Linguistic contact between Romani and Spanish, Catalan, and other languages of the Iberian Peninsula began in the first half of the fifteenth century. This contact resulted in the emergence of what are known as the Para-Romani varieties – mixed languages that predominantly make use of the grammar of the surrounding language, while at least partly retaining the Romani-derived vocabulary. This book describes their evolution from the earlier, inflectional Iberian Romani and argues that this previous, fifteenth-century Iberian Romani was similar to the “Early Romani” of the Byzantine period. Based on an extensive body of language material dated between the seventeenth and twenty-first centuries, the book also draws attention to some language phenomena in these varieties which, until now, have not been described.
From Iberian Romani to Iberian Para-Romani Varieties

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<tr>
<td>ABL</td>
<td>ablative</td>
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<td>ACCUS</td>
<td>accusative</td>
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<td>ADJ</td>
<td>adjective</td>
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<td>Arab.</td>
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<td>C</td>
<td>consonant</td>
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<td>oblique</td>
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<td>OIA</td>
<td>Old Indo-Aryan</td>
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<td>Ukrainian</td>
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<td>V</td>
<td>vowel</td>
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Majarados sinareis, pur sangue aborrecieren os manuces, y sangue buchararen de
junos, y sangue curararen, y chibaren abrí o nao de sangue, como choro, por o Chaboro
e manu.

*Embéo e Majaró Lucas, 6:22*

Blessed are ye, when men shall hate you, and when they shall separate you from their
company, and shall reproach you, and cast out your name as evil, for the Son of man’s
sake.

*Gospel according to St. Luke, 6:22*
INTRODUCTION

The incentive to write this work came quite by accident several years ago in Valencia when I was scrolling through a dictionary of Spanish argot, in which several words strikingly resembled colloquial expressions I knew from Hungarian. This similarity intrigued me and two years later a sociolinguistically oriented thesis emerged, dealing with a comparison of the occurrence of words of Romani origin in contemporary colloquial Spanish and Hungarian. Of course the work required me to become familiar with at least the basics of the Romani history and language, which I did in the form of self-study. The issue began to intrigue me so much that I decided to continue the idea and pursue a deeper study of the Iberian Romani language, especially Spanish Caló and its influence on the Spanish language. This resulted in the PhD thesis entitled Mutual contact of Romani, Spanish and other languages of the Iberian Peninsula (Krinková 2013b), on which this book is largely based.

I am fully aware that my interest in Iberian Romani, Caló and language contact is far from ground-breaking. This work builds on a number of scientific publications, both from Spanish (C. Clavería, currently I.-X. Adiego and others) and also from leading European contemporary linguists dealing with Romani, such as N. Boretzky and P. Bakker. In the Czech Republic, the issue of Gitanisms and dictionaries of Caló are dealt with by I. Buzek (e.g. La imagen del gitano en la lexicografía española, 2010). An overview of the available resources on Iberian Para-Romani varieties is provided in a separate chapter.

The works to which I refer are mainly articles or partial studies only dealing with selected issues of the relevant theme. However, unlike the aforementioned works, this book provides the first systematic and comprehensive processing of the grammar and vocabulary of Iberian Romani and Para-Romani varieties.

At the forefront of my interest are varieties of Romani that developed in the Iberian Peninsula after the arrival of the Roma in the 15th century. To describe these variants, I have used extensive linguistic material (in particular, dictionaries and secondary sources on Iberian Para-Romani), from which I was able to extract a large amount of Romani etymology. Due to my Hispanic qualifications, I focus in particular
on Spanish Caló; however, I also deal with other varieties, mainly Catalan and Basque Para-Romani. At times I also mention Brazilian Para-Romani, but do not go into too much detail about it in this work, preferring to refer interested readers to other literature. On the contrary, I pay great attention to a variant documented in Portugal which clearly derives from Southern Spanish Caló. Quite apart from my interest, there are the inflectional Romani dialects, which arrived in Spain with the more recent waves of Roma immigration during the 19th and 20th centuries.

The first chapter aims to briefly introduce the reader to the issues of the Romani language and Romani linguistics. Unless otherwise stated, I refer here mainly to the introduction to Romani linguistics given by Matras (2002). I clarify certain terms later used (e.g. the term ‘Para-Romani’), and point out the problem areas of contemporary Romani studies which are crucial to this work (e.g. reconstruction of Early Romani, classification of Romani dialects).

My primary hypothesis is that the Roma people brought the Romani dialect to the Iberian Peninsula in the 15th century. This dialect, from the current point of view, is quite conservative, and we can assume that in many respects it was not very different from the (reconstructed, undocumented) phase of so-called ‘Early Romani’. Subsequently, I look at phonological, morphological, syntactic and lexical developments from this archaic inflectional Iberian Romani to the Para-Romani varieties.

In the chapter on Phonology, I characterise the phonetic development of all three of the aforementioned forms of Iberian Para-Romani varieties. I also focus on some as yet unknown or only partially described phenomena (e.g. the development of sibilants and nasalisation). The chapter on Phonology also includes the issue of spelling in Iberian Para-Romani, whose peculiarities can often lead to misinterpretation of the information contained in source material. I also place emphasis on the contact with Spanish and other languages and language variants of the Iberian Peninsula. This language contact has been occurring since the 15th century; for this reason, I take into account not only the current condition of contact languages but also their diachronic evolution, which is particularly important for the phonological subsystem of Iberian Para-Romani varieties.

The chapter devoted to a description of the remnants of the Romani morphological subsystem is quite extensive, due in particular to the fact that Romani morphology is described only very marginally or not at all in the works of Iberian Para-Romani, because for the most part it is no longer productive. In my opinion, however, lexicalised remnants of archaic Romani morphology provide very valuable information, not only for the reconstruction of the inflectional Iberian dialect, but also for the reconstruction of the development of Romani as a whole.

In the chapter on Vocabulary, I deal with the Indian vocabulary and pre-European loanwords, I also pay particular attention to loanwords from the Greek and Slavic languages.

At this point, I would like to thank the people without whom this work would not have been possible, or at least not in its current form. I would firstly like to mention my colleagues from the Faculty of Arts, Charles University, Associate Professor of
Hispanics, Dr Petr Čermák, PhD, Professor Dr Bohumil Zavadil, CSc for their longtime support during my studies and Dr Viktor Elšík, PhD, expert on Romani, for his precious advice. My other thanks belong to the reviewers: Dr Ivo Buzek, PhD, Associate Professor of Hispanics from the Faculty of Arts, Masaryk University in Brno, Dr Ignasi-Xavier Adiego, Full Professor of Indo-European Linguistics from the University of Barcelona and José M. F. Bernal, President of AICRA (Asociación Identidad Cultural Romani de Argentina). Further I thank Pearl Harris for the revision of the English text. I am also grateful to my husband, Ondřej Krinke, especially for his patience during the creation of this work. I also want to thank my parents, Helena and Michal Čenger, and my sister, Helena Charles, for their long-term support and assistance in looking after my young son.
1. SEVERAL NOTES ON ROMANI
1.1 PROTO-ROMANI, EARLY ROMANI, COMMON ROMANI

Contemporary Romani dialects contain a series of conservative and innovative features due to which Romani differs from other modern Indo-Aryan languages, including Indian languages in the diaspora. The entirety of these development features is reflected in the first development phase of Romani as an independent language, which is known as Proto-Romani (cf. Matras 2002; Elšík 2006). Proto-Romani dates to the period when it distinctly diversified itself from other related languages. Nevertheless it is difficult to establish exactly when this happened since no written documentation of this phase has been discovered so far. When reconstructing it is necessary to make use of a comparison of related words of old Indo-Aryan languages and their modern Indian successors in the region of India and in the diaspora with present-day Romani dialects. Romani shares a part of language changes with the other languages in the territory of India; some changes are shared by Romani and Indian languages in the diaspora (e.g. Domari or Lomavren) and other changes are typical only for Romani.

As an example of the reconstruction of the Proto-Romani form there is an oblique case of the demonstrative SG.M *otas > oles, SG.F *ota > ola, even though the forms oles and ola have been preserved only in a few Romani dialects. The reconstructed forms can be however supported by other proofs: 1) they appear in a more recent form as od-oles, od-ola, 2) they survive in the contracted form les, la in oblique case of the pronoun of 3SG, 3) they correspond with the Domari demonstratives SG.M oras, SG.F ora and 4) the old Indian demonstrative stem t- is well attested and the change of the old Indian /t/ > /l/ ( /t/ > /r/ in Domari) is regular.

Another phase, and much better documentable, is Early Romani (cf. Matras 2002; Elšík 2006). It is characteristic due to its adoption of productive Greek morphology (called athematic or xenoclitic morphology) applied mainly to loanwords and other structural innovations drawing from contact with Greek, such as the emergence of the preposed definite article. Early Romani is not documented in the written form;

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1 Fraser (1998) states that in the Greek speaking territory some significant phonetic changes occurred: stem m turned to ν (Sanskrit nāman > nav), initial and stem h turned to j or ν (Sanskrit. hásta > vast). Romani was also enriched by means of the phoneme ϕ in Greek loanwords (such as karfin).
however its birth dates back to the Byzantine period of around the 10th or 11th century. The period of Early Romani ends with a rise in the present dialects and their dispersal in Europe and it is dated on the basis of hints in historical sources to the 14th century. The Early Romani forms are conservative structures that have survived so far only in some dialects.

A good example of an Early Romani structure is a set of demonstratives adava/akava. These forms are recorded both in the most western Romani dialect in Wales and in one of the most eastern dialects, Southern Balkan Arli (and, as I state further on, also in Iberian Romani). In other contemporary dialects we may find simplified and reduced forms such as dava/kava or ada/aka or innovative forms such as kado/kako.

In Early Romani we may in phonology assume a phoneme /ř/ (e.g. in the word řom ‘Rom’) the phonetic quality of which is unknown. It could also be the uvular /R/ which has survived so far e.g. in Kelderaš Romani or the Proto-Romani retroflex /ḍ/ > */ṛ/, */r/ (cf. Indo-Aryan dom). In many Romani dialects then this /ř/ has merged with /r/.

One of the most important tasks that contemporary comparative Romani dialectology has to face is to state which elements from present-day Romani dialects can be dated to the period of Early Romani or even Proto-Romani. On the other hand it may seem that many forms and structures have been carried over from the Early Romani period in an almost unchanged form, since they are shared by most of the dialects. In this work, I shall refer to these forms as representing Common Romani (cf. Matras 2002). It is, for example, the numeral oxtó ‘eight’ (from Greek oxtó) which is only in a few dialects changed to oftó.

1.2 CLASSIFICATION OF ROMANI DIALECTS

The problem of classification of Romani dialects is considerably complex. Members of the Roma ethnic groups live not only in different parts of Europe, but also in the Near East, Central Asia, America etc. The Roma settlement in Europe is uneven and it does not make a language continuum in the right sense of the word. Whereas in some regions there is a high density of the Roma population and we may find in one state a great number of Roma groups which differ regarding language and culture (e.g. the Balkans and Central Europe), other regions are relatively homogeneous and the concentration of the Roma ethnics is lower here (e.g. Western Europe). In addition some Roma subgroups do not speak Romani.

When classifying Romani dialects it is necessary to especially take into account Roma migration, contact with surrounding languages and also contact among particular Roma subgroups. Roma migration into Europe started from the Balkans in the 14th and 15th centuries and has been in operation to a greater or lesser extent till now. The Roma population has always been in contact with the language of the surrounding