Romani of Serednye: a report on a Transcarpathian Romani variety
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1. Transcarpathia (Закарпаття / Zakarpattya)

- the westernmost region of Ukraine (→ SK, HU)
- the highest percentage of the Romani people in Ukraine
- until recently: no linguistic or dialectological research on Romani

- no typical Ukrainian Romani groups
- affinities to Central Europe
- part of Hungary (1919, 1939–1944) and Czechoslovakia (1919–1939)
62.4 percent: Hungarian-speaking Gypsies; Mukachevo, southwestern lowlands – the biggest concentration
16.7 percent: Ukrainian / Rusyn-speaking Gypsies; mountain areas, Velykyj Bereznyj
20.5 percent: Romani-speaking Gypsies (in Ukraine: 44.69 percent)
+ Romanian speaking Gypsies: trough-makers, Bayash, so called voloxy; Poroshkovo

- North Vlax Romani: southern and eastern districts (Vynohradiv, Khust, Rakhiv)
mostly Lovaris, other Vlax groups
- North Central Romani (NCR): west, Slovak border, four localities:
Uzhhorod, Perechyn, Khudlovo, Serednye

2. North Central Romani

- affinities to the easternmost Slovakia
- dialect continuum
- Uzhhorod Romani: most distinct but closest to the Slovak varieties (Pavlovce nad Uhom)
- Perechyn, Khudlovo, Serednye: common innovations, conservatisms

> two sub-dialects of NCR in Transcarpathia:
(1) Uzhhorod Romani vs. (2) Perechyn – Khudlovo – Serednye Romani
- within (2): Perechyn Romani closer to Uzhhorod Romani
- Khudlovo and Serednye: same language variety (but: Vlax influence in Khudlovo)

> continuum:
Pavlovce nad Uhom (SK) > Uzhhorod (UA) > Perechyn (UA) > Khudlovo – Serednye (UA)
3. Serednye

- up to 1000 Gypsies
- separate settlement (talhorn’a)
- self-appellation rom; outside Transcarpathia: ungrika / vengerska rom ‘Hungarian Gypsies’
- Romani: primary tool of communication across generations, first language
- quadrilingual: Romani, Hungarian, Russian, Ukrainian
- in the past: East Slovak but not Russian
- preference of Russian over Ukrainian, stronger Russian influence on Romani
- Hungarian: in communication with Hungarian-speaking Roms

4. Selected linguistic features, uncommon in NCR
(Serednye + Khudlovo)

Lexicon

- two verbs ‘to throw’: čhiv- vs. icard- (3sg icardel)
  na icardle kole bareha ‘Don’t throw with that stone.’
  tu icardeha kodá bar dži oki sej a prig e rika ? ‘Will you throw that stone across the river up to the opposite side?’
  probably inherited
  probably a compound of the verb d- ‘to give’
  etymology?, other dialects?
- recent borrowings: Hungarian and Slavic, i.e. East Slovak and Russian (+ Ukrainian)
  ‘family’ sinja (East Slavic), ‘mother’ daj / mana (Slavic), ‘father’ abd / apos (Hungarian)
  ‘uncle’ ujcus, ‘aunt’ cética (East Slovak), cimboras ‘friend’ (Hungarian)
  čhamola ‘cheek’; suffix -olá?

Phonology

- aspirated consonants /h/, /kh/, /ph/, /th/ + aspirated palatal plosive /t’h/ [cʰ]
  t’hii’ (< *khíi’h) ‘butter’, t’híl’av (< *khíl’av) ‘plum’, dit ho’ (< *d̪híh’o) ‘is seen, looks like’
- apocope of the nasal in -ibe, -ipe (< *-iben, *-ipen) and -ine (< *-imen)
  gul’ipe ‘candy’, pl gul’ipenar, čóríbe ‘poverty’, abl čóríbnasat ‘from poverty’
- sonnak ‘gold’, pl sonnaka (< *sonnakaj)
- j-prothesis missing in ándro ‘egg’, áro ‘flour’, ilo ‘heart’, but jiv ‘snow’
- morphophonology: regressive assimilation in the gen. suffix -koro (jakoro phrah)
  but: -keri (lakeri phen’), -kera (lakera phen’a)

Morphology and syntax

- beside -in (akhor’in ‘nut-tree’, phabal’in ‘apple-tree’, t’híl’avin ‘plum-tree’) another suffix
  -un’ [un] in drák-h-un ‘vineyard’, pl drák-h-un’a (< drák-h-a ‘grapes’)
  o drák-h báro pro drák-hun’a ‘The grapes are grown at vineyards.’
- oikoclitic / thematic morphology
  etymology?, other dialects?
- indefinite pronominal adjective ‘some’ m.sg varesog (< *varesavo), f.sg varesíj (< *varesavi), pl varesej (< *varesavej), acc.pl varesen (< *varesaven)
  but: interrogative adjective ‘which’ unreduced savo (savi, save)
- two 3sg subject suffixes in the past tense -a and -as
  Early Romani: -a, eastern NCR: -a, in Transcarpathia: both used interchangeably: kaj ou gej’a ‘Where has he gone’?, gej’a get ‘He has gone away.’
  both are productive, with borrowed verbs: mal’ind’a / mal’ind’as ‘She put make-up.’
  transition from eastern NCR (-a) to North Vlax (-as)
- adverbial suffix -án (de-adjectival)
  -es (inherited): unproductive (romanes, šukáres, fourot’ikanes ‘in an Uzhhorod manner / language’, peʃjones ‘on foot’, inšakones ‘in another way, in a different manner’)
  -án (< Hungarian): productive, mostly with Slavic bases: czísán ‘suddenly’ (čixo ‘silent’), podlián ‘badly’ (podlo ‘bad’), strašání ‘horribly’ (strašno ‘horrible’), tun’ánn ‘cheaply’ (tun’o ‘cheap’)
  common even with most indigenous bases: čou̯rón ‘poorly’ (čouro ‘poor’), loykon ‘light’, easily’ (loyko ‘light’, easy’), učónn ‘high’ adv (učó ‘high’ adj), žúžán ‘cleanly’ (žúžo ‘silent’)
  - temporal preposition ‘after’ posl’í (< Russian), e.g. posl’í kajso drom ‘after such a journey’, posl’í o deš ou̯ri ‘after ten o’clock’; local posterior preposition pal’ (inherited)
  > split between temporal and local marking