



Khudlovo – the brown spot above the name of Serednie

Romani of Serednye: a report on a Transcarpathian Romani variety

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1. Transcarpathia (Закарпаття / Zakarpattyá)

- 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 (*táborn'a*)
- self-appellation *roma*; outside Transcarpathia: *ungrika / vengerska roma* ‘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 icarde kole bareha ‘Don’t throw with that stone.’
tu icardeha kodá bar dži oki sejra 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’ *simja* (East Slavic), ‘mother’ *daj / mama* (Slavic), ‘father’ *dad / apos* (Hungarian)
‘uncle’ *ujcus*, ‘aunt’ *cetka* (East Slovak), *cimboras* ‘friend’ (Hungarian)
- *čhamola* ‘cheek’; suffix *-ola?*

Phonology

- aspirated consonants /čh/, /kh/, /ph/, /th/ + aspirated palatal plosive /t'h/ [cʰ]
t'hil (< **khil*) ‘butter’, *t'hil'av* (< **khil'av*) ‘plum’, *dit'hol* (< **dikhjol*) ‘is seen, looks like’
- apocope of the nasal in *-ibe*, *-ipe* (< *-iben, *-ipen) and *-ime* (< *-imen)
gul'ipe ‘candy’, pl *gul'ipena*; *ćóribe* ‘poverty’, abl *ćóribnastar* ‘from poverty’
- *somnak* ‘gold’, pl *somnaka* (< **sommakaj*)
- *j*-prothesis missing in *ándro* ‘egg’, *áro* ‘flour’, *ilo* ‘heart’, but *jiv* ‘snow’
- morphophonology: regressive assimilation in the gen. suffix *-koro* (*lakoro phral*)
but: *-keri* (*lakeri phen*'), *-kera* (*lakera phen'a*)

Morphology and syntax

- beside *-in* (*akhorin* ‘nut-tree’, *phabal'in* ‘apple-tree’, *t'hil'avin* ‘plum-tree’) another suffix *-un'* [vn] in *drákh-un'* ‘vineyard’, pl *drákh-un'-a* (< *drákh-a* ‘grapes’)
o drákha báron pro drákhun'a ‘The grapes are grown at vineyards.’
oikoclitic / thematic morphology
etymology?, other dialects?
 - indefinite pronominal adjective ‘some’ m.sg *varesou* (< **varesavo*), f.sg *varesij* (< **varesavij*), pl *varesej* (< **varesave*), acc.pl *varesein* (< **varesaven*)
but: interrogative adjective ‘which’ unreduced *savo* (*savi*, *save*)
 - two 3sg subject suffixes in the past tense *-a* and *-as*
Early Romani: *-as*, eastern NCR: *-a*, in Transcarpathia: both
used interchangeably: *káj oú gejl'a* ‘Where has he gone?’, *gejl'as het* ‘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’, *pejšones* ‘on foot’, *inšákones* ‘in another way, in a different manner’)
 - *-án* (← Hungarian): productive, mostly with Slavic bases: *cixán* ‘silently’ (*cixo* ‘silent’), *podlán* ‘badly’ (*podlo* ‘bad’), *strašnán* ‘horribly’ (*strašno* ‘horrible’), *tun'án* ‘cheaply’ (*tun'o* ‘cheap’)
common even with most indigenous bases: *čourán* ‘poorly’ (*čouro* ‘poor’), *loukán* ‘lightly, easily’ (*louko* ‘light, easy’), *účán* ‘high’ adv (*účo* ‘high’ adj), *žúžán* ‘cleanly’ (*žúžo* ‘clean’)
- temporal preposition ‘after’ *posl'i* (← Russian), e.g. *posl'i kajso drom* ‘after such a journey’, *posl'- o deš ovrí* ‘after ten o'clock’; local posterior preposition *pal* (inherited)
> split between temporal and local marking