have such a stem vowel, e.g., native *raklo* 'non-Romani boy' (dative *rakleske*), but *kilo* 'kilogram' (dat. *Kiloske*). The second is native Romani verbal inflection, which is limited to two binary oppositions. The first of these is labeled by Matras (2002) "imperfect/perfect," and he calls the second "non-remote/remote." The combination of these two oppositions yields four basic tense/conjugational paradigms: present, imperfect, simple preterite and pluperfect, e.g., 1sg. 'do' *kerav[a]*, *keravas*, *kerdjum*, *kerdjumas*, respectively.<sup>4</sup> As noted above, the Romani dialects of the Balkans mark the future in the Balkan manner, the particle *ka* being used in most dialects, and the native Romani particle *te* is used like the Dental Modal Subordinator (see Friedman 1984) of Balkan Slavic (*da*), Albanian (*të*), Greek (*na*) and Balkan Romance (*să*, etc.) to form various sorts of conditionals, hortatives, imperatives, etc. Romani also has an imperative whose 2sg is formed using the bare stem.

### 2. Turkish Conjugation

What Turkish conjugation brings to Romani varies from dialect to dialect, as will be seen below, but what needs to be said here is that the minimum is the past tense and the maximum are those inflectional tense-aspect-mood markers that both Lewis (1967) and Göksel and Kerslake (2005) identify as basic for the Turkish verb.<sup>5</sup>

(I)yor	progressive present	(A/I)r	general present
(-i)DI	preterite	(-i)mİş	perfect
(y)A	optative or subjunctive	AcAK	future
(-i)sA	conditional	mAK	infinitive
mA (2/3 gen. pres. mAz)		verbal negator	

Table 1:

### Turkish Tense-Aspect-Mood Markers<sup>6</sup>

### 3. Turkish Conjugation in Romani

#### 3.1. Preterite

All Romani dialects with Turkish conjugations have the preterite tense. A few, such as CR, VB and PM, have only the preterite, which we can identify as the first stage in an implicational hierarchy of Turkish conjugation in Romani.<sup>7</sup> Of all the Turkish tenses used in various Romani dialects, the preterite is the closest in both form and function. The Romani simple preterite is based on the (past) participle, which, by coincidence, is sometimes formed with a dental stop, which may or may not be jotated, depending on the dialect (as does the vowel in the 1sg), e.g., the root *ker-* 'do' has the participial stem *kerd-* to which appropriate endings are added, e.g., 1sg preterite *kerdom* / *kerdum* / *kerdjum* / *kerdem* (depending on the dialect), masc. sg. participial *kerdo*, feminine *kerdi*, etc. Compare, for example, the Turkish root *ger-* 'stretch' 1sg simple preterite *gerdim*, 3sg preterite *gerdi* or Turkish *kur-*

'set up,' 1sg. *kurđum*, 3sg. *kurđu*, etc. These surface similarities are purely coincidental,<sup>8</sup> but precisely due to the surface nature of language-contact phenomena, such WYSIWYG (what you see is what you get) similarities reinforcing convergence. Example (1) is typical of preterite usage:<sup>9</sup>

- (1) I vlasti **zorladi** len te len dasikane anava  
 'The government **forced** them to take Bulgarian names'  
 (FU 37)

### 3.2. Progressive and General Presents

All Romani dialects other than those whose Turkish conjugation is limited to the preterite will have one or two Turkish present tenses. This, then, is the second stage in the implicational hierarchy of Turkish conjugation in Romani, and it has several subdivisions. The overwhelming majority of Romani dialects with Turkish conjugation have the general present, and, with the exception of SM, which has only the present progressive, the presence of the present progressive implies the presence of the general present. Nonetheless, this hierarchy is not absolute owing to SM and KO. Those dialects that have both presents will also have cliticized pasts (see §3.3), while those with only one of the two presents will not. Examples (2) and (3) illustrate two points simultaneously:

- (2) E purane manuša vinagi **sevirler** te **annattərlar** e terne vaktange.  
 'Old people **like to tell stories** about their younger days'  
 (VD 564).
- (3) Pure romnja **seviolar** te bešen paš o ker taj te **konušujorlar** but.  
 'Old women **like** to sit in front of the house and **talk** a lot' (VD 678).

The forms *sevirler* and *seviolar* from the same dialect in the same sort of context show that in Romani dialects with both presents, the two presents are in competition.<sup>10</sup> It would thus appear that in those Romani dialects with both types

of Turkish present, they are treated as formal variants rather than as a grammatical opposition. This is consistent with the fact that native Romani verbs have a single present. Second, the forms *annattərlar* and *konušujorlar* illustrate that some Romani dialects with Turkish present-tense conjugations can also use those tense forms in subordination to *te* (see §3.4).

### 3.3 Cliticized Pasts

As noted above, dialects with both Turkish presents also have the Turkish affixal cliticized preterite of 'be' (3sg free-standing *idi*). In example (4), *tanər* 'know' and *konušur* 'talk' are 3sg general presents and *-də* and *-di* are cliticized affixal *idi*, rendering the effect of an imperfect.

- (4) But manuša sa kaj kupono, samo odova manuš ani **tanərdə** meri dade odova **konušurdi** mansa.  
 'There were many people at the party, but only the man who **knew** my father **talked** to me' (SK 389).

Such constructions are isomorphic with the formation of the native Romani imperfect, which adds the TAM remoteness marker *-as* to the present tense as exemplified in §2 above. Dialects with only the general present, however, suffix the Romani remoteness marker to the Turkish general present and preterite in order to form the imperfect and pluperfect, respectively, e.g., AV *konušurum*, *konušurumas*, *konuštum*, *konuštumas* 'talk' 1sg present, imperfect, preterite, pluperfect. Example (15) below also contains a (1sg) cliticized past on general presents: *tanəmazdəm*.

### 3.4 Optative

In §§3.1-3.3 we discussed Turkish conjugation that fits more or less isomorphically with native Romani tense-aspect categories. As already noted, the two present aspects of Turkish do not appear to affect Romani usage even when both the general and progressive presents occur. Moreover, the affixal usage of clitic *idi* is still consistent with native Romani grammatical patterns. As we go further however, we reach two major breaks in patterns of incorporation of Turkish conjugation into Romani, namely the future and the optative/subjunctive. These are

categories for which Romani has a native expression that is analytic, *i.e.*, the particles *ka* and *te*, respectively, where Turkish has inflections. As noted in §3.2, examples (2) and (3) illustrated Romani optative/subjunctive *te* with a Turkish present. Examples (5) and (6) show similar usage with the future marker *ka*:

- (5) Javni ka **bitirim** kakija busi i ka džav dži maškare.  
'Tomorrow I will finish this work and after that I will go to town' (SN 396).
- (6) Kan **bekliorum** tut andi kangiri (VD 1009).  
'I will wait for you in front of the church.'

In terms of implicational hierarchies, the Turkish optative is borrowed more readily than the Turkish future. Examples (7) and (8), however, show the Turkish optative in subordination to Romani *ka* and *te*, respectively.

- (7) Kam **kujaim** savre romen tusan baraber i kasabastar (FU 39).  
'I will exile all the Roms together with you from the town'
- (8) Njakak si ov gejas njakade bes te **edesin** po bordži (SN 440).  
'Somehow he managed to leave without paying his debts.'

These patterns are not entirely alien to Romani grammar insofar as the short present (*e.g.*, *kerav* 'I do') generally occurs in subordination to modal markers such as *ka* and *te*, whereas the long present (*e.g.*, *kerava*) generally occurs unsubordinated.<sup>11</sup> Since in the Romani dialects of the Balkans, as in the other Balkan languages, the future has its origins (and in some languages still is used) in an expression consisting of future particle plus subjunctive particle, the association of the Turkish optative with both particles has some correspondence with Romani morphology. Dialects with *ka* plus optative will also have *te* plus optative, but the reverse is not necessarily true. Thus, for example, VK and SN have *te* plus optative but *ka* plus present for futurity, whereas FU and TS have the optative with both *te* and *ka*.

## 3.5. Perfect

The Turkish perfect in *-miş* is attested in FU, KX and VG. As indicated in §2, Romani does not have a perfect in its native inventory. Resultative meanings will usually be rendered by the preterite with context determining the interpretation.<sup>12</sup> Some Romani dialects in contact with languages that have paradigmatically distinct perfects are known to calque them (*e.g.*, the dialect of Parakalamos in Epirus, based on Greek; see Matras 2004), but in the case of the Turkish perfect, the influence can extend beyond resultativity. As I have argued elsewhere (Friedman 2000), the apparent non-confirmative (evidential) meaning of the Turkish Perfect (*miş*-past) results from the markedly confirmative meaning of the preterite (*dI*-past). That the choice of confirmation can depend on speaker attitude rather than literal source of information is seen in examples (9a) and (9b), which were elicited in such a way that the speaker was free to choose either preterite or perfect:

(9a) Duj žene lendar **döndüler** but gechi (VG 1029).

(9b) O duj lendar **dönmüşler** but sene eveli sora (KX 1029).

Example (10), however, is a clear non-confirmative:

(10) Odva kidja **konuşui**, či sansa but **işlermiş** (VG 1057).  
'He talks as if he worked a lot.'

Example (11) illustrates a particularly interesting development in the FU dialect. Here the Turkish perfect is used only in its non-confirmative meaning, and non-confirmativity in native verbs is routinely (albeit not entirely consistent; see Friedman [forthcoming] for details) marked by means of a discourse particle, *berim*:

(11) Lesko dad **bešto berim** ek rigate te dikel les sar kam kerel i taliga. O čavo **bašlamiš** te kerel (FU 39).  
'His father sat *berim* to one side to see how he would [literally will] make the cart. The boy began to make [it].'

Example (11) is taken from a folk tale, which is the primary locus of such usage, although it can also occur in other non-confirmative contexts.

### 3.6. Future, Zero-Optative and Negation

There is a correlation among the use of the Turkish future, the Turkish optative without a subordinating particle and verbal negation, which in Romani is expressed by the particles *ma* (for modals) or *na* (elsewhere), while Turkish has infixed markers whose invariant element is *-m-*. This usage occurs in KO, KX and VG.<sup>13</sup> Example (12) has a Turkish zero-optative, (13) has a Turkish future, (14) has a negated progressive present and a future, (15) has a negated general present plus clitic *idi* and (16) has a negated preterite:

- (12) Odva mangela **karšlašsən** o ekensa kaaka (KX 409).  
'He wants **to meet** someone here.'
- (13) **Beklejdžem** tut angal žamijate (VG 1009).  
'**I will wait** for you in front of the mosque.'
- (14) Dži pos te oj **düzelmieri** ame naši **dönedžes** (KX 384).  
While she is **not getting well**, it is not possible that **we will go back**. [= We cannot go back until she gets well.]
- (15) Sijas ek romni, bir kačtaane roma ani **tanəmazdəm** len (VG 560).  
'There was a Gypsy woman and a few Gypsy men whom **I did not know**.'
- (16) Ajde te ikisas avre sar **bašlamadə** te del gene bišind (VG 408).  
'Let's go out before it starts [literally 'as **it has not started**'] to rain again.'

### 3.7. Conditional and Anterior Future

In the Romani dialects of the Balkans, the conditional is formed with *te* or a borrowed particle plus the present or imperfect, and the anterior future (which also functions as the irreal conditional) is formed, as in the other Balkan languages, with the future marker plus the imperfect. In most dialects with Turkish conjugation that have cliticized *idi* on the general present (*i.e.*, a Turkish imperfect), the anterior future is formed with *ka* plus the imperfect. According to Draganova (2005: 95), however, the Turkish type of anterior future, *i.e.*, future plus cliticized *idi*, occurs together with the Romani future particle in KX, *e.g.*, *kan jazadžadəm* 'I would have written.' Draganova (*Ibid.*: 96) also notes the occurrence of the Turkish conditional in TS, as in example (17):

- (17) Ako te **jazarsam** but vakati, ka dukhal mo vast (Draganova 2005: 96).  
'**If I write** for a long time, my hand will hurt.'

Example (17) actually shows triple marking for conditionality, *i.e.*, Bulgarian *ako* 'if,' Romani *te* and the Turkish conditional. According to Draganova, these forms are rare in TS and younger speakers do not understand them. She also reports that such conditionals also occur in Haskovo (FU) and Kaspičan (KX), but without examples. They are not attested in the corpus of RMS or Ivanov (2000).

### 3.8. Infinitive

Finally, examples (18) and (19) illustrate the most extreme type of Turkish verbal inflection in Romani, namely the adaptation of the Turkish infinitive. Most of the examples are of the type seen in (18), *i.e.*, the Turkish infinitive occurs after a Turkish verb or other word and could thus be argued to be a codeswitch. In the case of example (19), however, the infinitive occurs after Romani *te* and is the only Turkish word in the sentence.

- (18) O phure manuša **seviiler annattərma** sar siaste terne (VG 564).  
'Old people **like to tell stories** about their younger days.'

- (19) Rači lijom o grastis gijom te **ajdamaa** (ŠX 1035).  
 'Yesterday I took my horse and went **for a ride**'

This usage, which is attested only in KX and VG, is reminiscent of that found in some Romani dialects outside the Balkans, where invariant forms of native verbs occur after *te*, thus producing a new infinitival construction under the influence of contact languages with infinitives (Boretzky 1996). This situation is the reverse of that found in, e.g., West Rumelian Turkish, where the optative tends to replace the infinitive under the influence of the Indo-European Balkan languages.

#### 4. Conclusion

In terms of an implicational hierarchy of markedness of borrowing — *i.e.*, the less marked the form, the more likely that it is borrowed — the phenomenon of Turkish conjugation in Romani presents us with a picture that involves both the favoring of form over function and a complexity that precludes a simple, single path. Although present is normally functionally less marked than past — in both languages that is arguably the case, since present can function as past and, moreover, Elšík and Matras (2006: 202) state that present-tense forms are more likely to be borrowed into Romani than forms of other tenses — in terms of code copying from Turkish to Romani the past is less marked (more likely to be borrowed) than the present, owing to the formal resemblance of the Turkish past to some Romani pasts. As a result, pasts precede presents in the borrowing hierarchy. Moreover, rather than a simple implicational hierarchy of borrowing, what we are faced with in the results of Turkish conjugation in Romani is a mapping that bifurcates at two points and then merges into a single path again.

Thus, while the presence of a present clearly implies also the use of the Turkish preterite, there is not a clear implicational hierarchy between the general and progressive presents. This could be due to the fact that Romani has only one native present. On the other hand, if clitic *idi* is borrowed (replacing native *-as*), then both presents are also borrowed. At this point, an implicational bifurcation occurs again. Those dialects that go on to copy in the optative have two possibilities: one is to treat the optative like the short present and subordinate it to *te* and, in some dialect, also *ka*. The other possibility is to take the Turkish optative as a substitute for *te* clauses, in which case the other analytic particles (future

marker *ka* and negator *na*) will also be replaced by Turkish affixes in verbs belonging to the Turkish conjugation. Nonetheless, this bifurcation is not absolute. Dialects that use Turkish verbs without Romani particles can, on occasion, also have double marking with the modals (*te*, *ka*; see *Note 12*). In either case, however, the perfect has the potential to occur in either type of dialect that has the Turkish optative. Thus, in terms of implicational hierarchy, presence of the Turkish perfect means presence of the Turkish optative form, but the deployment of the optative may be with or without Romani particles.<sup>14</sup> At the end of the hierarchy, those dialects that have the Turkish affixal future and negative and the perfect will also have the infinitive. The complete implicational set of paths is illustrated in *Figure 1*:

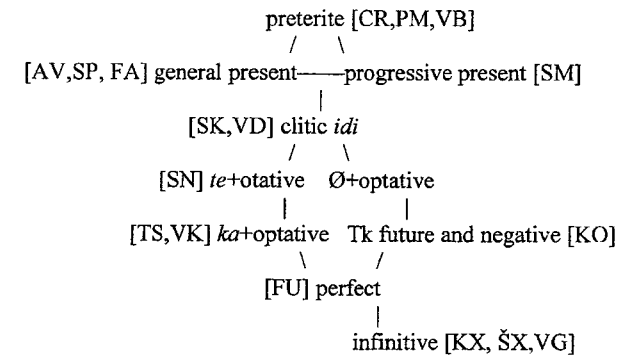


Figure 1

Finally, we need to make mention of dialects such as PR and SE, in which Turkish verbs occur only in quotational code switches. This brings us to two final problems: (1) when is Turkish conjugation fused into Romani grammar and when is it a code switch; and (2) why is Turkish conjugation present in some Romani dialects in contact with Turkish but not in others? The answer to the first question comes in two parts. In the case of dialects such as AV, in which speakers are no longer in contact with Turkish and no longer know the language, Turkish conjugation is clearly a compartmentalized part of the Romani code, like athematic (xenoclitic) declension. If speakers are in contact with and speak Turkish, the situation is more complex. In dialects such as FU and VK and those further up on that path in the hierarchy, the integration of Turkish conjugation is clearly of the

same type of compartmentalization as we find in declension. In dialects with the Ø-optative path, however, it has been argued that speakers may actually be in the process of shifting to Turkish (Elena Marushiakova p.c.) or that such unadapted forms represent code switches (Matras, p.c.). For KO, however, Adamou (forthcoming) argues that the situation is one of long-term stability in which speakers consider the Turkish forms to be part of their dialect (as opposed to Romani forms used in other dialects that they encounter), and the infinitive after *te* in ŠX points to an integration such as that identified by Boretzky (1996) for dialects outside the Balkans where shift is not taking place in contact with other languages. Thus, while the occurrence of two Turkish forms in a row as in (18) might be a code switch, a single Turkish verb's occurring in an otherwise entirely Romani sentence — given the place of Turkish conjugation in Romani as a whole (in dialects such as AV, for example) — argues for treating it in a unitary fashion in the various dialects in which it occurs.

The question of causality is probably linked to socio-economic and language ideological factors that can be subsumed under the notion of linguistic ecology (*cf.* especially Mufwene 2001, 2008). In comparing the position of Turkish in the Pomak Bulgarian and in the KO Romani of Greek Thrace, where Turkish is the language of prestige, religion, and, in modern times, also education, for both communities, Adamou (forthcoming) has hypothesized that differences in the linguistic ecology of the two communities accounts for differences in the use of Turkish. The Pomak communities are farmers and cattle-breeders, semi-sedentary, have institutional contact with Turkish through schools and mosques, and only limited bilingualism. The Roms are craftsmen and tradesmen, have a history of itinerancy, do not have institutional contacts, but have extensive colloquial contacts and intensive bilingualism. The itinerant lifestyle necessitates (or necessitated) extensive contacts with Turkish-speakers for economic purposes. As a result, Adamou argues, the Pomak dialects use code switching and emblematic lexical borrowings from Turkish, while, she argues, the Romani dialect is what Auer (1998) calls a *fused lect*. I would argue that the Romani code compartmentalization that includes Turkish conjugation is more complex than simple fusion (see Friedman 2001). At issue is a linguistic practice that employs two systems but keeps them grammatically segregated. It is for this reason that I prefer the term *compartmentalization* to *fusion*. In a language employing compartmentalization as does Romani (and, in the nominal system, this applies to

almost all dialects regardless of location), there is an emblematic separation of the two grammatical systems. In any case, the distinction between the treatments of Turkish in the two non-Turkish Muslim communities in Greek Thrace — Romani and Pomak — is clear.

If we look at the larger distribution of Turkish conjugation in Romani, however, we see that while the phenomenon crosses Romani dialect lines, it tends to cluster geographically in eastern Bulgaria and the adjacent part of Greece (with SP being a dialect that migrated from northeast Bulgaria across the Danube into Romania). The geographically clustered dialects are all NB and SV. The only SV exception, AV, migrated to its current location, presumably as a result of the 1923 Treaty of Lausanne, which mandated exchanges of Christian and Muslim populations between Greece and Turkey.<sup>15</sup> The SB dialects either have limited Turkish conjugation (FA and CR) or code switching with Turkish rather than code compartmentalization (PR and SE). In the longer history of Romani, SV dialects have the most recent history of itinerancy, while speakers of NB dialects were filling similar economic niches prior to the arrival of SV speakers in the southern Balkans in the 19th century. SB speakers were more likely to have a longer history of sedentarism and in some regions filled economic niches similar to those of Pomaks in Thrace, especially speakers of the *gavutne* 'villager' sub-dialects of Arli (Erlı, from Turkish *yerli* 'local'). Other than the exceptions posed by FA and CR, then, Adamou's hypothesis seems to have a broader application. Settled Romani communities, especially agricultural laborers, were likely to have less contact with Turkish, which was more of an urban language, whereas Romani communities that were either itinerant or urban craftspeople would have had more day-to-day interaction with Turkish as their economies depended on such contact. It could be that FA and CR were in similar positions in times past. There is also a sense in which Turkish in Greece and Bulgaria is identified as a language of resistance to the larger nation-state that could favor integration via compartmentalization in Romani, whereas in Turkey and, to a lesser extent in Kosovo, Turkish has the kind of nation-state support that could encourage resistance to integration via compartmentalization and the greater segregation entailed by code switching. We are left then with the variations in the hierarchy of borrowing among the various Romani dialects with Turkish conjugation. Here, length and degree of contact with Turkish might be factors, but this requires further investigation.

### Abbreviations

Unless otherwise specified, all dialects are in RMS 2001-2005.<sup>16</sup>

Dialects in italics were consulted but are not cited in the examples in the article.

#### Dialect Group

AV: Agia Varvara (Athens, Central Greece; Iglá 1996)	SV
CR: Crimea	SB
FA: <i>Florina Arli (Greek Macedonia)</i>	SB
FU: Futadži (Haskovo, SE Bulgaria; Ivanov 2000)	NB
KO: Komotini (Greek Thrace, Adamou forthcoming)	SV
KX: Kaspičan Xoraxane (=Sevlievo, Šumen district NE Bulgaria)	NB
PM: <i>Pazardžik Malo Konare (SE Bulgaria)</i>	NB
PR: <i>Prizren (SW Kosovo)</i>	SB
SE: <i>Sepeči (Izmir, Turkey; Cech and Heinschink 1999)</i>	SB
SK: Sindel Kalburdži (Varna district, NE Bulgaria)	SV
SM: Sliven Muzikanti (SE Bulgaria)	NB
SN: Sliven Nange (=Gradeški, SE Bulgaria)	NB
SP: <i>Spoitori (=Kalajdži, SW Romania)</i>	SV
ŠX: Šumen Xoraxane (NE Bulgaria)	NB
TS: Tsarevo (Burgas district, SE Bulgaria; Draganova 2005)	SV
VB: <i>Varna Burgudži (=Parpulii, NE Bulgaria)</i>	NB
VD: Vălči Dol (=Laho, Varna district, NE Bulgaria)	SV
VG: Varna Gadžikano (NE Bulgaria)	NB
VK: <i>Varna Kalajdži (=Trakijski Kalajdži, Vlaxorja, NE Bulgaria)</i>	SV

### Notes

1. Henceforth, we shall use *ka* to stand for all the variants of the Romani future marker such as *kam* and *kan*. In any given dialect, the particle is invariant and the etymology is the same. Strictly speaking, *kam-* is the etymological root, *kam* is a reduced form and *kan* is a variant of *kam* generalized from a sandhi phenomenon.

2. In other words, such features as Trubetzkoy (1928) identified as diagnostic of the *language family* as opposed to the *linguistic league*, e.g., regular sound correspondences, also differentiate

the dialect groups. At the same time, however, in some cases, differences in the distribution of contact phenomena, e.g., changes in clitic order, help differentiate language groups, e.g., western Macedonian from eastern Macedonian and Bulgarian and also the former Serbo-Croatian (see Alexander 2000).

3. At issue here is the inflection of Turkish lexemes. Most verbs copied into Romani are adapted by means of a loan-adaptation suffix such as *-in-*, as in Macedonian Arli 3sg pres *bendis-in-el* 'like, please' from Macedonian *bendis-a*. The Macedonian is itself from Turkish *beğen-* plus the 3s preterite marker *-di-* and the Modern Greek aorist marker *-s-*, but in this dialect of Romani it counts as a Macedonian loan. The phenomenon we are discussing here is limited to Turkish lexical items. In general, these items have replaced native Romani or other lexical items, although Adamou (forthcoming) notes that in Komotini, speakers often have access to more than one dialect and sometimes identify a Turkish form with their dialect and a Romani form with other dialects.

4. The final *-[a]* in the present tense is generally omitted in subordination to the modal marker *te* and the future marker *ka*, and therefore this "short" present is sometimes described as a subjunctive. While the long present in *-a* is treated as a distinct paradigm outside the Balkans, where in some dialects it marks the future and in others it marks the present in a formal rhetorical style, in the Balkans, the tendency to omit final *-a* is subject to considerable variation in actual usage. Nonetheless, it is worth noting.

5. The necessitative or obligative in *-mAll* and the locative infinitive (*-mAktA*) that Göksel and Kerslake's (2005: 83) label *imperfective* — excluded by Lewis (1967) from this level of marker and limited to formal contexts in Turkish — are not attested. Cliticized *ise* is extremely rare (see §3.7), and cliticized *imiş*, as well as the general modal particle *-Dir*, are likewise absent. For a detailed discussion of these markers in Turkish, see the abovementioned references. Terminology for Turkish tense-aspect-mood markers is not uniform, but the details need not concern us here.

6. The *(-i)* indicates a marker that can occur as a finite inflection or as a clitic or free-standing copula; all other markers occur only as inflections. Capital letters indicate phonemes subject to vowel harmony or voicing alternations.

7. A list of abbreviations for the dialects and sources of data is given at the end of the article.

8. We leave to one side the fact that *-m* is a 1sg marker in Indo-European and Turkic and elsewhere. For our purposes here, the resemblance is strictly a surface coincidence.

9. In this particular example, standard Turkish would have *zorladı*, the final */i/* occurs both in some Romani and some Turkish dialects which high vowel oppositions in final position are neutralized. Throughout the examples, relevant Turkish verb forms will be given in bold, and Romani morphemes vital to the verb phrase will be underlined, but other elements, including

borrowings from non-Romani languages will not be indicated. In citations in the text, bold face will also be used for relevant elements. In many cases the Romani form of the Turkish inflection represents either the local Turkish dialect with which the Romani dialect is in contact or the Romani ethnolect of the Turkish dialect in question. These differences do not affect the arguments here.

10. See Friedman 2009 for details on Turkish presents in Romani dialects.

11. Matras (2002) treats the short present in the Balkans as a distinct subjunctive, but my own fieldwork shows that there is considerable variation in usage such that a simple indicative/subjunctive or independent/subordinate distinction does not appear to capture the pragmatics of the long/short present opposition in the Balkans. This is a topic that requires further research.

12. In some contexts, a present will be used where English has a perfect, as occurs in many other languages. This and other cross linguistic variation in the deployment of resultativity need not concern us here.

13. In KX, omission of *te* with the optative appears to be facultative, as is negative marking with *na* versus infixes *-m-* (this last from Draganova 2005: 92). Moreover, KX can have a doubly marked future, e.g., *kan jazadžaem* 'I will write' (*Ibid.*). It appears that *te* omission is consistent in KO and VG.

14. The position of the Turkish conditional is too marginal to include here. Aside from the lack of adequate data, it is apparently obsolescent in TS.

15. Although the majority Romani-speakers in the southern Balkans are Muslims, those in Greece — outside of Thrace — are all Christians owing to the forced population exchanges of the 1920s.

16. Dialect names that include a major population center are specified for region and country, and dialect names that do not include this information also have the district center specified. A few dialects in RMS 2001-2005 have alternative names supplied by Elena Marus.

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## The Status of Romanian *ia* in Imperative Clauses

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### 1. Introduction

This article addresses two questions: (i) what is the status of the particle *ia* that occurs with Romanian imperative verbs;? and (ii) what is the structure of the left edge in Romanian imperative clauses? The aim of this article is to see how the Romanian data may contribute to the theoretical debate on imperative constructions in general. The discussion is developed within the framework of generative grammar, notably by resorting to the cartographic approach to the left periphery, particularly as in Rizzi (1997).

#### 1.1. Research Context

The analysis proposed in this article for the Romanian imperative, via the morpho-syntax of *ia*, deviates from standard analyses of imperatives in the formal literature insofar as it identifies a different location in the derivational hierarchy for the licensing of the imperatives. More precisely, the standard assumption is that imperative verbs get their illocutionary force by moving to the highest level of the core syntactic hierarchy (*i.e.*, Complementizer Phrase – “CP” in Potsdam 1998; Rivero and Terzi 1995, convertible to ForceP in Rizzi 1997). For Balkan languages, a lower movement has been proposed, justified through the presence of morphological mood markers in these languages (*i.e.*, MoodP(hrase) in Isac and Jakab 2004): MoodP – convertible to FinP in Rizzi’s hierarchy, according to the authors – is compatible with the illocutionary force, so this semantic feature is available to the verb earlier in the derivation.

These analyses capture the injunctive interpretation but leave unanswered many other aspects of the imperative morphosyntax (*e.g.*, the restriction to second person, the null subject in English imperatives, the unembeddable property of imperatives and others). The dissatisfaction with the current accounts on imperative configurations is reflected in the continuing efforts (*viz.*, publications) dedicated to this topic. In this context, the recent theoretical developments on the