

thematic, oikoclitic or Asian		athematic, xenoclitic, or European	
<i>vogi</i> 'soul'	dat. <i>vogeske</i>	<i>lafı</i> 'word'	dat. <i>lafiske</i>
<i>čhavo</i> 'Romani boy'	dat. <i>čhaveske</i>	<i>Mefo</i> a man's name	dat. <i>Mefoske</i>

Table 1: Basic patters of Romani declension.

	imperfective	perfective
non-remote	<i>kerel[a]</i> = present	<i>kerdjum</i> =aorist
remote	<i>kerelas~kerela sine</i> = imperfect	<i>kerdjumas~kerdjum sine</i> =pluperfect

future marker = *ka* negator = *na* subjunctive marker = *te*
modal negator = *ma* (w/ imperative & subjunctive)

Table 2: 3sg imperfective & 1sg perfective of *ker-* 'do'.

SOUTH BALKAN	NORTH BALKAN	SOUTH VLAX
Crimean (Rostov, S Russia)	Kaspičan Xoraxani (<i>Sevlievo</i> , NE Bulgaria)	Ajia Varvara (Athens, Greece)
Sepeči (Izmir, Turkey)	Sliven Nange (= <i>Gradeški</i> , SE Bulgaria)	Välči Dol (= <i>Laxo</i> , NE Bulgaria)
Florina Arli (NW Greece)	Futadži (Haskovo, SE Bulgaria)	Sindel Kalburdži (NE Bulgaria)
Prizren (SW Kosova)	Sliven Muzikanti (SE Bulgaria)	Varna Kalajdži (= <i>Trakijski Kalajdži</i> , <i>Vlaxorja</i> , NE Bulgaria)
	Spoitori (= <i>Kalajdži</i> , SE Romania)	Komotini (NE Greece)
	Varna Gadžikano (NE Bulgaria)	
	< Varna Burgudži > (= <i>Parpulii</i> , NE Bulgaria)	
	< Pazardžik Malo Konare > (SE Bulgaria)	

Table 3: Romani dialects with Turkish conjugation.

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

Table 4: Turkish tense-aspect-mood markers.¹

- (1) *Phenel ke rome bejen-di-k*
say:PRS:3SG that husband:ACC like-PST-1PL
'He says we liked your husband.' (Ko)
- (2) *Voj ačelas paš lende taj konuš-ur lenge*
she stand:IMPF by them:LOC and speak-PRS them:DAT
'She was standing between them and talking to them.' (VD 649)

¹ 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.

- (3) *Vov konuš-ujor gadibor but ta kerda man*
 he talk-PRS.PROG so_much very and made:PST:3SG me:ACC
te bristarav so mangav
 SBJV forget:PRS:1SG what want:PRS:1SG
 'He talked so much, he made me forget what I wanted.' (VD 785)
- (4) *Naj man kančik protiv te jardamn-ar-am take.*
 Not.is me:ACC nothing against SBJV help-PRS-1SG you:DAT
 'I don't mind helping you.' (SK 710)
- (5) *Odova aela mere kerete za da te*
 that:M come:3SG:IMPF my:OBL house:LOC for SBJV SBJV
konuš-ui mansa
 speak-PRS.PROG² me:INSTR
 'He came to my house in order to speak with me.' (SK 440)
- (6) *Kan bekl-er-im tut angli carkva.*
 FUT wait-PRS-1SG you:ACC before:F church
 'I will wait for you in front of the church.' (SK1009)
- (7) *Kan bekl-ior-um tut andi kangiri.*
 FUT wait-PRS:PROG-1SG you:ACC on:F church
 'I will wait for you in front of the church.' (VD 1009)
- (8) *But manuša sa kaj kupono, samo odova*
 many person:PL were at party only that:M
manuš ani tan-ər-də meri dade
 person which knew-PRS-PST my:ACC father
odova konuš-ur-di mansa
 that:M talk-PRS-PST me:INS
 'There were many people at the party, but only the man who knew my father,
 talked to me.' (SK 389)
- (9) *Diklem o ker ani savjatar konuš-tu-nus.*
 see:PST:1SG the house which what:ABL speak-PST-2PL
 'I saw the house that you were talking about.' (SK 610)
- (10) *Ov avijas me kereste te konuš-sun*
 he come:IMPF my:OBL house:LOC SBJV speak-OPT:3SG
mansa
 me:INS
 'He came to my house to talk to me.' (SN 440)
- (11) *Odia ep bisterla kapa-sən o dar.*
 that:F always forget:3SG:PRS close-OPT:3SG the door
 'She always forgets to close the door.' (SK 907)

² Note that this is an abraded form of the progressive present and not a present in -y characteristic of West Rumelian Turkish.

- (12) *Kidal kam dištir-elim e dasengo*
 thus FUT change-OPT:1PL the Bulgarian:PL:GEN
dišinmenki e romenge askal
 thinking the Rom:PL:DAT about
 ‘Thus we will change Bulgarian thinking about Roms’ (Fu)
- (13) *Ame naši dön-dže-s ži kana*
 we can’t return-FUT-1PL up.to when
doorul-ma-jə odia
 get.well-NEG-PRS that:F
 ‘We cannot go back, until she gets well.’ (VG 384)
- (14) *Sja ek romni ek ta baazə rom-a ani*
 was one Rom:Fsg one and some Rom-Mpl which
me na tanə-maz-dəm.
 I NEG know-PRS:NEG-PST
 ‘There was a Gypsy woman and a few Gypsy men who I did not know.’ (KX 560)
- (15) *Mi phen bašla-də baar-ma-a kana*
 my:F sister begin-PST scream-INF-DAT when
tharde amaro kher
 burn:PST:3PL our:M house
 ‘My sister began to scream when they burned down our house.’ (VG759)
- (16) *Odva džanna trin dil-dže konuš-ma-a.*
 that:M know:PRS three tongue-ADV speak-INF-DAT
 ‘He knows [how] to speak three languages.’ (KX 894)
- (17) *Rači lijom o grastis gijom te ajda-ma-a*
 yesterday I.took the horse.ACC I.went SBJV ride-INF-DAT
 ‘Yesterday I took my horse [and] went to **ride**’ (ŠX1000)
- (18) *Odia artəkan git-miš ame kana git-ti-k*
 that:M already go-PST:PRF we when go-PST-1PL
kaj kher.
 at house
 ‘He had already gone before we got there.’ (VG 389)
- (19) *Oda kana dikljas la berim don-muš*
 that:M when see:PST:3SG her:ACC berim freeze-PST:PRF
pe taneste
 in place:LOC
 ‘When he saw her [berim], he froze in his tracks [lit. ‘place’]’ (Fu)

	VB	Se	SM	Sp	AV*	FA	VD*	SK*	VK	SN	Fu	Ts	Ko	KX*	VG*
PRET	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
G.PRS	-	(-)	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
PROG	-	(-)	+	-	-	+?	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+
idi	-	-	-	-	-	?	(+)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
OPT	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	te+	te+	te+	te+	ø+	(te)+	ø+
PERF	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	?	-	+	+
FUT	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	k+opt	k+opt	+	+	+
NEG	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+
INF	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+

(Cr* & PMK = VB) Sepeči presents occur only in codeswitches

*=Tk desinential influence (12pl pret see §7)

Table 5: Turkish verbal categories in Romani dialects.

UNMARKED		PRETERITE		SUBJUNCTIVE	
-Im	-Iz	-m	-k	-AyIm	-Allm
-Iz	-sInIz	-n	-nIz	-AsIn	-AsInIz
-Ø	-lAr	-Ø	-lAr	-sIn	-AlAr

Table 6: Turkish person markers.

Present	Preterite	KX&VG&(VD)	AV=12pl	SK	Cr=2pl
-a(s)	-am	am-ə(s)	am-us	—	—
-[e](s)	-an	-an-ə(s)	an-us	an-ə(s)	an-us

Table 7: Romani 12PL person markers (Balkan and Vlax dialects).

- (20) *Demek od lepeška zelnik ne biduat!*
 to.say from cow.dung.pattie spinach.pie not is
Turc-i-te vel-at:
 Turk-PL-the say-3PL:PRES

Soj kov-ar čovek-ot.
 lineage determines-3sg:PRES person-the

'That is to say you can't make a spinach pie with a cow pie! The Turks say: Lineage determines the person.' (Cepenkov 1972:109)

- (21) *tenemos un spetsijalna livru*
 we.have a.M special.F book.F
 'we have a **special** book'

- (22) *y asine él Si [=se] spas-i-ó*
 and thus he self **save-3sgAOR-3sg-AOR**
 'and thus he was **saved**'

- (23) **Moskva-da** kvartir-u imeet
 Moscow-LOC apartment-ACC he.has
 VS
 U nego [est'] v Moskv-e kvartir-a
 by him.GEN is in Moscow-LOC apartment-NOM
 'He has an apartment **in Moscow**' (Auer&Muhamedova 2005:42)

- (24) star-yj ploščad'-tɨ **žönder-di**
 old-(M) square.(F)-ACC **renovate-3SG.PRET**
'They renovated the old square (Auer&Muhamedova 2005:51)
- (25) **o-lar** tože zainteresovany čtoby **adam** **otir-sin**
it-PL also interested.PL that **person** **sit-3SG.OPT**
'They are also interested that **people sit** (i.e., ride on public transportation) (Auer&Muhamedova 2005:)

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