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Conditional clauses in Central Romani

Vedlejší věty podmínkové v centrální romštině

Praha, 2010   vedoucí práce: Mgr. Viktor Elšík, Ph.D.

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I declare that the following MA thesis is my own work for which I used only the sources and literature mentioned.

Prague, 25 April 2010

Annotation

The aim of this study is an analysis of the structure and function of conditional clauses in Central Romani, i.e. in the traditional code of the sedentary Romani population in the Czech Republic and in the area of the former Hungarian empire. The analysis of conditional clauses focuses on formal aspects of their structure, especially types of subordinators or temporal-aspectual marking of the verb, as well as on their function, mainly semantic roles of conditional clauses. The data is presented from the onomasiological perspective, i.e. various forms are discussed which are used for coding a particular meaning. Dialectological differences between the studied varieties of Central Romani are pointed out, as well.

Keywords: Romani, conditional clauses, subordinator, verb morphology

Anotace

Jádrem této diplomové práce je analýza struktury a funkce kondiciálních klauzí v centrální romštině, tj. v tradičním jazykovém kódu sedentárních Romů v České republice a na území bývalé uherské monarchie. Analýza kondiciálních klauzí je zaměřena na formální aspekty jejich struktury, zejména typy užívaných subordinátorů nebo temporálně-aspektuální morfologii slovesa, a také na jejich funkci, obzvláště sémantickou roli klauzí. Data jsou prezentována obzvláště v onomaziologické perspektivě, tj. jsou zkoumány formy užívané mluvčími ke kódování určitých významů. Práce si všímá i dialektologických rozdílů mezi zkoumanými varietami centrální romštiny.

Klíčová slova: romština, kondicionální klauze, subordinátor, morfologie slovesa

Contents

Abbreviations

1	first person		INSTR	instrumental/sociative
2	second person		LOC	locative
3	third person		NEG	negation
ABL	ablative		NOM	nominative
ACC	accusative		NON-PFV	non-perfective
ART	article		p.	page
Ch.	chapter		PART	particle
COND	conditional		PAST	past
DAT	dative		PFV	perfective
e. g.	for example		PL	plural
FUT	future		PRES	present
GAČR	Grantová agentura České republiky [Czech Science Foundation]		REFL	reflexive
			SG	singular
IMP	imperative		SUBJ	subjunctive
i.e.	that is		TAM	tense-aspect-mood

1 Introduction

1.1 Aim of the study

Central Romani is one of the four main dialect groups of Romani, which were probably first defined in writing by Bakker and Matras (1997). The geographical area in which Central Romani is spoken comprises the realm of the former Hungarian empire and, as a result of migration of speakers from Slovakia after the Second World War, also today's Czech Republic. In other words, speakers of Central Romani can be found in the area of Slovakia, the Czech Republic, southern Poland, south-western Ukraine, Hungary, northern Slovenia and eastern Austria. From the dialectological perspective, Central Romani can be further subdivided into Northern Central and Southern Central dialects, their most frequently-mentioned distinguishing feature being the form of the non-perfective past-tense marker of verbs: while in Northern Central varieties this suffix occurs in the form *–as,* in Southern Central varieties it has the form *–ahi* (for a detailed discussion of the differentiation of Central dialects see e.g. Boretzky, 1999, Elšík et al., 1999).

The present study discusses the structure and function of conditional clauses in this dialect group, a structural feature that has, in this language, not received much attention of linguists so far. The analysis will focus on the formal aspects of their structure (especially types of subordinators, temporal-aspectual morphology of verbs), as well as their function (especially their semantic roles). The data will be studied from the onomasiological point of view, e.g. it will be examined what forms are used to communicate meanings, but it will also be investigated how the use of specific forms constructs the desired meaning. Where applicable, dialectal differences in the form and use of conditional clauses will be pointed out.

1.2 Conditional clauses in linguistic literature

A number of publications have been devoted to the study of conditional clauses in general and, perhaps even more, in English. Publications dealing only or predominantly with conditionals include e.g. Traugott et al. (1986). This edited volume offers a multidisciplinary approach to conditionals; individual contributions discuss conditionals in the framework of disciplines such as typology, psycholinguistics, semantics and pragmatics and deal with topics as different as language acquisition, historical development of conditionals or linguistic constraints. The book includes general studies, as well as papers dealing with conditionals in particular languages, such as Classical Greek or Romance. A similar approach is applied in Athanasiadou and Dirven (1997).

Dancygier (1998) studies prototypical conditionals in English on the basis of the correlation between form and meaning. She defines four basic parameters of conditionality: the conditional subordinator *if*, the verb forms in protasis and apodosis, semantic relations between protasis and apodosis and the order of protasis and apodosis. She argues that the function of conditional markers of the 'if' type is to instruct the hearer not to interpret the clause as an assertion.

A section devoted to conditionals can be found in Sweetser (1990) who focuses on the semantics and pragmatics of conditionals. She deals mainly with the semantic relationship between protasis and apodosis and defines three types of conditionals according to this relationship: content conditionals, epistemic conditionals and speech-act conditionals. She argues that in the content domain, conditional 'if' – 'then' conjunction indicates that the realization of the event described in the protasis is a sufficient condition for the realization of the event described in the apodosis. In the epistemic domain, 'if' – 'then' conjunctions express the idea that knowledge of the truth of the hypothetical premise expressed in the protasis

would be a sufficient condition for concluding the truth of the proposition expressed in the apodosis. Finally, she defines speech-act conditionals as conditionals, in which the performance of the speech act represented in the apodosis is conditional on the fulfilment of the state described in the protasis (Sweetser, 1990, Ch. 5).

Typological accounts of conditionals include for example Givón (2001, Ch. 18) who discusses functional dimensions of conditional clauses, as well as their formal marking, in the chapter *Inter-clausal coherence* of his monograph on syntax. Cristofaro (2005) focuses on reality conditionals and observes that in a number of languages the formal distinctions between reality conditionals and 'when' relations are neutralized. Semantics and structure of conditionals is investigated in Thompson, Longacre and Hwang (2007) who, apart from other questions, discuss the position of predictive conditionals in the relation to reality and unreality conditionals.

1.3   Literature dealing with conditional clauses in Romani

Conditional clauses are often mentioned in descriptive studies of individual Romani dialects or dialect groups. I will mention just a few referring to Central Romani or neighbouring varieties. Halwachs (1998) deals with conditional clauses in the section *Modus* of his account of the Burgenland Romani variety (Austria); Cech (2006) focuses on the distribution of subjunctive versus past tense distribution in counterfactual conditionals in Dolenjska Romani (Slovenia). Conditional marking of the copula is mentioned in the copula inflection paradigm in East Slovak Romani which can be found in the appendix of the Romani-Czech and Czech-Romani pocket dictionary (Hübschmannová et al., 2001); the conditional forms of the copula in Southern Central varieties are mentioned in Boretzky

(1999). Elšík, Hübschmannová and Šebková (1999) deal with forms of the verb in unreality conditionals in their description of Southern Central varieties of Romani.

Boretzky (1993) is the author of an article called *Conditional sentences in Romani*. The title is, however, somewhat misleading because Boretzky does not offer a general account of conditionals in Romani, as it may seem, but he rather focuses on the forms of conditional sentences in selected Balkan and Vlax dialects, without mentioning the situation in Northern or Central dialect groups. Nevertheless, he uses this limited set of data to draw conclusions about conditionals in Romani in general and claims that 'Romani goes together with those languages that distinguish the real from the irreal case, but did not come to develop a full-fledged potentialis' (Boretzky, 1993, p. 98).

Matras (2002, Ch. 7) briefly discusses the use of subordinators and verb forms in conditional clauses using examples from each of the four Romani dialect groups (Northern, Central, Vlax and Balkan). A somewhat different approach to conditionals in Romani is applied in Elšík and Matras (2006, Ch. 14): conditionals are viewed from the perspective of markedness in the language. The authors point out that conditional sentences tend to be more complex than indicative sentences, with apodosis being generally more complex than protasis. They also argue that there is a slight tendency in realis conditionals [i.e. non-perfective conditional verb marking] to borrow conditional particles, as opposed to irrealis [i.e. perfective] conditionals.

1.4 Classification of conditional clauses

In typological literature, conditional sentences are usually defined as subordinate clausal constructions following the pattern *if P, (then) Q*, with P representing a condition and Q standing for the consequence of the realization of the condition. The term *protasis* or
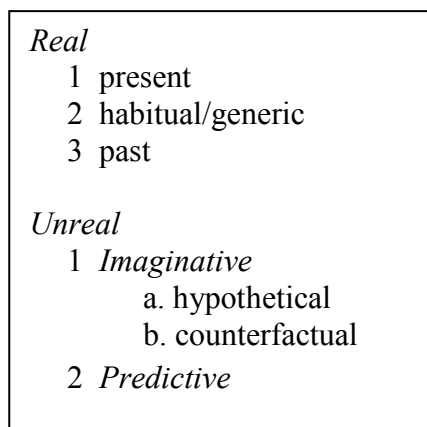
antecedent is often used for the P-clause, whereas the Q-clause is referred to as *apodosis* or *consequent*. Many linguists, however, feel that the pattern *if P, (then) Q* is not sufficient to define conditional relations in natural languages. Sweetser (1990, p. 113) emphasizes that it is not enough for protasis and apodosis to be logically well-formed; they also need to be semantically related, in other words, if the content of the apodosis is to be dependent on the content of the protasis, there must be some kind of a logical link between the contents. This element can be found in the definition by Cristofaro, who says that 'conditional relations establish a connection between two SoAs [i.e. events] such that the occurrence of one of them (...) is the condition for the occurrence of the other' (Cristofaro, 2005, p. 160). The definition applied in this study is based on Cristofaro's; it will only be a little extended to apply for concessive conditionals as well. The term conditional relations will therefore be applied to relations of two events/propositions in which the realization of the protasis is a sufficient condition for the realization or non-realization of the apodosis.

Various types of classification of conditionals can be found in typological literature. Givón (2001) distinguishes two main types of conditionals according to their modality: irrealis and counter-fact. Irrealis conditionals fall under the scope of non-fact modality; the truth value of the subordinate clause is pending, depending on the truth value of the main clause. Irrealis conditionals in Givón's terminology correspond with reality conditionals in the terminology of Thompson, Longacre and Hwang (2007), which will be discussed below. Counter-fact conditionals fall under the negative epistemic scope of non-fact. In this type of conditionals, the proposition in the apodosis cannot be realized because it depends on the realization of the proposition in the protasis, which cannot be realized either. Apart from these two poles on the scale of conditional modality, Givón mentions the existence in some languages of conditionals with intermediate truth value, i.e. events that are unlikely to be realized but it is not entirely impossible; this type of conditionals corresponds with hypothetical conditionals in Thompson,

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Longacre and Hwang's terminology. He also mentions concessive conditionals as another type of conditional clauses.

Sweetser (1990) and, following her classification, also Dancygier (1998), distinguishes between content conditionals, epistemic conditionals and speech-act conditionals, according to the relation between the protasis and the apodosis (see section 1.2).

The classification used in this study has been adopted from Thompson, Longacre and Hwang (2007). Their semantic classification of conditionals makes a primary distinction between reality and unreality conditionals according to the reality or unreality of the propositions that they express. Reality conditionals are further divided into present, habitual/generic and past conditionals; as the terms suggest, present conditionals refer to present situations, habitual/generic conditionals are used in generic or recurring situations and past conditionals refer to situations in the past. Unreality conditionals are further subdivided into imaginative and predictive conditionals. Imaginative conditionals are used in situations in which the speaker imagines what might be or what might have been, whereas in predictive conditionals the speaker predicts what will be. Although predictive conditionals are semantically classified as being unreal, Thompson, Longacre and Hwang point out that in some languages their marking is similar to reality conditionals; for that reason, Cristofaro (2005) classifies predictive conditionals among reality conditionals. Imaginative conditionals are, in Thompson, Longacre and Hwang's classification, further divided into counterfactual conditionals, which describe situations that did not happen or could not happen, and hypothetical conditionals, in which the speaker says what might happen. Thompson, Longacre and Hwang's classification is illustrated in Figure 1.

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Real
    1  present
    2  habitual/generic
    3  past

Unreal
    1  Imaginative
            a. hypothetical
            b. counterfactual
    2  Predictive
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Figure 1: Classification of conditionals according to Thompson, Longacre and Hwang (2007, p. 256).

Classification of conditional clauses in studies about Romani is usually much simpler. Most publications distinguish between realis (reality), irrealis (counterfactual) and potentialis (hypothetical) conditionals. This is the case in Halwachs (1998), who argues that Burgenland Romani distinguishes an analytically formed realis and synthetically formed potentialis and irrealis. Cech (2006) claims that in Dolenjska Romani, realis and potentialis conditionals are not confined to the selection of a certain tense, while counterfactual conditionals (conditional II in her terminology) are normally in subjunctive. Boretzky (1993) analyzes the realizations of realis, irrealis and potentialis conditionals in selected Balkan and Vlax dialects to arrive at the conclusion that realis and irrealis is distinguished in Romani but a unified marking of potentialis is not fully developed. Matras (2002, Ch. 7) adds that in some dialects of Romani, potentialis marking is developed and gives Burgenland Romani as an example. Elšík and Matras (2006, Ch. 14), on the other hand, argue that most dialects differentiate between realis, potential and irrealis conditionality, although differences are found in the distribution of individual tense forms and in the presence or absence of a specific conditional tense forms (Elšík and Matras, 2006, p. 204).

Some publications, e.g. Šebková and Žlnayová's (2005) textbook of East Slovak Romani, deal with hypothetical and counterfactual conditionals only, the former being called 'present conditional' and the latter 'past conditional'. Past conditional, in their explanation, refers either to situations which could have happened but did not happen in the past, or to situations which cannot be realized at any time. The authors ascribe non-perfective past-tense verb marking to present conditionals, whereas past conditionals are marked with perfective form of the verb with the past-tense suffix *-as*. Reality conditionals are not specifically dealt with.

1.5   Data and methodology

The main source of data used in the present study is the *Database of Central European Romani* (DCER) created as a part of the project *Borrowing and Diffusion of Grammatical Structures: Czech and Slovak Romani in Contact* (GAČR, 2008-2010, coordinated by Mgr. Viktor Elšík, PhD) at Charles University in Prague. This database includes around 200,000 phrases elicited with the help of a standardized linguistic questionnaire (see Elšík, 2008-2010) in more than 150 localities in which Central Romani is spoken. The majority of the varieties have been recorded in the Slovak Republic; several varieties have been recorded in the Hungarian regions of Pest, Lower Novohrad and Baranya, and five varieties have been obtained from the area of Prekmurje in the northern part of Slovenia. The precise location of the dialects included in this study is illustrated on the following map.
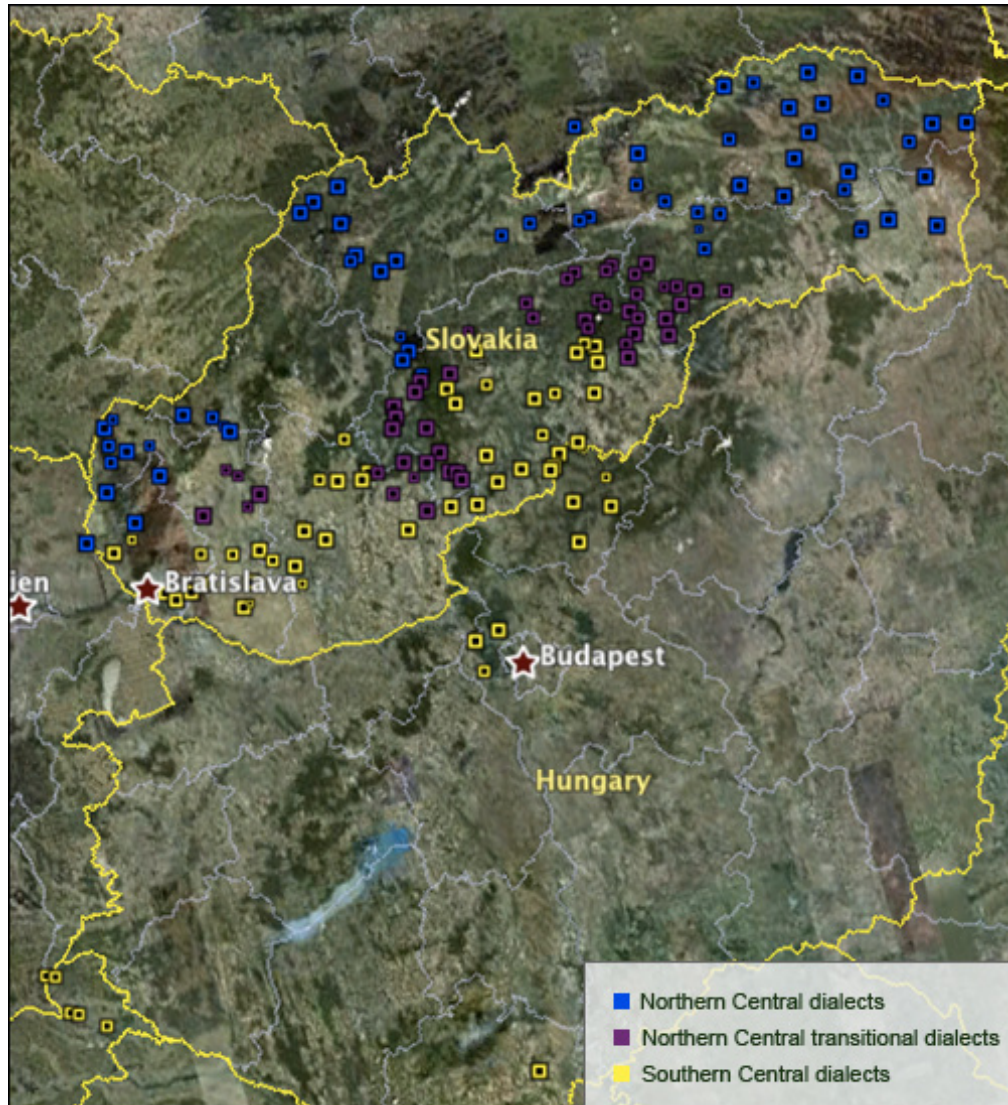
Figure 2: The geographical distribution of the studied dialects and their subdivision into Northern Central, Southern Central and Northern Central transitional dialects.

The questionnaire used for data elicitation consists of 1,500 phrases which comprise basic lexical, morphological and syntactic features of the studied varieties, and which provide the necessary cues for dialectological classification of the studied variety. The questionnaire has been elicited with native speakers who were raised in the given locality, spent most of their lives there and, ideally, their parents lived in the locality as well, so that the elicited data would be representative of the variety spoken in the particular locality. In several localities,

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data was obtained from more than one speaker; in such cases, examples used in this study are identified by the name of the locality and a number (e.g. *Litava 01*). Data elicitations were audio-recorded and transcribed.

Phrases containing a conditional clause were identified and classified on the basis of the semantic classification of conditional clauses by Thompson, Longacre and Hwang (2007). Phrases representing individual semantic types of conditionals were analyzed with respect to the subordinate conjunctions and the Tense-Aspect-Mood (TAM) marking of the verbs used. The analysis of the use of subordinators includes a discussion of their etymology (inherited conjunctions versus borrowings from contact languages), complexity (subordinators consisting of one word, as opposed to multi-word subordinators), position in the sentence (conjunctions located in the protasis or the apodosis of the sentence, separability of components), and meaning. Verbs used in conditional clauses were analyzed in regard to the categories of tense, aspect and mood marked on the verb; this study also discusses the implications of TAM categories for the meaning of conditional clauses.

The data obtained from Central Romani varieties show a great diversity of forms used for expressing the same meaning. Boretzky (1993, p. 83) ascribes the diversity present also in other Romani dialect groups to the fact that what we study in Romani is a colloquial, everyday speech, which differs radically from what is prescribed by grammarians and used in the literary language, but which, as he highlights, serves the speakers well enough to reach their communicative goals. It is beyond the scope of the present study to account for all the forms of conditional clauses used by speakers. Instead, it will focus on the most frequently-used patterns and will try to identify the main tendencies and strategies used by the speakers of Central Romani to express various types of conditional meanings.

The analysis will focus on unreality and reality conditionals as defined by Thompson, Longacre and Hwang (2007) and concessive conditional clauses, which will be discussed separately. Only conditional sentences with explicitly expressed protasis and apodosis will be considered in this study. Sentences will not be included with an implied protasis, such as *I'm lucky I can work from home; <u>otherwise I would lose my job</u>*. This sentence includes a clause that would function as an apodosis of a conditional sentence with an implied protasis *...otherwise [if I couldn't work from home] I would lose my job.* Related constructions as for example paratactic conditionals (*Say one word and I'll kill you*) will not be dealt with, either.

2 Data analysis

2.1 Unreality conditionals

Thompson, Longacre and Hwang (2007, p. 255) describe unreality conditionals as conditionals referring to 'unreal' situations, which they divide into two types: in 'imaginative' situations we imagine what might be or what might have been, and in 'predictive' situations we predict what will be. On this basis, conditionals are divided into imaginative conditionals, which are further subdivided into counterfactual and hypothetical conditionals, and predictive conditionals.

2.1.1 Imaginative conditionals

2.1.1.1 Counterfactual conditionals

Counterfactual conditional clauses are usually described as having a negative truth value or, rather, the truth value of the apodosis is negative because it depends on the truth value of the protasis, which is also negative. Therefore, the sentence *If she had known, she would have done it* implies that the person did not know (about what is implied in the protasis) and therefore she did not perform the action implied in the apodosis.

The use of subordinators in counterfactual conditionals in Central Romani is rather stable. In most cases, it follows the semantic pattern with an 'if'-type subordinator in the protasis and either a 'then'-type or no subordinator in the apodosis (see examples (1) and (2)).

(1) Litava 01

te *man* *uľľahi* *valasave* *lóve* **avka** *tut* *diňomahi*
if I.ACC have.3SG.PFV.PAST some money then you.ACC give.1SG.PFV.PAST
'if I had had some money, I would have given it to you'

(2) Slavošovce

te *ájalaš* *ídz ,* *dikhjalaš* *la*
if come.2SG.PFV.PAST yesterday see.2SG.PFV.PAST she.ACC
'if you had come earlier, you would have seen her'

In general, subordinators in the protasis of a counterfactual condition tend to be simplex, i.e. consisting of a single element. In Central Romani, this position can be taken either by conditional subordinators in the meaning 'if' (e.g. *te, kebi, ha, kdibi*), or subordinators meaning literally 'when', which are used predominantly in time clauses (e.g. *kana, keď, sar*). This can be explained by the overall proximity of the meaning in conditional and time relations, due to which a conditional sentence *If I had had some money, I would have paid you back* could be, more generally, paraphrased as *I would have paid you back at the point in time when I had had some money* (for a discussion about the similarities between reality conditions and 'when' relations see Cristofaro (2005, p. 171)). As pointed out by Thompson, Longacre and Hwang (2007, p. 257), 'in some languages, including Indonesian and certain languages of Papua New Guinea, there is no distinction between "if" clauses and "when" clauses.' The proximity of these types of relation is expressed also in Slovak and Hungarian, one of which is the main contact language for the majority of Central Romani varieties: in Slovak, the conditional subordinator *keby* can be analyzed as consisting of a time conjunction *keď* and a conditional marker *by*; in Hungarian, the subordinator *ha* can be used both in time and conditional clauses without modification. This rule is transferred to some of Southern Central dialects of Romani: *ha* can be used in both conditional and temporal function in the dialects of

Lower Novohrad, namely Nógrádszakál, Buják, Bušince and Nagylóc. In addition, the use of subordinators *čim* and *štom* 'as soon as', borrowed from Serbian or Macedonian respectively, is reported by Boretzky (1993, p. 87) in varieties under the influence of these contact languages.

Regarding the origin of conditional subordinators, the majority of the studied dialects use the inherited *te*. To a lesser extent, the inherited subordinators *kana* and *sar* are used. The Slovak borrowings *kebi* and *keď* are attested in Northern Central varieties, whereas the Hungarian-origin subordinator *ha* can be found predominantly in Southern Central varieties and in the transitional varieties of Brzotín and Pukanec, which have been, or used to be, under a strong influence of Hungarian.

Apodosis in counterfactual conditional sentences is often marked by a subordinator meaning 'then', which is positioned initially in the clause, provided that apodosis follows protasis in the sentence. If apodosis is placed before protasis, it is asyndetic. The only exception in the studied dialects can be found in Csobánka Romani, which retains a 'then'-subordinator even if apodosis is placed initially.

(3) Csobánka

hát *adaj újomahi*   *te na*   *súťomah-*   *ánde*
then here be.1SG.PFV.PAST if NEG sleep.1SG.PFV.PAST PART
'I would have been here if I had not overslept'

(4) Csobánka

hát *na*   *phučáhi*   *tutar*   *te džanáhi*
then NEG ask.1SG.PAST you.ABL if know.1SG.NON-PFV.PAST
káj   *hi*
where be.3SG.PRES
'I wouldn't ask/wouldn't have asked you if I knew/had known where it was'

Unlike protasis subordinators, the conjunctions in the main clause are exclusively simplex. Among the most frequent conjunctions we can find the inherited *avka* and *ta,* whose origin is unclear. Whereas *avka* is attested both in Northern Central and Southern Central varieties, the use of *ta* in this sense is restricted only to Northern Central varieties. There are two possible reasons for this distribution: firstly, according to Elšík, Hübschmannová and Šebková (1999, p. 376), in Southern Central varieties, *taj* or even its reduced form *ta* is used as a coordinating conjunction 'and' (in Northern Central varieties, *the* or *he* is usually employed in this function). Therefore the conjunction *ta* is reserved for the coordinative meaning and the possibility to use it in the meaning 'then' would be ruled out. The second possibility is that *ta* is a borrowing from Slovak *tak*; on the other hand, *ta* is used in this sense not only in dialects in contact with Slovak but also with the Polish varieties of Kraków and Nowa Huta.

Non-inherited subordinators include the Slovak loanword *tak* or the borrowings from Hungarian *akkor/akor* and *hát.* In most cases, the dialects are consistent in using either conditional conjunctions borrowed from Slovak or those borrowed from Hungarian; however, in the varieties of Ipeľské Úľany and Kokava nad Rimavicou, the conditional subordinator is of Slovak origin, whereas the 'then'-element in the apodosis is a Hungarian borrowing.

(5) Ipeľské Úľany

kebi *ídž*　　na　*maťiľe*　　　　　　**akor** *bi*　*len*　　*na*
if　yesterday NEG get-drunk.3PL.PFV.PAST then COND they.ACC NEG
dikhanďiľahi　　　*adaďive*　*o*　*šéro*
hurt.3SG.PFV.PAST　today　ART　head
'if they hadn't got drunk yesterday, they wouldn't have a headache today'

(6) Kokava nad Rimavicou

kebi o *čháve denahi* o *kukóvi andi komora*
if ART children put.3PL.PAST ART egg.PL in pantry
akor na musaľahi pe te pokazinen
then NEG must.PAST REFL PART go-off
'if the children had put the eggs into the pantry, they wouldn't have to go off'

As pointed out by Matras, conditional clauses, unlike other types of adverbial clauses, rely heavily on the interaction of tense, aspect and modality categories in the two parts of the construction, the protasis and apodosis (2002, p. 186). On the other hand, it is impossible to define clear-cut rules concerning what semantic type of condition is marked by what combination of tense, aspect and mood. Nevertheless, there are certain tendencies which can be observed.

In the majority of cases, the verb in counterfactual conditional clauses appears in the past tense form in either perfective or non-perfective aspect (see examples (7) and (8)).

(7) Banská Šťiavnica

t- avľalas ídž k -amende , dikhľalas la
if come.2SG.PFV.PAST yesterday to we.LOC see.2SG.PFV.PAST she.ACC
'if you had come to our place yesterday, you would have seen her'

(8) Vysoká nad Kysucou

te bi avnas lačhe manuša tak bi
if COND come.3PL.PAST nice people then COND
peske bi omluvinenas
REFL-DAT COND apologize.3PL.PAST
'if they were nice people, they would have apologized to you'

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In both examples, the verbs are clearly marked for conditional mood: in the example (7), both the perfective suffix *-ľ-* and the past-tense imperfect suffix *–as* are attached to the verb. In the indicative mood, the presence of the perfective marking would rule out the presence of the imperfect marker. In the example (8), the conditional is expressed by the particle *bi* borrowed from Slovak, which is used exclusively in this sense.

In some dialects, the verb in the protasis can appear also in the present subjunctive (examples (9) and (10)) or future (11) form.

(9) Kuchyňa

te man   aven   varave lóve   dás
if I.ACC have.3PL.SUBJ some   money give.1SG.PAST
tuke   len
you.DAT they.ACC
'if I had some money, I would give it to you'

(10)   Litava 02

na   phučľom   me man   tutar
NEG ask.1SG.PFV.PAST I REFL you.ABL
te džanaŭ   káj   odá hi
if know.1SG.PRES where it   be.3SG.PRES
'I wouldn't ask you if I knew where it was'

(11)   Gornji Slaveči Prekmurje

te man   ovla   valaso loj ,   dáuhi   tut
if I.ACC have.3SG.FUT some money give.1SG.PAST you.ACC
'if I had some money, I would give it to you'

Givón (2001, p. 333) observes that: '… counterfact clauses cross-linguistically tend to be marked by a combination of two semantically conflicting verbal inflections: the prototypically *realis* past, perfective or perfect [and] the prototypically *irrealis* future, subjunctive, conditional and modal.' In Central Romani, however, the different forms of verbs in counterfactual conditional clauses can all be subsumed under the second group, i.e. with prototypically non-real meaning.

Although there do not seem to be strict rules relating to the use of perfective or non-perfective aspect, there seems to be a tendency towards using perfective aspect in cases when the clause clearly refers to the past. If the reference of the clause is not clear or the clause refers to the present, the occurrence of verbs in the non-perfective aspect is higher. In the studied data, there are three examples of sentences in which the protasis refers clearly to the past:

(12)   *If I had been healthy at that time, I would have found a job.*
(13)   *If you had come yesterday, you would have seen her.*
(14)   *If they hadn't got drunk yesterday, they wouldn't have a headache today.*

In these examples, almost all the respondents used the perfective form of verbs in their translations. On the other hand, the occurrence of non-perfective forms was higher in the sentence *If they were nice people, they would have apologized to you*, in which the protasis can refer either to the present or to the past (see also example (8)).

Furthermore, in several dialects the speakers distinguished a different time reference of protasis and apodosis of the same sentence by a different morphological marking of verbs. In the sentence *You would already be here, if you hadn't overslept* the protasis refers to the past, whereas the apodosis refers to the present. In the varieties of Mučín, Nógrádszakál, Kľačany,

Piliscsaba, Veľké Kostoľany, Madunice and Vysoká nad Kysucou, the verb in the protasis has a perfective marking and the verb in the apodosis is in the non-perfective aspect.

(15)   Vysoká nad Kysucou
         už   bi   adaj avehas   te bi   na   zasučalas
         already COND here be.2SG.PAST if COND NEG oversleep.2SG.PFV.PAST

(16)   Madunice 02
         ovehas   adaj , te na   súťalas   ánde
         be.2SG.PAST here   if NEG sleep.2SG.PFV.PAST   PART
         'you would already be here if you had not overslept'

However, other dialects do not make such distinction (see e.g. example (3)), therefore this tendency cannot be taken as a rule.

In general, Central Romani varieties mark counterfactual conditionals quite regularly by the means of the conditional subordinator *te* in the protasis and by perfective conditional marking of the verb. Less frequently, subordinators are borrowed from contact languages and/or the verb is the non-perfective aspect.

2.1.1.2 Hypothetical conditionals

Hypothetical conditionals are, together with counterfactual conditionals, often subsumed under the term 'imaginative conditionals' because they are used in situations in which we imagine what might be or what might have been (Thompson et al., 2007, p. 255). Whereas counterfactual conditionals refer to situations that didn't happen or couldn't happen, situations whose truth value is not necessarily negative, i.e. situations which might happen, are

described as hypothetical conditionals. An example of such construction in English is the sentence *If I saw Jennifer, I would ask her about her job.* The situation is not real at the moment of the speech but there is a chance that it will come true in future (the speaker will see Jennifer and will ask her about her job). In English, the difference between counterfactual and hypothetical conditional is distinguished by a different morphological marking of the verb (compare the previous example with a counterfactual sentence *If I had seen Jennifer, I would have asked her about her job*). However, in some languages counterfactual and hypothetical conditionals are not formally distinguished, as for example in Slovak:

(17)   Slovak
keby našiel   vrece plné zlata, bol   by   šťastný
if   find.3SG.PAST bags full gold be.3SG.PAST   COND happy
'if he found bags full of gold, he would be happy'

(18)   Slovak
keby sa   neopili,   tak   by   ich
if   REFL not-get-drunk.3PL.PAST then COND they
nebolela   hlava
not-hurt.3SG.PAST head
'if they hadn't got drunk, they wouldn't have had a headache'

As a result, sentences such as (17) and (18) are often ambiguous. In this case, the sentence may refer to the present and therefore it means that there is still a possibility that the person might find bags full of gold - in this case the sentence is will be interpreted as hypothetical. If, however, the sentence refers to the past, the proposition can no longer take place and therefore the sentence would be classified as counterfactual.

The set of conjunctions used in hypothetical conditionals in Central Romani is very similar to the one used in counterfactual conditionals. Both 'if' and 'then' types of conjunctions are predominantly simplex. The 'if' type is realized by the subordinator *te* in the overwhelming majority of the studied dialects. In fact, there are only 13 varieties[1] out of the 206 studied that use a conjunction other than *te* in the protasis of the hypothetical condition. In these dialects, the 'if' subordinator is realized mostly by a borrowing: *kebi* (Brezno, Čadca, Giraltovce, Heľpa, Holumnica, Kokava nad Rimavicou, Sielnica, Sučany, Šumiac, Turzovka and Višňové) is borrowed from Slovak, and *ha* (Mátraverebély, Nagylóc, Nógrádszakál, Buják and Bušince) is borrowed from Hungarian. The varieties of Jelšava, Pobedim, and occassionally also Kokava nad Rimavicou, Ponická Huta, Sielnica, Sučany and Divín use the temporal inherited conjunction *kana* in the conditional sense. In the Kraków variety, the inherited conjunction *sar* is used in the meaning of 'if'. The use of this conjunction is very interesting in this sense because *sar* is originally used as a manner interrogative or relative pronoun 'how'. Under the influence of Slavic languages (in this case Polish; see the example (19) for the temporal use of *jak*, and example (20) for the manner use) it has undergone a semantic shift towards the time interrogative/relative 'when' and in this sense it has been used, together with the synonyms *kana* and *keď*, as a conditional subordinator (for a discussion of the formal similarities between temporal and conditional sentences see Cristofaro (2005, p. 171)). Matras (1999) mentions the use of *sar* in the Polska Roma variety to express immediate simultaneity.

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[1] These are varieties in which more than two examples of hypothetical conditional clauses were available. There are another 8 varieties in which the use of *te* is not attested in the elicited sentences but in which only one or two examples were available.

(19)   Polish

jak *byłam   mała, nie lubiłam   fasoli*
when be.1SG.PAST small NEG like.1SG.PAST beans
'when I was a child I didn't like beans'

(20)   Polish

jak *sie   to czyta ?*
how REFL it read.3SG.PRES
'how do you read this?'

Similarly to counterfactual conditionals, in hypothetical sentences the apodosis is often marked by a conjunction meaning 'then'. If, however, the apodosis is placed initially in the sentence, it is always asyndetic. Again, the most frequent realizations in Central Romani varieties are the inherited conjunctions *avka* or *ta*, the Slovak borrowing *tak* or loans from Hungarian: *akor* and *hát*. These conjunctions sometimes undergo certain phonological modifications in individual dialects; therefore *akor* is found both in the original Hungarian form with a geminated /k/ - /akkor/ and in the secondarily reduced form /akor/ (see **Figure 3**). Elšík, Hübschmannová and Šebková (1999) point out that geminates in Hungarian loanwords have been mostly adapted in the Slovak-bilingual Southern Central dialects; moreover, adaptation is present also in some Hungarian-bilingual varieties (Elšík et al., 1999, p. 305). Within the studied varieties, this is attested in Versend Romani, in which /akor/ occurs without gemination.
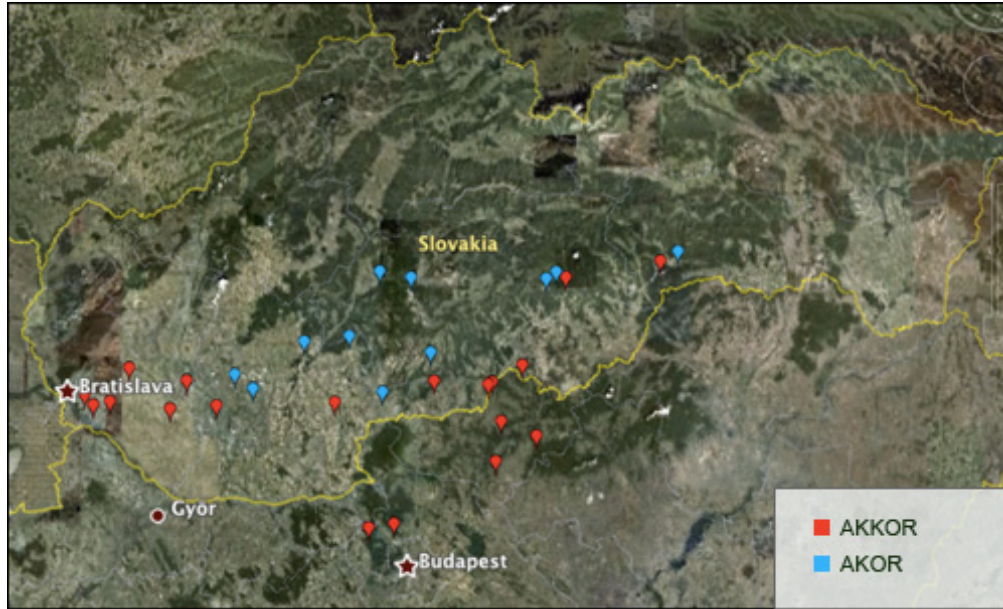
Figure 3: Distribution of dialects which have retained the geminate in *akkor* and dialects in which it has been reduced.
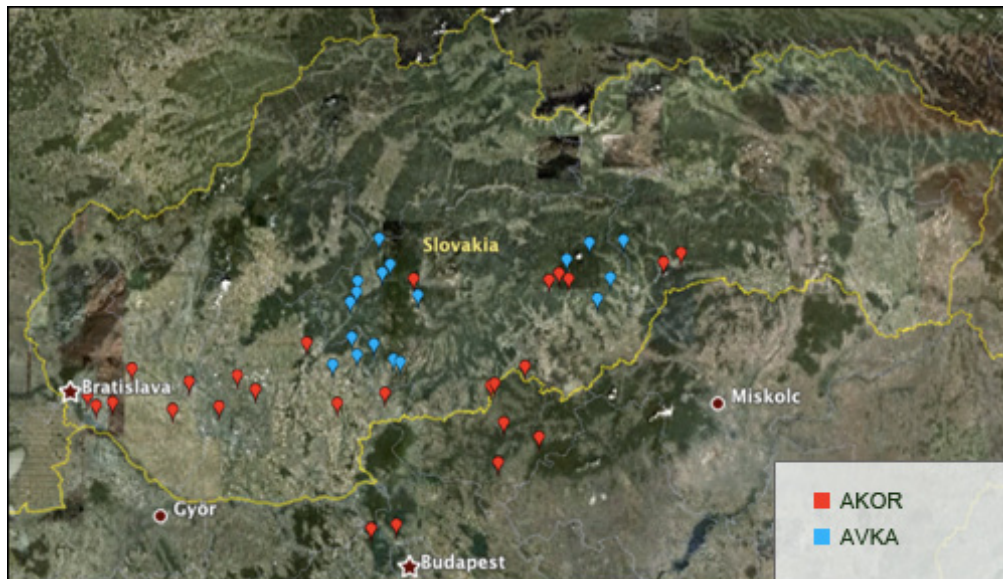
Figure 4: Geographical distribution of *avka* and *akkor*.

Regarding the geographical distribution of individual conjunctions, it seems that the inherited *avka* 'then' is more frequent in Northern Central varieties, in which the main contact language is Slovak, whereas the borrowing *akkor/akor* is typical for varieties strongly influenced by Hungarian. The distribution of *avka* and *akkor/akor* is illustrated in **Figure 4**.

In the introduction to section 2.1.1.2 I discussed an ambiguity in the interpretation of imaginative sentences in Slovak, due to which it is sometimes not possible to distinguish between hypothetical and counterfactual sentences without knowing the context in which the sentence appears. Since the data for this research has been obtained through elicitation of isolated phrases, the natural context is, in most cases, absent. Therefore in the elicitation of sentences like (17) or (18) with informants bilingual in Slovak, the informants might not be entirely sure whether the sentence in the source language had a hypothetical or counterfactual meaning. There are, however, two sentences which in my opinion give sufficient information regarding the type of the condition:

(21)   *You must go another way; if you went this way, you could get lost.*
(22)   *If we separated in the shop, I'll meet you at the entrance.*

In the sentence (21), the clause *you must go another way* clearly states that the action is taking part in the present and therefore the propositions made in the conditional clause might still come true (the addressee might still go the wrong way and get lost). In sentence (22), the hypotheticality of the sentence is confirmed by the future reference of the apodosis *I'll meet you at the entrance*.

If we compare the TAM marking of the verbs in 'ambiguous' and 'unambiguous' sentences, we find certain differences. In ambiguous hypothetical conditionals, the proportion

is higher of verbs in the perfective form with the past-tense marker –*as* or the non-perfective past tense form, such as in examples (23) and (24).

(23)   Baďan
         te rakhľahas   zlato jekh góno , avka avľahas   igen rado
         if find.3SG.PFV.PAST gold one sack   then be.3SG.PFV.PAST very happy
         'if he found/had found a bag full of gold, he would be/would have been happy'

(24)   Čadca[2]
         kebi baronas   ešče čulo ,   avenas   bi   bareder
         if   grow.3PL.PAST even a-little be.(SUBJ).3PL.PAST COND taller
         sar   o   lengro dat
         then ART their   father
         'if they grew up/had grown up a little more, they would be/would have been taller than their father'

Occasionally, speakers translated the hypothetical sentence *If they grew up a little more, they would be taller than their father* in the predictive sense, i.e. *If they grow up a little more, they will be taller than their father*. Sentence (25) is an illustration of such translation. Sentence (26), on the other hand, is an interesting example of a combination of a conditional marking in the protasis (the past tense marker –*ahi*) and the future form of the verb in the apodosis. It seems that this sentence is somewhere in between imaginative and predictive conditional type not only formally but also semantically: the speaker seems to evaluate the possibility of the realization of the proposition as being higher than in a typical hypothetical condition (i.e. there is a chance that the proposition might come true but no indication that it

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[2] Note also the non-indicative form of the verb 'be' in Čadca Romani; in the indicative mood, this verb would appear in the form *has* in the 3rd person plural imperfect.

actually will), but lower than in a prototypical predictive condition (i.e. it is probable that the proposition will come true).

(25)   Šarovce

még te eď čepo bárďona   akkor baredena ovna   pre dadestar

yet if a little grow.3PL.FUT then taller   be.3PL.FUT their father.ABL

'if they grow up a little more, they will be taller than their father'

(26)   Bušince

ha még bukader bárďonahi   bareder ovna   sar leskero dad

if yet a-little grow.3PL.PAST taller   be.3PL.FUT than his   father

'if they grew up a little more, they will be taller than his father'

In unambiguous hypothetical conditionals (i.e. sentences (21) and (22)), the proportion of future-tense verbal marking is significantly higher. Therefore we can find three basic types of TAM marking in these sentences, which can be illustrated by examples (27), (28) and (29).

(27)   Litava 03

musaj te   džas   avrethe ,   te géľaláhi   áthar

must PART go.2SG another-way if go.2SG.PFV.PAST this-way

akor tut   našaďalahi

then you.ACC lose.2SG.PFV.PAST

'you must go another way; if you went this way, you could get lost'

(28)   Selice 01

site džas   ávrethe   taj te džasahi   adathar akkor naššosahi

must go.2SG another-way and if go.2SG.PAST this-way then lose.2SG.PAST

'you must go another way; if you went this way, you could get lost'

(29)   Breziny
         musaj te   džas   ávra stranaha   lebo   te džaha   odolaha
         must PART go.2SG other way.INSTR because if go.2SG.FUT this.INSTR
         avka tut   valakaj   straťineha
         then you.ACC somewhere lose.2SG.FUT
         'you must go another way because if you go this way you will get lost at some
         point'

In the sentence (27), verbs in both the protasis and the apodosis are in the perfective form with the past-tense suffix attached. This form corresponds with the prevailing format of counterfactual conditionals. Sentence (28), on the other hand, shows the non-perfective past-tense marking on both verbs. Finally, in the example (29) we can see that the speaker used future forms of the verbs, shifting the meaning towards prediction.

To a lesser extent, other types of verb marking than the three main types mentioned above can be encountered in hypothetical conditionals. The variety of Močarmany combines the perfective past-tense form in the protasis with present tense in the apodosis.

(30)   Močarmany
         mušines   te   džal   avrether   bo   te gejľalas
         must.2SG PART go.SUBJ another-way because if go.2SG.PFV.PAST
         kadarig   šaj našťuves
         this-way can lose.2SG.PRES
         'you must go another way because if you went this way, you could get lost'

Present tense in the apodosis can also be combined with non-perfective past-tense marking of the verb in the protasis, as in the variety of Petrová, or the verb in the protasis can occur in its future form, such as in the example from Mojmírovce.

(31)   Petrová

mušines   te   džal   kadarig bo   te bi džahas   kadarig

must.2SG PART go.SUBJ this-way because if COND go.2SG.PAST this-way

šaj našlos

can lose.2SG.PRES

'you must go another way because if you went this way, you could get lost'

(32)   Mojmírovce

site džas   áthar   mer   te džaha   óthar   akor

must go.2SG this-way because if go.2SG.FUT that-way then

šaj našoves

can lose.2SG.PRES

'you must go another way because if you went this way, you could get lost'

To sum up, we can see that TAM marking of verbs in hypothetical conditionals is very variable and follows several patterns. This can, in some cases, be caused by the possibility to interpret hypothetical conditional sentences as counterfactual ones; in such cases the marking of verbs can actually be referring to counterfactual conditions. In other cases, however, verbs are marked by present or future tense, which is frequent in predictive conditionals. This discrepancy is justifiable by the fact that hypothetical conditions are in fact somewhere in between counterfactual and predictive conditions, as far as the likeliness of the fulfilment of the proposition is concerned. This confirms that the borders between the individual semantic types of conditionals are rather blurred and semantic types are generally not linked to a specific type of verbal marking in Central Romani.

2.1.2 Predictive conditionals

Thompson, Longacre and Hwang (2007) describe predictive conditionals as referring to unreal situations, in which the speaker predicts what will be. An example they use to illustrate this type of conditionals is the following:

(33)   *If he gets the job, we will all celebrate.* (Thompson et al., 2007, p. 256)

Although predictive conditionals do not refer to real situations, the speaker evaluates the possibility of the realization of the proposition as being higher than in hypothetical and, of course, counterfactual conditionals.

As for the morphosyntactic marking of predictive conditionals, Thompson, Longacre and Hwang divide languages into two basic types: languages in which predictive conditionals are marked in the same way as imaginative, i.e. unreal conditionals, and those languages in which the marking corresponds with that of real conditionals. The data presented below shows that Central Romani can be classified as belonging to the second group.

The inventory of subordinators used in predictive conditional clauses does not radically differ from the ones used in counterfactual and hypothetical conditionals. However, there is a stronger tendency than in imaginative conditionals to use temporal subordinators (*kana, sar, keď, až, amíg, addig*) in the protasis, especially in Northern Central dialects.

Nevertheless, subordinators with the original meaning 'if' can still be found both in Northern Central and in Southern Central dialects, and are clearly prevalent in the latter. The most frequent of these is again the inherited subordinator *te,* which is the most widely-used protasis subordinator in Southern Central dialects and, to a lesser extent, also in the Northern Central varieties. Its counterpart *ha,* which is borrowed from Hungarian, is attested in

Southern Central varieties and in the transitional dialect of Brzotín. Informants from Kuchyňa and Sielnica used a loan from Slovak, *ak*.

As mentioned above, temporal subordinators are used frequently in predictive conditionals, the most frequent being the inherited forms *kana* (with a phonological variant *kanak* in Jelšava Romani) and *sar*. Two other sound variants of *sar* are attested in the studied data: *šar* in Rejdová and Slavošovce Romani and *har* in Western Slovakia[3]. Occasionally, the speakers would use the Slovak borrowing *keď* 'when'.

As far as apodosis is concerned, the inventory of conjunctions used does not substantially differ from the ones used in counterfactual and hypothetical conditionals. In general, Northern Central dialects usually employ either the inherited conjunctions *ta* and *avka* or the Slovak loan *tak*. In Southern Central dialects, the most frequent is the Hungarian loan *akkor* or its reduced variant *akor*. The dialects of Budča, Cinobaňa, Divín, Ponická Huta, Veľký Krtíš and Zohor employ another Hungarian loanword *hát* in this sense. Two speakers of a Southern Central variety recorded in Zlaté Klasy used *ko*, which is a reduced form of the borrowing *akkor*.

(34)   Zlaté Klasy 01
        *te valaso   dikhesa   **ko**   phen mange*
        if something see.2SG.FUT then tell   me.DAT
        'if you see something, tell me'

A special set of conjunctions was used in the Southern Central dialects of Versend, Šarovce, Bušince, Nagylóc, Csobánka, Piliscsaba and Kajal. In these varieties, the sentence *If*

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[3] The latter is a part of a more general /s/ - /h/ sound alternation in grammatical paradigms of Romani dialects (for a detailed discussion see Matras MATRAS, Y. 2002. *Romani: A Linguistic Introduction*, Cambridge University Press.. The dividing line between dialects using the form *sar* and those with *har* cuts through western Slovakia.

you don't tell me, I'll not let you go was translated using the conjunction *még* in the protasis (from Hungarian *amíg* 'until') and the conjunction *addig/adig/aďik* (a Hungarian loan, meaning 'until then').

    (35)   Kajal

                még *na phenes*   *mange* ***addig***   *na*   *mukav*   *tut*

                until NEG say.2SG.PRES me.DAT until-then NEG let.1SG.PRES you.ACC

                te   *džan*

                PART go.SUBJ

                'unless you tell me, I won't let you go'

    (36)   Šarovce

                még *na* *pheneha*   *le*   ***aďig***   *na*   *muká*   *tut*

                until NEG tell.2SG.FUT he.ACC until-then NEG let.1SG.FUT you.ACC

                te   *džal*

                PART go.SUBJ

                'unless you tell me, I won't let you go'

The cases above result from the Hungarian source sentence:

    (37)   Hungarian

                amíg *nem*   *mondod el,* ***addig***   *nem*   *hagylak elmenni*

                until NEG tell   it until-then NEG let   go

                'unless you tell me, I won't let you go'

      The form *még* instead of the original Hungarian *amíg* is probably the result of reduction of the form *amég* (used in the same sense in Buják Romani), or, it could have been borrowed directly in this form from a local dialect of Hungarian.

The apodosis in predictive conditional sentences is often asyndetic, i.e. with no conjunction, as illustrated by the examples (38) and (39).

(38)   Slavošovce

te phurdla   i   bajvaj , na   dzá   avri
if blow.3SG.FUT ART wind   NEG go.1SG.FUT out
'if the wind blows, I will not go out'

(39)   Klenovec

te pijá   but   thud , ová   zoralo
if drink.1SG.FUT much milk   be.1SG.FUT strong
'if I drink a lot of milk, I will be strong'

As it has been suggested in the introduction to this section, TAM marking of verbs in Central Romani, as well as e.g. in English, resembles TAM marking in real conditionals rather than in counterfactual or hypothetical conditionals. In most cases, verbs in both protasis and in apodosis are marked by the future suffix –*a* (only in the sentence *If you see something, tell me,* the verb in the apodosis is in imperative):

(40)   Breziny

te fúkinla   i   balval avka na   džá   ári
if blow.3SG.FUT ART wind   then NEG go.1SG.FUT out
'if the wind blows, I won't go out'

(41)   Bystrany 02

te pijava   but thud avava   zoraľi

if drink.1SG.FUT lots milk be.1SG.FUT strong

'if I drink a lot of milk, I'll be strong'

(42)   Odranci Prekmurje

te valaso   dikjaha   mange   phukav

if something see.2SG.FUT me.DAT tell.IMP

'if you see something, tell me'

Apart from the most usual pattern illustrated in examples (40), (41) and (42), some informants used present indicative in both protasis and apodosis of the conditional:

(43)   Banská Šťiavnica

te mange   oda na   phenes ,   na   mukhav   tut   áthar

if me.DAT it   NEG tell.2SG.PRES NEG let.1SG.PRES you.ACC there

te   džal

PART go.SUBJ

'if you don't tell me, I won't let you go there'

(44)   Gornji Slaveči Prekmurje

te phúdel   báuvjal me na   žav   áuri

if blow.3SG.PRES wind   me NEG go.1SG.PRES out

'if the wind blows, I won't go out'

It is also acceptable in Central Romani to use a combination of present indicative in the protasis and future tense in the apodosis, as for example in English:

(45)   Bôrka

te aves   *dikhá*   *tut*

if come.2SG.PRES see.1SG.FUT you.ACC

'if you come, I'll see you'

(46)   Buják

ha but thud pijav   *zoralo ová*

if lots milk drink.1SG.PRES strong be.1SG.FUT

'if I drink a lot of milk, I will be strong'

In some cases, the verb in protasis is marked by the non-perfective past-tense suffix *-as* in Northern Central dialects or *–ahi* in Southern Central dialects, and the apodosis is either in the present indicative (47) or future tense (48). There are only a few examples in the studied data of predictive conditional sentences in which TAM marking of verbs corresponds to the marking in imaginative sentences; an example of such sentence is (49), which can therefore be interpreted as a hypothetical conditional sentence.

(47)   Kosihovce

te phudlahi   *balval na   džaŭ*   *ári*

if blow.3SG.PAST wind NEG go.1SG.PRES out

'if the wind blows, I will not go out'

(48)   Nógrádszakál

ha but thud pijáhi   *zoralo ová*

if lots milk drink.1SG.PAST strong be.1SG.FUT

'if I drink a lot of milk, I will be strong'

(49)   Mátraverbély

        te but thud pijáhi   *akkor báre zoralo ováhi*

        if lots milk drink.1SG.PAST then very strong be.1SG.PAST

        'if I drank a lot of milk, I would be strong'

Thompson, Longacre and Hwang (2007, p. 259) argue that there is a semantic explanation of the diversification of languages into those which mark predictive conditionals as 'real' and those which use the same marking as in 'unreal' conditionals. They claim that these conditionals can be seen as being 'unreal' because they refer to propositions which have not yet happened (and it is possible that they might not happen at all). On the other hand, predictive conditionals are 'real' in that they are "… making a prediction about a state of affairs in the 'real world', as opposed to the 'imaginary' world" (Thompson et al., 2007, p. 259).

2.2   Reality conditionals

As defined by Thompson, Longacre and Hwang, reality conditionals are those which refer to 'real' present, 'habitual/generic' or past situations (2007, p. 255). Cristofaro (2005, p. 160) claims that in a reality condition, the realization of the dependent event is presented as possible but '... no indication is given about the likelihood of it taking place (which distinguishes it from condition relations where this likelihood is presented as quite low).' In other words, the likelihood of the realization of the proposition is understood to be higher than in unreality conditionals, but the realization still cannot be taken for granted.

Thompson, Longacre and Hwang give the following examples of the three types of reality conditionals:

(50)   Present

If it's raining out there, my car is getting wet

(51)   Habitual/generic

If you step on the brake, the car slows down

(52)   Past

If you were at the party, then you know about Sue and Fred

(Thompson et al., 2007, p. 255)

As illustrated by the examples, present reality conditionals refer to present situations, whereas past reality conditionals deal with 'real' situations in the past. In habitual/generic conditionals, the speaker refers to general and/or recurring situations; thus, the sentence (51) can be paraphrased as *It is generally true that if you step on the brake, the car slows down.* As there is not enough data available on habitual/generic conditionals in Central Romani, only the present reality and past reality conditionals subtypes will be discussed in detail here.

2.2.1   Present reality conditionals

As the name suggests, present reality conditionals refer to present situations. In the studied Romani data, four sentences of this type have been elicited:

(53)   *If your head itches, scratch it.*

(54)   *If you want, I can help you clean your flat.*

(55)   *If you don't want to cut yourself, don't hold the knife like this, hold it like that.*

(56)   *If you don't want it, give it to me.*

In this type of sentences in English, the conditional marking is represented only by the conditional subordinator *if.* Similarly to the example given in Thompson, Longacre and Hwang, the verb is in the indicative mood.

42

In Central Romani, the inventory of protasis subordinators contains, similarly to previous types of conditionals, the inherited conjunction *te* 'if' and its counterpart borrowed from Hungarian, *ha*. The same meaning is carried by the Slovak borrowing *ak* (Sielnica 04) and the Czech[4] loan *jesli* (the variety of Dlhé nad Cirochou). An interested construction is attested in the dialect of Gornji Slaveči Prekmurje and Serdica Prekmurje 02: *ando adáu primer(kaj),* which can be translated as 'in case (that)'.

(57)   Gornji Slaveči Prekmurje

    ando adáu primer kaj *ada na   káumes   de   mange*

    in   this   case   that it   NEG want.2SG.PRES give.IMP me.DAT

    'in case that you don't want it, give it to me'

(58)   Serdica Prekmurje 02

    te *na каŭmes*   ***andu primer adaŭ*** *de   le mange*

    if NEG want.2SG.PRES in   case   this give.IMP it me.DAT

    'in case that you don't want it, give it to me'

It seems that both in these two dialects and in English a prepositional phrase consisting of the preposition 'in', the noun 'case', in Romani also the deictic element *adau* 'this' and optionally the relative *kaj* 'that', has been grammaticalized as a conditional subordinator. The meaning of is transparent: it suggests that in the situation described in the protasis, the proposition in the apodosis is realized. In other words (and with reference to examples (57) and (58)), if the condition is satisfied that the addressee does not want the object, then the action proposed in the apodosis should take place, i.e. the addressee should give the object to the speaker.

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[4] The speech of this respondent has been influenced by Czech because she lived in the Czech Republic.

In fact, in the example from the Serdica Prekmurje variety, the subordinator 'in case' is used alongside the more common conjunction *te.* The position of the grammaticalized phrase in the sentence between the protasis and the apodosis might seem to suggest that the phrase is a part of the apodosis. However, the sentence *If you don't want it, in that case give it to me* can be rephrased as *In that case that you don't want it, give it to me,* which suggests that both *te* and *andu primer adǎi* are a part of the protasis. Note also that the order of the elements constituting this subordinator is not fixed: whereas the deictic element *adau* is placed before the noun *primer* in the example (57), in (58) it follows the noun.

Similarly to the conditional types discussed so far, subordinators with a temporal meaning are used in the protasis of present reality conditionals. In fact, the realization of the subordinator by a temporal conjunction is very frequent in this type of conditionals, especially in Northern Central dialects spoken in localities in western Slovakia. In the western varieties of Kuchyňa, Myjava, Prievaly, Turzovka, Višňové and Závod, only temporal conjunctions were used in the protasis of present reality conditionals. The frequency of temporal conjunctions in this type of conditionals in Southern Central dialects is significantly lower. The reason for this differentiation is not quite clear. A possible explanation is that there is some kind of influence of Czech[5] on local Slovak varieties (which are in many features transitional between Slovak and Czech) in the use of temporal subordinators in a conditional meaning, that might have been transferred to Romani.

To be more specific, Central Romani dialects use the following temporal subordinators: the inherited *kana* and *sar* (varieties in the western part of Slovakia use the phonological variant *har*, for details see section 2.1.2), and a Slovak borrowing *ked* [Slovak *keď*] which can all be translated as 'when'. Some dialects use subordinators with the meaning

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[5] An ambiguous subordinator *když* is used in this type of sentences in Czech; it can function either as a temporal subordinator 'when' or as a conditional subordinator 'if'.

'as long as', namely Slovak borrowings *kim* [Slovak *kým*], *pokjal* [SK *pokiaľ*] , *dokal* [SK *dokiaľ*],a borrowing from western Slovak dialects *pokad* [SK *pokád*] and the Hungarian loan *meďik* [Hungarian *meddig*].

(59) Mojmírovce

    meďik *oda na* *kames*   *akor de* *le mange*
    if it NEG want.2SG.PRES then give.IMP it me.DAT
    'if you don't want it, give it to me'

Apart from the simplex subordinators mentioned above, a duplex conjunction *ži mek* is attested in the varieties of Slatina (60) and Litava 03 (61). The origin of this subordinator is mixed because the element *ži* is inherited, while *mek* is of Hungarian origin. Semantically, the first element *ži* carries the meaning 'as long as'; the element *mek* seems to have a focal function, carrying a meaning similar to 'even'. The order of the two elements is fixed.

(60) Slatina

    ži mek *oda na* *kames*   *de*   *mang-* *odá*
    as-long-as it NEG want.2SG.PRES give.IMP me.DAT it
    'as long as you don't want it, give it to me'

(61) Litava 03

    ži mek *oda na* *kames*   *akor mang-* *od- án*
    as-long-as it NEG want.2SG.PRES then me.DAT it bring
    'as long as you don't want it, bring it to me'

As far as 'then' conjunctions are concerned, Central Romani uses the same inventory as in the case of unreality conditionals: the inherited conjunctions *avka* and *ta*, Hungarian

loanwords *akkor* and *hát*, or the Slovak-origin *tak*. In a number of sentences, the apodosis of the present reality conditional is asyndetic.

Regarding TAM marking of verbs, Central Romani dialects unanimously use present indicative in the protasis of present reality conditionals:

(62)   Zborov

te oda na   kames   ta   de   mange

if it   NEG want.2SG.PRES then give.IMP me.DAT

'if you don't want it, give it to me'

(63)   Turček

te tut   xaruvel   o   šéro , avka tut   poškrabin

if you.ACC itch.3SG.PRES ART head then you.ACC scratch.IMP

'if your head itches, scratch it'

(64)   Skýcov

sar tut   na   kames   te   čhinel   na   iker

if   you.ACC NEG want.2SG.PRES PART cut.SUBJ NEG hold.IMP

odi čhúri aŭka

this knife like-this

'if you don't want to cut yourself, don't hold the knife like this'

(65)   Pušča Prekmurje

te na   adaŭ kaŭmes ,   de   mange

if NEG this   want.2SG.PRES give.IMP me.DAT

'if you don't want it, give it to me'

(66)   Versend 03

te kámen   ako šegítiná   ár   te   šužáren   o   kher
if want.2PL.PRES then help.1SG.FUT PART PART clean.SUBJ ART house
'if you want, I will help you to clean the house'

(67)   Petrová

sar kamen   šaj   tumenge pomožinav   te   pratinel
if   want.2PL.PRES PART you.DAT help.1SG.PRES PART clean.SUBJ
o   kher
ART house
'if you want, I can help you clean the house'

In the apodosis, in three of the four source sentences the verb is in the imperative, therefore the informants used imperatives in their translations as well. In the sentence *If you want, I can help you to clean the house*, the mood is indicative. In Romani, the apodosis of this sentence is either in the future tense (66) or in present indicative in cases when the modal particle *šaj* is used (67).

This marking of verbs corresponds to the TAM marking of verbs in present reality conditionals in English. The indicative mood suggests that speakers evaluate the situation as real. For example, in the sentence *If you don't want to cut yourself, don't hold the knife like this, hold it like that,* the speaker presumes that the addressee does not want to cut himself/herself and therefore the proposition in the protasis is likely to be true. In the sentences *If you don't want it, give it to me* and *If your head itches, scratch it,* it is perhaps the context of the sentence that makes the speaker think that the proposition in the protasis is likely to be true. Usually, a speaker would not say the sentence *If your head itches, scratch it* without there being an indication that the addressee's head itches (e.g. they have been scratching their head before); similarly, a speaker is not very likely to say *If you don't want it, give it to me* in a situation when the addressee is obviously happy about possessing the object in question. The sentence *If you want, I can help you clean your flat* will be normally uttered

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in a situation when the speaker presumes that the addressees could use his/her help, e.g. in a situation when the addressees are too busy or tired to be able to clean their flat themselves. This stands in contrast to predictive conditionals such as *If I drink a lot of milk, I will be strong* or *If you come, you will see me,* in which no indication is given of the likelihood of the realization of the proposition. Therefore, in my opinion, Cristofaro's claim that in reality conditionals there is no indication of the likelihood of the realization of the proposition is not precise. If the realization was not likely, a present reality conditional sentence would not entirely make sense in the given situation.

2.2.2 Past reality conditionals

Three past reality conditional sentences were analysed in the current sample of Romani data:

(68)   *If you have knocked the stick down, then put it back*

(69)   *They can't have been in the city if they didn't move an inch out of the house*

(70)   *If he told you this, then he must have gone totally crazy*

Subordinators in the protasis are exclusively simplex. Similarly to present reality conditionals, they can be semantically subdivided into those with a purely conditional meaning 'if' and those with an originally temporal meaning 'when'. In general, the most frequently used subordinators are the inherited *te* 'if' and *kana* 'when'.

(71)   Vysoká nad Kysucou

         te *tuke   akava phenďas   **tak** možno pes   zblázňinďas*

         if you.DAT this   tell.3SG.PFV then maybe REFL go-crazy.3SG.PFV

         'if he told you this, then he may have gone crazy'

(72)   Štvrtok na Ostrove 01

kana *odá trast čhidinďal*   **akkor** *thov   le iš   pál*

if   this iron knock-down.2SG.PFV then   put.IMP it also back

'if you have knocked this iron down, then put it back'

These pre-European subordinators are sometimes substituted for by borrowings from contact languages: *te* is replaced by *ak* in varieties influenced by Slovak, and by *ha* in varieties for which Hungarian is the main contact language.

(73)   Sielnica 04

ak *tuke   ova akadava phenďa   **tak** uplňe musaj ačhľa   dilino*

if you.DAT this this   tell.3SG.PFV then totally PART go.3SG.PFV crazy

'if he told you this, then he must have gone totally crazy'

(74)   Nógrádszakál

ha *má   téle   marďal   odi kopal áčhav   la oďďa pále*

if already down knock.2SG.PFV that stick put.IMP it there back

'if you have already knocked the stick down, then put it back there'

Subordinators with a temporal meaning include the inherited conjunction *sar* (75)*,* a Slovak borrowing *keď* (76) and a Hungarian loan *amikor* (77)*:*

(75)   Giraltovce

sar *aŭka tuke   phendža ,   mušindža   te   zadinľaľol*

if   so   you.DAT tell.3SG.PFV must.3SG.PFV PART go-crazy.SUBJ

'if he told you this, he must have gone crazy'

(76)   Trhovište

keď odi tička čhiďal   **ta**   *la postavin pale*

if   that stick knock-down.2SG.PFV then it put.IMP back

'if you have knocked that stick down, then put it back'

(77)   Mátraverbély

de naštig siňék   *ando fóro* **amikor** *andar o*   *kher*

but PART be.3PL.PFV in   town if   out   ART house

ári iš   *na*   *thoďék*   *pumáro pro*

out even NEG put.3PL.PFV their   foot

'they can't have been in the city if they didn't move an inch out of the house'

The conjunction *de* 'but' in the initial position of the apodosis is used rather as a discourse marker here, expressing the disagreement of the speaker with a previous proposition that the people this sentence refers to were in the city. *De* does not contribute to the conditionality of the sentence and is therefore not classified as a conditional conjunction here.

Conjunctions used in the apodosis ('then') include the inherited *avka* (78) and *ta* (76). Central Romani varieties which have been strongly influenced by Hungarian, especially Southern Central dialects, tend to use borrowings from Hungarian, namely *akkor* (72) and *hát* (79). A Slovak loanword *tak* is used predominantly in Northern Central varieties, e.g. in Sielnica Romani (73).

(78)   Domaníky

kana tuke   *oda phenďa ,*   **avka** *uplne zošaľinďa*

if   you.DAT it   tell.3SG.PFV then totally go-crazy.3SG.PFV

'if he told you this, then he must have gone totally crazy'

(79)   Zohor 02

*no akadá **kana** tuke   phenďa   **hát** úplňe site   sja   dilino*
well this   if   you.DAT tell.3SG.PFV then totally PART be.PAST stupid
'well, if he told you this, then he must have gone totally crazy'

The sentence (79) is somewhat exceptional, as far as the position of the conditional subordinator in a sentence is concerned. The subordinator is usually placed in the initial position in the protasis (it is the case in all the examples mentioned so far); in this sentence, however, the demonstrative pronoun *akadá* is fronted for the purpose of an emphasis, as it is the focus of the sentence (for a detailed discussion of topic-focus articulation see Hajičová et al., 1998).

Verbs in past reality conditionals are in the overwhelming majority of examples marked by perfective[6] suffixes and are in the indicative mood. This marking is used in all varieties of Central Romani included in this study, independently on their geographic location:

(80)   Turzovka

kana la odoj   čhidžal   tak   peske   la pale postavin
if   it   there knock-down.2SG.PFV then REFL it back put
'if you have knocked it down, then put it back'

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[6] Perfective marking is, at least partly, caused by the meaning of the studied sentences; it is possible that if the protasis of the sentence (69) was modified to *if they stayed at home all day long*, the aspectual marking would be different.

(81)   Giraltovce

našťi aŭle   andro gaŭ ked calo časos na   gele

PART be.3PL.PFV in   town if all   time NEG go.3PL.PFV

andal o   kher   aŭri pro krokos

out   ART house out for step

'they can't have been in town if they didn't move an inch out of the house'

(82)   Reca 02

te téle   čhidinďal   akkor megin terďar   uppe

if down knock.2SG.PFV then also   put.IMP up

'if you have knocked it down, then also put it back up'

(83)   Versend 02

te adá phenďa   tuke   akor tejješen kamplija te   diliňon

if this tell.3SG.PFV you.DAT then totally PART   PART go-crazy.SUBJ

'if he told you this, then he must have gone totally crazy'

This type of TAM verbal marking is used in both Northern Central and Southern Central varieties including the southern Hungarian locality of Versend. No data is available from Prekmurje varieties.

The only instance of another TAM marking seems to be an example from the Csobánka variety (84). Here the verb in the protasis is in present indicative. However, this type of marking is not used systematically even in this variety.

(84)   Csobánka

te má   téle   máres   odi kopal akor terďarav la upre

if already down knock.2SG.PRES that stick then put.IMP it up

'if you have already knocked the stick down, then put it back up'

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It is therefore possible to sum up this section by saying that in past reality conditionals in Central Romani verbs are used in the past tense perfective indicative.

2.3 Concessive conditional clauses

Concessive conditional clauses are clauses equivalent to 'even if' clauses in English. Thompson, Longacre and Hwang (2007, p. 261) mention that concessive conditionals are generally similar to ordinary conditionals in terms of verb forms and expressions of reality/unreality and hypotheticality/counterfactuality, but, at the same time, concessive conditionals carry additional, contrary-to-expectation, presuppositions.

The inventory of subordinators in concessive conditional clauses in Central Romani is much more complex than in unreality or reality conditionals. Subordinators are normally complex, i.e. they consist of two or even three elements. Semantically, these elements can be divided into three main types: conditional elements with the meaning 'if', focal elements 'even' or 'not even' and deictic elements 'then'. Like in reality and unreality conditionals, conditional subordinator elements 'if' tend to be located in the protasis and deictic elements 'then' are usually in the apodosis. However, the distribution of focal elements ('even', 'not even') is not fixed. In the majority of cases, they are located in the protasis to accompany the conditional element (such as *even if* in English); this is the case in example (85). Nevertheless, they can be located in the apodosis instead, which is the case in the examples from the varieties of Breziny and Jastrabá.

(85)   Martin 02

the kana na   phirelas   pal o   *džuvľa* ,

even if   NEG go.3SG.PAST after ART woman.PL

me les   mukava

I   he.ACC leave.1SG.FUT

'even if he wasn't such a womanizer, I would leave him'

(86)   Breziny

kana ová   *párno sar gádžo* **th-** *avka búti n-* *rakhá*

if   be.1SG.FUT white   as gadjo even then job NEG find.1SG.FUT

'even if I was white as a gadjo, I could not find a job'

(87)   Jastrabá

t- ová   *párno sar gádžo* **th-** *avka búťi na   rakhá*

if be.1SG.FUT white as gadjo even then job   NEG find.1SG.FUT

'even if I was white as a gadjo, I could not find a job'

Focal element can be present in both the protasis and the apodosis of the conditional:

(88)   Kunešov

kana the avava   *sar gádžo parno* **the** *avka e   búťi na   resava*

if   even be.1SG.FUT as gadjo white even then ART job NEG find.1SG.FUT

'even if I was white as a gadjo, I could not find a job'

It is clear from the previous examples that the position of conditional and deictic subordinator elements is rather stable: they are usually in the initial position in a clause. Focal elements, on the other hand, do not have a stable position in the sentence. In examples (85), (86) and (87), and in the apodosis of the example (88), the focal element *the* precedes the conditional element. In contrast, in the protasis of the sentence (88) and in the example (89)

the focal element is located after the conditional element. Moreover, the example (89) shows that the conditional and focal elements are separable.

(89)   Hronský Beňadik
rušťahas   *pre tute*   ***te*** *kerďalas*
be-angry.3SG.PFV.PAST with you.LOC if do.2SG.PFV.PAST
savoro   ***the*** *lače*
everything   even well
'he/she would be angry with you even if you had done everything right'

The reason for the variable position of focal elements can perhaps be found in their function. As focal elements, their role is to draw the hearer's attention to what comes next and make it prominent in the sentence. For example, the English focal element *even* can be used to highlight various expressions in the sentence *John told Angela about the secret wedding:*

(90)   ***Even*** *John told Angela about the secret wedding*

(91)   *John told **even** Angela about the secret wedding*

(92)   *John told Angela **even** about the secret wedding*

While in Central Romani the scope of the conditional and deictic subordinator elements is usually clausal in concessive conditional clauses, i.e. they refer to the clause as a whole, the scope of the focal elements can be local, which means that they can only refer to a part of the clause, as it is the case in the English sentences (90) - (92). In the case of example (90) the focussed part of the clause is *John*, in example (91) it is *Angela* and in example (92) the focussed part of the clause is *about the secret wedding*.

Whereas the focal element *even* is always located before the conditional *if* in English concessive conditional clauses, in Central Romani its position depends on the position of the

focussed element: if the scope of the focal element is clausal, then it is located at the beginning of the clause; if its scope is local, then it, in most cases, directly precedes the focussed element.

(93)   Kuchyňa
xolárelas   *pes   pre tu   **te** kerehas   **he** savoro láčhes*
be-angry.3SG.PAST REFL at   you.LOC if do.2SG.PAST even all   well
'he/she would be angry with you even if you had done everything right'

(94)   Martin 02
kana *avavas   **the** párno sar gadžo , e   búťi na   resava*
if   be.1SG.PAST even white as gadjo   ART job NEG get.1SG.FUT
'even if I was white as a gadjo, I would not find a job'

In general, subordinators in the protasis of concessive conditionals in Central Romani can be either simplex or complex. Simplex subordinators are less frequent than complex ones, but several are attested in the studied varieties. All of those found in the current set of data can be semantically classified as conditional elements ('if' or originally temporal conjunctions 'when'). The simplex subordinator *te* is attested for example in the variety of Banská Štiavnica.

(95)   Banská Štiavnica
te *avľomas   párno sar gádžo búťi th- avka na   resťomas*
if be.1SG.PFV.PAST white as gadjo   job even then NEG get.1SG.PFV.PAST
'even if I was white as a gadjo, I wouldn't find a job'

The Hungarian borrowing *ha* is preferred in varieties strongly influenced by Hungarian, for example in the variety of Buják:

(96)   Buják

ha *aso parno ováhi   sar ek   gádžo búti akkor še   hudáhi*
if so   white be.1SG.PAST as ART gadjo job   then not-even find.1SG.PAST
'even if I was white as a gadjo, I wouldn't find a job'

A Slovak-origin alternative *kebi* 'if' can be found in some of Northern Central dialects of Slovakia. Apart from the 'if' conjunctions, subordinators with the original temporal meaning 'when' are used, e.g. the inherited *kana* (86) or the borrowing *keď,* which is attested in the variety of Trhovište.

(97)   Turzovka

kebi *avavas   parno avka gadžo aj   tak   na   denas   bi*
if   be.1SG.PAST white as   gadjo even then NEG give.3PL.PAST COND
mange   buči
me.DAT job
'even if I was white as a gadjo, they wouldn't give me a job'

(98)   Trhovište

kebi *len   eslas   o   oblekos te e   mašľa te   aŭka*
if   they.ACC be.3SG.PAST ART suit   and ART tie   even then
lenge   na   čhorna   are karčma
they.DAT NEG pour.3PL.FUT in   pub
'even if they were wearing a suit and a tie, they wouldn't sell them a drink in that pub'

Another type of simplex subordinators which can be found in the protasis is a semantic equivalent of the English conjunction *although*, which is typical rather of concessive clauses. Central Romani varieties of Petrová, Giraltovce and Pavlovce nad Uhom systematically make

use of the borrowed conjunction *xoc, xoč* or *hoc* [Slovak *hoci*] in the concessive conditional clauses.

(99)   Petrová
         xoc   *bi*   *avavas*   *parno sar gadžo buči na   resava*
         although COND be.1SG.PAST white as gadjo job   NEG find.1SG.FUT
         'even if I was white as a gadjo, I wouldn't find a job'

The varieties of Selice 02 and Tomášikovo have grammaticalized the adverbial *hjaba* 'in vain' in the function of a concessive conditional subordinator:

(100)   Selice 02
         hijábo *ováhi*   *párno sar prósto , búti na   uštidáhi*
         in-vain be.1SG.PAST white as gadjo   job NEG get.1SG.PAST
         'even if I was white as a gadjo, I wouldn't find a job'

(101)   Tomášikovo
         hijábo *újomahi*   *párno , ni   akka búti na   uštidinďomáhi*
         in-vain be.1SG.PFV.PAST white   NEG then job NEG find.1SG.PFV.PAST
         'even if I was white as a gadjo, I wouldn't find a job'

Hjaba is used frequently as an adverbial in Central dialects; e.g. in East Slovak varieties, Hübschmannová, Šebková and Žlnayová (2001, p. 121) give three meanings of the word: firstly, *hjaba* means 'for nothing', e.g. *o čhave chuden kňižki hjaba* 'children get their books for free'. Secondly, the authors mention the meaning 'in vain': *hjaba odoj džaha, nane khere* 'it's no use going there, he's not at home', literally 'in vain you will go there, he's not at home', and thirdly, *hjaba* means 'unjustly'. Most probably, the adverbial meaning 'in vain' gave rise to the use of the word as a conjunction. The meaning of the sentence mentioned by

Hübschmannová, Šebková and Žlnayová can be paraphrased as *if you go there, it will be in vain because he's not at home* and then *even if you go there, there will be no use because he's not at home.* The subordinator *hjaba* expresses that if the proposition in the protasis will be realized, it will be in vain. In this way, *hjaba* carries the contrary-to-expectation presupposition mentioned by Thompson, Longacre and Hwang (2007, p. 261). It is also possible that the source adverbial *hiába* can be used in a concessive conditional meaning in local varieties of Hungarian and that the word was borrowed into some varieties of Romani with both the adverbial and the concessive conditional meaning.

The protasis of concessive conditional clauses most frequently contains a duplex subordinator (consisting of two elements), the most frequent model being a conditional element 'if' complemented by a focal element 'even', 'not even', which corresponds with the English subordinator *even if.* Individual dialects use various combinations of inherited and borrowed elements. Subordinators in which both the elements are inherited include *kana the* and *te the.*

(102)   Domaníky
kana the *na   sľa   kurváši ,   avka už   les*
if   even NEG be.3SG.PAST womanizer then already he.ACC
th-   avka na   kamav
even then NEG love.1SG.PRES
'even if he wasn't a womanizer, I don't love him any more'

(103)   Sebechleby
the   te *avľomas   párno sar gádžo búťi na   resava*
even if be.1SG.PFV.PAST white as   gadjo job NEG find.1SG.FUT
'even if I was white as a gadjo, I wouldn't find a job'

In numerous cases, an inherited conditional element is complemented by a borrowed focal element. Resulting subordinator forms include *aj kana, aňi kana, aňi te, te iš, kana iš* and *még te*. Out of these, the first three are formed with Slovak-origin focal elements *aj* and *aňi* and the last three contain an element borrowed from Hungarian: the Romani forms *iš* and *még*. A combination of a borrowed conditional element and an inherited focal element is also possible; the form *kebi the* is attested in Central Romani, the conditional element being a borrowing from Slovak.

(104)   Domaníky

   aj kana *tuke   thoveha   gáda the mašľa , th- avka ande krčma*
   even if   you.DAT put.2SG.FUT suit and tie   even then in   pub
   lenge   na   čhivna   te   pijel
   they.DAT NEG pour.3PL.FUT PART drink.SUBJ
   'even if you were wearing a suit and a tie, they wouldn't sell them drinks in that pub'

(105)   Breziny

   aňi   kana *n-   uľáhi   aso sukňičkári th-*
   not-even if   NEG be.3SG.PFV.PAST such womanizer even
   avka leske   na   slúžiná
   then he.DAT NEG serve.1SG.FUT
   'even if he wasn't such a womanizer, I won't be his servant any more'

(106)   Horná Ždaňa

   aňi   te *n-   ovľas   oda sukňičkári me leske   uš*
   not-even if NEG be.3SG.PFV.PAST it   womanizer I   he.DAT already
   te   služinel   na   služiná
   PART serve.SUBJ NEG serve.1SG.FUT
   'even if he wasn't such a womanizer, I will not be his servant any more'

(107)   Hnúšťa

te iš   sťomahi   parno sar gadžo buti na   uštidav

if even be.1SG.PAST white as gadjo job NEG find.1SG.PRES

'even if I was white as a gadjo, I wouldn't find a job'

(108)   Cinobaňa

kana iš   sukňičkári   n-   ovlahi ,   má   me leske

if   even womanizer NEG be.3SG.PAST already I   he.DAT

n- avá

NEG be.1SG.FUT

'even if he wasn't such a womanizer, I won't stay with him any longer'

(109)   Kajal

még te aso párno ováhi   sar jék   gádžo , akkor iš   búti man

even if so white be.1SG.PAST as ART gadjo   then   even job I-ACC

n-   ólahi

NEG have.3SG.PAST

'even if I was white as a gadjo, I wouldn't find a job'

(110)   Turzovka

kebi ova has   the sukňičkaris ale me les   avka mukava

if   it   be.3SG.PAST even womanizer but I   he.DAT so   leave.1SG.FUT

'even if he was a womanizer, I will leave him like that'

Two forms of subordinators consisting purely of borrowed elements are attested: the subordinator *i ked* is formed from Slovak-origin elements and the subordinator *még ha* is of Hungarian origin.

(111)   Giraltovce

i   ked na   sas   pal   o   *romňa ,   me leske*
even if   NEG be.3SG.PAST after ART woman.PL I   he.DAT

imar   na   služinava
already NEG   serve.1SG.FUT

'even if he wasn't such a womanizer, I wouldn't be his servant any longer'

(112)   Buják

ha még *upre   öltöň iš   taj   ňakkendő hi   upre lende ande*
if   even on   suit even and tie   be.3SG.PRES on   they.LOC in

kočma na   čhorel   lenge
pub   NEG pour.3SG.PRES they.DAT

'even if they were wearing a suit and a tie, they wouldn't sell them drinks in that pub'

Another semantic type of a duplex protasis subordinator is a combination of an element in the meaning 'although' with a focal element 'even'. Such subordinators include *xoč the* in Jovsa 01 and most probably also *xoci te, xoč te* used in the dialect of Pavlovce nad Uhom.

(113)   Jovsa 01

*rušľahas   pre tute   **xoč**   kerďalas*
be-angry.3SG.PFV.PAST at   you.LOC although do.2SG.PFV.PAST

the *savoro   lačhes*
even everything well

'he would be angry with you even if you had done everything well'

(114)   Pavlovce nad Uhom 01

xoci   ***t-***   *ujomas*   *párno sar th- o   gádže   búči*
although even be.1SG.PFV.PAST white   as also ART gadjo.PL job

na   xudav
NEG get.1SG.PRES

'even if I was white as a gadjo, I would not get a job'

Triplex subordinators, that is subordinators consisting of three elements, are most frequently represented by a combination of two focal elements 'even' and a conditional element 'if'. Examples are *még ha iš* and *még te iš*. *Még ha iš* is attested in the area of Lower Novohrad, more precisely in the varieties of Bušince, Buják, Nagylóc and Nógrádszakál. *Még te iš* can be found in the varieties of Šarovce and Versend 02.

(115)   Bušince

ha még *cele gádende* ***iš***   *ovnahi*   *taj   ňakkendóveste* ***iš***
if even all suit.LOC even be.3PL.PAST and tie.LOC   even

ovnahi   *an odija kočma na čhorel*   *lenge*
be.3PL.PAST in that   pub   NEG pour.3SG.PRES they.DAT

'even if they were wearing a suit and a tie, they wouldn't sell them drinks in that pub'

(116)   Nagylóc 02

még ha *assi párni* ***iš***   *ováhi*   *sar gádži vaď gádžo*
even if so   white even be.1SG.PAST as   gadji or   gadjo

búti akkor iš   na   hudáhi
job then   even NEG get.1SG.PAST

'even if I was white as a gadji or a gadjo, I wouldn't get a job'

(117)   Šarovce

még te *aso párno* ***iš*** *ová   sar o   gádžo t-   akkor*

even if so   white even be.1SG.FUT as ART gadjo even then

búti man   na   dena

job I.ACC NEG give.3PL.FUT

'even if I was white as a gadjo, nobody would give me a job'

Another combination of three elements forming a concessive conditionals subordinator is a focal element 'even' together with a conditional element 'if' and a deictic element 'then'. The resulting subordinator can be literally translated as 'even then when', or less literally, 'even in such a case when'. This type of conjunctions in Central Romani includes *te akkor te* and *the atoska kana*.

(118)   Štvrtok na Ostrove 01

t- akkor te *n- ólahi   kurváši akkor me mukaŭ   le*

even then   if NEG be.3SG.PAST womanizer then I   leave.1SG.PRES he.ACC

'even if he wasn't such a womanizer, I'll leave him'

(119)   Martin 02

ehas   bi   xoľardo ***the atoska kana*** *kerehas   sa láčes*

be.3SG.PAST COND angry   even then   when do.2SG.PAST all well

'he would be angry with you even if you had done everything all right'

Conjunctions in the apodosis of concessive conditional clauses in Central Romani consist of two elements in the majority of cases. The apodosis conjunction includes a deictic element 'then', which can be found also in unreality and reality conditionals; in concessive conditional sentences, however, 'then' is accompanied by a focal element 'even'. In Central Romani, the most frequently used conjunctions of this type are *the avka, aňi avka, avka iš, akor iš, akor še* and *aj tak. The avka* seems to be the most frequent among these conjunctions,

being used in the varieties of Veľký Krtíš, Žarnovica, Závod, Zohor, Banská Štiavnica, Breziny and others. *Aňi avka* is attested in Hrachovište, Kosihovce, Kuchyňa and Záhorská Ves 01. *Avka iš* is the only apodosis conjunction used in concessive conditional clauses in the variety of Mučín; it is also attested once in the Kajal, Kokava nad Rimavicou and Brzotín varieties. *Akor iš* is the predominant apodosis marker in the Southern Central varieties of Kajal, Nagylóc 02, Nógrádszakál and in the Northern Central transitional variety of Brzotín and it also appears in Versend 03, Tomášikovo, Reca, Páty, Buják and Krásnohorské Podhradie. *Akor še* is the most frequent apodosis conjunction in Buják and Versend 02. Finally, the conjunction *aj tak* is used in several Northern Central dialects, namely in Chminianské Jakubovany, Sielnica 04, Sučany and Turzovka, but also in the Southern Central varieties of Litava 01 and 03. Similarly to other types of conditional sentences, the presence of a 'then' conjunction in the apodosis is not necessary and these conjunctions are, in some cases, omitted.

(120)   Veľký Krtíš
*t- ováhi   the párno sar gádžo , **th- avka** búti na   hudáhi*
if be.1SG.PAST even white as gadjo even then job NEG get.1SG.PAST
'even if I was white as a gadjo, I wouldn't find a job'

(121)   Žarnovica
*kana ovahas   the párno **th- avka** búťi na   resás*
if   be.1SG.PAST even white   even then job NEG get.1SG.PAST
'even if I was white, I wouldn't get a job'

(122)   Hrachovište

te bi   len   avlahas   the   kravata the oblekos
if COND they.ACC have.3SG.PFV.PAST even tie   and suit

***aňi   avka** lenge   ad- oda šenka na   čhivena   te   pijel*
not-even then they.ACC in   that pub   NEG pour.3PL.FUT PART drink.SUBJ

'even if they were wearing a suit and a tie, they wouldn't sell them drinks in

that pub'

(123)   Mučín

***avka iš**   rušlah- uppe mande te láčhe keresahi   mindent*
then even be-angry at   I.LOC if well do.2SG.PAST all

'he would be angry with you even if you had done everything all right'

(124)   Kajal 01

*még te aso párno ováhi   sar jék gádžo **, akkor iš**   búti man*
even if so white   be.1SG.PAST as ART gadjo then   even job I.ACC

n-   ólahi
NEG have.1SG.PAST

'even if I was white as a gadjo, I wouldn't find a job'

(125)   Brzotín

*te n-   újahas   kurváši ,   **akor iš**   les*
if NEG be.3SG.PFV.PAST womanizer then even   he.ACC

mukjomas
leave.1SG.PFV.PAST

'even if he wasn't a womanizer, I would leave him'

(126)   Versend 02

*még te asso párno óváhi   sar jékh gádžo **akor še***
even if so   white be.1SG.PAST as ART gadjo then not-even

dobináhi   búti
get.1SG.PAST job

'even if I was white as a gadjo, I wouldn't get a job'

(127)   Chminianské Jakubovany

*hoc   te bi   avavas   kajso parno sar gadžo **aj   tak***
although if COND be.1SG.PAST so   white as gadjo even then

buči bi   na   xudavas
job COND NEG get.1SG.PAST

'even if I was white as a gadjo, I wouldn't find a job'

(128)   Turzovka

*kebi avavas   parno avka gadžo **aj   tak** na   denas*
if   be.1SG.PAST white as   gadjo even then NEG give.3PL.PAST

bi   mande buči
COND I.LOC job

'even if I was white as a gadjo, nobody would give me a job'

Examples used in this section illustrate that subordinators used in concessive conditional sentences in Central Romani show similarities with reality and unreality conditional subordinators in that they usually contain a conditional element 'if' in the protasis and a deictic 'then' element in the apodosis. What makes concessive conditional sentences different from other types of conditionals is the presence of one or more focal elements which can have either a positive meaning 'even' or a negative meaning 'not even'. These elements add another presupposition described as 'contrary to expectation' in Thompson, Longacre and Hwang (2007, p. 261).

Thompson, Longacre and Hwang (2007, p. 261) claim that in terms of verb forms, concessive conditionals resemble ordinary conditionals in a given language. Due to the fact that in ordinary conditional sentences in Central Romani a wide range of verb marking can be found (perfective and non-perfective non-indicative forms in unreality conditionals and present or past indicative in reality conditionals), it is possible to say that Thompson, Longacre and Hwang's statement can be applied to Central Romani, as well. Verbs in concessive conditional sentences can be found in a variety of different forms in Central Romani. The diversity is much more prominent in concessive conditionals than in ordinary conditionals; it is usual rather than exceptional that one informant uses two or sometimes even three types of verb marking in concessive conditional clauses.

In general, non-indicative mood is more frequent than indicative. Two types of non-indicative verb marking are present in concessive conditional clauses: perfective and non-perfective. Examples of perfective verb marking are in sentences (129) to (131); non-perfective marking is illustrated in examples (132) to (134).

(129)   Brzotín

te n-   újahas   kurváši ,   akor iš   les

if NEG   be.3SG.PFV.PAST womanizer then even he.ACC

mukjomas

leave.1SG.PFV.PAST

'even if he wasn't a womanizer, I would leave him'

(130)   Kameňany 02

te iš   ujomas   párno sar gádžo , t-   avka

if even be.1SG.PFV.PAST   white as   gadjo even then

man búťi n- újás

I.ACC job NEG have.3SG.PFV.PAST

'even if I was white as a gadjo, I wouldn't have a job'

(131)   Turček 01

trádiňahas   xóľi pe tute   the   te kerďalas
put.3SG.PFV.PAST anger on you.LOC even if do.2SG.PFV.PAST

valeso   láčho
something good

'he would be angry with you even if you did something good'

(132)   Hnúšťa

te iš sťomahi   parno sar gadžo buti na   uštidav
if even be.1SG.PAST white as gadjo job NEG get.1SG.PRES

'even if I was white as a gadjo, I wouldn't get a job'

(133)   Komjatice

te man ídž   ovlahi   cile gáda asave t-   avka mange
if I.ACC yesterday have.3SG.PAST all suit such even then I.DAT

andi kočma na   čhorenahi
in   pub   NEG pour.3PL.PAST

'even if I had been wearing a suit yesterday, they wouldn't have sold me a drink

in that pub'

(134)   Veľký Krtíš

t- ováhi   the párno sar gádžo , th- avka búti na   hudáhi
if be.1SG.PAST even white as gadjo   even then job NEG get.1SG.PAST

'even if I was white as a gadjo, I wouldn't find a job'

Although there do not seem to be clear-cut rules regarding the use of TAM marking of verbs in concessive conditionals, a rough differentiation can be made between Northern Central and Southern Central varieties. Even though both perfective and non-perfective can be (and is) found in both Northern Central and Southern Central varieties, it seems that Northern Central dialects are more prone to using perfective marking, whereas Southern Central dialects

generally give preference to non-perfective verb marking in concessive conditional sentences. The picture becomes clearer if we, for this purpose, discard all dialects in which more than one type of marking can be found and take into consideration only those which consistently use only one type of verb marking in the elicited sentences[7]. Only twelve Northern Central and thirteen Southern Central varieties fulfill this criteria. The tables below show that out of twelve Northern Central varieties considered, eight varieties use exclusively perfective non-indicative marking. In Southern Central varieties, the consistency is even higher: eleven varieties out of thirteen use only non-perfective non-indicative verb marking in concessive conditional clauses.

Northern Central		Southern Central	
Variety	**Aspect**	**Variety**	**Aspect**
Banská Štiavnica	PFV	Choča	NON-PFV
Biely Kostol	NON-PFV	Csobánka	NON-PFV
Brzotín	PFV	Čaradice	NON-PFV
Bzenica	PFV	Dunajská Lužná	PFV
Čadca	NON-PFV	Kajal	NON-PFV
Hronský Beňadik	PFV	Komjatice	NON-PFV
Jovsa	PFV	Mátraverbély	NON-PFV
Kameňany	PFV	Mojmírovce	NON-PFV
Kľačany	PFV	Mučín	NON-PFV
Myjava	NON-PFV	Skýcov	NON-PFV

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[7] In order to make the survey more representative, only varieties in which more than 2 examples of concessive conditional sentences are available in the studied data, were considered.

Turček	PFV	Slatina	PFV
Žarnovica	NON-PFV	Štvrtok na Ostrove	NON-PFV
		Veľký Krtíš	NON-PFV

Figure 5: Aspectual verb marking in concessive conditional sentences in Northern Central and Southern Central dialects of Romani.

Indicative forms of verbs can be found in concessive conditionals as well, although they are used less frequently than non-indicative verb forms. Most of these forms can be found in translations of the sentence

(135)   *Even if they were wearing a suit and a tie, they wouldn't sell them drinks in that pub*

In contrast, the following sentences are less likely to contain indicative verb forms:

(136)   *Even if he wasn't a womanizer, I will not be his servant any longer*

(137)   *Even if I was white as a gadjo, I will not get a job*

(138)   *He would be angry with you even if you did everything all right*

It is not clear why the sentence (135) is more prone to be translated using indicative verb forms than the sentences (136) to (138). One might argue that the likeliness of the realization of the proposition contained in the protasis is relatively high; in other words, it is relatively easy to put on a suit and a tie, compared to changing the colour of one's skin, which is the proposition in sentence (137). This would make the sentence more 'factual' than the others. On the other hand, the likeliness of the realization of the proposition in the sentence

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(138) is comparable with sentence (135) and still, (138) occurs in non-indicative rather than indicative mood.

In the majority of examples in which a concessive conditional clause contains a verb in the indicative mood, the verb is marked for future tense.

(139)   Baďan
kana tuke   ureha   the   kravata, ande krčma avka
if   you.DAT dress.2SG.FUT even tie   in   pub   then
tuke   na   nalijena
you.DAT NEG pour.3PL.FUT
'even if you put on a tie, they will not sell you a drink in that pub'

(140)   Litava 04
kana le   ovla   te   rónďi te   mašľa t-   ávka leske
if   they.ACC have.3SG.FUT even clothes even   tie   even then he.DAT
andi kočma na   čhivla
in   pub   NEG pour.3SG.FUT
'even if he was wearing a suit and a tie, they wouldn't sell him a drink in that pub'

(141)   Petrová
xoc   avla   pre tumende   ancugos the   mašľa andre kaja
although be.2SG.FUT on you.LOC suit   and tie   in   that
krčma tumenge   na   čhivna
but   you.DAT NEG pour.3PL.FUT
'even if you were wearing a suit and a tie, they wouldn't sell you drinks in that pub'

3 Conclusion

The data presented in the previous section show that a variety of forms can be used in Central Romani to express different types of conditionals, as far as subordinator types and verb morphology is concerned. There are no clear-cut rules determining what form conveys what meaning; a particular conditional meaning can be - in different varieties but also in the idiolect of one speaker - expressed by more than one form and, at the same time, one form can, in different contexts, convey several meanings. Nevertheless, certain tendencies can be observed.

The set of conjunctions used in different types of conditionals does not show a substantial variation. Both in reality and unreality conditionals, the inherited *te* 'if', with borrowed variants *ha* and *kebi* , and subordinators with both conditional and temporal meaning (e.g. *kana, sar, ked'*) are used in the protasis. In concessive conditional clauses, the conditional element is complemented by a focal element 'even' or 'not even', which is most frequently realized by the inherited *the* or the Slovak borrowings *aj, aňi* or the Hungarian loanwords *iš* or *még.* The apodosis of the conditional is either asyndetic or it is marked by a 'then' conjunction, most frequently realized by the inherited *avka,* the Slovak borrowing *tak* or the Hungarian loans *akkor* and *hát.*

Regarding the verb morphology, the studied data show that claims that counterfactual conditionals in Central Romani are realized by perfective forms with a past-tense suffix somewhat simplify the reality. In fact, counterfactual conditionals are very frequently realized by non-perfective past forms, which occur as often as perfective forms. Hypothetical conditionals in Slovak-bilingual varieties are problematic for TAM-marking analysis, because there is a possibility that some of them were translated as counterfactual conditionals due to an

ambiguity in the Slovak source sentences. This may be the reason why TAM marking in hypothetical conditionals is similar to the marking of counterfactual clauses. On the other hand, it may also prove Boretzky (1993) right in his claim that this type of conditional is not fully developed in Romani. A further investigation is needed to clarify this issue. Verb marking in predictive conditionals corresponds with that of reality conditionals; verbs in these types of conditional clauses are usually in the indicative mood in Central Romani.

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Czech summary

Analýza kondiciálních klauzí v centrální romštině ukázala, že co se týče typ ů subordinátorů a temporálně-aspektuální morfologie slovesa, variety centrální romštiny užívají pro jednotlivé typy kondicionálů různé formy značení. Neplatí tudíž, že jedna forma koresponduje vždy jen s jedním významem. Poměrně často se stává, že v různých varietách centrální romštiny (ale také v rámci idiolektu jednoho mluvčího) může být jeden typ kondicionálu vyjádřen hned několika různými formami, a také jedna forma může v závislosti na kontextu vyjadřovat hned několik kondicionálních podtypů. Nicméně v centrální romštině, stejně jako v jiných dialektních skupinách, existují určité tendence ve způsobu značení jednotlivých typů kondicionálních klauzí.

Inventář subordinátorů se v různých typech kondicionálů příliš neliší. Jak v reálných, tak v nereálných podmínkách je v protazi asi nejčastější původní kondicionální spojka *te* 'kdyby', jež je v některých varietách nahrazena z maďarštiny přejatým *ha,* případně slovakismem *kebi.* V této pozici se často vyskytují i subordinátory s jinak temporálním významem 'když': *kana, sar, keď.* V koncesivně kondicionálních větách je kondicionální element subordinátoru doplněn elementem fokálním ve významu 'i', 'aňi', který je nejčastěji realizován původním *the*, slovenskými přejímkami *aj, aňi* nebo hungarismy *iš, még.* Apodoze podmínky je buď asyndetická, nebo se v ní vyskytuje spojka 'pak', 'tak' ve tvaru původním – *avka*, nebo přejatém ze slovenštiny (*tak*), případně z maďarštiny (*akkor, hát*).

Co se týče morfologie slovesa, analýza dat z centrální romštiny ukázala, že tvrzení uvedené v některých publikacích, že nerealizovatelná (kontrafaktuální) podmínka se vyjadřuje perfektivním tvarem slovesa doplněným o sufix minulého času -*as*, je značně zjednodušené. Ve skutečnosti se pro tento typ podmínky vedle perfektivního tvaru velmi často používá i neperfektivní kondicionální tvar (např. *avavas* 'byl bych'). Hypotetické podmínky ve varietách

v kontaktu se slovenštinou jsou pro formální analýzu trochu problematické, protože kvůli splývání tvaru kontrafaktuálních a hypotetických podmínek ve slovenštině se u některých vyelicitovaných položek nedá vyloučit, že byly respondenty pochopeny a přeloženy jako podmínky kontrafaktuální. To možná vysvětluje, proč je morfologické značení sloves v hypotetických podmínkách velmi podobné tomu v podmínkách kontrafaktuálních. Také to ale může znamenat, že samostatné značení hypotetických podmínek není v centrální romštině vyvinuto, což by potvrzovalo hypotézu Boretzkého (1993). Pro vyjasnění této otázky je potřeba provést důkladnější výzkum. Značení sloves v prediktivních kondicionálních klauzích odpovídá značení v podmínkách reálných. Slovesa jsou v těchto typech podmínkových vět nejčastěji v indikativu.