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subtitle modestly announces. It is a systematic and comprehensive work which explores issues that go beyond the strict interest of dialectology, uncovering the sophisticated sociolinguistic situation of the Romanian Boyash varieties spoken in Hungary. Apart from the intrinsic value, the volume has a special relevance in that, being written in

English, it helps bridging the knowledge on the Boyash in Europe, as this new discipline has so frequently been hindered by the fact that studies written in national languages of Central and Eastern Europe were not readily available to the entire research community.

YARON MATRAS AND ANTON TENSER, EDs., *THE PALGRAVE HANDBOOK OF ROMANI LANGUAGE AND LINGUISTICS*. PALGRAVE MACMILLAN, 2020, 596 p.

Reviewed by Mirjana Mirić and Svetlana Ćirković**

The Romani language represents a fascinating object of inquiry within several linguistics disciplines. As it has long been a primarily oral language, without a widely accepted standard, Romani displays a high degree of cross-dialect variation at all levels of linguistic structure, which makes it interesting for descriptive and historical linguistics, as well as dialectology. Given its syntactic structure and “rich inflectional and derivational morphology and a relatively high degree of synthesis” (Elšlík, p. 157), Romani is particularly appealing to researchers taking a typological perspective. Additionally, Romani is suitable for analyses within contact linguistics, being characterized as a language in permanent contact as Romani speakers are at least bilingual and from an early age acquire one or more languages they are in contact with, with Romani bilingualism (or multilingualism) being unidirectional since only rarely do the speakers of the majority languages acquire Romani (Matras & Adamou, p. 329). In this respect, language contact has been an important factor that has shaped the historical development and contemporary state of Romani. From the sociolinguistic perspective, Romani is characterized as a “functionally limited, dominated language” (Halwachs, p. 430), with specific functional distribution of the linguistic repertoires.

Although mainly a spoken language, due to the modern technologies and prolific work of Romani contemporary authors and translations into Romani, this language is gaining new domains of usage in the written form, which triggers research of written practices across various disciplines.

The Palgrave Handbook of Romani Language and Linguistics is a breakthrough in contemporary Romani linguistics as it manages to include all the aforementioned topics and disciplines. It offers a unique synthesis of knowledge on the Romani language and linguistics, gathering experts in these fields and encompassing a wide range of theoretical concepts and methods within various disciplines. Relying on relevant literature, the individual contributions make the handbook as a whole quite informative and comprehensive, while accompanied by novel research, theoretical concepts and methodological approaches offer state-of-the-art insight into what constitutes Romani linguistics today. Additionally, the presented analyses are systematic and abundant in (linguistic) details, and the contributions are written in a clear and coherent way.

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The linguistic structure oriented contributions present a cross-dialectal perspective, pointing out the Indo-Aryan legacy and the “structural core consisting of language-specific typological features” (Elšík & Beníšek, p. 390) shared by (almost) all contemporary Romani dialects, as well as cross- and inter-dialectal variation at all levels of linguistic structure, showing the effects of migrations and the impact of languages that Romani has been in contact with. Where relevant, comparisons are made with the Modern Indo-Aryan languages or European languages, while some features are analysed from a more diachronic perspective in comparison to the Old or Middle Indo-Aryan language, seeking to provide a better understanding of their origin. The other, more interdisciplinary-oriented contributions provide insight into the contemporary state of Romani linguistic repertoires and their usage across different domains, as well as recent findings on linguistic policies regarding Romani and its vitality.

Following a concise, yet inspiring overview of the field in the first chapter (*Introduction*), written by Yaron Matras and Anton Tenser, the handbook is divided into five parts comprising 17 chapters, followed by Author, Dialect and Subject Indexes. After a brief introduction, a concise survey of the relevant literature is provided in each chapter, including the observations coming from recent studies. Then follow the well-structured sections on the particular topic of the chapter, to conclude with relevant desiderata for further research. Where possible, authors emphasize which data and concepts have not been satisfactorily explained yet or still await a discussion, showing that the field of Romani linguistics is far from being exhausted.

Part I of the handbook (*History*) encompasses two chapters dealing with the diachronic dimension of research on Romani.

The chapter *The Historical Origins of Romani* (Chapter 2, pp. 13–47), written by Michael Beníšek, is a comprehensive

historical linguistics overview, which shows the importance of linguistic evidence in establishing the origin of Romani as an Indo-Aryan language, as well as in reconstructing previous stages of its development. The main part of the chapter outlines the major inherited Indo-Aryan features in Romani, with relevant comparisons of present-day Romani features with the ones in New Indo-Aryan languages, as well as the features which continued from the Old and Middle Indo-Aryan. The features are analysed at different levels of linguistic structure, with a focus on phonology, nominal and verbal morphosyntax, and pronominal forms. It is illustrated in detail which inherited features have been preserved in contemporary Romani, which ones have undergone change and which ones have been generally lost. Highly relevant is also the discussion of methodological issues of the Early and Late Proto Romani reconstruction, as well as the issue of the ‘departure’. Relying on linguistic evidence, the author notes that “the departure of Proto-Romani speakers from the Indian subcontinent must have taken place no earlier and no later than during the second half of the first millennium CE” (p. 26), challenging the view which claims that Romani people originated in warrior clans that resisted the Islamic invasion of India after 1000 CE.

The chapter *Historical Sources on the Romani Language* (Chapter 3, pp. 49–81) by Ignasi-Xavier Adiego, offers insight into the testimonies on the Romani language which first appeared in the 16th century and continued to be a scarce source of information on Romani until the end of the 18th century, when their number and scientific orientation significantly increased. In addition to overviewing the details about the earliest manuscripts, which typically contained lists of words in Romani, occasionally accompanied by translations and short sentences, the author summarizes their descriptions from the scholarly literature, focusing on the critical assessment of the dialectal

classification of the recorded varieties. It is also highlighted that a scientific approach with a solid methodology has been applied in the manuscripts as of the second half of the 18th century, with comparative studies focusing mainly on the connection between Romani and Indo-Aryan languages. After crediting Büttner and Váli (and secondarily ab Hortis) as the first scholars to mention the genetic relationship between Romani and Indo-Aryan languages, Adiego surveys Rüdiger's study (1782) as the first one which presented evidence for this relationship, based on Sinte material.

Part II (*Structure*) encompasses four chapters devoted to different levels of Romani language structure.

In *Romani Lexicon* (Chapter 4, pp. 85–117), Andrea Scala focuses on the historical aspects, showing that the Romani lexicon may serve as an important repository of data on the history of Romani people since the loanwords “represent historical traces of use for reconstructing the migrations of Romani people” (p. 89). In his description of the inherited Indo-Aryan layer (comprising app. 700 Romani roots), the author discusses the stability of the words in the lexicon across three factors: word frequency, cognitive salience and cultural centrality. Additionally, other Romani lexicon layers of loanwords are discussed, namely Iranian (app. 60 loanwords), Armenian (app. 30 indisputable loanwords), Greek (at least 200 loanwords), as well as layers containing numerous German and Slavic loanwords. The layers are discussed as regards the semantic spheres and word classes the words belong to, the degree to which they are present in various dialects, as well as the type and degree of their morphological adaptation in Romani. In addition, some internal strategies of the new lexicon production are touched upon. Significantly original is the case study which uses lexicon to demonstrate that the Piedmontese Sinti of Southern France (FPS) and the Italian Piedmontese Sinti (IPS)

likely represent two different groups, as FPS has many German loanwords, unlike IPS.

The following chapter *Romani Phonology* (Chapter 5, pp. 119–153) is authored by Márton A. Baló, who describes in detail the complex sound system of Romani, based on data extracted from the Romani Morpho-Syntax database (RMS). In addition to presenting the core vowel and consonant inventory shared across dialects, the chapter describes dialect-specific modification processes which have affected the Romani sound system, and provides insight into the sets of additional contact-induced phonemes. In the domain of processes affecting the vowel system, the author analyses centralization, lengthening, reduction, hiatus, diphthongisation, fronting and backing processes, as well as the /o/ ~ /u/ alternation. Among the processes affecting the consonant system, the author discusses the aspiration, voiced consonants, the continuation of the historical retroflex cluster, velarisation, semi-vowels, the distribution of /h/ and /x/, affrication and de-affrication, sibilants, gemination, palatalisation and de-palatalisation. Furthermore, the author analyses other phonological processes, syllable structure, as well as stress, showing that a dominant stress pattern still preserved in the inherited words is word-final, with attested changes in the dialects in contact with languages where initial or penultimate stress dominates, usually affecting loanwords.

The chapter on *Romani Morphology* (Chapter 6, pp. 155–186) written by Viktor Elšík, represents a well-structured and elaborated survey of Romani morphological issues. In order to account for both widespread structures and dialectal variation, the data are taken from various descriptions of Romani dialects, studies on Romani morphology and original, unpublished data on the Central Romani. A diachronic perspective is provided to a certain extent, with information on the relevant morphological structures attested in Proto-Romani. As Romani has rich inflectional and

derivational morphology, the main part of the paper is devoted to their overview. Regarding inflectional morphology, the author offers details on the categories relevant in the domain of verbal and nominal inflection, and also touches upon adjectival and degree inflection. As the Romani lexicon contains numerous loanwords, several types of xenoclitic integration of loanwords are discussed and illustrated. Regarding word-formation, derivational morphology is observed as the most common type, although compounding and conversion are also exemplified.

In the chapter *Romani Syntactic Typology* (Chapter 7, pp. 187–227) the authors Evangelia Adamou and Yaron Matras describe selected syntactic-typological features of Romani, relying on a variety of data extracted from the RMS responses to the questionnaire, the free-speech recordings available in the RMS database and Pangloss Collection. They show that the distribution of typological features is influenced by contact with non-Indic languages, which is evident in the shared innovations induced by contact with Byzantine Greek and the dialect specific innovations triggered by contact with other European languages. As for particular features, Romani noun phrase is mainly discussed as regards its linear word order and agreement. The verb phrase alignment is looked at across three types of constructions: intransitive, monotransitive and ditransitive. As for the word order in main clauses, the authors emphasize that Romani does not rely on word order to encode the functions of core arguments, but rather information structuring determines the word order in the verb phrase and demonstrate that “discourse-pragmatic functions allow making some general predictions about the occurrence of SV and VS which relativize the impression of free or extremely flexible word order rules” (p. 197). Furthermore, details are provided on the complex clauses, focusing on the word order and the complementizers with which they are introduced, with dialectal variation thoroughly

illustrated. Finally, the chapter deals with the structural means employed to encode semantic roles, local and temporal relations.

Part III of the handbook (*Contact*) gathers five chapters which point to theoretical and methodological approaches in the domain of contact linguistics, but also focus on particular languages and language groups which have highly influenced Romani in the post-Greek period. The Para-Romani is also discussed as an idiom structurally most distant from Romani.

In the chapter *The Impact of Turkish on Romani* (Chapter 8, pp. 231–260), Victor A. Friedman analyses the Turkish influence on Romani in those Romani dialects which were spoken within the borders of the Ottoman Empire, among which the dialects of the Balkan group, South Vlax, Kaspičan, Varna Gadžikano, Sepėči, Skopje Arli, Agia Varvara, Romani dialects in Macedonia and eastern Bulgaria. Employing data from the ROMLEX Lexical Database, as well as from his own extensive fieldwork studies and published papers on Romani and its structure, the author concludes that the distribution of Romani dialects which exhibits Turkish features allows for establishing the northern linguistic boundary in the Balkan Peninsula. The impact of Turkish is mostly observed in the lexicon, while the least influence is present at the phonological level. At the morpho-syntactic level, Turkish has influenced mainly those dialects with which it was in immediate contact or whose co-territorial national state languages were once influenced by Turkish.

In the chapter *The Impact of Slavic Languages on Romani* (Chapter 9, pp. 261–301), Anna-Maria Meyer deals with the influence of Slavic languages, which is most evident in the Northeastern, Northern Central, Southern Central and South Balkan I, as well as different Vlax Romani dialects. Given the long history of contact between the Slavic languages and Romani, it is not always possible to determine which one served as the donor language for a particular Romani

feature. Employing the RMS database, the author analyses Slavic features at all levels of linguistic structure. The impact of Slavic is most obvious in the lexicon, while the most widespread contact phenomena at the phonetic-phonological level influence individual sounds and processes affecting vowels and consonants shift in stress, and numerous foreign sounds taken over through lexical borrowing. The changes in the morphological structure of Romani are due to the presence or absence of certain linguistic features in the Slavic languages. For instance, the definite article has been lost in some of the Romani varieties in contact with articleless Slavic languages and aspectual prefixes from Slavic have been adapted to the Romani verbal system. The impact of particular Slavic languages is reflected in the analytic perfect, 'new infinitive', generalisation of reflexive pronoun *pe(s)* for all grammatical persons, and borrowing of modal verbs. At the syntactic level, Slavic conjunctions and prepositions have been frequently borrowed, and the potentially shared features such as object doubling, conditional sentences and negation draw particular attention.

The chapter *The Impact of Hungarian on Romani* (Chapter 10, pp. 303–328) suggests that the most obvious impact of Hungarian is in the South Central Romani and some varieties of North Vlax Romani. The authors Zuzana Bodnárová and Jakob Wiedner emphasize that the Romani dialects are mostly affected by colloquial Hungarian, as well as Hungarian dialects. Using data from the existing linguistic studies, the authors point out the characteristics of the phonological, morphological, syntactic and lexical system affected by Hungarian. The impact is observable especially at the lexical level, but also at the levels of phonology, morphology and syntax. In the syntactic structure of Romani, the word order, the usage of grammatical cases, which correspond to the Hungarian patterns, extensive borrowing of Hungarian coordinators and

subordinators are considered to be influenced by Hungarian.

In the chapter *Romani and Contact Linguistics* (Chapter 11, pp. 329–352), the authors Yaron Matras and Evangelia Adamou provide a remarkable overview of studies on the contact-induced changes in Romani, which contributed to the development of concepts, methods and theories in the domain of contact linguistics. The study of contact phenomena was initiated in the 19th century by Slovene philologist Franz Miklosich, while recent research covers the topics of Indo-Aryan genealogical heritage, the usage of Romani words in the slang of other languages, mixed languages, and structural borrowing in various Romani dialects. As the authors emphasize, little attention has been paid to the sociolinguistic research, as well as the study of discourse-related aspects of contacts in Romani. In addition to the descriptive approaches, the modern research of the contact phenomena in Romani includes the revision of the existing concepts of borrowing and adaptation at the morphological level, the processes of language shift, development of the varieties known as "Para-Romani", as well as the understanding of the pattern-replication. This contribution points to language contacts in the period before Romani people came to Europe (Proto-Romani) and with Byzantine-Greek (Early Romani), which defined the structure of present-day Romani varieties to a large extent. As Romani varieties have been influenced by different European languages, the authors provide a brief survey of typical influences at all levels of linguistic structure.

In his contribution on the *Para-Romani Varieties* (Chapter 12, pp. 353–386), Peter Bakker thoroughly examines the phenomenon which Romani linguistics labelled 'Romani mixed dialects', i.e. linguistic varieties which preserve Romani vocabulary, but have completely lost the original grammatical system. The analysed Para-Romani features are illustrated by examples taken from Basque Romani, Catalan Romani, Calo,

Angloromani, Scandoromani, Danish/Low German Para-Romani (documented in Denmark), Dortika (in Greece), Turkish Para-Romani and Para-Romani in Hungary. Unlike other Romani varieties, which share the verb inflection, overt case marking and adjectival inflection for gender, number and case, none of the Para-Romani varieties employs the Romani inflection. The phonology, morphology and syntax of the Para-Romani varieties are identical to the co-territorial languages. According to the available data, around a dozen Para-Romani varieties exist, and the number of speakers does not exceed 100,000 people.

Part IV of the handbook (*Variation*) contains three chapters which enhance our understanding of the extents and parameters of variation in Romani from different perspectives, namely – diachronic and diatopic variation reflected in a remarkable degree of cross-dialect variation, sociolinguistic variation affecting language policy and planning, and finally, the variation in the practices of translating the *Bible* and religious texts across time, space and local social environments.

The chapter *Romani Dialectology* (Chapter 13, pp. 389–427), written by Viktor Elšík and Michael Beníšek, offers an up-to-date survey of the Romani dialect groups. Departing from a general consensus that dialectological classification ought to be based exclusively on the linguistic structure of the varieties, the authors differentiate the following 12 dialect groups: South Balkan, North Balkan, Apennine, Slovene, South Central, North Central, Transylvanian, Vlax, Ukrainian, Northeastern, Northwestern, and Iberian Romani. Reference is made to the previous classifications, the areal distribution of the dialect groups is provided, language contact influences are mentioned, and typical idiosyncratic features, i.e. innovations at all levels of linguistic structure are listed and exemplified. Furthermore, two competing models of Romani cross-dialectal variation are effectively presented,

namely the genealogical ('tree' or 'dialect branching') model and the diffusion ('wave') model.

In the following chapter on *Language Policy and Planning in Romani* (Chapter 14, pp. 429–457), Dieter W. Halwachs covers several urgent sociolinguistic topics. Although Romani is characterized as a "functionally restricted, dominated language" (p. 430), it is demonstrated that its limited functionality does not make Romani an endangered language as often stated in international databases such as UNESCO's *Atlas of World's Languages in Danger* or *Ethnologue*. Furthermore, Romani language policies and planning (LPP) at the international level aims at developing the Romani standard, especially orthography, being subject to many controversies. At the regional and local levels, two main LLP strategies can be observed. The 'top-down' strategy pursues the 'dominance / majority' approach, typically standardizing a variety of a numerically or politically dominant group (e.g. in Serbia, Slovakia, Hungary, Romania). In practice, the objectives of this strategy clearly differ from the results achieved in reality, as, among other issues, imposing a standard in education often results in confronting children with a variety different from their mother tongue, as illustrated by the situation in Romania. On the other hand, the 'bottom-up' strategy follows the 'plurality' approach, with the initiatives taken at the local level, allowing several varieties to be standardized and used in school. This approach has more realistic goals, focused on language maintenance, which is more effective when implemented in education and extra-curricular activities, as illustrated by the case of Burgenland Romani in Austria.

In the chapter *Romani Bible Translation and the Use of Romani in Religious Contexts* (Chapter 15, pp. 459–486), Wilco van den Heuvel deals with Romani Bible translations from a historical perspective, but also touches upon challenges in translation. The first translation of the Bible was published

in 1837. While the 19th century translations are characterized by the use of Para-Romani varieties (Caló in Spain, Sinti as spoken in northern Italy and in Germany), in the 20th century, various other Romani varieties are used, such as Vlax/ non-Vlax, Erli dialect of Balkan Romani, Gurbet spoken in Bosnia, Baltic Romani, Lovari, Finnish Romani and Kalderash. In the period after 1990, we witness an expansion of the Bible and religious texts translations. The challenges in translation are fundamentally affected by questions 'for whom' and 'for what purpose'. For instance, when Romani lacks lexical equivalents for some of the lexemes of the source language from which the Bible is being translated, the following strategies are observed: the use of various loanwords (from the language of wider communication), creation of a new Romani word, on the basis of the existing Romani lexicon, and the extension of the meaning of an existing Romani word. Furthermore, Romani Bible translations employ different orthographic solutions. In spite of the attempts to establish an international orthographic standard, the orthographic variants of different Romani varieties used in Romani Bible translations represent a mixture of international writing conventions and features of the orthographies of regional languages of wider communication. As many users of the Bible and the religious texts in Romani are illiterate in Romani, the printed and published translations have often been accompanied by their audio-visual versions.

Part V of the handbook (*Language Use*) comprises three chapters on the use of Romani. By applying various methodological approaches, such as the analysis of the documented oral samples, linguistic experiments, corpus-based research of the digital media and internet, as well as printed Romani texts, the authors cover a wide range of topics, such as Romani language acquisition, domains of language usage important for the research on intergenerational language transmission, standardization of Romani,

as well as Romani literacy and literature in Romani.

In the chapter *Romani in Child-Directed Speech* (Chapter 16, pp. 489–514), Pavel Kubaník addresses the input that children receive in their surroundings, which is crucial for language socialization. The issue is investigated in some of the communities in which Romani is used as a dominant language of socialization (Central Romani in the Czech Republic), in communities in which Romani is not used or its usage is reduced in the communication with children (Central Romani used by Slovak migrants in the Czech Republic), as well as in communities which employ Para-Romani varieties (Caló in Spain and Anglo-Romani in Britain). The study shows that the use of Romani varies not only geographically and historically, but also in the social practices. The research on Romani at different children's age points towards their actual linguistic competence, as well as cognitive difficulties that children speaking Romani as their first language encounter in the communities in which a different language is dominant.

The chapter *Romani on the Internet* (Chapter 17, pp. 515–537), written by Daniele Viktor Leggio, offers an original insight into the visibility of Romani in the modern digital media and its usage in the contemporary means of communication. Analysing the use of Romani on Web 1.0 (Websites, Forums, Chat rooms) and Web 2.0 (Wikipedia, YouTube, Facebook) platforms, the author observes the difference in the use of language by Romani activists and non-activists. Activists adjust their language to the institutional literacy practices, to the extent possible in case of a non-standardized language. However, insisting on the use of the standardized Romani is not considered crucial. Institutional and vernacular literacy practices are blurred, although the institutional one remains the main means of interaction between Romani activists and their audience. On the other hand, the virtual

world of Romani non-activists is the space in which users replicate the offline practice, using the whole range of linguistic repertoires reflecting their individual identities. As Leggio concludes: „The coexistence and acceptance by language users of such a plurality of literacy practices is a confirmation of how linguistic pluralism can positively support previously spoken-only languages in new domains“ (p. 532).

Sofiya Zahova in her chapter on *Romani Language Literature* (Chapter 18, pp. 539–569) distinguishes between Romani literature and Romani language literature. While the former encompasses literary creations written by Roma in Romani or other languages, the latter refers to works written in Romani, but also written by non-Roma and translated into Romani. The first works written in Romani were published in the interwar period (1918–1939), and the literature in Romani has expanded after 1989. The author surveys the historical development of the Romani language literature and emphasizes that the production in all periods was marked by the state policies towards Roma or minority groups in general. This chapter also discusses the literary genres of Romani language literature. According to the author, although it is possible to discuss the frequent genres, a strict classification is not applicable to the Romani language literature. Folklore material, poetry and short stories,

as the most frequent genres, were published in Romani or as bilingual/multilingual editions, whereas memoirs, oral history and children literature were almost exclusively published in Romani, with the accompanying translations. This chapter mentions the challenges that Romani language literature encounters with regard to the distribution, reception and the availability of literature.

On the whole, *The Palgrave Handbook of Romani Language and Linguistics* offers an impressive interdisciplinary and up-to-date insight into the Romani language and linguistics. In addition to providing a relevant and thorough synthesis of the previous scholarship, as well as emphasizing important gaps to be filled by future research, the authors draw on a multitude of sources, such as the data available in the Romani-Morphosyntax Database, ROMLEX Lexical Database, early historical sources, Romani literature, or the data coming from their own and others' empirical research and prolific field work. The handbook is, therefore, a most valuable read for different kinds of audience: from those interested in general and interdisciplinary linguistic studies, which could benefit from the well documented phenomena in Romani, up to the international experts in various fields of Romani linguistics and scholars in other fields. The handbook will certainly represent an essential reference point for future research.

BORIS MILOSAVLJEVIĆ, *BEOGRADSKI RODOSLOVI (GENEALOGIES OF BELGRADE FAMILIES)*. BELGRADE: BALKANOLOŠKI INSTITUT SANU, 2020, 444 p.

Reviewed by Vojislav G. Pavlović*

The book *Genealogies of Belgrade Families* by Dr Boris Milosavljević, a senior research associate at the Institute for Balkan Studies of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, offers many important lineages

which, in some cases, span the period from the War of the Holy League (1683–1699)

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