Aurore Tirard

Polydefinites in Rromani?
Polydefinites in Rromani?

1. Rromani language and Rromani NP

2. Polydefinite NPs

3. Polydefinite NPs in Rromani?
1. Origin of the language
1. Origin of the language

Why 2 *rr* ?

→ 2 different sounds: $r < /r/ \sim rr < /\dd/$

→ today 2 different phonemes: $/r/ - [r] \sim /R/ - [r], [r], [x], [x], [d]...$

1. Origin of the language
2. The language today
Rromani population in Europe by State (absolute & relative figures) and proportion of Rromani native speakers.
1. Origin of the language

2. The language today

3. The Rromani NP

N  ilo 'heart'
A  pharo 'heavy'
D  DEF.ART  o 'the'
INDF.ART  jekh 'one'
DEM  kodova 'that'
POSS  mo 'my'
QUANT  sa 'all'

= Main constituents
1. Origin of the language

2. The language today

3. The Rromani NP

GenP

\[ e \quad \text{pàtima} \quad \sp{le} \quad \text{rrom-en-qi} \]

\[ \text{Def.Art.F.SG} \quad \text{calvary[F.SG]} \quad \sp{\text{Def.Art.M.PL.OBL Rroma-PL.OBL-F.SG.GEN}} \]

'the calvary of the Rroma'
1. Rromani language and Rromani NP

1. Origin of the language
2. The language today
3. The Rromani NP

Unmarked Order of the NP constituents:
Matras (2002): Table 7.1 Linear layout of the noun phrase: principal slots

[preposition] + [determiner] + [quantifier] + [adjective] + noun + [options]
Akana [...] isi nevo mentalitèti
[aka'na... isi nε'vo mɛntalî'tetÇ] ‘Now there is a new mentality’

nev-o mentalitèti
new-M.SG mentality[M.SG]
'new mentality'
Isi la jekh phar-o... pharo namboripe.

'‘She has a serious… serious illness.’
1. Origin of the language
2. The language today
3. The Rromani NP

Unmarked Order
Marked Order
1. Rromani language and Rromani NP

Ø N A

čhajorije šukarije!
[ʧʰajɔɾije ʃukaɾije]
'O beautiful girl'

čhaj-or-i-je šukar-i-je

girl-DIM-F.SG-VOC beautiful- F.SG-VOC
1. Rromani language and Rromani NP

Ø N A

DNA

jekh dive, jekh rat śukar, ...
[jεk di've, jεk rat ʃu'kar]
'a beautiful night'

jekh rat śukar

INDF.ART night[F.SG] beautiful[F.SG]
I have grand-sons. I have... two grand-sons from the elder son... from my elder son.
1. Rromani language and Rromani NP

Ø N A

D N A

(P) D N A (Poss)

kat-o  čhav-o  bar-o
from-DEF.ART.M.SG  son-M.SG  big-M.SG.

‘from the elder son’
1. Rromani language and Rromani NP

Ø N A

D N A

(P) D N A (Poss)

kat-o  čhav-o  bar-o  mir-o
from-DEF.ART.M.SG  son-M.SG  big-M.SG.  mine-M.SG

‘from the elder son of mine’
1. Definiteness / Polydefiniteness

The definite article:

→ sub-category of the Determiner – required in the canonical Rromani NP
→ specifies and actualises the N
→ The feature [+ definite], inherent to the Def.Art, has a referential or a generical value.
1. Definiteness / Polydefiniteness

The definite article:

→ free morpheme: French, Greek... + rromani

→ bound morpheme: Icelandic, Abkhaz...

→ bound morphem cliticized to the whole NP: Amharic, Bulgarian...

→ mixed system: Swedish, Albanian...
1. Definiteness / Polydefiniteness

The definite article

Polydefiniteness:
2. Polydefinite NPs

→ Repete the Def.Art :

Hebrew (Kolliakou 1999)

a. *ha-sefer ha-adom (the-book the-red; 'the red book')
b. *ha-adom ha-sefer
c. sefer adom (book red; 'a red book')
d. *adom sefer
2. Polydefinite NPs

→ Repete the Def.Art :

→ Mixed system:

Swedish (Lyons 1999)

a. resan 'the journey'

b. den långa resan 'the long journey'

c. de fyra resorna 'the four journeys'
2. Polydefinite NPs

→ Repete the Def.Art :

→ Mixed system:

≠ Rromani : no agreement in definiteness
No grammaticalisation
1. Definiteness / Polydefiniteness

2. The Rromani definite article

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Masc Sing</th>
<th>Fem Sing</th>
<th>Masc Plur</th>
<th>Fem Plur</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Direct case</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>i / e</td>
<td>e / e</td>
<td>e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oblique case</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>e</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2. Polydefinite NPs

1. Definiteness / Polydefiniteness

2. The Rromani definite article

3. The reduplication of Def. Art

\[ i \, \text{čhib} \, i \, \text{rroman-i} \]
\[ [i \, \text{ʧʰib} \, i \, \text{roma'ni}] \]

'the Rroma language'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>i</th>
<th>čhib</th>
<th>i</th>
<th>rroman-i</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DEF.ART.F.SG language[F.SG]</td>
<td>DEF.ART.F.SG</td>
<td>of_the_Rroma-F.SG</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2. Polydefinite NPs

Two hypotheses:

- Postposition of the Adjective (marked order):
  \[ D \ A \ N \rightarrow D \ N \ A \]
  \[ i \ rromani \ ćhib \rightarrow i \ ćhib \ rromani \]

+ 

- Reduplication of the Determiner:
  \[ D \ N \ A \rightarrow D \ N \ D A \]
  \[ i \ ćhib \ rromani \rightarrow i \ ćhib \ i \ rromani \]
1. State of the Art

→ Boretzky N., Romani: Grammatik des Kalderaš-Dialekts (1994)

"In der Kombination Pron. + Subst. wird normalerweise der Artikel nicht gesetzt, also z.B. *kaja sobica* «dieses Zimmerchen», aber der Artikel ist zumindest in S. (Familie aus dem Banat) nicht ganz selten: *kado kaš o baro* «dieser große Baum» bzw. «dieser Baum, der große»."
1. State of the Art


"Adjectives normally precede their head nouns, and in this case there is only one, initial, ART (cf. type a. in Figure 20). If the adjective follows the noun, so-called overdetermination may arise: if the adjective is to be focused, often two articles or, more generally, two determiners, occur instead of one article or determiner."
1. State of the Art


"However, individual dialects do show specific patterns of demonstrative and definite co-occurrence. For Kalderaš Boretzky (1994:55) gives:

(9) kado kaš o baro

this tree ART big

“this big tree”

though once more it is difficult to ascertain whether we are not dealing with a kind of conventionalised afterthought."
3. Polydefinite NPs in Rromani?

1. State of the Art


"The definite article occupies the first position in the noun phrase, preceding attributive adjectives: o phuro rom ‘the old man’. Adjectives in appositional function are generally treated as nominals, for case inflection as well as determination, and they may be introduced by a definite article, rendering the impression of a postposed definite adjective: o rom o phuro 'ART man ART old = the old man'."
"Igla (1996: 66) cites, from Agia Varvara Vlax, reduplication of the definite article with postposed adjectives, but not with postposed possessives: i čhej i bari 'the big girl', o dad tumaro 'your father'. While in some varietes such usages may be frequent, it seems that on the whole they are by far outnumbered by the conventional prenominal positioning of all attributes"
3. Polydefinite NPs in Rromani?

1. State of the Art

2. Where?
   → The areas
3. Polydefinite NPs in Rromani?
3. Polydefinite NPs in Rromani?

1. State of the Art

2. Where?
   → The areas
   → The dialects
According to Marcel Courthiade's dialectology:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Without consonantal mutation</th>
<th>With consonantal mutation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| O | - Fieldwork in Korça  
- *La littérature des Rroma, Sintés et Kalés* | |
| E | - Fieldwork in Zemun | - *Lacrimi Rome = Romane asva*  
- *Ursaritko Paramisi: o Môjsás*  
- *Das Romani von Ajia Varvara* |
| E standard | - *Limba şi literatura rromani pentru anul X de studiu*  
- *La littérature des Rroma, Sintés et Kalés* | |
| Standard/indetermined | - Sayings | |
### According to Boretzky & Igla's dialectology:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1) Balkan dialects</th>
<th>3) Southern Vlax dialects</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Arli</td>
<td>Gurbet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mečkar</td>
<td>Ajia Varvara</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2) Balkan zis-dialects</th>
<th>4) Northern Vlax dialects</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bugurdži</td>
<td>Kelderaš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ursari</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>
3. Polydefinite NPs in Rromani?

1. State of the Art
2. Where?
3. How?
   → The constituents
### 3. Polydefinite NPs in Rromani?

**Typology of the D**

→ [-def]?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><em>jekh</em></th>
<th><em>kher</em></th>
<th><em>jekh</em></th>
<th><em>bar-o</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ART.INDF</td>
<td>house[M.SG]</td>
<td>ART.INDF</td>
<td>big-M.SG</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'a big house'  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><em>nesav-e/nişte</em></th>
<th><em>kher-a</em></th>
<th><em>nesav-e/nişte</em></th>
<th><em>bar-e</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ART.INDF-M.PL</td>
<td>house[M.SG]</td>
<td>ART.INDF</td>
<td>big-M.SG</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'some big houses'
3. Polydefinite NPs in Rromani?

Typology of the D

→ [-def]?
→ [+def]?

o
DEF.ART

amar-o
POSS-M.SG

kher
kodova
DEM

bara

[Diagram showing typology of D with examples]
3. Polydefinite NPs in Rromani?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DET</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>DET</th>
<th>A</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>DEF.ART</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kodola</td>
<td>DEM</td>
<td>kher</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>'house'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amaro</td>
<td>POSS</td>
<td></td>
<td>baro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>'big'</td>
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<table>
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<th>DET</th>
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<td>kodola</td>
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<td>DEM</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>amaro</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>POSS</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3. Polydefinite NPs in Rromani?

Typology of the N

→ Proper Nouns

ο Kadria  o zoral-o
'the strong Kadria'

→ Common Nouns
### Typology of the N

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Human animate</td>
<td><em>phuro</em> (old), <em>Rrom</em> (man/husband/Rrom), <em>manuś</em> (man), <em>bori</em> (bride), <em>thagár</em> (king), ...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-human animate</td>
<td><em>mačho</em> (fish), <em>grast</em> (horse), ...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inanimate</td>
<td><em>paj</em> (water) <em>udar</em> (door), <em>vurdon</em> (car), <em>rukha</em> (tree), <em>bar</em> (rock), <em>šuval</em> (broom), <em>dives</em> (day), <em>devel</em> (sky), <em>rat</em> (night), <em>pero</em> (neighborhood), <em>fòro</em> (town), <em>čhuri</em> (knife), ...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abstract</td>
<td><em>čhib</em> (language), <em>tradita</em> (tradition), <em>živipen</em> (life), ...</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3. Polydefinite NPs in Rromani?

Typology of the A

→ Semantics
Scalar adjectives (*phuro* 'old') & non-scalar adjectives (*gažikani* 'non-Rroma')

→ Morphology
Class I adjectives (*bravalo* 'rich') & Class II adjectives (*godăver* 'intelligent') & Anthemic adjectives (*paxome* 'frozen')

→ Etymology
3. Polydefinite NPs in Rromani?

1. State of the Art
2. Where?
3. How?
   → The constituents
   → Structure of the NP
3. Polydefinite NPs in Rromani?

Simple NPs

→ Simple NPs

<table>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>rumīn-o</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>rēzbòj</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'the Romanian war'

→ Simple NPs embedded in a PP

<table>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>anθ-o</td>
<td>paj</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>śudr-o</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'in the cold water'
3. Polydefinite NPs in Rromani?

Complex NPs

→ Presence of a Dem

D N Dem D A

la  romn-ea  kodola  la
Def.Art.F.SG.OBL  woman-SG.OBL  that-F.SG.OBL  Def.Art.F.SG.OBL

phur-ea
old-F.SG.OBL

'that old woman'
3. Polydefinite NPs in Rromani?

Complex NPs

→ Presence of a Dem

"that foreign countries"
3. Polydefinite NPs in Rromani?

Complex NPs

→ Presence of a Dem
→ Presence of a Poss

With reduplication of Def.Art:

Def.Art N Poss Def.Art A

e  tradícia  amar-i  e  roman-i

'our Rom tradition'
3. Polydefinite NPs in Rromani?

Complex NPs

→ Presence of a Dem
→ Presence of a Poss

Without reduplication of Def.Art:

Poss N Def.Art A

tumar-ë pàp-uri le phur-ë
your-M.PL grandfather-PL Def.Art.M.PL old-M.PL

'your old grandfathers'
3. Polydefinite NPs in Rromani?

1. State of the Art
2. Where?
3. How?
4. When and why?
1. Superlative structure

Wow si o manuś o maj phuro.

'He is the oldest man.'

\[
\text{Def.Art.M.SG} \quad \text{man}\text{[M.SG]} \quad \text{Def.Art.M.SG} \quad \text{COMP} \quad \text{old-M.SG}
\]

'The oldest man'

haj i [sic] ćhuri e maj neví cïgnozél.

'and the newest knife is getting smaller.'

\[
\text{Def.Art.F.SG} \quad \text{knife-F.SG} \quad \text{Def.Art.F.SG} \quad \text{COMP} \quad \text{new-F.SG}
\]

'the newest knife'
'We worked there around six, seven weeks. They took us from there when it was over, when the non-Rroma were fighting and making war, when there was the big war, when Romania wanted to conquer Russia.'
2. Define

- *Phen lenqë, sosθar dukhan tu le pînrrë.*

- *Kaj ćhute ma' anθ-o paj, anθ-e ćikh, anθ-o paj o śudro, anθ-o iw. Dea o iw pa amenθe do mentrenqo haj n-aści maj ʒasas jekh avrësθe.*

'- Tell them why your feet hurt.

- Because they threw me in the water, in the mud, *in the cold water*, in the snow. A two-meter high snow fell on us and we could not go from one's place to the others.'

\[
\begin{align*}
anθ-o & \quad \text{paj} & \quad o & \quad śudr-o \\
\text{in-Def.Art.M.SG} & \quad \text{water[M.SG]} & \quad \text{Def.Art.M.SG} & \quad \text{cold-M.SG}
\end{align*}
\]

'in the cold water'
3. Summarise

- *Kadea, dikheś, won kërdesas lesqē anθa' i xarkuma, kërdesas lenqē balaj. Haj...*

- *Kon kërdesas e balaj kodea?*

- *Wow kërdesas la, mirro dad, le mìtaça, le rom le phurë kaj sas anθ-o timpo kodowa. E Režîna, kana sas e vòrba te împuśkin ame', te mudaren ame' anθ-e Valea Plângerii...*

'This way, you see, they did it for him in copper, they did for them the bathtube. And...

- *Who did this bathtube?*

- *He did that, my father, with Mita, the old Rroma who were there at that time. Regina, when word came that they shall shoot us, that they murder us in the Valley of Tears...*
### 3. Summarise

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>le</th>
<th>rom</th>
<th>le</th>
<th>phur-ë</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

'the old Rroma'
'- Wouldn't it be better?

- Much more better if they did it this way. If they made a hospital where the Rroma could go who are ill. Either ill from the cancer, or from the illnesses that exist today, from this bone marrow, or from the appendicitis, or from the bowel obstruction. If they would be brought to a Rromani hospital.'
3. Polydefinite NPs in Rromani?

3. Summarise

"ka-o spitålo o roman-o"


'to the Rromani hospital'
'Her name was Titira. Eh, and this woman died. She's not the only one who died, many others died. And it happened that there was no other possibility for them, and they took that one old woman and they took from her, the flesh, from her. This way they ate there. People were eating stones out of hunger.'
3. Polydefinite NPs in Rromani?

4. Overdetermine

*la*  *romnea-ea*  *kodol-a*  *la*

Def.Art.F.SG.OBL  woman-SG.OBL  that-F.SG.OBL  Def.Art.F.SG.OBL

*phur-ea*

old-F.SG.OBL

'that one old woman'
4. New concept / compound

Amenθe, anθ-o timpo, kodowa [sic] kana avelas o paj o baro, ame thowasas amaro arakhipen te las amarë ćhaworrēn anθ-e angali, te na nigerēl le' o paj.

'By us, at that time, the time when the flood came, we made our protection, so that we took our children in our arms, so that the water didn't take them away.'

o                  paj                  o                  bar-o
'the flood' (lit. 'the big water')
5. Select

1. Don't throw rubbish on the streets and alleys.
   
   Nu arunci gunoiul pe stradă sau pe alee.

   **Na ciu o gunoi pe-l stresi ai pașa o temberon.**

   2. Put paper in the blue bin.

   Pui hârtia în temberonul albastru.

   **Ciu e hartie ando temberon albastro.**

   3. Put metal, plastic and glass in the brown bin.

   Pui metal, plastic sau sticla în temberonul maro.

   **Ciu sastr, plastico ai jamo ando temberon maronio.**

   4. Put other rubbish in the black bin.

   Pui gunoiul menajer în temberonul negru.

   **Ciu sea okaver o gunoi ando temberon o kalo.**
5. Select

4. Put other rubbish in the black bin.

Pui gunoiul menajer în tomberonul negru.

Ciu sea okaver o gunoi ando temberon o kalo.

*and-o* | *temberon* | *o* | *kal-o*
---|---|---|---
*in-Def.Art.M.SG* | *bin[M.SG]* | *Def.Art.M.SG* | *black-M.SG*

'in the black bin'
6. Delaying information

[...] del o brišind, thowaw [sic] iw thaj kaθa' jekh morći guruvesqi p-o punro cërûlea, kë beśas anθ-o drom e reat le iwendesqi. E reat e barì le iwendesqi.

'[...] it rains, I put [sic] snow and from cow skin on the foot, because we stay on the road in the winter's night. The long winter's night.'

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{e} & \quad \text{reat} & \quad \text{e} & \quad \text{bar-i} \\
\text{Def.Art.F.SG} & \quad \text{night[F.SG]} & \quad \text{Def.Art.F.SG} & \quad \text{big-F.SG} \\
\text{le} & \quad \text{iwend-es-q-i} \\
\text{Def.Art.M.SG.OBL} & \quad \text{winter-SG.OBL-GEN-G.SG}
\end{align*}
\]

'the long winter's night' (lit. The big night of the winter')
- And a Rroma musem. What do you think if a Rroma museum would be built?
- As there is for the Romanians?
- As for the other Rroma too in the [other] countries. So that these children would see that this costum was the old Ilia's [one].
- Everything as it was in our tradition.
- Our Rroma tradition, because you see, the tradition is getting lost, is disappearing. Now we need to look for it. We need to conserve it. As you say, it would be great if such museum would be built.'
3. Polydefinite NPs in Rromani?

'i' 'ka-l' 'rom' 'le' 'kol-aver'


'by the other Rroma too'

'le' 'Ilia-s-q-o' 'le'


'phur-ës-q-o'

old-M.SG.OBL-GEN-M.SG

'the old Ilia's'

'e' 'tradicìa' 'amar-i' 'e' 'roman-i'


'our Rroma tradition'
7. Stylistic effect

→ Parallelism

*O bar o cigno del mujal o vurdon o baro.*

‘The small stone overthrows the big car.’

'o-bar-o-cign-o'

DEF.ART.M.SG       stone[M.SG]       DEF.ART.M.SG       small-M.SG

'the small stone'
3. Polydefinite NPs in Rromani?

7. Stylistic effect

→ Parallelism
→ Chiasmus

O gudle pheresa, phiravëna o udar o sastruno.
`Sweet words open the iron gate.'

```
  o     udar     o     sastr-un-o
'the iron gate'
```
3. Polydefinite NPs in Rromani?

7. Stylistic effect

→ Parallelism
→ Chiasmus
→ Focalisation

Vi o rukh o bango del učhalin.

'The criple tree too gives shade.'

\[
\text{FOC} \quad \text{ART.DEF.M.SG} \quad \text{tree[M.SG.]} \quad \text{ART.DEF.M.SG} \quad \text{criple-M.SG}
\]

'... the criple tree too'
3. Polydefinite NPs in Rromani?

⚠ ... difference between this structure and the apposition:

Apposition:

D N D A

⇝

D N D N
3. Polydefinite NPs in Rromani?

⚠ ... difference between this structure and the apposition:

'my old son'
⚠ ... difference between this structure and the apposition:

'my old son'  

'my son, the old [one], ...'

3. Polydefinite NPs in Rromani?
3. Polydefinite NPs in Rromani?

⚠ ... difference between this structure and the apposition:


'We made tiles for the church, and we did it in Burilova. Pulika, the old Tomica, your grandpa, the mom, we did it. And we did sixty thousand pieces of tiles, we did that during one summer.'

DEFINE "the old Tomica, your grandpa"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>o</th>
<th>Tomica</th>
<th>o</th>
<th>phur-o</th>
<th>t-ō</th>
<th>pāpo</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
3. Polydefinite NPs in Rromani?

1. State of the Art
2. Where?
3. How?
4. When and why?
5. Origin of the phenomenon?

< language contact and/or language change?
3. Polydefinite NPs in Rromani?

→ Language contact?

The definite article is of Greek origin.
3. Polydefinite NPs in Romani?

Language contact?

The definite article is of Greek origin.

Boretzky N., "Definite Article Grammatical Relations in Romani" (2000)

"It is needless to repeat that Romani o and i are not borrowed from Greek, as early scholars (e.g. Paspati 1870:39) were inclined to believe, but nevertheless, some Greek support in the emergence if ART is very likely: there were no other languages in the Near East with ART or similar article behavior, whereas the numerous similarities between Greek and Romani ART leap to the eye: first position in the NP, mostly vocalic in the nominative, mostly CV in the oblique cases, nostressed forms, no reinforcement in the bulk of the dialects, no isolated (demonstrative) use, use with personal names even in dialects remote from the Greek area. One might argue that ART may have come up in a totally internal process, but though there is no logical argument excluding it, little speaks in favor of it, first of all because true ART languages are rare among the languages of the world, and further because there seem to be few isolated ART languages around the world, for which isolated development of this element must be presupposed. The definite article is an areal phenomenon."
3. Polydefinite NPs in Rromani?

→ Language contact?

The definite article is of Greek origin.

Comparison between the Greek and Rromani possible NP structures:

- A N: Rromani & Greek
- N A: Rromani & Greek
- D A N: Rromani & Greek
- D N A: Rromani but *Greek
- D A D N: *Rromani but Greek
- D N D A: Rromani & Greek
3. Polydefinite NPs in Rromani?

→ Language contact?
→ Language change?

Different varieties = different frequency / different purposes / different contexts

Different order of constituents

D A N = unmarked order

D N A = marked order

... becoming unmarked?

D N D A

D N D A ≈ Rromanised order

* D A D N

D A N ≈ Rromani order

D N A ≈ Gažikani order
3. Polydefinite NPs in Rromani?

Language contact?

Language change?

Different varieties = different frequency / different purposes / different contexts

Different order of constituents

**Romanian:**

N-D A = unmarked order  [+def]

A-D N = marked order  [+def]

N-D$_1$ D$_2$ A (where D$_2$ = connective article)  [+++def]

N-D Dem A  [++++def]
1. Don't throw rubbish on the streets and alleys.

Nu arunci gunoiul pe stradă sau pe alee.

**Na ciu o gunoi pe-l stresi ai pașa o temberon.**

2. Put paper in the blue bin.

Pui hârtia în tomberonul albastru.

**Ciu e Hartie ando temberon albastro.**

3. Put metal, plastic and glass in the brown bin.

Pui metal, plastic sau sticla în tomberonul maro.

**Ciu sastr, plastico ai jamo ando temberon maronio.**

4. Put other rubbish in the black bin.

Pui gunoiul menajer în tomberonul negru.

**Ciu sea okaver o gunoi ando temberon o kalo.**

3. Polydefinite NPs in Rromani?
Conclusion

→ Optional construction

→ Requires D[+def] and A:

Different possible structures:

two Def.Art ... or a definite D + Def.Art

A must be postposed

... marked or unmarked position? Both unmarked?

Dialectal variation

→ Large typology of N and A
Different purposes, contexts and frequency according to the different varieties:

- Superlative structure, definition, summary, overdetermination, coining new word, selection, delaying information, stylistic effects, "surname"

→ different from the apposition (from a prosodic, morphological & semantic point of view)
(1) Structure inspired by the Greek polydefinite NP

(2) It can be absent / marginal / frequent / reinterpreted according to the different Balkanic varieties of Rromani

(3) It is more frequent in those varieties in contact with a language already having a similar structure (Greek, Albanian, Romanian)

(4) ... and is still perceived as a 'inherited' structure, even used to 'naturalise' the NA syntax (perceived as foreign)
References


Thank you for your attention!

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