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I am indebted to Prof. Ian Hancock of the University of Texas for bringing khvay and khvani to my attention.

Georgian stress rules are much debated, but stress is never final.


The Romanian word is used in Caldeari (Ian Hancock: personal communication) as well as in other dialects (Uihlik 1983-90). Marcel Cortiade of the French Embassy in Albania informs me that the Macedonian word is used in the Oser dialect and that the Turkish (also of Albanian origin) occurs in the Kabudie dialect.

I am indebted to Prof. Dee Ann Holisky of George Mason University for this information.
Archaisms in Romani

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It is often thought that because a language has undergone notable effects of contact diffusion (an interesting topic in itself) its interest as a witness to archaic survival is minimal. The notion seems to be that since known change has occurred the entire language has been so invaded and depleted that no interest for history remains. In fact, the isolation which has facilitated new contacts may also have provided the conditions for archaic conservation.

Contacts may, too, have furnished the conditions for what Goethe called Wahlverwandtschaft, that is, the selective shared retention of similar inheritances. Romani exemplifies these themes in a striking way. But there will be time to explore only one syndrome of examples of the first type.

The verb stem 'to fill' occurs in Welsh Romani (WR) as phér- and in Balkan Romani (BR) as phe-. A careless attempt to give an Indo-European historical account of these forms might seek to derive the sequence ph- from the Indo-European base *pelti-, which we see in Latin plēnum, Russian polnyj, English full, German voll and viel. As we must recognize, an Indo-European voiceless (e.g., *p) cannot give a Romani aspirate (e.g., ph). Therefore an Indo-European base beginning in what we traditionally reconstruct as *bh will be the only acceptable ancestor for WR phér- and BR phe-.

Now let us shift our attention to the word WR pharə and BR pharo 'heavy'. Sampson (1926:292) has correctly traced pharə to Indic bhāraka-, which would be a derivative of bhāra- 'load, burden', but he has not commented on the morphology of this form in detail. Actually we have here a very valuable attestation of an Indo-European formation in Indic. It is easy to see that semantically 'heavy' is derived from 'burden', i.e. 'burden-ed' or 'burden-like'. In turn, 'load, burden' is derived as a nominalization from the verbal notion 'carry, bear' just as we find in English bur-den from bear.

In Indo-European a well known normal way to form nominalizations from verbal roots was to inflect the base in what we call the thematic...