## CONDITIONALS IN. ROMANI

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## CATEGORIES OF HYPOTHETICAL CONSTRUCTIONS

## Realis

 $+$Potentialis

Irrealis (future)

Irrealis (past)
(1) If Miriam invites John, he will go to her party.
(2) If Miriam invited John, he would go to her party.
(3) If Miriam had invited John, he would have gone to her party.
(4) If Miriam had invited John, he would have gone to her party. 3

## CATEGORIES OF HYPOTHETICAL CONSTRUCTIONS

## Romani:

(1) Te + Present/Future, Present/Future
(2) Te + Imperfect, Imperfect

Potentialis
(3) Te + Pluperfect, Pluperfect
(4) Te + Pluperfect Balkan: $O T e+$ FUT + Imperfect, Pluperfect

Irrealis (past)
(1) If Miriam invites John, he will go to her party.
(2) If Miriam invited John, he would go to her party.
(3) If Miriam had invited John, he would have gone to her party.
(4) If Miriam had invited John, he would have gone to her party. 4

# DIALECTAL VARIATION IN ROMANI MORPHOLOGY 

Present
a short form: verbal root + affix of person a long form: verbal root + affix of person + unstressed final $-a$

Imperfect
a synthetic form: verbal root + affix of person + unstressed final -as
an analytical form: verbal root + affix of person (+ unstressed final -a) + copula.PERF
[= Present + copula.PERF]

Future
a synthetic form: verbal root + affix of person + unstressed final $-a$ an analytical form: invariable auxiliary ka/kam/kama + verbal root + affix of person (+ unstressed final -a) 5

# DIALECTAL VARIATION IN ROMANI MORPHOLOGY 

## Present

- ker-av make-1SG 'I do' $\quad$ a short form: ve - Vlax, Central dialects
- ker-av-a make-1SG-PRES 'I do' n: verbal root + affix of pe - Balkan, NE, NW dialects

Imperfect

- ker-av-as make-1SG-IMPERF
'I was doir • Vlax, Central, NE, NW dialects
- ker-av-a sine make-1SG-PRES COP.PERF.3SG 'I was doir - Balkan, (NW) dialects
[= rIESEII + cUNUId.rEKF]

Future

| - ker-av-a make-1SG-FUT | 'I will do' + affix |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| - $k$ - Vlax, Central, NE, NW dialects |  |

# DIALECTAL VARIATION IN ROMANI MORPHOLOGY 

Perfect
verbal root + affix of perfect $(-t-,-d-,-/-)+$ affix of person
$+$

Pluperfect
a synthetic form: verbal root + affix of perfect $(-t-,-d-,-/-)+$ affix of person

+ unstressed final -as
an analytical form: verbal root + affix of perfect ( $-t-,-d-,-/-)+$ affix of person + copula in the perfect tense [= Perfect + Imperfect]

Grammatical morphological moods in Romani: Indicative, Imperative, Gerundive No Infinitive, no Subjonctive, no Conditional 7

# DIALECTAL VARIATION IN ROMANI MORPHOLOGY 

Perfect
verbal root + affix of perfect $(-t-,-d-,-/-)+$ affix of person
ker-d-om make-PERF-1SG 'I did'
Pluperfect
a synthetic form: verbal root + affix of perfe •Vlax, Central, NE, NW dialects
an analytical form: verbal root + affix of perfe

- Balkan, (NW) dialects
- ker-d-om-as make-PERF-1SG-IMPERF 'I had been doing'
- ker-d-om sine make-PERF-1SG COP.PERF.3SG

Grammatical morphological moods in Romani: Indicative, Imperative, Gerundive No Infinitive, no Subjonctive, no Conditional 8

## BOUND MORPHEMES

## Factual Non-factual

unstressed, invariable final -a = PRES, FUT or PRES/FUT retention: Indic origin
Used onły for the present (Balkan), only for the future (Vlax, Central)
... or for Both (NE, NW) $\rightarrow$ no morphological marking of the future

## Remoteness, Counterfacual contextual distance to real-world events inaccessible, detached from factual validity

## unstressed, invariable final -as=IMPERF, PLUPERF retention: Indic origin Contraction of the OIA copula asi-

 Actually several forms depending on the dialects: -as, -ys, -sas-, -sa, -a, -s, -ahi
Mang.
retention: Indic origin OIA past-participle marker -it-. Depending on the verb: su-t-om (I slept), ker-d-om (I made), xa-I-om (I ate) s

## FREE MORPHEMES

## Counterfacual

Invariable conditional auxiliary
Borrowing: Slavic origin (bi, by, бы) Used by Balkan, Central, Northeastern dialects

## Invariable future auxiliary $k$

Contraction of the OIA verb kam- 'to love, to want' Innovation in the Balkan dialects. Secondary (Ottoman-time) areal feature. Actually several forms depending on the dialects: ka, kam, kama

○

## FREE MORPHEMES

## Non factual, Counterfacual

Non factual complementiser te retention: Indic origin
$+$ Introduces conditional, infinitive, inchoative, optative, purpose clauses = non factual subordination, non indicative, context-dependent predication

Its semantic = pragmatic, to relativise the truth-value of a predication Syntactical constraint: the verb must immediately follow te $\rightarrow$ VS order

Can be replaced by borrowings:
an (Greek), se (Turkish), esli, jesli (Slavic), ako, kada (South Slavic) in the sens of 'if' mi (Turkish), Ii, dali (Slavic), či, čy (Western Slavic), op (German) in the sense of 'whether'

Part ofa dichotomous system with the factual compl kaj (not stable through the dialects) This dichotomy = innovation. Primary areal Balkanic feature. 11

## Realis (1)

 vurtin-es-a = translate-2SG-PRES
(3) Te adala adaj ale, me mange fuat džav.

If these here they.came I for.me away l.go $a-/-e=$ come-PERF-3PL $d z ̌-a v=$ go-1SG

## Realis (1)

$$
\begin{array}{lllll}
\text { (1) } T e \text { na piesa } \begin{array}{l}
\text { drab, } \\
\text { If NEG you.drink the medicine, } N
\end{array} \text { Te Present, Future }
\end{array}
$$

Vlax,
Greece
pi-es-a = drink-2SG-PRES 'if you do not drink
ka lačhar-do-s = FUT improve-PASSIVE-2SG
(2) Ti manges, vurtinesa lesIf you.want/ask, you.translateitir
mang-es = want/ask-2SG
(3) Te adala adaj ale, me maı

If these here they.came I for.r $a-/-e=$ come-PERF-3PL $d z ̌-a v=g o-1 S G$
Ti Present, Present

Sepeči, Turkey

Roman, Austria

## Realis (2)

(4) $\operatorname{Te}$ krel miri čaj kova, dan leli daba.

Sinti,
If does my daughter that then takes blows
Austria
$k r-e /=$ make-3sG
$l-e l-i=$ take-3sG-F
'if my daughter does this, the will get blows'
(5) Te dela kana, vē sapno.

If it.rains now, you.are wet.
Sinti,
Austria
'if it rains now, you will get wet'
$v-\bar{e}=b e-2 \mathrm{sG}$
(6) Mukes les gār te džal, dan his faiaābent, you.let him NEG COMP he.goes, then it.was all.over, Sinti, ende, džāso buter gār. the.end, it.would.go more NEG
muk-es = let-2sG
$d z ̌-a ̄ s-o=$ go-3SG-IMPERF
'if you don't let it go, then it was all over,
the end, it would not go any more.'

## Realis (2)

(4) Te krel miri čaj kova, dan If does my daughter that then to $k r-e /=$ make-3sG
I-el-i= take-3sG-F
(5) Te dela kana, vē sapno.

If it.rains now, you.are wet. $d-e l-a=$ give-3SG-PRES $v-\bar{e}=\mathrm{be}-2 \mathrm{sG}$
(6) Mukes les gār te džal, you.let him NEG COMP he.goes, th ende, dz̄āso buter gār. the.end, it.would.go more NEG $m u k-e s=$ let-2sG $d z ̌-\bar{a} s-o=$ go-3sG-IMPERF

## Te Present, Present

Te Present, Present

Sinti,
ø Present, Imperfect

Sinti,
Austria
Sinti,
Austria

## Realis (3)

(7) Na keresa dava, meresa.

NEG you.will.do this, you.will.die

Xaladytka, Russia ker-es-a $=$ make-2SG-PRES/FUT mer-es-a = die-2SG-PRES/FUT
(8) Phenesa te džav tutyr avri, me lava dova you.will.tell COMP I.go from.you out/away, I will.take that so me kamam. what | want/love.
phen-es-a = say-2SG-PRES/FUT
"if you tell me to go anay from you,
I will take what I like.'
Xaladytka, Russia
/-av-a = take-1SG-PRES/FUT
(9) Kajekhvar tu tradesa some.day you will.throw $\underset{\mathrm{me}}{\text { man }} \begin{aligned} & \text { javri, } \\ & \text { out/away, }\end{aligned} \underset{\mathrm{l}}{\text { me }}$ lava will.take dova so me kamam butyr. what I want/love more. trad-es-a = drive-2sG-PRES/FUT
$/-a v-a=$ take-1SG-PRES/FUT

## Realis (3)

(7) Na keresa dava, meresa.

NEG you.will.do this, you.will.die ker-es-a = make-2SG-PRES/FUT
if yound mer-es-a = die-2SG-PRES/FUT
(8) Phenesa te džav
tutyr you.will.tell COMP l.go from.you so me kamam. what | want/love.
'if youte
$\varnothing$ Present, Present (ø Future, Future)

Xaladytka,
$\varnothing$ Present, Present ( $\varnothing$ Future, Future)

Russia
dova
that
Xaladytka, Russia
phen-es-a = say-2SG-PRES/FUT I will tal
dova that
$\varnothing$ Present, Present (ø Future, Future)

Xaladytka, Russia
trad-es-a = drive-2SG-PRES/FUT

## Realis (4)

(10) Mang-l-as li tutar
she.asked if from.you
mang-l-as = ask/want-PERF-3SG pani, ka phenes lake...

Erli,
Bulgaria
ka phen-es = FUT say-2SG
(11) Poftorno som a-l-jan, ka čhinav tut.
again as.soon.as you.came, FUT l.cut you.
Erli,
Bulgaria
$a-/-j a n=$ come-PERF-2SG
ka čhin-av= FUT cut-1SG
$\begin{array}{llllll}\text { (12) Poftorno } & \text { som } & \text { av-es, } & \text { ka čhinav } & \text { tut. } \\ \text { again } & \text { as.soon.as you.come, FUT l.cut } & \text { you. }\end{array}$

[^0]ka čhin-av= FUT cut-1SG

## Realis (4)

(10) Mang-I-as li tutar pani, ka she.asked if from.you water, FU mang-/-as = ask/want-PERF-3sG ka phen-es = FUT say-2sG (11) Poftorno som a-/-jan, ka again as.soon.as you.came, $\mathrm{FU}^{-}$
$a-$-jan $=$ come-PERF-2SG ka čhin-av= FUT cut-1SG
(12) Poftorno som av-es,
again
as.soon.as you.come, Fl
$a v-e s=$ come-2sG
ka čhin-av= FUT cut-1sG

## Perfect /l, Future

$\emptyset$ Perfect, Future
"If you come

Erli,
Bulgaria

## Erli,

Bulgaria

## Erli,

Bulgaria

## Realis (5)

(13) Te mange[s], khel!

If you.want, dance!
'If you want, dance!'
mang-e[s] = want/ask-2.SG
khe/= dance [bare verbal root]
(14) Te si tut nieci bori mangibaske, mang!

If it.is you some bride for.asking, ask!
si=be.3SG If you have the intention of reeking a bride, seek!'
mang = ask/want [bare verbal root]

## Realis (5)

(13) Te mange[s], khel!

If you.want, dance! mang-e[s] = want/ask-2.SG
khe/= dance [bare verbal root]
(14) Te si tut nieci bori mangib

If it.is you some bride for.askir

Te Present, Imperative

Te Present, Imperative mang = ask/want [bare verbal root]

## Potentialis (1)

(15) Te sas man love!

If was me money
'if I had money!
$s a s=$ be.3SG.IMPERF
(16) Aver romni $t^{\prime}$ avelas!

Other woman if it.was
'if it were another woman!'
Vlax,
Romania

Vlax,
Greece
av-el-as = be/come-3SG-IMPERF
(17) Kamas kerav les, te pučhes mandar.

AUX I.do it, if you.ask from.me
kam-as ker-av = want-IMPERF make-1SG pučh-es = ask-2SG

[^1]
## Potentialis (1)

(15) Te sas man love!

If was me money
$s a s=$ be.3SG.IMPERF
(16) Aver romni $t^{\prime}$ avelas!

Other woman if it.was
av-el-as = be/come-3SG-IMPERF
(17) Kamas kerav les, te pučhe

AUX l.do it, if you.as

## Te Imperfect

Te Imperfect
Vlax,
Greece

Vlax,
USA
kamas Present, te Present pučh-es = ask-2SG

## Potentialis (2)

(18) $T e$ avelas man vreme, ka džavas me da.

If it.was me time FUT l.went I too
$a v-e l-a s=$ be/come-3sG-IMPERF
ka $d z ̌-a v-a s=$ FUT go-1SG-IMPERF
(19) Ko danol so kama ćerdol, te na puravon e manusa.
who knows what AUX it.is.done if NEG they.grow.old the people
kama ćer-do-/ = want-IMPERF make-PASSIVE-3SG
'Who knows what would happen
Gurbet,
if people did not grom old.'
(20) Te o grencn cuj ojan ahi, feder ovl ahi.

If the borders shut they.are COP, better it.is COP

Roman, Austria
'if the borders were closed, that would be better.'

## Potentialis (2)

(18) Te avelas man vreme,

If it.was me time
av-e/-as = be/come-3sG-IMPERF
ka $d z ̌-a v-a s=$ FUT go-1SG-IMPERF (19) Ko đanol so kama ć who knows what AUX it kama ćer-do-/ = want-IMPERF ma purav-on = grow.old-3SG (20) Te o grencn cuj

If the borders shut o-jan ahi = be-3PL COP.PERF.3SG ov-/ ahi= be-3SG COP.PERF.3SG

Vlax,
Bulgaria
Te Imperfect, ka (FUT) Imperfect
manusa.
kama Present, te Present people

Gurbet, Kosovo

Te Imperfect, Imperfect

Roman, Austria

## Potentialis (3)

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(21) Te cingarea man, me bi avava. If you.invite me, I AUX l.came
cingar-e-a = invite-2SG-PRES "if you were to invite me, I would come.'
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Gurbet,
Macedonia

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bi av-av-a = AUX.COND come-1SG-PRES
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$\begin{array}{clll}\text { (22) Te khelela, me bi } & \text { avava. } \\ \text { If he.danced, I } & \text { AUX l.came }\end{array}$
khel-el-a = dance-3SG-PRES 'if he were to dance, I would come.'
bi av-av-a = AUX.COND come-1SG-PRES
(23) Emen so rakilo sine, a o vakti as.soon.as COMPL it.got.dark kerela sine pes te rumungjol. it.makes it.was REFL COMPL it.gets.bad rak-il-o sine $=$ get.night-PERF-3SG COP.PERF.3SG 'as soon as it got dark, the weather looked like it was going to get bad.'
kerela sine $=$ make-3SG-PRES COP.PERF.3SG

## Potentialis (3)

(21) Te cingarea man, me bi If you.invite me, I AUX
cingar-e-a = invite-2sG-PRES
bi $a v-a v-a=$ AUX.COND come-1SG-PRE
(22) Te khelela, me bi av

If he.danced, I AUX I.C

## Te Present, bi Present

Te Present, bi Present
khel-el-a = dance-3sG-PRES
bi av-av-a = AUX.COND come-1SG-PRE
(23) Emen so rakilo as.soon.as COMPL it.got.dark kerela sine pes te it.makes it.was REFL COMPL
compL Pluperfect, Imperfect

## rli,

lacedonia
rak-il-o sine = get.night-PERF-3SG COP.
kerela sine $=$ make-3SG-PRES COP.PERF.3SG

## Irrealis (future)

(24) Dikhav kadava so keres, thaj soto ka keresa akana. Vlax, l.see this REL you.do and what FUTyou.do now Bulgaria
ker-es $=$ make-2sG
ka ker-es-a = FUT make-2SG-PRES
'I see what you are doing and what you would have done now [again].'
(25) So bi vakerela pes sine kaj to dad what AUX it.says REFL it.was COMPL your father thaj me sijam dembelija.
and I we.are lazy
bi vaker-el-a sine = AUX.COND say-3SG-PRES COP.PERF.3SG
$s$-ijam = be-1PL

## Irrealis (future)

(24) Dikhav kadava so keres, I.see this REL you.do

## (Present,) Future

ker-es $=$ make-2sG
ka ker-es-a = FUT make-2SG-PRES
(25) So bi vakerela pes sin what AUX it.says REFL it.n thaj me sijam dembelija. COMPL bilmperfect, Present .rli, and I we.are lazy
bi vaker-el-a sine = AUX.COND say-3SG-P,
$s$-ijam = be-1PL

## Irrealis (past) (1)

| (26) Te cingarea man sine, me bi avava sine. | Arli, |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| If you.invite me it.was, I | AUX l.came it.was | Macedonia |

cingar-e-a sine $=$ invite-2SG-PRES COP.PERF.3SG "if you were to invite me,
bi $a v-a v-a$ sine $=$ AUX.COND come-1SG-PRES COP.PERF.3SG
(27) Te avea sine javinate, ka lea sine thud.

If you.come it.was in.the.morning, fut you.take it.was milk Arli,
$a v-e-a$ sine $=$ come-2SG-PRES COP.PERF.3SG
'if you had come in the morning, you would have gotten milk.'
$\begin{array}{lllll}\text { (28) Te khelela sine, ka avava sine! } & \text { Arli, } \\ \text { If he.danced it.was, FUT l.came it.was } & \text { Macedonia }\end{array}$ khel-el-a sine = dance-3SG-PRES COP.PERF.3SG 'if he had danced, I would have come.' ka av-av-a sine = FUT come-1SG-PRES COP.PERF.3SG

## Irrealis (past) (1)

(26) Te cingarea man sing If you.invite me it.v cingar-e-a sine $=$ invite-2SG-PF bi av-av-a sine = AUX.COND co
(27) Te avea sine ja If you.come it.was in $a v-e-a$ sine $=$ come-2SG-PRES
ka l-e-a sine = FUT take-2SG-PR
(28) Te khelela sine,

If he.danced it.was,

Te Imperfect, bi Imperfect

Te Imperfect, ka (FUT) Imperfect

Te Imperfect, ka (FUT) Imperfect

Arli,
lacedonia

Arli,
Macedonia ing,

Arli,
Macedonia
khel-el-a sine $=$ dance-3SG-PRES
ka av-av-a sine = FUT come-1SG-PRES COP.PERF.3SG

## Irrealis (past) (2)

(29) Te khelelas, ka avavas! Vlax,If he.danced, FUT l.came
Macedonia
khel-el-as = dance-3SG-IMPERF'if he had danced, I would have come.'
ka av-av-as = FUT come-1SG-IMPERF
(30) Ante andamosaonas, kamaste džuvdon.
If if would.have.met, AUX that they.are.lived
andamosa-on-as $=$ meet-3PL-IMPERF
kam-as te džuv-do-n = want-IMPERF COMPL live-PASSIVE-3PL

'Had they met [each other], they would have come to life.'
(31) Ama in arakhadinaonas nefra,

But NEG would.have.been.found kidneys na ka kerdolas lacho o raklo. Vlax,
NEG FUT it.was.done good the boy Greece arakha-d-ina-on-as = find-PASSIVE-PERF-3PL-IMPERF
ka ker-do-l-as = FUT make-PASSIVE-3SG-IMPERF

## Irrealis (past) (2)

(29) Te khelelas, ka avavas!

If he.danced, FUT l.came
khel-el-as = dance-3SG-IMPERF
ka $a v-a v-a s=$ FUT come-1SG-IMPERF
(30) Ante andamosaonas, kamas

If if would.have.met, AUX
andamosa-on-as = meet-3PL-IMPERF
kam-as te džuv-do-n = want-IMPERF CC
(31) Ama in arakhadinaonas

But NEG would.have.been.fo
na ka kerdolas lacho
NeG FUT it.was.done good arakha-d-ina-on-as $=$ find-PASSIVE-PERF-

Te Imperfect, ka (FUT) Imperfect


Te Imperfect, kamas Present
ø Pluperfect, ka (FUT) Imperfect
Vlax,
Greece

## Irrealis (past) (3)

(32) Te avava korkorre, goda kama
if I.was alone that AUX it.is.found me.
'If I had been alone,
that would have happened to me.'
kam-a aračh-o-I= want-IMPERF find-PASSIVE-3SG
(33) Ma ti khelavkerasas la, ka xalas amen sarimiz. Sepeči, NEG if we.made.dance her, fUT she.ate us all.of.us Turkey
khelav-ker-as-as $=$ dance-make-1PL-IMPERF
ka $x$-al-as = FUT eat-3SG-IMPERF 'if we hadn't made her dance, ahe would have eaten us all.'
(34) Manglal ahi, dijom ahi tut.

You.asked COP l.gave COP you
Roman, Austria mang-l-al ahi = ask-PERF-2SG COP.PERF.3SG $d$-ij-om ahi = give-PERF-1SG COP.PERF.3SG

## Irrealis (past) (3)

## (32) Te avava korkorre, goda

if I.was alone that
Gurbet, Kosovo
$a v-a v-a=$ come/be-1SG-PRES
kam-a aračh-o-/= want-IMPERF fin
(33) Ma ti khelavkerasas

NEG if we.made.dance he
khelav-ker-as-as = dance-make-1p
ka $x$-al-as = FUT eat-3SG-IMPERF
(34) Manglal ahi, dijom ahi

You.asked COP I.gave COP
mang-l-al ahi = ask-PERF-2SG COP.P $d$-ij-om ahi = give-PERF-1SG COP.PERF.J
to me.'

Sepeči,
Turkey
eaten us all.'
Roman,
Austria

## FINDINGS

Free order of the clauses usually Antecedent/Prostasis + Consequent/Apodosis

Antecedent/Prđstąsis usually introduced by non factual complementiser te Or a loan complementiser $/ i$, or nothing

Consequent/Apodosis non introduced Optionally by a borrowing (dan in Sinti dialect < German dann) $\rightarrow$ Romani behaves like a European language ( $\neq$ Hindi)

Extreme dialectal variation
Extreme flexibility in the choice of the TAM categories
$\rightarrow$ \&omani uses its grammaticalised TAM system to build hypothetical constructions. No difference between both Irrealis constructions

## CATEGORIES OF HYPOTHETICAL CONSTRUCTIONS

A variety of constructions in Romani:
(1) $\mathrm{Te}+$ Present/Future (/Perfect),

Present/Futułe (/Imperfect, Imperative)
(2) $T e+$ Imperfect/Present (/Pluperfect),

Imperfect ( /bi, kamas + Present, ka + Imperfect)
(3) $b i+$ Imperfect (/ Future)

- (4) Te + Imperfect/Pluperfect (/Present),


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[^0]:    "If you come again, I will kill you'.

[^1]:    'I mould do it if you asked me.'

