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A Grammar of
North West Lovari Romani

Gramatika severozápadní olaštiny (lovárštiny)

Dizertační práce

vedoucí práce – Mgr. Viktor Elšík, Ph.D.

2012
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V Praze, 27.3.2012,
Abstract:

The descriptive grammar analyzes the North West variety of Lovari, i.e. the Hungarized Vlax dialect of Romani. The analysis is based upon fieldwork recordings and upon few written texts. The study presents the delimitation against related varieties and dialects, the sociolinguistic situation of the speakers, phonetics, phonology, phonetic alteration, and an overview of relevant grammatical categories.

One chapter is dedicated to nominal and verbal morphology, to the use of forms, word formation and morphology of the preposition. The chapter on syntax describes non-morphological onomasiology, the structure of the noun phrase, presents frequent adverbs and modal, aspect, and discourse particles. The chapter on syntax continues with the clause structure, sentence types, the word order mechanisms, subordination and coordination.

From a typological viewpoint, the language of the study is flective, employing several nominal and verbal inflectional classes, and agglutinative with respect to several morphological classes, such as case and tense marking. It is fusional in a sense, that number is cumulatively coded together with other features, with gender in nominal inflection, and with person in verbal inflection.

Abstrakt:

Předložená deskriptivní mluvnice analyzuje severozápadní varietu olašské (lovářské) romštiny, tj. maďarizovaný vlašský dialekt romštiny. Analýza vychází z nahrávek získaných terénní prací a několika psanými texty. Studie předkládá vymezení oproti příbuzným variétám a dialektům, sociolingvistickou situaci mluvčích, fonetiku, fonologii, fonetické variace a přehled relevantních gramatických kategorií.

Jedna kapitola je věnována jmenné morfologii, slovesné morfologii a užití forem, tvorbě slov a morfologii předložky. Kapitola o syntaxi popisuje nemorfologickou onomaziologii, strukturu jmenné fráze, podává přehled o častých příslovcích a modálních, aspektových a diskurzních částicích. Kapitola o syntaxi pokračuje strukturou věty, modalitou věty, pravidly pořadí ve větě, podřadnými vztahy a souřadnými vztahy.

Z typologického hlediska je zkoumaný jazyk flektivní a užívá řadu jmenných a slovesných sklonných tříd. Je aglutinační s ohledem na několik morfologických tříd, jakými jsou pád a čas. Je fúzující v tom smyslu, že kategorie čísla je při skloňování spojena mj. s kategorií rodu a při časování spojena mj. s kategorií osoby.
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Acknowledgements

At this prominent position I would like to tell, what I am not able to do personally: Danke, Mama, danke, Papa, für die Pflege und Geduld, die ihr mir und meinen Geschwistern all die Jahre habt zukommen lassen, in Anbetracht meiner eigenen Kinder umfasse ich allmählich den Umfang eurer Mühen. Danke aber vor Allem für die Liebe, in die ihr mich eingewickelt habt, und die für mich all das ermöglicht hat, was mein Leben heute ausmacht. Und dass dies sicher nicht billig war, mit all den kindlichen und erwachsenen Versuchen, versteht sich von selbst. Ich kann mir gar keine besseren Eltern vorstellen.

Naďon but kamlemas te najisáráv anda čáčo jílo mura sokrake, a Kejžake, savi sármozijas andaj Bougešti, ká muklas te kerav sa, so trobujas ma, te šaj skirinav kadi búfi. Bezech, ká má múlas. No maj bári dukh si kodole žejnen, so umblavenas pe andá la. Kadi búfi šaj tejle skirindem vi azír, ká kadi romñi šoha či xuʃkerelas varikaske andi vorba, taj ká mindík gindojas pe áŋglal, mejk phenelas varikaske vorba. Te na źutindoun ma, nášťik aviloun akánik khate tejle skirime sa, so latar tejle xutildem.

I am also thankful to my wife, Margita Wagner, for everyday consultations over the theme, which was difficult for both of us. My sincere thank belongs also to members of her family, Marika Lakatošová, Eva Lakatošová, Monika Stojková, Aladár Stojka, who never rejected my questions, and to other members of the community like Jiří Bihář and Józef Kudrík, who accepted me as an equal partner. Also many other Roms supported me unconsciously to get rid of stereotypes by just being normal.

Then I due thanks to two ladies, who have also died some years ago, but managed to change my life in a way that I started to work on a matter I could not even had imagined before being introduced to them. Their names are Hanka Šebková and Milena Hübschmannová. They both would know, that this study is rather a side product of a deeper reconstruction of my existence. Hanka Šebková's involvement into this work was in some way specific, see more in 1.3.3 References – Analyses.

My formal and personal thank also belongs to Viktor Elšík, who accompanied me initially as a learner and friend, and eventually as a tutor. Marta Miklušáková didn't hesitate to offer her experience and open mind to make me advance with the text.
### Abbreviations

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*Table 1: Abbreviations*
1 Introduction

This chapter serves to give an overview of issues, which are not directly of grammatical nature. It contains some notes on translation and glosses, some metalinguistic information about the subject of concern, an explanation of sources, references and other methodological matters, a delimitation of the variety in question vis-a-vis related varieties and dialects, and finally a the situation of the speakers, the Lovaris.

1.1 Conventions, Notations, Terms

The prototype lexical verb is given in the (most frequent) 3rd person singular present tense (e.g. *sikav-el* “he shows”), as North West Lovari Romani has no infinitive to use for such situation, unlike the lexicography of many languages. Concurrently, the verbal root is used for this occasion. With other parts of speech the study sticks to tradition (i.e. nominative masculine singular as nominal exemplification case/gender/number).

The examples and illustrations are glossed by an interlinear transcription, i.e. by literal equivalents of the lexemes and grammatical tags for formatives, and translated into English. The interlinear description is not always provided in full extent and is not consistent throughout the text. The main reason is the focus on relevant features, e.g. on the number feature in sections about number etc. Less relevant features are suppressed in order to keep the transcription transparent (see Matras 1994: 31-33). If a syntactical and semantic equivalent exists in English (e.g. the complementizer “to” for Romani *te*), I prefer it to grammatical tags. If the structures differ more, like possession constructions, they are translinearized to a larger extent. In the case of homonymy or other kinds of basic semantic differences, I try to give the most appropriate equivalent. E.g. the complex verbal suffix *-as* may be glossed as IPFV, SUBV, or IRR, depending on the context. In unambiguous contexts some forms are chosen as default, and they are not glossed then: present tense-subjunctive, masculine, singular, 3rd person, nominative.

The English translation aims to also transfer cultural relationships, and so the words found there may differ significantly from the literal primary translation in the grammatical gloss. On the other hand, I did not attempt to provide an artistic translation. In Romani, designations for humans are commonly divided into words for community members and non-members, e.g.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Human</th>
<th>Community Member</th>
<th>Non-Community Member</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Man, Human</td>
<td>Rom</td>
<td>gážo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woman</td>
<td>Romñi</td>
<td>gajži</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Young Male, Son</td>
<td>šávo</td>
<td>raklo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Young Female, Daughter</td>
<td>šej</td>
<td>rakli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male Child</td>
<td>šavouro</td>
<td>rakjouro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female Child</td>
<td>šejouri</td>
<td>rakjouri</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 2: Ethnic Names For Humans*

However, the ethnic background is not highlighted in common speech, therefore I transferred the ethnic component in translation only if it is important for the statement or contrasted. In common
situations, the meaning is, depending on the situation, rather “client”, “salesman”, “official”, “mechanic” and alike. Romani possesses also ethnically neutral words like žejno “person”, manuš “mankind”, while these have other connotations (like unknown for žejno or noble for manuš).

Speaker: The notion of speaker is taken from a wider perspective. A “speech-producer” may be a more correct expression. Nevertheless, written communication still plays a minor role in language production and formation. Secondly, there is no strong formal instance for encoding written production (see 2.3 Transcription) which would distort spoken language on its way to written. Thirdly, all active users of the language have undergone literacy only in the contact language, if ever, and miss any kind of formal education in their language. Lastly, school attendance of many “speech producers” is generally short and little extensive, and language education in the majority language is subsequently very superficial. Therefore written language is to be viewed as very close to spoken production.

Listener: In the same way listener can be to a very small extent also the reader of a written text, mainly in internet communication.

1.2 Subject of Concern: A Synchronous Description of North West Lovari Romani

Romani is a language or language group spoken by a part of a minority population living in most parts of Europe, in Turkey and in both Americas, the core region being the Balkan peninsula. Its speakers are called by different appellations, prevalently similar to either the English “Gypsy” or to the French “Tsigane”. Their self-appellation was and often remains to be (with several exceptions) is Rom, from where the name of the language is derived (románi šib “Gypsy language, language of the Rom”). During the last decades this self-appellation penetrates into the respective majority languages in order to replace the older, degrading appellations. Nowadays, a part of the Rom speaks as their first language a local language instead of Romani.

Many lexical and grammatical core features of Romani reveal straight-forward explication in an Indian origin. Thus, many other features of Indian origin were later overlaid by internal development, others were replaced by borrowings of material and patterns from contact languages, caused by permanent bilingualism of the Roms.

After a common migrant history towards the then Byzantine Empire up to the turn of the first to the second millennium AC (plus/minus two centuries), the language(s) split up, gradually developing into today's dialects. Apart from dialects which can be roughly organized by (possibly far-reaching) regional patterns (i.e. Balkan, Northern, Central, see Matras 2002: 222), the so-called Vlax (read: vlakh, [vlax]) dialect exceeds its ancient home area centred around Romania. Speakers of Vlax can be found in an over-average amount in regions surrounding this base area, additionally to older (non-Vlax) Rom strata. They live in larger numbers in Ukraine and South Russia, in the Balkan countries, in Greece, Turkey, Hungary, and in Slovakia (Boretzky 2003: 1). In all these regions, the dichotomy of the two dialects, Vlax and non-Vlax, governs local classification of Roma groups. During the 19th and 20th century, Vlax speakers moved into further countries of the old continent and subsequently of the new continent, too.

An outstanding feature of the Vlax dialects is at least some minimum of Romanian lexical and frequently also grammatical loans like trajo “life”, vorba “Word, speech” or derivations of the Romanian plural suffix -uri in loans, also from non-Romanian origin. The partially Romanian roots
are the main reason for the group name, “vlax” refers widely to Romance speaking people across Europe, which in this region are the Romanians. Additionally, this points to a longer contact with Romanian speaking locals. The appearance of Vlax Roms outside of Romania hints to an explanation by the abolition of slavery during the ’40s – ’60s of the 19th century in the principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia and in Transylvania (Cech, Halwachs, Heinschink, Fennesz-Juhasz 2001: 391).

Within the Vlax dialect, one can identify a Northern (mainly Romanian or non-Balkan) group (Boretzky 2003: 90) as well as a Southern one (in the Balkans outside Romania). Within the Northern group a Hungarian dominated (Western) subgroup can be divided from a less homogeneous Eastern group (Boretzky 2003: 97). The former dialect can be attached to a group of speakers who call themselves “Lovára” (sg Lovári), and who inhabit, what used to be the Austrian-Hungarian monarchy, plus neighbouring regions, up to Germany and South Poland. The word Lovári from Hungarian ló “horse” hints to one of their traditional professions of horse-trading, which survived in large parts of the group, until the large-scale importance of horses diminished. In Czech and Slovak discourse, the Hungarized version of “Vlax”, “olach” (plural cz/sk Olaší/Olasi, adjective olašský/olaský, language olaština) is employed, often still used as synonym for, not only local, Lovari Vlax. Actual Czech scientific discourse (courses on the Romani Studies department of the Charles University in Prague) suggests to distinguish Vlach alias “Vlax” from Olach alias “Lovari”, so that the word itself reflects Hungarian influence. Further on, with “Lovari” I will refer to the language, or to their speakers. This means an extension, because not all Roms who speak Lovari Romani, call themselves Lovaris, see 1.5 Sociolinguistic Situation, p. 14.

Up to date there is no more detailed classification of Lovari varieties available. If ever endogenous isoglosses should be drawn, they would have to be aligned in a North – South manner, separating Eastern from Western varieties. Concerning contact-induced changes, the separation sticks to the actual non-Hungarian homeland of the speakers, mainly Ukraine, Romania, Serbia, Austria/Germany, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Poland, not to speak about newer immigration targets “in the West”.

The hereby called “North West” variety of Lovari Romani, the subject of concern of this study, is characterized by

- a distribution of speakers in an actual Czech and Slovak speaking environment;
- shared features categorizing them into the Western part of Lovari Romani.

This comprises the landscape along the Slovak Danube, plus the total region (in a scattered manner) of Bohemia and Moravia, due to migration after the WW II. Contrary to a similar migration during the same period by Romani speakers of the Central group, the Lovaris, who moved to Bohemia and Moravia, prevalently still maintain relations with the Lovaris in Western Slovakia to the actual day. Business trips, family events, especially searching brides were the main reasons to maintain contact. “North West” refers to the North-Western position of the group within the entire Lovari population. Boretzky (2003: 107) lists some changes in Lovari Romani, which he relates to influence from central dialects, and notes, that these changes (in contrast to other Vlax dialects) occur only in the North West of Northern Vlax.

This definition excludes by purpose Lovaris living further East in Slovakia. My experiences showed, that their language differs in several features, mainly speakers of (the district of) Eastern
Slovakia. I would not be able to describe a heterogeneous body of this kind without extensive further fieldwork.

Even if etymology helps to understand the contemporary state, particularly in a language which is heavily influenced by past contact with external language forces, my intention is to present a synchronic grammar without etymological references. Due to a lack of profound knowledge of Hungarian, Romanian, Greek, Indian languages etc., especially in their appropriate historical shape, the provided information would be inconsistent in extent and complexity throughout the study. Derivation is an exception, where some formants appear to be derivative, but actually are found only with stems from the same source language. Here I recurred to etymology in order to separate language-internal derivation from synchronically derivation-like formants, see 4.5.4.1 Language-External Derivation. The chapter lists them in order to state clearly, that they are no system-internal derivative devices.

From a synchronic point of view, the only source of external influence is now from Czech and Slovak, while all older external layers (i.e. mainly Hungarian, Romanian, Greek) are taken as given part of the language system (Hungarian with some restriction). Thus the basic distinction within nominal declension between oikoclitic (“native”) and xenoclitic (“borrowed”) endings shifts from a language-external versus language-internal view towards a closed-class versus open-class perspective, respectively.

Furthermore the scope of this study has been reduced to the language itself. The aim is not to provide a comparative grammar, and thus, links to other dialects of Romani are are not elaborated in this study. Of course, the knowledge about other dialects helped a lot to get into the language quickly and to structure this work. Grammars of related dialects also influenced the outcome of this work in a way to keep it comparable for those who are interested in comparison. Above all, there are unconscious influences on grammatical perception and grammar culture as such, joint with the danger of overseeing or contrarily importing artificial rules.

1.3 Methodology

Generally the observations presented in this study developed as follows:

- Some basic hypotheses were made from intuition, lead by theoretical knowledge of this and other varieties and by a basic knowledge of a few European languages;
- The hypotheses were confronted with sources of continuous texts (see 1.3.1 Sources) and so confirmed, refined or replaced by more appropriate hypotheses;
- Missing samples and isolated, unclear or questionable relations were consulted with native speakers;
- Examples from the testing stage served to illustrate the extracted rules. They were sometimes shortened with the help of native speakers to extract the feature under examination;
- Findings were counter-checked with results from other descriptions of North West Lovari Romani, see 1.3.3 References – Analyses in order to detect discrepancies and missing phenomena;
- Example texts were checked by native speakers.
An aim of the study was to minimize influences from unreflected grammar knowledge and from unconscious language concepts, which would impose artificial structures onto the language description. Therefore, elicitation was always a second step to fill in blind spots. It was rather used for confirmation/rejection than for detection. E.g. a native speaker replaced me in a class for one lesson. She asked the students to elicit her about the present tense paradigm for the in-class verbs like *vorbij* “talk”. The resulting form of the 3pl was *vorbinen*, in contrast to *vorbin* in any text occurrences. One reason for this mistake was on side of the students, because in the dialect they are familiar with, *vorbinen* would be the correct form. The second factor was the Rom teacher herself: The mere form *vorbinen* exists, but in the 2pl imperative, so it appeared sound to her.

The collaboration with native speakers as a source of elicitation and of metalanguage reflection depends on individual capabilities and facilities. Those I came to know showed generally a very good judgement on what is valid or not, but I met clear restrictions, too. Within a certain frame, there is no firm conception of what is “correct”, and social and political aspects interfere in a way that something is accepted as “good” by coming from a friend or educated person, or contrariwise something is rejected as coming from an outsider. Within the Lovari community the opposite may often take place, too: A suggestion coming from a field worker is principally wrong because as an outsider, it is impossible, that he speaks “our language” correctly. Another restriction of elicitation in the border areas of the language is the isolated presentation of examples, which require a training in linguistic abstraction free of context. I know this from my own experience as a German native speaker in a Czech speaking environment, when here and there somebody asks me if a given phrase is correct.

Regarding classification and terminology, I worked a lot with many publications within Shopen's (2007) characterization of linguistic phenomena from a cross-language perspective, the single authors are referenced individually throughout the study. The publication renders an overview over most morphological and syntactical issues and offers the possibility to insert North West Lovari Romani into the rest of the world’s languages being described out of a common terminological and structural platform.

The form of presentation was necessarily a compromise between an axiomatically elaborated construct, satisfying theoretical ambitions, and a practical handbook-manual, but also between grammatographical tradition and new approaches. Lehmann, Maslova (2004) helped me to realize my position in the frame of facilities, possibilities and assumed need.

### 1.3.1 Sources

#### 1.3.1.1 Individual Referents

My key referent for this thesis was Anna Lankatosová, a lady about 70 years old. There were also and four „assistant“ referents, her daughters Monika Stojková, Eva Lakatošová, Marika Lakatošová and Margita Wagner, aged between 35 and 45 years. They served also for further consultations. Mrs. Anna Lankatosová grew up in South West Slovakia. In the early 1960s, she moved to Northern Bohemia, where her children grew up. By the begin of the 1990s they moved to the Silesian region in North-East of the Czech Republic.
Further important oral referents were Jósef Kudřík, 70 years old, and Jiří Bihári, about 40 years old, both from South Bohemia, and the 40 years old permanent consultant Aladár Stojka, inhabitant of the Silesia region.

The strongest source of my rather intuitive knowledge, but also of many inspirations, corrections and insights about North West Lovari Romani, was my wife, above mentioned Margita Wagner, and our two daughters Sophie (3) and Michelle (1). Our language constellation makes use of three languages: Czech between the parents, Romani between mother and both children, and German between me and both children, with a minimum of cross-overs. Communication is not sophisticated, but nonetheless rich in grammar. Furthermore, a toddler makes mistakes, and by this way, gives impulses towards the language structure.

1.3.1.2 Secondary Sources

Boretzky (2002: 5, translation by the author) correctly notes about sources for Slovak Lovari: “The material is very meagre, there are only texts published in the Romano džaniben magazine (Prague 1997-1999). Moreover they originate from almost only one person (P. Stojka).” Up to date this journal (see bibliography, entry Romano Džaniben) has published the following texts in Lovari:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author (Editor)</th>
<th>Issue (Page)</th>
<th>Genre</th>
<th>Title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Peter Stojka</td>
<td>1-2/1995 (106-107)</td>
<td>essay</td>
<td>Románo sokáši pej Nitrako telepo – Hierarchia a zvyky Rómov z Nitry a okolí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peter Stojka</td>
<td>3/1995 (56-60)</td>
<td>essay</td>
<td>Románe sokáša pe la Ņitrako telepo (dúto skirimo) – Zvyky vlašských Rómov z okolia Nitry (druhé pokračovanie)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peter Stojka</td>
<td>4/1995 (35-38)</td>
<td>essay</td>
<td>Krečuno andej vlašika Rom – Vianoce u vlašských Rómov</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Different authors</td>
<td>1-2/1996 (6-7)</td>
<td>sayings</td>
<td>E Rom vorbin pa čaládo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peter Stojka</td>
<td>1-2/1996 (115-119)</td>
<td>essay</td>
<td>La romňako than ando románo taršašágo – Postavenie ženy v spoločenstve valašských Rómov</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peter Stojka</td>
<td>1-2/1996 (120-122)</td>
<td>essay</td>
<td>Patráďi – Veľkonočné sviatky</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peter Stojka</td>
<td>3/1996 (32-34)</td>
<td>essay</td>
<td>Práchomo – Pohreb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peter Stojka</td>
<td>3/1996 (35-38)</td>
<td>essay</td>
<td>Páťiv – Úcta-Zdvorilosť</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cila Stojka - Igor</td>
<td>4/1996 (16-)</td>
<td>narrative</td>
<td>I rakli andaj somnakuni bruma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Author(s)</td>
<td>Year/Range</td>
<td>Type</td>
<td>Title</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>------------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>-------</td>
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<tr>
<td>E. Kutlík-Garudo</td>
<td>4/1996 (19-22)</td>
<td>narrative</td>
<td>O rakakiraji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Margita Lakatošová</td>
<td>1-2/1997 (13-14)</td>
<td>translation</td>
<td>Vešeskere romňa (by Helena Červeňáková)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peter Stojka</td>
<td>1-2/1997 (39-40)</td>
<td>essay</td>
<td>Le detehára aneď vlašika čaládura – Rána vo vlašických rodinách</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jaroslav Biháry</td>
<td>1-2/1997 (41-42)</td>
<td>essay</td>
<td>Pa čerhaja – O hviezdičke</td>
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<tr>
<td>(not given)</td>
<td>3-4/1997 (3)</td>
<td>translation</td>
<td>E Matušisko evangelium</td>
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<tr>
<td>Peter Stojka</td>
<td>3-4/1997 (100-104)</td>
<td>essay</td>
<td>Óľľa ando románo sokáší – Piesne v rómskej tradícii</td>
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<tr>
<td>Peter Stojka</td>
<td>3-4/1997 (120-128)</td>
<td>essay</td>
<td>La kríšiňake Rom taj i románi kríši aneď vlašika Rom – Soudci a soudy u olašských Romů</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Margita Lakatošová</td>
<td>1-2/1998 (4-5)</td>
<td>translation</td>
<td>Úvodník (by Helena Červeňáková)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Margita Lakatošová</td>
<td>3/1998 (5-6)</td>
<td>translation</td>
<td>Indira Gandhiová Romům (Zahajovací projev)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peter Stojka</td>
<td>3/1998 (30-36)</td>
<td>essay</td>
<td>Urajimo – Obliekanie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peter Stojka</td>
<td>4/1998 (4-11)</td>
<td>essay</td>
<td>Le svunti thana aneď vlašika Rom taj o svunto paňano – (Sväté púte a viera u vlašských Rómov)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Margita Lakatošová</td>
<td>3/2000 (57)</td>
<td>essay</td>
<td>Sosko sas muro dad?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peter Stojka</td>
<td>4/2000, attachment</td>
<td>translation</td>
<td>Te trajin musaj (by Hilda Pášová)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The majority of written language come from Peter Stojka, a male of around 60 years age, who lives in South-West Slovakia. Later than Boretzky's publication, Peter Stojka's bilingual “Amáro Trajo – Náš život” (Stojka, Pivoň 2003) was published, with a solid insight into Lovari customs and traditions, written in both North West Lovari Romani, and the Slovak translation, provided by him and the co-author, Rastislav Pivoň. Despite the fact, that much of the information overlaps with what Peter Stojka published before in Romano Džaniben, it is important to list this contribution for the sake of completeness. The last secondary source of language material are songs published in a bibliophile booklet by Holub (2000). Besides the songs, the booklet includes an accurate transcript of an interview of Milena Hübschmannová with Peter Stojka about music. All of these secondary sources played a marginal role in the analysis of the data, with the mere exception of Peter Stojka's monograph, which was an important resource to my study.

Further sources comprise texts from other Lovari dialects, which were used for inspiration and delimitation of the subject. I fully share Halwachs', Cech's and Heinschink's (1998: III) excitement

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Language</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lovari proverbs</td>
<td>3-4/2001</td>
<td>proverbs</td>
<td>p. 41, 77, 85, 93, 102, 109, 120, 123, 131, 138, 139, 147, 168, 181, 182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peter Stojka</td>
<td>3-4/2001</td>
<td>essay</td>
<td>E legendi andej vlašika Rom – Legendy olašských Romů</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Margita Lakatošová, Aladár Stojka</td>
<td>ńilaj 2005 (97-98)</td>
<td>summary translation</td>
<td>Loukárde routi – sa so kerde e gáže e Romenge andi Francija, kana trádkerenas e vurdonenca (by Kateřina Klčová)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Margita Lakatošová</td>
<td>Jevend 2005 (22)</td>
<td>translation</td>
<td>Sar o kárnálo bálo chochadas e Sintos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Margita Lakatošová</td>
<td>Jevend 2005 (84)</td>
<td>summary translation</td>
<td>So avilas mange pi goudí, kana vorbinous e phúre Romenca khate ando Čecho pa románo trajo maškar e dúj hábúrvúvura (by Jana Horváthová)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Margita Lakatošová</td>
<td>Ńilaj 2006 (138-148)</td>
<td>translation</td>
<td>Mozes Heinschink o Milené Hübschmannové – O Mozes vorbij palaj Milena</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eva Davidová (ed.)</td>
<td>Jevend 2008 (134-152)</td>
<td>songs</td>
<td>Šavale, me tumari šukár páfív opre manglem...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peter Stojka</td>
<td>Jevend 2008 (153-169)</td>
<td>fiction</td>
<td>Magerimo – Vyhostenie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O Baba – Peter Wagner (ed.)</td>
<td>Ńilaj 2009 (194-198)</td>
<td>narrative</td>
<td>Ká žasas maj sigo? Po bijav, vaj po verrastáši?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3: North West Lovari texts in Romano Džaniben

The majority of written language come from Peter Stojka, a male of around 60 years age, who lives in South-West Slovakia. Later than Boretzky's publication, Peter Stojka's bilingual “Amáro Trajo – Náš život” (Stojka, Pivoň 2003) was published, with a solid insight into Lovari customs and traditions, written in both North West Lovari Romani, and the Slovak translation, provided by him and the co-author, Rastislav Pivoň. Despite the fact, that much of the information overlaps with what Peter Stojka published before in Romano Džaniben, it is important to list this contribution for the sake of completeness. The last secondary source of language material are songs published in a bibliophile booklet by Holub (2000). Besides the songs, the booklet includes an accurate transcript of an interview of Milena Hübschmannová with Peter Stojka about music. All of these secondary sources played a marginal role in the analysis of the data, with the mere exception of Peter Stojka's monograph, which was an important resource to my study.

Further sources comprise texts from other Lovari dialects, which were used for inspiration and delimitation of the subject. I fully share Halwachs', Cech's and Heinschink's (1998: III) excitement
about the mass of Romani grammars and texts published in Hungary. For this region, I preferred Bari’s (1990) collection of narratives and songs from all over Hungary “Le vešeski dej”, which was indexed by the speaker’s location and group affiliation. The second edition (1999) included a CD. Also the well catalogued Austrian publications “Tusa ande akhoren kholos...” (Cech, Fennesz-Juhasz, Halwachs, Heinschink 2000) and “Fern von uns im Traum ... Te na dikhas sunende....” (Cech, Fennesz-Juhasz, Halwachs, Heinschink 2001) with fairy tales, stories and songs of Austrian Lovaris were more than useful, not last thanks to the CD published with selected texts “Kodo phende e Romora ...” (Fennesz-Juhasz, Heinschink 2002). Some single further Lovari sources, which were nevertheless not used in this study, are listed in Pobožniak (1964: 21-22). Lars Gjerde (1994) gives an insight in narrations of Lovari immigrants into Norway.

Internet chats and social networks also touched my work, but eventually were not exploited. I just observed their intensive use and importance out of pleasure, for information exchange and even organization of life among the young generation, not as a participant of the chats or a participant observer.

1.3.1.3 Genres and Themes
The largest part of the quoted Lovari texts are dialogues and short reports. They concern everyday life issues – dressing, cooking, shopping, children, authorities, social relations, family events. The written source refers to customs and traditions within the Lovari community. A minor part of the texts by the Lovari speakers from South Bohemian are narratives about the history of Roma lives.

1.3.1.4 Representations
The examined texts come prevalently from (recorded) spoken, to a lesser extent from written sources. Whenever recording was not possible, fieldwork notes took over their role. Nevertheless, they were not taken in a structured or organized manner, because my role within the community was not that of a tolerated observer, but one of the members.

1.3.2 Text processing
Oral texts were background recorded, after a general agreement with the referents. The recordings contain also intimate information and quarrels, so the fact of being recorded could not have influenced speech production notably. A part of the recordings was transcribed with a writing system based on a local standard, designed for the Northern Central dialect, see Transcription (2.3). Phonetic characteristics exceeding this standard were noticed during transcription or in later recursion to the recordings.

Written texts are unsure sources of information on phonology. Due to the fact that the transcription system is not fully standardized yet, individual deviations sometimes were not erased by standardization and found their way of expression. With all my respect to the key author, Peter Stojka, he has neither academic education, nor training in producing elaborated written documents. While he has published many essays on Lovari traditions and had a chance to see his work, some of which were edited by scholars, I believe his work is a true echo of his spoken language, not so much a written work of its own, which is typical for traditionally written languages. Firstly, the stream of writing in this monograph is scarcely and unusually structured graphically (by standard
means of commas, dots and paragraphs). Secondly, I have attended a situation, where a Lovari mother was uncertain in how to dress in preparation to a baptism, and she searched advice in Peter Stojka’s book. I had the impression, that the book was on its way to be taken as a codex of behaviour.

1.3.3 References – Analyses

First descriptions of Romani did not take into consideration dialectal particularities and presented the language as a uniform system. Beginning with the linguist August Friedrich Pott (1844), who could rely on collected language material from several single manuscripts and publications about different Romani dialects by several scholars, more attention was paid to geographical and sub-ethnic differences among the language samples. In 1915, the diplomat Bernard Gilliat-Smith (Petulengro 1915, cited in Matras: 219) first introduced the Vlax group in scientific discourse and pointed out the important (linguistic and other) differences between the Vlax group and other Rom groups inhabiting Bulgaria. This sub-ethnic distinction showed up to be relevant for many regions around the historical principalities of Moldovia and Wallachia. Indeed, Vlax-like groups can be found all around this Romanian centre, while the equivalent of Gilliat-Smith’s Bulgarian non-Vlax groups differs in character and name in other places. The Vlax-dialect itself differs also from place to place, but to a much lower extent.

Among these dialects, one group can be identified in linguistic terms, mainly by strong Hungarian influence. The Vlax-dialect in Hungarian regions, i.e. the Lovari dialect, was first individually analyzed by Johann Knobloch (see Halwachs, Cech, Heinschink 1998: III). He collected some texts in the Lackenbach concentration camp in Austria and added grammatical comments. Further analytic work comprises Pobožniak’s “Grammar of the Lovari Dialect” (1964) from South Poland, Hutterer’s “A Lovári Cigány dialektus leíró nyelvtana” (Grammar of the Lovaris’ dialect, 1967), a little grammar overview in the Romani-Hungarian dictionary, together with the Romani textbook “Zhanes romanes?” (Do you speak Romani?), both by József Choli Daróczi and Levente Feyér (1984 and 1988, respectively), and a base grammar “Basisgrammatik” by Petra Cech and Mozes Heinschink, with Dieter Halwachs as editor (1998). The title of Matras’ (1994) “Untersuchungen zu Grammatik und Diskurs des Romanes. Dialekt der Kelderaša/Lovara.” (Studies in Romani grammar and discourse: Kelderaša/Lovara) is rather self-explanatory with the study focussing on a dialect with interferences between two Northern Vlax dialects.

The outermost North-Western variety of the Lovari continuum, the Czech-Slovak Lovari Romani examined herein, has been described in Lakatošová’s and Šebková’s unpublished “Stručná mluvnice olašské romštiny” (A Short Grammar of Lovari Romani, Lakatošová, Šebková 2004). After Hana Šebková’s death in 2004, I had access to the manuscript and published a summary of it (Lakatošová, Wagner 2004). Their work represented simultaneously a commitment to me to finish, what the two ladies initiated, while running the risk of being suspected of plagiarism. Eventually, I decided to begin with my own grammar under the condition, not to look after Lakatošová’s and Šebková’s unless I will have finished a substantial part of my own analysis. Thus their work entered into the following study in two ways: Implicitly, by infiltration of information into my knowledge base about North West Lovari Romani during the writing of the review, prior to any concepts on a grammar; and explicitly, by later confrontation of my own work with that of Lakatošová and
Šebková in order to remove white spots in my text. These amendments are explicitly referenced in the text.

1.4 Delimitation and Variation of the Variety

In the following, I would like to delimit the variety of study firstly against other Romani main dialect groups, then the Lovari dialect against other Vlax dialects, and finally the variety in the context of other Lovari varieties I have material of.

1.4.1 Delimitation of the Vlax Dialect

Here I largely resort to Boretzky's (2003: 87) evaluation of his data, whereof I present some, which seem more important or more frequent to me. Idiosyncratic features of Vlax Romani are:

1) Consonant clusters $tl > kl$ and $dl > gl$, as in *šuklo < šutlo “sour” or phanglo < phandlo “bound”;  
2) Palatalization of alveolars before i to ĭ, ĭh, ĭ like *tiro < tiro “your” or simadi < simati “loan”;  
3) Conditional denasalisation of ni > ji in păji “water”, khuj “ellbow”, ráj “official”, sapuj “soap”, balaji “trough” and in the in-conjugation vorbįj < vorbinel talk”;  
4) Short genitive forms in -ko;  
5) Unmarked plural forms in consonant masculine class;  
6) Xenoclitic masculine plural in -uri/-ura;  
7) Comparative prefix maj-;  
8) Prothetic v- in nom personal pronoun;  
9) Lexical idiosyncrasies like kecavo/kasavo “such”, khonik “nobody”, khanči “nothing”, khati “nowhere”, soro “every”;  
10) Negation with či/ní/in (Northern či);  
11) 1SG PRES copula and 1SG PFTV marker sim/sem and -em, respectively;  
12) Negative 3P PRES copula in naj;  
13) Denominal derivation with -av-;  
14) Some particles and adverbs (Lovari forms given): trobuj “need”, kadej “so”, intár “apart”, adejs “today”, tehára “tomorrow”, dolmut “for a long time”, vorta “straight”;  
15) Some older lexemes (Lovari forms given): šonitiko “moon”, šudel “throw”, hatārel “understand”, hamij “mix”.

1.4.2 Delimitation of the Northern Vlax Dialects

In this overview, I can also take advantage of Boretzky's (2003: 93-96) collection of distinctive features of Northern versus Southern Vlax, focussed at major differences and differences against neighbouring central dialect:

1) Nominalization with -imo/-imos, parallel to -ipe;
2) Prepositions *pa* “from, out of”, *anda* “from, due to”, *tela* “under”;
3) Negative 3*IPFV* copula *nás*;
4) Lexical idiosyncrasies (Lovari forms given): *katka* “here”, *katka* “there”, *ourde* “(to) here”, *anke* “still”, *fajma* “probably”, *dějs* “day”, *vorbij* (no *vakerel*) “talk”.

### 1.4.3 Delimitation within Northern Vlax

Here I also give a summary of Boretzky’s (2003: 97-98) list of changes to the Western variety of Northern Vlax (roughly Lovari):

1) No centralized vowels, [i] > [i], [a] > [e];
2) Conditional lengthening of vowels;
3) [r̞] > [r] in initial position;
4) [č̞] > [š] (Eastern > [š]);
5) -*l̞a* > -*al*-la – but in North West Lovari Romani -*l̞a* occurs individually (voulá “(good) mood””, *krumplā* “potato”), but not in verbal paradigm (beš-l-as “sit-PFTV-3SG” etc.);
6) [r̞j] > [r];
7) Nominal derivation with -*imo* (Eastern -*imos*);
8) Article FEM SG *i*;
9) Reflexive plural forms with *pen-*;
10) 2SG forms of *PRES* copula and *PFTV* is *sal* and -*al*, respectively;
11) Depalatalized 3SG *PFTV* forms like *kerd*-as (Eastern *kerďas*) “make-PFTV-3SG”;
12) Individual forms *tordol* “stand”, *dšol* “stay”, *kecavo* “such”, *keťi* “so many/much”, *mezij* “looks”;
13) Short 1SG *IPFV* form in -*o(u)s*;
14) Palatalized 1SG and 3SG *PRES* in-conjugation forms -*ij* (Eastern -*iv* and -*il*, respectively).

Viewed from the vicinity of speakers of the central dialect, there are some further peculiarities like the original Romani word accent, the article plural form in *e/le*, deaffrication *dž* > ɻ, metatheses in *máño* “bread”, *purno* “foot”, *årño* “egg”, *jovkar* “once”. Then the elision of final -*s* and -*n* (as for Southern Central) like in pronouns le “them”, *pe* “himself”, *ame* “us”, *tune* “you ACC”, and in xenoclitic NOM SG, and in the active participle. Further some Greek loans like *luludî* “flower”, *mizmejri* “noon”, many Romanian loans like *palma* “palm”, *lungo* “long”, *intrego* “integer” *vorba* “word, utterance”, *trajo* “life” etc., short PERS PRON forms *tô*, but not *mo* and protesized demonstratives in *k-* with special declension.

### 1.4.4 Major Variation Within the Lovari Dialect and Within its North West Variety

Based on the available source, including those of my referents, I aimed to list the most striking differences in the Lovari dialect as a whole according to what was currently available to me. I am
sure that later studies will make me reconsider the picture. Variation concerning the variety under discussion herein is also mentioned in the relevant sections of the study. Variation is marked with the ~ sign. Some variation occurring in the Hungarian variety may be caused by efforts of the authors (Choli-Daróčzi, Feyér 1988) to integrate different Vlax groups related to Lovari within Hungary into their description. The Austrian variety is presented according to Halwachs, Cech, Heinschink (1998). Quantity of variation has not been examined explicitly, so its approximate size is marked only in allusion by use of the order of its manifestation (first = more frequent). Comments on the Eastern variety are partially based on Viktor Elšík's recent unpublished fieldwork (data from the Linguistic Database of Central European Romani, Elšík 2008-12).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phenomenon</th>
<th>North West</th>
<th>Eastern Slovakia</th>
<th>Hungarian</th>
<th>Austrian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Phonology</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diphthong ej, ou</td>
<td>ej, ou</td>
<td>é, ó</td>
<td>é, ó</td>
<td>é, ó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affrication of palatals</td>
<td>t’, d’</td>
<td>t’, d’</td>
<td>t’ ~ č, d’ ~ dž</td>
<td>t’ ~ č, d’ ~ dž</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palatal l’</td>
<td>j ~ l’</td>
<td>l’</td>
<td>j ~ l’</td>
<td>l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deaffrication</td>
<td>š, ž</td>
<td>š, ž</td>
<td>š ~ čh, ž ~ dž</td>
<td>š, ž</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Umlaut 1SG COP sim, 1SG PFTV (kerd)-em</td>
<td>sim, kerdem</td>
<td>sim, kerdem</td>
<td>sim ~ som, kerdem ~ kerdom</td>
<td>sim, kerdem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prothetic (a)-kharel “call”, -šunel “hear”, -resel “long”</td>
<td>φ- (~ a-)$^1$</td>
<td>φ- ~ a-</td>
<td>φ- ~ a-</td>
<td>φ-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aspiration metathesis khatar “from where”, khote “there”, khetáne “together”</td>
<td>khatar, khote, khetáne</td>
<td>(not available)</td>
<td>kathar, kothe</td>
<td>kathar, kothe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alternative [rr]</td>
<td>(exceptionally)</td>
<td>(not available)</td>
<td>(written as double rr)</td>
<td>individually</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affricated XMO NOM PL lungi ~ lunzi “long”, svunti ~ svunici “saint, holy”</td>
<td>lungi, svunti</td>
<td>(not available)</td>
<td>lungi ~ lunži, svunti ~ svunci</td>
<td>lungi, svunti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Morphology</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Article FEM SG</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>i ~ e</td>
<td>e ~ i</td>
<td>e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Article with prothetic l- (NOM PL and OBL)</td>
<td>e ~ le, a ~ la</td>
<td>le, la</td>
<td>e ~ le, a ~ la</td>
<td>le, la</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irrealis</td>
<td>aviloun ~ avilasas</td>
<td>(not available)</td>
<td>aviloun ~ avilasas</td>
<td>aviloun ~ avilasas</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$^1$ Also rakhel is without prothesis, but a request to give place is arakh(en)! Stojka (1995:107) gives akhar
Delimitation and Variation of the Variety

Lexicon

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Imperative negator</th>
<th>na ~ ma</th>
<th>na ~ ma</th>
<th>na ~ ma</th>
<th>na</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>áver “other”</td>
<td>áver</td>
<td>áver</td>
<td>áver</td>
<td>kaver</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mukel ~ mekel “leave”</td>
<td>mukel ~ mekel</td>
<td>mukel</td>
<td>mukel ~ mekel</td>
<td>mukel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kopáči ~ čelčija “tree”</td>
<td>kopáči ~ čelčija</td>
<td>salčin</td>
<td>kopači ~ čelčija</td>
<td>kopači</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kacavo ~ kasavo ~ kecavo “such”</td>
<td>kacavo ~ kasavo ~ kecavo</td>
<td>kaso</td>
<td>kacavo ~ kasavo ~ kecavo</td>
<td>kecavo ~ keco</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mír ~ sostar “why”</td>
<td>mír ~ sostar</td>
<td>sostar</td>
<td>mír ~ sostar</td>
<td>sostar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>feri ~ numa “only”</td>
<td>feri</td>
<td>feri</td>
<td>feri ~ numa</td>
<td>feri ~ numa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>má ~ aba “already”</td>
<td>má</td>
<td>aba ~ má</td>
<td>aba ~ ma</td>
<td>aba ~ ma</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4: Some Variation Within the Lovari Dialect

Additionally I have registered several individuals in the wider family, who pronounced the alveolar aspirate [kʰ] as fricative [χ] (like xosel “wipe”, xoutar “from there”, xatar “from where”, dixes “you see”), and one person with a conditional shift from labial aspirate [pʰ] > fricative [f] (like fenav “I say”).

1.5 Sociolinguistic Situation

Concerning the ethnographic background of the speakers of the North West Lovari Romani group, I would like to restrict myself to a minimum necessary to understand language related effects and processes. This holds even more for a historical perspective of this aspect, which I would like to avoid to describe. To give an example, one finds often an over-interpretation of the self-appellation “Lovari” in the sense, that their speakers “were horse-dealers”, without further indications from ethnographic surveys (e.g. Pobożniak 1964: 19). If somebody extrapolates contemporaneous, very positive and nostalgic, attitudes towards horses and remote knowledge about psychological and technical sales tricks back into the past, horse-dealing must have been of course an important sector of economic life of the community. But with respect to other professions passed from generation to generation until today, like door-to-door business and general trade, it is clear that horses are more likely to be just one of many commodities being dealt with. Their high retrospective status points rather to a high-level segment, performed either in good macroeconomic conditions, or by selected, excellent individuals, high up in social hierarchy.

The speakers of the Lovari dialect in the Czech Republic and Slovakia have, if ever, only an opaque imagination about the meaning of the word “Lovari”. “You may call us in that way if you talk to Rom from very far away,” I was told by Aladár Stojka. Ame sam e Lovára, “We are the Lovaris” said Ján Kutlík. So “North West Lovari Romani” is rather an academic construct, but it fits very well to habits inside the scientific community (Matras 2002: 8, Pobožniak 1964 (the title), Halwachs, Cech, Heinschink 1998: III, Boretzky 2002: 4-5,98) and is not rejected by the community. Otherwise the basic self-appellation is “Rom” and, with the necessity to distinct, “Amáre Rom” (our Rom).
Rom from the majority groups are called “Rumungro”. It can be analyzed as “Rom Ungro” (Rom-Hungarian), which points to an ancient inheritance maybe from the first times of contact with this group in Transylvania or after having moved from Romanian speaking territory. In the Czech Republic the original connection to the South-Central group was extended to the more numerous North-Central group. These again call them “Vlacho (masc)”, and its adjective derivation Vlašiko Rom can be found and also used by Lovaris (Stojka, Pivoň 2003), but not as a consensus lexeme.

The Lovari tradition is separated strictly into a “men's world” and a “women's world”. Basic ethnographic descriptions of this phenomenon are presented in many publications on the Rom culture. As a source of the discussed North-West Lovari segment, I recommend a direct view from a personal testimony of an insider, Peter Stojka (Stojka, Pivoň 2003: 67-75 – men, 77-85 – woman). Together with a difference in topics (men's versus women's), this is a factor in favour of language differentiation into “sexolects”. Homogenizing factors are the dialogue within the couple and education of the children. The strength of these basic factors and of further factors is not known to me, and the analysis of linguistic differences between sexes was not my focus, so I leave this question open to future research. Male and female speech are represented in a different way in my study: Language production by females is rather correlated to oral and spontaneous production, while the main source of male speakers are written, reflected texts. Thus, differences between both types of texts cannot be uniquely associated with either sexual or domain related factors. The analysis takes the indifference of male and female speech with respect to the presented phenomena as an approximation in order to be able to come to first results, which can be subject to revision in further works.

1.5.1 Trade, Mobility and Language Coherence

For the Lovaris, the focus of making one's life is to make some kind of business. With respect to what is known about the past, the professional profile of the Lovaris has not changed, nor does it differ from Lovaris abroad I have record of. Also the trade style has apparently remained the same, located in the grey zone apart of the official channels of commerce. The Lovaris lack some proficiency in rigorously standardized business processes and can therefore detect demand quickly, without bureaucratic burden. Certain business, such as theft or drug traffic, is performed by individual families and transgress this grey zone of legal borders. Others make their living out of social benefits, a situation caused by a historical lack of institutional education and formal contacts, or combine different sources of income.

Another legacy of the historical roots of the Lovaris is their high mobility, compared to the local population. Here, too, is a strong element of over-interpretation in connection with recent emigrations of Roms to the West. These are taken as a proof of the genetic destiny of the Romani people towards an itinerant life. Yet emigrant Rom from different backgrounds are mixed up, Eastern Slovak peasant Rom settled for centuries with Lovaris having a continuous tradition of travelling, serious emigrant intentions of searching fortune elsewhere with short-term investigation trips. Another aspect of misunderstanding is the over-interpretation of itinerant way of living before its absolute ban in 1959: Travelling was, at least in a period before its very end (forced by law, see Hübßchnanová 1993: 21), a part of the annual cycle, and it concerned only a part of the family. Today, elder people remember having generally lived in houses, at least during the winter. Travelling was reserved for certain purposes: Find new products, markets and contacts, including
family contacts for the new generation. From this point of view, there was also a continuation of lifestyle, or let's say a graduate shift in how to reach the – still remaining. The faster means of transport (train, cars) allowed an equal action radius like before, without having to take all the stuff on road, and to be back one or two weeks later.

The trade-oriented choice of profession is a prerequisite of the geographical flexibility of the Lovari/Vlax, and is subsequently of high relevance for the coherence of the Lovari language. Despite the general sedentary background, I could repeatedly see visits of Slovak Lovaris in Czech locations and of Czech Lovaris with Slovak homes, or common business trips around one or the other country or abroad across Western Europe, individually also to Canada or the U.S. I personally remember several family events with Slovak attendance, several business trips of a week up to three months in distinct destinations in Bohemia and in Europe, short visits for single professional or personal arrangements, visits of a more or less close relative in hospital, but also holidays for children with their relatives. In the past, Lovaris were allegedly often among the first to own a car, which was essential for commerce even under communism, which was hostile towards individual business.

Whatever professions are executed by different Lovari subgroups and individuals, the all-over professional structure of the Lovaris is very narrow, and most products and services are provided by the majority. This has also an essential impact on language, because at least some minimal communication has to be undertaken in the majority language. There is also an obvious consequence of the dominant trade-oriented structure: The proficiency in the majority language must be on a quite good level in order to reach an acceptable bargain position in contact with the clients.

1.5.2 Common Internal Rule, Hierarchy

Among the first sources to mention Gypsy travellers in Central Europe there were often notes about safe conducts issued by superior authorities, which among other hand over jurisdiction sovereignty for Rom members to the community itself (e.g. Holy Roman Emperor Sigismund stated in 1424 in favour of the Romani group leader, that in the case of quarrels among the Gypsies themselves idem Ladislaus wainoda iudicandi et liberandi habeat facultatem. “this Ladislaus Wainoda should be entitled to sentence and to relieve” (Andreas von Regensburg 1763, translation author). Some Rom groups have retained this sovereignty until today, and the North West Lovaris are among them. The Kríši, a jurisdictional institution with legislative competences of the “wisest” and “oldest”, labelled here further on “council”, is still acknowledged in the community. It may exist on a local, regional, and in extreme cases also on a national level (Stojka, Pivoň 2003: 51,53). It is subject to criticism due to allegations of bias or corruption, but verdicts are obeyed without regress to majority authorities (rajikánes “the official way, i.e. via police or social department”) by large parts of the Lovaris.

The existence and respect to the kríši is not primary a factor in favour of certain changes (or retention) within the language, but rather an indication for the integrity of the community. Acceptance of common rules goes hand in hand with acceptance of language habits. A similar point is hierarchy: The existence of (more or less) accepted Kríšiška manuš “Kríši representatives, council members” implies a certain degree of authoritarianism, which again mirrors the readiness to obey language rules. Additionally, I could observe signs of community subordination in many
situations, clothing, furniture, music, attitudes to community and majority events, etc. *Te na phenen e Rom.* “So the public will not say a word.” is a common and clear utterance of a priori subordination, as well as its seeming counterpart for the disobedience case, *Te na dikhen e Rom.* “So the public does not see that.” This does not mean strict conservatism, because some new phenomena like social networks or neologisms enter the culture through some opinion leaders (or their children) and can quickly reach the entire society, but always the society as a whole.

### 1.5.3 Position of North West Lovari Romani and Their Speakers Within Majority Population

According to preliminary census data, 5199 inhabitants in the Czech Republic declared Rom ethnicity (*národnost* in Czech) in 2011 (Český statistický úřad 2012), forming 0.05% of the total population. During the previous census held in 2001, Rom ethnicity was declared by 11,746 persons (0.1%). The number of speakers of Romani has not been published yet, for the 2001 census (Český statistický úřad 2001) 23,211 persons (0.2%) declared Romani their mother tongue. These figures are used for administrative purposes, but comparison to a number of 145,711 (1.5%) collected by communist local authorities in 1989 (Hübschmannová 1993: 26) points to a conceptual problem of ethnicity, see the discussion in Kalibová (1999). In Slovakia the ration is 0.5% by 2001 for ethnicity (Štatistický úrad Slovenskej republiky 2001), 0.9% for Romani language (Štatistický úrad Slovenskej republiky 2001), and ca. 5% for the collection by authorities in 1989 (Hübschmannová 1993: 26).

According to interviews with different Lovaris, some Czech towns seem to have notable Lovari populations. These include, among others, in the Czech Republic: Brno, Hradec Králové, Karviná, Kroměříž, Opava, Ostrava, Pečky, Prachatice, Prague, Prostějov, Teplice. In Slovakia the North West Lovari Romani speakers live in Bratislava, Galanta, Lučenec, Nitra, Nové Zámky, Sereď, Šaľa and on the surrounding countryside. Other Lovari groups live in the very East, in the city of Košice, in Petrovany, Sabinov and surroundings (Lakatošová, Šebková 2004: 2, extended by myself).

Lovaris live rather scattered within the Czech majority population. In Slovakia, there are smaller settlements, called *telepo*, with several families living close together.

However large the total Roma population may be, the Lovaris form a minority, compared to the (former) speakers of the Central, i.e. the Northern Central plus Southern Central group (see Matras 2002: 8-9). Hübschmannová (1993: 27) mentions an absence of figures about sub-ethnic division of Rom in both countries and estimates the Lovari part as of 10-15%. The total number of Lovari Rom should not exceed several thousands in each country. The 3% ratio of Lovari pupils in the sample of Červenka, Sadílková, Kubaník (2009: 9) is a result of the selection process, which was not intended to be representative by sub-ethnic parameters. Nevertheless, this figure should be taken seriously as an indication to correct the estimation towards a lower level, and possibly to investigate the division with more accuracy. Another indication for the population size of the Lovari community could serve my observation, that whenever two Lovaris meet outside, they always are able to identify a common relative. This is reinforced by the small number of surnames (with single exceptions Bihári, Daniš, Horváth, Kudrýk, Lakatoš, Rafael, Stojka), shared by all Lovaris in the Czech Republic and – in line with their origin – in South Western Slovakia. Most of the names, i.e. Lakatoš, Rafael, and mainly Stojka, can be traced back not only to Hungarian (e.g. narrators in Bari
1990: 98, 206\(^2\)) and Austrian (see the writer and painter Ceija Stojka or the singer Ruža Nikolić-Lakatos) equivalents. Stojka goes back to a Romanian surname (see the former prime minister Chivu Stoica from 1955-1961), and a Rom (not Lovari) writer in Transylvania is Ileana Lăcătuş.

The relationship with members of the majority is prevalently negative. Physical aggression is rejected by the public, and newer juridical practice went rapidly and strongly against an arson attack against a Rom family. Separation of Rom communities in isolated locations increases, with little intervention from the central administration. The public rarely differentiates between single Rom groups, and complaints on social welfare misuse is often quoted alongside the pretentious usage of expensive goods. On a low priority level, the Olaši (Lovaris) are commonly known as some special kind of Rom, but no clear connection is made with different kind of behaviour.

Language is no matter of discussion, except for special situations and for a few specialists who may get in contact with the Roms, such as teachers, medical or clerical staff or social workers. Knowledge of Romani in absence of fluent knowledge of Czech usually becomes an obstacle to education and integration generally. Knowledge in Romani, is received by the majority as an obstacle, no matter what the proficiency in Czech is. Romani is perceived as and a manifestation of backwardness. The Roms are accused of hiding something or of slandering when they talk Romani in public. Of course this apprehension oversees the fact that most people talk in their native language, whether in private or in public. The wide-spread practice of the 1950s of forbidding Romani in schools is no longer applied as a general policy but still, children are forbidden to talk in Romani in a few Czech schools even today. Generally, with the ongoing language shift (see below) of the majority Rom group to Czech in the Czech Republic, the issue of usage of Romani at schools has diminished.

1.5.4 Position of North West Lovari Romani Within the Community

La čirikja pinžáres palaj pour taj e manušes palaj vorba. “The bird can be recognized by its tail, but man by his speech.” If a Rom talks about language, he will not omit to stress the importance of language. An indicator of maturity and acknowledgement of a person is, that he žanel te vorbij “speaks reasonably, lit. knows to speak” or šukáres vorbij “speaks well organized, lit. speaks well”. The art of speaking is an important indicator of one's intellectual capabilities. Intelligence is a highly appreciated value, particularly in interpersonal communication. It is expected to identify the intentions of the partner even before he presents them. Complex eloquence is also an important prerequisite for trading, see above. Part of the art is the ability to boldel i vorba “turn argumentation” or vorbij boldines “speak indirectly, lit. turn the speech”, i.e. to express thoughts in an adequate way.

Needless to say, intelligence is a mixed blessing. In connection with traditional, not written, partially contradictory rules it can be utilized to form the rules according to individual needs. Here begins the shift from godáver “wise, prudent, intelligent” to bužanglo “clever, smart, astute”, to select commonly accepted sayings or rules in order to shift the focus of interest in the intended direction.

Eloquence and intelligence have also an impact on language development. Individuals are theoretically bound by social rules but they manage to manipulate definitions and interpretations of

\(^2\) n.b. lakatos means locksmith in Hungarian
the underlying concepts and can cause changes in language behaviour. While this is only a hypothesis, which needs further verification, I certainly see a strong potential for explanation (and research) in it.

As explained, “language” is rather understood as a metaphor for “thinking” or “intelligence”. Language is rarely a matter of interest on its own. If ever, only the choice of code (cz/sk versus Romani) is made by intention but such choice also underlies cultural settings. In the presence of non-Rom persons, different values are taken into account: On one hand the question of relevance of information to non-speakers and the necessity to cover communication content in front of strangers, and on the other courtesy towards them. The final choice depends on individual constellations.

The Roms in the Czech Republic are highly competent in their language. My personal observation fully support the findings published by the Romani Studies department of Charles' University (Červenka, Kubaník, Sadílková 2009: 9). The research focussed to examine the language proficiency of Rom pupils in the Czech Republic through a set of games. The sample included 59 schools in 12 out of the total of 14 regions, and 968 students respectively. Part of the evaluation was to divide students into several groups according to the level of their language proficiency. According to the research, 100% were able to communicate in Romani, a single pupil was not completely fluent. Among the other Rom groups, the ratio of non-active-speakers was below 50%, see table 5, which is based upon (Červenka, Kubaník, Sadílková 2009: 27).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Ratio (total sample)</th>
<th>Ration (non Lovari speakers only)</th>
<th>Ratio (Lovari speakers only)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Completely Competent Speakers</td>
<td>31.1</td>
<td>28.7</td>
<td>96.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Almost Competent Speakers</td>
<td>16.4</td>
<td>16.9</td>
<td>3.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Passive Speakers</td>
<td>22.2</td>
<td>23.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Speakers</td>
<td>30.3</td>
<td>31.4</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sample Size</td>
<td>968</td>
<td>936</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5: Language Competence in Different Dialect Groups

We get a similar picture when examining the attitudes towards the Romani language. Generally, the negative perception by the majority, promoted and maybe reinforced during the communist rule, was accepted by the Roms themselves into a certain extent. Frequently, they take for sure, that Romani is an obstacle to education and fortune (even though history has not confirmed this hypothesis at all and the position of now prevalently non-Romani-speaking Rom is in many respects worse than in the 1960s). Lovari speakers apparently did not take part in this process of devaluation of the language status. Their language attitude is very tight and not questioned with regard to a probable loss in the future. My numerous conversations confirmed, that a shift to Czech is unthinkable to members of the Lovari group.
The little importance of Lovari within the majority Romani group manifests itself also in activities aimed at language preservation. Most programs sponsored and/or supported by the government or other sources target the non-Lovari group (or are not specifically targeted at all). The intentions fixed in the Roma Integration Plan consider Romani as a school subject. However it is rejected as a medium of instruction (Zpráva-integrace 2005: 55-85). Some single high-schools offer Romani courses, but none concerns Lovari Romani. Only at University level, there is a single one-year obligatory course (two hours per week) about Lovari Romani, offered as part of the Romani Studies program of Charles’ University, besides intensive courses in the central dialect. In Slovakia, the overall level of protection of Romani is significant, but similar to the Czech Republic, most programs and activities, such as Romani high-school or University courses, are aimed at the Central dialect variety, while Lovari is not explicitly supported.

1.5.5 Actual Contacts and Contact Languages

Similar to all other Rom groups, as long as the Lovaris continue to speak Romani, they are at least bilingual. Romani remains to be their first acquired language. Due to television and due to the scattered distribution of Lovaris and their narrow professional profile (see 1.5.1 Trade, Mobility and Language Coherence, p. 15), Czech/Slovak continues to be an omnipresent language source. But even after school enrolment the Czech/Slovak language proficiency remains restricted to passive knowledge, due to scarce contact with schoolmates. Later on at least a minimum of active knowledge is acquired through school attendance, superficial contact with neighbours and business communication. A decrease in performance in the majority language is caused – except for mistakes common to L2 learners – by intra-ethnical communication in the majority code, i.e. by exposure to defect language production by the Roms themselves. The resulting ethnolect is a marker for community members mainly for Czech native speakers. The proficiency level in Czech/Slovak depends on the length of school attendance, intensity of contact with natives, and also on the age. The eldest members of the community had little or no formal education, the middle generation attended mostly the minimum obligatory curriculum. Younger members went further on to high school, exceptionally University. Additionally, in the Czech Republic the competence in Slovak was gradually replaced by competence in Czech, paralleled by a decrease in active Slovak. With a certain degree of simplification and necessity to be adapted to individual cases I draw the following matrix of majority language proficiency:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Country of Maturation</th>
<th>Proficiency in Slovak</th>
<th>Proficiency in Czech</th>
<th>Proficiency in Hungarian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Child</td>
<td>Czech Republic</td>
<td>low</td>
<td>passive</td>
<td>none</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Young Adult</td>
<td>Czech Republic</td>
<td>passive</td>
<td>full</td>
<td>none</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle Aged</td>
<td>Czech Republic</td>
<td>passive</td>
<td>ethnolect</td>
<td>individually</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old</td>
<td>Slovakia</td>
<td>ethnolect</td>
<td>passive</td>
<td>passive/active</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 6: Proficiency in Both Majority Languages*

The competence in Romani is not listed to avoid redundancy (omnipresence), and the situation for Slovak Lovaris is also trivial. The competence in Hungarian among Slovak Lovaris depends on the location. Often, Hungarian is locally the main code of communication in the region. This fact is an
important source of new material from Hungarian for the whole community up to now, even if its influence is lower for Czech Lovaris, with respect to the actual intensity of contact with their Slovak counterparts. The difference in language contact with Hungarian means some heterogeneity between the Czech and Slovak part of the variety. In the diagram there is no place for another effect, mixing both majority codes, Czech and Slovak. Until today, the variety has kept a layer of Slovak in their Romani lexicon (as, e.g. vodičáko “driving licence”) and in their ethnolect of Czech, even if the speaker is born in the Czech Republic. This is important mainly for adaptation, see 4.5.4 Conversional Derivation.

Typically for bilingualism, there are huge interferences between both codes, in this case the minority and majority language. The interferences occur ad hoc, on a short term or on a long term, they occur for different types of integration into lexicon, for a multiple amount of time, for multiple purposes and reasons, they develop individually and collectively. The present study is to a large extent a snapshot of the result of many interactions of this kind through a long period of time. Nonetheless, the study does not aim to discover these mechanisms. I would like to point just to one striking example of deployment of codes: Whenever a non-Rom is cited in a narration, his speech is translated into Czech. It does not need to be the original wording, but it grants some credibility to the report. With respect to the fact, that communication with the Rumungo group is conducted mostly also in the majority language, citation of Rumungros are also presented in Czech or Slovak.

Apart from these two major communication tools, the Lovaris also partially acquire languages needed for repeated business trips or longer stays abroad. Thus, some have basic knowledge of English, French, German. Hungarian language skills are frequent among Slovak Lovaris, in the Czech Republic they are restricted to a few single phrases. The competence in the second Romani dialect, Rumungro, is said to be good (Ame žanas vi lengi šib, amen džanas te vakerel. “We speak also their language, we can talk.” - the second proposition pronounced in Rumungro). I have not verified the statement though.

Inter-ethnical distance does not allow too much influence between both communities. The main points of contact are business and music, sometimes Lovaris organize work of Rumungro buťára “workers”. North-Western Lovaris do not produce public music on their own, they just sing in private situations and on personal feasts. Nevertheless, some Lovari bands present their production on the internet, e.g., Maco, Mamuko and Sidi (2012), or Bojinka (2012). Rumungro bands, which form an integral part of any family celebration, have learnt to play and pronounce traditional Lovari songs. This is acknowledged with respect, especially the production of Lovari speech by the Rumungros.

The proclaimed distance is sometimes minced by inter-ethnical marriages. Members of such mixed families mostly do not participate in community life any longer. The children loose contact to the community, and their language has no more influence on the variety. Contact with other Rom groups are very rare. The second large Northern Vlax dialect, Kalderash, is supposed to be intelligible, and my personal observations confirm what Stojka (Stojka, Pivoň 2003: 105) writes about his positive language experience with Kalderash speakers.

Boretzky (2003: 104-105, 107) suggests, that Central dialects have influenced Vlax, and specially Lovari. This can be agreed within the historical context, at times when the distance was limited. In recent times, there are too many social restrictions to account for transfer of language patterns, and prestige hierarchy would favour rather Lovari influence on Central dialects than the other way
round. A more sound explication is mutual influence at an earlier stage of co-inhabitation, maybe already not so late after the Early Romani stage, when there was already some geographical pattern, maybe on the South of the Balkan peninsula, with a rudiment of dialect groups to come. At that time the core families still interacted with families who would one day belong to a different dialect group. After a further extension those families preserved and maybe distributed further on features which now are indicative for other dialect groups.

2 Phonological and Written Representation

The Romani language occurs mainly in oral speech. Secondarily, some levels of written representation have developed. Contrary to languages with a long independent tradition of writing, written forms of the Lovari variety are widely true copies (“dictations”) of spoken language. Both systems are presented in the following chapter.

2.1 Phonetics

The least abstract level of the oral language representation is phonetics. The basic units for information transfer, the sounds, are described, together with additional acoustic tools like intonation, pauses or stress.

2.1.1 Sounds

Languages transmit information by the use of acoustic signals. They align concrete, defined signs in time, which can be received and analysed. There is a complex relation between manners of generation of basic signals (sounds) and informational content. Absolute frequency and amplitude of the signals have no importance for Human information transfer, only values relative to an individual standard. Oral anatomy plays the key role in sound production.

There are two basic types of signs: A carrier sign, the vowel, which makes the information stream audible (by making the vocal folds vibrate), and an intermediate sign, the consonant or consonant cluster, which temporary modulates the transit between succeeding vowels. Technically, a consonant poses obstacles to the air stream.

2.1.1.1 Consonants

A consonant sign can be broken down into the intersection of a small set of basic features (according to Brandt, Dietrich, Schön 2006: 237-240):

1. According to the mechanical way of sound production. North West Lovari Romani makes use of
   1. Plosives ([p], [t], [k], [b], [d], [g], [c], [ɟ], [ʔ]), some of them with subsequent aspiration ([ph], [th], [kh]);
   2. Vibrants ([r], [ɾ] and [ɹ]);
   3. Fricatives ([f], [v], [χ], [h], [ʃ], [ʒ], [s], [z]) and affricates ([ts], [tʃ]);
   4. Nasals ([n], [ŋ], [m], [ɲ]);
   5. Approximates ([j], [l], [ʎ]).
Plosives and fricatives can be produced in two ways, with or without simultaneous vibration of the vocal folds, giving voiced ([b], [d], [g], [j], [v], [z], [ʒ]) and unvoiced ([p], [t], [k], [c], [ʔ], [ph], [th], [kh], [f], [χ], [h], [ʃ], [s], [t͡s], [t͡ʃ]) consonants, respectively.

2. According to the way of involvement of mobile parts in the mouth, in North West Lovari Romani loci of lips and tongue:
   1. Labial ([p], [b], [ph], [f], [v], [m]);
   2. Apical ([t], [d], [th], [n], [l], [r], [s], [z]), with preceding apical plosive ([f̪s]);
   3. Pre-dorsal ([c], [j], [n], [ʎ], [ʃ], [f], [ʃ], [ʒ], [z]), with preceding apical plosive ([ʃʃ]);
   4. Dorsal ([j]);
   5. Post-dorsal ([k], [g], [kh], [χ], [ŋ]).

3. According to places of involvement of the fixed parts of the mouth, in North West Lovari Romani the following:
   1. Labial ([p], [b], [ph], [m]);
   2. Dental ([f], [v]);
   3. Alveolar ([t], [d], [th], [n], [r], [s], [z], [f̪s]), velarised alveolar-lateral ([l]);
   4. Post-alveolar ([ʃ], [ʒ], [t͡ʃ]), palatal ([c], [ɟ], [ɲ], [r̝], [r̝̊], [j]), palatal-lateral ([ʎ]);
   5. Velar ([k], [g], [kh], [ŋ]);
   6. Uvular ([χ]);
   7. Glottal ([h], [ʔ]).

Some consonants contain a movement between two independent positions, unless being analysed as consisting of two stand-alone consonants. Aspirates [ph], [th] and [kh] are based on [p], [t] and [k], immediately followed by a [h] (or are at least pronounced with more force). The affricates [f̪s] and [ʃʃ] are integral realisations of [t]+[s] and [t]+[ʃ], respectively.

2.1.1.2 Vowels

The carrier class, the vowels, can be classified – partially like the point (2) of the consonant classification above – according to the way of participation of mobile parts in the mouth, in a threefold way. The appropriate representatives in North West Lovari Romani are listed in brackets:

1. Horizontal position of the tongue:
   1. front ([e], [ɛ], [i]);
   2. central ([a]);
   3. back ([o], [u]);

2. Vertical position of the tongue:
   1. high (“closed”) ([i], [u]);
2. middle ([e], [o]);
3. low (“open”) ([a], [ɛ]);

3. Additional lip movement
   1. not rounded ([a], [ɛ], [e], [i]);
   2. rounded ([o], [u]).

Additionally, all vowels appear in two forms, a short and a long one, realized by a shorter or longer time before the switch to the next sign. Short vowels are not marked in IPA phonetic transcription, neither in the writing in this study, while long vowels are marked by a subsequent colon, i.e. [e:], [ɛ:], [a:], [i:], [o:], [u:]. The [e] is not pronounced too highly, it sounds very similar to the [ɛ].

Similar to complex consonants, there are diphthongs among vowels, which are realized by a tight combination of subsequent vowels. In North West Lovari Romani there are

- The front middle [e] plus the front high [i], giving [ei̯], and;
- The back low rounded [o] plus the back middle rounded [u], giving [ou̯].

### 2.1.1.3 Border Phenomena

The consonants [ɹ] and [ɾ] and the long vowels [ɛ:] and [o:] are very rare and appear only in loans from Czech or Slovak, e.g. [ˈtʃiːsko] “schnitzel”, [ˈʃɛːsto] “nevertheless”, [fɨːˈdeːʃko] “CD”, [balˈkoːni] “balcony”. Speakers with Slovak background may have difficulties with the consonants [ɹ] and [ɾ], they use [ʒ] and [ʃ] for voiced and unvoiced forms, respectively, like in [ˈʒiːsko] “schnitzel” or [ˈʃɛːsto] “nevertheless”. [e:] can occasionally replace [ei̯]: [ˈpeːɾma] besides [peːɾma] “on me”, and [khaŋˈgeːri] besides [khaŋˈgeːri] “church”. Similarly [o:] may stand for [ou̯]: [ˈdoːza] besides [ˈdoːza]. Generally, long vowels are used for emphasis: [hɛ:j] “hey!”.

The low, short [ɔ] is also produced as an alternative to [o] in open syllables, prevalently for emphasis, see the pairs [ˈkɔrɔni] ~ [ˈkoroni], [ʃɔrɪˈmo] ~ [ʃɔrɪˈmo], [ˈsɔ ,haːt] ~ [ˈso ,haːt], but it is in no way distinctive. There is a similar relation between [ɛ] and [e], where – in the vicinity of velars and [r] – the [e] is occasionally lowered to [ɛ]: [kʰɛr] ~ [kʰɛɾ], [kʰɛɾˈdam] ~ [kʰɛɾˈdam], [bistɛrˈdem] ~ [bisterˈdem]. These distinctions are not significant for speakers and play no role in speech production. The [e] is not as closed as Hungarian long [eː] or German [e], as both are interpreted as [iː][iː] in Lovari, see Hungarian loans like keretʃiɡo < Hung. keresztészeg [kerɛstʃeːɡ], vígo < Hung. vég [ˈveːɡ], or (my) German name Peter [ˈpheːtɐ], reproduced as [ˈphiːta].

The differentiation of the e-like sounds will be left out of further discussions. A more important source of [ɛ] are loans from Czech, like in [ˈsvɛtɛri] “sweater”, [ˈhotɛli] “hotel”.

In Czech written tradition there are several lexemes frequently typed with geminates: ketli “how much”, tejja “tea”, fontoššo “important” etc., without etymological background in neither Romani nor Hungarian. In Hungarian gemination is a distinctive phonological feature, and some alleged geminates could be backed by Hungarian, e.g. friššo “fast” < Hung. friss “cool, fresh, hot”. There are very little indications about relevance of gemination in North West Lovari Romani from recordings, therefore I skip this issue in the study. Nevertheless, this topic certainly does deserve
further research, because my data have a Czech bias, and Slovakia based Lovaris have a more vivid relation with Hungarian. The only geminate-like forms, which occur in the discussion below, are cases, where equal sounds meet accidentally, like in phenna “they will say”, žanna “they will know”, dikhel la “she sees it”, where a stem-final -n or -l meets an inflectional morpheme-initial n- or clitic l-. In these cases the double consonant is thoroughly pronounced, but not in the instr sg with its merger of oblique final -s with suffix-initial s- as in *pájes-sa > pájesa. The single lexeme dillo “silly, stupid” is confirmed to be pronounced as [‘dil:o] (contracted from *dilino). This can be seen as a special case of the use of geminates for emphasis, like in pharradi “bitch (fam.)”, čorro “idiot”.

I also do not consider a special speaking register called te vorbij kínešen “talk caressively”. In this register, articulation is generally exaggerated, which generates new sounds like palatal fricatives. Also, the mapping to phonemes is shifted and partially perturbed (exchange of /t/ and /l/ etc.). It is frequently applied in presence of small children but can also be used in intimate situations to express closeness and tenderness.

There are also some other peripheral sounds like [ša] “(disagreement)” or sounds from Czech/Slovak loans which are foreign also to the language of origin like [råto] “bash”, [ustry’busi] (besides [afto’busi]) “bus” or [ʔevropə] (besides [ʔevropa]) “Europe”.

### 2.1.2 Syllable

In the context of this study a syllable is an important phonetic unit mainly for an analysis of word stress, see 2.4 Word Stress, p. 29, for now represented only by the apostrophe in phonetic transcription. On the other hand, word stress causes no big differences between realization of stressed and unstressed syllables and has therefore minor importance for the language system. For this purpose it is enough to understand the syllable in its key role as a cluster of sounds grouped around a single vowel (incl. diphthong).

A syllable consists of all consonants preceding the carrier vowel within the given word, except for the first consonant of a consonant cluster, and of all following consonants within the given word, which do not belong to the subsequent syllable. So, e.g., an isolated [v], [n] or [d] belongs to the second syllable (indicated by a minus) like in [ʃa-vou’-ra], [ʒa-naf] or [ka-dej], but to the first syllable in clusters like in [’ʒaf-tar], [ʔan’-das] or [kad’kar], respectively.

There are exceptions of this rule, which require morphological concepts, like maj-úži instead of *ma-júži, but they are no obstacle to further discussions.

### 2.1.3 Prosodic Word

In a spoken language there are features which allow the hearer to segment the permanent stream of sounds into semantically relevant units, prosodic words. Three key instruments are pauses, stress and intonation. A pause is a small temporary transmission stop between two subsequent segments, stress is a way to put emphasis on a selected syllable by rising sound intensity and height, and intonation modulates frequency of sounds according to given rules. The definitive segmentation comes out of a combination of all three instruments together. A missing pause can be compensated by orientation with respect to the word stress or the intonation, and concurrent analysis of the semantic content helps to finalize the task of comprehension.
The outcome of a pause-stress-intonational unit in North West Lovari Romani, a prosodic word, has tight relations with single lexical words, but mostly contains additional grammatical information (morphemes), e.g. case or tense suffixes, some prepositions, a clitic copula, clitic pronouns, or others, see 3.1.1 Word, Formative, p. 37.

A more accurate description of this mechanism would be helpful, but exceeds the capacity of this study. In the following, I will take the prosodic word as understood intuitively, by help of the rest of grammatical analysis presented here. Before an analysis of word stress (2.4, p. 29) I would like to introduce the phoneme concept and mainly a more convenient transcription.

### 2.2 Phonology

Certain observations in phonetics lead to a more abstract concept of description of the sound system, and mainly to the introduction of abstract projections of sounds, phonemes. The mapping rules of phonemes to their acoustic realization is subject of phonology.

#### 2.2.1 Phoneme

The vowel and consonant signs used in the variety and described above are not directly linked to meaning in a sense, that a fixed sequence of these signs is sent (pronounced) in order to form a unique meaning. Rather several chains of signs can have the same meaning in different phonetic contexts, mostly due to assimilation processes. That means a stream of signs underlies certain changes in dependence of the acoustic circumstances. Notice the two alternative chains of signs [dad] and [dat] in the sentences, meaning “daddy is at home”:

\[
[o\ 'dadi \ kʰɛj\ibre]\ \text{versus}\ \ [kʰɛj\ibre \ o \ dat]
\]

The difference is caused by the embedding of the final consonant. Before the [i] there is a [d], and at the end of the sentence a [t]. For the sake of simplicity of analysis throughout this study, in this and similar cases the word for “dad” shall be typed as /dad/, with the string of so-called phonemes /d/, /a/, and again /d/. So additionally to another kind of typing, there will be given rules about how to re-map the final /d/ back into a consonant, depending on the actual acoustic embedding. This is the task for the chapter to come. The characters representing the phonemes are arbitrary and serve to enable understanding of the more basic internal language rules which make up grammar. I do not state anything about existence of phonemes in the language as such, but use them only as an efficient tool.

The graphical form of phonemes in North West Lovari Romani is closely linked with that of the vowels and consonants given above, i.e. based upon the latin alphabet. The coding system for these phonemes is adapted to a writing system based on that for Czech language, originally adapted to needs of local speakers of the Central dialect, and finally slightly modified in order to cope with some peculiarities of North West Lovari Romani, especially the distinctiveness of vowel length. Distinctive lengths occur already within the inherited lexicon, e.g. *gada* “shirt” X *gáda* “dress”, *ande* “in, into” X *ánde* “inside”, or *khatar* “where from” X *khátar* “from there”. Some rules concerning morphological lengthening or shortening of vowels have to be obeyed in morphology, see 2.5 Important Morphophonetic Processes, p.31. Nevertheless, up to this point vowel length would be a matter of single exceptions and not worth of the introduction of distinct phonemes. However, through the contact with languages with extensive usage of vowel length, Hungarian,
Slovak and Czech, this feature has come to be relevant for the phonological structure. Yet still the burden of its application comes from loanwords and is mainly a lexical issue.

Possible phonetic realizations of single phonemes are given in the overview:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phone me</th>
<th>Phonetic Realization</th>
<th>Rule</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/a/</td>
<td>[a]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/á/</td>
<td>[a:]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/e/</td>
<td>[e], [ɛ]</td>
<td>(1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/é/</td>
<td>[ɛ:]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/i/</td>
<td>[i]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/í/</td>
<td>[i:]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/o/</td>
<td>[o]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ó/</td>
<td>[o:]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/u/</td>
<td>[u]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ú/</td>
<td>[u:]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ej/</td>
<td>[ej], [e:]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ou/</td>
<td>[ou], [o:]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

See 2.1.1.3 Border Pheno mena

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phone me</th>
<th>Phonetic Realization</th>
<th>Rule</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/p/</td>
<td>[p]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ph/</td>
<td>[ph]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/b/</td>
<td>[b], [p]</td>
<td>(2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/l/</td>
<td>[f]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/v/</td>
<td>[v], [f], [p], [u], [m]</td>
<td>(2), (5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/m/</td>
<td>[m]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/n/</td>
<td>[n], [ŋ]</td>
<td>(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/r/</td>
<td>[r]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

See Table 7: Phoneme-Sound Mapping

So in most cases, there is a one-by-one correspondence between sounds. Exceptions are governed by rules, indexed within the table:

1. Lower [ɛ]: The lower [ɛ] of both vowels shows a slight tendency to occur alternatively in the vicinity of velars and [r], but [ɛ] is more frequent and always accepted. The distinctive factor between the vowels [e] and [ɛ] is not as much of phonetic, but primarily of semantic
nature: Loans from Czech contain the [ɛ] throughout, while inherited lexemes are preferably pronounced with [e];

1. At the end of a word, with some isolated exceptions, see 2.6 Sandhi, p. 36;
2. In front of morphemes with unvoiced initial consonant;

(3) Deaspiration assimilation: Aspirated consonants (de facto /kh/ only) are replaced by their in-aspirated counterparts in certain contexts: /dikh/ -> [dik] “see. IMP”, /jakh/ -> [jak] “eye”;
1. At the end of a word;
2. In front of morphemes with initial consonant;

(4) Nasal assimilation: The alveolar nasal [n] is in complementary distribution with the velar nasal [ŋ], so that the latter occurs in front of velars, the former elsewhere. This concerns:
1. Internal positions like /šiŋ/ -> [ʃiŋ] or [ʃiŋk] “horn” according to rule (2), or /iŋke/ -> [ʔiŋke] “still”, or the diminutive morpheme /-ink/- -> [iŋk] without possible alternation;
2. Final positions in front of morphemes with initial velar, especially DAT PL and GEN PL, e.g. /šavourenge/ -> [ʃavou̯’reŋge] “to the children”, /romengi/ -> [ro’meŋgi] “Romani”, but not in /žehlinkerenas/ -> [ʒɛhlinke’renas] “iron. IPFV.3PL.”;

(5) Final /v/ alternations: Final /v/ exhibits several realizations exceeding rule (2) in front of the word gap. They are given in 2.6 Sandhi, p. 36;

(6) Removal of glottal plosive: In agreement with an areal (Indo-European) convention the [ʔ] is not marked as a phoneme. This is supported by its restriction to only initial position in a speech stream, independent of word boundaries, be it phrases, clauses or sentences, in absence of other consonants. In this position, vowels are realized with a preceding [ʔ], e.g. /aďin/ -> [ʔaɟin] “honey”, /eʃfta/ -> [ʔeʃfta] “seven”, /el/ -> [ʔe], /ingrel/ -> [ʔiŋ’grel] “carry”, /opral/ -> [ʔo’pral] “upstairs”, /ouďalı/ -> [ʔoɣa’li] “impudent”, /uʃfilas/ -> [ʔuʃči’las] “stand_up.PFTV.3SG”. Inside of the stream of speech, i.e. also in word-initial position, the glottal plosive is elided, such as in the examples: /aďin/ -> [’aɟin], /eʃfta/ -> [’eʃfta], /ingrel/ -> [iŋ’grel], /opral/ -> [o’pral], /ouďalı/ -> [oɣa’li], /uʃfilas/ -> [uʃči’las];

(7) Ignorance of voice distinction for /ř/: Like in Czech orthography, voiced [r̝] and unvoiced [r̝̊] are represented by a single phoneme, /ř/. Due to their complementary distribution this causes no ambiguity: /ř/ is represented by a voiced [r], unless;
1. standing at a word-final position, or;
2. in front of an unvoiced consonant.

2.3 Transcription
The transcription of the variety used herein differs marginally from what has gradually emerged and used in other publications for it, see 1.3.1.2 Secondary Sources, p. 6. It is based on a Latin alphabet, modified with diacritics, initially for the Czech language. It has been applied for the use in Romani
not later than 1936, for the Moravian variety of the Northern Central dialect (Hübschmannová, Šebková 2003: 65). It was codified with some changes by a Roma organization, Svaz Cikánů-Romů (in Slovak Zväz Cigánov-Rómov), in a draft form in 1972 in Romano ľil and in abbreviated form in 1974 as part of a textbook of Romani, “Učebnice romštiny” by Milena Hübschmannová (ibidem:68). Core part of the adaptation to the Czech-Slovak variety of the Lovari dialect was made by the editors of the publisher Romano džaniben, together with the first publications in this dialect in 1995 (Romano džaniben, issue 1-2/1995). Contrary to the transcription of the central dialect it comprised vowel length marking and several techniques specific to Lovari, like the separation of the clitic copula by a minus sign. Contrariwise, the clitic pronoun is written separately from its word base, which copies the more restricted use of this phenomenon in Central dialects.

The basic grapheme inventory is identical to the phoneme inventory listed above in 2.2.1 Phoneme, table 7 Phoneme-Sound Mapping, p. 27.

2.4 Word Stress

Word stress is a way to structure speech flow by acoustic means like lifting frequency or sound intensity during expression of one selected syllable. It is correlated with a fixed position within the prosodic word, e.g. to the first or last syllable. This is a very straightforward way to delimit the word from other words. In North West Lovari Romani, the situation is much more complex. Though the word stress is fixed by rules, these rules depend on many factors, including lexicon.

A short look at some grammars of Vlax dialects (e.g. Hancock 1995, Calvet 1993, Choli-Daróczi, Feyér 1988) indicates some importance of stress in this dialect group, because stress is often explicitly marked in writing. Individual recordings (e.g. by Morinka Stojka in Fennesz-Juhasz, Heinschink 2002: CD 2, Track 9) are also very accentuated. Also in the variety discussed here stress can be clearly heard, but stress patterns of many speakers are levelled, possibly after contact with Czech or Slovak.

The transcription used further on is based rather on phonemes than on sounds, but with additional phonetic labelling of stress by an apostrophe, in order to keep the writing closer to the rest of the study.

Word stress is independent on vowel length, as can be seen from the following examples of a crossing of both features:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Short-Short</th>
<th>Long-Short</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Unstressed-Stressed</td>
<td>ža’nav “I know”</td>
<td>ñ’sij “swim”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stressed-Unstressed</td>
<td>‘daral “I fear”</td>
<td>’kípo “picture”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 8: Combinations of Word Stress and Syllable Length*

The basic stress pattern principles can be explained by historical facts, Matras (2002: 62-64), here adapted to the variety in discussion:

1. In nominals belonging to oikoclitic classes and in nominatives and in present tense-subjunctive or perfect tense forms of verbs of the e-, uv- and in-conjugation, stress is placed on the last syllable, be it a stem syllable or a suffix. This is a retention of the original, post-Indian stress pattern: šá’vo “young Rom, Rom guy”, rom’ňi “Rom woman”, á’náv “name”,
man’gel “ask”, zurá’lo “strong”, thú’lo “fat”, kira’ves “cook.2SG”, ţa’nen “know.3PL”, mang’lem “ask.PFFV.1SG”, zurá’le “strong.PL”, dikh’lam “see.PFFV.1SG”;

2. Oblique nominals and verbs in other forms keep stress on the oblique and on the verb form from (1.), on which they are based, with case and TAM markers added like clitics after the upset of early Romani stress: šá’veske, rom’ňan, ána’vestar, man’gelas, zurá’lenca, thú’lenge, kira’vesa, ţa’nenas, mang’lemas, zurá’lesa, dikh’lamas (see the translations above);

3. Verbs of the de-conjugation are stressed on the first syllable, a formerly independent verbal modifier. In some cases the old composition, e.g. with del “give” is still transparent: vast “hand” + del > vazdel “lift up”, čumi “kiss” + del > čumidel “kiss (so.)”. Perfective stem derived forms behave like (1.) and (2.). ’phurd-el “blow.3SG”, ’čumid-e ma “kiss-IMP.SG me”, ’rodel-a “search.3SG-FUT”, ’trádel-as “travel.3SG-IPFV”, phur’d-as “blow-PFFV.3SG”, čumi’d-al-as les “kiss-PFFV-2SG-IRR him”, ro’d-em “search.PFFV-1SG”, trá’d-an-as “travel.PFFV-2PL-IRR”;

4. Xenoclitic nominals show unpredictable behaviour governed by lexicon, see below. ’fouro “town”, ’vorba “word, utterance”, miz’mejri “noon”, ’vineto “blue”;

5. Common early Romani pronouns, adverbs, and numerals follow stress rule (1.): ka’dej “so”, kho’te “there” ~ ’khote “there”, op’re “up”, khej’re “at home”, tej’le “down”, a’déjs “today”, ke’ţi “so many/much”, amá’ro “our”, mu’ri “my”, op’ral “upstairs”, í’ja “nine”, ef’ta “seven”, ox’to “eight” and stress rule (2.), if inflected: ’lesko “his”, ’mande “with me”, ox’tongo “at eight”; but see also rule (14);


There are several general exceptions from this principles for verbs:

7. Short derived verbal forms have always stress on the personal suffix, be it a contraction IPFV *
   *-avas > -ous, FUT *-ava > -ou, or an optional 3p elision -ela > -la or -ena > -na: ža’nous
   “know.IPFV.1SG”, phi’rous “walk.IPFV.1SG”, ’phenla “say.FUT.1SG”, ’avnas “come.IPFV.3PL”;

8. e-conjugation verbs on -ajve have in all forms the stress on the same syllable -ajv-. xo’jajvel
   “is angry”, xo’jajvelas “was angry”, nas’vajlem “I fell sick”;

9. The IMP SG has stress on its last syllable, PL indicator -en behaves like a clitic. Verbs of the
de-conjugation and verbs on -ajve- take stress before the syllables -de- and -ajve-;

The following synopsis presents the most common nominal stress patterns:
Table 9: Stress Pattern for Nominals

Some further rules concern nominals:

10. Xenoclitic nouns show preferences towards penultimate stress in pre-Czech/Slovak lexemes: *citromo* “lemon”, *fe’jastra* “window”, *fir’hango* “curtain”, *miz’mejri* “noon”, *šilava* “broom”, but other patterns are not rare: *rej’teska* “strudel”;

11. Czech and Slovak loans show an initial syllable stress: *’mandarinka* “tangerine”, *’detektivka* “detective story”, *’vodičáko* “driver’s licence”;

12. Some older loans show idiosyncrasies: *paraštu’ji* “Friday”, *šoni’tko* “moon”, *’savato* “Saturday”, *’kokalo* “bone”;

13. Xenoclitic adjectives prefer stress on the initial syllable, with many lexical exceptions;

14. Stress in adnominal position is weak, and set on the first syllable, also for pronouns: *’báro* *’fouro* “big town”, *’cigni šej* “little girl”, *’dillo gá’žo* “stupid Czech”, *’áver dějs* “the next day”, *’kado berš* “this year”;

15. Commonly, the stress of proper names is on the penultimate syllable: *Še’jinka, Po’žono, Fer’kina, ’Citrom, ’Patrin*. Compare the last two with referential nouns: *citromo* “lemon”, *pa’trin* “list”;

16. For prepositions in conjunction with clitic personal pronouns the stress is on the last syllable of the PREP: *’pejr ma* “on me”, *’prá les* “from him”, *an’dá ma* “because of me”, otherwise stress falls on the first syllable: *’pi ‘xodba* “on the corridor”, *’andi škola* “in school”, *’telaj dou’ri* “under the cord”, see also rule (14);

17. The clitic copula and clitic pronouns behave as clitics, i.e. they have no influence on stress of the word they are attached to.

### 2.5 Important Morphophonetic Processes

Several morphemes display some degree of alteration, joint with a low degree of agglutination, e.g. ablative forms in singular like *kher-estar* ”from the house” compared to plural *kher-endar* “from the houses”. On a second view, they can be easily understood from assimilation laws similar to those
above in 2.2 Phonology, p. 26. I.e. -es/-en- can be analysed as singular/plural markers, while -tar/-dar can be reduced to a single, accommodated morpheme /tar/ with ablative meaning. This shape can be deduced from contemporary data, but without support from diachronic sources they need not to be understood completely. Contrary to the mapping between sounds and phonemes, these correspondences are bound to morphologically defined contexts.

Some equivalences of this kind are reflected in the writing system of a language, like the so-called archegraphemes of the official Romani writing (Hancock 1995: 44-45, Matras 2002: 252). For example, the archegrapheme expression for the above given ablative variants /tar/ and /dar/ would be /θar/. But the introduction of grammar-dependent rules into writing mostly causes trouble to people without good grammatical instruction and the suspicion of misusing power on part of those responsible for the design of orthography. The phoneme concept and the writing system used in this study does not attempt to integrate variation into more abstract units (like the archegraphemes). Therefore the rules can be expressed directly in the writing system.

In the following section I will present only some basic rules. Individual effects are described in connection with the morphemes concerned, see the appropriate chapters.

### 2.5.1 Vowel Length

One major source of variance within morphemes is caused by vowel length. “Vowel length” contains as a result of the rules below also the diphthongs /ej/ and /ou/ as long versions of /e/ and /o/, respectively. In an earlier stage of Lovari Romani, length must had been a non-distinctive feature, aligned with certain phonetic positions. If I exclude newer loans from examination, some simple rules arise with a not too high number of exceptions. As an easy selection criterion for “newer loans”, I take those which do not appertain to xenoclitic nominal classes or to the verbal in-conjugation. Also (apparently) derived lexemes like angl-uno “first”, bokh-álo “hungry”, kuš-lo “bald”, phen-do “say.PRTL”, xoj-ajvel “gets angry”, zum-avel “tries”, naji-sárel “thanks”, romňi “Rom woman” etc. were not taken into primary consideration, rather these derivative morphemes are presented in later discussion.

For the remaining lexemes, the following rules appear to be valid for different word classes:

1. Among nominal stems, open final syllables are long, see the adjectives phúro “old”, úžo “tall”, táto “warm”, or nouns douri “cord”, šávo “Romani young man, guy”, mesáli “table”, except for e.g. dumo “back”, memeli “candle”, zumi “soup”, luludí “flower”, bokoli “flatbread”;

2. Among nominal stems, final syllables ending in /r/ are long, see adjectives xour “anger”, šukár “beautiful”, párno “white”, or nouns čár “grass”, sír “garlic”, zou “power”, čejr “sky”, mourči “skin”, márno “bread”, except for e.g. kher “house”, čurňi “plait”, kotor “chunk”, ágor “end”, ákhor “nut”;

3. Among verbal stems, final syllables with back vowels (incl. diphthongs) followed by /r/ are long, like čourel “steel”, márel “beat”, čárel “lick”, užárel “peel”, haiārel “understand”, except for kharel “call, invite”, daral “fear” and šorel “pour”;

4. Among verbal stems, any final syllables, open and closed, except for back vowels followed by /l/ (preceding rule), are short, like asal “laugh”, šinel “cut”, suvel “sew”, phandel “bind”,
ikrel “hold”, ušťel “stand up”, kerel “make”, perel “fall”, pherel “fill”. Exceptions are ášel “stay”, nášel “run”, trádel “travel”, and phírel “walk”;

5. Nominal stems with a closed final syllable (without /r/) are short: grast “horse”, kirvi “godmother”, khajňi “hen”, patrin “list”, somnakaj “gold”, žamutro “son-in-law”, except for e.g. žlág “earring”, gouj “bowel”, díz “villa”, vejš “forest”, náj “finger”;

6. Nominal stems beginning with an [a] sound have this vowel long: ákhor “nut”, ánav “name”, ágor “end”, ásvin “tear”, áver “other”;

7. Pronouns and prepositions are generally short, except for vou “he”, voun “they”, amáro “our”, tumáro “your”, ká “where” and prepositions in front of clitic pronouns, see 4.6 Prepositions, p. 215;

8. Basic numerals up to nine are long, tens and hundred are short.

There are very few cases in Inflectional morphology (4.1 Nominal Morphology, p. 50, and 4.3 Verbal Morphology, p. 135), where additional morphemes would change vowel quantity, like, e.g., nom pl jákh k, láta < jakh “eye”, rat “night”, or gada “dress” < gad “shirt”. Contrarily, derivative morphemes (4.5.3 Derivative Onomasiology, p. 182 and 4.5.4 Conversional Derivation, p. 194) display individual and partially unstable behaviour with respect to vowel length, here I list only the most frequent ones:

1. The adjectival -ál- partially corresponds to short stem vowels: zour “power” > zurálo “strong”, douš “guilt” > došálo “guilty”, alternatively to long ones: oudí “soul” > oudálo “impudent”. The /l/ in zurálo is not easy to explain with respect to the /l/ in došálo, but reminds the alternation of -uv- and -o- in the uv-conjugation (1sg šuvav, 3sg šol), which has been historically an o;

2. The verbalizer -uv- also shows different patterns, from more common length conservation (párňol “become white”, kouvjol “weaken”, bárol “get big, grow”, phúrol “become old”) up to individual shortening (taťol “warm up”, šuťol “get dry”);

3. The verbalizer -ár- occurs preferentially after short and shortened vowels (taťárel “warm TRANS”, barárel “make grow, raise”, thujárel “fatten”, šutárel “dry TRANS”, matárel “make drunk”), while long vowels remain restricted to closed syllables (párňárel “whiten”, kouvjárel “weaken”). From a comparison with the element -uv- mentioned before, with only rare stem shortening, a harmony law seems to arise: The attachment of a long vowel syllable disables a long vowel in the preceding syllable. In nominal derivation there is no such law;


5. The adjectival -un- retains vowel length: mourčuno “from leather”, phárnuno “silken”, puráno “old fashioned”;

6. The adjectival -án- shortens preceding stems: baláno “pork”, muláno “from the dead”, puráno “old fashioned”;

7. The nominal diminutive -our- retains length: louvouro “nice money”, bútouri “little affair”, gounouro “little sack”, vejšouro “little forest”;
Important Morphophonetic Processes

8. Derived adverbs with -es remain like source adjectives, while derivation from prepositions and nouns with -e (-i) and -al leads to long stem vowels: ráti “in the night”, tejtal “downstairs”, ánde “inside”, ávral “outside”, khejre “at home”, maškáral “in-between”, rígá “apart”, ágoural “at the end”, the same with de-prepositional khátar “this way” and khoutar “that way”. Also akánik “now” < kana “when” maybe belongs here;

9. Individual exceptions like trito “third”, trival “three times” < trín “three”, etc. are commented in the appropriate sections.

10. Merged syllables with elided -v- result partially in long vowels, like the 1SG FUT and IPFV forms in -ou < *ava and -ous < *avas. From a diachronic point of view also déjs “day” < *dīves and Dejl “God” < *Devel (see obl. Dejvles-) shows compensatory lengthening. Partially the result is short, like the shortened uv-conjugation forms āšos “you stay” < *āšuves, āšol “he stays” < *āšuvel, āšon “they stay” < *āšuven.

A preliminary result seems to suggest, that vowel length must had been one time an allophonic realisation, depending on open or closed syllables and on the presence of /r/. This pattern had to settle quite a long time ago, as many derivative devices do not intervene in length formation. Length shifted from a positional to a stem-driven quality. At the time of establishment of quantity these formatives were not as bound as they are today.

Due to the limited sample, the analysis of the morphemes themselves is not reliable, I can only state, that based on my observations, the length is an inherent property of the morpheme, the inflectional morphemes are generally short, while some derivative morphemes are long.

2.5.2 Palatalization

Another diversification process is palatalization. The following morphemes cause alveolar plosives, /n/ and /l/ to shift to palatal positions, in the case of /l/ alternatively (individually) to /č/; additionally /kh/ to /č/:

1. Oblique forms of consonant feminine declension classes, see the examples adiňatar “from honey”, phurdása “over the bridge”, mojange “from wine” and baxťasa “with luck” in noun paradigms and kindá “wet.obl.”, tátá “warm.obl.”, cigňa “small.obl.” and melája “dirty.obl.” respectively in adjective paradigms, see 4.1.1.3 Nominal Declension Classes, p. 54. This is not true for pronouns (no *kadajasa “with that”, *jatar “from her” etc.);

2. Nominative plural forms of consonant oikoclitic feminine declension, but only for nouns, e.g. moja “wine bottles”, baxťa “much luck”, phurďa “bridges”, see also p. 54; additionally /kh/ is palatalized to /č/ in máča < mákh “fly”;

3. Nominative plural forms of only lateral final stems (-l) of oikoclitic feminine declension, but only for nouns, e.g. dija/diľa “songs”, žuvja/žuvľa “women”, see also p. 54;

4. Single nominative singular forms of xenoclitic feminines like žimbja “roll” and krumpja “potato”, see 4.1.2.3 Common Xenoclitic Noun Classes, p. 59;

5. Derivative morphemes -uv-, -v-, and -ár-, e.g. cigňol “become small, shrivel”, šuťol “dry.INTRANS”, bisterďol “be forgotten”, kájol “become black, turn brown” (for -uv-) párňárel “whiten.TRANS”, pherdărel “fill”, thujárel “fatten”, tatárel “warm.TRANS” (for -ár-), and also barvajvel “become rich”, nasvajvel “get ill” (for -v-), respectively. Here, too,
occurs a palatal /č/ developed out of a velar /kh/, dičol “is seen” < dikhlo. See 4.5.4.4 Derived Verbs, p. 202;

6. Partially derivative nominalization with -im-, e.g. tašimo “warmth”, but sastimo “health”.

Notice that from a synchronic point of view, palatal plurals like bútá “works”, luludá “flowers”, romňa “Rom women” display no changes within the paradigm, and all forms are palatal. Discrepancies appear only in a cross-dialectal view with alveolar forms like buti or romni.

### 2.5.3 Origins of /j/ after vowels

The phoneme /j/ appears in connection with several phonetical and morphophonological processes, from a synchronic point of view:

1. Etymological /j/, like in rašaj “hen”, dej “mother” or šej “young Romani woman”, including loan lexemes;

2. From an article form i or e, mainly after prepositions, see 4.6 Prepositions, p. 215: telaj “under.f/pl.”, anglay “in front of.f/pl.”, plus vej “also.pl.”< vi e, sej “all.pl.”< sa e, čej “even not.pl.”< či e;

3. A form of the clitic copula after vowels: báři-j “she is big”, thůli-j “she is thick”, muro nano-j “he is my uncle”, see 4.3.6 Copula, p. 149;

4. The second part of the diphthong /ej/, at least in written texts (not necessarily as a phonetic realisation), as in andej ma “in me”, khejre “at home”, zejčígo “vegetable”, Lejva “location Levice”;

5. One type of the palatalized form of /l/ in certain embeddings, see 2.5.2 Palatalization, p. 34, alternatively to /ľ/;

6. A /v/ under influence of palatalization: sojimo “sleep.n” < sovel “sleep.v”, xoxajimo “lie.n”< xoxavel “lie.v”, rojindos “crying” < rovel “cry”;

7. Occasionally an intervocalic -n-, as in páji <*páni “water” or vorbij < *vorbinel “talk”.

### 2.5.4 Further Processes

Mergers of prepositions and articles are a very productive source of phonological variation, see more in 4.6 Prepositions, p. 215.

A final /v/ is prone to changes, see also sandhi in the following section. In verbal morphology, the perfective marker causes a preceding -v to be elided: sika-das “show-PFV.3SG” ~ sikav-el “show-PRES.3SG”, šu-tem “put-PFV.1SG” ~ šuv-av “put-PRES.1SG” etc. An intermediate /v/ tends to cause elision of a whole syllable, see the short uv-conjugation present tense – subjunctive 2p and 3p forms ašos, ašol, ašon “you, he, they stay” in comparison with the long, /v/-less 1p forms ašuvav, ašuvas “I, we stay”, see 4.3.3 Verb Classes, p. 136.

There are several phonologically interesting phenomena, which influence mainly loans, but I did not analyse those in their full complexity and numerosness. They convey a good insight into some basic phonotactic rules of North West Lovari Romani, which will not be stated explicitly. One of them concerns Czech and Slovak vibrant [ř] and approximate [l] with syllable character. They are
realized as [ri] or [ir], and as [li], respectively, by older speakers, or as a full, culturalized loan: Stalinovi slzi “Stalin’s tears” < Stalinovy slzy, Birna “Brno” < Brno, krik “throat, neck” < krk. Younger speakers with better proficiency pronounce syllabic [r̩] (as in [kr̩tko]) and [l̩] (as in [vl̩ko]), unless they learn it within a less competent environment.

Another common effect is metathesis, e.g. in paramanči < Hung. dial. pamaranč “orange”, badlavica < cz/sk bradavice/bradavica “wart”, šimijako “mouse” < sk myšiak.

2.6 Sandhi

The preceding discussion concerned the results of merging lexemes and morphemes within word boundaries. When two words are linked together, similar effects (“sandhi”) are much rarer. The most prominent one is elision of the final vowel of the preceding word. In the case of a final [i] (or the lexeme sa), followed by an article [e], the result transgresses mere elision as ej, not reflected hereafter (see 2.5.3-2 Origins of /j/ after vowels, p. 35). Further effects of this kind are:

- Verbal negator na: Te n'aves oudâli! “Don't be impudent!” Te n’anes le palpâle phagerde! “Don't bring them back broken!”;
- Verbal negator (not exclusive coordinator) či, for example in č'avou “I will not come”, č'ingrou “I will not carry”, č’andem “I did not bring”, č’ášilas “He did not stay”, č’úrade pe “He did not dress”;
- Additive coordinator vi, not very frequent: v’ando koberci “also in the carpet”;
- Modal particle te, for example in t’anes “if you bring”, t’aven “if they come”, t’avous “if I came”;
- Exceptionally tu: márel t’o Dejl “God shall punish you!”

An elision of the following vowel occurs with the numeral ek ~ k, see 4.5.5.1 Basic Numerals, p. 210.

A final /v/ may also be subject to sandhi rules, but not as a default option. I have registered several isolated cases of 1sg pres forms:

- Projďinav ma. [projji'namma] “I go for a walk.”;
- Merav me! [’meramme] “My God!”;
- Av maj! [’ammad] “Come now!”;
- “Arakh!” phenav. [’a’arak phe’nav] “Attention, I say.”;

3 Grammatical Categories

Before entering into individual forms of grammatical morphemes and their function within North West Lovari Romani, I present an overview of grammatical categories and their interdependencies. Part of the categories like verbal arguments, definiteness or morphological class are essential to grammar as such, while some categories like number, gender or case are related specifically to morphology, even if they touch other parts of the grammar as well.
3.1 General Grammatical Categories in North West Lovari Romani

Some grammatical categories are rather linguistic concepts as such with some aspiration to universality, as the existence of words, formatives and parts of speech. Also the morphological typology of the language is discussed here as part of a view from far away, omitting details.

3.1.1 Word, Formative

North West Lovari Romani is an inflecting language. It means that several entities which are intuitively identified as words (phonetic or orthographical words) are closely related to one another, i.e. xulaves “you comb”, xuladem “I combed”, xulavavma “I comb myself” etc. They are linked together by a common base (at first sight xula), which is extended by (often a series of) endings (ves, dem, vavma) called formatives. The set of all phonological (or spontaneous orthographical) words linked together in such a way can be also understood as one (the so-called lexical) word, which is modified by formatives in order to express the intended meaning. In dictionaries one of the forms (e.g. xulavel) is picked out to represent the whole set and in order to avoid to list many forms which can be gained by combination of the basic form with rules to create the final, functional form. The main goal of the first part of this work (morphology, see chapter 4 Morphology, p. 50) is to present the basic rules for fulfilling this task.

Another way in which the intuitive word differs from a terminological word is given by the need to make the terminological apparatus handy. One means of doing this is to define the word as consisting of a lexical root (e.g. šun- “hear”) and possibly of several formatives (e.g. -d-al-as, to give šundalas “would have heard”), i.e. separable phonological units which cannot be separated from the stem by further words. This concept is called grammatical word (with Bickel, Nichols 2007: 172). Often it agrees with a (more intuitive) phonological word, but several of these grammatical words may actually merge to make up a final phonological unit. In North West Lovari Romani this is the case with clitics, i.e. grammatical words with grammatical rather than lexical function like (the underscore indicates the missing prosodic pause):

- Unmarked personal pronouns (e.g. thovav_ma “I wash myself”);
- One form of the copula (e.g. šukár_i “he’s beautiful”);
- A delative particle -tar with intransitive verbs (e.g. gejli_tar “he went off”);
- Monosyllabic prepositions, which link to the subsequent noun (e.g. pa_khajni “from chicken”). They represent two (grammatical) words as other elements may step in between (pa_louli khajni “from a brown chicken”);
- The article in front of a head noun (e.g. i_peň “the sister”) or after a preposition (e.g. ká_i “with the..FEM”);
- Other monosyllabic words like e.g. te_žal “to go”, či_me “neither me”, vi_tu “me too”.

The grammatical word cannot be defined explicitly at this stage, but emerges from morphological rules to come, so a valid word is any unit which may be made out of the elements given in the single chapters of morphology.

The actually used writing system is based mainly on the grammatical word. Differences to the phonological word (whereupon spontaneous writing is based rather) are marked often by the
hyphen, as can be seen from the examples above. In the case of discourse emphasers the hyphen is used to join separate prosodic entities into a single written unit (e.g. an-de with stress on both an and de).

Formatives are bound phonetical units below the word level. They are the key players for expressing grammatical relations between words and phrases, but take over also semantic functions, as the above mentioned -tar “away”.

3.1.2 Grammatical Word Classes
When words are put together into clauses, grammatical rules like morphological modification or syntactical arrangement apply to them in order to generate an understandable and acceptable string of words. These rules apply only to certain classes of words, e.g. tense marking to verbs or case marking to nominals. The following syntactical word classes, called also parts of speech, can be distinguished in North West Lovari Romani: verb (including a copula), noun, adjective, pronoun, article, numeral, preposition, adverb, conjunction and others (called particles). Further sub-types are introduced and used within specific sections.

3.1.3 Verbal Arguments
The construction of a clause depends most on the verb and its syntactical capabilities and restrictions. Depending elements are organized according to a scheme, which is presented in this section. Verbal arguments, the most important dependent elements, are most simply NPs, which may co-occur with a certain verbal lexeme. North West Lovari Romani grammar offers several devices to express these roles, beginning with verbal forms, continuing with simple case patterns (so-called layer-I-forms, see 4.1.1.1 Layer I) over more complex case constructions (layer-II-forms, see 4.1.1.2 Layer II) up to prepositional phrases, and eventually subordinate clauses. The order, in which I have listed the possible realizations of verbal arguments, corresponds to phonetic length (e.g. in number of syllables and words), from single morphemes placed right at the verb itself (subject marking), up to a bulk of words within a subordinate clause. There are border cases, e.g. a layer-I-case clause žal mandar “he goes away from me” can be equal in number of four syllables and two prosodic words like a clause with a prepositional phrase žal pár ma “it goes about me”.

3.1.3.1 Subject
One verbal argument has a specific status in the way that it is always marked in verbal morphology (in person marking). It is referred to as subject and due to compulsory person and number coding it is always mentioned at least to this minimal extent. Even if the subject is omitted as a separate part of the clause (as a NP), a part of its character is retained in the person and number suffix of the verb and at least some kind of information is displayed regarding discourse role (speaker, hearer, other) and number (one vs. more). In this case the focus of the preceding discourse (leski dej “his mother” in the first example) or some other uniquely identifiable item (somebody pointed upon, uttering dikh! “look!”) is the focus of reference (of the verbs ending in the 3P PRES verbal forms -l and -j respectively).

Leski dej lel i táška. Žal ávri. Kerel ánde o vudar. Phutrel o parazouno

(3.1.3-1)
his mother take.3sg the bag. go.3sg out. make.3sg in the door. open.3sg the umbrella

His mother takes the bag. **She** goes out. **She** closes the door. **She** opens the umbrella.

*Dikh!* **Lešij pe** varisos. (3.1.3-2)

*Look!* **wait.3sg for something.**

*Look!* **She** is waiting for somebody.

The personal ending does not necessarily refer to something concrete:

*Dutunij.* (3.1.3-3)

**thunder.3sg**

**It** thundered.

*Bašilas.* (3.1.3-4)

**bang,pfv.3sg**

**It** banged.

In case the subject is not omitted, it is coded in the nominative case, which belongs together with the accusative (and the vocative) to the layer-I-cases (see 4.1.1 General Nominal Case System) and commonly exhibits shorter forms.

In the case of a copula clause the subject is the copula argument which is linked with another element by the copula. This is partially a semantic criterion, as sometimes there is no syntactic clue as to which part of a copula clause is the subject and which the copula predicate:

*Kado -j o učiteli.* (3.1.3-5)

**this is the teacher**

This is the teacher.

### 3.1.3.2 Object

Another type of argument shares the shorter layer-I marking with the subject, see 4.1.1.1 Layer I. It is coded either via the nominative (if it refers to a non-animate referent) or via the accusative (contrariwise). Arguments which are capable of taking such a form are called direct objects. This form is not as much exclusive like in the subject case, as competing object constructions occur with further arguments like ablative (e.g. *phušel* “ask”) or instrumental (*bīrij* “bear”).

### 3.1.3.3 Indirect Object

Some verbs need more than two elements than subject and object to express meaning, like *bišavel variso varikaske* “send something to somebody”. This second object is most commonly realized by layer-I-forms or layer-II-forms.
3.1.3.4 Obligatory Arguments

I do not distinguish obligatory arguments from optional arguments, as there are no clues to how to clearly identify them, except for the subject. The subject is obligatorily marked, but not necessarily explicitly stated. In the following sentences one of the objects of del is not given, direct and indirect, for illustration inserted in brackets:

\[ Či trobuj les khanči. Már káveja dem [les]. \]  
not need him nothing. already coffee gave [him]

He does not need anything. I gave him already a coffee.

\[ Pale phenous te del ma [injekcija]. \]  
again said.1SG CMPL give me [injection]

Once again I told him to give me an injection.

\[ Te dena e louve, bišavesa le mange palpále e kirpi. \]  
if give.3PL the money, send.FUT them to.me back the clothes.

\[ Te dela ø, te phenla ø. \]  
if give.FUT, if say.FUT

When they will give back the money, you will send me back the clothes. If they will, if they will tell.

Compare also:

\[ Dikhes la? \]  
see.IMP her

vs.

\[ Dikhes? \]  
see.2SG

Do you see her? (an entity) vs. Can you see? (a fact, a reason etc.)

So the only way to define this distinction would be by using occurrence frequency. Of course there is a tendency to employ pronominal dummy objects where they’re not needed semantically:

\[ Mišto, dav les. \]  
OK give.1SG him

vs.

\[ *Mišto, dav. \]  
OK give.1SG

OK, I’ll give it/him.

But actually the dummy is rather a rhythmic one, because les can refer to both main arguments of del, and the sentence can have two meanings:

OK, I’ll give it (les) [to you].

OK, I’ll give him (les) [something].
3.1.3.5 Scope of Arguments, Transitivity

Another criterion employed with verbal arguments is restriction, i.e. whether a verb is capable to take further arguments or not. If a verb cannot have any layer-I-object additionally to the subject it is said to be intransitive. Here belong verbs of movement like žal “go”, nášel “run”, nakhel “pass, cross”, middles of the uv-conjugation like šúšol “get empty”, tatol “get warm”, other middles like mejajvel “get dirty”, šukajvel “become beautiful”, and many more like bešel “sit, live”, tordol “stand”, merel “die” etc. The potential of adding layer-II-objects like bešel leste “live with him”, mejajvel e papučendar “get dirty from the shoes” or alike does not change their intransitive status. For the sake of completion I put here also verbal lexemes with dummy subject marking like bašol “bang”, dutunij “thunder”.

The complementary class of verbal lexemes is called transitive. They are capable to take objects, like kerel “make”, šol “put”, del “give”, phenel “say”, haťárel “understand” etc. Bi-transitives are hard to distinguish within North West Lovari Romani, see the discussion above on obligatory objects, therefore I do not introduce this concept.

Transitivity is a grammatical parameter in derivation and loan adaptation (different derivative patterns to derive transitive and intransitive verbs, see 4.5.4.4 Derived Verbs, -uv- versus -ár- and -isajv- versus -in-).

3.1.3.6 Voice

Normally the subject of a transitive clause (as an agent) acts upon an object (the grammatical object). This represents the active voice. Voice is a method to express the patient participation of the subject:

- Middle voice: the subject is in some way touched by the action: Boldem ma “I have turned”;
- Passive voice: the subject is the patient of the action. The agent is potentially mentioned: Phuterďol o vudar “The door opens.”. Khardi sim [e doktorestar]. “I am ordered [by the doctor]”.

North West Lovari Romani morphology and syntax offer mechanisms to transform active clauses into passive clauses and so to reduce or hide the identity of the agent, but this is a rather rare application of the passive voice. Much more frequent is its use with unknown or irrelevant agents.

3.1.4 Definiteness

Czech Romani Lovara makes – contrary to its recent contact languages Czech and Slovak, extensive use of a pragmatical feature, definiteness. In its most general concept it signals to the listener that the entity in question is or is not to be regarded as completely identifiable, and so gives the chance to ask for better identification in the case of discrepancy between expected and really existing knowledge. Definiteness is inherently given by pronouns or certain quantifiers, or it is explicitly coded by a part of speech, the article. For more details see 5.2.5 Definiteness and 4.1.6 Article.
3.1.5 Inflection, Typological Classification of the Variety

The ways of modification of base (lexical) words within North West Lovari Romani are manifold. Two of them are frequent (one up to several occurrences in every ordinary sentence), complex (governed by nested rules by various factors with unavoidable exceptions) and productive (applicable to new words). These are nominal and verbal inflection, the creation of a final nominal or final verbal word form from lexical roots. Inflective modification is based almost exclusively on suffixation, i.e. extension of the final part of the word, and its basic parameters will be a matter of discussion in the next section. The rest of morphology like derivation and inflection of prepositions is much more straightforward and can be based upon the ideas discussed in inflection.

From a typological point of view (according to Bickel, Nichols, 2007: 180), North West Lovari Romani uses two degrees of expressing grammatical relations:

- Isolating, expressing grammatical relations by single words: for example complement marking by te, expression of modality by particles (šaj volalis “you can phone call”) and co-verbs (žav kerav ma “I go and prepare myself”), the article (i koňha “kitchen”), see 5 Syntax, p. 236;
- Concatenative, by the use of bound morphemes: almost entire morphology (person, number, case, tense), see 4 Morphology, p. 50.

The variety takes no advantage of the non-linear level (like word internal vowel modification). Vowel length, and stress are occasionally accompanying, but not constituent effects.

Nominals and verbs are modified by rules which depend on the membership in inflectional lexical classes, which is connected to allomorphy of formatives. So this part of North West Lovari Romani morphology can be said to be flective (Bickel, Nichols 2007: 184). For example nominative singular forms can have different formatives cukr-o “sugar” vs. khajň-i “hen, chicken”, and 3rd person singular perfective forms can be (among others) āš-il-0 “he stayed” vs. phen-d-as “he said”. Flexivity is mostly restricted to the choice of the inflection marker extending the word stem, and proper case inflection and person-number markers are rather agglutinative (class-independent) like in abl sg cukr-os-tar “from sugar” vs. khajň-a-tar “from chicken” with nouns or 1 sg pftv āši-l-em “I stayed” vs. phen-d-em “I said” with verbs.

Another parameter of word integration is the complexity of the formatives, i.e. how many grammatical and semantic distinctions they contain (semantic density). Number is most poorly isolated in North West Lovari Romani morphology, as it usually cumulate with person and verb class in the case of verbs (singular formatives can be av, es, el, uvav, os, ol, as, al, ij, inav, is, uj, us, unav, aj in the present tense) and with gender, layer-I-case and nominal class in the noun and adjective case (sg formatives can be o, i, es, a, as, os, not taking into consideration alternations in layer-II-formatives). On the other side of the scale, case information is transparent with respect to some phonological changes for all cases (e.g. the dative is everywhere unvoiced ke for the sg and voiced ge for the pl) except for nominative, accusative and vocative, where information on number is fused into in a non-linear way.

3.2 Categories Relevant for Inflection

After a basic overview over the word modification mechanisms involved in word inflection the single basic categories are analysed with respect to their informational and formal character.
### 3.2.1 Overview over Factors Relevant for Inflection

The following table serves as an overview of the sources of synthetic modification of the North West Lovari Romani word. The factors are presented in more detail in the following sections. The factors can be described by classes, which take certain class values in the situation the word is compounded out of stems and formatives. The factor class “part of speech” is superimposed to the others, because it rules, which further factors apply and which do not. This is reflected in the column “affected word class”. Every factor is a manifestation of primary needs within the oral or written representation of the language. The primary needs are listed as “basic motivation”. So for example with gender, the class affiliation of a noun (as the oikoclitic feminine class of šošoj “bunny” in *Le cigne šošojes naj ropaj. “The little bunny has no carrot.”) determines, that due to the necessity to insert the word in the possessor position of a possession construction, the (gender = ) male form of the corresponding case marker (accusative singular) -es has to be applied for the noun, and the male form of the oblique case -e for the modifier.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factor Class, Word Class</th>
<th>Class Values</th>
<th>Affected Word Class</th>
<th>Basic Motivation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Part Of Speech, Word Class</td>
<td>Verb, Noun, Adjective, Pronoun, Article, Cardinal Number, Preposition, Adverb, Conjunction, Particle</td>
<td>Any</td>
<td>Syntax, semantics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Singular, Plural</td>
<td>Noun, adjective, pronoun, article, verb, preposition</td>
<td>Pragmatics (numerousness), semantics (countability), syntax (agreement)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>Masculine, Feminine</td>
<td>Noun, adjective, pronoun, article, cardinal number, (preposition), (verb)</td>
<td>Lexicon (class affiliation, possibly sex), syntax (agreement)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Animacy</td>
<td>Animate, Inanimate</td>
<td>Relative and interrogative pronoun</td>
<td>Semantics (animacy), (lexicon)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Layer-I-Case</td>
<td>Nominative, Vocative, Oblique (cases)</td>
<td>Noun, adjective, pronoun, article, cardinal number</td>
<td>Syntax, semantics (temporal-spatial and other relations)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Layer-II-Case</td>
<td>Accusative</td>
<td>Noun, adjective,</td>
<td>Syntax, semantics (temporal-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Basic Inflectional Categories

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Categories Relevant for Inflection</th>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Reflexivity</th>
<th>Aspect</th>
<th>Modal Categories</th>
<th>Tense</th>
<th>Nominal Declension Class</th>
<th>Conjugation Class</th>
<th>Phonological Realization</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dative</td>
<td>1\textsuperscript{st} Person</td>
<td>Non-reflexive</td>
<td>Non-perfective</td>
<td>Indicative</td>
<td>Present tense</td>
<td>Consonant</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>(manifold, e.g.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative</td>
<td>2\textsuperscript{nd} Person</td>
<td>Reflexive</td>
<td>Perfective</td>
<td>Subjunctive</td>
<td>Past tense</td>
<td>oikoclitic</td>
<td>de</td>
<td>palatalization,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative</td>
<td>3\textsuperscript{rd} Person</td>
<td></td>
<td>Iterative</td>
<td>Directive</td>
<td>Future tense</td>
<td>Oikoclitic</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>voice, vowel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrumental</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Others, see 3.2.9.2</td>
<td>Conditional</td>
<td></td>
<td>Xenoclitic</td>
<td>uv</td>
<td>length)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Others, see 3.2.9.2</td>
<td>Others, see 3.2.9.3</td>
<td></td>
<td>Indeclinable</td>
<td>in/on/un</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pronoun, cardinal number</td>
<td>Personal pronoun, verb</td>
<td>Personal pronoun</td>
<td>Verb</td>
<td>Verb</td>
<td>Noun, adjective, possessive pronoun, cardinal number</td>
<td>Noun, adjective, preposition, verb</td>
<td>Noun, adjective, preposition, verb</td>
<td>spatial and other relations)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spatial and other relations)</td>
<td>Pragmatics (speech role)</td>
<td>Pragmatics (speech role), syntax (subject)</td>
<td>Semantics (way of realization of the activity)</td>
<td>Semantics (alternative realities, alternative authorities), pragmatics (jussive modality)</td>
<td>Semantics (temporal relation)</td>
<td>Lexicon (class affiliation), sex, word formation</td>
<td>Lexicon (class affiliation), word formation</td>
<td>Phonological surrounding</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 10: Basic Inflectional Categories**

#### 3.2.2 Number

The category of number class is determined by the cardinality of the head noun (for nominals) or of the entire subject (for verbs). Single occurrences of a referent imply the use of the singular in all
nominals in question, multiple occurrences imply the plural forms. The subject NP imposes subject marking of the verb, including the case that more (possibly singular marked single) items integrate into a common (plural) verbal number. More details and exceptions like uncountable or plural words are presented in the part on use with nominals 4.2.2 Number and with verbs 4.4.2 Verbal Number. The number setting continues also in further references.

### 3.2.3 Gender

Gender is a property inherently associated with every noun of North West Lovari Romani, except for plural words. If possible, its status derives from the (natural) sex of the referent noun (therefore the labels “male” and “female”), or from the character of derivative formatives. Otherwise it is predictable only to a limited extent from historical phonological processes, from a transfer from similar semantic units or from the gender of the matrix language. The affiliation to nominal declension classes is ruled by gender. Occasionally also derivation is governed by gender (gender-changing formatives).

The gender property causes agreement inflection of other members of the nominal phrase (see 4.2.3 Gender), in a limited way also of the verb (4.4.3 Verbal Gender). It transcends the range of a clause and affects further references to the noun in question in subsequent clauses by the choice of gender determined pronouns.

In singular number, gender is distinguished commonly, while in plural number, distinction is limited to nouns.

### 3.2.4 Case

The case markers have the following main functions within the North West Lovari Romani noun system:

- Stating the syntactic role of its carrier (prevalently nominative, oblique, accusative);
- Expressing semantic roles (agent, patient, beneficiary etc.). The final choice, which case (preposition) is required, depends on the lexical status of the verb;
- Supplying spatial, temporal, modal, and other information (nominative only in adverbials, otherwise accusative, oblique);
- Covering governance by a head preposition (regularly nominative, occasionally accusative and locative, exceptionally others).

Generally there are two case systems in North West Lovari Romani. One uses the full set of case markers (except for the oblique case), the other distinguishes between two states: one related to subject and non-animate direct object (nominative) and the other to all other kinds of objects (oblique). The full set is employed with the head noun, with personal pronouns and with other phrase members, if emphasized or taking the place of the head noun (see 5.2.4 Head of the Nominal Phrase). The dual set is used in dependent, pre-nominal positions only and applies nominative in the case of a nominative head and oblique in any other case (see 4.1.1 General Nominal Case System).

With personal pronouns, a joint clitic oblique replaces both accusative and locative in their unmarked position (see 4.1.4 Personal and Reflexive Pronouns). For more details on use of the single cases see 4.2.5 Case.
3.2.5 Animacy

Animacy is also an important means of categorization in North West Lovari Romani. Its impact on noun morphology is indirect, through syntax. Direct objects are represented either by accusative or nominative, depending on their animate or inanimate status, respectively (see 4.2.5.1 Nominative and 4.2.5.2 Accusative). So the use of nominative and accusative is defined not solely by syntactical and general semantic needs, but additionally by the animacy of the entity in question. In this way, animacy influences not only the head noun, but also depending adnominals. Personal pronouns do not distinguish animacy, as they do with gender (les versus la) and both animate and non-animate objects are marked equally. For more details and examples see also 4.2.4 Animacy.

3.2.6 Person

The category of person is motivated by the speech situation. The three values are given as follows:

1. person: a (possibly one-member) group of persons including the speaker and not necessarily including the listener;
2. person: a (possibly one-member) group of persons containing the listener and not including the speaker;
3. person: a (possibly one-member) group of persons containing neither the speaker nor the listener.

North West Lovari Romani, like many other languages, does not keep person and number as distinct, agglutinative dimensions. So frequently, where both categories are encoded simultaneously, a kind of morphological suppletion occurs. With personal pronouns there is no clear number marker and only very loose person markers (see 4.1.4 Personal and Reflexive Pronouns), and in the whole of verb inflection the 2 numbers * 3 persons 2-dimensional matrix is realized by a (1-dimensional) list of 6 suffixes encoding person and number at once (see 4.3.1 Person, Number and Gender in Verbal Morphology and 4.4.4 Verbal Person). Only the third person occasionally behaves as an agglutinating feature, as number is not marked at all (irrealis, non-suppletion forms of copula). Within nominal declension (except for personal pronouns) person is not coded.

3.2.7 Reflexivity

Reflexivity is relevant only for the choice of the personal pronoun, and only in the 3rd person. The two values are:

- Non-reflexive, if the 3r-group differs in any way from the subject and the subject is not of a general kind;
- Reflexive, if the 3r-group is identical to the subject or the subject is of a general kind.

3.2.8 (Verbal) Conjugation Class, (Nominal) Declension Class

In the same way like gender determines the set of formatives to be chosen for different grammatical purposes, conjugation/declension class defines the set of verbal/nominal formatives (depending also on gender). On the other hand, inflectional class differentiation is reduced by the fact, that single conjugation/declension classes differ mostly only in an additional class marker, partially adapted
with general inflection markers by transparent morpho-phonologic rules (see 4.3.3 Verb Classes for verbs and 4.1.1.3 Nominal Declension Classes for nominals), and the number of distinct items in the paradigms is restricted.

In contrast to gender, inflection classes affect only the selection of the formatives in a single verb/nominal, while gender requires agreement throughout the clause and possibly also across the sentence boundary.

### 3.2.9 Predicative Semantic (TAM) Distinctions

The North West Lovari Romani predicate expresses certain properties by grammatical extension of the verbal root, others with modal and aspect particles. Formatives make up a network of temporal distinction (“tenses”), manners of acting (“aspect”), and reality relations (“mood”) in a non-linear (non-agglutinative) way. A better understanding of the TAM distinctions shall be intermediated by starting from a cross-linguistic framework, see Timberlake (2007).

Timberlake distinguishes (semantic-pragmatic) modality from (grammatical) mood. In the same way it would be helpful to make similar distinctions between other pairs of semantic-pragmatical structures of expression and their grammatical realization. So one might suggest “temporality” (e.g. past) versus grammatical tense (e.g. perfective past) or “semantic case” (e.g. sociative) versus “syntactic case” (e.g. instrumental) in order to increase comprehension, but I rather stick to given terms.

TAM categories are concatenative, except for several important modal distinctions, which are coded by modal particles. In nominal declension, formatives are the less flective, the farer apart from the stem they are. The first position is occupied there by a complex of gender, number and a part of the case system, while the back end is open to layer-II-case markers, which are almost agglutinative (see 4.1.1 General Nominal Case System). Contrariwise, in verbal morphology, the situation is more complicated. Person- and number-formatives, situated right after the primary stem position (i.e. present tense or perfective stem), are highly allomorphic (4.3.1 Person, Number and Gender in Verbal Morphology), while the imperfective-potentialis-irrealis-marker is -as with single exception, but expresses both clear (past tense) indicative mood together with a contingency (potential, irrealis) mood (4.3.4.2 Imperfective-Potential, and 4.3.5.1 Perfective and Irrealis). Also the present tense-subjunctive construction (with a ø marker) cumulates (present tense) indicative mood with a subjunctive mood (in connection with the modal particle te, 4.3.4.1 Present Tense-Subjunctive).

#### 3.2.9.1 Tense

Tense supplies information about the time instant of the event described by the predicate (“situation”), related to the actual speech situation (“moment of speech”). The following overview is based upon a table in Timberlane (315), extended by the respective realization in North West Lovari Romani grammar:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tense</th>
<th>Relation to the Moment of Speech</th>
<th>Basic Realization</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Present</td>
<td>Situation holds over an interval including the moment of speech, and potentially the immediately preceding and the</td>
<td>Morphology</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
immediately following time; situation can be known directly and coexists with other situations.

| Past | Situation holds over an interval prior to the here-and-now of speech, and by implicature no longer at the here-and-now of speech; situation is known with certainty and is assumed to be responsible for the here-and-now. |
| Future | Situation holds over an interval later than the here-and-now of speech, and (ordinarily) not yet at the here-and-now of speech; the situation can only be projected and anticipated from the here-and-now. |

**Table 11: Tenses**

In some cases of subordinate clause the reference point for the choice of time-determining is not the moment of speech, but the time setting which is given by the main clause. This holds for non-factual verbal complements and for final adverbial clauses, but not for relative clauses and for other types of adverbial clauses (esp. conditional, causal, see 5.10.1 Syntactic Types of Subordinate Clauses). Present, past and future tense refer to simultaneous, precedent and succeeding events, respectively, from the viewpoint of the main clause event. For a main clause within the past, a future tense may point to any past, present or coming-up event, actually the final time with respect to the moment of speech is a priori undetermined. In the following example, the visit to the doctor could have already taken place (past), or it may still take place (future):

Phendal mange, hoť žasa ká o doktori. (3.2.9-1)

tell.PFTV.2SG me that go.FUT.2SG to the doctor.

You told me, that you will go to the doctor.

Contrariwise, for a main clause with a future event a past tense may point to any time with respect to the moment of speech.

### 3.2.9.2 Aspect

As Timberlake (286) puts it, aspect “indicates how situations are related to some occasion internal to the ongoing discourse or text, termed the contextual occasion here.” The most common types of aspect are summarized (304) and related to North West Lovari Romani grammar (brackets indicate occasional, optional realization):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aspect</th>
<th>Mapped Relation</th>
<th>Primary realization in grammar</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Perfect</td>
<td>Situation presented as a state extending back in time from the contextual occasion (commonly the here-and-now of</td>
<td>Not realized</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
speech) and projected to continue in the future; natural with liminal predicates; serves as the condition for other states or changes around the contextual occasion.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Morphology (in past events)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Progressive</td>
<td>Process ongoing at contextual occasion (commonly the here-and-now of speech) that is projected to continue in the immediate future, but could easily change or cease; natural with process predicates (not states); often in conflict with (or even interrupted by) other situations.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perfective</td>
<td>Situation bounded around contextual occasion (not the here-and-now of speech), after which time no more activity is projected and the resulting state will continue; natural with liminal processes; means inception with stative predicates; sequences the given event with respect to other events.</td>
<td>Morphology, aspect particles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iterative</td>
<td>State consisting of sub-events alternating in polarity over the contextual occasion (often the here-and-now of speech), a pattern that is projected to continue; natural with processes or liminal processes; either the whole state or the individual subevents can interact with other events.</td>
<td>(Derivative morphology, adverbs)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 12: Aspect

3.2.9.3 Mood

“Mood is about alternatives” (Timberlake 2007: 315) and is designed to signal to the listener the relevance of the presented in contrast to alternative realities and authorities, see the following overview over the most common mood categories based on Timberlake (2007: 329), extended with a comment on their realization in North West Lovari Romani grammar (brackets indicate occasional, optional realization):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mood</th>
<th>Prototypical Lexeme</th>
<th>Type Of Alternative</th>
<th>Realization In Grammar</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Interrogative</td>
<td>what?</td>
<td>Conceding lack of knowledge, speaker asks addressee to act as authority and correct lack of knowledge</td>
<td>Intonation, part of speech (interrogative pronoun)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evidentiality</td>
<td>probably</td>
<td>Speaker indicates incompleteness of authority over knowledge</td>
<td>Modal particle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jussive</td>
<td>please</td>
<td>Speaker, as authority, asks addressee to act as a proxy authority and change the world from its</td>
<td>Modal particle, morphology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Imperative/</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Category</td>
<td>Action</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Part of Speech</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hortative/Op</td>
<td>should</td>
<td>A general authority asks a proxy authority to act in one way (on all occasions, on some occasions) rather than in the opposite way.</td>
<td>Modal particle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deontic</td>
<td>afraid</td>
<td>An authority expresses a response to a (possible) state of the world that stands out from the usual states of the world</td>
<td>Verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attitudinal</td>
<td>supposed</td>
<td>The speaker as authority asserts the validity (under all conditions or under some) of the situation, on the basis of an implicit condition</td>
<td>Manner adverbs Modal particles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Epistemic</td>
<td>would</td>
<td>One situation is the authority for another; without the condition, the consequence would not ordinarily be expected</td>
<td>Morphology, modal particles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contingency</td>
<td>is</td>
<td>Failure of any more specific modality opposing alternative realities: the speaker insists the addressee believe that the world is the way the speaker says it is, rather than the opposite</td>
<td>Morphology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indicative</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 13: Basic Moods

4 Morphology

The part on morphology collects the mechanisms of how complete words in the sense of grammatical words can be made out of lexicographical words, lexemes (3.1.1 Word, Formative). The chapter on morphology presents nominal declension forms and their use, verbal conjugation forms and their use, morphology of word formation, and finally a kind of inflection of prepositions. Within morphology I place also an small reference table for grammatical words within other parts of the study, which do not display morphological variation, but still play a dominant role in North West Lovari Romani (4.7 Non-Inflected Lexemes) and may be interpreted as unbound morphemes.

4.1 Nominal Morphology

Nominals in North West Lovari Romani are inflected for gender, number, case and, for certain pronouns, person (see 3.2.1 Overview over Factors Relevant for Inflection), with different roles in individual nominal word classes. Their use will be exemplified after the section on forms (4.2 Use of Nominal Grammatical Categories).

4.1.1 General Nominal Case System

Nominal morphology in North West Lovari Romani displays a two-layered morphological system, see the example:
The -a- exemplifies a layer-I-element, -ke a layer-II-element.

### 4.1.1.1 Layer I

The basic layer I (Matras 2002: 78) is capable of distinguishing the basic role nominative versus non-nominative (oblique) plus information on number and gender. In a restricted number of lexemes additionally a vocative case is expressed with formatives of this layer, otherwise realized by the nominative. A vocative is generally used as appellation independently of the clause structure, so its encoding on the same level as subject and non-subject is canonical. This will be handled as exception later on. The layer I is suffixed to the nominal stem. It shows variability according to position in the clause (head and post-head versus pre-head) and according to lexeme based nominal word classes defined further on. For specific parts of speech such as pronouns, specific changes come into effect like stem suppletion, additional suffixes, see the individual chapters 4.1.4 Personal and Reflexive Pronouns and 4.2.6 Demonstrative Pronouns. For one (oikoclitic noun and oikoclitic adjective) class as an example the general blueprint of the layer I looks as follows (phonological changes in the feminine stem will be discussed later on):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Head Position</th>
<th>Adnominal Position</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Subject</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M SG</td>
<td>-o</td>
<td>-o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F SG</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL</td>
<td>-e</td>
<td>-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oblique</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M SG</td>
<td>-es-</td>
<td>-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F SG</td>
<td>-a-</td>
<td>-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL</td>
<td>-en-</td>
<td>-e</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 14: Basic Nominal Declension Layer

Taking a view at the declensional paradigm of the article, the first layer adnominal formatives are identical to those of the vocalic set (i.e. without initial l-) of the article, as if the article was the source of the nominal paradigm which is incompatible with historical forms and with semantics).

With respect to Bickels and Nichols’ classification of formatives, this layer is concatenative (bound and isolated from other morphemes), flective (i.e. displaying stem driven allomorphy) and semantically cumulative (dense) in gender, number and case.

#### 4.1.1.1.1 Vocative

Generally, I do not list vocatives separately. This case is not productive and remains distinct from nominative only in a couple of lexemes in relic forms, following more exceptions than rules. This is true also for the last two preceding contact languages, Slovak and Hungarian, but not for Czech.
with a rich vocative morphology. If ever, some kind of vocative is expressed analytically with help of the 1st person possessive pronouns muro “my” and amáro “our”: Muri šej! “Girl!” Muro phral! “Brother!” Diminutives occur also more frequently in appellations, including names, strictly following the nominative form: Šejouri! “Little girl!” Pheňouri! “Sister!” Grastouro! “Horse!” Bojinka! “Bojinka!” Románko! “Románko!” Another way is to use ad hoc acronyms like krajaskiňa “queen!”, princejka “princess!”.

Whenever I encountered morphological vocatives, these were listed as exceptions with the corresponding declension class. With elicitation I received only alternative ways of appellations mentioned above. Very commonly respondents refused my suggestions to link whole word classes like animals or plants. Among humans the non-referential noun romňi “Rom woman” is not accepted, as allegedly the proper name must be used to call after a person. Romňej is perceived to be rude. The refusal obviously reflects upon the existing social rules, not the grammatical rules. The word grast “horse” apparently cannot serve as appellative (*grast, *grasta, *grastale, only diminutive grastouro with no vocative marking).

Despite of its non-productive character the vocative occurs frequently in ritualized narratives like fairy tales and in form of discourse instruments like dade (from dad “dad”) in communication with children to express closeness.

### 4.1.1.2 Layer II

Based on the oblique formatives, additional case markers with more complex syntactical and semantic functions may be attached immediately after the layer I. They are obligatory in head position (taking the accusative as ø-marked) and in post-head position, and ungrammatical in pre-head (dependent) positions. They are identical across different parts of speech like nouns, adjectives, pronouns, and with slight phonological adaptations also across number. The second-layer cases follow the scheme described in the table below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ACC</td>
<td>ø</td>
<td>ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DAT</td>
<td>-ke</td>
<td>-ge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>-te</td>
<td>-de</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABL</td>
<td>-tar</td>
<td>-dar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INSTR</td>
<td>-sa</td>
<td>-ca</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEN</td>
<td>-k(ir)o</td>
<td>-g(ir)o</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 15: Second Nominal Declension Layer*

As the table shows, the basic process of gaining the plural forms from the singular ones is voicing, forced by the voiced plural oblique forms in -n. The only exception is the instrumental plural with a transparent affrication -ns- > -nc-, understandable via an epenthetic -t- (-nts-). When the INSTR SG -sa encounters a stem final (i.e. masculine) -s, a single -s- results (e.g. -esa, not *-es-sa). This
Nominal Morphology

simplification must had happened before massive contact with Hungarian, which supports geminates and would likely have retained the original cluster, see 2.1.1.3 Border Phenomena, p. 24.

Due to the restriction to animate entities of the basic role of the Accusative (see 4.2.5.2-1 Accusative) as direct object, lexemes referring to inanimates appear in the nominative, and the occurrence of accusative forms are scarce for them. Another key function of the accusative, the possessor role (4.2.5.2-2), is semantically reserved to animates, and equally does not offer space for occurrence of inanimate accusatives.

Pure genitive forms like in the table, unchanged by NP agreement, serve solely in the NP head, for example in constructions with the preposition bi. So to both gender and number, one can say

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
Bi & \text{šejr-esk-o} & \text{sim} / \text{sam (PL)}.
\end{array}
\]

without head-GEN-M/F.SG/PL COP.PL / COP.PL

I am without head.

contrary to general adjectives, where gender is expressed:

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
Cign-o & / cign-i & / cign-e & \text{sim} / \text{sam}.
\end{array}
\]

small-M.SG / small-F.SG / small-PL COP.PL / COP.PL

She / he / they is / are small.

The much more common use of the genitive is a base for possessive constructions, where it is used like a possessive adjective. The table forms with -kol-go serve to mark the possessor, now inflected like an oikoclitic (possessive) adjective, agreeing in number, gender and partially in case (i.e. in its nominative vs. non-nominative role) with the possessed object, in postponed position also with full case declension. The paradigm examples then result in e grastesk-o (M.SG) kan “the horse's ear”, e grasteng-i (F.SG) pour “the horse's tail” for a masculine noun and a pheňak-o (M.SG) than “the sister's place” or e pheňang-i (F.SG) xouli “the sister's anger” for a feminine noun.

Apart from this straightforward declension of genitives, there is a longer, alternative way with an additional infix -ir- before the final adjective ending, such as pheňak-ir-o “sister's” or dadesk-ir-i “father's”. It is used exceptionally in a marked isolated or postponed position, and some speakers reject this form (even if they use it).

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
Pa & \text{tiro fajto či mezij, pa tā dad-eskairo.}
\end{array}
\]

from your family NEG looks, from your father-GEN

She does not look like your family, your father's family.

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
Čak & \text{latar phuš, a sestreňicatar, a Bojakiratar.}
\end{array}
\]

DISCP her ask, ART cousin, ART Boja-GEN

Do ask her, the cousin, Boja.

The locative occurs regularly only with personal pronouns, see 4.1.4 Personal and Reflexive Pronouns. Nouns, adjectives and demonstratives display locatives only in isolated phrases and only with a small set of lexemes:
louvende “liquid (financially)” (4.1.1-6)

Locatives, even if petrified, still retain their noun character and do not occur as modifiers yet, e.g. louvende cannot be used as qualifier: *muro louvende phral “my brother in cash”. For more details see the chapter on cases 4.2.5.6 Locative. Due to missing productivity, the forms of the noun can be gathered only exceptionally and with a certain degree of insecurity. Therefore the locative is not listed in the declension tables of the nouns, adjectives and demonstratives.

The second layer is with respect to Bickels and Nichols’ (2007: 180) classification of formatives concatenative (bound and isolated from other morphemes), non-flective (i.e. without stem driven allomorphy) and semantically slightly cumulative (i.e. coding two features, case and number, but synchronically transparently reducible to a single one).

4.1.1.3 Nominal Declension Classes

The way in which case, gender and number suffixes are attached to a nominal differs from one lexical word to another. Certain classes of nominals show equal sets of these suffixes, which makes it possible to reduce the variety of forms to a small number of declension types, comprising exceptions for lexical items, which do not fit exactly into one of the given paradigms. Pronouns share most features with a nominal declension class (the oikoclitic one). With some licence, they could be handled as special declension classes. Nevertheless, to keep this chapter transparent, these are described in special chapters.

The basic concept of declension classes goes parallel for nouns and adjectives. In both parts of speech, there are four basic classes, consonant oikoclitic, oikoclitic, xenoclitic and non-inflected, with similar inflective characteristics across part of speech, further divided according to gender. For the noun, the gender distinction is inherently given and associated with the declension class as a whole, while for the adjective it is externally given as a result of syntax (the head noun) or semantics (if itself in a head position). The basic class distinction can be made according to a pair of the nominative singular ending and the oblique singular stem, in case of the xenoclitic adjectives by NOM SG and NOM PL instead. Every declension class offers a masculine and a feminine variant.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Masculine Singular</th>
<th>Masculine Plural</th>
<th>Feminine Singular</th>
<th>Feminine Singular</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Consonant Oikoclitic (“aclitic”)</td>
<td>-ø</td>
<td>-es-</td>
<td>-ø</td>
<td>-‘a-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oikoclitic</td>
<td>-o</td>
<td>-es-</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>-‘a-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xenoclitic Noun</td>
<td>-o</td>
<td>-os-</td>
<td>-a</td>
<td>-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>-es-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-ø</td>
<td>-as-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xenoclitic Adjective</td>
<td>-ø</td>
<td>NOM PL</td>
<td>see M</td>
<td>see M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-ø</td>
<td>-a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-i</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Inflected</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 16: Nominal Declension Classes

As can be seen, only the xenoclitic masculine class and the xenoclitic adjective class are not unique. In order to completely disambiguate classes it has to be split into three or two further (sub-)classes, hereby named after the OBL SG stem and the NOM PL ending. They make pairs right the way as they are listed in the table, i.e. -o with -os-, -i with -es- and -o with -as- in the noun case and -o with -a and with -i in the adjective case. Thus, there is no conflict with the oikoclitic masculine nouns. For details and better understanding see the declension examples and paradigms in the following chapters.

All together, I distinguish nine noun classes (two genders X three stem modifications plus two additional distinctions for xenoclitic masculine plus non-inflected) and five adjective classes (with gender specific endings) to cover the bulk of nominal declension.

Throughout feminine declension the oblique markers -a- and -an- (in the table marked with an apostrophe) cause the preceding alveolars -d, -t and -n and the lateral -l to palatalize into -ď, -ť, -ň and -j/-ľ respectively. This gives forms like aďin “honey”, phurd from phur “bridge”, mojange from mol “wine” and baxťasa from baxt “luck” in noun paradigms and kindă “wet.ACC”, tátă “warm.ACC”, cigňa “little.ACC” and melája “dirty.ACC” respectively in adjective paradigms. In masculine paradigms no palatalization takes place (i.e. no *skamiňa “tables”, *dadă “fathers”, *ambroľa “pears”).

The second layer-I-morpheme in -a- in feminine declension, the nominative plural ending, displays a more differentiated palatalization behaviour. Palatalization concerns only nouns, not adjectives: kuťina “little” vs. moja “wines”, nasula “bad” vs. baxťa “much luck” etc., and herein only consonant oikoclitic declension and a minor part of oikoclitic declension – stems ending in lateral -l (the xenoclitic declension class has plurals in -i). Oikoclitic stems in -di, -ti and -ni cannot be found, rather it seems that alveolars have historically palatalized in NOM SG forms as well like in bút-i “work, business”, lulud-i “flower”, romň-i “Rom woman”, so the OBL and PL forms bút-a, lulud-a, romň-a differ solely in the case/number suffix, not in their stems. Therefore no special phonological rules are required and the paradigms are kept simple.

4.1.2 Noun Declension

As a final picture of noun declension, the above elements are linked together for different case and number and for declension classes differentiated by gender. Nouns always appear in the head position, therefore no oblique case occurs here. Instead, we see only cases formed out of the oblique stem (phonologically equal to the accusative).

4.1.2.1 Consonant Oikoclitic Noun Classes

The consonant oikoclitic noun classes inflect like the examples dad and pheň:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example, Meaning</th>
<th>dad, “father”</th>
<th>pheň, “sister”</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Class, Abbreviation</td>
<td>consonant oikoclitic MASC., CM</td>
<td>consonant oikoclitic FEM., CF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number</td>
<td>singular</td>
<td>plural</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Nominal Morphology

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun Case</th>
<th>dad</th>
<th>dad-a</th>
<th>pheň</th>
<th>pheň-a</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nominal Morphology</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dad</td>
<td>dad-a</td>
<td>pheň</td>
<td>pheň-a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dad-es</td>
<td>dad-en</td>
<td>pheň-a</td>
<td>pheň-an</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dad-es-ke</td>
<td>dad-en-ge</td>
<td>pheň-a-ke</td>
<td>pheň-an-ge</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dad-es-tar</td>
<td>dad-en-dar</td>
<td>pheň-a-tar</td>
<td>pheň-an-dar</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dad-es-ko</td>
<td>dad-en-ca</td>
<td>pheň-a-sa</td>
<td>pheň-an-ca</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dad-es-ko</td>
<td>dad-en-go</td>
<td>pheň-a-ko</td>
<td>pheň-an-go</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 17: Consonant Oikoclitic Noun Classes

Members of this class are part of the early Romani lexical layer. Ignoring diachronic aspects, several newer lexemes ending in -j, *ulej* (m) “oil”, *sapuj* (m) “soap” and *ricij* (f) “tar”, may fall into this class. Another point of view, which takes into account their loan character from Romanian or Greek and thus breaks a strictly synchronous line, might analyse them as xenoclitic -i-stems with exceptionally apocopated (like *uleji > ulej final -i in the appropriate case (i.e. NOM SG).

FEM OBL forms and the FEM PL from alveolar and lateral final stems undergo palatalization, see the general introduction on nominal declension above (4.1.1.3 Nominal Declension Classes). Additionally -kh palatalises to -č- in mákh “fly”, NOM PL and OBL stem is máč-, e.g. Naj či máča tute. “There are no flies at your place.” Šude a máča! “Throw away that fly!”

Morphological vocatives (differing from nominatives) found in the consonant oikoclitic class are

- **M SG** rom-a “(Rom) man”, dad-a “daddy”, Dejvl-a “God”, raj-a “officials”, phral-a “brother”, kraj-a “king”.
- **M PL** rom-ale “(Rom) men”, phral-ale “brothers”
- **F SG** pheň-ej “sisters”
- **F PL** řej-ale “(Rom) girls”, pheň-ale “sisters”

A suppletion vocative form mamo “mummy” belongs to the FEM SG dej “mother”, which is occasionally used as a synonym also in non-vocative positions with NOM mamo and OBL forms mama- (not to be confused with the long stem -á- NOM mámi, OBL stem máma-, “grandma”).

The PL M forms display lexically and pragmatically driven default alternatives without -a, e.g. with phral, PL phral “brother”. It appears partially with parts of the body (kan “ear”, vast “hand”, vušt “mouth, lip”, dand “tooth”), with males (phral “brother”, rom “Rom”), and with collective names for plants (kašt “wood”, bûr “bush”, Lakatošová, Šebková 2004: 10), and with names for units of time (berš “year”, šon “month”, dejs “day”). The class plural marker -a can be employed only for dejsa with the meaning “holy days”:

| Že | phrala/phral | naj | godâvera. | (4.1.2-1)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>your</td>
<td>brothers</td>
<td>are.not</td>
<td>clever</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Your brothers aren't clever.

| Avesa | dúj | dejs. | (4.1.2-2)
|-------|-----|-----|

---

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You will come two days.

You'll come for two days.

Afterwards the holidays will come.

An onomasiological plural has developed for *gad* and *vušt*:

An *tě* gada. (short a)

Bring me your shirts.

Ká *tě* gáda? (long á)

Where is your dress?

**vušt** M SG  single, upper or lower, lip, face

**vušt** PL  lips, mouth

Several items ending in **NOM** SG *-in* like *ásvin* “tear”, *šalin* “shadow”, *patrin* “list” and *karfin* “brush”, optionally remove this suffix in all other forms than the **NOM** SG, but never in forms of the proper name *Patrin* (i.e. no *Patratar* etc.).

**NOM** SG *ásv-in*

**OBL** SG *ásv-a-

**NOM** PL *ásv-a*

**OBL** PL *ásv-an-

Other lexemes, which historically belong to this structure, moved to the (feminine) oikoclitic declension class in *-i* like *zumí*, **PL** *zuma* “soup”, not exhibiting any exception.

Two items ending in **-ej**, *dej* “mother” and *šej* “(Rom) girl” have occasionally alternative short singular oblique stems *d-a-* and *š-a-* respectively: *a d-a-tar* (besides general and less formal *a dej-a-tar*), *a š-a* (besides frequent *a šej-a*). In the following example one speaker uses both forms within one utterance:

Laka dej-a dine!  Dine laka da le biš taj pánž berš.(4.1.2-5)

her.**OBL** mother.**ACC**  they.gave!  They.gave her.**OBL** mother.**ACC** the twenty and five years

To her mother they adjudged! They gave to her mother the twenty-five years.

Several multisyllabic items with the root ending in **-aj** like *somnakaj* “gold”, *rašaj* “priest”, *phábaj* “apple”, *čerhaj* “star” (but not monosyllabic *raj* “official”, *plaj* “hill”) toggle individually between
full -ajes/-aja/-ajen- and shortened -as/-a/-an- oblique stems (M SG/F SG/PL, note the -e- in the long F PL form), i.e. (less preferred variants in brackets)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case/number</th>
<th>Full Stem</th>
<th>Shortened Stem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NOM SG</td>
<td>phábaj</td>
<td>phábaj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OBL SG</td>
<td>(phábaja-)</td>
<td>phába-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOM PL</td>
<td>phábaja</td>
<td>(phába)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OBL PL</td>
<td>(phábajan-)</td>
<td>pháben-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

An exception is *milaj* “summer”, where the short form is “blocked” by the xenoclitic quasi-homonym *mila* “compassion”. Oblique forms like *milatar* are always related to this, never to the consonant oikoclitic *milaj* “summer”. Also *muj* shows shortened forms, but only in phrases like *tejle mosa* “front side down”, *opre mosa* ”back side down”. Eventually, e.g. *xal e mujesa*, is used, not *mosa*.

The two items *rat* “night” and *jakh* “eye” with a short carrier vowel [a] lengthen in two-syllable forms, in the case of *jakh* additionally with a masculine like plural oblique in -en-:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case/number</th>
<th>Full Stem</th>
<th>Shortened Stem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NOM SG</td>
<td>rat</td>
<td>jakh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OBL SG</td>
<td>rát-á-</td>
<td>ják-h-a-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOM PL</td>
<td>rát-á</td>
<td>ják-h-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OBL PL</td>
<td>rát-an-</td>
<td>ják-h-en-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

An euphonic nominative -e- may be omitted in oblique forms like with NOM SG *žukel* “dog”, NOM PL *žukela*, all other forms *žukl-*, e.g. *e žuklenca, khandel e mutrestar* “stinks of urine”.

Contrarily *Dejl* “God” comes up with an additional -v-, giving the oblique and NOM PL stem *Dejvl-*.  

### 4.1.2.2 Oikoclitic Noun Classes

The oikoclitic noun classes inflect like the examples *šávo* and *gajži*:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example, Meaning</th>
<th>šávo, “(Rom) guy”</th>
<th>gajži, “lady (non-Rom)”</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Class, Abbreviation</td>
<td>oikoclitic MASC., OMO</td>
<td>oikoclitic FEM., OFI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number</td>
<td>singular</td>
<td>plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>šáv-o</td>
<td>šáv-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accusative</td>
<td>šáv-es</td>
<td>šáv-en</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative</td>
<td>šáv-es-ke</td>
<td>šáv-en-ge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative</td>
<td>šáv-es-tar</td>
<td>šáv-en-dar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrumental</td>
<td>šáv-es-a</td>
<td>šáv-en-ca</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive</td>
<td>šáv-es-ko</td>
<td>šáv-en-go</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 18: Oikoclitic Noun Classes**

Relic vocative forms other than nominative are:
M SG: kirv-ē “godfather”
M PL: šav-ale (with shortened stem vowel) “(Rom) boys”
F SG: kirv-ej “godmother”, žuvj-ej “women”
F PL: romň-ale “(Rom) women”

**FEM OBL** forms and the **FEM PL** from lateral final stems in -l undergo palatalization:

- **SG** dlli / mesáli / memeli / žuvli versus
- **PL** dļa / mesāja / memeja / žuvja.

Songs / tables / candles / women

Alveolar final stems are not found in the sample. Instead, palatals followed by -i are frequent, see the general introduction on nominal declension above in 4.1.1.3 Nominal Declension Classes.

Diminutives in -our- exhibit a kind of mixed declension, combining oikoclitic singular with a consonant-class-like **NOM PL** M form in -a (for **F PL** oikoclitic forms regular) and **OBL PL** forms common for M and F in -en- (straight-forward for oikoclitic M, uncommon for oikoclitic F). For the key forms, the pattern may be summarized as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Nominative</th>
<th>Accusative</th>
<th>Dative</th>
<th>Ablative</th>
<th>Instrumental</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>NOM SG</strong></td>
<td>phralour-o</td>
<td>pheňour-i</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>OBL SG</strong></td>
<td>phralour-es-</td>
<td>pheňour-a-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>NOM PL</strong></td>
<td>phralour-a</td>
<td>pheňour-a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>OBL PL</strong></td>
<td>phralour-en-</td>
<td>pheňour-en-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The underlined forms resemble consonant oikoclitic class structures.

### 4.1.2.3 Common Xenoclitic Noun Classes

The most common xenoclitic noun classes (i.e. without the masculine subclasses in -i and abstracts in -o with stem extension in -as-) inflect like the examples **fouro** and **vorba**:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example, Meaning</th>
<th>fouro, “town, market place”</th>
<th>vorba “word, saying”</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Class, Abbreviation</strong></td>
<td><strong>Xenoclitic MASC., XMO</strong></td>
<td><strong>Xenoclitic FEM., XFA</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Number</strong></td>
<td>singular</td>
<td>plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Nominative</strong></td>
<td>four-o</td>
<td>four-ura</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Accusative</strong></td>
<td>four-os</td>
<td>four-on</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dative</strong></td>
<td>four-os-ke</td>
<td>four-on-ge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ablative</strong></td>
<td>four-os-tar</td>
<td>four-on-dar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Instrumental</strong></td>
<td>four-os-a</td>
<td>four-on-ca</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

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In xenoclitic declension there is no overt (historical) vocative marking and NOM forms are employed throughout.

Nor there are any palatalization rules of the kind mentioned above in the introduction to nominal declension, except for some items with the NOM SG in -ja/ľa like krumpjaj/krumpli “potatoes”, žimbja/žimbi “potatoes” (SG/PL). The whole paradigm itself constitutes a historical palatalized -l-, which can be seen from the only exception, the NOM PL form in -li:

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{NOM SG} & krumpj-a \\
\text{OBL SG} & krumpj-a- \\
\text{NOM PL} & krumpl-i \\
\text{OBL PL} & krumpj-en-
\end{array}
\]

Exceptionally a M PL form in -a may occur. This is the case for the items ezero (dúj ezerá), kokalo (PL kokala) “bone” and euro (PL eura) “Euro”. Names of national or ethnic groups often form the plural in -i: Ňamci “Germans”, Rumungri “Rumungro Roms”, Vlaxi “Lovaris”.

Male proper names in -a inflect with OBL in -as, see Ferkina: žav a Ferkinasa “I go with Ferkina”.

A further exception is papu “grandfather”, all together behaving like if it was a xenoclitic *papo, with the only exception in the NOM SG on -u. So OBL SG pap-os-, OBL PL pap-on-, NOM PL pap-ura.

The animate interrogative and relative pronoun ko “who” inflects like a masculine xenoclitic noun with the stem kas-, with an optional NOM SG form kon in front of the clitic copula (Kon-i? “Who is it/there?”).

Names of municipalities also belong into this category. Toponyms are generally highly individual and historical. We may nevertheless conclude that:


### 4.1.2.4 Minor Xenoclitic Masculine Noun Classes

The other, minor xenoclitic masculine noun classes, the abstracts in -o with stem extension in -as- and the one in -i, inflect like the examples doktori and ternimo:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example, Meaning</th>
<th>doktori, “doctor”</th>
<th>ternimo, “youth, youngsters”</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Class, Abbreviation</td>
<td>xenoclitic MASC. -i, XMI</td>
<td>xenoclitic MASC. -as-, XMA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number</td>
<td>singular</td>
<td>plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>plural</td>
<td>singular</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 20: Minor Xenoclitic Masculine Noun Classes

As concerns borrowed nouns, the xenoclitic masculine i class is realized mostly in -š and in -r and in idiosyncratic cases in -l (petřželi “parsley”), -s (tavasi “autumn”), -c (Berci “Berci”), or -č (stáči “cast-iron POT”), plus the inherited páji “water” and sastri “iron”. Otherwise the (masculine) -o declension serves to adapt loans, exceptionally also with typical i-class items in -š and -r.

The XMA class represents the main declension scheme for abstract nouns, with some abstract nouns lexicalized (like in the example terno “young” > ternimo “youth” > (pl) ternimátura “youngsters”). Singular oblique forms are extended by -as-, while all plural forms contain an additional extension -át-. This element occasionally extends back to nominative plural and non-oblique forms, like in guglimáto “sweet” besides more frequent guglimo “sweet”.

4.1.2.5 Non-Inflected Noun Class

The non-inflected noun class also implicitly distinguishes gender, but offers no means to mark it. As is obvious from the class self-explanatory title, no morphological changes take place when the usage or role in the clause are changing. Thus, no declension table is provided. Several types of words belong into this class:

- Longer, complicated or not yet established loan expressions like Massachusetts “Massachusetts”, Krušné hory “Ore Mountains”;
- Words hard to adapt into a xenoclitic class like Czech nouns in long -í, e.g. baleňí “package”, zvoňeňí “ringing”, spořeňí “saving”, utkání “match”;
- Emotionally loaded loans like gól “goal”, doxlinec “bitch (invective)”, faul “foul”;
- Proper names like Nissan, Ford.

Defective nouns occur only in certain syntactical positions and need not exhibit their “true” inflectional behaviour. Therefore they may appear to be uninflected, too, e.g. xábe “meal”, which is replaced by its synonym texan “food” in any situation which requires declension (pl texana, abl texanestar, diminutive texanouro instead of *xábena, *xábenestar or *xábenouro or alike, respectively.)
4.1.3 Adjectival Declension

For the final picture of adjective declension, the above elements are linked together for different case, number, declension classes and gender. In addition to the noun, a row is added for the form used in pre-nominal position, the oblique case.

4.1.3.1 Consonant Oikoclitic Adjective Class

The consonant oikoclitic adjective class inflects like the examples šukár:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example, Meaning</th>
<th>šukár, “beautiful”</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Class, Abbreviation</td>
<td>consonant oikoclitic, CADJ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number</td>
<td>singular masculine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>šukár</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oblique</td>
<td>šukár-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accusative</td>
<td>šukár-es</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative</td>
<td>šukár-es-ke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative</td>
<td>šukár-es-tar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrumental</td>
<td>šukár-es-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive</td>
<td>šukár-es-ko</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 21: Consonant Oikoclitic Adjective Class**

With less than a dozen members, this class is very small. Nonetheless, it contains basic lexical material like áver “other”, kobar “such”, iž “yesterday”, šel “hundred” and dopaš “half”, as well as composed numerals ending with these (like dešuštár “fourteen”, biš taj jejkh “twenty-one”) here, with an as-if singular declension (despite of its plural character). The only exceptions are pánž “five” with a (probably dissimilated) de-nasalized oblique stem páž- (pážengo, pážen) and šel, which employs two alternate plural nominatives. One is the primary šel, in conjunction with numerals between 100 and 199, and the second is šela with higher numbers, 200-999, which appears like a plural of the already plural word šel. The adjective-like oblique agreement in non-nominative cases like páže šavourenca “with five children” exclude an interpretation of the numerals as a noun-like quantifier with a nominative argument, hypothetically *pážesa šavoura.

There is no vocative listed here, as no forms different from the nominative can be found.

FEM OBL forms from dental and lateral final stems, but not the NOM PL forms, undergo palatalization, see 4.1.1.3 Nominal Declension Classes.

Like in noun declension, the NOM PL forms display lexically driven alternatives without -a, but with much lower frequency and without pragmatic alteration. Most numerals (see the list above) behave like this, otherwise the only known adjectives are xour “deep” and kuč “expensive”.

An euphonic nominative -e- is regularly omitted in oblique forms like with NOM SG áver, NOM PL ávera “other”, all other forms ávr-, e.g. e ávrenca.
4.1.3.2 Oikoclitic Adjective Class

The oikoclitic adjective class inflects like the example lášo:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example, Meaning</th>
<th>lášo, “good”</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Class, Abbreviation</td>
<td>oikoclitic, OADJ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number</td>
<td>singular masculine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>láš-o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oblique</td>
<td>láš-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accusative</td>
<td>láš-es</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative</td>
<td>láš-es-ke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative</td>
<td>láš-es-tar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrumental</td>
<td>láš-es-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive</td>
<td>láš-es-ko</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 22: Oikoclitic Adjective Class

No vocative is listed, as in appellative situations, I generally only encountered nominative forms. Some exceptions occur with the following words:

F SG: čorej “bitch (invective)”, phúrej “old”, pharradej “bitch (invective)”

PL: cign-ale “small”

FEM OBL SG forms from alveolar and lateral final stems, but not the PL forms, are subject to palatalization, see the general introduction on nominal declension.

The interrogative and relative pronoun savo “which” and derived pronouns like varisavo “” belongs into this class, also kecavo “such” and as a genitive form (of so) the pronoun sosko “what kind of”.

4.1.3.3 Xenoclitic Adjective (Sub-)Classes

The two xenoclitic adjective (sub-)classes (i-plural and a-plural) differ only in the NOM PL form, otherwise their paradigms are identical. Therefore no special table is listed. As examples vineto is chosen as default, for the a-plural efťino serves as example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example, Meaning</th>
<th>vineto “blue” / efťino “cheap”</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Class, Abbreviation</td>
<td>xenoclitic with i-plural / a-plural, XADJ (XADJI/XADJA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number</td>
<td>singular masculine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>vinet-o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oblique</td>
<td>vinet-on-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accusative</td>
<td>vinet-on-es</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative</td>
<td>vinet-on-es-ke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative</td>
<td>vinet-on-es-tar</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The two subclasses, divided by the **NOM PL** ending (-i vs. -a) are generally lexically given. Still, a good portion of phonology is involved in the relation between the lexeme and its xenoclitic subclass:

- The -i subclass is prevailingly made by adjectives with a **NOM SG** in -no, -to or -vo (excluding -ívo), see the **NOM PL** forms svuntu “saint, holy”, zeleni “green”, vineti “blue”, rúžavi “rosy”, lungi “long” and the endless row of ordinals with -to: dástí “second”, trtí “third”, štárí “forth” etc. They are mostly Romanian based or older;

- The -a subclass is dominated by adjectives with a **NOM SG** in -šo (mainly from Hungarian derivated adjectives in -s), -ko (including language internal derivational classes) or -ívol/ouvo (deriving from long vowel final adjectives), e.g. **NOM PL** uzeníva “smoked”, hárňika “skilled”, friša “quick”, kentíva “light”, and older loans like saka “every”, or ejftína “cheap” (despite ending in -no).

In xenoclitic declension there is no vocative marking, **NOM** forms are employed throughout.

### 4.1.3.4 Non-Inflected Adjective Class

The non-inflected adjective class bears no morphological marking in different syntactical and semantic roles. Thus, no declension table is provided. The most prominent exponent of this class is the set of perfect participles of the in-conjugation class in -ime, e.g. skirime “written”. Altogether the following types of adjectives belong here:

- Perfect participles of the in-conjugation class, like cifrime “made up”, skirime “written”;

- Single quantifiers like sa “all”, ěče “what a kind of” k semo “a little”, korkouri “alone” or pherdo (with the meaning “plenty”; with the meaning “full” also oikoclitic declension may occur, see example 4.2.5-176):

  Avna korkouri. \( \text{(4.1.3-1)} \)

  will.come alone

  They will come alone.

  Pherdo benzíja las. \( \text{(4.1.3-2)} \)

  lot.m/f fuel.f took

  He tanked plenty of fuel.

- The single quantifier and interrogative ketí “so much/many, how much/many”, which is not strictly non-inflected, but fits nowhere else. The only distinction is **NON-OBL** ketí versus **OBL** keté;

- Borrowed numerals: ejfta “seven”, oxto “eight”, ija “nine”, tranda “thirty” and saranda “fourty”, and further on newer cz/sk loans desar“ten”, deset “ten” etc.;
- Longer, complicated or not yet established loan words like nadstandardňí “above standard”, korupčňí “corruption. ADJ”, majbelep “more worth”, etc.

### 4.1.4 Personal and Reflexive Pronouns

Personal pronouns show a high degree of allomorphy already with the stem. Its shape is affected by the basic grammatical categories person, number and gender. The third person is additionally split into non-reflexive (default form throughout the study, not explicitly labelled) and reflexive with the reflexive stem p- for the whole paradigm. Personal pronouns themselves, as part of speech, are isolating (presented by isolated words) and in the case of unstressed accusative and locative also concatenative (bound).

The stem is additionally extended by suffixes giving case information. Like with noun declension, gender is distinguished only in singular. The case system copies in form and meaning the cases of the noun, with two exceptions: From semantic reasons there is no vocative (not even in relics), and additionally a shortened clitic variant of accusative and locative has developed, called clitic pronoun. Contrary to noun declension the locative case is fully in use without major restrictions.

So the resulting nine stems may be crossed with eight possible cases, rendering the following declension table, divided into singular and plural forms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1SG</th>
<th>2SG</th>
<th>3SG M</th>
<th>3SG F</th>
<th>3SG REFL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>me</td>
<td>tu</td>
<td>vou / vouj</td>
<td>vou / vouj</td>
<td>pe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>clitic pronoun (ACC, LOC)</td>
<td>ma</td>
<td>tu</td>
<td>les</td>
<td>la</td>
<td>pe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACC</td>
<td>man</td>
<td>tut</td>
<td>les</td>
<td>la</td>
<td>pes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DAT</td>
<td>mange</td>
<td>tuke</td>
<td>leske</td>
<td>lake</td>
<td>peske</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>mande</td>
<td>tute</td>
<td>leste</td>
<td>late</td>
<td>peste</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABL</td>
<td>mandar</td>
<td>tutar</td>
<td>lestar</td>
<td>latar</td>
<td>pestar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INSTR</td>
<td>manca</td>
<td>tusa</td>
<td>lesa</td>
<td>lasa</td>
<td>pesa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEN</td>
<td>muro</td>
<td>tó / tiro</td>
<td>lesko</td>
<td>lako</td>
<td>(pesko)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 24: Personal Pronoun Declension (Singular)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1PL</th>
<th>2PL</th>
<th>3PL</th>
<th>3PL REFL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>ame</td>
<td>tume</td>
<td>voun</td>
<td>pe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>clitic pronoun (ACC, LOC)</td>
<td>ame</td>
<td>tume</td>
<td>le</td>
<td>pe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACC</td>
<td>amen</td>
<td>tumen</td>
<td>len</td>
<td>pen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DAT</td>
<td>amenge</td>
<td>tumenge</td>
<td>lenge</td>
<td>penge</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Additionally there are NOM forms M lo, F li and PL le which resemble canonical extensions of the 3P OBL, but which synchronically have to be read as copula forms, see 4.3.6 Copula.

Being the head of the noun phrase by definition, personal pronouns show rule the predicate in person and number. Personal pronouns exhibit stand-alone NP behaviour, no further dependant attributes are attached.

You and vouj are allomorphs, vouj being used in front of the copula (vouj-i) and in isolated position (e.g. answering questions).

\[ \text{Naj vouj-i i hlavní šéfka, na.} \] (4.1.4-1)

\[ \text{DISCP he-cop the main boss, DISCP} \]

Well she is the main boss, isn't she?

\[ S1 \text{ Ko? S2 Vouj.} \] (4.1.4-2)

\[ S1 \text{ Who? S2 She.} \]

As has been mentioned in the introduction, case functions agree with those of other parts of speech. For illustration I give some examples, first of the dative, ablative and instrumental:

\[ \text{Niči, mukhasa tum-enge o kher.} \] (4.1.4-3)

\[ \text{No we.will.leave you-GEN the house} \]

No, we will leave you the house.

\[ \text{Kodo site phenes l-ake.} \] (4.1.4-4)

\[ \text{that modp say her-F.DAT} \]

You have to tell her.

\[ \text{No taj kecave fejšel phušel tu-tar.} \] (4.1.4-5)

\[ \text{DISCP DISCP such things ask you-ABL} \]

Yes and such things she is asking you for.

\[ \text{Pale keći vesejdina man-ca, o rat mejk lena.} \] (4.1.4-6)

\[ \text{again so.much grub me-instr the blood until will.take} \]

Once again they will grub in my skin, until they will take some blood.

\[ \text{Anda khančes mangen len-dar louve.} \] (4.1.4-7)
for nothing demand they-ABL money

Without reason they demand money from them.

_Taj ingresa les-ke dárko._ (4.1.4-8)

and will bring him-DAT present

And you will bring him a present.

In the genitive case, only the third person behaves regularly with respect to the basic forms. First and second person are based on suppletion forms which lack the general possessive marker -k/-g- and employ an element -r- otherwise known from postponed extended genitives (see examples 4.1.4-13 and 4.1.4-14 below), preceded by an unpredictable stem vowel. Regularized forms like *bi mango “without me” can be heard only from little children.

As mentioned in 4.1.1.2 Layer II, pure genitive forms of the personal pronouns serve solely in constructions with the preposition _bi_, unchanged by agreement (no *bi _tiři_).

_Taj akánik la-ke sar-i, Boja, bi _tiřo_?_ (4.1.4-9)

and now her-DAT how-COP Boja without you

And is she doing now, Boja, without you?

Otherwise this genitive is used as a base for expressing possession (possessive pronoun) and other genitive semantics, see 4.2.5.7 Genitive:

_La-k-i kirv-i andaj Bosna-j. (NOM, here FEM SG)_ (4.1.4-10)

her-POSF- SG godmother- F SG from Bosnia-COP

Her godmother is from Bosnia.

_Aj la-k-e romesko südo kezdij._ (4.1.4-11)

DISCP her-POSS-M SG- OBL husband-GEN process begins.

But the process with her husband begins.

_Ťir-estar phuš, niči mur-estar!_ (4.1.4-12)

your-ABL SG ask, not me-ABL SG

Ask your one, not mine!

As with adjective declension, genitive stem forms of possessive pronouns can be extended by an element -ir- before agreement marking formatives:

_Pa _tiř-o fajto _či mezij, pa _vé dad-eskir-o-j._ (4.1.4-13)

from your-NOM SG M family not looks, from your-OBL SG M father-POSS, NOM SG M-COP

She doesn't look like from your family, she is from your father's.

_Korkouri _či gejlas, e šavour-enca sas khote, les-kir-enca._ (4.1.4-14)
alone not went, the children-INSTR.PL was there, his-poss-INSTR.PL.

She didn’t go alone, she was there with the children, with his ones.

The reflexive genitive forms are given in parentheses because semantically-wise, they make sense only in possessive constructions, not with the preposition *bi* “without”, see also 4.2.5.7 Genitive.

Personal pronouns retain the otherwise fossilized locative, expressing the place where the carrier of the pronoun is located, see 4.2.5.6 Locative:

\[ Feri \ amen-de \ či \ keren \ khanči. \] (4.1.4-15)

only we-LOC not do nothing.

Only at our place they don't do anything.

\[ Opre \ žana \ e \ khera, \ sar \ tumen-de \ khote. \] (4.1.4-16)

up will.go the houses, like you-LOC there

The house prices will rise, like there where you live.

### 4.1.4.1 Reflexivity, Reciprocity

The choice of pronominal person and number is lead by semantic and pragmatic criteria. For general see 3.2 Categories Relevant for Inflection, for usage see 4.2 Use of Nominal Grammatical Categories, for person see 4.4.4 Verbal Person. So first and second persons refer to groups comprising speaker and listener (without the speaker) respectively, the third person refers to the rest. Additionally to that a distinction is made between reflexive (number indifferent stem *pe-*) and non-reflexive in the third person, reflecting four situations:

- The referent of the pronoun coincides with the grammatical subject, but not the speaker or listener. In this case the reflexive version is selected:

\[ Najči \ bǐrij-esa. \] (4.1.4-17)

DISCP not bear himself-INST.

But he doesn't stand any longer.

\[ Najp-este. (4.1.4-18) \]

DISCP himself-LOC

He isn't at his place.

\[ Pela \ vou \ káveja \ peske, \ vaj \ teja. \] (4.1.4-19)

will.drink he coffee himself-DAT or tea.

He will like to drink coffee, or tea.

- The two subjects agree with the object as a group, but not individually, i.e. they agree crosswise, mutually – the reciprocal (see also *jejkhários* “mutual” in 4.4.2 Verbal Number):
Nominal Morphology

*Nadon kamenas pe.*  (4.1.4-20)
much liked themselves
They liked one another much.

*Taj apal mukle pe.*  (4.1.4-21)
and then left themselves
And then they split.

- The verb is inherently reflexive and neither speaker nor listener are subject, including verbs with a semantic shift in its reflexive version like *khelel pe* “play games” < *khelel* “dance, play an instrument”:

  *Te phadola, te dokončija pe, šaj lesa la.*  (4.1.4-22)
  if gets.broken if stops.working REFL MODP you.take it.ACC.SG.F
  If it gets broken, if it stops working, you may take it.

  *O Kirila bizij pe te šol mourčuni vesta.*  (4.1.4-23)
  the Kirila plans REFL CMPL dress leather vest
  Kirila plans to dress in a leather vest.

  *Hát či lažana pe.*  (4.1.4-24)
  so not feel.ashamed REFL
  So they don't feel ashamed.

  *Majinti khelena pe taj apal žana te soven, mišto-j?*  (4.1.4-25)
  first play REFL and then they.go to sleep, ok
  First they play and then they go to sleep.

- The reflexive form expresses a generalization of the statement, as an anonymous subject:

  *Kadej xutilel pe.*  (4.1.4-26)
  so hold REFL
  So you have to hold it [a basket].

  *Taj či šol pe luludi.*  (4.1.4-27)
  and not lay REFL flower
  People don't lay a flower there [onto the wedding car].

  *Či žanav, savo mukel pe.*  (4.1.4-28)
  not I.know. which push REF
  I don't know, which one to push [button in the elevator].
Andi koňha bešen pe maj but.  \( (4.1.4-29) \)

in kitchen sit REFL CPR much

In the kitchen people sit most often.

Dičola pe.  \( (4.1.4-30) \)

will.be.seen REFL

It will be seen.

The reflexive \( pe \) is the anonymous, generalized subject, inserted into the nominative slot of the verb. In the first case the direct object (what is being hold) is not expressed, in the second and third example \( luluđi \) “flower” and \( savo \) “which”, respectively, are objects.

Singular agreement is commonly used in generalized statements, i.e. \( pe \) is being understood as a singular form. Example 4.1.4-29 was said in a discussion about the question, where the neighbours mostly switch on their heatings. Then the statement was generalized with \( pe \), but the plural implication was still present in mind. Therefore the verb takes the plural suffix and \( pe \) may be read as the plural reflexive form.

A competitive form of expressing anonymous agents is given by the plural (4.4.2 Verbal Number) and the passive (4.4.1 Copula).

### 4.1.4.2 Zero and Clitic Pronoun – Topic and Emphasis Management

Contrary to verb marking, there is an option for personal pronouns, which allows to topicalize or stress (or unmark) referents. This is possible for nominative, accusative and locative. Nominative personal pronouns are generally omitted, unless emphasis or contrast is to be put on the referent. Accusative and locative marked forms differ from their standard forms by length and position (bound/unbound).

Clitic accusative-locative forms lack the final consonant or consonant plus \(-te/-de\), in contrast to the appropriate full accusative or locative forms, respectively. Only the non-reflexive \( 3SG \, M \, les \) retains the final \(-s\). Clitic pronouns are used in post-verbal accusative position and after prepositions. They have no stress and are affixed to

- verb,
- copula in possessive constructions,
- preposition.

In spontaneous writing, they are attached to the preceding word (the second line is in standard writing):

\[ \text{Varykana trádenle paj thana, varykana phandenle.} \quad (4.1.4-31) \]

\[ \text{Varikana tráden le paj thana, varikana phanden le.} \]

sometimes they.drive.them across.the places sometimes they.stake.them

Sometimes they drive them across the country, sometimes they stake them.
In order to ensure the written forms similar to other varieties of Romani spoken in the region, these clitics are kept as separated words for the purpose of this study.

Generally, marked (be it nominative, accusative or locative) forms (in bold letters) are obligatory in any case after enumerative and contrastive elements like vi “also”, či “also not”, feri “only”, niči “but not”:

\[
\text{Naj jaj, akánik či pinžáresas, taj či } \text{me či pinžárous le.} \quad (4.1.4-34)
\]

\[
\text{SJ DISCP DISCP now not you.recognized and even.not me not recognized them}
\]

Oh indeed, now you didn't recognize them, and neither me didn't recognize them.

\[
\text{Aj vi tu határes, salas inke variká, ká vorbis?} \quad (4.1.4-35)
\]

\[
\text{SJ DISCP also you.understand you.were again somewhere therefore you.speak}
\]

So you too understand it, you were again somewhere, so that you are speaking in such a way?

\[
\text{S1 SJ Aj tu parudal zloti? S2 Me niči.} \quad (4.1.4-36)
\]

\[
\text{SJ DISCP you have.exchanged Zlotys me not}
\]

S1 So you have exchanged Zlotys? S2 Me didn't.

\[
\text{Naj či } \text{ame či xas.} \quad (4.1.4-37)
\]

\[
\text{SJ DISCP even.not we not eat}
\]

After all even we haven't eaten.

\[
\text{Feri man žanes te máres. (not *feri ma)} \quad (4.1.4-38)
\]

\[
\text{SJ only me are.able to beat}
\]

Only me you are able to beat.

\[
\text{Taj xálas inke vi man. (not *vi ma)} \quad (4.1.4-39)
\]

\[
\text{SJ and made.angry even also me}
\]

And she made angry even me, too.
Nominal Morphology

Xálas vi tut, mamo? Dade! (no *vi tu) (4.1.4-40)
annoy also you mummy DISCP

She has annoyed you also, mummy? My God!

Naj či žanav, taj určitě vi la si kirvo. (unmarked: si la kirvo) (4.1.4-41)
DISCP not I.know and certainly also she.ACC COP godfather COP she.ACC godfather

Well, I don't know, and she, too, has a godfather.

The emphatic use may be seen from the following example. While the first sentence does not employ the pronoun, the second does, not for contrastive reasons:

S1 Taj vi šukár-i, sa, no. S2 No. S1 Taj patál vou mındık, no. (4.1.4-42)
and also beautiful-COP all DISCP yes and believes she always

S1 And she is also beautiful, really. S2 Yes. S1 And she always believes [that nobody likes her], really.

S1 Kon-i e Bejáša? S2 Kadej phenas lenge, Bejáša, ame. (4.1.4-43)
who-are the Bejášes so we.say them Bejášes we

S1 Who are the Bejášes? S2 So we call them, Bejášes, our [people].

Me osobňe dikhlem la, pinžárav la. (unmarked: dikhlem la) (4.1.4-44)
me personally saw her I.know her

Me personally saw her, I know her.

Aj man si kecavo recepto. (unmarked: si ma recepto) (4.1.4-45)
DISCP L.ACC COP such receipt

I do have such a receipt.

I Boja či phenela per mande. (unmarked: pér ma) (4.1.4-46)
the Boja not will.say on me

Boja will not tell about me.

The clitic is posed always at the very last position of the word, after any further morphemes. The only grammatical item being placed after this clitic is the 3p present tense clitic copula -i:

Már žanav la, hot’ ande la-j. (4.1.4-47)
already I.know her that inside.of her-is

I already know about it, that it's inside of her. [i trozna “runny nose (fem)”]

The choice of clitics against full forms after prepositions additionally changes the phonetic manifestation of the preposition. Short forms of the pronoun imply long forms of the preposition
and vice versa, so *per ma* will alter with *per mande*, and *andá le* with *anda lende*, see the section on prepositions 4.6 Prepositions. The lengthening rule is explained in 2.5.1 Vowel Length, p. 32.

The second person singular has an unmarked short form without -r- on simple palatal ţ-. It is used only in adnominal position without emphasis.

\[ \text{Apal kerdé ţe bokoja.} \]

Then they made your flat bread

Then they bake the flat bread you like.

\[ \text{Pa tiro fajto čí mezíj.} \]

from your family not looks

He doesn't look like from your family.

\[ \text{Le, t̩ire phúre-j!} \]

DISCP yours old-are

Common, yours are old! [hands]

The short, unmarked 2SG form *iō* does not appear in the head position and therefore full case forms of the 2SG are based solely on the long form *tiro*.

### 4.1.5 Demonstrative Pronouns

The basic set of demonstratives may be analysed as a stem, which provides information on the semantic and pragmatic situation, plus suffixes, that grant agreement and in pronominal positions additional syntactic relations. Agreement works on the same base as in case of the adjectives.

Six demonstrative stems can be distinguished. All of them begin with {k}, stem vocals vary between {a} and {o/u} and stem codas alternate between {d}, {k} and {ø}. So the basic scheme, restricted to NOM SG MASC, may be represented as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>-a-</th>
<th>-o/-u-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-d-</td>
<td>kado</td>
<td>kodo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-k-</td>
<td>kako</td>
<td>kuko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ø-</td>
<td>ka</td>
<td>ko</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 26: Stems of Demonstratives*

Similar to the adjectives, the demonstratives express gender, number and case agreement through formatives (reduced to NOM SG MASC in the table above). In an adnominal position case is reduced to subject vs. oblique/non-subject information, in the pronominal position dependencies of the verb are reflected through a more elaborated case system copied from noun declension in form and meaning.

Within Bickel’s and Nichols’ (Shopen 2007: III,167) framework of declensional morphology the North West Lovari Romani demonstrative itself is isolating, not fusing with other words. Case
agreement behaviour is concatenative, just like in all other parts of the nominal marking system of the language. Semantic and pragmatic features are expressed by non-linear means, by stem modification.

With respect to the fact that demonstratives consist of an extremely low number of lexical units, discussion about flexivity is not relevant. Within paradigms gender, number and case declension is common, except for the non-NOM SG marker -al- vs. -ol-, which might be seen as dividing lines between two declension classes with a strong tendency to phonetic licence (assimilation with the stem vowel). In contrast to the neighbouring variety of Romani of the Northern Central dialect group, the demonstratives are coming closer to the oikoclitic declension. There NOM SG MASC is made with -a, while its oikoclitic pendant is -o like in North West Lovari.

The “packing density” of demonstrative formatives is higher than in the adjective case, given by the stem extension -al-/-ol-, which distinguishes nominative from non-nominative cases and singular from plural at once. Additionally, gender agreement is coded together with number in adjective like declension patterns.

The ka/ko set does not occur in pronominal position. All other forms than NOM SG MASC are made by kaj and koj respectively. Thus, they behave as compounds of prepositions and articles, see 4.6 Prepositions, p. 215. The paradigm is presented in the table below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NOM</th>
<th>ka</th>
<th>ko</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M SG</td>
<td>ka</td>
<td>kaj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F SG</td>
<td>kaj</td>
<td>koj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL</td>
<td>kaj</td>
<td>koj</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OBL</th>
<th>ka</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M SG</td>
<td>kaj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F SG</td>
<td>koj</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 27: Declension of Short ka/ko Demonstratives

The other sets differ from oikoclitic adjective/noun declension in two ways:
- All except for the NOM SG endings exhibit a (with respect to the stem vowel reduplicative) stem extension -al- for -a- stems (kado and kako) and -ol- for the -o/-u- stems (kodo and kuko);
- The specific NOM PL morpheme is always -a like the consonant oikoclitic declension class, rendering formatives -ala for -a- stems and -ola for -o/-u- stems.

Similar to adjective declension, the plural is gender-indifferent. The declensional paradigm of kako differs from kado only by the stem, while kuko follows the kodo model, with a single exception. The plural forms of the -d- series show up additional optional forms in -j in adnominal positions, which -k- series do not. Aside from this unique exception, the paradigm can be reduced to two schemes, differing by the stem extension (-al- vs. -ol-):
North West Lovari Romani disposes of a grammaticalized part of speech, which indicates a status of definiteness within discourse: Presence of the article as definite and absence as indefinite. The borderline between what a given language considers definite is not sharp, and generally spoken North West Lovari Romani tends to understand definiteness quite widely. Indefinite references determined to be introduced into discourse are marked by the numeral *jejkh*, which thus overlaps with article functions, see 4.5.5.2 Cardinal Numerals. For the usage see 4.2.1 Article, p. 76.

The article always appears in an adnominal position, at its first place, and agrees in gender, number and layer-II-case (oblique yes or no):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>M</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>PL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>e/le</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OBL</td>
<td>e (le)</td>
<td>a (la)</td>
<td>e (le)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 29: Declension of the Definite Article

The alternative entries on *l*- are individual and widely distributed features, which concern much more NPL than oblique occurrences, and both animate and inanimate entities: *le rom* “the Roms”, *le šangle* “the policemen”, *le vurdona* “the caravans”, *le Mamuk-os* “Mamuko-ACC”, *le koberc-enca* “the carpets-INSTR”, *le šáves* “the son.ACC”, *le ávera* “the others”, *le louve* ”ART money.PL”.

\[ \text{Taj má phenel le ávre Žejnenge.} \]  \hspace{1cm} (4.1.6-1)

and already tells the other persons

And he already tells it to the others.

\[ \text{Kodola phende amenge, hoť ingerde le Židovon már.} \]  \hspace{1cm} (4.1.6-2)

those told us that transported the Jews already
Those told us, that they have transported the Jews away already.

*Sí vi kha té lešńički.*  
(4.1.6-3)  
there are also here the fridges

Here are also the fridges.

*La vorba sí vi tivo vi ágor.*  
(4.1.6-4)  
the statement.ACC COP also begin also end

You can make head and tail of this statement.

Persons with potential to use *l-* forms switch between both variants, maybe with some preference for *l-* in situations of excitation. Both variants can be encountered close to each other:

*Aj táj na site gejladas ká le góže! Naj po hotelí ža tu, na ká e góže!*(4.1.6-5)  
DISCP and not MODP you had gone to the Czechs DISCP to the hotel go you not to the Czechs

Oh and you must not have gone to the Czechs! Yes, go to a hotel, not to the Czechs!

Altogether, purely vocalic forms are much more frequent.

### 4.1.7 Idiosyncratic Declensional Paradigms

Other lexical material is inflected according to one of the paradigms given above, like e.g. deictic *kobor* “so big” like a consonant oikoclitic adjective or interrogative/relative *savo* “which” like a oikoclitic adjective. For details see the list of quantifiers in 5.3 Quantifier, and the relevant sections in 4.1 Nominal Morphology. Lexical entries can refer to one of these classes. Exceptions are:

- *khonik* *(nom)* “nobody”, oblique stem *khanikas*–;
- *uno* *(nom sg m)* “some single” - all other forms *uni* *(uni roșni* “some woman”, *uni žejne* “some persons”, *uni šavurenca* “with some children”.

### 4.2 Use of Nominal Grammatical Categories

#### 4.2.1 Article

The prototypical use of the article is to express definiteness, see generally in 3.1.4 Definiteness and or in context with other sources of definiteness in 5.2.5 Definiteness. Languages taking use of an article have different concepts of what they regard as definite, which can be easily seen by comparison of the Romani texts with their English translations.

The article offers three states of definiteness, definite, unspecified and indefinite, which are marked in a suppletion way. The definite state is expressed by the article, (see 4.1.6 Article), the unspecified by omission, and the indefinite to some extent by the numeral *jejkh* “one”. With respect to the omnipresence of the definite article and the specific conditions, under which the numeral *jejkh* introduces unknown entities, the notion of an indefinite article will not be introduced, and “article” means “definite article” further on.

Definiteness has the following realisations in North West Lovari Romani:
1. Unique entities without any space for ambiguity: *o Dejl* “God”, *o romano trajo* “(way of) life of the Roms”, *i luma* “the world”, *po angluno* “for the first time”, mainly abstracts like *o nasulimo* “illness”, *o lašimo* “well-being”, if not shifted to something concrete like *pijimo* “drinking” > “beverage”;

2. Entities which represent prototypically members of its kind, general expressions like *le románe sokáša* “traditions of the Roms”, *pohári pi ratija* “glasses for spirit”, *gláži le pijimasa* “bottles with beverages”, *pej droma* “on the roads”:

   - *O manuš site dikhel ánglal.*
   - Man has to look in advance.

   - *Maj feder határel andi vorba.*
   - He knows better to speak.

   - *Či šol ávri sa pi mesáli.*
   - He doesn't put everything out on the table.

   - *Feri keres a kadej a kef-as.*
   - You just do it this way with the brush.

   - *I šukár vouja kerašas.*
   - They evoked a nice mood.

   - *A čirikja pinžáres palaj pour taj le manušes palaj vorba.*
   - You recognize a bird by its tail, and a man by his speech.

3. Proper names: *o Groufo, o Kirila, i Lulud, i Birna, ando Čexo* “in the Czech Republic”, *po Touco* “in Slovakia”;

4. In kataphoric situations, i.e. when the unique identification is to come in the following relative clause, and the article serves as an announcement of coming explanation. In 4.2.1-8, additionally to the first kataphoric article *O rom* “the Rom”, the article in *o áver rom* “the other Rom” signalizes the uniqueness of once the one *rom* and once the other within the universe of two entities. The definiteness status of the relative clause can be also indefinite (example 4.2.1-10, according to 4.2.1, 14) or unspecified:

   - *Trobujas te vorbij e rom-esa, so či das les palpále inke e kiji.*
it.would.be.necessary to talk the man-with who not gave he.ACC back yet the keys

We should talk with the man, who yet didn't give him back yet the keys.

O rom, saves žal o áver rom te fogadij kirveske, či gejlas l-esa ánde. (4.2.1-8)

The man who.ACC go the other man to designate godfather.DAT not went he-with into

The man, whom the other man intended to invite as godfather, did not enter the agreement.

O áver rom pe kodo nástik xoajvel.

The other man on this MODP be.annoymed

The other man cannot be annoyed about this.

Ánde-j phendi i vorba, hot’ ášla tum-enca akánik. (4.2.1-9)

The statement is finally reached, that he will stay with you.PL now.

Naj či voun či žana, e šáve. (4.2.1-13)

Well neither those guys will go.

5. In anaphoric situations, i.e. when the referent is meant to be part of the recent discourse or other common past. Generally the article applies also to indirect anaphora, if the introduced entity has a unique relation to the referent (dad “father” < cigno “little”, vast “hand” < [kezdind]-e “began”, šáve “boys” < Birňake “people from Brno”, phüre “old” < Birňake “people from Brno”):

Mejk kerďol kodo cigno, o dad taj i dej gindon pe, ká te žan. (4.2.1-11)

While the little child gets ready, his father and mother consider, where to go

Kezdinde te máren e palmi. (4.2.1-12)

They began to beat the palms.

S1 Šaj avla tu-sa variko, e Birňake. (4.2.1-13)

Somebody could come with you, the people from Brno.

S2 Naj či voun či žana, e šáve.

Well neither those guys will go.
Use of Nominal Grammatical Categories

\[ S1 \text{ Aj e phûre či žana? } \]
\[ \text{DISCP the old not will.go.pl } \]

S1 Oh, and the elder will not go?

\[ E \text{ vánočki č' andem tuke, bišavou le tuke. } \]
\[ \text{the challahs not I.brought you.dat I.will.send them you.dat } \]

I didn't bring you the challahs, I will send them to you.

6. To entities unique in the actual speech situation:

\[ An \text{ i teja! } \]
\[ \text{bring the tea } \]

Bring the tea!

\[ Naj \text{ hoť ká kiraven, azír-i andi koňha. } \]
\[ \text{DISCP RELPR because they.cook therefore-is in.the kitchen } \]

It is because they are cooking, therefore she is in the kitchen.

\[ Aj \text{ muk pi mesáli kodo jejkh! } \]
\[ \text{DISCP leave.on.the table that one } \]

Do leave that one on the table!

7. NPs containing certain pronouns or quantifiers replacing the definite article, see 5.2.5 Definiteness: varisave žejne “some people”, sako murš “every man”, kecavi šej “such a girl”. After the end of their scope the article comes into effect again:

\[ Nás \text{ inke kacavo phral taj i phěň. } \]
\[ \text{not.were yet such brother and the sister } \]

There were no such brother and sister yet.

Unspecified statuses, with no (zero, ø) article marking (on case marking see 11), are chosen for:


9. Nouns in citation (quotation), in use without reference, after verbs of saying and nomination:

\[ Ame \text{ phenas lenge ø Kikavára. } \]
\[ \text{we say them Kukavara } \]

We call them Kikavara.

\[ Taj \text{ kodoleske phenas ø romimo. } \]
\[ \text{and those.dat we.say Rom.culture } \]
And that we call the culture of the Rom.

_Taj si jejkh, Ø Baletka bušol._ (4.2.1-21)

_and there is one Baletka she.is.called_

And there is one, she is called Baletka.

_Khejre kerou, Ø pita bušol, Ø balkánska pita._ (4.2.1-22)

_at.home I.will.make pita is.called Balkan.style pita_

At home I will make, it is called pita, Balkan style pita.

10. Establishing or confirming identity, including existence statements:

_Ø lášo manuš sal._ (4.2.1-23)

_good man you.are_

You are a good man.

_Atunči č' avasas Ø Rom._ (4.2.1-24)

_Then not we.would.be Roms_

Then we were no Roms.

_Xutilen pe Ø kirvenge._ (4.2.1-25)

_They.declare refl. godparents_

They declare themselves godparents.

_Inke si Ø šax?_ (4.2.1-26)

_still is.there šax_

Is there some shakh⁵ left?

11. Entities for which the introduction into discourse is not intended, not possible or not important (yet). Here no article occurs. This reminds perfective aspect with temporal validity of what is said. In such contexts, the accusative is used after prepositions, see Accusative 4.2.5.2, 4, especially examples 4.2.5-56 to 4.2.5-63, because prepositions require an article in the nominative, and expressions like *pe drom “on the way”, *ande kher “in the house”, *ande čeža “in the cup” are prohibited. _MASC NPS like pa drom “from the way”, anda kher “from the house” are accepted, because the article (o) is elided phonologically, and _FEM *anda romńi “because of the woman” is indeed impossible, in opposition to andaj romńi “because of the woman” with an incorporated article, see 4.6 Prepositions._This finding is in agreement with what Matras’ (1994: 47) analysis of Kalderaš and Lovari dialects;

_A Boja Ø nejvi kabela-j._ (4.2.1-27)

---

⁵ a Rom meal based on cabbage, rice and chicken broth
Boja has a new handbag.

Other people were not around.

Kirila requested the turn.

Hundred roms, hundred customs.

Make coffee for the lady!

A glass appeared in front of everybody.

The man came to designate his godfather.

Everybody got a place.

Many people forget their ancestors.

Let God give them a long life and health!

Let God give them a long life and health!
On a feast or funeral sang the Roms.

Anda akársos maličkos šon ānde, te šaj len louve. (4.2.1-38)

They ban people because of trivialities, in order to take money from them.

They ban people because of trivialities, in order to take money from them.

12. Nouns in onomasiological use, i.e. in permanent phrases like sikavel pátv “pay respect”, del unžule “lend”, sometimes interfering with anaphoric use, see example 4.2.1-12:

Inke či das φ feleleto. (4.2.1-39)

He didn't give an answer yet.

Taj po ágor denas khetáne φ vast. (4.2.1-40)

And eventually they shook hands.

Azír manglas φ bočájnato / engedelmo. (4.2.1-41)

Therefore he demanded admission / pardon.

Naj me či žanav pala sos len φ sáma. (4.2.1-42)

I don't know what they noticed.

Pejle φ dúj trín vorbi. (4.2.1-43)

Some sentences were uttered.

13. Specifying the time of the day or a date:

Mukesa te avel φ biš-engo. (4.2.1-44)

You wait until the 20th / for 8 pm.

Clearly indefinite concepts occur in the following case:

14. If an entity is newly introduced with the intention to refer to it further on, it is marked with the numeral ek or jejkh, see also 4.5.5.2 Cardinal Numerals.

Trobusjas t’avel maškar le ek phúro rom, savo határel andej vorbi.(4.2.1-45)
Among them there should be one old man who knows to speak well.

Simas pe k páтив, ká nás lášo o texan.  
(4.2.1-46)

I was on celebration where was not good food.

I attended a feast, where the food was not good.

Phenel pe ek čačimo: "A čirikja pinžáres palaj pour says truth bird you recognize by tail.

People tell a proverb: “You recognize a bird by its tail,

taj e manušes palaj vorba.” Vi ando románọ trajo kado čačimo poți.j.

and human by speech also in Roms’ life this truth holds and a man by his speech.” Also in the life of the Roms this proverb holds.

O rom kerdas jăkhenca pe k rom taj kodo manglas engedelmo.  
(4.2.1-48)

The man gave sign to one man, and this demanded pardon.

4.2.2 Number

The choice of number arises from the numerousness of the entity in question. A single object is presented in singular number (muri pheň “my sister”, i phábaj “the apple”, o cigno čáro “the little bowl”), while a plural object is presented in the plural number (mure pheňa “my sisters”, e phábaja “the apples”, e cigne čáre “the little bowls”). The number property of the entity (čejza “cup”) penetrates to all elements which form the NP (phagerdi “broken” in the following example), to the verb if the NP alone constitutes the subject (sas), and to further references in the following discourse (la):

I čejz-a phagerd-i sas, šutem 1-a ávri.  
(4.2.2-1)

The cup was broken, I threw it away.

There are several reliable indicators for singularity or plurality, the most prominent of which are numerals regardless of the context:

4.2.2.1 Nominal Singular

- Nominal phrases containing the numeral jejkh “one” or ek “one” (see also 4.5.5.1 Basic Numerals): jejkh táska “one bag”, k berš “one year”, k čásı “one hour”;
• Not countable entities with quantifiers but páji “much water.sg”, pherdo bejra “plenty of beer.sg”, cera čil “a few butter.sg”, dsta časo “enough time.sg” (but: dsta čásura “enough hours.pl”), sa o hiril “all the peas.sg”, čisoko árno “no egg.sg”;  
• Collectives: váso “dishes.sg”, zejčígo “vegetables.sg”, dimejčo “fruits.sg”;
• Something not or hardly countable like liquids (páji “water.sg”, teja “tea.sg”, zumi “soup.sg”), powdery (áro “flour.sg”, cukro “sugar.sg”), grainy (horejzo “rice.sg”, hiril “peas.sg”), cloth (poxtan “cloth.sg”), solids which can be cut (čil “butter.sg”, márno “bread.sg”, šaláta “salad.sg”, texan “food.sg”, xumer both “paste.sg” and “pasta.sg”), irrelevant numbers (krumpja “potatoes.sg”, purum “onions.sg”), unless reducible to countable portions (pánž káveji “five (cups of) coffee.pl”, štár čila “four (wrappers of) butter.pl”, daj márne “two (slices or loafs of) bread.pl”). Sometimes singular and plural co-occur:

Feder te kerdoun krumpl-i šúk-e nebo hranolk-i. \[4.2.2-2\]
rather if had.made potato-pl. dry or French.fries-pl.

They should have rather made pure potatoes or French fries.

Eta krumpj-asa kamna voun. mamo. \[4.2.2-3\]
DISCP potato-SG will.want they mummy

Look mummy, they probably want it with boiled potatoes or French fries.

• A single portion of something not countable: ek páji “(a bottle of) water.sg”, ek zumi “(a plate or pot of) soup.sg”;
• A single measure unit of something not countable: ek meteri poxtan “one meter.sg of cloth.sg”;
• Fractions: dopaš banáni “a half.sg banana.sg”, jejkh taj dopaš cukro “one and a half.sg (bag of) sugar.sg”, dopaš kilo (paradičomi) “half.sg a kilo.sg (of tomatoes.pl)”;
• Zero numbered entities, with single exceptions:

Či kerav čisosi bokoli, stejñe náštik xav la. \[4.2.2-4\]
not I.make not.any.sg flatbread.sg nevertheless MODP I.eat it.sg

I don't cook no flatbread, nevertheless I cannot eat it.

Či phiraven čisoske fejlikura. \[4.2.2-5\]
not wear not.any.pl pettinesses.pl.

They don't wear any pettinesses.

Čisoko híro prá la náštik avel. \[4.2.2-6\]
not.any.sg gossip.sg about her MODP COP.sg

There cannot be any gossip about her.
Nás la inke čisosko rom angla kodo. \( (4.2.2-7) \)

\text{NEG.COP.IPfv.SG} she yet \text{not.any.SG} man.SG before that

She did not have any man before that one.

- **Statement of hour**: \text{dešengo} “at ten.SG”, \text{jejkhako} “at one o’clock.SG”;
- **Abstracts** including elements of discourse like reasons, statements, thoughts, information, utterances (\text{lažavo} “disgrace”, \text{mištimo} “wellness”, \text{čorimo} “poorness” etc.), possibly referred to by \text{kado} or \text{kodo}.

\text{Kodo má či phenen.} \( (4.2.2-8) \)

\text{that.SG} more \text{not they.say}

They do not say this any more.

\text{Žanav pa kodo.} \( (4.2.2-9) \)

\text{I.know about that.SG}

I know about that.

\text{No mišto, vi vou žanel kado.} \( (4.2.2-10) \)

\text{DISCP DISCP also he knows this.SG}

All right then, he also knows this.

- **Representatives of a group**:

\text{O Rom či žanel kodo.} \( (4.2.2-11) \)

\text{the Rom.SG not knows that.}

The Roms do not know that.

\text{Nás slobodo ká o ņamco te trádkerel.} \( (4.2.2-12) \)

\text{was.not MODP at the German.SG to wander}

Under the Germans it was not allowed to wander.

- **Singular words with impossible or non-trivial plural semantics** (thanks to Cech, Heinschink (1998: 24) for inspiration): \text{thuv} “smoke”, \text{jiv} “snow”, \text{lon} “salt”, \text{Dejl} “God”, \text{bokh} “hunger”, \text{truš} “thirst”, \text{šil} “freeze”.

### 4.2.2.2 Nominal Plural

- **All higher numerals** \text{dúj báre žejne} “two great.pl people.pl”, \text{šel ezerà koroni} “hundred thousand.pl crowns.pl”, \text{ejfta motori} “seven cars.pl”, be the numerals in Romani or in \text{cz/sk} (\text{tristo žejne} “three hundred people.pl”);
• Other non-single countable entities via quantifiers but žejne “many people.pl”, pherdo bajura “plenty of trouble.pl”, cera kirpi “few clothes.pl”, dosta bejri “enough beer.pl”, sa e rom “all the Roms.pl”, čisoske kapi “no cover.pl”;
• Multiple portions of something not or hardly countable (pánž káveji “five coffees.pl”, štár čila “four butters.pl”);
• A measured quantity bigger than one of something not or hardly countable (štár kili ambrola “four kilos.pl of pears.pl”, dúj litera thuda “two litres.pl of milk.pl”6), e.g. also;
  Varesave čaládura Rom nás barvále. (4.2.2-13)
  some families Roms not.were rich
  Some families of Roms were not rich.
• Plural words with singular or collective meaning: louve “money.pl”, šax “Shakh, Rom style cabbage.pl”, práduški “bronchitis.pl”, and vušt “mouth.pl” besides pl. of vušt “lip”, as well as budógi “trousers.pl” besides budóga “trousers.sg”. Singular forms (*louvo, *šax) are not contested.
• Certain collocations: andej thema “abroad.pl”;

Among measured quantities the assignment rule singular → single instance, plural → multiple instance holds for the unit expression. The adjoined NP with the measured entity appears in the plural or singular if it is countable or not, irrespective of the number of units:

\[
\text{jejkh kil-o phábaj-a vs. jejkh liter-i thud-ø} \quad (4.2.2-14)
\]
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{one kilo-SG apple-PL} & \quad \text{one litre-SG milk-SG} \\
\text{one kilo apples} & \quad \text{one litre milk}
\end{align*}
\]

If the singular and plural forms are not distinguished morphologically for all members of the NP, the number might manifest only by agreement in the predicate, see 4.4.2 Verbal Number. Plural forms can serve to make up new semantic items, see 4.5.3 Derivative Onomasiology.

### 4.2.3 Gender

Every lexeme within North West Lovari Romani lexicon exhibits a property called gender, which can take one of two values – masculine and feminine. While for some referents the assignment emerges from the sex of the entity (male or female, respectively), also sexless entities also need to have this inherent gender property, such as feminine jakh „eye“ or masculine kan „ear“. Sometimes the gender setting takes a value which does not correspond to the sex of the entity, i.e. feminine muca for male and female cats or masculine žukel for male and female dogs.

---

6 Lakatošová, Šebková 2004: 12
For the NP head gender is inherently given by the lexeme assigned with the chosen entity – *soba* (f) “room”, *kher* (m) “house”, *routa* (f) “wheel”. Plural is gender indifferent throughout all paradigms:

\[
\text{jejkh-Ø} \quad \text{bär-i} \quad \text{sob-a}
\]

one-f.sg big-f.sg room-f.sg

one big room

\[
\text{o} \quad \text{maj} \quad \text{šukár-Ø} \quad \text{kher-Ø}
\]

art.m.sg cpr nice-m.sg house-m.sg

the most beautiful house

\[
\text{sa} \quad \text{e} \quad \text{kål-e} \quad \text{rout-i}
\]

all art.pl black-pl wheel-pl

all the black wheels

As can be seen, adnominal elements adapt to this choice and take over the given gender setting for their own declension behaviour and the number endings according to that of the head noun. If an adjective or pronoun enters into the head position, the gender is taken from the NP it refers to within discourse or from the noun which would fit best to the entity the nominal refers to:

\[
\text{Aj} \quad \text{dikhes} \quad \text{ži} \quad \text{pi} \quad \text{phuv-i} \quad \text{i} \quad \text{cox-a}. \quad \text{Pláñeňiv-o-j} \quad \text{vaj} \quad \text{sosk-i-j}? \quad (4.2.3.1)
\]

But you see, that the skirt longs just down to the floor. It is linen or what from is it?

\[
\text{Parančolin} \quad \text{take,} \quad \text{sav-i} \quad \text{kames!} \quad (4.2.3.2)
\]

Order, which one you like! (in front of a seller of *brum-a* “ice-cream.f”)

For native speakers there is actually no need to define an exact noun, they just use one gender or the other intuitively. A simple first choice is of course the sex of the person in question, if applicable. Abstracts including discourse elements (utterances, statements, facts, information, maybe a whole story) are by default male, and male is also the default gender, in absence of clues about the referent (see also 4.2.6.5 Identifier kodo, p. 133):

\[
\text{Phář-o-j} \quad \text{man-ge.} \quad (4.2.3.3)
\]

I’m said. (lit.: It.m is heavy to me.)

### 4.2.4 Animacy

Animacy is primarily an agreement feature, driven by a property of the head nominal, comparable to gender, see 3.2.5 Animacy. Its only impact is the choice of nominative versus accusative
declension throughout the NP. In the example there is an animate (grast “horse”) and a non-animate (vurdon “caravan”) object of kidenas “collect” within one sentence:

Taj kidenas lendar sa, vi leng-e grast-en, vi l-e vurdon-a.  
(4.2.4-1)

and they took from them everything, also their-obl-pl. horse-acc-pl, also art-pl. caravan-nom-pl.

And they took everything away from them, their horses as well as their caravans.

They choice of the animacy status goes also beyond the NP, in further co-referent NPs. Other than direct-object functions of nominative and accusative like possessor or prepositive, see in section 4.2.5.2 Accusative, p.94, are not touched by animacy. It is prevalently a lexical feature, joint with the degree of liveliness of the entity as such. Whenever a lexeme is taken as animate, this status transgresses into other spheres of use of the lexeme. So puppets of animals or humans behave syntactically as if they were alive, too, and also corpses or meat take animate declension (with frequent exceptions like here for khajňi “hen”, papiň “goose”, mášo “fish”):

Na már t-e žukl-es! Phagesa l-es.  
(4.2.4-2)

not beat your-acc dog-acc you will break it-acc your-nom dog-nom.

Don’t beat your dog puppet! It will get broken.

Či kamav te xav a khajň-a, feri e puj-os.  
(4.2.4-3)

not I want to eat art-oblg. hen-acc.sg only art-oblg. chicken-acc.sg.

I do not want to eat hen, just chicken.

(besides nom Či xanas khajň-a / papiň-a.)

not they eat hen-nom.pl goose-nom.pl.

They did not eat hens / geese.

Taj pizden les tela páto, l-e bál-es. (the corpse, instead of nom *o bál-o)  
(4.2.4-4)

and push it under the bed art-oblg. pig-acc art-nom pig-nom.

And they pushed it under the bed.

Andi kirčima samas, manglem mange o máš-o. (besides acc e máš-es)  
(4.2.4-5)

in the restaurant we were ordered me dat art-nom fish-nom art-acc fish-acc.

We were in a restaurant. I ordered a fish for me.

Contrariwise, if a generally not living entity (like a tree or a car) obtains a semantic animate status in a narrative, the syntactical status of the lexeme may remain inanimate or switch to animate. The collective noun nípo “(wider) family” occurs frequently, as containing animate elements, in animate forms: Kharel pesk-e níp-os. “He calls his-oblg. family-acc” The same holds for certain verbal arguments, which are commonly used only with animate objects like the recipient of žutij “help”:

Khonik či kamelas i cign-i motor-a / a cign-a motor-a.  
(4.2.4-6)

nobody not wanted art-nom little-nom car-nom art-oblg. little-oblg. car-acc.
Nobody wanted the little car.

\[ \text{Kadej žutis a čelčij-a te bárol.} \]
so you.help tree-ACC to grow

So you help the tree to grow.

So in unusual situations, animacy exhibits both its lexical basics as well as semantic motivation.

### 4.2.5 Case

As explained in 3.2.4 Case, case serves mainly for syntactical purposes, some express an additional local, temporal and other information or information on manner. It is important for the following discussion to have in mind the basic structure of the North West Lovari Romani clause, further outlined in 5.7 Clause. A verb has most generally a primary argument, the subject, another one marked with a layer I case (nominative, accusative), arguments with a layer II case (other cases) and prepositional phrases.

#### 4.2.5.1 Nominative

The nominative is better to be defined syntactically, as the semantic roles are multi-fold: agent, patient, causer, experiencer, theme, etc. The nominative case is used for

1. The subject (agreement) argument NP of the verb:

\[ I \text{ Monik-a dāsoliš.} \]
\text{ART.NOM Monika.NOM mourns}

Monika mourns.

\[ O \text{ brišind delas.} \]
\text{ART.NOM rain.NOM gave}

It rained.

2. The subject (agreement) argument of a copula clause:

\[ I \text{ māl zelen-o-j.} \]
\text{ART.FEM meadow.NOM green-NOM-is}

The meadow is green.

3. Nominal predicate of copula clauses:

\[ O \text{ drab-i štiri sto koron-i.} \]
\text{ART.NOM pills-are four hundred crowns-NOM.PL}

The pills cost four hundred crowns.

\[ Čišl-i sim. \]
\text{PL}
slender-NOM I am slender.

Mur-i dej-i kak-i. (4.2.5-6)
my-NOM mother-NOM is this-NOM
My mother is this.

Mišto sim. (see 4.5.4.3 Derived Adjectives, suffix -ø-) (4.2.5-7)
well I am
I'm fine.

4. The possessed or needed entity in a possessive or necessity construction, see 5.9.7.4 Possessive Copula Construction:

Naj tu louv-e. (4.2.5-8)
not is you ACC money-NOM
You have no money.

Troobun ma louv-e. (4.2.5-9)
need L ACC money-NOM
I need money.

5. The direct object argument, if it is non-animate (see 4.2.4 Animacy):

Xutildas i krabic-a. (4.2.5-10)
grabbed ART NOM box-NOM
He grabbed the box.

Náštik phutres o vudar akánik. (4.2.5-11)
MODP open you ART NOM door now
You cannot open the door now.

Das o lánc-o e Jošk-as? (4.2.5-12)
gave ART NOM necklace-NOM ART OBL Joška ACC
Did he give the necklace to Joška?

6. After prepositions excluding bi (GEN) “without”, dúr (ABL) “far from”, kusa (INSTR) “together with”, sembe “vis-a-vis” and profi (DAT) “against” except for pronouns and except for certain circumstances (time, interrogatives, generalization, etc. see 4.2.5.2-4 Accusative, and 4.2.5.6-2 Locative with prepositions):

Av paša t-i dej! (4.2.5-13)
Use of Nominal Grammatical Categories

be aside your-NOM mother.NOM
Stay together with your mother!

7. In appellations, except for a series of fossilized vocatives (see 4.1.1.1 Vocative or examples in 4.1.2.1 Consonant Oikoclitic Noun Classes and in 4.1.2.2 Oikoclitic Noun Classes);

Berc-i! (4.2.5-14)
Berci-NOM
Berci!

8. The attractor of focus in imperative like sentences, irrespective of the argument structure:

Dikh o gáž-o! (4.2.5-15)
look ART.NOM Czech-NOM
Look at that man!

Eta o Čur-i! (4.2.5-16)
DISCP ART.NOM Čuri-NOM
Čuri is here!

Dikh kad-o žukel! (4.2.5-17)
look that-NOM dog.NOM
Look that dog!

9. The patient in passive constructions (resulting in the subject):

I tern-i romňour-i garad-i sas palaj romň-a. (4.2.5-18)
young-NOM little.Rom-NOM hidden-NOM was behind.the Rom.ladies.NOM
The young little Rom woman was hidden behind the Rom ladies.

10. The location of pain with dukhal:

Mur-e purn-e dukhan. (4.2.5-19)
my-NOM feet-NOM ache
I have pain in my feet.

11. The identification or comparison argument of copula-like constructions with verbs like mezij “look like”, stating quasi-identification, and processes leading to such identity relations with verbs like kerel pe “turn, pretend”/kerdöl “become”, šol “turn”. The copula scheme A COP B (see I Šejinka si doktorka. “Šejinka.NOM is a doctor.NOM.”) is copied by the structure A PRDC B (I Šejinka mezij doktorka. “Šejinka.NOM looks like a doctor.NOM.”) or transferred to C PRDC A B (O papiroši kerel a Manca doktorka. “The paper makes a doctor.NOM out of Manca.ACC.”) respectively. In the first case, the copula subject remains in the NOM, while in the second it is expressed in the ACC. For changes more commonly the 4.2.5.3-6 Dative is employed. The
argument representing the identification (like *doktorka*) remains in the **NOM**, independently from its animate status.

*Lesk-o phral mezij gáž-o.*

her-NOM brother,NOM looks.LIKE Czech-NOM

Her brother looks like a Czech.

*Khandel špit-a.*

stinks hospital-NOM

It stinks like in a hospital.

*Dikhla la pi fotka, so mezij?*

saw.you her on.the photo, what.NOM/ACC looks.like

Did you see her on the photo, how she looks like?

*Ker tu dill-i!*

make you.ACC stupid.NOM

Pretend to be stupid!

*Site kerdem ma diplomát-o.*

MODP I.made myself.ACC diplomat.NOM

I had to act as a diplomat.

*Šutem l-a nang-i.*

I.put her-ACC naked.NOM

I undressed her.

*Kerelas p-e goďaver.*

made herself-ACC clever.NOM

She pretended to be clever.

*Múlas tern-i.*

died young-NOM

She died young.

*Dikh so kerdilem!*

look what.NOM/ACC I.became

Look what I turned into!

*So desa ma památk-a?*
Use of Nominal Grammatical Categories

What souvenir will you give me?

12. In quotations, e.g. with bušol “be called”, phenel “call” or šol “give a name”:

_Lesk-o dād bušol Andr-o._ (4.2.5-30)

his-NOM father.NOM is called Andro.NOM

His father is called Andro.

_Taj i Pink-a phenel l-eske nan-o._ (4.2.5-31)

and ART.NOM Pinka.NOM says him-DAT uncle-NOM

And he is Pinka's uncle.

_Azír šutem l-es Grouf-o._ (4.2.5-32)

Therefore I named him-ACC Groufo.NOM

Therefore I named him Groufo.

13. The locational or directional adverbial as a short-cut for prepositional phrases, resembling transitive constructions, similar like with temporal adverbials:

_Four-o žav._ (4.2.5-33)

city-NOM I go

I'm going to the city.

_De Morv-a sas Rumungri._ (4.2.5-34)

DISCP Moravia.NOM were Rumungros

But in Moravia there were Rumungros.

_Ostrav-a gejli._ (4.2.5-35)

Ostrava.NOM went

They went to Ostrava.

_Phendas Ťešíň-a kinel l-es, ká maj eftín-a-j._ (4.2.5-36)

said Těšín.NOM buys it.ACC because CPR cheap-NOM.PL-are

He said he will buy it in Těšín, because it is cheaper there.

14. The measured entity after a unit of measurement: dúj roja lon “two spoons.NOM of salt.NOM”, dúj čejzi thud “two cups.NOM of milk.NOM” etc., see 4.2.2 Number;

15. An absolute point in time, see 5.4.2 Temporal Relations (for expressions with numerals like hour and day in non-present tenses see 4.2.5.7-2 Genitive):

_Keš-j? Deš-i / Deš čás-ura-j._ (4.2.5-37)
Use of Nominal Grammatical Categories

how many-is ten-is ten hours-NOM,PL.-are

What's the time? Its ten / ten o'clock.

So-j adejs? Paraštuj-i. (4.2.5-38)
what-is today Friday_NOM-is

What day is it? It's Friday.

Kad-o berš avilam kate tumende. (4.2.5-39)
this-NOM year_NOM we.came here at.you

This year we came here to your place.

Sosk-o šon-i? O september-i. (4.2.5-40)
what-NOM month-NOM-is ART_NOM September-NOM

What month is it now? It's September.

16. In adverbial position a section of time or other quantification, see section 5.4.2 Temporal Relations:

K šon simas lende. (4.2.5-41)
one_NOM month_NOM I.was at.their.place

I was one month at their place.

Trín berš či dikhlem tu. (4.2.5-42)
three years_NOM not saw you

For three years I did not see you.

Maladas les ek palm-a. (4.2.5-43)
smashed him INDEF_ART_NOM palm-NOM

He slapped him.

4.2.5.2 Accusative

The accusative case represents the key object case and it occurs as a default object case, if no other is stated by one of the other cases or by a lexicon. For example čourel “steal” has two options for a semantic realization of the direct object. As a more standard direct NOM/ACC object it expects the stolen good, with the optional victim of theft in the ABL, e.g.

Čourdas (l-estar) e grast-en. (4.2.5-44)
stole he-ABL ART_OBL horses-ACC.PL

He stole him the horses.
If the stolen good is not important and is omitted, then the victim enters the place of the direct object:

\[
Te \ na \ čour-en \ tu! \text{ (not: *tu-tar)} \quad (4.2.5-45)
\]

\[
\text{MODP not steel-2pl. you.ACC you.ABL}
\]

Take care that nobody steals something from you!

In detail the accusative can appear:

1. As a direct object, if it is animate (as semantic, not lexical feature), with plenty of semantic roles like experiencer, undergoer, patient etc. Contrary to recent contact languages also for recipients or patients of del “give”, žutij “help”, hatărel “understand” and dukhal “ache”, except for certain circumstances, see 4.2.5.3-4 Dative and 4.2.5.6-3 Locative.

\[
\text{Mejárdas e Kevin-os.} \quad (4.2.5-46)
\]

\[
\text{made.dirty ART.OBL Kevin.ACC}
\]

He made Kevin dirty.

\[
\text{Dav l-e a Bejb-a.} \quad (4.2.5-47)
\]

\[
\text{I.give them-ACC ART.OBL Bejba.ACC}
\]

I give them to Bejba.

\[
\text{Žav žutinav e dad-es.} \quad (4.2.5-48)
\]

\[
\text{I.go I.help ART.OBL father.ACC}
\]

I go and help my father.

\[
\text{Taj vi tu asas ma ávri. (ABL without ávri)} \quad (4.2.5-49)
\]

\[
\text{and also you laugh me.ACC out}
\]

And you, too, laugh at me.

\[
\text{Kharen pesa peng-e maj páše nip-os.} \quad (4.2.5-50)
\]

\[
\text{call with.themselves their-OBL CPR close family.ACC}
\]

They take their closest family with themselves to the invitation.

2. As (potential) possessor of a possessive or necessity construction, animate or not, see 5.9.7.4 Possessive Copula Construction:

\[
\text{E Román-os si bár-i dîz.} \quad (4.2.5-51)
\]

\[
\text{ART.OBL Román-ACC COP big-NOM villa}
\]

Román has a big villa.

\[
\text{A cigň-a trobun nejv-e papuč-i.} \quad (4.2.5-52)
\]

\[
\text{ART.OBL small-ACC need new-PL shoe-NOM.PL}
\]
The girl needs new shoes.

\[ \text{Kecav-o than sas feri jejkh-e four-os anda štár-en.} \]  
\(4.2.5-53\)

such-NOM place.NOM was only one-OBL town-ACC out.of four-ACC

Such a place was only in one town out of four.

\[ \text{A vorb-a vi ágor-i vi hátul-a.} \]  
\(4.2.5-54\)

ART.OBL statement-ACC also end.NOM-COP also begin-NOM

The saying is profound.

3. In a form of the pronominal clitic (4.1.4 Personal and Reflexive Pronouns) after prepositions in the case of personal pronouns, except for proťi “against” and sembe “vis-a-vis” (DAT), bi “without” (GEN), dúr “far from” (ABL), kusa “together with” (INSTR):

\[ \text{Akánik gejlas khatar tume.} \]  
\(4.2.5-55\)

now went past you.ACC

Now he has passed you.

4. After prepositions to mark unspecified definiteness (see 4.2.1 Article). Contrarily, Matras (2002: 86) attributes it to definite or otherwise topicalized roles. The common terms “independent oblique” (ditto) and “elided locative” (Haleachs, Cech, Heinschink (1998: 18) for this (mostly inanimate) use of the accusative are comprehensible only from a extra-dialect view, where this functional slot is occupied by NOM and LOC, respectively. Within North West Lovari Romani, there is no systematical morphological difference to other ACC forms:

\[ \text{Muklas ame pa trín-e berš-en.} \]  
\(4.2.5-56\)

left us.ACC after three-OBL years-ACC

We split after three years.

\[ \text{Phírenas pe gav-es.} \]  
\(4.2.5-57\)

wandered across village-ACC

They wandered across the villages.

\[ \text{Feri le Rom bešen ande bár-e taj v' ande cign-e kher-en.} \]  
\(4.2.5-58\)

only ART.NOM rom.NOM live in big-OBL and also in small-OBL house-ACC.PL

Only the Roms live in big and in small houses at once.

\[ \text{Khote nášťik phírel feri ande jejkh-en gád-en.} \]  
\(4.2.5-59\)

there MODP walk only in one-ACC dress-ACC

There you cannot show up only in one set of dresses.

\[ \text{Taj nás ká te žal, či ká doktor-es, či khanči.} \]  
\(4.2.5-60\)
Use of Nominal Grammatical Categories

and there was not where to go neither to doctor-ACC nor nothing
And there was nobody to go to, neither a doctor, nor anybody else.

*Anda a kárs-os maličk-os šon ánde, te šaj len louve.*  
(4.2.5-61)

because of any.OBL triviality.ACC they ban VERB in order to MODP take money
They ban people because of trivialities, in order to take money from them.

*Pa texan-es vorbinas.*  
(4.2.5-62)

about food-ACC they talked
They were talking about food.

*Taj žasa ande ávr-e four-os.*  
(4.2.5-63)

and we will go into another-OBL town-ACC
And we will go into another town.

5. For specific meanings like the entity searched for with *phušel* “ask”, the person to be dressed with *kerel* “dress” or the person of permanent confidence with *pášl* “trust” (in contrast to temporary confidence (believe) with dative (see 4.2.5.3-3 Dative);

*Phušav tutar a cigň-a.*  
(4.2.5-64)

I am asking you about the little girl.

*Ašta, site kerav ma.*  
(4.2.5-65)

DISCP make myself
Wait, I have to prepare myself.

*Patáv taj mindík ašárov le svunton-e Dejvl-es.*  
(4.2.5-66)

I trust and always I praise ART.OBL holy-OBL god-ACC
I trust and I always praise the Lord.

**4.2.5.3 Dative**

Besides its syntactic role as the primary indirect (second default) case, the dative also has several semantic roles, partially in addition, in supplement or in competition to the accusative:

1. The primary indirect object, i.e. the next free case for presenting an object, most frequently the (potential) recipient in a couple of verbs, supplementing the accusative:

*Taj kod-i phendas l-eske sa.*  
(4.2.5-67)

and that-NOM said he-DAT everything
And she told him everything.
Sikadas man-ge e kirp-i.  
showed  me.DAT art.nom clothes-nom  
He showed me the clothes.

Izenin le čalád-oske, hot’ kodo dějs t’ aven khejre.  
deliver  art.obl family-dat that that day modp are  at.home  
Let the family know, that they should be home that day.

Čak bišaven l-es man-ge.  
discp they.send it  me.dat  
They do send it to me.

Aviloun man-ge duvar.  
had.been me.dat twice  
It would have longed twice for me.

Volalindem l-eske te avel detehára.  
I.phoned him.dat in.order.to come tomorrow  
I called him to come tomorrow.

O gáž-o kamelas l-eske šest sto koron.  
art-nom czech-nom owed him.dat six hundred crowns.nom  
The man owed him 600 crowns.

Lak-o dad taj lak-i dej šon l-ake ánav Mercedes.  
her-nom father.nom and her-nom mother.nom put her.dat name.nom mercedes.nom  
Her parents named her Mercedes.

2. The beneficiary in a couple of verbs, optionally co-occurring with the accusative. If the beneficiary is identical with the subject, the dative means an activity without strong purpose (examples 4.2.5-80 - 4.2.5-82):

Šinou man-ge ek márn-o.  
I.will.cut me.dat indef.art.nom bread  
I will cut a slice of bread (for myself).

Taj rakhlas p-eske pirámň-a.  
and found refl.dat lover  
And he came up with a lover.
Use of Nominal Grammatical Categories

3. To express participation, kinship, relationship, patience (except for dukhal with ACC), empathetic dative, sometimes in a wider sense, optionally co-occurring with the accusative:

```plaintext
Te na nasvajves man-ge! (4.2.5-86)
```
Use of Nominal Grammatical Categories

Please don't get ill!

*Naj* e *budög-i* či *žana l-ake*.  
But the trousers will not fit her.

*Aj* vi *man-ge* bár-e-j!

They are really large for me, too!

*Múlas* len-ge o šáv-o.

Their son died.

*Kadi* budoga či tecij tu-ke?

You don't like these trousers?

Či tecij *man-ge*, kana vorbis kadej.

I do not like it, when you talk this way.

*Vou* pațalas l-eske. (see also pațal with 4.2.5.2-5 Accusative)

He really believed him.

*Varesav-e* Rom-enge perenas vi le ásv-a andaj jákh-a.

Some Roms had even tears in their eyes.

*O* dand line *man-ge* ávri.

They pulled out my tooth.

4. The recipient of *del*:

1. Replacing the accusative (see 4.2.5.2-1 Accusative) to avoid double accusative objects:

Či *del* le l-eske. (instead of: *Či del le l-es.*)
I didn't give them to him

2. Replacing the accusative to put emphasis or definiteness:

\[
\text{Aj e louv-e te dена man-ge.} \quad (4.2.5-96)
\]

DISCP ARNOM money MODP will give me-DAT

They must give me the money.

\[
\text{Taj kuk-i, so andem tu-ke, a Boj-ake dal l-a.} \quad (4.2.5-97)
\]

and that-NOM which I.brought you-DAT ART.OBL Boja-DAT you.gave it-ACC

And the thing I have brought you, you gave to Boja.

5. The semantic subject (i.e. key entity) in impersonal copula constructions of the form copula + nominal (like mišto “well”, pháro “difficult”, vígo “end”, šil “cold”, jejkh “one” etc.), excluding the use of the accusative:

\[
\text{Mišto-j l-enge khote.} \quad (4.2.5-98)
\]

well-is them-DAT there

They feel fine ther.

\[
\text{Phár-o sas l-ake, mamo.} \quad (4.2.5-99)
\]

sad-NOM was her-DAT mummy

She felt sad, mummy.

\[
\text{Má víg-o-j l-ake, hoť ká simas núte.} \quad (4.2.5-100)
\]

already end-NOM-is her-DAT that where I was so.long

She is already exhausted, as I have not been there so long.

\[
\text{Man-ge šil sas.} \quad (4.2.5-101)
\]

me-DAT cold was

I was cold.

\[
\text{Man-ge jejkh-i.} \quad (4.2.5-102)
\]

me-DAT equal-is

It is the same for me.

\[
\text{Aj t’ aviloun man-ge dosta, či bikindemas l-a.} \quad (4.2.5-103)
\]

DISCP if it.were me-DAT enough not had.bought it-ACC

But if I had enough of it, I would not have bought it.

6. a temporary identification or association, co-occurring with the accusative (attention about the unusual role with phenel “address as” instead of “tell to”):
Therefore the Roms designate godfathers.

He designates him godfather.

Her mother-in-law can teach her this, when she will be with her as daughter-in-law.

They give them to the community as a daughter-in-law.

They call her Madonna.

I knew her already, when I was a little girl.

These Roms are called “Váma Roms”.

She was against the Roms.

They lived vis-a-vis the Roms, on the other side.

8. Occasionally also with žutij “help” (probably contact-induced), in competition with the accusative:
Use of Nominal Grammatical Categories

Či žutinas l-eske e doktor-a khanči. (4.2.5-113)
not helped him-DAT ART,NOM doctors-NOM nothing

The doctors did not help him at all.

9. Exceptionally the patient within a copula construction:

L-eske sas vejron-i, sa sas l-eske. (4.2.5-114)
him-DAT were haemorrhages-NOM everything was him-DAT

He had haemorrhages, he was very injured.

10. When giving a toast or salutation:

Drág-o phral taj rom-ale, tumár-a šuká-r-a páťiv-ake! (4.2.5-115)
dear-NOM brother-NOM and gentlemen-NOM your-OBL beautiful-OBL honour-DAT

My dear brother, my dear gentlemen, be sincerely welcome!

11. Idiosyncrasies:

Na dikh louv-enge! (4.2.5-116)
not look money-DAT

Don't care about money!

Lošan kod-oleske, ká ánde gejlas l-es. (4.2.5-117)
are.glad that-DAT because VERBP agreed him-with

They are glad about the fact, that he entered into the agreement with him.

4.2.5.4 Instrumental

The instrumental case serves for two main roles: the sociative and the semantic instrumental – both in one illustrative sentence: Trádela amenca a motorasa. “She will drive with (INSTR) us in a car (INSTR).” In detail they are:

1. The instrumental, the tool or mediator:

Šeftolin khote le kobercen-ca. (4.2.5-118)
they.deal there ART,OBL carpets-INSTR

There they deal with carpets.

Kadi bári šúri, vúbec náščik dikhav kana šingren la-sa. (4.2.5-119)
this big knife at.all MODP I.see when they.cut it-INSTR

I really cannot see, when they cut with that knife.

Taj me gindinous, hoť vi a jaga-sa phabár-en le. (4.2.5-120)
and I thought that also ART,OBL fire-INSTR they.burn them
And I have thought, that they burn them also with heath.

Taj feri e kisníko-sa phabáren le.

and only ART.OBL oxygen-INSTR they.burn them

But they burn them only with oxygen.

Thovesa les ek kutín a kefa-sa. (4.2.5-121)
you.will.wash i.LACC a.NOM little.NOM ART.OBL brush-INSTR

You have to wash it a little with the brush.

Le manuš-a ánde pinžáren pe p-eng-a vorba-sa. (4.2.5-122)
ART.NOM men-NOM ASPP know REFL REFL-GEN.PL-OBL speech-INSTR

Mankind / people can be recognized by his / their speech.

O rom kerdas jákhen-ca pe k rom. (4.2.5-123)
ART.NOM man.NOM made eyes-INSTR on one.NOM man.NOM

The man gave sign to one man.

Phangl-i-j la loula pántlika-sa. (4.2.5-124)
tied-NOM-is ART.OBL red.OBL band-INSTR

She is tied around with a red band.

Kodole-sa dine ángle le Rom-en, hoť palpále avile. (4.2.5-125)
that-INSTR they.gave in.advance ART.OBL men-ACC that back they.came

By doing that they alluded to the people, that they would come back.

2. The sociative, i.e. (personal) accompaniment, with verbs like vorbij “talk”, žal “go, walk”, avel “come”, trádel “drive”, ánde pinžárel pe “come to know”, kerel búti “work”:

No či žasa man-ca. (4.2.5-126)
DISCP not will.go me-INSTR

Oh, you will not go with me.

Me má cera khelav ma len-ca. (4.2.5-127)
I already a.little play REFL they-INSTR

I have been playing a little with the children.

Či sovla khanika-sa. (4.2.5-128)
not sleeps nobody-INSTR

He does not sleep with anybody.
Kharen pe-sa peng-e maj pâše nípo-s. (4.2.5-129)
call REFL-INSTR their-OBL CPR close family-ACC

They take their closest family with themselves to the invitation.

Te na vorbij kadej la-sa pa kod-o. (4.2.5-130)
MODP not talk SO she-INSTR about that-NOM

She should not talk in this way with her.

Ávri asaves tu e gáže-sa. (4.2.5-131)
ASPP you.let.laugh REFL.ACC ART.OBL man-INSTR

You make yourself laugh together with that man.

3. Equipment, outfit, accessory, material accompaniment, circumstances like márno čile-sa “bread with butter”, gláži le pijima-sa “bottle with a beverage”:

Kinas a cign-o košáric-i kane-sa. (4.2.5-132)
we.will.buy small-NOM little.basket-NOM handle-INSTR

We will buy a small basket with handle.

A mamk-ak-i mol kerou e figen-ca, pamarančen-ca. (4.2.5-133)
ART.OBL mummy-GEN-NOM wine I.will.make ART.OBL figs-INSTR oranges-INSTR

I will prepare the wine with figs, with oranges, like mummy makes it.

Aj dou la a krumpja-sa. (4.2.5-134)
DISCP I.will.give her.ACC ART.OBL potato-INSTR

Yes, I will give it to her with potatoes.

Bár-e ásvén-ca rovelas. (4.2.5-135)
big-OBL tears-INSTR cried

She cried with big tears.

O pistol-o phiravlas pe-sa. (4.2.5-136)
ART-NOM pistol-NOM weared REFL-INSTR

He weared the pistol with him.

Te resen kad-o svunt-o Krečun-o zoura-sa, baxtâ-sa, (4.2.5-137)
MODP reach this-NOM holy-NOM Christmas-NOM energy-INSTR luck-INSTR

Let you reach this holy Christmas day with energy, luck,

7 Christmas congratulation, to be completed mutually with further and further items.
Use of Nominal Grammatical Categories

*maj láš-e moudo-sa sar akánik, sastima-sa, bouran-ca, žamutren-ca,*

*CPR good-obl condition-instr than now health-instr brides-instr bridegrooms-instr*

in a better condition than now, with health, with brides, with bridegrooms,

*barvalima-sa, louven-ca.*

*wealth-instr money-instr*

with wealth, with money.

*Site žav na operáciu a jákha-sa.*

*MODP go to the surgery it-instr eye-instr*

I have to undergo a surgery with my eye.

*Le Rom kad-o ánde len kodole-sa, hoť kesentin les opre.*

*ART NOM people this-NOM VERBP take that-instr that congratulate him,ACC ASPP*

The people welcome this in such a manner, that they congratulate him.

4. The patient of a middles, see also the ablative (see 4.2.5.5-4 Ablative) with pure passives:

*Kana te maladós len-ca p-o bijav?*

*MODP meet they-instr on-ART NOM wedding,NOM*

When are you supposed to meet them on the wedding?

*vs.*

*Te na malavesa la, jejkh-i.*

*if not you.will.meet her,ACC one-is*

It will not matter, if you do not meet her.

*Te resadósas e Berce-sa, šaj phušes les-tar pa kod-o.*

*if you.will.encounter ART,OBL Berci-INSTR MODP ask him-ABL about that-NOM*

If you will encounter Berci, you may ask him about that.

*vs.*

*Náhodo te resesas les, taj šaj phušes les-tar.*

*by.accident if you.would.meet him and MODP you.ask him-ABL*

If you should meet him by accident, then you could ask him.

5. A value difference, especially with temporal distances, see section 5.4.2 Temporal Relations:

*Duj-e beršen-ca sas man-dar.*

*tow-OBL years-instr was me-ABL*
She was two years apart from me.

\textit{Avilas trîn-e d\'ejsen-ca maj kîšen sar i áver.} \hfill (4.2.5-143)

He came three days later than the other one.

\textit{Avav ekh-e žejne-sa maj but.} \hfill (4.2.5-144)

I'm coming with one additional person.

6. The patient of \textit{bîrij} “bear”, \textit{vesejdij} “struggle”, \textit{kerel} (“bother”), \textit{sourakozij} “entertain”:

\textit{Či bîrinav man-ca.} \hfill (4.2.5-145)

not bear REFL-INSTR

I don't bear any longer.

\textit{Či bîrijas či vaste-sa či purne-sa.} \hfill (4.2.5-146)

not bore neither hand-INSTR nor foot-INSTR

He could not stand with neither his hand nor his foot.

\textit{Pale ketî vesejdina man-ca, o rat mejk lena.} \hfill (4.2.5-147)

again so long struggle me-INSTR ART.NOM blood.NOM until they.will.take

Again they will struggle with my case so long, unless they will take some blood from me.

\textit{Sourakozin le-sa.} \hfill (4.2.5-148)

They.amuse him-INSTR

They amuse themselves with me.

\textit{Na ker man-ca!} \hfill (4.2.5-149)

not make REFL-INSTR

Don't bother me!

7. After the preposition \textit{kusa} “together with”:

\textit{Taj avel jovkhar kusa šanglen-ca.} \hfill (4.2.5-150)

and comes once together. WITH police-INSTR

And once he came in accompaniment with the police.

8. Sayings: \textit{Dejvle-sa} “thank God, fortunately”, \textit{Ášon/Žan Dejvle-sa!} “Goodbye!”\footnote{the person who leaves: \textit{Ášon Dejvlesa!}, the person who stays: \textit{Ža Dejvlesa!}}
4.2.5.5 Ablative

The basic function of the ablative is to mark some sort of origin, be it in real space, in time or in causal relations. Its (supposedly original) local meaning has been almost completely replaced by prepositional constructions: andaj Praha “from Prague”, pa Touco “from Slovakia”, khatar o Kirila “from Kirila”, see the respective sections 4.6.2.3 Elative anda, 4.6.2.4 Statement of Origin, Purpose, Subject Matter by Delative pa and 4.6.2.6 Ablative khatar. With its local meaning and meaning of source it remains in use only for animate entities. Altogether it is used for:

1. Local-social ablative, for animates only:

   This is frequently triggered by the adverb důr “far”, which is on the way to a preposition with the genitive.

   Taj ratř-a kinou e doktores-ke. Mejk si man-de e louv-e, (4.2.5-151)
   and LIQUEUR-NOM I will buy ART.OBL doctor-DAT while COP me-LOC ART.NOM
   And I will buy liqueur for the doctor. As long as I have money ready.

   te na žan-tar man-dar. (4.2.5-152)
   in.order.to not go-from me-ABL
   in order to not get them lost.

   Akánik nášlas-tar o Dušank-o a romňatar. (4.2.5-153)
   now ran-away ART.NOM Dušanko-NOM ART.OBL wife-ABL
   Dušanko ran away now from his wife.

   Pizdel pe la-tar. (4.2.5-154)
   push REFL her-ABL
   She pushes himself away from her.

   Le rom bešenas rigate le romňan-dar. (4.2.5-155)
   ART.NOM men.NOM sat apart ART.OBL women-ABL
   The men sat apart from the women.

   Ingrenas la důr kheres-tar. (4.2.5-156)
   they.carried her.ACC far house-ABL
   They carried her far away from the house.

   Le bolt-i taj o pijarc-o nás důr les-tar. (4.2.5-157)
   ART.NOM shops-NOM and ART.NOM market-NOM were not far him-ABL
   The shops and the market were not far from him.
Use of Nominal Grammatical Categories

Fififi, dúr amen-dar! (4.2.5-158)
DSCP far US-ABL

Ugh, get away from us! (after uttering the expression for the čoro nasvalimo “cancer”)

Či kamen te aven jejkhávres-tar dúr. (4.2.5-159)
not they.want to be oneanother-ABL far

They do not want to be far from one another.

2. The source, (expected) origin or point of departure, only for animates:

Phušlem la-tar jovkhar, hot’ sar sas kad-o. (4.2.5-160)
Lasked her-ABL once that how was that-NOM

Once I have asked her, how was it then.

Taj kas-tar siòla? (4.2.5-161)
and who-ABL will.learn

And from whom will she learn?

Inke mangen man-dar pe-j fotk-i. (4.2.5-162)
still they.demand me-ABL on-ART.NOM photos-NOM

They still demand money from me for the photos.

Sa kidel t-a deja-tar. (4.2.5-163)
everything take.away your-OBL mother-ABL

She takes away everything from your mother.

Naj ma mobil-i. A Jarmila-tar site skirinav. (4.2.5-164)
NEG.COP me.ACC mobile.phone-NOM ART.OBL Jarmila-ABL MODP I.write

I have no mobile phone. I have to write by means of Jarmila's.

Čourdas les-tar o pistol-o. (4.2.5-165)
stole him-ABL ART.NOM pistol-NOM

He stole him the pistol.

Taj čourde mur-e dades-tar grastes. (4.2.5-166)
and they.stole ART.OBL father-ABL horse.ACC

They stole my father a horse.

Len tu-tar tejle e louv-e. (4.2.5-167)
take you-ABL VERBP ART.NOM money-NOM
They reduce your subsidy.

_Nadon šukáres avlas kad-o le svunt-one Dejyles-tar._ (4.2.5-168)

very nicely was this-nom art.obl holy-obl god-abl

It was very nice from the holy God.

3. The cause (also a kind of source or origin), individually also the causal interrogative _sostar_ “why”:

_Fajma kod-ole draben-dar šaj sas mur-e ledvin-i._ (4.2.5-169)

apparently those-obl pills-abl modp have.been my-nom kidneys,nom

The problems with my kidneys might ahve been apparently due to these pills.

_Taj šaj si vi e čangen-dar._ (4.2.5-170)

and modp have.been also art.obl legs-abl.

But it could be also caused by my legs.

_Tejle šindóla le gážen-dar o pijarc-o._ (4.2.5-171)

ASPP will.break art.obl people-abl art.nom market.place-nom

The market place is going to break down from so many people.

_Merous e šáves-tar._ (4.2.5-172)

I.died art.obl son-abl.

I was very excited by my sun.

_Na site daras e Milánes-tar._ (4.2.5-173)

not modp have.fears art.obl Milán-abl.

You do not need to have fears from Milán.

_No naj vi tu asas man-dar._ (ACC with ávri) (4.2.5-174)

DISCP DISCP also you,nom laugh me-abl.

Oh well you also laugh at me.

_A balvaja-tar nášťik šutárous e kirp-i._ (4.2.5-175)

ART.OBL wind-abl modp I.dried:trans art.nom clothes-nom

I could not dry the clothes due to the storm.

_I mesál-i pherd-i sas le but-e roman-dar._ (4.2.5-176)

ART.NOM table-nom full-nom was art.obl many-obl people-abl

The table was full from the presence of many people.
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Everything stinks from sausage.

4. The agent in a passive construction, see also the 4.2.5.4-4 Instrumental in middles:

Kod-ola rom khard-e-j le šáves-k-e dades-tar. (4.2.5-178)
Those-NOM people invited-NOM-are ART.OBL young.man-GEN-OBL father-ABL
Those people are invited by the young man's father.

Vi me simas soulatime kod-ole romes-tar. (4.2.5-179)
also I was defended that-OBL man-ABL
I was defended by that man.

Kad-ale romen-ge phenas, hoť ávri-j kid-ine la ša-k-e dades-tar. (4.2.5-180)
these-OBL people-DAT we.say that ASPP-are selected ART.OBL young.man-GEN-OBL father-ABL
We say about these people, that they are selected by the young man's father.

5. The mediator of an implicit order after causatives:

E Milánes-tar šaj bišadoun ká i Kál-i. (4.2.5-181)
ART.OBL Milán-ABL MODP would.have sent to ART.NOM Káli-NOM
He would have sent him through Milán to Káli.

Izenindem len-ge a Bejba-tar te phenel len-ge sa. (4.2.5-182)
I.conveyed them-DAT ART.OBL Bejba-ABL to say them-DAT everything
I conveyed them through Bejba to tell them everything.

Kas-tar mangaven la? (4.2.5-183)
who-ABL let.order her
By whose mediation do they ask for her?

6. The standard of comparison:

Site avel kod-ole manušes-tar but-e beršen-ca maj phúr-o. (4.2.5-184)
MODP is that-OBL man-ABL many-OBL years-INSTR CPR old-NOM
He must be many years older than that man.

Bešel tejle pala-j mesál-i, ke maj phúr-o-j les-tar. (4.2.5-185)
sits down at-ART.NOM table-NOM because CPR old-NOM-is him-ABL
He is sitting down at the table, because he is older than him.
7. The second object of *xutilel* "keep" and key object of *terejdij* "care" and *asal* "laugh" (for *asal* see also 4.2.5.2 Accusative, example 4.2.5-49):

*Kod-o xutilel la vastes-tar.* *(4.2.5-186)*

that-NOM holds her,ACC hand-ABL

That one holds her by her hand.

*Majinti site terejdin man-dar.* *(4.2.5-187)*

first MODP they.care me-ABL

First they have to care about me.

Či asav khanikas-tar. *(4.2.5-188)*

not laugh nobody-ABL

I do not laugh at anybody.

8. The person to whom something (clothes, music) fits or behoves:

*Tu-tar aviloun,* man-ge cign-o sas. *(4.2.5-189)*

you-ABL would.have.been me-DAT small-NOM was

They would have fit to you, for me they were too small.

*E Joškas-tar-i. E Joškas-ke ipen avla.* *(4.2.5-190)*

ART Joška-ABL-iś ART.OBL Joška-DAT exactly will.be

It fits to Joška. For Joška it will be perfect.

*Kod-o pasolij a žuvja-tar, kana resel la varik-o,* *(4.2.5-191)*

that-NOM fits ART.OBL woman-ABL when meets her,ACC somebody-NOM

It suits to a woman, when she meets somebody,

*te del les dējs.*

to give him,ACC day

to greet him.

*Feri e dīj-a-j tumen-dar.* *(4.2.5-192)*

only ART.NOM songs-NOM-are you-ABL

Only the songs are convenient to you.

9. (Historically) the manner: *phuja-tar* “by feet, lit. earth-ABL”.

4.2.5.6 Locative

The locative is on its way to a fossilized case without productivity, as it can be found only with pronouns and in a restricted number of given sayings. Potential locatives like *fouroste “in the city”, *fouronde “in the cities” are refused by speakers as somehow familiar, but uncommon. Prepositional constructions with locative background (ká “at”, ande “in”, pe “on”) are employed for appropriate meanings, see section 4.6 Prepositions. Especially the locative of pronouns displays exclusive distribution with the preposition ká “at”, see section 4.6.2.5 Adessive and Allative ká and paša (and Morphological Locative -te/-de). So the following is rather a description of isolated cases (†) than an instruction how to use a grammatical instrument. The basic role of the locative has been the semantic locative, i.e. the statement of a place, in North West Lovari Romani also the directive, the direction towards a goal. In detail this means:

1. The location:

   Amen-de naj vúbec e džem-ura e fíkon-g-e. (4.2.5-193)
   us-LOC not.is at.all ART.NOM jams-NOM ART.OBL figs-GEN-NOM

   At our place there are no fig jams at all.

   Kodolen-de-j feri. (4.2.5-194)
   those-LOC-is just

   He is just with them.

   Kodo bišavla la-te. (4.2.5-195)
   that will.send her-LOC

   She will sent that to her.

   Sas les-te baxuj-a. (4.2.5-196)
   was him-LOC stick

   He had a stick with him.

   De la man-de. (4.2.5-197)
   give her.ACC me-LOC

   Let me talk with her (by phone).

2. Occasionally after prepositions, not necessarily in locative meaning, see also 4.6 Prepositions:

   Rudinas anda la-te, anda kod-i šej. (4.2.5-198)
   we.pray because.of her-LOC because.of that-NOM girl.NOM

   Let's say our prayers for her, for that girl.

   Či aviloun pala les-te maj zurál-o níp-o. (4.2.5-199)
   not would.come after him-LOC CPR powerful-NOM family-NOM
The most powerful family would not come to see him.

*Pizdas ande la-te i baxuj-a.* *(4.2.5-200)*

pushed into her-LOC ART.NOM stick-NOM

She pushed the stick into her.

*ande keretšigos-te† / mulatšágos-te† / verastášes-te†* *(4.2.5-201)*

in baptism-LOC feast-LOC funeral-LOC

in a baptism / feast / funeral

*Nás engedime a romňa-ke angla romes-te† t'avel šernáŋ-i.* *(4.2.5-202)*

was.not allowed ART.OBL woman-DAT in.front.of man-LOC to.be uncovered

A woman was not allowed to have the head uncovered in front of a man.

*Si le than akárká t'avel ande romen-de†.* *(4.2.5-203)*

COP them.ACC place.NOM anywhere to.be in people-LOC

She has his place anywhere in the community.

*Keť-i but lašim-o inke ande kecav-e fejlos-te† či dikhlem.* *(4.2.5-204)*

so.much-NOM great.NOM goodness-NOM yet in such-OBL thing-LOC not I.saw

I haven't seen so much goodness in such a matter.

*Pe kecav-e fejlos-te† šaj žal feri i šukár vouj-a ande-j Rom.* *(4.2.5-205)*

on such-OBL thing-LOC MODP go just ART.NOM beautiful.NOM mood-NOM in-ART.NOM people

In a situation like that just a perfect mood can come up among the people.

3. The temporarily pronominal recipient of *del*, see also Accusative (4.2.5.2,1) and Dative (4.2.5.3,4):

*Feri kod-o dějs dou le la-te.* *(4.2.5-206)*

only that-NOM day.NOM I.will.give them her-LOC

I will give it to her only that day.

*Naj kas-te dal e louv-e?* *(4.2.5-207)*

DISCP whom-LOC you.gave ART.NOM money-NOM

Well whom did you give the money to?

4. Exceptionally the reason;

*Dara-te† či avile.* *(4.2.5-208)*

fear-LOC not came
From fear they did not come.

*I bour-i feri asalas lažaves-te*. (4.2.5-209)

The bride just laughed from shame.

5. Lexicalized: *riga-te* ‡”aside”, *louven-de* ‡“(financially) liquid” or in idioms.

*Varesav-e čalád-ura Rom denas pen-g-e šej-an romen-de*. (4.2.5-210)

Some Rom families affiance their daughters.

*Le kolop-ura maj but bulh-e-j taj mindenfejlik-e sínon-de*. (4.2.5-211)

The hats are much wider and from all kinds of colours.

### 4.2.5.7 Genitive

The use of the genitive form proper, irrespective of gender-number marking, see section 4.1.1.2 Layer II, is restricted to the head position. Within this context it occurs:

1. After the preposition *bi*:

   *Sar avou bi louven-go?* (4.2.5-212)

   How I will be without money?

   *I Boj-a bi a Kája-ko taj i Kál-i bi a Boja-ko* (4.2.5-213)

   Boja does not go anywhere without Káli, and neither does Káli without Boja.

   *Bi muro gejlas.* (4.2.5-215)

   She went without me.

2. Stating a measured point in time (hour or day) apart from present time (see 5.4.2 Temporal Relations):

   *Šouven-go trobuj te avel amen-de o rašaj.* (4.2.5-216)

   At six the priest is supposed to come to our place.
Now you will wait for the twentieth to come. On the twentieth he comes to the doctor.

You came at midnight.

It is not suitable to come, just until ten o’clock in the evening.

We bought it for hundred crowns.

This is the wish of the girl’s father.

The genitive may chain, when the relation needs to be explained through an intermediate member:
In its possessive function the genitive is occasionally replaced by an analytical construction with *khatar* “from”, unless the possessor is given by a pronominal. So instead of the example 4.2.5-222 below, the sentence appears as: *o súd-o khatar la-k-o rom*.

The genitive-possessive pronoun is used, either in its pure, uninflected form (genitive proper) or in agreement declension (possessive pronoun), among which the former was found only in function 4.2.5.7-7 Genitive, example 4.2.5-235:

4. In its basic use as the possessor or person of concern:

*Aj la-k-e romes-k-o súd-o kezdij.* (4.2.5-222)

**DISCP** her-GEN-OBL husband-GEN-NOM trial-NOM begins

But her husband's trial commences.

*T'avla bár-o, les-k-o kher avla.* (4.2.5-223)

**if.will.be** big-NOM his-GEN-NOM **flat will.be**

If he will grow big, it will be his flat.

*Pes-k-i búť-i kerelas.* (4.2.5-224)

his-GEN-NOM work-NOM **made**

He has done his job.

*Sikaven la-k-o fenkíp-o.* (4.2.5-225)

**they.show** her-GEN-NOM picture-NOM

They show her picture. – for "the picture of her" see 4.2.5.7-7 (4.2.5-238)

*Le diúj kirv-e gejle pe pen-g-o than pala-j mesál-i.* (4.2.5-226)

**ART.NOM** two godfathers-NOM went on their-GEN-NOM place at-**ART.NOM** table-NOM

The two godfathers went to their places at the table.

*O vurdon sas len-g-o intreg-o barvalim-o.* (4.2.5-227)

**ART.NOM** caravan-NOM was his-GEN-NOM entire-NOM wealth-NOM

The caravan was his entire wealth.

5. A kinship or other social relation: *lako šávo* “her son”, *leski dej* “his mother”, *amári pheň* “our sister”, *muro pajtáši* “my friend”, *amári gajži* “our client”, *tō žamutro* “your bridegroom”, *laka deja* “her mother-ACC”, *pesko kuzino* “his cousin”, *lengo cigno* “their small one”, *le cigneski kerestaña* “the child's godmother”;

*La-k-i, la romńa-k-i šej sas.* (4.2.5-228)

her-GEN-NOM **ART.OBL** woman-GEN-NOM **daughter.NOM** was

It was her, the woman's daughter.
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Khardas i gajž-i e Kirila-s, les-k-i gajž-i. (4.2.5-229)

invited ART.NOM woman-NOM ART.OBL Kirila-ACC his-GEN-NOM woman-NOM

The client, his client, invited Kirila.

Les-k-i mâm-i sas mur-i lal-a, mur-e dades-k-i pheñ sas. (4.2.5-230)

his-GEN-NOM grandma-NOM was my-NOM aunt-NOM my-OBL father-GEN-NOM sister-NOM was

His grandmother was my aunt, my father's sister was she.

Vi kukoles-k-i šej gejli, a Čertos-k-i. (4.2.5-231)

also that-GEN-NOM daughter went ART.OBL Čerto-GEN-NOM

His daughter, Čerto's daughter, went also.

6. A part of the whole (partitive):

Taj šon les-k-o šejr-o taj la-k-o šejr-o kadej khetáne. (4.2.5-232)

and put his-GEN-NOM head-NOM and her-GEN-NOM head-NOM so together

And they joined his head and her head in this way.

Otres mosku sas les taj süde ànde les-k-o šejr-o. (4.2.5-233)

concussion COP him-ACC and stitch.up ASPP his-GEN-NOM head-NOM

He had a concussion, and they stitched his head up.

Site paťas e dades-k-o muj. (4.2.5-234)

MODP you.believe ART.OBL father-GEN-NOM mouth-NOM

You have to obey your father.

7. The source of characterization: o hango a dijako “the sound of the song, lit. the song's voice”, a žuvjako urajimo “the woman's dressing”, in onomasiological extension voujako keretšigo “baptism with atmosphere, lit. mood's baptism”, pujosko řisko “chicken's schnitzel”, buborkengi šalāta “cucumber salad, lit. cucumbers' salad”, marimasko filmo “action film, lit. beating's film”, čisoski zumi “soup without taste, lit. nothing's soup”, varesoki kapela “some band, lit. some kind's band”, akáršosko bajo “any problem, lit. anything's problem”, gádengo sínọ “coulor of the dress, lit. dresses coulor”, čikaki tejgla “earthen brick, lit. mud's brick”, see 5.1.2 Multiple Word Onomasiology. The borderline between genitive characterization (with retained article) and its petrified continuation (without article) is wide, and some expressions can be found equally with and without an article in the same text (Vâtij anda/anda-j bejngesko šing ávri leske cignes. “He guides the child out of devil's claws.”):

Žanav la-k-o. (4.2.5-235)

I know her-GEN-NOM

I know her manners
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Taj kerde len-g-o texan, sar voun keren. (4.2.5-236)
and they made their-GEN-NOM food how they make
And they cooked food in their style, the way they make it.

Le Romen-g-i vorb-a palpále sas: "Najis tu-ke!" (4.2.5-237)
ART.OBL men-GEN-NOM statement back was thanks you-DAT
The men's answer was: "Thank you!"

Sikaven la-k-o fenkíp-o. (4.2.5-238)
they show her-GEN-NOM picture-NOM
They show the picture of her. – for "her picture" see 4 (4.2.5-225).

Sos-k-i mol? A Kája-k-i mol kerou. (4.2.5-239)
what-GEN-NOM wine ART.OBL Káli-GEN-NOM wine I.will.make
What kind of wine? The wine Káli makes it.

Taj kecav-o híreš-o manuš či mukla te žal les-k-i šej (4.2.5-240)
and such-NOM important-NOM human-NOM not will admit to go his-GEN-NOM daughter-NOM
And such an important man is not prone to admit his daughter go.

feri kadej pe khančes-k-o.
just so on nothing-GEN-NOM
just for fun, without yield.

I zastávk-a e avtobuses-k-i naj dúr. (4.2.5-241)
ART.NOM stop-NOM ART.OBL bus-GEN-NOM is not far
The bus stop is now far.

Khatar žanes la-k-e berš? (4.2.5-242)
from.where you know her-GEN-NOM years
Where from do you know her age?

8. To designate provenance: e Sereď-ke (rom) “the Sereď Roms”, e Ostrava-ke “Ostrava Roms”, a republika-ki krísi “all-republic council”, sometimes onomasiologically extended: Gaves-ke “village Roms”, Pájes-ke “river Roms, lit. the waters’” as a group name (like the older clan names Bougeští “Bougeští”, Louleští “Louleští” etc.);

9. To express nearness, intimacy (muri dej “my mother”, muri šej! “dear daughter!”), amáro Berci “our Berci”) in the first person or, contrariwise, distance in the second person (ti dej “your mother”, ti mamo “your mummy”, tò rom “your husband”, tò Citrom “your Citrom”):

Žanes mur-i sal? (4.2.5-243)
You have to know that I love you.

\[ Já, \text{ } mur-i-j \text{ } kod-i \text{ } bul! \] (pointing to a baby's bottom) (4.2.5-244)

\[ \text{DISCP } \text{mine-NOM-is that-NOM bottom} \]

Oh, how I do like this baby!

\[ Me \text{ } či \text{ } žanav, \text{ } mír \text{ } či \text{ } žal \text{ } či \text{ } mam-o. \] (being also the speaker's own mother) (4.2.5-245)

I don't know why your mother doesn't come.

10. To locate pain (Lakatošová, Šebková 2004: 9, incl. examples), in competition with the accusative (see 4.2.5.2-1 Accusative):

\[ Phaglem \text{ } mur-o \text{ } purn-o. \] (4.2.5-246)

I broke my foot

\[ Dukhal \text{ } či \text{ } šejr-o? \] (4.2.5-247)

hurts your-NOM head

Does your head hurt you?

11. To express an age, with or without explicitly stating berš “year” etc. and genitivizing whole NPS:

\[ Naj \text{ } dešuštáren-g-i-j, \text{ } načili. \text{ } Amilaj \text{ } avla \text{ } patnáct. \] (4.2.5-248)

\[ \text{DISCP } \text{fourteen-GEN-NOM-is she.past in.summer will.be fifteen} \]

Well she is fourteen, she has past already, in summer she will be fifteen.

\[ Ket-e \text{ } beršen-g-i-j? \] (4.2.5-249)

how many-obl years-GEN-NOM-is

How many years is she old?

\[ Deš-e \text{ } beršen-g-i \text{ } sas \text{ } atunči \text{ } kod-i \text{ } šejour-i. \] (4.2.5-250)

ten-obl years-GEN-NOM was then that-NOM little.girl-NOM

That little girl was ten years old then.

\[ Mur-o \text{ } pap-u \text{ } adejs \text{ } már \text{ } šelen-g-o \text{ } aviloun. \] (4.2.5-251)

my-NOM grandfather-NOM today already hundred-GEN-NOM would.be

My grandfather would be already one hundred years old now.

12. The alledged causer of mistake with kerel douš "accuse":

\[ \text{you.know mine-NOM you.are} \]

you know mine you are
We could blame her for this, because they didn't pay respect to us.

They didn't blame the woman.

### 4.2.6 Demonstrative Pronouns

In this section, I present the usage of the demonstrative pronouns, according to their stems.

#### 4.2.6.1 Empathetic -Ø series (ka and ko)

The *ka* and *ko* series differ most in use from the other demonstratives by their exclusively adnominal occurrence. With their weak deictic value they come close to articles. Like with the article, its main function is not to establish reference to an entity in deixis or discourse, but rather to manifest existence of links with the referee. As a test omitting the demonstrative or replacing it with an article does not reduce intelligibility. The added value to the article use is emphasis, some kind of personal relation to the referee.

Pragmatic functions like exophoric, ana- and kataphoric and discourse deictic meaning are all supported by the Ø-series, see the examples. Contrastive use is not contested, which sounds reasonable with respect to the weak deictic character of this pronoun. In North West Lovari Romani this feature is granted by *kako*, see below 4.2.6.3.2 Proximate Contrastive and Situational Filler *kako*.

1. Anaphoric, relating to entities of the preceding discourse:

   **S1** Taj kamna e rom třeba te den a šeja kadej třeba e Joškaske, (4.2.6-1)
   
   And the Roms maybe would want to give the girl to Joška,

   *ká naj la rom?*
   
   because NEG.COP she.ACC husband.NOM
   
   as she has no husband?

   **S2** Aj vi ko Joška avla báro. Kodi vi dešvar avla la rom.
   
   S2 Well that Joška will also be old. She will have ten times a boy-friend in-between.

   Taj e gážes, sas les e bútára. Mindár, zaxvilku. (4.2.6-2)
   
   and the Czech.ACC COP.IPV.FUT he.ACC the workers instantaneously immediately
And the guy had workers. instantaneously, immediately.

\[ Taj \ kaj \ gáže, \ so \ sas \ les \ khote, \ kodola \ dine \ les \ opre. \]

and these Czechs which COP.IPfv he.ACC there those denounced him VERBP

And these guys, whom he had there, those denounced him.

\[ S1 \ Taj \ phenenas \ péro, \ peróvo? \ S2 \ Ka \ péróvo, \ so-j \ kodo? \]

and you.Pl.said péro péróvo that péróvo what-is that

S1 And you were saying \textit{péro, péróvo}? S2 That \textit{péróvo}, what is it?

2. Kataphoric, relating to entities in discourse to come:

\[ T’aven \ saste \ taj \ baxtále, \ taj \ maj \ but \ ka \ patíválo \ Rom, \]

be healthy and lucky and CPR more that decent rom

Be welcome, and most of you this decent Rom,

\[ savo \ phušlas \ mandar \ angla \ varesoske \ percon \ i \ vorba. \]

who asked me before some seconds the speech who has asked me some seconds ago to take over the speech.

3. Exophoric, relating to extra-discourse reality:

\[ Pen \ andaj \ kaj \ mol, \ nadon \ láši-j! \]

drink from that wine very good-is

Drink from this wine, it's very good!

\[ Manglal \ ma \ anglaj \ kaj \ pativále \ rom. \]

asked me in.front.of these decent rom

You have asked me in front of these decent Rom.

\[ Najkamlem \ te \ anav \ kaj \ teja, \ taj \ bisterdem \ la. \]

DISCP I.wanted to bring this tea and I.forgot it

I wanted to bring this tea, but I forgot it.

\[ Eta, \ pe \ kaj \ dús \ kútina \ draba \ dem \ sto \ šedesát \ koron! \]

DISCP for these two little pills I.gave hundred and sixty crowns

Look here, for these two little pills I gave hundred and sixty crowns!
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Poslední měsíc mangen, hoť naj dluho, kaj občanka a rodný list. No.(4.2.6-9)
last month they.demand that not.is debt this Id card and birth certificate DISCP
For the last month the demand to be no debt, the ID card and the birth certificate.

An kaj šári! (4.2.6-10)
bring this knife
Bring the knife!

Taj kaj mesáli vi ávral vi ándral-i. (4.2.6-11)
and this table also outside-is also inside-is
And that table is inside as well as outside.

Le ko čáro, te na šoren ávri! (4.2.6-12)
take that bowl in.order.to not pour out
Take that bowl, that they don't pour it out!

I žuvli site kerel kadej taj te vezetij pe ando románo trajo, (4.2.6-13)
the woman MODP do so and to behave REFL.in.the Romani life
A woman has to make it in such a way, and to behave in Romani traditions,
hoť te šaj phenen le ávera manuša, hoť kaj manušnii naj gajži halem romňi.
that to MODP say.PL the other humans that this human.F is.not Czech.F but Rom.F
so that the other humans can say, that this human being is no Czech lady, but a Rom one.
(transferred exophoric – the final clause after hoť would be uttered in exactly this way in the situation like it is presented)

Taj phen, kaj Kašuk-esk-i šej phendas kodo? (4.2.6-14)
and tell that.OBL Kašuki-GEN-F daughter.f said that
And tell me, did it say this Kašuki's daughter?

4. Discourse deictic, relating to parts of discourse:
Gejle pe pengo than palaj mesáli taj phende kaj vorba: "Baxtále t’aven Romale!" (4.2.6-15)
went to their place at.the table and said this sentence happy you.be Roms
They went to their place at the table and said the formula: “Be welcome, my friends!”

Paša kodo phenelas kaj vorba: "T’al tumenge baxtálo kado svunto páji!" (4.2.6-16)
besides that he.said this sentence: “Be.it to.you lucky that holy water
Additionally he said this formula: “Let it be for your sake!”
Through the paired stem vowel (a/o) a proximal-distal distinction is maintained. *Ka* is used with entities from the direct surrounding space or text (before or after), while *ko* refers to entities (but not texts) apart from the speaker or in a different place (like *koj teja* “that tea” in a different city, or *koj mesāli* “that table”, located in the cellar, or *ko čáro* “that bowl”, which could be put in a safer place by the person itself if it was closer, or *ko čil* “that butter” does not exist any longer, so it is located somewhere “deep in time”). Nevertheless, some choices are not as clear. *Ko Joška* “that Joška” and *koj manušni* “that female human” refer to persons in primarily close relation, textual and situational respectively. In the first case the real person Joška is not participant of the discourse, so he might be perceived as a distant element. In the second case the transposition from the established situation to the actual discourse space might shift the original utterance *kaj manušni* “this female human” to distant *koj manušni* “that female human”.

### 4.2.6.2 Generic -d- Series (*kado* and *kodo*)

The unmarked demonstrative is given by the series in -d- (*kado, kodo*). It can appear in manifold pragmatical contexts:

1. **Discourse deixis**

For links to expressions made during preceding discourse both *kado* and *kodo* is used, as can be seen from the following example:

```
Dešupánž berš, dešušou simas, kana *kado* sas. […] (4.2.6-17)
```

Translate: I was fifteen, sixteen years old, when this happened.

```
Či žanav, savo berš sas *kodo*.
```

Translate: I don't know which year was that.

```
No taj bútájik vorbinas pa *kodo*, vi deš berš pa *kado* vorbinas. (4.2.6-18)
```

Translate: Yes and for a long time they were talking about that, even for ten years they were talking about that.

Both may refer to actions (*kerdem* “I made”) and ideas (*phendem* “I said”, *gindosajlem* “I thought”), as well as both directly and indirectly to already established links (via *kado/kodo*). Proximity/distance relations seem to play no role here, either. Certain syntactical preferences can be found in *kado* being the direct object, while *kodo* is rather used after prepositions:

```
Ale Boja, jo inke či phendem me *kado*. (4.2.6-19)
```

Translate: but Boja DISCP still not said I that

Translate: But Boja, actually I didn't tell this yet.

```
*Taj kado šaj gindosajlalas, mejk kerdam *kado*. (4.2.6-20)
```

Translate: that that the female human being claimed the direct object
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and that have.thought before we.made this
And you could have thought for that, before we have made this.

\textit{Pala kodo phenav, niči angla kodo.} \hspace{1cm} (4.2.6-21)
after that I.say not before that
I say it after that, not before that.

\textit{Pe kodo pamatalinav feri.} \hspace{1cm} (4.2.6-22)
on that I.remember only
It is only that I do remember.

\textit{Taj anda kodo mundárde les.} \hspace{1cm} (4.2.6-23)
and because of that they.killed him
And because of this they killed him.

2. Anaphoric use

Anaphoric use is reserved to the -\textit{o}- stem, in pronominal as well as adnominal position:

\textit{Taj bišavel les palpále akánik i poušta, orgulij te bišavel les,} \hspace{1cm} (4.2.6-24)
and sends it back now the post urges to send it
And the post sends it back now, she urges to send it,

\textit{taj má dúj šon trvalij, mejk avel kodo lil.} \hspace{1cm} (4.2.6-25)
and already two months takes until comes that letter
and already two months it takes, until that letter comes.

\textit{Taj sas ma o xolesterol, taj pa kodo len o rat mandar.} \hspace{1cm} (4.2.6-26)
and \textit{COP LACC} the cholesterol and for this they.take the blood \textit{me.ABL}
And I had cholesterol, and for this they take blood from me.

\textit{Ando Švejdo-j kodi.} \hspace{1cm} (4.2.6-27)
in \textit{Sweden-is} that
She is in Sweden.

\textit{Aj man si kecavo recepto, hoť anda kodo recepto, kana kerav jejkh xumer.} \hspace{1cm} (4.2.6-28)
\textit{DISCP LACC COP such receipt that from this receipt when I.make one paste}
I do have such a receipt, that, from this receipt, when I make one paste,

\textit{hoť žan mange vi pánž plejhura.}
that go for me also five baking trays
that it longs even for five baking trays to me.

**Gejle nápoki pašaj Ŋamci te keren. Taj kodola apal phende amenge.** *(4.2.6-28)*

they went by purpose to the Germans to work and these then said to us

They went by purpose to the Germans to work, and these told us then,

*hot' bízin pe pejr amende.*

that prepare PL REFL towards us

that they are about to seek us.

---

### 3. Kataphoric use

For kataphoric use *kuko* is used generally (see 4.2.6.3.1 Distal Contrastive and Discourse Filler *kuko*), but occasionally we may also encounter *kodo*:

**Hát kodoles-i i keňva feri, ko či žanel te vorbij.** *(4.2.6-29)*

Though that ACC-COP the book only who not knows to talk

Though only that person has a book, who does not know to talk.

### 4. Exophoric use

Within exophoric use the above mentioned -a/-o- distinction is employed. Entities close to the speaker exhibit the -a-stems, while distant entities exhibit the -o-stem. Compare especially the first pair of examples with *kado kher* “this house” vs. *kodo kher* “that house”, where the former is the location of discourse while the latter is located far away, and the second pair of examples with *kadi šej* “this girl” vs. *kodo debilek* “that idiot”, where the former is the participant, while the latter lives in another town.

**Aj me nášťik skirinav ma pe kado kher.** *(4.2.6-30)*

DISCP I MODP write REFL on this flat

I really cannot register myself to this flat.

**Taj pe kodo kher skirime-j majnem štár žejne.** *(4.2.6-31)*

and to this flat written-are at least four people

And/but at least four people are registered at this flat.

**Mír-i kecavi kadi šej?** *(4.2.6-32)*

why-Is such this girl

Why is this girl of this kind?

**Me phenou tuke, so kerla vou, kodo debílek.** *(4.2.6-33)*
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I will say to you what he will do. I will tell you, what will this idiot do.

Aj kadi bári šúri, vúbec náštik dikhav kana šingren lasa. (4.2.6-34)

Oh this knife, I cannot ever watch them cutting with it.

Mír kheles tu kodole mobilosa? (4.2.6-35)

Why do you play with this cell phone?

Pa mas-i kodo, naj khanči. (4.2.6-36)

It's from meat, there is nothing to worry about.

So-j ande kodo baţuho, kodo pherdo? (4.2.6-37)

What is inside of that backpack, of this full one?

5. Recognitional use

Recognitional use is established by the kod-, frequently by alternative adnominal forms in -j. These are attested in PL forms only, not in OBL SG.

Phendas i Šejinka, hoť manca kamel te žal andi bolta pala kodi ledňička. (4.2.6-38)

Šejinka said that she wants to go with me to the shop because of that fridge. The policemen followed them for one year. Actually, for sure they also caught those Vietnamese.

Sledulinas le e šangle, ek berš. Aj bistoš, vi kodoj majmon xutilde,(4.2.6-39)

The policemen followed them for one year. Actually, for sure they also caught those Vietnamese.

And those beautiful – how are those called, with which they play?
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E gitari, e saxafounura, taj kadej.
the guitars the saxophones and so
The guitars, the saxophones, and so on.

Taj katka ande mure vast phusavkernas kodoj špendlíki. (4.2.6-41)
and here in my hands poked these pins
And here into my hand they poked those pins.

Taj kadaj šáke luludá maj lāše-j sar e žuvinde. (4.2.6-42)
and these dry flowers CPR good-are than the living
And these dried flowers are better than the fresh ones.

It needs to be noted that the usage of alternative forms in -j in other than recognitional situations is not as frequent:

Le aj de kodoj budögi, so andal. Palpále ingresa. (kataphoric)(4.2.6-43)
take DISCP DISCP those trousers which
you have brought back you will take back
Oh yes, take those trousers you have brought. Please take them back with you.

Akánik kodoj Rom andi Birna bešen. (anaphoric) (4.2.6-44)
now those roms in Brno live
Those guys live in Brno now.

Pala kadaj vorbi manglas peske i vorba pale o angluno Rom. (anaphoric)(4.2.6-45)
after these statements demanded REFL.DAT the speech back the leading Rom
After these statements the leading Rom demanded his turn back.

Ande sos kamen kadaj dúj Rom te indulin, (exophoric) (4.2.6-46)
into what want these two roms to start
Whatever kind of action those two guys want to start with,

te Žutij le o Dejl taj vi ame Romale!
MODP help them the God and also we Roms
help them God and we too, gentlemen!

Additionally kado is employed to point to the actual time unit, in the NOM: kado berš “this year”, kado kurko “this week”, kado šon “this month”, see 5.4.2 Temporal Relations, p. 286.
4.2.6.3 Contrastive Demonstratives and Fillers *kako* and *kuko*

Contrary to generic (default) -d- demonstratives, contrastive -k- demonstratives are used in opposition to other kinds of deixis, mostly initiated by generic demonstratives. Another meaning is that of a filler, i.e. of temporally open reference, which helps to fill in time, until the retrieval of the reference proper succeeds (which eventually even does not happen).

4.2.6.3.1 Distal Contrastive and Discourse Filler *kuko*

The basic function of *kuko* is kataphoric, as a discourse filler, i.e. a temporarily open reference:

\[ \text{Vi } \\text{kuk-oleski } \text{šej } \text{gejli, e } \text{Čert-oski.} \] \hspace{1cm} (4.2.6-47)

\[ \text{also that-GEN daughter went the Čerto-GEN} \]

That one's daughter, that of Čerto, went also.

\[ \text{Feri e } \text{šanglenca avilas pe } \text{kuki, pi } 603-\text{ka.} \] \hspace{1cm} (4.2.6-48)

\[ \text{only the policemen with came on that on 603-model} \]

Only in the policemen's accompaniment he came, with a eh, with a 603 model.

\[ \text{Taj } \text{kuki, so andem tuke, a Bojinkake dal la.} \] \hspace{1cm} (4.2.6-49)

\[ \text{and that what I brought you.DAT the Boja-DIM-DAT.SG gave it.F} \]

And that one, what I brought you, you gave to little Boja.

\[ \text{Hej! Taj } \text{kuko site kines, vaj si tu má, o cigno košárici.} \] \hspace{1cm} (4.2.6-50)

\[ \text{DISCP and that MODP you.buy or COP you.ACC already the small basket.DIM} \]

Listen! You also have to buy that, or do you have it already, that little basket.

In this sense the coexistence of a demonstrative with an article is acceptable by the mental break after the retrieval of the significans. See also example 5.2.5-9 in 5.2.5 Definiteness:

\[ \text{Vi } \text{kuko o kašt thovesa.} \] \hspace{1cm} (4.2.6-51)

\[ \text{also that the handle you.will.wash} \]

You must also wash the handle.

Otherwise *kuko* serves to point to the more distal entity within a contrast:

\[ \text{Kadi cigni maj feder pasolij sar kuki.} \] \hspace{1cm} (4.2.6-52)

\[ \text{this small CPR rather fits than that} \]

This small one fits better than that one over there.

\[ \text{Save kames, kakala vaj kukola?} \] \hspace{1cm} (4.2.6-53)

\[ \text{which you.like these or those} \]

Which ones do you like, these or those?
Occasionally also kodo is used with kataphoric meaning, see above 4.2.6.2 Generic -d- Series (kado and kodo).

Additionally kuko is used to point to a time that has just passed: kuko berš “last year”, kuko ďejs “last day” etc., alternatively to angla k berš, ľž, respectively, see 5.4.2 Temporal Relations, p. 286.

4.2.6.3.2 Proximate Contrastive and Situational Filler kako

Basically kako is employed to express contrast within selection and enumeration.

\[
\text{Kakala} \quad \text{taj} \quad \text{kakala} \quad \text{Rom} \quad \text{xále} \quad \text{pe.} \quad \text{(4.2.6-54)}
\]

these and these rom quarrelled REF.I.

These and those Roms quarrelled.

\[
\text{Kako} \quad \text{žala} \quad \text{e} \quad \text{barackenge,} \quad \text{kako} \quad \text{e} \quad \text{struguronge,} \quad \text{kako} \quad \text{e} \quad \text{herbúzoske.} \quad \text{(4.2.6-55)}
\]

This one is for the peach, this for the grape, this for the cantaloupe,

\[
\text{kako} \quad \text{a} \quad \text{lubečicake,} \quad \text{kako} \quad \text{e} \quad \text{cukroske,} \quad \text{čirouka,} \quad \text{marouka,} \quad \text{sa katka} \quad \text{ando} \quad \text{per} \quad \text{gejlas.} \quad \text{(4.2.6-56)}
\]

this the bowler.DAT this the candy.DAT DISCP DISCP all here in the belly went

this for the bowler, this for the candy, abracadabra, everything went into the belly.

\[
\text{S1} \quad \text{Savo sveteri les?} \quad \text{S2} \quad \text{Čisavo, kakalesa} \quad \text{či} \quad \text{žal} \quad \text{pér} \quad \text{ma} \quad \text{o} \quad \text{zubuno.} \quad \text{(4.2.6-56)}
\]

which sweater you take none this with not goes on me the coat

S1 Which sweater do you take? S2 None, with this one I cannot wear the coat.

\[
\text{S1 Naj kamlem te anav koj teja, taj bisterdem la.} \quad \text{(4.2.6-57)}
\]

DISCP I wanted to bring that tea and I forgot it

S1 Well, I wanted to bring that tea, but I forgot it.

\[
\text{S2 Naj kodi naj kecavi teja sar kaki?} \quad \text{(4.2.6-58)}
\]

DISCP that is not such tea like this

S2 Well, that tea is not of a kind like this one?

Another use is that of a filler in extra-linguistic specificity, as Matras (2002: 105) calls it, which means a reference without explicit statement. Its intra-linguistic pendant is Distal Contrastive and Discourse Filler kuko (4.2.6.3.1). Within the example 4.2.6-58 kako is embedded in the employment of three types of demonstratives to refer to the same entity. After pointing on one out of a collection of clothes ready to fetch away, the object is referred to as kaki/kako (self-correction). The second speaker takes it up anaphorically as kadi and the first again as kodo (both assigning different gender).

\[
\text{S1 Aj mír kaki šutal, kako?} \quad \text{(4.2.6-58)}
\]

DISCP why this.F put this.M
Use of Nominal Grammatical Categories

S1 But why did you put in this one?

S2 Te aven maj but louve, kana potin kadi krejinca.
   in.order.to COP.PL CPR much money when they pay this skirt

S2 In order to have more money, when they will pay this skirt.

S1 Aj kodo a mamako-j, na?
   DISCP that the grandma's-is DISCP

S1 But that belongs to grandma, doesn't it?

Occasionally, kako interferes also into discourse, usually dominated by kuko:

Kakala-j ma, e prúduški.  (4.2.6-59)
   these-are LACC the bronchitis

I have this, bronchitis.

4.2.6.4 Examples for a Complex Employment of Demonstratives

For illustration two examples shall be presented, where different demonstrative stems are used to distinguish eyes of the participants (4.2.6-60), and types of flowers (4.2.6-61). In the first situation with a context prone to exophora, only kodo misses, while in the second situation engaged in planning, kako is not represented. As can be seen, the general usage rules drawn above are partially broken: The allegedly kataphoric kuko serves for contrast in 4.2.6-60 and for anaphora in 4.2.6-61:

S1 Jaj, kadi jakh.  (4.2.6-60)
   DISCP this eye
   Oh, that eye!

S2 Sar-i?
   how-is
   How is it?

S1 Aj ávri phabáren le.
   DISCP VERBP burn.PL them
   Well, they burn them out.

S2 Ecere?
   at.once
   At once?

S1 Jo, ecere.
Yes, at once?

**S2** Naj čak pe **kuki** naj tu má.

Yes but on that eye you don't have any more wart.

**S1** Taj, si vi má pe **kadi**. **Aj** **kadi**, te sastóla, apal katka žala i doktorka.

And it is also on this one. But this, when it will recover, the doctor will turn here.

**S2** **Taj** savi-j nasváli?

And which one is ill?

**S1** **Kaki. Phendas o doktori, že je na čase te žav, na operáciju lasa.**

This one. The doctor said, that it's time to undergo a surgery with it.

**S2** A **jagasa?**

Burning it down?

**S1** **Taj** stejňe darav.

But nevertheless I have fears.

**S2** **Aj** **kaki-j lăši, na?**

But this one is fine, isn't it?

**S1** **Jo. Má po intrego jak-h-i ma, phendas o doktori.**

Yes. It is already on my whole eye, said the doctor.

**S2** Vi **kutka?**

There also?
S1 Jo, o šedý zákal.
   Yes the glaucoma
   Yes, the glaucoma

S1 Vej žīvinde patra e luludānge trobuj. (4.2.6-61)
   also.the living leaf the flowers’ be.necessary
   We need also fresh leaves, from flowers.

S2 Aj žīvinde. Taj ketī dela, te kinela kukola?
   DISCP living DISCP how.many will.give if will.buy those
   Yes, fresh leaves. But how much will she spend, if she will buy them?

   Taj kadaj šáke luludā maj lāše-j sar e žūvinde. Ká lela le?
   and these dry flowers CPR good-are than the living where will.take them
   And these dried flowers are better than fresh ones. Where will she take them from?

   Ketī louve dela pe kodola? Taj kodola či na naj šingerde.
   how.much money will.give na those and those even not not.are cut
   How much money will she give for them? And those are not cut even.

   Site šingerla le vou. Naj kinesa e šáke, taj kodoj dúj košára.
   MODP will.cut them she DISCP you.will.buy the dry and those two baskets
   It is her who will have to cut them. Yes, you buy the dried ones, and those two baskets.

   No. Taj kodo košári lášo-j.
   DISCP and those baskets good-are
   Exactly. And those baskets are good.

4.2.6.5 Identifier kodo

Kodo serves to establish identification with something yet unknown in some respect, prone to retrieval or explanation.

Aj kodi-j! Andaj muzeuma-j! (4.2.6-62)
   DISCP that.is from.the museum-is
   But that’s it! It is from the museum! (a blouse in a sack)

Mír phenes lenge včelički? So-j kodo? (4.2.6-63)
   why you.say they.DAT bees.DIM what.is that
Why do you call them little bees? What's that? ("light" syringe)

For addressing something completely unknown, the MASC SG is chosen by default. Frequently also feminine forms are employed, when the unknown is expected to be of female natural or grammatical gender, or belongs to a class or reminds something feminine. Similarly plural forms are used when identifying something with a number higher than one.

\[\text{S}1\ \text{Kon-i kodí? S}2\ \text{I Lulud!}\] (4.2.6-64)

Who is that Lulud'

\[\text{S}1\ \text{Who is it? S}2\ \text{It's Lulud!}\]

\[\text{So-j kodola?}\] (4.2.6-65)

What are those?

What are these? (pointing to a box with exotic fruit)

### 4.2.6.6 Reference by Exclusion – áver

An entity differing from one actually focussed upon within an accessible totality (possibly of only two) is denoted by áver, belonging to the consonant oikoclitic declension, removing the -e- in obliques, appearing in dependent and head position.

\[\text{I Helena kecavo nábitko kinkerel peske. Či trobuľ la áver.}\] (4.2.6-66)

Helena often likes to buy furniture. She doesn’t need no other.

\[\text{Eta, pe kaj dúj kútina draba dem sto šedêsát koron! Taj o áver drab te kinou!}\] (4.2.6-67)

Look, for these two little pills I paid 160 crowns! And now you want me to buy further pills!

\[\text{E jejkhes dine biš berš, e ávres dine osumnást.}\] (4.2.6-68)

To one of them they gave twenty years, to the other eighteen.

\[\text{Pej mašini dou le, po áver či dou le.}\] (4.2.6-69)

For the trains I will give money, but for the rest I will not give it.

In connection with time it means the period to come, related to now or to another point in time, like áver kurko “next week” or “a week later”, respectively, áver déjs “tomorrow” or “the next day”, respectively, and áver data “next” or the next time”, respectively, see 5.4.2 Temporal Relations, p. 286.
4.3 Verbal Morphology

Within verbal morphology, the forms of the verb are presented as such. After an introduction into the principles common to verbal morphology, the individual forms will be given, depending on verbal classes, and for both stems, the present tense stem and the perfective stem. Finally, also copula forms will be given.

4.3.1 Person, Number and Gender in Verbal Morphology

Like in pronoun and partially noun morphology, the North West Lovari verb, too, distinguishes three persons, two numbers and two genders, see 3.2 Categories Relevant for Inflection. The gender distinction is made as an option of the 3rd person singular of the perfective of certain intransitive verbs, (like in m gejlo “he went” and f gejli “she went”, alternatively to gender-neutral gejlas “he/she went”). With respect to person and number, the verb is flective (lexicon dependant), concatenative (using bound morphemes) and fused (with opaque boundaries between features).

If the pronominal clitic (4.1.4 Personal and Reflexive Pronouns) is taken as part of the word, disregarding the writing system the third person would additionally underlie a split into non-reflexive (like thovel-la “washes her”) and reflexive (like thovel-pe “washes himself”) for verbs which allow this semantically. In the singular of transitive verbs, the non-reflexive third person would be split further by gender (like m thovel-les “washes him” versus f thovel-la “washes her”). Pronominal clitics are phonologically and morpho-syntactically bound to verbal forms, but may be optionally replaced (for expressing stress) by free pronouns throughout all the paradigms (like stressed thovas amen “we wash us” against unstressed thovas-ame “we wash us”). These are clearly separated phonologically, as can be seen mainly by explicit pronunciation of double consonants (as in šol les [ʃol:es]), see 2.1.1.3 Border Phenomena, p. 24, and by an absence of morphophonological variation. These are discussed here as separate units and written without hyphening, partially due to the ambivalent (bound-unbound) character of pronouns altogether and supported by writing conventions in the co-inhabiting Northern Central dialect of Romani, and in the contact language, but in contrast to spontaneous writing. Their clitic character plays naturally a profound role in establishing word order, see 5.9.2 Main Factors and Rules for the Establishment of the Clause Order.

All the other verbal formatives are obligatory. The only meaning for the zero-marked present stem, most commonly identical with the verbal root, is the 2sg imperative. The perfective stem does not occur without a suffix. Only in the case of number, number neutralization occurs with respect to the 3p irrealis (sg = pl is -oun) and of some 3p copula tenses. Also 2pl and 3pl of all present tense stem forms are homonyms.

4.3.2 Stems and Tenses

The North West Lovari verb morphology may be divided according to the stems, to which grammatical suffixes are added. One is the present stem, consisting of the verb root like phen- “say” and optionally extended by conjugation class markers, the other the perfective stem, named after its most prominent aspectual function, see Holzinger (1993: 98). This consists of the present stem, suffixed most commonly with -d, -l or -il e.g. phen-d-. Also zero perfective markers occur in d- “give (pres and prfv)” and l- “take (pres and prfv)”.
The following forms are derived from the present stem (3SG of phen- as a prototype). The names reflect the most common use. More details on functions are presented after the formal introduction of forms (see 4.4 Use of Verbal Grammatical Categories). The copula exhibits separate stem-function relations, and is presented later on in section 4.3.6 Copula, p.149.

- Present tense-subjunctive (*phenel*)
- Imperative (2nd Person *phen*);
- Future tense (*phenla*);
- Imperfective-potential mood (*phenelas*);
- Perfective participle (in-conjugation only, *skirime*).

The perfective stems serves as a base to

- Perfective (*phendas*);
- Irrealis (*phendoun*);
- Perfective participle (*phendo*).

The TAM system is with respect to lexically driven conjugation classes inflectional. The -a for future tenses, -as for imperfective-potential, and the perfective stem markers vary phonologically, but they can be clearly identified, and render the system rather agglutinative.

**4.3.3 Verb Classes**

The way of how personal, temporal, aspectual, modal and number suffixes are added to a verb differs from case by case. Certain classes of verbs show equal sets of these suffixes, which makes it possible to reduce the variety of forms to a small number of conjugation types, comprising exceptions for some lexical items, which do not fit exactly into one of the given paradigms.

Herein I divide verbs into four basic classes, whereof two are separated further on into subclasses. For short the classes are named according to the original class marker responsible for the differences. The unmarked conjugation is called e-conjugation. The key features are, class by class (see also 4.5.4.4 Derived Verbs):

- The e-conjugation, example word *phen-e-l*, which show the most agglutinative behaviour. Perfective marker is -d-/l-/ or -Ø-. Roots ending in -d require a special subclass (called de-subclass), as it shows different behaviour in the perfective marker, in future tense, in stressing patterns and in the imperative, see below. Except for all roots in -d (including the d-, “give”) the verb l- “take” belongs here;
- The a-conjugation, example word *as-a-l* “laugh”, where the verb root is extended by the vowel -a- to make up the present stem. Perfective markers are highly variable. The class is small, not productive and consists of intransitives;
- The uv-conjugation, example word *baš-o-l* “sound”, with the root extension -uv-, frequently contracted with the endings. Perfective marker is -il-, replacing – not extending – the pure stem (i.e. *baš-il-, not *baš-uv-il*). The class serves mainly for derivations from adjectives and participles with passive semantics and intransitive syntax and additionally for some
single lexemes like bušol “is called”, tordöl “stand”, phabol “burn (INTR)”, bašol “sound”, pašbol “lie”, ášol “stay, finish” and transitive šol “put” and mothol “narrate”;  
- The in-conjugation, example word vorb-i-j “talk”, is based on a root extension -in-, frequently contracted with the endings. The perfective marker -in-d- is a straightforward concatenation of the class marker -in- and the regular perfective -d- as in the e-class. 1sg and 3sg have (in the first case optional) unusual present tense-subjunctive endings in -j. Being the major class of loan verbs, the in-conjugation is very productive. The only pre-European verb in this class is pot-in- “pay”, individually handled as e-class verb (potinel(as) besides potiij(as), but ppp potime) The class includes a small number of verbs with superficially differing conjugation markers in -on- (like kejt-o-j “waste”) and -un- (like sen-u-j “regret”) instead of the -in-. As otherwise they strictly follow the in-conjugation paradigm, except for this post-root vowel, they are not defined separately.

### 4.3.4 Present Stem Forms

As has been said above, the present tense stem is a base for the present tense-subjunctive, the imperfective-potential, the future tense, the imperative and the participle of the in-conjugation.

#### 4.3.4.1 Present Tense-Subjunctive

The present tense-subjunctive suffixes, appearing throughout generally follow this rule:

| 1st Person Singular | -av |
| 2nd Person Singular | -es |
| 3rd Person Singular | -el |
| 1st Person Plural | -as |
| 2nd Person Plural | -en |
| 3rd Person Plural | -en |

Table 30: Present Tense-Subjunctive - General Suffixes

Out of these principal forms, the particular paradigms in the following tables may be better understood:

| 1st Person Singular | e-Conjugation | a-Conjugation | uv-Conjugation | i-Conjugation |
| 2nd Person Singular | -av | -av | -uvav | -inav/-ij |
| 3rd Person Singular | -es | -as | -os | -is |
| 1st Person Plural | -el | -al | -ol | -ij |
| 2nd Person Plural | -as | -as | -uvas | -inas |
| 3rd Person Plural | -en | -an | -on | -in |

Contraction Scheme -a- + suffix -uv- + suffix -in- + suffix
Table 31: Present Tense-Subjunctive - Suffixes

Applied to the above mentioned prototype verbs, the abstract forms from the preceding table result in the following final verb forms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>e-Conjugation</th>
<th>a-Conjugation</th>
<th>uv-Conjugation</th>
<th>i-Conjugation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1\textsuperscript{st} Person Singular</td>
<td>phenav</td>
<td>asav</td>
<td>bašuvav</td>
<td>vorbinav/vorbij</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2\textsuperscript{nd} Person Singular</td>
<td>phenes</td>
<td>asas</td>
<td>bašos</td>
<td>vorbis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3\textsuperscript{rd} Person Singular</td>
<td>phenel</td>
<td>asal</td>
<td>bašol</td>
<td>vorbij</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1\textsuperscript{st} Person Plural</td>
<td>phenas</td>
<td>asas</td>
<td>bašuvas</td>
<td>vorbinas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2\textsuperscript{nd} Person Plural</td>
<td>phenen</td>
<td>asan</td>
<td>bašon</td>
<td>vorbin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3\textsuperscript{rd} Person Plural</td>
<td>phenen</td>
<td>asan</td>
<td>bašon</td>
<td>vorbin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 32: Present Tense-Subjunctive – Paradigms

Verbs of the de-subconjugation like phandel “bind”, phurdel “blow”, čumidel “kiss”, čandel “chew”, kikidel “squeeze” etc. are identical in writing but display root-based stress patterns instead of stress on the person/number marker like all the other conjugation classes, see section 2.4 Word Stress, p. 29.

The verb pel “drink” is commonly contracted pes, pel, pen < *pij-es etc., whereby the original root (pij-) remains in the first persons. The contraction concerns also the derived tenses (future pijavou, pesa, imperfective-potential pijavous, pesas). The imperative is 2\textsuperscript{sg} pi!, 1\textsuperscript{pl} pijas!, 2\textsuperscript{pl} pen!

These exceptions extend to derived tenses, i.e. imperfective-potential and future, where the respective tense markers attach without influence on forms and stress. Only the 1\textsuperscript{sg} shows morphological integration.

4.3.4.2 Imperfective-Potential

The polysemious imperfective and potential differs from present tense-subjunctive generally by the addition of the suffix -as. In the 1\textsuperscript{st} person this is contracted with the personal suffix -av-as > -ous:

| 1\textsuperscript{st} Person Singular | -ous |
| 2\textsuperscript{nd} Person Singular | -elas |
| 3\textsuperscript{rd} Person Singular | -elas |
| 1\textsuperscript{st} Person Plural | -enas |
| 2\textsuperscript{nd} Person Plural | -enas |
| 3\textsuperscript{rd} Person Plural | -enas |

Table 33: Imperfective-Potential - General Suffixes

Linking these suffixes to the above mentioned prototype verbs, the resulting final verb forms are:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person Plural</th>
<th>e-Conjugation</th>
<th>a-Conjugation</th>
<th>uv-Conjugation</th>
<th>i-Conjugation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st Person Plural</td>
<td>phenasas</td>
<td>asasas</td>
<td>bašuvasas</td>
<td>vorbinasas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Person Plural</td>
<td>phenenas</td>
<td>asanas</td>
<td>bašonas</td>
<td>vorinas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd Person Plural</td>
<td>phenenas</td>
<td>asanas</td>
<td>bašonas</td>
<td>vorinas</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 34: Imperfective-Potential - Paradigms

The -e- in the 3SG and in the 2PL and 3PL of the e-conjugation may be exceptionally elided. The elided forms are not rejected by speakers. The only application for a wider elision are the copula forms avlas and avnas, where contrarily long forms are rare. In contracted forms like avelas and avenas, respectively, are mostly reserved for forms of the otherwise homonymous verb avel “come”. This distinction is not made in Future Tense forms (4.3.4.3):

\[
\text{Za půl roku, za rok, no čourker-l-as kodi.} \quad \text{(4.3.4-1)}
\]

After half a year, a year, well, she was steeling.

\[
\text{Žanel so leši-j la te ker-l-as varisosko bajo.} \quad \text{(4.3.4-2)}
\]

knows what expects-3SG her.ACC if made-3SG-POT some trouble

She knows what she would have to expect if she would cause some trouble.

\[
\text{T’av-l-as kodo, atunči le ávera rom, so nás khote, vorbin-d-oun,} \quad \text{(4.3.4-3)}
\]

if.was-3SG-POT that then the other people what NEG.COP.IPV there tell-IPV-IRR.3P

If it would be like this, then the other people, who were not there, would have told.

\[
\text{hoť khote sas ando mulatšágo a Krísinako Rom...} \quad \text{(4.3.4-4)}
\]

that there COP.IPV in.the feast the council member

that a senate person was present at the feast

\[
\text{Vezetin tume, sar le dúj kirve khate t’ av-n-as.} \quad \text{(4.3.4-4)}
\]

behave you as the two godfathers here if COP-3PL-POT

Behave yourself, as if the two godfathers were here.

\[
\text{Apal šaj av-el-as kodo, hoť maj bári vorba av-l-as la} \quad \text{(4.3.4-5)}
\]

then MODP COP-3SG-POT that that CPR big speech COP-3SG-POT her.ACC

sar lak-es rom-es.

than her.ACC husband-ACC
Then it could happen, that the woman presents a greater speech than her man.

There appears to be a more frequent regular elision in the 3SG with verbs with a perfective marker -l-, but in this case the hypothetical short singular forms of the imperfective-potential coincide with the perfective forms (dikhlas <> dikh(e)las “saw”, muklas <> muk(e)las “left”, phušlas <> phuš(e)las “asked”). The context, in which the forms are found, require rather perfective forms, but an intention to use shortened imperfective forms cannot be always excluded.

Special cases are verbs with consonant clusters in the root coda like ingrel “carry”, ikrel “hold”, biknel “sell”, šingrel “slice”. Whereas in other places of the paradigm (i.e. the perfective) the -e- appears within the root, when a consonant suffix (the perfective marker) follows (inger-das, iker-dem, biken-dal, šinger-de), while in the imperfective-potential the -e- remains (i.e. no *ingerlas or *bikenlas etc.). The -e- can be interpreted as belonging to the root, being elided in present stem forms.

In the 1SG of the i-conjugation the contraction happens only between the person marker -av- and the TAM suffix -as (> in-ous), not between the class suffix -in- and the person marker -av- (> *ij-as) like in the 3SG. So contrary to the present tense-subjunctive the homonymy between 1P and 3P disappears.

**4.3.4.3 Future Tense**

The future tense differs from the present tense-subjunctive by the addition of the suffix -a. In the 1st person this is contracted with the personal suffix -av-a > -ou: person

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1st Person Singular</th>
<th>-ou</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2nd Person Singular</td>
<td>-esa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd Person Singular</td>
<td>-ela</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st Person Plural</td>
<td>-asa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Person Plural</td>
<td>-ena</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd Person Plural</td>
<td>-ena</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 35: Future Tense - General Suffixes*

Linking these suffixes to the above mentioned prototype verbs, the resulting final verb forms are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>e-conjugation</th>
<th>a-conjugation</th>
<th>uv-conjugation</th>
<th>i-conjugation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st Person Singular</td>
<td>phenou</td>
<td>asou</td>
<td>bašuvou</td>
<td>vorbinou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Person Singular</td>
<td>phenesa</td>
<td>asasa</td>
<td>bašosa</td>
<td>vorbisa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd Person Singular</td>
<td>phenla / rodela</td>
<td>asala</td>
<td>bašola</td>
<td>vorbija</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st Person Plural</td>
<td>phenasa</td>
<td>asasa</td>
<td>bašuvasa</td>
<td>vorbinasa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Person Plural</td>
<td>phenna / rodena</td>
<td>asana</td>
<td>bašona</td>
<td>vorbina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd Person Plural</td>
<td>phenna / rodena</td>
<td>asana</td>
<td>bašona</td>
<td>vorbina</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 36: Future Tense - Paradigms

In personal suffixes in -el and -en the forms with -e- are obligatory in the de-subclass (i.e. no *rodla).

Ávri šude-l-a la mindar kodo. (4.3.4-6)

VERBP throw-3SG-FUT it immediately that

She will throw it immediately away.

Kas khar-n-a, ko av-l-a anda kodi delegacija? (4.3.4-7)

whom call-3PL-FUT who come-3SG-FUT from that delegation

Vaj či av-l-a, šude-n-a le ávri.

or not come-3SG-FUT throw-3PL-FUT them VERBP

Whom will they call, who will come out of that delegation? Or will there come nobody, and they will throw them out.

In the other cases the elided forms are standard:

No kam-l-a i Luluď kadala, phen-l-a. (4.3.4-8)

DISCP want-3SG-FUT the Luluď these say-3SG-FUT

Luluď does like these, she will tell.

Ko kin-l-a i motora leske, gindi-s? (4.3.4-9)

who buy-3SG-FUT the car him think-2SG

Who, do you think, would buy his car?

Taj kecavo híreššo manuš či muk-l-a te ža-l leski šej (4.3.4-10)

and such important human not admit-3SG-FUT to go-SUBL.3SG his daughter

feri kadej pe khančesko.

just so on nothing

And such an important man is not prone to admit his daughter to go without reason with nobody's son.

Voun e ávera andej hotelura beš-n-a. (4.3.4-11)

they the others in the hotels stay-3PL-FUT

The rest will stay in hotels.

The long forms are not rejected by speakers, but show rare occurrence in real texts. They are not employed to disambiguate the supplement copula forms av- from their generally homonymous counterpart “come”, and both pairs of forms are short (see 4.3.4.2 Imperfective-Potential):

Taj keti de-l-a, te kine-l-a kukola? (4.3.4-12)
and how much give-3SG-FUT if buy-3SG-FUT those
And how much would she pay, if she would buy them?

"Te phen-el-a ek rom, hoť leski šej paňváli-j taj č’ av-l-a kodo čáčo, (4.3.4-13)
if say-3SG-FUT a man that his daughter virginal-COP and not COP-3SG-FUT that true
If a man says, that his daughter is a virgin, and this is not true,

"atunči kodo rom, savo l-as la bourake, šaj muk-av-el kodola ša
then that man which take-PFTV her daughter-in-law MODP leave-CAUS-3SG that girl,
then the man, whose daughter-in-law she has become, can release that girl

"vať šaj khar-av-el prej les pa kodo Románi krísi.
or MODP call-CAUS-3SG on him about that Rom council
or he can initiate a trial on him in this case.

"O Bobko av-l-a andaj Birna. (4.3.4-14)
the Bobko COP-3SG-FUT from Brno
Bobko will come from Brno.

"Már apal šoha či dikh-en-a les. (4.3.4-15)
already then never not see-3PL-FUT him
Then they will never see him any more.

Additionally áš-ol “stay” is contracted, as if it would belong to the e-conjugation root *áš-el: áš-la, áš-na.

In the 1sg of the i-conjugation the contraction happens only between the person marker -av- and the future suffix -a (> in-ou), not between the class suffix -in- and the person marker -av- (>*-ij-a) like in the 3sg So contrary to the present tense-subjunctive the homonymy between 1st and 3rd person disappears here.

4.3.4.4 Imperative
The imperative is based on the unreduced present tense stem of every conjugation type. Only in the uv-conjugation the final v- (of *bašuv) has disappeared. In the singular no further suffix is appended, except for the de-subclass of the e-conjugation, where the -e remains in the imperative (so not *rod, but rode “search”). The -e remains also in verbs from the root ending in -ajv- like dijajv- “get silly”, imper. (na) dijajve

The plural forms are identical with the corresponding ones of the present tense-subjunctive, except for the i-conjugation, where – contrary to the indicative (vorbin “talk”) – no contraction takes place (vorbinen). So in the i-conjugation the singular imperative coincides with the 2pl and 3pl.

The resulting scheme is:
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Table 37: Imperative - Paradigms

With the imperative the last syllable is stressed always, except for singular forms extended with an -e, i.e. verb roots ending in -d or in -ajv. In these cases the additional syllable is unstressed.

Exceptions are verbs with a consonant cluster ingr- “carry”, bistr- “forget”, phutr- “open” etc., which insert for facilitating pronunciation an -e-: inger, bister, phuter, respectively. Furthermore there are individual exceptions in the 2sg:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>xut-</td>
<td>xutí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ušt-</td>
<td>uští</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>áš-</td>
<td>ášu / áš</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 38: Imperative - Exceptions

The imperative plural forms coincide with the indicative forms and have to be distinguished by context. 2pl forms are normally identifiable without doubt, even if the previous discourse offers different groups to refer to. 1pl forms are more ambiguous, as there is always a valid reference, at least the speaker plus the listener:

Ašta dikh-as, so kin-d-al. (4.3.4-16)

DISCP see what buy-PFTV-2sg

Wait, let’s see, what you have bought.

In any case the 1pl IMP is frequently extended by the 1pl IMP avas: Avas žas! “Let’s go! lit. let's come let's go!” Avas dikhas! “Let’s see! lit. let's come let's see!” See sections 5.1.1 Equal-Class Collocation, p. 237, and 5.11 Coordination, Operators with Diverse Arguments, p. 400.

In 2r forms there are also optional verbs supported by imperatives of avel “come” and žal “go”: Aven xan! “Come eating!” Av phande tu! “Come close your jacket!” Ža sikav mange! “Show it to me! Lit. Go show me!” Ža an les! “Bring it to me! Lit. Go bring it!” They occur only in conjunction with really required motion, e.g. not with other activities without need to move: Šu tejle! “Lay it down!” Extended to Ža šu tejle! “Lay it down there!” it would mean to provide the action at another place. Similarly the imperative of del is used as pressure marker in addition to other imperatives: An de! “Common bring.sg it!” Aven den! “Common bring.pl it!” This does not fit semantically to the meaning “give”, but rather to a homonymous verb “act fastly”, compare Te na des tejle! “Do not fall down!”. See also section 5.9.6 Discourse Particles and Phrases, p. 343.

Another apparently imperative-only defective verb is *aštal, which appears only in 2r imperative forms ašta “wait.sg” and aštan “wait.pl.”, used as deictic particles “just a moment!” (sg and pl respectively). Another interpretation is the extension of verbal plural forms in -n to originally non-
verbal particles $de > den$, $ašta > aštan$. In this case the question is, why the same did not happen to similar particles, e.g. number-independent $le$ “please”, i.e. no $*len$:

$An-le!$  \hspace{1cm} (4.3.4-17)

bring-DISCP

Bring it, please!

$Xa-le!$  \hspace{1cm} (4.3.4-18)

eat-DISCP

Common, eat it!

### 4.3.4.5 Participle Perfective (in-Conjugation)

Contrary to the other verb classes, the in-conjugation forms the participle perfect from the present stem. The class infix -$in-$ is replaced by the uninflected suffix -$ime$ (so not $*-in-d-o$)

$Kodo$ $dēj$s $engedime$-$j$ $leske.$  \hspace{1cm} (4.3.4-19)

that day allowed-COR.3v him

That day it is allowed to him.

### 4.3.5 Perfective Stem

The forms based upon the perfective stem differ from the present tense-subjunctive forms in two ways: The extended stem (as discussed) and distinct personal suffixes. Within the forms based upon the perfective stem there are almost no differences between the conjugations classes except for the perfective stem itself. One group of verbs shows different $3pl$ endings, which agrees more or less with the de-subclass of the e-conjugation.

The resulting scheme is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Conjugation</th>
<th>Present Stem Ending In</th>
<th>Perfective Marker</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>e-Conjugation</td>
<td>$l, r, n$</td>
<td>$d$</td>
<td>čourd- “stole”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$g, k, kh, m, s, š$</td>
<td>$l$</td>
<td>mukl- “let”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-$ajv$</td>
<td>$l$ (eliding stem final v)</td>
<td>xojajl- “got angry”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>other -$v$</td>
<td>$d$ (eliding stem final v)</td>
<td>perad- “let fall”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$nd$</td>
<td>$l$ (changing $nd &gt; ng$)</td>
<td>rangl- “scratched”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>other -$d$</td>
<td>$ø$</td>
<td>rod- “searched”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a-Conjugation</td>
<td>(any)</td>
<td>$nd, (jl)$</td>
<td>lažand- “was ashamed”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uv-Conjugation</td>
<td>(any)</td>
<td>$il$</td>
<td>bánil- “grew”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Verbal Morphology

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present Stem</th>
<th>Conjugation Class</th>
<th>Perfective Stem</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>av-</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>avil-</td>
<td>come</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xa-</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>xál-</td>
<td>eat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dara-</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>darajl-</td>
<td>fear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ura-</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>urajl-</td>
<td>fly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ža-</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>gejl-</td>
<td>go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xij-</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>cind-</td>
<td>shit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xut-</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>xukl-</td>
<td>jump</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dîlab-</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>dîlaband-</td>
<td>sing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mer-</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>múl-</td>
<td>die</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p-</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>pill-</td>
<td>drink</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>per-</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>pejl-</td>
<td>fall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rov-</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>rÚn-</td>
<td>cry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sov-</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>sút-</td>
<td>sleep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>suv-</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>súd-</td>
<td>sew</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ušt-</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>ušılıl-</td>
<td>stand up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>žan-</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>žangl-</td>
<td>know</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mothol</td>
<td>uv</td>
<td>mothod-</td>
<td>let know</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šol</td>
<td>uv</td>
<td>šut-</td>
<td>put</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 39: Perfective Stem - Markers

The danger of confusion due to the ø marker in the de-subclass of the e-conjugation is very small as meaning is marked by personal suffixes as well.

Verbs with a consonant cluster Cr or Cn in the present stem keep their original second root vowel -e- or -i-, respectively, before the last consonant: ikrel “hold”, ingrel “carry”, biknel “sell”, bistrel “forget”, mutrel “urinate” have ikerd-, ingerd-, bikind-, bisterd-, muterd- respectively as a perfective stem. Additionally there are several irregularities, the most common of which are the following:
Table 40: Perfective Stem - Exceptions

The suppletion forms marked with an asterisk (*) came from competing ways of intransivizing: In the pres stem it is expressed by the personal (in the 3P the specific reflexive) pronoun (here pe), while the pftv stem is based upon alternative intransitive pres stems in -sajv- like benusajvel “regret”, gindosajvel “think”, pecisajvel “happen”, see 4.5.4.4 Derived Verbs, -sajv-.

4.3.5.1 Perfective and Irrealis

As discussed in the introduction 4.3.2 Stems and Tenses, p. 135, two TAM classes are made from the perfective stem, the perfective and the irrealis. The irrealis is connected to the perfective in the same way as the imperfective-potential to the present tense-subjunctive, by appending the same suffix -as, with an exception in the 3P. As the suffixes are independent of the conjugation type, they can be represented in a table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1st Person Singular</th>
<th>2nd Person Singular</th>
<th>3rd Person Singular</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Perfective</td>
<td>Irrealis</td>
<td>Perfective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st Person Singular</td>
<td>-em</td>
<td>-emas</td>
<td>-al</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Person Singular</td>
<td>-em</td>
<td>-emas</td>
<td>-al</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd Person Singular</td>
<td>-em</td>
<td>-emas</td>
<td>-al</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 41: Perfective & Irrealis - General Suffixes

In the context of a word like phenel (perfective stem phend-) these suffixes result in:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1st Person Singular</th>
<th>2nd Person Singular</th>
<th>3rd Person Singular</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Perfective</td>
<td>Irrealis</td>
<td>Perfective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st Person Singular</td>
<td>phenedem</td>
<td>phenedemas</td>
<td>phendal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Person Singular</td>
<td>phendal</td>
<td>phendalas</td>
<td>phendan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 42: Perfective & Irrealis - Paradigms
The alternate form entered as “(participle)” refers to certain intransitive verbs, alternating with the suffix *-as*:

\[ \text{Taj gejl-as ká i romňi khejre.} \] (4.3.5-1)

and go, PFTV-3SG to the wife at home

And he went home to his wife.

gender dependent participles, see below, may be employed in the following example:

\[ \text{I Nadă gejl-i-tar andi Praha!} \] (4.3.5-2)

the Naďa go, PFTV-3SG,f-away in the Prague

Naďa went off to Prague.

\[ \text{Cir-d-as i mužika, hoť máť-il-o rom halára.} \] (4.3.5-3)

play-PFTV-3SG the music MODP get drunk, PFTV-3SG,M man completely

The music played, and so the man got completely drunk.

There is a tendency to distinguish the completed process as such *(-as)* from the resulting state (*-o/-i*) by these options. Yet the borderline is not sharp, and interpretations may vary very slightly. I have attended a situation, where two viewers were watching TV, and both instantly reacted to a surprising turn in the story:

\[ \text{Khel-a-dil-as!} \] (4.3.5-4)

play-CASUS-PFTV-3SG

\[ \text{Khel-a-d'-il-o!} \] (4.3.5-5)

play-CASUS-PFTV-3SG, M

He has been outwitted!

And also the same speaker may use both forms one after the other in a single situation:

\[ \text{Av-il-as o Berci. Detehára av-il-o.} \] (4.3.5-6)

come-PFTV-3SG the Berci morning come-PFTV-3SG,M

Berci has come. He came in the morning.

Matras (2002: 156) ascribes this distinction on a cross-dialectal level to expression of surprise (“evidentiality”), but in North West Lovari Romani this does not seem to be general:

\[ \text{S1 No šaj šor-d-oun pe tejle má, e dúj kirva.} \] (4.3.5-7)

DISCP MODP pour-PFTV-IRR,3P REFL ASPP already the two godfathers

\[ \text{I Nadă sas khote, av-il-i.} \]

the Naďa COP,IPFV,3P there come-PFTV-3SG,F

But they could really join already, the two godfathers. Naďa was there, she has arrived.
Oh Naďa! Naďa has left for Prague!

The alternative form on -ine given in the 3PL strongly correlates with the de-subclass of the e-conjugation (dine “gave”, trádine “travelled”, šudine “threw” as well as line “took” from del “give”, trádel “travel”, šudel “throw”, lel “take” respectively). Exceptions can be found among single speakers in both directions, like čumidel “kiss”, belonging generally to the de-subclass, occurs without this infix (3PL PFTV čumide), while čourel “steel” and xutilel “keep” may insert it (čourdine, xutildine) unless belonging to the de-subclass.

This is valid for the irrealis, too, see the following example (within a context of talking about tearing a dress, gáda.pl):

Či phager-d-e, ale phager-din-oun le. (4.3.5-8)
not smash-PFTV-3PL but smash-PFTV-IRR.3P them

They didn't smash them, but they almost smash them.

The 3P forms of the irrealis -oun vs. -asas differ by speakers. My key respondents have -oun, while I could hear -asas in other locations, too.

4.3.5.2 Participle Perfect (Except for in-Conjugation)

The perfective stem of the verb (e.g. pinžárd- out of pinžár- “know”) serves directly as the base for adjective declension (pinžárdno, pinžárdenca etc.). The result behaves like a oikoclitic, and so gender related, adjective, see also 4.5.4.3 Derived Adjectives.

Taj av-il-am palpále taj sa phager-d-o sas. (4.3.5-9)
and come-PFTV-1PL back and everything break-PFTV-M.3SG COP.IPV.3P

And we came back and everything was smashed.

Res-a-díl-e le maj híreša taj maj ánde pinžár-d-e Krísinake rom. (4.3.5-10)
reach-CAUS-PFTV-3PL the CPR important and CPR ASPP know-PFTV-PL council men

They encountered the most important and most well known council members.

For members of the de-subclass, the formant -in- found in the PFTV 3PL and in IRR 3P is also part of the participle here, giving dino “given”, šudino “thrown”, line “taken” etc.9

With pekl- / pejk- “baked” there is only one exception from the rule perfective stem = perfective participle stem, respectively.10

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9 Thanks to Cech, Heinschink (1998:83) for this comment
10 Thanks to Cech, Heinschink (1998:83) for this comment
4.3.6 Copula

Existential statements and links between entities and their properties or locations are made via the copula. It is governed by number and person, not by gender. Some of its forms remind those of the full verb, but with completely different usage (e.g. the perfective suffixes in the present tense). In two cases clitic equivalents have developed, -i and the set -lo/-li/-le. Except for these the copula has two stems, s- and av-, the second of which is homonym with the verb av- “come”. The perfective stem avil- is generated out of the av-stem. While in the full verb the potential is morphologically identical to the imperfective, in the copula a distinct stem (av-) is employed.

The s-stem serves for the forms of
- Present tense;
- Imperfective.

The av-stem is used for
- Subjunctive;
- Imperative;
- Future tense;
- Potential mood;
- Irrealis mood (from extended perfective-like stem avil-).

The sets of the stem s-, including the clitic copula, look like:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3rd Person (sg + pl)</th>
<th>Present Tense</th>
<th>Imperfective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st Person Singular</td>
<td>sim</td>
<td>simas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Person Singular</td>
<td>sal (san)</td>
<td>salas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st Person Plural</td>
<td>sam</td>
<td>samas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Person Plural</td>
<td>san</td>
<td>sanas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd Person (sg + pl)</td>
<td>sì / -i / -j</td>
<td>sas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative</td>
<td>naj</td>
<td>nás</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 43: Copula - Present Stem Forms

In the 3SG and 3PL of the present tense the clitic -i (-j after vowel) is more frequent than the form sì. It is appended to the very last word of the NP to which it is to link (Rusura-j “they are Russians”, mišto-j “it's OK”, kadej-i “so is it”, mure dadeske phralesko kher-i “it's the house of my father's brother”), but not to discourse particles. The clitic form is the default form in present tense, while sì is chosen under certain circumstances:

- For emphasizing the copula itself (as a fact):

  Kana sì pér ma, čì mezin-av thúli andej les.  \( (4.3.6-1) \)
  
  when COP.3P on me not look-1SG thick in it
  
  When I wear it, I don't look thick in it.
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\[ Taj \text{ si } k\breve{r}n\breve{e}\check{s}a. \quad (4.3.6-2) \]
and \ COP.3\text{p} cute
And they are cute.

\[ H\breve{a}rniko \text{ si } o \text{ Berci.} \quad (4.3.6-3) \]
habile \ COP.3\text{p} the \ Berci
Berci is really habile.

\[ Naj \ \check{c}ak \text{ si } la \ \check{a}ver. \quad (4.3.6-4) \]
\ DISCP \ DISCP \ COP.3\text{p} her,ACC other
Oh yes he has another one.

• In coordinated sentences in contrast to full verbs:

\[ I \text{ rom\breve{n}\breve{\i} terejdi} \ pa \ sa \ \text{taj si } \text{pe mindenekos.} \quad (4.3.6-5) \]
the \ woman \ care-3\text{sg} \ about \ everything \ and \ COP.3\text{p} \ on \ multiple
The woman cares about everything, and she suits for everything whatsoever.

• For emphasis in possessive constructions with a pronoun:

\[ Aj \text{ si } ma \ \text{vi } \check{a}vera \ \check{\breve{s}}\breve{\i}li. \quad (4.3.6-6) \]
\ DISCP \ COP.3\text{p} me-ACC also \ other \ scarfs
But I have also other scarfs.

\[ Taj \ ur\breve{c}it\check{e} \ \text{vi } \ \text{la } \text{si } \text{kirv-i.} \quad (4.3.6-7) \]
and \ certainly \ also \ her,ACC \ COP.3\text{p} \ godmother-nom
But she has certainly also a godmother.

• In absence of a base to be attached to:

\[ Si. \quad (4.3.6-8) \]
\ COP.3\text{p}
There is/are.

\[ Naj \ \text{la } \text{b\acute{a}r-o } \text{kher?} \ Naj \ \text{si!} \quad (4.3.6-9) \]
\ NEG.COP.3\text{p} her,ACC \ big-nom \ flat,nom \ DISCP \ COP.3\text{p}
Hasn't she a big flat? Yes, she has!

\[ \check{\breve{S}}aj \ \text{si.} \quad (4.3.6-10) \]
\ MODP \ COP.3\text{p}
It's possible. / There can be some.
Anda sako than, ká si, an-el peske mindik mol khejre. (4.3.6-11)

From every place where cop.3p bring-3SG refl-DAT always wine home

From every place, which she attended, she brings always some wine at home.

Kana e struguri lāše-j, taj o kukurízo kana si lášo, (4.3.6-12)

when the grapes good-cop.3p and the sweet corn when cop.3p good

no atunči bikn-en les.
discp then sell-3pl. it

When the grapes are mature, and the sweet corn is ripe, well then they sell it.

• In existential statements:

Si cukro. (4.3.6-13)
cop.3p sugar

There is sugar. / We have sugar.

Taj khate si o dudum? (4.3.6-14)
and there cop.3p the pumpkin

And they do have pumpkins there?

Taj vou žan-l-a hoť si vaj naj. (4.3.6-15)
and she know-3SG-fut that cop.3p or neg.cop.3p

And she will know, whether they have some.

Si ánde. (4.3.6-16)
cop.3p inside

There is some inside.

The form san was also heard in the 2sg, but only with one speaker and without confirmation of parallel forms like *kerd-an in the perfective.

The tenses of the stem av- are, except for the imperative:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Subjunctive</th>
<th>Future tense</th>
<th>Potential</th>
<th>Irrealis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st Person Singular</td>
<td>avav</td>
<td>avou</td>
<td>avous</td>
<td>avilemas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Person Singular</td>
<td>aves</td>
<td>avesa</td>
<td>avesas</td>
<td>avilalas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd Person Singular</td>
<td>avel ~ al</td>
<td>avla</td>
<td>avlas</td>
<td>aviloun</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1\textsuperscript{st} Person Plural  & avas  & avasa  & avasas  & avilamas  \\
2\textsuperscript{nd} Person Plural  & aven ~ an  & avna  & avnas  & avilanas  \\
3\textsuperscript{rd} Person Plural  & aven ~ an  & avna  & avnas  & aviloun  \\

\textbf{Table 44: Copula - Potential Stem Forms}

Short forms without the root -v- are common individual optional alternatives in optatives, preceded by contracted $te < t'$:

\begin{verbatim}
T' a-l tumen-ge baxtáli!
\end{verbatim}

\texttt{MODP COP.SUBV-3SG YOU-DAT happy}

Let it bring you happiness!

\begin{verbatim}
Tumára pátiva-ke, romale, t' a-n tumen-ge baxtálé!
\end{verbatim}

\texttt{your respect-DAT gentlemen MODP COP.SUBV-3PL YOU-DAT happy}

Be welcome, gentlemen, let them bring you happiness!

The Imperative follows the logic of the full verb of this stem, i.e. present stem in the singular and corresponding 1\textsuperscript{pl} and 2\textsuperscript{pl} suffixes:

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|}
\hline
 & Imperative \\
\hline
2\textsuperscript{nd} Person Singular & av \\
1\textsuperscript{st} Person Plural & avas \\
2\textsuperscript{nd} Person Plural & aven \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

\textbf{Table 45: Copula – Imperative Forms}

In local deixis additionally a clitic set is applied in very limited circumstances, only in present tense. The forms $M$ \texttt{SG lo}, $F$ \texttt{SG li}, \texttt{PL le} sound like natural, non-suppletion extensions or relics of the $3r$ \texttt{I}-stem personal pronouns (like la, lesko, len etc., see 4.1.4 Personal and Reflexive Pronouns) into the nominative, but synchronically they have to be analysed as copula forms, as they are in a complementary distribution to the otherwise obligatory copula, while pronouns are not compulsory. The forms appear after the local interrogative ká (e.g. Ká-lo? “Where is it?”) and deictic particles eta (e.g.Eta-li! “Here she is!”) and áke (Áke-le! “Here they are!”).

\textbf{4.4 Use of Verbal Grammatical Categories}

This section gives an overview about the range of grammatical, semantic and pragmatural features which are covered by the morphological facilities supplied by North West Lovari Romani verbs. On one hand we have clearly identifiable elements of verbal modification, on the other we have seemingly numerous-less semantic needs, which are partially universal (due to the structure of the world itself), partially based on community-internal criteria, partially forced by the grammatical structure itself and increasingly imposed by unavoidable multilingualism of any at least adult speaker.
After a short presentation of the use of the copula the features number, gender and person will be discussed, as long as predicates are concerned. Then the morphological categories, the forms of which were subject of the preceding sections, are mapped onto three basic semantic features: Tense, aspect and mood.

Many of the mapping rules point to features which cannot be realized by morphological means, e.g. the analytical passive or necessity. Analytical means exceeding the scope of mere morphology like modal particles or other modal constructions are occasionally mentioned shortly and explained in detail in the part on syntax (see 5 Syntax), see the individual references further on. Especially mood is realized morphologically only in one aspect: the irrealis. All the other modal operations are expressed by modal particles (see 5.5.2 Modal Particle), or they are not expressed at all, see the homonymous pairs present tense – subjunctive and future tense – potential.

4.4.1 Copula

Across all its stems the copula has a uniform set of functions across them. The basic role of the copula is to assign properties or the location to the subject of the copula clause (see 3.1.3.1 Subject). A copula clause (i.e. a clause based upon a copula form) collects together this subject, the copula itself and the non-verbal predicate, the value of the selected property. The latter two are also called copula predicate. The basic roles of the copula clause can be distinguished in the following way:

1. Adjectival predicate – the property is expressed by an adjectival:

\[ \text{Šukár-} . \]
\[ \text{beautiful-} \text{COP.3p} \]
She is beautiful.

\[ O \text{ tričko tista loulo sas andaj paradičomi.} \]
\[ \text{the T-shirt completely red COP.IPV.3p from.the tomatoes} \]

The T-shirt was completely red from the tomatoes.

2. Nominal predicate – the property consists of an institution, a (non-referential) class noun, a counter-value:

\[ \text{Kadi gaži učitelka-} . \]
\[ \text{this lady teacher-COP.3p} \]
This lady is a teacher.

\[ \text{Angluno rom sas.} \]
\[ \text{first person COP.IPV.3p} \]
He was a leading person.

\[ O \text{ drab-} \text{i štiri sto koron!} \]
\[ \text{the pills-COP.3p four hundred crowns} \]
The pills cost four hundred crowns!
3. Locative or other adverbial predicate – the subject is situated in a location, expressed by a local adverbial, or some other relation referred to by adverbials, see 5.4 Adverbial, mainly 5.4.1.1 Spatial Adverbs;

\[Pi\; mesáli-j. \quad (4.4.1-6)\]

on table-COP.3p

It's on the table.

\[Muro\; nano\; andi\; Praha-j\; akánik. \quad (4.4.1-7)\]

my uncle in.the Prague-COP.3p now

My uncle is in Prague now.

\[Kodo\; nípokorkoures\; sas. \quad (4.4.1-8)\]

that family alone COP.IPV.3p

That family was alone.

\[Či\; kodo\; č’\; av-l-as\; šukáres. \quad (4.4.1-9)\]

neither that not COP-3SG-POT nice

Neither that would not be nice.

\[Opre\; s-al? \quad (4.4.1-10)\]

up COP-2SG

You're up?

\[Nás\; opre. \quad (4.4.1-11)\]

NEG.COP.IPV.3p up

He was not up.

4. Existential predicates – the subject is stated to exist at the here-and-now of discourse:

\[Nás\; jiv. \quad (4.4.1-12)\]

NEG.COP.IPV.3p snow

There was no snow.

\[Káveja\; site\; si. \quad (4.4.1-13)\]

coffee MODP COP.3p

There has to be coffee.

\[Te\; si\; lon,\; šaj\; šos\; lon. \quad (4.4.1-14)\]

if COP.3p salt MODP put-2SG salt

If there is salt, you can add salt.
5. Possession constructions – for possession-like guided identification see 4.2.5.7 Genitive. The accusative NP is the possessor, the nominative NP the possessed object.

*Cigno kher-i la, taj resel ánde.* (4.4.1-15)

She has a small flat, but she suits into.

*Naj ma tuška, site phuš-es a mama-tar.* (4.4.1-16)

I haven't got a pencil, you have to ask mummy.

6. To form the passive voice (see 3.1.3.6 Voice):

*Kodo dējs engedime-j leske.* (from: Engedine leske.) (4.4.1-17)

That day allowed-him allowed him

*Kodola rom khar-d-e-j le šaveske dades-tar.* (4.4.1-18)

Those men invited the young man’s father.

(4.4.1-20)

Do you know, what is it music? (in contrast to: *Žanes, so-j i mužika?)

In extremely limited cases the copula is omitted, see 5.5 Predicate, or replaced by the personal-pronoun-like *lo* (*f li, pl le*), see 4.1.4 Personal and Reflexive Pronouns and 4.3.6 Copula:

*Ká i Manci?* (4.4.1-21)

Where is Manci?

*Ká-lo?* (4.4.1-22)
Where is he?

### 4.4.2 Verbal Number

Verbal Number looks like an agreement category, as long as the NP contains one item. In this case it copies in the first place the number settings of the subject. Consequently, a singular or plural in the verb immediately reflects the appropriate singular or plural in the subject NP (in bold), see 4.2.2 Number:

- **I**: 
  
  _Boj-a_ šud-as e paprik -i._

  \[
  \text{ART.SG.F} \quad \text{Boja-SG.F} \quad \text{throw-PFFTV-3SG} \quad \text{ART.PL} \quad \text{pepper-PL.}
  \]

  Boja threw away the peppers.

- **E**: 
  
  _Opavak-e či kam-en-as te dikh-en les._

  \[
  \text{ART.PL} \quad \text{Opava.Roms-PL} \quad \text{NEG} \quad \text{want-3PL-IPFV} \quad \text{to see-3PL him.SG}
  \]

  The Opava Roms didn't want to see him.

This rule holds also in the case of plural words, where the agreement number is the plural:

- **Amar-e** _louv-e xasaj-l-e._

  \[
  \text{OUT-PL} \quad \text{money-PL} \quad \text{got.lost-PFFTV-PL}
  \]

  *Amar-e* _louv-e xasaj-l-o_

  \[
  \text{OUT-PL} \quad \text{money-PL} \quad \text{got.lost-PFFTV-SG}
  \]

  Our money got lost.

And, consistently, collective items are taken as a singular, as long as they do not appear in the plural themselves:

- **O**: 
  
  _vás-o či xasajv-en-a, so gindi-s?_

  \[
  \text{ART.SG} \quad \text{dishes-SG} \quad \text{not disappear-3SG-FUT} \quad \text{what think-2SG}
  \]

  *O* _vás-o či xasajv-en-a, so gindi-s?_

  \[
  \text{ART.SG} \quad \text{dishes-SG} \quad \text{not disappear-3PL-FUT} \quad \text{what think-2SG}
  \]

  The dishes will not disappear, what do you think?

If, otherwise, the NP contains an enumeration of more than one item, semantics become dominant in the sense that plural forms are used despite of singular subjects. For this reason it is more straightforward to understand number as a whole as a semantic feature:

- **O**: 
  
  _Andr-o taj lesk-i pheň-o beš-en-as khot._

  \[
  \text{ART.SG} \quad \text{Andro-SG} \quad \text{and his-SG SISTER.SG} \quad \text{live-3PL-IPFV there}
  \]

  Andro and his sister were living there.
This may be disrupted individually (here as a short form of: “Do you plan to invite”):

\[ Keťi \ žejne \ av-es-a \ khote? \]  
\[ how.many \ people \ cop-2sg-fut \ there \]

How many people do you plan to expect there?

Plural forms are not used for expression of politeness, as might be expected from recent contact languages. So Czech/Slovak polite \textit{ukažte mi} “show.pl me”, directed to a single person, is translated as \textit{sikav “show.sg”}, not as *\textit{sikaven “show.pl”}.

The plural construction of multiple items in the subject can be made up not only with a series of nominatives, but also with accompaniment in the instrumental (sociative), no matter whether it is one person or more taking Jirka with them:

\[ Me \ kin-ou \ o \ dárk-o \ e \ Jirka-sa, \ taj \ tu \ ingr-es-a. \]  
\[ I \ buy-fut.1sg \ art.sg \ present-sg \ art.sg \ Jirka-instr.sg \ and \ you.sg \ carry-2sg-fut \]

\[ Ame \ kin-as-a \ o \ dárk-o \ e \ Jirka-sa, \ taj \ tu \ ingr-es-a. \]  
\[ we \ buy-fut.2sg \ art.sg \ present-sg \ art.sg \ Jirka-instr.sg \ and \ you.sg \ carry-2sg-fut \]

I'll buy a present together with Jirka, and you'll bring it.

A scarce exception is the collective expression \textit{i dej taj o dad} “parents, lit. mother and father”, which is taken as a singular item, but only in the verbal agreement. Further reference resume it as a plural (\textit{lenge}):

\[ Te \ av-l-a \ i \ dej-φ \ taj \ o \ dad-φ, \ so \ phen-es-a \ l-en-ge? \]
\[ if \ come-3sg-fut \ art.sg \ mother-sg \ and \ art.sg \ father-sg \ what \ say-2sg-fut \ they-pl-dat \]

If the mother and the father will come, what will you tell them?

\[ Lesk-i \ dej-φ \ taj \ lesk-o \ dad-φ \ gejl-as \ te \ kin-el \ lake \ mol. \]
\[ his-nom \ mother-sg \ and \ his-sg \ father-sg \ go.pfvv-3sg \ to \ buy-3sg \ her \ wine \]

His parents did buy wine for her.

The reciprocal \textit{jejkháver “another”} consists formally of a singular subject \textit{jejkh} “one” and a singular object \textit{ávres “other,acc”}, but the meaning is that each of both sides are included into the action and the resulting set contains plural entries, as the statement refers to two subjects, \textit{jejkh} and \textit{áver}, which can be seen in the alternative expression in brackets

\[ Šaj \ phen-en \ jejkhávres-ke \ kirv-o. \]  
\[ Šaj \ phen-en \ penge \ kirv-e. \]
\[ MODP \ say-3pl \ another-dat \ godfather-sg \ MODP \ say-3pl \ refl \ godfather-pl \]

They are in a relation of godfathers.

\[ O \ manuš \ jejkhávres-k-o \ sokáš-i \ náštit \ l-el. \]  
\[ ART.sg \ human-nom \ another-gen-nom \ custom-sg \ MODP \ take-3sg \]

The people cannot transfer their customs from one another.
Anonymous subjects like with ko “who”, khonik “nobody” or pe “himself” mostly occur in the singular, but the language is open to plurals, if they make sense semantically, see also 4.1.4.1 Reflexivity, Reciprocity. Plural forms alone have a potential to express anonymous, unidentifiable constituents (mostly institutions):

\[ Či már-en-as le khonik. \]  \( (4.4.2-14) \)

Nobody beat them.

\[ Pale šo-n-a opre o plin-o áver berš. \]  \( (4.4.2-15) \)

Once again they will rise gas prices next year.

\[ And-o DM dvě stě korun mang-en. \]  \( (4.4.2-16) \)

In DM it costs two hundred crowns.

General statements made by aid of the reflexive pronoun require singular, see 4.1.4.1 Reflexivity, Reciprocity.

### 4.4.3 Verbal Gender

Verbal gender is a pure agreement feature, derived from the gender of the subject, no matter whether expressed or not. The only construction where gender agreement is used, is the adjective-like participial third person perfective of several intransitive verbs (see 4.3.5.1 Perfective and Irrealis), as e.g.

\[ Taj i Rumungric-a náš-l-i-tar má. \]  \( (4.4.3-1) \)

And the Rumungro woman had escaped already.

\[ Gejl-i-tar and-i Anglij-a. \]  \( (4.4.3-2) \)

She had left for England.

### 4.4.4 Verbal Person

The verbal person marker is the key instance for informing about the pragmatical character of the clause, see 3.2.6 Person. First and second persons are additionally expressed (by pronouns) only for
emphasis or topicalization reasons, and also third person explicit subjects are rare compared to zero subjects, labelled solely by person/number formatives. The following examples show successively the use of 1SG, 2SG, 1PL and 2PL marking:

\[\text{Vi kod-ola pinžár-av, a Luluď-a.}\]  
(4.4.4-1)

also this-F.SG know-1SG ART LULUĎ-SG

I also know this one, Luluď.

\[\text{Taj me mindár pahosaj-l-em, taj khote ášadi-l-em,}\]  
(4.4.4-2)

and I immediately get.cold-PFTV-1SG and there be.surprised-PFTV-1SG

hotí nás či šil.

that NEG.COP.IPFV.3P even.not cold

And I got immediately cold, but there I was surprised that it wasn’t cold even.

\[\text{Inke maj godáver-ø s-al sar i mam-o.}\]  
(4.4.4-3)

even CPR clever-F.SG COP-2SG than ART.F.SG mummy-SG

You are even more clever than mummy.

\[\text{Šu tejle, šin-es-a les!}\]  
(4.4.4-4)

lay.IMP.2SG down rip-2SG-FUT it

Lay it down, you’ll rip it!

\[\text{Či žan-as-as pár le.}\]  
(4.4.4-5)

NEG know-1PL-IPFV about them

We didn’t know about them.

\[\text{Gugl-i mol šaj ker-d-am-as.}\]  
(4.4.4-6)

sweet-NOM wine-NOM MODP make-PFTV-1PL-IRR

We could have made mulled wine.

\[\text{D-an-as mah šel koron-i.}\]  
(4.4.4-7)

give-2PL-POT me.ACC hundred-NOM crowns-NOM

You would give me a hundred crowns.

\[\text{Amilaj s-an-as?}\]  
(4.4.4-8)

in.summer COP-2PL-IPFV

You were there in summer?
In the third person the split into reflexive and non-reflexive forms comes into effect only from a syntactical view, by the use of appropriate \textsc{prons} of the $p$-series, see the last two examples 4.4.4-13 and 4.4.4-14:

\begin{verbatim}
Man-ge šil s-as. (4.4.4-9)
me-DAT.SG cold.NOM COP-IPFV.3P
I was cold.
\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}
Žutin-d-as la. (4.4.4-10)
help-PFTV-3SG her
She helped her.
\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}
Taj khate mala-dĭl-e kadej khetáne. (4.4.4-11)
and here meet-PFTV-3PL so together
And so they met here together.
\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}
Či na d-en-as. (4.4.4-12)
even NEG give-3PL-IPFV
They even didn't / wouldn't give it.
\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}
Č’ úra-d-e pe šukáres. (4.4.4-13)
NEG dress-PFTV-3PL REFL nicely.
They didn't dress (themselves) nicely.
\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}
Naj musaj te kam-en pe. (4.4.4-14)
COP.NEG.3P MODP to love-3PL REFL
They don't necessarily have to love one another.
\end{verbatim}

\subsection*{4.4.5 Present Tense-Subjunctive}

The present tense-subjunctive forms serve prototypically for activities and states in present time and transmit basically tense information.

In subjunctive use there is no tense information encoded. In complements and complement-like modal constructions with \textsc{trobuj} “need”, \textsc{musaj} “must” etc. this information is transferred by the matrix clause or modal element, see 5.5.2 Modal Particle.

\subsubsection*{4.4.5.1 Tense}

The present tense-subjunctive provides the following (absolute) temporal information:

- Present tense as its core function, unless covered by other tenses:

\begin{verbatim}
Ingr-av les opre. (4.4.5-1)
\end{verbatim}
Use of Verbal Grammatical Categories

carry-1SG it upstairs

I'm taking them upstairs.

- Past or future tense, if it is intended to be shifted to the actual speech situation for dramatization (so-called historical present or, analogously, historical future):

  \begin{align*}
  \textit{Milaj sas. } & \textit{O baro tatimo sas.} \quad (4.4.5-2) \\
  \textit{summer cop.ipfv.3p the big heat cop.ipfv.3p}
  \end{align*}

  It was summer. The heat was big.

\begin{align*}
\textit{Phen-el, hot’ te na } & \textit{ža-l ando kher te sov-el.} \\
\text{say-3SG that MODP not go-3SG in.the house to sleep-3SG}
\end{align*}

He told him not to go into the house to sleep.

- Any tense in final adverbial clauses and in complement clauses, including indirect speech. In this case tense present tense expresses simultaneousness relative to the main clause:

\begin{align*}
\textit{Kana dikh-l-as, sov-el halára, taj cípín-d-as pej ávera žejne,} & \quad (4.4.5-3) \\
\text{when see-pftv-3SG sleep-3SG completely and cry-pftv-3SG on.the other people}
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
\textit{hot’ már šaj av-en.} \\
\text{that already MODP come-3PL}
\end{align*}

When she saw, that he is deeply sleeping, then she cried for the other people., that they can come now.

\begin{align*}
\textit{Šun-d-as hot’ vorbi-n.} & \quad (4.4.5-4) \\
\text{hear-pftv-3SG that talk-3PL}
\end{align*}

He heard, that they were talking.

\begin{align*}
\textit{Ánde ker-d-as i fejastra te na av-en ánde e mákha.} & \quad (4.4.5-5) \\
\text{VERBP make-pftv-3SG the window in.order.to not come-subv.3pl inside the flies}
\end{align*}

He closed the window in order to not let the flies come in.

\begin{align*}
\textit{Taj šo-s-a kućin páji te na phabo-l tu-ke.} & \quad (4.4.5-6) \\
\text{and put-2sg-fut little water in.order.to not burn-subv.3sg you-dat}
\end{align*}

And you add some water so that it will not scorch.

- Present tense for other types of subordinate clauses:

\begin{align*}
\textit{E ávera čila, so tume kam-en, sas po patnáct korun.} & \quad (4.4.5-7) \\
\text{the other butters which you want-3pl cop.ipfv.3p each fifteen crowns}
\end{align*}

The other sorts of butter, which you want, costed fifteen crowns each.
Use of Verbal Grammatical Categories

- Future tense, within epistemic mood, see below on mood:

  *Naj mandarinka ker-av tu-ke?*  
  DISCP tangerine make-1SG you-DAT

So do you want me to prepare a tangerine for you?

### 4.4.5.2 Aspect

Generally all aspects may be covered, as long as they do not contrast with the idea of present tense. Thus, clauses in present tense may express progressive aspect (*Užarav e krumpli. “I’m peeling potatoes.”*) as well as non-progressive (*Bešen sa khetáne. “They live all together.”*), iterative activities (*Trádkerel pa Touco. “Usually he travels across Slovakia.”* *Univar kames le, univar niči. “Sometimes you like them, sometimes you do not”*), and general statements (*Projďinav ma, ká feri bešav. “I’ll go for a walk, as I always sit around only.”*). For perfect aspect it is taken only for states including the present (*Má bešen khote k berš. “They have been living here for a year.”* *So sim pi luma feri man žanes te máres. “As long as have been on Earth you beat solely me.”*), but not those in the past (*Má simas andi Praha. “I have been in Prague already.”*). It can express perfective (*Šol tejle peske gáda. “She lays down her dress.”*) and imperfective aspects (*Šišol i matika. “She is learning maths.”*).

### 4.4.5.3 Mood

Present tense-subjunctive is connected prototypically to indicative mood, i.e. to an unconditional mode of speech without primarily intended alternative developments. Subjunctives, i.e. forms in connection with modal particles, generally occur in modal subordinate clauses, but the modal element is represented by the non-factual complementizer *te*. Also other modalities are based upon morphological present tense-subjunctive by use of modal particles. They are discussed in connection with the syntax of the predicate (see 5.5.2 Modal Particle). Within the morphological mood relations the present tense-subjunctive realises the following types:

- **Indicative mood**, a one-by-one translation of the world as it is:

  *Naj či av-en, naj vi kana či s-al khate, či av-en.*  
  DISCP not come-3PL DISCP also when not cop-2SG here not come-3PL.

Indeed they will not come, yes and even if you are not here, they do not come.

- **A general statement**, without a need to be actually realized:

  *Aj žan-es sar šo-l pe: Šo-s márno, čil,*  
  DISCP know-2SG how put-3SG refl put-2SG bread butter

  *šingr-es kadej na měsičky, po márno, taj šo-s lon opre.*

  cut-2SG so moon-shaped on the bread and put-2SG salt up

Oh, do you know how to proceed: You lay down bread, butter, you chop it this way to sections onto the bread, and you put salt on top.
• A general condition within the contingency modality, as one kind of conditional mood:

Vi kana av-el khate kodo Joška, či vorbi-j lesa.  
also when come-3SG here that Joška not talk-3SG with.him

Evene when Joška comes here, he does not talk to him.

Kana či teci-n len-ge variko, ža-n-tar lendar.  
when not like-3PL them-DAT somebody go-3PL-away from.them

If they do not like somebody, they leave him.

• An epistemic modality, in form of a firm intention into the future:

Taj áver či kin-av már, absolúňe.  
and other not buy-1SG already absolutely

And I will not buy any other, absolutely.

Najmandarinka ker-av tu-ke?  
DISCP tangerine make-1SG you-DAT

So do you want me to prepare a tangerine for you?

Me feri má či kin-av mange kabelka,  
I just already not buy-1SG for.me handbag

taj bišav-av le a mamake, te av-el la texan.  
and send-1SG them the mummy in.order.to COP.SUBV-3SG her-ACC food

I just will not buy a handbag for me any more, and I will give the money to mummy, so that she has something to eat.

Me ža-v urav-av ma, jo?  
I go-1SG dress-1SG myself DISCP

I will go and dress myself, OK?

Aj poťin-av le.  
DISCP pay-1SG them

But I will pay for them.

Kana ža-s-tar tehára?  
when go-2SG-away tomorrow

When will you leave tomorrow?

• rarely a potential (on potential see more in 4.4.8.3 Mood):

Man te av-en láše papuči, vi me phír-av čak phujatar.  

Use of Verbal Grammatical Categories

me, ACC if COP, SUBV-3PL good boots also I walk DISCP by feet

If I had good boots, I would really also go by feet.

4.4.6 Imperative

The imperative is strictly restricted to present tense and has no aspect potential. Its intrinsic mood is directive, to pose an obligation onto somebody present:

\[
\begin{align*}
Na & \text{ ker } \text{ manca!} & (4.4.6-1) \\
\text{not } & \text{ do, IMP, 2SG} \text{ with me}
\end{align*}
\]

Don't bother me!

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Šu} & \text{ tejle!} & (4.4.6-2) \\
\text{put, IMP, 2SG} & \text{ VERBP}
\end{align*}
\]

Undress it!

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Av-as} & \text{ ža-s ká i Boja!} & (4.4.6-3) \\
\text{come-IMP, 1PL} & \text{ go-IMP, 1PL} \text{ to the Boja}
\end{align*}
\]

Come let's go to Boja!

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Muk-en} & \text{ les!} & (4.4.6-4) \\
\text{leave-IMP, 2PL} & \text{ him}
\end{align*}
\]

Let him be!

The only shifted temporal relation is with direct speech, like with any other relations found in direct speech, where the time of required action coincides with the time setting of the narration:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{“An } & \text{ čil!” } \text{ phen-d-as lenge / phen-l-a tuke.} & (4.4.6-5) \\
\text{bring, IMP, 2SG} & \text{ butter say-PFTV-3SG} \text{ them say-3SG-FUT you}
\end{align*}
\]

“Bring us butter!” she said them / she will say to them.

Other aspects of the directive modality, i.e.

- Possible third person addressees and thereby explicitly expressed subjects;
- Persons absent from the speech situation, potentially in the future, and;
- A shift of the authority from concrete to abstract;

are expressed with the obligation imperative and interrogative particle te (see 5.5.2.3 Obligation Imperative and Interrogative Particle te).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Taj } & \text{ te } \text{ d-es les dëfs, te dikh-es-a les!} & (4.4.6-6) \\
\text{and } & \text{ MODP give-2SG, SUBV him day when see-2SG-FUT him}
\end{align*}
\]

And you have to greet him, when you will meet him!
Imperatives are likely chained (5.1 Multiple Word Onomasiology), addressed with the Dative (4.2.5.3) or used together with discourse particles (5.6 Sentence Level Particles, p. 312) and Vocatives (4.1.1.1.1):

- **Av-en Ža-s!**
  - Come-IMP.2PL go-IMP.1PL
  - 
  - **Come, let's go!**

- **Av-as Ža-s kirav-as!**
  - Come-IMP.1PL go-IMP.1PL cook-IMP.1PL
  - 
  - **Come on, let's go and cook!**

- **Ža dikh!**
  - go-IMP.2SG look-IMP.2SG
  - 
  - **Go and look!**

- **Le garav!**
  - take.IMP.2SG hide.IMP.2SG
  - 
  - **Take and pocket it!**

- **An šu tejle kha-te!**
  - bring-IMP.2SG put.IMP.2SG down here
  - 
  - **Lay it down here by my side!**
4.4.7 Future Tense

4.4.7.1 Tense

The morphological future tense serves prototypically for expression of future events. Finally other tenses appear, too, expressed in future tense, all together:

- Future time to come:

  \[ \text{Maj phen-ou tuke.} \quad (4.4.7-1) \]

  once say-1SG.FUT you

  I do will tell you.

  \[ \text{Či av-l-a.} \quad (4.4.7-2) \]

  not come-3SG.FUT

  She will not come.

- Anticipated future time after emotional verbs:

  \[ \text{Dara-n kodolest, hoř le Rom meláles beš-n-a taj hoř či poti-n-a.} \quad (4.4.7-3) \]

  fear-3PL from.that that the roms dirtily live-3PL.FUT and that not pay-3PL.FUT
The suspect, that the Roms will live in dirt, and that they will not pay.

- Present tense within an epistemic mood (see below on mood):
  
  \[ Vou \, \text{či} \, paťa-l-a. \]  
  she not believe  

She will not believe.

- Any time in complement and final and some conditional adverbial clauses, including indirect speech. In this case future tense expresses subsequent time relative to the situation in the matrix clause. This is most evident from within a historical present (4.4.7-6):
  
  \[ Lešin-as \, pe \, kado, \, kana \, kezdi-j-a \, i \, krisi. \]  
  wait-3PL-1PL on this when begin-3SG-FUT the council  

We wait, until the council begins.

\[ Taj \, vou \, ža-l-as \, ando \, kher \, te \, sov-el. \]  
and he go-3SG-PEFV in.the house to sleep-3SG and say-3SG him the woman

\[ hoť \, ker-l-a \, leske \, ávri \, than \, telaj \, čelčija \, pi \, máľ. \]  
that make-3SG-FUT him outside place under.the tree on.the grass

And he went into the house to go sleeping. And the woman said to him, that she will prepare him a place outside on the grass under the tree.

\[ Már \, kísilime-j \, i \, gláža \, la \, mojasa, \]  
already prepared-COP.3v the bottle the wine.with

\[ savasa \, ande \, šor-el-a \, le \, dúje \, Kirven. \]  
which.with into pour-3SG-FUT the two godfathers

### 4.4.7.2 Aspect

Future tense is capable to express different aspect settings, commonly as well as their counterparts:

- **Iterative:**  
  \[ Akánik \, phír-ker-n-a. \]  
  now walk-ITER-3PL-FUT

And now they will be walking around

- **Progressive:**  
  \[ Žan-av \, tíro: \, Te \, av-ou \, khejre, \, dihk-es-a \, pi \, televiza. \]  
  know-1SG yours when come-1SG home see-2SG-FUT on TV

I know you: When I will come home, you will be watching TV.

- **Perfect:**  
  \[ Mejk \, av-ou, \, má \, kísna \, av-n-a. \]  

(4.4.7-10)
Before I will come, they will be ready.

Šaj d-en simádl, mejk či vortár-l-a ávrí e louve. (4.4.7-11)

They may give a pawn, until they will equate the money.

Perfective:  

\[ D-es-a \text{ palpále.} \]  

(4.4.7-12)

give-2sg-fut back
You will give it back.

Imperfective:  

\[ Žutin-ou \text{ tu.} \]  

(4.4.7-13)

help-1sg-fut you
I will help you.

### 4.4.7.3 Mood

Future times intrinsically contain a moment of uncertainty, expressed *cum grano salis*: Any future events can be labelled conditional. Nevertheless, the grammatical future tense may distinguish different modalities:

- The most common indicative modality, where the speaker holds the utterance for actually sure and for credible to the listener:

\[ Aj \text{ te šin-es-a les, skurto av-l-a!} \]  

(4.4.7-14)

discp if cut-2sg-fut it short cop-3sg-fut

But if you will cut it, it will be too short.

\[ Opre \text{ ža-n-a e khera.} \]  

(4.4.7-15)

up go-3pl-fut the flats
Housing will go up.

- An epistemic modality, a guess as a form of projection into the future, i.e. if complete knowledge would be achieved, it would be like it is guessed now:

\[ Pala \text{ muro č’ av-n-a lášē, kana si kadej puráne.} \]  

(4.4.7-16)

from mine not cop-3pl-fut good when cop.3p so old
According to me they are probably not good, if they are so old.

\[ Kado \text{ či na zumav-es-a, protože nadon londo-j.} \]  

(4.4.7-17)

this even not try-2sg-fut because very salty-cop.3p
You will not even try it, because it is very salty.
Vou šaj ker-l-a so kam-el? Taj me prostě te na ker-av khanči? (4.4.7-18)
she make-3SG-FUT what want-3SG And I simply not do-1SG nothing
So she can do what she likes? And I am supposed just to do nothing?

E Berces-ke ipen av-l-a i budoga. (4.4.7-19)
the Berci-DAT exactly COP-3SG-FUT the trousers
The trousers will fit exactly to Berci.

Te na phen-ou khanči, či šo-l andi ledňička. (4.4.7-20)
if not say-1SG.FUT nothing not put-3SG into.the fridge
If I don't say a word, she doesn't put it into the fridge.

Či žan-el. Khatar žan-l-a? (4.4.7-21)
not know-3SG from.where know-3SG-FUT
He doesn't know. From where should he know him?

• As a speech act modality, when the utterance itself is acting upon the real world (declarative-confirmative according to Matras 2002: 157):

Baxtále t' av-en Romale! Kezdin-ou kadi vorba, (4.4.7-22)
happy COP-SUBV-2PL gentlemen commence-1SG.FUT this speech
phutr-ou i Románi Krísi!
open-1SG.FUT the Roms’ council
Be welcome, gentlemen! hereby I commence the discussion, I open the council!

• Courtesy, in competition with te-marked imperatives, see 5.5.2.3 Obligation Imperative and Interrogative Particle te, p. 298:

An-ou tuke teja? (4.4.7-23)
bring-1SG-FUT you tea
May I bring you tea?

T' an-av tuke teja? (4.4.7-24)
MODP bring-SUBV.1SG you tea
Shall I bring you tea?

4.4.8 Imperfective-Potential
The imperfective-potential has two functions, generally well distinguishable by context. On one hand it is one of the two tenses which mainly map past events. The difference between perfective and imperfective is in aspect and in general is well illustrated by their names, see the aspect part
below. On the other hand it represents as a potential the key means to express a contingency modality, which offers alternative possibilities, see the below on moods.

### 4.4.8.1 Tense

In imperfective mode, the imperfective expresses events in the past, which have no continuation at current times. Within the past, told in a historical present, preconditions and preceding states can be formulated in this way, resulting in a past past:

*Taj šo-l o pistolo – o pistolo phirav-l-as pesa –*  

and move-3SG the pistol the pistol wear-3SG-IPFV with.him

šo-l o pistolo tela šejro tela šerand.
move-3SG the pistol under.the head under.the pillow

And he moves the pistol – he wore the pistol with him – he moves the pistol under his head, under the pillow.

The second functionality, the potential, is, context-dependent, linked to

- The moment of speech (present time):

  *Te kam-es-as te thov-es tu, d-av tu e kiji.*  
  
  if want-2SG-POT to wash-SUBV.2SG you give-1SG you the keys

  If you might want to wash you, I will give you the keys.

  *Kado či žan-ous me.*  
  
  this not know-POT.1SG me

  I would not know this. (or: I did not know this.)

- To events in the future:

  *Te av-ous tute andi Praha, šaj ža-s-as paša lende.*  
  
  if come-POT.1SG at.you in.the Prague MODP go-1PL-POT to.them

  If I came to visit you in Prague, we could stay at their place.

  *Te av-en-as e Ostravake, site l-es aminti pér le.*  
  
  if come-3PL-POT the Ostrava.people MODP take-SUBV.2SG caution on them

  If the Ostrava Roms would come, you will have to be cautious about them.

### 4.4.8.2 Aspect

The imperfective is used mainly for imperfective, progressive and iterative aspects, in detail:

- Imperfective aspect: Completeness of the activity or state is not relevant for the story or contrarily incompleteness is to be stressed. As an extreme, the event is presented with an
intention not to be finished (4.4.8-9) or with uncertain result, so “give” may take the meaning of “offer” (4.4.8-10):

**S1** So-j kodo? (4.4.8-6)
what-COP.3P that

S1 What is that?

**S2** Kado, so šud-an. Či žan-as-as pár les.
this what throw.3PL not know-1PL-IPFV on it

S2 What you threw away. We did not know about it.

**O** autobusi či ža-l-as.
the bus not go-3SG-IPFV

The bus did not go.

**Naj** akánik kam-ous po jivend te ža-v. (4.4.8-8)
discp now want-1SG.3IPFV on the winter to go-subj.1SG

Well now I intended (or: would like) to go in winter.

**O** šávo či kodo či paťa-l-as taj či ža-l-as leske ando šejro,
the boy even that not believe-3SG-IPFV and not go-3SG-IPFV him into the head
**hot’** muk-l-as les.
that leave-3PL him

The boy didn’t believe even that, and he could not get into his head, that she left him.

**Dúj** eze ra d-el-as pi krejčinka. (4.4.8-10)
two thousand give-3SG-IPFV on the skirt

He offered two thousand for the skirt.

**Aj** mang-en-as mandar výměr důchodu, 
taj íženin-d-em lenge: (4.4.8-11)
discp demand-3PL-IPFV from me pension assessment and let say-3PL-IPFV them

Te kam- en výměr důchodu, 
ta v-en pala ma.
if want-3PL pension assessment modp come-subj.3PL after me

Yes, and they demanded the pension assessment from me, and I sent them a message, that if they want to have the pension assessment, they should come to my place.

- Therefore imperfectives are frequently used to establish a background state as a base for main events. This can be called a progressive aspect in the past:

**Nášti k** gejl-em kadalasa, kana khar-el-as ma paj trún šon. (4.4.8-12)
modp go-3SG-IPFV with this when order-3SG-IPFV me after three months
I could not go with this problem, because she has ordered me after three months.

E kirpi, so bikn-en-as, pale nás kadej láše. (4.4.8-13)

the clothes which sell-3pl-IPFV again neg.COP.3p so so good

The clothes they were selling, were not that good.

Atunči, kana trobuj-as te ža-v lasa, nasvaj-l-em halára. (4.4.8-14)

then when need-IPFV to go-subj.1sg with her fall.ill-PPFV-1sg completely

When I needed to go then to the doctor’s because of that, I fell ill completely.

Taj me gindin-ous, hoť khejre-j. (4.4.8-15)

and I think-1sg.IPFV that at.home-COP.3p

And I thought he was at home.

S1 Me phen-ous že ža-v na promoci taj či muk-el-as ma. (4.4.8-16)

I say-IPFV.1sg that go-1sg to.the.ceremony and not let-3sg-IPFV me

I said that I will attend the ceremony, but she did not let me go.

S2 Taj vi kadej gejl-al? Nadon šukár-i.

a DISCP also go-PPFV-2sg very nice-COP.3p

But you went nevertheless? That’s very nice.

- Iterative aspect: The accent is on frequent repetition, duration, regularity, past common truth:

Ža-n-as andej školi, av-en-as, xa-n-as, skiri-n-as e úkolura, (4.4.8-17)

go-3pl-IPFV in.the schools come-3pl-IPFV eat-3pl-IPFV write-3pl-IPFV the homework

taj ža-n-as khel-en-as pe.

and go-3pl-IPFV play-3pl-IPFV REFV.

They went to school, came home, ate the lunch, wrote the homework, and they went to play.

S1 Taj či šina-d-al dve sto? (4.4.8-18)

and not offer-PPFV-2sg two hundred

And you didn’t offer two hundred?

S2 Či na d-en-as. Vaj d-in-oun la?

even not give-3pl-IPFV or give-PPFV-IRR.3p it

They would not give it. Or would they?

S1 Aj kam d-in-oun la, kana či kin-en-as khonik.
But they might have given it, as nobody ever bought it.

Minďík phen-el-as hoť kam-el la.  
always say-3SG-IPFV that love-3SG her

She always said, that she loves her.

Kana s-im-as maj terní, vi pij-ous thud-ouro.  
when cop-1SG-IPFV CPR young also drink-1SG-IPFV milk-DIM

When I was younger, I drank also milk.

Tu či ker-es-as leske khanči, mure dadeske.  
you not do-2SG-IPFV him nothing my father

You didn't do anything for him, for my father.

Me žutin-ous les nebo i mamo.  
I help-1SG-IPFV him or the mummy

I helped him, or my mother.

Či na žan-av, hoť p-el-as kerkes [i teja].  
even not know-1SG that drink-3SG-IPFV bitter the tea

Even I didn't know, that he drank tea without sugar.

In the following counter-example it looks like the establishment of a background state is realized by a perfective, probably in connection with a ritual activity, which must be presented as finished. An imperfective (dous dějs) would imply a hardly tolerable mere intention to say good-bye, but without any result:

Kana d-em le romen dějs, beš-l-em tejle.  
when give-1SG-IPFV the people day sit-1SG-IPFV down

After I said hello to the people, I sat down.

The potential mood, expressed with the imperfective-potential, is an imperfective mood per se, as the alternative reality has not even begun yet. Otherwise it is not bound to iterative or non-iterative activities.

After establishment of the potential the further consequences are listed in the epistemic future, see 4.4.7.3 Mood, occasionally relativized by a further potential. Apparently this triggers a narrative spirit and causes a switch into perfective tense:

S1 Naj phen-es-as, hoť te bišav-ou les tuke.  
DISCP say-2SG-IPFV that if send-1SG.FUT it to,you
But you told me to send it to you.

S2 Jaj! Naj múl-em! Taj trvali-j-a ek šon, mejk bišav-n-a les mange.

Oh my God! So it will take a month, until they will send it to me.

Eta, o lil. Av-il-oun mange duvar. Taj či gejl-em pala les.

You know, the notification. They would send it twice. And I would not fetch it.

Gejl-as i Bejba. Taj či d-in-e les lake. Sas doporučeňe.

Bejba went there. And they didn't give it to her. It was recommended.

4.4.8.3 Mood

Mood is the main distinction between both key functions of the imperfective-potential:

- the imperfective realises purely indicative meanings, a sober presentation of a past event. Other modal connotations come with analytic means, 5.5.2 Modal Particle:

- the potential expresses contingency modality, i.e. an event which might happen under certain circumstances (as opposed to the irrealis, which cannot happen any longer, see there):

  Sako dějs šaj makh-el-as ma, taj či makh-el ma. (4.4.8-25)

  every day MODP massage-3SG-POT me and not massage-3SG me

  She could massage me every day, but she does not massage me.

  Av-es-as kecavo sivešo? (4.4.8-26)

  COP-2SG-POT such kind

  Would you be so kind?

  Competitively the irrealis can be used occasionally:

  S1 Ale e gláži šaj an-es-as mange. (4.4.8-27)

  but the bottles MODP bring-2SG-POT me

  But you could bring me the bottles.

  S2 E gláži kam-l-em-as vi me.

  the bottles want-PFTV-1SG-IRR also me

  I would like to have the glasses also.
4.4.9 Perfective Participle

The perfective participle has two main application fields:

- The analytical passive, formed with the copula (see 4.4.1 Copula,6), and possibly the ablative (see 4.2.5.5-4 Ablative, p. 108):

  \[ O \text{ vudar} \text{ sas} \text{ ánde} \text{ ker-d-o.} \]  
  \[ ART.NOM.SG.M \text{ door.NOM.SG.M} \text{ COP.IPFV.3P} \text{ VERBP make-PFTV-NOM.SG.M} \]  
  The door was closed.

  \[ Nás \text{ tejle} \text{ skiri-me, azír} \text{ či khar-d-e} \text{ la.} \]  
  \[ NEG.COP.3P \text{ ASPP write-PFTV therefore not invite-PFTV-3PL her} \]  
  He was not signed, therefore they didn't invite him.

- Onomasiology, see 4.5.4 Conversional Derivation.

4.4.10 Perfective

The second past tense, perfective, differs from imperfective by a stress on completion of the event.

4.4.10.1 Tense

Perfective is uniquely linked to the past, no other temporal relation can be uttered with its help. In complement clauses it expresses the past relative to the tense of the main clause, which can finally sum up to a future event or to a pluperfect:

  \[ Taj \text{ apal phen-es-a, so phen-d-as i doktorka.} \]  
  \[ and then say-2SG-FUT what say-PFTV-3SG the doctor \]  
  And then you will tell, what the doctor will have said.

  \[ Taj \text{ o práško te ingr-el lake i Boja, te kin-av, hoť d-el-a} \]  
  \[ and the pills to carry-3SG her the Boja in.order.to buy-1SG that give-3SG-FUT \]  
  \[ le louve mindár. Naj \text{ phen-d-em hoť naj, hoť či kin-d-al les či tu.} \]  
  \[ the money immediately DISCP say-PFTV-1SG that NEG.COP.3P that not buy-PFTV-2SG it even.not you \]  
  And Boja should bring her the pills, buy them, she will receive immediately the money. Well I have said that she has none, that even you haven't bought them

4.4.10.2 Aspect

In contrast to imperfective, perfective points to perfective and non-progressive events, exceptionally iterative relations, in detail:

- Perfective aspect, an activity which is finished, even if it is closely related to the time of speech:

  \[ Site \text{ phen-d-em te na l-en o kher.} \]  
  \[ (4.4.10-3) \]
I had to say them not to take away the flat.

**Hej. xál-al már?**

Hey, did you eat already?

**Te mer-av, me či źan-av, már bister-d-em.**

I really don't know, I have forgotten.

**Akánik o nájem zvíšin-d-e man-ge.**

They rose the rental fee now.

**Či pill-em dolmut.**

I haven't drunk for a long time.

- A finished process resulting in a state:

  **Čišj-il-o akánik.**

  He has slimmed down now.

  **Azír ker-d’il-e e badlavici.**

  Therefore the warts occur.

  **Korkouri áš-il-as?**

  She has stayed alone?

  **Taj nasvaj-l-e le rakloura.**

  And the children became ill.

- Concurrently, with a stative verb, an inception:

  **Žan-gl-em, hoť nasvaj-l-as o Groufo.**

  The children became ill.
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I came to know, that Groufo became ill.

Po palunopaštä-nd-as mura vorbake. \(4.4.10-13\)

on last trust-PFTV-3SGMY statement

For the last time he trusted what I say.

• Or alternatively emphasis on finishing a state or activity:

    Naj khote či lešin-d-am but. \(4.4.10-14\)

    DISCP there not wait-PFTV-1PL much

    Well we didn't wait there a lot.

• And, in consequence, a means to line up a sequence of events, a story, a narrative aspect
    (possibly conjuncted by taj or apal):

    Apal pejl-em po than. D-em perdal i gláža. \(4.4.10-15\)

    then fall.PFTV-1SG on.the place give.PFTV-1SG over the bottle

    Then I arrived. I handled over the bottle.

    Phušl-em e doktoren-dar. Phen-d-e: “To je infekční.” \(4.4.10-16\)

    ask-PFTV-1SG the doctors-ABL say-PFTV-3PL “This is infectious.”

    I asked the doctors. They said: “This is infectious.”

4.4.10.3 Mood
The perfective realises purely indicative meanings, a sober presentation of a past event. Other
modal connotations come with other means, especially particles, see 5.5.2 Modal Particle.

4.4.11 Irrealis
Irrealis is a pure mood transmitter, made up to express counter-factual events, which cannot be
realized any more.

    Ávri šang-l-em-as mure gouja, te mer-av me, te xâl-em-as. \(4.4.11-1\)

    out vomit-PFTV-1SG-IRR my bowels DISCP MODP eat.PFTV-1SG-IRR

    I would have vomited my whole stomach content, without doubt, if I would have eaten this.

4.4.11.1 Tense
Speaking about time in connection with the irrealis requires to refer to a potential time when an
event actually did not happen, but would have happened. At the moment of speech the impossibility
of the event is evident, but nevertheless it can happen in the past, present or future, when it is clear
that there is no chance to make it true.
4.4.11.2 Aspect

Within irrealis aspect is not an important function, and it has no distinguishing role. Theoretically, some aspect value might be attached to irrealis: The core idea of the irrealis is the not-completion of an event, the not-happening of a perfective action. Therefore irrealis is naturally linked to a perfective aspect, symbolized by perfective morphology. This also applies to iterative events, which did not really come to an end and represented the counterpart of a perfective iterative event. In speech production, nevertheless, these considerations are not relevant, and thus, will not be discussed in more detail.

4.4.11.3 Mood

Irrealis is strongly bound to non-indicative mood relations, especially the following:

- One aspect of contingency mood, the expression of counter-factual events, which obviously did or do not happen:

  \[ Te \, źan-gl-em-as, \, či \, gejl-em-as \, tute. \]  \hspace{1em} (4.4.11-2)

  \[ if \, know-PFTV-1SG-IRR \, not \, go-PFTV-1SG-IRR \, to.you \]

  If I had known, I had not gone there.

  \[ Te \, na \, kira-d-al-as \, e \, šax, \, či \, xál-am-as \, akáňík \, khančí. \]  \hspace{1em} (4.4.11-3)

  \[ if \, not \, cook-PFTV-2SG-IRR \, the \, shakh \, not \, eat-PFTV-1PL-IRR \, now \, nothing \]

  If you had not cooked the shakh\(^{11}\), we would not eat anything now.

  \[ T' \, av-il-oun \, khejre, \, šaj \, gejl-am-as \, lende. \]  \hspace{1em} (4.4.11-4)

  \[ if \, COP-PFTV-IRR \, at.home \, MODP \, go-PFTV-1PL-IRR \, at.them \]

  If they were at home, we could visit them.

  \[ Šaj \, gejl-al-as \, andí \, kirčima \, te \, mang-es \, teja. \]  \hspace{1em} (4.4.11-5)

  \[ MODP \, go-PFTV-2SG-IRR \, in.the \, restaurant \, in.order.to \, order-SUBV.2SG \, tea \]

  You could have gone to a restaurant and order a tea.

  A special case of the counter-factual is the report of something, which almost happened:

  \[ Pejl-em-as! \]  \hspace{1em} (4.4.11-6)

  fall-PFTV-1SG-IRR

  I almost fell down!

- Another aspect of contingency mood, an alternative realization of the potential. The tendency to merge potential modality into irrealis morphology might be driven by \(cz/sk\) absence of distinction of these two moods. This can be seen as contested by the courtesy motivation, which is in Czech also expressed by the conditional (see the second example):

\(^{11}\) a Rom meal based on cabbage, rice and chicken broth
4.5 Word Formation

Except for inflectional modifications, North West Lovari Romani words may be created by further processes: compounding, derivative onomasiology and derivation. Inflectional formation mechanisms are obligatory to receive forms which can be used within a clause, based upon roots or stems which cannot stand alone lacking many semantic and syntactical information. Word formation proper is a process which produces rather word stems out of (simpler or equally simple) original stems. The question of origin versus target is not a priori clear, but it is no real issue for a synchronic grammar. In contrast to inflection, word formation produces new lexical entries out of existing ones.

Compounding merges individual stems into one compound one. Derivative onomasiology compounds lexemes with special derivative formatives for the same task, and finally derivation proper primarily gives a chance to embed a lexical unit into different syntactical positions by changing its part-of-speech status. Superficially the second process might be called semantic or lexical, the third one syntactical or grammatical. Eventually, nevertheless, both processes elements of the second are mutually involved, as will be seen.

Semantic or syntactical shifts without changing the word form like bal “hair” > “tinsel” and kuțin “a little” (quantifier) > “small” (qualifier), respectively, are not discussed separately, but appear under derivative onomasiology and derivation.

Numerals represent a part of speech which takes exhaustive use of word formation mechanisms by chaining higher numbers and deriving meanings out of basic numerals like ordinals, distributive numerals etc. The mechanisms involved are closely linked to numerals and scarcely occur with other parts of speech. Therefore numeral related word formation processes are taken out of the rest and are discussed together as in a separate chapter (4.5.5 Numerals).

4.5.1 Compounding

Compound lexemes are not very common in North West Lovari Romani. Therefore, there are little rules to be extracted from language data. Additionally, compounding must have been a historically new phenomenon in the language, as the resulting forms are commonly transparent, without erosion of bigger phonological shifts, and sometimes not clearly to distinguish from phrases, see 5.1 Multiple Word Onomasiology, p. 236.

Compounds represent a joined prosodic unit. Longer lexical units exhibit weaker secondary stresses on modifying elements (as opposed to head elements). The order of elements generally copies the order within the clause, see the enumeration according to part-of-speech-types in 5.2 Nominal Phrase, p. 256. The resulting word type is the same as the header word type.
Generally both parts of the conjunction are merged without linking material. Some kind of linkers result in constructions of adnominal modifiers with nouns, where according to case agreement in the NP, the noun is required in the genitive and subsequently the modifier in the oblique case. Synchronically, the oblique marker (e or a) appears like a linker:

\[ \text{bár-e jíl-es-k-i} \rightarrow \text{bár-e jíl-es-k-i} \]  
\[ \text{big-OBL.M.SG heart-OBL.M.SG-GEN-NOM.SG.F} \quad \text{big-LINKER-heart-DERIVATION-agreement} \]

An exceptional linker -i- can be found in \textit{dopaš-i-rat} “mid-night” or \textit{but-i-var} “more times”.

Concerning parts of speech, the following combinations have been encountered:

- **Adjectival + noun**: The order is the same like in default NP order. The noun appears in the genitive, the modifier in an appropriate (of gender and number of the noun) oblique form.

  \[ \text{bárejílesko} \text{ “noble, lit. big-hearted”}, \text{ jejkhejakhesko} \text{ “one-eyed”}, \text{ čáčejílesko} \text{ “sincere, lit. true-hearted”, jejkhačangako} \text{ “one-legged”, dopašaratáko} \text{ “midnight”} \]

  \[ \text{Keť-e-berš-en-g-i-j?} \]  
  \[ \text{how.many-OBL.SG-year-OBL.PL-GEN.NOM.SG.F-COP.PRES.3P} \]

  How old is she?

- **Preposition + noun**: The order copies the PP order. Mind that contrary to the original gender-indifferent genitive (f also -o, see 4.2.5.7 Genitive, p. 115) the result inflects like a oikoclitic adjective (f with -i).

  \[ \text{bilouvengo} \text{ “moneyless”, bibájengi} \text{ “without sleeves”, bililengo} \text{ “unofficially, lit. without paper”} \]

- **Numeral + pronoun**: The reciprocal \textit{jejkháver} “another” is joined without linker, because \textit{jejkh} “one” is actually no modifier to áver “other” and both origin in different syntactical roles (subject and different objects). They require plural agreement (see 4.4.2 Verbal Number) and remain a syntactical unit even if they have to express syntactical asymmetry:

  \[ \text{Phírenas pala jejkh-ávr-es. Not: Phírenas *jejkh pala ávr-es.} \]  
  \[ \text{Phírenas walked after one-other-ACC.} \]

  They walked one after the other.

### 4.5.2 Semantic Shift

Sometimes words start to be used with slightly changed meaning, more general, more specific in different situations etc. Such a semantic shift within the same word class might be presented as zero-derived, but the shift displays rather semantic than conversional character. Here some rather common examples are given for illustration, a more detailed discussion is ruled rather by semantics and though exceeds the focus of this study. A particular case is the shift in meaning with plural forms, which is also listed here. The columns “General Meaning” and “Shifted Meaning” may be sometimes arbitrary, as the direction of shift is not always necessarily obvious:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lexeme</th>
<th>General Meaning</th>
<th>Shifted Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lokes</td>
<td>slowly</td>
<td>quiet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bal</td>
<td>hair</td>
<td>tinsel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bešel</td>
<td>sit</td>
<td>be imprisoned</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xal</td>
<td>eat</td>
<td>irritate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šinel</td>
<td>cut</td>
<td>decide</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mundárel</td>
<td>kill</td>
<td>beat up, switch off</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dúj</td>
<td>two</td>
<td>different</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kouvjárel</td>
<td>weaken</td>
<td>calm down, intermediate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mulano</td>
<td>dead</td>
<td>pale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>perel</td>
<td>fall</td>
<td>receive accidentally, arrive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>parudo</td>
<td>changed</td>
<td>unsightly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>žal</td>
<td>go, walk</td>
<td>begin, function, take turn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>deja, dada</td>
<td>mothers, fathers</td>
<td>ancestors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pátv</td>
<td>respect, honour</td>
<td>celebration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>páji</td>
<td>water</td>
<td>brook, lake, sea, dressing, liquid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pája</td>
<td>waters</td>
<td>flood, sweat</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 46: Semantic Shift

The following sentences may provide examples of such shifts in context:

\[
I \text{ vlašiko šib kodi amáre dejangi-j} \ taj \ amáre \ dadangi-j. \quad (4.5.2-1)
\]

the Lovari language that our mothers' is and our fathers' is

The language of the Lovaris is that of our ancestors.

\[
E \ pája \ márde \ ma. \ - \ or: \ Fólin \ pár \ ma \ [e \ pája]. \quad (4.5.2-2)
\]

the waters hit me flow from me the waters

I sweated a lot.

Exceptionally this shift is accompanied by a phonological shift: \( gáda \) “dress” from \( gad \), pl. \( gada \) “shirt” (mind the long vowel).

4.5.3 Derivative Onomasiology

Derivative onomasiology compounds lexical stems with special derivative morphemes to generate new meaning. The relation between initial and target word type is not important. This onomasiological device is more frequent than compounding. It takes use of prefixes and stem suffixes. After the following overview two derivations shall be examined in more detail: comparison and diminutives.

Minor derivative patterns with historical and obscure semantics are not listed here. These include, e.g. -val- (\( \text{perválo} \) “furnished with a belly”), -ver (\( \text{godáver} \) “wise, lit. endued with reason”).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Morpheme</th>
<th>Target Part-of-Speech Type and Inflection Class</th>
<th>Source Word Type</th>
<th>Examples</th>
<th>Semantic Range, Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>maj-</td>
<td>retained, adjective, adverb, (noun)</td>
<td>maj šukár “nicest”</td>
<td>see 4.5.3.1 Comparison</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-our-</td>
<td>retained, changes in inflection</td>
<td>cigů-our-i “small.DIM”</td>
<td>see 4.5.3.2 Diminutives</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suffix</td>
<td>Retained</td>
<td>Part of Speech</td>
<td>Example</td>
<td>Note</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ic-</td>
<td>retained</td>
<td>noun</td>
<td>pohář-ic-i “little glass”, čejz-ic-a “little cup”</td>
<td>ditto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ink-</td>
<td>retained</td>
<td>name</td>
<td>Kejž-ink-a “little Kejža”, Berc-ink-o “little Berci”</td>
<td>ditto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ker-</td>
<td>e-conjugation verb</td>
<td>verb</td>
<td>mundár-ker-enas “kept killing”, kharav-ker-donas “were frequently invited”, šuv-ker-av “put often”, zumav-ker-el “keep trying”, phusav-ker-nas “were always stoking”, žehlin-ker-elas “ironed a lot”, Na rand-ker tu! “Don’t scratch you!” Phuš-ker! “Keep asking!” Čumid-ker-de leske purne. “They kissed his feet all around.” Te na xuť-ker-en ande penge vorbi. “They are not allowed to interrupt their speech.”</td>
<td>• iterative aspect or higher intensity • low-level productive • sometimes semantically and phonologically shifted: šin-gr-el “chop, slice” &lt; *šin-ker-el “cut repeatedly” (šin-) phag-r-el “smash” &lt; *phag-ker-el “break into small pieces” (phag-)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ir-</td>
<td>retained</td>
<td>noun (genitive form)</td>
<td>Le tuke i budóg, e dadesk-ir-i! “Take the trousers, those of daddy”, Dikhilal bal lak-ir-e? “Did you seethe hair, her hair?”</td>
<td>• extended genitive in postponed, stressed or additionally supplied position, see 4.1.1.2 Layer II, p. 52. • reminds -Cr- in personal pronouns: ľ-ir-o, m-ur-o, am-ár-o, tum-ár-o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-av-</td>
<td>e-conjugation verb</td>
<td>verb</td>
<td>vazd-a-de “let lift”, mundár-a-das “let kill”, as-av-el “cause to laugh”, ker-a-dem mange</td>
<td>• causative meaning • not productive • stem shortening: phiravel “wear” &lt; phírel “walk”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stem</td>
<td>Meaning</td>
<td>Example</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cird-av-el</td>
<td>“order music”</td>
<td><em>order music</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuš-av-el</td>
<td>“let scold”</td>
<td><em>let scold</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>suv-av-el</td>
<td>“let sew”</td>
<td><em>let sew</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>muk-av-el</td>
<td>“let pass”</td>
<td><em>let pass</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>an-a-das</td>
<td>“let bring”</td>
<td><em>let bring</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šin-a-dal</td>
<td>“you let cut, decide”</td>
<td><em>you let cut, decide</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ušť-av-el</td>
<td>“wake up”</td>
<td><em>wake up</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dar-av-el</td>
<td>“frighten”</td>
<td><em>frighten</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lav-a-das les</td>
<td>“let him take away [fetus]”</td>
<td><em>let him take away [fetus]</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kharavel</td>
<td>“let invite”</td>
<td><em>let invite</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x-a-xa-v-el</td>
<td>“feed”</td>
<td><em>feed</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l-av-av-el</td>
<td>“let take”</td>
<td><em>let take</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>malavel</td>
<td>“hit, meet”</td>
<td><em>hit, meet</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>phandavel</td>
<td>“custody, let custody”</td>
<td><em>custody, let custody</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>phiravel</td>
<td>“wear”</td>
<td><em>wear</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nášadas</td>
<td>“kidnap”</td>
<td><em>kidnap</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khelavel</td>
<td>“loose [a game]”</td>
<td><em>loose [a game]</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mangavel</td>
<td>“ask for a bride”</td>
<td><em>ask for a bride</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šinavel</td>
<td>“promise”</td>
<td><em>promise</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xulavel</td>
<td>“comb”</td>
<td><em>comb</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šilavel</td>
<td>“sweep”</td>
<td><em>sweep</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kiravel</td>
<td>“cook”</td>
<td><em>cook</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>garavel</td>
<td>“hide”</td>
<td><em>hide</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sikavel</td>
<td>“show”</td>
<td><em>show</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bišavel</td>
<td>“send”</td>
<td><em>send</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xoxavel</td>
<td>“lie”</td>
<td><em>lie</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bašavel</td>
<td>“play”</td>
<td><em>play</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>umblavel</td>
<td>“hang”</td>
<td><em>hang</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bijavel</td>
<td>“melt”</td>
<td><em>melt</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ulavel</td>
<td>“divide”</td>
<td><em>divide</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zumavel</td>
<td>“try”</td>
<td><em>try</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pharavel</td>
<td>“split”</td>
<td><em>split</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šaravel</td>
<td>“cover”</td>
<td><em>cover</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nakhavel</td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>suffix</td>
<td>part of speech</td>
<td>example</td>
<td>notes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-áz-</td>
<td>in-conjugation verb</td>
<td>mam-áz-ij “be fixed on mummy”, cigarekl-áz-ij “focus on cigarettes”, vid-áz-in “watch”, kart-áz-in “engage in card playing”, hib-áz-ij “miss”, cifr-áz-ime “tarted up”, pušk-áz-inas “they were shooting”</td>
<td>• iterative intransitives, intensifying activity, hobby • low-level productive (lalázis “be fixed on the aunt” &lt; lala “aunt”, buťázij “work” &lt; bűt “work”), mostly direct loans from Hungarian • possible also with hereditary nouns: šoujázij &lt; *šol “whistle”. • puškázij can be INTRANS “blow” and TRANS “shoot”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-var</td>
<td>numeral, quantifier</td>
<td>jejkh-var “once”, du-var “twice”, tri-val “three times”, uni-var “sometimes”, (maj) buti-var “many times”</td>
<td>• repetition, see 4.5.5.4 Multiplicatives.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-tar</td>
<td>retained motion verb, complete form</td>
<td>žas-tar, nášlas-tar, gejli-tar, náškerde-tar, žala-tar</td>
<td>• ablative meaning (“leave”) • written with a hyphen • always bound, with very rare exceptions: Ža pa k cera tar.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>de-</td>
<td>retained adverb</td>
<td>de-tehára “morning”, de-cigňártur “from childhood”, de-ižártýr “from yesterday”, de-dúr “from far away”; Khotar de-khotar-i “from there to there”; de-khatar o šejro ži ká e purne “from head to toe”;</td>
<td>• specifies spatial-temporal position of departure, see 4.6.2.8 Stating a Range with de and ži, p. 233 • not productive</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prefix</td>
<td>Retained Pronoun</td>
<td>Meaning</td>
<td>Notes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vari- (vare-)</td>
<td>vari-save</td>
<td>“some”, “something”, “somebody’s”, “somewhere”, “somehow”</td>
<td>irrelevant not zero-sized quantity, not productive</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-godi</td>
<td>khatargodi</td>
<td>“from everywhere”, “everything”, “everything”</td>
<td>quantifier for ubiquity, not productive</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>akár-</td>
<td>akár-soski</td>
<td>“any kind of”, “anybody”, “anything”, “any”</td>
<td>singular quantifier for minimum restriction, not productive</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>či-</td>
<td>či-sosko</td>
<td>“none”, “nothing”</td>
<td>not productive, induces verbal negation, homonymous with predicate negator</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-in</td>
<td>phabalin</td>
<td>“apple tree”, “nut tree”</td>
<td>not productive, trees out of their fruits</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 47: Derivative Onomasiology

### 4.5.3.1 Comparison

For grammatical comparison the prefix *maj*- is used. For (positive) comparison as equal or similar, see the Comparison Coordinator *sar* (5.11.4.6). A *NP* header (e.g. *coxa* “skirt”, *žejne* “people”) with case agreement with the adjective or quantifier prefixed by *maj* (e.g. *táti* “warm”, *but* “many”) are the entity to be compared. The adjective or quantifier defines the quality or quantity to be compared (warmth or number in these cases, respectively):

```
Maj táti coxa či kines tu-ke?  (4.5.3-1)
CPR warm skirt not you.buy you-DAT
You don't buy a warmer skirt?
```

```
Vou mangelas žejnen, maj buten.  (4.5.3-2)
he required people CPR more
He required people, more people.
```
Word Formation

\[ \text{Maj páše-}j \ o \ \text{Touco.} \ \text{(4.5.3-3)} \]

\[ \text{CPR close-is the Slovakia} \]

Slovakia is closer

\[ \text{Naj khote-}j \ \text{variká, sar žana telaj trapti, taj maj ángle kutín.} \ \text{(4.5.3-4)} \]

\[ \text{DISCP there-is somewhere like you.will.go under.the stairs and CPR forwards a.little} \]

Well he is somewhere there, if you go down the stairs, and a little more in advance.

In the case of a prefixed adverb the quality to be compared relates to the predicate:

\[ \text{Má kana maj anglunes kerdol, tistára galbeno-j.} \ \text{(4.5.3-5)} \]

\[ \text{already when CPR primarily emerges completely yellow-is} \]

Already when it very initially emerges, it is completely yellow.

Occasionally the noun itself or other word types are prefixed. In such cases, the prefix is to express stronger intention or degree:

\[ \text{Maj kutka šu!} \ \text{(4.5.3-6)} \]

\[ \text{CPR there put_IMP} \]

Put it more over there!

The referent standard emerges from the situation, where the actual state of the entity may be presented as from a lesser quality (the skirt discussed in the example above) or quantity (the actual number of persons) than what is pursued by the comparison. The entity to be compared can be at the maximum achievable level, the superlative, without requiring special marking. This must be understood by context, while the article may help as an indicator, it is not obligatory to use it:

\[ \text{Me sim i maj phúri.} \ \text{(4.5.3-7)} \]

\[ \text{I am the CPR old} \]

I am the oldest.

\[ \text{Kodola-j e maj báre louve, pet ťisíc.} \ \text{(4.5.3-8)} \]

\[ \text{those-are the CPR big money five thousand} \]

These five thousand is the maximum money.

\[ \text{Maj but kinkeren Hennessey.} \ \text{(4.5.3-9)} \]

\[ \text{CPR much they.sell Hennessey} \]

They sell most Hennessey.

\[ \text{Kecave zlága mindík denas la romña i maj bári šuk.} \ \text{(4.5.3-10)} \]

\[ \text{such earrings always they.gave the woman the CPR big beauty} \]

Such earrings awarded the woman always with the maximum beauty.
If the referent standard is intended to be relative to what is achievable, not absolute, so is set before maj:

\[
\text{Kamelas te žal leski pātīv so maj šukāres.} \quad (4.5.3-11)
\]

wanted to go his honour possibly CPR nicely

He wanted to promote his honour as nice as possible.

\[
\text{Le Rom trobunas so maj but te maladon khetānes.} \quad (4.5.3-12)
\]

the people need possibly CPR much to meet together

The people need to meet as much as possible.

In case of doubt or under need of transparency the referent standard can be stated by the ablative or a NP introduced with \textit{sar}. The superlative is distinguished in a way that the referent group is given with a PP ruled by \textit{ande}:

\[
\text{Kadi cigni maj feder pasolij sar kuki.} \quad (4.5.3-13)
\]

this small CPR rather fits than that

This small one fits better than that one.

\[
\text{Khonik naj lendar maj lášo andi dłili.} \quad (4.5.3-14)
\]

nobody is not among them CPR good in the song

Nobody among them is a better singer.

\[
\text{O magerimo, kodo-j o maj báro bîntetši andej Vlašika Rom.} \quad (4.5.3-15)
\]

the excommunication that is the CPR big punishment among the Lovari Roms

Excommunication is the most important punishment among the Lovaris.

\[
\text{O maj hîrešo andej Rom sas o Jarko.} \quad (4.5.3-16)
\]

the CPR great among the Roms was the Jarko

The greatest person among the Roms is Jarko.

The comparizer \textit{maj} is tightly linked to the adjective or adverb to be compared, without possibility to place something in-between. It is also fixed with respect to the relative position and makes up a joint prosodic word with the adjective or adverb. Within standard writing the prefix \textit{maj-} is set separately in front of the adjective or adverb, without hyphen. One of the reasons is the use of an prosodically and syntactically unbound \textit{maj} with a meaning of additional quantity

\[
\text{No si khote maj ávera žejne.} \quad (4.5.3-17)
\]

\textit{DISCP} are there CPR other people

But there are still other people.

Furthermore \textit{maj} can appear with verbs to express some (intended) perfective aspect in the future, also with separate syntactical status, see 5.5.2.13 Epistemic Particle \textit{maj}:
Word Formation

*Maj* kinou le, kodoj brusinki. \(4.5.3-18\)

MODP I.will.buy them those cranberries

I will really buy those cranberries.

*Maj* lena les. \(4.5.3-19\)

MODP they.will.takeit

They will indeed take it away.

*Maj* kouvjola. \(4.5.3-20\)

MODP weaken

It will weaken.

There is very little restriction or exception to the productivity of *maj*:

- For *mišto* “well” the suppletion *maj feder* “better” is used instead of *maj mišto*.

  Kon-i maj godavér, taj maj feder hatârel andi vorba? \(4.5.3-21\)

  who-is CPR clever and CPR rather understands in.the speking

  Who is more clever, and knows better to speak?

  O šávo maj feder vorbij. \(4.5.3-22\)

  the young.man CPR rather speaks

  The young man speaks better.

- The not prefixed *feder* “rather, better” represents a comparison itself, in connection with preferences. Its superlative coincides with the comparative of *mišto*:

  Či kidela mandar. Protože feder šuvou le mange ando kher, \(4.5.3-23\)

  not will.collect from.me because rather I.will.put them for.me in.the flat

  She will not take the money from me. Because I will rather invest it into my flat,

  vaj feder šuvou le rigate.

  or rather I.will.put them aside

  or I will rather save them.

  Feder šel bijava sar ek praxomo! \(4.5.3-24\)

  rather hundred weddings than one funeral

  Better a hundred weddings than one funeral!

  *Maj* feder kamenas pe sar akânik. \(4.5.3-25\)

  CPR rather they.loved REFL than now

  They loved another more than now.
They like rather drinking.

- Also *paluno* “last” and *angluno* “first” express prior positions without graduating *maj*, in the case of *angluno* not loosing the possibility to be graduated, see the examples:

  *Naj či na nás áver, feri kado paluno.*  
  *DISCP even not was.not other just this last*  
  But even there was nothing else, just this last one.

  *Dine les anglunes e louve.*  
  *they.gave him firstly the money*  
  Initially they gave him the money.

  *Kecave takovi tristo žejne maladôna taj vorbina.*  
  *such such three.hundred people will.meet and will.talk*  
  About some three hundred people will meet and talk.

  *E maj anglune vorbina.*  
  *the CPR first will.speak*  
  The first / greatest persons will speak.

- The comparison form of *sigo* “quickly, early” means besides “faster, earlier” also “rather”:

  *Ká žasas maj sigo – po bijav vaj po verastáši?*  
  *where would.you.go CPR quickly on.the wedding or on.the funeral*  
  Where would you go rather – to a wedding or to a funeral?

  *Lako muj maj sigo pašan sar muro.*  
  *her mouth CPR quickly believe than mine*  
  He obeys rather her than me.

### 4.5.3.2 Diminutives

A cluster of suffixes exhibit similar, diminutive, semantic behaviour. They just differ by declension classes to which they attach, while the gender of the resulting lexeme is retained. The forms are summarized in the table below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Morpheme</th>
<th>Word Class</th>
<th>Source Declension Class</th>
<th>Target Declension</th>
<th>Examples</th>
<th>Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

*Note: The table is not fully visible in the image.*
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>-our-</th>
<th>-ic-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>noun, adjective, numeral</td>
<td>CM, OMO, OFI, XMO (incl. names)</td>
<td>CF, XFA, XMI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class</td>
<td>retained with NOM PL in -a for nouns</td>
<td>retained</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- exception: trajici < trajo: Chav to trajici!

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>name</th>
<th>retained</th>
<th>“paper.DIM”</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>XFA, XMI</td>
<td>Patr-ink-a</td>
<td>Patrin.DIM, Kejž-ink-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;Kejža.DIM&quot;, Grouf-ink-a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;Groufka.DIM&quot;, Berc-ink-o</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;Berci.DIM&quot;, Nanoš-ink-o</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;Nonoš.DIM&quot;, Pep-ink-o “Pepa.DIM”</td>
<td>exceptions: Boja &gt; Bojica, Šejinka &gt; Šejinkouri, Pinka &gt; Pinkouri, without nasal: Manci &gt; Mancika</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 48: Diminutives

The primary purpose of diminutives, to express small size, is a part of the domains of communication covered by diminutives:

- Relatively smaller size of the entity, tininess: skaminouro “little chair”, kherouro “little house”, …;

- Small size for changed purpose (children, animals, puppets): pátouro “puppet bed”, šúrouri “puppet knife”;

- Little quantity or amount:
  \[ \text{Feri jejkh márnouro xal.} \]  \hspace{1cm} (4.5.3-32)
  just one bread.DIM eats
  He eats just one slice of bread.

- Closeness: phralouro “dear brother”, pheňouri “beloved sister”, kirvouro “dear godfather”;

- Relieve, reduction of importance:
  \[ \text{Má phúrouro-j.} \]  \hspace{1cm} (4.5.3-33)
  already old.DIM-is
  She is already a little old.

  \[ \text{Ternouri-j peske,} \]  \hspace{1cm} (4.5.3-34)
  young-is REFL.DAT
  She is still a little young.
• Politeness (“please”): (mainly together with šu mange “give me”, an mange “bring me”, de ma “give me” ...) pájouri “water.
šutouro “vinegar.
lonouro “salt.
čikenouro “fat.
salámica “sausage.
árouro “flour.
bejrica “beer.”

Serzin mange láši buťouri! (4.5.3-35)
scare.up.imp for.me good job.dim

Scare up some good job for me,please!


4.5.4 Conversional Derivation
In contrast to semantical “derivation”, (“derivative onomasiology” in this study), syntactical or grammatical derivation is ruled by rather syntactical background. The purpose is to convert between parts of speech, i.e. to adapt the part-of-speech-role given inherently by a lexeme to another role in the clause. Therefore the derivational formatives are ordered by the part-of-speech-type they intermediate. As the target part-of-speech-type is more likely to be unique, the derivative formatives are clustered by targets. While a given derivative formative may apply to different word types (like the nominalizer -im- to verbs and adjectives), it hardly ever renders different part-of-speech-types.

Due to the fact that adjectives easily serve as NP heads, derivative devices with adjective outcome naturally tend to serve as nominalizers, too. This is not a feature of derivation, but of the character of nominals as such. Therefore, they are not listed separately.

4.5.4.1 Language-External Derivation
A special task of derivation is the incorporation of contact language material. Similar to any other Romani dialect, this is highly relevant for North West Lovari Romani, too. In several cases, the deriving device is not productive within the inherited part of North West Lovari Romani grammar, but restricted to stems from the source language of the device. From several abstract nouns like kivan-šág-o “wish”, keret-šíg-o “baptism”, kurva-šág-o “prostitution” a derivative pair -šág-/šíg- can be extracted by confrontation within this group and with other lexemes connected to the same stems like kiván-ij “wish”, kerest-ápo “godfather”, kurva “whore”. The morpheme pair can be confirmed from the corresponding Hungarian nominalizer -ság, -ség, the alternating vowel is explained via vowel harmony. Yet the suffix is compartmented to Hungarian stems, and suggestions like *romšágo, *murššágo etc. are refused by native speakers. It is very likely that the derivation has occurred outside of the language in discussion and the resulting lexeme was taken over, not the derivative morpheme, attached to a contact language stem. Possible non-existing resulting lexemes do not yet provide evidence for Romani-internal invention, as the actual source is often some vernacular variety. Being a synchronic grammar, these phenomena shall be only mentioned and not examined in detail. In the table below, nouns are all projected into the xenoclitic nominal declension, verbs into the (also “xenoclitic”) in- conjugation.

Frequently, Romani has achieved some added value, when the meaning has shifted during integration of the merger of the contact language stem with the contact language derivative element. However, this is not a derivative feature.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Morphpeme</th>
<th>Target Part-of-Speech Type and Inflectio n Class</th>
<th>Source Language</th>
<th>Examples</th>
<th>Semantic Range, Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| -šág/-šíg- | noun XM | Hungarian | kivan-šág-o "wish", kert-šíg-o "baptism", kurva-šág-o "prostitution", mulat-šág-o "feast", tárša-šág-o "economy" | • Abstract nouns  
• -šág- or -šíg- depending on vowel harmony, for stem vowel {aou} or {ei} respectively |
| -en/-an | adverb | Hungarian | friš-en "quickly", rendeš-en "orderly", bistoš-an "surely", ip-en “exactly" | • -an/-en according to vowel harmony, for stem vowel {aou} or {ei} respectively |
| -k- | noun XFA | Slavic | doktor-k-a "doctor.f", učitel-k-a "teacher.f", koordinátor-k-a “co-ordinator.f” | • profession  
• female equivalent |
| -j- | noun XFA | Slavic | injekc-ij-a "injection", histor-ij-a "history", Angl-ij-a "England", Már-ij-a “Maria” | • Latin/Romance loans on -ia  
• orthographical effect |
| -íš/-áš- | noun XMI | Hungarian | kesent-íš-i "congratulation", líp-íš-i "stepping", verast-áš-i "mourning", | • nominalizer  
• may compete with -mo (kesentíši / kesentimo “congratulation”) |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hungarian</td>
<td>prim-áš-i</td>
<td>&quot;first fiddler&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hungarian</td>
<td>jajgat-áš-i</td>
<td>&quot;yelling&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hungarian</td>
<td>fuj-áš-i</td>
<td>“storm”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hungarian</td>
<td>paranč-ol-ij</td>
<td>&quot;order&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hungarian</td>
<td>šeť-ol-in</td>
<td>&quot;deal&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hungarian</td>
<td>kúd-ul-inas</td>
<td>&quot;beg&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hungarian</td>
<td>pas-ol-ij</td>
<td>“fit”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latin/Romance/Greece</td>
<td>multi-ol-i</td>
<td>&quot;multi-millionaire&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hungarian</td>
<td>kerest-apo</td>
<td>&quot;godfather&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hungarian</td>
<td>kerest-áňa</td>
<td>&quot;godmother&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hungarian</td>
<td>keret-šígo</td>
<td>&quot;baptism&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hungarian</td>
<td>minden-eko</td>
<td>&quot;everything&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hungarian</td>
<td>minden-fejliko</td>
<td>&quot;multiple&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hungarian</td>
<td>enged-elmo</td>
<td>&quot;apologize&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hungarian</td>
<td>kiš-asoňa</td>
<td>&quot;young lady&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hungarian</td>
<td>meň-asoňa</td>
<td>“bride”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hungarian</td>
<td>áť-koz-ij</td>
<td>&quot;damn&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hungarian</td>
<td>soura-koz-ij</td>
<td>&quot;entertain&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hungarian</td>
<td>jaj-gat-ij</td>
<td>&quot;yell&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hungarian</td>
<td>hal-gat-inas</td>
<td>“we were listening”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Czech/Slovak</td>
<td>pri-dindas</td>
<td>&quot;added&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- **Verbalizer**
- **in subsequent contact language (cz/sk) employed as adaptation morpheme (see 4.5.4.4 Derived Verbs)**
- **miscellaneous uses and meanings**
- **miscellaneous uses and meanings**
- **miscellaneous aspect and valency markers**
- **miscellaneous aspect markers**
Table 49: Language-External Derivative Morphemes

### 4.5.4.2 Derived Nouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Morpheme</th>
<th>Target Declension class</th>
<th>Source Part-of-Speech Type</th>
<th>Examples</th>
<th>Semantic Range, Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ø</td>
<td>retained except for gender</td>
<td>adjective</td>
<td>Muk o táto! “Switch on the heating!” lit. “let the warm”</td>
<td>specific meaning: heat energy, very rare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ø</td>
<td>oikoclitic genitive plural nominal</td>
<td></td>
<td>máčengo &quot;fly paper&quot;, vastengi &quot;handbag&quot;, šouvengo “pistol”, e coxi e šingenge “pronged skirts”.</td>
<td>meaning is not straight-forward: máč-engo fly-GEN.PL “fly paper”, vast-engi hand-GEN.PL handbag”, šouv-engo six-GEN.PL “revolver (6 mm calibre)”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-o, -i, -a</td>
<td>XMO, XMI, XFA</td>
<td>noun</td>
<td>saxafoun-o “saxophone” doktor-i “doctor” kamarátk-a “pal.F”</td>
<td>adaptation, see 4.1.2.3 Common Xenoclitic Noun Classes, 4.1.2.4 Minor Xenoclitic Masculine Noun Classes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-a</td>
<td>XFA</td>
<td>proper name</td>
<td>Birn-a &quot;Brno&quot;, Prah-a &quot;Prague&quot;, Znajm-a &quot;Znojmo&quot;, Karvíň-a &quot;Karviná&quot;, Teplic-a &quot;Teplice&quot;, Budějovic-a &quot;Budějovice&quot;, Sered-a “Sered”</td>
<td>feminine, plural and traditional neuter cz/sk municipalities ending in vowel, see 4.1.2.3 Common Xenoclitic Noun Classes, generally highly individual, historical: Sereda &lt; Sered’ Slovak names often from Hungarian forms: Požoma &lt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-o</td>
<td>XMO</td>
<td>proper name</td>
<td>Hung. Pozsony “Bratislava”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----</td>
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<td>--------------------------</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Lošonc-o</td>
<td>• consonant and newer neuter cz/sk municipalities ending in vowel, see 4.1.2.3 Common Xenoclitic Noun Classes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;Lučenec&quot;,</td>
<td>• Slovak names often from Hungarian forms: Lošonco &lt; Hung. Losone “Lučenec”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Stříbr-o &quot;Stříbro&quot;,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Přerov-o &quot;Přerov&quot;,</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Třinc-o &quot;Třinec&quot;,</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Havířov-o</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>“Havířov”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<p>|      |      | abstract nouns, see xámo “(way of) eating, quarrel” vs. texan “food” |
|      |      | contraction ai &gt; a in a-conjugation (xámo “eating, quarrel”, paťamo “belief”) |
|      |      | stem shortening šáko &gt; šukimo “dryness” etc., but also retention šukárismo “prettiness” and lengthening xámo. |
|      |      | idiomatic extensions and restrictions: ternimátura “youngsters” &lt; terno “young” |
|      |      | Naj tu po čálimo. (NEG.cop you.ACC on.the saturation) “You have not enough to get saturated.” &lt; čálo “saturated” |
|      |      | tatimo “warmth” ↔ šil/šudrimo “cold” |
|      |      | ando paťamo: “bona fide”, lit. in trust; |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(-k)iň-</th>
<th>XFA</th>
<th>noun</th>
<th>doktor-kiň-a &quot;doctress&quot;, šougor-kiň-a &quot;sister-in-law&quot;, Vlax-iň-a “Lovari woman”</th>
<th>from noun: rajimo “harvest”&lt;br&gt;ráj “official”&lt;br&gt;productive: no *doktorkyně in matrix languages existent&lt;br&gt;female equivalent, see above -k-(doktorka)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-ojk-</td>
<td>XFA</td>
<td>XMO group name</td>
<td>Cint-ojk-a &quot;Sinti woman&quot;, Šmac-ojk-a &quot;German woman&quot;, Rus-ojk-a “Russian woman”</td>
<td>not productive&lt;br&gt;female equivalent&lt;sup&gt;14&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ár-</td>
<td>XMI</td>
<td>noun</td>
<td>miljon-ár-i &quot;millionaire&quot;, bút-ár-i “worker”</td>
<td>profession&lt;br&gt;also with oikoclitic words (bútáři)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ic-</td>
<td>XFA</td>
<td>noun</td>
<td>Rumungr-ic-a &quot;Rumungo woman&quot;, sestreň-ic-a “cousin”</td>
<td>mostly with non-Romani items (staňica, krabica, vulica etc.), cf.4.5.4.1 Language-External Derivation&lt;br&gt;exceptionally productive as female equivalent (Rumungrica, neol. žuklica)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ejv-</td>
<td>XMO</td>
<td>(non-Romani) noun</td>
<td>vezet-ejv-o &quot;leader&quot;, repil-ejv-o &quot;plane&quot;, rádiij-ouv-o “radio” véc-ejv-o toilet”</td>
<td>adaptation of Hungarian nominalizer with long vowel -ő-/ó&lt;br&gt;like with long vowel 4.5.4.3 Derived Adjectives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-in</td>
<td>CF</td>
<td>adverb</td>
<td>detehár-in &quot;morning&quot;, perát-in “evening”</td>
<td>in greetings: Láši detehárin! Te del o Dejl! “Good morning! Be welcome!”&lt;br&gt;isolated&lt;br&gt;non productive</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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<sup>13</sup> Lakatošová, Šebková 2004: 46
<sup>14</sup> Cech, Heinschink 1998:91
Table 50: Noun Forming Derivative Morphemes

4.5.4.3 Derived Adjectives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Morpheme</th>
<th>Target Declension Class</th>
<th>Source Part-of-Speech Type</th>
<th>Examples</th>
<th>Semantic Range, Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-∅</td>
<td>retained</td>
<td>quantifier, noun, adverb</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>isolated, restricted to certain constellations (e.g. mišto &quot;well&quot; only in copula predicates, not *Mišto zumi xálem. “I had a good soup.”)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ø</td>
<td>oikoclitic</td>
<td>genitive (possessive) expressio n</td>
<td>půčaki “calm”, bárimango “proud”, voujaki “gladsome”, mojako “violet”</td>
<td>productive, e.g. three year old child creates spontaneously pižamoski budóga “pyjama trousers” transforms also NPS like ketéberšengi “how old”, see 4.5.1 Compounding see also group names in 4.2.5.7-8 Genitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(participle), -me</td>
<td>oikoclitic, non-inflected</td>
<td>verb (-me for in-conjugated)</td>
<td>mundár-do &quot;beaten, switched off&quot;, opre d-ine &quot;denounced&quot;,</td>
<td>as nominalizer productive, see 4.3.5.2 and 4.3.4.5, as means of onomasiology not šanglo “policeman”,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ik-</td>
<td>xenoclitic</td>
<td>non-Romani noun</td>
<td>priprav-ime “prepared”, soulat-ime “defended”, skir-ime “written”, praxo-me “burried”, objednal-ime “ordered”</td>
<td>pharado “bitch”)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• perfective aspect · passive meaning can disappear: bisterdo manuš “forgotten person” or “forgetful person”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ív-</td>
<td>xenoclitic</td>
<td>non-Romani adjective</td>
<td>đúxodov-ív-o &quot;pension&quot;, hovjez-ív-o &quot;beef&quot;, anglick-ív-o &quot;English”, vinervovan-ív-o “nerved”</td>
<td>highly productive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• adaptation of cz/sk adjectives with long final vowel,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ick-</td>
<td>xenoclitic</td>
<td>noun</td>
<td>touc-ick-o &quot;Slovakian”, calafán-ick-o “cellophane”</td>
<td>low level productive: newer derivations fall into -ív:-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• countries, material</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-un-</td>
<td>oikoclitic</td>
<td>noun, adverb</td>
<td>somnak-un-i &quot;golden”, rup-un-i ”silver”, párn-un-i ”silken”, angl-un-i ”first, formost”, pal-un-o ”last”,</td>
<td>material (noun)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• location or time (adverb)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• not productive (i.e. no *betonuno “cement” or *baruno “from stone” and alike)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

15 Lakatošová, Šebková 2004: 66
| -utn- | oikoclitic | noun | kher-utn-e “domestic”,  ř-utn-o “yesterday’s” | • origin, time  
| | | | | • not productive |
| -ál- | oikoclitic | noun | paj-ál-i “thin, watery”,  patív-ál-o "honest",  kárn-ál-o "thorny",  mas-ál-i “meat like” | • not productive  
| | | | | • substantivized, with short -a-:  
| | | | | khulalo “toilet” < khul “excrement” |
| -án- | oikoclitic | animate noun/adjective | grast-án-o "horse",  mul-án-o "like dead",  pur-án-o "old",  gurv-án-o "beef",  rom-án-o “Romani” | • not productive  
| | | | | • exceptional stem changes like  
| | | | | phúr-o > pur-an-o “old” |
| -ikán- | oikoclitic | animate noun | gaž-ikán-o "from the majority",  phur-ikán-o “old fashioned” | • not productive  
| | | | | • stem shortening |
| -š- | xenoclitic (non-Romani) noun | erek-eš-o "total",  hír-eš-o "great",  mulat-ouš-o “feast” | • Hungarian adjectivizer  
| | | | | • after vowel with elided -e- and prolonged final vowel:  
| | | | | rúžášo “pink” < rúža “rose”  
| | | | | • partially productive: kávejošo “brown”, luludášo “violet” |
| -árňik- | xenoclitic | noun | vorb-árňik-o “eloquent” | • intensity  
| | | | | • isolated |

Table 51: Adjective Forming Derivative Morphemes

4.5.4.4 Derived Verbs

16 Cech, Heinschink 1998:92
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Morpheme</th>
<th>Target Conjugation</th>
<th>Source Part-of-Speech Type</th>
<th>Examples</th>
<th>Semantic Range, Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-in-</td>
<td>in-</td>
<td>(non-Romani) verb</td>
<td>prejd-i-ja &quot;it will go over&quot;, hlás-in &quot;notify&quot;, rozved-i-j pe &quot;divorce&quot;, trob-un &quot;need&quot;, gind-on pe “think”</td>
<td>adaptation of cz/sk {i}-stem verbs (infinitive in -t/-t, -it/-iť, -ě/-ěť), Hungarian verbs, Romanian, Greek transitive verbs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-on-</td>
<td>in-</td>
<td>(non-Romani) verb</td>
<td>mačk-ali-j &quot;squeeze&quot;, pred-alin-das “he handled over”</td>
<td>adaptation of cz/sk {a}-stem and consonant verbs (infinitive in -at/-at)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-un-</td>
<td>in-</td>
<td>(non-Romani) verb</td>
<td>sled-ulin-as &quot;followed&quot;, dak-ulin-as &quot;thanked&quot;, kafičk-uli-j</td>
<td>adaptation of cz/sk {u}-stem verbs (infinitive in -ovat/-ovať)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-alin-</td>
<td>in-</td>
<td>(non-Romani) verb</td>
<td>paho-saj-lem &quot;I got c-old&quot;, mucí-sajv-el, murcov-sajv-el &quot;gets dump, be amazed&quot;, gindo-sajv-el &quot;thinks about&quot;, guru-saj-lem &quot;I got freezed&quot;, gindosajvav gindoj pe &quot;think&quot;</td>
<td>adaptation of pre-Hungarian verbs, inchoatives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ulin-</td>
<td>in-</td>
<td>(non-Romani) verb</td>
<td>-ol-in-</td>
<td>adaptation of cz/sk {ol}-stem verbs (infinitive in -ovat/-ovať)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-sajv-</td>
<td>e- (v-subclass)</td>
<td>(non-Romani) verb, adjective</td>
<td>paho-saj-lem &quot;I got c-old&quot;, mucí-sajv-el, murcov-sajv-el &quot;gets dump, be amazed&quot;, gindo-sajv-el &quot;thinks about&quot;, guru-saj-lem &quot;I got freezed&quot;, gindosajvav ↔ gindoj pe “think”</td>
<td>adaptation of pre-Hungarian verbs, inchoatives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>intransitive use</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
|          |                    |                           |                                        | occasionally co-occurrence (on individual level) with adaptation by reflexivized (intransitivized) -on-:
|          |                    |                           |                                        | gindosajvav ↔ gindoj pe “think” |
|          |                    |                           |                                        | pahosajvesa ↔ pahosa tu “get cold” |

*adaptation of pre-Hungarian verbs, inchoatives |

intransitive use |

occasionally co-occurrence (on individual level) with adaptation by reflexivized (intransitivized) -on-:

- gindosajvav ↔ gindoj pe “think”
- pahosajvesa ↔ pahosa tu “get cold”
| -uv- | uv- adjective, participle, noun, adverb | phúr-ol "become -old", cigň-ol "shrink", máť-ol "get drunk", šut-ol, “dry” | • stative or inchoative meaning |
|      |                           | bisterď-ol "get forgotten", garadť-ol "be hidden, be pocketed", xoxaď-ol "be lied", šunď-ol "be heared", Te tať-on té gouja! “Let your stomach warm up!” Kames te márd-ös? “Do you want to be beaten up?” | • main source for whole uv-conjugation class |
|      |                          | • main source for medium and passive, non-agent subject (opposed to reflexive constructions, compare sastīlas “recover” with sastārdas pe “cure oneself”, Lakatošová, Šebková 2004: 52) |
|      |                          | • from monosyllabic ADJ roots |
|      |                          | • exceptionally from nouns: ráťol “darken, get night”, déjsol “dawn” or adverbs: pášol “come / bring closer” |
|      |                          | • individual stem shortening tať-ol “warm up” < tát-o “warm” |
|      |                          | • Agent is given in the Ablative (4.2.5.5): Már-đ- -os -a les- tar (4.5.4-1) |

peci-saj-las "happened", miški-saj-las "dangled, trembled", zali-saj-lem "I was shocked", vineti-saj-las "turned blue"

murcosajven ↔ murcon pe “gets dump, be amazed”
• rarely from adjectives (khiňisajlem “tire”, dillisajlal “become silly”, vinetisajlas “turn blue”)
• productive, i.e. with rare newer (cz/sk) loans (všimnout/-úť “notice”): Či šimnisajlas khonik pe lest. not noticed nobody on him.

Nobody noticed him.
pa kadi vorba.

from this statement

You will be beaten by him because of this statement.

- sometimes not reducible, concurrent with transitive (approximate) equivalents in -ár (see below) or -av- (see 4.5.3 Derivative Onomasiology): phabol (phabárel) “burn”, sitól “learn” (siťárel “teach”), tordól “stand” (tordárel “stop”), pašól “lie” (paštárel “lay”), kirol (kiravel) “cook”, bašól “sound” (bašavel “play”)

- sometimes not reducible at all: bušól “be called”, šol “put”

- occasionally joined with semantic shift:

  Pherďárel i píri  (4.5.4-2)
  He fills the bowl.

  Pherďáres e šavouren!  (4.5.4-3)
  You infect the children!
  (from phírel?)

  So kerďilo andá les?  (4.5.4-4)
  What has he turned into?

  Kerdílas andi Anglíja.  (4.5.4-5)
  He was born in England.

  Ášadílas.  (4.5.4-6)
  He was puzzled.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>-v-</th>
<th>e- (v-stem)</th>
<th>adjective</th>
<th>stative or inchoative aspect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nasvaj-Ø-le &quot;they got ill&quot;, barvaj-v-en &quot;they become rich&quot;, zuraj-v-elas &quot;it became hard, he</td>
<td>from polysyllabic (oikoclitic) ADJ, stems on -ál-, palatalized to -aj-, e.g. barvál-o &gt; barvaj-v- “become rich”</td>
<td>shortening of stem vowels: nasválo &gt; nasvajle “get ill”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| -ár- | e- | noun, adjective, participle, adverb | solax-ár-av "swear", zur-ár-el "tighten, strengthen, empower", xiv-ár-el “make holes” | • occasional elision like in dijajvel “get silly” (probably from bi-syllabic *dilino > dillo, see 2.1.1.3 Border Phenomena, p. 24), xojajvel “get angry” (probably from adjective *xojało “angry”), šukajvel “become beautiful” (from -ár instead of -álo, or alternatively and not less probably from the noun šuk “prettiness”)  
• sometimes not reducible, concurrent with transitive equivalents: xasajvel “get lost” (xasárel “loose”), mundajvel “turn off, die” (mundárel “switch off, kill”), musajvel “decay” (musárel “spoil, destroy”) | • transitive verbalizer  
• mono- (lundárel “prolong”) and multisyllabic (nasvajárel “get ill”) words  
• palatalises preceding alveolar, velar and -l (párnárel “whiten”, pherdárel “fill”, thujárel “make thick”, tatárel “warm up”, nandárel “undress”, sitárel “teach”)  
• often stem shortening and other phonetical changes tatárel “warm up” < táto “warm”, matárel “make drunk” < máto “drunken”, dindarel “bite” < dand “tooth”, contrariwise kouvjárel “weaken” < kouvo “weak”  
• frequently with semantic shift (see also -uv- above): vortárel “repair” < vorta “right”  
lašárel pe “boast” < lášo “good”  
barárel “grow.TRANS” < báro “big”  
drabárel “foretell” < drab “herb, drug”  
ratárel “accomodate” < rat “night”  
šukjárel “conserve” < šuk “vinegar” |
4.5.4.5 Derived Adverbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Morpheme</th>
<th>Source Part-of-Speech Type</th>
<th>Examples</th>
<th>Semantic Range, Comment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| -es      | adjective, except for those in -cko, -iko (OBL PL stem) and -šno | louk-es "slowly", šukár-es "nicely", lungon-es “longly” | • productive, except for suppletion mišto for lášo and some ō-derived consonant oikoclitic stems kuč, kutín, godáver, but not šukár (šukáres).  
• including xenoclitic oblique extension -on- for Xenoclitic Adjective (Sub-)Classes (4.1.3.3): skurtones  
• rarely situational oikoclitic ADJ with adaptive infix -on-: Makh mange thulones! |
| -a       | adjective in -cko and -iko | řamcick-a "German", ungrick-a “Hungarian” | • languages and ethnicities from adjectives in -icko and -iko (Lakatošová, Šebková 2004: 76) |
| -en      | adjective in -š(n)o | rendeš-en "orderly", friš-en "quickly", híreš-en “greatly” | • not productive  
• frišen from frišo |
| -e       | preposition?, noun | pāš-e "close", | • not productive |

Table 52: Verb Forming Derivative Morphemes

17 Lakatošová, Šebková 2004: 53
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word Formation</th>
<th>ánd-e “inside”</th>
<th>khejr-e ”at home”,</th>
<th>dējs-e ”during the day”,</th>
<th>jivend-e ”in winter”,</th>
<th>kurk-e ”on Sunday”,</th>
<th>ráti-e ”in the night”,</th>
<th>paraštun-e ”on Friday”,</th>
<th>savaton-e ”on Saturday”,</th>
<th>lujin-e “on Monday”</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• locative, allative and temporal adverbs</td>
<td>• monosyllabic root syllable is lengthened</td>
<td>• rat &gt; ráti with distinct or phonologically changed -i &lt; -e</td>
<td>• for days of the week with additional infix -n-, see below</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>-n- noun</th>
<th>paraštu-n-e ”on Friday”,</th>
<th>savato-n-e ”on Saturday”,</th>
<th>luji-n-e “on Monday”</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• weekdays</td>
<td>• additional formative, final form is on -e, see above, reminds xenoclitic adaptation formative -on-, see above -es.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>-al preposition?, noun</th>
<th>tejl-al ”down”,</th>
<th>maškar-al ”in-between”,</th>
<th>khejr-al “from home”</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• not productive</td>
<td>• locative-ablative adverbs</td>
<td>• monosyllabic root syllable is lengthened</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>-te/-de noun (obl form)</th>
<th>verastášes-te ”on a mourning event”,</th>
<th>lounen-de ”disposing with money”,</th>
<th>truša-te ”thirsty”,</th>
<th>dara-te ”frightened”,</th>
<th>lažaves-te</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• fossilized inflectional 4.2.5.6 Locative</td>
<td>• denoting location and circumstance</td>
<td>• not productive</td>
<td>• te/de for sg/pl respectively</td>
<td>• formed from the oblique stem, except for áverte “elsewhere”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 53: Adverb Forming Derivative Morphemes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Morpheme</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-indos</td>
<td>verb (present stem) • relic historical present participle • forms like *kerindos “making”, *phenindos “telling”, *dindos “giving”, *žanindos “knowing”, or intransitive *asandos “laughing”, *žandos “knowing” etc. are rejected</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-tar</td>
<td>noun • isolated, phujatar &lt; phuv “ground”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.5.5 Numerals

The generation of theoretically infinite number of numerals out of single basic lexemes is partially a morphological, partially a syntactical task. As the mechanisms use different positions between these two poles, they shall be discussed together at this place.

The numerals to be defined below compete with Czech/Slovak numerals. In general, contact-related effects are dependent on the intensity and type of contact of the individual and his family, of the community's settings, and on the domain in which a language device is used. Commonly, Romani numerals are found when short and simple in Romani (e.g. single words incl. biš and šel, double words šel ezera “hundred thousand”, dešupánž “fifteen”, biš taj pánž “fifteen”, names for full hours), while more complex ones, incl. fractions of the hour, are expressed in Czech/Slovak.

Sometimes also more simple numerals appear in Czech/Slovak, within Romani code, often together with the units to be counted.

\[
\text{kana den dva tisíc vaj tisíc} \quad (4.5.5-1)
\]

if they give two thousand or thousand

\[
\text{vi dvje sže, vi tři sta, aj tisíc roků} \quad (4.5.5-2)
\]

also two hundred or three hundred even two hundred or three hundred eventually also a thousand years

\[
\text{pe jejkhes dine biš berš, e ávres dine osumnást, taj la,} \quad (4.5.5-3)
\]

on one they gave twenty years the other they gave eighteen and her

so kerdes kado, dine la petadvacat roki.

which done this they gave her twenty-five years
one of them got twenty years, an other one eighteen, and she, who has caused this, got twenty-five years.

4.5.5.1 Basic Numerals

The enumeration of basic numeral lexemes is rather a lexical issue. Nevertheless, due to some idiosyncrasies and due to their little amount they all shall be named here:

<p>| | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>nula</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>šouv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>jejkh, ek</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>ejfta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>dúj</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>oxtō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>trīn</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>īja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>štār</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>deš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>pāņž</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>biš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>tranda</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>saranda / štārvardeš</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td>šel</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1000</td>
<td>ezero, mīja</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1000000</td>
<td>milijoumo</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Basic numerals often exhibit a long root vowel or diphthong. Nula “zero” is used only as a technical number (ID's) when spelling phone numbers, passport numbers, bank account numbers etc., unless told completely in cz/sk.

Numerals inflect according to the consonant oikoclitic paradigm of nouns, except for those ending in a vowel (nula, ejfta, oxtō, īja, tranda), which are uninflected, and ezero, milijoumo, mīja which belong to the m, m, f, respectively, xenoclitic class. In oblique positions, pāņž is shortened to pāž-.

The distribution of jejkh versus the short version ek is that of marked versus unmarked, respectively. Jejkh is used

- Generally at the head position, like in the examples:

  Kodo jejkh sas cigno.  \hspace{1cm} (4.5.5-4)

  this one was small

  This one was small.

  Halem jejkh trobunasas te žanas.  \hspace{1cm} (4.5.5-5)

  but one we.would.need to know

  But one thing we would need to know.

  Jejkh site phenas.  \hspace{1cm} (4.5.5-6)

  one MOOP we.say

  One thing we have to say.

  Le jejkhes šudas tejele.  \hspace{1cm} (4.5.5-7)

  the one threw down

  One of them he threw down.
Či trajin či jejkh
not they.live even.not one
Not a single one is living.

O jejkh múlas.
the one died
One of them had died.

Si jejkh, Manci bušol.
there.is one Manci is.called
There is one, called Manci.

Jejkh andi bolta-j taj jejkh ávral-i.
one in.the shop-is and one outside-is
One is in the shop and one is outside.

Niči po jejkh, po deš dine les.
not by one by ten they.gave him
They didn’t give it to him by single pieces, but in tens.

• To express contrast:
i jejkh kirvi vs. i áver kirvi
the one godmother the other godmother
one godmother the other godmother

či o jejkh, či i áver
neither the one nor the other
neither one, nor the other

Kana kerav jejkh xumer, žan mange vi pánž plejhura.
when I.make one paste goes for.me also five baking.trays
When I make one paste, it longs even for five baking trays to me.

Keťi šuvou ánde, jejkh sáčko?
how.much put inside one bag
How much do I add, one bagful?

Aj na šu důj! Jejkh šu!
discp not put two one put
No, don't you put in two of them! Put in only one!

- For emphasis:
  
  \[
  \text{sako jejkh romí / manuš / žejno / žuvli} \quad (4.5.5-18)
  \]
  
  every one wife / human / person / woman
  
  every single wife / human / person / woman.

\[
\text{inke jejkh fontošo godáver vorba} \quad (4.5.5-19)
\]

still one important wise saying

one more important and wise saying

\[
\text{lesko šávo jejkh} \quad (4.5.5-20)
\]

his son one

one of his sons

\[
\text{Naj jejkh berš sas féri andi vazba.} \quad (4.5.5-21)
\]

DISCP one year was only in the custody

But he was only one year in custody.

- In the meaning of “equal”, be it in comparison or as not relevant:

\[
\text{Kadala teji jejkh-i.} \quad (4.5.5-22)
\]

these teas one-are

These teas are the same.

\[
\text{Jejkh sas lenge.} \quad (4.5.5-23)
\]

one was them

It was the same to them (They didn't mind).

\[
\text{Kodolen-ge naj sa jejkh.} \quad (4.5.5-24)
\]

those-DAT is not everything one

They are not indifferent to everything.

- To express exclusivity: \text{o jejkh čačimo andi luma "they only truth on Earth";}

- As part of compound numbers and fractions: \text{dešujejkh "eleven", jejkh taj dopaš "one and a half", see the following chapters;}

- As an optional undefined article, see 4.2.1-14 Article:

\[
\text{Ando kher bešelas [jejkh] gajži, Anička bušolas.} \quad (4.5.5-25)
\]

in the flat lived one woman Anička was called
In the flat lived a woman, called Anička.

Contrarily *ek*, with its phonological variant *k* after vowel or -j, irrespective of the definiteness status ("a" or "one"):

- In adnominal non-stressed position: *ek semo rat* "a few blood", *ek pohári* "one glass", *vaj k čejza* "or one cup", *de k šávo* "but a boy", *tela k šon* "after a month", *po k márno* "one bread for everybody", *na k čáso* "not an hour", *ande k cigňa kočári* "in a little carriage", *pa k berš* "after one year", *skirin mange k lil* "write a letter for me", *dikhes la k minuta* "you see her for one minute", *pa k cera* "after a while", *ek čáso* "an hour", *duj paramanči*, *ek citromo* "two oranges, one lemon", *trvalindas ek šon* "it lasted one month", *ek kutín* "a few"

For contrast between both variants see the example, where both were used instantly:

\[
Šosa \ jejkh, \ ek \ škorica \ ánde. \tag{4.5.5-26}
\]

You will put one one cinnamon inside

The numeral *jejkh/ek* can be omitted in connection with *feri*:

\[
Ø \ šavouro-j \ les \ feri. \tag{4.5.5-27}
\]

He has only one son.

The numerals *jejkh* and *duj* also express equality and distinction, respectively:

\[
Me \ taj \ tu \ duj \ sam. \tag{4.5.5-28}
\]

Me and you are different.

\[
Ek \ euro \ taj \ bišupánž \ koroni \ jejkh-i, \ na? \tag{4.5.5-29}
\]

One euro is the same as twenty-five crowns, isn't it?

The numeral *štár* serves as an inexpressible amount, sometimes with irony:

\[
Már \ štár \ pahosasajle. \tag{4.5.5-30}
\]

It was horrible cold.

\[
Štár \ dikhlus. \tag{4.5.5-31}
\]

He had hallucinations.
4.5.5.2 Cardinal Numerals

Cardinal numerals serve to give counts of the chosen entity. They are made out of the basic numerals by compounding and conjunction, whereby compounding seems like an integrated form of older conjunction with the fossilized conjunction $u$.

- Ones are identical to the basic numbers given above.
- Bare tens are single lexemes until thirty/forty (deš “ten”, biš “twenty”, tranda “thirty”, individually also saranda “fourty”), higher ones are composed via -var-, “times”, partially with shortened vowel: štarardeš “fourty”, panžardeš “fifty”, šouvardeš “sixty”, ejftardeš “seventy”, oxtardeš “eighty”, ijavardeš “ninety”.
- Ones based upon ten and thirty/forty are compounds;
  - with -u- between consonants (dešujejkh “eleven”, dešuduj “twelve”, dešutrín “thirteen”, dešuštár “fourteen”, dešušov “sixteen” and);
- Ones based upon twenty and all higher than forty/fifty, including bare hundreds and bare thousands, are joined with taj “and” (e.g. biš taj jejkht “twenty-one”, biš taj dúj “twenty-two”, … biš taj íja “twenty-nine”, štarardeš taj pánž “forty-five”);
- Bare hundreds are numbered multiples in a plural form of šel “hundred” like dúj šela “two hundred”, trín šela “three hundred” etc.;
- More complex combinations appear neither in texts nor in natural speech, and elicitation forces the speakers to produce strings, which cannot be reproduced. Thus, the only further rule for higher numerals is to concatenate basic numbers, lower complex numbers given above and conditionally the conjunction operator taj, coming down from highest to lowest numbers.

4.5.5.3 Ordinal Numerals

Ordinal numbers serve to pick up the position of a single member out of a enumerable set. The ordinal number represents the index into the set and allows to point to the entity assigned to that index. Ordinal numerals are made out of cardinal numerals by appending a derivation-like suffix -to, for example dújto “second”, štárto “forth”, dešto “tenth”, dešoxto “eighteenth”, trando “thirtyth”, šelto “hundredth”, to the last numeral element: trandatajpánžto networking thirty-fifth.

The resulting adjective inflect according to the xenoclitic class.

Exceptions are (the oikoclitic) angluno “first” for the first member and trito “third” instead of expected *trínto. Higher order numerals ending with one (n*10 + 1) sound regularly (n) taj jejkhto “-first”, e.g. šel taj jejkhto “hundred-first”.

---

18 Lakatošová, Šebková 2004: 49
4.5.5.4 Multiplicatives

Multiplicatives count occurrences in time, how often an event has happened. For this purpose, cardinal numerals are extended by the multiplying suffix -var, known from the construction of tens (šťarvardeš “fourty” etc.): pánžvar “five times”, šouvvar “six times”, efftavar “seven times”, etc. “five times”, “six times”, “seven times” etc. respectively.

Slightly exceptional are the first numerals, exhibiting partially a metathesis, short vowels and a dissimilating change in liquids: jovkhar beside jekhvar “once”, duvar “twice”, trival “three times”, šťárval “four times”.

The multiplying -var, see 4.5.3 Derivative Onomasiology, can be suffixed also to other quantifiers in order to receive other count of occurrences in time: butivar “many times”, univar “sometimes”, keťivar “so many times”.

To point one out of an ordered set of occurrences in time, the cz/sk preposition po precedes the ordinal numeral, except for the first occurrence anglunes (not *po angluno) “for the first time”: po dújto “for the second time”, po trito “for the third time”, po štártio “for the fourth time”.

4.5.5.5 Distributives

Distributives specify, how many entities are distributed to each item of a collection. They are formed by the cz/sk distributive preposition po (i.e. not the inherent masculine form of pe): po jejkh “one each”, po dúj “two each”, po trín “three each”.

4.5.5.6 Fractions

There is no elaborated system for building fractions. “Half” is said with dopaš, smaller parts are described by use of rigal “fraction” and ríso “part”. For “three”:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Ulaven} & \quad \text{les} \quad \text{trín} \quad \text{rigal}. \\
\text{they.divide it} & \quad \text{three} \quad \text{fraction.sg}
\end{align*}
\]

They divide it into three parts.

and a single resulting part is referred to by ríso, e.g.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Kado} & \quad \text{ríso} \quad \text{tiro-j}. \\
\text{this} & \quad \text{part} \quad \text{your-is}
\end{align*}
\]

This part is your's

4.6 Prepositions

Several basic prepositions appear in distinct forms, depending on agreement with the dependant noun and on definiteness:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{and-} & \quad \text{ô} \quad \text{kher} \quad \text{versus} \quad \text{and-} & \quad \text{i} \quad \text{škola} \quad \text{versus} \quad \text{and-} & \quad \text{e} \quad \text{i’-o} \quad \text{kher} \\
\text{in} & \quad \text{-DEF.M.SG} \quad \text{house} & \quad \text{in} & \quad \text{-DEF.F.SG} \quad \text{school} & \quad \text{in} & \quad \text{-INDEF} \quad \text{your-M.SG} \quad \text{house} \\
\text{at home} & \quad \text{in school} & \quad \text{at your house}
\end{align*}
\]
Forms and functions of this variation are easy to derive, mainly cross-dialectically, from a conjunction of a preposition stem (*and-e) with/without an article (o kher / i škola / tō kher), but some forms require deeper etymological knowledge. A number of less frequent prepositions employ no morphological variation.

### 4.6.1 Morphology

As explained in the section on 2.5 Important Morphophonetic Processes, the resulting forms are predictable synchronously by phonological rules, and the following presentation is rather a summary of forms than a real morphological analysis.

For the morphology of prepositions, three types of combinational behaviour with the article (one could say declension classes) can be observed. These are named after their forms in undetermined position: e-stem, a-stem and consonant + long vowel. The latter one is no real morphological class, as the article is not merged into the form of the preposition and the article is equally linked to the preceding preposition as to the subsequent rest of the NP.

The prepositions' appearances, taken from a morphological point of view, are with respect to Bickels and Nichols' (2007: 12) classification of formatives concatenative (bound and isolated from other morphemes), slightly flective (i.e. three sets of endings somewhat dependent on the belonging to a class) and semantically dense (i.e. encoding several features like gender, number, case, definiteness and stress).

Leaving out the consonant/long vowel class for triviality (absence of morphology), the two remaining sets of endings are as follows, for and- “in”, “into” and tela- “from”:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Situation</th>
<th>Forms of and-</th>
<th>Forms of tela-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>UNDEF, OBL</td>
<td>ande</td>
<td>tela</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FEM SG NOM</td>
<td>andi</td>
<td>telaj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MASC SG NOM</td>
<td>ando</td>
<td>tela</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL NOM</td>
<td>andej</td>
<td>telaj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With full pronoun</td>
<td>ande</td>
<td>tela</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With pronominal clitic</td>
<td>andej</td>
<td>tela</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 54: Prepositions - Article Suffixes*

The e-stem prepositions are

- **and-** “in”, “into”;
- **p-** “on”, “onto”.

The a-stem prepositions are

- *anda-* “from” (locally), “due to”;
- *pa-* “about”, “from” (material, origin, base);
- *pala-* “behind”, “after”;
- *tela-* “under”, “from under”;
- *paša-* “close to”, “at” (temporarily);
- *angla-* “in front of”, “before”.

The *m.sg* forms of the a-stems are particular, as definiteness is not marked here, which excludes singular masculines from examining distinctions of definiteness for this class.

Both monosyllabic prepositions with initial *p-* (*p- and pa-*) show an additional *-r* in front of pronouns. Two mutually metathesized individual variants can be heard, separated by a slash:
Prepositions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occasion</th>
<th>Regular Forms (e-stem)</th>
<th>-r-form (e-stem)</th>
<th>Regular Forms (a-stem)</th>
<th>-r-form (a-stem)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>With Full Pronoun</td>
<td>ande</td>
<td>pre</td>
<td>tela</td>
<td>pa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With Clitic Pronoun</td>
<td>andej</td>
<td>prej / pejr</td>
<td>tela</td>
<td>prá / pár</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 55: Prepositions - r Retension

The lengthening found in front of clitic pronouns (andej, prej, prá) applies also to anda:- andá ma „because of me” and can occur with full pronouns, too: andej mande “within myself”, pár lende “about them”.

All other prepositions do not integrate the article, they remain unchanged, so we could call this class non-inflected.

4.6.2 Use of Prepositions

In the sense of the levels of 3.1.3 Verbal Arguments, prepositions represent the most complex non-complement type, one level more analytic than level-II-case. Therefore, too, they occur a little less frequently than core objects. On the other hand, prepositions serve to express adverbial meaning, to integrate a nominal referent as a location, time, etc. These two usages overlap to a large extent. Verbal arguments differ from adverbial use by frequency of co-occurrence with certain verbs, by the degree of obligation and frequently by idiosyncrasy of meaning. The decision in a given case is a lexicographic one, whether to place the common verbal-prepositional entry to a verb (as optional argument) or to the preposition (as one of its general meanings). The most common general meanings are presented here, but verbal arguments are part of the analysis only by examples.

Frequency and importance of single prepositions, but also semantic diversity, is closely linked to specific morphological behaviour, see above 4.6.1 Morphology. Thus, the most common prepositions are already mentioned. The uninflected classes will be summarized in the table at the end of the section, see 4.7 Non-Inflected Lexemes, p. 235.

One basic distinction is important throughout the whole of spatial relations: Directions 'towards' (directive) and direct locations (locative) are semantically grouped together as opposed to direction 'away from' (ablative). This was reflected in the case system with the opposition of locative versus ablative, respectively, at least with personal pronouns. Among prepositions this decides about the choice of the basic form, especially the stem vowel: directive-locative pe, ande and paša versus ablative pa, anda and khatar.

4.6.2.1 Inessive-Illative ande

One player in extending relations of the (relict) morphological locative (see 4.2.5.6 Locative) is ande, expressing:

1. The position inside another location or entity (inessive), which need not to be covered like ando vast “in the hand”, andi jakh “in the eye”, andej bal “in the hair”, andi Ostrava “in Ostrava”. Also in figurative meaning (4.6.2-4, 4.6.2-5, 4.6.2-6), an area or institution:

   So-j ande kodo batiho?  

   \(4.6.2-1\)
what-is in that bag
What is inside of that bag?

Andi kirčima sas. (4.6.2-2)
in.the restaurant was
He was in a restaurant.

Dikh ande sos avilas! (4.6.2-3)
lookin what came
Look what she is dressed in!

Maj feder hatūrel andi vorba. (4.6.2-4)
cpr better understands in.the speaking
He knows better to speak.

Kon-i kecave čišle ando nípo? (4.6.2-5)
who-is such slim in.the family
Who is so slim within the family?

Žal khejre po taxiko taj andej bútā-j. (4.6.2-6)
goes home by cab and in.the jobs-is
She returns always home by cab and she stays always in her employment.

2. The way towards the inside of a location or entity (illative), possibly not completely inside. Also in figurative meaning (4.6.2-12), into an area or institution:

Gejlo po Touco andi Seređa. (4.6.2-7)
went to Slovakia to Sereď
He went to Slovakia, to the city of Sereď.

I roj šutas ande lesko muj. (4.6.2-8)
the spoon put in his mouth
He put the spoon into his mouth.

Pizdas andej late i baxuja. (4.6.2-9)
pushed into her the stick
She pushed the stick into her.

Urade pe ande kecave šingerde kirpen. (4.6.2-10)
dressed refl into such worn.out clothes
They dressed themselves with such worn out clothes.

*Taj azír das ma ando maškar i injekcija.* (4.6.2-11)

and therefore gave me into the back the injection

And therefore he gave me the injection into my back.

*Šute les ando phagerimo.* (4.6.2-12)

put him into the excommunication

They excommunicated him.

*Andej bolti phírasas lende.* (4.6.2-13)

in the shops went ITER to them

We used to go to them into the shops.

3. The membership within a group, especially the referential total set of a superlative:

*O maj hírešo andej Rom-i.* (4.6.2-14)

the CPR great in the Roms is

He is the greatest person among the Roms.

4. Exceptionally the way through an entity (prolative):

*Kobor kotor-i, či avla ando vudar.* (4.6.2-15)

so big chunk is not will come into the door

He is such a chunk, he will not even go through the door.

5. Exceptionally a supplement (instead of):

*Te na naj kodole manušes, savo kharavel i Románi Krísi, louve,* (4.6.2-16)

if not is not that human which summons the Roms council money

šaj den andej louve simáði, mejk či vortárla ávri e louve.

MODP give instead of money pawn until not will even ASPP the money

If the person, who summons the council, has no money, he may give instead of the money a pawn, until he will equate the money.

There are boundary cases between *ande* and *pe* like *andi motora* “into the car” but with a car as a means of transportation (see example 4.6.2.2-3) *pi 603-ka* “with the 603 model”. Theoretically *ande* refers to the building, while *pe* to the institution inside, but in reality the usage swaps. Also *televíza* “TV” may appear with both prepositions without major difference. With clothing the exchange of prepositions is joined with a change of perspective:

*Dikhlas e gáda pi Bejba.* (4.6.2-17)

saw the dress on Bejba
She saw the dress suited on Bejba.

I Bejba andej gáda šukár sas, na? (4.6.2-18)

the Bejba in.the dress beautiful was DISCP

Bejba looked beautiful in the dress, didn't she?

4.6.2.2 Superessive and Superlative pe

A competitive manner of being located is on the surface of an entity. This is realized by pe, among other meanings, for:

1. The position on an upwards open, horizontally bounded location (superessive): pi mál “on the grass”, pi udvara “in the courtyard”, pi stańska “in the station”, po pijarco “on the food market”, pi vulica “in the street”, pi burza “on the market”, po šejro “on the head”, also with figurative meaning like pi poušta “in the post office”, po bijav “on a wedding”, po parlamento “in parliament”, po biťáko “on the housing office” or on a picture or medium to display pictures like pi fotka “on a photo”, po rengeni “on the X-ray picture”, pi televiza “on TV”.

S1 Dav tu? S2 Te na, čak kadej pi šúri te zumavav. (4.6.2-19)

I.give you MODP not DISCP so on.the knife to try

S1 May I give you some? S2 Oh no, give me some on a knife, just to try.

Kerenas búť pi automobilka. (4.6.2-20)

they.done job on.the car.factory

They worked in a car factory.

2. A movement towards an upwards open, horizontally bounded location (superlative), see the collection of nouns in case 1 above. It is used also with figurative meaning or in connection with pictures.

Das les pi luma. (4.6.2-21)

gave him on.the world

She gave birth to him.

Ži pi phuv-i man-ge. (4.6.2-22)

down.to on.the ground-is me-DAT

It longs down to the ground.

Šu po tejáři! (4.6.2-23)

put on.the plate

Put it on the plate!
She has to get her injections.

3. The means of transportation, be it as a location or an instrument:

*Báre* drapti-j pi mašina! (4.6.2-25)

large stairs-are on.the train

On the train there are high stairs!

*Maj* feder-i po taxíko sar te žal pi tramvajka. (4.6.2-26)

cpr better-is on.the cab than to go on.the tram

By cab is better than by tram.

4. A counter-value, see also in 4.2.5.7-3 Genitive:

*I* Rumungrica delas pi krejtinca dva tísice. (4.6.2-27)

the Rumungro.woman gave on.the skirt two thousand

The Rumungro woman offered two thousand for the skirt.

*Keti* mangenas pi papiň? (4.6.2-28)

how.much demanded on.the goose

For how much was the goose?

*Ašta, dav tu po texan.* (4.6.2-29)

wait I.give you on.the food

Just a moment, I give you something to buy food.

5. The target with several verbs:

*Mír* cípis pér ame? (4.6.2-30)

why yell on us

Why do you yell on us?

*Xojajvelas* pe lengo nópo. (4.6.2-31)

got.angry on their family

She was angry about their family.

6. The purpose, like in cz/sk na: práški po thulimo “overweight pills”, dóza po xumer “pasta box”:

*Pe sos* te anav i táška? (4.6.2-32)

on what modp bring the bag
Why should I bring the bag?

7. For temporal information, see 5.4.2 Temporal Relations, p. 286: \( \text{pi Patrádi} \) “on Eastern”, \( \text{po mizměr} \) “by noon”, \( \text{pi sítěn} \) “for breakfast”, \( \text{po deteháра} \) “in the morning”, \( \text{po nejvo berš} \) “on New Year”, \( \text{pe ráča} \) “in the evening” (ACC without article!);

8. A recourse to an authority:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Po Dejl mangav tu taj pi svunto Máríja!} \quad (4.6.2-33) \\
\text{on the God urge you and on the holy Mary} \\
\text{I urge you in the name of God and holy Mary.}
\end{align*}
\]

9. An argument of certain verbs like \( \text{bistrel} \) “forget” (alternatively to ACC):

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Pašaj želika gáda taj pašaj somnakaj náššik bistren či pe penge bal.} \quad (4.6.2-34) \\
\text{to cashmere dress and to gold \( \text{MODP} \) forget not on their hair} \\
\text{Besides the cashmere dresses and golden jewellery, they must not forget neither their hair.}
\end{align*}
\]

10. An onomasiological instrument, see 5.1.2 Noun Dependent, p. 239, especially as an extension of meaning 6 of the preposition.

### 4.6.2.3 Elative \( \text{anda} \)

One of the ways to extend the functionality of the morphological 4.2.5.5 Ablative is \( \text{anda} \), which also covers roles in its vicinity like The cause (also a kind of source or origin), individually also the causal interrogative sostar “why”: (3):

1. From within an entity (elative) in the sense of \( \text{ande} \) (4.6.2.1): \( \text{ande muj} \) “out of the mouth”.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Andaj Tapolčáňa sármozijas.} \quad (4.6.2-35) \\
\text{from the Topoľčany descends} \\
\text{He descends from Topoľčany.}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Ande les andaj Komároma khejre Ostrava.} \quad (4.6.2-36) \\
\text{they brought him from the Komárno at home Ostrava} \\
\text{They brought him from Komárno home to Ostrava.}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Taj ávri šuden la apal anda kher.} \quad (4.6.2-37) \\
\text{and out threw her then from the flat} \\
\text{And they threw her out of the flat.}
\end{align*}
\]

2. The reason, cause like \( \text{ande šungar} \) “because of a spit”, \( \text{ande kodo} \) “therefore”:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Andaj pirámíňi phandade les.} \quad (4.6.2-38) \\
\text{because of the lover imprisoned him} \\
\text{They imprisoned him because of his lover.}
\end{align*}
\]
Let's pray in favour of her, of that girl.

For twenty thousand she will not give anything.

In vain they demand money from them.

They caught three people out of them at the border.

Well, there is nobody left out of them, all died.

Hey, please give some of that water!

The original delative meaning of pa according to the ande-pe versus anda-pa-scheme depends on the background and beginning to be replaced by secondary meanings, in summarization:

1. Movement away from an open, horizontally bounded location (delative):

Take that cap down off your head!

He threw them down from the window.

4.6.2.4 Statement of Origin, Purpose, Subject Matter by Delative pa
He is watching out from the window.

2. The subject matter in connection with verbs of speech and knowledge:

Te merav, andi televiza vorbinas pa kado. Butájik vorbinas pa kodo. (4.6.2-48)

Really, they spoke about this on TV, very much they spoke about that.

Kado-j sa pa muro dad. (4.6.2-49)

This is all about my father.

Pa kodo žanglam. (4.6.2-50)

About this I have known.

3. A purpose:

Lou man-ge louve pa drom. (4.6.2-51)

I will take some money for the voyage.

Vestindas le sa pa kher. (4.6.2-52)

He wasted it all for the flat.

4. An area which is covered by the activity like paj gáva “across the villages”, paj kirčimi “along the pubs”:

Phírel pa fouro taj rodel e Andros. (4.6.2-53)

He goes around the city and searches for Andro.

Šin la paj bul! (4.6.2-54)

Bang her across the backside!

5. The determination of the entity, in competition to the 4.2.5.7 Genitive: šax pa khajña (ACC without article) “chicken-based shakh”, dikhlo pa šejro “headscarf”, fejastri paj khera “windows of the house”, budogi pa pižamo “pyjama trousers”, zumi paj krumpli “potato

19 a Rom meal based on cabbage, rice and commonly on chicken broth
soup”, šonka pa kokalo “ham from the bone”, pa dejaki rig “from mother’s side”. In a more figurative sense the origin of information in pa telefouno “by phone”. Also an origin of animates, in the sense of their origination, like pa Touco “from Slovakia”. For an origin in the sense of a point of departure (anda Touco “out of Slovakia”) see 4.6.2.3 Elative anda;

6. A point in time, relatively shifted by a period forwards: pa dúje déjsen “after two days”, pa k berš “after one year”, see 5.4.2 Temporal Relations, p. 286:

\[
Paj \text{ trín } šon \text{ kharelas ma o doktori.} \quad (4.6.2-55)
\]

after three months called me the doctor

The doctor ordered me in three months.

\[
Taj \text{ mukle les ávri paj berš.} \quad (4.6.2-56)
\]

and released him out after the year

And they released him after a year.

7. With specific verbs like terejdij paj Boja “cares about Boja”;

8. An onomasiological instrument, see 5.1.2 Noun Dependent, p. 239, especially as an extension of meaning 5 of the preposition.

4.6.2.5 Adessive and Allative ká and paša (and Morphological Locative -te/-de)

Sometimes the entity which specifies the location does not have the character of something to be inside or to be placed upon, but by some kind of closeness or belongingness to it. E.g. for the expression mande there is no need for me to be present, it can mean “at my house”. For these cases ká (individually also káj), paša and the morphological locative -te/-de (4.2.5.6-1 Locative) are employed, and for ablative relations khatar and the morphological ablative -tar/-dar 4.2.5.5 Ablative, see the next section.

The division between ká and -te/-de is given by the part of speech of the entity, they co-occur with nouns and pronouns respectively, like in ká i Roza “with Rosa” versus late “with her”.

The distinction between synthetic expression via a morphological case and analytic expression with the help of a preposition reflects the animate status of the location characterization, except for the mentioned non-pronominal, likewise analytical locative with ká. With respect to expressions like paša tí dej “at your mother” and khatar o Milan “from Milan” this seems not to be true, but the distinction holds only for the primary, spatial meanings. Appearance of these prepositions with animate arguments are given by secondary meanings, see below.

In detail, the meanings of ká are (besides its homonymous meaning as interrogative and relative pronoun and as causal subordinator):

1. Only animate adessive:

\[
Phírkerelas \text{ khote ká i Šejinka.} \quad (4.6.2-57)
\]

went there to the Šejinka

He went frequently there to see Šejinka.
Ká lako dad-i, ká la šako dad-i.  
with her father-is with the girl's father-is

She is with her father, she is with the girl's father.

2. An animate allative, like with the pronominal locative case:

*Taj o úkolo pe sos mukes khejre, kana aves khae, ká ti mámi?*  
and the task on what leave at home if you come here to your grandmother

And why did you leave your homework at home, if you come here to your grandma?

*Aj na site gejlalas ká le gáže.*  
DISCP not MODP would have gone to the clients

But you would not have to have gone to the clients.

And paša describes:

1. A location besides an inanimate entity (adessive), also figurative, resulting also in the expression of exception (“besides”) or simultaneity:

*E grast sas paša vurdon phangle.*  
the horses were at the caravan bound

The horses were bound to the caravan.

*Pašaj Hruška naj?*  
at the Hruška not is

Isn’t he around the Hruška store?

*Keren adik leski vouja la dljasa taj paša kodo roven.*  
they make until then his mood the with song and beside that they cry

Until then they keep him with the song in a good mood, and besides that they cry.

*E romesko gad site pasolij paša gádengo síno.*  
the man’s shirt MODP fit to the dress’s colour

The man’s shirt has to fit to the colour of the dress.

2. A movement to a location besides an inanimate entity (allative), also figurative, resulting also in the expression of addition (“additionally”) or circumstance:

*Taj šosa khote e buborki pašaj řiskura.*  
and you will put there the cucumbers to the schnitzels

And you can serve cucumbers besides the schnitzels.

*Paša zubuno len péř pe šukár kacamajka.*  
(4.6.2-66)
They take a beautiful blouse to the coat.

\[ E \text{ Rom} \text{ keravkeren pašaj khera inke ávera sobi,} \quad (4.6.2-67) \]
\[ \text{the roms let.build to.the flats still other rooms} \]
\[ o \text{ pájí, i kúpelňa taj o vécejovo.} \quad \]
\[ \text{the water the bathroom and the toilet} \]

The Roms let their flats reconstruct with additional rooms, running water, a bathroom and a toilet.

\[ Šaj \text{ pen la vi áver dějs, pašaj texana.} \quad (4.6.2-68) \]
\[ \text{MODP drink it also other day to.the foods} \]

They can drink it also the next day, to dinner and lunch.

\[ Paša \text{ kodo mukenas te báron vi lungi bal.} \quad (4.6.2-69) \]
\[ \text{to that they.let to grow also long hair} \]

Beside that they let their hair grow long.

3. A location in vicinity or with (social) distance to an entity, not restricted to inanimates:

\[ Úžimo-j \text{ paša lenge khera.} \quad (4.6.2-70) \]
\[ \text{cleanness-is at their houses} \]

The space around their houses is clean.

\[ Taj \text{ tu keresas pašaj motori.} \quad (4.6.2-71) \]
\[ \text{and you made at.the cars} \]

And you were working at the car factory.

\[ E \text{ Rom bešenas pašaj bári jag.} \quad (4.6.2-72) \]
\[ \text{the Roms sat at.the big fire} \]

The Roms sat around a big fire.

\[ Beš \text{ paša ma!} \quad (4.6.2-73) \]
\[ \text{sit at me} \]

Sit down at my side!

\[ Andi \text{ Ņitra khote pašaj gáže bešasas.} \quad (4.6.2-74) \]
\[ \text{in.the Nitra there at.the Slovaks we.were.living} \]

There in Nitra we were living besides the Slovaks.
4. A person to take care of:

*Kana phandōlas i romńi, le šavoura ášonas paša dad khejre.* (4.6.2-76)

when was.imprisoned the woman the children stayed at.the father at.home

When the woman was in prison, the children stayed with the father at home.

*E rakle kerenas pašaj Ňamci.* (4.6.2-77)

the children made at.the Germans

The Slovak children worked at the Germans.

*Lesko čaládo soro dějs-i paša múlo.* (4.6.2-78)

his family whole day-is at.the corpse

His family is the whole day with the corpse.

*Taj mindík tordol paša pesko rom v‘ando lašimo taj v‘ando nasulimo.* (4.6.2-79)

and always stands with his husband also.in.the goodness and also.in.the badness

And she stands always aside with his husband, in good times and in bad times.

5. To give a specific meaning to certain verbs like šol paša “compare”:

*Paša lestte šos e Berces, naj les kecavi bári gouldi.* (4.6.2-80)

at him if you.put the Berci NEG.COP him.ACC such big reason

Compared to Berci, he isn't this clever.

### 4.6.2.6 Ablative *khatar*

The overlap between the analytical *khatar* and the synthetic ablative (see 4.2.5.5 Ablative) in its functions “Local-social ablative, for animates only:” (1) and “The source, (expected) origin or point of departure, only for animates:” (2) is ruled by the complexity of the NP: Single words tend to be modified morphologically while more complex construction require *khatar*. Of course border cases are not uncommon:

*Le rom bešenas rigate le romňandar.* (4.6.2-81)

the men were.sitting aside.of the women

The men were sitting aside of the women.

*Ande akárče mulatšágoste le romña rigate bešenas khatar le rom.* (4.6.2-82)
In any feast the women were sitting aside of the men.

Generally, *khatar* is used:

1. For a movement away from an entity (animates only):

   \[ I \text{ mesáli perdal las khatar le dúj kirve. } \]  \hspace{1cm} (4.6.2-83)
   the table over took from the two godfathers

   He took over the table from the two godfathers.

   \[ Khatar \text{ le romňa avel ávri ek terni romñouri, } \]  \hspace{1cm} (4.6.2-84)
   from the women comes out one young woman

   \[ savi \text{ garadi sas palaj romňa. } \]
   who hidden was after the women

   One young woman comes out within the women, who was hidden behind them.

   \[ O \text{ rom trádas khejre khatar le rom. } \]  \hspace{1cm} (4.6.2-85)
   the man drove at home from the people

   The man drove home from the community.

2. For a movement passing an entity or going alongside an entity:

   \[ Khatar \text{ o páji kerde drom. } \]  \hspace{1cm} (4.6.2-86)
   from the river they made way

   They made a way alongside the river.

   \[ Khatar \text{ o Priori te avesa tejle taj khote-j e majmura vídik. } \]  \hspace{1cm} (4.6.2-87)
   from the Prior if you will come down and there are the Vietnamese eventually

   If you go down from the Prior, then there are eventually the Vietnamese.

   \[ Le \text{ mesája sas šute kerčl khatar le falura. } \]  \hspace{1cm} (4.6.2-88)
   the tables were put around from the walls

   The tables were installed around the walls.

   \[ Nášade \text{ le khatar o vudar ávri. } \]  \hspace{1cm} (4.6.2-89)
   They carried them from the door out

   They carried him out around the door.

3. The source or origin (animates only):

   \[ Kadi \text{ dılı line perdal khatar penge papura taj khatar penge dada. } \]  \hspace{1cm} (4.6.2-90)
They took over this song from their grandfathers and fathers.

4. An approximate amount: *khatar le deš čásura* “around ten hours”, *khatar miznejri* “around noon”, *khatar sedmset korun* “around seven hundred crowns”.

### 4.6.2.7 Further Spatial Prepositions *tela, angla, pala, maškar*

Among the other spatial prepositions *pala* is most complex. Basically, it means a position behind the entity. In general, it covers:

1. The location behind a entity, in a static or dynamic way, also figuratively:
   
   *Taj phírelas furt pala late.*
   
   and *went.ITER always after her*
   
   And he always visited her.

   *Gejlo-tar pala Ferkina.*
   
   *went-away after Ferkina*
   
   He left to see Ferkina.

   *Pátralinous pala kodo.*
   
   *I.was.searching after that*
   
   I was searching after that.

   *Pala kas si?*
   
   *after whom is*
   
   After whom is he?

2. A situation in time after an absolutely given situation, like in *palaj dopaširat* “after midnight”, *pala nejvo berš* “after New Year”, *palaj inepura* “after the Holy Days”, *pala brišind* “after the rain”, *pala kodi/kadi vorba* “after these words”:

   *Sako žala khejre pala bijav.*
   
   Everybody will go home after the wedding

   *Phabárel le pala jejkh áver.*
   
   He lights them one after the other

3. Together with movement verbs an expression of purpose, resulting in a visit:

   *Aven pala kodi šej.*
come after that girl
Come to see that girl!

Žan pala tute. (4.6.2-98)
they.go after you
They are going to visit you.

Či gejlem pala lil. (4.6.2-99)
not I.went after the letter
I didn't pick up the letter.

Avesa andi búti pala mande. (4.6.2-100)
you.will.come into the work after me
You will visit me in my work.

4. The source of opinion – with genitive: pala muro “according to me”;

5. An impact of the entity (more commonly by the elative anda (see 4.6.2.3 Elative anda):

Palaj draba thújilas. (4.6.2-101)
after the pills gained.weight.
He gained weight from the pills.

Dikhesa pala kodo. (4.6.2-102)
you.will.see after that
Depending on that, you will see.

Či žanav, pala sos len sáma. (4.6.2-103)
not know after what they.take notice
I don't know, from what they have noticed.

The location or time in front of an entity is referred to by angla:

1. The location or direction to a position in front of something:

Taj vou bešla pes-ke anglaj televiza. (4.6.2-104)
and he will.sit REF D the television
And he will be sitting in front of the television.

2. Temporally “in front of”, i.e. before a situation, like angla dešė beršen “ten years ago”, angl Krejčuno “before Christmas”, angla k čáso “an hour ago”, see 5.4.2 Temporal Relations, p. 286.

A location beneath an entity is marked by tela, which represents:
1. A direction towards something beneath or a location under an entity: telaj čelčija “under the tree", tela šejro “under the head", tela šerand “under the pillow", telaj trapti “under the stairs”.

2. A time within a period: tela k šon “within a month", tela dúje beršen “within two years”. tela márimo “during the war”, see 5.4.2 Temporal Relations, p. 286.

A location between or direction in-between two entities, spatially or temporally, is marked by maškar or maškáral:

Bešous maškar kecave rom, save lášše sas taj žanenas te mulatin. (4.6.2-105)
I was sitting between such people who good were and knew to celebrate

Apal bešlem težale palaj mesáli maškar le rom. (4.6.2-106)
Then I sat down behind. the table between the men

Then I sat down at the table among the men.

Kodola ulade maškar pe le rom. (4.6.2-107)
those divided between themselves the people

The people divided them among themselves.

Pejlas khote o bajo maškar le rom. (4.6.2-108)
fell there the trouble between the people

A tragedy happened among the Roms.

Butivar náškerenas maškar le vurdona nange. (4.6.2-109)
often they ran between the caravans naked

They often ran naked between the caravans.

Taj e šangle, voun ánglal sas, taj pálal e šangle, (4.6.2-110)
and the policemen they at the front were and at the back the policemen

taj vou maškáral le šangle.
and he between the policemen

And the policemen, they were at the front, and at the back policemen, and he between the policemen.

4.6.2.8 Stating a Range with de and ři

The begin or end of a local or temporal range can be given by de and ři, respectively, e.g. ři mizmeji, ři Krejčuno, ři dešengo, ři akánik, ři kurke, de terni. They emphasis the final size of the
range while the range itself is frequently delimited by other means like *khatar, anda, or pe, ande*, respectively.

\[
\text{Žī adējs lešinous.} \quad (4.6.2-111)
\]

until today I.was.waiting

I was waiting until today.

\[
\text{Šoresa mange katka Ži dopaš.} \quad (4.6.2-112)
\]

you.will.pour me-DAT here up.to half

Please give mesome, here, up to the half.

\[
\text{Taj ingren la Ži khejre.} \quad (4.6.2-113)
\]

and carry her right.to home

And they carry her right home.

\[
\text{Ži opre gejle te dikhen.} \quad (4.6.2-114)
\]

up.to up went to look

They went right up to look.

\[
\text{Dikhes Ži pi phuv-i i coxa.} \quad (4.6.2-115)
\]

you.see down.to on.the ground-is the skirt

Do you see, the skirt goes down to the ground.

\[
\text{D' andaj Ostrava Ži po Touco Žanas pa kodo.} \quad (4.6.2-116)
\]

from from.the Ostrava right.to on.the Slovakia they.were.going after that

They were going from the very Ostrava up to Slovakia to look for that.

\[
\text{De katkar de katkar mindík Ži katka Ži katka,} \quad (4.6.2-117)
\]

from from.here from from.here always up.to here up.to here

sa andej důj vast murcoj pe.

everything in.the two hands prickle reFL

Right from here, right from here, up to there, up to there, both my two hands prickle totally.

### 4.6.2.9 Other Important Prepositions

Exclusion is expressed by *bi*, being the only preposition with the genitive (see 4.2.5.7-1 Genitive):

\[
\text{Aj sar avou bi louvengo?} \quad (4.6.2-118)
\]

DISCP how I.will.come without money

But how am I supposed to come without money?
Accompaniment is generally marked by the instrumental (4.2.5.4-2 Instrumental) but can be reinforced by kusa, requiring the instrumental: kusa e šanglenca “together with the policemen”. The opposite side gives sembe “vis-a-vis” or cz/sk proti “against”, both with the DAT:

\[
\text{Sembe/proti leske avel ek žuvli.}
\]

\(4.6.2-119\)

against him is.coming one woman

A woman is coming against him.

A movement around or approximative statement of location or time is given by karink:

\[
\text{Pi kaki rig, karink tu sal, katkar.}
\]

\(4.6.2-120\)

on.the this side around you are from.there

On this side, where you are, from there.

\[
\text{Pejlem karink le deš čásura, angla mizmejri.}
\]

\(4.6.2-121\)

I.arrived around the ten hours before noon

I arrived around ten hours, before noon.

\[
\text{Le důj trobun karink o detehára te den la mełasoňa ká le Rom.}
\]

\(4.6.2-122\)

the two need around the morning to give the bride to the people

During the morning the two fathers need to give the bride among the guests.

\[
\text{Phírel pe trival karing o oltáři.}
\]

\(4.6.2-123\)

go.ITER refl three.times around the altar

It is a custom to go three times around the altar.

\[
\text{Karink le trín ezera koroni kouštáljas.}
\]

\(4.6.2-124\)

around the three thousand crowns costed

It costed around three thousand crowns.

### 4.7 Non-Inflected Lexemes

Lexemes without morphological variation often display their semantic role in connection with other parts of a NP, PP, predicate, clause or sentence. Therefore, these units are discussed in more detail in the appropriate sections of 5 Syntax:
Table 56: Non-Inflected Lexemes

5 Syntax

After an introduction into word formation out of lexical units and formatives under morphology, now the words will be lined up to form structures from higher hierarchy levels. Within this chapter, I will subsume all effects, which are caused by the co-operation of more than one word. One mechanism creates meaning out of two different entities often without predictable outcome. This is called multiple word onomasiology. Another is to create phrases on different hierarchical levels. Among these nominal phrases, adverbials and verbal phrases (predicates) are presented. Throughout the chapter, I introduce several lexical classes, according to where they come into effect, e.g. adverbs in the section on adverbials, or modal particles in the section on the predicate, or sentence level particles on the same level as clauses and sentences. After the presentation of sentence and clause, I list some general principles of word order, and finally analyze the way, North West Lovari Romani handles subordination and coordination.

5.1 Multiple Word Onomasiology

This section is not meant to be an introduction into Romani onomasiology or phraseology, but is rather intended to point to some larger onomasiology mechanisms, and reversely, to label some
selected mechanisms as overcome and not productive. A thorough analysis of North West Lovari Romani idioms is yet to be completed. For now, it is important to be sufficiently equipped to understand a larger part of parole production.

As explained in 4.5.1, Compounding is not a vivid onomasiological tool in North West Lovari Romani. Furthermore, tight semantic units like *lel unžule* “take a loan” and *del unžule* “give a loan”, the next suspects for compounding, show a low tendency to it, be it of prosodic or syntactical nature. They do not share stress and may be separated by other constituents like adverbials, NPs, relative clauses and others: *Či dav les unžule* “I don’t lend him”. Also juxtaposed nouns, commonly used as group names, almost keep their full morphological scope. So both parts of *i dej o dad* “parents”, lit. “the father and the mother” or *phrala pheňa* “sibilants”, lit. “brothers sisters” inflect independently from one another and may be disrupted by adjectivals like *muri dej muro dad* “my parents”, lit. “my father my mother” or *sej phrala tat sej pheňa* “all the brothers and sisters” and mainly by the article:

\[
\text{Khote sas maj but o phral i pheň. (5.1-1)}
\]

There were most intensively the brother and the sister.

Only the omission of the conjunction points at a closer unit, at least as far as there is no need to modify the collocation. The following analysis is based on the resulting part of speech, except for a special situation where both parts of speech are equal. Semantic shift as a means of onomasiology is presented under “single word” 4.5.3 Derivative Onomasiology.

## 5.1.1 Equal-Class Collocation

Equal-class Collocation is not very frequent. Therefore only a few examples are provided, sorted by part of speech. Asymmetrical collocations, with one element dependent on the other, are discussed in 4.2.2 Number for measurements (like *ek gouno áro* “a bag of flour”) and 5.5 Predicate for forms like *gejlem nášlem-tar* “I rushed away”, lit. “I went I rushed away.”.

As can be seen, some of the pairs are closely integrated while others are not, in terms of morphosyntax and semantics. The linker is variable (from none to *taj* and *vať*), the order can be flexible (see the examples to *phrala – pheňa* and *márel – mundárel*) or fixed (*opre tejle*). Phonologically, all behave as a series of single words, as indicated in writing. Also morphologically there is nothing specific with the given collocations.

### I Dej o Dad, Phrala Pheňa

\[
\text{Taj laki dej taj o dad gejlas taj kinel lake i mol. (5.1.1-1)}
\]

And her mother and the father went.\text{sg} and buy.\text{sg} her the wine

\[
\text{Lesko dad taj leski dej šon leske ánav. (5.1.1-2)}
\]

his father and his mother put.\text{pl} him name

His parents give him a name.
We learned our language only at home from our ancestors.

Within the family, sibilants are commonly designated as godparents.

You can talk with your sibilants.

Then the sibilants dress also in black.

This collocation is not very tight, both elements can be exchanged (with a clear preference for males first), every part is inflected and cliticized (5.11.1-1), conjunction omission occurs rarely. Some asymmetry can be found in conjunction (laki – lako, le – Ø, ţe – le), and the predicate is occasionally singular marked.

Márel Mundárel:

When they were imprisoning them, they beat them brutally up. And in prison they beat them up.

Today the originally emphasizing element mundárel can be used alone in the same sense:

Šindo Márdo

Surprisingly, the adjective (participle) mutation is not *márdo mundárdo but šindo márdо “beaten up”

Opre Tejle:
Some time ago the ancient Roms travelled around with caravans.

After some sentences he rose to speak.

Unequal noun collocations can emerge from regularized NPs, i.e. from adjectives (quantifiers, genitives) with a head noun: najenge papuči “slippers (with a fixed big toe)”, lit. “toe shoes”, papučengi bolta “shoe store”, kále struguri “red grapes”, lit. “black grapes”, loulo drab “lipstick”, lit. “red drug”, příboreski šúri “table knife”, lit. “cutlery knife”, dillo lil “incapacitation”, lit. “stupid paper”, dillo kher “mental institution”, lit. “stupid house”, svunto Dejl “God”, lit. “Holy God”, bári motora “lorry”, lit. “big car”, dille vorbi “nonsense”, lit. “stupid sayings”, fourosko nakh, bári motora, koule bůke “liver”, lit. “weak lung”, zurále bůke “stomach (meat)”, lit. “hard lung” (but: žombra “stomach (organ)”, bůke “lung(organ)”), terni bouri “daughter-in-law”, lit. “young bride”. Phonologically they do not differ from non-petrified NPs, and nor does word order. For ordinary adjectives and quantifiers there is also no other syntactical clue to decide on their onomasiological status. For 4.2.5.7 Genitive there is: Real genitives are inserted as nouns, accompanied by an oblique article. After the shift to an ordinary adjective this nominal element gets lost, so from what is today e autobuseski zastávka “bus stop”, a development into *autobuseski zastávka, without e, can be expected in the future. The only clear distinction from accidental co-occurrence is their semantic autonomy, and as a consequence, their statistical prominence.

Another source of notions are prepositional constructions with pe and pa like jedo po autobusi, louve pa drom, see 4.6.2.2-6 Superessive and Superlative pe , p. 222, and 4.6.2.4-5 Statement of Origin, Purpose, Subject Matter by Delative pa, p. 225. They are very productive.

Almost the only source of adjectives in the sense of this section is a direct consequence of verbal modificators: The connection with verbal and aspect particles. Some of them are frequently transformed into participles and both together can form a new semantic unit. The adverb precedes the participle, the meaning is overt from the verbal meaning: ánde kerdo “closed”, opre šuvlo “swollen”, ávri thujárdi “fat”, opre phírdo “experienced”, lit. “travelled up”. Newer calque like ávri krmenívo “fed”, lit. “fed up” indicates, that the merger mechanism has not become unproductive yet and that a base for collocation is the participle, not the verb, because krmenívo does not rely on a verbal form in North West Lovari Romani.

Further means, collocations with adverbs, are found in isolated numbers: loules pejko “fried golden brown”, romňa dini “decent”
5.1.4 Adverb Dependent

A rather marginal instrument to create adverbials is the collocation of single-word adverbs with dependent nouns: *opre plajesa* “up the hill”, lit. “up hill.INSTR”, *tejle plajesa* “down the hill”, lit. “down hill.INSTR”, *opre mosa* “on the back”, lit. “up mouth.INSTR”, *tejle mosa* “on the front”, lit. “down mouth.INSTR”.

5.1.5 Verb Dependent

5.1.5.1 Nouns and Noun-Like Particles

Verbal-nominal collocations display different levels of integration into tight units. The phonological scale goes from free connections like *kerel pheras* “make a joke” to completely merged units like *čumi-del* “kiss” < *čumi del* “kiss give”. There are idiosyncrasies like the article retention in, e.g. *paťal o muj* “obey”, lit. “trust the mouth” or *kerel o páto* “make the bed”, or phrases like *del mujal* “overturn”, lit. “hit from face” with an unusual archaic ablative on -al. Morphosyntactical considerations go from possible extensions like *kerav ťiri búťi* “I make your work” to toughly bounded *del dejs* “greet”, lit. “give day”, *del puške* “shoot”, lit. “give a shot”. The semantics can be transparent like *del brišind* “rain”, lit. “give rain”, *del goudi* “advise”, lit. “give reason” up to completely opaque for conjunctions with otherwise empty words like *simáďi* “*pawn”, *unžule* “*loan”, *puške* “*shot”, *hasna* “*advantage”, *aminti* “*caution” whereby their grammatical status as nouns (as opposed to adverbs or particles) can be derived only from other (historical) dialects or languages or from speculations regarding the word form. E.g. *simáďi* sounds like an oikoclitic feminine, but cannot be found in other inflected forms *simáďa*- etc. With regard to syntactical aspects, *unžule*, for example, should not be classified as a noun, because it does not take part in valency saturation. In the following sentences, its description as an adverb would liberate us from the need to generate a new slot for *lel* and *del*:

\[\text{Sa} \quad \text{line} \quad \text{penge} \quad \text{unžule} \quad \text{báre} \quad \text{louve.} \quad (5.1.5-1)\]

all took themselves *loan big money

\[
\begin{array}{lccccc}
\text{SUBJ-NOM} & \text{PRDC} & \text{OBJ-DAT} & \text{VERBP} & \text{OBJ-NOM} & \text{OBJ-NOM} \\
\end{array}
\]

They all took huge loans.

\[\text{Muro} \quad \text{dad} \quad Č� \quad \text{das ma} \quad \text{unžule} \quad Č� \quad \text{dúj} \quad \text{ezera.} \quad (5.1.5-2)\]

my father not gave me *loan not.even two thousand

\[
\begin{array}{lccccc}
\text{SUBJ-NOM} & \text{SUBJ-NOM NEG PRDC OBJ-ACC VERBP NEG OBJ-NOM OBJ-NOM} \\
\end{array}
\]

My father didn’t give me even a thousand-crown loan.

This construct, however, together with *simáďi* and *mujal*, is an exception. All the other idioms behave according to expectation, the word enters into a regular argument slot and hinders further elements from being added. So, e.g., *paťal o muj* attaches the origin of authority (in English the ACC object to “obey”) as a dative:

\[\text{Te} \quad \text{patás o} \quad \text{muj a} \quad \text{lala-ke!} \quad (5.1.5-3)\]

20 Lakatošová, Šebková 2004: 73
You have to obey your aunt!

In the table below some most frequent verb – verbal particle pairs are given. The examples are presented below the table in the same order. Most verbs manage their functions with some basic meanings, some have maybe one noun to be paired with, and others cover diverse meanings with different (quasi-)nouns. This manifoldness shall be presented. There is one noun, vorba, which also docks to several verbs for specific meanings. These are listed at the end.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Resulting Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>lel</em> “take”</td>
<td><em>aminti</em></td>
<td>take care</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>sáma</em></td>
<td>notice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>hasna</em></td>
<td>use, take advance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>simádl</em></td>
<td>take a pawn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>unžule</em></td>
<td>take a loan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>romňa/romes</em></td>
<td>marry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>del</em> “give”</td>
<td><em>simádl</em></td>
<td>pawn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>unžule</em></td>
<td>give a loan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>romende</em></td>
<td>marry off</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>dějs</em></td>
<td>greet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>goudi</em></td>
<td>advise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>xouli</em></td>
<td>vent wrath</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>solax</em></td>
<td>swear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>brišind</em></td>
<td>rain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>jiv</em></td>
<td>snow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>o drom</em></td>
<td>yield</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>trát</em></td>
<td>prevent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>puške</em></td>
<td>shoot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>pi zour</em></td>
<td>impose</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verb</td>
<td>Noun</td>
<td>Resulting Meaning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>goudi</td>
<td>advise</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jakhálo</td>
<td>bewitch</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>del</td>
<td>drom</td>
<td>rush</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>máj</td>
<td>overturn</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kerel</td>
<td>bútí</td>
<td>work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>louve</td>
<td>earn money</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pheras</td>
<td>make a joke</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vouja</td>
<td>put in good mood</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>párča</td>
<td>calm</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xouli</td>
<td>squabble</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o pátó</td>
<td>make up the bed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zour</td>
<td>1) force</td>
<td>2) overstrain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>douš</td>
<td>accuse, blame</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čiči</td>
<td>go sleep</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xal</td>
<td>lažavo</td>
<td>be disgraced</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čorimo</td>
<td>be ruined</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xouli</td>
<td>be angry with</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>muro šejo</td>
<td>makes me angry</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bezexa</td>
<td>(invective)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gríža</td>
<td>concern</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paťal</td>
<td>o muj</td>
<td>obey</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

21 Some collocations do not fit to the general meaning “give”, but rather to the discourse particle de(n) “quickly”, and might be linked to the otherwise absent etynom *demel.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Resulting Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot;believe&quot;</td>
<td>šol</td>
<td>be interested (in)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>žal “go”</td>
<td>solax</td>
<td>swear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>i vorba</td>
<td>(rumors) circulate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>phenel “say”</td>
<td>i vorba</td>
<td>declare, state</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>e vorbi</td>
<td>traduce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 57: Noun-Verb Phrases

**Amintile po drom!**

Take care about the way!

**Taj kadej lam sáma, hoť Rusura-j.**

and so we took that Russians-are

Take care about the way!

**Hasna te lel o manuš peska gouda-ke!**

Mankind should make use of his mind!

**Site lav tutar simáđi.**

I have to take a pawn from you.

**Keťi lal unžule louve?**

How much did you lend?

**Taj te lena ávre romes, khote či grizina?**

And if they will take another man, they will not mind?

**Kana musaj-i, šaj den andej louve simáđi.**

And in the case of becessity, they can give a pawn instead of money.
I cannot lend you money.

Some Roms wed their daughters. (see 4.2.5.6-5 Locative)

In summer they go out to the courtyard and say hello, telling: “Have a nice day!”

He advises everybody, just not himself.

He has spent all his money and now he vent wrath on me.

She swore on a black skirt.

It rained right when I went off.

When it rains or snows, then everything will become muddy.

Now he gives the turn to me.

Yes, the people surely prevented, that something happens.
Te na den tu jakhálo! (5.1.5-21)
MODP not they.give you eye-like
Take care that they don't execrate you!

Avas, das drom! (5.1.5-22)
DISCP set.out.IMP way
Common, let's leave!

I motora das mujal. (5.1.5-23)
the car set.out VERBP
The car turned over.

Či mundárdoun les, ke sas les o pistolo. Varisave puške dinoun. (5.1.5-24)
not would.have.killed him because COP him.ACC the pistol some VERBP would.have.given
They would not have killed him, because he had a pistol. He would have shot sometimes.

Site des les pi zour, kana či kamel les. (5.1.5-25)
MODP you.give him on.the force when not want it
You have to give it to him by force, if he does not want it.

Nášťik des gouďi. (5.1.5-26)
MODP you.give reason
You cannot advise him.

Mukna la pes-ke khote taj kerla áver búťi. (5.1.5-27)
he.will.let her REFL-DAT there and will.do another work
He will let her stay there and himself he will do another work.

Báre louve či keresa e voňavken-ca. (5.1.5-28)
big money not you.will.make the perfumes-with
You will not earn much money with perfumes.

Či xoxadas,feri pheras kerdas. (5.1.5-29)
not lied just joke made
He did not lie, he just made a joke.

La díja-sa keren leski vouja. (5.1.5-30)
the song-with made his mood
They set him into a good mood with the song.
Boška, ža ker páča anej le, ererekre dijajle. (5.1.5-31)
Boška go.IMP make.IMP VERBP among them totally got.crazy
Boška, go and calm them down, they got totally crazy.

Ká kerės la deja-sa xouli. (5.1.5-32)
because you.make the mother-with VERBP
Because you squabble with your mother.

Ža ker o pácę! (5.1.5-33)
go.IMP make.IMP the bed
Go and prepare the bed!

Naj dikhesa, feri te na keres zour pér la. (5.1.5-34)
DISCP you.will.see just MODP not you.make force on her
Well, you will see, you just must not force her.

Mír keres tu zour? (5.1.5-35)
why you.do yourself force
Why do you overstrain yourself?

Šoha pa kodo či kerenas la romňaki douš. (5.1.5-36)
ever about this not they.made the woman's guilt
They never blamed the woman.

Ker čiči! (5.1.5-37)
make VERBP
Go off to the beddy-byes!

Xala ma o lažavo! (5.1.5-38)
will.bother me the shame
I will be deeply ashamed!

Xálas la o čorimo, a Helena. (5.1.5-39)
bothered her the poverty the Helena.ACC
Helena was ruined.

I Šejinka mindík xal xouli lasa. (5.1.5-40)
the Šejinka always bother anger with her
Šejinka is always angry with her.
**Mir-i kecavo, te merav te na xal muro šejro.** *(5.1.5-41)*

why-is such DISCP if not bothers my head

Why is she such a person, she really makes me very angry.

**Xas leske bezexa!** *(5.1.5-42)*

bother his VERBP

(invective)

**Man či xal griča ande kodo.** *(5.1.5-43)*

me not bothers care in that

I don't mind at all.

**Mir či patas o muj?** *(5.1.5-44)*

why not believes the VERBP

Why don't you obey what I say?

**Šutem jakh pe jejkh zubuno.** *(5.1.5-45)*

I.threw eye on one coat

I was interested in a coat.

**Atunći žalas i svunto solax.** *(5.1.5-46)*

then went the holy oath

Then they initiated the oat.

**Pa Román žal i vorba, hoť kamel te žal-tar andi Anglija.** *(5.1.5-47)*

about Román goes the speech that wants to leave into the England

There are rumours, that Román wants to leave for England.

**Jejkh vorba žal eftavarrigal.** *(5.1.5-48)*

one information goes seven.times apart

One information develops by seven ways.

**S1 Naj žasa ando fouro, na? S2 Niči, má phendem i vorba.** *(5.1.5-49)*

DISCP you.will.go into the city DISCP no already I.said the statement

Well you will go to the city, won't you? No, I have told you already my opinion.

**O Joška phenelas i vorba pér tu.** *(5.1.5-50)*

the Joška said the information on you

Joška traduced you.
Multiple Word Onomasiology

**Cirdou** *latar e vorbi, mír brígij.*  
I will draw from her the words why is sad

I am going to sound her out, why she is sad.

**Site šinas i vorba akánik, so te keras lesa.**  
**MODP** cut the statement now what to we make with him

We have to decide now, what to do with him.

**Malavel les i balvaj / guta.**  
strikes him the stroke

God damn him!

Further minor collocations are: *boldel louve* „earn money“, *del čikh* „cough“, *xutilel vast* „help“, *lel oudi* „catch breath“, *lel xouli* „vent wrath on“, *ikrel xouli* “wrangle”, *kerel xouli* “cause a quarrel”, *šol rigate* „save“, *tromal šejro* „woe betide you“, *márel vast* “applaud”

### 5.1.5.2 Adjectives

Adjectives are a marginal instrument to modify verbs, and thus, only several examples are provided in this section:

**Šu tu nangi!**  
put you naked

Strip yourself naked!

### 5.1.5.3 Verbal Particles and Adverbs

Verbal particles represent a very rich onomasiological tool in North West Lovari Romani. A pair of a verb and this adverb-like particle forms a new semantic unit of verbal functionality. Verbal particles are homonymous with spatial adverbs, see 5.4.1.1 Spatial Adverbs, with doubtless spatial meaning, and with aspect particles, see 5.5.3 Aspect Particles, where the particle seems redundant and can be omitted without overt harm to the meaning. Sometimes they are hard to distinguish mutually. E.g. *skirij tejle* has both readings, aspectual “write completely” and as a result the onomasiological “make a note”. Finally *suvel ánde* has adverbial meaning, if the object is meant to be inside afterwards (*súdas o sommakaj ánde andi posoti* “sew the jewellery into the pocket”), and is semantically shifted, if the object is closed after the action (*súde ánde o per* “they stitched up the abdomen”).

Verbal particles, like aspect particles, are placed right after their verb, in the marked case also before it. They may be divided from it only by personal clitics (see 5.1.5-85 below), discourse clitics -*de* and -*le*, and by the complementizer *te*. Interruptions by non-clitic personal pronouns like the following are a maximum allowed to be inserted:

**Šaj len tutar tejle e louve.**  
(5.1.5-55)
They might decrease your subsidies.

When you stand up, then you have to dress this one, the velvet one.

The following overview summarizes some common verbal particles, followed by examples in the same order. As can be seen, adverbs ending with -al, with the single exception of del ángal, cannot be used for semantic extension, nor they can assist with modifying aspect (5.5.3).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adverb</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Resulting Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ánde “in”</td>
<td>šol</td>
<td>appoint</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kerel</td>
<td>1) close 2) make dirty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>suvel</td>
<td>sew up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>žal</td>
<td>agree, go into</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ávri “out”</td>
<td>phenel, vorbij, mothol</td>
<td>reveal, testify</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vorbij pe</td>
<td>talk out</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>cirdel</td>
<td>sound out</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>del</td>
<td>command</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>avel</td>
<td>follow, result</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>lel</td>
<td>1) interpret 2) fetch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>peňol</td>
<td>be deceived</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>phutrel</td>
<td>(set) free</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sitol</td>
<td>learn by observation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>opre “up (wards)”</td>
<td>avel</td>
<td>find out, occur to someone, realize</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>del</td>
<td>denounce</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adverb</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Resulting Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>phagel</td>
<td>force open</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>šol</td>
<td>1) dress 2) menace</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>žal</td>
<td>get on</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>lel, šol, žal</td>
<td>increase (price)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>lel</td>
<td>accept, forgive, believe, adopt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vazdel pe</td>
<td>excel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tejle “down”</td>
<td>šudel</td>
<td>dismiss</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>lel, šol, žal</td>
<td>reduce (price)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>žal</td>
<td>get off, change (train)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>šorel</td>
<td>strain off</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>šorel pe</td>
<td>pledge friendship</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pekel</td>
<td>betray</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>cirdel</td>
<td>undress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>šol</td>
<td>undress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>skirij</td>
<td>note, write down</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>del</td>
<td>break down</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ångle</td>
<td>del</td>
<td>demonstrate, greet</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 58: Verbal Particles

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adverb</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Resulting Meaning</th>
<th>Adverb</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Resulting Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>“forwards, anterior”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>perdal “over, through”</td>
<td>dikhel</td>
<td>discover someone's intentions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>avel</td>
<td></td>
<td>come out, emerge</td>
<td>lel</td>
<td></td>
<td>take over, accept</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(copula)</td>
<td></td>
<td>appreciated</td>
<td>palpāle “back”</td>
<td>phenel, felelij</td>
<td>answer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ánglal “in front”</td>
<td>del</td>
<td>greet</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- Či žanav, kas šon ánde andi delegáciija. (5.1.5-57)
  - not I know whom they put inside into the delegation
  - I don't know, who will be chosen into the delegation.

- Aj ker ánde o špajzo. (5.1.5-58)
  - DISCP make VERBP the pantry
  - Common, close the pantry.

- Na ker ánde té gáda! (5.1.5-59)
  - not make VERBP your dress
  - Don't make your dress dirty!

- Otres mozku sas les taj súde ánde lesko šejro. (5.1.5-60)
  - concussion COP him ACC and stitch up ASPB his head NOM
  - He had a concussion, and they stitched his head up.

- La šako dad gejlas ánde le romesa. (5.1.5-61)
  - the young woman's father went VERBP the man with
  - The young woman's father went into with the man.

- I šejouri phendas ávri, hot’ dikhlas les. (5.1.5-62)
  - the girl said VERBP that saw him
  - The girl said testified, that she saw him.

- S1 Des le cukro. S2 Jo, taj mothola ávri. (5.1.5-63)
  - you give themselves sugar yes and they will narrate VERBP
S1 You give them some sweet. S2 Yes, and they will reveal everything.

Naj bajo, trobujas te vorbis tu ávri. (5.1.5-64)
not.is trouble needed to you.speak you VERBP
It's no problem, you just needed to talk yourself out.

Po paluno cirde ávri e šávestar, so dukhalas les. (5.1.5-65)
on.the last drew VERBP the young.man what hurted him
Eventually they queried out of the young man, what he was worrying about.

Ávri des mange te na žav khati. (5.1.5-66)
out you.gave to.me to not I.go nowhere
You commanded me not to go anywhere.

Taj so avla anda kodo ávri? (5.1.5-67)
and what will.be from that out
So what will be the result of that?

So les ávri anda leski vorba? (5.1.5-68)
what you.take out from his saying
What is your interpretation of what he has told us?

Site lav ávri o lil pi poušta inke. (5.1.5-69)
MODP I.take out the letter on.the post.office yet
I have to fetch a letter from the post office yet.

Azír, ká petílas ávri. (5.1.5-70)
therefore, because was.taken.in VERBP
Therefore, because he took him in.

Ávri phuterdas la andaj kúpelna. (5.1.5-71)
out opened her from.the kitchen
She set her free from the kitchen.

Sítile ávri, sar kerel pe (5.1.5-72)
learned VERBP how make REFL.
They observed and learned, how to do it.

Kana avile opre, hor’ xasajlas? (5.1.5-73)
when they.came VERBP MODP got.lost
When did they discover, that he has got lost?

*Akanik avilem opre, hoř' na site žav lende.*  

When did they find out, that he is lost.

*Now I came* verb that not *I go to them.*  

Now I realized, that I don't have to visit them.

*Taj kaj gáže dine les opre.*  

And these Czechs gave him verb.

And these Czechs denounced him.

*Taj opre phaglas kodo kher.*  

And up broke that flat.

*Na šu opre kaki, kuki le pér tu!*  

Don't dress into this, take that one!

*So te kerav, opre šute mange.*  

What I make up they rised me-dat.

What am I to do, they rised the housing price.

*Na ža opre, naj amári!*  

Don't get on, it's not our line!

*O páji inke ame poťinas opre.*  

Additionally we do still pay for the water.

*So dal la but, de pjet tisíc opre šu!*  

Why did you give her so much, rise it by five thousand!

*Opre žal o plino.*  

The gas will go up.

*Či las opre kado sokáši.*  

not took verb this custom.
She didn't adopt this custom.

Šaj les opre leski vorba. *(5.1.5-84)*

MODP you.take up his opinion

You can accept his opinion.

Či vazel pe opre ande kado. *(5.1.5-85)*

not lifts himself up in this

He will not excel in this matter.

Jo, tejle šudena fajma vi le Jankos. *(5.1.5-86)*

yes down they.will.throw apparently also the Janko

Yes, they will apparently dismiss Janko, too.

Taj mandar tejle lena. *(5.1.5-87)*

and from.me down they.will.take

And they will reduce my pension.

Či žav khati tejle. *(5.1.5-88)*

not I.go nowhere down

I am not going to change the train.

Šor tejle e krumpli! *(5.1.5-89)*

pour down the potatoes

Strain off the potatoes!

No šaj šordoun pe tejle má e dýj kirva. *(5.1.5-90)*

DISCP MODP would.have.poured REFL down already the two godmothers

Well, the two godmothers could have pledged friendship already.

Tejle peklas ma, kana samas ká i Káli *(5.1.5-91)*

down baked me when we.were with the Káli

At our visit with Káli he betrayed me.

Cirde tejle! *(5.1.5-92)*

draw down

Undress it!

Šu tejle, šinesa les! *(5.1.5-93)*

put down you.will.cut it
Strip it, you might tear it!

_Taj či skirindal tejle?_ (5.1.5-94)

and not you.wrote down

And you didn't sign?

_Te na des tejle!_ (5.1.5-95)

MODP not you.give down

Take care not to fall down!

_Kodolesa dine ángle le Romen hoť te žanen, prá le avile._ (5.1.5-96)

that.with they.gave VERBP the Roms MODP to know after them they.came

By this the men greeted them to make them know, that they came to visit him.

_Ande kado tertíneto ángle avilas i godâver vorba._ (5.1.5-97)

in this story VERBP came the wise saying

The result of this story is a wise saying.

_O Berci-j maj ángle sar o Joška._ (5.1.5-98)

the Berci-is CPR in.front than the Joška

Berci is more appreciated than Joška.

_Muri romňi šoha či dela tu ánglal._ (5.1.5-99)

my wife never not will.give you VERBP

My wife will never greet you.

_Má dikhlem la perdal._ (5.1.5-100)

already I.saw her through

I have already discovered his intentions.

_Či las les perdal khate._ (5.1.5-101)

not took him over here

He didn't accept his opinion here.

_So phenesa palpále?_ (5.1.5-102)

what you.will.say back

What will you answer?

In conjunction with verbs, these several particles render further minor meanings: _pizdel ánde_ „slam (door)“, _gindoj pe čores_ „be wrong“, _sikavel perdal_ „have papers checked“, _xutilel tejle_ “agree upon
the bride”, *kerel opre* “dress the hair”, *šinel opre* “become bomptious”, *malavel opre* „mix (dough)“, *žal khetáne* “fit together”.

### 5.1.5.4 Reflexivization

In general, reflexive forms copy semantics and argument structure of their non-reflexive counterpart, the reflexive pronoun occupying one argument slot, i.e.

\[
\text{Cirdav tejle e šavoures.}
\]

I undress the child.

\[
\text{Cirdav ma tejle.}
\]

I undress myself.

In isolated cases, though, the reflexive form transfers new meanings, e.g. *lel pe* “start” against *lel* “take”, *xal pe* “quarrel” against *xal* “irritate”, or *kerel pe* “make up; agree” against *kerel* “make”. In the following, I give always a non-reflexive counterpart for comparison.

\[
\text{Pala kodo las i tāška taj žal-tar kā i motora.}
\]

After that he took his bag and left for his car. (non-reflexive)

\[
\text{Pala kodo las pe taj žal ávri maj dār.}
\]

After that he set out and went out far. (reflexive)

\[
\text{Nadôn xal ma kodolesa.}
\]

He makes me really angry with that. (non-reflexive)

\[
\text{Vou avilas te xal pe manca ande muro kher.}
\]

She came to quarrel me with into my flat. (reflexive)

\[
\text{Šin tuke jejkh!}
\]

Cut off one for yourself!

\[
\text{Šin tu!}
\]

Cut yourself
Move around!

Inke site kerav i koňha. (5.1.5-111)

still MODP make the kitchen

I have to clean up the kitchen yet.

Inke site kerav ma. (5.1.5-112)

still MODP make myself

I have to make me up yet.

Te keren pe pe louven, atunči šaj potij la ávri po than. (5.1.5-113)

if they.make REFL on money then MODP pay her out on the place

If they will agree upon the amount, he can pay it on site.

5.1.5.5 Case

In conjunction with a certain case, some verbs obtain a secondary meaning. They are discussed in Case (4.2.5), I give just an example:

- Accusative (4.2.5.2-5): phušel with ACC “asks for”, kerel with ACC “prepare for leaving”

5.1.5.6 Prepositions

Specific meanings imposed by combination of verbs with prepositions are discussed in Use of Prepositions (4.6.2) with the most important phrases. Often the prepositions differ in choice from what is used in contact languages (like vorbij pa “talk about”, lit. “talk from”), but do not represent special meanings. Some onomasiological verb-preposition relations are, as examples:

- The verb šol “put”, combined with the preposition paša “near”, gives a comparison:
  Paša leste te šos e Berces, naj les kecavi bári goudi. (5.1.5-114)
  at him if you put the Berci neg.cop him. acc such big reason

  Compared to Berci, he isn't this clever.

- The verb cirdel combines with pe to a hereditary similarity:
  Maj but cirdel pi dej. (5.1.5-115)
  CPR much draws on the mother

  He resembles most his mother. She doesn't interfere with her sons.

- The verb vorbij renders an involvement, if linked with ande:
  Ande peske šáve či vorbij. (5.1.5-116)
  in his sons not talks

  She does not involve in her sons’ life.
5.2 Nominal Phrase

The core task of a nominal phrase is to precisely identify a referent which is meant to be the matter of expression on a more complex syntactical level. Such a level is stated by the predicate. On the one hand, the NP comprises all the information required to establish the identification, on the other hand it contains information about the role of the NP in question within its syntactical embedding (e.g. case markers, prepositions). NPs occur in the roles of subject, direct or indirect object, or as adverbial, be it marked by synthetic case or by preposition.

In North West Lovari Romani, the nominal phrase in general sometimes consists of several of the following components (in most common order):

nominal negator, preposition, article, pronoun, numeral, adjective phrase, noun, locative adverbs, nominal phrases, relative clause

For example:

\[ o \ guglo \ šitemůňi, \ so \ muri \ romňi \ ingerdas \]  
\[ \text{ART ADJ NOUN RELCL} \]  
the sweet desserts, which my wife brought  

\[ la \]  
\[ \text{ART} \]  
her  

\[ i \ jejk \ kumpáňija \]  
\[ \text{ART NUM noun} \]  
one companionship  

\[ amen, \ le \ Romen \]  
\[ \text{PRON (NP = ART noun)} \]  
we the Roms  

\[ ká \ le \ deja \]  
\[ \text{PREP ART noun} \]  
with the mothers  

\[ varisoske \ louve \]  
\[ \text{PRON noun} \]  
some money

The description of the NP does not reflect restrictions in co-occurrence of single elements. An important example is the mutual exclusion of personal pronouns and nouns, except for apposition, see 5.2.1 Recursion.

Finally, NPs may be also chained in order to express a set out of individual members making up the final referent. For details, see Coordination, Operators with Diverse Arguments (5.11) and Verbal
Nominal Phrase

Number (4.4.2), e.g. *i Manci taj lako rom* “Manci and her husband” or *vi me, vi tu* “both me and you”. This fact is not reflected in the above formula.

Case marking enables in simple NPs to associate single words to appropriate NPs, so in sentences like:

\[ O \overset{\text{sávouro}}{\text{šítol}} \overset{\text{le}}{\text{románe}} \overset{\text{sokáša}}{\text{.}} \]

the child learns the Rom customs

The child learns the customs of the Romans.

Moving individual parts would theoretically not harm unambiguous identification:

\[^*O \overset{\text{le}}{\text{šítol}} \overset{\text{románe}}{\text{sokáša}} \overset{\text{sávouro}}{\text{.}}\]

Nevertheless, North West Lovari Romani keeps elements of the same NP together and lines them up in a given order in order. On the other hand, marking single elements allows to infer further information by changing the order, like in the clause order (see 5.9 Word Order). So a NP may be disrupted by other elements of the clause, see 5.2.2 Cohesion within the Nominal Phrase, or it may be disordered, see 5.2.3 Standard Order within the Nominal Phrase.

Most elements are described elsewhere, see 5.11 Coordination, Operators with Diverse Arguments, 4.6 Prepositions, 4.2.1 Article, 4.1.4 Personal and Reflexive Pronouns, 4.2.6 Demonstrative Pronouns, 4.5.5 Numerals, 5.4 Adverbial and 5.10.1.1 Relative Clause. The use of adjectives and nouns represents the core of the nominal phrase and therefore is not analysed separately. Only quantifiers as special types of pronouns are mentioned explicitly (5.3 Quantifier), because they can have some impact on the definiteness status or on the choice of the verbal negator.

An adjective phrase consists of one or more adjectives, restricting the set of possible referents, possibly expanded by coordinators or (hierarchies of) adverbs, like (rest of NP in brackets):

\[[\overset{\text{amári}}{\text{amári}}} \overset{\text{bári}}{\text{bári}} \overset{\text{taj}}{\text{taj}} \overset{\text{mindík}}{\text{mindík}} \overset{\text{šukár}}{\text{šukár}} \overset{\text{taj}}{\text{taj}} \overset{\text{nadón}}{\text{nadón}} \overset{\text{godáver}}{\text{godáver}} [\overset{\text{šej}}{\text{šej}}]\]

our big and always beautiful and very clever girl

[our] big and always beautiful and very clever [girl]

\[\overset{\text{nadón}}{\text{nadón}} \overset{\text{banges}}{\text{banges}} \overset{\text{súdo}}{\text{súdo}} [\overset{\text{gad}}{\text{gad}}]\]

d. very unevenly sewed shirt

very unevenly sewed shirt

Prepositional phrases, NPs based on the presence of a preposition, employ a specific dependency scheme given by the fact that the choice of case is no longer given by the predicate, but by the preposition. As a whole, their behaviour exhibits no differences to nominal phrases without prepositions. Syntactically, prepositions represent a more analytical extension of cases. And finally, several monosyllabic prepositions enter into a common prosodic unit with monosyllabic nouns and pronouns. Therefore I subsume prepositional phrases under nominal phrases.
5.2.1 Recursion

The NP definition is recursive, as part of a NP may be another NP. This may be indirectly, within an embedded relative clause, like muri romnîi in 5.2-1 above, or in

\[
\text{amen, le Romen} \quad (5.2.1-1)
\]

\[
\text{we the Roms}
\]

\[
i \text{ mesâli andi soba} \quad (5.2.1-2)
\]

\[
\text{the table in the room}
\]

The examples are prototypes of two basic types (except for indirect NPs in relative clauses) of recursion, apposition (primarily redundant, “bonus” information or reminder le Romen “the Roms”), with a common referent, and determination (selection reduction by additional information andi soba “in the room”), with a different referent.

North West Lovari Romani takes extensive use of a special case of apposition, where one of the NPs is a personal pronoun. In contrast to the given example amen, le Romen, both NPs are separated by other members of the sentence. A basic motivation is the ambiguous role of the commonly used relativizers concerning case marking: When they do not distinguish subject from oblique cases like so, hoť, ká, the non-subject role of the referent within a relative clause is marked by a personal pronoun. See more in 5.10.3.3 Relative Clause.

Another important instance of argument resumption with equal referent is given in 5.9.7.4 Possessive Copula Construction. The double reference is realized either by object agreement, like in the examples above, or more often by disagreement, where the referent is introduced in the nominative and resumed as an (oblique) clitic pronoun.\(^{22}\)

5.2.2 Cohesion within the Nominal Phrase

Cohesion of the NP means, that the members of a NP appear as a complete cluster, without interference of elements of other grammatical entities within the clause. In North West Lovari Romani, this is primarily a construct, which shall help to analyze more complex bodies within this grammar. In unmarked speech, it can be taken as granted, while in many situations, an incoherent NP is indeed used as a means of expressing emphasis or topicalization. I give an examples for valid interruption of NPs by a discourse marker:

\[
\text{Sveteri, Boja, o sâno de la.} \quad (5.2.2-1)
\]

\[
\text{Boja, give her the pullover, the thin one.}
\]

5.2.3 Standard Order within the Nominal Phrase

As mentioned above, the most common order of NP elements is the following:

\(^{22}\) Thanks to Petra Cech and Mozes Heinschink (1998:59) for this distinction.
nominal negator, preposition, article, pronoun, numeral, adjective phrase, noun, locative adverbs, nominal phrases, relative clause

Most commonly the change in order is chosen to employ emphasis or topicality. The stressed element is underlined:

\[ Kana \textbf{dílabel} o \textit{murš}, kodo \textit{kadej-i}, \textit{sar te \textbf{dílabelas} o \textit{dad}, o \textit{šávo \textbf{vat} o \textit{phral}.} \quad (5.2.3-1) \]

When the man sings, this is as if the father, the son or the brother sang.

\[ \textit{Le Rom} \textit{le ávera \textbf{šeftolinas}.} \quad (5.2.3-2) \]

The Rom, the others, were dealing.

In the examples, the sentences occurred with a preceding relative clause (instead of *kodo, kana ...*) and postponed adnominal *le ávera* “the others”.

### 5.2.4 Head of the Nominal Phrase

A nominal phrase contains at least one of the following components as obligatory:

- noun, personal pronoun, adjective, numeral, quantifier, other pronoun, relative clause.

Among the elements of a NP one of them always takes the role of the head. Generally, it is defined by the last element of those listed as obligatory for the NP. In absence of a noun, it is the adjective (*i \textit{cigni} “the small one”), in its absence, it is a numeral (*sej \textit{dúj} “both two of them”), and where neither one is present, it is a demonstrative (*kadala “these”), and sometimes it is a relative clause (*[xálem,] so \textit{sas} “[I ate], what was there”). All other elements cannot take th head role. If we underline the head within the examples above (in braces the second-level NPS) we can observe the construction of the head:

\[ o \textit{guglo \textbf{šitemíňi}, so muri \textit{romňi ingerdas} \quad (5.2.4-1) \]

the sweet desserts, which my wife brought

\[ la \quad (5.2.4-2) \]

her

\[ i \textit{jejkh \textbf{kumpáňija}} \quad (5.2.4-3) \]

one companionship

\[ \{ \textit{amen} \} \{ \textit{le \textit{Romen}} \} \quad (5.2.4-4) \]

we the Roms
The head determines the gender and number agreement of the other elements. The gender behaviour of the whole NP (wherever gender distinction is applicable) is given by the gender of the head, be it its intrinsic gender in the case of a noun or the gender inferred from discourse or situation, expressed by the choice of the masculine or feminine pronoun, or by gender related adjective endings etc. In general, number agreement is imposed by the cardinality of the entity, expressed primarily by the number marker of the head. As can be seen from plural words, dependent elements show plural endings even if the entity itself has singular character. So *varisosko louve “some money” would not be grammatical, even if the speaker would talk about a single coin with a value of a single crown.

Case agreement is determined either by the role of the whole NP within the superordinate clause (like the accusative in sako šunelas la “everyone heard her”), or by the preposition, which itself determines the link between NP and clause, like the locative in Če Rom tordöl angla les-te! (5.2.4-7)

What a Rom stands in front of he-LOC.

What man is standing in front of him!

In the two non-nominative cases, ablative and instrumental, respectively, the NP turns into (Phušlem) e šukár-e tern-e šáv-esar. (5.2.4-9)

(I asked) ART.OBL beautiful-OBL young-OBL guy-ABL.

I asked the beautiful young guy

(Avilem) e šukár-e tern-e šáv-esà. (5.2.4-10)

(I came) ART.OBL beautiful-OBL young-OBL guy-INST

I came with the beautiful young guy
Comparing the instrumental with the ablative example, only the head (šáwestar → šávesa), not the dependent elements (i.e. no *šukárestar → *šukáresa or similar) change.

So generally adjectives and other modifiers employ only dual nominative-oblique case distinction, being most likely found in dependent position. As it is no big exception for them to occur in a head position (i.e. without noun), they are capable to show full case marking, too. In this case we record e.g. instrumentals kadalesa “with this”, a cigňasa “with the small one”, murenca “with mine”, ablatives ťirestar “from yours”, ávrestar “from the other one”, sej dáljendar “from both two of them” etc.

An important exception occurs with postponed, attached modifiers. Though being dependent, they show also full case marking, additionally to the case of the head. This applies not for the article, which always remains – as a principally dependent element – in dual mode (oblique yes/no) without further case marking. Also adjectives in head positions employ full case marking.

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5.2.4 Definiteness

North West Lovari Romani NPS are either definite or not, depending on presence or absence of determining words. This mirrors a pragmatical concept of definite (unique) / indefinite (intentionally ambiguous) identification from the speaker's point of view, see the section 3.1.4 Definiteness, p. 41. So the speaker is advised by language conventions to transfer information, whether the entity to be referred to is seen as knowledge common to the participants or as new information. The principle marker for this state is the Article (4.2.1), which takes three states: definite – unstated – indefinite. Above this some lexemes include definiteness in their semantics, like some quantifiers or indefinite pronouns, so-called determiners. In North West Lovari Romani their co-occurrence with the article is generally inhibited within one NP.

Determiners are personal, demonstrative and possessive pronouns, certain quantifiers like sako “every”, mindenfejlika “various”, soro “whole”, kbor “so big / so small”, kecavo “such”, -godi
“any possible”, savo “which”, če “what kind of”, akár- “any”. Negative and indefinite pronouns like khanči “nothing”, čisosko “none”, and indefinite pronouns, made from relative pronouns with the prefix vari- “some”, like variko “somebody”, variso “something”, varisave “some”, varisosko “some kind of” also show this behaviour. Concerning examples see the listing in section 5.3 Quantifier, p. 263.

Other quantifiers do not change the definiteness status of the NP like but “many”, cera “few”, intrego “whole” and numerals. Their co-occurrence with the article underlies standard pragmatical rules as described in 4.2.1 Article. Finally the adnominal sa “all” requires the article, sa o puranimo, sa o pijimo, and individually makes up a common unit with the form e: sa + e > sej:

Xálas pe amenca sej dújenca. (5.2.5-3)
bother REFLEX us.with all ART two with

She quarreled with both of us two.

Taj phagerde lenge sa. E ávrenge iš, e dúje žejnenge (5.2.5-4)
and they.destroyed them everything ART others too ART two people

They destroyed everything they had. Of the two people, too.

Le Rom, save trajin paj intrego bári luma, naj le lengo čáčo them. (5.2.5-5)
ART Roms who live on ART whole big world not.is they.ACC their true country

The Roms, who live on the whole big world, do not have their own country

E but žejne či suhlasin e Jankosa. (5.2.5-6)
ART many people not agree ART Janko. with

Many people do not agree with Janko.

O dad kinkerel o but pijimo taj o texan. (5.2.5-7)
ART father buys, ITER ART much beverages and ART food

The father buys lots of beverages and food.

In the case of kecavo and kuki the secondary meaning of a filler is applied, a place-holder for a not yet retrieved entity, where the article is in accordance with the rules:

S1 Taj mír boldas la feri apal? (5.2.5-8)
and why we.baptize her just then

And why don’t we baptize her till then?

S2 Ká o kecavo, o rašaj sas nasválo.
because ART such ART priest was ill

Because the, er, the priest was ill.

S1 Aj či simas khati te kinav mange coxa. (5.2.5-9)
But I was not anywhere to buy a skirt for myself.

S2 Taj i kuki, so andem tuke, a Bejbake dal la.
and ART that what I.brought you ART Bejba gave her

But the, er, which I have brought you, you gave it to Bejba.

### 5.3 Quantifier

Some lexemes are used to select a part out of a given total (all, somebody, nobody within a room, family, location or the like), across different word classes (pronouns, adverbs, others) and dependency structures. They are listed below, in the order from completeness to absence. Due to a lack of a standard term, I extend the meaning of quantifier in this sense. The column labelled “position” indicates the position in which it can occur: as a head, a dependent element, an adjective modifying (ADJ) or predicate modifying (ADV) adverb. Prefixes retain their syntactical status like variko /head). Further information is the animacy status of the element, the declension class, and a general meaning.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lexeme</th>
<th>Position</th>
<th>Animacy</th>
<th>Declension</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sa (sej) “all, every”</td>
<td>head/dependent/adverb</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>NON-INFLECTED</td>
<td>completeness 1) countable (all) 2) extent (full, completely)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sako “every”</td>
<td>head/dependent</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>XADJ</td>
<td>distributive completeness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>intrego (inkrego) “whole”</td>
<td>dependent</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>XADJ</td>
<td>completeness (incountable)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cara “whole”</td>
<td>dependent</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>NON-INFLECTED</td>
<td>completeness (incountable)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>soro “whole”</td>
<td>dependent</td>
<td>non animate</td>
<td>NON-INFLECTED</td>
<td>completeness (time)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sogodi/sagodi “everything”</td>
<td>head/dependent</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>NON-INFLECTED</td>
<td>diversity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tista “completely”</td>
<td>ADJ adverb</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>maximum extent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>erekre “completely”</td>
<td>copula PRDC (similar)</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>maximum extent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tistára “completely”</td>
<td>verbal adverb</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>maximum extent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>akár- “whatever”</td>
<td>retained</td>
<td>retained</td>
<td>retained</td>
<td>ubiquity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mindeneeko “diverse matters”</td>
<td>head</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>XMO</td>
<td>diversity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mindenfejlika (PL) “diverse”</td>
<td>dependent</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>XADJ (PL)</td>
<td>diversity</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 59: Quantifiers

Examples are given in the order of the table, from completeness to absence:

Mindār kinou le e draba sa.  (5.3-1)
always I.will.buy them the drugs all
I will always buy all those drugs.
Taj vorbijas mange kadej pa sa, no sar trajij, taj kadej, sar-i lake. (5.3-2)
and talked me.DAT so about all DISCP how lives and so how-is her
And so she told me everything, I mean, how they live and so, yes, and how she feels.

Vi opre phûrdal sa? (5.3-3)
also VERBP went.ITER everything
And did you go around the whole location eventually?

Šutas ávri sa o pijimo pi mesåli. (5.3-4)
threw out all the beverages on the table
He layed allt the beverages out on the table.

Kana del o brišind vaj o jiv, taj sa čik avla. (5.3-5)
when gives the rain or the snow and all mud will.be
When it rains and snows, everywhere will be mud.

Jáj, sa draba pijav! (5.3-6)
DISCP all drugs L.drink
Oh no, all these drugs I take!

Ou dade, sa khanden. (5.3-7)
DISCP DISCP all they.stink
Oh my God, they stink so much!

Sa mižan! (5.3-8)
everything they.move
They [teeth] dangle so much!

Taj přitom láši-j, na, mamo. Taj vi šukár-i, sa. (5.3-9)
and actually good-is DISCP mummy and also beautiful-is all
And she is actually good, isn't she, mummy, and she is also beautiful.

Intregi rom avenas andaj Indija. (5.3-10)
whole Roms came from.the India
All the Roms came from India.

Sagodišavoura avile. (5.3-11)
all children came
All the children came.
Well that tea is completely black.

Indeed, she is completely tired.

That remains completely for him personally.

Well in Prague it is ice cold.

He got totally drunk.

He sleeps deeply.

Then I fell completely ill.

What is the drug for?

The woman cares for everything, and she manages all kinds of tasks.
The Roms are hit by all kinds of troubles.

It was very beautiful, with flowers and all kinds of colors, red, blue, green, yellow, white.

They were dancing in miscellaneous ways.

That is very beautiful, isn't it?

She cares very well about you.

The pullover suits exactly to you.

It was such a big piece of flesh, the whole shoulder tore off.

Here you got it, such a big piece you should have brought me!

Then you add one, one is enough, one cinnamon, such a piece, such a big piece.
and how big I give-pot them

And how big should it be, what I would give her?

\textit{Aj kobor šinou les, hoť tavel skurto, áke, kobor šindemas les.} (5.3-31)

\textit{DISCP so.big I.will.cut it so to.be short DISCP so.big I.would.cut it}

But I will cut off such a piece, to have it short, look, so long would I cut it.

\textit{Vaj vi o texan o hlavniwo kutín-ouro-j.} (5.3-32)

or also the food the main tiny-dim-is

And the main dish is also very tiny.

\textit{Kana sim opre kutín, mindar o Citrom opre-j manca.} (5.3-33)

\textit{when I.am up a.little immediately the Citrom up-is with.me}

Immediately when I wake up, Citrom is up with me.

\textit{Taj site phabol kutín.} (5.3-34)

\textit{and MODP glow a.little}

And it has to glow a little.

\textit{Thovesa les ek kutín.} (5.3-35)

\textit{you.will.wash it a a.little}

You wash it a little.

\textit{Eta, pe kaj dúj kutina draba dem sto šedesát koron!} (5.3-36)

\textit{DISCP on these two tiny drugs I.gave hundred sixty crowns}

Look here, for these two tiny drugs I paid hundred and sixty crowns.

\textit{Sas les barim kadala kirpi.} (5.3-37)

\textit{COP.IPFV he.ACC at.least these clothes}

He had at least the clothes.

\textit{Avla amende, te avel katkáke barim.} (5.3-38)

\textit{will.be with.us if comes here at.least}

He will be with us, at least if he comes here.

\textit{Barim kirav, mejk avou!} (5.3-39)

\textit{at.least cook.imrbefore I.will.come}

At least cook something, before I will come!

\textit{Aj bištoš, vi kodoj majmon xutilde, phangle avna varisave.} (5.3-40)
Well for sure, they caught also those Vietnamese, some policemen arrived.

[] mangelas i mol, na, vaj **variso**.  
-demanded the wine **DISCP** or something
he ordered wine, you know, or something of this kind.

*Mukla les **variko**, e gáže.*
-will let him somebody the neighbours
Somebody will let him pass, the neighbours or so.

*Ale avla pokaždí **varikon**.*
-but will come every time somebody
But every time somebody will come.

*Nás **čisoski** i omáčka.*
-not was none the sauce
The sauce was nothing fancy.

**Čisosko** Rom nás ando **fouro**.
-not any Rom was not in the city
No Rom was in the city.

S1 **So** ingres anda **fouro**?
-what you bring from the city
What will you bring us from the city?

S2 **No** **khanči**, **no**.
**DISCP** nothing **DISCP**
Well, nothing, yes.

S1 **So-j** kodo **khanči**?
-what is that nothing
What do you mean, nothing?

*Či žutinas leske e doktora **khanči**.*
-not they help, **POT** him the doctors nothing
The doctors would not help him at all.

*Č* **avla** paša ma **khanči**!
not will.be with me nothing

By no means he will stay with me!

Či lažandas pe khanči, hot’ xálas pe amenca. (5.3-49)
not was.ashamed refl. nothing that bothered himself with.us

He wasn’t ashamed at all, that he had quarrelled with us.

Kodo č’ aviloun khanči báro. (5.3-50)
that not would.have.been nothing big

That would not have been a big matter.

Dikhen pe kodo te na perel ánde khanči phuv. (5.3-51)
they.loom on that to not fall inside nothing earth

They take care, that no earth at all to fall inside.

Naj khanči! (5.3-52)
not.is nothing

It doesn’t matter!

The pronouns khonik and khanči require an additional verbal negator. The adnominal use of khanči is rare and stressed in contrast with čisosko. Quantifiers precede other adjectives, except for adverbials, which are posed at the final clause position (erekre, halára). Indefinite pronouns can be derived from interrogative/relative pronouns by prefixing vari-, free-choice expressions by prefixing akár-, see 4.5.3 Derivative Onomasiology.

5.4 Adverbial

An adverbial is an element of the clause which modifies other elements than nouns. Within a clause it generally stands beside a predicate and can also be found within a nominal phrase. The adverbial may consist of a nominal phrase or of a subordinate clause. Adverbial can be a single word, an adverb. The most important ones are listed below, sorted by their semantic value.

Nominal adverbials are incorporated into the clause mostly by the help of 4.6 Prepositions, in the case of temporal NPs and rarely spatial NPs also directly in the NOM, see 5.4.2 Temporal Relations later on or 4.2.5.1-13 Nominative, p. 89. Other, non-nominal, collocations also occur like vi kadej “nevertheless”, feri kadej “without intention” (the latter also with retention of its original meaning in 5.4-2), feri apal “just then” or the opaque fuga párasa “very quickly”.

No kadej feri žasas ando fouro. (5.4-1)
DISCP so just we.went in.the city

Yes, we went into the city without reason.

Feri kadej šaj resas sigo khote. (5.4-2)
only so MODP long quickly there
Only so you can get there quickly.

A very productive source of adverbials is found with prepositional constructions with a demonstrative pronoun like pala kodo "after this, according to this", paša kodo "close to this", anda kodo "due to this", pa kodo "about this" etc.

More complex adverbials are expressed by subordinate clauses. They are presented in more detail in Adverbial Clause (5.10.1.3).

The position of adverbs within the sentence is discussed in Adverbials (5.9.4).

5.4.1 Adverbs

Adverbs as adverbials not based on NPs or clauses are the lightest and most common representation of adverbials. Spatial adverbs specify a location in the widest sense, very often they are linked to prepositions via root lengthening like ande > ánde, tela > tejle etc., and to 5.1.5.3 Verbal Particles and Adverbs and 5.5.3 Aspect Particles by homonymy.

The broadest base for adverbs are the Conversial 4.5.4.5 Derived Adverbs on -es from basically any adjective. They occur among all types of adjectives, see below. The overview below lists only some of the most interesting or frequent examples.

Apart from the following rich classes of adverbs, there are some rather isolated cases like assessing jouba (žanes) "(you know) very well, as a matter of fact”.

The following sections will be introduced by a table of most common or important adverbs, succeeded by examples.

5.4.1.1 Spatial Adverbs

Some verbs are closely related to space and often co-occur with spatial adverbs: žal “go”, avel “come”, lel "take”, šol "put", dikhel "see", šudel "throw", pizdel "push", cirdel "draw", ášol "stay".

Some underlie semantic restrictions, where *torďol tejle "stand down", *pašťol opre "lie up", *bešel opre "sit up" is syntactically correct, but makes no immediate sense. Many others link occasionally with one of the following adverbs to position the event or action into space.

A specific verbal particle is -tar, which is phonologically and phonosyntactically more closely bound to the verb then the others, but otherwise offers the same functionality, a specification of spatial relationships, compartmented to a narrow class of (motion) verbs (see 4.5.3 Derivative Onomasiology). Language-internally, there is no need to speak about a semantic shift but some languages use distinct words for the motion “away from”, like English does: žav-tar “I’m leaving”, nášle-tar “they left in a hurry”, av-tar lendar “leave them and come here”.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adverb</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ánđe</td>
<td>into, in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ánđral</td>
<td>inside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ávri</td>
<td>out, outside</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adverb</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ávral</td>
<td>outside, from outside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>opre</td>
<td>up(wards)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>opral</td>
<td>upwards, upstairs,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adverb</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tejle</td>
<td>down(wards)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tejlal</td>
<td>downstairs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ángle</td>
<td>forwards (see also temporal maj ángle)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ánglal</td>
<td>in front</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>páše</td>
<td>around, near by, in addition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pálal</td>
<td>behind, backwards</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maškáral</td>
<td>in-between, centrally</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>perdal</td>
<td>over, through</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>palpále</td>
<td>back</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>intá</td>
<td>in the middle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khate</td>
<td>at this place*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>katka, katkáke</td>
<td>here (situation deictic)*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khoté</td>
<td>1) at that place, 2) there (discourse)*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kutka, kutkáke</td>
<td>there (situation deictic)*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>katkar</td>
<td>situation deictic: 1) from here 2) here along</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kutkar</td>
<td>situation deictic: 1) from there 2) there along</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khátar</td>
<td>1) from this place 2) along this place</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khouztar</td>
<td>1) from this place 2) along this place</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>boldines</td>
<td>1) upside down 2) indirectly</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Used for location (where?) and direction (where to?)
Adverbial

Table 60: Spatial Adverbs

Examples:

Šaj  ášiloun  ánde.  (5.4.1-1)
MODP  would.have stayed  inside
They could have stayed inside.

Sar  žas  ánde e  vurdonesa?  (5.4.1-2)
how  you.go  inside  the  caravan.with
How do you go in with the caravan?

Koj  mesáli  vi  ándral  vi  ávral-i.  (5.4.1-3)
that  table  also  inside  also  outside-is
That table is inside as well as outside.

Lav  ávri,  Káli,  louve  feri.  (5.4.1-4)
I.take  out  Káli  money  only
I just fetch some money, Káli.

Ávri  sas  inke  kodi.  (5.4.1-5)
outside  was  still  that
She was still outsode.

Gejlem  te  phabáren  la  ávri.  (5.4.1-6)
we.went  to  burn  it  out
We went and burned it out.

Ávral-io  bankomato.  (5.4.1-7)
outside-is  the  cash-mashine
The cash-mashine is situated outside.

Naj  ávral  mišto  mezij  i  budova.  (5.4.1-8)
DISCP  outside  well  looks  the  building
Well from outside the building looks fine.

Ži  opre  gejle  te  dikhen.  (5.4.1-9)
up.to  up  went  to  look
They went as far as up there in order to take a look.
If you put some salt on top, it will be good.

But the people are up there, they come down in order to visit the shops.

You must hold it and cut it on top.

Common, leave it down there.

And then you throw it out of the window.

But the glasses are down there.

Carry it rather in front of you, I mean the bag.

The parents are not nearby.

And then you place some tea close by.

He travelled and me after him.
You must not look behind.

My brothers were on both sides and I was in-between.

The oldest men were sitting centrally at the table.

Then we came back and everything was broken.

Well, this one went right in-between.

Here lives Kejža.

And the cup, where do you place it?

They are calmer over there in Třinec.

OK. And indeed only three persons are living there now.

Yes and she sits there by the window and cries.
Taj katkar len o rat mandar. (5.4.1-29)
and from here they take the blood from me.
And from here they take some blood from me.

Katkar maj páše-j (5.4.1-30)
from here CPR close is.

From here is it closer.

Kutkar las o somnakaj ávri. (5.4.1-31)
from there took the gold out.
From there they took the jewelry out.

Ža kutkar, katka sa kindimo-j. (5.4.1-32)
go that way this way all wetness is.
Go that way, this way is completely wet.

Naj i Bejba šaj avelas tute, na? Taj khátar šaj phírel andi škola. (5.4.1-33)
DISCP the Bejba MODP came POT to you DISCP and from here MODP GO ITER in the school
Well Bejba might come to you, isn't it? And from here she can go to school.

Khátar phíren po alomáši. (5.4.1-34)
from here they go ITER on the station.
From here they depart to the station.

Taj kadej apal avilam ávri khoutar, ká samas garavkerde. (5.4.1-35)
and so then we came out from there where we were hidden ITER.
And then we appeared out of that place, where we were hidden.

Khoutar na ža, khote maladona e skáňí. (5.4.1-36)
that way not GO IMP there will meet the skinheads.
Don't go over there, the skinheads will meet there.

Arakh! Boldines-i! (5.4.1-37)
attention upside down is.
Attention! It's turned around!

Phenelas mange boldines. (5.4.1-38)
was saying me upside down.
He was telling it me discreetly.
5.4.1.2 Temporal Adverbs

Temporal adverbs set a time or period:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adverb</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>butájik</td>
<td>1) A long time ago</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2) For a long time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dolmut</td>
<td>1) A long time ago</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2) For a long time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anakelej</td>
<td>long long ago</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>valahára</td>
<td>once upon a time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>varikana</td>
<td>sometimes, once</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>univar</td>
<td>occasionally</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cera</td>
<td>for a short time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k cera</td>
<td>a while</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šoha</td>
<td>never (with negated predicate)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iž</td>
<td>yesterday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>áver iž</td>
<td>the day before yesterday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tehára</td>
<td>tomorrow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>áver tehára</td>
<td>the day after tomorrow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(de)adějsártuš</td>
<td>from today on</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>detehára</td>
<td>in the morning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>đeješe</td>
<td>during the day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rāti</td>
<td>in the night</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e(k)cere</td>
<td>suddenly, quickly, at once</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>má(r)</td>
<td>already (NEG: no more)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inke</td>
<td>still (NEG: not yet, still not)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vorta</td>
<td>right at the moment, see also</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>majinti</td>
<td>at first</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anglunes</td>
<td>at first</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>apal</td>
<td>then</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zaxvilka</td>
<td>after a while</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mindār</td>
<td>immediately</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>feri</td>
<td>only</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náhodo(u)</td>
<td>by accident</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pokaždí</td>
<td>each time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mindik</td>
<td>always</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>furt</td>
<td>always</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vídík</td>
<td>every time, any time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>azůte</td>
<td>from then on</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mejk</td>
<td>eventually</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adik</td>
<td>until then</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 61: Temporal Adverbs

Examples:

Má butájik sas, kecave dúj šon, trín. (5.4.1-39)

already long.ago was some two months three
It was already long ago, some two or three months.

Butájik kirolas.  
long was.cooking  
It was cooking a long time.

Na dolmut das le.  
not long gave it  
Not long ago he gave it away.

Á, či pillem dolmut.  
Ah not I.drank long.time  
Ah, it has been long ago since I had something to drink.

Anakelej phírkerenas e Rom e vurdonenca.  
long.ago travelled.ITER the Roms the caravans.with  
In ancient times the Roms travelled around with caravans.

Valahára bešenas e Rom telaj čerhaja.  
once sat the Roms under.the stars  
Once upon a time the Roms sat under the stars.

Varikana v sobotu nebo neděli avou.  
somewhen on.Saturday or Sunday I.will.come  
I will come some day on Saturday or Sunday.

Univar kames le, univar niči.  
sometimes you.like them sometimes not  
Sometimes you like them, and sometimes you don't.

Me má cera khelav ma lenca.  
I already little play REFLEX with.them  
I play just little with them.

Pa k cera žou te kerav ma.  
after a little I.will.goto make.up myself  
After a while I will make up myself.

Kodola šoha nás andej thema.  
those never not.were in.the countries
They have never been abroad.

*No maj avesa. Maj ángle ingresa kodo muro, lášo-j.*  
(5.4.1-50)

**No maj avesa. Maj ángle ingresa kodo muro, lášo-j.**  
DISCP MODP you.will.come CPR in.front you.will.carry that mine good-is

Well, you will come back yet. Before that you take mine, it is fine.

*Najo, avesa andi bolta maj pálal.*  
(5.4.1-51)

**Najo, avesa andi bolta maj pálal.**  
DISCP you.will.come in.the shop CPR after

OK, you will come to the shop later on.

*Naj čak iž či kerdas khanči.*  
(5.4.1-52)

**Naj čak iž či kerdas khanči.**  
DISCP DISCP yesterday not made nothing

But eventually he hasn't done anything yesterday.

*Áver iž kindem les.*  
(5.4.1-53)

**Áver iž kindem les.**  
other yesterday 1.bought it

The day before yesterday I bought it.

*Vou žala tehára khejre, no.*  
(5.4.1-54)

**Vou žala tehára khejre, no.**  
he will.go tomorrow at.home DISCP

Tomorrow he will go home, yes.

*Lešinas ži áver tehára.*  
(5.4.1-55)

**Lešinas ži áver tehára.**  
they.were.waiting until other tomorrow

They were waiting until the second day after.

*Aďejsártur feri biknen le ando Kafland.*  
(5.4.1-56)

**Aďejsártur feri biknen le ando Kafland.**  
from.today just they.sell him in.the Kaufland

It is offered in the Kaufland just since yesterday.

*Naj taj avna kadej korán detehára khote?*  
(5.4.1-57)

**Naj taj avna kadej korán detehára khote?**  
DISCP and they.will.be so early in.the.moring there

OK, but will they be there tomorrow about early in the morning?

*Či sovenas dějse, šoha.*  
(5.4.1-58)

**Či sovenas dějse, šoha.**  
not they.slept in.the.daytime never

They never slept during daytime.

*Feri ráti sovenas.*  
(5.4.1-59)

**Feri ráti sovenas.**  
just in.the.night they.slept
They slept just in the night.

*Taj apal ecere avilas.*  
and then at.once came

And then he came at once.

*Taj niči po jejkh kinkeren, po deš ecere.*  
and not each one they.buy.ITER each ten at.once

And they don't buy them in single pieces, but in tens at once.

*Má či žanav.*  
already not I.know

I don't know any more.

*Má kísno sal?*  
already ready you.are

Are you ready already?

*Inke!*  
*one.more*

Once again! / Another one!

*Inke č’ avasa khoté?*  
still not we.will.be there

We're still not there?

*O phral nás vorta khoté.*  
the brother was.not right there

Her brother wasn't there at the moment.

*Majinti aven pala la.*  
firstly they.come after her

They first come to visit her.

*Anglunes site žas taj site phenes lenge sa.*  
at.first MODP you.go and MODP you.say them everything

At first you have to go and to say them everything.

*Apal žan te khelen taj dílaben.*  
then they.go to dance and sing
Then they go dancing and singing.

Avou zaxvilku.  (5.4.1-70)
I will come after a while

Má na site den tu mindár e khera.  (5.4.1-71)
already not they give you immediately the flats
They don't give you immediately the flats already.

Akánik feri kezdindas te lel ma opre.  (5.4.1-72)
now just began to take me
Just now he began to take me serious.

Feri ráňi sovenas.  (5.4.1-73)
only in the night they slept
They slept only in the night.

Náhodo, te resesas les, šaj phušes les-tar.  (5.4.1-74)
accidentally if you would meet him you ask him-ABL
If you should meet him accidentally, you can ask him.

A pokaždí žal anel páji mange.  (5.4.1-75)
and each time goes brings water to me
And each time he goes and brings water to me.

Mejk žal ando páto, guglimo xal pes-ke mindík.  (5.4.1-76)
before he goes into the bed sweets eats always
Before going to bed, he always eats some sweets.

Na rande tu furt!  (5.4.1-77)
not scratch you always
Don't scratch yourself all the time!

Te avesa tejle, taj khote e majmura vídač.  (5.4.1-78)
if you will come down and there the Vietnamese eventually
If you will come down, there are eventually the Vietnamese.

Azíte le Židovi baláno mas či xan.  (5.4.1-79)
from then the Jews pork meat not eat
From that time the Jews don't eat pork.

\[\text{Taj mejk ě păjǐ ě dine man.} \quad (5.4.1-80)\]

and eventually not water not gave me

And eventually they didn't give me even water.

\[\text{Keren adik leski vouja la dljasa.} \quad (5.4.1-81)\]

they.make until.then his mood the song.with

So long they keep him with the song in a good mood.

### 5.4.1.3 Manner Adverbs

Modal adverbs express the way an event or action happens. A very prominent source of these are derived adjectives like kerkes “bitterly”, melāles “dirtily”, šūšes “emptily”, čáčes “really”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adverb</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>opre</td>
<td>open (opposite: ánđe kerdò “closed”)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>opre</td>
<td>awake</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>see also ušiēl opre, Aspect Particles (5.5.3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>loukes</td>
<td>slowly, quietly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čáčes</td>
<td>really</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šukáres</td>
<td>pretty (appearance, behaviour)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vorta</td>
<td>even, just, see Chyba: zdroj odkazu nenalezen (Chyba: zdroj odkazu nenalezen)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nápoki</td>
<td>by purpose</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dehír</td>
<td>laughed off</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 62: Manner Adverbs**

**Examples**

\[\text{Muk kado opre!} \quad (5.4.1-82)\]

let this open

Keep this open!
Adverbial

Sedm hodin opre te aves már!  (5.4.1-83)
already up MODP COP.2SG.SUBV seven

Take care to be up at seven!

Loukes! Dukhal ma kadej!  (5.4.1-84)
slowly hurts me so

Slowly! This way it hurts me!

Šu maj loukes, či šunav tu!  (5.4.1-85)
put quietly not I.hear you

Turn it down, I cannot hear you!

Ame dikhasa, hoť čáčes khate-j.  (5.4.1-86)
we will see that really here-is

We will see, that it's really here.

Šukáres xulavenas le ávri.  (5.4.1-87)
fairly they.combed them ASPP

They combed them fairly out.

Či kodo č‘ avlas šukáres.  (5.4.1-88)
even not that not would.be nicely

Even that wouldn't be nice.

Aj trobus te vortáres ľo dumo, te phíres vorta.  (5.4.1-89)
DISCP you.need to fix your back to GO.ITER upright

You do need to fix your back, to walk upright.

Resle la katka vorta e granáti.  (5.4.1-90)
they.met her here just the garnets

The garnets met her just here.

Nápoki bisterdal les!  (5.4.1-91)
by.purpose you.forgot it

You forgot it by purpose!

Avilas dehír.  (5.4.1-92)
he.came laughed.off

He came and was laughed off.
5.4.1.4 Degree Adverbs

Degree adverbs express the extent of a property, action or event, see also 5.3 Quantifier, p. 263:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adverb</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>páše</td>
<td>in addition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šimaj</td>
<td>furthermore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vúbec</td>
<td>not at all</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vi</td>
<td>even, see also 5.11.4.2 Additive Focus Coordinators vi and na feri / niči feri</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 63: Degree Adverbs

Examples

*Taj* so lesa páše?  
and what you.will.take in.addition

And with what do you want to have it?

*Taj* šimaj line lestar sa.  
and furthermore they.took from.him everything

And furthermore they took everything from him.

Vúbec nášťik dikhav o rat.  
at.all MODP I.see the blood

I can’t look at blood at all.

*No* bút sas, vi deš žejne sas e phúre.  
DISCP many were also ten people were the old

Well they were many, up to ten old people they were all toghter.

Šaj sas la vi tricař roki atunči.  
MODP COP.IPV her.ACC also thirty.years then

They might have been thirty years then.

*Taj* khatargodi pi luma sas, joykhar avilas vi andi Sereda.  
and at.miscellaneous places on.the world was once came also in.the Sered’

And he was everywhere on the world, and once he came also to Sereď.
5.4.2 Temporal Relations

A point in time is referred by

- **NOM nouns or NPs** like *(e)k čáso “an hour”, důj čásura “two hours”, deteřar “morning”, mizmejri “noon”, kurko “Sunday”, luja “Monday”, Májuši “May”, Decemberer “December”, kado berš “this year”,* asked for by Keťe? “What’s the time?” , Sorso đejs-i / šon-i / berš-i? “What day / month / year is it?”, when they agree with the time of speech, except for days of the month and the distinction of day and night;

- **NOM NPs** with áver “next, other” like áver đejs “the next day”, áver kurko “next week”, áver berš “next year”, áver šon “next month” for a relative forward shift of one time unit (“next, the following”), asked for by Kana? “When?” or alternatively with a tiny **RELCL** of the type:

  \[
  \text{Kodo berš so avla rakhou man-ge bútí.} \quad (5.4.2-1)
  \]

  Next year I will find myself a job.

- **NOM NPs** containing kuko like kuko đejs “the day before”, kuko kurko “a week before, a week ago”, kuko berš “a year before” for a backward shift of one time unit, asked for by “Kana?”, or alternatively with a tiny **RELCLS** of the type:

  \[
  \text{Berš-i kodoles-ke, hot’ simas tumende.} \quad (5.4.2-2)
  \]

  A year before I visited you.

- Denominal morphological adverbs deteřara “in the morning” and for absolute named days like kurke “Sunday”, luje “Monday”, see Derived Adverbs (4.5.4.5), asked for by Kana? “When?”, when they are apart from the time of speech, or ráť “during the night” and dějse “during the day”;

- Genitive forms of numerals designating absolute hours or days of the month like jejkhesko / jejkhe čásosko “at one hour”, dájengo / dáje čásongo “at two hours”, ejftango “at seven”, bišengo “at eight pm”, for hours apart from the actual hour and for any day of the month, asked for by Ketěengo? “At what time?”, alternatively with cz/sk numerals, optionally stripped from the cz/sk preposition v(e): avilas (v) pjet “he came at five hours”;

- **NPs** with pe for single absolute points or sections of the day like po mizmejri “at noon” and pe rát “in the evening”, lit. “on night”;

- **NPs** with temporal prepositions pa, angla for a relative forward shift from any time (“after”), or an absolute backward shift from the time of speech (“before now”), respectively: pa dáje kurken “two weeks later”, pa k cera “after a while”, angla pže kurken “five weeks ago”, angla k šon “a month ago”, angla štáre beršen “four years ago”, asked for by Kana? “When?” or by a prepositional construction of the same type like Angla ketě šonen? “How many months back?”;

- **NPs** with the temporal preposition tela for a point or period in time within a given period of time irrespective of the time of speech (“during, within”), asked for by Kana? “When?” or
by a prepositional construction of the same type like *Tela keťe dějšen?* “During how many days?:

*Tela k čáso anesa les mange palpále, jo?* (5.4.2-3)

during one hour you.will.bring it me back DISCP

And you will bring it back to me during an hour, OK?

*Či na kiradas les tela dúje čáson.* (5.4.2-4)
even not cooked it during two hours

She didn’t manage to cook it even during two hours.

A period is given by a (sometimes more complex) nominative NP, questioned for by *Keťi?* “How long?”

*K šon simas lende.* (5.4.2-5)
one month I.was at.them

I was a month at their place.

*Trín berš či dikhlem tu.* (5.4.2-6)
three years not saw you

I haven’t seen you for three years.

*Žav sovav ek lindra.* (5.4.2-7)
I.go I.sleep one sleep

I go for a little sleep.

*Dúj čásura angla kodo / maj ánglal vorbinde andi televiza.* (5.4.2-8)
two hours before that CPR early they.talked in.the TV

Two hours before they were talking about that on TV.

*Keťi sanas andi Anglija?* (5.4.2-9)
how.long you.were in.the England

For how long have you been in England?

*Kuko berš so načilas kejtondem sa e louve.* (5.4.2-10)
that year what passed I.wasted all the money

Past year I wasted all the money.

### 5.5 Predicate

The predicate is the part of the clause which rules the dependency of the other constituents. Predicates may be based either upon a inflected verb or upon a copula. The predicate contains
information about details of the action or state provided by the verb or about certain associations to be linked to the subject in the case of a copula clause.

The predicate may contain the following components (in most common order):

- Verb based: coordinator, negator, aspect auxiliary, modal or aspect particle, verb, reflexive personal pronoun, verbal particle;
- Copula based: coordinator, negator, aspect auxiliary, modal or aspect particle, copula, nominal phrase.

In the predicate, at least one of the two, verb or copula, must be present to establish a predicate, where one excludes the other.

The copula may be omitted only in locative questions and in appropriate answers, possibly replaced by the fossilized nominative personal pronoun lo, li, le, which might be re-interpreted as gender- and number-dependent present tense copula forms (see 4.1.4 Personal and Reflexive Pronouns and 4.4.1 Copula):

\[
Ká \ tì \ dej? \quad (5.5-1)
\]

where your mother

Where is your mother?

S1 \( Ká \ lo \ o \ Citrom? \) S2 \( Eta \ lo! \) \quad (5.5-2)

where \( \text{COP} \) the \( \text{Citrom} \) \( \text{DISCP} \) \( \text{COP} \)

S1 Where is Citrom? S2 Ah, here he is!

S1 \( Ká \ le \ [e \ kiji]? \) S2 \( Eta \ le! \) \quad (5.5-3)

where \( \text{COP} \) the \( \text{keys} \) \( \text{DISCP} \) \( \text{COP} \)

S1 Where are they [the keys]? S2 Here they are!

\[
Ká \ li \ de \ i \ áver? \quad (5.5-4)
\]

where \( \text{COP} \) DISCP the other

So where is the other one?

Some elements of the predicate are discussed elsewhere, see section 4.1.4 Personal and Reflexive Pronouns, section 5.1.5.4 Reflexivization for the reflexive personal pronoun and section 5.1.5.3 Verbal Particles and Adverbs for verbal particles. The verb is the core grammatical unit of the predicate. It contains also tense and sometimes aspect and mood information. Inflection is subject to the rules described in 4.3 Verbal Morphology. Valency is also part of the lexical meaning of the verb, that means what arguments and adverbial phrases can be expected and which are allowed. The alternative predicate, the copula predicate, serves to assign properties to an entity, see more in 4.4.1 Copula. It contains adverbials or a nominal phrase as a description of the assignment property. This can occur with all nominal cases for different purposes. The other elements, negator and modal particle, are discussed within the section.
The list of elements contains no auxiliary verb. There are several verbs which can take complements and help to express volition (*kamel* “want”, *bízij pe* “intend”), ability (*žanel* “can (from birth, experience, or learning)”, *bírij* “can (temporarily), bear”), emotional attitudes (*daral* “be afraid”, *kamel* “like”), or aspect (*kezdij* “begin”, *ášol* “finish”), but none is completely grammaticalized. All of them serve simultaneously as full verbs (*kamel louve* “wants money”, *žanel lesko ánav* “knows his name”, *daral e šanglendar* “is afraid of the police”, *kezdij peski vorba* “opens his speech”) and the conjunction with the dependent verb is realized by standard means of complementizing, see Subordination (5.10). The only exception is *trobuj* “need”, which displays some interferences between the superordinate “auxiliary” clause and the subordinate dependent clause, see 5.5.2.8 Epistemic Verb *trobuj*. Further verbs with (sometimes secondary) auxiliary meaning are *tromal* “dare” and *merel* “desire”:

```plaintext
Merous te dikhav la.  (5.5-5)
I died to I see her

I was very keen to see her.
```

In competition to aspectual “auxiliary verb” constructions, *žal* and *avel* are joined without complementizer and in (sometimes asyndetic) coordination with a fully inflected verb. With *žal*, three types of collocation occur, with linkers ø, *te* and *taj* (in bold underlined), coming from different and still evident background (final relativizer *te* and coordinator *taj*):

```plaintext
Akánik vorbinas, so sas, taj žav ø sosav.  (5.5-6)
now we talk what was and I go I sleep

Now we will talk about, what happened, and then we go sleeping.

Gejle-tar ø nášle-tar taj má či avile.  (5.5-7)
they went-off run-away and more not came

They left, they ran away, and didn't come back any longer.

Me žav ø uravav ma, jo?  (5.5-8)
I go I dress myself DISCP

I go to dress myself, OK?

O Joška žalas te márel les.  (5.5-9)
the Joška went to beat him

Joška went to beat him up.

Palaj dopaširat žanas te soven khejre.  (5.5-10)
after midnight we went to we sleep at home

After midnight we went to sleep at home.

Taj apal žan te khelen.  (5.5-11)
and then they go to they.dance

And then they go dancing.

Šaj žal te hlásij e Berces. (5.5-12)

She can go and announce Berci’s presence.

Taj so siòsa ráñi? Ráñi žasa te soves. (5.5-13)

And what are you able to learn in the night? In the night you must go sleeping.

Taj pale žan taj keren o bijav. (5.5-14)

And again they go and they make the wedding.

Voun šunde taj gejle taj kinde lake. (5.5-15)

They heard, they went there and bought it her.

There is no obvious rule, all three constructions appear in different tenses and aspects, the only clue is given by statistics, which almost rules out ø, and semantics, which makes taj arguable because its basic concept is to separate actions. On the contrary, inchoatives should link both together in a way that žal becomes a background auxiliary to the predicate proper.

Concerning avel, it is mostly used in imperative or directive functions (see Imperative 4.4.6), as in the same combination avel plus xal the standard purpose subordinator te is in effect:

Av ø xal! (5.5-16)

COME.IMP eat.IMP

Come and eat!

Majinti site avel te xal. (5.5-17)

at.first MODP come to eat

At first she has to come and eat.

5.5.1 Predicate Negator

Predicate negation is realized by the negators či and na, separated from the verb/copula solely by a modal or aspect particle. The default negator is či:

O manuš či žanel sa, so pi luma-j. (5.5.1-1)

the man not knows everything what on.the world-is

Man does not know everything in the world.
In the following cases *na* is used instead of *či* generally together with the subjunctive mood, see section 4.3.4.1 Present Tense-Subjunctive, p. 137. In positive clauses the subjunctive manifests only with the copula, the full verb does not distinguish subjunctive from indicative present tense.

- With the complementizer *te*:

  \[\text{Akánik } \text{iž } \text{phendas o doktori } \text{te } \text{na } \text{pij-av } \text{khanči}.\]
  \[(5.5.1-2)\]
  Now yesterday said the doctor to not drink-1SG.SUBV nothing
  
  Just yesterday the doctor said, that I should not drink anything.

  \[\text{Aj } \text{phendal } \text{te } \text{na } \text{an-av } \text{mol}.\]
  \[(5.5.1-3)\]
  DISCP you.said to not bring-1SG.SUBV wine
  
  But you told me to bring wine.

- In non-factual and commonly (in)valid condition clauses introduced by *te*. Contrarily, factual (realisable) conditions are negated via *či*, see the examples below:

  \[\text{Kadej } \text{phenes } \text{sar } \text{šoha } \text{te } \text{na } \text{gejlemas } \text{pi } \text{mašina}.\]
  \[(5.5.1-4)\]
  so you.say as never if not I.would.have.gone on.the train
  
  You speak in a way, as if I had never travelled by train.

  \[\text{Te } \text{na } \text{naj } \text{barvále}, \text{atunči } \text{keren } \text{o } \text{keretšígo } \text{khejre } \text{ando } \text{kher}.\]
  \[(5.5.1-5)\]
  if not are.not rich then they.make the baptism at.home in.the house
  
  If they are not rich, they organize the baptism at home in their flat.

- In the imperative:

  \[\text{Na } \text{phandav } \text{les!}\]
  \[(5.5.1-6)\]
  not bind.IMP him
  
  Don't bind him there!

  \[\text{Na } \text{dara!}\]
  \[(5.5.1-7)\]
  not fear.IMP
  
  Don't be afraid!

- With the modal particles *te* and *site*:

  \[\text{Te } \text{na } \text{bistr-es } \text{tē } \text{kirpi!}\]
  \[(5.5.1-8)\]
  MODP not forget-2SG.SUBV your clothes
  
  Don't forget your clothes!

  \[\text{Na } \text{site } \text{ža-s}.\]
  \[(5.5.1-9)\]
  not MODP go-2SG.SUBV
You don't need to go.

- After the coordinating či (homonymous with the factual negator, see 5.11 Coordination, Operators with Diverse Arguments)
  Či na phenel tuke o čačimo! (instead of *či či phenel tuke o čačimo)  
  even not says to.you the truth  
  He doesn't even tell you the truth!
  Či na žan-av. (instead of *či či žanav)
  even not know-1SG.PRES
  I don't know even.

In the imperative, locally also ma can be heard alternatively with na:

Ma phen!  
not tell.IMP
Don't say it! (or with irony: Really?)

Contrarily, in factual (real) conditions te is negated by či (prevaleently future tense)

Te či žala te khelel peske, hát č’ avla khanči.  
if not will.go to play-3SG.SUBV REFL-DAT then not will.be nothing
If she will not go playing, nothing will happen.

Te či terejdinou me korkouri, khonik či dela.  
if not care me alone nothing no will.do
If I don't care about him personally, nobody will do anything.

Te či žala vouj, žou me.  
if not will.go him I.will.go me
If he will not go, I will go.

Te či kam-es i káveja, pij i teja.  
if not want-2SG.PRES the tea drink the coffee
If you don't want the tea, have the coffee.

Neither či nor na is applied, when the forms themselves contain negation:

- The 3rd person copula in both tenses naj and nás
  Már naj maškar le.  
  already is.not between them
He is no longer between them.

*Nás kecave barvále sar si adějs.* (5.5.1-18)

were not such rich as are today

They were not so rich as they are today.

- The possibility particle in its negative form *nášťik*

*Le ávera Rom nášťik vorbin lesa.* (5.5.1-19)

the other Roms talk with him

The other Roms may not talk with him.

Contrarily *na* is required in these same cases, when preceded by the negative coordinator *či*, leading formally to redundant triple negation.

*Či na naj maškar le már.* (5.5.1-20)

even not is not between them already

He isn't even among them any longer.

*Či na nás kecave barvále sar si adějs.* (5.5.1-21)

even not was not such as are today

They were even not as rich as they are today.

*Le ávera Rom či na nášťik vorbin lesa.* (5.5.1-22)

the other Roms even not talk with him

The other Roms even may not talk with him.

5.5.2 Modal Particle

Modal particles express certain verb modalities like desire, possibility or necessity. Among modal particles I do count also the auxiliary verb *trobuj* “need” with defective inflection (coding number, tense and mood, but not person), the necessity particle *musaj* “need”, which behaves like a nominal bound to a copula, and the nominal-like (*naj*) *slobodo* “(is not) allowed”. The reason to include verbal and nominal components herein is that to receive full syntactic information the complement clause initiated by *te* is necessary and the bare predicate would be incomplete without this. Together with this complementizer, the construction behaves exactly like a modal particle. Only in 3v constructions and in Incomplete and Redundant Sentences (5.8.1) the complement may be omitted, see the chapters below.

5.5.2.1 Possibility, Ability, Permission and Evidential Particle *šaj*

Different of possibility are expressed by a modal particle *šaj* “is possible”. Generally, as a concession to a restricted level of reality, the subjunctive forms of the copula from the stem *av*- are used. In existence propositions, indicative forms also exists:
Šaj si márno.  
(5.5.2-1)

We might still have bread.

The position of šaj is immediately before the predicate, with very little exceptions. One is the isolated position of šaj in answers (S1 Šaj žav? S2 Šaj. “S1 May I go? S2 You can.”), everything else is very rare, like the following example:

Šaj voun phenentuke, ká sas.  
(5.5.2-2)

They could really tell you, where he was.

Generally, šaj is used in the following situations:

• An appropriate (external) situation:

Kana dikhlas, sovel halára, taj cípindas per amende, hoť šaj av-as má.  
(5.5.2-3)

When she saw, that he sleeps deeply, she cried to us, that we can already come.

Náhodo te res-es-as les, taj šaj phuš-es lestar.  
(5.5.2-4)

If you should accidentally meet him, you can ask him.

Kana deše čásongo avel i poušta, no taj jedenáct hodin šaj ža-v.  
(5.5.2-5)

When the post officer comes at ten o’clock, yes then at eleven I can depart.

I Rumungrica hát šaj áš-il-oun ánde.  
(5.5.2-6)

So the Rumungro woman could have stayed inside.

• Whether an appropriate internal condition (volition, ability, disposition) is given:

Te ávri saslo-s-a, šaj ža-s ávri.  
(5.5.2-7)

If you will recover, you may go out.

Taj te kam-es-a, šaj šo-s vi pání.  
(5.5.2-8)

And if you want, you may add also some water.
But I can give her money for the train.

- To express the deduced character of a fact, an evidential modality:

\[
\text{S1 } \text{Taj } \text{mindik } \text{maladon } \text{ande } \text{lesko } \text{kher. } \text{S2 } \text{Kadej } \text{šaj } \text{av-el.} \quad (5.5.2-10)
\]

and always get.drunk-3PL.pres in his flat so MODP cop.subv-3SG

S1 And they always fall drunk in his flat. S2 So is it possible.

\[
\text{Le } \text{pér } \text{tu } \text{o } \text{zubuno, } \text{šaj } \text{av-el } \text{šil } \text{ávri.} \quad (5.5.2-11)
\]

take.imp on you the coat MODP cop.subv-3SG cold outside

Dress the coat, it could be cold outside.

- Internal agreement of a (participant or external) authority (permission):

\[
\text{Mamo, } \text{šaj } \text{ža-v-tar } \text{má?} \quad (5.5.2-12)
\]

mummy MODP go-1SG-away already

Mummy, may I leave already?

\[
\text{Šaj } \text{d-es } \text{les, } \text{kana } \text{trobuj.} \quad (5.5.2-13)
\]

MODP give-2SG him when need.3SG

You can give it to him, if it is necessary.

- Together with the potentialis or irrealis as a polite suggestion or opinion, a crossing of directive and conditional modality:

\[
\text{Naj } \text{de } \text{k } \text{sávo } \text{šaj } \text{áš-il-oun } \text{ando } \text{kher.} \quad (5.5.2-14)
\]

DISCP DISCP one son MODP stay-ifv-3PL.3P in.the house

Well, one son could have stayed at home.

\[
\text{Gugli } \text{mol } \text{šaj } \text{ker-d-am-as.} \quad (5.5.2-15)
\]

sweet wine MODP make-pftv-3PL-IRR

We could have made mulled wine.

\[
\text{Taj } \text{kado } \text{šaj } \text{gindosaj-l-al-as, } \text{mejk } \text{ker-d-am } \text{kado.} \quad (5.5.2-16)
\]

and this MODP think-pftv-2SG-IRR before make-pftv-1PL this

We could have considered this, before we have made it.

\[
\text{Vej } \text{zeveja } \text{šaj } \text{av-en-as } \text{ánde.} \quad (5.5.2-17)
\]

also the greaves MODP cop-3PL-pot inside

There might be also greaves inside.
5.5.2.2 Impossibility, Inability, Prohibitive and Evidential Particle nášťik

The negative counterpart of šaj is nášťik, to be used with corresponding conditions, see 5.5.2.1 Possibility, Ability, Permission and Evidential Particle šaj: Use of subjunctive copula forms, but without exceptions, position right before the predicate, and occurrence in the following situations:

- An impossible (external) situation:
  
  \[
  \text{Taj te avna ma šavoura, či kodola dva tísíc nášťik bišav-ou má. (5.5.2-18)}
  \]

  \[
  \text{and if cop-3pl-fut me.acc children.nom even those two.thousand modp send-1sg.fut already}
  \]

  And fi I will have children, I will send neither those two thousand.

  \[
  \text{Nášťik l-en o rat, taj dúj čásura pašťuv-av. (5.5.2-19)}
  \]

  \[
  \text{modp take-3pl the blood and two hours lie-1sg}
  \]

  They cannot take blood, and so I lie there two hours.

  \[
  \text{Nášťik d-av la khanči, protože sa l-el latar. (5.5.2-20)}
  \]

  \[
  \text{modp give-1sg her nothing because everything take-3sg from her}
  \]

  I cannot give her anything, because she will take everything from her.

- Where an appropriate internal condition is not given (no volition, disability, missing disposition):

  \[
  \text{Nášťik súd-as les i Bejba taj bango sas. (5.5.2-21)}
  \]

  \[
  \text{modp sew.pftv-3sg it the Bejba and bent was}
  \]

  Bejba couldn't sew it, and it was bent.

  \[
  \text{Kana si varikas angína, nášťik phírel pa fouro! (5.5.2-22)}
  \]

  \[
  \text{when cop.3sg somebody.acc tonsillitis modp go.ter over.the city}
  \]

  When somebody has tonsillitis, he cannot go oftento the city.

  \[
  \text{Atunči nasvajlem halára. Anda kodo nášťik gejl-em čak kadalasa. (5.5.2-23)}
  \]

  \[
  \text{then i.fell.ill completely because.of that modp go.pftv-1sg discp with.this}
  \]

  I fell completely ill then. Therefore I really could not go with him.

  \[
  \text{Te av-l-a i Bejba phúri, mír nášťik l-es-a la tute? (5.5.2-24)}
  \]

  \[
  \text{when cop-3sg-fut the Beiba old why modp take-2sg-fut her at.you}
  \]

  Why can't you take Bejba with you, when she will be old?

  \[
  \text{Aj kadi bári šúri, vúbec nášťik dikh-av, kana šingr-en lasa. (5.5.2-25)}
  \]

  \[
  \text{discp this big knife ever modp see-1sg when cut-3pl with it}
  \]

  Oh this knife, I cannot ever watch them cutting with it.
• To express the deduced impossibility of a fact, an evidential modality:

\[ \text{Inke nášítík av-ēl oxtō, rat-i.} \]  
\[ \text{yet MODP cop.surv-3SG eight night-is} \]

It cannot be eight yet, it's dark.

\[ \text{Inke nášítík reslas andi Karvīña.} \]
\[ \text{yet MODP arrive-PFTV-3SG into.the Karviná} \]

She cannot have arrived to Karviná yet.

• Internal disagreement of a participant or external authority (prohibition):

\[ \text{Taj nášítík muk-en ma má te av-ou phūri korkouri, me apal sar avou?} \]
\[ \text{and MODP let-3SG me more to cop-1SG.FUT old alone I then how come-1SG.FUT} \]

And you may not leave me old person alone, how am I to come then?

\[ \text{O manuš site dikh-el ánglal, nášítík dikh-es páalal.} \]
\[ \text{the human MODP look-3SG forwar|ds MODP look-2SG backwards} \]

Man has to look in advance, he cannot look backwards.

\[ \text{Nášítík ker-es kodo, so kam-es.} \]
\[ \text{MODP make-2SG that what want-2SG} \]

You cannot do, what you want.

• Together with the potentialis or irrealis as a polite disagreement with a suggestion or opinion. Only applicable in rhetorical questions, in which they can be easily transformed, see examples 5.5.2-14 - 5.5.2-17, e.g.:

\[ \text{Nášítík ek šávo áš-il-oun ando kher?} \]
\[ \text{MODP one son stay-PFTV-IRR in.the house} \]

Couldn't one son stay in the house?

\[ \text{Nášítík aviloun ánde vej zeveja?} \]
\[ \text{MODP cop-IRR.3p inside also.the greaves} \]

Couldn't there be some greaves inside?

### 5.5.2.3 Obligation Imperative and Interrogative Particle \textit{te}

In contrast to all other functions of \textit{te}, as a directive and interrogative particle it is not part of a subordinate structure. Semantically, this main-clause \textit{te} represents two manifestations of an obligation, for example to visit a doctor, \textit{Žal ká o doktori tehára.} “Tomorrow he will go to the doctor.” The addition of \textit{te} turns the clause into
• An obligation for the subject in form of an imperative sentence in the case of second or third person:

\[
Te \text{-} \text{ža-n} \text{ ká o doktori tehára!} \quad (5.5.2-33)
\]

MODP go-3pl. to the doctor tomorrow

Tomorrow you should go to the doctor!

The authority of obligation is abstract, the addressee needs not to be speech participant, and he needs not to be the listener, in contrast to the simpler, morphological Imperative (4.4.6).

• a consultation on the relevance of obligation for the subject in form of a interrogation sentence in the case of a first person:

\[
Te \text{-} \text{ža-v} \text{ ká o doktori tehára?} \quad (5.5.2-34)
\]

MODP go-1sg to the doctor tomorrow

Should I go to the doctor tomorrow?

Starting from this meaning, several subordinate functions of \textit{te} can be explained as complement or adverbial clause without complementizer or conjunction, as \textit{te} is commonly interpreted, see Complement (5.10.3.2):

• Final clause:

\[
Din-e \text{ ma louve te \text{-} \text{ža-v} \text{ ká o doktori.} \quad (5.5.2-35)
\]

give.pfv-3pl me money conj go-3sg to the doctor

They gave me money to go to the doctor.

• Complement of volition or evaluative predicates:

\[
Kam-ous/ \text{ Dar-ous te \text{-} \text{ža-v} \text{ ká o doktori.} \quad (5.5.2-36)
\]

want-1sg.pfv be.afraid-1sg.pfv cmpl go-1sg to the doctor

I wanted / I was afraid to go to the doctor.

Another common feature is impossibility to use other tenses than the present tense-subjunctive – *\text{Te žasa ká o doktori! “Go to the doctor!” (with 2sg fut), in the case of the copula from the distinct subjunctive stem: *\text{Te sal sigo palpále! (with 2sg pres, correct: te aves).}

In connection with this usage of \textit{te} the position is always right before the predicate, interruptable only by negators (\text{> te na}).

### 5.5.2.4 Obligation Declarative Particle \textit{site}

The particle \textit{site} serves to express obligation, placed by nature, logic, convention or social norm, open to volition or to be postponed.

\[
Site \text{ khar-en e doktores.} \quad (5.5.2-37)
\]

MODP call-2pl. the doctor
You have to call the doctor.

*Kana* šúš-il-e  le dáj gláži la raťijasa, kodo site l-as sáma.  \((5.5.2-38)\)

When the two bottles with spirit were empty, he must have noticed.

\(E\) draba site l-av ávri.  \((5.5.2-39)\)

I have to pick up the drugs.

\(O\) šávo site paťal le Dadesko muj.  \((5.5.2-40)\)

The son has to obey what his father says.

Site ža-v-tar, lešij ma muri dej.  \((5.5.2-41)\)

I have to leave, my mother waits for me.

*Taj* vi detehára nášťik paštúvav. Site ušťav mindík.  \((5.5.2-42)\)

And in the morning I cannot rest any more. I always have to stand up.

The negative form is formed with *na* and means absence of necessity, not a negative obligation, i.e. the scope of the negator is the whole clause:

Šaj ášo-s inke, na site ža-s.  \((5.5.2-43)\)

You can stay, you don't need to go.

In constructions like this the modal particle might be analysed further as the 3p copula *si*, followed by an obligation construction initiated by the Obligation Imperative and Interrogative Particle te (5.5.2.3). In contrast to this, the whole coding burden lies on the “complement”, which normally codes only for person and number:

- Site gejl-em-tar  \((5.5.2-44)\)
  
  I had to leave.

- Site kin-d-as les  \((5.5.2-45)\)
  
  He had to buy it
• Site lešin-d-em-as

\( \text{MODP wait-PFTV-1SG-IRR} \)

I would have had to wait

and the copula shows no sign of coding:

• *S-im te ža-v-tar (instead of si te gejl-em-tar) \( \text{(5.5.2-47)} \)

\( \text{cop-1SG CMPL go-1SG-away} \)

I had to leave.

• *Sas te kin-el les (instead of si te kin-d-as les) \( \text{(5.5.2-48)} \)

\( \text{cop.IPFV CMPL buy-3SG it} \)

He had to buy it.

• *Av-il-em-as te lešin-av (instead of si te lešin-d-em-as) \( \text{(5.5.2-49)} \)

\( \text{cop.IPFV-1SG-IRR CMPL wait-1SG} \)

I would have to wait.

The impersonal character of this construction, together with distributional considerations, leads to the interpretation of si and te as a single, merged unit site. Generally, the complementizer te does not need to follow straight after the leading verb:

\( \text{Či žan-en-as kodo te l-en opre. (alongside či žan-en-as te l-en kodo opre) \text{(5.5.2-50)}} \)

\( \text{not know-3PL-IPFV that CMPL take-3PL VERBP not know-3PL-IPFV CMPL take-3PL that VERBP} \)

They were not able to accept that.

This is not possible with site:

• *Si kodo te an-av khejre (instead of Site anav kodo khejre.) \( \text{(5.5.2-51)} \)

\( \text{cop.3P that CMPL bring-1SG at.home} \)

I have to bring it home.

• *Si akánik te ker-av ma (instead of Site kerav ma akánik.) \( \text{(5.5.2-52)} \)

\( \text{cop.3P now CMPL make-1SG} \)

I have to make me up now.

Above all, site forms everywhere a single prosodic word within the clause with stress on the first syllable and none of the parts nor the complex as a whole link to neighbouring words. This is reflected also in spontaneous writing where site is never split even if each of the two parts exists individually.
5.5.2.5 Obligation Particle *musaj*

The obligation particle *musaj* is used to indicate binding moral-social obligation.

*Musaj-i te nahlási-s o kher.*

You must register the flat.

*Musaj-i te phíraven o dáso.*

They are obliged to wear the mourning clothes.

*Naj kodo, hot’ la terña šejoura musaj-i te xutilen tejle.*

It is not the case, that they are obliged to agree upon a young girl.

*Naj lende keti louve taj musaj-i te ža-n e romňa po čourimo.*

They don't have so much money, and their women have to steel.

*Amáre Rom na nadon kam-en te phír-en pe verastášes, de musaj-i*

Our people don't like too much to attend a mourning, but they are obliged to go, because this belongs to a man's life, because it is meant by God.

If negated, it means the absence of obligation:

*Aj naj musajte žehli-s.*

But you don't need to iron.

*Naj musaj te phír-en khetáne taj te kam-en pe.*

They don't need to meet and they don't necessarily love one another.
It's OK now, you don't need to hold it any more.

*Naj musaj t' av-el godáver vaj te žanel te kirav-el.* (5.5.2-61)

She doesn't need to be clever or to know to cook.

It is bound to the copula. The way *musaj* is integrated into the sentence makes it look like a nominal which requires a copula as its verbal element. The following sentences are structurally the same:

*Naj musaj te ža-s khejre.* (5.5.2-62)

There is no need for you to go home.

*Naj louve te ža-s khejre.* (5.5.2-63)

There is no money for you to go home.

A reinforcement of both obligation markers can be also found:

*Č' av-il-am-as maj but khate, halem musaj site av-il-am palpále.* (5.5.2-64)

We wouldn't have stayed too long here, but we really had to come back.

### 5.5.2.6 The Inhibitive Predicate *naj slobodo.*

*Naj slobodo* is a tight syntactical unit, as *slobodo* cannot be isolated from *naj*, it cannot be placed at another position nor separated from *naj* in any way. Therefore both together form a fixed predicate with three versions for present (*naj slobodo*), past (*nás slobodo*) and future (*ć'avla slobodo*). Both together express strict moral-social prohibition (the counterpart of *musaj*):

*Le romňa naj slobodo khetánes te beš-en le Romenca.* (5.5.2-65)

The women *naj slobodo* must not sit together with the men.

*Már nás slobodo te trádkeren pa them.* (5.5.2-66)

It was already forbidden to travel around the country.

*Áver berš már č' av-l-a slobodo te p-el cigaretli andej kirčimi.* (5.5.2-67)

Next year it will not be allowed any more to smoke in restaurants.
Being negative constructions themselves, they cannot be negated. Missing prohibition is expressed by šaj.

*Majinti šaj av-en-as ando gav bívákura.* (5.5.2-68)

At first come-3PL-IPFV in.the village caravans

At first the caravans could enter the village.

### 5.5.2.7 Permissive Modal Particle *muk* (*mek*)

The 2sg imperative of *mukel* “let pass, leave” is *muk*, individually also *mekel, mek*:

*Muk  khate, maj kouvj-ol-a.* (5.5.2-69)

leave here MODP weaken-3SG-FUT

leave it here, it will definitively weaken.

A modal particle *muk* (*mek*) emerged out of this. With its help, a permission is stated:

*Muk  ža-l  tejle.* (5.5.2-70)

MODP go-3SG down

For all I care he shall go down.

*S1 Má te mundárov? S2 Naj muk táto-j!* (5.5.2-71)

already CMPL switch.off-1SG DISCP MODP warm-is

S1 Am I to switch off the heating? S2 Well keep it warm!

*Te na ža-s kurke. muk ávri sasťo-s!* (5.5.2-72)

if not go-2SG Sunday MODP ASPP recover-2SG

If you don’ go on Sunday, you must recover first!

### 5.5.2.8 Epistemic Verb *trobuj*

The basic meaning of *trobuj* is “need” with nominal objects, which I would like to shortly reminded in this context. If the target of necessity is not an activity (a complement), the holder of necessity is given in an accusative object (*tu*), while the object of necessity is nominative-marked. The verb itself appears in an impersonal 3P person with number agreement and marking of temporal and modal:

*O papiroši trobu-ʃ-a tu pečičf.* (5.5.2-73)

the paper need-3SG-FUT you baking

You will need baking paper.

From this meaning, a modal verb has emerged. It expresses an implicit condition with a high degree of possibility. This unstated condition may be general (“if everything goes fine”) or can be
understood from the statement. In the examples the hidden conditions might be “if the child will be
born in full health” and “if the priest does not forget”, respectively.

\[
\text{O rom, kas trobu-j t' av-el o cigno, soulati-j peske kirves. (5.5.2-74)}
\]

the man who.ACC need-3SG CMPL cop.SUBV-3SG the little defend-3SG his godfather

The man, who is supposed to have the little child, defends his godfather.

\[
\text{Šouvengo trobu-j te av-el amende o rašaj. (5.5.2-75)}
\]

at.six need-3SG CMPL come-3SG to.us the priest

At six o’clock the priest is supposed to come to us.

The connection to the non-complement (NP argument) fully inflected verb trobuj “need” has become
very loose, as the necessity semantics is only indirect: The necessity of the implicit condition to
become true. Actually, trobuj marks not so much necessity than (slight) uncertainty and
expectation. Only the following examples can be interpreted as a necessity, forced by the birth (to
come) of a baby, but it can be read also as a concession to a relict possibility, that the christening
party will not take place.

\[
\text{Le důj rom vorbi-n, kana trobu-j t' av-el o keretšígo. (5.5.2-76)}
\]

the two men speak when need-3SG CMPL cop.SUBV-3SG the baptism

The two men speak about when the baptism is supposed to take place.

\[
\text{Či trobu-j te šun-en e šáve. (5.5.2-77)}
\]

not need-3SG CMPL hear-3PL the young.men

The young men is not supposed to hear it.

Within the construction with trobuj, number, tense and mood is expressed right by the modal verb,
while person must be supplied by the following complement clause. No matter what person is
required semantically, in modal constructions always the 3rd person is supplied. Additionally to
person, the complement codes for number, too (as number and person are cumulative features in
verbs).

\[
\text{Atunči, kana trobu-j-as te ža-v lasa, nasvaj-l-em halára. (5.5.2-78)}
\]

then when need-3SG-PFV CMPL go-1SG with.her fall.Iill-PFV-1SG completely

When I was supposed to go with her then, I fell completely ill.

\[
\text{Trobu-j inke te vorbi-s lesa. (5.5.2-79)}
\]

need-3SG still CMPL talk-2SG with.him

You should talk with him.

\[
\text{No maj trobu-n-a te d-en tu vědět hát. (5.5.2-80)}
\]

DISCP MODP need-3PL-FUT CMPL give-3PL you to.know thus

Well, nevertheless they should let you know first.
Full inflection can also be encountered.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Jejkh trobu-n-as te ţan-as,} & \quad (5.5.2-81) \\
\text{one need-1PL-POT CMPL know-1PL} \\
\text{hot’ o romimo ando románo trajo trobu-n-as te vezeti-nas.} & \quad (5.5.2-81) \\
\text{that the Rom.culture in the Rom life need-1PL-POT CMPL lead-1PL}
\end{align*}
\]

One thing we ought to know is, that we should lead our life in the spirit of the Rom culture.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Le Rom trobu-n-as so maj but te malad’on khetánes,} & \quad (5.5.2-82) \\
\text{the Roms need-3PL-POT as CPR much CMPL meet-3PL together} \\
\text{hot’ jejkhávresko sokáši ánde te pinžár-en.} & \quad \text{(5.5.2-82)} \\
\text{MODP mutual customs VERBP conj experience}
\end{align*}
\]

The Roms should meet as much as possible, in order to experience themselves mutually.

### 5.5.2.9 Eventuality Particle *kam*

An eventual occasion may be indicated by using *kam*

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Kam teci-j mange variso, te ţou andej bolti.} & \quad (5.5.2-83) \\
\text{MODP is.liked-3SG me.DAT something if I.will.go into the shops}
\end{align*}
\]

What if I would like something, when I will go shopping.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Av ţas leste, kam ţa-l-tar!} & \quad (5.5.2-84) \\
\text{come.IMP.2SG go.IMP.2SG to.him MODP go-3SG-away}
\end{align*}
\]

Common, let's go to him, maybe he is going to leave!

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Te na muk-es la khati, kam kam-n-a te ingr-en la} & \quad (5.5.2-85) \\
\text{MODP not let-2SG her nowhere MODP want-3PL-FUT CMPL carry-3PL her}
\end{align*}
\]

Don't let her go nowhere, what if they wanted to carry her away!

### 5.5.2.10 Potential Particle *mišto čí*

A missed occasion is expressed by using *mišto čí* or alternatively by the 4.4.11 Irrealis.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Mišto čí phager-d-e i motora.} & \quad (5.5.2-86) \\
\text{MODP break-PFTV-3PL the car}
\end{align*}
\]

They have almost broken the car.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Phagerdoun i motora.} & \quad (5.5.2-87) \\
\text{break-PFTV-IRR.3P the car}
\end{align*}
\]

They have almost broken the car.
5.5.2.11 Epistemic Modal Particles \textit{hot', phenel, phendas}

Besides its core function as factual complementizer (see 5.10.3 Marking within the Subordinate Clause), \textit{hot'} partially serves to mark information as mediated, reported, be it in direct or indirect speech. I have no examples for \textit{phenel} and \textit{phendas}, because I heard:

$\text{Vorbindas mange vou sa, hot' sar sas.}$ \hfill (5.5.2-88)

talk-PFTV-3SG me he everything MODP how cop.IPFV.3p

He told me everything about how it was alleged to be.

$\text{Taj phen-el kodi šejouri: “Má na site dara-n,” hot’ “e šanglestar”}$. \hfill (5.5.2-89)

and say-3SG that girl already not MODP be.afraid-3PL MODP the policeman.from

And that girl said: “You don't need to be afraid,” she says, “of the policeman.”

$\text{Taj phuš-en latar e šangle hot’ “Ká-lo o Groufo?”; hot’ te phen-el}$. \hfill (5.5.2-90)

and ask-3PL her the policemen MODP where-is the Groufo MODP CMPL say-3SG

And the policemen asked her, like: “Where is Groufo?”, he was to tell.

5.5.2.12 Epistemic Particle \textit{abisi}

When a statement is to be presented as a base of an intentional action of the subject, this is indicated by \textit{abisi}, located in a sentence-initial position.

$\text{Taj i Eva sakoneske, ko gejlas, taj šutas andej miski te ingren, vi ame.}$ \hfill (5.5.2-91)

and the Eva everybody who went and put into.the bowls conj carry also we

$\text{No. Ká ášilo pherdo techan taj abisi vou so kerla lesa?}$ \hfill (5.5.2-91)

DISCP because remained much food and MODP she what do-3SG-FUT with.it

And Eva gave everybody, who was leaving, something into a box to take it along, us included. Yes. Because much food was left, and what was she supposed to do with it?

5.5.2.13 Epistemic Particle \textit{maj}

North West Lovari Romani offers a way to express certainty with the statement, that is by using \textit{maj} with a future tense. It is used to ensure the listener, that the event will really happen.

$\text{Maj kin-ou le, kodoj brusinki.}$ \hfill (5.5.2-92)

MODP buy-1SG.FUT them those cranberries

I will surely buy those cranberries.

$\text{Maj l-en-a les.}$ \hfill (5.5.2-93)

MODP take-3PL-FUT it

They will surely take it.
It will definitely weaken.

5.5.3 Aspect Particles

There is a class of particles like e.g. in perel tejle “fall down” or sastöl ávri “recover”. They are close to verbal particles, see 5.1.5.3 Verbal Particles and Adverbs, but the particles cause no onomasiological effect, because perel itself has the meaning of falling down, and sastöl alone means “recover”. They are also close to spatial adverbs, see 5.4.1.1 Spatial Adverbs, but in contrast to them the spatial meaning is not really necessary (perel), and sometimes even not transparent (sastöl ávri). Eventually, they share to a high degree the same set of adverbs like the functions “verbal particle” and “adverb”.

The main function of the particle is the perfective aspect, i.e. an action or event is marked as finished, completed, compare e.g. kidel “collect” with kidel opre “collect all”, finish the process of collecting. However, sometimes semantics does not support perfective aspect, like the stative lougij “hang”, but nevertheless the collocation lougij tejle can be heard. In the recorded case, the motivation seems to be rather emphasis than aspect. Another example transgressing the aspect theory is del perdal “hand over”, lit. “give over”. Here, too, perdal is somehow redundant, and a perfective interpretation is possible. On the other hand, the example happens in a formalized (ritualized) context, and perdal reflects emphasis (solemnity) rather than perfectiveness. I have marked deviation of the aspectual background in the table as “EMPH”. As can be seen, non-aspectual connotations are rare, and therefore difficult to analyze. The analysis of non-aspectual realizations of the particle is subject to further research.

Aspect particles are generally posed right after their verb, in the case of marking also directly before it. Disruption of verb and particle is possible only for clitic pronoun and copula (after), for clitic discourse markers -le and -de, and for the complementizer te (before):

```
Av  xa-de  ávri!   (5.5.3-1)
come.imp.2sg eat.imp.2sg-discp aspp

Common, eat it up!

Ávri-j  thujárdi.   (5.5.3-2)
aspp-is  fattened

She is well fed.

Kam-es te  xasajv-en e louve?  Taj a Bejba ávri te  šud-en apal?  (5.5.3-3)
want-2sg cmpl get.lost-3pl the money and the Bejba aspp modp throw-3pl then
Do you want to waste the money? And Bejba to be thrown out then?
This also strictly applies to verbal particles, but not as much to the primary, locative usage as adverb. Despite its standard location around the verb, it is less bound to it, and it is often encountered at locations common of 5.9.4 Adverbials:

\[
\text{Kin-d-em leske kufříko,te šo-l peske veci ánde. (5.5.3-4)}
\]

\[
\text{V-buy-PFTV-1SG him suitcase.DIM conj put-3SG REFL.DAT stuff inside}
\]

I bought him a little suitcase, so that he can put his things into.

\[
\text{Ža-n ánde ando kher, kana jivend-i, vaj kana milaj-i, (5.5.3-5)}
\]

\[
\text{V-go-3PL inside into.the house when winter-is or when summer-is}
\]

\[
\text{ávri pi udvara ža-n.}
\]

They go inside into the house in winter, and in summer they go outside to the courtyard.

In several cases, additionally to the aspectual modification, the particle also changes valency of the verb. So the intransitive bešel “sit, be imprisoned” can have an argument, when modified with the particle ávri. This argument is the duration of the sentence: bešlas ávri e petadvaceť roki “he was imprisoned the whole of the twenty-five years”. These cases are labelled “valency” in the table. There is no need to provide the resulting meaning, as it is equal to the unmodified meaning.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adverb</th>
<th>Meaning of the Adverb</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Type</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ánđe</td>
<td>in</td>
<td>ikrel “hold”</td>
<td>PFTV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>phandadól “be bound”</td>
<td>PFTV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ándral</td>
<td>inside</td>
<td>–</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ávri</td>
<td>out</td>
<td>bešel “sit”</td>
<td>PFTV, valency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>sastól “recover”</td>
<td>PFTV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ďourel “steel”</td>
<td>PFTV, valency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>asal “laugh”</td>
<td>PFTV, valency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>rovel “cry”</td>
<td>PFTV, valency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>thujárel “gain weight”</td>
<td>PFTV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adverb</td>
<td>Meaning of the Adverb</td>
<td>Verb</td>
<td>Type</td>
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<tr>
<td>--------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>kinel</td>
<td>“buy”</td>
<td>PFTV</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šudrol</td>
<td>“cool (TRANS)”</td>
<td>PFTV</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>načol</td>
<td>“run out”</td>
<td>PFTV</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>del pe</td>
<td>“dart”</td>
<td>PFTV, valency</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šundol</td>
<td>“be heard”</td>
<td>PFTV</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>phutrel</td>
<td>“open”</td>
<td>PFTV, valency</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(further verbs like ňomrozij “squeeze”, dindarkerdo “bitten”, čúpij “pick”, žárulij “beg”)</td>
<td>PFTV</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ávral</td>
<td>outside</td>
<td>–</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>opre</td>
<td>up(wards)</td>
<td>kilel “collect”</td>
<td>PFTV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>phírel</td>
<td>“go.ITER”</td>
<td>PFTV, valency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uštel</td>
<td>“stand up”</td>
<td>PFTV</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>phušel</td>
<td>“ask”</td>
<td>PFTV</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(further verbs like bárol “grow”, xušel “jump”, ginel “read”, mangel “demand”)</td>
<td>PFTV</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>opral</td>
<td>upstairs</td>
<td>–</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tejle</td>
<td>down(wards)</td>
<td>šinel “cut”</td>
<td>PFTV</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Adverb | Meaning of the Adverb | Verb | Type | Adverb | Meaning of the Adverb | Verb | Type
---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---
| | | | | | | |
ds) | | | | | | |
bešel “sit” | PFTV, valency | | tejlal | | “spit”) |
perel “fall” | PFTV | | | | |
lougij “hang” | EMPH | | | | |
kirol “cook (INTR)” | PFTV | | | | |
šindol “break (INTR)” | PFTV | | | | |
xal “eat” | PFTV | | | | |
pel “drink” | PFTV | | | | |
| | | | (further verbs like peravel “drop”, perel “fall”, phagel “break”, šungarel) | | | |

Table 64: Aspect Particles

Examples:

*Na mindlík kado ánde iker-d-as pe.* (5.5.3-6)
not always this keep-PFTV-3SG REFL

This was not always obeyed.

*Ánde phandád-ːn mure jákha.* (5.5.3-7)
ASPP get.bound my eyes

My eyes are closing.

*Taj kodi beš-l-as ávri dohoďinu e petadvacat’roki.* (5.5.3-8)
and that sit-PFTV-3SG ASPP to.the.hour the twenty-five.years

And the other one stayed in prison for the whole of her twenty-five years.

*Ávri sastó-s-a.* (5.5.3-9)
You will recover completely.

You will recover completely.

You will recover completely.

Taj inke ávri čour-d-as le. (5.5.3-10)
and additionally ASPP steel-PPTV-3SG them
And additionally she stole everything from her.

Taj vi tu asa-s ma ávri. (5.5.3-11)
and also you laugh-2SG me ASPP
And even you laugh at me.

Ávri rán-as e jákha. (5.5.3-12)
ASPP cry-PPTV-3SG the eyes
She had a good cry.

Ávri-j thujárdi kodi šej. (5.5.3-13)
ASPP-is fattened that girl
That girl is very well fed.

S1 Naj či na nás áver, feri kado paluno. No.
DISCP even not not.was other just this last DISCP
But there was none at all, just this last one. Really.

S2 Naj čak ávri kin-en le. (5.5.3-14)
DISCP DISCP ASPP buy-3PL them
Oh yes, they buy everything out.

Av-de, av, ávri šudro-l. (5.5.3-15)
come.IMP.2SG-DISCP come.IMP.2SG ASPP cool.down-3SG
Common, come, it is cooling down.

Kana mer-el varikon, načo-l ávri le manušesko trajo. (5.5.3-16)
when die-3SG somebody decay-3SG ASPP the man's life
When somebody is dying, his life decays.

Te na d-es tu ávri andaj louve! (5.5.3-17)
MODP not give-2SG REFL ASPP out.of.the money
Don't run out of money!

Sar kana phen-el les ek manuš, kadej šund-il-as ávri. (5.5.3-18)
like when say-3SG when a man so sound-PFTV-3SG ASPP

It sounded exactly like when a man pronounces it.

*Kid-es* opre andi kanna kodo cemento. \((5.5.3-19)\)
collect-2SG ASPP into the canister that cement
You collect the cement all together into a canister.

*Phir-d-al* opre i burza. \((5.5.3-20)\)
you go,ITER-2SG the market
You went across the whole market.

*Kadej* kana ušť-es opre, hát te šo-s tuke opre kado satěnovívo. \((5.5.3-21)\)
so when stand.up-2SG ASPP so MODP put-2SG REFL,DAT ASPP silken
And when you stand up then, you should dress in your silken clothes.

*Či* ker-el khanči, mejk či phuš-el les opre hoť ža-l. \((5.5.3-22)\)
not make-3SG nothing until not ask-2SG him ASPP that go-3SG
He doesn't do anything, unless he asks him to go.

*Taj* šin-d-e majinti tejle kutîn. \((5.5.3-23)\)
and cut-PFTV-3PL first ASPP a little
And firstly they cut off a little piece.

*Khote* ža-n taj beše-n tejle sa taj vorbi-n. \((5.5.3-24)\)
there go-3PL and sit-3PL ASPP all and talk-3PL
And they go there, sit all down and have a talk.

*Kodo* cemento per-l-a tejle paj fejastra. \((5.5.3-25)\)
that cement fall-3SG-FUT ASPP from the window
The cement will fall down from the window.

*Lake* hájura katka tejle lougi-n. \((5.5.3-26)\)
her wrinkles here ASPP hang-3PL
Her wrinkles hang down right here.

*Šudro-l-a, atunči pij-ou la. Vaj kirades pij-ou la? Tejle kiruv-av. Ce!* \((5.5.3-27)\)
cool-3SG-FUT then drink-1SG,FUT it or hot drink-1SG,FUT it ASPP burn-1SG DISCP
It is going to cool down, then I will drink it. Or am I to drink it hot? I burn my lips. Pooh!

*Má* tejle šindô-l-a le gážendar o pijarco. \((5.5.3-28)\)
already ASPP break-1SG-FUT the from people the food market

The food market is heavily crowded.

*Te na xa-s sa tejle, muk inke variso!* (5.5.3-29)

Don't eat everything up yet, leave something there.

*Pil-as tejle taj gejl-as-tar.* (5.5.3-30)

He drank about and left.

*Le šáveski dej l-el o texan taj d-el les perdal ká la šaki dej.* (5.5.3-31)

The son's mother takes the food and gives it ASPP to the daughter's mother.

### 5.6 Sentence Level Particles

Several words or phrases help to structure a dialogue or narration or to add attitude to the presented statements.

Some discourse steering devices are direct extensions of constructions on the intra-sentential level. They can be encountered in coordination, see 5.11 Coordination, Operators with Diverse Arguments, p. 400, or on the interface between subordinate and superordinate clause, see 5.10.1.3 Adverbial Clause, from p. 371, and in 5.10.4 Marking within the Main Clause, p. 394.

Some particles can be used also on a level below the clause, like *de* and *ale*:

*Sas, de na but, vi kecave Rom.* (5.6-1)

were but not many also such Roms

There were also such a kind of Roms, but they were not many.

*Č’ avesa týden, ale důj dějs.* (5.6-2)

not you will come week but two days

You will not come a week, but two days.

### 5.6.1 Consequence Particles *hát, azír* and *apal*

The consequence of elements of the preceding discourse is indicated by *hát* and *azír*, and exceptionally by the generally temporal adverb *apal* (see 5.4.1.2 Temporal Adverbs, p. 277):

*Hát tu inke prej ma jaigatis!* (5.6.1-1)

so you still on me yell

So you still yell on me!

*Či keren kodo azír, hoť či kouštálija le but louve,* (5.6.1-2)
not they.make that therefore that not will.cost them much money

halem azír, ká tecij lenge kodi šej, taj lenge jejkh-i apal,

but therefore because is.liked them,DAT that girl and them equal-is then

hoť kouštálija le but vať cera louve.
that will.cost them much or little money

They don't do it so, because it costs them much money, but because they like this girl, and eventually they don't matter, whether it costs them money.

Taj vou vorbindas mange. Azír žanav, ká vorbindas mange vou sa. (5.6.1-3)

and he talked me therefore I.know because talked me he everything

And he has told me. Therefore I know it, because he has told me everything

S1 Vouj-i maj phúri kaki. S2 Taj so? Azír vou šaj kerla so kamel? (5.6.1-4)

she-is CPR old this and what therefore he MODP will.do what wants

S1 She is the oldest. S2 So what? Therefore she may do what she wants?

5.6.2 Contrast Particles ale, přesto/presto, stejňe, vi kadej, de, hanem/halem

Adversative particles are used to indicate contradiction or independence with respect to the preceding discourse. Often contrast is not marked explicitly, and if ever, mostly borrowed elements step into this function: Primarily ale is employed, and with a little lower frequency the others, i.e. přesto/presto, stejňe, vi kadej, de (besides de with imperatives, see 5.6.12 Extra-Linguistic Particles le, de, maj, áke and Grammaticalized Imperatives, p. 325), hanem/halem:

Intrego luma šaj phíresas, opre ale e Rusura kerenas širokokolejňica. (5.6.2-1)
whole world MODP you.would.go.ITER ASPP but the Russians made broad-gauge.rail

You can walk up the whole world, but the Russians made a broad-gauge rail.

Po bijav mundáres a khajña, na, taj a papiña? (5.6.2-2)
on.the wedding you.kill the hen DISCP and the goose

Ale o svunto Ježuš-ka žanel, hoť mundárde e báles.
but the holy JESUS-DIM knows that they butched a pig

On a wedding you butcher a hen and a goose, don't you? But the Lord knows, that they have butchered a pig.

Ke nášade le, taj presto kerde bijav. (5.6.2-3)
because they.kidnapped her and nevertheless they made wedding

Because they kidnapped her, and nevertheless they arranged a wedding.

Ek čáso vesejdij, mejk rakhel, te lel ek semo rat. (5.6.2-4)
He struggles an hour, until he finds anything, until he takes some blood. But nevertheless just few blood comes out.

I don't make any flatbread, nevertheless I cannot eat it.

By this expression they mean, that the man needs not to be tarted up, that he is a Rom anyway.

Additionally they dress in a nice white, pink or red blouse, and this one must also be most expensive and best quality.

The skirts they wear are not as long as once, but shorter. But we have to say, that also the girls like jewellery in addition to the clothing.

Our Rom ancestors once danced in front of their women in a way, not to be betrayed within the dance. But as the world went on, the dancing developed also.
Also another proverb is true, that the Roms are not all equal,

5.6.3 Concatenative \textit{taj}

A new action or consideration in addition to the preceding discourse is often introduced by \textit{taj}. It may be confirming or contrastive, in narration or in dialogue. It means a continuation of other levels of chaining (nominal phrases, adjectives, clauses), see 5.11.4.4 Conjunction Coordinator \textit{taj}, p. 414.

\begin{align*}
\text{Kobor kotor-i, me taj čišli sim.} & \quad (5.6.3-1) \\
\text{so.big chunk-is me and slim I.am} \\
\text{She is such a chunk, so compared to her even I am slim.}
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
\text{S1 Pe gaven bešen vaj ando fouro?} & \quad (5.6.3-2) \\
\text{on village they.live or in.the towns} \\
\text{Do they live on a village or in a town?}
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
\text{S2 Andej ávera fourura.} & \quad (5.6.3-2) \\
\text{in.the other towns} \\
\text{In different towns.}
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
\text{S3 Taj tō dad taj tī dej, kā bešen?} & \quad (5.6.3-3) \\
\text{and your father and your mother where they.live} \\
\text{And your parents, where do they live?}
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
\text{S1 Naj tu phendal či keres? S2 Taj save kerou? Ande sos kerou me?} & \quad (5.6.3-3) \\
\text{DISCP you said not you.make and which I.will.make in what I.will.make I} \\
\text{S1 But you have said, that you don't cook them? S2 And which am I to make? In what kind of \textit{pot} am I to cook it?}
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
\text{Bešen taj roven taj phabon e memeja, e svunti memeja phabon khote.} & \quad (5.6.3-4) \\
\text{they.sit and cry and burn the candles the holy candles burn there} \\
\text{They sit and cry and burn candles, there are holy candles burning.}
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
\text{Taj žal ānde, taj thon mindār o skamin tela les.} & \quad (5.6.3-5) \\
\text{and goes into and put immediately the seat under him} \\
\text{And he goes inside, and they offer him immediately a seat.}
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
\text{Vi e ávera phenen, hoř či pen, taj penas e rakjoura taj e kamarātura.} & \quad (5.6.3-5) \\
\text{also the others say that not drink and drank the children and the pals}
\end{align*}
The other children say also, that they don't take drugs, but still the children and the pals did drink.

\begin{itemize}
\item[1] Bejba taj opre šuvli-j. \hfill (5.6.3-6)
\end{itemize}

the Bejba and ASPP swollen-is

And Bejba is even more swollen.

5.6.4 Alternation Particle vaj/vať

With vaj, an alternation to the former discourse can be presented. This is a continuation of other levels of chaining (nominal phrases, adjectives, clauses), see 5.11.4.5 Disjunction Coordinator vaj/vať, p. 415.

Kadej andi kavárňa bašavnas. Bári kavárňa sas. \hfill (5.6.4-1)

so in.the restaurant they.played big restaurant was

In the restaurant they played. A big restaurant was it.

Vaj kana milaj sas, ando párko sas i zábava.

or when summer was in.the park was the dance

Or in summer there were dances in the park.

Či chal khanči! Po detehára vaj pe ráta lel peske dopaš márno, \hfill (5.6.4-2)

not eats nothing on.the morning or on evening takes REFL half bread

dopaš márno, taj kodo stačij lake. Vaj vi o techan o hlavňivo kutinouro,

half bread and that longs her or also the food the main tiny

kadej chal vou.

so eats she

She doesn't eat anything. In the morning or in the evening she takes half a slice of bread, yes, and that fits her. Or the main course is also tiny, that's the way she eats.

O šávo či kamelas. Vaj i šej, i šej šaj ášiloun. \hfill (5.6.4-3)

the son not wanted or the daughter the daughter MODP have.stayed

The son didn't want to. Or the daughter, she could have stayed.

Kadi vorba phenas atunči: \"Ťa šukára pátivake!\” \hfill (5.6.4-4)

this formula we.say then your.sg nice hounor.DAT

Vaj’ te si palaj mesáli maj but žejne, phenas: \"Tumára šukára pátivake!\”

or if are behind.the table CPR many people we.say your.pl nice hounor.DAT

Then we say this formula: \"Be welcome!\” Or if there are more people around the table, we say: \"Be welcome all together!\”
5.6.5 Disruption Particle naj

If a comment, opinion, or fact is independent of preceding (maybe assumed or expected) conditions, it is introduced by \textit{naj}. It is employed without respect to confirmation or contrast, and it occurs equally in narration and in dialogue:

\begin{quote}
S1 Taj žutinde tu? S2 Naj žutinde, či dukhan kadej. (5.6.5-1) \\
and helped you DISCP helped not ache so
\end{quote}

S1 And did they help you? Well, they helped, they don't hurt so much.

\begin{quote}
S1 Kinou le. S2 Naj či avna a boltake kecave. (5.6.5-2) \\
I will buy them DISCP not will be the shops GEN such
\end{quote}

S1 I will buy them. S2 Yes, those from the shop are not so good.

\begin{quote}
“Vi me kamous te dikhav pe kodi šej. Ká-li?“ “Naj katka-j,“ (5.6.5-3) \\
also I wanted to see on that girl where-is she DISCP here is
\end{quote}

“Me, too, wanted to take a look at that girl. Where is she?” “Well here she is.”

\begin{quote}
taj sikaven taj roven. \\
and they show they cry
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
and they show him and cry.
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
S1 E Jirkastar site skirinav. S2 Naj inger taj skirin leske. (5.6.5-4) \\
the from Jirka MODP write DISCP carry and write him
\end{quote}

S1 I have to write from Jirka's phone. S2 OK, carry it away and write him.

\begin{quote}
Taj bžíj pe te žal andi Ťešíňa vaj Haviřovo, (5.6.5-5) \\
and plans RELF to go into the Těšín or Haviřov
\end{quote}

And he is preparing to go to Těšín or Haviřov.

\begin{quote}
taj inke vi trafika te kinel. Naj keti-j kecavi trafika? \\
and more also newsagent to buy DISCP how much is such newsagent
\end{quote}

and additionally to buy a newsagent. But how many newsagents are here around?

\begin{quote}
Vestredu dena o důchodo. Naj tat žojine šaj gejlemas. (5.6.5-6) \\
on Wednesday the will give the pension DISCP and on Thursday MODP I would go
\end{quote}

On Wednesday the pension will come. Yes, and on Thursday I could go.

\begin{quote}
S1 Ale po pijarco site si. S2 Naj šoha či dikhlem. (5.6.5-7) \\
but on the market MODP is DISCP never not I saw
\end{quote}

S1 But it must be on the market. S2 But I have never saw it there.
You can cut it, if you want. S2 Well, let's see, yes. That will be finally on another place.

And she will know, whether there are some. But I really don't know, where from they noticed that. They know it.

He carried them away, when he went to America. And indeed, there he was also searching and immediately made money.

That's right, Boja has to teach you. Yes, Boja might come to you.

If a situation deserves special attention, no matter whether it is already in the focus of discourse. this is managed by aj:

When I went inside, I was surprised. The council member said: “Ah, what did you see?”

They deal there with carpets. All the people, everybody. Ah, they were many.

She was known from here, she was Komárno. Ah, she was really beautiful.
5.6.7 Conclusive no and mišto-j

After a more complicated discussion or explanation, a summary of the state-of-the-art may be attached, occasionally with irony. This is introduced by no. In sentence-final position no or mišto-j (lit. “it's good”) signal completion of the statement, sometimes satisfaction with the preceding utterance. Both no and mainly mišto-j may also serve to close the other person's turn politely.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{No } & \text{ či } \text{ žasa } \text{ manca!} & (5.6.7-1) \\
\text{DISCP not you.will.go with.me} & \\
\text{No, you may not go with me!} &
\end{align*}
\]

[After the person enters the room and sits down:]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{No } & \text{ páča-j, či } \text{ pízden les, khonik } \text{ či } \text{ pízdel les vaj } \text{ či } \text{ kerel lesa } \text{ már.} & (5.6.7-2) \\
\text{DISCP calm-is not push him nobody not pushes him or not annoys him.INSTR already} & \\
\text{Well, it is quiet, they don't push him, nobody pushes him or annoys him any more.} &
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Žanelas } & \text{ bistošan, hoť } \text{ báles mundárde. No } \text{ mišto-j.} & (5.6.7-3) \\
\text{DISCP knew for.sure that pig they.buttered DISCP DISCP} & \\
\text{He knwo for sure, that they butchered a pig. OK then.} &
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Kana } & \text{ phende, či } \text{ mundárdan, taj } \text{ muk t’ avel pe tumáro hát.} & \\
\text{DISCP if they.said not butchered and MODP MODP is on your DISCP} & \\
\text{If they have said, that they didn't butcher it, so be it by their way.} &
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{No } & \text{ šun, so } \text{ phenav tuke! [As an introduction into a conclusion]} & (5.6.7-4) \\
\text{DISCP listen.IMP what I.say you} & \\
\text{Well, listen, what I'm going to tell you!} &
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Bišadas } & \text{ khejre, taj } \text{ phendas lenge, hoť } \text{ vou } \text{ žala tehára khejre, no.} & (5.6.7-5) \\
\text{DISCP sent home and said them that she will.go tomorrow at.home DISCP} & \\
\text{She sent him home and told them, that tomorrow she will go home, yes.} &
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Taj } & \text{ kado-j sa, no, pa } \text{ Groufo. [as a conclusive formula]} & (5.6.7-6) \\
\text{DISCP and this.is all DISCP abou.the Groufo} & \\
\text{And this was it all about Groufo.} &
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{S1 } & \text{ Kecavo } \text{ fouro-j sar i Karvíña. S2 No } \text{ mišto-j.} & (5.6.7-7) \\
\text{DISCP such town.is like the Karviná DISCP DISCP} & \\
\text{S1 It is a town like Karviná. S2 OK, nice.} &
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Te } & \text{ merav me, má } \text{ phendem. E krumpja taj } \text{ variso zeleňina, taj mišto-j.} & (5.6.7-8) \\
\end{align*}
\]
But I really told you already. The potatoes and some vegetables, and that's it.

5.6.8 Retrieval Particle eta
Something can be marked as newly retrieved, discovered, by using *eta*. It can be used in discourse and as well in extra-linguistic space. See also *áke* below.

_S1* Variko či čišjol taj variko... S2* Sar me. *S1* Eta, sar vouj. *(5.6.8-1)_

sombody not looses.weight and somebody like I DISCP like she

_S1* Somebody does not loose weight, and somebody... S2 Like I don't. S1 Ah, that's it. Like she doesn't!

_S1* Či chav akánik. S2* Aj eta či chal! Na tatár, mange feri tatár! *(5.6.8-2)_

not I.eat now DISCP DISCP not eats not warm.up me only warm.up

_S1* I don't eat now. S2 Ah, here we are, she doesn't eat! Don't warm it up, warm it up just for me!

_Taj e draba site lav ávri. Eta, pe kaj dúj kutîna draba_ *(5.6.8-3)_

and the drugs MOOD I.take out DISCP on these two tiny drugs
dem sto šedesát koron!

I.gave hundred sixty crowns

And have to pick up the drugs. Look here, for these two tiny drugs I was giving hundred and sixty crowns!

Či kerdas khanči. No eta, deš čásura-j má. *(5.6.8-4)_

not made nothing DISCP DISCP ten hours-is already

He didn't make anything. Do you see, it's already ten o'clock.

_Jo, čak si tejja! Ašta. Eta, kutka si._ *(5.6.8-5)_

DISCP DISCP is tea DISCP disp there is

Yes, there is tea, really! Just a moment. Here you are, it's over there.

_Eta-lo!(5.6.8-6)_

DISCP-is.he

Here he is!

5.6.9 Confirmation and Affirmation Particles and Phrases *udí, na, niči, čak, jo/jó, te merav, najo*
With *udí* the speaker expresses certainty within a question, but seeks affirmation for social reasons:

_Zurale-j, *udí* mamo?_ *(5.6.9-1)_
They are hot, aren't they, mummy?

With *na* and *niči* the speaker expresses uncertainty within a question, but expects confirmation.

\[ Kinesa \ tuke \ bejra, \ na? \]  
\[ \text{you.will.buy} \ \text{for.you} \ \text{beer} \]  
You will buy some beer, don't you?

\[ Taj \ jejkh \ sas, \ hot' \ šunesas \ la, \ niči? \]  
\[ \text{and one} \ \text{was} \ \text{that} \ \text{you.hear} \ \text{her} \]  
And it didn't matter, that you heard her, did it?

\[ Taj \ kadej \ sas, \ vaj \ niči? \]  
\[ \text{and} \ \text{so} \ \text{was} \ \text{or} \]  
And that's the way it was, no?

The reaction on a question can be a confirmation, introduced by *jo*, for more see 5.8.2 Basic Sentence Types, p. 328.

\[ S1 \ Des \ les \ cukro, \ čokoládo, \ taj \ sa \ phenel. \ S2 \ Jo, \ taj \ mothola \ ávri. \]  
\[ \text{you.give} \ \text{him} \ \text{sweet} \ \text{chocolate} \ \text{and} \ \text{all} \ \text{says} \]  
\[ \text{DISCP} \ \text{and} \ \text{will.tell} \ \text{out} \]  
S1 You give him some sweets, some chocolate, and he will tell everything. S2 Yes, and he will divulge.

\[ Taj \ vi \ andej \ televizi \ vorbinas \ pa \ kado \ butájik \ le \ gáže, \ jo. \]  
\[ \text{and} \ \text{also} \ \text{in.the} \ \text{televisions} \ \text{they.talked} \ \text{about} \ \text{this} \ \text{long.time} \ \text{the} \ \text{journals} \ \text{DISCP} \]  
And also on TV the journalists talked about this for a long time.

For confirmation with emphasis, *ouva* “exactly” is employed, in the following example in vicinity to *jo*:

\[ S1 \ Vi \ i \ Bojinka \ žala \ amenca? \]  
\[ \text{also} \ \text{the} \ \text{Boja.DIM} \ \text{will.go} \ \text{with.us} \]  
And Boja will come with us?

\[ S2 \ Jó, \ žála. \ Ko \ anla \ i \ táška, \ me? \]  
\[ \text{DISCP} \ \text{will.go} \ \text{who} \ \text{will.carry} \ \text{the} \ \text{bag} \]  
\[ \text{I} \]  
Yes. Who should carry the bag, me?

\[ S3 \ Ouva, \ a \ mamka \ či \ tecij, \ hot' \ sar \ phušes. \]  
\[ \text{DISCP} \ \text{the} \ \text{mummy.DIM.ACC} \ \text{not} \ \text{is.liked} \ \text{MODP} \ \text{like} \ \text{you.ask} \]
Yes, mummy doesn't like it, how you are asking.

Another instrument to insist on one's own position, still in reaction to preceding discourse, is by inserting čak. It mostly follows the verb (incl. clitic), and frequently occurs together with, and straightforwardly following, naj.

Či xutildoun les čak. \(5.6.9-8\)

\textit{not would have caught him DISCP}

Indeed they wouldn't have caught him.

\textit{Naj čak kecave-j.} \(5.6.9-9\)

\textit{DISCP DISCP such-are}

Well, yes, they are of this kind.

\textit{Naj čak jo!} \(5.6.9-10\)

\textit{DISCP DISCP DISCP}

Of course you can! / Yes, you're right!

Very tight persuasion is manifested by \textit{te merav} or \textit{te merav me}. This collocation has not fixed completely: It may occur as a matrix clause with a complement (e.g. 5.6.9-13 and 5.6.9-14), and it may be asked for by a discourse partner with adapted inflection (e.g. 5.6.9-15).

\textit{S1 Na site avel tu sako dějs mas, na?} \(5.6.9-11\)

\textit{not MODP cop.SUBV you.ACC every day meat DISCP}

You don't need meat every day, do you?

\textit{S2 Te merav me, má phendem.} \(5.6.9-12\)

\textit{DISCP already I.said}

My God, I have already told you.

\textit{Akáňik o Lume potíndas desat’ tísíc,} \(5.6.9-13\)

\textit{now the Lume paid ten thousand}

\textit{káj či das le, so pujičindas, te merav me.} \(5.6.9-14\)

\textit{because not gave them what lent DISCP}

\textit{Te merav me te pujišous lestar boldines.} \(5.6.9-15\)

\textit{DISCP if I. asked him discretely}

Lume has paid ten thousand now, because he didn't give them, what he had lent, no kidding! I have truly asked him discretely about it.

\textit{Tu či žanes te kines. Te merav me te níči.} \(5.6.9-16\)

\textit{you not know to buy DISCP if do not}
You don't know to go shopping. Not at all, really.

S1 Dikhlem les či ando fouro. S2 Te meres? (5.6.9-15)
I saw him yesterday in the city DISCP

S1 I saw him yesterday in the city. S2 Are you sure?

5.6.10 Refusal Particles ká and najo
If a refusal is to be stressed, ká is used:

Pokaždí žal, anel páji mange. Aj ká bírinous phujatar te žav! (5.6.10-1)
every.time goes brings water me DISCP DISCP I.would.bear by.feet to go
Every time she goes, she brings me water. Ah how should I bear to go by feet!

Anda kodo čí žav.
from that not I.go
Therefore I don’t go.

When the evidence of the preceding discourse requires refusal of the own position, i.e. acknowledgement of that of the partner, this is indicated by najo:

S1 Te kerav e šitemiňura? S2 Jo. S1 Jo? S2 Najo! S1 Najo! (5.6.10-2)
MODP I.make the desserts DISCP DISCP DISCP DISCP
S1 Am I to make the dessert? S2 Yes. S1 Yes? S2 Undoubtedly! S1 OK then!

S1 Voun maj páčake-j khote ando Trinco. S2 Najo. (5.6.10-3)
they CPR calm-are there in.the Trinec DISCP
S1 They are calmer over there, in Třinec. S2 Of course.

5.6.11 Emotional Engagement Particles jaj, ca, phi etc.
Sometimes discourse or situation evoke emotions. They need not to contain assessment, as with jaj, which expresses the mere fact of emotionality, and a negative attitude only as a side effect:

S1 Včelički, so-j kodo? S2 Jaj, kecave injekciji. (5.6.11-1)
bees what-is that Oh such injections
S1 Bees, what do you mean by that? S2 Oh no, these are such injections.

S1 Táti-j. Taj pe šejro so šosa, Manci? S2 Khanči. (5.6.11-2)
warm-is and on.the head what you.will.put Manci nothing
S1 Jaj Manci! S2 Jaj, naj šil!
DISCP Manci DISCP not.is cold
S1 It is warm. So what do you take on your head, Manci? S2 Nothing. S1 Hey, Manci! S2 Oh no, it's really not cold!

\[
\text{Jaj te na šînes o cipso!} \quad (5.6.11-3)
\]

Disappointment crosses emotion with disagreement, as cə does. Further means of expression of disappointment are či trajinav, múlem, dadouro.

\[
\text{Oh, don't you cut the zip!}
\]

S1 Taj t’ avesa pi chodba, kerou les. \quad (5.6.11-4)

and if you will be on the corridor I will make it

And if you will stay in the corridor, I will make it.

S2 Jaj, nai khate, mír nášik keres les mange?

\[
\text{DISCP is not here why MODP you make it for me}
\]

Oh, it isn't here, why don't you make it for me?

\[
\text{S1 Taj t’ avesa pi chodba, kerou les. (5.6.11-4)}
\]

and if you will be on the corridor I will make it

And if you will stay in the corridor, I will make it.

S2 Jaj, nai khate, mír nášik keres les mange?

\[
\text{DISCP is not here why MODP you make it for me}
\]

Oh, it isn't here, why don't you make it for me?

\[
\text{S1 Maj kirola vi lako muj, te pela akánik. (5.6.11-5)}
\]

\[
\text{MODP will burn also her mouth if will drink now}
\]

She will surely burn her lips, if she will drink it now.

\[
\text{S2 Aj akánik pijou la? Cə! Šudrola, atunči pijou la. (5.6.11-6)}
\]

\[
\text{DISCP now I will drink it DISCP will cool down then I will drink it}
\]

Ah, now I am to drink it? Pooh! It will cool down, then I will drink it.

\[
\text{S1 Kecave súñatmački sas, kana cigne sas. (5.6.11-6)}
\]

\[
\text{such lifeless were when small were}
\]

They were so lifeless, when they were small.

\[
\text{S2 Merav, nai akánik háre-j má, phúre. Cə. (5.6.11-7)}
\]

\[
\text{DISCP DISCP now big are already old DISCP}
\]

My God, but now they are already big, old. Pah.

\[
\text{S1 Mír te na pijav ek semo, ek pohári, vaj k čeža? (5.6.11-7)}
\]

\[
\text{why MODP not I drink a little one glass or one cup}
\]

Why shouldn't I drink a little of it, one glass or one cup.

\[
\text{S2 Te n’ aves máti. (5.6.11-7)}
\]

\[
\text{MODP not you are drunk}
\]
Not to get drunk.

S3 No már múlem! Máti avou! Te pijou ek čejza, máti avou?

Oh my God! I will get drunk! If I drink one cup, I will get drunk?

Negative reactions on extra-linguistic events are introduced by phi (dade):

\[\text{Phi dade, so khandel khate kadej!} \]  (5.6.11-8)

Ugh, what is stinking here so strongly?

\[\text{Phi dade, phuter i fejastra!} \]  (5.6.11-9)

Ugh, open the window!

5.6.12 Extra-Linguistic Particles le, de, maj, áke and Grammaticalized Imperatives

Appeals or invitations occur with three degrees of insistence:

1. A decent polite appeal or invitation is indicated by the clitic -le, attached to the imperative form.

2. A rather insistent, but still polite appeal, is represented by de(n) (homonymous with adversative \textit{de}) and \textit{aba}. The plural form \textit{den} is in agreement with plural imperatives, but not obligatory. This points to the interpretation as a relic verbal form, see 5.1.5.3 Verbal Particles and Adverbs). It occurs mostly like a clitic directly after the verb, but may appear also independently (example 5.6.12-3).

3. An impatient demand is expressed by \textit{maj}, attached to the imperative.

\[\text{Naj vorbin de!} \]  (5.6.12-1)

Well common, tell us!

\[\text{Žan den, šavoura!} \]  (5.6.12-2)

So go on, children!

\[\text{Aj de šaj peklalas tumenge ek plejho vaj daj!} \]  (5.6.12-3)

Oh yes, but you could have baked one or two baking trays for you!

\[\text{Av aba!} \]  (5.6.12-4)
Come here, dear!

Av maj, cha, cha-le!  (5.6.12-5)

Come here, please, have some food!

The unmarked imperative is generally polite, without the need of conjunctive forms (like in Czech or Slovak: “would you, could you”) or further politeness markers (“please”). Plural forms serve solely for multiple addressees, never for politeness, see 4.4.2 Verbal Number, p. 156. The most common imperatives are dikh(en) “look”, ašta(n) “wait a moment”, āš(en) “stop (talking, riding, running etc.)”, tordū(ven) “stop (talking, riding, running etc.)”, arakh(en) “let pass, excuse me”.

The speaker can point to a position in extra-linguistic space by using áke:

Aj kobor šinou les, hoť t’avel skurto. Áke, kobor šindemas les.  (5.6.12-6)

discp so.big I.will.cut it conj is short discp so.big I.would.cut it

Yes, I will cut off such a piece, to have it short. Look, I would cut off such a piece.

„So, ká salas?“. „Šun áke, sovous,“ i šej palpále.  (5.6.12-7)

what where you.were listen discp I.slept the girl back

“What's up, where have you been?” “Listen to me, I was sleeping,” ansered the girl.

Ťi baxt!  (5.6.12-8)

your luck

You were lucky!

With mou! a persons of equal or younger age is addressed.

5.6.13 Combination of particles

Sometimes particles can be combined, if all of them are necessary, or for reinforcement:

Kana kerav jejkh xumer, žan mange vi pánž plejhura.  (5.6.13-1)

when I.make one paste they.go for.me also five baking trays

When I make one paste, I manage that it longs even for five baking trays.

No naj taj ká tordůvou khote, te kerav le?

discp discp and where I.will.stand there modp I.make them

OK, but where am I to stand there to bake them?

SI Volalinav? S2 No naj de, volalin!  (5.6.13-2)

I.give.a.phone discp discp discp give.a.phone
S1 Should I call her? Oh well, of course, call her!

5.7 Clause
The clause is the state of organization of language in which a partial expression is made by linking together the predicate with all its arguments. It constitutes the minimal construction to express meaning.

The standard clause contains plus other circumstantial elements which are inserted in order to be understood. Compulsory and possible further arguments as well as the way of their embedding into the clause are ruled by internal properties of the verb and are part of the lexicon. These properties are taken over one by one by the predicate, as its other elements do not affect argument structure (except for the reflexive pronoun, which occupies the direct argument slot or the subject slot). Analogously, we could talk about the arguments of the predicate, too.

5.8 Sentence
Clauses sometimes require further expansion, which is expressed in further clauses inside, see 5.10 Subordination, p. 368, or in coordinated clauses, see 5.11 Coordination, Operators with Diverse Arguments, p. 400. In this case the construction is called a sentence. If the clause is complete with respect to its predicate, without further embedded clauses, it is said to be a sentence, too. In contrast with clauses, sentences are the final players in communication.

Additionally there are small elements which define their position rather within the sentence as a whole than as parts of constituents. These are several pragmatic units, actually vocatives, interjections and other discourse particles, see 5.6 Sentence Level Particles, p. 312.

5.8.1 Incomplete and Redundant Sentences
There are several reasons why a sentence is not completed, i.e. single basic constituents are missing, or why parts are repeated or resumed:

- By mistake, if parts actually were not meant to be issued or meant to be issued in another way;
- By interruption of another participant or event;
- As a rhetoric means, with insinuation etc.;
- If it consists of the answer to a preceding question.

In the last case only the missing element is expected to be said, required by the interrogative pronoun, by intonation of a constituent etc. Also the formally correct answer to a polar question possibly consists of a bare inflected verb, see Interrogative Sentence and Subordinate Clause (5.9.9). Commonly required arguments may be omitted then:

\[
S1 \text{ Bišavesa lenge má e kirpi?} \quad S2 \text{ Naj bišavav.} \quad (5.8.1-1)
\]

you.will.send them already the clothes DISCP I.send

S1 Will you send them already the clothes? S2 Yes [I send].

Incomplete and redundant clauses might pose serious complications onto syntactical analysis, because it causes insecurity as to what a complete clause is (existence or absence of compulsory elements). The only way to minimize effects of this kind is to take into consideration larger
numbers of cases and to consult hypothetical results with native speakers, taking into consideration all possible restrictions.

Eventually, this was not a real issue during analysis of North West Lovari Romani grammar.

5.8.2 Basic Sentence Types

Sentences can be divided into three basic types, according to their communicational function (according to König, Siemund 2007: 277)

1. **Declarative sentences** are primarily and most frequently used for speech acts such as asserting, claiming, stating, but also for accusing, criticizing, promising and guaranteeing.

2. **Interrogative sentences** are typically used for eliciting information, asking questions, introducing deliberations, etc.

3. **Imperatives** have their basic use in all attempts to get or advise the hearer to do something, i.e. speech acts such as orders, requests, suggestions, prescriptions, appeals, etc.

Declarative sentences are mostly the default type, if properties of sentences are discussed. Imperative sentences represent a minor and relatively simple type, which are based on the imperative form of the verb, see 4.3.4.4 Imperative, p. 142. Only interrogative sentences require some more detailed introduction.

Interrogative sentences can by recognized by several means of expression:

- The constituent in question rises in intonation. This concerns the stressed syllable within the word where the uncertainty comes from.
- An interrogative pronoun indicates the missing constituent, question tags like *na* or *udį* pose the whole sentence as questionable.
- The context tells something about the uncertainty of the speaker and his request for an answer.

For example the intonation of the declarative sentence

*Kiral či xas. “You don’t eat cheese.”* \( (5.8.2-1) \)

turns into:

*Kiral či xan? “Don’t you eat cheese?”* \( (5.8.2-2) \)

There are two basic types of questions, each handled differently with regard to the mentioned means of expression and to the expected answer:

- Constituent questions: The constituent in question is expressed by an appropriate interrogative pronoun or by a selection of possible items. The answer is expected to be the missing constituent or one of the offered selections, either stand-alone or as part of a complete sentence, including a reason or other more complex information. A possible answer may be suggested as part of the question.

  \( S1 \ Čak če dėjs-i? S2 \ Paraštune. \) \( (5.8.2-3) \)
**DISCP** what day-is Friday

S1 What day is it? S2 It's Friday

*S1 So xasa, texan vaj so? S2 Me khanči.* (5.8.2-4)

what you.will.eat lunch or what I nothing

S1 What do you eat, lunch? S2 Me nothing.

*S1 Keći dine pejr le? S2 Po dvesto řísic, po tristo.* (5.8.2-5)

how.much gave on them each two.hundred thousand each three.hundred

S1 How much did you give them? S2 Two hundred thousand, three hundred each.

*S1 Sava? S2 So lake Dilli Šej phenen.* (5.8.2-6)

which RELPR her Dilli Šej they.say

S1 Which one? S2 That one, who is called Dilli Šej.

*S1 Mír? S2 Terni-j.* (5.8.2-7)

why young-is

S1 Why? S2 She's young.

*S1 Ko žanel te bašavel, tumáre, na?* (5.8.2-8)

who knows to play yours DISCP

Who knows to play, yours, don't they?

*S2 Amáre niči, e Rumungri phíren.*

ours do.not the Rumungros go.ITER

Ours not, the Rumungros travel around.

The interrogative pronoun or all the items of the selection except for the last one is pronounced with rising intonation. The last item receives falling intonation. Only here question tags may be added.

- **Polar questions:** A declarative sentence is uttered, wherein one constituent can be stressed.

  Šaj aviloun i Patrin, na? (5.8.2-9)

  MODP would.have.come the Patrin DISCP

  Patrin could come, couldn't she?

It is the same constituent which is stressed also in non-transformed declarative sentence, but this time with rising intonation. If the rising intonation stresses a NP or an adverbial (constituent polar question), the question aims at confirmation of something the speaker assumes to know. Stress on an element of the predicate (non-constituent polar question) denotes uncertainty about the sentence as such. The answer is expected to be
• The repetition of the questioned constituent in the case of confirmation, including the predicate, including modal particles like šaj, nášťik or site, or rarely jo or ouva „yes“ or both. A negative question is confirmed by niči, possibly reinforced by (parts of) the statement:

\[ S1 \text{ Tecij tuke? S2 Jo.} \]  
\[ S1 \text{ Do you like it? S2 Yes.} \]

\[ S1 \text{ O Bobko šindas le? S2 O Bobko.} \]  
\[ S1 \text{ Bobko has cut them? S2 Yes [, Bobko].} \]

\[ S1 \text{ Šaj dikhav? S2 Šaj!} \]  
\[ S1 \text{ May I see? S2 Yes.} \]

\[ S1 \text{ Opre ášos pe kadi vorba?} \]  
\[ S1 \text{ Do you insist on this suggestion?} \]

\[ S2 \text{ Ouva, opre ášuvav pe tumári vorba!} \]  
\[ S2 \text{ Yes, I do.} \]

\[ S1 \text{ Či bikindalas la? S2 Niči, č‘ aviloun mange dosta.} \]  
\[ S1 \text{ Wouldn't you like to sell it? S2 No, I wouldn't have enough.} \]

• In the case of rejection niči “no”, frequently confirmed by a negative repetition of the verb. A negative question is rejected by a non-negated paraphrase of the statement in question. Additionally, an update by the correct answer can follow.

\[ S1 \text{ Taj vi o sveteri te anav? S2 Niči, na an o sveteri.} \]  
\[ S1 \text{ And am I to bring the pullover, too? S2 No, don't.} \]

\[ S1 \text{ Take či tecij? S2 Tecij, feri t‘ aviloun maj bulhi.} \]  
\[ S1 \text{ You don't like it? S2 Yes, just if it was wider.} \]

\[ S1 \text{ Taj la či den dúxodo? S2 Naj den la.} \]  
\[ S1 \text{ And am I to bring the pullover, too? S2 No, don't.} \]
and her not give pension DISCP give her

S1 And they don't give her the pension? S2 They do give it.

• Both types of questions can also be rhetorical. The context induces not to expect an answer.

Aj mír šutal le ánde? Jaj dade, khanči či keres! (5.8.2-18)
DISCP why you have put them into DISCP nothing not you do

Oh why didn't you put it into [the fridge]? My God, you don't do anything.

S1 Aj me šaj dou la pi mašina. Ketivar má te phenav? (5.8.2-19)
DISCP I MODP I will give her on the train how often still to I say

But I do can give her for the train. How often am I to repeat this?

S2 Naj pi mašina.
DISCP on the train

Yes, for the train.

In the example, niči is used as a negated pro-form (a place-holder) of a sentence, as can be seen in non-interrogative contexts. For other functions of niči see in 5.11.4.1 Negators and Substitutive Coordinators na, niči.

S1 Na site phenes kecave hírura. (5.8.2-20)
not MODP you say such gossips

You don't need to tell such gossips.

S2 Jo, aj mír niči, Káli, aj či žanav, so-j nejvo.
DISCP DISCP why not Káli DISCP not I know what is new

But why not, Káli, I even don't know, what's new.

“Muk mure phrales! Na phandav les!” Taj niči. (5.8.2-21)
let my brother not imprison CAUS him but not

“Leave my brother alone! Don't have him imprisoned!” But he didn't.

Taj vi lake romesphandadas.
and also her husband imprisoned CAUS

And he let imprison her husband, too.

Taj vaj kamen vaj niči, site den kodola louve. (5.8.2-22)
and or they want or not MODP they give those money

And no matter whether they want or not, they have to give the money.
Apart from expected answers there is a series of possibilities to react outside of answers formally suggested by the question, applicable also in response to declarative sentences:

- **A sign of misunderstanding, not restricted to questions:**
  
  - *So?*  
    
    what  
  
  - *Pardon?*  

- **The lack of knowledge, correctly or ironically:**
  
  - *Či žanav.*  
    
    not know  
  
  - *I don't know.*  
    
    Žanav me?  
    
    know I  
  
  - *I don't know.*  

- **Objection or a restricting condition:**
  
  - *S1 Taj žal tumenca? S2 Niči. Akánik niči.*  
    
    and goes with you no now not  
  
  - *S1 And she goes with you? S2 No, not for now.*  

- **An additional explanation or (sometimes metaphoric) elaboration of the question:**
  
  - *S1 Naj a Šejinka si? S2 Naj dena la ek kapa.*  
    
    DISCP the Šejinka.Acc cop DISCP they.will.give her a cover  
  
  - *S1 And Šejinka has one? S2 Well, they will give her a cover.*  

  - *S1 I purum šutas ánde, ne? S2 Taj sÍr.*  
    
    the onion has.put inside DISCP and garlic  
  
  - *S1 She has added onion, did she? S2 And garlic.*  

  - *S1 Savo čiken? S2 Naj kíšno-j andej bolti.*  
    
    what fat DISCP ready-is in.the shops  
  
  - *S1 What fat? S2 Well you buy it ready-made.*  

  - *S1 Taj i Šejinka či potínel? S2 Naj niči keří.*  
    
    and the Šejinka not pays DISCP not so.much  
  
  - *S1 And Šejinka doesn't pay? S2 Well not as much.*
S1 Taj ká tordůvou khote te kerav e sušenki?  (5.8.2-31)
    and where I.will.stand there to I.make the cookie

    And where should I stand there to bake the cookies?

S2 Naj či ava a boltake kecave.
    and not will.be the shops' such

    But the sold cookies are not as good. [i.e. you must find a place, it's worth while.]

- A counter-question, real or ironic;

S1 Vi i Bojinka žala amença?  (5.8.2-32)
    also the Boja.DIM will.go with.us

    And Boja will come with us?

S2 Jó, žála. Ko anla i táška, me?
    DISCP will.go who will.carry the bag I

    Yes. Who should carry the bag, me?

S1 Phendas i Manci, hoť manca kamel te žal andi bolta.  (5.8.2-33)
    Said the Manci that with.me wants to go in.the shop

    Manci told me, that she wants to go with me into the shop.

S2 Háť?
    DISCP

    So what?

S1 Anda kodi ledňička.
    from that fridge

    Because of the fridge.

- More emphasized variations of answering;

    Káj  (5.8.2-34)
    DISCP

    Not at all!

    Te merav me te niči.  (5.8.2-35)
    DISCP I if not

    Really not!

    Te merav me.  (5.8.2-36)
Really!

S1 Naj xa tu akálnik! S2 De!

S1 So do you eat now! S2 Go!

S1 Thúle sas? S2 Thúle sas. Thúle sas. Jo.

S1 Were they fat? S2 They were fat. They were fat, indeed.

S1 Hoť maj táti coxa či kines tuke, Káli?

And you don't intend to buy a warmer skirt, Káli?

S2 Jaj či simas khati te kinav mange. Či simas.

Oh, I haven't been nowhere to buy it for me. I really wasn't.

Kašuki sal? Naj tu kan?

Are you deaf? Don't you have an ear?

- No reaction (stay mute, ignore) as a sign of confirmation or need of not to add comments;

S1 Zurále-j, uđi?

They are hot, aren't they?

S2 Naj pale phenous te del ma. Trobudoun ma pale te del ma.

So once again I said to give me one more. It's time to give me another one.

- Other types of confirmation:

S1 O koláko naj čikenálo. S2 Niči?

S1 The cake is not fat. S2 Isn't it?

- An action, in the case of an (implicit) speech act question.

Anesa mange ek teja?
you.will.bring me a tea

Could you bring me a tea?

### 5.9 Word Order

The approach to the diversity of word orders is to begin with the basic constituents verb/copula, subject and object. Adverbials and modal and discourse particles are discussed separately.

This separation of the clause order into distinct sub-orders of the main constituents appears to be a good approximation, as those parts are still kept internally together within the whole of the clause. Interruption of basic constituents is not uncommon (see 5.2.2 Cohesion within the Nominal Phrase), but constitutes no difficulty for the basic concept. They arise either from later addition (afterthought) or from the key function of word displacement, from emphasis and topicality.

\[ Dúj-i \text{ ma kecav-e.} \]  
\[ \text{two.NOM-cop me.ACC such-NOM} \]  

I do have two of this kind.

This does not hold for the predicate itself, which shows also tendencies to appear as a single entity with internal structure like the tight co-occurrence in fixed order of modal particle \( te \) and verb, but verbal particles on the other hand move rather freely around the clause.

In North West Lovari Romani the key function of word order is discourse steering (emphasis, topic management etc.). This requires on one hand some default word order as point of departure for moving parts of the sentence and so for enabling expression of meaning (discourse) On the other hand, it also requires the freedom of word order from other (e.g. syntactic) roles, which is supported by the fact that syntax is mastered primarily by case marking.

This section requires additional abbreviations, according to this list:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>C</th>
<th>copula</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( C_0 )</td>
<td>clitic copula</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O</td>
<td>ACC object / copula predicate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( O^2 )</td>
<td>non-ACC object</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( O^2_p )</td>
<td>non-ACC PRON object</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( O_p )</td>
<td>ACC PRON object</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td>subject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>predicate</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 65: Abbreviations of Clause Constituents*
5.9.1 Basic Clause Order

For the basic types of arguments (with S for subject, O for direct object and V for predicate, see 3.1.3 Verbal Arguments) the standard clause order for North West Lovari Romani is found to be SVO. As a result of the well established case marking system, word order is not necessary for role recognition in syntax. An exception is the nominative marking of inanimate objects, which may nevertheless result in confusion, as subject and direct object are primarily indistinguishable. The coding system offers the option to use word order for information transfer transgressing syntax. Actually this is the case in North West Lovari Romani, and the noted standard order is rather a platform for further information transfer than a fixed scheme.

The axiomatic VO order with a pronominal clitic, appended to an inflected verb, is an illustrative example and a partial historic evidence for the VO part of the SVO statement:

\[
\text{Xulavav ma.} \quad (5.9.1-1)
\]

I.comb myself

I comb myself.

\[
\text{Thodam ame.} \quad (5.9.1-2)
\]

we.washed us

We washed us.

5.9.2 Main Factors and Rules for the Establishment of the Clause Order

As explained above, the basic word order is not rigid and remains influenced by numerous factors of influence:

- The key factor of change is a pragmatic one: topicality and emphasis. They actively use word order for transfer of information of this kind. In North West Lovari Romani with its relatively flexible default order it is not as much a firmly given position which triggers markedness, but the relation to the default order under condition. Shortly spoken, an element is marked at the instant whenever it occurs at an unusual position.

- Subordinate clauses are commonly introduced by a subordinate marker. If the link into the matrix clause is established through a constituent relation, i.e. if the relative marker is not given by the bare relative marker hoť or the complementizer te (without any other syntactical role in the subordinate phrase), a constituent in form of the relative pronoun has to be moved to the first position. Except for this particularity, the basic clause order is valid for subordinate clauses as well, and marking is based upon this adapted default. For more details see 5.9.9 Interrogative Sentence and Subordinate Clause.

- Adverbs and adverbial clauses are placed at the outer parts of the sentence, i.e. at the begin or at the end. Relative clauses and complements take the place of the constituents they replace or accomplish.

- Other basic sentence types like interrogative and imperative sentences have also particularities with respect to clause order. Interrogative sentences are very close to subordinate clauses as there is also an obligation to put the interrogative pronoun to clause initial position. Polar
questions or subordinate clauses display primary no difference as to word order and confirm the presented S_V_O order.

- Copula sentences have their own rules and are handled separately. Principal influence on word order is made herein by
  - the clitic copula (C₀) versus single word copulas (C),
  - possessive constructions and
  - negation (NEG).

- Objects in form of personal pronouns display distinct behaviour. They are bound to the position immediately after the verb, irrespective of other rules.

- Explicitly stating the (pronominal) subject is also a means of topicalization or emphasis, which exceeds the frame of word order, as it may be in-line with the unmarked basic S_V_O order. See more in 4.1.4.2 Zero and Clitic Pronoun – Topic and Emphasis Management

  \[ \text{Taj me phenav: "Jo."} \]  
  \[ \text{and I say yes} \]

  And I say: “Yes.”

The most general rules determining the word order are listed below, in the order of importance:

- Interrogative and relative pronouns occupy the clause-initial position.
- The relative change of position to the default is used for changes in topicality and emphasis, including its mere expression in the case of subject.
- If a core argument (subject or object) of a verbal clause happens to be moved on the opposite side of the verb, the other core argument switches reciprocally to the other side of the verb (verb-subject inversion).
- Arguments are sorted after the verb approximately according to their length in order of appearance:
  - personal pronouns (Oₜ for accusative objects, O²ₜ for others)
  - other pronouns and simple NPS (O for accusative objects, O² for others)
  - subordinate clauses

**5.9.3 Marked Versus Unmarked Order**

Two mechanisms are responsible for a big part of word ordering in North West Lovari Romani: Topic marking and emphasizing. Both is realized through a combination of certain intonation patterns and clause arrangement. A change in topic tends to be a weaker form of emphasis, both are instruments to evoke attention in the listener's mind. Both exhibit a behaviour of change in regularity, of marking, therefore I use the distinction of “default” versus “marked” in the following for absence or presence, respectively, of topicalization and emphasis.

Topic change and emphasis are relatively soft signals, easy to overlook and prone to over-interpretation. Therefore there is a risk of wrong correlations between grammatical instruments and
pragmatical or semantic expressions, due to a semantic examination ex-post. Many single examples can be interpreted in various ways, and in several examples the presented interpretation of the example sentence may differ from the intention of the speaker.

Fortunately there is a second way of indicating mainly emphasis, intonation. It is also subject to misinterpretation, but after analysing larger passages of texts under this aspect the hypothesis of linking topic change and emphasis as grammatically order marked against non-emphasized and topic-continuation expressions as default ordered components helped to remove doubts.

5.9.4 Adverbials

Adverbials do not interfere into the above rules of word order. They occupy the extreme positions of the clause. Which of both, initial or final, is given by the semantic background of the adverbial, regardless of its composition (single word, prepositional phrase, subordinate clause).

5.9.4.1 Default Order

Only imperative and interrogative sentences have their initial position occupied, so everything is by default placed at the end of the sentence there:

\[ Na \quad phen \quad leske \quad akánik! \]  
Don't tell him now!

\[ Muk \quad kado \quad opre! \]  
Leave this upstairs!

In declarative and subordinate sentences, temporal circumstances and conditional clauses are expressed clause-initially by default:

\[ Tehára \quad žou. \]  
I will go tomorrow.

\[ Ale \quad detehára \quad ame \quad avasa \quad sa \quad khotë. \]  
But we will all come there in the morning.

\[ Paraštune \quad avesa? \]  
You will come on Friday?

\[ Te \quad avla \quad leski \quad dej \quad taj \quad o \quad dad, \quad voun \quad kamna \quad te \quad maladón \quad tusa. \]  
If his mother and the father they will want to meet with you
If his parents will come, they are likely to want to meet you.

*Naj te lena ávre romes, khote či gržina?* (5.9.4-7)

*DISCP if they.will.take other man there not they.care*

But if they would take another man, they would not care?

*Sar avilal ávri pa pijarco, žanas ká i Boja.* (5.9.4-8)

*when you.came out from.the market they.went to the Boja*

When you came out from the market, they were visiting Boja.

*Te či žala te khele lako rom, hát č’ avla khanči.* (5.9.4-9)

*if not will.go to play her man then not will.be nothing*

If her husband will not go out betting, there will be no more problems.

All others are found at the end of the clause:

*Aj mír avilal phujatar?* (5.9.4-10)

*DISCP why you.came by.feet*

But why did you come by feet?

*Mukhou les tuke khejre.* (5.9.4-11)

*I.will.leave him you at.home*

I will leave him at home with you.

*Jaj inger les palpále!* (5.9.4-12)

*DISCP carry it back*

Oh no, take it back!

*Akánik e šeja dikhen vi kodo, te avel godáver.* (5.9.4-13)

*now the girls see also that conj is clever*

Now the girls also notice, if someone is clever.

*Najo, vi me gindosajvav pér le, apal te avel le lášo trajo.* (5.9.4-14)

*DISCP also I think on them then to cop them.ACC good life*

Indeed, I also think of them, that them to have a good life then.

*S1 Tuke či tecij? S2 Tecij, feri t’ aviloun maj bulhi.* (5.9.4-15)

*you.DAT not is.liked is.liked just if were CPR wide*

S1 You don't like it? S2 Yes, just if it was wider.
5.9.4.2 Marked Order

Reversed orders, i.e. clause-final temporal and conditional circumstances and clause-initial other concretions indicate emphasis (in bold).

No, muk k hate la!  
DISCP leave here it  
(5.9.4-16)

Well, leave it here!

Taj i Patrin č' avla ad’ejs?  
and the Patrin not will.come today  
(5.9.4-17)

And Patrin will not come today?

Taj sar avilal, kana avilal bi louvengo?  
and how you.came if you.came without money  
(5.9.4-18)

And how did you come, if you came without money?

Aj te na soves ánde, kana avilan dopašaraţako.  
DISCP MOOD not you.sleep VERBP if came at.midnight  
(5.9.4-19)

But take care not to fall asleep if you come at midnight.

Naďon mišto terejdij pár tu.  
very well cares about you  
(5.9.4-20)

He cares very well about you.

Ká i Roza gejloun kodola louve.  
to the Roza would.have.gone those money  
(5.9.4-21)

That money would end up at Roza.

Le kaj tejára! Vaj khate mukes le?  
take these plates or here you.leave them  
(5.9.4-22)

Take these plates away! Or do you intend to leave them here?

Taj rakhas khote peske andi Komároma pirámňa.  
and found there REFL.DAT in.the Komárno lover  
(5.9.4-23)

And he found himself there in Komárno a lover.

Keheginav, taj anda kodo pijav kaki táti teja.  
I.cough and because.of that I.drink this warm tea  
(5.9.4-24)

I am coughing, and therefore I drink this warm tea.
Really, and because you do not sleep, neither the other one may sleep, yes, that’s what you are saying?

_Ando Bejči e Rom vorbin kadej sar ame._

in the Vienna the Roms speak so like we

The Roms in Vienna speak indeed like we do.

A stronger form of emphasis can be expressed by a position right inside of the clause.

_Boja, šaj kindalas akánik mange zubuno._

Boja would have bought now me coat

Boja, you could have bought me a coat now.

_Naj pi vi akánik thudouro!_

drink also now milk DIM

OK, have some milk now, too.

### 5.9.5 Appellations

Appellations are usually found at the end of a sentence:

_Av-le, Boja! Maj keresa!_

come DISCP Boja MODP you will make

Please come, Boja! You will continue later on!

_Vou phírel, uďi mamo?_

she goes ITER DISCP mummy

She goes there regularly, doesn’t she, mummy?

_Ká lou e louve, Román?_

where I will take the money Román

Where do I take the money from, Román?

_Ašta, sikhav, Boja!_

show Boja

Just a moment, show it, Boja!

As topic change is one of the essential roles of appellations, exceptions are motivated rather by emphasis. There are two levels of exploiting order: The lighter is sentence-initial, before interrogative and relative pronouns, and the higher is sentence-internal.
Word Order

Mamo, o župáni mukav khejre inke. (5.9.5-5)
mummy the coat I.leave at.home yet
Mummy I leave the coat at home yet.

Jaj Kejža, mure jákha dukhan! (5.9.5-6)
DISCP Kejža my eyes ache
Ouch, Kejža, my eyes are aching.

Rodou, Boja, mange pe kodo. (5.9.5-7)
I.will.search Boja refl.dat on that
I will earn for that, Boja.

Mamo, so te tatárov tuke, so xas? (5.9.5-8)
Mummy what modp I.warm.up for you what you.eat
Mummy, what am I to cook for you, what do you eat?

Pala kodo, Boška, tu či határes. (5.9.5-9)
about that Boška you not understand
You don't understand that, Boška.

5.9.6 Discourse Particles and Phrases
Discourse particles, except for clitics, usually occur at the very beginning of the sentence, before any other element:

Te merav me, kado phenel. (5.9.6-1)
DISCP this says
He has really said this.

Naj šaj pes la, na? (5.9.6-2)
DISCP modp you.drink it DISCP
But you can drink this, don't you?

Aj kiradi-j inke. (5.9.6-3)
DISCP hot-is still
But it's still hot.

Te merav me, či žanav, már bisterdem. (5.9.6-4)
DISCP not I.know already forgot
Ah, I don't know, I have already forgotten.
Only question tags are placed at the final position:

Phendem tuke, na?
I said you DISCP
I have told you, have I?

Nadon šukár-i, udi.
very beautiful-is DISCP
It's very beautiful, isn't it?

Besides:

Udi šukár-i.
DISCP beautiful-is
It's beautiful, isn't it?

Some may occur outside of the initial position:

Či phenel kadej, te merav me, i televíza.
not says so DISCP the television
They don't definitively say so on TV.

5.9.7 Declarative Sentence
Declarative sentences are primarily used to transfer information, possibly accompanied or superimposed by speech acts. Within this section also polar interrogative sentences are subsumed, see 5.9.9 Interrogative Sentence and Subordinate Clause.

5.9.7.1 Intransitive Verb
Intransitives are verbs with no object, see 3.1.3 Verbal Arguments.

5.9.7.1.1 Default Order
The remaining two elements of an intransitive verb clause, subject and predicate, order into:

subject – predicate (S_V).

E šangle gejle-tar taj vou má či gejlo-tar.
the policemen.NOM went-away and he.NOM already not went-away
The policemen left, but he still hasn't left.

In final and conditional clauses and complements with te the verb occupies the first position (V_S), because te requires to be followed by the verb.

Taj te n’ avla khonik?
and if not will.come nobody.NOM
And if nobody will come?

\[ E \text{ draba } žutin \text{ te } na \text{ dukhan } mure \text{ čanga}. \]  
\[ \text{the drugs help to not ache my.NOM legs.NOM} \]  

The drugs help me, so that my legs do not ache.

### 5.9.7.1.2 Marked Order

The sequence \( V_\_S \) is the marked one, which can be confirmed in the data:

\[ Sármozijas \text{ o Groufo andaj Tapolčaña, sármozijas.} \]  
\[ \text{came the Groufo.NOM from the Topoľčany came} \]

Groufo came from Topoľčany, there he came from.

\[ Volalin\text{as vi le šangle andaj Ostrava.} \]  
\[ \text{they phoned also the policemen.NOM from the Ostrava} \]

They called also the police from Ostrava.

\[ Aj \text{ žou vi me tusu tehára.} \]  
\[ \text{DISCP I will go also I.NOM with you tomorrow} \]

But I will also go with you tomorrow.

\[ Ašta, avel i Boja, dikhla ando kalendári. \]  
\[ \text{DISCP comes the Boja.NOM will look in the calendar} \]

Wait a moment, Boja will come, and we will take a look in the calendar.

\[ Šaj aviloun i Patrin, na? \]  
\[ \text{DISCP would come the.NOM Patrin.NOM DISCP} \]

Patrin might come, couldn't she?

\[ Tehára bízij pe te avel i Roza. \]  
\[ \text{tomorrow intends REFL to come the.NOM Roza.NOM} \]

Roza is about to come tomorrow.

\[ Šouvengo trobuž te avel amende o rašaj. \]  
\[ \text{six-GEN DISCP to come to us the.NOM priest.NOM} \]

At six o'clock the priest is supposed to come to us.

With a choice of two elements for arrangement there is no syntactical clue as to which of the both is actually the risen one. As *Groufo* has been the topic already before the first utterance, *sármozij* is the highlighted constituent, his origin. In the second sentence *vi* already indicates a topic switch (an
additional one). Vi alone would be enough, but here the stress is forced, in translation maybe realized by “even”.

In final and conditional clauses and complements with te the initial subject (S_V) is the marked one:

\[
\text{Naj te avou áver data, vaj o Jirka te avla pala tute,} \quad (5.9.7-11)
\]

\[
\text{DISCP if I will come next or the Jirka if will come after you}
\]

Well if I will come next, or if Jirka will visit you,

\[
inke vorbinasa.
\]

\[
\text{still we will talk}
\]

\[
\text{we will keep on talking.}
\]

**5.9.7.2 Transitive Verb**

Transitive verbs encompass all other verbal lexemes, i.e. those which may have objects under given circumstances.

**5.9.7.2.1 Default Order**

In the case of a single object the basic SVO structure comes into effect:

\[
\text{subject – predicate – object (S_V_O)}
\]

\[
I \text{ Marcela dikhlas les.} \quad (5.9.7-12)
\]

\[
\text{the Marcela.NOM saw him.ACC}
\]

Marcela saw him.

\[
\text{Taj e Ostravake či muken les.} \quad (5.9.7-13)
\]

\[
\text{and the. NOM Ostrava.Roms.NOM not let him}
\]

And the Ostrava Roms don’t let him go.

\[
E \text{ ávera či na denas khanči. Vaj dinoun la?} \quad (5.9.7-14)
\]

\[
\text{the. NOM others.NOM even not gave nothing. NOM or would they give it}
\]

The others even didn’t give anything. Or would they give it?

This is valid also for two-constituent-clauses, if the missing constituent is understood as a zero. The result is S_V or V_O, pronominal or not:

\[
E \text{ gáže kinenas.} \quad (5.9.7-15)
\]

\[
\text{the. NOM people. NOM bought}
\]

The people were buying.

\[
\text{Maladíosa lenca.} \quad (5.9.7-16)
\]

\[
\text{you will meet with them}
\]
You will meet them.

Šosa  kutín  práško.  (5.9.7-17)
you.will.put  a.few.NOM  powder.NOM

You add some powder.

Kerou  e  vosí hnízda.  (5.9.7-18)
I.will.make  the  vesplaries.NOM
I will make the vesplaries [Christmas cookies].

Jaj,  kindal  e  broskviňi?  (5.9.7-19)
DISCP  you.bought  the.NOM  peaches.NOM
Oh, did you buy the peaches?

As the subject is not placed obligatorily and the explicit statement of a subject is joined with some amount of topicalization, it would be more correct to talk about less marked and more marked positions than about non-marked and marked order, or rather to have a three-level marking system: subject omitting – default (initial) subject position – explicitly marked (post-verbal) position.

If more objects happen to appear in the clause, three partially competitive rules apply:

• The pronominal accusative object (including non-animate objects, which are also represented by accusative personal pronouns) maintains a clitic relation to the verb: subject – predicate – pronominal accusative object – other object (S_V_O2_p_O);
• The order within types of NPs is approximately according to their length, resulting generally in the order: pronominal object – nominal object – subordinate clause;
• The non-accusative object precedes the accusative object: subject – predicate – other object – accusative object (S_V_O2_p_O).

The rules apply in the mentioned priority order, as can be seen from the examples:

O  šávo  sikavel  e  Citromoske  i  škola.  (5.9.7-20)
the.NOM  boy.NOM  shows  the.OBL  Citrom.DAT  the.NOM  school.NOM
The boy shows Citrom the school. (S_V_O2_p_O)

O  šávo  sikavel  la  e  Citromoske.  (5.9.7-21)
the.NOM  boy.NOM  shows  it.ACC  the.OBL  Citrom.DAT
The boy shows it to Citrom. (S_V_Op_O2)

O  šávo  sikavel  leske  i  škola.  (5.9.7-22)
the.NOM  boy.NOM  shows  him.DAT  the.NOM  school.NOM
The boy shows him the school. (S_V_O2_p_O)
Word Order

Taj ingresa leske dárko.  
and you.will.carry him.DAT present.NOM  
And you will bring him a present. (V_O²_p_O)

O šávo sikavel la leske.  
the.NOM boy.NOM shows it.ACC him.DAT  
The boy shows it to him. (S_V_O²_p_O)

La is always right behind the verb, personal pronouns precede nominal NPS. Among nominal objects, the dative precedes the accusative one. The first two rules are strict, as shown in the test cases:

*O šávo sikavel e Citromoske la.  
the.NOM boy.NOM shows the.OBL Citrom.DAT it.ACC  
The boy shos it to Citrom.

*O šávo sikavel leske la.  
the.NOM boy.NOM shows him.DAT it.ACC  
The boy shows it to him.

*O šávo sikavel i škola leske.  
the.NOM boy.NOM shows the.NOM school.NOM him.DAT  
They boy shows him the school.

Contrarily, the third rule is not as strict as the other ones, because the test case with exchanged roles is also valid, but less common, see the inverse order, which even does not need to be marked. Compare also the next couple of examples:

Kinas mol, te das a Marcelkake kodi.  
we.buy wine to give the.OBL Marcela.DIM.DAT that.NOM  
We buy wine, so that we can give it to Marcela. (V_O²_O)

Kinou dárko a Marcelkake.  
I.will.buy present.NOM the.OBL Marcela.DIM.DAT  
I will buy a present for Marcela. (V_O²_O)

Me kinou o dárko e Jirkasa.  
I.NOM will.buy the.NOM present.NOM the.OBL Jirka.INSR  
I will buy the present with Jirka. (S_V_O²_O)

Pijou mange páji.  
(5.9.7-31)
I will drink water. \((V_Op,O)\)

The rules about expression length applies also between nominal arguments and subordinate clauses:

\[
O \ šávo \ sikadas \ e \ Citromoske, \ kas \ dikhlam \ andi \ tramvajka. \ (5.9.7-32)
\]

\[
\text{the.}\text{nom} \ \text{boy.}\text{nom} \ \text{showed} \ \text{the.}\text{obl} \ \text{Citrom.}\text{dat} \ \text{who.}\text{acc} \ \text{we.}\text{saw} \ \text{in.}\text{the.}\text{nom} \ \text{tramway.}\text{dim.}\text{nom}
\]

The boy showed to Citrom, whom he saw in the tramway.

\[
O \ šávo \ sikadas \ peski \ keňva \ sa \ e \ žejnenge, \ (5.9.7-33)
\]

\[
\text{the.}\text{nom} \ \text{boy.}\text{nom} \ \text{showed} \ \text{his.}\text{nom} \ \text{book.}\text{nom} \ \text{all} \ \text{the.}\text{obl} \ \text{people.}\text{dat}
\]

\[
\text{so} \ \text{sas} \ \text{ando} \ \text{kher.} \ (5.9.7-34)
\]

\[
\text{RELPR.}\text{nom} \ \text{was} \ \text{in.}\text{the.}\text{nom} \ \text{flat.}\text{nom}
\]

The boy showed his book to all the people, who were in the flat.

\[
\text{Phendas} \ \text{lenge,} \ \text{hoť} \ \text{vou} \ \text{žala} \ \text{tehára} \ \text{khejre,} \ \text{no.} \ (5.9.7-35)
\]

\[
\text{said} \ \text{him.}\text{dat} \ \text{that} \ \text{he.}\text{nom} \ \text{will.}\text{go} \ \text{tomorrow} \ \text{home} \ \text{DISCP}
\]

He told him, that he will go home tomorrow.

\[
\text{Phendas} \ \text{o} \ \text{čačimo} \ \text{kadaleske,} \ \text{ko} \ \text{kamel} \ \text{te} \ \text{šunel} \ \text{les.} \ (5.9.7-36)
\]

\[
\text{said} \ \text{the.}\text{nom} \ \text{truth.}\text{nom} \ \text{this.}\text{dat} \ \text{who.}\text{nom} \ \text{wants} \ \text{to} \ \text{hear} \ \text{him.}\text{acc}
\]

He told the truth to the person, who wants to hear him.

All the rules apply independently of the presence or absence of an explicit subject. The subject thus just disappears from the list of elements \((V_OI,O), \ V_Op,O, \ V_Op,O, \ V_Op,O, \ V_Op,O, \text{etc.})\).

Only in final and conditional clauses and complements with \text{te}, the verb occupies the first position \((V_O, V_S,O)\):

\[
\text{Taj} \ \text{kecavo} \ \text{híreššo} \ \text{manuš} \ \text{či} \ \text{mukla} \ (5.9.7-37)
\]

\[
\text{and} \ \text{such.}\text{nom} \ \text{great.}\text{nom} \ \text{man.}\text{nom} \ \text{not} \ \text{will.}\text{let}
\]

\[
te \ \text{žal} \ \text{leski} \ \text{šej} \ \text{feri} \ \text{kadej} \ \text{pe} \ \text{khančesko.}
\]

\[
\text{to} \ \text{go} \ \text{his.}\text{nom} \ \text{daughter.}\text{nom} \ \text{just} \ \text{so} \ \text{on} \ \text{nothing}
\]

And such an important man will not let his daughter go without reason with nobody's son.

\[
\text{Aj} \ \text{phendal} \ \text{te} \ \text{na} \ \text{anav} \ \text{mol.} \ (5.9.7-38)
\]

\[
\text{DISCP} \ \text{you.}\text{said} \ \text{to} \ \text{not} \ \text{bring} \ \text{wine.}\text{nom}
\]

But you told me not to bring wine.

\section*{5.9.7.2.2 Marked Order}

The most common way of movement within the clause concentrates around the predicate. Subjects crossed to a post-verbal position are as marked as objects crossed to a pre-verbal position.
As subjects are omitted in general, if they would express topic continuation, the explicit expression of a subject indicates topic change more or less automatically. Therefore a subject in a marked position necessarily supplies more than topic change information and must have to do with emphasis or possibly transparency (redundancy). Marked post-verbal subjects are placed by default to the first position after the verb (V_S_O), except for clitic personal pronouns. Their position is tightly joined with the verb and moves together with it (V_O_p_S), as long as they themselves are not subjected to emphasis:

\[
\text{Taj ingerde la le šangle pi staňica.} \quad (5.9.7-39)
\]

And carried her, ACC the, NOM policemen, NOM on, the, NOM station, NOM

And the policemen took her to the station.

\[
\text{Aj kam dinoun la, kana či kinelas khonik?} \quad (5.9.7-40)
\]

DISCP MODP they would give it when not bought nobody, NOM

But what if they would have given it, if nobody has bought anything?

Another way to stress subjects is to employ personal pronouns, as they are optional. Then the order does not need to change:

\[
\text{Taj tu so xasa?} \quad (5.9.7-41)
\]

and you, NOM so, ACC will, eat

And you, what will you eat?

\[
\text{Taj akánik tu žasa tejle.} \quad (5.9.7-42)
\]

and now you, NOM will, go down

And now you will get off.

Still, they may be moved. In this case it is double stressed, by non-omitting and by placement:

\[
\text{Či xav me o čil.} \quad (5.9.7-43)
\]

not Leat I, NOM the, NOM butter, NOM

I don't eat butter.

Examples for topicalized non-pronominal objects, direct or not, or even prepositional (with tela in 5.9.7-51), in exposed (initial) positions are:

\[
\text{Naj o texan taľarav.} \quad (5.9.7-44)
\]

DISCP the, NOM food, NOM I, warm up

Well I'm warming up the food.

\[
\text{Kašuko kan kerde penge.} \quad (5.9.7-45)
\]

deaf, NOM ear, NOM they, made themselves, DAT

They pretend deaf ears.
I will make vespiaries. What? She bakes vespiaries.

And I bought a nice box for my sister.

You have to give him the present.

But I had told them, that I will pay for the train, and for nothing else.

Jirka has bought this for me.

The men selected, what to drink and also the food. The table broke down under it.

The last two examples illustrate what Matras (2002: 171) calls verb-subject inversion, the implementation of V_S due to other constituents placed before the verb.

Also topicalized pronouns occur before the predicate:

He searched for it from me.

You ask me, whether she needs me?
If an ACC personal pronoun is to be highlighted by a shift in position, it changes the case from clitic to full accusative (like le → len, ma → man etc., sometimes identical les→ les, see 4.1.4.2 Zero and Clitic Pronoun– Topic and Emphasis Management), just as it changes from clitic to locative due to emphasis (like andej la → ande late):

*Taj la či den dáxodo.*

and her.ACC not they.give pension.NOM

And they don't give her the pension.

*Man či trobuʃ.*

me.ACC not needs

As for myself, I don't need it.

In final and conditional clauses and complements with te, the subject may be moved to the initial (S_V_O) or final (V_O_S) position, always keeping together te with the succeeding verb.

Also highly emphasized sentences with final predicates can be encountered, which cannot be explained easily within the given framework (S_O_V, O_O²_V):

*Káli, detehára keši gáže buborki kinkerde!* (5.9.7-56)

Káli.NOM morning so.many.NOM people.NOM cucumbers.NOM bought.ITER

Káli, so many people were buying cucumber in the morning!

*Nojo, taj o čiken andi bokoli garaves, na?* (5.9.7-57)

DISCP and the.NOM fat.NOM in.the.NOM flatbread.NOM you.NOM place DISCP

Ah, and you place the fat in the flatbread, do you?

### 5.9.7.3 Copula Predicate (Except for Possession)

In the case of a copula predicate the general order is subject – copula – non-verbal predicate (S_C_O), where the non-verbal predicate is the element intended to be linked to the subject via the copula, e.g. a NP declaring a (social) function, expressing a property or stating a location, see 4.4.1 Copula.

#### 5.9.7.3.1 Default Order

With a sole subject, in existence copula clauses, the common order is C_S:

*Ale mamo, nás kodo.* (5.9.7-58)

but mummy NEG.COP.IPFV.3P that

But mummy, that didn't happen. / it was not him.

*Naj inke e vánočki.* (5.9.7-59)

NEG.COP.IPFV.3P yet the.NOM challahs

There are no challahs yet.
Si cukro. (5.9.7-60)
cop.3p sugar.NOM

We have sugar.

With a non-expressed subject (incl. any 1st or 2nd person), the positive copula (clitic or not) is clause-final (O_C, O_C0) and the negative one (no clitic possible) is clause-initial NEG.C_O / NEG.C_O:

Barvále sas / sim / avesa. (5.9.7-61)
rich.NOM cop.ipfv.3p cop.1sg cop.2sg.fut

They were / I am / you are rich.

Báre sas, thúle sas. (5.9.7-62)
big.NOM cop.ipfv.3p fat cop.ipfv.3p

They were big, they were fat.

Barvále-j. (5.9.7-63)
rich.NOM-cop.3p

They are rich.

Po keti-j? (5.9.7-64)
each.the.NOM how.much-cop.3p

How much is each?

Aj paj gáva-j! (5.9.7-65)
DISCP from.the.NOM villages.NOM-cop.3p

But it is scattered around the villages!

Khote avla? (5.9.7-66)
there cop.3p.fut

Will it be there?

Naj / nás / či sam / či avna dár. (5.9.7-67)
NEG.cop.3p NEG.cop.ipfv.3p not cop.1pl not cop.3pl.fut far.NOM

It's not / it was not / we are not / they will not be far.

Kana simas maj terni, vi pijous thudouro. (5.9.7-68)
when cop.ipfv.1pl CPR young.NOM also 1.drank milk.dim.NOM

When I was young, I also drank milk.
It's not far.

A subject, when explicitly stated in a copula clause, steps into the initial position. The rest of the constellation remains the same as above, except for the positive non-clitic copula, which exchanges positions with the non-verbal predicate:

*Či důr-i. (5.9.7-69)
not far-cop.3p

It's not far.

The Ostrava Roms were / are supposed to be rich.

I Boja tista louli-j. (5.9.7-71)
the.NOM Boja.NOM completely red-cop.3p

The trousers aren't / were not / will not be expensive.

*E budôgi či kuč-i. (5.9.7-73)
the.NOM trousers.nom not expensive.nom-are
The trousers aren't expensive.

So we have S_C_O everywhere except for the clitic copula, which requires S_O_C0.

Another exception are final and conditional clauses and complements with te, where the copula is compulsorily at the fist position:

Či dikhav me t’ avesaš čišli. (5.9.7-74)
not I see I MODP cop.2SG.POT slim.NOM
I don't notice, that you were slim.

5.9.7.3.2 Marked Order
Without a non-verbal predicate, the marked order is S_O:

Taj e lungi mourčune zubunura či na nás. (5.9.7-75)
and the.NOM long.NOM leather.NOM coats.NOM even not neg.cop.IPfv.3p
And there were even no long leather coats.

Without a subject the highlighted element is risen by word order exchange, copula-final (O_C) for the positive case and copula-initial (C_O) for the negative case:

Naj sas šukár! (5.9.7-76)
She was really beautiful!

No, they were not rich!

With a subject the situation is simple. Being the clause-initial element in unmarked clauses, it can step to the final place in the clause and leave the clause-initial position for marked elements, rendering O_CP_S:

There are plenty of skirts of this kind.

Her lips are beautiful.

Only they have power.

Ah, this is sufficient for me.

Common, go, while the bag is here.

Alternatively, the subject can be marked by moving the clitic copula:

But that one is better.

I have bitter in my mouth.
Inke o tričko-j pér ma. (5.9.7-85)
yet the.NOM T-shirt.NOM-cop.3p on me.ACC
I am still dressed in the T-shirt.

O dráb-i štíri sto koroni! (5.9.7-86)
the.NOM drug,NOM-cop.3p four hundred crowns
The drug costs four hundred crowns!

The non-verbal predicate is marked by the change from S_C_O to S_O_C, or from S_O_C^0 to O_S_C^0:

Vou kecavo Rom sas sar ame. (5.9.7-87)
he.NOM such.NOM Rom,NOM cop.IPV.3p like we,NOM
He was such a Rom like we are.

E Rusura če godaver sas! (5.9.7-88)
the.NOM Russians,NOM what,NOM clever,NOM cop.IPV.3p
How clever these Russians were!

Kadala sa cigne sas. (5.9.7-89)
these,NOM all small,NOM cop.IPV.3p
These were all small.

Feri andi televiza e lungi-j. (5.9.7-90)
just in.the.NOM television,NOM the,NOM long,NOM-cop.3p
The long ones are just on TV.

In the following the new topic is expressed in the nominative, but finally it is referred to via a locative (khote):

Le ávera šáve – e Rom-i khote but. (5.9.7-91)
the.NOM other,NOM boys,NOM the,NOM adults-cop.3p there many

As to the other boys, there are often/many adults (around).

5.9.7.4 Possessive Copula Construction
An accusative within a copula clause informs about possession in a quite wide concept. “possession” in the following means many types of hierarchic relationship, see 4.2.5.7 Genitive for examples: ownership (Si la louve? “Does she have money?”), kinship and social relations (Naj les či dej, či dad, či kirve. “He has neither parents, nor godparents.”), partitive (Si tu muj? “Do you
have a tongue?”). For a transfer of characteristics the genitive (7) is used in ordinary copula constructions (*Fígonge-j e džemura. “The jams are from figs.”), not the accusative (no *E džemon si fígi.).

The accusative labels the possessor:

\[
E \quad \text{nan-}os \quad \text{sas}
\]

\text{ART.OBL. uncle-ACC cop.ipfv.3\text{P}}

The uncle had it / something.

The possessed is given in the nominative:

\[
E \quad \text{nan-}os \quad \text{sas} \quad \text{vinet-}o \quad \text{motor-}a.
\]

\text{ART.OBL. uncle-ACC cop.ipfv.3\text{P} blue-nom car-nom}

The uncle had a blue car.

In present tense its clitic version is more common:

\[
E \quad \text{nan-}os \quad \text{vinet-}o \quad \text{motor-}a-j.
\]

\text{ART.OBL. uncle-ACC blue-nom car-nom-cop.3\text{P}}

The uncle has a blue car.

In comparison with many matrix languages, where the nominative denotes the possessor and the accusative the possessed (and with another auxiliary), the mapping of syntactical to semantic roles is exchanged. The clause order copies rather the semantic relations possessor – possessed than the cases ACC-NOM versus NOM-ACC in Czech/Slovak:

\[
\text{Strýc-}ø \quad \text{m-á} \quad \text{modr-é} \quad \text{aut-}o.
\]

\text{incl-nom have-3SG blue-ACC car-ACC}

The uncle has a blue car.

Occasionally, but not regularly, constructions can be found, which are closer to this “European” scheme. They begin with a nominative-marked possessor, followed by the copula and the possessed, also in the NOM. The ACC role indication is realized by a resumption of the possessed through a personal pronoun. This construction is prone to express topic changes and rather marked \(O_{\text{nom}} \_C \_O_{\text{p}} \_S:\)

\[
\text{Taj} \quad e \quad \text{gáž-}e \quad \text{sas} \quad \text{le} \quad e \quad \text{búňár-}a.
\]

\text{and ART.nom guys-nom cop.ipfv.3\text{P them-ACC} art-nom workers-nom}

And the guys had workers.

On the other hand, also the possessed can occur doubled:

\[
\text{Ande} \quad \text{lesk-}o \quad \text{fajt-}o \quad \text{deš} \quad \text{šáv-}e \quad \text{sas} \quad \text{les,} \quad \text{le} \quad \text{Bán-}os.
\]

\text{in his-nom family-nom ten-nom boys-nom cop.ipfv.3\text{P him-ACC art.obl Báno-ACC}

He had ten boys in his family, this Báno.
Negative clauses exhibit no change in order, they behave like a non-clitic copula, using both single-word negative copulas *naj, nás* and regularly negated word-pairs *čí* plus the positive copula.

### 5.9.7.4.1 Default Order

As the default order O_C can be supposed, while a clause with a subject shows commonly O_C_S, and in present tense (with a clitic copula) O_S_C:

\[
\text{Le} \quad \text{Rom-en} \quad \text{ivej} \quad \text{si} \quad \text{le} \quad \text{leng-i} \quad \text{šib.} \quad (5.9.7-98)
\]

\[
\text{ART.OBL} \quad \text{Roms-ACC} \quad \text{in.vain} \quad \text{cop.3P} \quad \text{they-ACC} \quad \text{their-NOM} \quad \text{language-NOM}
\]

The Roms have their language in vain.

If the possessor is expressed by a personal pronoun, the order changes to C_O without and C_O_p_S with subject:

\[
\text{Si} \quad \text{le.} \quad (5.9.7-102)
\]

\[
\text{cop.3P} \quad \text{they-ACC}
\]

They do have it.

\[
\text{Si} \quad \text{les} \quad \text{khajň-a} \quad \text{khejre.} \quad (5.9.7-103)
\]

\[
\text{cop.3P} \quad \text{he-ACC} \quad \text{hens-NOM} \quad \text{at.home}
\]

They have hens at home.

\[
\text{Kuk-o} \quad \text{site} \quad \text{kines}, \quad \text{vaj} \quad \text{si} \quad \text{tu} \quad \text{má}, \quad \text{o} \quad \text{cign-o} \quad \text{košáríc-i}? \quad (5.9.7-104)
\]

\[
\text{that-NOM} \quad \text{MODP} \quad \text{you.buy} \quad \text{or} \quad \text{cop.3P} \quad \text{you-ACC} \quad \text{already} \quad \text{ART.NOM} \quad \text{little-NOM} \quad \text{basket.DIM-NOM}
\]

You must buy – or did you already? - that little basket.

### 5.9.7.4.2 Marked Order

For a “deviant” clause order the main rule remains here, too, the effort to put the topic or emphasized element to a non-default position. This works fine if a subject has to be highlighted, we receive S_C_O for clitic and non-clitic copula and for pronominal and nominal objects.
Tušk-a-j tu! (5.9.7-105)

It's a pencil you have!

Dúj-i ma kecav-e. (5.9.7-106)

two-cop.3P me.ACC such-NOM

I do have two of that kind.

Aj kecav-o podobní-v-o si ma. (5.9.7-107)

discp such-NOM similar-NOM cop.3P me.ACC

Of course, I do have something similar.

In order to rise objects, they are first presented in the nominative and then recalled in the accusative by a pronoun or demonstrative (see also above), accompanied by the full copula:

Taj ko si čourkiň-a, kodol-en si šib-a. (5.9.7-108)

and who cop.3P thief-NOM those-ACC cop.3P tongue-NOM

And if someone is a thief, he knows to persuade.

No taj voun, len si kirčim-a, cign-i kirčim-a. (5.9.7-109)

discp and they.NOM they.ACC cop.3P restaurant-NOM little-NOM restaurant-NOM

Yes and talking about them, they have a restaurant, a little restaurant.

O Berc-i naj les kecav-i bár-i goud-i. (5.9.7-110)

art.NOM Berci-NOM neg.cop.3P he.ACC such-NOM big-NOM mind-NOM

Berci is not so intelligent.

If the target of a topic change already exists in recent discourse space, a clitic pronoun is not sufficient to trigger topic change. In this case the full form has to be chosen, see 4.1.4.2 Zero and Clitic Pronoun – Topic and Emphasis Management:

Le áver-a šeefolinas, taj barvál-e sas, taj les nás louv-e. (5.9.7-111)

art.NOM other-NOM dealt and rich-NOM cop.IPV.3P and he.ACC neg.cop.3P money-NOM

The other men had their business, and were wealthy, but he had no money.

5.9.8 Imperative Sentence

Imperative sentences serve to oblige somebody with an activity expressed in the verbal component. In this section I subsume only sentences based on the imperative mood, as it has been presented during morphology (4.3.4.4 Imperative). Competing techniques like the optative/inhibitive mood, i.e. by the use of 5.5.2.3-Obligation Imperative and Interrogative Particle te (te na) plus the present
tense, are formally identical to declarative sentences. The syntax of those sentences are discussed at the relevant section Declarative Sentence (5.9.7).

Imperative sentences have neither subject nor tense (or only present tense). Therefore no big diversity has to be analysed.

5.9.8.1 Verbal Predicate

5.9.8.1.1 Default Order
The default order is V_O, the verb, eventually followed by an object, pronominal or not. Two objects take the same order like in declarative sentences, see Transitive Verb - Default Order (5.9.7.2.1):

\[
\text{Sikav } \text{les!} \\
\text{show.IMP.2SG } \text{it.ACC}
\]

Show it!

\[
\text{Sikav } \text{len-ge!} \\
\text{show.IMP.2SG } \text{them-DAT}
\]

Show it to them!

\[
\text{Dikh } \text{o } \text{dátumo!} \\
\text{see.IMP.2SG } \text{the } \text{date}
\]

Look at the date!

\[
\text{Aj } \text{šor } \text{mange } \text{táti } \text{teja!} \\
\text{DISCP } \text{pour.IMP.2SG } \text{for.me } \text{warm tea}
\]

So pour me some warm tea!

\[
\text{Sikav } \text{tá } \text{mamake } \text{o } \text{vast!} \\
\text{show.IMP.2SG } \text{your } \text{mummy } \text{the } \text{hand}
\]

Show your hand to your mummy!

\[
\text{Naj } \text{le } \text{pér } \text{tu, } \text{dikhav!} \\
\text{DISCP } \text{take.IMP.2SG } \text{on } \text{you } \text{I.see}
\]

So put it on you, let me see!

5.9.8.1.2 Marked Order
The item preceding the verbal form is the one which is intended to be marked, giving O_V:

\[
\text{Ek } \text{čejža } \text{an } \text{mange!} \\
\text{one } \text{cup } \text{bring.IMP.SG } \text{to.me}
\]

One cup, bring me one cup!
5.9.8.2 Copula Predicate

The imperative of the copula is restricted to simple orders and commands. More complex communication is realized via the optative with *te. Also possession constructions and further objects like *Av mange láši! “Be good for me!” do not occur. For the imperative of the copula the suppletion stem *av- is employed.

Other orders than the expected copula initial C_O (*Khote na av! “Don't be there!”) do not occur and are replaced by optative constructions like Khote te na aves! “Take care not to be there!

\[
\begin{align*}
N' & \quad av & \quad kecavi & \quad dilli! & \quad (5.9.8-8) \\
\text{not} & \quad \text{be,IMP.2SG} & \quad \text{such,NOM} & \quad \text{stupid,NOM}
\end{align*}
\]

Don't be so stupid!

\[
\begin{align*}
Av & \quad kecavo & \quad siveššo, & \quad žutin & \quad ma! & \quad (5.9.8-9) \\
\text{be,IMP.2SG} & \quad \text{such,NOM} & \quad \text{kind,NOM} & \quad \text{help,IMP.2SG} & \quad \text{me,ACC}
\end{align*}
\]

Please be so kind and help me!

5.9.9 Interrogative Sentence and Subordinate Clause

Subordinate clauses are syntactically close to interrogative sentences. The task of both constructions is to specify a constituent as open to further processing, be it by another participant (interrogative sentence) or by a higher level structure (subordinate clause):

\[
\begin{align*}
S1 & \quad \text{So-j} & \quad \text{kosorouvo} & \quad \text{?} & \quad S2 & \quad Či \quad žanav, & \quad \text{so-j} & \quad \text{kosorouvo}. & \quad (5.9.9-1) \\
\text{S1 what-is} & \quad \text{kosorouvo} & \quad \text{not} & \quad \text{I.know} & \quad \text{what-is} & \quad \text{kosorouvo}
\end{align*}
\]

S1 What is that, kosorouvo? S2 I don't know, what is kosorouvo.

The way of specifying the constituent in question by specific grammatical words are similar in mechanism and form: Interrogative pronouns are homonymous with subordinate pronouns. Also polar questions with an expected yes/no (true/false) status have equivalents in subordinate clauses, embedded as adverbial phrases or linked by the help of complementizers. Especially optative and prohibitive declarative sentences based on *te (Te na žas lende! “Don't visit them!”) integrate canonically as non-factual complements (Phendem {te na žas lende}! “I told you not to visit them!”). In this case *te changes interpretation from modal marker to complementizer, or alternatively leads to a rethinking of the position of *te as a whole, in a way to accept it as optative and prohibitive marker providing direct verbal arguments without complementizer. Factual subordinate clauses are introduced by *so or *hot, see 5.10.3 Marking within the Subordinate Clause.

Pronouns, which can be encountered in questions and subordinate clauses like kana “when”, sar “how”, ká “where”, khatar “from where”, khátar “which way”, mír “why”, anda sos “why”, pe sos “what for” are referenced in the section on 5.10.1.3 Adverbial Clause, or in 5.10.1.1 Relative Clause, if connected to a NP like keti “how much”/ketêngo “for how much”, ko “who”, so “what”/sosko “what kind of”, savo “which”. Temporal pronouns are stated together with their adverbial counterparts in 5.4.2 Temporal Relations.
5.9.9.1 Interrogative Sentence

Interrogative sentences are expressed to request information from the hearer. The following sections discuss only constituent questions and non-constituent polar questions. Constituent polar questions do not differ in order from declarative sentences they were derived from, with a focus on the questioned constituent.

The default position of the interrogative marker among interrogative questions is sentence-initial. Other positions have to do with topicalization and/or emphasis.

5.9.9.2 Subordinate Clause

Key differences with respect to interrogative sentences are

- No primary expectation from the listener, the open constituent is supposed to be supplied right away by the speaker;
- The lack of a specific intonation pattern;
- In the case of polar-like clauses another way of embedding: with accompanying question tags in the case of interrogatives, with subordinate markers in the case of subordinate clauses;
- The completion status – subordinate clauses are embedded in a hierarchy, while interrogative sentences stand alone;
- Within complement clauses initiated by *te* the predicate has to be in the first position;
- Several circumstances are introduced by different interrogatives like *te* “in order to” versus *pe sos* “what for” for purpose, *kā* “because” versus *mīr (anda sos)* “why” for reason;
- Some subordinate clauses cannot be asked for like concession or counter-factual condition.

More on subordinate clauses is discussed in the special section 5.10 Subordination.

5.9.9.3 Verbal Predicate

5.9.9.3.1 Default Order

Here the main distinction has to be made according to what constituent the question asks for: the subject, object, an adverbial or the predicate.

Subject Question

If the question asks for the syntactical subject, the order is exactly the same as with verbal declarative sentences, with the subject replaced by a subject interrogative pronoun, i.e. *ko* or *so*. We have then $S_V / S_V_O / S_V_O^2_O / S_V_O^p_O$ and $S_V^p_O^2$.  

\[
\begin{align*}
Ko & \quad \text{makhla} & \quad tu? & \quad (5.9.9-2) \\
\text{who} & \quad \text{will.massage} & \quad \text{you} \\
\text{Who will massage you?}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
So & \quad \text{pejlas} & \quad tuke? & \quad (5.9.9-3) \\
\end{align*}
\]
Object Question

If questioned for an object, direct or not, the corresponding interrogative pronoun (the appropriate case of "ko" or "so") is placed sentence-initial. Similarly like with marked verbal declarative sentences, the subject moves to a position right after the predicate, if not one element further due to a clitic pronoun: $O_V / O_VS / O_VS_O^2 / O_VO_pS / O^2VS_O / O^2VO_pS$.

\[
\begin{align*}
&Taj \quad save \quad kerou? \\
&and \quad which \quad I.\text{will.make}
\end{align*}
\]
And which ones am I to make?

\[
\begin{align*}
&So \quad mangen \quad variko \quad mandar? \\
&what \quad they.demand \quad somebody \quad from.me
\end{align*}
\]
What am I expected to give to somebody?

\[
\begin{align*}
&So \quad kindal \quad ando \quad Kauflando? \\
&what \quad you.bought \quad in.the \quad Kaufland
\end{align*}
\]
What did you buy in Kaufland?

\[
\begin{align*}
&Asta \quad dikhas, \quad so \quad kindal. \\
&DISCP \quad see.IMP.1PL \quad what \quad you.bought
\end{align*}
\]
Wait, let's see, what you bought.

\[
\begin{align*}
&E \quad šangle \quad čak \quad site \quad žanen, \quad kastar \quad kinenas \quad les. \\
&the \quad policemen \quad DISCP \quad MODP \quad know \quad from.whom \quad they.bought \quad it
\end{align*}
\]
But the policemen should know, from whom they have bought it.

\[
\begin{align*}
&Pala \quad kas-i? \\
&after \quad who-is
\end{align*}
\]
Whom is he like?

Predicate Question

If the questioned constituent is the predicate, the subject moves to the sentence-final position, while the post-verbal positions are occupied in the usual way: $V_O / V_S / V_OS / V_O^2O_S / V_OpO^2S / V_{O_pO^2_S} / V_O^2O_{p_S}$.

\[
\begin{align*}
&Aj \quad bīrinou \quad prestupiki? \\
&DISCP \quad will.I.bear \quad changes
\end{align*}
\]
Will I really bear to change the train?

*Naj avla i Bejba?*  
(5.9.9-11)

And will Bejba come?

**Adverbial Question**

If the constituent is an adverbial, the only change against 5.9.7 Declarative Sentence is the initially placed interrogative or relative element, taken in brackets for comparison with a standard declarative sentence:

*Taj (mír) či mukan le?*  
(5.9.9-12)

and why not they.leave them

And (why) don't they leave them?

* Naj (vi kana) či sal khate, či aven.*  
(5.9.9-13)

and also when not you.are here not they.come

But (even if) you are not here, they don't come.

**5.9.9.3.2 Marked Order**

The standard way of marking is to move the focussed constituent to an unusual location:

The following sentences are examples of a stronger way of marking, as they make use of a violation of a high-level order rule, the initial positioning of the interrogative and relative pronoun. Constituents placed before it are strongly marked (in bold):

*Taj múlas, sar verastinas la, már andi khangejri sar sas.*  
(5.9.9-14)

and died how bury her already in.the church how was

And he died during her funeral, already when he was in the church.

*Kharel ma late te žav ađejs inke.*  
(5.9.9-15)

invites me to.her to I.go today yet

She invited me to come to her right today.

*Daral ánde te žal.*  
(5.9.9-16)

is.afraid inside to go

He is afraid to go inside.

*Anda Ňamco ko avel?*  
(5.9.9-17)

from Germany who comes

Who will come from among the Germans?
Who do you think will intermediate a woman for Joška?

But the pullover, why didn't you buy it?

If ever the complementing te is to move within the clause, the verb is always moving simultaneously, making out of te a kind of a verbal clitic.

5.9.9.4 Copula Predicate, Including Possession

Within the analysis of the copula predicate, the main distinction has to be made according to what constituent the question asks for: the subject, the non-verbal predicate, an adverbial, the accusative possessor or the predicate as a whole.

5.9.9.4.1 Default Order

Subject Question or Question for the Possessed

In subject questions the copula is attached to the interrogative pronoun (clitic) or follows it non-clitic). So the default order is S_C or S_C_O, for possession S_C_O and S_C_O_p. Before the clitic copula ko appears as kon: kon-i.

Those people will stay, who are more intelligent and know better to speak.

Who is so slim among the people in your family?

Who is there?

The Slovaks played, just like those today, who play with Lucie.
What is in that backpack?

Či žanav, so-j khotе.  

not I know what-is there

I don't know, what is there.

**Question for the Non-Verbal Predicate**

If questioned for a non-verbal predicate, the corresponding interrogative pronoun (so “what”, savo “which”, sosko “what kind of”, kasko “whose”, kā “where”, khatar “from where” etc.) is placed sentence-initial, followed by the copula, predominantly clitic, and by the subject, if necessary: O_C_S. This does not apply to possession constructions. If the copula is replaced by the relict clitic nominative personal pronoun lo/lli/le (C for short, see 4.4.1 Copula), this order is not affected: O_C_S.

Žanes, so-j kodo?  

you know what-is that

Do you know, what is that?

Naj žanav, sosko-j.  

DISCP I know what.kind-is

Of course I know, what kind od person he is.

Naj keti-j kecavi trafika?  

DISCP how.muc-is such newsagent

Well how much does sucha newsagent cost?

Taj savi-j nasváli?  

and which-is ill

And which one is ill?

**Question for the Possessor**

If the questioned constituent is the possessor, the subject moves to the sentence-final position and the copula follows the interrogative: O_C and O_C_S:

Kas si puráni xouli vať akánik, te na avel pomenime!  

who,ACC cop old grudge or now MODP not cop,SUBV reproached

If somebody bears a grudge, old or new, it shall not be reproached!

Kas naj but barvalimo, či rodel opre kecave nípos.  

who,ACC NEG,cop much,NOM wealth,NOM not seeks.out VERBP such family
Those who do not own much, will not seek out such a family.

Kas sas louve, kezdinas te kinkeren penge motori. (5.9.9-32)
who.acc cop.ipfv money they.began to buy.iter their cars

Those who had money, began to buy cars.

Adverbial Question

If the constituent is an adverbial, the copula follows right after the subordination marker, except for the clitic, which cannot be attached to te. (5.9.9-37). The order of subject and object remains like in the declarative sentence case, see 5.9.7.3 Copula Predicate (Except for Possession).

Kana si varikas angīna, nāštik phīrel pa fouro! (5.9.9-33)
when is someone.acc tonsillitis.nom modp go.iter around.the city

When someone has tonsillitis, may not go around the city!

Mīr-i dilli kadi šej? (5.9.9-34)
why-is stupid this girl

Why is this girl so stupid?

Ká avna źi mismejri? (5.9.9-35)
where they.will.be until noon

Where will they stay until noon?

Naj t’ avel pala ma, mišto avla. (5.9.9-36)
discp if is.subv after me good will.be

Well if I have my way, it will be OK.

Thovesa les ek kutīn, te melālo-j. (5.9.9-37)
you.will.wash it a little if dirty.is

Wash it a little, if it is dirty.

Te avel le vi katkāke, šaj avel late. (5.9.9-38)
if cop.subv they.acc also here modp cop.subv at.her

If they have some also here, it can be at her place.

Taj inke kinel leske trafika, t’ avel les příjem. (5.9.9-39)
and additionally buys him newsagent to cop.subv he.acc income

And additionally he buys him a newsagent, so that he can have some income.
Word Order

5.9.9.4.2 Marked Order

Subject Question or Question for the Possessed

In the marked position the copula completes, the clause, from the viewpoint of arguments. Elements before the interrogative or relative pronoun are additionally marked (5.9.9-45):

\[ \text{Ko maj terno sas, kodo tordolás.} \]  
who CPR young was that stood

The younger people were standing.

\[ \text{Kodoleske, ko kharado-j, apal o Rom site sikavel i Pátiv.} \]  
that.DAT who invited-is then the man MODP shows the hounor

Then the host has to honour the invited person.

\[ \text{Ko maj máto avla, t' al leske engedime!} \]  
who CPR drunken will.be to cop.SUBV.3SG to.him forgiven

Let be forgiven to those, who are drunken to a higher degree.

\[ \text{So le romesa-j de khatar o ternimo źi po phurimo,} \]  
what the with.man-is from from the youth up.to on.the age

\[ \text{kodo-j o kolopo taj i baxuja.} \]  
that.is the hat and the stick

Something accompanies a man from his very young until his very old days: The hat and the stick.

\[ \text{Ande tó nípo, kon-i čišle?} \]  
in your family who-is slim

Who is slim within your family?

\[ \text{Ďilaben sar i Lucija, so populárňivo-j.} \]  
they.sing like the Lucie conj popular.is

They sing like Lucie, this popular singer.

Question for the Non-Verbal Predicate

The same holds true also for the non-verbal predicate:

\[ \text{Taj i Kejža, savi sas?} \]  
and the Kejža which was

And which one was this Kejža?
**Word Order**

Lengi adlin soski-j, sar amári?  
her honey what.kin.of-is like our

What kind of honey does she have, like our?

**Question for the Possessor**

Bejba, godávera romňa, žanes, kas si?  
Bejba cleverNom women you.know whoAcc cop3p

Bejba, do you know, who does have clever women?

**Adverbial Question**

Marked clauses can be recognized by the insertion of an element between the relativizer and the copula:

Kodo phenelas pe, kana cigne sas.  
that said refl when small were

That was said, when they were small.

Ká kher si la kutkáke, kado kher len latar.  
because flatNom cop3p herAcc there this flat they.take from.her

She has got a flat over there, therefore they dispossess her from this flat.

### 5.10 Subordination

A subordination clause is a grammatically complete clause which appears as constituent or extension of another clause, called the matrix clause. Subordination is a process which allows to present an expression which exceeds the possibilities of a single word, a NP and an adverbial, see the clauses in the following example consisting almost exclusively of subordinate phrases:

Mangelas te avas. Taj o práško te ingrel lake i Boja, te kinav.  
demanded to we.come and the pills to carry her the Boja to buy

hoť dela le louve mindár. Naj phendem hoť naj.  
that will.give the money immediately Discp I.said that not.is

hoť či kindal les či tu, ká naj.  
that not you.bought them neither you because not.is

They wanted us to come. And Boja to bring her the pills, to buy them, that they will give her immediately the money. But I told her that they have no pills, that even you haven't bought them, because there are none at all.

Subordinate (dependent) clauses are underlined, the heads are printed in bold.
5.10.1 Syntactic Types of Subordinate Clauses

Three basic syntactical types of subordination clauses can be distinguished, depending on the constituent they replace or complete: Complements enter the place of verbal arguments and adverbial clauses the place of adverbs, while relative clauses are added to NPs in order to add further details.

5.10.1.1 Relative Clause

A relative clause is a subordinate clause which is used to refine the reference of a nominal, which all together make up the superordinate clause NP.

So phenel, kodo kerel.  
what says that makes
Whatever he says, he makes.

Vorbindas mange vou sa, hoť sar sas.  
talked to me she everything conj how was
She told me everything about how it went on.

Del le príkazi, so te keren taj kadej.  
gives them commands what to they make and so
She commands them, what to do and so on.

From a structural point of view the relative clause resembles the interrogative clause with the interrogative pronoun replacing the relative pronoun and polar clauses semantically complete relative clauses introduced by hoť. Entire NPs are referred to by ko (animate) and so (inanimate and conditionally animate, see Relative Clause, 5.10.3.3), specifications by savo (selection), sosko (property), keti (number) and kobor (size). All of them are used as interrogatives, too.

5.10.1.2 Complementing

Occasionally the desired argument of a verb cannot be expressed by a NP:

Kamav te dikhes les tehára.  
I want to you see him tomorrow

Phendas, hoť anla leske.  
said that will bring him

“Hei!” cipindas palpále.  
no yell back
“No!” he yelled back.

Či žanglas, mír rovelas o šavouro. (5.10.1-7)
not knew why cried the child

He didn't know, why the child was crying.

Sikadas mange, so andas pa drom. (5.10.1-8)
showed me what brought from the journey

He showed me, what he brought back from the journey.

Naj phen mange, kana te ušāv. (5.10.1-9)
DISCP say me when to I.stand.up

Tell me, them, when to stand up.

In the following examples, the arguments express an action, a paraphrase, a citation, a reason, an explanation and a time, in connection with verbs which otherwise take also NPS as arguments, like in

But kamav mura ša. (5.10.1-10)
much I.love my daughter

I love my daughter very much.

Phendas lake o čačimo. (5.10.1-11)
said her the truth

He told her the truth.

Nadon žungale vorbi cipindas pe leste. (5.10.1-12)
very dirty utterances yelled on him

She yelled very ugly insults on him.

Či žanglas o drom. (5.10.1-13)
not knew the way

He didn't know the way.

Sikadas mange pesko kolako. (5.10.1-14)
showed me his cake

He showed me his cake.

Phen mange kodo! (5.10.1-15)
say me that

Tell it to me!
So complements can take any form normal sentences can take. Partly the complement is used to select a certain element within the subordinate clause, be it its subject, object, location, time, manner etc. In this case the complement is constructed similar to a question clause: Using interrogative pronouns as (semantic) links to the main clause, mostly also at initial position, in the above examples 5.10.1-7 and 5.10.1-8.

Among complements I subsume also subordinate clauses in the role of supplements to verbs, which otherwise have no argument of the given kind like in:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Brígi}, \quad \text{hoť} \quad \text{či} \quad \text{kamel} \quad \text{la} \quad \text{khonik.} \quad \text{vs.} \quad *\text{Brígi} \quad \text{les.} \\
\text{is.sad} \quad \text{that} \quad \text{not} \quad \text{loves} \quad \text{her} \quad \text{nobody} \quad \text{is.sad} \quad \text{him.} \quad \text{ACC}
\end{align*}
\]  

She is sad, that nobody loves her.

Sometimes complements can be hardly distinguished from independent juxtaposed sentences:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Aj} \quad \text{šundal,} \quad \text{o} \quad \text{Rumungro} \quad \text{e} \quad \text{šanglenca} \quad \text{žalas} \quad \text{pala} \quad \text{la.} \\
\text{DISCP} \quad \text{you.heard} \quad \text{the} \quad \text{Rumungro} \quad \text{the} \quad \text{with.policemen} \quad \text{went} \quad \text{after} \quad \text{her}
\end{align*}
\]  

But you have heard, that the Rumungro visited her with the policemen.

This can be analysed as an appellation to listen (šundal), followed by an information, or alternatively as a single main clause with a complementizer free complement to šundal.

### 5.10.1.3 Adverbial Clause

An adverbial clause serves, like adverbs and other adverbial expressions, to add circumstantial information to the sentence. As the relative clause, it resembles structurally an interrogative sentence with the subordinating linker coinciding with the interrogative pronoun. Therefore the form of the interrogative pronoun is given in this semantic context. The following division of adverbial subordinate clauses is based on the categorization by Thompson, Longacre and Hwang (2007: 243-266) As conditions are usually realized in time, temporal and conditional connotations merge:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Akánik} \quad \text{má} \quad \text{te} \quad \text{dena} \quad \text{muro} \quad \text{dúxodo,} \quad \text{mindár} \quad \text{kinou} \quad \text{le} \quad \text{e} \quad \text{draba,} \quad \text{sa.} \\
\text{now} \quad \text{already} \quad \text{if} \quad \text{they.will.give} \quad \text{my} \quad \text{pension} \quad \text{immediately} \quad \text{I.will.buy} \quad \text{them} \quad \text{the} \quad \text{drugs} \quad \text{all}
\end{align*}
\]  

Now right when they will pay my pension, I will immediately buy the drugs, all of them.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Te} \quad \text{žou} \quad \text{ando} \quad \text{fouro,} \quad \text{site} \quad \text{žav} \quad \text{andi} \quad \text{bolta,} \quad \text{ká} \quad \text{le} \quad \text{kenvi} \quad \text{biknen} \quad \text{te} \quad \text{phušav.} \\
\text{if} \quad \text{I.will.go.in.the} \quad \text{city} \quad \text{MODP} \quad \text{I.go} \quad \text{in.the} \quad \text{shop} \quad \text{where} \quad \text{the} \quad \text{books} \quad \text{they.sell} \quad \text{to} \quad \text{I.ask}
\end{align*}
\]  

If I will go to the city, I have to a book shop to ask for it.

### 5.10.1.3.1 Time

Time can be given by adverbs like akánik “now”, tehára “tomorrow”, ľĕ “yesterday”, by NPS like kado berš “this year”, kuko šon “last month”, trínengo “at three”, or by adverbial SUBCLS, see 5.4.2 Temporal Relations. They are initiated by kana for past events and te for future events, and asked for by kana. They can be further divided into temporal sequences, mixed time/cause relations and
before-clauses. Simultaneity in the sense of an overlap is presented in 5.10.1.3.10 Simultaneity, p. 378.

Temporal Sequences:

*Kana šordas o svunto pāji pej rom, gejlas peska kirvasa* (5.10.1-20)
when poured the blessed water on the men went his with godmother

*ká le romña.*
to the women

When he poured the blessed water over the men, he went with his godmother to the women.

*Phenel naj. Hoť ingerdas le preč, kana gejlas andi Amerika.* (5.10.1-21)
says not is that carried them away when went into the America

He says, that there is none, that he has carried them away, when he left for America.

*Te avla leški pheň, vou či kamla te maladol tusa.* (5.10.1-22)
if will come his sister he not will want to meet you with

If his sister will come, he will not want to meet you.

*Kodola avna lujine, te avna andaj škola.* (5.10.1-23)
those will come on Monday when will come from the school

They will come on Monday, when they will come from school.

Mixing Time and Cause:

*Aj te na soves ánde, kana avilan dopašaraňako.* (5.10.1-24)
DISCP MODP not you sleep VERBP if you came at midnight

But don’t you sleep in, if you arrived at midnight.

Before-Clauses:

An action, which waits or happens, until another action begins or stops, is introduced by the subordinator *mejk* “until, unless, before, as long as” in the subordinate clause, asked for by *keti* “how long”:

*Má tejle šindola le gaiserar o pijarco, mejk perasa ame khote.* (5.10.1-25)
already ASPP will break the from people the market place while not will fall we there

The market place will be crowdy, before we will arrive there.

*Márdas le keti, mejk kodi či birijas pesa, upiňe.* (5.10.1-26)
beat them so much until that not bore REFL INSTR completely

He beat him up, until he could not bear it any longer, completely.
**Subordination**

*Lešin, mejk avla le louve!*  
wait, until he has money!

*Mejk žal ando páto, guglimo xal peske mindik.*  
while not goes in the bed eats refl always

He always has some sweets, before he goes to bed.

Hereby *mejk* does not change meaning, when the predicate is negated, thus an equivalent of 5.10.1-27 is:

*Lešin, mejk č' avla le louve!*  
wait, while not cop.3SG.FUT he.ACC money.NOM

Wait, while they don't have money yet!

An alternative way is given by *míte*, asked for by *míte*:

*Dúj berš-i, míte khate-j.*  
two years-is since here-is

Two years have gone, since he is here.

### 5.10.1.3.2 Location

Local adverbials subsume adverbs like *khate* “here”, *kutkáke* “there”, *katkar* “from here”, *ánglal* “in front”, *khejre* “at home”, NPs like *tumende* “at you”, *andi Birna* “in Brno”, *pi mál* “on the meadow”, and adverbial subs, introduced by subordinators *ká* “where, because”, *sar* “like, when”, *khatar* “from where”, *khátar* “which way” and asked for by *ká* “where”, *khatar* “from where”, *khátar* “which way”

*Gejlas po Touco, ká bešenas.*  
goes on the Slovakia where they lived

He went to Slovakia, where they were living.

*Bešel opre, khatar phíres ando fouro.*  
lives up from where you go in the city

He lives up there, from where you go to the city.

*Šol o pistolo tela šejro tela šerand, ká sovel.*  
puts the pistol under the head under the pillow where he sleeps

He laid the pistol under his head, under the pillow, where he was sleeping.
5.10.1.3.3 Manner

The way an event happens or an action is taken is specified by adverbs like *kadej* “so”, *ávrejsar* “another way”, *duvar* “twice”, *phujatar* “by feet”, by NPs like *po drom* “under way”, *zourasa* “by force”, and by modal SUBS marked by *sar* or *hot*, asked for by *sar*.

Šudas les tejle, hoť mindár múlas, na míšte.  
He threw it down, because he died immediately, instantly.

No a cirdas i mužika, hoť máťlo o rom halára.  
Yes and the music was playing, so that the man got completely drunken.

Leske šáves keti márdas, hoť či biritas či vastas či purnesa.  
He beat his son so much, that he couldn't move neither his hands nor his feet.

Feri pe kodo dikhen, sar lena e louve.  
They just look for occasions to come to money.

Dikhlem le, sar lenas le tejle.  
I watched, how they took them down.

5.10.1.3.4 Purpose

A purpose may be given by adverbials like *feri kadej* “for fun, lit. just so”, by a NP like *pe khančes* “without reason”, *tutar* “because of you”, and by final SUBS, beginning with *te*. They are asked for by *pe sos* “what for” or *mír* “why”. If the superordinate clause requires a factual complementizer, *hoť* is added before *te*.

Gindosajlo, hoť te žal po Touco, taj gežlas po Touco.  
He thought about to go to Slovakia, and eventually went to Slovakia.

Anda akársos maličkos šon ánde, te šaj len louve.  
They appeal to a council for diverse trivialities just to make money.

Ke vi e táški šinen e beretvenca te čouren e louve.  
Because they also slit bags with razors in order to steal money.
Naj žalav tu, mamo, te šaj xas amenca. (5.10.1-42)

Mummy, comb yourself right now, so that you can eat with us.

### 5.10.1.3.5 Concession

If an action or process is independent of a condition, this is prevalently expressed by juxtaposition, with *vi kadej* “nevertheless” or *cz/sk stejne* “nevertheless” in the conditioned sentence, or *keti* in the condition, replacing subordination:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Či resla khote i kapela varisoski.} & \quad \text{Aj vi kadej č' avla khote than.} \quad (5.10.1-43) \\
\text{not will.enter there the band some} & \quad \text{also so not will.be there space}
\end{align*}
\]

No band would ever enter there. Really, there is anyway no place there.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Ek čáso vesejdij, mejk, vi maj but, mejk rakhel.} & \quad (5.10.1-44) \\
\text{an hour struggles until also CPR much until finds}
\end{align*}
\]

An hour he struggles, until he, also more, until he finds it.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Taj stejne k seminko feri žal.} & \quad (5.10.1-45) \\
\text{and nevertheless a little only goes}
\end{align*}
\]

But nevertheless just a few pours out.

For concessive *subcls* the subordination marker are deictic quantifiers like *keti* “how many, how much” or *kobor* “how big”, the reduplicated Disjunction Coordinator *vaj/vaf* (5.11.4.5), or *vi kana* “even if” as counterpart to the juxtaposing *vi kadej* “nevertheless”:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Keťi žejne nášade, taj site poľnde.} & \quad (5.10.1-46) \\
\text{so many people ran, and MODP paid}
\end{align*}
\]

Even if the people ran away, nevertheless they had to pay.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Taj vaj kamen vaj niči, site den kodola louve.} & \quad (5.10.1-47) \\
\text{and either they.want or not MODP they give that money}
\end{align*}
\]

Even if they don't want to, they have to pay that money.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Vaj šavoura sas, vaj pháre sas, jejkh sas lenge.} & \quad (5.10.1-48) \\
\text{either children were or old were equal was them}
\end{align*}
\]

No matter whether they were children or old people, they didn't care.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Vi kana rakhen vina, pharadol i vina.} & \quad (5.10.1-49) \\
\text{also when they.find vein breaks the vein}
\end{align*}
\]

Even if they find a vein, it breaks.
5.10.1.3.6 Reason
A causal relationship is expressed by NPs with the PREP anda “because”, in SUBCLS it is introduced by ká “because” and ke “because”, individually also by CZ protože “because”, asked for by mír “why” or anda sos “why”.

Azír žanav, ká vorbindas mange vou sa, hoť sar sas. (5.10.1-49)
therefore I know because talked me she all conj how was
I know that, because she has told me everything about how it was.

Či lel le, ke thúli mezij anej le. (5.10.1-50)
not takes them because thick looks in them
She doesn't dress them, because she looks thick in them.

Aj žou vi me tusa tehára, ke tu či žanes te kines. (5.10.1-51)
discp I will go also I with you tomorrow because you not know to you buy
Oh I will also go with you tomorrow, because you don't know to buy clothes.

Č’ avla šibáli, žanes? Protože kecavi romní apal žala-tar lestar. (5.10.1-52)
not will be eloquent discp because such woman then will go away from him
Really, she isn't supposed to be eloquent. Because such a woman would leave him then.

5.10.1.3.7 Substitution
Substitutive relations are preferably realized by juxtaposition, occasionally linked by the adverb feder “rather”.

Nás lášo o horejzo, feder te kerdoun krumpli šúke, nebo hranolki. (5.10.1-53)
not was good the rice rather if they would have made potatoes dry or French fries
The rice was not good, they would have rather made potatoes or French fries.

De, na rande tu! Feder šungar taj kadej šímitin! (5.10.1-54)
discp not scratch imp you rather split and so fondle
Common, don't scratch yourself! Rather split on it and fondle there!

Či kiden mandar. Protože feder šuvou le rigate. (5.10.1-55)
not they will seize from me because rather I will put them apart
They will not seize it from me, because I would rather save them.

Subordination is also possible, but only with a borrowed subordinator místo “instead”:

Taj místo te malavel les palpále i palma, gejlo-tar khejre. (5.10.1-56)
and instead conj hits him back the palm went away home
And instead of slapping him back, he went away home.
Instead of telling me, how to help her, she eventually abuses me.

5.10.1.3.8 Circumstantial

Circumstances are semantically close to modal adverbials, and so is the most frequent subordinator *sar*. The alternative *ká* is used much less:

**Jovkhar, sar inke bešasas andi Birna, avile amende e Rom.**

*once when still we.lived in.the Brno came to.us the Rom*

Once, when we were still living in Brno, some people came to visit us.

**Sar avilal ávri pa píjarco, žanelas i Šiška.**

*when you.came out from market knew the Šiška*

When you came out of the market, Šiška knew it.

**Akánik, sar nášlas-tar o Boška a romňatar,**

*now like ran-away the Boška the from-woman*

las o *Jano pér les i xouli.*

took the Jano on him the anger

Now when Boška left his wife, Jano got angry on him.

**Naj khote-j variká, sar Žana phujatar, na túto stranu,**

*DISCP there.is somewhere like they.will.go by.feet on.that.side*

na levej, sar Žana telaj traptí.

*on.the.left like you.will.go under.the stairs*

Yes, he is somewhere there, if you go by feet, on that side. on the left, if you pass through under the stairs.

**Salas inke variká, ká vorbis?**

*you.were again somewhere because you.talk*

Have you been somewhere else, so that you talk in that way.

5.10.1.3.9 Addition

Addition is expressed by juxtaposing *paša kodo* "additionally", otherwise I have found no subordinative way for this function.

**Ando kher bešenas dešupánž žejne**

*in.the flat they.lived fifteen people*

*taj paša kodo nás ando kher feri ek páto.*

and around that was.not in.the flat just one bed
There were fifteen people living in the flat, and additionally there was just a single bed in the flat.

5.10.1.3.10 Simultaneity
When an event happens on the background of another event, the background event is indicated by kana, asked for by kana.

Kana terni simas, či sovous.  
when young I was not I slept  
(5.10.1-64)

When I was young, I didn't sleep.

Kana sovelas, khardas le.  
when slept called them  
(5.10.1-65)

When he slept, she called them.

5.10.1.3.11 Absolutive
Absolutive subordination means (Thompson, Longacre, Huang 2007: 265) a subordination mechanism without tight relation between subordinator and semantic role. The semantic realization is established at the moment of utterance. In this role hoť can be found occasionally, based on its general subordinating function, free of special tasks. In the examples it represents manner (5.10.1-66, see also above 5.10.1-34, 5.10.1-35, 5.10.1-36) and concession (5.10.1-67), see also the conditional use in examples 5.11.4-1 and 5.11.4-3:

Khelelas pejr lende, hoť phenelas, hoť courde.  
played on them conj said that they stole  
(5.10.1-66)

He pretended it in a way, that he said, that they stole.

Naj kerav mindik variso, hoť naj ma časo.  
DISCP I do always something because NEG.cop.3p LACC time  
(5.10.1-67)

Well I always work something, even if I don't have time.

5.10.1.3.12 Conditional
Conditions may be divided, whether they may be fulfilled (real) or not (unreal) or it is open. The first is usually realized by kana “when”, homonymous with the past temporal subordination marker, the second by te “if”, which is also used for future temporal subordination, while the open condition is introduced by hoť “whether”. In actual situations the first two subordinate markers can be found mixed up in a way, that te expands also into reality conditions. Conditions are questioned by kana, if ever.

Out of the two subordinators, kana is used:

• For present real conditions, with present tense:

  No taj ká žasa, kana naj tu louve?  
  DISCP and where you.will.go if NEG.cop you.ACC money  
  (5.10.1-68)

  Yes and where do you intend to go, if you have no money?
• For habitual or generic real conditions, with present tense:

\[
Vi \textit{kana avel khate kodo Joška, } či \textit{vorbij lesa.} \quad (5.10.1-69)
\]

also when comes here that Joška not talks with him

Even when Joška comes here, he dos not talk with him.

\[
Kana \ či \textit{tecin lenge variko, ţan-tar lendar.} \quad (5.10.1-70)
\]

when not is liked them.DAT somebody go-away from them

When they don't like somebody, they leave them.

\[
\textit{Taj te si ma časo, ţav ando kino, kana si ma časo.} \quad (5.10.1-71)
\]

and when cop.3p me.ACC time I go in the cinema when cop.3p me.ACC time

And when I have time, I go to the cinema, when I have time.

• For past conditions and some past tense:

\[
\textit{Aj ká dinoun la, kana či kinelas khonik?} \quad (5.10.1-72)
\]

\text{DISCP DISCP would give it if not they would buy nobody}

But how should they give it, if nobody would buy it?

\[
\textit{Taj sar avilal, kana avilal bi louengo?} \quad (5.10.1-73)
\]

and how you came when you came without money

And how did you come, if you came without money?

• Exceptionally in unreal predictive use, in present tense:

\[
\textit{Taj kana mejajvel, avla tu áver.} \quad (5.10.1-74)
\]

\text{DISCP DISCP if gets dirty cop.3p.FUT you.ACC other}

And if it gets dirty, you will have another.

The other conditional subordinator, \textit{te}, is used:

• For present real conditions, with present and future tense:

\[
\textit{Jaj dade, resel, te má phenou variso, khanči či keres!} \quad (5.10.1-75)
\]

\text{DISCP DISCP if already I will say something nothing not you do}

My God, bless, if I once say something, you don't do anything!

• For habitual or generic real conditions, with present tense:

\[
\textit{Taj te si ma časo, ţav ando kino, kana si ma časo.} \quad (5.10.1-76)
\]

\text{DISCP DISCP if already I go in the cinema when cop.3p me.ACC time}

And when I have time, I go to the cinema, when I have time.
• For imaginative hypothetical conditions with te and future or imperfective-potential:

\[ \text{Naj te lena ávre romes, khote či gržina?} \]  
\[ \text{DISCP if they.will.take other man there not will.care} \]  
Yes, and if they take another man, they will not care?

\[ \text{Naj na daran, či žou, te avla pi Nova Big bratr.} \]  
\[ \text{DISCP not be.afraid not I.will.go if will.come on Nova Big Bratr} \]  
Oh, don't you be afraid, I will not go, if on Nova TV there will be Big Brother.

• For imaginative counter-factual conditions with te and perfective-irrealis:

\[ \text{De te n’ aviloun les i pirámmi, hát či múloun,} \]  
\[ \text{DISCP if not cop.IRR.3p he.ACC the lover then not had.died} \]  
inke Ž’ adejs trajindoun.

But if he had no lover, he wouldn't have died, he would live until this day.

\[ \text{Te n’ aviloun máto, či mundárdoun les.} \]  
\[ \text{if not would.have.been drunken not would.have.killed him} \]  
If he would not have been drunken, they would not have killed him.

S1 Tuke či tecij. S2 Jaj. Tecij, feri t’ aviloun maj bulhi.  
\[ \text{YOU.DAT not is.liked DISCP is.liked just if would.have.been CPR wide} \]  
S1 You don’t like it. S2 Oh no, I do, just if it was a little wider.

• In unreal predictive use, in present or future tense:

\[ \text{Naj mišto avla, te kerla na jedňički.} \]  
\[ \text{DISCP OK will.be if will.make excellently} \]  
Yes it will be OK, if he will pass it excellently.

\[ \text{Aj e draba te pela anej školi, nebo naj musaj te pel le,} \]  
\[ \text{DISCP the drugs if will.drink in.the schools or not.is MOOD to drink them} \]  
te le ávera pen le taj dena la e draba, so keresalasa?  
\[ \text{if the others drink them and they.will.give her the drugs what you.will.do with her} \]  
But if she will take drugs in school, or not necessarily takes them herself, if the others take them and give them drugs, what are you supposed to do with her?

In open conditions (“whether”) hoť introduces the conditional clause (protasis). Both possibilities have to be stated, the second being commonly merely referred by the deictic negative negator niči,
see Negators and Substitutive Coordinators na, niči (5.11.4.1), especially examples 5.11.4-1 and 5.11.4-3:

*Dikhen maj but pe kodo hoť i šej žanel te dílavel vat' niči.* (5.10.1-84)

they see CPR much on that conj the girl knows to sing or not

They care most about the fact, whether the girl knows to sing.

The apodosis, i.e. the main clause containing the (potential) consequence of the condition, may be marked for past and habitual events by the adverbs *atunči* “then” or *apal* “then”, the latter being used – like *kana* itself – also in temporal relations.

*Feri kana salas pi pāťiv, ů/atunči/apal žanes, sosko-j o Berci.* (5.10.1-85)

only when you were on the celebration then you know what kind is the Berci

Only when you attended a celebration, then you know, what a man is Berci.

*Kana les variso ávri andaj lednička,* (5.10.1-86)

if you take something out from the fridge

*š/apal mindār site keres ánde o vudar.*

then immediately MODP make VERBP the door

If you take something out of the fridge, you have to close the door immediately.

*Aj má kana kerdīlas, sas tistāra galbeno.* (5.10.1-87)

DISCP already when emerged was completely yellow

Oh, already when it emerged, it was completely yellow.

### 5.10.2 Order within Higher Level Structure

It is necessary to note that the subordinate clause is usually placed within the main clause as a whole. Exceptions are discussed below in this section.

Concerning the placement of the subordinate clause, as a default, “replacement rule”, the subordinate clause appears at the location of the constituent it substitutes, or in immediate vicinity of the referent. This is (the subordinate clause is underlined):

- For complements: at the place of the verbal argument:

  *Či kamelas te xal zevėja.* (5.10.2-1)

  not wanted to eat greaves

  She didn't want to eat greaves.

  *Phušlem, mír či ingerdas la khejre.* (5.10.2-2)

  L asked why not carried her home

  I asked them, why he didn't take her home.
Kodola žanen, soski cena-je le. (5.10.2-3)

Those know what price is them.

They know their price.

- For adverbial clauses: at the place a semantically equivalent adverb would be:

  E gáže kinkeren but texan, kana žan. (5.10.2-4)

  The non-Roms buy much food when they go.

  If the non-Roms go there, they buy a lot.

Kana terni simas, či sovous. (5.10.2-5)

  When young I was not slept.

  When I was young I didn't sleep.

Te žala vou, vi me žou andi Ostrava. (5.10.2-6)

  If will go she also I will go into the Ostrava.

  If she will go, I will also go to Ostrava.

- For relative clauses: in direct vicinity of the NP it is meant to refine.

  Simas andi kirčima, ká o autobusi tornól. (5.10.2-7)

  I was in the restaurant where the bus stops.

  I was in the restaurant, where the bus stops.

Le Pepas, so kerdas kado, kuškerde les mindár. (5.10.2-8)

  They dressed Pepa immediately down, the man, who has done it.

Pherdo-j kecave coxi, spo phenous. (5.10.2-9)

  It is full of skirts of the kind, I have spoken about.

Akánik e šeja dikhen vi kodo, te avel godáver. (5.10.2-10)

  Now the girls look also that in order to is clever.

  In order to know to speak in order to is capable that man.

  Now the girls also notice, if someone is clever, if he knows to speak, if this boy is apt.

Contrary to single words (verbal arguments, adverbs), subordinate clauses tend to appear at locations where they are easily delimited, i.e. sentence-initial or sentence-final. This contrasts with the positioning of relative clauses right after a constituent (“embedded”) as in the example 5.10.2-8.
Therefore it may be placed also apart from the referent, so not splitting the main clause (“adjoined”):

Kuko \textit{avla, so sas po bijav?} \hfill (5.10.2-11)
\footnotesize{that will come conj was on the wedding}

Will that guy, who was at the wedding, also come?

\textit{Feri pe kodo dikhen, te šaj len e louve.} \hfill (5.10.2-12)
\footnotesize{just on that they look in order to MODP take the money}

They just care about the possibility, to take out the money.

I could not find clear rules for when to place relative clauses embedded or adjoined. The standard seems to be the post-referent location, embedded or not.

For complements the replacement rule implies that shorter (non-clause) arguments are moved in front of clause-like (longer) arguments, see 5.9.2 Main Factors and Rules for the Establishment of the Clause Order. So the strict replacement rule is limited by the higher-ranged rule of having shorter arguments closer to the verb.

The “replacement rule” also fits, when emphasis or topicalization is concerned. In the same way like simple \textit{NPS} are moved to non-default positions in order to manifest emphasis or topicalization, a subordinate clause can also be stressed as a whole:

\textit{Brígij, hoť či kamel la khonik. Hoť či kamel la khonik, phenel.} \hfill (5.10.2-13)
\footnotesize{is sad CMPL not loves her nobody conj not loves her nobody says}

She is sad, that nobody loves her. That nobody loves her, she says.

The \textit{hoť} complement is initially (after \textit{brígij}) only mentioned, and in the next sentence repeated in the (stressed) initial position as complement to \textit{phenel}.

Exceptions to the integrity of the subordinate clause are caused by several verbs with citation semantics, which may occur right inside of the subordinate clause. Their grammatical status moves from the position of key predicate of the superordinate clause towards that of an adverb or modal (evidential) or discourse particle, while the subordinate clause rises hierarchically to a main clause:

\textit{Taj so gindis, hoť šona andi fejastra?} \hfill (5.10.2-14)
\footnotesize{and what you think that they will put in the window}

And so what? Do you think, they will present her in a display window?

\textit{Boja, báre motori, žanes, kas si?} \hfill (5.10.2-15)
\footnotesize{Boja large cars you know wh ACC is}

But Boja, do you know, who owns large cars?

Among these verbs we frequently find \textit{gindij} “think”, \textit{phenel} “say”, \textit{phušel} “ask”, \textit{žanel} “know”.

Sometimes different interpretations are possible concerning the range of the subordinate clause:
Subordination

Taj andaj Tapolčáňa avílas andi Ostrava te bešel. (5.10.2-16)

and from the Topoľčany came in the Ostrava to live

And from Topoľčany they came to live to Ostrava.

Ţanas te soven khejre. (5.10.2-17)

they went to sleep at home

They went at home to sleep.

In the given examples, andi Ostrava and khejre could be an adverbial to the main clause as well as to the final adverbial clause te bešel/te soven. Semantically there is no difference.

As with nominal arguments, there is a certain degree of freedom with respect to the choice of placement of the subordinate clause, governed by similar pragmatic backgrounds. Emphasis can be placed on the complement by putting it into an unusual position, e.g. in front of the verb for objects or after the verb for subjects, or by intonation (in capitals). The utterance means: “‘Notice, they are heating here!’ Pepa says.”

Emphasis on the utterance: Ai “Fítin eta kutka!”, phenel o Pepa. (5.10.2-18)

Emphasis on the subject: Phenel o Pepa “Fítin eta kutka!”. (5.10.2-19)

Or with tonal subject stress: O PEPA phenel “Fítin eta kutka!”. (5.10.2-20)

Without emphasis: O Pepa phenel “Fítin eta kutka!”. (5.10.2-21)

5.10.3 Marking within the Subordinate Clause

5.10.3.1 General Principles

The positioning of the subordinate clause is considered sufficient to point to its role within the matrix clause without any further marking only in the case, that the subordinate clause serves to express a parenthesis, i.e. a comment, something not essential, which may be also omitted (in brackets):

\[ No \ \textit{taj leski \ romňi, (ávri \ sas \ inke \ kodi)}, \ \ (5.10.3-1) \]

disp and his woman outside was still that

\[ le \ jejkhes \ šudas \ tejle \ paj \ fejastra. \]

the one threw ASPP from the window

Yes and his wife – she was still outside – threw one of them out through the window.

Otherwise some kind of subordination marker is compulsory (with a clearly defined exception for complements, see below). So in the case of relative clauses instead of

*E gáže, phušlem lendar pa drom, már gejle-tar. (5.10.3-2)

the people I asked him ABL about the way already went away

The people, whom I had asked about the way, have already left.
one of the following has to be used:

\[ E \text{ gáže, kastar } \text{ phušlem pa } \text{ drom, már } \text{ gejle-tar.} \]  
(5.10.3-3)

the people who.ABL I.asked about.the way already went-away

The people, whom I had asked about the way, have already left.

\[ E \text{ gáže, savendar } \text{ phušlem pa } \text{ drom, már } \text{ gejle-tar.} \]  
(5.10.3-4)

the people which.ABL I.asked about.the way already went-away

The people, whom I had asked about the way, have already left.

\[ E \text{ gáže, so } \text{ phušlem lendar pa } \text{ drom, már } \text{ gejle-tar.} \]  
(5.10.3-5)

the people conj I.asked them.ABL about.the way already went-away

The people, whom I had asked about the way, have already left.

In the first two cases the link is realized via the choice of the relative pronoun, marked as ablative object to the relative clause predicate. This is because the role of the main clause subject, to which the relative clause is related, is the exophora in the relative clause, which is in this case coded in the ablative. Case is morphologically registered in both cases, in the sav-case additionally number is labelled, in the kas-case additionally animacy.

In the third case the subordinate clause is structurally closer to the (theoretical) unmarked example. Then the link is made up by the relative marker so, it is embedded into the relative clause by means which would be used in subsequent main clauses too, i.e. by a resumptive pronoun (here lendar).

Among the three given types, so is chosen most frequently. Save is more common in written, mainly translated texts.

Generally, the referential elements of the subordinate marker like animacy, number, semantic character (location, manner, time, entity) are linked to the referee within the superordinate clause. Only case is governed by subordinate clause needs.

Exceptions from the marking rule are complements of sensory verbs, which need no complementizer, for more see below on Complement (5.10.3.2):

\[ Má \text{ kana } \text{ dikhlas, halára } \text{ sovel, ĉourdas o } \text{ pistolo } \text{ lestar i } \text{ romñi.} \]  
(5.10.3-6)

already when saw deeply slept stole the pistol from.him the woman

Already when she saw that he was deeply sleeping, the woman stole him the pistol.

Complete omission of the marker may occur very rarely, like in the following, better to be analysed as two separate sentences:

\[ \text{Kodi } \text{ Marcel, phušlem } \text{ latar jovkhar, hoť } \text{ sar } \text{ sas } \text{ kado,} \]  
(5.10.3-7)

that Marcel I.asked her once conj how was this

kado bajo, kadi historija, no taj vorbindas mange.

this problem this story DISCP and told me
Speaking about Marcel, I asked her once, how this happened, this tragedy, this story, well, and she told it to me.

Generally subordination is grammatically marked by relative pronouns, complementizers or by other subordination markers. These display individual lexical shapes depending on the grammatical type of subordination (complement, relative clause, adverbial clause respectively) and its semantic range (final, temporal etc.). Adverbial clause markers are presented along with their classification, see 5.10.1.3 Adverbial Clause, p. 371. Four subordination markers exhibit a wider application range, hoť, te, ká and, restricted to relative clauses, so, see 5.10.3.3 Relative Clause.

Hoť occurs either

- In its core function as factual complementiser in declarative sentences (exceptionally replaced by cz/sk že)

  Mišto-j. hoť či gejal khote. (5.10.3-8)
  well-is CMPL not you.went there
  You have done well, that you didn't go there.

  I šej phendas apal a dejake, že či na xutildas late khanči. (5.10.3-9)
  the girl said then the mother CMPL even not engaged her.LOC nothing
  The girl then said to her mother, that she hasn't even been engaged at all.

- To a lesser extent as a non-compulsory purely syntactic subordination trigger in adverbial and complement clauses, reinforcing the “proper” semantic subordinating element (te, ká, kana etc.)

  Naj hoť ká kiraven, azír-ı andi koňha. (5.10.3-10)
  DISCP conj because they.cook therefore-are in.the kitchen
  It is because of the cooking, that they are in the kitchen.

  Šol o pistolo tela šejro tela šerand ká sovel, (5.10.3-11)
  puts the pistol under.the head under.the pillow where sleeps
  hoť te avla variso hoť te lel taj te del le puške.
  conj if cop.3SG.FUT something conj in.order.to take and in.order.to give them VERBP
  He lays the pistol under the head, under the pillow, where he was sleeping, so that if something should happen, to take it out and to shoot with it.

  Či sáma či lem, hoť kana šúšile le dái gláži la ratijasa. (5.10.3-12)
  even VERBP not I.took conj when got.empty the two bottles the with.spirit
  I even didn’t take notice, when the two bottles with spirit got empty.

  Phenel, hoť te na žal ando kher te sovel. (5.10.3-13)
  says conj MODP not he.go into.the house to sleep
He told him, not to go into the house to sleep.

Vi me žanav variso, hoť si khote. \((5.10.3-14)\)

also I know something \(\text{CMPL}\) is there

I also know about something, that it is there.

Apart from this, hoť is used as a modal particle of reported, mediated information, for both direct and indirect speech, see 5.5.2.11 Epistemic Modal Particles hoť, phenel, phendas.

Secondly, \(\text{te}\) occurs

- In the role of a complementizer:

  \[ \text{Daralas} \ \text{te} \ \text{žal} \ \text{ánde}. \ (5.10.3-15) \]

  was.afraid \(\text{CMPL}\) go inside

  He was afraid to go inside.

- To express conditional, temporal and final adverbial clauses (for more see 5.10.1.3 Adverbial Clause):

  \[ \text{Te na desa les palpále, dikhesa!} \ (5.10.3-16) \]

  if not you.will.give him back you.will see

  If you don't give it back, you will see what happens!

  \[ \text{Gejlas opre, te na šunen les.} \ (5.10.3-17) \]

  went upstairs in.order to not theyhear him

  He went up to prevent them from listening him.

  \[ \text{Te avesa palpále, desa ánglal, jo?} \ (5.10.3-18) \]

  when you.will.come back you.will.give \(\text{VERBP} \ \text{DISCP}\)

  When you will come back, you will say hello to him, will you?

Apart from this, \(\text{te}\) is employed as modal particle, see 5.5.2.3 Obligation Imperative and Interrogative Particle \(\text{te}\).

Occasionally, \(ká\) also crosses the border of a single type of subordination and covers except for its basic determination, the causal adverbial pronoun:

\[ O \ \text{dad thúlo sas, ká pelas e drába.} \ (5.10.3-19) \]

the father fat was because drank the drugs

The father was fat because of the drugs.

also a restricted segment of complementation, see the next section:

\[ \text{Mišto-j, ká garadal les.} \ (5.10.3-20) \]
You have done well, that you have put it aside.

Additionally to subordinate marking, further elements of the main clause may be referred to by deictic elements like *kado, khote* etc.:

* Naj šaj andalas i mol, vi te das a doktorkake kodi. (5.10.3-21) *

Well you could have given the wine, even if he gave that to the doctor.

* Bešelas po Touco, kana avilas leske khote lil. (5.10.3-22) *

He was living in Slovakia, when a letter was addressed to him there.

**5.10.3.2 Complement**

Regarding complements, NPs are replaced by subordinate clauses introduced by *hot’, ká* or *te* or with no special complementing particle directly by relative pronouns or adverbial conjunctions (*so, mír, kana, te, sar, ká* etc.):

- If the output of the complement is a single entity or partial information, a place, time, manner, reason, condition, purpose, imperative etc., corresponding to a constituent, relative or adverbial clause, the relative pronoun or adverbial conjunction indicates the subordination.

* Phen mange, kana te ušťav. (5.10.3-23) *

Tell me, when to stand up.

* Dikhla, sar kerav o koláko. (5.10.3-24) *

He will see, how I make the cake.

* Kamous te n’ aves oudáli. (5.10.3-25) *

I would like you not to be impudent.

* Taj mangenas te len penge ůvjeri, na. (5.10.3-26) *

And they urged them to take loans.

* Či dikhav t’ avesas čišli. (5.10.3-27) *

not see.1SG cop.POT.2SG slim
I cannot see that you are slim.

- For factual complete statements *hot‘ or exceptionally *ká is chosen.

Šundem, *hot‘ šona maj opre i benzija. (5.10.3-28)

heard.1SG CMPL will.put.3PL CPR high the fuel

Fuel is said to become more expensive.

Tecij mange, *ká phendal palpále vorba. (5.10.3-29)

is.liked.3SG me CMPL said.2SG back word

I liked it, that you have responded.

- After verbs of capability we find *te:

Siťilem *te na lešinav les. (5.10.3-30)

learned.1SG CMPL not wait.1SG him

I learned not to wait for him.

Žanel *te avel lášo. (5.10.3-31)

knows.3SG CMPL cop.subv.3SG good

He knows to be kind.

This allows us to understand the following pairs with the same basic verbs *kamel, Žanel and *dikhel, partially supported by two basic meanings (from an inter-language view):

*Kamav *te žutis les. vs. Kamav, *hot‘ žutis les. (5.10.3-32)

want.1SG CMPL help.2SG him want.1SG CMPL help.2SG him

I want you to help him I like it, that you help him.

Žanel *te avel lášo. vs. Žanel, *hot‘ lášo-j. (5.10.3-33)

know.3SG CMPL cop.subv.3SG kind know.3SG CMPL kind-cop.3P

He knows to be kind. He knows, that he is kind.

Či *dikhav t‘ avesas čišli. vs. Či dikhav, *hot‘ čišli sal. (5.10.3-34)

not see.1SG CMPL cop.pot.2SG slim not I see.1SG CMPL slim cop.2SG

I don't recognize, that you were slim. I don't see, that you are slim.

Yet from an emic point of view, one could read two of them, *kamel and Žanel, as a single meaning (something like “be fine”, “feel good” and “know”, respectively), where the selection of the complementizer refines the meaning (yet open “want” versus factual “like” and choice driven “be aware of” versus objective “be capable to”, respectively).
The multiple role of *te* as a complementizer, as adverbial (temporal, conditional, final) conjunction and as obligation particle may cause dual interpretation, e.g. first as complementizer:

\[
\text{Kam-\text{av}} \ {\text{[te]}} \ {\text{[žut-is les].}} \quad (5.10.3-35)
\]

want-1SG COMPL help-2SG him

I want you to help him.

Another reading is that of a complementizer-free concatenation of the matrix clause (*kamav*) with an imperative clause (*te žutis les!*) marked by the modal particle *te*, see 5.5.2.3 Obligation Imperative and Interrogative Particle *te*, exactly like with an adverbial-clause-like complement without complementizer:

\[
\text{Kam-\text{av}} \ {\text{[te žut-is les].}} \quad (5.10.3-36)
\]

want-1SG MODP help-2SG him

I want you to help him.

This reading is ready to be extended to the first and third person: *Te žutinav les?* “Should I help him?” and *Te žutij les!* “He must help him!”

\[
\text{Kam-\text{av}} \ {\text{[te žuti-nav/-j les].}} \quad (5.10.3-37)
\]

want-1SG MODP help-1SG/3SG him

I want me/her to help him.

Less ambiguous is the complement of *žanel* with the meaning “to be capable”. In this case, the interpretation is as follows:

\[
\text{Žan-\text{av}} \ {\text{[te vorb-inav].}} \quad (5.10.3-38)
\]

know-1SG COMPL speak-3SG

He knows to have a speech.

The pending alternative reading as complementizer-free final adverbial complement, comparable with the following:

\[
\text{Ker-\text{el-as sa [te vorbi-nav].}} \quad (5.10.3-39)
\]

make-3SG-IPFV everything COMPL speak-1SG

He did everything to make me have a speech.

is not as striking as the example with *kamel* above, because 5.10.3-38 contains no final connotation, and nor does conditional or temporal.

Except for the semantic difference between *te* and the clauses with *hoti* or those without complementizers, the predicate of the subordinate clause is also constructed in different ways. After *te* only person and number is coded with the verb, while all TAM information is taken over from the main clause. The verbal settings of the subordinate clause can therefore differ from those of the main clause only in these parameters, like in
Subordination

*Kam-el* *te* *dikh-av* *les.*

want-3SG CMPL see-1SG him

He wants me to see him.

at least as long it is semantically possible:

*Žan-el* *te* *av-av* *lášo.*

know-3SG CMPL cop.SUBJ-1SG kind

He knows me to be kind.

In this sense the complement clause with *te* is not a complete subordinate clause. Therefore the tense of the complement is called present tense-subjunctive, as in the case of the complement it is not a real tense, see 4.3.4.1. Present Tense-Subjunctive.

Contrarily, *hoť* etc. allow all the other elements of verbal modification to be transferred by the verb form, like tense, mood and aspect.

*Phenen, hoť* *naj* *mišto* *kadej, hoť* *kadej-i, ávrejsar.*

they.say CMPL not.is good so that so-is another.way

They say it's not good this way, but that way, another way.

*Gindindem, hoť* *či* *aviloun* barsvé, *te* *na* *ašiloun* *khejre.*

I.thought CMPL not would.be rich if not stayed at.home

I thought, they would not be rich, if they would not have stayed at home.

*Dikhlas, hoť* *náštilk* *phenel* lake sa.

saw CMPL MODP say her everything

He saw, that he couldn't tell her everything.

*Naj* *phendem* *adinti,* *hoť* *vi* *louve* *site* *den,* *kana* *mangaven.*

DISCP I.said then CMPL also money MODP they.give when they.request

of course, I told them then, that they must also provide money, if they come and request a bride.

*Aj* *dikhes, hoť* *kehegis.*

DISCP you.see CMPL you.cough

But look, how you are coughing.

*Phendas* *lenge,* *hoť* *vou* *žala* *tehára* *khejre.*

said them CMPL she will.go tomorrow at.home

She told them to go home the next day.

This does not hold only for factual complements, but for facts yet unknown as well:
The complementizer *hoť* can be occasionally omitted when governed by epistemic verbs:

**Naj tu phendal [hoť] či keres!**  
(dis) you said not you.do  
But you said you would not do it.

**Gindindem [hoť] peklal le.**  
I.thought you.baked them  
I thought you have baked them.

**Dikhav [hoť] naj.**  
I see not.is  
I see there are none.

**Žanglem [hoť] opre sal.**  
I.knew up you.are  
I knew you were up.

In line with the occasional extension of *hoť* towards a general subordination marker it can occur also in conjunction with *te*:

**Taj jovkhar, sar gindosajlo, hoť te žal po Touco,**  
and once when thought CMPL go on.the Slovakia  
taj gejlas po Touco.  
and went on.the Slovakia  
And once, when thought about to go to Slovakia, he finally went to Slovakia.

**Phenel, hoť te na žal ando kher te sovel,**  
says CMPL CMPL not go in.the house CMPL sleep  
hoť kerla leske ávri than telaj čelčija pi már.  
CMPL will.make him outside place under.the tree on.the meadow  
She says to him not to go into the house for sleeping, that she will prepare him a place outside under the tree on the meadow.
5.10.3.3 Relative Clause

Among relative clauses the relative pronoun is the key subordinate marker. There are no special restrictions as to the scope of argument and adjunct types it can be used for. The main subordination marker in relative clauses is the relative marker so. It has the same form like the nominative and accusative (genderless) non-animate relative pronoun in its original function, corresponding with the interrogative pronoun so, but introduces a wide range of referents:

\[ E \text{ gåže, so } phušlem \text{ lendar, mä } \text{ gejle-tar. (animate)} \]  
the people conj I.asked them already went-away

The people I asked already left.

\[ Dikh \text{ i kíśna, so } \text{ si ánde } e \text{ kirpi. (via location)} \]  
see the cupboard conj are inside the clothes

Look in the cupboard with the clothes.

In case of taking the object role within the relative clause, the full object pronoun can be optionally used in addition to so, so in the following cases so functions once as a plain relative clause indicator without further grammatical functions, once as a relative pronoun announcing the grammatical role within the relative clause:

\[ I \text{ coxa, so } \text{ andem la } \text{ íž, már melali-j.} \]  
the skirt conj I.brought her yesterday already dirty-is

The skirt I brought her yesterday is already dirty.

\[ I \text{ coxa, so } \text{ andem íž, már melali-j.} \]  
the skirt conj I.brought yesterday already dirty-is

The skirt I brought yesterday is already dirty.

This does not works, when the common referent is the subject of the relative clause. Then so takes only the double role, and there is no shift of its syntactic role within the relative clause to other elements. In the examples, so can still refer to animates, but not as an interrogative.

\[ Aj \text{ opral-i. Aven } \text{ tejle, so } \text{ žan andej bolti.} \]  
DISCP upstairs-is come.IMP.2PL down conj they.go in.the shops

You know, it's upstairs. Come down here, who wants to go shopping.

\[ *Aj \text{ opral-i. Aven } \text{ tejle, so } \text{ voun } \text{ žan andej bolti.} \]  
DISCP upstairs-is come.IMP.2PL down conj they.go in.the shops

You know, it's upstairs. Come down here, who wants to go shopping.

\[ Taj \text{ kaj } \text{ gåže, so } \text{ sas les } \text{ khote, kodola } \text{ dine les opre.} \]  
and these people conj cop.3PFV him.ACC there those gave him VERBP
And the people, whom he had there, denounced him.

*Taj kaj gáže, so voun sas les khote, kodola dine les opre. (5.10.3-62)
and these people conj they cop.IMPV him.ACC there those gave him VERBP

And the people, whom he had there, denounced him.

Nota bene: The NOM SG of the pronoun in the following is not co-referential to the main clause, as the joint link is the direct object so.

Kecavi búti, so vou kerel, feri vou site kerel la. (5.10.3-63)
such work conj she does just she MODP make it

The job she is providing, must be done only by her.

On the other hand the pronoun is obligatory when so exceeds its historical role as an inanimate relative pronoun, see the examples 5.10.3-55 and 5.10.3-56 above, i.e., when its referent is animate or bound to a level-II-case. Matras (2002: 177) calls this occurrence of the pronoun resumptive. This makes sense only if so is understood as agreement carrying relativizer, reinforced by the personal pronoun and does not function for referents in the dative like o princo, so bišade leske a ša “the prince, to whom they sent the girl” and others, as no resumption takes place.

5.10.4 Marking within the Main Clause

There are two ways to be encountered to embed the subordinate clause into the superordinate hierarchy, if ever necessary: The use of an anaphoric or kataphoric place-keeper, i.e. a demonstrative or personal pronoun, which is extended in the subordinate clause, or of an adverb. The latter serves mainly to mark the continuation of the main clause stream, while the former rather anchors the content of the subordinate clause within the superordinate one.

- apal or atunči for conditional and temporal adverbial clauses;

   Feri kana salas pi pátiv, atunči/apal žanes, sosko-j o Berci. (5.10.4-1)
   only when you.were on.the celebration then you.know what.kind-is the Berci

   Only when you have attended the celebration, you know what a kind of man Berci is.

   Či žanav, savo berš sas atunči, kana múlo o Citrom. (5.10.4-2)
   not I.know which year was then when died the Citrom

   I don't know, which year it was then, when Citrom died.

- azír or anda kodo for reason-giving adverbial clauses;

   Azír-i kecavo, ká kušle les. (5.10.4-3)
   therefore-is such because they.dressed.down him

   So that is the reason, why he behaves in such a way, it's because they had dressed him down.

- kadej or kecavo for adverbial manner clauses;
Kerdilas kadej/kecavi, sar pinžáren la. (5.10.4-4)
became so/such conj you.know her
She turned into the person, you have come to know.

- The demonstratives kodo or kado, if needed with appropriate prepositions, for complement clauses;

Phenou kodo, so dikhlem. (5.10.4-5)
I.will.tell that conj I.saw
I will tell exactly, what I saw.

Vorbis pa kado, te šuden la ávri. (5.10.4-6)
you.speak about this to throw her out
You speak about the discussion, whether to throw her out.

- A personal pronoun not only for relative clauses:

Taj la, so kerdas kado, dine la petadvacat roki. (5.10.4-7)
and her conj made this they.gave her twenty-five years
And they judged her, who caused all that, with twenty-five years.

Te avla leski dej taj o dad, voun kamna te maladôn tusâ. (5.10.4-8)
if will.come his mother and the father they will.want to meet with.you
If his parents will come, they will be likely to meet you.

Taj kaj gâže, so sas les khote, kodola dine les opre. (5.10.4-9)
and these people conj cop.IPV him.ACC there those gave him VERBP
And the people, whom he had there, denounced him.

Complements can replace directly only subjects and direct objects, other verbal arguments need the intermediation of a place-keeper pronoun, an anchor, see the following examples. The following example for the intermediate-free prepositional phrase is a rare exception at the border of grammaticality, I list it rather for illustration:

Pala so avilas te xutilel kirves, šutas ávri sa o pijimo pi mesâli. (5.10.4-10)
after conj came CMPL agree.upon godfather put out all the beverage on.the table
After he came to agree upon the godfather, he set all the beverages on the table.

Among adverbial clauses there is no obligate marking in the matrix clause, although there is a repository of adverbs for this purpose. With the intermediate pronoun the construction is no longer a complement or adverbial clause, but a regular (pronominal) constituent or adverb, extended by a relative clause.
Subordination

Subject:  
\textit{Naj site aven maj but žejne, ko kamel te nášavel.}  
\textit{DISCP MODP are CPR many people RELPR wants to kidnap}

But if somebody wants to kidnap [the bride], he needs more people.

Anchor:  
\textit{Ko si bužangle, kodola si vi šibake.}  
\textit{RELPR is smart those are also eloquent}

If somebody is smart, he is eloquent, too.

Direct object:  
\textit{Akánik vorbinas, so sas, taj žav sovav.}  
\textit{now we.talk what was and I.go I.sleep}

Now we talk about, what happened, and then we go sleeping.

Anchor:  
\textit{So dikhlas, kodo kindalas.}  
\textit{RELPR you.would.have.seen that you.would.have.bought}

You had bought, whatever you had seen.

Indir. object:  
\textit{*Sikavav la, ko kamel te dikhel.}  
\textit{I.show it RELPR wants to see}

I show it to those, who want to see it.

Anchor:  
\textit{Sikavav la kodoleske, ko kamel te dikhel.}  
\textit{I.show it to.that RELPR wants to see}

I show it to those, who want to see it.

Poss. subject:  
\textit{Inke dúj déjs si la te bešel.}  
\textit{yet two days cop she.ACC CMPL live}

She has two more days to live there.

Anchor:  
\textit{Naj ma khonik, ko te ikrel mure šavouren.}  
\textit{NEG.cop LACC nobody RELPR conj keep my children}

I have nobody to take care for my children.

Prep. phrase:  
\textit{Dikhesa automato pašaj sar žas ánde e vurdonesa.}  
\textit{you.will.see cash-machine close.to.the conj you.go inside the trolley}

You will see a cash-machine close to where you enter with the trolley.

Anchor:  
\textit{Pa kodo žanglam, hoť Rusura-j, ká mangenas "barišňa".}  
\textit{after that we.knew conj Russians-are because demanded barishnya}
We recognized them as Russians, because they demanded 'barishnya'\footnote{23 Russian pre-war slang: girl, maid}.

**Adverbial:** Či **sovous**, *kana simas terni.*

not slept when I was young

When I was young, I didn't sleep.

**Anchor:** Sávo *berš sas* **atunči**, *kana múlo o* Citrom?

which year was then when died the Citrom

Which year was it then, when Citrom has died?

The complement cannot substitute the possessor part of a possessive construction

*I keňva-j feri, ko či žanel te vorbij.*

the book-cop just **RELPR** not knows to speak

Books are only for people, who do not know to speak.

and must be referred to an anchor pronoun with a relative clause:

*Kodoles-i i keňva feri, ko či žanel te vorbij.*

that-cop the book just **RELPR** not knows to speak

Books are only for people, who do not know to speak.

Contrarily, the possessed member is frequently subjected to substitution by complements:

*Naj le ká te žan.*

NEG.cop they ACC **RELPR** to they go

They have no place to go.

*Naj si tu ko anel tuke e kiji.*

DISCP cop you ACC **RELPR** brings you the keys

But you have somebody who can bring you the keys.

Occasionally the location within the main clause, where the subordinate clause ends, is marked as to be resumed or initiated by the otherwise coordinating taj, adverbial clauses supplying reason, condition or manner by háť:

*Naj kana simas, taj má nás.*

DISCP when I was conj already not was

Well when I was there, there was nothing left.

*Gindosajlo, hoť te žal po Touco, taj gejlas po Touco.*

thought conj to go on the Slovakia and went on the Slovakia
He thought about to go to Slovakia, and eventually went to Slovakia.

Subordination

So vi vou márdas vi la romňa vi e romes \(5.10.4-29\)

conj also he beat also the woman also the man

taj vi les márdé apal utoujan.

conj also him they.beat then finally

Just as he had beaten up both the woman and the man, in the same way they beat up him then finally.

Taj jovkhar, sar gejlo khote andi Komároma, taj gejle andi kirčima. \(5.10.4-30\)

and once RELPR went there in.the Komárn conj went in.the restaurant

And once, when he went to Komárno, he went into a restaurant.

De te n’ aviloun les i pirámňi, hát či múloun, \(5.10.4-31\)

but if not cop.irr he.ACC the lover then not would.have.died

But if he had not this lover, he wouldn’t have died,

inke Ž’ adejs trajindoun.

still until today he.would.live

he would still be alive until today.

Finally both techniques may be combined. In the following example, hát helps to switch up the syntactical level, while kadej reminds a manner mentioned before.

Naj akánik sar tu, so márdal le dáje žejnen, \(5.10.4-32\)

DISCP now like you conj you.beat the two people

hát vi ame kadej tut márasa!

then also we so you will.beat

So now the same like you, who beat up the two people, in the same way we will beat up you.

5.10.5 Interferences within the Subordinate Clause Structure

Within the embedded subordinate clause the clause order itself applies as usual, with one key exception: The first word is the subordinate marker, for more details see 5.9.9 Interrogative Sentence and Subordinate Clause. In the following only interferences coming from the matrix clause shall be discussed.

In general, the end of the subordinate clause is not explicitly labelled (see above 5.10.4 Marking within the Main Clause). It is neither earlier than the subordinate clause is complete in its clause structure nor later than the element to come does not fit any longer into this, so being part of the main clause again. The elements in-between can belong to both neighbouring clause structures, depending on supra-segmental settings or the context, see examples 5.10.3-21 and 5.10.3-22.
Non-factual complements with *te* are restricted in the use of verbal categories to person and number of the subjunctive. Otherwise they behave like independent clauses. Syntactical interchange between main and complement clause like object equi-deletion

\[
\text{Taj a pheñačke kincam kecavi douza po xumer, pej špageti, te šol. (5.10.5-1)}
\]

and the sister we bought such box on the pasta on the spaghetti to put

And we have bought for his sister such a box for pasta, to put spaghetti in.

appear rarely. From the viewpoint of other languages, in sentences of the type “Kamlas te dįlabel.” one would tend to speak about equi-deletion, as the subject of the complement clause is omitted if it is identical to the one of the main clause. From an emic point of view this is not necessary, as subject is not compulsory in North West Lovari Romani. Contrariwise, the explicit mentioning of the subject is not allowed in this case, therefore the subjunctive complement is to be viewed as more dependent. In sentences like

\[
\text{Či kamel vou te bistrel pe kodo. (5.10.5-2)}
\]

not wants he to forget on that

He didn't want to forget this.

the pronoun is always subject of the main clause, just like in

\[
\text{Či kamel vou kadi būti. (5.10.5-3)}
\]

not wants he this job

He doesn't want this job.

The complementizer can be repeated:

\[
\text{Kadala vorbas le Romes fidēlmestij, (5.10.5-4)}
\]

this with word the man ACC warns

\[
\text{hoť kodo dėj, kana żala leste, hoť khejre t’ avel.}
\]

conj that day when will go at him conj at home to be

With these words the man admonishes, that the day, when he will visit him, he should be at home.

A reason for changes within the complement may be imposed by the main clause. A certain member of the complement might be chosen as to be closer linked with the matrix construction and placed more nearby and represent some intermediate position in-between the hierarchy (“split verb frame with Boretzy 1996: 104-5, cited in Matras 2002: 172):

\[
\text{Vou kamelas občanství te seržij lake. (5.10.5-5)}
\]

he wanted citizenship to acquire for her

He wanted to acquire citizenship for her.

\[
\text{Mamo, so kames, o texan vaj o kiral te xas akānik? (5.10.5-6)}
\]
Mummy, you want the food or the cheese to eat now?

Mummy, what would you like to eat now, lunch or cheese?

*Bisterdem les te pijav.*

I forgot it to drink

I forgot to drink it.

In the preceding examples, “občanství”, “o texan vaj o kiral” or "les" appears as a kind of direct object to kamel or bisterdem, extended and explained by the complement as a whole. Syntactically of course it is more straightforward to be read as the direct object of serzij, xas and pijav respectively, as can be seen from other constructions with different valency of both participating verbs:

Ĉi kamelas a dejatar te phušel. instead of

not wanted the mother.ABL to ask

He didn’t want to ask his mother.

*Ĉi kamelas a deja te phušel.

not wanted the mother.ACC to ask

He didn’t want to ask his mother.

5.11 Coordination, Operators with Diverse Arguments

In the upcoming section, constructions shall be discussed which are capable to refer to different constituents or levels of grammar within the sentence, to heads and adnominals within a NP, to predicates, adverbials, as well as to whole clauses. Some of the operators needed to realize appropriate functions differ from level to level, and sometimes also within a single level. For example negation is managed on the predicate level alone by two particles, ĉi and na, distinct according to the reality value of the predicate, see 5.5.1 Predicate Negator. On the other hand, more frequently the operators are identical, like taj “and”, vaj/vať “or”, ĉi “even not”, vi “also”, sar “like, as”, feri “only”, at least in certain functions.

As discussed further on, coordination in the sense of chaining is very often a special case of attaching new or highlighting existing elements. So coordination appears as the successive result of an operation of attachment onto a previously given set, roughly like “I saw this. And that.” -> “I saw this and that.” Coordination within a sentence appear as a merger of elements on a higher level. Hereby I do not want to explain coordination as based upon subsequent attachment, but the interpretation by subsequent addition is attractive enough to subsume other effects of this kind within this section, as e.g. non-coordinating constructions (Vi me kamav i bruma! “Me too want the icecream!”) and similar operators (Feri tu te xas! “Only you do eat!”). Both coordinators and non-coordinating range operators have a common nominator in an arrangement of sets: Referents, points in time or space, facts, statements are bundled together, extracted, added, excluded etc. by single operators across different levels of grammar.

The universal character of most coordinators can be seen also from the occasional conjunction of unequal coordinands. In the examples taj links an adjective with an adjectival noun and a nominal
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phrase with a complement. Especially sar, see 5.11.4.6 Comparison Coordinator sar, can establish links between nominals and locations and sections of time.

\[ \text{Naj pi Luma khanči maj báro taj čørimo, sar kana merel varekon.} \]  
not.is on.the world nothing cpr big and evil like when dies somebody

There is nothing more important and more evil than if somebody dies.

\[ \text{Akánik feri kezdindas o báro mulatšágo taj te žal i vouja.} \]  
now just began the big party and cmpl go the good.mood

Right now the big party and the good atmosphere began.

\[ \text{Sakones-i variso búťi, sar khote.} \]  
everybody.acc-cop some business like there

Everybody has some business, just like there.

Asyndetic conjunctions, i.e. without any operator, on a NP level and between predicates formally resemble the conjunctive coordination with taj, where the mentioned elements step together into their constituent slot as a single unit. In contrast to monosyndetic coordination with taj, the asyndetic type is generally not used for ad hoc enumerations. It mostly comes with tightly established units like \( \text{i dej o dad “parents”, lit. “father mother” or márelas mundárelas “beat up”,} \) which are presented in 5.1 Multiple Word Onomasiology. Another application of asyndetic coordination on the NP level is determination or apposition by a nominal phrase, see 5.2.1 Recursion, p. 258.

On an adjectival level, asyndetic coordination realizes concurrent (conjunct) restrictions (\( \text{Le e báre loule múri! “Take strawberries being both big and red!”} \)), while monosyndetic taj rather sums up possible properties (disjunctive, \( \text{Le e báre taj e loule múri! “Take both big and red strawberries!”} \)).

Constructions with na/noči and feri are bound with a single argument, all others are capable of two arguments, with the coordinator in-between. On the other hand, only taj and vaj are restricted to so-called mono-syndetic coordination, as opposed to so-called bi-syndetic coordination, which is optionally pre-positive to both arguments. In the case of exceptionally reduplicated vaj the meaning is subordinative Concession (5.10.1.3.5).

\[ \text{Či bírijas či vastesa či purnesa.} \]  
not bore not with.hand not with.foot

Everything was aching him.

\[ \text{Má sa múle, vi leske šáve. Vi le šeja, vi le šáve, sa múle már.} \]  
already all died also his sons also the daughters also the sons all died already

They have all died, his sons too, both his daughters and his sons, all have died already.

Coordinators appear commonly also on a sentence level, including conjugating taj. On this level some more particles are used, which have their own functions within text production, see 5.9.6
Discourse Particles and Phrases, p. 343, for an overview. Most commonly sentences are chained without linkers, but the concept of coordination (with its specific meaning of asyndetic chaining) looses explanation force there, as text production apparently is not understood as an enumeration of actions and events, even if to a certain extent taj seems to act in this way.

Sometimes the distinction of coordinators on a sentence level and discourse markers on the level above is far from being clear. This is partially due to the lack of obligation to state the subject, so the second part is grammatically complete. The only clue to a decision comes from prosody, from a pause.

\[ \text{Le rom xutilde penge pohára taj pile le ávri. (5.11-6)} \]
the guests held their glasses and drank them out

The guests held their glasses and drank them out.

\[ \text{Le rom xutilde penge pohára. Taj pile le ávri. (5.11-7)} \]
the guests held their glasses and drank them out

The guests held their glasses. And drank them out.

\[ \text{Lášo manuš sal taj vi me kamav tusa lášo t' avav. (5.11-8)} \]
good man you.are and also I want with.you good to cop.subv1sg

You are a honest man, and I want to be our friend.

\[ \text{Lášo manuš sal. Taj vi me kamav tusa lášo t' avav. (5.11-9)} \]
good man you.are and also I want with.you good to cop.subv1sg

You are a honest man. And I want to be our friend.

### 5.11.1 Order

Asyndetically coordinated elements are aligned one after the other without interruption. Whenever interruption, maybe in the form of determination for NPs, is to occur, a linker (taj) is necessary, see Multiple Word Onomasiology (5.1). The following example for i dej o dad is meant as a reminder:

\[ \text{I šib amára dejangi-j taj amáre dadengi-j. (5.11.1-1)} \]
the language our mothers'-is and our fathers'-is

The language is inherited from our ancestors.

For other types of linking, the situation is more difficult. All coordinators can appear in a prepositive role (see Haspelmath II:8), i.e. before the element to be chained, at least in certain circumstances. Some are placed before every element of the chain, but taj “and” and vaj “or” need preceding elements to be added to. Only in a new sentence, they may be the first elements of coordination, but in this case as continuation of the preceding discourse line. Otherwise taj and vaj always require preceding initial elements, introduced without coordinators. A special case of prepositive order is the ordinary predicate negation, which is also situated strictly before the verb, see Predicate Negator (5.5.1). Some examples for vi, vaj, či and feri are:
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Aj vi tu xasa šax?
So you will also have shakh

(SO pesa, káveja vaj teja vaj so?)
What will you drink, coffee or tea or what

Či žanglas kodo.
He didn't know that.

(Kharavel les, hot’ vi leske te sikavel pátiv.)
invites him conj also him to show honour

Či i šej či žanglas kodo.
even the daughter not knew that

Neither the daughter didn't know that.

(Feri kodo dejs šaj aves.)
only that day MODP you come

You may come just that day.

Additionally, vi and feri have occasional alternative positions after the element, apparently driven by emphasis:

Á eta či xal, na tačár, mange feri tačár!
not not eats not warm.up for.me just warm.up
So that's it, she doesn't eat, so don't warm it up, just for me to warm up.

Šaj gines tuke vi!
You can also go reading!

Also niči “not” seems to behave in this way, but on a second view rather its role as a place-holder for a clause is exploited here, see 5.9.9.1 Interrogative Sentence:

Kasko les? Muro niči! [read: Muro či les!]
whose you take mine not mine not you take

24 a Rom meal based on cabbage, rice and chicken broth
Whose place do you take? Mine don't!

With both possibilities, prepositive and postpositive, the coordinator is immediately joined with the coordinand as an inseparable unit. Elements of a coordination are usually aligned one after the other. Nevertheless, interruption by other constituents is also common, not only in contexts which suggest afterthought (like 5.11.1-13) or apposition:

\[
Kado \ nad\acute{\text{o}}n \ b\acute{a}r\acute{o} \ fejlo\acute{j} \ taj \ lo\acute{s}. \quad (5.11.1-11)
\]

This is a very important event and a big pleasure.

\[
Nad\acute{\text{o}}n \ b\acute{a}r\acute{o} \ sas \ taj \ barv\acute{\text{a}}l\acute{o}. \quad (5.11.1-12)
\]

He was very important and rich.

\[
O \ pr\acute{\text{\i}}ma\acute{\text{s}}i \ igen \ l\acute{\text{\i}}\acute{s}-j, \ taj \ vi \ leski \ rom\acute{n\text{\i}}. \quad (5.11.1-13)
\]

The chief doctor is very good, and so is also his wife.

The coordinators \(taj, vaj/vat, vi,\) and \(\acute{c}\)i can also be chained to link more than two elements. Mono-syndetic ones \((taj, vaj)\) remain mono-syndetic, i.e. they are not repeated before every attached element, at least on sentence level or below. Bi-syndetic become (remain) “omni-syndetic”, i.e. with an appearance before every single element.

\[
Le \ kolopura \ mindenfejlike \ sinonde-j, \quad (5.11.1-14)
\]

The hats had various colours, mostly blue, violet, brown or white.

Comparison (see 4.5.3.1 Comparison) means an exception to general coordination in North West Lovari Romani, as the referent standard, mostly the second element, is morphologically suffixed by the ablative (see 4.2.5.5 Ablative). The alternative expression with the common, prefixed
comparison coordinator *sar* stays in-line with coordination principles. Comparison additionally marks the property under consideration with the prefix *maj*.

### 5.11.2 Synergy of Coordination

When all referents of the two coordinated units differ in both parts, the joined sentence consists of two complete clauses:

\[
O \házigazda \text{ apal anadas te pen taj le Rom penas, xanas, mulatinas.} \quad (5.11.2-1)
\]

the host then brings,caus to drink and the guests drank, ate, had,fun

Then the host had brought something to drink, and the guests drank, ate and had fun.

Frequently, one or more constituents are equal, and for redundancy reduction they are omitted in the second and further element of the chain. In the examples the copula, the verb and an indirect object are omitted, in one case (5.11.2-5) a direct object and a prepositional adverb within one sentence. In this example the ellipsis concerns both member clauses cross-wise, and it can be seen, that so-called co-referential ellipsis can take place in the first part, too.

\[
Taj \text{ kodaj andi pinca sas, garade má [sas],} \quad (5.11.2-2)
\]

and those in the cellar were placed already was

\[
\text{pripravime [sas], lešinas les.} \quad (5.11.2-3)
\]

ready was waiting him

And they were in the cellar, on their place, ready, waiting for him.

\[
A \text{ čirikja pinžáres palaj pour taj le manušes [pinžáres] palaj vorba.} \quad (5.11.2-4)
\]

the bird you,recognize by the tail and the man you,recognize by the speech

You recognize a bird by its tail, and a man by his speech.

\[
Kodoleske nadon lošan taj [kodolestar] bárimange-j. \quad (5.11.2-5)
\]

for that very glad,are and from that proud,are

They are very glad for that and very proud.

\[
Paša kodo dikhen [les] taj [paša kodo] ašáren les. \quad (5.11.2-6)
\]

around that they see him and around that they praise him

Furthermore they see and praise him.

Possible, but not realized ellipsis is rather an exception and it is apparently motivated by emphasis:

\[
\text{Jaj vi mure jákha dukhan vi muro šejro dukhal.} \quad (5.11.2-7)
\]

DISCP also my eyes ache also my head aches

Ah, my eyes are aching and so does my head.
Another instance of synergy in coordination is the ellipsis of the coordinator itself, when more than two elements are chained, see 5.11.1 Order.

5.11.3 Open Coordinands kadej and kecavo/kesavo/kacavo

Generally, kadej “so” and kecavo “such” (individually also kesavo or kasavo) are used, except for their deictic comparative function, to allude to similar or further facts and entities or to reinforce comparison. They can be used across most types of coordinands (kadej for nominal, predicative, adverbial, clausal, kecavo for adjectival), together with its open counterpart kadej sa “and so on”.

\[
O \; \text{tovar}, \; e \; \text{mačeti} \; \text{ses} \; \text{le}, \; \text{taj} \; \text{kadej}. \quad (5.11.3-1)
\]

the axe, the machetes cop.IPFV they.ACC and so

They had an axe, machetes, and so on.

\[
O \; \text{maj} \; \text{angluno} \; \text{vorbij} \; \text{taj} \; \text{del} \; \text{le} \; \text{príkazi}, \; \text{so} \; \text{te} \; \text{kiren} \; \text{taj} \; \text{kadej} \; \text{sa}. \quad (5.11.3-2)
\]

the CPR first speaks and gives the commands what to they.do and so all

The head person speaks and gives the commands, what to do and whatever else.

\[
\text{Den} \; \text{dějs}, \; \text{phenen}: \; \text{“lášo} \; \text{dějs!”}, \; \text{taj} \; \text{kadej} \; \text{taj} \; \text{kadej}. \quad (5.11.3-3)
\]

they.give day they.say good day and so and so

They are greeting, saying: “Good afternoon!” and so on.

\[
\text{Kecavo} \; \text{sar} \; \text{xumer-i}, \; \text{taj} \; \text{ánde} \; \text{šute} \; \text{zejčígo}, \; \text{brokolica}, \quad (5.11.3-4)
\]

such like pasta.is and inside they.put vegetables broccoli

\[
\text{ropaj}, \; \text{paprika} \; \text{vaj} \; \text{kadej}. \quad (5.11.3-4)
\]

carrots pepper or so

It is similar like pasta, and there are vegetables inside, broccoli, carrots, pepper or alike.

\[
\text{Taj} \; \text{adin} \; \text{šos} \; \text{tuke} \; \text{vaj} \; \text{kadej}? \quad (5.11.3-5)
\]

and honey you.put REFL.DAT or so

And you add honey, or what?

\[
\text{Č}’ \; \text{avla} \; \text{šibáli} \; \text{vaj} \; \text{kecavi}. \quad (5.11.3-6)
\]

not will.be eloquent or such

She is not supposed to be eloquent or alike.

5.11.4 Single Coordinators

After a common introduction, single coordinators are analyzed and exemplified in detail for various kinds of grammatical level, adjectives, adverbs, nouns, verbs, clauses.
5.11.4.1 Negators and Substitutive Coordinators *na, niči*

Negation works in two ways: With a single argument, it helps to formulate a proposition through exclusion of properties, maybe expected by the audience or more ready to access at the given moment. It has to be kept in mind, that the negative of a property generally differs from its antonym, and *na mindík* “not always” is not equal to *šoha* “never”. With two arguments, there is a clearer intention to emphasize contrast, substitution: *niči žojine, paraštune* “not Thursday, Friday”.

There is no negation agreement with the predicate negator with this kind of negation, the predicate remains positive (or negative) after negation of one of the constituents, in contrast to the coordinator *či* (see 5.11.4.3 Exclusive Focus Coordinator *či*). This holds also for a whole sentence, see examples 5.11.4-20 - 5.11.4-22.

Among negators there is not only a competition between factual *či* and non-factual *na* on the predicate level (see 5.5.1 Predicate Negator), but also between *niči* and *na* on the other levels (nouns, adjectives, adverbs). In this case the difference is not a functional one, but given individually, by speakers. A slight preference is given to *na*, which is found as adverbial negator also among persons with a general setting in favour of *niči*, especially in the case of *na dolmut* “recently”, *na mindík* “not always”. This is not true for the use of *niči* as a negated place-holder, a deictic word for a predicate or clause, see 5.9.9.1 Interrogative Sentence, which is common throughout the whole speaker community:

\[
\text{Dikhen la, hoť tecij lenge vaj niči.} \quad (5.11.4-1)
\]

See, whether they like her.

\[
\text{Univar kames le, univar niči.} \quad (5.11.4-2)
\]

Sometimes you like them sometimes not.

\[
\text{No me uravou ma, tume site dikhen ma, hoť kadej šaj žav vajniči.} \quad (5.11.4-3)
\]

Well I go and dress me, and then you have to look at me, whether I can go so.

There is a substantial difference in the use of *na* versus *niči* if contrast is displayed, i.e. two arguments are joined: *niči* has an inherent coordinating character and stands alone, prepositive to the first or second member, which is excluded from choice. Contrariwise, *na* needs the help of other words with coordinating force: If *na* negates the first element, the second is introduced by *halem*. If it negates the second element, it has to be preceded by *taj* or *de*. Exceptionally also *či* may appear in a non-predicative role like in *feri či keti* “just not so many”, or in lexical negation in *čisosko* “not a single, without quality (taste)” < *sosko* “what kind”, see 5.3 Quantifier, p. 263.

For illustration I give some examples for negators on different syntactical levels, found among different speakers:
Nominal Phrase

Na sakones pejlas than te bešel. (5.11.4-4)
not everybody.ACC fell place to sit

Not everybody happened to get a place to sit.

Maj but-i le gáže taj na sako romňi (5.11.4-5)
cpr many-are the non-Roms and not every woman
bolel gajžake vat’ la rumungricake.
baptizes non-Rom.f.DAT or the Rumungro.f.DAT

There are more non-Roms, and not every Rom-woman baptizes for a non-Rom-woman or a Rumungor-woman.

O rom vezetij o nípo taj na i romňi. (5.11.4-6)
the man leads the family and not the woman

The man leads the family, not the woman.

E šavouren trestalij, niči man. (5.11.4-7)
the children.ACC punishes not me

She punishes the children, not me.

Niči me, i áver phendas kodo. (5.11.4-8)
not I the other said that

Not me, the other has said that.

S1 Ašile andi Sereda? S2 Niči andi Sereda. (5.11.4-9)
they.stayed in.the Sereď not in.the Sereď

S1 They stayed in Šereď S2 No, not in Šereď.

Adverb

Na mindik kado ánde ikerdas pe. (5.11.4-10)
not always this ASPP kept REFL

This hasn't been obeyed always.

Ítílin le na kadej, hot’ keren ánde pala le o vudar, (5.11.4-11)
they.sentence them not so that make VERBP behind them the door
halem bitetin le pej louve.
but punish them on.the money
They don't sentence them in a way, that they close the door behind them, but they punish them through money.

\textit{niči žojine, paraštune.} (5.11.4-12)

not on Thursday on Friday

\textit{Na mišto dásolin penge dades.} (5.11.4-13)

not well morned their father.\textsc{acc}

They didn't morn well for their father.

\textit{Amáre Rom na nadón kamen te phišen pe verastášes.} (5.11.4-14)

our Roms not very they like to go.\textsc{iter} on funeral

The Lovaris don't like too much to attend funerals.

\textit{niči tehára.} (5.11.4-15)

not tomorrow

\section*{Adjective}

\textit{I bijav sas, si taj avla, vat' románo vat' na románo.} (5.11.4-16)

the wedding was is and will be or Romani or not Romani

The wedding did, does and will exist, no matter whether it will be in Rom style or not.

\textit{Sas, de na but, vi kecave Rom.} (5.11.4-17)

was but not many also such Roms

There were also such types of Roms, even if they were not many.

\textit{E gáže keťi texan so kinkeren, hej, kana žan.} (5.11.4-18)

the people how much food conj they buy\textsc{iter} dis\textsc{scp} when they go

\textit{Taj niči po jejkh, po deš.}

and not each one each ten

So much food do they buy these people, say, when they go there. And not one each, but in tens of pieces.

\textit{S1 Taj i Manci či poţinel le? S2 Naj niči keťi.} (5.11.4-19)

and the Manci not pays them dis\textsc{scp} not so much

S1 And Manci does not pay them? S2 Well not so much.
Coordination, Operators with Diverse Arguments

Sentence

Na hoť te phenel peska romňake te na kerel kodo maj but, (5.11.4-20)
not conj says his wife not does that CPR much
halem šimaj tejle dikhlas kodole romes.
but smoothly VERBP saw that man
He shouldn't tell his wife, that she shouldn't do this any more, but he should smoothly despise that man.

Ande lengo gindo sas kodo, so dena penge šavouren (5.11.4-21)
in their mind was that what they.will.give their children
sako déjs texan, taj na, hoť avna le but kirpi.
every day food and not that cop FUT.3PL they.ACC many clothing
They were thinking a lot about, what to give to their children every day to eat, and not, how many clothing they can have.

Ađejs keren kodo bistošo vi po gav, (5.11.4-22)
today they.do that surely also on.the village
na azír hoť bajura-j le le gáženca, halem azír, ká
not therefore that trouble-cop they.ACC the non-Roms.with but therefore because
po verastáši maladón le but Rom taj ĉi resen khejre ando kher
on.the funeral meet the many Roms and not suit at.home in.the flat
Today they surely do that also on the countryside, not because they have trouble with the non-Roms, but because on the funeral many Roms come together and they do not suit at home in a flat.

5.11.4.2 Additive Focus Coordinators vi and na feri / niči feri

Generally, vi assists to mention another entity of concern to the actual statement, no matter whether it is explicitly added to the previous set (addition) or it was already implicitly a part of it, but needs to be stated explicitly (inclusion). Within the former, the establishment out of an empty (not yet defined) set is the most trivial case of addition.

Addition

Taj kidelas lendar, aj dine les anglunes e louve, (5.11.4-23)
and collected from.them DESC the money
taj vi o somnakaj.
and also the jewellery
And he ripped them off, indeed, they gave him at first the money, and also the jewellery.
Inke trajin leske bratrancura, taj vi leske sestraňici. (5.11.4-24)
still live his cousins.m and also his cousins.f
His cousins are still alive.

Naj kana mangaven, inke vi louve site den. (5.11.4-25)
disc when they.request yet also money mod they.give
Well when they request a bride, they nevertheless have to give money.

Taj mejk vi ande mure talpi, (5.11.4-26)
and even also in my sole
taj katka andej vast plusavkernas kodoj špendliki.
and here in.the hands they.prick.iter those pins
And even in my sole and here in my hands they were pricking pins, on and on.

Taj šaj pen la vi áver déjs. (5.11.4-27)
and mod they.drink it also next day
And they can drink it also the next day.

Či avna a boltake kecave. Taj vi mezin šukáres. (5.11.4-28)
not they.will.be the shop's such and also look nicely
Those from the shop will not be like yours. And they also don't look nicely.

Si vi khate le ledňički. (5.11.4-29)
are also here the fridges
Here are also fridges.

Naj vi pár la šaj terejdinas, aj či san dûr. (5.11.4-30)
disc also about her mod you.care.fot disc not you.are far
Well you could care about her, too, you are really not far away.

Hot’ či kamel la khonik, phenel. Taj vi rovel taj brígij. (5.11.4-31)
that not loves her nobody says and also cries and is.sad
She says, that nobody loves her. And she cries and she is sad.

Taj přitom láši-j, na, mamo. Taj vi šukár-i, sa, no. (5.11.4-32)
and actually good.is disc mummy and also beautiful.is all disc
And actually she is fine, isn't she, mummy, and she is also beautiful, and all that, really.
Inclusion

Má sa múle, vi leske šáve. Vi le šeja, vi le šáve, sa múle már. (5.11.4-33)
already all died also his sons also the daughters also the sons all died already
They have all died, his sons too, both his daughters and his sons, all have died already.

Andá tute šutem šaláto, vi paradičomi vi papriki vi sa. (5.11.4-34)
because of you I put salad also tomatoes also peppers also all
I have offered also salad, tomato salad, pepper salad, everything, to do you a favour.

As can be seen, vi is frequently (optionally) highlighted by other words like taj “and”, inke “further” and mejk “even”, all of them preceding it. While vi is placed together with the extension, na feri indicates the need of extension, being located with the member to be extended, no matter if on first or second position, no matter if countered by vi, by halem/hanem or both:

Le Kirilenge rom, taj na feri voun, site pašan. (5.11.4-35)
the Kiril’s people and not only they MODP believe
Kiril’s people, and not only them, have to believe it.

Le rom na feri o verastáši halem sa le mulatšágura keren ži detehára. (5.11.4-36)
the Roms not only the funeral but all the celebrations make until morning
The Roms make not only funerals, but all celebrations up to the morning.

Naj site aven maj but žejne, na feri ek žejno. (5.11.4-37)
Indeed there have to be more people, not only one person
Also there have to be more people, not only one person.

Additionally to this role of addition, as one of the degree adverb (see 5.4.1.4 Degree Adverbs) vi may pose emphasis on a high extent, giving an estimated upper limit, or on other kinds of exceptional facts:

No taj bútájik vorbinas pa kodo, vi deš berš pa kado vorbinas. (5.11.4-38)
and a long time they talked about that also ten years about this they talked
Yes and for a long time they were talking about that, up to ten years they were talking about that.

5.11.4.3 Exclusive Focus Coordinator či

While vi states elements to be included into the set, či is used to express exclusion. Analogously to vi, the exclusion can be already part of the statement (concretion), or newly attached (additional exclusion), included initially attached to a new situation.

In these constructions, the verb needs to be negated, be it by či or na, see 5.5.1 Predicate Negator, unless implying negated negation (confirmation). Especially double occurrence of či (*či či) is
avoided by the replacement with či na. Different arguments can be arranged this way, nominal phrases, adverbs, clauses, complements.

Additional / Initial Exclusion

Má či trajín či jejkh, khoník.  
(5.11.4-39)
Already not live not one nobody
Not a single one is still alive, nobody.

Kodolen či trobuť či mužika, kadej dšlaben.  
(5.11.4-40)
those. acc not is. necessary not music so they. sing
They sing in such a way, that they don't need even music.

Taj mejk či páji či dine man.  
(5.11.4-41)
and even not water not gave me
And they didn't give me even water.

Či o koberco naj ká thoven.  
(5.11.4-42)
even the carpet is. not where they. clean
There is even no place to clean the carpet.

Mejk či čistítňa naj!  
(5.11.4-43)
even not dry cleaners is. not
There aren't even dry cleaners!

Či atunči či kerdalas khančí.  
(5.11.4-44)
not then not you. would. have. made nothing
Neither then you would not have made anything.

Či na mezíjas, hot’ ketí šavoura-j la.  
(5.11.4-45)
even not looked conj so. many children. cop she. acc
She didn't even look like having so many children.

Taj sas ipen i Patrádi, či na kirade khančí.  
(5.11.4-46)
and was just the Eastern even not they. cooked nothing
And it was just on Eastern, they haven't even cooked anything.

Amáre Rom či žanenas te ginen taj či te skirin.  
(5.11.4-47)
our Roms not knew te to read and not to write
The Roms could neither read nor write.
Concretion

And there was no possibility to go, neither a doctor, nor anything else.

5.11.4.4 Conjunction Coordinator *taj*

When a statement is to be made, which concerns several differing entities at once, they are listed sequentially and separated by *taj*. This holds also when a series of consequent propositions make up a concept or narration to be expressed. This aspect of *taj* is presented together with other 5.9.6 Discourse Particles and Phrases, p. 343. Here I want to point to an important, special feature of *taj*, that it is independent of the logical relations between both coordinands. Unlike in most contact languages, where adversion is commonly expressed by dedicated conjunctions, in North West Lovari Romani it is not expressed by default. Adversion can be transferred by borrowed discourse particles like *ale, přitom, přesto*.

They may not cut them, as it is new!

I said that I will attend the ceremony, but she did not let me go.

The role of *taj* on a sentence level is illustrated here for several grammatical types of coordinands: adnominals, NPS, predicates, adverbials, clauses, or several together in the single sentence 5.11.4-57.

You insert one cinnamon bar, only two or three cloves, and finally two oranges.

And where do your parents live?

He went always in and out.

Kodo kharavel peske nípos, hoť te na avel ande kado korkouri (5.11.4-54)
That man invites his family, because he doesn't want to be there alone, and additionally so he wanted to do honour to the family.

\[\begin{align*}
\textit{Majinti le Rom, kana trádkerenas taj sas mindik pej droma,} \quad (5.11.4-55) \\
\text{once the Roms when they travelled and were always on the ways}
\end{align*}\]

\[\begin{align*}
\textit{trobunas te maladôn khetánes.} \\
\text{they needed to they meet together}
\end{align*}\]

In ancient times, when the Roms travelled and were always on the way, they needed to meet.

\[\begin{align*}
\textit{O manuš, sar bárol opre, dikhel taj sitól maj but} \quad (5.11.4-56) \\
\text{the man when grows sees and learns much}
\end{align*}\]

\[\begin{align*}
\textit{peske dadestar taj peska datar.} \\
\text{his father from and his mother from}
\end{align*}\]

Man sees and learns most from his parents, when he grows up.

\[\begin{align*}
\textit{Le manušesa o romimo žal, sar bárol taj phúrol,} \quad (5.11.4-57) \\
\text{the man with the Rom culture goes when grows and gets old}
\end{align*}\]

\[\begin{align*}
\textit{taj vouj site vezetin les apal ando trajo taj maškar o románo taršašágo.} \\
\text{and they lead him then in the life and between the Rom's society}
\end{align*}\]

The culture of the Roms accompanies a man, when he grows and gets old, and they have to lead him then through the life and within the society of the Roms.

Furthermore, \textit{taj} optionally reinforces the coordination formed of other set operators \textit{na/niči, vi, či}, see the appropriate sections.

\section*{5.11.4.5 Disjunction Coordinator \textit{vaj/vat'}}

Alternations, options are expressed by \textit{vaj}, individually also \textit{vat'}. Like \textit{taj}, they can appear between diverse grammatical elements, including the inter-sentential level, see 5.9.6 Discourse Particles and Phrases, p. 343, here as a reminder:

\[\begin{align*}
\textit{Žan ánde ando kher, kana jivend-i, vaj kana milaj-i,} \quad (5.11.4-58) \\
\text{they go inside into the house when winter is or when summer is}
\end{align*}\]

\[\begin{align*}
\textit{ávri pi udvara žan.} \\
\text{out on the courtyard they go}
\end{align*}\]

They go inside into the house in winter, and in summer they go outside to the courtyard.
Coordination, Operators with Diverse Arguments

Kadej andi kavárňa bašavnas. Bári kavárňa sas. (5.11.4-59)
so in.the restaurant they.played big restaurant was
In the restaurant they played. A big restaurant was it.

Vaj kana milaj sas, ando párko sas i zábava.
or when summer was in.the park was the dance
Or in summer there were dances in the park.

Le kaj tejára! Vaj khate mukes le? (5.11.4-60)
take.IMP.2SG these plates or here you.leave them
Take those plates! Or do you want to leave them here?

The other examples within this section are intended to touch the other basic types of coordinands like adjectivals, NPs, clauses or sentences.

Mukna la peske khote taj kerla áver bútí, vaj site žal andi áver. (5.11.4-61)
they.will.let her REFL.DAT there and will.do other work or MODP go in.the other
They will keep her there, and she will do another job, or she will have to search another.

Akánik te zumavav vaj ničí? (5.11.4-62)
now MODP try or not
Should I try it now or not?

Zumavav akánik, hoť dena ma vaj či dena ma. (5.11.4-63)
I.try now conj they.will.give me or not they.will.give me
I am trying now, whether they will give it to me.

Sármozij anda kuko vať anda kado them. (5.11.4-64)
origins from that or from this country
He origins from this or that country.

These examples, accidentally mostly sentences, show the use with mutually exclusive options, but vaj is not restricted to these. It can also link potentially or evidently non-exclusive possibilities, or it alludes to examples, where finally none of the mentioned need to be realized:

Taj apal vou mangelas i mol, na, vaj variso. (5.11.4-65)
and then he ordered the wine DISCP or something
And then he ordered wine, you know, or something like that.

Naj i kerestaňa šaj dinoun la zlága vaj lánco somnakuno. (5.11.4-66)
DISCP the godmother MODP would.have.given her earrings or necklace golden
But her godmother could have given her earrings or necklace from gold.

Le Romes site avel andi kasna maj cera dáj vaj trín gada. (5.11.4-67)
the man.ACC MODP cop.SUBV in.the cupboard CPR few two or three shirts
A man must have at least two or three shirts in his cupboard.

Kadala dĺja dĺlaven pe mulatšágoste vat' ande verastăšeste. (5.11.4-68)
these songs they.sing on celebration or in funeral
They sing these songs on celebrations or funerals.

Ďilabenas mulatoušo vat' khelimaski dĺli. (5.11.4-69)
they.sang celebration or dancing song
They sang a song for celebration or for dancing.

Dosta avla mange pet sto vaj řísíc. (5.11.4-70)
enough will.be for.me five.hundred or thousand
Five hundred or thousand should be enough for me.

5.11.4.6 Comparison Coordinator sar
A special type of coordination is comparison. In North West Lovari Romani it is realized in two ways: As equal or similar (positive comparison), or as different in extent (graduation). The latter part of comparison is discussed in 4.5.3.1 Comparison. Inequality is presented via negation of positive comparison.

Positive comparison consists, like graduation, of an subject of comparison, a standard of comparison and a property, according to which the comparison is provided. The element to be compared may be implicit (like in 5.11.4-71 or 5.11.4-72), the property can be omitted as equal in all respects. Finally also the referent standard is subject to ellipsis, see the examples 5.11.4-74 and 5.11.4-76 with the elided elements in brackets.

Referential identity is realized by the copula, see 4.4.1 Copula. Sensual comparison (smell, outlook) is made without coordinator, see 4.2.5.1-11 Nominative.

Kadej sar ame žanen románes, sar ame, jo. (5.11.4-71)
so like we they.know Romani like we DISCP
They speak Romani like we do, yes, like we.

Naj čak šaj, vi sar teja šaj pen la. (5.11.4-72)
DISCP DISCP MODP also like tea MODP they.drink it
Well of course you can, you can drink it like tea.

Tista párni sas, sar gajži, taj louli. (5.11.4-73)
completely white was like non-Rom, woman and red

She was completely white, like a non-Rom, and red.

*Soski-j i adín, sar amári [adín]?*  
(5.11.4-74)

what kin is the honey like our honey

How is the honey, like ours?

*Sas kecavi thúli baxuja sar muro purno.*  
(5.11.4-75)

was such thick stick like my foot

There was such a stick, as thick as my foot.

*E gáže bašavnas, e spevákura, sar akánik [e spevákura],*  
(5.11.4-76)

the non-Roms sang the singers like now the singers

so si pašaj Lucija.

conj is around the Lucie

The non-Roms were singing, the singers, just like nowadays those, who belong to Lucie\(^\text{25}\).

The comparison is mostly explicitly referenced by *kadej* “so” (predicate) or *kecavo* “such” (adjective), which can be optionally omitted (see also in the examples above):

*Voun phenna tuke kadej sar me.*  
(5.11.4-77)

they will say you so like I

They will tell you the same like me.

*Kadej sas nango, sar o svunto Dejl das pi luma.*  
(5.11.4-78)

so was naked like the holy God gave him in the world

He was naked, just as God has created him.

*S1 So-j kodo? S2 Kecavi sar veka.*  
(5.11.4-79)

what is that such like French bread

S1 What is that? S2 Something like French bread.

### 5.11.4.7 Restrictive Focus Particle *feri*

An element, which is intended to be reduced in meaning in relation to a suspected expectation, is expressed by *feri*. The examples are chosen in a way to present *feri* in connection with various syntactical units:

*I Kejža anda pesko šávo feri kerdas kado.*  
(5.11.4-80)

the Kejža from his son only made this

---

25 Lucie Bílá, a popular Czech singer
Solely Kejža has made this out of her son.

\textit{Naj musaj te kamen pe, te kamen pe.} \hfill (5.11.4-81)

not \textit{MODP CMPL} they\textit{.love \textit{REFL CMPL} they\textit{.love \textit{REFL}}}

They don't need to love one another.

\textit{Feri hot' tecíj lenge, te tecíj lenge, taj má len la.} \hfill (5.11.4-81)

only \textit{conj} is\textit{.liked \textit{they.DAT} if \textit{is\textit{.liked \textit{they.DAT} and already \textit{they.take her}}}}

Just if they like her, if they like her, they already marry her.

\textit{Khanči nás andi Sereda. Feri so phagerde le khera sas.} \hfill (5.11.4-82)

nothing \textit{was in.the Sered' just \textit{RELPR} they\textit{.destroyed the houses was}}

In Sered' was nothing, just the destroyed houses were there.

\textit{Feri garav-ker-d'on-as taj rov-en-as.} \hfill (5.11.4-83)

just \textit{hide\textunderscore ITER \textit{PFTV\textunderscore pass\textunderscore 3PL\textunderscore IFV} and \textit{cry\textunderscore 3PL\textunderscore IFV}}

They were just hidden all the time and cried.

\textit{Feri me sim čišli.} \hfill (5.11.4-84)

just \textit{I \textit{I.am slim}}

Just me am slim.

\textit{Laki ňoma feri khate avel.} \hfill (5.11.4-85)

her \textit{trace just here comes}

Just her trace appears here.

\textit{Pe kodo pamatalinav feri.} \hfill (5.11.4-86)

on \textit{that \textit{I.remember just}}

I just remember that.

In connection with a negated predicate, the monosyndetic \textit{feri} states an exception, still not grammaticalized as a preposition (not requiring case agreement). The excluded element is the one following \textit{feri}, the relation set for the exclusion is defined in the negated clause in case agreement with the excluded element. Also \textit{te na (čak) “don't”} appears in this meaning

\textit{Taj már naj ma feri jejkh pheň.} \hfill (5.11.4-87)

and already \textit{NEG\textunderscore cop L\textit{ACC} just one sister}

And I have just one more sister.

\textit{Nás khote Rom feri voun.} \hfill (5.11.4-88)

not\textit{.were there Roms just they}
Coordination, Operators with Diverse Arguments

There were no Roms than them.

*Khanikas či mukle, feri le.* (5.11.4-89)
nobody not let.go just him

They didn't let anybody go, expect for him.

*Sako jejkh čaládo kamel hoť te na avel prá le le hírura,* (5.11.4-90)
every one family wants *cmpl. cmpl. not cop.subv. about it the gossips*

*feri le láše*
just hte good.pl.

Every single family is keen about not gossips to circulate about them, and if ever, then just good ones.

*Či hibážijas khanči, te na čak a čirikjako thud.* (5.11.4-91)
not was.missing nothing if not just the bird's milk

There was absolutely nothing missing, [if ever then bird milk].

On further meanings of *feri* see also 5.4.1.2 Temporal Adverbs and 5.4 Adverbial.

### 5.11.4.8 Exemplifying *phenas*

By the aid of an initial *phenas* “lit. let's say” an expression can be explained, and the following elements are to be understood as an incomplete enumeration of single cases. The expression may contain further elements:

*Andej Rom peren mindenfejlika bajura,* (5.11.4-92)
Among the Roms fall diverse troubles

*phenas le kurvašágura, márimátura, le melále bútá taj inke ávera fejlura.*
conj the prostitution affrays the dirty works and also other things

Diverse troubles happen among the Roms, for example prostitution, affrays, incest and other things like that.
References


References


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