5 Culture, language, identity

5.1 The Boyash settlements

Until after World War II, the Boyash in the villages under study lived an almost nomadic life. Both communities lived in isolation, in the woods or outside the villages where the majority of the population was Hungarian (Gilvánfa) or Šokci (Alsószentmárton). The Boyash used to live in huts, which enabled them to move more easily from place to place when conditions became harsh. Isolation from the Hungarian community allowed the language to remain unchanged for many decades. The deputy-mayor of the village of Gilvánfa speaks about the history of the village as a Boyash settlement during his childhood:

Ásta sat aíșe bắĭáș nu șîĝ́é, aíși nu irá bắĭáș, aíși úngur sta. Úngur în sat înlóntru, îṇ cumpáńì, źos, dă pắșĉe pod, acoló lăcătári istá. Da bắĭáș nu noĭ.

[…] Bắĭáșu în pădúrę șîĝ́é, în pădúre și pă ľiďilóᵘ únďe umblá váĉiľe. Acoló șîĝ́é bắĭáșì, ẑumắtáe, ẑumătáĉe în pădúrę, înlóntru, lúcra la ắĭ pîṇ sat, ẑumắtáĉe fắșé tróși, íngură fắșé. (Palko László, Gilvánfa)

(There were only Hungarians inhabiting this village, no Boyash, the Boyash used to live over the bridge, in the forests. Half of them worked for the villagers, the other half made wood, spoons, troughs.)

The steps taken by the Communist regime to integrate the Boyash and the Lacatari communities into settlements on the outskirts of villages (Boyash *cumpáńi)* led to the intensification of social, and hence linguistic, contact. A gradual exodus of the Hungarian population from villages to cities or to "Roma"-free regions occurred. This enabled the better-off Boyash to buy houses from the Hungarians and settle in the village.

D'icuiéscu, ăl-apucá, pín ʂɛ dă báńì, puńɛ́ ínculó, kit pucɛ́, şî cîṇ avɛ́ oțî́ră maĭ mulţ báń, ála-ĭ a cu fíre, ĭa o cásă dă vîndútă, în sat înlóntru, el mínďɛ mirźɛ́, scucɛ́ afără, la cása. (Palko László, Gilvánfa)

(The *Dicuiesc*[24] he would always save money, as much as he could and when he had saved enough, he would buy a house in the village and he would move into that house.)

Those in a more precarious financial situation have remained in *cumpáńì* to this day. It can be observed that those who live in *cumpáńì* are more conservative as regards their native language because, being unemployed and living on welfare, they do not come into contact very often with the Hungarian language.

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24 *Dicuiescu* refers to the Boyash sub-group who processed wood, as opposed to the other group, the *unturoşi* (the greasy), who earned their living with music.

5.2 Boyash: ethnonyms and exonyms

In most languages, no clear distinction is made between Romani-speaking and Romanian-speaking Gypsies, all the more so as many non-Gypsies do not recognize the language of the Boyash as Romanian. The term *Boyash* (Germ. *Bajeschi*, Hung. *beas*, Rom. *băiaşi*, Croat./Serb. *Banjaši*) is more frequent than *Rudari* (Germ. *Rudari*, Rom. *rudari*, Croat./Serb. *Rudari*). The clearest distinctions are to be found in Croatian/Serbian and Ukrainian, which differentiate between black (e.g. Croat./Serb. *Crni Cigani*) and white (*Beli Cigani*) Gypsies, the former being the Romani-speaking Roma and the latter the Boyash. In Serbia, the Boyash are also known as *Karavlasi*, *Cigani Rumuni* and *rumunski Cigani* (SIKIMIĆ 2005), in scholarly literature usually as *Banjaši* (e.g. SORESCU-MARINKOVIĆ 2005), in Croatian also as *Bejaši*. In Bulgarian secondary sources the term *rudari* is used, while in Romanian both *rudari* and *băieşi* are used. In Hungary, the most frequently used term is *boyas*, in historical documents also *oláh cigányok* and *aranymoso*

cigányok, in Slovakia they are known as *valašski Cigáni*.

The use of the word *Vlach* is potentially confusing, because the *Boyash* are definitely no *Vlach Roma*, since they do not speak Romani. *Vlach Roma* (also *Vlax Roma, Olah Roma*) are speakers of those variants of Romani, which are characterized by a slight Romanian (= *Wallachian*) influence. The heterogeneity of the Vlach Roma is reflected in their ethnonyms and exonyms. The division into a northern (North Vlach or *kalderaša* group) and southern group (South Vlach or *gurbet* group) is based on linguistic criteria (e.g. BORETZKY 2003). Most of the ethnonyms are derived from traditional occupations, hence *kalderaša* for cauldron makers, *kazandži* for copper smiths, *čurara* for sieve makers, *lovari* for horse dealers, *lăutari* for musicians, *džambaza* for horsemen and horse dealers, *gurbet* as the general term for itinerant labourers. Many of the Vlach Roma have preserved a memory of their migration from the Danube Principalities and Transylvania yet without retaining any knowledge of the Romanian language, history or topography.

The Boyash refer to the Roma (who do not speak Romanian) in the southern Balkans as *gurbéţi* and *fiţíri*, in Ukraine as *goľéţi,* and in Hungary as *lăcătári*.

The Boyash are called by neighbouring majority populations, and also by some scholars, as Gypsies or Roma. As a result, researchers who study groups who do not self-denominate as such and who reject the idea that they are part of the Roma population must take both terms into account. It only becomes easier to differentiate between the groups if one classifies them by language and denomination. The only people who should be described as Roma are those who also speak Romani and self-identify as Roma. We therefore recommend avoiding the term Roma in connection with the Boyash who should instead be referred to as Boyash and Rudari, as Munĉeni and Arĝeleni.

In German, the use of the word *Zigeuner* (Gypsy) has fallen out of favour since it was banned by Emperor Joseph II (WINDISCH 2010: 102), but at the very latest since the persecution of the Roma during World War II. However, in other languages the use of the corresponding

terms (Alb. *ciganët*, Croat./Serb. *Cigani*, Bulg., Mac. *cigani*, Greek *τσιγγάνοι,* Rom. *ţigani*, Slovak *cigáni,* Turk. *çingeneler*, Ukrain. *цигани*, Hung. *cigányok*) is criticized but not so vehemently rejected. Nor does the more politically correct term *Roma* enjoy greater acceptance among those to whom it refers. *Gypsy* is the only term available that blurs the differences between the groups of the Roma, Sinti, Manuš, Xoraxan, Boyash and Rudari etc. letting them appear as a single population. In Southeast Europe in particular, the term *Gypsy* cannot therefore be replaced by the more politically correct term Roma let alone by *Sinti and Roma,* as the term *Roma* cannot be used for the *lom* (Gypsies of Armenia) and the *dom* (Gypsies of the Middle East). Deconstructing this ethnonym weakens it as a self-appellation and hence as an identifying attribute (IGLA 1993: 325-332).

Ethnographically speaking, the Boyash und Rudari are one and the same group or at least a very similar one; even the meaning of their ethnonyms appears to be identical. Both terms can be traced back to their earlier occupations as mineworkers and gold panners. The deriva-tion of the ethnonym *Rudari* from the Slavic word *rud* (mine, ore pit) can be easily explained, given the fact that this word is very widespread in the Slavic languages. As early as 1844, POTT (1844, 1964: 62) declared that it was *incontestable* that the word Rudari was derived from the Croatian or Serbian word *rud* (metal). It is somewhat harder to see how the term could be derived from the Slavic word *baja* (ore pit, mine), as this word is almost never used today. SULZER (1781: 140-141) associates the term with the word *mine* when talking about the river Baia in Moldova, which is supposed to have had a mine with ore pits nearby. He also sees a link to the words Baia in Wallachian (Romanian), Banya in Hungarian and Banje in Slavonic and sees a connection with the Romanian word for money (*bani*), as coins are cast from metal.

Depending on their own sympathies and linguistic abilities, authors sometimes emphasize the Romanian language spoken by the Boyash, sometimes their un-Romanian physiognomy. FILIPESCU (1906: 199-200) encountered *Koritari* (trough makers) in Pakrac in Slavonia and said they

were *Romanians*, while *Gypsy* was written in their passports. PETROVICI (1938: 224-225), who carried out field research in the Yugoslavian Banat and eastern Serbia in 1937 for the Romanian Linguistic Atlas (ALR = Atlasul Lingvistic Român), visited the village of Čokešina and others, because the Yugoslav census had recorded people there whose mother tongue was Romanian. He was quickly confronted with their flexible identity. Although he states that his interlocutors referred to themselves as *Rumîn* (M) and *Rumîncâ* (F), he immediately adds that when asked if they were perhaps *Gypsies*, they answered *Țîgan au [sic] Rumîn, cum vrei* (Gypsy or Romanian, whichever you prefer; PETROVICI 1938: 225). Similar dialogues take place today too. Most Boyash do not understand the denomination *țîgán* (Gypsy) to mean an ethnic group, but use the word in the sense of spouse: *țîgán* means husband, *țîgáncă* means wife. Moreover, older people call themselves *unkĭáșu* (husband) and *mătúșă* (wife), which in standard Romanian mean uncle/old man and aunt/old woman. Gustav WEIGAND (1908: 173) protested against the idea,

widespread at the time, that they were Romanians, however, based on the prononciation of the word *t' épt'ine* (comb), he assumed (1908: 175) that the Rudari originated from the mountains of western Transylvania (Munții Apuseni). Vasile RUSU argued in his article (in CALOTĂ 1971: 349) that the Rudari should not be called *Gypsies* as they do not self-identify as such and, since Romanian is their sole language, referring to them as *Gypsies* would moreover be inconsistent with their linguistic awareness. On the one hand, there are authors who try to avoid this terminological difficulty: SIKIMIĆ (2008: 227) writes that they were *sometimes considered Gypsies by locals*, BENGELSDORF (2009) calls them *the other Gypsies* and ASCHAUER (2006: 65) introduces for them the category of *Fast-schon-nicht-mehr-Roma* (already-almost-no-longer Roma). On the other hand, other authors refer to them naturally as *Roma* (e.g. HOFMAN & TARABIĆ 2006: 305), as *Romanian-speaking Gypsies* (WEIGAND 1908: 174, SARAMANDU 1997: 109), as *Romanian-speaking Roma* (MARUSHIAKOVA 1997: 99) or, like SORESCU-MARINKOVIĆ in her short defini-

tion (2008: 174), as *Roma-like*: *The Boyash are small Roma-like communities speaking different vernaculars of the Romanian language and dispersed throughout Serbia, Croatia, Hungary, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Bulgaria, with smaller numbers in Macedonia, Greece, Ukraine, Slovakia and Slovenia.*

The Boyash communities are to some extent (especially the elders) bilingual, speaking both archaic Romanian and the language of the country they live in. However, this did not prevent pioneers of Boyash and Rudari studies from believing that these Gypsy groups spoke a Romanian dialect (HRVATIĆ 2004: 370). Both the Munĉeni and the Arĝeleni call themselves *țîgáń* (Arĝ.)/*țîgáni* (Munĉ.), a man or a woman from their group *țîgán* and *țîgáncă* respectively, yet both groups reject being labelled as *Roma*. During our field research, we noticed that each Boyash group has its own story about their origins. Neither the date of their arrival, nor their place of origin have been preserved in their collective memory, which underscores even more the fact that, for these communities, revealing their real group

identity has always been a disadvantage. Their ethnonym *țîgán*, derived from the Greek *αθίγγανος*, PL *αθίγγανοι* (people who cannot be touched), also shows that this group has always carried the *Pariah* stigma, partly due to the colour of their skin and their nomadic lifestyle.

There is a confusing number of exonyms, as many of the terms used are merely professionyms which can take on and lose the function of group names depending on the particular historic and social context. VOSSEN (1983: 286) emphasizes how inventive this Roma subgroup was and describes a traditional lathe used to make spindles, spoons and shafts. During our research, we also saw a number of original woodworking tools. However, it can also be observed that competition from mass-produced goods is leading many Boyash today to work as casual labourers, sell antiques or help out harvesting corn, tobacco or oranges (for information on the employment situation of the Rudari see ŞERBAN 1959: 131-147). They only rarely work in arable farming or animal husbandry. The Gypsies who had to pay taxes to the

Austro-Hungarian Crown (Rom. *ţigani domneşti*) are furthermore divided into *lingurari* (woodworkers), *ursari* (keepers of dancing bears), *rudari* (miners), *aurari* (gold washers) and *lăeşi* (fortune tellers, beggars, casual labourers, metalworkers etc.; categories according to Fraser 1998: 228). Alongside those names that can be traced back to their former occupation as miners and gold washers, newer names for the Boyash have established themselves that are derived from professions learnt at a later date. In addition to the Romanian professionyms there are Slavic, Hungarian and in some cases even German dialectical equivalents. Thus the *albieri* (trough-makers) are known in the South Slavic territories as *koritari*; the *lingurari* (spoon-makers, Hung. *teknovájocigányok*) as *kašikari*; the *fusari* (spindle-makers) as *vretenari*, and the *ursari* (dancing-bear keepers) as *miţcári* or *meĉcári* (from Bulg. *мечкари*). One interlocutor jokingly commented on their propensity for wood work by saying: *Făćém lĭúnguŕ, făćém gavánì, făćém dîn lemn tot, putém să făćém şi om. Om, muĭére putém să făćém* (We make spoons and bowls,

we make everything out of wood, we can even make people out of wood – we can make a man, a woman; Zlatarica).

In addition to the professionyms, regional designations such as Munĉeni and Arĝeleni have been preserved in regions where Hungarian and Croatian/Serbian predominate. Both these terms refer to their assumed origins in Greater Wallachia (Rom. Muntenia) and Transylvania (Rom. Ardeal). Besides the clear dialectical differences between these two groups, as noted above, among the Munĉeni there are also some Orthodox, whereas the Arĝeleni are Roman Catholic; for this reason, the Munĉeni refer to the latter as *turśíţ* (literally: Turkicized, meaning converted). One less widespread regional group among the Hungarian Boyash are the *Tiszani*, who take their name from the Tisza River (Hung. Tisza; Rom., Serb. Tisa).

5.3 Language and identity of the Boyash in Hungary

The identity of many Boyash in Hungary reflects the fact that to some extent they hold a position between that of the

Gypsies (physiognomy, origins/history, lifestyle) and that of the Romanians (language, individual cultural elements). A certain Romanian identity can also be observed among the Boyash outside Romania. Even if almost no one calls himself/herself Romanian, there is considerable evidence of identification with Romanians and their culture as well as a certain awareness of the linguistic similarities between the two.

Íŋca cînd aháĭa dóbă o mers, pućé să sfătáscă, núma ĭimba nóstră, ma nu aháĭa irá, ma ő róman ĭimbă ắĭrá şe ańhắla şe vurbíń noĭ acú, cî́nva cînd erá în Ròmîńíĭe o román, acoló aháĭa sfăté, aháĭa sfătéń acú. Cîn víńe dîŋ Ròmîńíĭe şińevá, ńe prişéṕ, prişepéşĉe şe hắla vurbíń, da nu aşá róu bíńε, că ma áltcùmva sfătéşĉe ei, ma nɔ aşa sfătéşĉe, no aşá vorbéşĉe ca cum noĭ.

(Gyöngyi Kalányos, 2010_09_23j)

(In those times, we could only speak our language, but the language spoken back then was much closer to Romanian than what we speak today. When somebody from Romania comes here, they understand us; they understand what we say, however, not everything as they speak differently to us.)

The Jakovali Hassan Mosque (16th. c.) in Pécs

Within one and the same sentence, the participant corrects herself offering the standard Romanian Verb *vorbéşĉe* as an alternative for the vernacular verb *sfătéşĉe* (speaks). In most observed cases, they identify more strongly with the Romanians than with the Roma. Nɪᴋšɪć (2004: 392) has also observed that in Hungary

The Sts. Peter an Paul's Cathedral (9th. c., rebuilt end of 19th. c.) in Pécs

The Szchényi square in the historical centre of Pécs

many Boyash do not identify themselves with either Roma or Gypsy. However, there is a greater willingness among the Boyash in Hungary to feel that they belong to the Roma community than is the case among groups in other countries (cf. SZALAI 1999: 298, 308). In Pécs this is perhaps partly attributable to the Gandhi High School (Hung. *Gandhi Gimnázium*, Romani *Mashkarutni Shkola ando Pech*), which was opened in 1994, as it seeks to promote education for all Roma and in particular targets the Boyash (DEZSŐ 2009: 85-100). While visiting the school we met students from Boyash families, whose parents declared they had chosen this school so that their children would learn Romani. Even among individuals who refused to classify themselves as Roma or Gypsy, it repeatedly became apparent as the interviews progressed that they nevertheless associated themselves indirectly with Gypsies or Roma; e.g. *Lăcătári îs. Ş-ahéĭa-s ţîgáń* [...] (Lacatari, they are also Gypsies; Gyöngyi Kalányos, 2010_09_23j).

This flexible identity, this readiness to pass themselves off as Roma or Gyp-sies on some occasions and not on others becomes even more flexible when opportunistic motives come into play. Just how changeable identity is and how widely the conclusions of field researchers can differ becomes apparent when we compare statements by SARAMANDU (1997: 99), who describes the identity of the Boyash in Međimurje as Romanian, and SORESCU-MARINKOVIĆ (2008: 189), who was unable to detect any Romanian identity whatsoever, at least among the school children.

Although many Boyash state that they get along better with the majority population than with the Lacatari/Roma (*lăcătáŕ*), their marriage patterns, at least according to the oral testimony of our interlocutors, show that they intermarry with the Lacatari. There is also a definite willingness in all countries to act jointly with the other Roma when it comes to setting up associations. In terms of their settlement patterns, it is conspicuous that the Boyash almost everywhere live in very close proximity to Roma settlements and thus move physically close to the (other) Roma, which results in their voluntary and involuntary

segregation from the majority population. It is equally characteristic that in many places their homes are more sturdily built and designed to last longer than those of the Roma. Individuals who do not speak Romani like to emphasize that they speak a different language in order to distance themselves from the Roma.

Lăcătári îs. Ş-ahéĭa-s ţîgáń, cigányok núma nu aşá vorbéşĉe ca cum noĭ vurbíń. Àltcúmva vurbéşĉe, lằcătăréşĉe. (Gyöngyi Kalányos, 2010_09_23j)

(The Lacatari are also Gypsy, but they do not speak the way we do. They speak Lacatari language.)

The Boyash do not hold their own language in high regard. Many of them describe their language as mangled or inadequate, calling it *şîşcávă* (cf. standard Rom. *şiştav,* mangled) or *sărácă* (poor). The Boyash dialects are so close to standard Romanian that they should be largely comprehensible to anyone with a fluent knowledge of Romanian, especially if they are familiar with the dialects of Romanian spoken in Transylvania and Wallachia. In terms of the lexis, the strong influence of the official languages in the various countries makes comprehension more difficult. Most speakers of Boyash do not write their language. The only exception to this is Hungary, where as a result of the language courses offered at the University of Pécs and the Gandhi High School, large numbers of people have learned to read and write Boyash using the rules of Hungarian orthography.

In both researched communities, we were warned by some of the interlocutors to avoid contact with the Lacatari (*lăcătári*), their exonym for Romani-speaking Roma, and any identification with this group was vehemently rejected: *Lăcătáru bε, fúră, báĉe, mişiuńéşĉe* [...], *mi úră dă ĭeĭ. Băĭáşu nu-ĭ a félă''* – (A Lacatar drinks, steals, lies […], I don't like them at all. The Boyash is not like this) (Pécs), thus emphasizing the fact that the Boyash are different from the Lacatari in every respect. Despite that, there have been cases of Boyash and Lacatari living together in the same village, and even in the same family: *Maĭ nánĉe, în sat şî băĭáş*

şî lăcătári custá (In the past, both Lacatari and Boyash used to live in this village) (Palko László, Gilvánfa). In recent years, due to the efforts of the European Union and various international organizations to solve problems like unemployment, lack of education, criminality, and alcoholism among the Roma, and also due to the many Roma associations in Hungary, their prestige has risen, and many Boyash have joined forces with the Lacatari to represent both groups at the local, regional, and even national level. However, this has not brought about an end to "identity conflicts" and prestige-related conflicts between various Roma subgroups.

Urbéş̂ce, urbéş̂ce, ĭi urbéş̂ce, noĭ sfătíń şî nu ţîgănív nu ţîgăńéş̂ce, noĭ zî̂şeń băĭeş̂ǎş̂ce. D-aĭ, cîn lăcătárì zî̂şe pă noĭ că noĭ nu ńi-s ţî́gań, zî̂şe că noĭ ńis rumî́ń, lăcătárì zî̂şe pă noĭ că noĭ ńis, di şe nu mirźéń acásă, în Rumîńíe, anúme, ńiş no dátă şî nu ńe ţíńe pă noĭ dă ţîgáń. Şî atúnś aíş îs munĉéńì cáre şî ĭéĭ îs băĭáş, da ĭi să ţíńe dă ţî́gań şî zî̂şe, noĭ urbíń ţîgănív ĭi zîc. Atúnś ĭi şíńi-s?"
(2010_09_24a Anna Orsós, Pécs)

(We call our language the Boyash language, not the Gypsy language. The Romani-speaking Lacatari don't recognize us as Gypsy and ask us why we don't go back home to Romania. And there are also the Munĉeni who say they are Boyash, but they say they speak the Gypsy language. Who are they after all?)

In the absence of a written tradition, the history that documents the evolution of a people and its origin is almost non-existent; therefore identity-building myths are also scarce. Among the Roma, the most important aspect of identity formation and group belonging is, as can be noticed above, the language. It is around this issue that most controversies occur too. What does the Boyash language, or, as the Munĉeni call it, *ţîgănív*, mean to the Boyash? *Noĭ nu sfăt́íń romîńéş̂ce, noĭ sfăt́íń ţîgăńéş̂ce... ímbă dă băĭáş, dă ţîgán* (We do not speak Romanian, we speak a Gypsy language, the language of the Boyash, of the Gypsies) (Jóli, Gilvánfa), replied a participant when we asked about the language they speak. Noticing that we were speaking *áltă feálă* (differ-

ently) to them, another participant, from Alsószentmárton, made the following remark: *Tu* [interviewer] *nu ca nɔ̌ urbéʂʈ́, tu rumîníu urbéʂʈ́, nǒ áíci ţîgăníu urbím. Tu dîn Rumîníɛ urbéʂt* (You do not speak like us, you speak Romanian, we here speak Gypsy. Your language is spoken in Romania; Persa, Alsószentmárton). Asked if he spoke Boyash, another interlocutor from Gilvánfa replied: *Nǒ ţîgăńéʂ̧ĉe sfătín dɔ̂ că sfăťíń, da unguréʂ̧ĉe mǎ̌ mín̆dru sfătíń* (Of course we can speak the Gypsy language but we speak Hungarian even better). Although both the Munĉeni and the Arĝeleni claim that they speak *ţîgănív/ţîgăníu* (Munĉ.) and *ţîgăńéʂ̧ťe/ţîgăńéʂ̧ĉe* (Arĝ.), they do not usually identify themselves with the other Roma groups, but regard themselves as a distinct community. This seems even more paradoxical when the Boyash themselves claim that they speak *ţîgănív* (Munĉ.), an adjective used to denominate their archaic Romanian vernacular or when they use the noun *ţîgán*, and *ţîgáncă* in the generic sense of man and woman.

This particularity, which is present both in the Arĝelean and in the Munĉan vernaculars, seems to indirectly point to the Roma origin of the Boyash and to the fact that they once used to speak Romani, a language they have lost forever and which has been superseded by the Romanian language. In Romani, the words *rom/romni* designate both ethnicity, man (spouse) and woman (spouse) respectively. The Romani words *rom/romni/romanes* have been replaced by the Romanian equivalents *ţîgán/ţîgáncă/ţîgăńéʂte*, a fact that gives us further clues in understanding the following utterance: *Dácă-ǐ úngur, atúnĉa-ǐ om, dacă-ǐ ţîgán, íǐ ţîgán* (If he is Hungarian, then he is a man, if he is a Gypsy, then he is a Gyspy; Pera, Alsószentmárton)*,* meaning that the word *ţîgán* is synonymous with a *human being* from a specific group of Gypsy. They differentiate between a Hungarian and a Boyash by consequently stressing that human (*om/femeie* man/woman) means from the Hungarian ethnic group, not Gypsy. *Acoló ʂáďe o, nu ţîgáncă-ǐ, o muǐérɛ, zíʂe, cáre cu cín̆ĉiʂ lúcră, cín̆ĉiʂ dă ţîgáń lúcră* (There is a woman, not a Gypsy woman, she said who writes about songs, about Gypsy songs) (Anna Orsós, Pécs).

However, it must be stressed that they do not use gender related denominations which can be found in Romani such as *murš* (man) and *džuvli* (woman).

The examples above reflect very well the "realities" in relation to the identity paradigms of the Munĉeni and Arĝeleni Boyash. On the one hand, they claim that they are *țîgáni*, while at the same time identifying themselves with an individual group that is distinct from the Romani-speaking Roma. On the other hand, they claim to speak *țîgăńéśte*, but their language is not Romani. On the basis of the examined vernaculars, a distinct identity is being built: dissociation between the Boyash and the Roma groups on the one hand and between Munĉeni and Arĝeleni on the other. SORESCU-MARINKOVIĆ (2008: 189) describes a similar situation in Croatia: […] *within this macrogroup, the distinction between the two dialect groups Munĉeni and Arĝeleni is there and forms the basis for identification*. Nevertheless, some "uncertainty" can be observed in the arguments for an identity outside the group, which is the reason why the younger generations no longer want to learn their parents' language, regarding it as an element that amplifies the hybrid condition, of being an organism that cannot be subsumed into any of the Roma, Hungarian, or Romanian groups. A parallel can be drawn here with MIHAIL KOGĂLNICEANU's (1837: 26) remark in 1837 on the Romani language: *Monsieur Graffunder nous a montré le premier, que c'est leur langue qui separe les Cigains des autres nations, qui leur fait mépriser tous les peuples, qui les tient enchainés dans leur caste* […]. It is precisely this cause – separation, segregation – that impelled the shift from the Romani language to Romanian, the same cause that lies today behind the process of shifting from the now archaic Romanian language to Hungarian.

5.4 From a spoken to a written language

In 1967, CALOTĂ (1971: 343) analyzed a Rudari family on the island of Ada Kaleh, who lived in makeshift huts and whose members earned their living as *albieri* (woodworkers). They had come from Băbeni, in the district of Vâlcea. In their

new settlement area, they began producing *albíi* (troughs), *línguŕ* (spoons), *fúse* (spindles) and *furĉ* (forks). Calotă's paper shows that in many cases the Rudari had settled there shortly before he conducted his investigation. Therefore, it is not surprising that the language of the Rudari in Ada Kaleh was still very close to the language of the area where they had previously been settled. Due to the fact that the Rudari of Ada Kaleh lived on Romanian territory in the sphere of influence of the Romanian standard language, Calotă observed local elements mixed with standard Romanian in their language. The answers to his questionnaire based on the Noul Atlas Lingvistic Român showed a very strong variation not only within the dialectal group but also in the way language was used by each individual speaker. Very similar observations can also be made today within the Boyash communities in Hungary. Their Boyash language varies according to where they live in their extensive distribution area, which extends from Slovakia to Central Greece. Considerable variations and inconsistencies can also be noted in the

way the language is used by individuals, which would justify the use of the term idiolects.

Most elder Boyash (>40) in Alsószentmárton and Gilvánfa have fluent language skills. In contrast to Gilvánfa, in Alsószentmárton even children speak Boyash. One important factor for the maintenance of the Boyash language to today, is closely related to the group's history of settlement. Until recently they lived in monolingual, closed societies and so in a context where the learning of another language brought no significant benefit to the community, Boyash continued to be the main language for a long time. Today, all Boyash speak the language of the majority population, Hungarian, fluently. Another characteristic of the Boyash outside Romania is that they have no contact with Romania and the Romanian standard language – apart from the Rudari in the Serbian Banat, where standard Romanian is taught at school. So their language has remained completely unaffected by the language policy and the language reforms passed during the second half of the 19th and 20th cen-

turies. In almost all Boyash communities outside Hungary, Boyash does not enjoy the status of language of instruction, being neither written nor read by its speakers. Hungary represents an exception in this respect. The establishment of the Ghandi High School in Pécs necessitated the writing and publication of educational material in the Boyash language (e.g. KOVALCSIK/ORSÓS 1994; ORSÓS 1994, 1997; VARGA 1997). Since 1996, it has even been possible for students to take their final exams when they complete their secondary education in Boyash (SZALAI 1999: 310). This was made possible by a number of developments and intiatives within the Boyash community.

Up until 1998, more than 800 independent groups were established in Hungary to defend and support minority rights. They also organized a host of cultural events with support from the government or from NGOs. It was in this context that plans were made to establish the Gandhi High School, the first one of its kind for the Roma (Lacatari and Boyash) in Hungary and Europe. It was also the first time that the term *positive discrimination* appeared in connection with the Roma minority, as the Ghandi High school only admits Roma. Education is seen as the only possibility for Roma to integrate into wider society and as a unique opportunity to actively participate in the country's economic life (KOVATS 2001: 341-343). The first blueprints for the Gandhi High School in 1994 coincided with the first controversies regarding the schoolbooks for the future high-school students. Anna Orsós, who led the team that laid the foundations for the school, began field research among both the Muncêni and the Arĝeleni with the aim of gathering material for textbooks. The first book, a collection of stories, came out in 1994 (KOVALCSIK 1994), followed in 1997 by a grammar book for Boyash (ORSÓS 1997). In 2002 (ORSÓS 2002) and 2004 (ORSÓS 2004) a Boyash-Hungarian dictionary was published, and in subsequent years three small song and folk poetry collections were issued. These are the textbooks that have been used at the Gandhi High School so far. Textbooks in the Boyash vernacular are much better represented at the Gandhi

High School than are Romani ones. It should also be mentioned that the Munĉeni and Arĝeleni Boyash outnumber the Lacatari, and that they enjoy greater prestige than the latter, according to the deputy head Mária Farkas. The books in the Boyash language use the Magyar alphabet, which made it easier for high school students, who had previously learned to read and write in Hungarian, to write in this vernacular. Below is an excerpt from the first texts, published in 1994.

Jépurilye, Damnyé, o kăpătát doj sirsjéj. Kînd ly-or doj sjirsjéj în *uretyé, sză punyé jépurilye dă pă fug-áisje, dă pă fug-ákulo, dă pă fugá álingyire* (KOV-ALCSIK 1994: 15; given in the author's orthography)

(Rom. Iepurele, Doamne, a primit doi cercei. Când au băgat cerceii în ureche, iepurele o ia la fugă, aici, acolo, peste tot)

(The hare, Lord, received two earrings. When they put the earrings in its ears, the hare bolted off, this way, that way, every way)

As we can see, a compromise was reached, with the Magyar alphabet being supplemented with graphems from the Romanian alphabet ([ă], [î]) to enable the representation of the entire range of sounds specific to the Boyash language. The book *Lá sză szfătászkă dăp-ásztá sî péstyi* (Rom. Lasă să vorbească şi peştii despre astă, Eng. Let the fish talk about it too) offers a useful illustration of this compromise. During a Boyash class in Pécs the word *on kînye*, the graphematic representation of the standard Romanian 'un câine' (a dog) was written on the blackboard – or the sentence *Kăcălu nosztru-j dă 7 luny,* in standard Romanian 'Căţelul nostru e de 7 luni' (Our dog is seven months old).

There are many efforts in Hungary among the different Boyash communities to have this vernacular recognized as a separate language. This recognition would upgrade the status of Boyash as a language of instruction in the schools of the Boyashi communities (SZALAI 1999: 307).

Alongside efforts to standardize the Boyash vernacular parallel endeavours can be observed in Croatia to publish the

Gandhi High School in Pécs

Catholic catechism in one of the archaic Romanian dialects with a Croatian alphabet (SORESCU-MARINKOVIĆ 2008: 177). The same question arises here: Which alphabet should be employed for the Boyash vernacular? The Boyash alphabet employed in the Ghandi High School is the alphabet of a non-standard, shifting small minority language in Hungary. An exclusively Romanian orthography for all Boyash minorities in the different European countries would not have been a solution either; because these communities do not always live in countries bordering Romania, the speakers of Boyash are often completely unaware of the existence
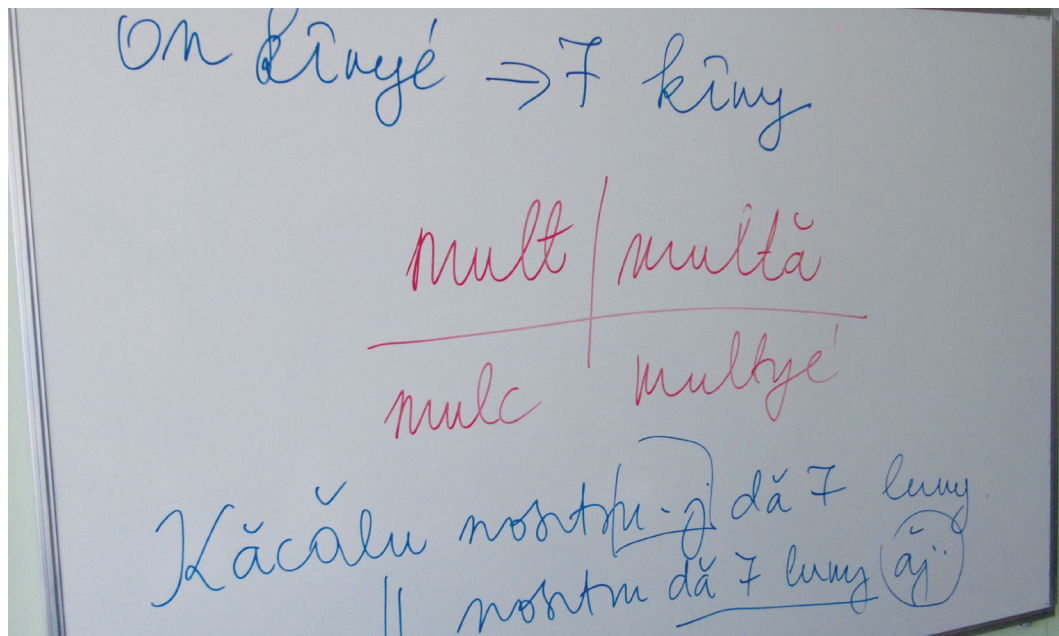
School blackboard during language class

of a standardized language, of which they speak a variety. Furthermore, such an undertaking would require concerted efforts, as well as support from the states in which the Boyash live and recognition of the Boyash language as a minority language. In view of education policies in respect of minorities both in Hungary and in neighbouring countries where Boyash live, we consider such an undertaking to be rather utopian from today's perspective.

The greatest obstacle to attempts to write these vernaculars is the opposition of the speakers themselves, who are still marked out as a suppressed culture and tradition, and who "denounce themselves" speaking a language that is neither Romanian, nor Hungarian. There is a further aspect, related to the separate and uncoordinated efforts of the Arĝeleni and Munĉeni from Baranya. Although sustained efforts were made to find practical options to produce textbooks for students from the Boyash communities that would include both the Munĉeni and the Arĝeleni vernaculars, these textbooks are not accepted in all the Hungarian schools in which Boyash is taught. This is the situation in Alsószentmárton. The village priest, who is actively involved with the kindergarten and schools as well as in the education of children and young people in general, explains why the books edited for the Gandhi High School are not used in Alsószentmárton:

We use few of these books because they [the Arĝeleni] *speak a different dialect. They aren't quite willing to accept our dialect either. They believe that the only good dialect is Arĝelean, and the Munĉan one is not so important* (József Lankó; translated from German).

Băĭeşắ̂ĉe versus *Țîgăníu*

The difference between the Munĉeni in Alsószentmárton and the Arĝeleni in Gilvánfa is chiefly linguistic. The fact that the two groups have different occupations is of rather marginal importance. They report that the Munĉeni were never woodworkers like the Arĝeleni and the Boyash and Rudari from other countries or regions, a profession they still pursue even today. The Munĉeni were and have remained basket weavers (*cuşáră*) or till

Map of Hungary with the communities under study   Draft: Kahl/Nechiti; Illustration: Merridee Stein

the soil for Hungarian or Šokci land-lords. Both the Munĉan and the Arĝelean vernaculars in Hungary have elements specific to certain dialects spoken on the territory of Romania as a result of re-current migration from southern Tran-sylvania to Lesser Walachia (Oltenia) and Greater Wallachia (Muntenia), i.e. be-cause of linguistic contact with the spe-cific local dialect in each region. Asked about the differences between Munĉeni and Arĝeleni, Anna Orsós (Arĝeleni), from the Romology Institute at Pécs Uni-versity, answers:

Noĭ maĭ întî́i ań vińít şî ma nu sfătíń aşá bíńe ca munĉéńì, aşá bíńe, aşá mult. Noĭ maĭ múlĉe vórbe ań lɔt dîņ ímba dă únguŕ. La noĭ începút nu-ĭ, noĭ kizdilíń, acoló íncă ĭéşĉe înşepút. Noĭ zîşéń mirẑéń, ĭeĭ zî́şe mirẑém. Noĭ zîşéń cînd, cînd o ţîgarétă bágă-n gúră, ĭo trag, ĭeĭ zî́şe, munĉéńì zî́şe, io bĭɔ, bĭɔ o ţîgarétă, da. (2010_09_24a Anna Orsós, Pécs)

We were the first to come to these lands and that's why we do not speak the language as well as the Munĉeni. We borrowed more words from Hungarian. We don't have *înĉepút* [beginning], we *kizdilíń*, there they have *înĉepút*. We say *mirẑéń* [we go], they say *mirẑém*. We say, when we smoke a cigarette, *ĭo trag* [I drag]; the Munĉeni say *bĭɔ* [I drink] a cigarette, yes.

Péter, a basket weaver (*cuşár, coşár*) from Alsószentmárton, says emphatically:

Băĭáşu şî munténu, áĭa-ĭ dóvă. Şî a lúra límbă tot dóvă-ĭ. Álta félă-ĭ, da răzumím, dɔĉ că răzumím. Ĭe zî́şe prişepéń, noĭ zîşéń răzumím. Ĭe ástă órbă n-áu.

(The Boyash and the Munĉan are different from one another. Even their language differs. It is different, however, we understand one another, of course we understand. We [Arĝeleni and Munĉeni] have, for example, two different words for the verb 'to understand', they say *prişepéńi,* we say *răzumím*).

All participants seemed to have a high awareness of the reported *major differences* between the two varieties. Each participant in the study was able to give examples of the perceived differences between the two varieties which imply that the interaction between the two groups is much higher than admitted.

5.5 Vernaculars in decline

Considered in terms of the three-stage process of language extinction described by SASSE (1992: 19), this archaic variety of the Romanian language may be regarded as endangered, with the spoken vernaculars, Arĝelean and Munĉan, suffering different degrees of loss. The Munĉan vernacular investigated in the village

of Alsószentmárton is most probably in the second stage of shift, during which the language of the majority increasingly spreads into the language of the minority, while the latter is used mostly within the family by the elderly. Hungarian is beginning to replace the Boyash language even in everyday life. The Arĝelean dialect spoken in the village of Gilvánfa and in Pécs is in the third stage, which is characterized by the loss of vocabulary and the inability to create new words, as the majority language has definitively replaced the minority language. Factors such as way of life, social structures, the intensity of contact with the majority population, religion, the prestige of the language, the code function of minority languages, and economic dependency have played a decisive role in the progressive replacement of the Boyash language by the majority language Hungarian, a process that dramatically accelerated in the second half of the 20th century and especially after Hungary's accession to the EU. In the last three decades, however, the Arĝelean vernacular has enjoyed greater prestige than the Munĉan and if one of the varieties should

reverse language shift, most probably that would be the Arĝelean vernacular. This is due to the fact that the Arĝelean vernacular is the only one that is in use at the Ghandi High School and for which standardization efforts have been made. The school has enhanced the possibilities for preserving the Boyash language and had a positive impact on the prestige and emancipation of the language. The next decade will show us if these endeavours have managed to reverse language shift among Boyash.

In the center of Gilvánfa

Church in Gilvánfa

Kászádăsztyisză (youth after-school club), Gilvánfa

Visit at the Kászádăsztyisză

Improvizing musician in the Kászádăsztyisză

5.6 Language prestige

One of the main reasons why Boyash lacks prestige within the speech community is the fact that, with few exceptions discussed above, it exists only as a spoken language. According to KLOSS (1966: 143-144), a language that enjoys prestige has a *rich literary heritage, high degree of language modernization, considerable international standing, or the prestige of its speakers.* In other words, in respect of the two vernaculars, all factors that contribute to a lack of prestige exist simultaneously. The vernaculars spoken by Munĉeni and Arĝeleni Boyash are archaic variants of the Romanian language or, in Isidor Ieşan's opinion (1906), *o romînă stricată* – broken Romanian, that no longer entirely meets the expressive language needs of the modern speaker, in the best case scenario, on a path towards creolization.

As they are not perceived as a distinct minority, but as part of the (Romani-speaking) Roma population, the Boyash vernaculars do not even share the prestige enjoyed by the Romani language in recent years. In Kahane's (KAHANE 1986: 495) words, *language is intertwined with culture*, more specifically there is a very strong connection between the prestige of a group or people and the language they speak. Quite often, not only are the two vernaculars not accorded prestige, they are looked upon as a cause of shame, ostracism, and the impossibility of integration into the majority population:

Hɔt[25], cum să-ţ zîc. […] *Míe mi róu că <u>límba</u> nɔ́stă să pɛ́rĝe, da ĭɛ́şĉe lu cári nu-ĭ róu că <u>ímba</u> asta să pɛ́rĝe. Iɛ́şĉe cári-ĭ fãlós că ásta s-o pérdùt ímbă. Şî mi drágă dă ímba mɛ́. Iɛ́şĉe lu cárı nu-ĭi drag dă ímba ásta. Pérse[26], că i ruşíńe dă ĭé. Maĭ bíńe táşe, nu sfãťɛ́şĉe".* (Joli, Gilvánfa)

(How can I put it. […] I feel very bad about us losing our mother tongue, but there are some people who don't care at

_____

25 Hung. *hát* 'back, again'

26 Hung. *persze* 'of course'

all. There are some who rather happy that they don't speak it anymore. And I like this language. There are some who don't like it. Because they are ashamed of it. They would rather be silent than speak it.)

For many decades, the two languages, Hungarian and Boyash, have coexisted peacefully, a situation which usually occurs when one language has high prestige and the other low prestige, and which leads to diglossia, i.e. language functionality and usage differ according to different domains. This is the "standard" evolution of languages considered "beset". Aware of this fact, most interlocutors express regret and frustration about losing their mother tongue:

Béńe, săráca-ĭ, da bằĭeşắşĉe ar puĉé să sfătáscă, núma şî ĭo, da ĭo şî țîgánca-m şî noĭ ma ńe glăbíń[27], căctăl'íń[28], n-áveń răgáz să sfăt'íń. Aldátă ma álfel irá.

M-adúc în fírę cîn írám dòuắzắşi dă áĭ. [...] Băĭáşî sfăté ĉằr bằĭeşắşĉe. (Palko László, Gilvánfa)

(I admit, they are poor, but even so, they could speak Boyash, even I could speak it. My wife and I are always in a hurry, always working, we don't have time to speak Boyash. Times used to be different. I remember when I was twenty years old. The Boyash used to speak only Boyash.)

In recent years, with the propagation of Romanian music across borders (especially the musical genre *manea*, PL *manele*), and easier access to Romanian TV channels (almost every house in the communities studied has at least one dish aerial), many people from the generation under 35, as well as many others, have become aware of the similarities between the language they speak and standard Romanian. This awareness was not always universally present in the collective memory between the time Petrovici discovered Romanian speakers in Croatia and the last decade of the 20th century. Thus, it can be observed that at *Kászádăsztyisză*

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27 Standard Rom. *grăbim* 'we hurry'

28 Standard Rom. *lucrăm mereu* 'we work all the time'

Satellite dishes in Gilvánfa

Bilingual board of Mayor's building in Alsószentmárton

(see photograph on p. 135) in Gilvánfa, young people are familar with the repertoire of Nicolae Guţă, one of the famous Romanian *manele* singers, an ethnic Roma. We can also hear the mayor of the village of Alsószentmárton declare his Romanian ethnic and linguistic background and categorically oppose the settlement of Lacatari in his village: *Noĭ romîníu urbím.*[...] *Şi noĭ iştém rumíni* [...]*. Íci nu póte viní lăcătári. Hɔt cum oĭ sfătí ĭo cu el* (We are also Romanian […]. No Lacatari should come here. How, for instance, would I be able to speak with them?).

Another example for the Romanian affiliation is the board in both Hungarian and standard Romanian on the mayor's office building. The mayor explains how he came up with this idea after having seen a similar one in a friend's village in Romania, adding that *after all, the Romanian language is also my language*.

Kászádăsztyisză is the name of a specially created place for the young people

of Gilvánfa where, under the supervision of several educators, out-of-school and extra-curricular activities are organized, such as a musical programme in Hungarian, Boyash and Romani, and also stage performances in various nearby localities. This programme is one of several of its kind initiated by the priest József Lankó from the village of Alsószentmárton.

In the north of Croatia, the situation is different, as contact with the Romanian language or Romania is almost non-existent. After on-site investigations, SORESCU-MARINKOVIĆ (2008: 189) came to the following conclusion: […] *the younger population in the Boyash settlement of Kursanec showed no awareness of the local vernacular as a clearly Romanian language, nor had they any clear idea of Romania as their country of origin*. If in Croatia Boyash communities have lost the awareness of their Romanian ethnic

Alsószentmárton, Mayor's building

identity, in Hungary it is still alive, perhaps due to the fact that Romania is across the border. One participant from Gilvánfa passionately explains:

Noĭ băĭáș dă rumî́n istéń. Núma ră̆u múltă dóbă d-atúnș o tricút. (János, Gilvánfa)

(We are Romanian Boyash. But it has been been a very long time since then.)

5.7 Phenomena of bilingualism and plurilingualism

Having arrived in the Romanian territories, the Boyash and Rudari adopted Romanian as their *bread-and-butter language* to such an extent that, in less than two centuries, it became their mother tongue. Towards the end of the 18th century, as shown by Calotă, the Boyash moved from south-western Transylvania to Wallachia, where they were exposed to a new linguistic contact and to Wallachian (Rom. graiul muntean) influence. Thus, the Boyash and the Rudari were faced with a new process of bilingualism. Later on, the contact between the Romanian dialects and those from the countries to which the Boyash emigrated, on the one hand, and other languages spoken in areas of confluence where peoples had coexisted for longer periods of time (southern Hungary, northern Serbia) on the other, constituted the fourth stage of linguistic contact. This was also influenced by the Croatian/Serbian language, and through it, by the German language. The most obvious example is the Boyash community of Alsószentmárton. Before the arrival of the Boyash, Alsószentmárton was inhabited by Šokci. Due to the emigration of many Šokci, the contact with them was broken, and influences, noticeable chiefly in their vocabulary, persist in the language of the Munĉan Boyash as a distinctive element of the Munĉan vernacular compared to the Arĝelean one. The oldest Munĉeni of Alsószentmárton still speak fluent Croatian/Serbian, just as the Boyash of northern Serbia, Nadrijan, and Bački Monoštur speak Hungarian. During our research, we also recorded songs with lyrics in both the Munĉan vernacular and Croatian. *Șî ásta îĭ ímbă dă suflit* (This is also a language of the soul, Persa, Alsószentmárton), one of the participant says in tears,

while singing a song in Croatian/Serbian.

Among the lexical borrowings from Croatian/Serbian we recorded among the Munĉeni (here just a few examples): *právă* (< Croat./Serb. *prava* 'justice'): *Ăi tu právă, bínı zî́c tu* 'you're right, what you say is correct'; *samᵒ* (< Croat./Serb. *samo* 'only'); ístină (< Croat./Serb. *istina* 'truth'); *nícad, nícada* und *nicáda* (< Croat./Serb. *nikada* 'never'; *Vî́ntu şî plă̆ĭa să stă, ĭo nícad să stáv* 'Let the wind and the rain stop, but I'll never stay'); *mrîkve* (< Croat./Serb. *mrkve* 'carrots'); *glidálă* (Munĉ). (< Croat./Serb. *ogledalo* 'mirror', cf. Rum. *oglindă*); *prî́vu* < Croat./Serb. *prvi* 'first'; *bubríci* (< Croat./Serb. *bubrezi* 'kidneys'); *partím* (< Croat./Serb. *pratiti* 'accompany'; *hăĭ să te partím* 'let us come with you'); *ráno* (< Croat./Serb. *rano* 'early'; *fŏ́rte ráno* 'very quickly/early'); *jivótu* (< Croat./Serb. *život* 'living, life'; *jivótu-ĭ grév* 'life is hard'); *curác* (< Croat./Serb. *korak* 'step'); *móra* (< Croat./Serb. *mora* 'must'; *móra să fac* 'I have to do'); *póslă* (< Croat./Serb. *posao* 'work'; *n-am póslă* 'I do not have work').

German influences, in many cases probably intermediated by Croatian, are evident among the Munĉeni in examples such as *fárbă* (< Germ. *Farbe* 'colour'); *ţaĭt* (< Germ. *Zeit* 'time'; *n-am ţaĭt nícada* 'I never have enough time'); *firtál* (< Croat. *frtalj* < Germ. *Viertel* 'quarter'; *firtál dă ciréşe* 'a quarter kilo of cherries'), but *pol kilă* 'half a kilo' (< Croat./Serb. *pola kile*); *músaĭ* (< Rum. *musai* < Germ. *muss sein* 'must'); *flec* (< Germ. *Fleck* 'stain'); *a ştrufít-o* (< Germ. *strafen* 'to punish') 'he punished her'.

In the Arĝelean vernacular, lexical borrowings are almost exclusively from Hungarian, e.g. *íşcola* (< Hung. *iskola* 'school'); *odátă umblát-o cî́rbɛ* 'turned around in a circle' (< Hung. *körbe* 'round'); *Da śe nu éşţ' cu kɛ́tvé búnă?* (< Hung. *ketv* mood, 'Why aren't you in a good mood?' Yula, Pécs). It has almost become the rule, even among older speakers, for a sentence to be made up of a patchwork of languages and structures brought together under the joint umbrella of the Munĉan or Arĝelean vernaculars: *Da tu ţîgăníu ĩ tolmaćéşţ'?* (Are you translating to him into Boyash?) or *Pă̆ste ĉínć pérţuŕ, tri firtále pă opt* (In five minutes it will be a quarter to eight).

5.8 Comparative grammar

5.8.1 Phonology

Accentuation

Word stress has not undergone any major changes in the Munĉan and Arĝelean vernaculars spoken in Hungary, with a few minor exceptions mostly concerning verbs in the imperative mood *făcéț* (Munĉ.) 'fáceți' (do!), present indicative (especially in third-conjugation verbs with the infinitive in [-e] as in *priśepéń* (we understand), *noĭ mirżéń* (Arĝ.) 'noi mérgem' (we go). Whereas in standard Romanian the accent usually falls on the first or second syllable, it moves to the second and third syllable respectively in the the two vernaculars.

Arĝelean	Munĉan	Standard Romanian	English
merżéń	*merżém*	mérgem	we go
priśepéń	*priśepém*	pricépem	we understand
mága	*mácar*	măcár	at least
făcéń	*făcém*	fácem	we do
rătund	*rătund*	rotúnd	round
cávε	*cávε*	cafeá	coffee
kiló	*kiló*	kilogram	kilogramme
ĉíniva, śiniva	*ĉíniva*	cinevá	somebody
ĉéva	*ĉéva*	cevá	something
oáreĉe, oáreśe	*oáreĉe*	oarecé	something

cînva	*cînva*	cândvá	sometimes
acoló	*acoló*	acólo	there
nikɛrɛ́	*nikɛrɛ́*	nicaiéri	nowhere

Vowels

The vowel system of the two vernaculars is very similar in the degree of openness or velarization of vowels. It should be noted that when comparing the two vowel systems, we could not always base our analysis on the same examples, as in many cases, the two vernaculars differ from a lexical point of view considerably. Where the same examples could not be documented in the two vernaculars, we relied on our corpus of texts.

Vowel	Phonetical phenomena	Arĝeleni	Munĉeni	Standard Romanian	English
[a]					
	[a] > [ă]	*dăzbrắc*	*dăzbrắc*	dezbrac	I undress
		vắś	(cf. *vaĉ*)	vaci	cows
		ắsmă	-	astmă	asthma
		bucurắt	-	bucurat	was happy
		lắcrămă	*lắcrămă*	lacrimă	tear
	[a] > [ɛ]	*pɛ́nă*	*pɛ́nă*	pană	feather
	[a] > [e]	*skep*	*skep*	scap	I escape

[ă]						
	[ă] > [a]	*țîgánś*	*țîgánĉ*	țigănci	Gypsy women
	[ă] > [e]	*ved*	*ved*	văd	I see
	[ă] > [î]	*pîmî́nt*	(cf. *pîmắnt*)	pământ	earth
		sîpádă	*zîpádă*	zăpadă	snow
		(cf. *rắdíc*)	*rîdíc*	ridic	I lift
		cîlcî́ĭ	*cîlcî́ĭ*	călcâi	heel
		gîínă	*gîínă*	găină	hen
		ĭacîtî̂	*ĭacîtî̂*	iacătă	there is
		cî̂	*cî̂*	că	that
		dácî̂	*dácî̂*	dacă	if
	[ă] > [i]	*kiméṣă*	*kiméṣă*	cămaşă	shirt
	[ă] > [u]	*surutá*	*surutá*	sărută	he kisses
		musóră	*musóră*	măsoară	measures
[e]						
	[e] > [a]	*(cf. ulóĭ)*	*ulái*	ulei	oil
	[e] > [ă]	*păréće*	*păréĉe*	pereche	pair

		dăpárće	(cf. *dupárće*)	departe	far away
		optzắś	*optzắĉ*	optzeci	eighty
		dă	*dă*	de	of
		vărígă	*vărígă*	verigă	ring
	[e] > [i]	*ĝinúṭ*	(cf. *ĝunúĉ*)	genunchi	knees
		śinúṣă	*ĉinúṣă*	cenuşă	ashes
		nópṭîl'ɪ	*nópṭîlɪ*	nopţile	nights
		péstɪ	*pístɪ*	peste	over
		sînẑil'e	*sînĝilɪ*	sângele	blood
		triĭ	*tri*	trei	three
		śíniva	*ĉínivá*	cineva	someone
		ligám	*ligám*	legăm	we bind
		nivástă	*nivástă*	nevastă	wife
		cî́ntic	*cî́ntic*	cântec	song

In the Munĉan vernacular we can observe a general tendency toward velarization of the final [-*e*] in plural nouns, articulated with the definite article -*le*:

		(cf. *fétil'e*)	*fétilɪ*	fetele	the girls

		(cf. *úl'îĉiľe*)	*socácurilɪ*	ulițele	the small streets
	[e] > [o]	*ulóĭ*	(cf. *uláĭ*)	ulei	oil
		povoşĉέ	(cf. *puvestέ*)	povestea	was telling
[i]					
	[i] > [î]	*subțîre, sîla, țînút, tînărέța, găsît, şî, țîgán, cuțît, sîtă, urzîcă, tînărέmε, dîncoló*	*subțîre, sîla, țînút, tînărέța, găsît, şî, țîgán, cuțît, sîtă, urzîcă, tînărέmε, dîncoló*	subțire, silă, ținut, tineret, găsit, şi, țigan, cuțit, sită, urzică, tineret, dincolo	thin, violence, hold, youth, found, and, Gypsy, knife, sieve, nettle, youth, beyond
		mînśunásă	*mînĉinósă*	mincinoasă	liar (F)
[î]					
		tînăr	*tînăr*	tânăr	young
	[îi] > [î]	*pîńe*	*pîne*	pâine	bread
		mîńe	*mîne*	mâine	tomorrow
	[î] > [ă]	*găşĉ*	(cf. *gîstɪ*)	gâşte	geese

[o]					
	[o] > [u]	*pu*tké*νε*	(cf. *pátkov, pătcóvă*)	potcoavă	horseshoe
		*pu*rńít	*pu*rnít	pornit	started
		s*ú*bă	s*ú*bă	sobă	stove
		*u*pátă	*lu*pátă	lopată	shovel
		n*u*róc	n*u*róc	noroc	luck
		c*u*láci	c*u*láci	colaci	cracknel
	[o] > [ă]	m*ă*rmĭ́nt	m*ă*rmĭ́nt	mormânt	tomb
[u]					
	[u]	hu*ş*ĉuńít	*u*stinít	ostenit	tired
		r*u*mĭ́n	r*u*mĭ́n	român	Romanian
	[u] > [ă]	mul*ţă*mé*ş*te	mul*ţă*mé*ş*te	mulţumeşte	he thanks
		(cf. *cuţĭ́t*)	c*ă*ţĭ́t	cuţit	knife
		zdr*ă*nśiná	zdr*ă*nĉiná	zdruncină	he/she shook
	[u] > [î]	(cf. *văzut*)	văzĭ́t	văzut	seen
		dĭ́pă	dĭ́pă	după	after

Diphthongs

A tendency toward diphthongization can be observed in the Munĉan vernacular, in contrast to the Arĝelean vernacular in which there is a strong tendency toward monophthongization.

Arĝelean	Munĉan	Standard Romanian	English
fer	*fer*	fier	iron
ro	*róu*	rău	bad
să lováscă	*să luveáscă*	să lovească	to hit
să îngrópe		să îngroape	to bury
	mă spáer	mă sperii	I am scared
	biseárică	biserică	church
	feátă	fată	girl
	ştiéţ	ştiţi	you know
	m-ói fălîi	mă voi făli	I will boast
In both vernaculars, the third person verb forms in the subjunctive are monophthongized:			
să márgă	*să mégă*	să meargă	to go
să párdă	*să pérdă*	să piardă	to lose
să cóće	*să cátă*	să caute	to search
să izbéscă	*să izbéscă*	să izbească	to hit
să să cócă	*să să cócă*	să se coacă	to bake

Velarized articulation of various diphthongs and monophthongs particular to different dialectal variations of today's Romanian is specific to both vernaculars in words such as *píńe* (Arĝ.)/*píńe* (Munĉ.) 'pâine' (bread), *míńe* (Arĝ.)/*míńe* (Munĉ.) 'mâine' (tomorrow). Other examples are as follows:

	Arĝelean	Munĉan	Stand. Romanian	English
[ai] > [ā]		*trāstă*	traistă	bag
[au]/[ua] > [ā]		*Dă úndɪ ţ-áĭ lāt ắştia?*	De unde ţi-ai luat pe aceştia?	Where did you take those from?
[au] > [ɔ]	This phenomenon is specific to the Arĝelean vernacular and in particular can be found in respect of verb endings in the past tense:			
	cîntɔ́		cîntau	they were singing
	ĵucɔ́		jucau	they were dancing
	but also in some nouns as in:			
	ɔr		aur	gold
[ău] > [u]	*íra o fátă pă cáŕɪ o c**u**tá*		era o fată pe care o căuta	there was a girl he was looking for
		*a b**ú**t*	a băut	he drank
		*b**u**túra nu-ĭ bună*	băutura nu-i bună	alcohol is not good
[ea] > [ɛ]	*lɛ́gănă*		leagănă	swings
	ǵɛ́ţă		gheaţă	ice

		génă	geană	eyelid
		ţévă	țeavă	pipe
		dɛl	deal	hill
		nu cutéză	nu cutează	does not dare
		négră	neagră	black
[ie]>[i], [e]/[ɛ]	*fer*	*fer*	fier	iron
	péle	*péle*	piele	skin
	zber	*zber*	zbier	I shout
	ćépt	*pépt*	piept	breast
	firăstắu		fierăstrău	saw
[ia] > [ɛ]/[a]	*ĉáptăn*	*péptăn*	piaptăn	comb
	ĉátră	*pétră*	piatră	stone
	améză		amiază	noon
		să férbă	să fiarbă	to boil
[oa] > [ɔ]	*pɔ́će*	*pɔ́te*	poate	can
		scɔ́će	scoate	takes out
		grɔ́pă	groapă	hole
		frumɔ́să	frumoasă	beautiful

In both vernaculars, there is a tendency toward diphthong reduction:

Arĝelean	Muncân	Stand. Romanian	English
śɔ́ră	*ĉɔ́ră*	cioară	crow

As for the series of nouns with the diphthong [wə], the Arĝelean vernacular keeps the diphthongs, while in the Muncân vernacular the medial -ŭ- is consonantized:

ɔ́ŭ̆ă	*ɔ́vă*	ouă	eggs
nɔ́ŭ̆ă	*nɔ́vă*	nouă	nine
vɔ́ŭ̆ă	*vɔ́vă*	vouă	you DAT
rɔ́ŭ̆ă	*rɔ́vă*	rouă	dew

Whereas in the Arĝelean vernacular the medial [-i-] is consonantized, it remains non-consonantized in the Muncân vernacular.

să plɔ́ve	*să plɔ́ie*	să plouă	to rain

Consonants

The most obvious phonological difference between the varieties of language researched, consists in the palatalization of consonants in the Arĝelean vernacular and the absence of this phenomenon in the Muncân one:

Arĝelean	Munĉan	Stand. Romanian	English
strong palatalization:	no/weak palatalization:		
fráĉe	*fráte*	frate	brother
ĉáptăn	***p****éptăn*	pieptăn	comb
uréĉe	*urέ**k****e*	ureche	ear
sprínşină dă óĉi	*sprînĉénă*	sprânceană	eyebrow
puĉέre	*put****é****rε*	putere	power
śinúşă	*ĉinúşă*	cenuşă	ash

Considerable inconsistencies can be observed in the use of the fricatives postalveolar/retroflex voiced [ź]/[ẑ], fricatives postalveolar voiceless [ś]/[ş], and the affricate postalveolar/palatal voiceless [ć]/[ĉ], allophones which can vary within the language as used by individual speakers. The two vernaculars will be analyzed separately as follows:

The Munĉan vernacular
The palatal/postpalatal plosives [k], [g] become alveolar plosive/dental [t], [ď] when followed by central vowels [e] [i]. The palatalization can vary from one speaker to another.

Munĉan	Stand. Romanian	English
*cum tă **t**ámă*	cum te chiamă	what is your name
*eu tă **t**ăm*	eu te chem	I call you

*únde me**d'***	unde mergi	where are you going
el mέd'e la lúcru	el merge la lucru	he is going to work

The voiceless bilabial plosive [p]:

pɪ́ntru	pentru	for
pă	pe	on
pέptăn	piaptăn	comb
lopắṭ (PL)	lopeți	shovels
spărέt	speriat	scared

The voiced bilabial plosive [b]:

izbắsc	lovesc	I hit
bat	beat	drunk

The nasal bilabial plosive [m]:

amέză	amiază	noon
m-a dat	mi-a dat	gave me
mércur	miercuri	Wednesday
mel	miel	lamb

The voiceless labiodental fricative [f]:

ferb	fierb	I boil
fer	fier	iron

The voiced labiodental fricative [v]:

ver	vier	boar
vérme	vierme	worm

The dental nasal plosive [n]:

ínîmă	burtă [sic]	belly
năcáz	necaz	trouble
dimináţă	dimineaţă	morning

The voiced dental plosive [d]:

dîn	din	from
dîncoló	dincolo	the other side

The voiceless dental plosive [t]:

tă duc	te duc	I take you

The lateral liquid [l]:

ciládă	familie, neam	family, kin
lítără	litru	litre

The vibrant liquid lateral [r]:

să izbiráscă	să aleagă	to choose
ráĭe (F)	rea	bad

The voiceless dental fricative [s]:

púne sam	bagă de seamă	take care
sára	seara	evening
să sfătáscă	să vorbească	to speak

The voiceless postalveolar fricative [ʃ]:

şî	şi	and

şîdέ	şedea	was sitting
prişepeşĉe	se pricepe	knows

The voiced [ẑ] and voiceless [ş] fricative postalveolar:

ẑîvótu	trai	life
înş	persoane	persons
kiméşîlı	cămăşile	the shirts

The voiceless affricate [ţ]:

ţîgănív	munteneşte	Munĉan language
cuţît́	cuţit	knife
ţíp̋ă	ţipă	shouts

However, the phenomenon described above is a mere tendency, as there are still a number of examples in which the consonants are palatalized:

léńav	leneş	lazy
uńávă	băţ	thin rod used in basket weaving

In the Munĉan vernacular, we recorded a series of consonant groups [mrc] that do not exist in standard Romanian and which can be attributed to the influence of Croatian/Serbian: *mrcve* (<Croat./Serb. *mrkve* 'morcovi' (carrots). The Munĉan vernacular has furthermore preserved consonantal particularities such as the labiodental [v] in examples such as:

scriv	scriu	I write
ştiv	ştiu	I know
stav	stau	I stay
nov/nόvă	nou/nouă	new
căţávă/căţáve	căţea/căţele	bitch/bitches
măsávă	măsea	tooth
zίvă	ziuă	day
răkívă	rachiu	brandy
grev	greu	heavy
amîndόvă	amîndouă	both

The Arĝelean vernacular

In the Arĝelean vernacular the voiceless [ʧ] and voiced [ʤ] postalveolar affricates become the voiceless and voiced fricatives postalveolar/retroflex [ś]/[ş], [ź]/[ẑ]:

Arĝelean	Stand. Romanian	English
śe faś?	ce faci?	how are you?

húnďe merẑ?	unde mergi?	where are you going?
noĭ mirẑéń	noi mergem	we are going
tátă dă crúśe	tată adoptiv	adoptive father
śinúşă	cenuşă	ashes
taś!	taci!	shut up! (2.IMP)

The dental nasal plosive [n] + [e], [i] > [ń]:

mî́ńe	mâine	tomorrow
chişińó	maramă	headscarf
tri aĭ dă lúńe	trei ani	three years
huşĉiuńít	ostenit	tired
telefońizǎsc	telefonez, sun	phone (1.SG)
ńivastă	nevastă	wife
púńɛ uréĉe	asculta	listen (2.IMP)
ćémńiţă	închisoare	prison

The voiced dental plosives: [d] + [e], [i] > [ď] and [ĝ]:

húnďe	unde	where
ď'irépt	drept	right

gînd'éşťe	gândeşte	thinks
d'iréd'e	drege	fixes
únd'iță	undiță	fishing rod
ǵínț	dinți	teeth
ǵimińáță	dimineață	morning

The voiceless dental plosive: [t] + [e], [i] > [ť] or [ć]/[ĉ]:

la cíťe dóbe	la ce oră	at what time
féćiĭe	fetele	the girls
unguréşĉe	ungureşte	Hungarian
báće	bate	beats
fráće	frate	brother
n-aĭ ćém	nu-ți fie teamă	don't be afraid

The lateral liquid: [l] + [e], [i] > [ľ]/[l']:

cul''íbă	colibă	hut
fúrcă dă l'emn	furcă de lemn	wood fork
móľ'e	moale	soft
óľ'e (PL)	oale	pots

l'igá	lega	tie

Extreme cases of palatalization can also be noticed in the following examples:

ĭếĭe (F)	ele	they
ĭếmńe	lemne	wood
l'íngură/íngură	lingură	spoon
pếĭe	piele	skin
zíĭe	zile	days
númiĭe	numele	the name

The vibrant lateral liquid [r] followed by [e] and [ie] is slightly palatalized:

Mɔ́ŕie	Maria	Maria
ro máŕe pắŕe	i-a părut foarte rău	she was very sorry

The velar plosives [c] and [g] followed by the central vowels [ă] and [î] become the palatal plosives [ḱ] and [ĝ], a phenomenon supposedly caused by the difficulty of bilingual Hungarian speakers to pronounce the groups [că], [gă], [cî], [gî] (MARIN 2005: LXIII):

ḱit	cît	how much
ḱimɛ́şă	cămaşă	shirt

The palatal plosive [ɟ] and the lateral liquid [l] followed by [e] and [i] are palatalized like in the examples:

ď'áţă	gheaţă	ice
înď'iţắm (IPFV.1.SG)	înghiţeam	swallowed

The palatal plosive [ḱ] followed by [e], [i] becomes the voiceless postalveolar affricate [ĉ]:

oĉéri	ochelari	glasses
cum ĉi ĉámă?	cum te chiamă?	what's your name?
uréĉi	urechi	ears
lápĉe	lapte	milk
ĉéĭe	cheie	key
ĉińit	chinuit	tormented

The prepalatal [ĝ] [ĉ] [ş] become [ź], [ś]/[ş]:

mirźéń în város	mergem în oraş	we're going to the city
śas	ceas	clock

The voiceless bilabial plosive [p] followed by [e], [i] > [ĉ]:

ĉáptăn	pieptăn	comb

| *ĉept* | piept | chest |

The nasal bilabial plosive [m] followed by [i] and [e] > [mń]:

mńez	miez	kernel
mńo	meu	my
amńáză	amiază	noon

Although Arĝelean vernacular speakers tend toward palatalization, we can still find cases of depalatalization:

zbáră	zbiară	yells
m-adúc în fírɛ	îmi aduc de aminte	I remember
pέle	piele	skin
car	care	which
să márgă	să meargă	to go
m-o dat	mi-a dat	gave me

The explanation for these occurrences must probably be sought in the contacts that took place between the two vernaculars on Romanian territory.

Phonological innovations and "accidents"

Apheresis: initial [a-]: *iśi* (Arĝ.) 'aici' (here)*, să scúnde dă el* (Munĉ.) 'se ascunde de el' (hides from him), *am vut* (Munĉ.) 'am avut' (I had), *ĉe aĭ ẑuns* (Munĉ.) 'ce-ai ajuns' (what have you become), *nu méďe să lérgă* (Munĉ.) 'nu merge să alerge' (cannot run) (Munĉ.), *ẑut* (Arĝ.) 'ajut' (I help), *pucat* (Arĝ.) 'apucat' (grabbed), *rắt* (Arĝ.) 'arăt' (I show), *stúpă* (Arĝ. & Munĉ.) 'astupă' (fills).

   initial [i-]: *să zbéscă* (Munĉ.) 'să izbească' (to hit),

   initial [o-]: *îl mɔ́ră* (Arĝ.) 'îl omoară' (kills him),

   initial [în-] *nánće* (Arĝ.) 'înainte' (ahead),

   initial [îm-] *brăcátă* (Arĝ.) 'îmbrăcată' (dressed),

   initial [z-]: *vîrlím* (Munĉ.) 'zvârlim' (we throw).

Archaisms: examples of words that keep the epithetic *-u* in a non-articulated position: *báĭu* (Arĝ.) 'bai' (trouble), *ómu* (Munĉ.) 'om' (man)*, pămî́ntu* (Munĉ.) 'pământ' (earth).

Anticipation: *óic – óik'* *'ochi'* (eye), *roik'* 'rochii' (dresses), *mă spáer* 'mă sperii' (I get scared) (Munĉ.).

Apocope: appears as a simplification process in economical speech in both vernaculars: *mága* (Arĝ.) (+ voiced medial *-c-*) 'măcar' (at least), *ucéle* (Arĝ.) 'ochelari' (glasses), *rắpe* (Arĝ.)/*répe* (Munĉ.) 'repede' (quickly), *mijɔ́e* (Arĝ.) 'mijlocie, fată mijlocie' (middle daughter), *atú* (Arĝ.) 'atunci' (then), *acá* (Munĉ.) 'acasă' (at home), *incɔ́* (Munĉ.) 'încoace' (hither).

Assimilation: *ẑéẑit* (Munĉ.) 'deget' (finger), *śέśɛră* (Arĝ.) 'seceră' (sickle), *mumíca* (Arĝ.)/*mimíc* (Munĉ.) 'nimic' (nothing).

Contraction: *pî́nśe* 'pînă ce' (until), *întásta* 'într-u aceasta' (in this), *kinέlă* 'chinuială' (torment), *áma* 'acuma' (now) (Arĝ. & Munĉ.).

Dissimilation: *slóbon* (Munĉ.) 'slóbod' (free), *línge* (Munĉ.) 'nínge' (it snows).

Elision: initial [-au]: *am zît* (Munĉ.) 'am auzit' (I heard);

medial [-n-]: *ĝenúke* (Munĉ.) 'genunche' (knee), *zdrăvăneşte* (Munĉ.) (recovers after illness),

medial [-l-]: *míẑucu* (middle).

Elision + epenthesis: *dimizắu* (Arĝ.) 'dumnezeu' (God).

Epenthesis: *ďirépt* (Arĝ.) 'drepť (right), *hîrîméşťi* (Arĝ.) 'hrăneşti' (you feed).

Iotacization: the phenomenon of altering the consonants *t, n* is specific to the Arĝelean vernacular in the verbs *spun* (say), *simt* (feel)*: ápo da d-áĭa-ț spuĭ ĭo* 'apoi de aceea îţi spun' (thaťs precisely why I'm telling you)*; ĭo sîmţ că íśi béne n-a vi* 'eu simt că aici nu va fi bine' (I feel that it won't be good here). In the Munĉan vernacular we can observe the addition of the consonant -*n* to the second person singular of the verbs: *spúni* 'tu spui' (you say), *víni* 'vii' (you come).

Lambdacism: *lúntă* (Munĉ.) 'nuntă' (wedding)*, laínte* (Munĉ.) 'înainte' (forward)

Metathesis: *grad*/*gắrdină* (Munĉ.)/gard (Arĝ.) 'grădină' (garden), *fîrléstă* (Munĉ.) 'fereastră' (window), *clipĭóră* (Arĝ.) 'căprioară' (deer), *ímînă* (Munĉ.) 'inimă' (heart), *bătîŕn* (Arĝ. & Munĉ.) 'bătrîn' (old), *crúscă* (Arĝ.) 'cuscră' (mother of son/daughter-in-law), *purómb* (Arĝ.) 'porumb' (maize).

Homonymy: The ellipsis of initial, medial or final sounds or the replacement of sounds with other sounds creates homonyms, the meaning of which becomes clear from the context: *lume* (Munĉ.) 'lume, nume' (world, name), *pār* (Arĝ. & Munĉ.) 'par, pahar' (pole, glass), *sat* 'oră, sať (hour, village) (Munĉ.), *plóie* (rain noun + verb). This homonymy, in combination with the other phonetic "accidents", is attributed by Cᴀʟᴏᴛᴀ̆ (1995: 27) to the uncertainty experienced when learning a new language, an uncertainty that indirectly points to the Romani language that the Rudari and the Boyash have lost for ever on the territory of present-day Romania. However, today this uncertainty is a stronger indication of a process of gradual language shift.

Prothesis: initial [a-]: a phenomenon specific to Transylvania, the Banat, Oltenia and the northern half of Moldova (Marin 2005: XLIX): *asťéŕźe* (Munĉ.) 'şterge' (he/she

wipes), *aĭér* (Munĉ.) 'ieri' (yesterday), *acáră* (Arĝ.) 'cară' (carries)

initial [f-]: *frîşnesc* (Munĉ.) 'râşnesc' (I crush)

initial [h-] predominant in the Arĝelean vernacular: *húnďe* 'unde' (where)*, hàĭláltă* 'ailaltă' (the other one)

Rhotacism: *prăsné* (Munĉ.) 'plesneá' (was snapping), *urciór* (Munĉ.) 'ulciór' (jar), urtár (Arĝ.) 'altar' (altar), *glăbíń* 'grăbim' (we hurry) (Arĝ.).

Suffix changes: *minśiuńéşĉe* (Arĝ.) 'minte' (tells lies), *vrắbure* (Arĝ.) 'vrabie' (sparrow), *şăpî́rcă* (Munĉ.) 'şopîrlă' (lizard).

Voicing and devoicing:

voicing: the voiceless labiodental [f] remains voiced in the Munĉan vernacular: *prav* (Munĉ.)/*prɔ́u* (Arĝ.) 'praf' (dust), *svînt* (Munĉ.) 'sfânt' (holy), *ruvă* (Munĉ.) 'rufă' (linen);

devoicing: more particular to the Arĝelean vernacular: *dăsbrắc* (Arĝ.) 'dezbrac' (I undress), *săpádă* (Arĝ.) 'zăpadă' (snow).

Other: there are also innovations not associated with any of the phenomena described above: *gíźă dă nucă* (Munĉ.) 'coajă de nucă' (nutshell), *mîrtánu* (Arĝ.). 'motanu' (tomcat), *cîncắrig* (Arĝ.) 'cîrlig' (hook), *mumúĭca* (Munĉ.) 'maimuţă' (monkey), *bălmăzắśťe* (Arĝ.) 'învălmăşeşte' (jumbles), *t-a dirít* (Arĝ.) 'te-a durut' (it hurt you).

5.8.2 Morphosyntax

Nouns

Gender

Arĝelean	Munĉan	Romanian	English
In both vernaculars there is a tendency to replace the ending of the masculine (M) in the plural *-i*, with that of the neuter (N) *-uri*			
un brad – doǐ bráduŕ, braẑ	*un brad – doǐ bráẑ*	brad – brazi	fir – firs
un fátă – dɔ́ă fátă	*o vórbă – doǐ vórbe*	fată – fete vorbă - vorbe	girl – girls word - words
un domn – doǐ/dɔ́ă dómnuŕ	*un domn – doǐ/dɔ́vă dómnuŕ* 'man'	domn – domni	man – men

Due to the influence of Hungarian, in which neither grammatical gender nor natural gender are expressed morphologically, there is some uncertainty in the use of noun gender and of agreement with the numeral that precedes the noun. The neuter gender predominates both in words borrowed from Hungarian and Croatian/ Serbian respectively, and in the two vernaculars' own production of words.

Arĝelean	Munĉan	Stand. Romanian	English
un urság – dóă urságuŕ	*un urság – dovă urságuŕ*	țară	country

			fată	girl
un fátă – dóă fátă			fată	girl
un sáră – dóă săŕ			seară	evening
a trílea zî			a treia zi	the third day
un dɔ́mb – *dóă dɔ́mbuŕ*			dâmb	hill
	un bic – dɔ vă bîĉ		bou	ox
	o vórbă – doĭ vórbe		vorbă	word
	o gîínă – doi gîíń		găină	hen
	un udvár – *dová udváruŕ*		curte	courtyard

When the noun is accompanied by a cardinal numeral, most speakers of the Arĝelean vernacular have a tendency to keep the noun in the singular, an obvious influence of Hungarian: *doĭ vórbă am maĭ* 'mai am două vorbe' (I've got two more words to say).

Plural formation

Nouns ending in a consonant form the plural by adding the ending *-i*. There is a tendency to change the masculine gender to neuter, especially in the Arĝelean vernacular, or to use both forms, masculine and neuter. Differences between the two vernaculars also exist in the alteration of the final vowel in the Arĝelean vernacular.

Arĝelean	Munĉan	Standard Romanian	English
brad – bráduŕ, braẑ	*brad – bráduŕ*	brad – brazi	fir
domn – dómnuŕ	*domn – dómnuŕ*	domn – domni	sir
mînz – mî́nzuŕ	*mînz – mî́nzuŕ*	mânz – mânji	foal
fer – féruŕ	*fiár – fiárurile*	fier – fiare	iron
sat – sátuŕ	*sat – sate*	sat – sate	village
urság – urságuŕ	*ursác – ursáće*	țară – țări	country
maţ – máţuŕ	*maţ – máţă*	maț – mațe	gut
scɔn – scónuŕ	*klup – klúpuŕ*	scaun – scaune	chair
ľɛmn – ľɛ́mńe	*lemn – lɛ́mne*	lemn – lemne	wood
búbă – búbi	*búbă – búbe*	bubă – bube	swelling
gíscă – gí�̂	*gíscă – gí̂ẑĉ*	gâscă – gâște	goose

The other nouns behave as follows:

- Nouns ending in the vowel *-e*

șárpe – șǎrp´	*șárpe – șǎrp´*	șarpe – șerpi	snake
ĝinĉe – ĝinţ	*dínte – dinţ*	dinte – dinți	tooth
cáľe – cǎi	*cale – cǎli*	cale – căi	way
piśór – pișóruŕ	*piĉôr – piĉôre*	picior – picioare	leg

- Nouns ending in the vowel -*ă* in the Arĝelean vernacular form the plural with either -*i* or a consonant*: másă – măş* (tables), *cɔ́să – coş* (scythes)*, sfɔ́ră – sfóŕɪIɪ* (strings)*, cîmáş̌ă – kiméş* (shirts)*, muscă – muşĉi* (flies), unlike the Munĉan vernacular, which forms the plural with -*e, -i* and -*ă*: *múscă – múşte* (flies) etc.

áţă – aţ	áţă – áţe	aţă – aţe	thread
cɔ́dă – cɔ́ź	cɔ́dă – cɔ́dɛ	coadă – cozi	tail
rúdă – ruz	rúdă – rúde	rudă – rude	stick
sóră – sóŕ	sóră – suróŕ	soră – surori	sister
masă – măş	másă – mɛ́́să	masă – mese	table

- Nouns ending in the vowel -*i* form the plural with -*e* in both vernaculars: *cúǐ – cúǐe* (nails) (Arĝ. & Munĉ.), *cîlcî́ǐ – cîlcî́ǐe* (Arĝ.)/*cîlcî́ǐ – călcî́ǐe* (Munĉ.) (heels) etc.

In the Arĝelean vernacular, the singular and the plural form respectively of nouns ending in a consonant are identical: *un d'inţ – doǐ d'inţ* (tooth – teeth).

Case
Compared to standard Romanian, the declension system is reduced morphologically. In the two vernaculars, the pairs nominative-accusative, dative-genitive, and the vocative are marked morphologically and morphosyntactically very similarly.

Case	Arĝelean	Munĉan
	The pairs NOM/ACC, GEN/DAT are morphosyntactically formed in the same way as in standard Romanian. The accusative is expressed in combination with the prepositions: *pă, la, în, dîn, cu,* etc.	
Nom./ Acc.	*D-aĭ, cîn lăcătárì zíśe pă noĭ că noĭ nu ńi-s țîgań, zíśe că noĭ ńis rumîń, lăcătárì zíśe pă noĭ că noĭ ńis, di śe nu mirźéń acásă, îṇ Rumîńíe* (That's why, when the Lacatari say that we are not Gypsy, they say that we are Romanian and ask us why we don't go home to Romania) (Anna Orsós, 2010_09_24).	*Îl cunóś pă Şándor? Nu cunóś tu pă Şándor?* (Do you know Şandor? Don't you know Şandor yet?) (Persa, Alsószentmárton, 2013_01_14).
	Clitic doubling in the accusative no longer seems to be used in the two vernaculars. The accusative is also used for objects that in standard Romanian are in the dative or genitive.	
	Zíśe ĭɛ pă mine 'îmi spune' (tells me), *zîc io pă iɛ* 'îi spun' (I tell her) (János, Gilvánfa, 2011_06_08).	*Nu dúce nimílea pă tine în tîrg* 'Nimeni nu te duce în oraş' (Nobody takes you to the city) (Pera, Alsószentmárton).

Gen./ Dat.	The phenomenon of clitic doubling in the dative is typical of both vernaculars formed with the help of the preposed *lu* 'lui' and *a lu* 'a lui' (to him) and postposed *-i* (SG.F.), *-lui* (SG.M.), *-lor* (PL.M./F.) genitive article. Syntactically, the possessor precedes the possessed object, a phenomenon which can also be observed in standard Romanian in marked styles (e.g. poetry). If generalized, this phenomenon, which is also very productive in the formation of compound nouns, could also have appeared under the influence of the Hungarian language.	
	Sî lu úngurìlor maĭ vóĭe i dă băĭáș dăcî́t dă lăcătári lăcătári 'Și ungurii agreează mai mult pe băieși decât pe lăcătari' (The Hungarians like the Boyash more than the Roma) (Gyöngyi, Pécs, 2010_09_23). *A lu țîgánśì cupíl* 'copilul țigăncii' (The Gypsy woman's child) (Joli, Gilvánfa, 2011_06_08).	*Li drag a lu mulț dă el* 'el place multora' (many people like him) (Persa, Alsószentmárton, 2011_06_05). *A lu búsului cásă* lit. 'casa autobuzului' (bus station) (Pera, Alsószentmárton, 2011_06_04). *A lu iɛ moș a murít*. 'bunicul ei a murit' (Her grandfather has died) (Jasminka, Alsószentmárton, 2011_06_05).
	The genitive is often used to express an object or a person in the dative case. However, there are also dative forms.	

	Lu ca irá máre 'cărora le era mare' (to whom it was large) (Monika, Gilvánfa, 2011_07_08).	*Să-i ďɛ sínźe cupíluluĭ* 'să-i dea sînge copilului' (To give blood to the child) (Persa, Alsószentmárton, 2011_06_05).
	In fairy tales and songs the genitival construction is preserved in the Arĝelean vernacular as in standard Romanian.	
	Pîn-atúnș n-o méźe-acásă pî́nșe n-o aflá gázda țîpiľíguluĭ 'Pînă atunci nu va merge acasă, pînă ce nu va găsi posesoarea pantofului' (Will not go home before finding the owner of the shoes) János Orsós (2011_03_24).	
Voc.	Like in standard Romanian, the vocative is not morphologically marked in most of the registered examples, being identical with the nominative. However, there are examples of the vocative in -*o* for the feminine and in -*e* for the masculine in text styles that preserved more archaic forms (e.g. songs, fairy tales).	

cupílu! *fátă! pǎpúşǎ!* *țîgáncă!* *frățîlor!* *féćilor!* *mùnćeşȋțo!* *munćáşe!*	*copílùle!* 'copilule!' (child) *fáto! păpúşo!* 'fato păpuşo!' (woman, doll) *frățîlor!* 'fraților!' (brothers) *fétilor!* 'fetelor!' (girls) *țîgánco!* 'femeie!' (woman/wife) *țîgáne!* 'bărbate!' (man/husband)

Pronouns

The personal pronoun

Both in the Arĝelean vernacular and in the Munĉan vernacular there is a double use of the personal pronoun, as in *m-am sparétu-mǎ* (Munĉ.) 'm-am speriat' (I got scared); *m-am spǎlátu-mǎ* (Munĉ.) 'm-am spălat' (I washed myself), *l-a adúsu-lǎ* (Arĝ.) 'l-a adus' (he/she brought him). In the Arĝelean vernacular, the archaic forms of possessives have been preserved, whereas in the Munĉan vernacular they have been replaced by the personal pronouns in the oblique case. The forms of the personal pronoun have been well-preserved with a rich declension in the nominative, accusative, genitive/dative in both vernaculars with the corresponding phonetic peculiarities. Furthermore, there is a tendency among speakers, especially in the Munĉan vernacular, to overlap the dative with the genitive by using the so-called "possessive-genitive" article "al" used in the formation of the genitive, followed by the declined pronominal forms e.g. *mie* in the dative.

Arĝelean	Munĉan	Standard Romanian	English
a mńo	*a míe*	al meu	mine
a țóu	*a țíe*	al tău	yours
a luĭ/a ľíe	*a lui/a ĭe/ĭeĭ*	a lui/a ei	his/hers
a nóstră	*a nóă/nóvă*	a noastră	our
a vóstră	*a vóă/vóvă*	a voastră	your
a lor	*a lor*	a lor	their

The demonstrative pronoun

There are differences in the declension of the proximal and distal demonstrative pronouns and the demonstrative pronouns of identity and differentiation in the two vernaculars.

Arĝelean	Munĉan	Stand. Romanian	English
The proximal demonstrative pronoun			
ahắsta	*hắsta*	acesta	this (NOM/ACC.M.SG)
lu ahắsta	*lu hắsta*	acestuia	to/of this man (GEN/DAT.M.SG)
ahéstìe	*éstìe*	aceştia	these people (NOM/ACC.M.PL)
lu ahéstìe	*lu héstìe*	acestora	to/of these people (GEN/DAT.M.PL)

ahásta	*ásta*	aceasta	this woman (NOM./ACC.F.SG)
lu ahásta	*lu ásta*	acestei	to/of this woman (GEN/DAT.F.SG)
ahɛ́stìe	*ɛ́stìe*	acestea	these women (NOM/ACC.F.PL)
lu ahɛ́stìe	*lu ɛ́stìe*	acestora	to/of these women (GEN/DAT.F.PL)
The distal demonstrative pronoun			
ahǎla	*ála*	acela	that man (NOM/ACC.M.SG)
lu ahǎl	*lu ála*	aceluia	to/of that man (GEN/DAT.M.SG)
ahɛ́ĭe	*hɛ́ĭe*	aceia	those men (NOM/ACC.M.PL)
lu áhɛ́ĭe	*lu hɛ́ĭe*	acelora	to/of those men (GEN/DAT.M.PL)
aháĭe	*áĭe*	aceea	that woman (NOM/ACC.F.SG)
lu aháĭe	*lu áĭe*	acelei	to/of that woman (GEN/DAT.F.SG)
ahɛ́ĭe	*ɛ́ĭe*	acele	those women (NOM/ACC.F.PL)

lu ahɛ̆ĭe	lu ɛ́ĭe	acelora	to/of those women (GEN/DAT.F.PL)

The demonstrative pronoun of identity is expressed in the Arĝelean vernacular by a paraphrase made up of the prepositional phrase *a fel* (the same) followed by the preoposition *dă* (de) and the verb *a fi* (to be) in the present indicative. In the Munĉan vernacular, the demonstrative pronoun of identity is formed from the prefix *ístum-* (> Croat. *isto* 'the same') which precedes the demonstrative pronouns of identity. The demonstrative pronoun of differentiation is formed in the Arĝelean vernacular by adding a prothetic *h-*. *ahă̆la/áhɛ̆ĭe*

Arĝelean	Munĉan	Stand. Romanian	English
The demonstrative pronoun of identity			
---	*ístumă̆la*	acelaşi	the same (NOM/ACC.M.SG)
a fel dă-ĭ (a)	*ístumáĭa*	aceeaşi	the same (NOM/ACC.F.SG)
a fel dă-s	*ìstumă̆ĭaş*	aceeaşi	the same (NOM/ACC.M.PL)
---	*ìstumă̆luĭaş*	aceluiaş	to the same (GEN/DAT.M.SG)
---	*ìstumă̆lă̆ĭaş*	aceleeaşi	to the same (GEN/DAT.F.SG)

---	*ìstumắlora*	aceloraş	to the same (GEN/DAT.F/M.PL)
The demonstrative pronoun of difference			
hằlalánt	*ằlalált*	celălalt	the other (NOM/ACC.M.SG)
hàĭalántă/ hàlalántă	*ằláltă*	cealaltă	the other (NOM/ACC.F.SG)
hèĭlánţ	*ằĭalálţ*	ceilalţi	the others (NOM/ACC.M.PL)
hèĭelánťe	*ằĭalálťe*	celelalte	to the other (GEN/DAT.F.PL)
hằĭunlánt	*ằluĭlált*	celuilalt	to the other (GEN/DAT.M.SG)
hèĭalánće	*álĭlálťe*	celeialte	to the other (GEN/DAT.F.SG)

No forms in DAT.PL.M/PL.F were registered.

Relative pronouns

Relative pronouns are expressed in the Arĝelean vernacular by means of the preposition *pe* and/or the relative pronoun *şe* (< Rom. Ard. variety form *şe* = ce in Standard Rom.): *Dácă ĭɛ-ĭ áĭa pă şe ĭo cot...* 'Dacă ea este cea pe care o caut...' (If she's the one I'm looking for) (János, Gilvánfa). In the Munĉan vernacular, we recorded the relative pronoun *care* (which): *Áĭa fátă-ĭ búnă care lucrɔ́ĭe îĭ* 'Acea fată e bună care-i harnică' (The hardworking girl is the good one) (Persa, Alsószentmárton).

The indefinite pronoun

The indefinite pronoun is formed in different ways in the two dialects. The Muncân vernacular expresses the indefinite pronoun with the particle *góď, góďe* (< Croat./ Serb. *god* 'ori' – any): *ce góďe fáce* 'orice ar face' (anything he/she does), *unde góďe-a méďe, mimíka nu áflă* 'oriunde ar merge, nu găseşte nimic' (anywhere he goes, he finds nothing) (Jasminka, Alsósz-entmárton). In contrast, the Arĝelean vernacular forms the indefinite pronoun with the particle *áca* (< Mag. *akár* 'ori' – any): *áca ś-or zíśe, noĭ băĭáş, nu lăcătári isťém* (Pécs) 'orice ar spune, noi suntem băieşi şi nu lăcătari' (whatever they say, we are Boyash, not Lacatari); *nu mi-s ĭo áca śe băĭáş* 'eu nu sunt orice fel de băiaş' (I'm not just any kind of Boyash) (Janós, Gilvánfa).

Adjectives

The Muncêni and Arĝeleni speakers' inconsequent use regarding the agreement between the noun gender and number and the adjective or participle is also attributed to the influence of the Hungarian language (which lacks grammatical gender): *Śiréśîle au fost mîncáţ dă cupíi* 'cireşele auf fost mâncate de către copii' (The cherries have been eaten by the children) (Munĉ.)*; dóŭă fátă, doĭ fişór* 'două fete, doĭ feciori' (two girls, two boys) (Arĝ.), *are ļ'émńe dă-ĭ máŕ* 'are lemne din acelea mari' (he has big wood) (Arĝ.)*, sîráş om or fost*, 'au fost oameni săraci' (They were very poor people) (Arĝ.).

As for degrees of comparison, the Muncân vernacular uses as comparative particles the adverb *máĭ* (more) and the prepositions *ca* (like) and *dă* 'de' (than), while the Arĝelean vernacular uses the adverb *máĭ* and the adverbial phrase *dăcínd* 'decât' (than) (Arĝ.). In both vernaculars, the pronoun as a compared element is in the nominative: *Ĭo máĭ míndră mis ca tu* 'Eu sunt mai frumoasă decît tine' (I am more beautiful than you).

Degrees of comparison

Arĝelean	Muncân	Standard Romanian	English
The comparative of equality			
Ánna aşá mîndră iĭ ca Édit.	*Ánna aşá-ĭ mîndră dă Édit.*	Ana e la fel de frumoasă ca Edit.	Anna is as beautiful as Edith.
The comparative of inferiority			
Ánna maĭ puţîn mîndră iĭ ca Édit.	*Ánna maĭ slábă-ĭ mîndră dă Édit.*	Ana e mai puţin frumoasă ca Edith.	Anna is less beautiful than Edith.
Nu aşá mîndră iĭ Ánna dăcînd Édit.	*Ánna nu-ĭ aşá mîndră ca/dă Édit.*	Ana nu-i la fel de frumoasă ca Edit.	Anna is not as beautiful as Edith.
The comparative of superiority			
Ánna măĭ mîndră-ĭ dăcînd Édit.	*Ánna măĭ mîndră-ĭ dă Édit.*	Ana e mai frumoasă decât Edit.	Anna is more beautiful than Edith.
Superlative			
Ánna şî măi mîndră-ĭ	*Ánna măĭ mîndră-ĭ*	Ana e cea mai frumoasă.	Anna is the most beautiful.
---	*Ĭo şî măĭ t-am plăcút.*	Eu te-am plăcut şi mai mult.	I liked you even more.

As shown in the examples above, apart from the employment of different comparative adverbs, there are no great differences between the two vernaculars in all the degrees of comparison. The superlative is formed by accentuating the adverb *măĭ*. From a syntactic point of view, the verb often occupies the last position in the comparative phrases, especially in the superlative *Anna măĭ mîndră-ĭ* 'Anna este cea mai frumoasă' (Anna is the most beautiful).

Adjectives denominating glottonyms are composed as follows: the noun *language* + prep. *dă*+ ethnonym: *îmbă dă băĭáş/dă rumîn, dă franţúz* 'limbă de băiaş/român/franţuz' (language of the Boyash/Romanian/French) (Arĝ. & Munĉ.), but

for their own language, the adjectives *ţîgăńéşťe* (Arĝ.) and *ţîgănív/ţîgăníu* (Munĉ.) are used. Similarly, *casă dă némţ* (German house) (Munĉ.)/*dă ungur* (Hungarian house) (Arĝ.). Moreover, there is an uncertainty in the use of adjective suffixes: *mustucós, mustắcos, mustăţós* (mustachioed) (Munĉ.).

Among adjectival innovations, most of which are borrowed from Hungarian (the Arĝelean vernacular) or Croatian (the Munĉan vernacular), and many of which are derived from nouns, we would like to mention: *ţúcroş* 'diabetic' (diabetic) (Arĝ.), *lucróĭ, munĉôs* (Munĉ.)/*lucrutós* (Arĝ.) 'harnic' (hardworking), *limbós* (Munĉ.) 'vorbăreţ' (talkative).

Numerals

Although morphologically preserved in the two vernaculars, an uncertainty in using numerals has been observed. Hungarian forms in Arĝelean and the Croatian/Serbian forms in Munĉan concur with the preserved Romanian forms. Most of the Arĝelean interlocutors count and calculate in Hungarian. For the ordinal number "first", the Arĝeleni use *élşe* from

Hungarian *első*, the Munĉeni *prîvu* from Croatian/Serbian *prvi* (first). The possessive-genitive article *a* is usually not inflected. Neither the Munĉeni, nor the Arĝeleni use the Romanian word *mie* (thousand), but *o ⁱézɛră* (> Mag. *ezer* 'thousand'). There is a growing tendency to replace the ordinal numerals with the cardinal numerals.

Arĝelean	Munĉan	Stand. Romanian	English
The ordinals			
élşe cupíl/únu cúpil	*prívu cupíl*	primul copil	first child
a dɔ́ălɛ cupíl	*a dɔ́vălɛ cupíl*	al doilea copil	second child
a tríĺɛ cupíl	*a tríĺɛ cupíl*	al treilea copil	third child
a tríĭe zî, *a pátríĭe zî,* *a śínśĭe zî*	*a tríĺɛ zî,* *a pátríĺɛ zi* *a ĉínĉilɛ*	a treia zi, a patra zi, a cincea zi	the third day, the forth day, the fifth day

Fractional numerals are mostly borrowed from Hungarian and Croatian, respectively:

Arĝelean	Munĉan	Stand. Romanian	English
néged	*firtál*	sfert	Quarter
font, žumătáće	*pol*	jumătate	Half

Multiplicative, distributive and collective numerals are also expressed using cardinal numerals: *unu, în dová, tri înş* 'cîte unu, cîte doi, amîndoi, tustrei' (one, in twos, in threes, both, all three) (Arĝ. & Munĉ.). However, we also recorded a few examples of distributive numerals in both vernaculars: *cíĉiştri drăcɔ́să işcém* 'toate trei suntem drăcoase' (all three of us are impish) (Persa, Alsószentmárton) the distributive correspondent of the standard Romanian form *câte trei* (in threes), also registred in the Arĝelean vernacular *s-or gătátu-să cìĉiştréĭ* 's-au îmbrăcat câte trei' (all three of them got dressed) (János, Gilvánfa), although the latter formation, although distributive in form, has a collective meaning.

Verbs

Moods and tenses

In both vernaculars, the verbal system is very well preserved. As in standard Romanian, the past tense is replaced by the composite perfect. The available modes are indicative, conditional, subjunctive, imperative, and presumptive. The infinitive occurs only sporadically. Gerundial and supine forms were not registered. Below we have provided merely an exemplary selection of verbs.

Indicative

Arĝ.	Munĉ.	Arĝ.	Munĉ.
a fi 'to be'		*a avea* 'to have'	
Indicative Present			
mis	*mesc*	*am*	*am*
ĭéşĉ	*eşt*	*aĭ*	*aĭ*
ăĭ	*i/îĭ*	*áre*	*áĭe*
ńis/işĉéń	*istém*	*avéń*	*aĭém*
işĉéţ	*istéţ*	*avéţ*	*aĭéţ*
ăs	*sînt/îs*	*áre*	*áre*

Indicative Imperfect			
ĩrám/isrám	*irḗm*	*avém*	*aĭém*
ĩráĭ/isráĭ	*iréĭ*	*avé*	*aĭéĭ*
ĩrá/isrá/isrásă	*iré/irésă*	*avé/avésă*	*aĭéĭ/àĭésă*
ĩrań/isráń	*irésăm*	*avéń*	*aĭém*
isráţ	*irésăţ*	*avéţ*	*aĭéţ*
isrá	*irésăţ*	*avé*	*áĭé/àĭésă*
Indicative Perfect			
am fost	*am fost*	*am avút*	*am vut*
aĭ fost	*aĭ fost*	*aĭ avút*	*aĭ vut*
a/o fost	*a fost*	*a/o avút*	*a vut*
ań fost	*am fost*	*ań avút*	*am vut*
aţ fost	*aţ fost*	*aţ avút*	*aţ vut*
or fost	*a fost*	*or avút*	*a vut*
Indicative Future			
óĭ fi	*voĭ fi*	*oĭ avé*	*vóĭ vɛ*
víĭ fi	*(í)ĭ fi*	*víĭ avé*	*(í)ĭ vɛ*
o fi	*a fi*	*o avé*	*a vɛ*
óń fi	*om fi*	*oń avé*	*om vɛ*
v'iţ fi	*véţ fi*	*v'iţ avé*	*íţ vɛ*
or fi	*o fi*	*or avé*	*o vɛ*

The Indicative Mood

The verbal tenses and moods are very well preserved in both dialects. We observed two verbal tenses that morphologically express the past both in the Arĝeleni and the Muncêni community: the imperfect and the compound perfect. As in standard Romanian, the compound perfect is increasingly replacing the imperfect in various contexts.

Măncá zámă, măncá cárńe ďe avέ. (Arĝ.) 'Mâncau supă, mâncau carne de aveau'. (They ate soup, they ate meat if they had it) (IPFV.3.PL)

Or mîncát śe-or aflát. 'Au mâncat ce-au aflat' (They ate what they found) (PRF.3.PL)

In many cases, the morphological demarcation between the present tense and the imperfect tense consists, in both vernaculars, in the variation of one vowel:

Voi nu şĉiέţ d-ásta? A...nu şĉiáţ. 'Voi nu ştiţi lucru acesta? A... nu ştiaţi.' (Don't you know about that? Oh, you didn't.) (PRS.2.PL/IPFV.2.PL)

In the Arĝelean vernacular we occasionally registered the form *sînćέń* (IND. PRS.1.PL), a combination of the verb *a fi* (to be) in the present indicative, fourth person (*sîntem*), and the specific suffix of the imperfect tense: *-έń* for an action in the imperfect tense.

Nűma, ń-o apucát pă noĭ îŋ Ròmîńíĭ, pă băĭăşì, ń-o apucát şî îŋ Ròmîńíĭ, acoló slugáń, slúgă sîŋĉέń şî acoló îŋ bằnăríe sînĉέń, lucrà, în bằnăríe şî d-áĭa ań căpătát noĭ núme ahắsta, băĭăş. Vóĭ nu şĉíεţ d-ahásta? Nu şĉiáţ. (Gyöngyi Kalányos, 2010_09_23j)

'Numai că ne-au prins pe noi în România, pe băieşi, ne-au prins în România, acolo eram sclavi în mine şi acolo în mine lucram, în mine şi de aceea am căpătat numele acesta de băieşi.'

(We were caught in Romania and we were enslaved there, we used to work in mines, for that reason we got the name Boyash).

In both the Arĝeleni and the Munĉeni vernaculars, we documented irregularities in the use of the auxiliary *a avea* (to have) in the compound perfect, more precisely, the identity of the first person and the third person auxiliary. For the sixth person of the compound perfect, the Arĝeleni use the auxiliary form *or*, whereas the Munĉeni say *a*.

> *Ĭo áĭa şĉu, áĭa a-nvăṭát, şî áĭa mérźɩ iś la íşculă, în rumulɔgiɔ tɔnsec merźɩ, íşculă háĭe, áĭa a-nvăṭát, noĭ dîṇ Índiɔ ań vińít, dîṇ Índiɔ, d-ăpá ĭe toṭ dîṇ hắla, toṭ dîṇ Índiɔ, şî lăcătárì şî băĭăşì.* (Gyöngyi Kalányos, 2010_09_23j)

> 'Eu aşa ştiu, aşa am învăṭat la şcoală, la romologie, la acea şcoală, aşa am învăṭat, că noi din India am venit, din India, şi toṭi din India au venit, şi lăcătarii şi băieşii.'

> (This is what I know, what I learned at school, studying Romology, that we come from India, they all come from India, the Lacatari and the Boyash.)

Some interlocutors showed uncertainty in respect of participle forms in the indicative mood, compound perfect tense: *ĭo am scrút, tu aĭ scrút, el o scrit, noĭ ań scris, voĭ aṭ scris, ĭei or scris* (I…they wrote) (Edit, Gilvánfa)

This predilection may also be observed for neologisms: *am telefonizît* (Arĝ.)/*telefonít* (Munĉ.) (I telephoned), *a biṭiglít* (Arĝ.) 'a mers pe bicicletă' (he rode a bicycle).

The particle -*să*, very productive in the Munĉan vernacular, appears as a particle that marks morphologically the iterative verbal aspect. SORESCU-MARINKOVIĆ (2008:

197) believes that this particle, also common in the Boyash vernaculars in Medjimurje, Croatia, was once used on the territory of Romania, without being recorded by dialectologists, and that the Boyash adopted this forms. However, in our opinion it is rather an analogy with the forms of the past perfect *avusese* – a grammatical suffix that, in the general process of vowel velarization, became -*să,* which is also typical to several Romanian varieties. Over time, the grammatical suffix -*să* underwent a semantic slide, being used mostly, although not exclusively, with an iterative meaning.

Aúz ásta la poştárĭu lucrám afáră, únďe ăĭ maĭ gázďe irésă. Încoló lucrám noĭ. Táta, máma, nu ĭo. Ăĭa bătírnì fãĉésă fel dă lúcru (Peter, Alsószentmárton).

'Auzi, eu lucram la poştaş, care era printre cei mai înstăriţi. Acolo lucram noi. Tata, mama, eu nu. Cei bătrâni aveau diverse ocupaţii.'

(Listen, I used to work for the postman, for the wealthiest. My parents worked there, my mum, my dad, but not me. The elder had different occupation.)

Other examples from the Munĉan vernacular are: *fãĉésă* 'făceau' (used to do) *lucrásă* 'lucrau' (used to work)*, cîrpésă* 'used to patch up', etc.

Another particularity is the velarization of [a] to [ə] of first conjugation verbs ending in *-a*: *mîncắţ, lucrắţ, stắţ, curăţắţ, spălắţ,* (you eat/work/stay/clean/wash) (IND.PRS.2.PL), a very productive paradigm in both vernaculars, as it became obvious analyzing the data corpus. In both vernaculars, identity of the forms of the third person singular and plural appears to be regular: *ĭel scóte, ĭeĭ scóte* (he/they take out) (Munĉ.); *ĭel vínďe, ĭeĭ vínďe* (he/they sell) (Arĝ.)*; ĭel víne, ĭei víne* (he/they come) (Munĉ.)*; ĭel śére, ĭeĭ śére* (he/they ask) (Arĝ.) (IND.PRS.3.SG/PL) etc.

The Conditional Mood

The conditional is used in the two vernaculars exactly as it is in standard Romanian: *Ai fi tu drácă să nu fiv însurát* (Munĉ.), Ai mai fi tu drac, dacă n-aş fi însuraţ (Would you not be such a devil if I wasn't married). We also recorded forms of the past conditional in both vernaculars: *Dă aĭ vi vińít, ĭo fãlósă aş vi fost* 'Dacă ai fi venit aş fi fost foarte mândră' (If you had come, I would have been proud), or *Aş măĭ vi avút cupí, da băĉágă dă-páĭa am fost* 'Aş mai fi avut copii, dar am fost bolnavă după aceea' (I could have had more children, but I fell ill then). (Arĝ.) Some morphological reduced forms regarding the elision of the particle *să* have also been

recorded in the Arĝelean vernacular *Mɔrɛ́ dă pă fɔ́me să nu pɔ́tă márgă, șévă să fácă* 'Ar fi murit de foame dacă nu ar fi putut munci ceva' (Would have starved if he hadn't found work).

The Conditional Mood for *a merge* 'to go'

Arĝ.	Munĉ.	Standard Romanian
Conditional Present		aș merge 'would go'
aș mɛ́rźe	*aș mɛ́ďe*	aș merge
aĭ mɛ́rźe	*aĭ mɛ́ďe*	ai merge
ar mɛ́rźe	*ar mɛ́ďe*	ar merge
ań mɛ́rźe	*am mɛ́ďe*	am merge
aț mɛ́rźe	*aț mɛ́ďe*	ați merge
ar mɛ́rźe	*ar mɛ́ďe*	ar merge
Conditional Past		aș fi mers 'would have gone'
aș vi mers	*aș fi més*	aș fi mers
aĭ vi mers	*aĭ fi més*	ai fi mers
ar vi mers	*ar fi més*	ar fi mers
ań vi mers	*am fi més*	am fi mers
aț vi mers	*aț fi més*	ați fi mers
ar vi mers	*ar fi més*	ar fi mers

Besides the phenomenon of palatalization that occurs among the Arĝeleni, we also noticed a difference in the use of the auxiliary in the fourth person, *ań,* a form consistently preserved both in the ending of the verb (*merźéń)* and in the auxiliary (*ań*).

Specific to both vernaculars is the process of monophthongation of the verbs that contain a diphthong, and the shift of the accent onto the first syllable of second conjugation verbs: *n-aş póte 'n-aş putea'* (I couldn't). When used with reflexive verbs, the present conditional is conjugated in the Muncân vernacular as follows: *m-aş dúce, te-aĭ dúce, s-a dúce, ne-am dúce, v-aţ dúce, s-ar dúce* (I – they would go). The difference to standard Romanian consists only in the use of the auxiliary in the third person singular: *ar > a.*

The Imperative Mood

The imperative mood is morphologically expressed in the two vernaculars as in standard Romanian: *haidé!, haidéţ!* (come on!), *fă!, făcéţ!* (do!), *mîncắţ!* (eat!), *custắţ* 'trăiţi' (live!)! The difference consists only in the shift of the accent, in some second and third conjugation verbs, from the first to the last syllable.

The Subjunctive Mood

Subjunctive				
Verb	**Arĝ.**	**Munĉ.**	**Stand. Rom.**	**English**
Present 3rd person	*să márgă* *să áĭve* *să plóve* *să nu să pĭárdă* *să fácă* *să-ĭ víe în fire* *să-ĭ ĝéĭe* *s-o scótă* *să ćistiléscă* *să púĭe* *să spúĭe* *să śére* *să táĭe* *să mînínśe* *să țíĭe*	*să mέgă* *să áre/áră* *să plóĭe* *să nu să pérdă* *să fácă*[29] *să să gîndéscă* *să-ț dắvε/dáĭe* *să scótă* *să cistéscă* *să púne* *să spúne* *să ĉéră* *să táĭe* *să mínce* *să țínă*	să meargă să aibă să ploaie să nu se piardă să facă să se gândească să-ți dea să scoată să curețe să pună să spună să ceară să taie să mănânce să țină	to go to have to rain to not get lost to make to think to give you to pull out to clean to put to say to ask to cut to eat to hold
Past	*să vi mers* *să fi furát*	----	*să fi mers* *să fi furát*	to have gone to have stolen

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29 *mĭ-a spus să fac, să fáci, să fácă, să făcém, să făcéț, să fácă*

Examples in sentences:

Ápo ĭe áre dă gînd să vorbáscă, că áre dă gînd díplomă să áĭve (Gyöngyi, Pécs). (She is planing to learn it [Munĉ. vernacular] because she plans to graduate in this language.)

    Cu mínɛ nu puĉέ furá. Pă şíńe să le fi furat, pă eĭ? (János, Gilvánfa). (She could not steal with me. And who could she have stolen from, from them?)

    The subjunctive is frequently used in the two vernaculars, however, the morphemes for subjunctive are unstable and the degree of morphological variation is very high. The increasing morphologic identity of indicative and subjunctive forms in the third person singular *el fáĉe* (Munĉ.)/*fáśe* (Arĝ.) (IND.3.SG), *să fáĉe/fáśe* (SBJV.3.PL) (he does), *míncă* (IND.3.SG)/*să míncă* (SBJV.3.PL) (he eats) (Munĉ.), *árĝe* (IND.3.SG)/*să árĝe* (SBJV.3.PL) (he burns) (Arĝ.) leads us to believe that in the long term the subjunctive mood will cease to be expressed morphologically. An individual case where the subjunctive substituted the indicative forms was recorded in Alsószentmárton: *Cálu páscă iárbă afáră* 'Calu paşte iarbă afară' (The horse is grazing outside) (IND.3.SG)/*Am lăsát cálu să páscă ĭárbă* (I left the horse to graze) (SUBJ.3.SG).

The Presumptive Mood
In the Munĉan vernacular we found only one instance of the anterior future (future perfect tense) with presumptive value: *Va vi făcút, ĭo ásta n-am zîs că nu* (Will have done it, I didn't say they haven't) (Persa).

The Infinitive Mood and the Participle Mood
We recorded only two of the impersonal moods, the infinitive and the participle.

In the two vernaculars, the subjunctive seems to increasingly take the place of the

infinitive, a phenomenon that occurs in Romanian standard too: *Nu să sćié biţiglí cínva ţîgáńiì* (Back then the Gypsies could not cycle) (Joli, Gilvánfa); *Nu puté méďe la lúcru, ma la birt puté* (He couldn't go to work, but he could go to the pub) (Ruja, Alsószentmárton).

Speakers of both vernaculars are uncertain about the use of the participle mood. In both vernaculars we found forms such as:

Arĝ.	Munĉ.	Stand. Romanian	English
am scrut	*am scriát*	am scris	I have written
am zîs	*am zît*	am zis	I have said
am şĉut	*am ştiát*	am ştiut	I have known

Throughout our research work, we found no example of the gerund mood, and only one example of the supine mood in the Arĝelean vernacular: *urvuşág dă vinĝecát cápu* 'medicament împotriva durerilor de cap' (medicine for headaches). The supine mood is replaced by verbal structures in the indicative: *Marámă d-áĭa dă puĭ pă cap* (Kerchief that you put on your head).

Adverbs

Many adverbs are borrowings from Croatian/Serbian: *úvic* (< uvijek 'always') or Hungarian *méndig* (< mendig 'always'). Those preserved from Romanian are usually contracted: *íci* (Munĉ.)/*íśi* (Arĝ.) 'aici' (here), *ńikér*ʲ (Arĝ.) 'nicăieri' (nowhere). There are also older forms such as *altrimíntilɛ* 'altfeľ' (otherwise) (Munĉ.).

Prepositions

We recorded the following prepositions: *pî/pă* 'pe' (on)*, dîn* 'diń' (from) (Arĝ. & Munĉ.), *pînt-aháĭe* 'pentru aceea' (for that) (Arĝ.), *dúsu clúp* 'sub scaun' (under the chair), *lîngî clúp* 'lîngă scaun' (by the chair)*, laínte dă clup* 'înaintea scaunului' (in front of the chair). Here too we noticed some uncertainty in using the correct form: *scoboró ẑos dă pă óto* 'coboram din maşină' (I got out of the car) (Arĝ.), *pă bolînzắmuri să gînďéşťe* 'se gîndeşte numai la nebunii' (thinks only of foolish things) (Pera, Alsószentmárton); *mă uit în TV* 'mă uit la TV' (I'm watching TV); *Aúz śe zî́şe pă míne băĭeşîța asta* 'Auzi ce spune despre mine băieşîța aceasta' (Listen to what this Boyash woman says about me) (Gyöngyi, Pécs), *Cîn i s-o văzút pă copíl dă fáta háĭa* 'cînd tînărului i-a plăcut de acea fată' (When the young man saw that girl) (Gyöngyi, Pécs); *ńiśi nu mă uit pă je* 'nici măcar nu mă uit la ei' (I don't even look at them), *fuge dîn băĭ* 'fuge de pericoľ (runs away from danger) (Peter, Alsószentmárton).

Conjunctions

The conjunctions *dă* 'de' (that) is in the Arĝelean vernacular plurisemantic meaning *că, încît* as in *aşă m-aĭ bătút dă m-aĭ biĉeźî́t* (You beat me so hard that I got sick) (Edit, Gilvánfa); *a fel dă frumósă íra fáta, dă ca ea nu mai íra pă lúme, pă țáră* (the girl was so beautiful that there was none like her in the world, in the country) (János, Gilvánfa). In Standard Romanian the conjunction *de* introduces conditional, final and consecutive phrases *m-ai minţit de nu mai ştiu care-i adevărul* (you lied to me so much that I cannot tell the truth anymore).

The conjunction *dacă* is expressed by the Hungarian conjunction *a* (< Mag. ha 'dacă' – if): *A dă şe nu vi, ĭo m-oĭ culca* 'Dacă nu vii, eu mă voi culca' (If you don't come I'll go to sleep) (Mónika, Gilvánfa). The coordinating conjunction

dar is expressed by *ma: ma śe zíʃi?* 'dar ce zici?' (But what do you say?) (Joli, Gilvánfa). In the Munĉan vernacular we found the conjunctions *cî, dácî* used in the same way as in standard Romanian *că, dacă*. Coordinating conjunctions like

ori, ori (either…or) are expressed by the preposition *eli* 'when' from Croatian to which a prothetic *v* is added: *véli ĭo véli tu* 'ori eu ori tu' (either I or you) (Persa, Alsoszéntmárton).

Interjections

In both vernaculars there are interjections also specific to standard Romanian or to various parts of Transylvania: *bre!* (heigh!, *mă!, fã!* (hey!)), *ĭóĭ!, váĭ!* (oh, dear!), *ĭáca!* (look!). We recorded no instances among the speakers we interviewed of the interjections *of* or *bravo*, used by the Rudari in Greece and Ukraine. A particularity of the Munĉan vernacular is the recurrent use of the interjection *ē* for approval.

The word order in the two vernaculars has remained close to standard Romanian. Below are a few examples of altered word order: *púne pāru la clup laínte/îndărất* 'pune paharu înaintea/în spatele scaunului' (put the glass in front of/behind the chair) (Pera, Alsószentmárton). Degrees of comparison have an altered word order

in both vernaculars: *Mắĭ mî́ndru păr áre dă tu* 'are păr mai frumos decît tine' (Has got more beautiful hair than you) (Yula, Pécs); *Mắĭ rắu gázdacă-ĭ ĭɛ dăcĭt noĭ* 'Ea este mai bogată decît nói' (She is richer than us); *Mî́ncă mắĭ!* 'Mai mănîncă!' (Eat more!) (Pera, Alsószentmárton); *Bătî́rnă-ĭ mắĭ* 'Este mai bătrînă' (She is older) (Edit, Gilvánfa). With a durative meaning, the adverb *máĭ* follows the verb *A, ácu śe fel léțcă să-ĭ dáu maĭ féćì* 'Ce treabă să-i mai dau fetei' (What other job shall I give the girl to do) (Joli, Gilvánva). The negation particle *nu* (no) also often follows the copulative verb: *ĭo mis nu bolúndă* 'Eu nu sunt nebună' (I am not crazy) (Ruja, Alsószentmárton); The indefinite pronouns *șévă, șinevá* (something, somebody) usually precede the verb: *Mɔɾɛ́ dă*

pă fő́me să nu pótă márgă, șévă să fácă (János, Gilvánfa). 'Ar fi murit de foame dacă nu ar fi putut munci ceva' (Would have starved if he hadn't found work).

The irregularities and confusions can be noticed in both vernaculars in the agreement between the personal pronouns and the sentence's subject and the verbs: *cușắrile* (PL) *ĩ* (PRS.3.SG) *gáta* (Munĉ.) (the baskets is ready), *ĭeĭ* (3.PL) *víne* (PRS.3.SG) (they comes) (Arĝ.) etc.

5.8.3 Lexicon

Vocabulary

Linguistic contact is most obvious in the vocabulary of the two vernaculars. The borrowings are mostly from Hungarian (Arĝ. and Munĉ.) or Serbian (Munĉ.), a phenomenon obviously brought about by present, respectively past, daily contact with these languages. Comparisons such as *álbă ca lébida* (Munĉ.) 'albă ca lebăda' (white as a swan) or farewell remarks such as *lumínă naínće, ńégură-nápóĭ* (light ahead, darkness behind) persist only in the memory of elderly speakers, who no longer know the meaning of the words that form the phrases, such as *lébida* or *ńégură*. As a result of increased code switching and code mixing of the two or three languages as well as of the vital role that Hungarian attained in the Boyash communities, the Arĝelean and Munĉan vocabulary has grown poorer. Many of the interviewees know the word *dăvréme* (early), but no longer know its antonym.

Based on our observations, the vocabulary of the Munĉan vernacular offers more cases of lexical synonymy than the Arĝelean one. This is due to the multiple linguistic contacts, both with Hungarian and Croatian/Serbian: *máĭ ráno* (< Croat./Serb. *rano* 'devreme' – early) = *máĭ curî́nd = maĭ korán* (< Hung. *korán* 'devreme') (sooner). The speakers themselves are aware that their vocabulary is much richer in Hungarian words, but

the lack of a word, phrase or verb does not hamper communication. As a result, verbal paraphrases are very common in both vernaculars. For instance, for 'târziu' (late) (Stand. Rom.) we recorded in the Arĝelean vernacular the antonym *máre dóbă-ĭ* (Arĝ.) (late). Another speaker in Gilvánfa used the pair *dobă mică # dobă mare* for *devreme # tîrziu* (early # late). For the pair *prost # deştept* (Stand. Rom.) (stupid # smart) we recorded the phrase *cu fire # fără fire* in both vernaculars. Many of these vocabulary items are to be found in different vernaculars on Romanian territory today or even in standard Romanian. The syntax of these expressions, shows, however, a further development of the two vernaculars, parallel to those that take place in the Daco-Romanian varieties *lumină dă oĉi* 'lumina ochilor' (pupil). The adverbs *sus # jos* (up # down), *afără # înlóntru* (out # in) prove to be very productive in both vernaculars in many contexts: *am ĉemát sus* (Gyöngyi, Pécs)/ *am ťemát sus* (Pera, Gilvánfa) 'am dat telefon' (I called up/I telephoned); *l-am dat sus* 'l-am denunţať (I gave him up/I denounced him) (Persa, Alsószentmár-

ton); *îl créşte sus* 'îl educă' (brings him up/educates him) (Renata, Alsószentmárton); *or dát-o afără* 'au publicat-o' (they put her out/published her) (Anna, Pécs); *ɔre c-o zîs áfară* 'de abia a pronunţat, a exprimať (hardly spoke out/pronounced, expressed); *śe să áflu afără* 'cum să descopăr' (how can I find out/discover) (János, Gilvánfa).

Loanwords from Hungarian are integrated into the grammatical system of the two vernaculars: *rizs* 'orez' > *ríjă* (rice)*; szín* 'culoare' > sam-samuri (PL) (colours), in the Arĝelean vernacular. *Proaspăt* (Stand. Rom.) (fresh) is expressed in both vernaculars by the loan *friş* (< Hung. *friss* or Serb. *friški*) as in *frişcă carne* 'carne proaspătă' (fresh meat) (Ruja, Alsószentmárton). Modern forms of social organization are expressed in the two vernaculars by paraphrasing. Thus, for *primar* (Stand. Rom.) (mayor) we have the noun *cápu sátuluĭ* (head of the village) (Alsószentmárton) in both vernaculars*,* for the word *preşedinte* (Stand. Rom.) (president) we recorded *domnu mare pă urság* in the Munĉan dialect*,* and in Arĝelean *királ máŕe pă ţáră* (Janós, Gilvánfa),

phrases which, although they at first sight appear to be anachronisms, are still in use in the everyday lives of the Arĝelean and Munĉan Boyash.

Word formation

Neither in the Munĉan nor in the Arĝelean vernaculars did we find cases of derivation schemes that are still productive in forming agent nouns and place nouns. When not borrowed from Hungarian: *cúvaĉ* (< Hung. *kovács* 'fierar' blacksmith), they are expressed by paraphrases such as *ţîgánu ĉe táĭe cárne*/*ála ĉe táĭe cárne* (the Gypsy he/who cuts meat) (Munĉ.). Place nouns are expressed by the preposition *la* + agent nouns, which are usually words of Hungarian origin adapted to the Arĝelean and Munĉan vernacular respectively: *Meg la pikér* (Munĉ.)/ *Mă duc la pécu* (Arĝ.) (> Mag. *pék* 'brutar' baker) 'merg la brutar' (I'm going to the baker); *Am fost la misăr* (Munĉ.)/ *misărńiţă* (Arĝ.) 'Am fost la măcelar' (I went to the butcher); *a lu búsului cásă* (Munĉ.) 'staţie de autobuz' (bus stop); *fîntíńă dă bănzíń* (Munĉ.) 'benzinărie' (filling station). Instrument nouns are formed as in standard Romanian, with the preposition *de*: *maşínă dă cîrpít* (Arĝ.)/ *cusut* (Munĉ.) (sewing machine), *maşínă dă cávε* (Arĝ. & Munĉ.) (coffee-maker). More sporadically we find instrument nouns regressively derived from verbs: *a dîrăli* (reconstructed infinitive) < *dîrîlóu* 'maşină de măcinat' (grinder). Noun compounds are joined by the preposition *de*: *bóltă dă ţîpilíş* (Arĝ.)/*dughéńă dă păpúş* (Munĉ.) (shoe store) *bóltă/dughéńă dă mîncáre* (Arĝ. & Munĉ.) (food store).

Both the Munĉan and the Arĝelean vernaculars are characterized by great flexibility in derivation: noun derivation *arşău* 'hîrleţ' (spade) becomes *arşîvăsc pămíntu* 'sap pămîntu cu hîrleţuľ' (dig the soil) (Munĉ.); *biţíglă* 'bicicletă' (bicycle) > *a biţiglí* 'a merge pe bicicletă' (to bicycle); *nu să sćîĕ biţiglí cínva ţîgáńi* (back then the Gypsy could not cycle) (Joli, Gilvánfa), *trímbiţă > trumbiţáză* 'trâmbiţează' (plays the trumpet/trumpets), *kitár > kitarizăşĉe* 'cîntă la chitară' (plays

the guitar), *lăútă > lăućeşĉe* 'cîntă la vioară' (plays the violin), hármonică > *hòrmunicăzắśće* 'cîntă la armonică' (plays the concertina) (Gyöngy, Pécs); *cărţ > cărtém,* 'jucăm cărţi' (we play cards) (Jasminka, Alsószentmárton) íşculă > *să işculîzáscă* 'să meargă la şcoală' (to go to school) (Palko László, Gilvánfa). Verbal suffixes like *-záscă să òpărăzáscă* 'să opereze' (to operate) (Gilvánfa) have become very productive in both vernaculars.

Noun diminutives are formed in the two vernaculars by adding the adjective *mîcîţícă*/*mîcîţắl* (little) to the nouns: *fátă mîcîţícă* (little girl) (Arĝ.), *găină mîcîţícă* (little hen) (Munĉ.). In both vernaculars we also found older interlocutors forming diminutives ending in *-ăl* and *-uţă*: *mîndrúţă* (Arĝ.) (little girl)*, găinúţă* (little hen) (Arĝ.), *cucuşắl* (little rooster) (Munĉ.), *căsúţă* (little house) (Munĉ.).

The two vernaculars are furthermore characterized by a series of semantic slides in the case of certain nouns, a phenomenon specific to insular, non-standard vernaculars.

Examples of lexical similarities and differences between the two vernaculars

The lexical items in the list below was compiled during the transcription of the ethnographic interviews.

Arĝ.	Munĉ.	Stand. Romanian	English
Adjectives			
băĭeşắşĉe	*ţîgănív, ţîgăníu*	băieşeşte	Boyash language
bătî́rnă	*bătrî́nă*	bătrînă	old F.
fălós	*lótru*	mîndru	proud

găzdác	*bugát*	bogat	rich
huşĉuńít	*ustinít*	obosit	tired
ľímbă dă úngur sfat dă úngur/ nɛmţ/băĭáş	*ungurív/u/límbă dă némţ/muntán*	limba maghiară/ limba germană/ băieşească	Hungarian/German/ Boyash
lótru	*mărós*	bucuros	happy
mucós	*puturós*	nespălat	dirty
munĉos/munĉôsă	*lucrɔ̆ĭ/lucrɔ̆e*	harnic/ă	hard-working
puturós	*léńav*	leneş	lazy
ro/róu	*rắu*	rău	bad
slúbod	*slóbon*	liber	free
ťíst/ă	*ĉíst/ă*	curat/curată	clean
urî́t	*busórcă*	urît	ugly
vî́năt	*vî́năt*	vânăt	violet-blue
Adverbs			
curî́nd	*ráno/rắpe*	repede/în curând	quickly/soon/
dăpárĉe	*dupárĉe*	departe	far away
dăvréme	*căznít*	devreme	early
d'irépt	*drept*	adevărat	true

íşi	*aíĉ*	aici	here
ma	*núma/sam/mácar*	numai/măcar	only /at least
ma p-atíta	*dă dɔ́ă ori*	dublu	double
mága	*mága/sam/mácar*	măcar	even
ţíră	*oţíră*	puţin	some/a little bit
únĝi góĝi	*únĝi góĝi*	în tot locul/ peste tot	everywhere
úvic	*miréu*	mereu	always
Set phrases			
	nu te diréştı?	nu te deranjează?	does it not disturb you?
a fel dă	*a fel dă*	la fel	same
am scluburţít dîn mína	*am scăpat dîn mína*	am scăpat din mînă	I dropped hand
fır-aĭ sănătós/ fır-aĭ sănătósă	*mulţumésc*	mulţumesc	thank you
ĭ-am dat sus	*ĭ-am dat la biruşág < magh. bíróság 'justiţie'*	i-am dat pe mîna autorităţilor i-am denunţat	I denounced them
la cíťe dóbe	*la cíťe sáte*	la ce oră	what time

m-o ćemát sus	*m-a ťemát sus*	mi-a telefonat	he/she called me
o vińit îndărăt/ napóĭ	*a venít îndărăt*	s-a întors	he/she returned
púńe uréće	*púńe sam*	ascultă	listen/pay attention
stŕnže báńi úna	*púńe încoló*	a economisi	to save money
suctulíń să fășéńi	*kizdilím să făćém*	începem să facem	we start doing
tri aĭ dă lúńe	---	trei ani de zile	three years
Pronouns			
áca şe	*ĉe góďe*	orice	anything
cártăva om	*mácar cáre om*	fiecare om	every human being
numíca	*mimíc*	nimic	nothing
Nouns			
---	*fîntî́nă cu ǵermă*	fîntînă cu cumpănă	well swep
---	*undóviţă*	femeie nemăritată cu copil	unmarried woman with child
---	*mŕ́cve*	morcovi	carrots
---	*mustácă*	mustaţă/mustăţi/ mustăcios	moustache
---	*ẑíla*	vină	guilt

áĭ	*usturóĭ*	usturoi	garlic
bătáĭe	*rat*	război	war
bóře	*bóre*	abur	steam
bénziń	*fîntî́na dă benzî́ń*	benzinărie	petrol station
bîlşio/ligănóᵘ	*zípcă*	leagăn	cradle
bîrcă	*óĭe*	oaie	sheep
bolînzắmuri	*bolînzémuri*	nebunii	jinks
bóltă	*dughénă*	magazin	shop
bóu	*bic*	bou	ox
bubóĭe	*búbă rɛ*	cancer	cancer
cal	*olávină*	cal	horse
cămátă	*cămátă*	camătă/dobîndă	interest rate
căpătî́ĭ	*diván*	pat	bed
cápu dă sát	*cápu sátuluĭ*	primar	mayor
căsă dă úngur	*căsă dă úngur*	casă ungurească	Hungarian house
ćémńiţă	*kisitóre*	închisoare	prison
cîcîstóre	*cîcîstóre*	toaletă	toilet

ĉólad/vígă	*ĉiládă/fáĭtă/sóĭ/ neám*	neam	lineage/relatives
cîrbóe	*curumpíri*	cartofi	potatoes
clísă	*slănínă*	slănină	bacon
copîrşắu	*críptă*	sicriu	coffin
culíbă/cuvérgă	*culíbă*	colibă	hut
cupít	*spor*	sobă	stove
cupíl măşĉóĭ	---	copil din afara căsătoriei	bastard
cust	*tráĭ*	viaţă/trai/existenţă	life/existence
cústu	*ẑívotu/tráĭu*	trai	life
cuţî́t	*căţî́t*	cuţit	knife
d'iriptáĉe	*dreptáte*	dreptate	justice
dɔmb	*dél*	deal	hill
dɔmb mare	*dél*	munte	mountain
diculéşĉì	---	---	The *Diculeşĉii* are a group of Boyash from Gilvánfa who prepared wood for processing

dóbă	*ţáĭt*	timp/vreme	time
dóbă dă śas/ex. *şắpće dóbe*	*sát*/ex. *şắpte sate*	oră/ex. ora şapte	hour/seven o'clock
έzără	*έzɛră*	o mie	thousand
fáĭtă	*rudbína*	rudă	relative
fíćicó	*parpánǵel*	moroi/strigoi	ghost
fíre	*fíre*	minte/memorie	mind/memory
fiśór	*vuníc*	fecior/tînăr	young man
fîsúĭ	*mázăre*	fasole	beans
fórmă	*kip*	poză	picture
fugădó	*birt*	cîrciumă	tavern
gard	*grad*	grădină	garden
gard	*drot*	gard	fence
gắşĉ	*gîsť*	gâşte	geese
gɔz	*gunói*	mizerie/gunói	trash
ĝinúţ	*ẑunúĉ*	genunchi	knee
grópă	*dólă*	groapă	hole
grîmádă	*strávotă*	grămadă	pile

hîrb	*stíclă*	sticlă	bottle
hudváru	*udvár*	curte	yard
íńimă	*ímînă*	stomac	stomach
inîmă/búrtă	*rînză*	stomac	stomach
íşculă	*şcúlă*	şcoală	school
kínĝió	*pişkír*	ştergar	towel
kişińó	*marámă*	maramă	headkerchief
ľemn	*lemn*	copac	tree
lúcru	*póslă*	lucru/muncă	work
maĭ sfétlu vérde	*măĭ oţîră vérde*	verde deschis	light green
mámă măşĉóĭe	---	mamă vitregă	step-mother
mărmînće	*mărmín*	mormânt	grave
maşînă dă zdrubít	*stúpiţă*	maşină de măcinat	grinder
mirg	*mirg*	venin	venom
mişunós/ mişunásă	*mînĉinós/ mînĉinósă*	mincinos, mincinoasă	liar (M., F.)
ńégură/bićişúg	*bitişúg*	boală	disease
ńivástă	*nivástă*	nevastă	spouse

núme/lúme	*lúme*	nume/lume	name/world
obráz	*fálcă*	obraz	cheek
papír	*pipároş*	hîrtie	paper
pătcóvă	*pátcov*	potcoavă	horseshoe
páză	*strájă*	priveghi	wake
pipárcă	*ardéĭ*	ardei	pepper
plîcătór/ă	*plîcătór/ă*	admirator	admirer/pretendent
pod	*taván*	acoperiș	roof
porodícă	*şpánuriţă*	roșie	tomato
purúncă	*zapudálă*	poruncă	command
purómb/cucurúz	*măláĭ/cucurúz*	porumb	maize
povoşĉέ	*puvéstă*	poveste	fairy tale
rănúĉe	*bubríc*	rinichi	kidneys
rindíri/jîndári	*jîndári*	poliția	police
ríẑă	*ráĭs*	orez	rice
rúẑă	*rúẑîţă*	trandafir	rose
rεr	*şpoŕ*	cuptor	oven
săcúre	*baltág*	secure	ax

sam	*fárbă*	culoare	color
sămî́nţă	*glonţ*	sămânţă	seed
sărsámuri	*sîrsámuri*	unelte	tools
scɔn	*clup*	scaun	chair
sfádă	*ĉártă/bătáĭe*	ceartă	fight
sfɔ́ră	*uńávă*	sfoară	string/rope
śinúʂă	*ĉinuʂă*	cenuşă	ash
śurdáʂ	*ĉobán*	cioban	shepherd
sóbă	*sóbă*	cameră	room
súflit	*súflet*	inimă	heart
şvaler/că	*şvaler/că*	iubit/ă	boyfriend/girlfriend
táĭr	*blid/táĭr*	farfurie	plate
ţîgán/ţîgáncă	*ţîgán/ţîgáncă*	băiaş/băiaşă; soţ/soţie	Boyash F.+M.; husband/wife
ţîpíśi/ţîpiľísi	*papúĉ*	sandale/papuci	shoes
trupínă	*tăplíź*	aşchii	matchwood
ublóc	*fîrléstă*	fereastră	window
uĭágă	*pār*	pahar	glas

úľiță	*sucác*	uliță	street/alley
unturóş	---		The *Unturoşii* are a group of Boyash from Gilvánfa, who – unlike *diculeşĉii* – worked as musicians. They were known also as *băieşii domni*.
upátă	*lupátă*	lopată	shovel
upínśi dă uţăl	*tîndale din fer*	opinci de oțel	steel sandals
urság/ţáră	*urság*	țară	country
urtác	*fîrtác*	prieten	boyfriend
urvuşág	*burénă*	medicament	medicine
văló	---	pîrîiu/apă curgătoare mică	stream
vărgáńii/buréţ	*buréţ*	ciuperci	mushrooms
vărígă	*inél*	inel	ring
város/bulşúg	*tîrg*	oraș	city
văś	*vaĉ*	vaci	cows
vréme dă plɔ́ie	*vréme mɔ́le*	vreme de ploaie	rainy weather

ẑáľe	*źáu*	jale	mourning
ẑăp	*ẑîp*	buzunar	pocket
zăpádă	*zăpádă/săpádă*	zăpadă	snow
Verbs			
	tă partím IND.PRS.1.PL	te însoţim	we accompany you
---	*sclipéẕtı* IND.PRS.3.SG	fulgeră	it thunders
am nivilít IND. PFV.1.PL	*am crescút sus*	am crescut/am educat	I raised
asťerźe IND.PRS.3.SG	---	şterge	to wipe
bălmăẑăśťe IND.PRS.3.SG	---	învălmăşeşte	he/she clutters
birîí INF	---	a putea	to be able to
biţiglí INF	*biţiglí*	a merge pe bicicletă	to cycle
burăśťe IND.PRS.3.SG	---	vomită	he/she vomits
ĉistălé IND.IPFV.3.SG.	*ĉistilé*	curăţea/făcea curat	he/she was cleaning

crăpá INF	*cîzní*	a muri	to die
custím IND.PRS.3.SG	*trăím*	trăím	we live
duburăśťe IND.PRS.3.SG	---	doboară	he/she takes down
fě́rbe INF	*fě́rbe*	a găti	to cook
hămzăśťe IND.PRS.3.SG	---	cască	he/she yawns
îmbănuí INF	---	a-i părea rău/ a regreta	to feel sorry
lumărắm IND.PRS.1.PL	*ĉitím*	citim	we read
m-am născút IND.PFV.1.SG. REFL	*m-am avút/ m-am vut*	m-am născut	I was born
mănî́nc IND.PRS.1.SG	*mînc*	mănînc	I eat
mi-s/is/îs IND.PRS.3.SG	*mesc/îs*	sunt	I am
muĭtá INF	*uitá*	a uita	to forget
prîpéșťe-ťe! IMP.PRS.2.SG	*grăbéște-te!*	grăbește-te!	hurry up!

priśepéń IND.PRS.1.PL	*răzumím*	înţelegem	we understand
sîmărắm/ umărắm IND.PRS.1.PL	*lumărắm*	numărắm	we count
slubozí INF	*sluboní*	a elibera	to release
telefońizăsc IND.PRS.3.SG	*telefonésc/tem sus*	telefonez	I call
ťem IND.PRS.1.SG	*tem*	chem	I call
úmără IND.PRS.3.SG	*númără*	citeşte	reads
zgărîí INF	---	a zgâria	to scratch