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**A Grammar of  
North West Lovari Romani**

**Gramatika severozápadní  
olaštiny (lovárštiny)**

Dizertační práce

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

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Prohlašuji, že jsem dizertační práci napsal samostatně s využitím pouze uvedených a řádně citovaných pramenů a literatury a že práce nebyla využita v rámci jiného vysokoškolského studia či získání jiného nebo stejného titulu.

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 fleective, 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 (lovárské) romštiny, tj. maďarizovaný vlašský dialekt romštiny. Analýza vychází z nahrávek získaných terénní prací a několika psanými texty. Studie předkládá vymezení oproti příbuzným varietám 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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## Abbreviations

1PL	first person plural	EMPH	emphatic	PFTV	perfective aspect, tense, stem
1SG	first person singular	FEM/F	feminine	PL	plural
2PL	second person plural	FUT	future	POSS	possessive
2SG	second person singular	GEN	genitive	POT	potential
3P	third person (number-indifferent)	Hung.	Hungarian	PP	prepositional phrase
3PL	third person plural	IMP	imperative	PRDC	predicate
3SG	third person singular	INDEF	indefinite	PREP	preposition
ABL	ablative	INSTR	instrumental	PRES	present tense, stem
ACC	accusative	INTRAN	intransitive	PRON	pronoun
ADJ	adjective	S		REFL	reflexive pronoun
ADV	adverbial/adverb	IPFV	imperfective	RELPR	relative pronoun
ART	article	ITER	iterative	RELCL	Relative clause
ASPP	aspect particle	IRR	irrealis	S1,S2, speakers	
CADJ	consonant oikoclitic adjective declension	LOC	locative	S3	
CAUS	causative	MASC/M	masculine	SG	singular
CF	consonant oikoclitic feminine declension	MODP	modal particle	SK	Slovak
CM	consonant oikoclitic masculine declension	NEG	negative marker	SUBJ	subject
CMPL	complementiser	NOM	nominative	SUBV	subjunctive
COP	copula	NP	nominal phrase	TRANS	transitive
CPR	comparator	NUM	number	VERBP	verbal particle or noun
CZ	Czech	OADJ	oikoclitic adjective declension	XADJ	xenoclitic adjective declension
DAT	dative	OBJ	object	XFA	xenoclitic feminine declension
DEF	definite	OBL	oblique	XMA	xenoclitic masculine as-declension
DEM	demonstrative	OFI	oikoclitic feminine declension	XMI	xenoclitic masculine i-declension
dial.	dialect(al)	OMO	oikoclitic masculine declension	XMO	xenoclitic masculine o-declension
DIM	diminutive	PRTL	participle		
DISCP	discourse particle	PASS	passive		

*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) 3<sup>rd</sup> 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, 3<sup>rd</sup> 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.

Human	Community Member	Non-Community Member
Man, Human	<i>Rom</i>	<i>gážo</i>
Woman	<i>Romňi</i>	<i>gajži</i>
Young Male, Son	<i>šávo</i>	<i>raklo</i>
Young Female, Daughter	<i>šej</i>	<i>rakli</i>
Male Child	<i>šavouro</i>	<i>rakjouro</i>
Female Child	<i>šejouri</i>	<i>rakjouri</i>

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 19<sup>st</sup> and 20<sup>st</sup> 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 19<sup>th</sup> 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 *Olaši/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 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 3<sub>PL</sub> 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 2<sub>PL</sub> 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 Józef Kudrík, 70 years old, and Jiří Biháři, 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:

Author (Editor)	Issue (Page)	Genre	Title
Peter Stojka	1-2/1995 (106-107)	essay	Románo sokáši pej Nitrako telepo – Hierarchia a zvyky Rómov z Nitry a okolí
Peter Stojka	3/1995 (56-60)	essay	Románe sokáša pe la Ňitrako telepo (dúto skirimo) – Zvyky vlašských Rómov z okolia Nitry (druhé pokračovanie)
Peter Stojka	4/1995 (35-38)	essay	Krečuno andej vlašika Rom – Vianoce u vlašských Rómov
Different authors	1-2/1996 (6-7)	sayings	E Rom vorbin pa čaládo
Peter Stojka	1-2/1996 (115-119)	essay	La romňako than ando románo taršašágo – Postavenie ženy v spoločenstve valašských Rómov
Peter Stojka	1-2/1996 (120-122)	essay	Patrád'i – Veľkonočné sviatky
Peter Stojka	3/1996 (32-34)	essay	Práchomo – Pohreb
Peter Stojka	3/1996 (35-38)	essay	Páťiv – Úcta-Zdvorilosť
Cila Stojka - Igor	4/1996 (16-	narrative	I rakli andaj somnakuni bruma

E. Kutlík-Garudo	19)		
Cila Stojka - Igor E. Kutlík-Garudo	4/1996 (19-22)	narrative	O rakakiraji
Margita Lakatošová	1-2/1997 (13-14)	translation	Vešeskere romňa (by Helena Červeňáková)
Peter Stojka	1-2/1997 (39-40)	essay	Le detehára andej vlašika čaládura – Rána vo vlašických rodinách
Jaroslav Biháry	1-2/1997 (41-42)	essay	Pa čerhaja – O hviezdičke
(not given)	3-4/1997 (3)	translation	E Matušisko evangelium
Peter Stojka	3-4/1997 (100-104)	essay	Ďíľa ando románo sokáši – Piesne v rómskej tradícii
Peter Stojka	3-4/1997 (120-128)	essay	La krísiňake Rom taj i románi krísi andej vlašika Rom – Soudci a soudy u olašských Romů
Margita Lakatošová	1-2/1998 (4-5)	translation	Úvodník (by Helena Červeňáková)
Cila Stojka - Igor E. Kutlík-Garudo	1-2/1998 (35-40)	narrative	O dešuduj átkozinde phrala – O dvanástich zhavranelých bratoch
Cila Stojka - Igor E. Kutlík-Garudo	1-2/1998 (41-44)	narrative	I krasna Amalija – Rozprávka o krásnej Amálii
Igor E. Kutlík-Garudo (ed.)	1-2/1998 (45-49)	songs	Tri vlašickoromé pesničky
Margita Lakatošová	3/1998 (5-6)	translation	Indira Gandhiová Romům (Zahajovací projev)
Peter Stojka	3/1998 (30-36)	essay	Urajimo – Obliekanie
Peter Stojka	4/1998 (4-11)	essay	Le svunti thana andej vlašika Rom taj o svunto paľano – (Sväté púte a viera u vlašských Rómov)
Igor E. Kutlík-Garudo (ed.)	1-2/1999 (18-31)	songs	Lunga vi skurta lovárengé gila andal Vedréda – Lovárske piesne i popevky z Voderád
Margita Lakatošová	3/2000 (57)	essay	Sosko sas muro dad?
Peter Stojka	4/2000, attachment	translation	Te trajin musaj (by Hilda Pášová)

	(51-63)		
Lovari proverbs	3-4/2001	proverbs	p. 41, 77, 85, 93, 102, 109, 120, 123, 131, 138, 139, 147, 168, 181, 182
Peter Stojka	3-4/2001 (126-139)	essay	E legendi andej vlašika Rom – Legendy olašských Romů
Margita Lakatošová Aladár Stojka	Ňilaj 2005 (97-98)	summary translation	Loukárde routi – sa so kerde e gáže e Romenge andi Francija, kana trádkerenas e vurdonenca (by Kateřina Klíčová)
Margita Lakatošová	Jevend 2005 (22)	translation	Sar o kárnálo bálo chochadas e Sintos
Margita Lakatošová	Jevend 2005 (84)	summary translation	So avilas mange pi goudři, kana vorbinous e phúre Romenca khate ando Čecho pa románo trajo maškar e dúj hábúrúvura (by Jana Horváthová)
Margita Lakatošová	Ňilaj 2006 (138-148)	translation	Mozes Heinschink o Mileně Hübschmannové – O Mozes vorbij palaj Milena
Eva Davidová (ed.)	Jevend 2008 (134-152)	songs	Šavale, me tumari šukár pářiv opre mangle...
Peter Stojka	Jevend 2008 (153-169)	fiction	Magerimo – Vyhostenie
O Baba – Peter Wagner (ed.)	Ňilaj 2009 (194-198)	narrative	Ká žasas maj sigo? Po bijav, vaj po verrastáři?

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 roll 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 khelos..." (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 Moldavia 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 *tʃ*, *th*, *dʃ* like *tiro* < \**tiro* “your” or *simadi* < *simadi* “loan”;
- 3) Conditional denasalisation of *ni* > *ji* in *páji* “water”, *khuj* “ellbow”, *ráj* “official”, *sapuj* “soap”, *balaji* “trough” and in the in-conjugation *vorbij* < \**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/ni/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): *trobu* “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”, *határel* “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 3P IPFV copula *nás*;
- 4) Lexical idiosyncrasies (Lovari forms given): *katka* “here”, *kutka* “there”, *ourde* “(to) here”, *inke* “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] > [i̠], [ə] > [e];
- 2) Conditional lengthening of vowels;
- 3) [R] > [r] in initial position;
- 4) [čh] > [š] ( Eastern > [ś]);
- 5) *-lā* > *-jal-la* – but in North West Lovari Romani *-lā* occurs individually (*voulā* “(good mood)”, *krumplā* “potato”), but not in verbal paradigm (*beš-l-as* “sit-PFTV-3SG” etc.);
- 6) [rj] > [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 *kerďās*) “make.PFTV-3SG”;
- 12) Individual forms *tordol* “stand”, *ášol* “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* > *ž*, metatheses in *márno* “bread”, *purno* “foot”, *árno* “egg”, *jovkar* “once”. Then the elision of final *-s* and *-n* (as for Southern Central) like in pronouns *le* “them”, *pe* “himself”, *ame* “us”, *tume* “you.ACC”, and in xenoclitic NOM SG, and in the active participle. Further some Greek loans like *luludí* “flower”, *mizmejri* “noon”, many Romanian loans like *palma* “palm”, *lungo* “long”, *intrego* “integer” *vorba* “word, utterance”, *trajo* “life” etc., short PERS PRON forms *tó*, but not *\*mo* and prothesized 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-Daróczy, 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).

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

1 Also *rakhel* is without prothesis, but a request to give place is *arakh(en)!* Stojka (1995:107) gives *akhar*

Lexicon				
Imperative negator	<i>na ~ ma</i>	<i>na ~ ma</i>	<i>na ~ ma</i>	<i>na</i>
<i>áver</i> “other”	<i>áver</i>	<i>áver</i>	<i>aver ~ kaver</i>	<i>aver</i>
<i>mukel ~ mekel</i> “leave”	<i>mukel ~ mekel</i>	<i>mukel</i>	<i>mukel ~ mekel</i>	<i>mukel</i>
<i>kopáči ~ čelčija</i> “tree”	<i>kopáči ~ čelčija</i>	<i>salčin</i>	<i>kopači ~ čelčija</i>	<i>kopači</i>
<i>kacavo ~ kasavo ~ kecavo</i> “such”	<i>kacavo ~ kasavo ~ kecavo</i>	<i>kaso</i>	<i>kacavo ~ kasavo ~ kecavo</i>	<i>kecavo ~ keco ~ kaco</i>
<i>mír ~ sostar</i> “why”	<i>mír ~ sostar</i>	<i>sostar</i>	<i>mir ~ sostar</i>	<i>sostar</i>
<i>feri ~ numa</i> “only”	<i>feri</i>	<i>feri</i>	<i>feri ~ numa</i>	<i>feri ~ numa</i>
<i>má ~ aba</i> “already”	<i>má</i>	<i>aba ~ má</i>	<i>aba ~ ma</i>	<i>aba ~ ma</i>

Table 4: Some Variation Within the Lovari Dialect

Additionally I have registered several individuals in the wider family, who pronounced the alveolar aspirate [k<sup>h</sup>] 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 [p<sup>h</sup>] > 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. Pobožniak 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 Hübschmannová 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 gradual 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 *Krísí*, 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 *krísí* 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 *Krísínake manuš* “*Krísí* 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, Kudrík, 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<sup>2</sup>) and Austrian (see the writer and painter Ceija Stojka or the singer Růža 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 Lăcătuș.

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

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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).

	Ratio (total sample)	Ration (non Lovari speakers only)	Ratio (Lovari speakers only)
Completely Competent Speakers	31.1	28.7	96.9
Almost Competent Speakers	16.4	16.9	3.1
Passive Speakers	22.2	23.0	0.0
Non-Speakers	30.3	31.4	0.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Sample Size	968	936	32

*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-ethnic 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:

Age	Country of Maturation	Proficiency in Slovak	Proficiency in Czech	Proficiency in Hungarian
Child	Czech Republic	low	passive	none
Young Adult	Czech Republic	passive	full	none
Middle Aged	Czech Republic	passive	ethnolect	individually
Old	Slovakia	ethnolect	passive	passive/active

*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, p. 194.

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-ethnic 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 *bútára* “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-ethnic 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. Secondly, 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 temporarily 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], [r̥] and [r̥̥]);
  3. Fricatives ([f], [v], [χ], [h], [ʃ], [ʒ], [s], [z]) and affricates ([tʃ], [tʃ̥]);
  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], [ʒ], [z]) and unvoiced ([p], [t], [k], [c], [ʔ], [ph], [th], [kh], [f], [χ], [h], [ʃ], [s], [ʃs], [ʃʃ]) 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 ([ʃs]);
  3. Pre-dorsal ([c], [j], [ɲ], [ʎ], [ʃ], [ʃʃ], [ʃ], [ʒ]), 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], [ʃs]), velarised alveolar-lateral ([l]);
  4. Post-alveolar ([ʃ], [ʒ], [ʃʃ]);
  5. Palatal ([c], [j], [ɲ], [ʃ], [ʃʃ], [j]), palatal-lateral ([ʎ]);
  6. Velar ([k], [g], [kh], [ŋ]);
  7. Uvular ([χ]);
  8. 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 [ʃs] 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 [eḯ], and;
- The back low rounded [o] plus the back middle rounded [u], giving [ouḯ].

### 2.1.1.3 Border Phenomena

The consonants [ɽ] and [ɽ̥] and the long vowels [ɛ:] and [o:] are very rare and appear only in loans from Czech or Slovak, e.g. [ɽi:sko] “schnitzel”, [ɽpřesto] “nevertheless”, [f̥sɛ:de:ʃko] “CD”, [bal'ko:ni] “balcony”. Speakers with Slovak background may have difficulties with the consonants [ɽ] and [ɽ̥], they use [ʒ] and [ʃ] for voiced and unvoiced forms, respectively, like in [ʒi:sko] “schnitzel” or [pʃɛsto] “nevertheless”. [ɛ:] can occasionally replace [eḯ]: [peḯrma] besides [pe:rma] “on me”, and [khaŋ'geḯri] besides [khaŋ'ge:ri] “church”. Similarly [o:] may stand for [ouḯ]: [douza] besides [do:za]. Generally, long vowels are used for emphasis: [hɛ:j] “hey!”. Only in this context a centralized [ɐ:] and a low [ɔ:] can be heard: [bɛ:'rij i ʃej] “She's big, that girl!” or [ʃu'kɛ:r] “nice!”, and, [jɔ:] “of course”, which I will leave out from further considerations.

The low, short [ɔ] is also produced as an alternative to [o] in open syllables, prevalently for emphasis, see the pairs [kɔrɔni] ~ [kɔroni], [ʃɔri'mo] ~ [ʃori'mo], [sɔ ,ha:t] ~ [so ,ha:t], 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]: [kɛr] ~ [kher], [kɛr'dam] ~ [ker'dam], [bister'dem] ~ [bister'dem]. These distinctions are not significant for speakers and play no role in speech production. The [e] is not as closed as Hungarian long [e:] or German [e], as both are interpreted as [i]/[i:] in Lovari, see Hungarian loans like *keretšigo* < Hung. *keresztés* [kerestʃe:g], *vigo* < Hung. *vég* [ve:g], or (my) German name *Peter* [phe:tɐ], reproduced as [phi:ta].

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 [svetɛri] “sweater”, [hotɛli] “hotel”.

In Czech written tradition there are several lexemes frequently typed with geminates: *kettî* “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 [ˈdil: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 kíňešen* “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 /r/ 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 [ʃə] “(disagreement)” or sounds from Czech/Slovak loans which are foreign also to the language of origin like [ˈraʊto] “bash”, [aʊtoˈbusi] (besides [aftoˈbusi]) “bus” or [ʔɛʊˈro:pa] (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-voʊ-ˈra], [ʒa-ˈnaf] or [ka-ˈdeɪ], but to the first syllable in clusters like in [ˈʒaf-tar], [ʔan-ˈdas] or [kad-ˈkar], 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 k<sup>h</sup>ej'rɛ]            versus            [khej'rej 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:

Phone me	Phonetic Realization	Rule	Phone me	Phonetic Realization	Rule	Phone me	Phonetic Realization	Rule
/a/	[a]					/ř/	[c]	
/á/	[a:]		/p/	[p]		/ď/	[j], [c]	(2)
/e/	[e], [ɛ]	(1)	/ph/	[ph]		/j/	[j]	
/é/	[ɛ:]		/b/	[b], [p]	(2)	/š/	[ʃ]	
/i/	[i]		/f/	[f]		/ž/	[ʒ], [ʒ]	(2)
/í/	[i:]		/v/	[v], [f], [p], [u], [m]	(2), (5)	/č/	[tʃ]	
/o/	[o]		/m/	[m]		/l/	[l]	
/ó/	[o:]		/t/	[t]		/ř/	[r̥], [r̥]	(7)
/u/	[u]		/th/	[tʰ]		/ň/	[ɲ]	
/ú/	[u:]		/d/	[d], [t]	(2)	/l/	[l]	
/ej/	[eĵ], [e:]	see 2.1.1.3 Border Phenomena	/s/	[s]		/kh/	[kh], [k]	(3)
/ou/	[ou̯], [o:]	see 2.1.1.3 Border Phenomena	/z/	[z], [s]	(2)	/k/	[k]	
			/c/	[tʃ]		/g/	[g], [k]	(2)
			/n/	[n], [ŋ]	(4)	/h/	[h]	
			/r/	[r]		/x/	[χ]	
						-	[ʔ]	(6)

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 [e] 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];

- (2) Voiceless assimilation: Voiced consonants are replaced by their unvoiced counterparts in certain contexts: /drab/ -> [drap] “medicine”, /thud/ -> [thut] “milk”, /d'íz/ -> [ji:z] “villa”, /pánž/ -> [pa:nʃ] “five”, /phuv/ -> [phuf] “earth, soil”, /rig/ -> [rik] “side”, /lulud/ -> ['luluc] “flower”;
  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 /šing/ -> [ʃiŋg] or [ʃiŋk] “horn” according to rule (2), or /inke/ -> [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/ -> [ʃavou'reŋge] “to the children”, /romengi/ -> [ro'meŋgi] “Romani”, but not in /žehlinkerenas/ -> [ʒehlinke'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. /ad'in/ -> [ʔa'jin] “honey”, /ejfta/ -> [ʔejfta] “seven”, /e/ -> [ʔe], /ingrel/ -> [ʔiŋ'grel] “carry”, /opral/ -> [ʔo'pral] “upstairs”, /oud'áli/ -> [ʔouja:'li] “impudent”, /uštilas/ -> [ʔuʃci'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: /ad'in/ -> [a'jin], /ejfta/ -> [ejfta], /ingrel/ -> [iŋ'grel], /opral/ -> [o'pral], /oud'áli/ -> [ouja:'li], /uštilas/ -> [uʃci'las];
- (7) Ignorance of voice distinction for /ř/: Like in Czech orthography, voiced [ř] and unvoiced [ř̥] are represented by a single phoneme, /ř/. Due to their complementary distribution this causes no ambiguity: /ř/ is represented by a voiced [ř], 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 straight-forward 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-Juhász, 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:

	Short-Short	Long-Short
Unstressed-Stressed	žá'nav “I know”	ú'sij “swim”
Stressed-Unstressed	'daral “I fear”	'kípo “picture”

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'nav “name”,

*man'gel* “ask”, *zurá'lo* “strong”, *thú'lo* “fat”, *kira'ves* “cook.2SG”, *ža'nen* “know.3PL”, *mang'lem* “ask.PTFV.1SG”, *zurá'le* “strong.PL”, *dikh'lam* “see.PTFV.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*, *ža'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-PFTV.3SG”, *čumi'd-al-as les* “kiss.PFTV-2SG-IRR him”, *ro'd-em* “search.PFTV-1SG”, *trá'd-an-as* “travel.PFTV-2PL-IRR”;
4. Xenoclititic 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'dějs* “today”, *ke'ňi* “so many/much”, *amá'ro* “our”, *mu'ri* “my”, *op'ral* “upstairs”, *í'ja* “nine”, *ejf'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);
6. Newer loans infer the stress of origin: *'mindík* “always”, *'vari-* “some”, *'šoha* “never”, *dete'hára* “in the morning”, *'bistošan* “for sure”, *'inke* “still”;

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”, *phí'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:

	Nominative Singular	Nominative Plural, Accusative	level-II-Cases (Obliques)
Oikoclitic: <i>šá'vo, rom'ňi,</i> <i>á'nav, šu'kár,</i> <i>thú'lo, zurá'lo</i>	— ' — — — ' —	— ' — — — ' —	— ' — — — — ' —
Xenoclitic: <i>'bríga, fe'jastra</i> <i>'vĭneto, ejf'tĭno</i>	' — — — ' — ' — —	— ' — — — ' — ADJ: ' — — —	— ' — — — ' —

Table 9: Stress Pattern for Nominals

Some further rules concern nominals:

10. Xenoclitic nouns show preferences towards penultimate stress in pre-Czech/Slovak lexemes: *ci'tromo* “lemon”, *fe'jastra* “window”, *fir'hango* “curtain”, *miz'mejri* “noon”, *ši'lava* “broom”, but other patterns are not rare: *rej'teška* “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'tiko* “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: *ci'tromo* “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 have 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 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”, *luludŕi* “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”, *zour* “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”, *haťárel* “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 /r/ (preceding rule), are short, like *asal* “laugh”, *šinel* “cut”, *suvel* “sew”, *phandel* “bind”,

*ikrel* “hold”, *uštél* “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”, *khajñi* “hen”, *patrin* “list”, *somnakaj* “gold”, *žamutro* “son-in-law”, except for e.g. *zlág* “earring”, *gouj* “bowel”, *dž* “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 *jákha*, *rátá* < *jakh* “eye”, *rat* “night”, or *gáda* “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: *oudi* “soul” > *oudálo* “impudent”. The /u/ in *zurálo* is not easy to explain with respect to the /o/ 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 (*párñol* “become white”, *kouvjol* “weaken”, *bárol* “get big, grow”, *phúrol* “become old”) up to individual shortening (*taťol* “warm up”, *šutòl* “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”, *maťárel* “make drunk”), while long vowels remain restricted to closed syllables (*párñárel* “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;
4. The participle marker leaves long and short vowels unchanged: *áš-il-em* “laugh.PFTV.1SG”, *čour-d-as* “steel.PFTV.3SG”, *phang-l-as* “bind.PFTV.3SG”, *trádas* “travel.PFTV.3SG”, except for irregular stems like *múl-* “died”, *pejl-* “fell”, *sút-* “slept”, *gejl-* “went” etc.;
5. The adjectival *-un-* retains vowel length: *mourčuno* “from leather”, *phárnuno* “silken”, *rupuno* “from silver”, *sastruno* “iron”;
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”;

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: *rátí* “in the night”, *tejlal* “downstairs”, *ánde* “inside”, *ávral* “outside”, *khejre* “at home”, *maškáral* “in-between”, *rígal* “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 *dějs* “day” < *\*dives* and *Dejl* “God” < *\*Devel* (see OBL *Dejvles-*) shows compensatory lengthening. Partially the result is short, like the shortened uv-conjugation forms *ášos* “you stay” < *\*ášuves*, *ášol* “he stays” < *\*ášuvel*, *ášon* “they stay” < *\*ášuven*.

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 /j/, and exceptionally /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 *baxtása* “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”, *baxtá* “much luck”, *phurdá* “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. *díja/díla* “songs”, *žuvja/žuvla* “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”, *šutól* “dry.INTRANS”, *bisterdól* “be forgotten”, *kájol* “become black, turn brown” (for *-uv-*) *párňárel* “whiten.TRANS”, *pherdárel* “fill”, *thujárel* “fatten”, *taťárel* “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. *taŕimo* “warmth”, but *sastimo* “health”.

Notice that from a synchronic point of view, palatal plurals like *búŕa* “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”, *anglaj* “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: *bári-j* “she is big”, *thúli-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”, *zejčigo* “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 /lʲ/;
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-PFTV.3SG” ~ *sikav-el* “show-PRES.3SG”, *šu-tem* “put-PFTV.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 *ášos*, *ášol*, *ášon* “you, he, they stay” in comparison with the long, /v/-less 1P forms *ášuvav*, *ášuvas* “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 numerousness. 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 [r] and approximate [ɹ] with syllable character. They are

realized as [ri] or [ir], and as [li], respectively, by older speakers, or as a full, culturalized loan: *Stalinovi slizi* “Stalin's tears” < *Stalinovy slzy*, *Birna* “Brno” < *Brno*, *krik* “throat, neck” < *krk*. Younger speakers with better proficiency pronounce syllabic [ɾ] (as in [kɾtko]) and [l] (as in [vɫko]), 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 oudáli!* “Don't be impudent!” *Te n'anes le palpále 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! ['ʔammaj] “Come now!”;
- “Arakh!” phenav. ['ʔa'rak phe'nav] “‘Attention,’ I say.”;
- “Arakh!” phenav tuke. ['ʔa'rak phe'nap 'tuke] “‘Attention,’ I tell you.”

## 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\_khajňi* “from chicken”). They represent two (grammatical) words as other elements may step in between (*pa\_louli\_khajňi* “from a brown chicken”);
- The article in front of a head noun (e.g. *i\_pheň* “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 emphasizeers 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.PFTV.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 (*bírij* “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].* (3.1.3-6)

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].* (3.1.3-7)

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.* (3.1.3-8)

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?* vs. *Dikhes?* (3.1.3-9)

*see.IMP her* vs. *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.* vs. *\*Mišto, dav.* (3.1.3-10)

*OK give.1SG him* vs. *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”, *taťol* “get warm”, other middles like *mejajvel* “get dirty”, *šukajvel* “become beautiful”, and many more like *bešel* “sit, live”, *tordól* “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.

The exclusion of layer-II-object from the definition of intransitive verbs represents a definitional problem, as in this logic verbs like *phuš-* “ask” with a primary layer-II-object (*phušous latar* “I would ask her”) are intransitives.

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: *Phuterđol o vudar* “The door opens.”. *Khardi sim [e doktořestar]*. “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 fleective (Bickel, Nichols 2007: 184). For example nominative singular forms can have different formatives *cukr-o* “sugar” vs. *khajň-i* “hen, chicken”, and 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular perfective forms can be (among others) *áš-ilo* “he stayed” vs. *phen-das* “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 *áši-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, oj* 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.

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

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

*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 3<sup>rd</sup> person. The two values are:

- Non-reflexive, if the 3<sub>P</sub>-group differs in any way from the subject and the subject is not of a general kind;
- Reflexive, if the 3<sub>P</sub>-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-pragmatic 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 fleective, the farther 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  $\emptyset$  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:

Tense	Relation to the Moment of Speech	Basic Realization
Present	Situation holds over an interval including the moment of speech, and potentially the immediately preceding and the	Morphology

	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.	Morphology
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.	Morphology

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, hoř 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):

Aspect	Mapped Relation	Primary realization in grammar
Perfect	Situation presented as a state extending back in time from the contextual occasion (commonly the here-and-now of	Not realized

	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.	
Progressive	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.	Morphology (in past events)
Perfective	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.	Morphology, aspect particles
Iterative	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.	(Derivative morphology, adverbs)

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):

Mood	Prototypical Lexeme	Type Of Alternative	Realization In Grammar
Interrogative	what?	Conceding lack of knowledge, speaker asks addressee to act as authority and correct lack of knowledge	Intonation, part of speech (interrogative pronoun)
Evidentiality	probably	Speaker indicates incompleteness of authority over knowledge	Modal particle
Jussive (Imperative/	please	Speaker, as authority, asks addressee to act as a proxy authority and change the world from its	Modal particle, morphology

Hortative/Op tative)		inertial path	
Deontic	should	A general authority asks a proxy authority to act in one way (on all occasions, on some occasions) rather than in the opposite way.	Modal particle
Attitudinal	afraid	An authority expresses a response to a (possible) state of the world that stands out from the usual states of the world	Verb
Epistemic	supposed	The speaker as authority asserts the validity (under all conditions or under some) of the situation, on the basis of an implicit condition	Manner adverbs Modal particles
Contingency	would	One situation is the authority for another; without the condition, the consequence would not ordinarily be expected	Morphology, modal particles
Indicative	is	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	Morphology

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:

<i>mam</i>	-a	-ke	(4.1.1-1)
<i>mother</i>	-OBL.SG.F	-DAT.SG	
(for, to) mummy			

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):

		Head Position	Adnominal Position
Subject	M SG	-o	-o
	F SG	-i	-i
	PL	-e	-e
Oblique	M SG	-es-	-e
	F SG	-a-	-a
	PL	-en-	-e

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 1<sup>st</sup> 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!”, *princojka* “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  $\emptyset$ -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:

	Singular	Plural
ACC	$\emptyset$	$\emptyset$
DAT	-ke	-ge
LOC	-te	-de
ABL	-tar	-dar
INSTR	-sa	-ca
GEN	-k(ir)o	-g(ir)o

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

simplification must have 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

*Bi šejr-esk-o sim / sam* (PL). (4.1.1-2)

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

I am without head.

contrary to general adjectives, where gender is expressed:

*Cign-o / cign-i / cign-e sim / sam*. (4.1.1-3)

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

She / he / they is / are small.

The much more common use of the genitive is as 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).

*Pa tíro fajto či mezij, pa tá dad-eskiro*. (4.1.1-4)

from your family NEG looks, from your father-GEN

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

*Čak latar phuš, a sestreňicatar, a Bojakiratar*. (4.1.1-5)

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.

Class	Masculine Singular	Masculine Plural	Feminine Singular	Feminine Singular
Consonant Oikoclitic (“aclitic”)	-∅	-es-	-∅	-'a-
Oikoclitic	-o	-es-	-i	-'a-
Xenoclitic Noun	-o -i -o	-os- -es- -as-	-a	-a-
Xenoclitic Adjective	-o -o	NOM PL -a -i	see M	see M
Non-Inflected	-	-	-	-

--	--	--	--	--

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 *-d'*, *-t'*, *-ñ* and *-j/-l'* respectively. This gives forms like *adiñatar* from *adiñ* “honey”, *phurdása* from *phurd* “bridge”, *mojange* from *mol* “wine” and *baxtása* from *baxt* “luck” in noun paradigms and *kindà* “wet.ACC”, *táta* “warm.ACC”, *cigña* “little.ACC” and *melája* “dirty.ACC” respectively in adjective paradigms. In masculine paradigms no palatalization takes place (i.e. no *\*skamiña* “tables”, *\*dadà* “fathers”, *\*ambroja* “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: *kutina* “little” vs. *moja* “wines”, *nasula* “bad” vs. *baxta* “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 *pheñ*:

Example, Meaning	<i>dad</i> , “father”		<i>pheñ</i> , “sister”	
Class, Abbreviation	consonant oikoclitic MASC., CM		consonant oikoclitic FEM., CF	
Number	singular	plural	singular	plural

Nominative	<i>dad</i>	<i>dad-a</i>	<i>pheň</i>	<i>pheň-a</i>
Accusative	<i>dad-es</i>	<i>dad-en</i>	<i>pheň-a</i>	<i>pheň-an</i>
Dative	<i>dad-es-ke</i>	<i>dad-en-ge</i>	<i>pheň-a-ke</i>	<i>pheň-an-ge</i>
Ablative	<i>dad-es-tar</i>	<i>dad-en-dar</i>	<i>pheň-a-tar</i>	<i>pheň-an-dar</i>
Instrumental	<i>dad-es-a</i>	<i>dad-en-ca</i>	<i>pheň-a-sa</i>	<i>pheň-an-ca</i>
Genitive	<i>dad-es-ko</i>	<i>dad-en-go</i>	<i>pheň-a-ko</i>	<i>pheň-an-go</i>

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 synchronic line, might analyse them as xenoclitic *-i*-stems with exceptionally apocoped (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-e* “daddy”, *Dejvl-a* “God”, *raj-a* “officials”, *phral-a* “brother”, *kraj-a* “king”<sup>3</sup>

M PL *rom-ale* “(Rom) men”, *phral-ale* “brothers”

F SG *pheň-ej* “sisters”

F PL *šej-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”, *búr* “bush”, Lakatošová, Šebková 2004: 10), and with names for units of time (*berš* “year”, *šon* “month”, *dějs* “day”). The class plural marker *-a* can be employed only for *dějsa* with the meaning “holy days”:

*Ťe phrala/phral naj godávera.* (4.1.2-1)  
*your brothers are.not clever*

Your brothers aren't clever.

*Avesa dúj dějs.* (4.1.2-2)

3 Lakatošová-Šebková 2004: 18

*You.will.come two days*

You'll come for two days.

*Apal avna e dĕjsa.* (4.1.2-3)

*then will.come ART days*

Afterwards the holidays will come.

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

*An ěe gada.* (short a) (4.1.2-4)

*bring your shirts*

Bring me your shirts.

*Ká ěe gáda?* (long á)

*where your dress*

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 *zumi*, 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 deja 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)

Case/number	Full Stem	Shortened Stem
NOM SG	<i>phábaj</i>	<i>phábaj</i>
OBL SG	<i>(phábaja-)</i>	<i>phába-</i>
NOM PL	<i>phábaja</i>	<i>(phába)</i>
OBL PL	<i>(phábajan-)</i>	<i>pháben-</i>

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-*:

NOM SG	<i>rat</i>	<i>jakh</i>
OBL SG	<i>rát'-a-</i>	<i>jákh-a-</i>
NOM PL	<i>rát'-a</i>	<i>jákh-a</i>
OBL PL	<i>rát'-an-</i>	<i>jákh-en-</i>

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*:

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

Table 18: Oikoclitic Noun Classes

Relic vocative forms other than nominative are:

M SG: *kirv-e* “godfather”

M PL: *šav-ale* (with shortened stem vowel) “(Rom) boys”

F SG: *kirv-ej* “godmother”, *žuvj-ej*<sup>4</sup> “women”

F PL: *romň-ale* “(Rom) women”

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

SG *džli* / *mesáli* / *memeli* / *žuvli* versus

PL *džja* / *mesája* / *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:

NOM SG	<i>phralour-o</i>	<i>pheňour-i</i>
OBL SG	<i>phralour-es-</i>	<i>pheňour-a-</i>
NOM PL	<i>phralour-<u>a</u></i>	<i>pheňour-a</i>
OBL PL	<i>phralour-en-</i>	<i>pheňour-<u>en-</u></i>

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*:

Example, Meaning	<i>fouro</i> , “town, market place”		<i>vorba</i> “word, saying”	
Class, Abbreviation	xenoclitic MASC., XMO		xenoclitic FEM., XFA	
Number	singular	plural	singular	plural
Nominative	<i>four-o</i>	<i>four-ura</i>	<i>vorb-a</i>	<i>vorb-i</i>
Accusative	<i>four-os</i>	<i>four-on</i>	<i>vorb-a</i>	<i>vorb-en</i>
Dative	<i>four-os-ke</i>	<i>four-on-ge</i>	<i>vorb-a-ke</i>	<i>vorb-en-ge</i>
Ablative	<i>four-os-tar</i>	<i>four-on-dar</i>	<i>vorb-a-tar</i>	<i>vorb-en-dar</i>
Instrumental	<i>four-os-a</i>	<i>four-on-ca</i>	<i>vorb-a-sa</i>	<i>vorb-en-ca</i>

Genitive	<i>four-os-ko</i>	<i>four-on-go</i>	<i>vorb-a-ko</i>	<i>vorb-en-go</i>
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Table 19: Common Xenoclitic Noun Classes

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 *krumpjalkrumpli* “potatoes”, *žimbjalžimbli* “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*:

NOM SG	<i>krumpj-a</i>
OBL SG	<i>krumpj-a-</i>
NOM PL	<i>krumpl-i</i>
OBL PL	<i>krumpj-en-</i>

Exceptionally a M PL form in *-a* may occur. This is the case for the items *ezero* (*dúj ezera*), *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:

- feminine, plural and traditional neuter CZ/SK and Hung. municipalities ending in vowel are coded as XFA: *Birna* “Brno.NEUTER”, *Praha* “Praha.F”, *Znajma* “Znojmo.NEUTER”, *Karvíňa* “Karviná.F”, *Teplica* “Teplice.PL”, *Budějovica* “Budweis.PL”, exceptionally also consonant-ended *Sered’* as *Sereda* and *Budapest* as *Pešta*.
- consonant and newer neuter CZ/SK and Hung. municipalities ending in consonant appear as XMO: *Lošonco* “Losonc (Hung.)”, *Stříbro* “Stříbro.NEUTER”, *Přerovo* “Přerov.M”, *Třinco* “Třinec.M”, *Havířovo* “Havířov.M”, occasionally as XMI: *Bejči* < Hung. *Bécs* “Vienna”

#### 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*:

Example, Meaning	<i>doktori</i> , “doctor”		<i>ternimo</i> , “youth, youngsters”	
Class, Abbreviation	xenoclitic MASC. -i, XMI		xenoclitic MASC. -as-, XMA	
Number	singular	plural	singular	plural

Nominative	<i>doktor-i</i>	<i>doktor-a</i>	<i>ternim-o</i>	<i>ternim-át-ura</i>
Accusative	<i>doktor-es</i>	<i>doktor-en</i>	<i>ternim-as</i>	<i>ternim-át-on</i>
Dative	<i>doktor-es-ke</i>	<i>doktor-en-ge</i>	<i>ternim-as-ke</i>	<i>ternim-át-on-ge</i>
Ablative	<i>doktor-es-tar</i>	<i>doktor-en-dar</i>	<i>ternim-as-tar</i>	<i>ternim-át-on-dar</i>
Instrumental	<i>doktor-es-a</i>	<i>doktor-en-ca</i>	<i>ternim-as-a</i>	<i>ternim-át-on-ca</i>
Genitive	<i>doktor-es-ko</i>	<i>doktor-en-go</i>	<i>ternim-as-ko</i>	<i>ternim-át-on-go</i>

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* (*petrželí* “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.NOUN” besides more frequent *guglimo* “sweet.NOUN.NOM.SG”. Palatalization takes place at the level of derivation, see 4.5.4.2 Derived Nouns.

#### 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. *baleň* “package”, *zvoňeň* “ringing”, *spořeň* “saving”, *utkáň* “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*:

Example, Meaning	<i>šukár</i> , “beautiful”		
Class, Abbreviation	consonant oikoclitic, CADJ		
Number	singular masculine	singular feminine	plural
Nominative	<i>šukár</i>	<i>šukár</i>	<i>šukár-a</i>
Oblique	<i>šukár-e</i>	<i>šukár-a</i>	<i>šukár-e</i>
Accusative	<i>šukár-es</i>	<i>šukár-a</i>	<i>šukár-en</i>
Dative	<i>šukár-es-ke</i>	<i>šukár-a-ke</i>	<i>šukár-en-ge</i>
Ablative	<i>šukár-es-tar</i>	<i>šukár-a-tar</i>	<i>šukár-en-dar</i>
Instrumental	<i>šukár-es-a</i>	<i>šukár-a-sa</i>	<i>šukár-en-ca</i>
Genitive	<i>šukár-es-ko</i>	<i>šukár-a-ko</i>	<i>šukár-en-go</i>

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”, *kobor* “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 *áverá* “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*:

Example, Meaning	<i>lášo</i> , “good”		
Class, Abbreviation	oikoclitic, OADJ		
Number	singular masculine	singular feminine	plural
Nominative	<i>láš-o</i>	<i>láš-i</i>	<i>láš-e</i>
Oblique	<i>láš-e</i>	<i>láš-a</i>	<i>láš-e</i>
Accusative	<i>láš-es</i>	<i>láš-a</i>	<i>láš-en</i>
Dative	<i>láš-es-ke</i>	<i>láš-a-ke</i>	<i>láš-en-ge</i>
Ablative	<i>láš-es-tar</i>	<i>láš-a-tar</i>	<i>láš-en-dar</i>
Instrumental	<i>láš-es-a</i>	<i>láš-a-sa</i>	<i>láš-en-ca</i>
Genitive	<i>láš-es-ko</i>	<i>láš-a-ko</i>	<i>láš-en-go</i>

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 *ejftino* serves as example:

Example, Meaning	<i>vineto</i> “blue” / <i>ejftino</i> “cheap”		
Class, Abbreviation	xenoclitic with i-plural / a-plural, XADJ (XADJI/XADJA)		
Number	singular masculine	singular feminine	plural
Nominative	<i>vinet-o</i>	<i>vinet-o</i>	<i>vinet-i / ejftin-a</i>
Oblique	<i>vinet-on-e</i>	<i>vinet-on-a</i>	<i>vinet-on-e</i>
Accusative	<i>vinet-on-es</i>	<i>vinet-on-a</i>	<i>vinet-on-en</i>
Dative	<i>vinet-on-es-ke</i>	<i>vinet-on-a-ke</i>	<i>vinet-on-en-ge</i>
Ablative	<i>vinet-on-es-tar</i>	<i>vinet-on-a-tar</i>	<i>vinet-on-en-dar</i>

Instrumental	<i>vinet-on-es-a</i>	<i>vinet-on-a-sa</i>	<i>vinet-on-en-ca</i>
Genitive	<i>vinet-on-es-ko</i>	<i>vinet-on-a-ko</i>	<i>vinet-on-en-go</i>

Table 23: Xenoclitic Adjective (Sub-)Classes

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 prevalingly made by adjectives with a NOM SG in *-no*, *-to* or *-vo* (excluding *-ívo*), see the NOM PL forms *svunti* “saint, holy”, *zeleni* “green”, *vineti* “blue”, *rúžavi* “rosy”, *lungi* “long” and the endless row of ordinals with *-to*: *dújti* “second”, *triti* “third”, *štárti* “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 *-ívo/-ouvo* (deriving from long vowel final adjectives), e.g. NOM PL *uzeníva* “smoked”, *hárňika* “skilled”, *friša* “quick”, *keňňíva* “light”, and older loans like *saka* “every”, or *ejftina* “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”, *če* “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.* (4.1.3-1)

*will.come alone*

They will come alone.

*Pherdo benzija las.* (4.1.3-2)

*lot.M/F fuel.F took*

He tanked plenty of fuel.

- The single quantifier and interrogative *keti* “so much/many, how much/many”, which is not strictly non-inflected, but fits nowhere else. The only distinction is NON-OBL *keti* versus OBL *keté*;
- Borrowed numerals: *ejfta* “seven”, *oxto* “eight”, *íja* “nine”, *tranda* “thirty” and *saranda* “fourty”, and further on newer cz/sk loans *děsat* “ten”, *deset* “ten” etc.;

- Longer, complicated or not yet established loan words like *nadstandardní* “above standard”, *korupční* “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:

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

Table 24: Personal Pronoun Declension (Singular)

	1PL	2PL	3PL	3PL REFL
NOM	<i>ame</i>	<i>tume</i>	<i>voun</i>	<i>pe</i>
clitic pronoun (ACC, LOC)	<i>ame</i>	<i>tume</i>	<i>le</i>	<i>pe</i>
ACC	<i>amen</i>	<i>tumen</i>	<i>len</i>	<i>pen</i>
DAT	<i>amenge</i>	<i>tumenge</i>	<i>lenge</i>	<i>penge</i>

LOC	<i>amende</i>	<i>tumende</i>	<i>lende</i>	<i>pende</i>
ABL	<i>amendar</i>	<i>tumendar</i>	<i>lendar</i>	<i>pendar</i>
INSTR	<i>amenca</i>	<i>tumenca</i>	<i>lenca</i>	<i>penca</i>
GEN	<i>amáro</i>	<i>tumáro</i>	<i>lengo</i>	<i>(pengo)</i>

Table 25: Personal Pronoun Declension (Plural)

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.

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

*Naj vouj-i i hlavní šéfka, na.* (4.1.4-1)  
DISCP he-COP the main boss, DISCP

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

*S1 Ko? S2 Vouj.* (4.1.4-2)

*S1 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:

*Niči, mukhasa tum-enge o kher.* (4.1.4-3)  
No we.will.leave you-GEN the house

No, we will leave you the house.

*Kodo site phenes l-ake.* (4.1.4-4)  
that MODP say her-F.DAT

You have to tell her.

*No taj kecave fejlura phušel tu-tar.* (4.1.4-5)  
DISCP DISCP such things ask you-ABL

Yes and such things she is asking you for.

*Pale keŕi vesejdina man-ca, o rat mejk lena.* (4.1.4-6)  
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.

*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 tîri*).

*Taj akánik la-ke sar-i, Boja, bi tîro?* (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-POSS-F.SG godmother-F.SG from Bosnia-COP

Her godmother is from Bosnia.

*Aj la-k-e romesko súdo kezdi.* (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 tîr-o fajto či mezij, pa t'e 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 gejljas, 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 bírijp-esa.* (4.1.4-17)

DISCP not bear himself-INSTR

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 *jejkhávres* “mutual” in 4.4.2 Verbal Number):

*Nadón 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 phadōla, 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 bízij 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 luludī.* (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 *luludí* “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):

*Varykana trádenle paj thana, varykana phandenle.* (4.1.4-31)

*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.

*Le Romen ívej síle lengi šib.* (4.1.4-32)

*Le Romen ívej sí le lengi šib.*

the roms.ACC in.vain COP them their language

In vain do the Roms have their language.

*Le Rom žakánik vorbin párles.* (4.1.4-33)

*Le Rom ž' akánik vorbin pár les.*

the roms until now talk about him

The Roms talk about him until today.

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”:

*Naj jaj, akánik či pinžáresas, taj či me či pinžárous le.* (4.1.4-34)

DISCP DISCPnow 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.

*Aj vi tu haťáres, salas inke variká, ká vorbis?* (4.1.4-35)

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?

S1 *Aj tu parudal zloti?* S2 *Me niči.* (4.1.4-36)

DISCP you have.exchanged Zlotys me not

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

*Naj či ame či xas.* (4.1.4-37)

DISCP even.not we not eat

After all even we haven't eaten.

*Feri man žanes te máres.* (not \*feri ma) (4.1.4-38)

only me are.able to beat

Only me you are able to beat.

*Taj xálas inke vi man.* (not \*vi ma) (4.1.4-39)

and made.angry even also me

And she made angry even me, too.

*Xálas vi tut, mamó? 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 určičě vi la si kirvo. (unmarked: si la kirvo)(4.1.4-41)*  
 DISCP not I.know and certainly also she.ACC COPgodfather COPshe.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 mindík, 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 osobně dikhlem la, pinžárov 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 I.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, hoť 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 *pér 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 *t̥*. It is used only in adnominal position without emphasis.

*Apal kerde t̥e bokoja.* (4.1.4-48)

then they.made your flat bread

Then they bake the flat bread you like.

*Pa t̥iro fajto či mezij.* (4.1.4-49)

from your family not looks

He doesn't look like from your family.

*Le, t̥ire phúre-j!* (4.1.4-50)

DISCP yours old-are

Common, yours are old! [hands]

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

#### 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 {∅}. So the basic scheme, restricted to NOM SG MASC, may be represented as follows:

	-a-	-o/-u-
-d-	<i>kado</i>	<i>kodo</i>
-k-	<i>kako</i>	<i>kuko</i>
-∅-	<i>ka</i>	<i>ko</i>

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:

	<i>ka</i>			<i>ko</i>		
	M SG	F SG	PL	M SG	F SG	PL
NOM	<i>ka</i>	<i>kaj</i>	<i>kaj</i>	<i>ko</i>	<i>koj</i>	<i>koj</i>
OBL		<i>kaj</i>			<i>koj</i>	

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-*):

	<i>kad-o /kak-o</i>			<i>kod-o /kuk-o</i>		
	M SG	F SG	PL	M SG	F SG	PL
NOM	<i>kado</i>	<i>kadi</i>	<i>kadala/ kadaj</i>	<i>kodo</i>	<i>kodi</i>	<i>kodola/ kodoj</i>
OBL	<i>kadale</i>	<i>kadala</i>	<i>kadale/ kadaj</i>	<i>kodole</i>	<i>kodole</i>	<i>kodole/ kodoj</i>
ACC	<i>kadales</i>	<i>kadala</i>	<i>kadalen</i>	<i>kodoles</i>	<i>kodola</i>	<i>kodolen</i>
DAT	<i>kadaleske</i>	<i>kadalake</i>	<i>kadalenge</i>	<i>kodoleske</i>	<i>kodolake</i>	<i>kodolenge</i>
LOC	<i>kadaleste</i>	<i>kadalate</i>	<i>kadalende</i>	<i>kodoleste</i>	<i>kodolate</i>	<i>kodolende</i>
ABL	<i>kadalestar</i>	<i>kadalatar</i>	<i>kadalendar</i>	<i>kodolestar</i>	<i>kodolatar</i>	<i>kodolendar</i>
INSTR	<i>kadalesa</i>	<i>kadalasa</i>	<i>kadalenca</i>	<i>kodolesa</i>	<i>kodolasa</i>	<i>kodolenca</i>
GEN	<i>kadalesko</i>	<i>kadalako</i>	<i>kadalengo</i>	<i>kodolesko</i>	<i>kodolako</i>	<i>kodolengo</i>

Table 28: Declension of Basic Demonstrative Sets

#### 4.1.6 Article

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):

	M SG	F SG	PL
NOM	<i>o</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>e/le</i>
OBL	<i>e (le)</i>	<i>a (la)</i>	<i>e (le)</i>

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”.

*Taj má phenel le ávre žejnenge.* (4.1.6-1)

and already tells the other persons

And he already tells it to the others.

*Kodola phende amenge, hoř ingerde le Židovon már.* (4.1.6-2)

those told us that transported the Jews already

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

*Si vi khate le lednički.* (4.1.6-3)

there.are also here the fridges

Here are also the fridges.

*La vorba si 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 taj na site gejlalas ká le gáže! Naj po hoteli ža tu, na ká e gáže!*(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 romňi* “some woman”, *uni žejne* “some persons”, *uni šavourenca* “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 raťija* “glasses for spirit”, *gláži le pijimasa* “bottles with beverages”, *pej droma* “on the roads”:

*O manuš site dikhel ánglal.* (4.2.1-1)

the human MODP look forwards

Man has to look in advance.

*Maj feder haťárel andi vorba.* (4.2.1-2)

CPR rather understands in.the speaking

He knows better to speak.

*Či šol ávri sa pi mesáli.* (4.2.1-3)

not put out everything on.the table

He doesn't put everything out on the table.

*Feri keresa kadej a kef-asa.* (4.2.1-4)

just you.will.make so the brush-with

You just do it this way with the brush.

*I šukár vouja kerenas.* (4.2.1-5)

the nice mood they.made

They evoked a nice mood.

*A čirikja pinžáres palaj pour taj le manušes palaj vorba.* (4.2.1-6)

the bird you.recognize by.the tail and the man by.the speech

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” signals 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 vorbije rom-esa, so či das les palpále inke e kiji.* (4.2.1-7)

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 gejlás 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 náštik xojajvel.*

the other man on this MODP be.annoyed

The other man cannot be annoyed about this.

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

ASPP-IS said the statement that will.stay you-with now

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

*Trobujas t'avel maškar le ek phúro rom, savo határel andej vorbi. (4.2.1-10)*

needed to be among them one old man who understands in.the speech

Among them has to be one old man, who knows to speak.

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”, *phúre* “old” < *Birňake* “people from Brno”):

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

while gets.ready this little the father and the mother consider REFL where to go

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

They began to applause.

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

A MODP will.come you-with somebody the Brno-GEN

Somebody could come with you, the people from Brno.

*S2 Naj či voun či žana, e šáve.*

DISCP neither they not will.go the guys

Well neither those guys will go.

*S1 Aj e phúre či žana?*  
DISCP the old not will.go.PL

S1 Oh, and the elder will not go?

*E vánočki č' andem tuke, bišavou le tuke.* (4.2.1-14)  
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 i teja!* (4.2.1-15)  
bring the tea

Bring the tea!

*Naj hoř ká kiraven, azír-i andi koňha.* (4.2.1-16)  
DISCP RELPR because they.cook therefore-is in.the kitchen

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

*Aj muk pi mesáli kodo jejkh!* (4.2.1-17)  
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 inke kacavo phral taj i pheň.* (4.2.1-18)  
not.were yet such brother and the sister

There were no such brother and sister yet.

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

8. Nouns in vocative position (addressing a person):  $\emptyset$  *mamo!* “mummy”  $\emptyset$  *Čuri!* “Čuri”  $\emptyset$  *Romale!* “gentlemen”;

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

*Ame phenas lenge  $\emptyset$  Kikavára.* (4.2.1-19)  
we say them Kukavara

We call them Kikavara.

*Taj kodoleske phenas  $\emptyset$  romimo.* (4.2.1-20)  
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 shakh<sup>5</sup> 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 čejza* “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 romňi* “because of the woman” is indeed impossible, in opposition to *andaj romňi* “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

the Boja.ACC new handbag-COP

Boja has a new handbag.

Ø *ávera rom nás páše.* (4.2.1-28)

other people were.not around

Other people were not around.

O *Kirila manglas peske ø vorba.* (4.2.1-29)

the Kirila requested REFL speech

Kirila requested the turn.

Ø *šel rom, ø šel sokáša.* (4.2.1-30)

hundred roms hundred customs

Hundred roms, hundred customs.

Ker *ø káveja a gajžake!* (4.2.1-31)

make coffee the lady-DAT

Make coffee for the lady!

*Angla sako rom pejlas ø pohári.* (4.2.1-32)

in.front.of every man fell glass

A glass appeared in front of everybody.

O *rom avilas te fogadij ø kirves.* (4.2.1-33)

the man came to designate godfather

The man came to designate his godfather.

*Sakones pejlas ø than.* (4.2.1-34)

everybody.ACC fell place

Everybody got a place.

Ø *but žejne bistren penge dejan taj daden.* (4.2.1-35)

many people forget their mothers and fathers

Many people forget their ancestors.

*Te del o Dejl ø lungo trajo taj sastimo!* (4.2.1-36)

MODP give the god long life and health

Let God give them a long life and health!

*Ande ø mulatšágos va'pe ø verastášes d'ilabenas le Rom.* (4.2.1-37)

in feast or on funeral sang ART.NOM.PL Roms

On a feast or funeral sang the Roms.

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

because.of any triviality they.ban VERBP in.order.to MODP take money

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 ø feleleto.* (4.2.1-39)

yet not gave answer

He didn't give an answer yet.

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

and on.the end they.gave together hands

And eventually they shook hands.

*Azír manglas ø bočáj nato / engedelmo.* (4.2.1-41)

therefore he.demanded admission pardon

Therefore he demanded admission / pardon.

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

DISCP I not know about what they.take notice

I don't know what they noticed.

*Pejle ø dúj trín vorbi.* (4.2.1-43)

fell two three sentences

Some sentences were uttered.

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

*Mukesa te avel ø biš-engo.* (4.2.1-44)

you.will.let Cmpl come/be twenty-GEN.PL

You wait until the 20<sup>st</sup> / 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.

*Trobujas t'avel maškar le ek phúro rom, savo hažarel andej vorbi.* (4.2.1-45)

was.necessary to.be among them INDEF.ART old man who understands in.the speaking  
 Among them there should be one old man who knows to speak well.

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

I.was ON INDEF.ART celebration where was.not good ART food

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

*Phenel pe ek čačimo: "A čirikja pinžáres palaj pour* (4.2.1-47)

says REFL INDEF.ART truth ART bird you.recognize by.ART tail

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

*taj e manušes palaj vorba." Vi ando románo trajokado čačimo poťj.*

and ART human by.ART speech also in.ART Roms' life this truth holds

and a man by his speech." Also in the life of the Roms this proverb holds.

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

ART man made eyes.with ON INDEF.ART man and that demanded pardon

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 l-a ávri.* (4.2.2-1)

ART cup-F.SG broken-F.SG COP.SG, I.threw it-F.SG away.

The cup was broken, I threw it away.

There are several reliable indicators for singularness or pluralness, 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 táška* "one bag.sg", *k berš* "one year.sg", *k čáso* "one hour.sg";

- Not countable entities with quantifiers *but páji* “much water.sg”, *pherdo bejra* “plenty of beer.sg”, *cera čil* “a few butter.sg”, *dosta časo* “enough time.sg” (but: *dosta časura* “enough hours.pl”), *sa o hiril* “all the peas.sg”, *čisosko árno* “no egg.sg”;
- Collectives: *váso* “dishes.sg”, *zejčígo* “vegetables.sg”, *dímejčo* “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”, *dúj márne* “two (slices or loafs of) bread.pl”. Sometimes singular and plural co-occur:

*Feder te kerdoun krumpj-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-INSTR.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 čisoski bokoli, stejňe náštík 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 fejlíkura.* (4.2.2-5)

not wear not.any.pl pettinesses.pl

They don't wear any pettinesses.

*Čisosko híro prá la náštík 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)

NEG.COP.IPFV.SG she yet not.any.SG man.SG before that

She did not have any man before that one.

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

*Kodo má či phenen.* (4.2.2-8)

that.sg more not they.say

They do not say this any more.

*Žanav pa kodo.* (4.2.2-9)

I.know about that.sg

I know about that.

*No mišto, vi vou žanel kado.* (4.2.2-10)

DISCP DISCP also he knows this.sg

All right then, he also knows this.

- Representatives of a group:

*O Rom či žanel kodo.* (4.2.2-11)

the Rom.sg not knows that.

The Roms do not know that.

*Nás slobodo ká o Ňamco te trádkerel.* (4.2.2-12)

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): *thuv* “smoke”, *jiv* “snow”, *lon* “salt”, *Dejl* “God”, *bokh* “hunger”, *truš* “thirst”, *šil* “freeze”.

#### 4.2.2.2 Nominal Plural

- All higher numerals *dúj báre žejne* “two great.PL people.PL”, *šel ezera koroni* “hundred thousand.PL crowns.PL”, *ejfta motori* “seven cars.PL”, be the numerals in Romani or in cz/sk (*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”<sup>6</sup>), 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”, *prúduški* “bronchitis.PL”, and *vušt* “mouth.PL” besides PL of *vušt* “lip”, as well as *budogi* “trousers.PL” besides *budoga* “trousers.SG”. Singular forms (*\*louvo*, *\*šax*) are not contested.
- Certain collocations: *andej thema* “abroad.PL”;
- Occasionally to express largeness, effort, manifoldness or importance: *pej keretšígura* “on baptism.PL”, *andej školi* “in the school.PL”, *andej búťa* “in the job.PL”, *andej Prahi* “in Prague.PL”, *andaj Toucura* “from Slovakia.PL”, *andi Ostrava taj andej Birni* “in Ostrava.PL and in Brno.PL”, irrespective of Czech and Slovak plural location names like *Teplice.PL* (Romani *Teplica.SG*).

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:

*jejkh kil-o phábaj-a* vs. *jejkh liter-i thud-ø* (4.2.2-14)

one kilo-SG apple-PL

one litre-SG milk-SG

one kilo apples

one litre milk

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.

<sup>6</sup> 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:

*jejkh-ø bár-i sob-a*  
 one-f.sg big-f.sg room-f.sg  
 one big room

*o maj šukár-ø kher-ø*  
 art.m.sg cpr nice-m.sg house-m.sg  
 the most beautiful house

*sa e kál-e 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:

*Aj dikhes ži pi phuv-i i cox-a. Pláteňív-o-j vaj sosk-i-j?* (4.2.3-1)  
 DISCP you.see just to-ART.F floor.F-is ART.F skirt-F linen-F-is or what.kind-F-is

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

*Parančolin tuke, sav-i kames!* (4.2.3-2)  
 order YOU.DAT which-F you.want

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):

*Phár-o-j man-ge.* (4.2.3-3)  
 heavy-M-is me-DAT

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.

Their 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 *khajni* “hen”, *papiň* “goose”, *mášo* “fish”):

*Na már t-e žukl-es! Phagesa l-es.* (not with NOM *t-o žukel*) (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.OBL.SG hen-ACC.SG only ART.OBL.SG 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.OBL 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 I.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-OBL family-ACC” The same holds for certain verbal arguments, which are commonly used only with animate objects like the recipient of *žitij* “help”:

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

nobody not wanted ART.NOM little-NOM car-NOM ART.OBL little-OBL car-ACC

Nobody wanted the little car.

*Kadej žutis a čelčij-a te bárol.*  
 so you.help ART.OBL 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 Monik-a dásolij.* (4.2.5-1)  
 ART.NOM Monika.NOM mourns

Monika mourns.

*O brišind delas.* (4.2.5-2)  
 ART.NOM rain.NOM gave

It rained.

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

*I mál zelen-o-j.* (4.2.5-3)  
 ART.FEM meadow.NOM green-NOM-IS

The meadow is green.

3. Nominal predicate of copula clauses:

*O drab-i štiri sto koron-i.* (4.2.5-4)  
 ART.NOM pills-are four hundred crowns-NOM.PL

The pills cost four hundred crowns.

*Čišl-i sim.* (4.2.5-5)

slender-NOM I.am

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.

**Trobun ma louv-e.** (4.2.5-9)

need I.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 *protî* (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)

be aside your-NOM mother.NOM

Stay together with your mother!

7. In appellations, except for a series of fossilized vocatives (see 4.1.1.1.1 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!

*Ěta o Ćur-i!* (4.2.5-16)

DISCP ART.NOM Ćuri-NOM

Ćuri 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)

ART.NOM young-NOM little.Rom-NOM hidden-NOM was behind.the.NOM 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”/*kerđol* “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.* (4.2.5-20)

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

Her brother looks like a Czech.

*Khandel špit-a.* (4.2.5-21)

stinks hospital-NOM

It stinks like in a hospital.

*Dikhlal la pi fotka, so mezij?* (4.2.5-22)

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!* (4.2.5-23)

make you.ACC stupid.NOM

Pretend to be stupid!

*Site kerdem ma diplomát-o.* (4.2.5-24)

MODP I.made myself.ACC diplomat.NOM

I had to act as a diplomat.

*Šutem l-a nang-i.* (4.2.5-25)

I.put her-ACC naked.NOM

I undressed her.

*Kerelas p-e god'aver.* (4.2.5-26)

made herself-ACC clever.NOM

She pretended to be clever.

*Múlas tern-i.* (4.2.5-27)

died young-NOM

She died young.

*Dikh so kerd'ilem!* (4.2.5-28)

look what.NOM/ACC I.became

Look what I turned into!

*So desa ma památk-a?* (4.2.5-29)

what you.will.give me.ACC souvenir-NOM

What souvenir will you give me?

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

*Lesk-o dad 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 geji.* (4.2.5-35)

Ostrava.NOM went

They went to Ostrava.

*Phendas Ťešín-a kinel l-es, ká maj eftin-a-j.* (4.2.5-36)

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

He said he will buy it in Ťešín, 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):

*Keŕi-j? Deš-i / Deš čas-ura-j.* (4.2.5-37)

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

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

*So-j adějs? Paraštuj-i.* (4.2.5-38)

what-is today Friday.NOM-is

What day is it? It's Friday.

*Kad-o berš avilam khate 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.

*Čourdás (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!* (not: \**tu-tar*) (4.2.5-45)

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”, *haťárel* “understand” and *dukhal* “ache”, except for certain circumstances, see 4.2.5.3-4 Dative and 4.2.5.6-3 Locative.

*Mejárdas e Kevin-os.* (4.2.5-46)

made.dirty ART.OBL Kevin-ACC

He made Kevin dirty.

*Dav l-e a Bejb-a.* (4.2.5-47)

I.give them-ACC ART.OBL Bejba-ACC

I give them to Bejba.

*Žav žutinav e dad-es.* (4.2.5-48)

I.go I.help ART.OBL father-ACC

I go and help my father.

*Taj vi tu asas ma ávri.* (ABL without *ávri*) (4.2.5-49)

and also you laugh me.ACC out

And you, too, laugh at me.

*Kharen pesa peng-e maj páše níp-os.* (4.2.5-50)

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:

*E Román-os si bár-i dž.* (4.2.5-51)

ART.OBL Román-ACC COP big-NOM villa

Román has a big villa.

*A cigň-a trobun nejv-e papuč-i.* (4.2.5-52)

ART.OBL small-ACC need new-PL shoe-NOM.PL

The girl needs new shoes.

*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.

*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 *proti* “against” and *sembe* “vis-a-vis” (DAT), *bi* “without” (GEN), *dúr* “far from” (ABL), *kusa* “together with” (INSTR):

*Akánik gejlás 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 an 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:

*Muklas ame pa trín-e berš-en.* (4.2.5-56)

left us.ACC after three-OBL years-ACC

We split after three years.

*Phírenas pe gav-es.* (4.2.5-57)

wandered across village-ACC

They wandered across the villages.

*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.

*Khote náštík 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.

*Taj nás ká te žal, či ká doktor-es, či khanči.* (4.2.5-60)

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

because.of any.OBL triviality.ACC they.ban VERBP 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 *paťal* “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.ask YOU.ABL ART.OBL small-ACC

I am asking you about the little girl.

*Ašta, site kerav ma.* (4.2.5-65)

DISCP MODP make myself

Wait, I have to prepare myself.

*Paťav taj mindík ašárav 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.* (4.2.5-68)  
 showed me.DAT ART.NOM clothes-NOM

He showed me the clothes.

*Izenin le čalád-oske, hoť kodo d'ějs t' aven khejre.* (4.2.5-69)  
 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.* (4.2.5-70)  
 DISCP they.send it me.DAT

They do send it to me.

*Aviloun man-ge duvar.* (4.2.5-71)  
 had.been me.DAT twice

It would have longed twice for me.

*Volalindem l-eske te avel detehára.* (4.2.5-72)  
 I.phoned him.DAT in.order.to come tomorrow

I called him to come tomorrow.

*O gáž-o kamelas l-eske šest sto koron.* (4.2.5-73)  
 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.* (4.2.5-74)  
 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.* (4.2.5-75)  
 I.will.cut me.DAT INDEF.ART.NOM bread

I will cut a slice of bread (for myself).

*Taj rakhlas p-eske pirámň-a.* (4.2.5-76)  
 and found REFL.DAT lover

And he came up with a lover.

*Manglas te pen a romň-ake.* (4.2.5-77)

asked to drink ART.OBL woman.DAT

He asked the woman for something to drink.

*K-askē avla mur-i šej šinad-i?* (4.2.5-78)

who-DAT will.be my girl dedicated-NOM

To whom will my girl be dedicated?

*Kindáres l-es taj šosa l-es tu-ke katkáke.* (4.2.5-79)

you.soak it-ACC and you.will.put it-ACC you.DAT here

You soak it and then you lay it down here.

*Bešel taj pel p-eske kávej-a.* (4.2.5-80)

sits and drinks himself-DAT coffee

He is just sitting and drinking coffee.

*Sak-o šaj žal p-eske.* (4.2.5-81)

everybody-NOM MODP go REFL-DAT

Everybody may go his way.

*Ame vorbinasas khetáne amen-ge.* (4.2.5-82)

we were.talking together us.DAT

We had fun talking together.

*Apal o lánč-o ášol e Berc-eske.* (4.2.5-83)

then ART.NOM chainlet-NOM remains ART.OBL Berci-DAT

Then the chainlet remains with Berci.

*Taj e louv-e apal mukla l-ake?* (4.2.5-84)

and ART.NOM money-NOM then will.let her.DAT

And he will let the money with her?

*Najisárav sakon-eske.* (4.2.5-85)

I.am.thanking everybody-DAT

I am thanking everybody.

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:

*Te na nasvajves man-ge!* (4.2.5-86)

MODP not you.get.ill me-DAT

Please don't get ill!

*Naj e budòg-i či žana l-ake.* (4.2.5-87)

DISCP ART.NOM trousers-NOM not will.go her-DAT

But the trousers will not fit her.

*Aj vi man-ge bár-e-j!* (4.2.5-88)

DISCP also me.DAT big-NOM-are

They are really large for me, too!

*Múlas len-ge o šáv-o.* (4.2.5-89)

died them-DAT ART.NOM SON-NOM

Their son died.

*Kadi budòga či tecij tu-ke?* (4.2.5-90)

these trousers not is.liked you-DAT

You don't like these trousers?

*Či tecij man-ge, kana vorbis kadej.* (4.2.5-91)

not is.liked me-DAT when you.speak so

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

*Vou paťalas l-eske.* (see also *paťal* with 4.2.5.2-5 Accusative) (4.2.5-92)

He.NOM believed him-DAT

He really believed him.

*Varesav-e Rom-enge perenas vi le ásv-a andaj jákh-a.* (4.2.5-93)

some-OBL ROMS-DAT fell also ART.NOM tear-NOM.PL out.of.the.NOM eyes-NOM.PL

Some Roms had even tears in their eyes.

*O dand line man-ge ávri.* (4.2.5-94)

ART.NOM tooth they.took me-DAT out

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 dem le l-eske.* (instead of: \**Či dem le l-es.*) (4.2.5-95)

not I.gave them him-DAT

I didn't give them to him

2. Replacing the accusative to put emphasis or definiteness:

*Aj e louv-e te dena man-ge.* (4.2.5-96)

DISCP ART.NOM money MODP will.give me-DAT

They must give me the money.

*Taj kuk-i, so andem tu-ke, a Boj-ake dal l-a.* (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:

*Mišto-j l-enge khote.* (4.2.5-98)

well-is them-DAT there

They feel fine ther.

*Phár-o sas l-ake, mamó.* (4.2.5-99)

sad-NOM was her-DAT mummy

She felt sad, mummy.

*Má víg-o-j l-ake, hoť ká simas míte.* (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.

*Man-ge šil sas.* (4.2.5-101)

me-DAT cold was

I was cold.

*Man-ge jejkh-i.* (4.2.5-102)

me-DAT equal-is

It is the same for me.

*Aj t' aviloun man-ge dosta, či bikindemas l-a.* (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”):

*Azír e rom xutilen pe kirv-enge.* (4.2.5-104)  
 therefore ART.NOM Roms agree REFL.ACC godfather-DAT.PL

Therefore the Roms designate godfathers.

*Fogadij l-es kirv-eske.* (4.2.5-105)  
 designates him-ACC godfather-DAT

He designates him godfather.

*Kodo šaj siťárel l-a lak-i sokr-a, t' avla l-ate bour-ake.* (4.2.5-106)  
 that MODP teach her-ACC her-NOM mother-in-law-NOM when will.be her-at daughter-in-law

Her mother-in-law can teach her this, when she will be with her as daughter-in-law.

*Den l-e ká le Rom bour-ange.* (4.2.5-107)  
 they.give them-ACC to ART.NOM ROMS.NOM daughter-in-law-DAT.PL

They give them to the community as a daughter-in-law.

*Madonn-a phenen l-ake.* (4.2.5-108)  
 Madonna-NOM they.say her-DAT

They call her Madonna.

*Már šejour-ake me pinžárous l-a.* (4.2.5-109)  
 already little.girl-DAT I knew her-ACC

I knew her already, when I was a little girl.

*Kad-ale rom-enge phenas, hoť Vámak-e rom-i.* (4.2.5-110)  
 these-OBL ROMS-DAT we.say that from.Váma-NOM Roms.NOM-are

These Roms are called “Váma Roms”.

7. With the prepositions *proti* “against”, *sembe* “vis-a-vis”;

*Protí e Rom-enge sas.* (4.2.5-111)  
 against ART.OBL ROMS-DAT was

She was against the Roms.

*Bešenás sembe l-e Rom-enge pi áver rig.* (4.2.5-112)  
 they.lived vis-a-vis ART.OBL ROMS-DAT on.the other side

They lived vis-a-vis the Roms, on the other side.

8. Occasionally also with *žitij* “help” (probably contact-induced), in competition with the accusative:

*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 šukár-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 gejlás l-esa.* (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 náštík 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 phabáren 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 kisniko-sa phabáren le.*  
and only ART.OBL oxygen-INSTR they.burn them

*But they burn them only with oxygen.*

*Thovesa les ek kutin a kefa-sa.* (4.2.5-121)  
you.will.wash it.ACC 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 páše 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”:

*Kinasa 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, baxtá-sa,* (4.2.5-137)<sup>7</sup>  
 MODP reach this-NOM holy-NOM Christmas-NOM energy-INSTR luck-INSTR

Let you reach this holy Christmas day with energy, luck,

<sup>7</sup> Christmas congratulation, to be completed mutually with further and further items.

*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 operáciju a jákha-sa.* (4.2.5-138)

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, hot' kesentin les opre.* (4.2.5-139)

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 maladóš len-ca p-o bijav?* (4.2.5-140)

when 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 resadóša e Berce-sa, šaj phušes les-tar pa kod-o.* (4.2.5-141)

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.* (4.2.5-142)

tow-OBL years-INSTR was me-ABL

She was two years apart from me.

*Avilas trín-e d'ejšen-ca maj kíšen sar i áver.* (4.2.5-143)

came three-OBL days-INSTR CPR late than ART.NOM other.NOM

He came three days later than the other one.

*Avav ekh-e žejne-sa maj but.* (4.2.5-144)

I.come one-OBL people-INSTR CPR many.NOM

I'm coming with one additional person.

6. The patient of *bírij* “bear”, *vesejdij* “struggle”, *kerel* (“bother”), *sourakozij* “entertain”:

*Či bírinav man-ca.* (4.2.5-145)

not bear REFL-INSTR

I don't bear any longer.

*Či bírijas či vaste-sa či purne-sa.* (4.2.5-146)

not bore neither hand-INSTR nor foot-INSTR

He could not stand with neither his hand nor his foot.

*Pale keť vesejdina man-ca, o rat mejk lena.* (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.

*Sourakozin le-sa.* (4.2.5-148)

They.amuse him-INSTR

They amuse themselves with me.

*Na ker man-ca!* (4.2.5-149)

not make REFL-INSTR

Don't bother me!

7. After the preposition *kusa* “together with”:

*Taj avel jovkhar kusa šanglen-ca.* (4.2.5-150)

and comes once together.WITH police-INSTR

And once he came in accompaniment with the police.

8. Sayings: *Dejvle-sa* “thank God, fortunately”, *Ášon/Žan Dejvle-sa!* “Goodbye!”<sup>8</sup>

8 the person who leaves: *Ášon Dejvlesa!*, the person who stays: *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 *dúr* “far”, which is on the way to a preposition with the genitive.

*Taj ratij-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  
money-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 bešenás 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 dúr 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 dúr 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.

*Fififī, dūr amen-dar!* (4.2.5-158)

DISCP far US-ABL

Ugh, get away from us! (after uttering the expression for the *čoro nasvalimo* “cancer”)

*Či kamen te aven jejkhávres-tar dūr.* (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, hoť sar sas kad-o.* (4.2.5-160)

I.asked her-ABL once that how was that-NOM

Once I have asked her, how was it then.

*Taj kas-tar siťola?* (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 skirnav.* (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 teje e louv-e.* (4.2.5-167)

take you-ABL VERBP ART.NOM money-NOM

They reduce your subsidy.

*Nadón šukáres avlas kad-o le svunt-one Dejvles-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 have 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 náštik 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 romen-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.

*Sa khandel a saláma-tar.* (4.2.5-177)  
 everything stinks ART.OBL sausage-ABL

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, hot' 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 tejde 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.OBL Joška-ABL-IS 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 d'ějs.*

to give him.ACC day

to greet him.

*Feri e d'ij-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 \**fouoste* “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 fikon-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.

*andē keretšígós-te† / mulatšágós-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 šernáng-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.

*Ket'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 d'ějs 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)

ART.NOM bride-NOM just laughed shame-LOC

The bride just smiled 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-NOM families-NOM roms.NOM gave them-GEN-OBL daughters-ACC men-LOC

Some Rom families affianced their daughters.

*Le kolop-ura maj but bulh-e-j taj mindenfejlík-e sínon-de.* (4.2.5-211)

ART.NOM hats-NOM CPR much wide-NOM-are and various-OBL colours-LOC

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-GEN

What will happen to me without money?

*I Boja-a bi a Kája-ko taj i Kál-i bi a Boja-ko* (4.2.5-213)

ART.NOM Boja-NOM without ART.OBL Káli-GEN and ART.NOM Káli without ART.OBL Boja-GEN

*či žal khati.* (4.2.5-214)

not goes nowhere

Boja does not go anywhere without Káli, and neither does Káli without Boja.

*Bi muro gejlás.* (4.2.5-215)

without mine went

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)

SIX-GEN MODP to come US-LOC ART.NOM priest

At six the priest is supposed to come to our place.

*Akánik mukesa te avel bišen-go. Dvacátýho avel ká o doktor-i. (4.2.5-217)*  
 now you.will.let to come twenty-GEN twentieth comes to ART.NOM doctor-NOM

Now you will wait for the twentieth to come. On the twentieth he comes to the doctor.

*Avilan dopašaraťa-ko. (4.2.5-218)*  
 you.came.PL midnight-GEN

You came at midnight.

*Naj slobodo t'avel, feri ži dešen-go ráti. (4.2.5-219)*  
 not.is MODP to.be just until ten-GEN in.the.night

It is not suitable to come, just until ten o'clock in the evening.

### 3. Expressing a counter-value

*Kindam šel-e koronen-go. (4.2.5-220)*  
 we.bought hundred-OBL CROWNS-GEN

We bought it for hundred crowns.

Its inflected extension, the possessive pronoun, is much more frequent. It occurs in adnominal positions, ante-posed or postponed, or in the head if it stands for a (elided) nominal head. Its key role is to mark the possessor of the object to which the governing head refers to. E.g. the NP *a romňake zlága* “the woman's earrings” refers to earrings (*zlága* “earrings”), which are possessed by the element marked with the genitive, *romňi* “woman”. The semantic extensions of this concept of relation between two entities are listed below.

The genitive-possessive pronoun is close to an adjectivizer and represents a manifold source of Conversional Derivation (4.5.4.3). A substantial difference to real adjectives is the embedding with the help of an oblique article, which always reminds the nominal background of the word the characteristic is taken from. Only more lexicalized, onomasiological stages of adjectivization (like *vouja-ko* “cheerful” from *vouja* “good mood”) do not need an article any longer.

The genitive may chain, when the relation needs to be explained through an intermediate member:

*Kad-o la ša-k-e dad-esk-o kivanšág-o-j. (4.2.5-221)*  
 this-NOM ART.OBL.SG girl-GEN.SG-OBL.SG father-GEN.SG-NOM.SG wish-M.SG-COP.SG

This is the wish of the girl's father.

The wish (*kivanšágo* “wish”) is semantically linked to and placed after the father (*dad* “father”). The father himself is linked to and placed after the daughter (*šej* “girl”). So eventually, it is the wish of the father of the daughter, the daughter's father's wish. Father is linked to the wish (NOM SG M) by the NOM SG M *-o*, while the daughter is linked to the father (GEN SG M) via the OBL SG M *-e*. The daughter itself (GEN F SG) is chained as an OBL SG F *la*.

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 kezdi.* (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 dúj kirv-e gejde 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”, *tó žamutro* “your bridegroom”, *laka deja* “her mother.ACC”, *pesko kuzino* “his cousin”, *lengo cigno* “their small one”, *le cigneski kerešťaňa* “the child's godmother”;

*La-k-i, la romňa-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.

*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 mám-i sas mur-i lal-a, mur-e dades-k-i pheň 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 gejlj, 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 súde ánde 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 džjako* “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 šaláta* “cucumber salad, lit. cucumbers' salad”, *marimasko filmo* “action film, lit. beating's film”, *čisoski zumi* “soup without taste, lit. nothing's soup”, *varesoski kapela* “some band, lit. some kind's band”, *akársosko bajo* “any problem, lit. anything's problem”, *gádengo síno* “color of the dress, lit. dresses color”, *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 (*Vátij anda/anda-j bejnjesko 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

*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 Seredá-ke* (rom) “the Sered’ 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 *Bougešti* “Bougešti”, *Loulešti* “Loulešti” 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 (*tí dej* “your mother”, *tí mamó* “your mummy”, *tó rom* “your husband”, *tó Citrom* “your Citrom”):

*Žanes mur-i sal?* (4.2.5-243)

you.know mine-NOM you.are

You have to know that I love you.

*Jáj, mur-i-j kod-i bul!* (pointing to a baby's bottom) (4.2.5-244)

DISCP mine-NOM-IS that-NOM bottom

Oh, how I do like this baby!

*Me či žanav, mír či žal t-i mam-o.* (being also the speaker's own mother) (4.2.5-245)

I not know why not goes your mother

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 mur-o purn-o.* (4.2.5-246)

I.broke my foot

I have broken my foot.

*Dukhal t-o 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 dešuštáren-g-i-j, načili. Amilaj avla patnáct.* (4.2.5-248)

DISCP 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.

*Keť-e beršen-g-i-j?* (4.2.5-249)

how.many-OBL years-GEN-NOM-IS

How many years is she old?

*Deš-e beršen-g-i sas atunči kod-i 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 pap-u adějs már šelen-g-o 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":

*Šaj kerasas len-g-i douš ke či kamen te den ame páťiv.* (4.2.5-252)  
 MODP we.would.make her-GEN-NOM guilt.NOM because not they.want to give us.ACC respect

We could blame her for this, because they didn't pay respect to us.

*Či kerenas la romňa-k-i douš.* (4.2.5-253)  
 not they.made ART.OBL woman-GEN-NOM guilt

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)  
 DISCP will.want the rom maybe to give the girl so maybe the Joška.DAT

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.*  
 DISCP also that Joška will.be big this also ten.times COP-FUT she.ACC husband

S2 Well that Joška will also be old. She will have ten times a boy-friend in-between.

*Taj e gážes, sas les e búťára. Mindár, zaxvilku.* (4.2.6-2)  
 and the Czech.ACC COP.IPFV 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?* (4.2.6-3)  
and you.PL.said péro péróvo that péróvo what-is that

S1 And you were saying *péro, péróvo*? S2 That *péróvo*, what is it?

## 2. Kataphoric, relating to entities in discourse to come:

*T'aven saste taj baxtále, taj maj but ka pařiválo Rom,* (4.2.6-4)  
be healthy and lucky and CPR more that decent rom

Be welcome, and most of you this decent Rom,

*savo phuřlas 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, nařon láři-j!* (4.2.6-5)  
drink from that wine very good-is

Drink from this wine, it's very good!

*Manglal ma anglaj kaj pařivále rom.* (4.2.6-6)  
asked me in.front.of these decent rom

You have asked me in front of these decent Rom.

*Najkamlem te anav koj teja, taj bisterdem la.* (4.2.6-7)  
DISCP I.wanted to bring this tea and I.forgot it

I wanted to bring this tea, but I forgot it.

*Eta, pe kaj dúj kuřina draba dem sto ředesát koron!* (4.2.6-8)  
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!

Poslední mesíc *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 šúri!* (4.2.6-10)

bring this knife

Bring the knife!

*Taj koj 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 REFLin.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 koj manušni naj gajži halem romni.*

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 mesáli* “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)  
 fifteen years sixteen I.was when this was

I was fifteen, sixteen years old, when this happened.

*Či žanav, savo berš sas kodo.*  
 not I.know which year was that

I don't know in which year that was.

*No taj bútajik vorbinas pa kodo, vi deš berš pa kado vorbinas.* (4.2.6-18)  
 DISCP and long talked about that also ten years about that talked

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)  
 but Boja DISCP still not said I that

But Boja, actually I didn't tell this yet.

*Taj kado šaj gindosajlalas, mejk kerdam kado.* (4.2.6-20)

and that MODP have.thought before we.made this

And you could have thought for that, before we have made this.

*Pala kodo phenav, niči angla kodo.* (4.2.6-21)

after that I.say not before that

I say it after that, not before that.

*Pe kodo pamatalinav feri.* (4.2.6-22)

on that I.remember only

It is only that I do remember.

*Taj anda kodo mundárde les.* (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 *-o-* stem, in pronominal as well as adnominal position:

*Taj bišavel les palpále akánik i poušta, orgulij te bišavel les,* (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,

*taj má dúj šon trvalij, mejk avel kodo lil.*

and already two months takes until comes that letter

and already two months it takes, until that letter comes.

*Taj sas ma o xolesterol, taj pa kodo len o rat mandar.* (4.2.6-25)

and COP I.ACC the cholesterol and for this they.take the blood me.ABL

And I had cholesterol, and for this they take blood from me.

*Ando Švejdo-j kodi.* (4.2.6-26)

in Sweden-is that

She is in Sweden.

*Aj man si kecavo recepto, hoť anda kodo recepto, kana kerav jejkxumer,* (4.2.6-27)

DISCP I.ACC 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,

*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 nápokí pašaj Ňamci te keren. Taj kodoła 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,

*hoť bízín 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 nášťík skirínáv 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)

I will.say to.you what will.do he that idiot

I will tell you, what will this idiot do.

*Aj **kadi** bári šúri, vúbec náštík dikhav kana šingren lasa.* (4.2.6-34)

DISCP this big knife never MODP I.see when they.cut with.it

Oh this knife, I cannot ever watch them cutting with it.

*Mír kheles tu **kodole** mobilosa?* (4.2.6-35)

why play you this.OBL cell phone

Why do you play with this cell phone?

*Pa mas-i **kodo**, naj khanči.* (4.2.6-36)

from meat-is this is.not nothing

It's from meat, there is nothing to worry about.

*So-j ande **kodo** batúho, **kodo** pherdo?* (4.2.6-37)

what-is in that backpack that full

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)

said the Šejinka that with.me wants to go in.the shop for that fridge

Šejinka said that she wants to go with me to the shop because of that fridge.

*Sledulinas le e šangle, ek berš. Aj bistoš, vi **kodoj** majmon xutilde,*(4.2.6-39)

followed them the policemen one year DISCP for sure also those Vietnamese caught

The policemen followed them for one year. Actually, for sure they also caught those Vietnamese.

*phangle avna varisave.*

shut.in will.be some

some of them are probably imprisoned.

*Taj **kodoj** šukára kecave – sar bušon, so bašaven?* (4.2.6-40)

and those beautiful eh – how are.called what they.play

And those beautiful – how are those called, with which they play?

*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 šúke luludá maj láše-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 budógi, so andal. Palpále ingresa.* (kataphoric)(4.2.6-43)

take<sub>DISCP</sub> 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<sub>REFL.DAT</sub> 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:

*Vi kuk-oleski šej gejlj, e Čert-oski.* (4.2.6-47)

also that-GEN daughter went the Čerto-GEN

That one's daughter, that of Čerto, went also.

*Feri e šanglenca avilas pe kuki, pi 603-ka.* (4.2.6-48)

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.

*Taj kuki, so andem tuke, a Bojinkake dal la.* (4.2.6-49)

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.

*Hej! Taj kuko site kines, vaj si tu má, o cigno košárici.* (4.2.6-50)

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:

*Vi kuko o kašt thovesa.* (4.2.6-51)

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:

*Kadi cigni maj feder pasolij sar kuki.* (4.2.6-52)

this small CPR rather fits than that

This small one fits better than that one over there.

*Save kames, kakala vaj kukola?* (4.2.6-53)

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 d’ejs* “last day” etc., alternatively to *angla k berš*, *iž*, 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.

*Kakala taj kakala Rom xále pe.* (4.2.6-54)

these and these rom quarrelled REFL

These and those Roms quarrelled.

*Kako žala e barackenge, kako e struguronge, kako e herbúzoske,* (4.2.6-55)

this will.go the peach.DAT this the grape.DAT this the cantaloupe.DAT

This one is for the peach, this for the grape, this for the cantaloupe,

*kako a lubeñicake, kako e cukroske, čirouka, marouka, sa katka ando per gejlaz.*

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.

*S1 Savo sveteri les? S2 Čisavo, kakalesa či žal pér ma o zubuno.* (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.

*S1 Naj kamlem te anav koj teja, taj bisterdem la.* (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.

*S2 Naj kodi naj kecavi teja sar kaki?*

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).

*S1 Aj mír kaki šutal, kako?* (4.2.6-58)

DISCP why this.F put this.M

S1 But why did you put in this one?

S2 *Te aven maj but louve, kana potin kadi krejtinca.*

in.order.to COP.PL CPR much money when they.pay this skirt

S2 In order them to have more money, when they will pay this skirt.

S1 *Aj kodo a mamkako-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 I.ACC 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.*

DISCP at.once

Yes, at once?

S2 *Naj čak pe kuki naj tu má.*

DISCP DISCP on that not.is you.ACC already

Yes but on that eye you don't have any more wart.

S1 *Taj, si vi má pe kadi. Aj kadi, te sastòla, apal katka žala i doktorka.*

DISCP is also already on that DISCP that when will.recover then here will.go the doctor.F

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-is ill

And which one is ill?

S1 *Kaki. Phendas o doktori, že je na čase te žav, na operáciju lasa.*

this said the doctor.F that it's time to go to the surgery it.with

This one. The doctor said, that it's time to undergo a surgery with it.

S2 *A jagasa?*

the by.fire

Burning it down?

S1 *Taj stejně darav.*

DISCP nevertheless I.fear

But nevertheless I have fears.

S2 *Aj kaki-j láši, na?*

DISCP this-is good DISCP

But this one is fine, isn't it?

S1 *Jo. Má po intrego jakh-i ma, phendas o doktori.*

Yes already on whole eye-is I.ACC said the doctor

Yes. It is already on my whole eye, said the doctor.

S2 *Vi kutka?*

also there

There also?

S1 *Jo, o šedý zákal.*

Yes the glaucoma

Yes, the glaucoma

S1 *Vej živinde patra e luludange trobu.* (4.2.6-61)

also.the living leaf the flowers' be.necessary

We need also fresh leaves, from flowers.

S2 *Aj živinde. Taj keŕi 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 šúke luluda maj láše-j sar e žuvinde. 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?

*Keŕi 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 šúke, 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.

*S1 Kon-i kodi? S2 I Lulud?* (4.2.6-64)  
 who-is that the Lulud'

S1 Who is it? S2 It's Lulud'!

*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.

*I Helena kecavo nábitko kinkereľ peske. Či trobuj la áver.* (4.2.6-66)  
 the Helena such furniture buys.often REFL not need she.ACC other

Helena often likes to buy furniture. She doesn't need no other.

*Eta, pe kaj dúj kuřina draba dem sto šedésát koron! Taj o áver drab te kinou!* (4.2.6-67)  
 DISCP on these two little pills I.gave 160 crowns and the other pills MODP will.buy

Look, for these two little pills I paid 160 crowns! And now you want me to buy further pills!

*E jejkhes dine biř berř, e ávres dine osumnářt.* (4.2.6-68)  
 the one.ACC they.gave twenty years the other.ACC they.gave eighteen

To one of them they gave twenty years, to the other eighteen.

*Pej mařini dou le, po áver ři dou le.* (4.2.6-69)  
 for train.PL I.will.give them for other not I.will.give them

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 dęjs* “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 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular of the perfective of certain intransitive verbs, (like in <sub>M</sub> *gejlo* “he went” and <sub>F</sub> *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 <sub>M</sub> *thovel-les* “washes him” versus <sub>F</sub> *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 2<sub>SG</sub> imperative. The perfective stem does not occur without a suffix. Only in the case of number, number neutralization occurs with respect to the 3<sub>P</sub> irrealis (SG = PL is *-oun*) and of some 3<sub>P</sub> copula tenses. Also 2<sub>PL</sub> and 3<sub>PL</sub> 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 (2<sup>nd</sup> 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”, *tordòl* “stand”, *phabol* “burn (INTR)”, *bašol* “sound”, *paštol* “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 (*pot'inel(as)* besides *pot'ij(as)*, but PPP *pot'ime*) 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:

1 <sup>st</sup> Person Singular	<i>-av</i>
2 <sup>nd</sup> Person Singular	<i>-es</i>
3 <sup>rd</sup> Person Singular	<i>-el</i>
1 <sup>st</sup> Person Plural	<i>-as</i>
2 <sup>nd</sup> Person Plural	<i>-en</i>
3 <sup>rd</sup> Person Plural	<i>-en</i>

Table 30: Present Tense-Subjunctive - General Suffixes

Out of these principal forms, the particular paradigms in the following tables may be better understood:

	e-Conjugation	a-Conjugation	uv-Conjugation	i-Conjugation
1 <sup>st</sup> Person Singular	<i>-av</i>	<i>-av</i>	<i>-uvav</i>	<i>-inav/-ij</i>
2 <sup>nd</sup> Person Singular	<i>-es</i>	<i>-as</i>	<i>-os</i>	<i>-is</i>
3 <sup>rd</sup> Person Singular	<i>-el</i>	<i>-al</i>	<i>-ol</i>	<i>-ij</i>
1 <sup>st</sup> Person Plural	<i>-as</i>	<i>-as</i>	<i>-uvas</i>	<i>-inas</i>
2 <sup>nd</sup> Person Plural	<i>-en</i>	<i>-an</i>	<i>-on</i>	<i>-in</i>
3 <sup>rd</sup> Person Plural	<i>-en</i>	<i>-an</i>	<i>-on</i>	<i>-in</i>
Contraction Scheme	-	<i>-a-</i> + suffix	<i>-uv-</i> + suffix	<i>-in-</i> + 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:

	e-Conjugation	a-Conjugation	uv-Conjugation	i-Conjugation
Example	<b><i>phen-</i></b>	<b><i>as-</i></b>	<b><i>baš-</i></b>	<b><i>vorb-</i></b>
1 <sup>st</sup> Person Singular	<i>phenav</i>	<i>asav</i>	<i>bašuvav</i>	<i>vorbinav/vorbij</i>
2 <sup>nd</sup> Person Singular	<i>phenes</i>	<i>asas</i>	<i>bašos</i>	<i>vorbis</i>
3 <sup>rd</sup> Person Singular	<i>phenel</i>	<i>asal</i>	<i>bašol</i>	<i>vorbij</i>
1 <sup>st</sup> Person Plural	<i>phenas</i>	<i>asas</i>	<i>bašuvav</i>	<i>vorbinas</i>
2 <sup>nd</sup> Person Plural	<i>phenen</i>	<i>asan</i>	<i>bašon</i>	<i>vorbin</i>
3 <sup>rd</sup> Person Plural	<i>phenen</i>	<i>asan</i>	<i>bašon</i>	<i>vorbin</i>

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<sup>SG</sup> *pi!*, 1<sup>PL</sup> *pijas!*, 2<sup>PL</sup> *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<sup>SG</sup> 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<sup>st</sup> person this is contracted with the personal suffix *-av-as* > *-ous*:

1 <sup>st</sup> Person Singular	<i>-ous</i>
2 <sup>nd</sup> Person Singular	<i>-esas</i>
3 <sup>rd</sup> Person Singular	<i>-elas</i>
1 <sup>st</sup> Person Plural	<i>-asas</i>
2 <sup>nd</sup> Person Plural	<i>-enas</i>
3 <sup>rd</sup> Person Plural	<i>-enas</i>

Table 33: Imperfective-Potential - General Suffixes

Linking these suffixes to the above mentioned prototype verbs, the resulting final verb forms are:

	e-Conjugation	a-Conjugation	uv-Conjugation	i-Conjugation
1 <sup>st</sup> Person Singular	<i>phenous</i>	<i>asous</i>	<i>bašuvous</i>	<i>vorbinous</i>
2 <sup>nd</sup> Person Singular	<i>phenesas</i>	<i>asasas</i>	<i>bašosas</i>	<i>vorbisas</i>
3 <sup>rd</sup> Person Singular	<i>phenelas</i>	<i>asalas</i>	<i>bašolas</i>	<i>vorbijas</i>
1 <sup>st</sup> Person Plural	<i>phenasas</i>	<i>asasas</i>	<i>bašuvasas</i>	<i>vorbinasas</i>
2 <sup>nd</sup> Person Plural	<i>phenenas</i>	<i>asanas</i>	<i>bašonas</i>	<i>vorbinas</i>
3 <sup>rd</sup> Person Plural	<i>phenenas</i>	<i>asanas</i>	<i>bašonas</i>	<i>vorbinas</i>

Table 34: Imperfective-Potential - Paradigms

The -e- in the 3<sup>SG</sup> and in the 2<sup>PL</sup> and 3<sup>PL</sup> 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):

Za pùl roku, za rok, no čourker-l-as kodi. (4.3.4-1)  
 after.half.a.year after.a.year DISCP stole.ITER-3SG-IPFV that

After half a year, a year, well, she was stealing.

Žanel so leši-j la te ker-l-as varisosko bajo. (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.

T'av-l-as kodo, atunči le ávera rom, so nás khote, vorbin-d-oun, (4.3.4-3)  
 if.was-3SG-POT that then the other people what NEG.COP.IPFV there tell-PFV-IRR.3P

If it would be like this, then the other people, who were not there, would have told.

hoť khote sas ando mulatšágo a Krísinako Rom...  
 that there COP.IPFV in.the feast the council member

that a senate person was present at the feast

Vezetin tume, sar le dúj kirve khate t' av-n-as. (4.3.4-4)  
 behave you as the two godfathers here if COP-3PL-POT

Behave yourself, as if the two godfathers were here.

Apal šaj av-el-as kodo, hoť maj bári vorba av-l-as la (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 1<sup>st</sup> person this is contracted with the personal suffix -av-a > -ou.: person

1 <sup>st</sup> Person Singular	-ou
2 <sup>nd</sup> Person Singular	-esa
3 <sup>rd</sup> Person Singular	-ela
1 <sup>st</sup> Person Plural	-asa
2 <sup>nd</sup> Person Plural	-ena
3 <sup>rd</sup> Person Plural	-ena

Table 35: Future Tense - General Suffixes

Linking these suffixes to the above mentioned prototype verbs, the resulting final verb forms are:

	e-conjugation	a-conjugation	uv-conjugation	i-conjugation
1 <sup>st</sup> Person Singular	<i>phenou</i>	<i>asou</i>	<i>bašuvou</i>	<i>vorbinou</i>
2 <sup>nd</sup> Person Singular	<i>phenesa</i>	<i>asasa</i>	<i>bašosa</i>	<i>vorbisa</i>
3 <sup>rd</sup> Person Singular	<i>phenla / rodela</i>	<i>asala</i>	<i>bašola</i>	<i>vorbija</i>
1 <sup>st</sup> Person Plural	<i>phenasa</i>	<i>asasa</i>	<i>bašuvasa</i>	<i>vorbinasa</i>
2 <sup>nd</sup> Person Plural	<i>phenna / rodena</i>	<i>asana</i>	<i>bašona</i>	<i>vorbina</i>
3 <sup>rd</sup> Person Plural	<i>phenna / rodena</i>	<i>asana</i>	<i>bašona</i>	<i>vorbina</i>

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 mindár 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 delegácija?* (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 Lulud' kadala, phen-l-a.* (4.3.4-8)

DISCP want-3SG-FUT the Lulud' these say-3SG-FUT

Lulud' 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-SUBJ.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 keŕi 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, hoř leski šej pařiváli-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

*vař 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 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> 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 *\*bařuv*) 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:

	e-Conjugation	a-Conjugation	uv-Conjugation	i-Conjugation
2 <sup>nd</sup> Person Singular	<i>phen</i>	<i>asa</i>	<i>bašu</i>	<i>vorbin</i>
1 <sup>st</sup> Person Plural	<i>phenas</i>	<i>asas</i>	<i>bašuvás</i>	<i>vorbinas</i>
2 <sup>nd</sup> Person Plural	<i>phenen</i>	<i>asan</i>	<i>bašon</i>	<i>vorbinen</i>

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:

Stem	Form
<i>xut<sup>2</sup></i>	<i>xutî</i>
<i>uš<sup>2</sup></i>	<i>uš<sup>2</sup>î</i>
<i>áš-</i>	<i>ášu / áš</i>

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 dikhás!* “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 2P 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 teje!* “Lay it down!” Extended to *Ža šu teje!* “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 teje!* “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 2P 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!* (4.3.4-17)

bring-DISCP

Bring it, please!

*Xa-le!* (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 dējs engedime-j leske.* (4.3.4-19)

that day allowed-COP.3P 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:

Conjugation	Present Stem Ending In	Perfective Marker	Example
e-Conjugation	<i>l, r, n</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>čourd-</i> “stole”
	<i>g, k, kh, m, s, š</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>mukl-</i> “let”
	<i>-ajv</i>	<i>l</i> (eliding stem final <i>v</i> )	<i>xojajl-</i> “got angry”
	other <i>-v</i>	<i>d</i> (eliding stem final <i>v</i> )	<i>perad-</i> “let fall”
	<i>nd</i>	<i>l</i> (changing <i>nd</i> > <i>ng</i> )	<i>rangl-</i> “scratched”
	other <i>-d</i>	$\emptyset$	<i>rod-</i> “searched”
a-Conjugation	(any)	<i>nd, (jl)</i>	<i>lažand-</i> “was ashamed”
uv-Conjugation	(any)	<i>il</i>	<i>báril-</i> “grew”

in-Conjugation	(any)	<i>d</i>	<i>vorbind-</i> “talked”
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Table 39: Perfective Stem - Markers

The danger of confusion due to the  $\emptyset$  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:

Present Stem	Conjugation Class	Perfective Stem	Translation
<i>av-</i>	e	<i>avil-</i>	come
<i>xa-</i>	a	<i>xál-</i>	eat
<i>dara-</i>	a	<i>darajl-</i>	fear
<i>ura-</i>	a	<i>urajl-</i>	fly
<i>ža-</i>	a	<i>gejl-</i>	go
<i>xij-</i>	e	<i>cind-</i>	shit
<i>xuť-</i>	e	<i>xukl-</i>	jump
<i>dīlab-</i>	e	<i>dīlaband-</i>	sing
<i>mer-</i>	e	<i>múl-</i>	die
<i>p-</i>	e	<i>pill-</i>	drink
<i>per-</i>	e	<i>pejl-</i>	fall
<i>rov-</i>	e	<i>rún-</i>	cry
<i>sov-</i>	e	<i>sút-</i>	sleep
<i>suv-</i>	e	<i>súd-</i>	sew
<i>ušť-</i>	e	<i>ušťil-</i>	stand up
<i>žan-</i>	e	<i>žangl-</i>	know
<i>mothol</i>	uv	<i>method-</i>	let know
<i>šol</i>	uv	<i>šut-</i>	put

<i>pášol</i>	uv	<i>pášond-</i>	come closer
<i>benuj pe</i>	in(un)	<i>benusajl-*</i>	regret
<i>gindoj pe</i>	in(on)	<i>gindosajl-*</i>	think
<i>pecij pe</i>	in	<i>pecisajl-*</i>	happen

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:

	Perfective	Irrealis
1 <sup>st</sup> Person Singular	<i>-em</i>	<i>-emas</i>
2 <sup>nd</sup> Person Singular	<i>-al</i>	<i>-alas</i>
3 <sup>rd</sup> Person Singular	<i>-as</i> / (participle)	<i>-oun</i> / <i>-asas</i> / <i>-inoun</i>
1 <sup>st</sup> Person Plural	<i>-am</i>	<i>-amas</i>
2 <sup>nd</sup> Person Plural	<i>-an</i>	<i>-anas</i>
3 <sup>rd</sup> Person Plural	<i>-(in)e</i> (= participle)	<i>-oun</i> / <i>-asas</i> / <i>-inoun</i>

Table 41: Perfective & Irrealis - General Suffixes

In the context of a word like *phenel* (perfective stem *phend-*) these suffixes result in:

	Perfective	Irrealis
1 <sup>st</sup> Person Singular	<i>phendem</i>	<i>phendemas</i>
2 <sup>nd</sup> Person Singular	<i>phendal</i>	<i>phendalas</i>
3 <sup>rd</sup> Person Singular	<i>phendas</i> / (participle)	<i>phendoun</i> / <i>-asas</i>
1 <sup>st</sup> Person Plural	<i>phendam</i>	<i>phendamas</i>
2 <sup>nd</sup> Person Plural	<i>phendan</i>	<i>phendanas</i>
3 <sup>rd</sup> Person Plural	<i>phende</i> / <i>šudine</i>	<i>phendoun</i> / <i>-asas</i> / <i>šudinoun</i>

Table 42: Perfective & Irrealis - Paradigms

The alternate form entered as “(participle)” refers to certain intransitive verbs, alternating with the suffix *-as*:

*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:

*I Naďa gejl-i-tar andi Praha!* (4.3.5-2)

the Naďa go.PFTV-3SG.F-away in.the Prague

Naďa went off to Prague.

*Cir-d-as i mužíka, 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:

*Khel-a-díl-as!* (4.3.5-4)

play-CAUS-PFTV-3SG

*Khel-a-d'íl-o!* (4.3.5-5)

play-CAUS-PFTV-3SG.M

He has been outwitted!

And also the same speaker may use both forms one after the other in a single situation:

*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:

*S1 No šaj šor-d-oun pe tejde má, e dúj kirva.* (4.3.5-7)

DISCP MODP pour-PFTV-IRR.3P REFL ASPP already the two godfathers

*I Naďa 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.

*S2 Naj i Nadá! I Nadá gejlí-tar andi Praha!*  
DISCP the Nad'a the Nad'a go.PFTV-3SG-away in.the Prague

Oh Nad'a! Nad'a has left for Prague!

The alternative form on *-ine* given in the 3<sub>PL</sub> 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 (3<sub>PL</sub> 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 3<sub>P</sub> 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 (*pinžárdo*, *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.SG COP.IPFV.3P

And we came back and everything was smashed.

*Res-a-díl-e le maj híreša taj maj ánde pinžár-d-e Krísínake 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 3<sub>PL</sub> and in IRR 3<sub>P</sub> is also part of the participle here, giving *dino* “given”, *šudino* “thrown”, *line* “taken” etc.<sup>9</sup>

With *pekl-* / *pejk-* “baked” there is only one exception from the rule perfective stem = perfective participle stem, respectively.<sup>10</sup>

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:

	Present Tense	Imperfective
1 <sup>st</sup> Person Singular	<i>sim</i>	<i>simas</i>
2 <sup>nd</sup> Person Singular	<i>sal (san)</i>	<i>salas</i>
1 <sup>st</sup> Person Plural	<i>sam</i>	<i>samas</i>
2 <sup>nd</sup> Person Plural	<i>san</i>	<i>sanas</i>
3 <sup>rd</sup> Person (SG + PL)	<i>si / -i / -j</i>	<i>sas</i>
3 <sup>rd</sup> Person (SG + PL) Negative	<i>naj</i>	<i>nás</i>

Table 43: Copula - Present Stem Forms

In the 3<sup>SG</sup> and 3<sup>PL</sup> of the present tense the clitic *-i* (*-j* after vowel) is more frequent than the form *si*. 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 *si* is chosen under certain circumstances:

- For emphasizing the copula itself (as a fact):

*Kana si pér ma, či 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.

*Taj si kíňeša.* (4.3.6-2)  
and COP.3P cute

And they are cute.

*Hárniko si o Berci.* (4.3.6-3)  
habile COP.3P the Berci

Berci is really habile.

*Naj čak si la áver.* (4.3.6-4)  
DISCP DISCP COP.3P her.ACC other

Oh yes he has another one.

- In coordinated sentences in contrast to full verbs:

*I romňi terejdij pa sa taj si pe mindenekos.* (4.3.6-5)  
the woman care-3SG about everything and COP.3P on multiple

The woman cares about everything, and she suits for everything whatsoever.

- For emphasis in possessive constructions with a pronoun:

*Aj si ma vi ávera šáli.* (4.3.6-6)  
DISCP COP.3P me-ACC also other scarfs

But I have also other scarfs.

*Taj určiťe vi la si kirv-i.* (4.3.6-7)  
and certainly also her.ACC COP.3P godmother-NOM

But she has certainly also a godmother.

- In absence of a base to be attached to:

*Si.* (4.3.6-8)  
COP.3P

There is/are.

*Naj la bár-o kher? Naj si!* (4.3.6-9)  
NEG.COP.3P her.ACC big-NOM flat.NOM DISCP COP.3P

Hasn't she a big flat? Yes, she has!

*Šaj si.* (4.3.6-10)  
MODP COP.3P

It's possible. / There can be some.

*Anda sako than, ká si, an-el peske mindík 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 strúguri láše-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 hot' 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:

	Subjunctive	Future tense	Potential	Irrealis
1 <sup>st</sup> Person Singular	<i>avav</i>	<i>avou</i>	<i>avous</i>	<i>avilemas</i>
2 <sup>nd</sup> Person Singular	<i>aves</i>	<i>avesa</i>	<i>avesas</i>	<i>avilalas</i>
3 <sup>rd</sup> Person Singular	<i>avel ~ al</i>	<i>avla</i>	<i>avlas</i>	<i>aviloun</i>

1 <sup>st</sup> Person Plural	<i>avas</i>	<i>avasa</i>	<i>avasas</i>	<i>avilamas</i>
2 <sup>nd</sup> Person Plural	<i>aven ~ an</i>	<i>avna</i>	<i>avnas</i>	<i>avilanas</i>
3 <sup>rd</sup> Person Plural	<i>aven ~ an</i>	<i>avna</i>	<i>avnas</i>	<i>aviloun</i>

Table 44: Copula - Potential Stem Forms

Short forms without the root *-v-* are common individual optional alternatives in optatives, preceded by contracted *te < t'*:

*T' a-l tumen-ge baxtáli!* (4.3.6-17)  
 MODP COP.SUBV-3SG you-DAT happy

Let it bring you happiness!

*Tumára pářiva-ke, romale, t' a-n tumen-ge baxtále!* (4.3.6-18)  
 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<sub>PL</sub> and 2<sub>PL</sub> suffixes:

	Imperative
2 <sup>nd</sup> Person Singular	<i>av</i>
1 <sup>st</sup> Person Plural	<i>avas</i>
2 <sup>nd</sup> Person Plural	<i>aven</i>

Table 45: Copula – Imperative Forms

In local deixis additionally a clitic set is applied in very limited circumstances, only in present tense. The forms <sub>M SG</sub> *lo*, <sub>F SG</sub> *li*, <sub>PL</sub> *le* sound like natural, non-suppletion extensions or relics of the 3<sub>P</sub> *l-* 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!”).

#### 4.4 Use of Verbal Grammatical Categories

This section gives an overview about the range of grammatical, semantic and pragmatical 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:

*Šukár-i.* (4.4.1-1)

beautiful-COP.3P

She is beautiful.

*O tričko tista loulo sas andaj paradičomi.* (4.4.1-2)

the T-shirt completely red COP.IPFV.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:

*Kadi gajži učitelka-j.* (4.4.1-3)

this lady teacher-COP.3P

This lady is a teacher.

*Angluno rom sas.* (4.4.1-4)

first person COP.IPFV.3P

He was a leading person.

*O drab-i štiri sto koron!* (4.4.1-5)

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.* (4.4.1-6)

on table-COP.3P

It's on the table.

*Muro nano andi Praha-j akánik.* (4.4.1-7)

my uncle in.the Prague-COP.3P now

My uncle is in Prague now.

*Kodo nípokorkoures sas.* (4.4.1-8)

that family alone COP.IPFV.3P

That family was alone.

*Či kodo č' av-l-as šukáres.* (4.4.1-9)

neither that not COP-3SG-POT nice

Neither that would not be nice.

*Opre s-al?* (4.4.1-10)

up COP-2SG

You're up?

*Nás opre.* (4.4.1-11)

NEG.COP.IPFV.3P up

He was not up.

4. Existential predicates – the subject is stated to exist at the here-and-now of discourse:

*Nás jiv.* (4.4.1-12)

NEG.COP.IPFV.3P SNOW

There was no snow.

*Káveja site si.* (4.4.1-13)

coffee MODP COP.3P

There has to be coffee.

*Te si lon, šaj šos lon.* (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)  
 small.NOM flat.NOM-COP.3P her.ACC and suit into

She has a small flat, but she suits into.

*Naj ma tuška, site phuš-es a mama-tar.* (4.4.1-16)  
 NEG.COP.IPFV.3P me.ACC pencil MODP ask-2SG the mother-ABL

I haven't got a pencil, you have to ask mummy.

6. To form the passive voice (see 3.1.3.6 Voice):

*Kodo dĕjs engedime-j leske.* (from: *Engedine leske.*) (4.4.1-17)  
 that day allowed-COP.3P him allowed him

That day he was allowed to act. (from: They allowed him to act.)

*Kodola rom khar-d-e-j le šáveske dades-tar.* (4.4.1-18)  
 those men invite-PFTV-3PL-COP.3P the young.man's father-ABL

Those men are invited by the young man's father.

(from: *O šávesko dad khardas kodole romen.*)  
 the young.man's father invite-PFTV-3SG those men

The young man's father invited those men.

*Na prosinec s-im khar-d-i.* (from: *Khar-d-e ma.*) (4.4.1-19)  
 for.December COP-1SG invite-PFTV-3SG.F invite-PFTV-3PL me

I am ordered for December. (They ordered me.)

In questions about a new term, *kodo* is used compulsorily:

*Žan-es, so-j kodo i mužika?* (4.4.1-20)  
 know-2SG what-COP.3P that the music

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 Mancí?* (4.4.1-21)  
 where the Mancí

Where is Mancí?

*Ká-lo?* (4.4.1-22)

where-COP.3SG.M

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.*            (4.4.2-1)  
 ART.SG.F        Boja-SG.F        throw.PFTV-3SG    ART.PL        pepper-PL.

Boja threw away the peppers.

*E*            *Opavak-e*            *či kam-en-as*    *te dikh-en les.*            (4.4.2-2)  
 ART.PL        Opava.Roms-PL        NEG want-3PL-IPFV    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.*            (4.4.2-3)  
 OUR-PL    money-PL    got.lost-PFTV-PL

\**Amar-e*    *louv-e*    *xasaj-l-o*  
 OUR-PL    money-PL    got.lost-PFTV-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-el-a,*            *so*    *gindi-s?*            (4.4.2-4)  
 ART.SG    dishes-SG    not disappear-3SG-FUT    what    think-2SG

\**O*    *vás-o*    *či xasajv-en-a,*            *so*    *gindi-s?*  
 ART.SG    dishes-SG    not disappear-3PL-FUT    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-ø*    *beš-en-as*    *khote.*            (4.4.2-5)  
 ART.SG    Andro-SG    and his-SG    SISTER.SG    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”):

*Keti žejne av-es-a khote?* (4.4.2-6)

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 *ukážte mi* “show.PL me”, directed to a single person, is translated as *sikav* “show.SG”, not as *\*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.* (4.4.2-7)

*I buy-FUT.1SG ART.SG present-SG ART.SG Jirka-INSTR.SG and you.SG carry-2SG-FUT*

*Ame kin-asa o dárk-o e Jirka-sa, taj tu ingr-es-a.* (4.4.2-8)

*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 *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 (*lenge*):

*Te av-l-a i dej-ø taj o dad-ø, so phen-es-a l-en-ge?* (4.4.2-9)

*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-ø taj lesk-o dad-ø gejl-as te kin-el lake mol.* (4.4.2-10)

*his-NOM mother-SG and his-SG father-SG go.PFTV-3SG to buy-3SG her wine*

His parents did buy wine for her.

The reciprocal *jejkháver* “another” consists formally of a singular subject *jejkh* “one” and a singular object *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, *jejkh* and *áver*, which can be seen in the alternative expression in brackets

*Šaj phen-en jejkhávr-es-ke kirv-o. (Šaj phen-en penge kirv-e.)* (4.4.2-11)

MODP say-3PL another-DAT godfather-SG MODP say-3PL REFL godfather-PL

They are in a relation of godfathers.

*O manuš jejkhávr-es-k-o sokáš-i náštik l-el.* (4.4.2-12)

ART.SG human.NOM another-GEN-NOM custom-SG MODP take-3SG

The people cannot transfer their customs from one another.

*Či na žan-en pala jejkháver. (Či na žan-en pala pe.)* (4.4.2-13)  
 even not know-3PL about ANOTHER.SG even not know-3PL about REFL

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 mār-en-as le khonik.* (4.4.2-14)  
 not beat-3PL-IPFV them.PL nobody

Nobody beat them.

*Pale šo-n-a opre o plin-o áver berš.* (4.4.2-15)  
 again put-3PL-FUT VERBP the gas-SG other.SG year.SG

Once again they will rise gas prices next year.

*And-o DM dvě stě korun mang-en.* (4.4.2-16)  
 in-the-SG DM two hundred crowns require-3PL

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 ART.F Rumungro.woman-F escape-PFTV-3SG.F-away already

And the Rumungro woman had escaped already.

*Gejl-i-tar and-i Anglij-a.* (4.4.3-2)  
 go.PFTV-3SG.F-away in-ART.F England-F

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:

*Vi kod-ola pinžár-av, a Lulud<sup>2</sup>-a.* (4.4.4-1)

also this-F.SG know-1SG ART LULUĐ-SG

I also know this one, Lulud<sup>2</sup>.

*Taj me mindžár pahosaj-l-em, taj khote ášad<sup>1</sup>-l-em,* (4.4.4-2)

and I immediately get.cold-PFTV-1SG and there be.surprised-PFTV-1SG

*hoť 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.

*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.

*Šu tejl, šin-es-a les!* (4.4.4-4)

lay.IMP.2SG down rip-2SG-FUT it

Lay it down, you'll rip it!

*Či žan-as-as pár le.* (4.4.4-5)

NEG know-1PL-IPFV about them

We didn't know about them.

*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.

*D-an-as ma šel koron-i.* (4.4.4-7)

give-2PL-POT me.ACC hundred-NOM crowns-NOM

You would give me a hundred crowns.

*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 PRONS of the *p*- series, see the last two examples 4.4.4-13 and 4.4.4-14:

*Man-ge šil s-as.* (4.4.4-9)

me-DAT.SG cold.NOM COP-IPFV.3P

I was cold.

*Žutin-d-as la.* (4.4.4-10)

help-PFTV-3SG her

She helped her.

*Taj khate mala-díl-e kadej khetáne.* (4.4.4-11)

and here meet-PFTV-3PL so together

And so they met here together.

*Či na d-en-as.* (4.4.4-12)

even NEG give-3PL-IPFV

They even didn't / wouldn't give it.

*Č' úra-d-e pe šukáres.* (4.4.4-13)

NEG dress-PFTV-3PL REFL nicely.

They didn't dress (themselves) nicely.

*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.

#### 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 *trobu* “need”, *musaj* “must” etc. this information is transferred by the matrix clause or modal element, see 5.5.2 Modal Particle.

##### 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:

*Ingr-av les opre.* (4.4.5-1)

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):

*Milaj sas. O baro tařimo sas.* (4.4.5-2)  
summer COP.IPFV.3P the big heat COP.IPFV.3P

It was summer. The heat was big.

*Phen-el, hoř te na řa-l ando kher te sov-el.*  
say-3SG that MODP not go-3SG in.the house to sleep-3SG

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:

*Kana dikh-l-as, sov-el halára, taj cípin-d-as pej ávera řejne,* (4.4.5-3)  
when see-PFTV-3SG sleep-3SG completely and cry-PFTV-3SG on.the other people  
*hoř már řaj av-en.*  
that already MODP come-3PL

When she saw, that he is deeply sleeping, then she cried for the other people., that they can come now.

*řun-d-as hoř vorbi-n.* (4.4.5-4)  
hear-PFTV-3SG that talk-3PL

He heard, that they were talking.

*Ánde ker-d-as i fejastra te na av-en ánde e mákha.* (4.4.5-5)  
VERBP make-PFTV-3SG the window in.order.to not come-SUBV.3PL inside the flies

He closed the window in order to not let the flies come in.

*Taj řo-s-a kuřin páji te na phabo-l tu-ke.* (4.4.5-6)  
and put-2SG-FUT little water in.order.to not burn-SUBV.3SG you-DAT

And you add some water so that it will not scorch.

- Present tense for other types of subordinate clauses:

*E ávera řila, so tume kam-en, sas po patnáct korun.* (4.4.5-7)  
the other butters which you want-3PL COP.IPFV.3P each fifteen crowns

The other sorts of butter, which you want, costed fifteen crowns each.

- Future tense, within epistemic mood, see below on mood:

*Naj mandarinka ker-av tu-ke?* (4.4.5-8)

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 krumpľi*. “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 (*Projdínav 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 (*Sitól 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.* (4.4.5-9)

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,* (4.4.5-10)

DISCP know-2SG how put-3SG REFL put-2SG bread butter

*šingr-es kadej na měsíčky, 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.* (4.4.5-11)

also when come-3SG here that Joška not talk-3SG with.him

Even when Joška comes here, he does not talk to him.

*Kana či teci-n len-ge variko, ža-n-tar lendar.* (4.4.5-12)

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, absolutně.* (4.4.5-13)

and other not buy-1SG already absolutely

And I will not buy any other, absolutely.

*Najmandarinka ker-av tu-ke?* (4.4.5-14)

DISCP tangerine make-1SG you-DAT

So do you want me to prepare a tangerine for you?

*Me ferí má či kin-av mange kabelka,* (4.4.5-15)

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?* (4.4.5-16)

I go-1SG dress-1SG myself DISCP

I will go and dress myself, OK?

*Aj potin-av le.* (4.4.5-17)

DISCP pay-1SG them

But I will pay for them.

*Kana ža-s-tar tehára?* (4.4.5-18)

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 papučí, vi me phír-av čak phujatar.* (4.4.5-19)

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:

*Na ker manca!* (4.4.6-1)

not do.IMP.2SG with.me

Don't bother me!

*Šu teje!* (4.4.6-2)

put.IMP.2SG VERBP

Undress it!

*Av-as ža-s ká i Boja!* (4.4.6-3)

come-IMP.1PL go-IMP.1PL to the Boja

Come let's go to Boja!

*Muk-en les!* (4.4.6-4)

leave-IMP.2PL him

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:

*"An čil!", phen-d-as lenge / phen-l-a tuke.* (4.4.6-5)

bring.IMP.2SG butter say-PFTV-3SG them say-3SG-FUT you

"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*).

*Taj te d-es les d'ějs, te dikh-es-a les!* (4.4.6-6)

and MODP give-2SG.SUBV him day when see-2SG-FUT him

And you have to greet him, when you will meet him!

*Te an-es-a mange variso andaj thema!* (4.4.6-7)  
 MODP bring-2SG-FUT for.me something from countries

And you have to bring something to me from abroad!

*Sigo t' av-es palpále!* (4.4.6-8)  
 quickly MODP COP.SUBV-2SG back

And come back quickly!

*Te n' av-es lende k d'ejš!* (4.4.6-9)  
 MODP not COP.SUBV-2SG at.them one day

You must not stay there for a whole day!

*Te na per-es!* (4.4.6-10)  
 MODP not fall-SUBV.2SG

Take care not to fall!

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!* (4.4.6-11)  
 come-IMP.2PL go-IMP.1PL

Come, let's go!

*Av-as ža-s kirav-as!* (4.4.6-12)  
 come-IMP.1PL go-IMP.1PL cook-IMP.1PL

Come on, let's go and cook!

*Ža dikh!* (4.4.6-13)  
 go.IMP.2SG look.IMP.2SG

Go and look!

*Le garav!* (4.4.6-14)  
 take.IMP.2SG hide.IMP.2SG

Take and pocket it!

*An šu teje khate!* (4.4.6-15)  
 bring-IMP.2SG put.IMP.2SG down here

Lay it down here by my side!

*Le tu-ke!* (4.4.6-16)  
 take.IMP.2SG you-DAT

Take one!

*Ža-s amen-ge!* (4.4.6-17)  
 go-IMP.1PL we-DAT

Let's go together!

*Beš tu-ke!* (4.4.6-18)  
 sit.IMP.2SG you-DAT

Take a seat!

*An-le i táška!* (4.4.6-19)  
 bring-DISCP the bag

Please bring the bag!

*Ža-de!*  
 (4.4.6-20)

go.IMP.2SG-DISCP

So go now!

## 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:

*Maj phen-ou tuke.* (4.4.7-1)  
 once say-1SG-FUT you

I do will tell you.

*Či av-l-a.* (4.4.7-2)  
 not come-3SG-FUT

She will not come.

- Anticipated future time after emotional verbs:

*Dara-n kodolestar, hoř le Rom meláles beš-n-a taj hoř či poit-n-a.* (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 či paťa-l-a.* (4.4.7-4)

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 krísi.* (4.4.7-5)

wait-3PL-1PL on this when begin-3SG-FUT the council

We wait, until the council begins.

*Tajvou ža-l-as ando kher te sov-el. Taj phen-el leske i romňi,* (4.4.7-6)

and he go-3SG-IPFV in.the house to sleep-3SG and say-3SG him the woman

*hoť ker-l-a leske ávri than telaj čelčija pi mál.*

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 mojas,* (4.4.7-7)

already prepared-COP.3P the bottle the wine.with

*savasa ánde 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.* (4.4.7-8)

now walk-ITER-3PL-FUT

And now they will be walking around

Progressive: *Žan-av ťiro: Te av-ou khejre, dikh-es-a pi televiza.* (4.4.7-9)

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 come-1SG-FUT already ready COP-3PL-FUT

Before I will come, they will be ready.

*Šaj d-en simádĭ, mejk či vortár-l-a ávri e louve.* (4.4.7-11)

MODP give-SUBV.2PL pawn until not even-3SG-FUT ASPP the money

They may give a pawn, until they will equate the money.

Perfective: *D-es-a palpále.* (4.4.7-12)

give-2SG-FUT back

You will give it back.

Imperfective: *Žutin-ou 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 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 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 muro č' av-n-a láše, 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 či na zumav-es-a, protože nad'ón 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 MODP make-3SG-FUT what want-3SG And I simply MODP 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 budóga.* (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 lednička.* (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 MODP 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 –* (4.4.8-1)  
 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.* (4.4.8-2)  
 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.* (4.4.8-3)  
 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.* (4.4.8-4)  
 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.* (4.4.8-5)  
 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.PFTV-2PL not know-1PL-IPFV on it

S2 What you threw away. We did not know about it.

*O autobusi či ža-l-as.* (4.4.8-7)  
 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-IPFV on.the winter to go-SUBV.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,* (4.4.8-9)  
 the boy even that not believe-3SG-IPFV and not go-3SG-IPFV him into.the head  
*hot' muk-l-as les.*  
 that leave-PFTV-3SG him

The boy didn't believe even that, and he could not get into his head, that she left him.

*Dúj ezera d-el-as pi krejcinka.* (4.4.8-10)  
 two thousand give-3SG-IPFV on.the skirt

He offered two thousand for the skirt.

*Aj mang-en-as mandar výměř důchodu, taj ízenin-d-em lenge:* (4.4.8-11)  
 DISCP demand-3PL-IPFV from.me pension assessment and let.say-PFTV-3SG them

*Te kam-en výměř důchodu, te av-en pala ma.*  
 if want-3PL pension assessment MODP come-SUBV.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:

*Nášřík gejl-em kadalasa, kana khar-el-as ma paj trín šon.* (4.4.8-12)  
 MODP go.PFTV-1SG 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 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-SUBV.1SG with.her fall.ill-PFTV-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? Nadón šukár-i.*

a DISCP also so go.PFTV-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 REFL

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-PFTV-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-PFTV-IRR.3P it

They would not give it. Or would they?

*S1 Aj kam d-in-oun la, kana či kin-en-as khonik.*

DISCP DISCP give-PFTV-IRR it when not buy-3PL-IPFV nobody

But they might have given it, as nobody ever bought it.

*Mindík phen-el-as hoť kam-el la.* (4.4.8-19)

always say-3SG-IPFV that love-3SG her

She always said, that she loves her.

*Kana s-im-as maj terni, vi pij-ous thud-ouro.* (4.4.8-20)

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.* (4.4.8-21)

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 mamó.*

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].* (4.4.8-22)

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 d'ějs*) would imply a hardly tolerable mere intention to say good-bye, but without any result:

*Kana d-em le romen d'ějs, beš-l-em teje.* (4.4.8-23)

when give.PFTV-1SG the people day sit-PFTV-1SG 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:

*SI Naj phen-es-as, hoť te bišav-ou les tuke.* (4.4.8-24)

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.*

DISCP DISCP die.PFTV-1SG and last-3SG-FUT one month until send-3PL-FUT it to.me

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.*

DISCP the letter come-PFTV-IRR to.me twice and not go.PFTV-1SG after it

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.*

go.PFTV-3SG the Bejba and not give-PFTV-3PL it her COP.IPFV.3P recommended

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 dĕjs 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 vudar sas ánde ker-d-o.* (4.4.9-1)  
 ART.NOM.SG.M door.NOM.SG.M COP.IPFV.3P VERBP make-PFTV-NOM.SG.M

The door was closed.

*Nás tejde skiri-me, azír či khar-d-e la.* (4.4.9-2)  
 NEG.COP.3P 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 apal phen-es-a, so phen-d-as i doktorka.* (4.4.10-1)  
 and then say-2SG-FUT what say-PFTV-3SG the doctor

And then you will tell, what the doctor will have said.

*Taj o práško te ingr-el lake i Boja, te kin-av, hoť d-el-a* (4.4.10-2)  
 and the pills to carry-3SG her the Boja in.order.to buy-1SG that give-3SG-FUT

*le louve mindár. Naj 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 phen-d-em te na l-en o kher.* (4.4.10-3)

MODP say-PFTV-1SG to not take-SUBV.3PL the house

I had to say them not to take away the flat.

*Hej, xál-al már?* (4.4.10-4)

DISCP eat.PFTV-2SG already

Hey, did you eat already?

*Te mer-av, me či žan-av, már bister-d-em.* (4.4.10-5)

DISCP I not know-1SG already forget-PFTV-1SG

I really don't know, I have forgotten.

*Akánik o nájem zvišín-d-e man-ge.* (4.4.10-6)

now the rental.fee rise-PFTV-3PL me-DAT

They rose the rental fee now.

*Či pill-em dolmut.* (4.4.10-7)

not drink.PFTV-1SG long.time

I haven't drunk for a long time.

- A finished process resulting in a state:

*Čišj-il-o akánik.* (4.4.10-8)

slim.down-PFTV-3SG.M now

He has slimmed down now.

*Azír ker-d'il-e e badlavici.* (4.4.10-9)

therefore make-PFTV-PFTV-3PL the warts

Therefore the warts occur.

*Korkouri áš-il-as?* (4.4.10-10)

alone stay-PFTV-3SG

She has stayed alone?

*Taj nasvaj-l-e le rakloura.* (4.4.10-11)

and get.ill-PFTV-3PL the majority.children

And the children became ill.

- Concurrently, with a stative verb, an inception:

*Žan-gl-em, hoř nasvaj-l-as o Groufo.* (4.4.10-12)

know-PFTV-1SG that get.ill-PFTV-3SG the Groufo

I came to know, that Groufo became ill.

*Po palunopata-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.

*Phuš-l-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 xál-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 žan-gl-em-as, či gejl-em-as tute.* (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 akánik khanči.* (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<sup>11</sup>, we would not eat anything now.

*T' av-il-oun khejre, šaj gejl-am-as lende.* (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 andi kirčima te mang-es teja.* (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!* (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):

<sup>11</sup> a Rom meal based on cabbage, rice and chicken broth

*Ve stredu d-en-a o dúxodo. Naj taj žojine šaj gejl-em-as.* (4.4.11-7)  
 on Wednesday give-3PL-FUT the pension DISCP and Thursday MODP go.PFTV-1SG-IRR

On Wednesday they will offer the pension. Well and on Thursday I could go.

*Mamo, šaj kin-d-al-as akánik mange zubuno.* (4.4.11-8)  
 mummy MODP buy-PFTV-2SG-IRR now me coat

Mummy, you could buy a coat for me.

## 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 *kutîn* “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:

*bár-e jíl- es- k- i* → *bár- e- jíl- esk- i* (4.5.1-1)

big-OBL.M.SG heart-OBL.M.SG-GEN-NOM.SG.F big-LINKER-heart-DERIVATION-agreement

An exceptional linker *-i-* can be found in *dopaš-i-rat* “mid-night” or *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.

*bárejílesko* “noble, lit. big-hearted”, *jejkhejakhesko* “one-eyed”, *čáčejílesko* “sincere, lit. true-hearted”, *jejkhačangako* “one-legged”, *dopašaraťako* “midnight”

*Keť-e-berš-en-g-i-j?* (4.5.1-2)

how.many-OBL.SG-year-OBL.PL-GEN.SG-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*).

*bilouvengo* “moneyless”, *bibájengi* “without sleeves”, *bililengo* “unofficially, lit. without paper”

- Numeral + pronoun: The reciprocal *jejkháver* “another” is joined without linker, because *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:

*Phírenas pala jejkh-ávr-es.* Not: *Phírenas \*jejkh pala ávr-es.* (4.5.1-3)

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:

<b>Lexeme</b>	<b>General Meaning</b>	<b>Shifted Meaning</b>
<i>loukes</i>	slowly	quiet
<i>bal</i>	hair	tinsel
<i>bešel</i>	sit	be imprisoned
<i>xal</i>	eat	irritate
<i>šinel</i>	cut	decide
<i>mundárel</i>	kill	beat up, switch off
<i>dúj</i>	two	different
<i>kouvjárel</i>	weaken	calm down, intermediate
<i>mulano</i>	dead	pale
<i>perel</i>	fall	receive accidentally, arrive
<i>parudo</i>	changed	unsightly
<i>žal</i>	go, walk	begin, function, take turn
<i>deja, dada</i>	mothers, fathers	ancestors
<i>pátiv</i>	respect, honour	celebration
<i>páji</i>	water	brook, lake, sea, dressing, liquid
<i>pája</i>	waters	flood, sweat

Table 46: Semantic Shift

The following sentences may provide examples of such shifts in context:

*I vlašiko šib kodi amáre dejangi-j taj amáre dadengi-j.* (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].* (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-* (*perválo* “furnished with a belly”), *-ver* (*godáver* “wise, lit. endowed with reason”).

Morp heme	Target Part-of-Speech Type and Inflection Class	Source Word Type	Examples	Semantic Range, Comments
<i>maj-</i>	retained	adjective, adverb, (noun)	<i>maj šukár</i> “nicest”	see 4.5.3.1 Comparison
<i>-our-</i>	retained, changes in inflection	noun, adjective	<i>cigň-our-i</i> “small.DIM”	see 4.5.3.2 Diminutives

-ic-	retained	noun	<i>pohár-ic-i</i> “little glass”, <i>čejz-ic-a</i> “little cup”	ditto
-ink-	retained	name	<i>Kejž-ink-a</i> “little Kejža”, <i>Berc-ink-o</i> “little Berci”	ditto
-ker-	e-conjugation verb	verb	<i>mundár-ker-enas</i> “kept killing”, <i>kharav-ker-dónas</i> “were frequently invited”, <i>šuv-ker-av</i> “put often”, <i>zumav-ker-el</i> “keep trying”, <i>phusav-ker-nas</i> “were always stoking”, <i>žehlin-ker-elas</i> “ironed a lot”, <i>Na rand-ker tu!</i> “Don't scratch you!” <i>Phuš-ker!</i> “Keep asking!” <i>Čumid-ker-de leske purne.</i> “They kissed his feet all around.” <i>Te na xut<sup>2</sup>-ker-en ande penge vorbi.</i> “They are not allowed to interrupt their speech.”	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>iterative aspect or higher intensity</li> <li>low-level productive</li> <li>sometimes semantically and phonologically shifted: <i>šin-gr-el</i> “chop, slice” &lt; *<i>šin-ker-el</i> “cut repeatedly” (<i>šin-</i>) <i>phag-r-el</i> “smash” &lt; *<i>phag-ker-el</i> “break into small pieces” (<i>phag-</i>)</li> </ul>
-ir-	retained	noun (genitive form)	<i>Le tuke i budóga, e dadesk-ir-i!</i> “Take the trousers, those of daddy”, <i>Dikhlal bal lak-ir-e?</i> “Did you see the hair, her hair?”	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>extended genitive in postponed, stressed or additionally supplied position, see 4.1.1.2 Layer II, p. 52.</li> <li>reminds -Cr- in personal pronouns: <i>t<sup>2</sup>-ir-o</i>, <i>m-ur-o</i>, <i>am-ár-o</i>, <i>tum-ár-o</i></li> </ul>
-av-	e-conjugation verb	verb	<i>vazd-a-de</i> “let lift”, <i>mundár-a-das</i> “let kill”, <i>as-av-el</i> “cause to laugh”, <i>ker-a-dem</i> <i>mange</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>causative meaning</li> <li>not productive</li> <li>stem shortening: <i>phiravel</i> “wear” &lt; <i>phírel</i> “walk”</li> </ul>

		<p>“ordered”,  <i>cird-av-el</i> “order music”,  <i>kuš-av-el</i> “let scold”,  <i>suv-av-el</i> “let sew”,  <i>muk-av-el</i> “let pass”,  <i>an-a-das</i> “let bring”,  <i>šin-a-dal</i> “you let cut, decide”,  <i>ušť-av-el</i> “wake up”,  <i>dar-av-el</i> “frighten”,  <i>lav-a-das les</i> “let him take away [fetus]”</p>	<p><i>kharavel</i> “let invite” &lt; <i>kharel</i> “invite”</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• extended (reduplicated?) stem:  <i>xa-xa-v-el</i> “feed” &lt; <i>xa-l</i> “eat”  <i>l-av-av-el</i> “let take” &lt; <i>l-el</i> “take”</li> <li>• (partial) loss of causativity:  <i>malavel</i> “hit, meet” &lt; <i>már-</i> “beat”  <i>phandavel</i> “custody, let custody”: <i>E šangle phandade les mindár.</i> “The policemen jailed him immediately.”</li> <li>• exceptionally also duplicate causativity (probably rather for emphasis, with single causative meaning):  <i>Feri anda šavo mundáravadas les.</i> “He let him kill brutally because of his son.”</li> <li>• with semantic shift:  <i>phiravel</i> “wear” &lt; <i>phírel</i> “walk”  <i>nášadas</i> “kidnap” &lt; <i>nášel</i> “run”  <i>khelavel</i> “loose [a game]” &lt; <i>khelel</i> “play”  <i>mangavel</i> “ask for a bride” &lt; <i>mangel</i> “order, ask for”  <i>šinavel</i> “promise” &lt; <i>šinel</i> “cut”</li> <li>• with lost base (in brackets the middle): <i>xulavel</i> “comb”, <i>šilavel</i> “sweep”, <i>kiravel</i> “cook” (<i>kirol</i>), <i>garavel</i> “hide” (<i>garadól</i>), <i>sikavel</i> “show” (<i>siťol</i> “learn”), <i>bišavel</i> “send”, <i>xoxavel</i> “lie”, <i>bašavel</i> “play” (<i>bašol</i> “sound”), <i>umblavel</i> “hang”, <i>bijavel</i> “melt” (<i>bijol</i>), <i>ulavel</i> “divide”, <i>zumavel</i> “try”, <i>pharavel</i> “split”, <i>šaravel</i> “cover” (<i>šaradól</i>), <i>nakhavel</i></li> </ul>
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				<p>“swallow” (<i>načol</i> “disappear”, <i>ášavel</i> “stop” (<i>ášol</i> “stay”))</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>individual phonological changes: <i>malavel</i> “hit” &lt; <i>márel</i> “beat”, <i>xavavel</i> “feed” &lt; <i>xal</i> “eat”, <i>pijavel</i> “water” &lt; <i>pel</i> “drink”</li> </ul>
-áz-	in-conjugation verb	verb, noun	<p><i>mam-áz-ij</i> “be fixed on mummy”,  <i>cigarekl-áz-ij</i> “focus on cigarettes”,  <i>vid’áz-in</i> “watch”,  <i>kart-áz-in</i> “engage in card playing”,  <i>hib-áz-ij</i> “miss”,  <i>cifr-áz-ime</i> “tarted up”,  <i>pušk-áz-inas</i> “they were shooting”</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>iterative intransitives, intensifying activity, hobby</li> <li>low-level productive (<i>lalázis</i> “be fixed on the aunt” &lt; <i>lala</i> “aunt”, <i>butázij</i> “work” &lt; <i>bútí</i> “work”), mostly direct loans from Hungarian</li> <li>possible also with hereditary nouns: <i>šoujázij</i> &lt; *<i>šol</i> “whistle”.</li> <li><i>puškázij</i> can be INTRANS “blow” and TRANS “shoot”</li> </ul>
-var	numeral	numeral, quantifier	<p><i>jejkh-var</i> “once”, <i>du-var</i> “twice”, <i>tri-val</i> “three times”, <i>uni-var</i> “sometimes”, (<i>maj</i>) <i>buti-var</i> “many times”</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>repetition, see 4.5.5.4 Multiplicatives.</li> </ul>
-tar	retained	motion verb, complete form	<p><i>žas-tar</i>, <i>nášlas-tar</i>, <i>gejlitar</i>, <i>náškerde-tar</i>, <i>žala-tar</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>ablative meaning (“leave”)</li> <li>written with a hyphen</li> <li>always bound, with very rare exceptions:  <i>Ža pa k cera tar.</i></li> </ul>
de-	retained	adverb	<p><i>de-tehára</i> “morning”, <i>de-cigňártur</i> “from childhood”, <i>de-ižártúr</i> “from yesterday”, <i>de-dúr</i> “from far away”;  <i>Khotar de-khoutar-i</i> “from there to there”;  <i>de-khatar o šejro ži ká e purne</i> “from head to toe”;</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>specifies spatial-temporal position of departure, see 4.6.2.8 Stating a Range with <i>de</i> and <i>ži</i>, p. 233</li> <li>not productive</li> </ul>

			<i>de-khatar o ternimo ži po phurimo</i> “from youth to old age”	
<i>vari-</i> ( <i>vare-</i> )	retained	pronoun	<i>vari-save</i> “some”, <i>vari-so</i> “something”, <i>vari-kasko</i> “somebody's”, <i>vari-ká</i> “somewhere”, <i>vari-sar</i> “somehow”	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>irrelevant not zero-sized quantity</li> <li>not productive</li> </ul>
<i>-godi</i>	retained	pronoun	<i>khatargodi</i> “from everywhere”, <i>sogodi</i> “everything”, <i>sagodi</i> “everything”	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>quantifier for ubiquity</li> <li>not productive</li> </ul>
<i>akár-</i>	retained	pronoun	<i>akár-soski</i> “any kind of”, <i>akár-ko</i> “anybody”, <i>akár-so</i> “anything”, <i>akár-save</i> “any”	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>singular quantifier for minimum restriction</li> <li>not productive</li> </ul>
<i>či-</i>	retained	pronoun	<i>či-sosko</i> “none”, <i>či-savo</i> “none”	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>not productive</li> <li>induces verbal negation</li> <li>homonymous with predicate negator</li> </ul>
<i>-in</i>	FEM noun	noun (fruit)	<i>phabalin</i> “apple tree”, <i>ákhorin</i> “nut tree”	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>not productive</li> <li>trees out of their fruits</li> </ul>

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.

*Maj páše-j o Touco.* (4.5.3-3)  
 CPR close-is the Slovakia

Slovakia is closer

*Naj khote-j variká, sar žana telaj trapti, taj maj ángle kuřin.* (4.5.3-4)  
 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:

*Má kana maj anglunes kerdól, tistára galbeno-j.* (4.5.3-5)  
 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:

*Maj kutka řu!* (4.5.3-6)  
 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:

*Me sim i maj phúri.* (4.5.3-7)  
 I am the CPR old

I am the oldest.

*Kodola-j e maj báre louve, pet řisíc.* (4.5.3-8)  
 those-are the CPR big money five thousand

These five thousand is the maximum money.

*Maj but kinkeren Hennessey.* (4.5.3-9)  
 CPR much they.sell Hennessey

They sell most Hennessey.

*Kecave zlága mindík denas la romňa i maj bári řuk.* (4.5.3-10)  
 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*:

*Kamelas te žal leski páťiv so maj šukáres.* (4.5.3-11)

wanted to go his honour possibly CPR nicely

He wanted to promote his honour as nice as possible.

*Le Rom trobunas so maj but te maladón khetánes.* (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 *sar*. The superlative is distinguished in a way that the referent group is given with a PP ruled by *ande*:

*Kadi cigni maj feder pasolij sar kuki.* (4.5.3-13)

this small CPR rather fits than that

This small one fits better than that one.

*Khonik naj lendar maj lášo andi d'li.* (4.5.3-14)

nobody is.not among.them CPR good in.the song

Nobody among them is a better singer.

*O magerimo, kodo-j o maj báro bínťetíši andej Vlašika Rom.* (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.

*O maj hírešo andej Rom sas o Jarko.* (4.5.3-16)

the CPR great among.the Roms was the Jarko

The greatest person among the Roms is Jarko.

The comparizer *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 *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 *maj* with a meaning of additional quantity

*No si khote maj ávera žejne.* (4.5.3-17)

DISCP are there CPR other people

But there are still other people.

Furthermore *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 *maj*:

*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 godávér, taj maj feder haťárel andi vorba?* (4.5.3-21)

who-is CPR clever and CPR rather understands in.the speaking

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 akánik.* (4.5.3-25)

CPR rather they.loved REFL than now

They loved another more than now.

*Maj feder tecij lenge kodo pijimo.* (4.5.3-26)  
 CPR rather is.liked them that drinking

They like rather drinking.

- Also *paluno* “last” and *angluno* “first” express prior positions without graduating *maj*, in the case of *angluno* not losing the possibility to be graduated, see the examples:

*Naj či na nás áver, feri kado paluno.* (4.5.3-27)  
 DISCP even not was.not other just this last

But even there was nothing else, just this last one.

*Dine les anglunes e louve.* (4.5.3-28)  
 they.gave him firstly the money

Initially they gave him the money.

*Kecave takovi tristo žejne maladóna taj vorbina.* (4.5.3-29)  
 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?* (4.5.3-30)  
 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 patan sar muro.* (4.5.3-31)  
 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:

Morpheme	Word Class	Source Declension Class	Target Declension	Examples	Comments

			Class			
-our-	noun, adjective, numerical	CM, OMO, OFI, XMO (incl. names)	retained with NOM PL in -a for nouns	<i>rakj-our-i</i> "girl.DIM", <i>bál-our-a</i> "piggies", <i>skamin-our-o</i> "table.DIM", <i>kan-our-o</i> "ear.DIM", <i>brišind-our-o</i> "rain.DIM", <i>šúr-our-i</i> "knife.DIM", <i>pát-our-o</i> "bed.DIM", <i>tařim-our-o</i> "warmth.DIM", <i>Citrom-our-o</i> "Citrom.DIM", <i>Jořk-our-o</i> "Jořka.DIM", <i>Ferkin-our-o</i> "Ferkina.DIM", <i>louv-our-a</i> "money.DIM", <i>jejkh-our-i</i> "single" <sup>12</sup>		
-ic-	noun, adjective	CF, XFA, XMI	retained	<i>čejz-ic-a</i> "cup.DIM", <i>vill-ic-a</i> "fork.DIM", <i>tášik-ic-a</i> "bag.DIM", <i>motor-ic-a</i> "car.DIM", <i>bejr-ic-a</i> "beer.DIM", <i>pohár-ic-i</i> "glass.DIM", <i>tejár-ic-i</i> "plate.DIM", <i>kořár-ic-i</i> "basket.DIM", <i>papiroř-ic-i</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>exception: <i>trajici</i> &lt; <i>trajo</i>: <i>Chav řo trajici!</i></li> </ul>	

				“paper.DIM”	
-ink-	name	XFA, XMI	retained	<i>Patr-ink-a</i> "Patrin.DIM", <i>Kejž-ink-a</i> "Kejža.DIM", <i>Grouf-ink-a</i> "Groufka.DIM", <i>Berc-ink-o</i> "Berci.DIM", <i>Nanoš-ink-o</i> "Nonoš.DIM", <i>Pep-ink-o</i> “Pepa.DIM”	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>exceptions:  <i>Boja &gt; Bojica</i>  <i>Šejinka &gt; Šejinkouri</i>  <i>Pinka &gt; Pinkouri</i></li> <li>without nasal: <i>Manci &gt; Mancika</i></li> </ul>

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:

*Feri jeikh márnouro xal.* (4.5.3-32)  
 just one bread.DIM eats

He eats just one slice of bread.

- Closeness: *phralouro* “dear brother”, *pheñouri* “beloved sister”, *kirvouro* “dear godfather”;
- Relieve, reduction of importance:

*Má phúrouro-j.* (4.5.3-33)  
 already old.DIM-is

She is already a little old.

*Ternouri-j peske,* (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.DIM”, *šutouro* “vinegar.DIM”, *lonouro* “salt.DIM”, *čikenouro* “fat.DIM”, *salámica* “sausage.DIM”, *árouro* “flour.DIM”, *bejrica* “beer.DIM”;

*Serzin      mange      láši      búťouri!* (4.5.3-35)

scare.up.IMP for.me good job.DIM

Scare up some good job for me, please!

- Onomasiological idiosyncrasy (single cases): *Dejvlouro* “Christ-child”, *šavoura* “children” (gender independent).

#### 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.

Morpheme	Target Part-of-Speech Type and Inflection Class	Source Language	Examples	Semantic Range, Comments
-šág-/ -šíg-	noun <sub>XM</sub>	Hungarian	<i>kivan-šág-o</i> "wish", <i>keret-šíg-o</i> "baptism", <i>kurva-šág-o</i> "prostitution", <i>mulat-šág-o</i> "feast", <i>tárša-šág-o</i> "economy"	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Abstract nouns</li> <li>-šág- or -šíg- depending on vowel harmony, for stem vowel {aou} or {ei} respectively</li> </ul>
-en/ -an	adverb	Hungarian	<i>friš-en</i> "quickly", <i>rendeš-en</i> "orderly", <i>bistoš-an</i> "surely", <i>ip-en</i> "exactly"	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-an/-en according to vowel harmony, for stem vowel {aou} or {ei} respectively</li> </ul>
-k-	noun <sub>XFA</sub>	Slavic	<i>doktor-k-a</i> "doctor.F", <i>učitel-k-a</i> "teacher.F", <i>koordinátor-k-a</i> "co-ordinator.F"	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>profession</li> <li>female equivalent</li> </ul>
-j-	noun <sub>XFA</sub>	Slavic	<i>injekc-ij-a</i> "injection", <i>histor-ij-a</i> "history", <i>Angl-ij-a</i> "England", <i>Már-ij-a</i> "Maria"	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Latin/Romance loans on -ia</li> <li>orthographical effect</li> </ul>
-iš-/ -áš-	noun <sub>XMI</sub>	Hungarian	<i>kesent-íš-i</i> "congratulation", <i>líp-íš-i</i> "stepping", <i>verast-áš-i</i> "mourning",	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>nominalizer</li> <li>may compete with -mo (<i>kesentíši</i> / <i>kesentimo</i> "congratulation")</li> </ul>

			<i>prim-áš-i</i> "first fiddler", <i>jajgat-áš-i</i> "yelling", <i>fuj-áš-i</i> "storm"	
<i>-ol-</i> <i>-ul-</i>	verb <i>in-</i>	Hungarian	<i>paranč-ol-ij</i> "order", <i>šeft-ol-in</i> "deal", <i>kúd-ul-inas</i> "beg", <i>pas-ol-ij</i> "fit"	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• verbalizer</li> <li>• in subsequent contact language (CZ/SK) employed as adaptation morpheme (see 4.5.4.4 Derived Verbs)</li> </ul>
<i>multi</i> etc.	retained	Latin/Romance/Greece	<i>multi-milionári</i> "multi-millionaire", <i>kilo-grami</i> "kilogramms" etc.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• miscellaneous uses and meanings</li> </ul>
<i>kerest-</i> etc.	retained	Hungarian	<i>kerest-apo</i> "godfather", <i>kerest-ána</i> "godmother", <i>keret-šigo</i> "baptism", <i>minden-eko</i> "everything", <i>minden-fejlíko</i> "multiple", <i>enged-elmo</i> "apologize", <i>kiš-asona</i> "young lady", <i>meň-asona</i> "bride"	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• miscellaneous uses and meanings</li> </ul>
<i>-koz-</i> <i>-gat-</i>	retained	Hungarian	<i>át-koz-ij</i> "damn", <i>soura-koz-ij</i> "entertain", <i>jaj-gat-ij</i> "yell", <i>hal-gat-inas</i> "we were listening"	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• miscellaneous aspect and valency markers</li> </ul>
<i>pri-</i>	retained	Czech/Slovak	<i>pri-dindas</i> "added",	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• miscellaneous aspect markers</li> </ul>

<i>při-</i> <i>za-</i> <i>do-</i> <i>na-</i> etc.			<i>za-rábalij</i> "earn", <i>do-mluvime</i> "agreed", <i>na-rozeňi</i> "birth"	and semantic modifiers
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Table 49: Language-External Derivative Morphemes

#### 4.5.4.2 Derived Nouns

Morp heme	Target Declens ion class	Source Part-of- Speech Type	Examples	Semantic Range, Comments
∅	retained except for gender	adjective	<i>Muk o táto!</i> "Switch on the heating!" lit. "let the warm"	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>specific meaning: heat energy</li> <li>very rare</li> </ul>
∅	oikoclit ic	genitive plural nominal	<i>máčengo</i> "fly paper", <i>vastengi</i> "handbag", <i>šouvengo</i> "pistol". <i>e coxi e šingenge</i> "pronged skirts".	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>meaning is not straight-forward: <i>máč-engu</i> fly-GEN.PL "fly paper", <i>vast-engi</i> hand-GEN.PL handbag", <i>šouv-engu</i> six-GEN.PL "revolver (6 mm calibre)"</li> </ul>
-o, -i, -a	XMO, XMI, XFA	noun	<i>saxafoun-o</i> "saxophone" <i>doktor-i</i> "doctor" <i>kamarátk-a</i> "pal.F"	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>adaptation, see 4.1.2.3 Common Xenoclitic Noun Classes, 4.1.2.4 Minor Xenoclitic Masculine Noun Classes</li> </ul>
-a	XFA	proper name	<i>Birn-a</i> "Brno", <i>Prah-a</i> "Prague", <i>Znajm-a</i> "Znojmo", <i>Karvíň-a</i> "Karviná", <i>Teplíc-a</i> "Teplice", <i>Budějovic-a</i> "Budějovice", <i>Sered-a</i> "Sered"	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>feminine, plural and traditional neuter <i>cz/sk</i> municipalities ending in vowel, see 4.1.2.3 Common Xenoclitic Noun Classes</li> <li>generally highly individual, historical: <i>Sereda</i> &lt; <i>Sered'</i></li> <li>Slovak names often from Hungarian forms: <i>Požoma</i> &lt;</li> </ul>

				Hung. <i>Pozsoň</i> “Bratislava”
-o	XMO	proper name	<i>Lošonc-o</i> "Lučenec", <i>Stříbr-o</i> "Stříbro", <i>Přerov-o</i> "Přerov", <i>Třinec-o</i> "Třinec", <i>Havířov-o</i> "Havířov"	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• consonant and newer neuter cz/sk municipalities ending in vowel, see 4.1.2.3 Common Xenoclitic Noun Classes</li> <li>• Slovak names often from Hungarian forms: <i>Lošonco</i> &lt; Hung. <i>Losonc</i> “Lučenec”</li> </ul>
-im-	XMAS	adjective, verb, noun	<i>gugl-im-o</i> "sweets", <i>tať-im-o</i> "warmth", <i>sast-im-o</i> "health", <i>šukár-im-o</i> "prettiness", <i>kam-im-o</i> "love", <i>soj-im-o</i> "sleep", <i>pij-im-o</i> "drink", <i>xá-m-o</i> "eating", <i>po phur-im-o</i> "in a great age", <i>Feri pesko mišt-im-o</i> <i>kamel</i> . "He cares just about his one benefit.", <i>kuč-im-o</i> "expensive conditions"	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• abstract nouns, see <i>xámo</i> “(way of) eating, quarrel” vs. <i>texan</i> “food”</li> <li>• contraction ai &gt; a in a-conjugation (<i>xámo</i> “eating, quarrel”, <i>paťamo</i> “belief”)</li> <li>• Partial stem palatalization: <i>xoxajimo</i> “lie”, <i>sojimo</i> “sleep”, <i>taťimo</i> “warmth”, but not <i>šudimo</i> “throw”, <i>čumidimo</i> “kiss”, <i>sastimo</i> “health”, <i>mištimo</i> “wellness”</li> <li>• stem shortening <i>šúko</i> &gt; <i>šukimo</i> “dryness” etc., but also retention <i>šukárimo</i> “prettiness” and lengthening <i>xámo</i>.</li> <li>• idiomatic extensions and restrictions: <i>ternimátura</i> “youngsters” &lt; <i>terno</i> “young” <i>Naj tu po čálimo</i>. (NEG.cop you.ACC on.the saturation) “You have not enough to get saturated.” &lt; <i>čálo</i> “saturated” <i>taťimo</i> “warmth” ↔ <i>šil/šudrimo</i> “cold” <i>ando paťamo</i>: “bona fide”, lit. in trust;</li> </ul>

				<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>from noun: <i>rajimo</i> "harvest"<sup>13</sup> &lt; <i>ráj</i> "official"</li> </ul>
-(k)iň-	XFA	noun	<i>doktor-kiň-a</i> "doctress", <i>šougor-kiň-a</i> "sister-in-law", <i>Vlax-iň-a</i> "Lovari woman"	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>productive: no *<i>doktorkyně</i> in matrix languages existent</li> <li>female equivalent, see above -k- (<i>doktorka</i>)</li> </ul>
-ojk-	XFA	XMO group name	<i>Cint-ojk-a</i> "Sinti woman", <i>Ňamc-ojk-a</i> "German woman", <i>Rus-ojk-a</i> "Russian woman"	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>not productive</li> <li>female equivalent<sup>14</sup></li> </ul>
-ár-	XMI	noun	<i>miljon-ár-i</i> "millionaire", <i>bút'ár-i</i> "worker"	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>profession</li> <li>also with oikoclitic words (<i>bút'ári</i>)</li> </ul>
-íc-	XFA	noun	<i>Rumungr-íc-a</i> "Rumungo woman", <i>sestreň-íc-a</i> "cousin"	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>mostly with non-Romani items (<i>staňica, krabica, vulica</i> etc.), cf.4.5.4.1 Language-External Derivation</li> <li>exceptionally productive as female equivalent (<i>Rumungrica, NEOL žuklica</i>)</li> </ul>
-ejv- -ouv-	XMO	(non-Romani) noun	<i>vezet-ejv-o</i> "leader", <i>repil-ejv-o</i> "plane", <i>rádij-ouv-o</i> "radio" <i>véc-ejv-o</i> toilet"	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>adaptation of Hungarian nominalizer with long vowel -<i>ó/-ó</i></li> <li>like with long vowel 4.5.4.3 Derived Adjectives</li> </ul>
-in	CF	adverb	<i>detehár-in</i> "morning", <i>perát'in</i> "evening"	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>in greetings: <i>Láši detehárin! Te del o Dejl!</i> "Good morning! Be welcome!"</li> <li>isolated</li> <li>non productive</li> </ul>

13 Lakatošová, Šebková 2004: 46

14 Cech, Heinschink 1998:91

-av-	OMO	verb? noun?	<i>laš-av-o</i> “disgrace”	• isolated
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Table 50: Noun Forming Derivative Morphemes

#### 4.5.4.3 Derived Adjectives

Morp heme	Target Declensi on Class	Source Part-of-Speech Type	Examples	Semantic Range, Comments
-∅	retained	quantifier, noun, adverb	<i>kuřin drom</i> “short way” <i>kuřinouro řavouro</i> “tiny child” <i>řalato řej</i> “little child” <i>keřavo beřng gářo</i> “such a mean man” <i>variso mární</i> “some bread” <i>khanři louve</i> “no money at all” <i>miřto řim</i> “I am fine”	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• isolated</li> <li>• restricted to certain constellations (e.g. <i>miřto</i> “well” only in copula predicates, not *<i>Miřto zumi xálem</i>. “I had a good soup.”)</li> </ul>
∅	oikoclitic	genitive (possessive) expression	<i>páčaki</i> “calm”, <i>bárimango</i> “proud”, <i>voujaki</i> “gladsome”, <i>mojako</i> “violet”	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• productive, e.g. three year old child creates spontaneously <i>piřamoski buđoga</i> “pyjama trousers”</li> <li>• transforms also NPS like <i>keřeberřengi</i> “how old”, see 4.5.1 Compounding</li> <li>• see also group names in 4.2.5.7-8 Genitive</li> </ul>
(participle), -me	oikoclitic, non-inflected	verb (-me for in-conjugati	<i>mundár-do</i> “beaten, switched off”, <i>opre d-ine</i> “denounced”,	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• as nominalizer productive, see 4.3.5.2 and 4.3.4.5, as means of onomasiology not (<i>řanglo</i> “policeman”,</li> </ul>

		on)	<p><i>priprav-ime</i> "prepared",</p> <p><i>soulat-ime</i> "defended",</p> <p><i>skir-ime</i> "written",</p> <p><i>praxo-me</i> "buried",</p> <p><i>objednal-ime</i> "ordered"</p>	<p><i>pharado</i> "bitch")</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>perfective aspect</li> <li>passive meaning can disappear: <i>bisterdo manuš</i> "forgotten person" or "forgetful person"<sup>15</sup></li> </ul>
-ik-	xenoclitic	non-Romani noun	<p><i>Ungr-ik-o</i> "Hungarian",</p> <p><i>mindenfejl-ik-o</i> "miscellaneous",</p> <p><i>világ-ik-o</i> "world related",</p> <p><i>Vlax-ik-o</i> "Lovari"</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>not productive</li> <li>mainly adaptation</li> </ul>
-ív-	xenoclitic	non-Romani adjective	<p><i>dúxodov-ív-o</i> "pension",</p> <p><i>hovjez-ív-o</i> "beef",</p> <p><i>anglick-ív-o</i> "English",</p> <p><i>vinervovan-ív-o</i> "nerved"</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>highly productive</li> <li>adaptation of cz/sk adjectives withn long final vowel,</li> </ul>
-ick-	xenoclitic	noun	<p><i>touc-ick-o</i> "Slovakian",</p> <p><i>calafán-ick-o</i> "cellophane"</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>low level productive: newer derivations fall into -ív-: <i>ňamcicko</i> "German", but <i>anglickívo</i> "English".</li> <li>countries, material</li> </ul>
-un-	oikoclitic	noun, adverb	<p><i>somnak-un-i</i> "golden",</p> <p><i>rup-un-i</i> "silver",</p> <p><i>párn-un-i</i> "silken",</p> <p><i>angl-un-i</i> "first, foremost",</p> <p><i>pal-un-o</i> "last",</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>material (noun)</li> <li>location or time (adverb)</li> <li>not productive (i.e. no <i>*betonuno</i> "cement" or <i>*baruno</i> "from stone" and alike)</li> </ul>

			<i>upr-un-o</i> “upper”	
- <i>utn-</i>	oikoclitic	noun	<i>kher-utn-e</i> “domestic”, <i>īž-utn-o</i> “yesterday’s”	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• origin, time</li> <li>• not productive</li> </ul>
- <i>ál-</i>	oikoclitic	noun	<i>paj-ál-i</i> “thin, watery”, <i>pařiv-ál-o</i> “honest”, <i>kárn-ál-o</i> “thorny”, <i>mas-ál-i</i> “meat like”	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• not productive</li> <li>• substantivized, with short -a-: <i>khulalo</i> “toilet” &lt; <i>khul</i> “excrement”</li> </ul>
- <i>án-</i>	oikoclitic	animate noun/ adjective	<i>grast-án-o</i> “horse”, <i>mul-án-o</i> “like dead”, <i>pur-án-o</i> “old”, <i>gurv-án-o</i> “beef”, <i>rom-án-o</i> “Romani”	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• not productive</li> <li>• exceptional stem changes like <i>phúr-o</i> &gt; <i>pur-an-o</i> “old”</li> </ul>
- <i>ikán-</i>	oikoclitic	animate noun	<i>gaž-ikán-o</i> “from the majority”, <i>phur-ikán-o</i> “old fashioned”	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• not productive<sup>16</sup></li> <li>• stem shortening</li> </ul>
- <i>š-</i>	xenoclitic	(non-Romani) noun	<i>erek-eš-o</i> “total”, <i>hír-eš-o</i> “great”, <i>mulat-ouš-o</i> “feast”	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Hungarian adjectivizer</li> <li>• after vowel with elided -e- and prolonged final vowel: <i>rúžášo</i> “pink” &lt; <i>rúža</i> “rose”</li> <li>• partially productive: <i>kávejošo</i> “brown”, <i>luludžášo</i> “violet”</li> </ul>
- <i>árňik-</i>	xenoclitic	noun	<i>vorb-árňik-o</i> “eloquent”	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• intensity</li> <li>• isolated</li> </ul>

Table 51: Adjective Forming Derivative Morphemes

#### 4.5.4.4 Derived Verbs

<sup>16</sup> Cech, Heinschink 1998:92

Morpheme	Target Conjugation	Source Part-of-Speech Type	Examples	Semantic Range, Comments
-in- -on- -un-	in-	(non-Romani) verb	<i>prejd'i-ja</i> "it will go over", <i>hlás-in</i> "notify", <i>rozved'i-j</i> <i>pe</i> "divorce", <i>trob-un</i> "need", <i>gind-on pe</i> "think"	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>adaptation of CZ/SK {i}-stem verbs (infinitive in <i>-t/-t'</i>, <i>-it/-it'</i>, <i>-ět/-ět'</i>), Hungarian verbs, Romanian, Greek transitive verbs</li> <li>contracted in morphology <i>inav</i>, <i>inel</i> &gt; <i>ij</i>, <i>ines</i> &gt; <i>is</i></li> </ul>
-alin-	in-	(non-Romani) verb	<i>mačk-ali-j</i> "squeeze", <i>pred-alin-das</i> "he handled over"	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>adaptation of CZ/SK {a}-stem and consonant verbs (infinitive in <i>-at/-at'</i>)</li> <li>rather SK version is used (e.g. <i>virábalij</i> "produce" from <i>vyrábat'</i> "produce" instead of *<i>virábij</i> from CZ <i>vyrábět</i> "produce")</li> <li>occasionally mixed CZ/SK version <i>pamatalinav</i> "remember" instead of SK *<i>pametalinav</i> (<i>pamätat'</i>) or CZ *<i>pamatulinav</i> (<i>pamatovat</i>)</li> <li>Exception: <i>trápalinav</i> "tease" from <i>tráp-it</i> (CZ) / <i>tráp-it'</i> (SK) "tease"</li> </ul>
-ulin-	in-	(non-Romani) verb	<i>sled-ulin-as</i> "followed", <i>ďak-ulin-as</i> "thanked", <i>kafičk-uli-j</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>adaptation of CZ/SK {u}-stem verbs (infinitive in <i>-ovat/-ovat'</i>)</li> <li>regarding "-ol-in-" see also 4.5.4.1 Language-External Derivation</li> </ul>
-sajv-	e- (v-subclass)	(non-Romani) verb, adjective	<i>paho-saj-lem</i> "I got cold", <i>muci-sajv-el</i> , <i>murco-sajv-el</i> "gets dump, be amazed", <i>gindo-sajv-el</i> "thinks about", <i>guru-saj-lem</i> "I got freezed",	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>adaptation of pre-Hungarian verbs, inchoatives</li> <li>intransitive use</li> <li>occasionally co-occurrence (on individual level) with adaptation by reflexivized (intransitivized) <i>-on-</i>: <i>gindosajvav</i> ↔ <i>gindojo pe</i> "think" <i>pahosajvesa</i> ↔ <i>pahosa tu</i> "get cold"</li> </ul>

			<p><i>peci-saj-las</i> "happened",</p> <p><i>miški-saj-las</i> "dangled, trembled",</p> <p><i>zali-saj-lem</i> "I was shocked",</p> <p><i>vineti-saj-las</i> "turned blue"</p>	<p><i>murcosajven</i> ↔ <i>murcon pe</i> "gets dump, be amazed"</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>rarely from adjectives (<i>khiňisajlem</i> "tire", <i>dillisajlal</i> "become silly", <i>vinetisajlas</i> "turn blue")</li> <li>productive, i.e. with rare newer (cz/sk) loans (<i>všimnout/-út</i> "notice"): <i>Či šimnisajlas khonik pe leste.</i> <i>not noticed nobody on him.</i> Nobody noticed him.</li> </ul>
-uv-	uv-	adjective, participle, noun, adverb	<p><i>phúr-ol</i> "become -old",</p> <p><i>cigň-ol</i> "shrink",</p> <p><i>mát-ol</i> "get drunk",</p> <p><i>šut-ol</i>, "dry"</p> <p><i>bisterd-ol</i> "get forgotten",</p> <p><i>garad-ol</i> "be hidden, be pocketed",</p> <p><i>xoxad-ol</i> "be lied",</p> <p><i>šind-ol</i> "tear",</p> <p><i>šund-ol</i> "be heard",</p> <p><i>Te tat-on té gouja!</i> "Let your stomach warm up!"</p> <p><i>Kames te márd-os?</i> "Do you want to be beaten up?"</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>stative or inchoative meaning</li> <li>main source for whole uv-conjugation class</li> <li>main source for medium and passive, non-agent subject (opposed to reflexive constructions, compare <i>sastilas</i> "recover" with <i>sastárdas pe</i> "cure oneself", Lakatošová, Šebková 2004: 52)</li> <li>from monosyllabic ADJ roots</li> <li>exceptionally from nouns: <i>rátol</i> "darken, get night", <i>dějsol</i> "dawn" or adverbs: <i>pášol</i> "come / bring closer"</li> <li>palatalises preceding dental, uvular and -l (<i>párňol</i> "whiten", <i>pherdól</i> "become full", <i>thújol</i> "thicken", <i>tátol</i> "warm up"). This makes de-participial forms look like verbal-stem-derived (Matras 2002: 126): <i>phadól</i> "get broken" &lt; <i>phágo</i> "broken", <i>dičol</i> "be seen" &lt; <i>dikhlo</i> "seen", <i>siťol</i> "learn" &lt; <i>siklo</i> "accomodated", <i>peťol</i> "bake" &lt; <i>pejko</i> "baked"</li> <li>individual stem shortening <i>tat-ol</i> "warm up" &lt; <i>tát-o</i> "warm"</li> <li>Agent is given in the Ablative (4.2.5.5): <i>Már -d' -os -a les- tar</i> (4.5.4-1)</li> </ul>

				<p>beat-PFTV-2SG-FUT him-ABL</p> <p><i>pa kadi vorba.</i></p> <p>from this statement</p> <p>You will be beaten by him because of this statement.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• sometimes not reducible, concurrent with transitive (approximate) equivalents in <i>-ár-</i> (see below) or <i>-av-</i> (see 4.5.3 Derivative Onomasiology): <i>phabol</i> (<i>phabárel</i>) “burn”, <i>siťol</i> “learn” (<i>siťárel</i> “teach”), <i>tordól</i> “stand” (<i>tordárel</i> “stop”), <i>pašťol</i> “lie” (<i>pašťárel</i> “lay”), <i>kirol</i> (<i>kiravel</i>) “cook”, <i>bašol</i> “sound” (<i>bašavel</i> “play”)</li> <li>• sometimes not reducible at all: <i>bušol</i> “be called”, <i>šol</i> “put”</li> <li>• occasionally joined with semantic shift: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><i>Pherďárel i píri</i> (4.5.4-2) He fills the bowl.</li> <li><i>Pherďáres e šavouren!</i> (4.5.4-3) You infect the children! (from <i>phírel</i>?)</li> <li><i>So kerdílo andá les?</i> (4.5.4-4) What has he turned into?</li> <li><i>Kerdílas andi Anglija.</i> (4.5.4-5) He was born in England.</li> <li><i>Ášadílas.</i> (4.5.4-6) He was puzzled.</li> </ul> </li> </ul>
-v-	e- (v-stem)	adjective	<p><i>nasvaj-Ø-le</i> “they got ill”,</p> <p><i>barvaj-v-en</i> “they become rich”,</p> <p><i>zuraj-v-elas</i> “it became hard, he</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• stative or inchoative aspect</li> <li>• from polysyllabic (oikoclitic) ADJ stems on <i>-ál-</i>, palatalized to <i>-aj-</i>, e.g. <i>barvál-o</i> &gt; <i>barvaj-v-</i> “become rich”</li> <li>• shortening of stem vowels: <i>nasválo</i> &gt; <i>nasvajle</i> “get ill”</li> </ul>

			gained power", <i>xivaj-v-el</i> "a hole appears"	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>occasional elision like in <i>dijajvel</i> "get silly" (probably from bi-syllabic *<i>dilino</i> &gt; <i>dillo</i>, see 2.1.1.3 Border Phenomena, p. 24), <i>xojajvel</i> "get angry" (probably from adjective *<i>xojálo</i> "angry"), <i>šukajvel</i> "become beautiful" (from <i>-ár</i> instead of <i>-álo</i>, or alternatively and not less probably from the noun <i>šuk</i> "prettiness")</li> <li>sometimes not reducible, concurrent with transitive equivalents: <i>xasajvel</i> "get lost" (<i>xasárel</i> "loose"), <i>mundajvel</i> "turn off, die" (<i>mundárel</i> "switch off, kill"), <i>musajvel</i> "decay" (<i>musárel</i> "spoil, destroy")</li> </ul>
<i>-ár-</i>	e-	noun, adjective, participle, adverb	<i>solax-ár-av</i> "swear", <i>zur-ár-el</i> "tighten, strengthen, empower", <i>xiv-ár-el</i> "make holes"	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>transitive verbalizer</li> <li>mono- (<i>lundárel</i> "prolong") and multisyllabic (<i>nasvajárel</i> "get ill") words</li> <li>palatalises preceding alveolar, velar and <i>-l</i> (<i>párňárel</i> "whiten", <i>pherdárel</i> "fill", <i>thujárel</i> "make thick", <i>taťárel</i> "warm up", <i>nandárel</i> "undress", <i>siťárel</i> "teach")</li> <li>often stem shortening and other phonetical changes <i>taťárel</i> "warm up" &lt; <i>táto</i> "warm", <i>maťárel</i> "make drunk" &lt; <i>máto</i> "drunken", <i>dindarel</i> "bite" &lt; <i>dand</i> "tooth", contrariwise <i>kouvjárel</i> "weaken" &lt; <i>kouvlo</i> "weak"</li> <li>frequently with semantic shift (see also <i>-uv-</i> above): <i>vortárel</i> "repair" &lt; <i>vorta</i> "right" <i>lašárel pe</i> "boast" &lt; <i>lášo</i> "good" <i>barárel</i> "grow.TRANS" &lt; <i>báro</i> "big" <i>drabárel</i> "foretell" &lt; <i>drab</i> "herb, drug" <i>raťárel</i> "accomodate" &lt; <i>rat</i> "night" <i>šukjárel</i> "conserve" &lt; <i>šuk</i> "vinegar"</li> </ul>

				<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• sometimes not reducible, but concurrent with intransitive equivalents (see examples in <i>-uv-</i>, <i>-v-</i>)</li> <li>• sometimes not (clearly) reducible like <i>pinžárel</i> “know, be familiar”, <i>najisárdas</i> “thanked”. <i>bešajárel</i><sup>17</sup> “settle”</li> </ul>
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Table 52: Verb Forming Derivative Morphemes

#### 4.5.4.5 Derived Adverbs

MorpHEME	Source Part-of-Speech Type	Examples	Semantic Range, Comment
<i>-es</i>	adjective, except for those in <i>-cko</i> , <i>-iko</i> (OBL PL stem) and <i>-šno</i>	<i>louk-es</i> “slowly”, <i>šukár-es</i> “nicely”, <i>lungon-es</i> “longly”	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• productive, except for suppletion <i>mišto</i> for <i>lášo</i> and some <math>\emptyset</math>-derived consonant oikoclitic stems <i>kuč</i>, <i>kuťin</i>, <i>godáver</i>, but not <i>šukár</i> (<i>šukáres</i>).</li> <li>• including xenoclitic oblique extension <i>-on-</i> for Xenoclitic Adjective (Sub-)Classes (4.1.3.3): <i>skurtones</i></li> <li>• rarely situational oikoclitic ADJ with adaptive infix <i>-on-</i>: <i>Makh mange thulones!</i></li> </ul>
<i>-a</i>	adjective in <i>-cko</i> and <i>-iko</i>	<i>ňamcick-a</i> “German”, <i>ungrik-a</i> “Hungarian”	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• languages and ethnicities from adjectives in <i>-icko</i> and <i>-iko</i> (Lakatošová, Šebková 2004: 76)</li> </ul>
<i>-en</i>	adjective in <i>-š(n)o</i>	<i>rendeš-en</i> “orderly”, <i>friš-en</i> “quickly”, <i>híreš-en</i> “greatly”	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• not productive</li> <li>• <i>frišen</i> from <i>frišo</i></li> </ul>
<i>-e</i>	preposition?, noun	<i>páš-e</i> “close”,	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• not productive</li> </ul>

		<i>ánd-e</i> "inside", <i>khejr-e</i> "at home", <i>dějs-e</i> "during the day", <i>jivend-e</i> "in winter", <i>kurk-e</i> "on Sunday", <i>rát'i</i> "in the night", <i>paraštun-e</i> "on Friday", <i>savaton-e</i> "on Saturday", <i>lujin-e</i> "on Monday"	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• locative, allative and temporal adverbs</li> <li>• monosyllabic root syllable is lengthened</li> <li>• <i>rat</i> &gt; <i>rátî</i> with distinct or phonologically changed <i>-i</i> &lt; <i>-e</i></li> <li>• for days of the week with additional infix <i>-n-</i>, see below</li> </ul>
<i>-n-</i>	noun	<i>paraštu-n-e</i> "on Friday", <i>savato-n-e</i> "on Saturday", <i>luji-n-e</i> "on Monday"	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• weekdays</li> <li>• additional formative, final form is on <i>-e</i>, see above, reminds xenoclitic adaptation formative <i>-on-</i>, see above <i>-es</i>.</li> </ul>
<i>-al</i>	preposition?, noun	<i>tejl-al</i> "down", <i>maškar-al</i> "in-between", <i>khejr-al</i> "from home"	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• not productive</li> <li>• locative-ablative adverbs</li> <li>• monosyllabic root syllable is lengthened</li> </ul>
<i>-te/-de</i>	noun (OBL form)	<i>verastášes-te</i> "on a mourning event", <i>louven-de</i> "disposing with money", <i>truša-te</i> "thirsty", <i>dara-te</i> "frightened", <i>lažaves-te</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• fossilized inflectional 4.2.5.6 Locative</li> <li>• denoting location and circumstance</li> <li>• not productive</li> <li>• <i>te/de</i> for SG/PL respectively</li> <li>• formed from the oblique stem, except for <i>áverte</i> "elsewhere"</li> </ul>

		"ashamed", <i>pe dúvares-te</i> "on the second time"	
-indos	verb (present stem)	<i>roj-indos</i> "in tears", <i>sov-indos</i> "asleep", <i>beš-indos</i> "sitting", <i>tord'indos</i> "standing"	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>relic historical present participle</li> <li>forms like *<i>kerindos</i> "making", *<i>phenindos</i> "telling", *<i>dindos</i> "giving", *<i>žanindos</i> "knowing", or intransitive *<i>asandos</i> "laughing", *<i>žandos</i> "knowing" etc. are rejected</li> </ul>
-tar	noun	<i>phuja-tar</i> "by feet"	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>isolated, <i>phujatar</i> &lt; <i>phuv</i> "ground"</li> </ul>

Table 53: Adverb Forming Derivative Morphemes

#### 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.

*kana den dva tisíc vaj tisíc* (4.5.5-1)

if they.give two.cz thousand.cz or thousand.cz

if they offer two thousand or thousand

*vi dvje sťe, vi tři sta, aj tisíc rokú* (4.5.5-2)

also two.cz hundred.cz also three.cz hundred.cz DISCP thousand.cz years.cz

even two hundred or three hundred eventually also a thousand years

*pe jejkhes dine biš berš, e ávres dine osumnást, taj la,* (4.5.5-3)

on one they.gave twenty years the other they.gave eighteen.cz and her

*so kerdas kado, dine la petadvacat roki.*

which done this they.gave her twenty-five.cz years.cz

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:

0	<i>nula</i>	6	<i>šouv</i>	30	<i>tranda</i>
1	<i>jejkh, ek</i>	7	<i>ejfta</i>	40	<i>saranda / štárvardeš</i>
2	<i>dúj</i>	8	<i>oxto</i>	100	<i>šel</i>
3	<i>trín</i>	9	<i>íja</i>	1000	<i>ezero, míja</i>
4	<i>štár</i>	10	<i>deš</i>	1000000	<i>milijoumo</i>
5	<i>pánž</i>	20	<i>biš</i>		

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, oxto, íja, tranda*), which are uninflected, and *ezero, milijoumo, míja* which belong to the *M, M, F*, respectively, xenoclitic class. In oblique positions, *pánž* is shortened to *páž-*.

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.* (4.5.5-4)

this one was small

This one was small.

*Halem jejkh trobunasas te žanas.* (4.5.5-5)

but one we.would.need to know

But one thing we would need to know.

*Jejkh site phenas.* (4.5.5-6)

one MODP we.say

One thing we have to say.

*Le jejkhes šudas tejle.* (4.5.5-7)

the one threw down

One of them he threw down.

*Či trajin či jejkh* (4.5.5-8)

not they.live even.not one

Not a single one is living.

*O jejkh múlas.* (4.5.5-9)

the one died

One of them had died.

*Si jejkh, Manci bušol.* (4.5.5-10)

there.is one Manci is.called

There is one, called Manci.

*Jejkh andi bolta-j taj jejkh ávral-i.* (4.5.5-11)

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.* (4.5.5-12)

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* (4.5.5-13)

the one godmother

the other godmother

one godmother

the other godmother

*či o jejkh, či i áver* (4.5.5-14)

neither the one nor the other

neither one, nor the other

*Kana kerav jejkh xumer, žan mange vi pánž plejhura.* (4.5.5-15)

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.

*Keiř šuvou ánde, jejkh sáčko?* (4.5.5-16)

how.much put inside one bag

How much do I add, one bagful?

*Aj na šu dúj! Jejkh šu!* (4.5.5-17)

DISCP not put two one put

No, don't you put in two of them! Put in only one!

- For emphasis:

*sako jejkh romňi / manuš / žejno / žuvli* (4.5.5-18)

every one wife / human / person / woman

every single wife / human / person / woman.

*inke jejkh fontošo godáver vorba* (4.5.5-19)

still one important wise saying

one more important and wise saying

*lesko šávo jejkh* (4.5.5-20)

his son one

one of his sons

*Naj jejkh berš sas feri andi vazba.* (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:

*Kadala teji jejkh-i.* (4.5.5-22)

these teas one-are

These teas are the same.

*Jejkh sas lenge.* (4.5.5-23)

one was them

It was the same to them (They didn't mind).

*Kodolen-ge naj sa jejkh.* (4.5.5-24)

those-DAT is.not everything one

They are not indifferent to everything.

- To express exclusivity: *o jejkh čačimo andi luma* "they only truth on Earth";
- As part of compound numbers and fractions: *dešujejkh* "eleven", *jejkh taj dopaš* "one and a half", see the following chapters;
- As an optional undefined article, see 4.2.1-14 Article:

*Ando kher bešelas [jejkh] gajži, Anička bušolas.* (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 márho* "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 kuťin* "a few"

For contrast between both variants see the example, where both were used instantly:

*Šosa jejkh, ek škorica ánde.* (4.5.5-26)

you.will.put one one cinnamon inside

You add one cinnamon into.

The numeral *jejkh/ek* can be omitted in connection with *feri*:

*Ø šavouro-j les feri.* (4.5.5-27)

son-COP he.ACC only

He has only one son.

The numerals *jejkh* and *dúj* also express equality and distinction, respectively:

*Me taj tu dúj sam.* (4.5.5-28)

me and you two we.are

Me and you are different.

*Ek euro taj bišupánž koroni jejkh-i, na?* (4.5.5-29)

one euro and twenty-five crowns one-is DISCP

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 pahosajle.* (4.5.5-30)

already four perished.by.cold

It was horrible cold.

*Štár dikhlas.* (4.5.5-31)

four he.saw

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: *štarvardeš* “fourty”, *panžvardeš* “fifty”, *šouvvardeš* “sixty”, *ejftavardeš* “seventy”, *oxtovardeš* “eighty”, *íjavardeš* “ninety”.
- Ones based upon ten and thirty/forty are compounds;
  - with *-u-* between consonants (*dešujejkh* “eleven”, *dešuduj* “twelve”, *dešutrín* “thirteen”, *dešuštár* “fourteen”, *dešupánž* “fifteen”, *dešušov* “sixteen”) and;
  - without *-u-* with a neighbouring vowel (*dešejfta* “seventeen”, *dešoxto* “eighteen”, *dešíja* “nineteen” and all beginning with *tranda/saranda*: *trandajejkh* “thirty-one”, *trandadúj* “thirty-two”, *sarandajejkh* “forty-one”, *sarandadúj* “fourty-two”...);
- 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 jejkh* “twenty-one”, *biš taj dúj* “twenty-two”, ... *biš taj íja* “twenty-nine”, *štarvardeš taj pánž* “fourty-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”, *trandato* “thirtyth”, *šelto* “hundredth”, to the last numeral element: *trandatajpánžto*<sup>18</sup> 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 ( $n \cdot 10 + 1$ ) sound regularly (*n*) *taj jejkhto* “-first”, e.g. *šel taj jejkhto* “hundred-first”.

#### 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 (*štarvardeš* “fourty” etc.): *pánžvar* “five times”, *šouvar* “six times”, *ejftavar* “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”, *štárval* “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”, *ketivar* “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 štárto* “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”,

*Ulaven les trín rigal.* (4.5.5-32)  
they.divide it three fraction.sg

They divide it into three parts.

and a single resulting part is referred to by *ríso*, e.g.

*Kado ríso tíro-j.* (4.5.5-33)  
this part your-is

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:

<i>and-o</i>	<i>kher</i>	versus	<i>and-i</i>	<i>škola</i>	versus	<i>and-e</i>	<i>t' -o</i>	<i>kher</i>
in	-DEF.M.SG house		in	-DEF.F.SG school		in	-INDEF	your-M.SG house
at home			in school			at your house		

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 / tó 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 fleective (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”:

Situation	Forms of <i>and-</i>	Forms of <i>tela-</i>
UNDEF, OBL	<i>ande</i>	<i>tela</i>
FEM SG NOM	<i>andi</i>	<i>telaj</i>
MASC SG NOM	<i>ando</i>	<i>tela</i>
PL NOM	<i>andej</i>	<i>telaj</i>
With full pronoun	<i>ande</i>	<i>tela</i>
With pronominal clitic	<i>andej</i>	<i>tela</i>

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:

Occasion	Regular Forms (e-stem)	-r-form (e-stem)	Regular Forms (a-stem)	-r-form (a-stem)
With Full Pronoun	<i>ande</i>	<i>pre</i>	<i>tela</i>	<i>pa</i>
With Clitic Pronoun	<i>andej</i>	<i>prej / pejr</i>	<i>tela</i>	<i>prá / pář</i>

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 bafuho?* (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 haťarel 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 taxíko taj andej búťa-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 Sereda.* (4.6.2-7)

went to Slovakia to Sered'

He went to Slovakia, to the city of Sered'.

*I roj šutas ande lesko muj.* (4.6.2-8)

the spoon put.PFTV 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 simádi, 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 *televiza* "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 stanica* “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 bitáko* “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 búti 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 tejári!* (4.6.2-23)

put on.the plate

Put it on the plate!

*Site phírel pi injekcija.* (4.6.2-24)  
 MODP go.ITER on.the injection

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 tisíc.* (4.6.2-27)  
 the Rumungro.woman gave on.the skirt two thousand

The Rumungro woman offered two thousand for the skirt.

*Keť 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 nípo.* (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: *pi Patrádi* “on Eastern”, *po mizmejri* “by noon”, *pi sňídaňa* “for breakfast”, *po detehára* “in the morning”, *po nejvo berš* “on New Year”, *pe ráta* “in the evening” (ACC without article!);

8. A recourse to an authority:

*Po Dejl mangav tu taj pi svunto Mária!* (4.6.2-33)

on.the God urge you and on.the holy Mary

I urge you in the name of God and holy Mary.

9. An argument of certain verbs like *bistrel* “forget” (alternatively to ACC):

*Pašaj želika gáda taj pašaj somnakaj náštík bistren či pe penge bal.* (4.6.2-34)

to cashmere dress and to gold MODP forget not on their hair

Besides the cashmere dresses and golden jewellery, they must not forget neither their hair.

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 *anda*

One of the ways to extend the functionality of the morphological 4.2.5.5 Ablative is *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 *ande* (4.6.2.1): *anda muj* “out of the mouth”.

*Andaj Tapolčáňa sármozijas.* (4.6.2-35)

from.the Topolčany descends

He descends from Topolčany.

*Ande les andaj Komároma khejre Ostrava.* (4.6.2-36)

they.brought him from.the Komárno at.home Ostrava

They brought him from Komárno home to Ostrava.

*Taj ávri šuden la apal anda kher.* (4.6.2-37)

and out threw her then from.the flat

And they threw her out of the flat.

2. The reason, cause like *anda šungar* “because of a spit”, *anda kodo* “therefore”:

*Andaj pirámňi phandade les.* (4.6.2-38)

because.of.the lover imprisoned him

They imprisoned him because of his lover.

*Rudinas anda late, anda kodi šej.* (4.6.2-39)  
 we.pray because.of her because.of that girl

Let's pray in favour of her, of that girl.

*Anda biš ezera či dela,* (4.6.2-40)  
 because.of twenty thousand not will.give

For twenty thousand she will not give anything.

*Anda khančes mangelendar louve.* (4.6.2-41)  
 because.of nothing demand from.them money

In vain they demand money from them.

3. A partitive, stating the whole as a base for a part, in competition to the 4.2.5.7-6 Genitive:

*Andá lende xutilde trine žejnen pej hrañici.* (4.6.2-42)  
 from them caught three people on.the border

They caught three people out of them at the border.

*No már naj andá le khonik, sa múle.* (4.6.2-43)  
 DISCP already is.not from them nobody all died

Well, there is nobody left out of them, all died.

*Héj, le, šoresa mange anda páji!* (4.6.2-44)  
 DISCP DISCP you.will.pour me from.the water

Hey, please give some of that water!

#### 4.6.2.4 Statement of Origin, Purpose, Subject Matter by Delative *pa*

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):

*Le tejle tî šipka pa šejro!* (4.6.2-45)  
 take down your cap from.the head

Take that cap down off your head!

*Šudas le tejle paj fejastra.* (4.6.2-46)  
 threw them down from.the window

He threw them down from the window.

*Vidázij paj fejastra.* (4.6.2-47)

watch from.the window

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)

DISCP in.the TV spoke about this much spoke about that

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

This is all about my father.

*Pa kodo žanglam.* (4.6.2-50)

about that I.knew

About this I have known.

3. A purpose:

*Lou man-ge louve pa drom.* (4.6.2-51)

I.will.take me-DAT money from.the voyage

I will take some money for the voyage.

*Vestindas le sa pa kher.* (4.6.2-52)

wasted them all from.the flat

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)

goes.around across.the city and searches the Andro

He goes around the city and searches for Andro.

*Šin la paj bul!* (4.6.2-54)

cut her from.the backside

Bang her across the backside!

5. The determination of the entity, in competition to the 4.2.5.7-7 Genitive: *šax pa khajña* (ACC without article) “chicken-based shakh<sup>19</sup>”, *dikhlo pa šejro* “headscarf”, *fejastri paj khera* “windows of the house”, *budógi pa pižamo* “pyjama trousers”, *zumi paj krumpli* “potato

<sup>19</sup> 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 d'ejsen* “after two days”, *pa k berš* “after one year”, see 5.4.2 Temporal Relations, p. 286:

*Paj trín šon kharelas ma o doktori.* (4.6.2-55)

after tthree months called me the doctor

The doctor ordered me in three months.

*Taj mukle les ávri paj berš.* (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 tî 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 khote ká i Šejinka.* (4.6.2-57)

went.ITER.ITER there to the Šejinka

He went frequently there to see Šejinka.

*Ká lako dad-i, ká la šako dad-i.* (4.6.2-58)

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 khate, ká tî mámi?* (4.6.2-59)

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.* (4.6.2-60)

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.* (4.6.2-61)

the horses were at.the caravan bound

The horses were bound to the caravan.

*Pašaj Hruška naj?* (4.6.2-62)

at.the Hruška not.is

Isn't he around the Hruška store?

*Keren adik leski vouja la džjasa taj paša kodo roven.* (4.6.2-63)

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.* (4.6.2-64)

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 řískura.* (4.6.2-65)

and you.will.put there the cucumbers to.the schnitzels

And you can serve cucumbers besides the schnitzels.

*Paša zubuno len pér pe šukár kacamajka.* (4.6.2-66)

to.the coat they.take on REFL beautiful blouse

They take a beautiful blouse to the coat.

*E Rom keravkeren pašaj khera inke ávera sobi,* (4.6.2-67)

the roms let.build to.the flats still other rooms

*o páji, i kúpelňa taj o vécejovo.*

the water the bathroom and the toilet

The Roms let their flats reconstruct with additional rooms, running water, a bathroom and a toilet.

*Šaj pen la vi áver dějs, pašaj texana.* (4.6.2-68)

MODP drink it also other day to.the foods

They can drink it also the next day, to dinner and lunch.

*Paša kodo mukenas te báron vi lungi bal.* (4.6.2-69)

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 paša lenge khera.* (4.6.2-70)

cleanness-is at their houses

The space around their houses is clean.

*Taj tu keresas pašaj motori.* (4.6.2-71)

and you made at.the cars

And you were working at the car factory.

*E Rom bešenas pašaj bári jag.* (4.6.2-72)

the Roms sat at.the big fire

The Roms sat around a big fire.

*Beš paša ma!* (4.6.2-73)

sit at me

Sit down at my side!

*Andi Ňitra khote pašaj gáže bešasas.* (4.6.2-74)

in.the Nitra there at.the Slovaks we.were.living

There in Nitra we were living besides the Slovaks.

*Le gáženge naj dedrág, kana le Rom pášon paša lende.* (4.6.2-75)  
 the Slovaks is.not liking when the Roms come.close at them

The Slovaks don't feel well, when the Roms come living closer to them.

4. A person to take care of:

*Kana phandólas i romňi, 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 kenas 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 tordól 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 leste te šos e Berces, naj les kecavi bári goudí.* (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 romňa rigate bešenas khatar le rom.* (4.6.2-82)

in any.kind.of feast the women aside were.sitting from the men  
 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 mesáli perdal las khatar le dúj kirve.* (4.6.2-83)  
 the table over took from the two godfathers  
 He took over the table from the two godfathers.

*Khatar le romňa avel ávri ek terni romňouri,* (4.6.2-84)  
 from the women comes out one young woman  
*savi garadi sas palaj romňa.*  
 who hidden was after.the women  
 One young woman comes out within the women, who was hidden behind them.

*O rom trádas khejre khatar le rom.* (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 o páji kerde drom.* (4.6.2-86)  
 from the river they.made way  
 They made a way alongside the river.

*Khatar o Priori te avesa tejle taj khote-j e majmura vídík.* (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 mesája sas šute keríl khatar le falura.* (4.6.2-88)  
 the tables were put around from the walls  
 The tables were installed around the walls.

*Nášade le khatar o vudar ávri.* (4.6.2-89)  
 They.carried them from the door out  
 They carried himout around the door.

3. The source or origin (animates only):

*Kadi dǎli line perdal khatar penge papura taj khatar penge dada.* (4.6.2-90)

this song took over from their grandfathers and from their fathers

They took over this song from their grandfathers and fathers.

4. An approximate amount: *khatar le deš časura* “around ten hours”, *khatar mizmejri* “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.* (4.6.2-91)

and went.ITER always after her

And he always visited her.

*Gejlo-tar pala Ferkina.* (4.6.2-92)

went-away after Ferkina

He left to see Ferkina.

*Pátralinous pala kodo.* (4.6.2-93)

I.was.searching after that

I was searching after that.

*Pala kas si?* (4.6.2-94)

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.* (4.6.2-95)

Everybody will.go home after.the wedding

Everybody will go home after the wedding.

*Phabárel le pala jejkh áver.* (4.6.2-96)

burn them after one other

He lights them one after the other.

3. Together with movement verbs an expression of purpose, resulting in a visit:

*Aven pala kodi šej.* (4.6.2-97)

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 gejšem 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 REFL-DAT in.front.of.the television

And he will be sitting in front of the television.

2. Temporally “in front of”, i.e. before a situation, like *angla deše beršen* “ten years ago”, *angl Krejšuno* “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 láše sas taj žanenas te mulatin.* (4.6.2-105)

I.was.sitting between such people who good were and knew to celebrate

I was sitting between such people, who were good and knew to celebrate.

*Apal bešlem tejle 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 *ži*

The begin or end of a local or temporal range can be given by *de* and *ži*, respectively, e.g. *ži mizmejri, ži Krejčuno, ži dešengo, ži akánik, ži kurke, de terni*. They emphasize the final size of the

range while the range itself is frequently delimited by other means like *khatar*, *anda*, or *pe*, *ande*, respectively.

*Ži adéjs lešinous.* (4.6.2-111)

until today I.was.waiting

I was waiting until today.

*Šoresa mange katka ži dopaš.* (4.6.2-112)

you.will.pour me-DAT here up.to half

Please give me some, here, up to the half.

*Taj ingren la ži khejre.* (4.6.2-113)

and carry her right.to home

And they carry her right home.

*Ži opre gejle te dikhen.* (4.6.2-114)

up.to up went to look

They went right up to look.

*Dikhes ži pi phuv-i i coxa.* (4.6.2-115)

you.see down.to on.the ground-is the skirt

Do you see, the skirt goes down to the ground.

*D' andaj Ostrava ži po Touco žanas pa kodo.* (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.

*De katkar de katkar mindík ži katka ži katka,* (4.6.2-117)

from from.here from from.here always up.to here up.to here

*sa andej dúj vast murcoj pe.*

everything in.the two hands prickles 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):

*Aj sar avou bi louvengo?* (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:

*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*:

*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.

*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.

*Le dúj trobun karink o detehára te den la meňasoňa 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.

*Phírel pe trival karing o oltári.* (4.6.2-123)

go.ITER REFL three.times around the altar

It is a custom to go three times around the altar.

*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:

Class	Examples	Section
Conjunctions	<i>hot</i> “that”, <i>te</i> “if, in order to”, <i>kana</i> “when”, <i>mej</i> “until”, <i>sar</i> “like”	Subordination, section 5.10.1 Syntactic Types of Subordinate Clauses
Modal Particles	<i>šaj</i> “(can)”, <i>náštik</i> “(cannot)”, <i>site</i> “(must)”, <i>te</i> “(should)”	Predicate, section 5.5.2 Modal Particle
Temporal	<i>mindár</i> “immediately”, <i>íž</i> “yesterday”, <i>míte</i> “since”, <i>furt</i> “always”, <i>inke</i> “still”, <i>már</i> “already”	Adverbial, section 5.4.1 Adverbs
Particles for Negation, Affirmation and Coordination	<i>či</i> “(even) not”, <i>na</i> “not”, <i>vi</i> “(even) also”, <i>feri</i> “only, just, except for”, <i>ouva</i> “yes”, <i>niči</i> “no”, <i>čak</i> “yet”, <i>ale</i> “but”, <i>taj</i> “and”, <i>vaj</i> “or”	5.11 Coordination, Operators with Diverse Arguments
Discourse Particles	<i>udí</i> “isn't it?”, <i>na</i> “no?”, <i>hát</i> “so”, <i>taj</i> “and then”, <i>aj</i> “but”, <i>jaj</i> “oh”, <i>le</i> “please”, <i>de</i> “common”	Clause, section 5.9.6 Discourse Particles and Phrases, p. 343

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 taj sej pheňa* “all the brothers and sisters” and mainly by the article:

*Khote sas maj but o phral i pheň.* (5.1-1)

there were CPR much the brother the sister

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 *vat*), the order can be flexible (see the examples to *phrala – pheňa* and *márel – mundárel*) or fixed (*opre teje*). 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

*Taj laki dej taj o dad gejlás taj kinel lake i mol.* (5.1.1-1)

and her mother and the father went.SG and buy.SG her the wine

And her parents went and bought her a bottle of wine.

*Lesko dad taj leski dej šon leske ánav.* (5.1.1-2)

his father and his mother put.PL him name

His parents give him a name.

*Amári šib siřlam feri khejre amáre dejandar taj amáre dadendar.* (5.1.1-3)  
 our language we.learned only at.home our mothers.from and our fathers.from

We learned our language only at home from our ancestors.

*Ando nípo fogadin pe kirvenge le phral vař pheňa.* (5.1.1-4)  
 in.the family designate REFL as.godparents the brothers or sisters

Within the family, sibilants are commonly designated as godparents.

*Šaj vorbis ře phralenca taj le pheňanca.* (5.1.1-5)  
 MODP talk your brothers.with and the sisters.with

You can talk with your sibilants.

*Atunři řon prej pe o kálo vi le pheňa taj vi le phral.* (5.1.1-6)  
 then they.put on them the black also the sisters and also the brothers

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 – ř, ře – le*), and the predicate is occasionally singular marked.

### Márel Mundárel:

*Kana phandavlas le, mundárelas le márelas le.* (5.1.1-7)  
 when were.imprisoning them killed them beat them

When they were imprisoning them, they beat them brutally up.

*Taj ando phanglimo márelas le mundárlas le.* (5.1.1-8)  
 and in.the prison beat them killed them

And in prison they beat them up.

Today the originally emphasizing element *mundárel* can be used alone in the same sense:

*S1 Čak lážan pe kodola dúj. S2 Aj mundárou le.* (5.1.1-9)  
 a DISCP are.ashamed REFL those two DISCP them

S1 But those two are ashamed. S2 Of course, I will scold them.

### Šindo Márdo

Surprisingly, the adjective (participle) mutation is not *\*márdo mundárdo* but *řindo márdo* “beaten up”

### Opre Tejle:

*Majinti le puráne rom phírenas le vurdonenca opre tejele.* (not: \*tejele opre) (5.1.1-10)  
 first the ancient Roms travelled the caravans.with up down down up

Some time ago the ancient Roms travelled around with caravans.

### Dúj Trín:

*Palaj dúj trín vorbi manglas pes-ke vorba.* (5.1.1-11)  
 after two three sentences required REFL-DAT speak

After some sentences he rose to speak.

## 5.1.2 Noun Dependent

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, kouvle búke* “liver”, lit. “weak lung”, *zurále búke* “stomach (meat)”, lit. “hard lung” (but: *žombra* “stomach (organ)”, *búke* “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 *jedó 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.

## 5.1.3 Adjectival Dependent

Almost the only source of adjectives in the sense of this section is a direct consequence of verbal modifiers: 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 řiri búři* “I make your work” to toughly bounded *del dějs* “greet”, lit. “give day”, *del puřke* “shoot”, lit. “give a shot”. The semantics can be transparent like *del briřind* “rain”, lit. “give rain”, *del goudř*<sup>20</sup> “advise”, lit. “give reason” up to completely opaque for conjunctions with otherwise empty words like *simáďi* “\*pawn”, *unřule* “\*loan”, *puřke* “\*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, *unřule*, 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*:

<i>Sa</i>	<i>line</i>	<i>penge</i>	<i>unřule</i>	<i>báre</i>	<i>louve.</i>	(5.1.5-1)
all	took	themselves	*loan	big	money	
SUBJ-NOM	PRDC	OBJ-DAT	VERBP	OBJ-NOM	OBJ-NOM	

They all took huge loans.

<i>Muro</i>	<i>dad</i>	<i>ři</i>	<i>das</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>unřule</i>	<i>ři</i>	<i>dúj</i>	<i>ežera.</i>	(5.1.5-2)
my	father	not	gave	me	*loan	not.even	two	thousand	
SUBJ-NOM	SUBJ-NOM	NEG	PRDC	OBJ-ACC	VERBP	NEG	OBJ-NOM	OBJ-NOM	

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:

<i>Te</i>	<i>paťas</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>muj</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>lala-ke!</i>	(5.1.5-3)
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MODP you.believe the mouth the aunt-DAT

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.

Verb	Noun	Resulting Meaning
<i>lel</i> “take”	<i>aminti</i>	take care
	<i>sáma</i>	notice
	<i>hasna</i>	use, take advance
	<i>simádi</i>	take a pawn
	<i>unžule</i>	take a loan
	<i>romňa/ romes</i>	marry
<i>del</i> “give”	<i>simádi</i>	pawn
	<i>unžule</i>	give a loan
	<i>romende</i>	marry off
	<i>dějs</i>	greet
	<i>goudi</i>	advise
	<i>xouli</i>	vent wrath
	<i>solax</i>	swear
	<i>brišind</i>	rain
	<i>jiv</i>	snow
	<i>o drom</i>	yield
	<i>trát</i>	prevent
	<i>puške</i>	shoot
	<i>pi zour</i>	impose

Verb	Noun	Resulting Meaning
	<i>goudi</i>	advise
	<i>jakhálo</i>	bewitch
<i>del</i> “set out” <sup>21</sup>	<i>drom</i>	rush
	<i>mujal</i>	overturn
<i>kerel</i> “make”	<i>búti</i>	work
	<i>louve</i>	earn money
	<i>pheras</i>	make a joke
	<i>vouja</i>	put in good mood
	<i>páča</i>	calm
	<i>xouli</i>	squabble
	<i>o páto</i>	make up the bed
	<i>zour</i>	1) force 2) overstrain
	<i>douš</i>	accuse, blame
	<i>čiči</i>	go sleep
<i>xal</i> “bother”	<i>lažavo</i>	be disgraced
	<i>čorimo</i>	be ruined
	<i>xouli</i>	be angry with
	<i>muro šejro</i>	makes me angry
	<i>bezexa</i>	(invective)
	<i>gríža</i>	concern
<i>paťal</i>	<i>o muj</i>	obey

<sup>21</sup> 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 etymon \**demel*.

Verb	Noun	Resulting Meaning	Verb	Noun	Resulting Meaning
“believe”				( <i>pe</i> )	
<i>šol</i> “put”	<i>jakh (pe)</i>	be interested (in)	<i>cirdel</i> “draw”	<i>e vorbi</i>	sound out
<i>žal</i> “go”	<i>solax</i>	swear	<i>šinēl</i> “cut”	<i>e vorbi</i>	decide
	<i>i vorba</i>	(roumors) circulate	<i>malavel</i> “strike”	<i>i balvaj, i guta</i>	damn
<i>phenel</i> “say”	<i>i vorba</i>	declare, state			
	<i>e vorbi</i>	traduce			

Table 57: Noun-Verb Phrases

*Aminti le po drom!* 5.1.5-4

VERBP take on.the way

Take care about the way!

*Taj kadej lam sáma, hoť Rusura-j.* (5.1.5-5)

and so we.took VERBP that Russians-are

Take care about the way!

*Hasna te lel o manuš peska goudá-ke!* (5.1.5-6)

VERBP MODP take the human his mind-DAT

Mankind should make use of his mind!

*Site lav tutar simád'i.* (5.1.5-7)

MODP I.take you.from VERBP

I have to take a pawn from you.

*Keťi lal unžule louve?* (5.1.5-8)

how.much you.took VERBP money

How much did you lend?

*Taj te lena ávre romes, khote či grížina?* (5.1.5-9)

and if they.will.take other man there not they.will.mind

And if they will take another man, they will not mind?

*Kana musaj-i, šaj den andej louve simád'i.* (5.1.5-10)

when necessary-is MODP they.give in money VERBP

And in the case of necessity, they can give a pawn instead of money.

*Nášťik dav tu unžule.* (5.1.5-11)  
 MODP I.give you VERBP

I cannot lend you money.

*Varesave rom denas penge šejan romende.* (5.1.5-12)  
 some Roms gave their daughters men-to

Some Roms wed their daughters. (see 4.2.5.6-5 Locative)

*Kana milaj-i, ávri pi udvara žan taj den d'ejš, phenen: "Lášo d'ejš!"* (5.1.5-13)  
 when summer-is outside on.the courtyard they.go and give VERBP say good day

In summer they go out to the courtyard and say hello, telling: "Have a nice day!"

*Sakones del goud'i, feri pes ničì.* (5.1.5-14)  
 everybody gives VERBP just himself not

He advises everybody, just not himself.

*Vestindas sa e louve taj akánik lel xouli pér ma..* (5.1.5-15)  
 spent all the money and now takes anger on me

He has spent all his money and now he vent wrath on me.

*Das solax pi káli krejtinca.* (5.1.5-16)  
 gave VERBP on.the black skirt

She swore on a black skirt.

*O brišind delas vorta, kana gejam.* (5.1.5-17)  
 the rain gave right when I.went

It rained right when I went off.

*Kana del o brišind vaj o jiv, taj sa čik avla.* (5.1.5-18)  
 when give the rain or the snow DISCP everything mud will.be

When it rains or snows, then everything will become muddy.

*Akánik del o drom pér ma.* (5.1.5-19)  
 now gives the way on me

Now he gives the turn to me.

*Naj e Rom bistošan d'ine trát te na pecisajvel variso.* (5.1.5-20)  
 DISCP the people surely gave VERBP MODP not happens something

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 goud'i.* (5.1.5-26)

MODP you.give reason

You cannot advise him.

*Mukna la pes-ke khote taj kerla áver búti.* (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 d'ija-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 andej le, erekre 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 keres la deja-sa xouli.* (5.1.5-32)

because you.make the mother-with VERBP

Because you squabble with your mother.

*Ža ker o páto!* (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 krenas la romňaki douš.* (5.1.5-36)

never 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.

*Mír-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 gríža ande kodo.* (5.1.5-43)

me not bothers care in that

I don't mind at all.

*Mír či pašas 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.

*Atunči 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 ejftavarrígal.* (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.

*Cirdou latar e vorbi, mír brígij.* (5.1.5-51)

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.* (5.1.5-52)

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.* (5.1.5-53)

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!* (5.1.5-54)

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 somnakaj ánde andi posofi* “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)

MODP they.will.take from.you down the money

They might decrease your subsidies.

*Kana uštēs opre, hát te šos tuke opre kado. Saténovívo. (5.1.5-56)*

when you.stand up then MODP you.put you VERBP this velvet

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 ánglal*, cannot be used for semantic extension, nor they can assist with modifying aspect (5.5.3).

Adverb	Verb	Resulting Meaning
<i>ánde</i> “in”	<i>šol</i>	appoint
	<i>kerel</i>	1) close 2) make dirty
	<i>suvel</i>	sew up
	<i>žal</i>	agree, go into
<i>ávri</i> “out”	<i>phenel,</i> <i>vorbij,</i> <i>mothol</i>	reveal, testify
	<i>vorbij pe</i>	talk out
	<i>cirdel</i>	sound out
	<i>del</i>	command
	<i>avel</i>	follow, result
	<i>lel</i>	1) interpret 2) fetch
	<i>peťol</i>	be deceived
	<i>phutrel</i>	(set) free
	<i>siťol</i>	learn by observation
<i>opre</i> “up (wards)”	<i>avel</i>	find out, occur to someone, realize
	<i>del</i>	denounce

Adverb	Verb	Resulting Meaning
	<i>phagel</i>	force open
	<i>šol</i>	1) dress 2) menace
	<i>žal</i>	get on
	<i>lel, šol, žal</i>	increase (price)
	<i>lel</i>	accept, forgive, believe, adopt
	<i>vazdel pe</i>	excel
<i>tejle</i> “down”	<i>šudel</i>	dismiss
	<i>lel, šol, žal</i>	reduce (price)
	<i>žal</i>	get off, change (train)
	<i>šorel</i>	strain off
	<i>šorel pe</i>	pledge friendship
	<i>pekel</i>	betray
	<i>cirdel</i>	undress
	<i>šol</i>	undress
	<i>skirij</i>	note, write down
	<i>del</i>	break down
<i>ángle</i>	<i>del</i>	demonstrate, greet

Adverb	Verb	Resulting Meaning	Adverb	Verb	Resulting Meaning
“forwards, anterior”			<i>perdal</i> “over, through”	<i>dikhel</i>	discover someone's intentions
	<i>avel</i>	come out, emerge		<i>lel</i>	take over, accept
	(copula)	appreciated	<i>palpále</i> “back”	<i>phenel, felelij</i>	answer
<i>ánqlal</i> “in front”	<i>del</i>	greet			

Table 58: Verbal Particles

*Či žanav, kas šon ánde andi delegácija.* (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 ASPP his head-NOM

He had a concussion, and they stitched his head up.

*La šako dad gejlás 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.

*Ažír, ká petilas 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.

*Sitile ávri, sar kerel pe* (5.1.5-72)

learned VERBP how make REFL

They observed and learned, how to do it.

*Kana avile opre, hoť xasajlas?* (5.1.5-73)

when they.came VERBP MODP got.lost

When did they discover, that he has got lost?

*Akánik avilem opre, hoť na site žav lende.* (5.1.5-74)

now I.came VERBP that not MODP I.go to.them

Now I realized, that I don't have to visit them.

*Taj kaj gáže dine les opre.* (5.1.5-75)

and these Czechs gave him VERBP

And these Czechs denounced him.

*Taj opre phaglas kodo kher.* (5.1.5-76)

and up broke that flat

And he broke up that flat.

*Na šu opre kaki, kuki le pér tu!* (5.1.5-77)

not put up this that take.IMP on you

Don't dress into this, take that one!

*So te kerav, opre šute mange.* (5.1.5-78)

what MODP I.make up they.rised me-DAT

What am I to do, they rised the housing price.

*Na ža opre, naj amári!* (5.1.5-79)

not go.IMP up is.not ours

Don't get on, it's not our line!

*O páji inke ame poťinas opre.* (5.1.5-80)

the water still we pay additionally

Additionally we do still pay for the water.

*So dal la but, de pjet tísic opre šu!* (5.1.5-81)

what you.gave her much DISCP five thousand up put

Why did you give her so much, rise it by five thousand!

*Opre žal o plino.* (5.1.5-82)

up goes the gas

The gas will go up.

*Či las opre kado sokáši.* (5.1.5-83)

not took VERBP 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 vazdel pe opre ande kado.* (5.1.5-85)

not lifts himself up in this

He will not excel in this matter.

*Jo, tejde 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 tejde lena.* (5.1.5-87)

and from.me down they.will.take

And they will reduce my pension.

*Či žav khati tejde.* (5.1.5-88)

not I.go nowhere down

I am not going to change the train.

*Šor tejde e krumpli!* (5.1.5-89)

pour down the potatoes

Strain off the potatoes!

*No šaj šordoun pe tejde má e dúj 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.

*Tejde 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 tejde!* (5.1.5-92)

draw down

Undress it!

*Šu tejde, šinesa les!* (5.1.5-93)

put down you.will.cut it

Strip it, you might tear it!

*Taj či skirindal teje?* (5.1.5-94)

and not you.wrote down

And you didn't sign?

*Te na des teje!* (5.1.5-95)

MODP not you.give down

Take care not to fall down!

*Kodolesa dine ángle le Romen hot' 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 godáver 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)“, *gindojo pe čores* „be wrong“, *sikavel perdal* „have papers checked“, *xutilel teje* “agree upon

the bride”, *kerel opre* “dress the hair”, *šinel opre* “become bumptious”, *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.

*Cirdav tejle e šavoures.* (5.1.5-103)

I.draw down the child

I undress the child.

*Cirdav ma tejle.* (5.1.5-104)

I.draw myself down

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.

*Pala kodo las i táška taj žal-tar ká i motora.* (5.1.5-105)

after that took the bag and leaves to the car

After that he took his bag and left for his car. (non-reflexive)

*Pala kodo las pe taj žal ávri maj dúr.* (5.1.5-106)

after that took himself and goes out CPR far

After that he set out and went out off. (reflexive)

*Nadón xal ma kodolesa.* (5.1.5-107)

very bothers me that.with

He makes me really angry with that. (non-reflexive)

*Vou avilas te xal pe manca ande muro kher.* (5.1.5-108)

she came to quarrel REFL me.with into my flat

She came to quarrel with me in my own flat. (reflexive)

*Šin tuke jejkh!* (5.1.5-109)

cut yourself one

Cut off one for yourself!

*Šin tu!* (5.1.5-110)

cut yourself

Move around!

*Inke site kerav i koñha.* (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 poñj 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.



Number (4.4.2), e.g. *i Mancí 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 šavouro siťol le románe sokáša.* (5.2-7)  
 the child learns the Rom customs

The child learns the customs of the Roms.

moving individual parts would theoretically not harm unambiguous identification:

*\*O le siťol románe sokáša šavouro.*

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):

*[amári] bári taj mindík šukár taj nadón godáver [šej]* (5.2-8)  
 our big and always beautiful and very clever girl

[our] big and always beautiful and very clever [girl]

*nadón banges súdo [gad]* (5.2-9)  
 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 romňi* in 5.2-1 above, or in

*amen, le Romen* (5.2.1-1)

PRON (NP = ART NOUN)

we the Roms

*i mesáli andi soba* (5.2.1-2)

ART NOUN PREP NOUN

*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, hot', 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.<sup>22</sup>

### 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, a 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:

*Sveteri, Boja, o sáno de la.* (5.2.2-1)

NOUN NAME ART ADJ VERB PRON

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:

<sup>22</sup> 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 dĭlabel o murš, kodo kadej-i, sar te dĭlabelas o dad, o šávo vať o phral.  
(5.2.3-1)

conj verb ART noun PRON ADV-COP conj conj verb ART noun ART noun conj ART noun

When the man sings, this is as if the father, the son or the brother sang.

Le Rom le ávera šeftolinas. (5.2.3-2)

ART noun ART ADJ verb

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 cigni* “the small one”), in its absence, it is a numeral (*sej 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 sas* “[I ate], what was there”). All other elements cannot take the 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 guglo šitemíni, so muri romni ingerdas (5.2.4-1)

ART ADJ NOUN RELCL

the sweet desserts, which my wife brought

la (5.2.4-2)

ART

her

i jejkh kumpánija (5.2.4-3)

ART NUM noun

one companionship

{amen} {le Romen} (5.2.4-4)

PRON NP = ART noun

we the Roms

*ká le deja* (5.2.4-5)  
PREP ART noun  
 with the mothers

*varisoske louve* (5.2.4-6)  
PRON noun  
 some money

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 tordól angla les-te!* (5.2.4-7)  
What.a Rom stands in.front.of he-LOC.  
 What man is standing in front of him!

The head is also behaving different from other elements of the NP in terms of case conjugation. Contrary to the head, the dependent elements code only nominative versus non-nominative (“oblique”) without explicit repetition of a case marker (underlined). Thus, the nominative case shows the following pattern:

*(Ánde tordólas) o šukár-o tern-o šáv-o.* (5.2.4-8)  
(inside stood) ART.NOM beautiful-NOM young-NOM guy-NOM.  
 inside there stood the beautiful young guy

In the two non-nominative cases, ablative and instrumental, respectively, the NP turns into

*(Phušlem) e šukár-e tern-e šáv-estar.* (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-esa.* (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 (*šávestar* → *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 *tírestar* “from yours”, *ávrestar* “from the other one”, *sej dújendar* “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.

*Tehára žas andi Ostrav-a a motor-asa a bár-asa.* (5.2.4-11)  
 ADV verb PREP noun-NOM ART.OBL noun-INSTR ART.OBL ADJ-INSTR

Tomorrow you go to Ostrava with the car, with the big one.

*Tehára maladúvou a gajž-asa, kuk-olasa tír-asa.* (5.2.4-12)  
 ADV VERB ART.OBL NOUN-INSTR PRON-INSTR PRON-INSTR

Tomorrow I will meet with the officer, with your one.

### 5.2.5 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.

*pe kad-o festival-i* (not *\*p-o kad-o festival-i*) (5.2.5-1)  
 on this-NOM festival-NOM on-ART.NOM this festival

on this festival

*Sak-o romňi-j sar vouj.* (not *\*i sak-o romň-i*) (5.2.5-2)  
 every.NOM woman-NOM-is like she ART.NOM woman-NOM

Every woman is like her.

Determiners are personal, demonstrative and possessive pronouns, certain quantifiers like *sako* “every”, *mindenfejlíka* “various”, *soro* “whole”, *kobor* “so big / so small”, *kecavo* “such”, *-godí*

“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 REFL us.with all.ART two.with

She quarreled with both of us two.

*Taj phagerde lenge sa. E ávrenge íš, 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 others, 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 kinkereľ 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)

DISCP not I.was nowhere to buy me skirt

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.

Lexeme	Position	Animacy	Declension	Meaning
<i>sa (sej)</i> “all, every”	head/ dependent/ adverb	–	NON-INFLECTED	completeness 1) countable (all) 2) extent (full, completely)
<i>sako</i> “every”	head/ dependent	–	XADJ	distributive completeness
<i>intrego (inkrego)</i> “whole”	dependent	–	XADJ	completeness (uncountable)
<i>cara</i> “whole”	dependent	–	NON-INFLECTED	completeness (uncountable)
<i>soro</i> “whole”	dependent	non animate	NON-INFLECTED	completeness (time)
<i>sogodi/sagodi</i> “everything”	head/ dependent	–	NON-INFLECTED	diversity
<i>tista</i> “completely”	ADJ adverb	–	–	maximum extent
<i>erekre</i> “completely”	copula PRDC (similar)	–	–	maximum extent
<i>tistára</i> “completely”	verbal adverb	–	–	maximum extent
<i>akár-</i> “whatever”	retained	retained	retained	ubiquity
<i>mindeneko</i> “diverse matters”	head	–	XMO	diversity
<i>mindenjejlíka</i> (PL) “diverse”	dependent	–	XADJ (PL)	diversity

<i>nadon</i> “very”	ADJ / ADV adverb	–	–	high level
<i>ipen</i> “exactly”	dependent	–	–	equality
<i>but</i> “much”	head/ dependent/ adverb	–	CADJ	big amount
<i>maj but</i> “most”	dependent	–	NON-INFLECTED	maximum amount
<i>cera</i> “few”	head/ dependent/ adverb	–	NON-INFLECTED	small amount (emphasis)
<i>kobor</i> “so big”	head/ dependent	–	CADJ	size comparison, deictic quantifier
<i>kutin</i> “little”	head/ dependent/ adverb	–	CADJ	small amount, tiny size (uncountable)
<i>uni</i> “some”	dependent	–	<i>uni</i> , except for M SG uno	non-zero amount (countable)
<i>k semo</i> “a little”	head/ dependent	–	NON-INFLECTED	small amount
<i>maj cera</i> “less”	head/ dependent	–	NON-INFLECTED	minimum
<i>barim</i> “at least”	head/ dependent	–	NON-INFLECTED	least, minimum amount (emphasis)
<i>vari-</i> “some”	retained	retained	retained	not-absence
<i>khonik</i> “nobody”	head	animate	XMAS (SG)	absence
<i>khanči</i> “nothing”	head/ dependent/ adverb	non animate	XMI (SG)	absence
<i>čisosko</i> “none”	dependent	–	OADJ	absence of entity
<i>čisosko</i> “not good” (listed for completeness)	head	–	OADJ	absence of quality

Table 59: Quantifiers

Examples are given in the order of the table, from completeness to absence:

*Mindžar 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 phírdal sa?* (5.3-3)  
 also VERBP went.ITER everything

And did you go around the whole location eventually?

*Šutas ávri sa o pijimo pi mesáli.* (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 I.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, mamó. 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.

*Naj tista káli-j kodi teja.* (5.3-12)

DISCP completely black-is that tea

Well that tea is completely black.

*Nojo, taj khini-j erekre.* (5.3-13)

DISCP and tired-is completely

Indeed, she is completely tired.

*Kodi leske ášol korkoureske erekre.* (5.3-14)

that him stays alone-DAT completely

That remains completely for him personally.

*Naj andej Prahi khote šil-i erekre.* (5.3-15)

DISCP in.the Prague there cold-is completely

Well in Prague it is ice cold.

*Mářilo halára.* (5.3-16)

Got.drunk totally

He got totally drunk.

*Halára sovel.* (5.3-17)

totally sleeps

He sleeps deeply.

*Atunči nasvajlem halára.* (5.3-18)

then I.fell.ill completely

Then I fell completely ill.

*S1 Pe sos si o drab?* (5.3-19)

on what is the drug

What is the drug for?

*S2 Pe mindenekos.*

on all.kind.of.things

For miscellaneous problems.

*I romňi terejdij pa sa taj si pe mindenekos.* (5.3-20)

the woman cares for everything and is on all.kind.of.things

The woman cares for everything, and she manages all kinds of tasks.

*Andej Rom peren mindenfejlíka bajura.* (5.3-21)  
 among.the Roms fall all.kind.of troubles

The Roms are hit by all kinds of troubles.

*Nad'on šukár sas, lulud'ášo taj sas mindenfejlíka sinura,* (5.3-22)  
 very beautiful was flower-ADJ and was all.kind.of colours  
*loulo, vineto, zeleno, galbeno, párho.*  
 red blue green yellow white

It was very beautiful, with flowers and all kinds of colours, red, blue, green, yellow, white.

*Le khelímátura sas but mindenfejlíka.* (5.3-23)  
 the dances were much all.kinds.of

They were dancing in miscellaneous ways..

*Kodi nad'on šukár-i, uđi?* (5.3-24)  
 that very beautiful-is DISCP

That is very beautiful, isn't it?

*Nad'on mišto terejdij pár tu.* (5.3-25)  
 very well cares about you

She cares very well about you.

*O sveteri ípen tutar-i.* (5.3-26)  
 the pullover exactly you-ABL-is

The pullover suits exactly to you.

*Taj kobor mas, intrego phíko šindílas ávri.* (5.3-27)  
 and so.big flesh whole shoulder tore.off VERBP

It was such a big piece of flesh, the whole shoulder tore off.

*No eta, kobor te andalas mange!* (5.3-28)  
 DISCP DISCP so.big if you.had.brought me

Here you got it, such a big piece you should have brought me!

*Taj šosa ek, stači jejkh, ek škorica, kecavo kúsko, kobor.* (5.3-29)  
 and you.put one enough.is one one cinnamon such piece so.big

Then you add one, one is enough, one cinnamon, such a piece, such a big piece.

*Taj kobor dous le?* (5.3-30)

and how.big I.give-POT them

And how big should it be, what I would give her?

*Aj kobor šinou les, hoť t'avel skurto, áke, kobor šindemas les.* (5.3-31)

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.

*Vaj vi o texan o hlavňivo kuřin-ouro-j.* (5.3-32)

or also the food the main tiny-DIM-is

And the main dish is also very tiny.

*Kana sim opre kuřin, mindár o Citrom opre-j manca.* (5.3-33)

when I.am up a.little immediately the Citrom up-is with.me

Immediately when I wake up, Citrom is up with me.

*Taj site phabol kuřin.* (5.3-34)

and MODP glow a.little

And it has to glow a little.

*Thovesa les ek kuřin.* (5.3-35)

you.will.wash it a a.little

You wash it a little.

*Eta, pe kaj dúj kuřina draba dem sto šedesát koron!* (5.3-36)

DISCP on these two tiny drugs I.gave hundred sixty crowns

Look here, for these two tiny drugs I paid hundred and sixty crowns.

*Sas les barim kadala kirpi.* (5.3-37)

COP.IPFV he.ACC at.least these clothes

He had at least the clothes.

*Avla amende, te avel katkáke barim.* (5.3-38)

will.be with.us if comes here at.least

He will be with us, at least if he comes here.

*Barim kirav, mejk avou!* (5.3-39)

at.least cook.IMPbefore I.will.come

At least cook something, before I will come!

*Aj bištoš, vi kodoj majmon xutilde, phangle avna varisave.* (5.3-40)

DISCP surely also those Vietnamese they.caught policemen will.come some  
Well for sure, they caught also those Vietnamese, some policemen arrived.

[ ] *mangelas i mol, na, vaj variso.* (5.3-41)

demanded the wine DISCP or something

he ordered wine, you know, or something of this kind.

*Mukla les variko, e gáže.* (5.3-42)

will.let him somebody the neighbours

Somebody will let him pass, the neighbours or so.

*Ale avla pokaždí varikon.* (5.3-43)

but will.come every.time somebody

But every time somebody will come.

*Nás čisoski i omáčka.* (5.3-44)

not.was none the sauce

The sauce was nothing fancy.

*Čisosko Rom nás ando fouro.* (5.3-45)

not.any Rom was.not in.the city

No Rom was in the city.

*S1 So ingres anda fouro?* (5.3-46)

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.* (5.3-47)

not they.help.POT him the doctors nothing

The doctors would not help him at all.

*Č' avla paša ma khanči!* (5.3-48)

not will.be with me nothing

By no means he will stay with me!

*Či lažandas pe **khanči**, hoť 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.look 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 *\*tordól tejle* "stand down", *\*paštól 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 than 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".

Adverb	English
<i>ánde</i>	into, in
<i>ándral</i>	inside
<i>ávri</i>	out, outside

Adverb	English
<i>ávral</i>	outside, from outside
<i>opre</i>	up(wards)
<i>opral</i>	upwards, upstairs,

<b>Adverb</b>	<b>English</b>
	from upstairs
<i>tejle</i>	down(wards)
<i>tejlal</i>	downstairs
<i>ángle</i>	forwards (see also temporal <i>maj ángle</i> )
<i>ánglal</i>	in front
<i>páše</i>	around, near by, in addition
<i>pálal</i>	behind, backwards
<i>maškáral</i>	in-between, centrally
<i>perdal</i>	over, through
<i>palpále</i>	back
<i>inča</i>	in the middle
<i>khate</i>	at this place*
<i>katka, katkáke</i>	here (situation deictic)*
<i>khote</i>	1) at that place, 2) there (discourse)*
<i>kutka, kutkáke</i>	there (situation deictic)*
<i>katkar</i>	situation deictic: 1) from here 2) here along
<i>kutkar</i>	situation deictic: 1) from there 2) there along
<i>khátar</i>	1) from this place 2) along this place
<i>khoutar</i>	1) from this place 2) along this place
<i>boldines</i>	1) upside down 2) indirectly

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\* Used for location (where?) and direction (where to?)

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 outside.

*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 gejele 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.

*Te šos opral lon, atunči lášo-j.* (5.4.1-10)

if you.put up salt then good-is

If you put some salt on top, it will be good.

*Aj opral-i e žejne, aven tejle, te žan andej bolti.* (5.4.1-11)

DISCP up-are the people come down in.order.to go in.the shops

But the people are up there, they come down in order to visit the shops.

*Tu xutilesa taj vou šinla opral.* (5.4.1-12)

you will.hold and you will.cut up

You must hold it and cut it on top.

*De tejle muk kadej.* (5.4.1-13)

DISCP down leave so

Common, leave it down there.

*Taj apal šudas les tejle paj fejastra.* (5.4.1-14)

and then throw it down from.the window

And then you throw it out of the window.

*Aj e pohára-j tejlal.* (5.4.1-15)

DISCP the glasses-are down

But the glasses are down there.

*Naj ánglal te ingres la, i táška.* (5.4.1-16)

DISCP in.front to carry it the bag

Carry it rather in front of you, I mean the bag.

*O dad taj i dej naj páše.* (5.4.1-17)

The father and the mother are.not close

The parents are not nearby.

*Šosa páše kuřin teja.* (5.4.1-18)

you.will.put nearby some tea

And then you place some tea close by.

*Vou trádelas, taj me pálal, pala leste.* (5.4.1-19)

he travelled and I behind after him

He travelled and me after him.

*Nášťik dikhes pálal.* (5.4.1-20)

MODP look behind

You must not look behind.

*Mure phral sas pe sej dúj riga taj me maškáral.* (5.4.1-21)

my brothers were on both.the two sides and me in-between

My brothers were on both sides and I was in-between.

*E maj phúre rom bešenás maškáral palaj mesája.* (5.4.1-22)

the CPR old men were.sitting in-between behind.the table

The oldest men were sitting centrally at the table.

*Taj avilam palpále taj sa phagerdo sas.* (5.4.1-23)

and we.came back and everything broken was

Then we came back and everything was broken.

*Naj kadi gejlás inťa.* (5.4.1-24)

DISCP her went in.the.middle

Well, this one went right in-between.

*Khate bešel i Kejža.* (5.4.1-25)

here lives the Kejža

Here lives Kejža.

*I čejza ká šos, katka?* (5.4.1-26)

the cup where you.put here

And the cup, where do you place it?

S1 *Voun maj páčake-j khote, ando Trinco.* (5.4.1-27)

they CPR calm-are there in.the Třinec

They are calmer over there in Třinec.

S2 *Najo. Taj naj khote feri trín žejne akánik bešen.*

DISCP and DISCP there only three persons now live

OK. And indeed only three persons are living there now.

*Naj taj bešel kutka pašaj fejastra taj rovel.* (5.4.1-28)

DISCP and sits there close.to.the window and cries

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 maladóna e skíńí.* (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 to me discreetly.

### 5.4.1.2 Temporal Adverbs

Temporal adverbs set a time or period:

Adverb	English	Adverb	English
<i>butájik</i>	1) A long time ago 2) For a long time	<i>má(r)</i>	already (NEG: no more)
<i>dolmut</i>	1) A long time ago 2) For a long time	<i>inke</i>	still (NEG: not yet, still not)
<i>anakelej</i>	long long ago	<i>vorta</i>	right at the moment, see also 5.4.1.3 Manner Adverbs
<i>valahára</i>	once upon a time	<i>majinti</i>	at first
<i>varikana</i>	sometimes, once	<i>anglunes</i>	at first
<i>univar</i>	occasionally	<i>apal</i>	then
<i>cera</i>	for a short time	<i>zaxvíli,</i> <i>zaxvilku</i>	after a while
<i>k cera</i>	a while	<i>mindár</i>	immediately
<i>šoha</i>	never (with negated predicate)	<i>feri</i>	only
<i>iž</i>	yesterday	<i>náhodo(u)</i>	by accident
<i>áver iž</i>	the day before yesterday	<i>pokaždí</i>	each time
<i>tehára</i>	tomorrow	<i>mindík</i>	always
<i>áver tehára</i>	the day after tomorrow	<i>furt</i>	always
<i>(de)adějsártu</i> <i>r</i>	from today on	<i>vídík</i>	every time, any time
<i>detehára</i>	in the morning	<i>azíte</i>	from then on
<i>dějse</i>	during the day	<i>mejk</i>	eventually
<i>ráti</i>	in the night	<i>adík</i>	until then
<i>e(k)cere</i>	suddenly, quickly, at once		

Table 61: Temporal Adverbs

#### Examples:

*Má butájik sas, kecave dúj šon, trín.*  
already long.ago was some two months three

(5.4.1-39)

It was already long ago, some two or three months.

*Butájik kirolas.* (5.4.1-40)

long was.cooking

It was cooking a long time.

*Na dolmut das le.* (5.4.1-41)

not long gave it

Not long ago he gave it away.

*Á, či pillem dolmut.* (5.4.1-42)

Ah not I.drank long.time

Ah, it has been long ago since I had something to drink.

*Anakelej phírkerenas e Rom e vurdonenca.* (5.4.1-43)

long.ago travelled.ITER the Roms the caravans.with

In ancient times the Roms travelled around with caravans.

*Valahára bešenas e Rom telaj čerhaja.* (5.4.1-44)

once sat the Roms under.the stars

Once upon a time the Roms sat under the stars.

*Varikana v sobotu nebo neděli avou.* (5.4.1-45)

somewhen on.Saturday or Sunday I.will.come

I will come some day on Saturday or Sunday.

*Univar kames le, univar niči.* (5.4.1-46)

sometimes you.like them sometimes not

Sometimes you like them, and sometimes you don't.

*Me má cera khelav ma lenca.* (5.4.1-47)

I already little play REFL with.them

I play just little with them.

*Pa k cera žou te kerav ma.* (5.4.1-48)

after a little I.will.goto make.up myself

After a while I will make up myself.

*Kodola šoha nás andej thema.* (5.4.1-49)

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)

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)

DISCP you.will.come in.the shop CPR after

OK, you will come to the shop later on.

*Naj čak íž či kerdas khanči.* (5.4.1-52)

DISCP DISCP yesterday not made nothing

But eventually he hasn't done anything yesterday.

*Áver íž kindem les.* (5.4.1-53)

other yesterday I.bought it

The day before yesterday I bought it.

*Vou žala tehára khejre, no.* (5.4.1-54)

he will.go tomorrow at.home DISCP

Tomorrow he will go home, yes.

*Lešinas ži áver tehára.* (5.4.1-55)

they.were.waiting until other tomorrow

They were waiting until the second day after.

*Adějsártur feri biknen le ando Kafland.* (5.4.1-56)

from.today just they.sell him in.the Kaufland

It is offered in the Kauland just since yesterday.

*Naj taj avna kadej korán detehára khote?* (5.4.1-57)

DISCP and they.will.be so early in.the.morning there

OK, but will they be there tomorrow about early in the morning?

*Či sovenas dějse, šoha.* (5.4.1-58)

not they.slept in.the.daytime never

They never slept during daytime.

*Feri ráti sovenas.* (5.4.1-59)

just in.the.night they.slept

They slept just in the night.

*Taj apal ecere avilas.* (5.4.1-60)

and then at.once came

And then he came at once.

*Taj ničiči po jejkh kinkeren, po deš ecere.* (5.4.1-61)

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 čiči žanav.* (5.4.1-62)

already not I.know

I don't know any more.

*Má kísno sal?* (5.4.1-63)

already ready you.are

Are you ready already?

*Inke!* (5.4.1-64)

*one.more*

Once again! / Another one!

*Inke č' avasa khote?* (5.4.1-65)

still not we.will.be there

We're still not there?

*O phral nás vorta khote.* (5.4.1-66)

the brother was.not right there

Her brother wasn't there at the moment.

*Majinti aven pala la.* (5.4.1-67)

firstly they.come after her

They first come to visit her.

*Anglunes site žas taj site phenes lenge sa.* (5.4.1-68)

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 d'ilaben.* (5.4.1-69)

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

I will come after a while.

*Má       na       site   den       tu   mindár   e   khera.* (5.4.1-71)

already   not       MODP   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   VERBP

Just now he began to take me serious.

*Feri       rátî       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   MODP   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   REFL-DAT   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   vídík.* (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.

*Taj mejk či páji či dine man.* (5.4.1-80)

and eventually not water not gave me

And eventually they didn't give me even water.

*Keren adik leski vouja la džjasa.* (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”, *meláles* “dirtyly”, *šúšes* “emptily”, *čáčes* “really”

Adverb	English
<i>opre</i>	open (opposite: <i>ánde kerdo</i> “closed”)
<i>opre</i>	awake see also <i>ušťel opre</i> , <i>Aspect Particles</i> (5.5.3)
<i>loukes</i>	slowly, quietly
<i>čáčes</i>	really
<i>šukáres</i>	pretty (appearance, behaviour)
<i>vorta</i>	even, just, see Chyba: zdroj odkazu nenalezen (Chyba: zdroj odkazu nenalezen)
<i>nápoki</i>	by purpose
<i>dehír</i>	laughed off

Table 62: Manner Adverbs

### Examples

*Muk kado opre!* (5.4.1-82)

let this open

Keep this open!

Sedm hodin *opre te aves már!* (5.4.1-83)  
 at.seven up MODP COP.2SG.SUBV already

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 CPR 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 tó 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:

Adverb	English
<i>páše</i>	in addition
<i>šimaj</i>	furthermore
<i>vúbec</i>	not at all
<i>vi</i>	even, see also 5.11.4.2 Additive Focus Coordinators <i>vi</i> and <i>na feri / niči feri</i>

Table 63: Degree Adverbs

### Examples

*Taj so lesa páše?* (5.4.1-93)  
and what you.will.take in.addition

And with what do you want to have it?

*Taj šimaj line lestar sa.* (5.4.1-94)  
and furthermore they.took from.him everything

And furthermore they took everything from him .

*Vúbec náštík dikhav o rat.* (5.4.1-95)  
at.all MODP I.see the blood

I can't look at blood at all.

*No bút sas, vi deš žejne sas e phúre.* (5.4.1-96)  
DISCP many were also ten people were the old

Well they were many, up to ten old people they were all together.

*Šaj sas la vi tricať roki atunči.* (5.4.1-97)  
MODP COP.IPFV her.ACC also thirty.years then

They might have been thirty years then.

*Taj khatargodi pi luma sas, jovkhar avilas vi andi Sereda.* (5.4.1-98)  
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 Sered'.

### 5.4.2 Temporal Relations

A point in time is referred by

- NOM nouns or NPS like (*e*)*k čáso* “an hour”, *dúj čásura* “two hours”, *detehárin* “morning”, *mizmejri* “noon”, *kurko* “Sunday”, *luja* “Monday”, *Májuši* “May”, *Decemberi* “December”, *kado berš* “this year”, asked for by *Keti-j?* “What’s the time?”, *Sosko dějs-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 dějs* “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:

*Kodo berš so avla rakhou man-ge búti.* (5.4.2-1)

that year which will.come I.will.find me-DAT work

Next year I will find myself a job.

- NOM NPS containing *kuko* like *kuko dějs* “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:

*Berš-i kodoles-ke, hot’ simas tumende.* (5.4.2-2)

year-is that-DAT that I.was you.at

A year before I visited you.

- Denominal morphological adverbs *detehára* “in the morning” and for absolute named days like *kurke* “Sunday”, *lujine* “Monday”, see Derived Adverbs (4.5.4.5), asked for by *Kana?* “When?”, when they are apart from the time of speech, or *rátí* “during the night” and *dějse* “during the day”;
- Genitive forms of numerals designating absolute hours or days of the month like *jejkhesko / jejkhe časosko* “at one hour”, *dújengo / dúje časongo* “at two hours”, *ejtango* “at seven”, *bišengo* “at eight pm”, for hours apart from the actual hour and for any day of the month, asked for by *Ketengo?* “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 ráta* “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 dúje kurken* “two weeks later”, *pa k cera* “after a while”, *angla páže 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 keťe 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 keté dějsen?* “During how many days?”:

*Tela k časó 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 časón.* (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 *Ketí?* “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 časura 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.

*Ketí 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 tî dej?* (5.5-1)  
 where your mother

Where is your mother?

S1 *Ká lo o Citrom?* S2 *Eta lo!* (5.5-2)  
 where COP the Citrom DISCP COP

S1 Where is Citrom? S2 Ah, here he is!

S1 *Ká le [e kiji]?* S2 *Eta le!* (5.5-3)  
 where COP the keys DISCP COP

S1 Where are they [the keys]? S2 Here they are!

*Ká li de i áver?* (5.5-4)  
 where 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 šanglendir* “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”:

*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  $\emptyset$ , *te* and *taj* (in bold underlined), coming from different and still evident background (final relativizer *te* and coordinator *taj*):

*Akánik vorbinas, so sas, taj žav ∅ sovav.* (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 ∅ 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 ∅ 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)

MODP go to announce the Berci

She can go and announce Berci's presence.

*Taj so siřosa ráti? Ráti žasa te soves.* (5.5-13)

and what you.will.learn in.the.night in.the.night you.will.go to you.sleep.SUBV

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

And again they go and make the wedding.

*Voun šunde taj geje taj kinde lake.* (5.5-15)

they heard and went and bought her

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  $\emptyset$ , 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 ∅ xa!* (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 manuř 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*:

*Akánik íž phendas o doktori te na pij-av 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.

*Aj phendal te na an-av 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:

*Kadej phenes sar šoha te na gejlemas pi 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.

*Te na naj barvále, atunči keren o keretšígo khejre ando 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:

*Na phandav les!* (5.5.1-6)  
 not bind.IMP him  
 Don't bind him there!

*Na dara!* (5.5.1-7)  
 not fear.IMP  
 Don't be afraid!

- With the modal particles *te* and *site*:

*Te na bistr-es té kirpi!* (5.5.1-8)  
 MODP not forget-2SG.SUBV your clothes  
 Don't forget your clothes!

*Na site 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*) (5.5.1-10)  
 even not says to.you the truth

He doesn't even tell you the truth!

*Či na žan-av.* (instead of \**či či žanav*) (5.5.1-11)  
 even not know-1SG.PRES

I don't know even.

In the imperative, locally also *ma* can be heard alternatively with *na*:

*Ma phen!* (5.5.1-12)  
 not tell.IMP

Don't say it! (or with irony: Really?)

Contrarily, in factual (real) conditions *te* is negated by *či* (prevalently future tense)

*Te či žala te khelel peske, hát č' avla khanči.* (5.5.1-13)  
 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.* (5.5.1-14)  
 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.* (5.5.1-15)  
 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.* (5.5.1-16)  
 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 3<sup>rd</sup> person copula in both tenses *naj* and *nás*

*Már naj maškar le.* (5.5.1-17)  
 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 MODP 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 MODP 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 3<sub>p</sub> 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 márho.* (5.5.2-1)  
 MODP cop.3P bread

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)  
 MODP they say-3PL.PRES you where he.was

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, hot' šaj av-as má.* (5.5.2-3)  
 when saw sleeps deeply and cried on us that MODP come-1PL.PRES already

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)  
 accidentally if meet-2SG-POT him and MODP ask-2SG.PRES him.ABL

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 ten hours.GEN come.3SG.PRES the post DISCP and eleven.hours MODP go-1SG.PRES

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)  
 the Rumungro.woman so MODP stay-PFTV-IRR inside

So the Rumungro woman could have stayed inside.

- Whether an appropriate internal condition (volition, ability, disposition) is given:

*Te ávri sastó-s-a, šaj ža-s ávri.* (5.5.2-7)  
 if ASPP recover-2SG-FUT MODP go-2SG.PRES out

If you will recover, you may go out.

*Taj te kam-es-a, šaj šo-s vi páji.* (5.5.2-8)  
 and if want-2SG-FUT mop put-2SG.PRES also water

And if you want, you may add also some water.

*Aj me šaj d-ou la pi mašina.* (5.5.2-9)

DISCP I MODP give-1SG.FUT her on.the train

But I can give her money for the train.

- To express the deduced character of a fact, an evidential modality:

*S1 Taj mindík maladón ande lesko kher. S2 Kadej šaj av-el.* (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.

*Le pér tu o zubuno, šaj av-el šil ávri.* (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):

*Mamo, šaj ža-v-tar má?* (5.5.2-12)

mummy MODP go-1SG-away already

Mummy, may I leave already?

*Šaj d-es les, kana trobuj.* (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:

*Naj de k šávo šaj áš-il-oun ando kher.* (5.5.2-14)

DISCP DISCP one son MODP stay-IPFV-IRR.3P in.the house

Well, one son could have stayed at home.

*Gugli mol šaj ker-d-am-as.* (5.5.2-15)

sweet wine MODP make-PFTV-3PL-IRR

We could have made mulled wine.

*Taj kado šaj gindosaj-l-al-as, mejk ker-d-am kado.* (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.

*Vej zeveja šaj av-en-as ánde.* (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:

*Taj te avna ma šavoura, či kodola dva tisíc nášťik bišav-ou má.* (5.5.2-18)  
and if cop-3PL-FUT me.ACC children.NOM even those two.thousand MODP send-1SG.FUT.already

And if I will have children, I will send neither those two thousand.

*Nášťik l-en o rat, taj dúj časura pašťuv-av.* (5.5.2-19)  
MODP take-3PL the blood and two hours lie-1SG

They cannot take blood, and so I lie there two hours.

*Nášťik d-av la khanči, protože sa l-el latar.* (5.5.2-20)  
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):

*Nášťik súd-as les i Bejba taj bango sas.* (5.5.2-21)  
MODP sew.PFTV-3SG it the Bejba and bent was

Bejba couldn't sew it, and it was bent.

*Kana si varikas angína, nášťik phírel pa fourou!* (5.5.2-22)  
when cop.3SG somebody.ACC tonsillitis MODP go.ITER over.the city

When somebody has tonsillitis, he cannot go oftento the city.

*Atunči nasvajlem halára. Anda kodo nášťik gejl-em čak kadalasa.* (5.5.2-23)  
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.

*Te av-l-a i Bejba phúri, mír nášťik l-es-a la tute?* (5.5.2-24)  
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?

*Aj kadi bári šúri, vúbec nášťik dikh-av, kana šingr-en lasa.* (5.5.2-25)  
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:

*Inke nášťík av-el oxto, rat-i.* (5.5.2-26)

yet MODP cop.SUBV-3SG eight night-is

It cannot be eight yet, it's dark.

*Inke nášťík reslas andi Karvíňa.* (5.5.2-27)

yet MODP arrive-PFTV-3SG into.the Karviná

She cannot have arrived to Karviná yet.

- Internal disagreement of a participant or external authority (prohibition):

*Taj nášťík muk-en ma má te av-ou phúri korkouri, me apal sar avou?* (5.5.2-28)

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?

*O manuš site dikh-el ánglal, nášťík dikh-es pálal.* (5.5.2-29)

the human MODP look-3SG forwar[ds MODP look-2SG backwards

Man has to look in advance, he cannot look backwards.

*Nášťík ker-es kodo, so kam-es.* (5.5.2-30)

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.:

*Nášťík ek šávo áš-il-oun ando kher?* (5.5.2-31)

MODP one son stay-PFTV-IRR in.the house

Couldn't one son stay in the house?

*Nášťík aviloun ánde vej zeveja?* (5.5.2-32)

MODP cop-IRR.3P inside also.the greaves

Couldn't there be some greaves inside?

### 5.5.2.3 Obligation Imperative and Interrogative Particle *te*

In contrast to all other functions of *te*, as a directive and interrogative particle it is not part of a subordinate structure. Semantically, this main-clause *te* represents two manifestations of an obligation, for example to visit a doctor, *Žal ká o doktori tehára*. “Tomorrow he will go to the doctor.” The addition of *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 ža-n ká o doktori tehára!* (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 ža-v ká o doktori tehára?* (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 *te* can be explained as complement or adverbial clause without complementizer or conjunction, as *te* is commonly interpreted, see Complement (5.10.3.2):

- Final clause:

*Din-e ma louve te ža-v ká o doktori.* (5.5.2-35)

give.PFTV-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/ Dar-ous te ža-v ká o doktori.* (5.5.2-36)

want-1SG.IPFV be.afraid-1SG.IPFV 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 – \**Te žasa ká o doktori!* “Go to the doctor!” (with 2SG FUT), in the case of the copula from the distinct subjunctive stem: \**Te sal sigo palpále!* (with 2SG PRES, correct: *te aves*).

In connection with this usage of *te* the position is always right before the predicate, interruptable only by negators (> *te na*).

#### 5.5.2.4 Obligation Declarative Particle *site*

The particle *site* serves to express obligation, placed by nature, logic, convention or social norm, open to volition or to be postponed.

*Site khar-en e doktores.* (5.5.2-37)

MODP call-2PL the doctor

You have to call the doctor.

*Kana šúš-il-e le dúj gláži la ratijasa, kodo site l-as sáma.* (5.5.2-38)

when empty.PFTV-3PL the two bottles the spirit.with that MODP take.PFTV-3SG VERBP

When the two bottles with spirit were empty, he must have noticed.

*E draba site l-av ávri.* (5.5.2-39)

the drugs MODP take-1SG out

I have to pick up the drugs.

*O šávo site paťal le Dadesko muj.* (5.5.2-40)

the son MODP believe-3SG the father's mouth

The son has to obey what his father says.

*Site ža-v-tar, lešij ma muri dej.* (5.5.2-41)

MODP go-1SG-away waits me my mother

I have to leave, my mother waits for me.

*Taj vi detehára nášťik pašťuvav. Site ušťav mindík.* (5.5.2-42)

and also in.the morning MODP lie MODP stand.up always

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)

MODP stay still not MODP go-2SG

You can stay, you don't need to go.

In constructions like this the modal particle might be analysed further as the 3<sub>P</sub> 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)

MODP go.PFTV-1SG-away

I had to leave.

• *Site kin-d-as les* (5.5.2-45)

MODP buy-PFTV-3SG it

He had to buy it

- *Site lešin-d-em-as* (5.5.2-46)  
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*) (5.5.2-47)  
cop-1SG CMPL go-1SG-away

I had to leave.

- \**Sas te kin-el les* (instead of *si te kin-d-as les*) (5.5.2-48)  
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*) (5.5.2-49)  
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:

- *Či žan-en-as kodo te l-en opre.* (alongside *či žan-en-as te l-en kodo opre*) (5.5.2-50)

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.*) (5.5.2-51)  
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.*) (5.5.2-52)  
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.* (5.5.2-53)  
 MODP-IS CMPL register-2SG the flat

You must register the flat.

*Musaj-i te phíraven o d'áso.* (5.5.2-54)  
 MODP-IS CMPL wear the mourning.clothes

They are obliged to wear the mourning clothes.

*Naj kodo, hot' la terňa šejoura musaj-i te xutilen teje.* (5.5.2-55)  
 NEG.COP.3P that that e the young girl.DIM-COP MODP catch VERBP

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.* (5.5.2-56)  
 NEG.COP them-LOC so.much money and MODP-IS CMPL go-3PL the women on.the steeling

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* (5.5.2-57)  
 our people not very like-3PL CMPL go.ITER-3PL on mourning but MODP-IS

*te ža-n, ke vi kado ande manušesko trajo sit' av-el,*  
 CMPL go-3PL because also this in human's life MODP cop.SUBV-3SG

*ke le svuntone Dejvlestar-i.*  
 because the holy God.from-is

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.* (5.5.2-58)  
 DISCP NEG.COP MODP CMPL iron-2SG

But you don't need to iron.

*Naj musaj te phír-en khetáne taj te kam-en pe.* (5.5.2-59)  
 NEG.COP.3PL MODP CMPL go.ITER-3PL together and CMPL love-3PL themselves

They don't need to meet and they don't necessarily love one another.

*Mišto-j már, naj musaj te xutil-es.* (5.5.2-60)  
 OK-IS already NEG.COP.3PL MODP CMPL hold

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)  
 NEG.cop.3P MODP CMLP cop.SUBV-3SG clever or CMLP cook-3SG CMLP cook

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)  
 NEG.cop.3P MODP CMLP go-2SG home

There is no need for you to go home.

*Naj louve te ža-s khejre.* (5.5.2-63)  
 NEG.cop.3P money CMLP go-2SG home

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)  
 not cop-PFTV-1PL-IRR CPR much here but MODP MODP come-PFTV-1PL back

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 (*č'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 NEG.cop.3P MODP together CMLP sit-3SG the men.with

The women must not sit together with the men.

*Már nás slobodo te trádkeren pa them.* (5.5.2-66)  
 already NEG.cop.3P MODP CMLP travel.ITER around.the country

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)  
 other year already not cop-3SG-FUT MODP CMLP drink-3SG cigarettes in.the restaurants

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 MODP 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 teje.* (5.5.2-70)

MODP go-3SG down

For all I care he shall go down.

*S1 Má te mundárav? 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 sastó-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 *trobu*

The basic meaning of *trobu* 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-j-a tu pečící.* (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.

*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.

*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 *trobu-j* “need” has become very loose, as the necessity semantics is only indirect: The necessity of the implicit condition to become true. Actually, *trobu-j* 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.

*Le dúj rom vorbi-n, kana trobu-j t' av-el o keretšigo.* (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.

*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 *trobu-j*, 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 3<sup>rd</sup> person is supplied. Additionally to person, the complement codes for number, too (as number and person are cumulative features in verbs).

*Atunči, kana trobu-j-as te ža-v lasa, nasvaj-l-em halára.* (5.5.2-78)  
 then when need-3SG-IPFV CMPL go-1SG with.her fall.ill-PFTV-1SG completely

When I was supposed to go with her then, I fell completely ill.

*Trobu-j inke te vorbi-s lesa.* (5.5.2-79)  
 need-3SG still CMPL talk-2SG with.him

You should talk with him.

*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.

*Jejkh trobu-nas-as te žan-as,* (5.5.2-81)

one need-1PL-POT CMPL know-1PL

*hoť o romimo ando románo trajo trobu-nas-as te vezeti-nas.*

that the Rom.culture in.the Rom life need-1PL-POT CMPL lead-1PL

One thing we ought to know is, that we should lead our life in the spirit of the Rom culture.

*Le Rom trobu-n-as so maj but te malad'on khetánes,* (5.5.2-82)

the Roms need-3PL-POT as CPR much CMPL meet-3PL together

*hoť jejkhávresko sokáši ánde te pinžár-en.*

MODP mutual customs VERBP conj experience

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*

*Kam teci-j mange variso, te žou andej bolti.* (5.5.2-83)

MODP is.liked-3SG me.DAT something if I.will.go into.the shops

What if I would like something, when I will go shopping.

*Av žas leste, kam ža-l-tar!* (5.5.2-84)

come.IMP.2SG go.IMP.2SG to.him MODP go-3SG-away

Common, let's go to him, maybe he is going to leave!

*Te na muk-es la khati, kam kam-n-a te ingr-en la* (5.5.2-85)

MODP not let-2SG her nowhere MODP want-3PL-FUT CMPL carry-3PL her

Don't let her go nowhere, what if they wanted to carry her away!

### 5.5.2.10 Potential Particle *mišto či*

A missed occasion is expressed by using *mišto či* or alternatively by the 4.4.11 Irrealis.

*Mišto či phager-d-e i motora.* (5.5.2-86)

MODP break-PFTV-3PL the car

They have almost broken the car.

*Phagerdown i motora.* (5.5.2-87)

break-PFTV-IRR.3P the car

They have almost broken the car.

### 5.5.2.11 Epistemic Modal Particles *hoť*, *phenel*, *phendas*

Besides its core function as factual complementizer (see 5.10.3 Marking within the Subordinate Clause), *hoť* partially serves to mark information as mediated, reported, be it in direct or indirect speech. I have no examples for *phenel* and *phendas*, because I heard :

*Vorbindas mange vou sa, hoť sar sas.* (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.

*Taj phen-el kodi šejouri: “Má na site dara-n,” hoť “e šanglestar”.* (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.”

*Taj phuš-en latar e šangle hoť “Ká-lo o Groufo?,” hoť te phen-el.* (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 *abisi*

When a statement is to be presented as a base of an intentional action of the subject, this is indicated by *abisi*, located in a sentence-initial position.

*Taj i Eva sakoneske, ko gejas, taj šutas andej miski te ingren, vi ame.* (5.5.2-91)

and the Eva everybody who went and put into.the bowls conj carry also we

*No. Ká ášilo pherdo techan taj abisi vou so kerla lesa?*

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 *maj*

North West Lovari Romani offers a way to express certainty with the statement, that is by using *maj* with a future tense. It is used to ensure the listener, that the event will really happen.

*Maj kin-ou le, kodoj brusinki.* (5.5.2-92)

MODP buy-1SG.FUT them those cranberries

I will surely buy those cranberries.

*Maj l-en-a les.* (5.5.2-93)

MODP take-3PL-FUT it

They will surely take it.

*Maj kouvj-ol-a.* (5.5.2-94)  
 MODP weaken-3SG-FUT

It will definitely weaken.

### 5.5.3 Aspect Particles

There is a class of particles like e.g. in *perel tejle* “fall down” or *sastól 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 *sastól* 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 (*sastól 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:

*Kin-d-em leske kufříko,te šo-l peske veci ánde.* (5.5.3-4)

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.

*Ža-n ánde ando kher, kana jivend-i, vaj kana milaj-i,* (5.5.3-5)

go-3PL inside into.the house when winter-is or when summer-is

*ávri pi udvara ža-n.*

out on.the courtyard go-3PL

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.

Adverb	Meaning of the Adverb	Verb	Type
<i>ánde</i>	in	<i>ikrel</i> “hold”	PFTV
		<i>phandadól</i> “be bound”	PFTV
<i>ándral</i>	inside	–	
<i>ávri</i>	out	<i>bešel</i> “sit”	PFTV, valency
		<i>sastól</i> “recover”	PFTV
		<i>čourel</i> “steel”	PFTV, valency
		<i>asal</i> “laugh”	PFTV, valency
		<i>rovel</i> “cry”	PFTV, valency
		<i>thujárel</i> “gain weight”	PFTV

Adverb	Meaning of the Adverb	Verb	Type
		<i>kinel</i> “buy”	PFTV
		<i>šudrol</i> “cool (TRANS)”	PFTV
		<i>načol</i> “run out”	PFTV
		<i>del pe</i> “dart”	PFTV, valency
		<i>šundol</i> “be heard”	PFTV
		<i>phutrel</i> “open”	PFTV, valency
		(further verbs like <i>ňomrozij</i> “squeeze”, <i>dindarkerdo</i> “bitten”, <i>čúpij</i> “pick”, <i>žárulij</i> “beg”)	PFTV
<i>ávral</i>	outside	–	
<i>opre</i>	up(wards)	<i>kidel</i> “collect”	PFTV
		<i>phírel</i> “go.ITER”	PFTV, valency
		<i>ušťel</i> “stand up”	PFTV
		<i>phušel</i> “ask”	PFTV
		(further verbs like <i>bárol</i> “grow”, <i>xuťel</i> “jump”, <i>ginel</i> “read”, <i>mangel</i> “demand”)	PFTV
<i>opral</i>	upstairs	–	
<i>tejle</i>	down(wards)	<i>šinel</i> “cut”	PFTV

Adverb	Meaning of the Adverb	Verb	Type	Adverb	Meaning of the Adverb	Verb	Type
	ds)					“spit”)	
		<i>bešel</i> “sit”	PFTV, valency	<i>tejlal</i>	downstairs	–	
		<i>perel</i> “fall”	PFTV	<i>ángle</i>	forwards, anterior	–	
		<i>lougij</i> “hang”	EMPH	<i>ánglel</i>	in front	–	
		<i>kirol</i> “cook (INTR)”	PFTV	<i>páše</i>	around, near by, in addition	–	
		<i>šindól</i> “break (INTR)”	PFTV	<i>pálal</i>	behind, backwards	–	
		<i>xal</i> “eat”	PFTV	<i>perdal</i>	over, through	<i>del</i> “handle over”	EMPH
		<i>pel</i> “drink”	PFTV	<i>palpále</i>	back	–	
		(further verbs like <i>peravel</i> “drop”, <i>perel</i> “fall”, <i>phagel</i> “break”, <i>šungarel</i> )	PFTV				

Table 64: Aspect Particles

Examples:

*Na mindĭk kado ánde iker-d-as pe.* (5.5.3-6)

not always this ASPP keep-PFTV-3SG REFL

This was not always obeyed.

*Ánde phandadŏ-n mure jákha.* (5.5.3-7)

ASPP get.bound my eyes

My eyes are closing.

*Taj kodi beš-l-as ávri dohodĭnu e petadvacať 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 sastŏ-s-a.* (5.5.3-9)

ASPP recover-2SG-FUT

You will recover completely.

*Taj inke ávri čour-d-as le.* (5.5.3-10)

and additionally ASPP steel-PFTV-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 rún-as e jákha.* (5.5.3-12)

ASPP cry.PFTV-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<sup>2</sup>-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 ušt'es opre, hát te šo-s tuke opre kado saténovívo.* (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 kutin.* (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? Tejde 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 šind'o-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 tejl, muk inke variso!* (5.5.3-29)

MODP not eat-2SG everything ASPP leave.IMP.2SG still something

Don't eat everything up yet, leave something there.

*Pil-as tejl taj gejl-as-tar.* (5.5.3-30)

drink.PFTV-3SG ASPP and go.PFTV-3SG-away

He drank aout 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 take-3SG the food and give-3SG it ASPP to the daughter's mother

The son's mother takes the food and handles it over 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 dúj 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 jajgatis!* (5.6.1-1)

so you still on me yell

So you still yell on me!

*Či keren kodo azír, hoť či kouštálíja 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 kouštálíja 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, stejně, 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, stejně, 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 khajňa, na, taj a papiňa? (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.butchered 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)*

one hour struggles until finds conj take a.little blood

*Taj stejňe k seminko feri žal.*

and nevertheless few only goes

He struggles an hour, until he finds anything, until he takes some blood. But nevertheless just few blood comes out.

*Či kerav čisoski bokoli, stejňe náštík xav la.* (5.6.2-5)

not I.make no flatbread nevertheless MODP I.eatit

I don't make any flatbread, nevertheless I cannot eat it.

*Kadala vorbasa phenenas kodo, hoť o Rom naj musaj* (5.6.2-6)

these words.with they.said that that the man not.is MODP

*t' avel ávri cifrado, hoť vi kadej Rom-i.*

to be ASPP made.up that also so Roms-are

By this expression they mean, that the man needs not to be tarted up, that he is a Rom anyway.

*Paša kado len prej pe šukár páрни vať rúžášo vať louli kacamajka,* (5.6.2-7)

to this they.take on them beautiful white or pink or red blouse

*de vi kodi site avel i maj kuč taj láši.*

but also that MODP be the CPR expensive and good

Additionally they dress in a nice white, pink or red blouse, and this one must also be most expensive and best quality.

*Phiraven le coxi, save már naj kecave lungi sar majinti,* (5.6.2-8)

they.wear the skirts which already are.not such long as once

*halem maj skurti. De site phenas, hoť vi le šeja kamen paša urajimo o somnakaj.*

but CPR short but MODP we.say that also the girls want to.the clothing the jewellery

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.

*Amáre puráne Rom majinti khelenas angla penge romňa kadej,* (5.6.2-9)

our old Roms once danced in.front.of their women so

*hoť te na xoxadón ando khelimo. De sar žalas i luma,*

conj on.order.to not be.betrayed in.the dancing but how went the world

*kadej žalas vi o khelimo.*

so went also the dancing

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.

*Vi kadale čačimas than-i, ke le Rom naj sa eřformavi.* (5.6.2-10)  
 also this truth.ACC place-is as the Roms are.not all equal

Also another proverb is true, that the Roms are not all equal,

### 5.6.3 Concatenative *taj*

A new action or consideration in addition to the preceding discourse is often introduced by *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 *taj*, p. 414.

*Kobor kotor-i, me taj čiřli sim.* (5.6.3-1)  
 so.big chunk-is me and slim I.am

She is such a chunk, so compared to her even I am slim.

*S1 Pe gaven beřen vaj ando fouro?* (5.6.3-2)  
 on village they.live or in.the towns

Do they live on a village or in a town?

*S2 Andej ávera fourura.*

in.the other towns

In different towns.

*S3 Taj tó dad taj tî dej, ká beřen?*

and your father and your mother where they.live

And your parents, where do they live?

*S1 Naj tu phendal či keres? S2 Taj save kerou? Ande sos kerou me?* (5.6.3-3)

DISCP you said not you.make and which I.will.make in what I.will.make I

S1 But you have said, that you don't cook them? S2 And which am I to make? In what kind of POT am I to cook it?

*Beřen taj roven taj phabon e memēja, e svunti memēja phabon khote.* (5.6.3-4)

they.sit and cry and burn the candles the holy candles burn there

They sit and cry and burn candles, there are holy candles burning.

*Taj žal ánde, taj thon mindár o skamin tela les.*

and goes into and put immediately the seat under him

And he goes inside, and they offer him immediately a seat.

*Vi e ávera phenen, hoř či pen, taj penas e rakjoura taj e kamarátura.* (5.6.3-5)

also the others say that not drink and drank the children and the pals

The other children say also, that they don't take drugs, but still the children and the pals did drink.

*I Bejba taj opre šuvli-j.* (5.6.3-6)  
 the Bejba and ASPP swollen-is

And Bejba is even more swollen.

#### 5.6.4 Alternation Particle *vaj/vat'*

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.* (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,* (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 kuťinouro,*  
 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.* (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 páťivake!"* (5.6.4-4)  
 this formula we.say then your.SG nice hounof.DAT

*Vat' te si palaj mesáli maj but žejne, phenas: "Tumára šukára páťivake!"*  
 or if are behind.the table CPR many people we.say your.PL nice hounof.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 *naj*. It is employed without respect to confirmation or contrast, and it occurs equally in narration and in dialogue:

*S1 Taj žutinde tu? S2 Naj žutinde, či dukhan kadej.* (5.6.5-1)

and helped you DISCP helped not ache so

S1 And did they help you? Well, they helped, they don't hurt so much.

*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

S1 I will buy them. S2 Yes, those from the shop are not so good.

*“Vi me kamous te dikhav pe kodí šej. Ká-li?” “Naj katka-j,”* (5.6.5-3)

also I wanted to see on that girl where-is.she DISCP here-is

“Me, too, wanted to take a look at that girl. Where is she?” “Well here she is.”

*taj sikaven taj roven.*

and they.show they.cry

and they show him and cry.

*S1 E Jirkastar site skirnav. S2 Naj inger taj skirin leske.* (5.6.5-4)

the from.Jirka MODP write DISCP carry and write him

S1 I have to write from Jirka's phone. S2 OK, carry it away and write him.

*Taj bízj pe te žal andi Ťešína vaj Havířovo,* (5.6.5-5)

and plans REFL to go into.the Těšín or Havířov

And he is preparing to go to Těšín or Havířov.

*taj inke vi trafika te kinel. Naj keť-j kecavi trafika?*

and more also newsagent to buy DISCP how.much-is such newsagent

and additionally to buy a newsagent. But how many newsagents are here around?

*Vestredú dena o dúchodo. Naj taj žojine šaj gejlemas.* (5.6.5-6)

on.Wednesday the.will.give the pension DISCP and on.Thursday MODP I.would.gone

On Wednesday the pension will come. Yes, and on Thursday I could go.

*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

S1 But it must be on the market. S2 But I have never saw it there.

*S1 Šaj šines, te kamesa. S2 No dikhou, no. Naj kodi avla po áver than. (5.6.5-8)*  
 MODP you.cut if you.will.want DISCP I.will.see disp disp that will.be on.the other place

S1 You can cut it, if you want. S2 Well, let's see, yes. That will be finally on another place.

*Taj vou žanla, hoť si vaj naj. Naj me či žanav pala sos len sáma. (5.6.5-9)*  
 and she will.know that is or is.not DISCP I not I.know after what they.take VERBP

*Voun žanen.*  
 they know

And she will know, whether there are some. But I really don't know, where from they noticed that. They know it.

*Ingerdas le preč, kana gejas andi Amerika. (5.6.5-10)*  
 carried.away them away when went in.the America

*Naj vi khote rodelas taj mindár kerdas.*  
 DISCP also there searched and immediately made

He carried them away, when he went to America. And indeed, there he was also searching and immediately made money.

*Najo, site siťarel tu i Boja. Naj i Bejba šaj avelas tute. (5.6.5-11)*  
 DISCP MODP teach you the Boja DISCP the Boja MODP would.come to.you

That's right, Boja has to teach you. Yes, Boja might come to you.

### 5.6.6 Special Attention Particle *aj*

If a situation deserves special attention, no matter whether it is already in the focus of discourse. this is managed by *aj*:

*“Kana gejem ánde, ášadilem!” O krísiňako Rom: “Aj so dikhlan?” (5.6.6-1)*  
 when I.went inside I.was.surprised the council man DISCP what you.saw

When I went inside, I was surprised. The council member said: “Ah, what did you see?”

*Šeftolin khote le kobercenca. Intregi žejne, sa. Aj but sas kodola. (5.6.6-2)*  
 they.deal there the with.carpets whole people all DISCP many were those

They deal there with carpets. All the people, everybody. Ah, they were many.

*Khátar pinžardi sas, andaj Komároma sas. Aj de šukár sas. (5.6.6-3)*  
 from.here known was from.the Komárno was DISCP DISCP beautiful was

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-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.

*No či žasa manca!* (5.6.7-1)

DISCP not you.will.go with.me

No, you may not go with me!

[After the person enters the room and sits down:]

*No páča-j, či pizden les, khonik či pizdel les vaj či kerel lesa már.* (5.6.7-2)

DISCP calm-is not push him nobody not pushes him or not annoys him.INSTR already

Well, it is quiet, they don't push him, nobody pushes him or annoys him any more.

*Žanelas bistošan, hoť báles mundárde. No mišto-j.* (5.6.7-3)

knew for.sure that pig they.butchered DISCP DISCP

He knwo for sure, that they butchered a pig. OK then.

*Kana phende, či mundárdan, taj muk t' avel pe tumáro hát.*

if they.said not butchered and MODP MODP is on your DISCP

If they have said, that they didn't butcher it, so be it by their way.

*No šun, so phenav tuke!* [As an introduction into a conclusion] (5.6.7-4)

DISCP listen.IMP what I.say you

Well, listen, what I'm going to tell you!

*Bišadas khejre, taj phendas lenge, hoť vou žala tehára khejre, no.* (5.6.7-5)

sent home and said them that she will.go tomorrow at.home DISCP

She sent him home and told them, that tomorrow she will go home, yes.

*Taj kado-j sa, no, pa Groufo.* [as a conclusive formula] (5.6.7-6)

and this-is all DISCP abou.the Groufo

And this was it all about Groufo.

*S1 Kecavo fouro-j sar i Karvíňa. S2 No mišto-j.* (5.6.7-7)

such town-is like the Karviná DISCP DISCP

S1 It is a town like Karviná. S2 OK, nice.

*Te merav me, má phendem. E krumpja taj variso zeleňina, taj mišto-j.* (5.6.7-8)

DISCP already I.said the potatoes and some vegetable and DISCP

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)*

somebody not loses.weight and somebody like I DISCP like she

S1 Somebody does not lose 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 taťár, mange feri taťár! (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 kuřina draba (5.6.8-3)*

and the drugs MODP 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 khaňči. No eta, deš časura-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 tejsa! 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 *ud'i, na, niči, čak, jo/jó, te merav, najo*

With *ud'i* the speaker expresses certainty within a question, but seeks affirmation for social reasons:

*Zurale-j, ud'i mamó? (5.6.9-1)*

hot-are DISCP mummy

They are hot, aren't they, mummy?

With *na* and *niči* the speaker expresses uncertainty within a question, but expects confirmation.

*Kinesa take bejra, na?* (5.6.9-2)

you.will.buy for.you beer DISCP

You will buy some beer, don't you?

*Taj jejkh sas, hoť šunesas la, niči?* (5.6.9-3)

and one was that you.hear her DISCP

And it didn't matter, that you heard her, did it?

*Taj kadej sas, vaj niči?* (5.6.9-4)

and so was or DISCP

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.* (5.6.9-5)

you.give him sweet chocolate and all says DISCP and will.tell 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.* (5.6.9-6)

and also in.the televisions they.talked about this long.time the journalists 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?* (5.6.9-7)

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?

*S3 Ouva, a mamka či tecij, hoť sar phušes.*

DISCP the mummy.DIM.ACC not is.liked MODP like 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 straightly following, *naj*.

*Či xutildoun les čak.* (5.6.9-8)

not would.have.caught him DISCP

Indeed they wouldn't have caught him.

*Naj čak kecave-j.* (5.6.9-9)

DISCP DISCP such-are

Well, yes, they are of this kind.

*Naj čak jo!* (5.6.9-10)

DISCP DISCP DISCP

Of course you can! / Yes, you're right!

Very tight persuasion is manifested by *te merav* or *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).

*S1Na site avel tu sako d'ějs mas, na?* (5.6.9-11)

not MODP cop.SUBV you.ACC every day meat DISCP

You don't need meat every day, do you?

*S2 Te merav me, má phendem.*

DISCP already I.said

My God, I have already told you.

*Akánik o Lume potindas desat' tísíc,* (5.6.9-12)

now the Lume paid ten thousand

*káj či das le, so pujčindas, te merav me.*

because not gave them what lent DISCP

*Te merav me te phušous lestar boldines.* (5.6.9-13)

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.

*Tu či žanes te kines. Te merav me te ničī.* (5.6.9-14)

you not know to buy DISCP if do.not

You don't know to go shopping. Not at all, really.

*S1 Dikhlem les iž 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 bínous 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 či 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 šitemňura? 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 Trínco. S2 Najo.* (5.6.10-3)

they CPR calm-are there in.the Třinec DISCP

S1 They are calmer over there, in Třinec. S2 Of course.

### 5.6.11 Emotional Engagement Particles *jaj*, *cə*, *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 Táci-j. Taj pe šejro so šosa, Mancí? S2 Khanči.* (5.6.11-2)

warm-is and on.the head what you.will.put Mancí nothing

*S1 Jaj Mancí! S2 Jaj, naj šil!*

DISCP Mancí DISCP not.is cold

S1 It is warm. So what do you take on your head, Mancí? S2 Nothing. S1 Hey, Mancí! S2 Oh no, it's really not cold!

*Jaj te na šines o cipso!* (5.6.11-3)  
DISCP MODP not you.cut the zip

Oh, don't you break the zip!

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, naj khate, mír náštik keres les mange?*  
DISCP is.not here why MODP you.make it for.me

Oh, it isn't here, why don't you make it for me?

Disappointment crosses emotion with disagreement, as *cə* does. Further means of expression of disappointment are *či trajinav, múlem, dadouro*.

S1 *Maj kirola vi lako muj, te pela akánik.* (5.6.11-5)  
MODP will.burn also her mouth if will.drink now

She will surely burn her lips, if she will drink it now.

S2 *Aj akánik pijou la? Cə! Šudrola, atunči pijou la.*  
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.

S1 *Kecave súňatmački sas, kana cigne sas.* (5.6.11-6)  
such lifeless were when small were

They were so lifeless, when they were small.

S2 *Merav, naj akánik báre-j má, phúre. Cə.*  
DISCP DISCP now big-arealready old DISCP

My God, but now they are already big, old. Pah.

S1 *Mír te na pijav ek semo, ek pohári, vaj k čejza?* (5.6.11-7)  
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.

S2 *Te n' aves máti.*  
MODP not you.are drunk

Not to get drunk.

*S3 No már múlem! Máti avou! Te pijou ek čejza, máti avou?*  
DISCP DISCP drunk I.will.be if I.will.drink one cup drunk I.will.be  
 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)*:

*Phi dade, so khandel khate kadej!* (5.6.11-8)

DISCP what stinks here so

Ugh, what is stinking here so strongly?

*Phi dade, phuter i fejastra!* (5.6.11-9)

DISCP open the window

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 *de*) and *aba*. The plural form *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 *maj*, attached to the imperative.

*Naj vorbin de!* (5.6.12-1)

DISCP talk DISCP

Well common, tell us!

*Žan den, šavoura!* (5.6.12-2)

GO.IMP.2PL DISCP children

So go on, children!

*Aj de šaj peklalas tumenge ek plejho vaj dúj!* (5.6.12-3)

DISCP DISCP MODP you.would.have.baked for.you one baking.tray or two

Oh yes, but you could have baked one or two baking trays for you!

*Av aba!* (5.6.12-4)

come DISCP

Come here, dear!

*Av maj, cha, cha-le!* (5.6.12-5)

come MODP eat eat-DISCP

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”, *áš(en)* “stop (talking, riding, running etc.)”, *tordú(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,” answered 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 tordúvou 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?

*S1 Volalínáv? S2 No naj de, volalín!* (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 *Bišavesa lenge má e kirpi?* S2 *Naj bišavav.* (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 be 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 *udi* 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      d'ějs-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 *Keři dine pejr le?* S2 *Po dvesto tisíc, 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 Romungros 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*, *náštík* 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 Tecij tuke? S2 Jo.* (5.8.2-10)  
 is.liked you.DAT yes

S1 Do you like it? S2 Yes.

*S1 O Bobko šindas le? S2 O Bobko.* (5.8.2-11)  
 the Bobko cut them the Bobko

S1 Bobko has cut them? S2 Yes [, Bobko].

*S1 Šaj dikhav? S2 Šaj!* (5.8.2-12)  
 MODP I.see MODP

S1 May I see? S2 Yes.

*S1 Opre ášos pe kadi vorba?* (5.8.2-13)  
 VERBP you.stay on this statement

Do you insist on this suggestion?

*S2 Ouva, opre ášuvav pe tumári vorba!*  
 yes VERBP I.stay on your statement

Yes, I do.

*S1 Či bikindalas la? S2 Niči, č' aviloun mange dosta.* (5.8.2-14)  
 not would.you.sell it no not would.have.been to.me enough

S1 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 Taj vi o sveteri te anav? S2 Niči, na an o sveteri.* (5.8.2-15)  
 and also the pullover MODP bring no not bring the pullover

S1 And am I to bring the pullover, too? S2 No, don't.

*S1 Tuke či tecij? S2 Tecij, feri t' aviloun maj bulhi.* (5.8.2-16)  
 to.you not is.liked is.liked just if were CPR wide

S1 You don't like it? S2 Yes, just if it was wider.

*S1 Taj la či den dúxodo? S2 Naj den la.* (5.8.2-17)

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? Jajdade, 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. Keřivar 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 hırura.* (5.8.2-20)

not MODP you.say such gossips

You don't need to tell such gossips.

*S2 Jo, aj mır 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?* (5.8.2-23)

what

Pardon?

- The lack of knowledge, correctly or ironically:

*Či žanav.* (5.8.2-24)

not know

I don't know.

*Žanav me?* (5.8.2-25)

know I

I don't know.

- Objection or a restricting condition:

*S1 Taj žal tumenca? S2 Niči. Akánik niči.* (5.8.2-26)

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.* (5.8.2-27)

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.* (5.8.2-28)

the onion has.put inside DISCP and garlic

S1 She has added onion, did she? S2 And garlic.

*S1 Savo čiken? S2 Naj kísno-j andej bolti.* (5.8.2-29)

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 keťi.* (5.8.2-30)

and the Šejinka not pays DISCP not so.much

S1 And Šejinka doesn't pay? S2 Well not as much.

*S1 Taj ká torđivou 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 avna 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 amenca?* (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 Mancí, hoť manca kamel te žal andi bolta.* (5.8.2-33)

Said the Mancí that with.me wants to go in.the shop

Mancí told me, that she wants to go with me into the shop.

*S2 Hát?*

DISCP

So what?

*S1 Anda kodi lednička.*

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 ničí.* (5.8.2-35)

DISCP I if not

Really not!

*Te merav me.* (5.8.2-36)

DISCP

Really!

S1 *Naj xa tu akánik!* S2 *De!* (5.8.2-37)

DISCP eat you now DISCP

S1 So do you eat now! S2 Go!

S1 *Thúle sas?* S2 *Thúle sas. Thúle sas. Jo.* (5.8.2-38)

fat were fat were fat were DISCP

S1 Were they fat? S2 They were fat. They were fat, indeed.

S1 *Hoť maj táti coxa či kines tuxe, Káli?* (5.8.2-39)

MODP CPR warm skirt not you.buy REFL.DAT Káli

And you don't intend to buy a warmer skirt, Káli?

S2 *Jaj či simas khati te kinav mange. Či simas.*

DISCP not I.was nowhere to I.buy REFL.DAT not I.was

Oh, I haven't been nowhere to buy it for me. I really wasn't.

*Kašuki sal? Naj tu kan?* (5.8.2-40)

deafyou.are not.is you.ACC ear.NOM

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, uďi?* (5.8.2-41)

hot-are DISCP

They are hot, aren't they?

S2 *Naj pale phenous te del ma. Trobundoun ma pale te del ma.*

DISCP again I.said to give me I.would.need me again to give me

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?* (5.8.2-42)

the cake is.not fat not

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?* (5.8.2-43)

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            ma            kecav-e.* (5.9-1)

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:

C	copula
C <sub>0</sub>	clitic copula
O	ACC object / copula predicate
O <sup>2</sup>	non-ACC object
O <sub>p</sub> <sup>2</sup>	non-ACC PRON object
O <sub>p</sub>	ACC PRON object
S	subject
V	predicate

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:

*Xulavav ma.* (5.9.1-1)

I.comb myself

I comb myself.

*Thodam ame.* (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 *hoŋ* 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 (C<sub>0</sub>) 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

*Taj me phenav: „Jo.“* (5.9.2-1)  
 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 (O<sub>p</sub> for accusative objects, O<sup>2</sup><sub>p</sub> for others)
  - other pronouns and simple NPS (O for accusative objects, O<sup>2</sup> 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 phen leske akánik!* (5.9.4-1)

not say him now

Don't tell him now!

*Muk kado opre!* (5.9.4-2)

let this upstairs

Leave this upstairs!

In declarative and subordinate sentences, temporal circumstances and conditional clauses are expressed clause-initially by default:

*Tehára žou.* (5.9.4-3)

tomorrow I.will.go

I will go tomorrow.

*Ale detehára ame avasa sa khote.* (5.9.4-4)

but morning we will.come all there

But we will all come there in the morning.

*Paraštune avesa?* (5.9.4-5)

on.Friday you.will.come

You will come on Friday?

*Te avla leski dej taj o dad, voun kamna te maladon tusa.* (5.9.4-6)

if will.come 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 grížina?* (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 khelel 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 **khate** la!* (5.9.4-16)

DISCP leave here it

Well, leave it here!

*Taj i Patrin č‘ avla **ad’ejs?*** (5.9.4-17)

and the Patrin not will.come today

And Patrin will not come today?

*Taj sar avilal, **kana avilal bi louvengo?*** (5.9.4-18)

and how you.came if you.came without money

And how did you come, if you came without money?

*Aj te na soves ánde, **kana avilan dopašaratáko.*** (5.9.4-19)

DISCP MODP not you.sleep VERBP if came at.midnight

But take care not to fall asleep if you come at midnight.

***Nadžon mišto terejdij pár tu.*** (5.9.4-20)

very well cares about you

He cares very well about you.

***Ká i Roza gejloun kodola louve.*** (5.9.4-21)

to the Roza would.have.gone those money

That money would end up at Roza.

*Le kaj tejára! Vaj **khate** mukes le?* (5.9.4-22)

take these plates or here you.leave them

Take these plates away! Or do you intend to leave them here?

*Taj rakhlas **khote** peske andi Komároma pirámňa.* (5.9.4-23)

and found there REFL.DAT in.the Komárno lover

And he found himself there in Komárno a lover.

*Keheginav, taj **anda kodo** pijav kaki táti teja.* (5.9.4-24)

I.cough and because.of that I.drink this warm tea

I am coughing, and therefore I drink this warm tea.

*Aj ká tu či soves, či o áver te na sovel, jo, kodo phenes?* (5.9.4-25)  
 DISCP because you not sleep even the other to not sleeps DISCP that you.say

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.* (5.9.4-26)  
 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.* (5.9.4-27)  
 Boja MODP would.have.bought now me coat

Boja, you could have bought me a coat now.

*Naj pi vi akánik thudouro!* (5.9.4-28)  
 DISCP 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!* (5.9.5-1)  
 come-DISCP Boja MODP you.will.make

Please come, Boja! You will continue later on!

*Vou phírel, uđi mamó?* (5.9.5-2)  
 she goes.ITER DISCP mummy

She goes there regularly, doesn't she, mummy?

*Ká lou e louve, Román?* (5.9.5-3)  
 where I.will.take the money Román

Where do I take the money from, Román?

*Ašta, sikhav, Boja!* (5.9.5-4)  
 DISCP 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.

*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 taíarav 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 haťares.* (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?* (5.9.6-5)

I.said you DISCP

I have told you, have I?

*Nadón šukár-i, uđi.* (5.9.6-6)

very beautiful-is DISCP

It's very beautiful, isn't it?

Besides:

*Uđi šukár-i.* (5.9.6-7)

DISCP beautiful-is

It's beautiful, isn't it?

Some may occur outside of the initial position:

*Či phenel kadej, te merav me, i televiza.* (5.9.6-8)

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 gejde-tar taj vou má či gejde-tar.* (5.9.7-1)

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?* (5.9.7-2)

and if not will.come nobody.NOM

And if nobody will come?

*E draba žutin te na dukhan mure čanga.* (5.9.7-3)

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 o Groufo andaj Topolčáňa, sármozijas.* (5.9.7-4)

came the Groufo.NOM from.the Topolčany came

Groufo came from Topolčany, there he came from.

*Volalinas vi le šangle andaj Ostrava.* (5.9.7-5)

they.phoned also the policemen.NOM from.the Ostrava

They called also the police from Ostrava.

*Aj žou vi me tusa tehára.* (5.9.7-6)

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.* (5.9.7-7)

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?* (5.9.7-8)

MODP would.come the.NOM Patrin.NOM DISCP

Patrin might come, couldn't she?

*Tehára bízij pe te avel i Roza.* (5.9.7-9)

tomorrow intends REFL to come the.NOM Roza.NOM

Roza is about to come tomorrow.

*Šouvengo trobuj te avel amende o rašaj.* (5.9.7-10)

SIX-GEN MODP 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:

*Naj te avou áver data, vaj o Jirka te avla pala tute,* (5.9.7-11)

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.*

still we.will.talk

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:

subject – predicate – object (S\_V\_O)

*I Marcela dikhlas les.* (5.9.7-12)

the Marcela.NOM saw him.ACC

Marcela saw him.

*Taj e Ostravake či muken les.* (5.9.7-13)

and the.NOM Ostrava.Roms.NOM not let him

And the Ostrava Roms don't let him go.

*E ávera či na denas khanči. Vaj dinoun la?* (5.9.7-14)

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 gáže kinas.* (5.9.7-15)

the.NOM people.NOM bought

The people were buying.

*Maladósa lenca.* (5.9.7-16)

you.will.meet with.them

You will meet them.

*Šosa kutin 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\_O<sub>p</sub>\_O<sup>2</sup>);
- 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\_O<sup>2</sup>\_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\_O<sup>2</sup>\_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\_O<sub>p</sub>\_O<sup>2</sup>)

*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\_O<sup>2</sup>\_p\_O)

*Taj ingresa leske dárko.* (5.9.7-23)

and you.will.carry him.DAT present.NOM

And you will bring him a present. (V\_O<sup>2</sup><sub>p</sub>\_O)

*O šávo sikavel la leske.* (5.9.7-24)

the.NOM boy.NOM shows it.ACC him.DAT

The boy shows it to him. (S\_V\_O<sup>2</sup><sub>p</sub>\_O<sub>p</sub>)

*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.* (5.9.7-25)

the.NOM boy.NOM shows the.OBL Citrom.DAT it.ACC

The boy shos it to Citrom.

\**O šávo sikavel leske la.* (5.9.7-26)

the.NOM boy.NOM shows him.DAT it.ACC

The boy shows it to him.

\**O šávo sikavel i škola leske.* (5.9.7-27)

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.* (5.9.7-28)

we.buy wine to give the.OBL Marcela.DIM.DAT that.NOM

We buy wine, so that we can give it to Marcela. (V\_O<sup>2</sup>\_O)

*Kinou dárko a Marcelkake.* (5.9.7-29)

I.will.buy present.NOM the.OBL

Marcela.DIM.DAT

I will buy a present for Marcela. (V\_O\_O<sup>2</sup>)

*Me kinou o dárko e Jirkasa.* (5.9.7-30)

I.NOM will.buy the.NOM present.NOM the.OBL Jirka.INSTR

I will buy the present with Jirka. (S\_V\_O\_O<sup>2</sup>)

*Pijou mange páji.* (5.9.7-31)

I.will.drink REFL.DAT water.NOM

I will drink some water. (V\_O<sub>p</sub>\_O<sup>2</sup>)

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)  
 the.NOM boy.NOM showed the.OBL Citrom.DAT who.ACC we.saw in.the.NOM tramway.DIM.NOM

The boy showed to Citrom, whom he saw in the tramway.

*O šávo sikadas peski keňva sa e žejnenge,* (5.9.7-33)  
 the.NOM boy.NOM showed his.NOM book.NOM all the.OBL people.DAT

*so sas ando kher.* (5.9.7-34)  
 RELPR.NOM was in.the.NOM flat.NOM

The boy showed his book to all the people, who were in the flat.

*Phendas lenge, hoť vou žala tehára khejre, no.* (5.9.7-35)  
 said him.DAT that he.NOM will.go tomorrow home DISCP

He told him, that he will go home tomorrow.

*Phendas o čačimo kadaleske, ko kamel te šunel les.* (5.9.7-36)  
 said the.NOM truth.NOM this.DAT who.NOM wants to hear him.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\_O<sup>2</sup>\_O, V\_O<sub>p</sub>\_O<sup>2</sup>, V\_O<sup>2</sup><sub>p</sub>\_O, V\_O<sup>2</sup><sub>p</sub>\_O<sub>p</sub> etc.).

Only in final and conditional clauses and complements with *te*, the verb occupies the first position (V\_O, V\_S\_O):

*Taj kecavo híreššo manuš či mukla* (5.9.7-37)  
 and such.NOM great.NOM man.NOM not will.let

*te žal leski šej feri kadej pe khančesko.*  
 to go his.NOM daughter.NOM just so on nothing

And such an important man will not let his daughter go without reason with nobody's son.

*Aj phendal te na anav mol.* (5.9.7-38)  
 DISCP you.said to not bring wine.NOM

But you told me not to bring wine.

### 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<sub>p</sub>\_S), as long as they themselves are not subjected to emphasis:

*Taj ingerde la le šangle pi staňica.* (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.

*Aj kam dinoun la, kana či kinelas khonik?* (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:

*Taj tu so xasa?* (5.9.7-41)  
 and you.NOM so.ACC will.eat

And you, what will you eat?

*Taj akánik tu žasa teje.* (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:

*Či xav me o čil.* (5.9.7-43)  
 not I.eat 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:

*Naj o texan tatárav.* (5.9.7-44)  
 DISCP the.NOM food.NOM I.warm.up

Well I'm warming up the food.

*Kašuko kan kerde penge.* (5.9.7-45)  
 deaf.NOM ear.NOM they.made themselves.DAT

They pretend deaf ears.

*S1 Kerou e vosí hňízda. S2 So? S3 Vosihňízdo kerel.* (5.9.7-46)  
 I.will.make the.NOM vespiaries what.NOM vespiaries.NOM makes

S1 I will bake vespiaries. S2 What? S3 She bakes vespiaries.

*Taj a pheňake kindam kecavi douza.* (5.9.7-47)  
 and the.OBL sister.DAT I.bought such.NOM box.NOM

And I bought a nice box for my sister.

*Kodo dárko site desa.* (5.9.7-48)  
 that present MODP you.will.give

You have to give him the present.

*Čak phendem, hoť pej mašini dou le,* (5.9.7-49)  
 DISCP I.said that on.the trains.NOM I.will.give them.ACC

*po áver či dou le.*  
 on.the.NOM other.NOM not I.will.give them.ACC

But I had told them, that I will pay for the train, and for nothing else.

*Kado kindas mange o Jirka.* (5.9.7-50)  
 this bought me.DAT the.NOM Jirka.NOM

Jirka has bought this for me.

*Le Rom válastinas, so te pen, vi o texan.* (5.9.7-51)  
 the.NOM men.NOM selected what.NOM to drink also the.NOM food.NOM

*Tejle šindólas i mesáli tela les.*  
 down broke the.NOM table.NOM under it.ACC

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:

*Mandar rodas la.* (5.9.7-52)  
 me.ABL he.searched it.ACC

He searched for it from me.

*Phušes mandar, jesli man trobuja?* (5.9.7-53)  
 you.ask me.ABL whether me.ACC will.need

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 dúxodo.* (5.9.7-54)  
and her.ACC not they.give pension.NOM

And they don't give her the pension.

*Man či trobuj.* (5.9.7-55)  
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\_O<sup>2</sup>\_V):

*Káli, detehára keti 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 mamó, 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.



\*Či      *dúr-i.*      (5.9.7-69)  
not      far-cop.3P

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:

*E      Ostravake      sas /      avna      barvále.*      (5.9.7-70)  
the.NOM      Ostrava.Roms.NOM      cop.IPFV.3P      cop.3PL.FUT      rich.NOM

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

*E      budógi      naj /      nás /      či      avna      kuč.*      (5.9.7-72)  
the.NOM      trousers.NOM      cop.3P      cop.IPFV.3P      not      cop.3PL.FUT      expensive.NOM

The trousers aren't / were not / will not be expensive.

\**E      budógi      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\_C<sub>0</sub>.

Another exception are final and conditional clauses and complements with *te*, where the copula is compulsorily at the first position:

*Či      dikhav      me      t'      avesas      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)

DISCP cop.IPFV.3P beautiful

She was really beautiful!

*Niči, barváli nás!* (5.9.7-77)

no rich.NOM NEG.COP.IPFV.3P

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\_C\_S:

*Pherdo-j kecave coxi.* (5.9.7-78)

full-cop.3P such.NOM skirts.NOM

There are plenty of skirts of this kind.

*Šukára-j lake vuštoura.* (5.9.7-79)

beautiful-cop.3P her.NOM lips.DIM.NOM

Her lips are beautiful.

*Kodolende-j feri i zour.* (5.9.7-80)

they.LOC-cop.3P only the.NOM power.NOM

Only they have power.

*Aj dosta-j mange kako.* (5.9.7-81)

DISCP enough-cop.3P me.DAT this

Ah, this is sufficient for me.

*De, ža, mejk khate-j i táška.* (5.9.7-82)

DISCP go.IMP while here-cop.3P the .NOM bag.NOM

Common, go, while the bag is here.

Alternatively, the subject can be marked by moving the clitic copula:

*Aj kodo-j maj lášo.* (5.9.7-83)

DISCP that-cop.3P CPR good

But that one is better.

*Muro muj-i kerko.* (5.9.7-84)

my.NOM mouth.NOM-cop.3P bitter.NOM

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 drab-i štiri 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<sup>0</sup> to O\_S\_C<sup>0</sup>:

*Vou kecavo Rom sas sar ame.* (5.9.7-87)  
 he.NOM such.NOM Rom.NOM cop.IPFV.3P like we.NOM

He was such a Rom like we are.

*E Rusura če godáver sas!* (5.9.7-88)  
 the.NOM Russians.NOM what.NOM clever.NOM cop.IPFV.3P

How clever these Russians were!

*Kadala sa cigne sas.* (5.9.7-89)  
 these.NOM all small.NOM cop.IPFV.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 nan-os sas.* (5.9.7-92)  
 ART.OBL uncle-ACC cop.IPFV.3P

The uncle had it / something.

The possessed is given in the nominative:

*E nan-os sas vinet-o motor-a.* (5.9.7-93)  
 ART.OBL uncle-ACC cop.IPFV.3P blue-NOM car-NOM

The uncle had a blue car.

In present tense its clitic version is more common:

*E nan-os vinet-o motor-a-j.* (5.9.7-94)  
 ART.OBL uncle-ACC blue-NOM car-NOM-cop.3P

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:

*Strýc-ø m-á modr-é aut-o.* (5.9.7-95)  
 inkle-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  $O_{\text{NOM}}\text{-}C\text{-}O_{\text{P}}\text{-}S$ :

*Taj e gáž-e sas le e búřár-a.* (5.9.7-96)  
 and ART.NOM guys-NOM cop.IPFV.3P them.ACC ART-NOM workers-NOM

And the guys had workers.

On the other hand, also the possessed can occur doubled:

*Ande lesk-o fajt-o deř šáv-e sas les, le Bán-os.* (5.9.7-97)  
 in his-NOM family-NOM ten.NOM boys-NOM cop.IPFV.3P him.ACC ART.OBL BánO-ACC

He had ten boys in his family, this Bánó.

*Le Rom-en ívej si le leng-i šib.* (5.9.7-98)  
 ART.OBL Roms-ACC in.vain cop.3P they.ACC their-NOM language.NOM

The Roms have their language in vain.

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 *či* 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<sup>0</sup>:

*Sak-ones sas jejkh sob-a.* (5.9.7-99)  
 everybody-ACC cop.IPFV.3P one room-NOM

Everybody has one room.

*Le Rom-en naj keť-i louv-e.* (5.9.7-100)  
 ART.OBL Roms-ACC NEG.cop.3P so.much-NOM money-NOM

The Roms don't have so much money.

*A Boj-a nejv-i kabel-a-j.* (5.9.7-101)  
 ART.OBL Boja-NOM new-NOM handbag-NOM-cop.3P

Boja has a new handbag.

If the possessor is expressed by a personal pronoun, the order changes to C\_O<sub>p</sub> without and C\_O<sub>p</sub>\_S with subject:

*Si le.*  
 (5.9.7-102)  
 cop.3P they.ACC

They do have it.

*Si les khajň-a khejre.* (5.9.7-103)  
 cop.3P he.ACC hens-NOM at.home

They have hens at home.

*Kuk-o site kines, vaj si tu má, o cign-o košáric-i?* (5.9.7-104)  
 that-NOM MODP you.buy or cop.3P you.ACC already ART.NOM little-NOM 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)  
 pencil-NOM-cop.3P you.ACC

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 podobnív-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 šeftolinas, taj barvál-e sas, taj les nás louv-e.* (5.9.7-111)  
 ART.NOM other-NOM dealt and rich-NOM cop.IPFV.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



### 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!”

*N' av kecavi dilli!* (5.9.8-8)

not be.IMP.2SG such.NOM stupid.NOM

Don't be so stupid!

*Av kecavo siveššo, žutin ma!* (5.9.8-9)

be.IMP.2SG such.NOM kind.NOM help.IMP.2SG me.ACC

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):

*S1 So-j kosorouvo? S2 Či žanav, so-j kosorouvo.* (5.9.9-1)

S1 what-is kosorouvo not I.know what-is kosorouvo

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”/*ketengo* “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, *ká* “because” versus *mír (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<sup>2</sup>\_O / S\_V\_O<sub>p</sub>\_O and S\_V\_O<sub>p</sub>\_O<sup>2</sup>.

*Ko makhla tu?* (5.9.9-2)

who will.message you

Who will massage you?

*So pejlas tuke?* (5.9.9-3)

what fell REFL.DAT

What did you drop?

## 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\_V\_S / O\_V\_S\_O<sup>2</sup> / O\_V\_O<sup>2</sup>\_p\_S / O<sup>2</sup>\_V\_S\_O / O<sup>2</sup>\_V\_O\_p\_S.

*Taj save kerou?* (5.9.9-4)

and which I.will.make

And which ones am I to make?

*So mangen variko mandar?* (5.9.9-5)

what they.demand somebody from.me

What am I expected to give to somebody?

*So kindal ando Kaflando?* (5.9.9-6)

what you.bought in.the Kaufland

What did you buy in Kaufland?

*Ašta dikhas, so kindal.* (5.9.9-7)

DISCP see.IMP.1PL what you.bought

Wait, let's see, what you bought.

*E šangle čak site žanen, kastar kinas les.* (5.9.9-8)

the policemen DISCP MODP know from.whom they.bought it

But the policemen should know, from whom they have bought it.

*Pala kas-i?* (5.9.9-9)

after who-is

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\_O\_S / V\_O<sup>2</sup>\_O\_S / V\_O\_p\_O<sup>2</sup>\_S / V\_O\_p\_O<sup>2</sup>\_p\_S:

*Aj birinou prestupiki?* (5.9.9-10)

DISCP will.I.bear changes

Will I really bear to change the train?

*Naj avla i Bejba?* (5.9.9-11)

DISCP will.come the Bejba

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 muken 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)

DISCP 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 adějs 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?

*E Joškaské anla romňa žanen ko?* (5.9.9-18)  
 the for.Joška will.bring woman you.know who

Who do you think will intermedate a woman for Joška?

*Aj o sveteri mír či kindal?* (5.9.9-19)  
 DISCP the pullover why not you.bought

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<sub>p</sub>. Before the clitic copula *ko* appears as *kon*: *kon-i*.

*Kon-i maj godáver taj maj feder határel andi vorba, kodola ášna.* (5.9.9-20)  
 who-is CPR clever and CPR rather understands in.the speech those they.will.stay

Those people will stay, who are more intelligent and know better to speak.

*Kon-i kecave čišle ando nípo?* (5.9.9-21)  
 who-are such slim in.the family

Who is so slim among the people in your family?

*Kon-i khote?* (5.9.9-22)  
 who-is there

Who is there?

*E gáže bašavnas, sar akánik, so si pašaj Lucija.* (5.9.9-23)  
 the Slovaks played like today conj is around.the Lucie

The Slovaks played, just like those today, who play with Lucie.

*So-j ande kodo baťuho?* (5.9.9-24)  
 what-is in that backpack

What is in that backpack?

*Či žanav, so-j khote.* (5.9.9-25)

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”, *ká* “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/li/le* (C for short, see 4.4.1 Copula), this order is not affected: O\_C\_S.

*Žanes, so-j kodo?* (5.9.9-26)

you.know what-is that

Do you know, what is that?

*Naj žanav, sosko-j.* (5.9.9-27)

DISCP I.know what.kind-is

Of course I know, what kind of person he is.

*Naj keŕ-j kecavi trafika?* (5.9.9-28)

DISCP how.much-is such newsagent

Well how much does such a newsagent cost?

*Taj savi-j nasváli?* (5.9.9-29)

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!* (5.9.9-30)

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.* (5.9.9-31)

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, kezđinas 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 angína, nášťik phírel 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!

*Mír-i dilli kadi šej?* (5.9.9-34)

why-is stupid this girl

Why is this girl so stupid?

*Ká avna ži 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 kuťin, te melálo-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 katkáke, 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.

### 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):

*Ko maj terno sas, kodo tordolas.* (5.9.9-40)  
 who CPR young was that stood

The younger people were standing.

*Kodoleske, ko kharado-j, apal o Rom site sikavel i Pátiv.* (5.9.9-41)  
 that.DAT who invited-is then the man MODP shows the honor

Then the host has to honour the invited person.

*Ko maj máto avla, t' al leske engedime!* (5.9.9-42)  
 who CPR drunken will.be to cop.SUBV.3SG to.him forgiven

Let be forgiven to those, who are drunken to a higher degree.

*So le romesa-j de khatar o ternimo ži po phurimo,* (5.9.9-43)  
 what the with.man-is fromfrom the youth up.to on.the age

*kodo-j o kolopo taj i baxuja.* (5.9.9-44)  
 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.

*Ande tó nípo, kon-i čišle?* (5.9.9-45)  
 in your family who-is slim

Who is slim within your family?

*Đilaben sar i Lucija, so populárňivo-j.* (5.9.9-46)  
 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:

*Taj i Kejža, savi sas?* (5.9.9-47)  
 and the Kejža which was

And which one was this Kejža?

*Lengi adin soski-j, sar amári?* (5.9.9-48)  
 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?* (5.9.9-49)  
 Bejba clever.NOM women you.know who.ACC cop.3P  
 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.* (5.9.9-50)  
 that said REFL when small were  
 That was said, when they were small.

*Ká kher si la kutkáke, kado kher len latar.* (5.9.9-51)  
 because flat.NOM cop.3P her.ACC 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, (5.10-1)*  
 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.* (5.10.1-1)

what says that makes

Whatever he says, he makes.

*Vorbindas mange vou sa, hoŕ sar sas.* (5.10.1-2)

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.* (5.10.1-3)

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 *hoŕ*. 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), *keŕi* (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.* (5.10.1-4)

I.want to you.see him tomorrow

I want to see him tomorrow.

*Phendas, hoŕ anla leske.* (5.10.1-5)

said that will.bring him

He said, that he will bring it to him.

*“Niči!” cipindas palpále.* (5.10.1-6)

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 uštáv.* (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.

*Nad'on 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 koláko.* (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:

*Brígij, hoť či kamel la khonik.* vs. *\*Brígij les.* (5.10.1-16)  
 is.sad that not loves her nobody is.sad him.ACC

She is sad, that nobody loves her.

Sometimes complements can be hardly distinguished from independent juxtaposed sentences:

*Aj šundal, o Rumungro e šanglenca žalas pala la.* (5.10.1-17)  
 DISCP you.heard the Rumungro the with.policemen went after her

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:

*Akánik má te dena muro dúxodo, mindjár kinou le e draba, sa.* (5.10.1-18)  
 now already if they.will.give my pension immediately I.will.buythem the drugs all

Now right when they will pay my pension, I will immediately buy the drugs, all of them.

*Te žou ando fouro, site žav andi bolta, ká le kenvi biknen, te phušav.* (5.10.1-19)  
 if I.will.go.in.the city MODP I.go in.the shop where the books they.sell to I.ask

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”, *íž* “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 páji pej rom, gejlás peska kirvasa* (5.10.1-20)  
 when poured the blessed water on.the men went his with.godmother  
*ká le romňa.*  
 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 gejlás 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 leski pheň, vou či kamla te maladól 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 dopašaratako.* (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 *mej* “until, unless, before, as long as” in the subordinate clause, asked for by *keť* “how long”:

*Má tejle šindóla le gážendar 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 crowded, before we will arrive there.

*Márdas le keť, mejk kodi či bírijas pesa, upilně.* (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.

*Lešin, mejk avla le louve!* (5.10.1-27)  
 wait.IMP.2SG until cop.3SG.FUT he.ACC money.NOM

Wait, until they will have money!

*Mejk žal ando páto, guglimo xal peske mindík.* (5.10.1-28)  
 while.not goes in.the bed sweets 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!* (5.10.1-29)  
 wait.IMP.2SG 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, míté khate-j.* (5.10.1-30)  
 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”, *ánqlal* “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 bešenás.* (5.10.1-31)  
 went on.the Slovakia where they.lived

He went to Slovakia, where they were living.

*Bešel opre, khatar phíres ando fouró.* (5.10.1-32)  
 lives up from where you.go.ITER in.the city

He lives up there, from where you go to the city.

*Šol o pistolo tela šejro tela šerand, ká sovel.* (5.10.1-33)  
 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 *hoť*, asked for by *sar*.

*Šudas les teĵle, hoť mindār múlas, na míšte.* (5.10.1-34)  
 threw it down conj immediately died instantly

He threw it down, because he died immediately, instantly.

*No a cirdas i mužika, hoť mátilo o rom halára.* (5.10.1-35)  
 DISCP DISCP played the music that got.drunk the man completely

Yes and the music was playing, so that the man got completely drunken.

*Leske šáves keť márdas, hoť či bírijas či vastesa či purnesa.* (5.10.1-36)  
 his son so.much beat that not bore neither hands.with nor feet.with

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.* (5.10.1-37)  
 onyl on that look how will.take the money

They just look for occasions to come to money.

*Dikhlem le, sar lenas le teĵle.* (5.10.1-38)  
 I.saw them how took them down

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 geĵlas po Touco.* (5.10.1-39)  
 thought conj to go on.the Slovakia and went on.the Slovakia

He thought about to go to Slovakia, and eventually went to Slovakia.

*Anda akársos maličkos šon ánde, te šaj len louve.* (5.10.1-40)  
 from diverse triviality put VERBP to MODP they.take money

They appeal to a council for diverse trivialities just to make money.

*Ke vi e táški šinen e beretvenca te čouren e louve.* (5.10.1-41)  
 because also the bags they.cut the razors.with to they.steel the money

Because they also slit bags with razors in order to steel money.

*Naj ža xulav tu, mamu, te šaj xas amenca.* (5.10.1-42)

DISCP go comb yourself mummy to MODP you.eat with.us

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:

*Či resla khote i kapela varisoski. Aj vi kadej č' avla khote than.* (5.10.1-43)

not will.enter there the band some DISCP also so not will.be there space

No band would ever enter there. Really, there is anyway no place there.

*Ek čáso vesejdij, mejk, vi maj but, mejk rakhel.* (5.10.1-44)

an hour struggles until also CPR much until finds

An hour he struggles, until he, also more, until he finds it.

*Taj stejne k seminko feri žal.*

and nevertheless a little only goes

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/vať* (5.11.4.5), or *vi kana* “even if” as counterpart to the juxtaposing *vi kadej* “nevertheless”:

*Keťi žejne nášade, taj site poťinde.* (5.10.1-45)

so.many people ran, and MODP paid

Even if the people ran away, nevertheless they had to pay.

*Taj vaj kamen vaj niči, site den kodola louve.* (5.10.1-46)

and either they.want or not MODP they.give that money

Even if they don't want to, they have to pay that money.

*Vaj šavoura sas, vaj phúre sas, jejkh sas lenge.* (5.10.1-47)

either children were or old were equal was them

No matter whether they were children or old people, they didn't care.

*Vi kana rakhen vina, pharadól i vina.* (5.10.1-48)

also when they.find vein breaks the vein

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, hot' 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 andej 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 romňi 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 šímítin!* (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 kidena 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.

*Místo te phenel mange, sar te žutij la, vou inke viuživalij ma.* (5.10.1-57)  
 instead conj says me how to help her she even abuses me  
 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.* (5.10.1-58)  
 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 pijarco, žanelas i Šiška.* (5.10.1-59)  
 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,* (5.10.1-60)  
 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,* (5.10.1-61)  
 DISCP there-is somewhere like they.will.go by.feet on.that.side  
 na levej, sar žana telaj trapti.  
 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?* (5.10.1-62)  
 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 bešenás dešupánž žejne* (5.10.1-63)  
 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.* (5.10.1-64)  
when young I.was not I.slept

When I was young, I didn't sleep.

*Kana sovelas, khardas le.* (5.10.1-65)  
when slept called them

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 čourde.* (5.10.1-66)  
played on them conj said that they.stole

He pretended it in a way, that he said, that they stole.

*Naj kerav mindík variso, hoť naj ma časo.* (5.10.1-67)  
DISCP I.do always something because NEG.COP.3P I.ACC time

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?* (5.10.1-68)  
DISCP and where you.will.go if NEG.COP you.ACC money

Yes and where do you intend to go, if you have no money?

- For habitual or generic real conditions, with present tense:

*Vi kana avel khate kodo Joška, či vorbij lesa.* (5.10.1-69)

also when comes here that Joška not talks with.him

Even when Joška comes here, he does not talk with him.

*Kana či tecin lenge variko, žan-tar lendar.* (5.10.1-70)

when not is.liked them.DAT somebody go-away from.them

When they don't like somebody, they leave them.

*Taj te si ma časo, žav ando kino, kana si ma časo.* (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:

*Aj ká dinoun la, kana či kinelas khonik?* (5.10.1-72)

DISCP DISCP would.give it if not they.would.buy nobody

But how should they give it, if nobody would buy it?

*Taj sar avilal, kana avilal bi louvengo?* (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:

*Taj kana mejajvel, avla tu áver.* (5.10.1-74)

and if gets.dirty cop.3P.FUT you.ACC other

And if it gets dirty, you will have another.

The other conditional subordinator, *te*, is used:

- For present real conditions, with present and future tense:

*Jaj dade, resel, te má phenou variso, khanči či keres!* (5.10.1-75)

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:

*Taj te si ma časo, žav ando kino, kana si ma časo.* (5.10.1-76)

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 imaginative hypothetical conditions with *te* and future or imperfective-potential:

*Naj te lena ávre romes, khote či grížina?* (5.10.1-77)

DISCP if they.will.take other man there not will.care

Yes, and if they take another man, they will not care?

*Naj na daran, či žou, te avla pi Nova Big bratr.* (5.10.1-78)

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:

*De te n' aviloun les i pirámni, hát či múloun,* (5.10.1-79)

DISCP if not cop.IRR.3P he.ACC the lover then not had.died

*inke ž' adějs trajindoun.*

still until today would.live

But if he had no lover, he wouldn't have died, he would live until this day.

*Te n' aviloun máto, či mundárdoun les.* (5.10.1-80)

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.* (5.10.1-81)

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:

*Naj mišto avla, te kerla na jednički.* (5.10.1-82)

DISCP OK will.be if will.make excellently

Yes it will be OK, if he will pass it excellently.

*Aj e draba te pela andej školi, nebo naj musaj te pel le,* (5.10.1-83)

DISCP the drugs if will.drink in.the schools or not.is MODP to drink them

*te le ávera pen le taj dena la e draba, so keresa lasa?*

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 dīlabel vať 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 páťiv, ø/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

*ø/apal mindár 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 kerdilas, sas tistára 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 zeveja.* (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)

I.asked why not carried her home

I asked them, why he didn't take her home.

*Kodola žanen, soski cena-j 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.ITER 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 tordól.* (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)  
 the Pepa conj made that they.dressed.down him immediately

They dressed Pepa immediately down, the man, who has done it.

*Pherdo-j kecave coxi, so phenous.* (5.10.2-9)  
 full-is such skirts conj I.said

It is full of skirts of the kind, I have spoken about.

*Akánik e šėja dikhen vi kodo, te avel godáver,* (5.10.2-10)  
 now the girls look also that in.order.to is clever

*te žanel te vorbij, te avel hárňiko kodo rom.*  
 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** avla, so sas po bijav? (5.10.2-11)  
that will.come conj was on.the wedding

Will that guy, who was at the wedding, also come?

**Feri pe kodo** dikhen, te šaj len e louve. (5.10.2-12)  
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-ranked 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 NPS are moved to non-default positions in order to manifest emphasis or topicalization, a subordinate clause can also be stressed as a whole:

**Brígij**, hoť či kamel la khonik. Hoť či kamel la khonik, **phenel.** (5.10.2-13)  
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 *hoť* complement is initially (after *brígij*) only mentioned, and in the next sentence repeated in the (stressed) initial position as complement to *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:

**Taj so gindis**, *hoť šona* *andi fejastra?* (5.10.2-14)  
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?

**Boja**, *báre motori*, *žanes*, *kas si?* (5.10.2-15)  
Boja large cars you.know wh.ACC is

But Boja, do you know, who owns large cars?

Among these verbs we frequently find *gindij* “think”, *phenel* “say”, *phušel* “ask”, *žanel* “know”.

Sometimes different interpretations are possible concerning the range of the subordinate clause:

*Taj andaj Topolčáňa avilas andi Ostrava te bešel.* (5.10.2-16)  
 and from.the Topolčany came in.the Ostrava to live

And from Topolčany they came to live to Ostrava.

*Žanas 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: *Aj "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 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 geje-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 gáže, kastar phušlem pa drom, már 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 gáže, savendar phušlem pa drom, már 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 gáže, so phušlem lendar pa drom, már 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 kana **dikhl**as, halára sovel, čourdas o pistolo lestar i romňi.* (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:

***Kodi Marcel**, phušlem latar jovkhar, hoť sar sas 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 gejlal 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-i 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 dúj 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 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, *te* occurs

- In the role of a complementizer:

*Daralas te žal ánde.* (5.10.3-15)

was.afraid 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):

*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!

*Gejlas opre, te na šunen les.* (5.10.3-17)

went upstairs in.order.to not they.hear him

He went up to prevent them from listening him.

*Te avesa palpále, desa ánglal, jo?* (5.10.3-18)

when you.will.come back you.will.give VERBP DISCP

When you will come back, you will say hello to him, will you?

Apart from this, *te* is employed as modal particle, see 5.5.2.3 Obligation Imperative and Interrogative Particle *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 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:

*Mišto-j, ká garadal les.* (5.10.3-20)



I cannot see that you are slim.

- For factual complete statements *hoť* or exceptionally *ká* is chosen.

*Šundem, hoť 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*:

*Sitilem te na lešnav 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, hoť 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, hoť 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, hoť 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:

*Kam-av {te} {žut-is les}.* (5.10.3-35)

want-1SG Cmpl 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:

*Kam-av {te žut-is les}.* (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!”

*Kam-av {te žuti-nav/-j les}.* (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:

*Žan-av {te} {vorb-inav}.* (5.10.3-38)

know-1SG Cmpl speak-3SG

He knows to have a speech.

The pending alternative reading as complementizer-free final adverbial complement, comparable with the following:

*Ker-el-as sa {te vorbi-nav}.* (5.10.3-39)

make-3SG-IPFV everything Cmpl 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 *hot'* 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

*Kam-el te dikh-av les.* (5.10.3-40)  
 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.* (5.10.3-41)  
 know-3SG Cmpl cop.SUBV-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.* (5.10.3-42)  
 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 barvále, te na ášiloun khejre.* (5.10.3-43)  
 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 náštík phenel lake sa.* (5.10.3-44)  
 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.* (5.10.3-45)  
 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.* (5.10.3-46)  
 DISCP you.see Cmpl you.cough

But look, how you are coughing.

*Phendas lenge, hoť vou žala tehára khejre.* (5.10.3-47)  
 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:

*Taj akánik či žanav, hoť inke trajij vať múlas már.* (5.10.3-48)

and now not I.know CMPL still live or died already

But now I don't know whether he is still alive.

The complementizer *hoť* can be occasionally omitted when governed by epistemic verbs:

*Naj tu phendal [hoť] či keres!* (5.10.3-49)

DISCP you said CMPL not you.do

But you said you would not do it.

*Gindindem [hoť] peklal le.* (5.10.3-50)

I.thought CMPL you.baked them

I thought you have baked them.

*Dikhav [hoť] naj.* (5.10.3-51)

I.see CMPL not.is

I see there are none.

*Žanglem [hoť] opre sal.* (5.10.3-52)

I.knew CMPL 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,* (5.10.3-53)

and once when thought CMPL CMPL go on.the Slovakia

*taj gejlás 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,* (5.10.3-54)

says CMPL CMPL not go in.the house CMPL sleep

*hoť kerla leske ávri than telaj čelčija pi mál.*

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 gáže, so phušlem lendar, má gejde-tar.* (animate) (5.10.3-55)  
 the people conj I.asked them already went-away

The people I asked already left.

*Dikh i kısına, so si ánde e kirpi.* (via location) (5.10.3-56)  
 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 coxa, so andem la iž, már melali-j.* (5.10.3-57)  
 the skirt conj I.brought her yesterday already dirty-is

The skirt I brought her yesterday is already dirty.

*I coxa, so andem iž, már melali-j.* (5.10.3-58)  
 the skirt conj I.brought yesterday already dirty-is

The skirt I brought yesterday is already dirty.

This does not work, 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 opral-i. Aven tejde, so žan andej bolti.* (5.10.3-59)  
 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 opral-i. Aven tejde, so voun žan andej bolti.* (5.10.3-60)  
 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 kaj gáže, so sas les khote, kodola dine les opre.* (5.10.3-61)  
 and these people conj cop.IPFV 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.IPFV 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 pátiŋ, 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 maladóñ tusa.* (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 gáže, so sas les khote, kodola dine les opre.* (5.10.4-9)  
 and these people conj COP.IPFV 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 mesáli.* (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.

Subject: *Naj site **aven** maj but žejne, ko kamel te nášavel.* (5.10.4-11)  
 DISCP MODP are CPR many people RELPR wants to kidnap

But if somebody wants to kidnap [the bride], he needs more people.

Anchor: *Ko si bužangle, **kodola** si vi šibake.* (5.10.4-12)  
 RELPR is smart those are also eloquent

If somebody is smart, he is eloquent, too.

Direct object: *Akánik **vorbinas,** so sas, taj žav sovav.* (5.10.4-13)  
 now we.talk what was and I.go I.sleep

Now we talk about, what happened, and then we go sleeping.

Anchor: *So dikhlalas, **kodo** kindalas.* (5.10.4-14)  
 RELPR you.would.have.seen that you.would.have.bought

You had bought, whatever you had seen.

Indir. object: *\***Sikavav** la, ko kamel te dikhel.* (5.10.4-15)  
 I.show it RELPR wants to see

I show it to those, who want to see it.

Anchor: ***Sikavav** la **kodoleske,** ko kamel te dikhel.* (5.10.4-16)  
 I.show it to.that RELPR wants to see

I show it to those, who want to see it.

Poss. subject: *Inke dúj dèjs si la te bešel.* (5.10.4-17)  
 yet two days cop she.ACC Cmpl live

She has two more days to live there.

Anchor: ***Naj ma** **khonik,** ko te ikrel mure šavouren.* (5.10.4-18)  
 NEG.cop I.ACC nobody RELPR conj keep my children

I have nobody to take care for my children.

PREP. phrase: ***Dikhesa** **automato** **pašaj** sar žas ánde e vurdonesa.* (5.10.4-19)  
 you.will.see cash-mashine close.to.the conj you.go inside the trolley

You will see a cash-mashine close to where you enter with the trolley.

Anchor: ***Pa kodo** žanglam, **hoť Rusura-j,** ká mangenas "barišňa".* (5.10.4-20)  
 after that we.knew conj Russians-are because demanded barishnya

We recognized them as Russians, because they demanded 'barishnya'<sup>23</sup>.

Adverbial: *Či sovous, kana simas terni.* (5.10.4-21)

not slept when I.was young

When I was young, I didn't sleep.

Anchor: *Savo berš sas atunči, kana múlo o Citrom?* (5.10.4-22)

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.* (5.10.4-23)

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.* (5.10.4-24)

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.* (5.10.4-25)

NEG.COP they.ACC RELPR to they.go

They have no place to go.

*Naj si tu ko anel tuke e kiji.* (5.10.4-26)

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 *hát*:

*Naj kana simas, taj má nás.* (5.10.4-27)

DISCP when I.was conj already not.was

Well when I was there, there was nothing left.

*Gindosajlo, hoť te žal po Touco, taj gejlás po Touco.* (5.10.4-28)

thought conj to go on.the Slovakia and went on.the Slovakia

<sup>23</sup> Russian pre-war slang: girl, maid

He thought about to go to Slovakia, and eventually went to Slovakia.

*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 márde 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 Komárno 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' adějs 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 dúje žejnen,* (5.10.4-32)

DISCP now like you conj you.beat the two people

*hát vi ame kadej tut márása!*

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

*Taj a pheňake kindam 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 dīlabel.*” 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

*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

*Či kamel vou kadi búi.* (5.10.5-3)

not wants he this job

He doesn't want this job.

The complementizer can be repeated:

*Kadala vorbasa le Romes fidélmestij,* (5.10.5-4)

this with.word the man.ACC warns

*hoť kodo dějs, kana žala 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 Boretzky 1996: 104-5, cited in Matras 2002: 172):

*Vou kamelas občanství te serzij lake.* (5.10.5-5)

he wanted citizenship to acquire for.her

He wanted to acquire citizenship for her.

*Mamo, so kames, o texan vaj o kiral te xas akánik?* (5.10.5-6)

Mummy, RELPR 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.*

(5.10.5-7)

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:

*Či kamelas a dejatar te phušel.* instead of

not wanted the mother.ABL to ask

He didn't want to ask his mother.

\**Či 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, *či* 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/vat* “or”, *či* “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

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.

*Naj pi Luma khanči maj báro taj čorimo, sar kana merel varekon.* (5.11-1)  
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.

*Akánik feri kezdindas o báro mulatšágo taj te žal i vouja.* (5.11-2)  
now just began the big party and Cmpl go the good.mood

Right now the big party and the good atmosphere began.

*Sakones-i variso búti, sar khote.* (5.11-3)  
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 *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 (*Le e báre loule múri!* “Take strawberries being both big and red!”), while monosyndetic *taj* rather sums up possible properties (disjunctive, *Le e báre taj e loule múri!* “Take both big and red strawberries!”).

Constructions with *na/niči* 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).

*Či bírijas či vastesa či purnesa.* (5.11-4)  
not bore not with.hand not with.foot

Everything was aching him.

*Má sa múle, vi leske šáve. Vi le šeja, vi le šáve, sa múle már.* (5.11-5)  
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) loses 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.

*Le rom xutilde penge pohára taj pille le ávri.* (5.11-6)

the guests held their glasses and drank them out

The guests held their glasses and drank them out.

*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.

*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.

*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:

*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:

*Aj vi tu xasa šax?* (5.11.1-2)  
 DISCP also you will.eat shakh

So you will also have shakh<sup>24</sup>?

*So pesa, káveja vaj teja vaj so?* (5.11.1-3)  
 what you.will.drink coffee or tea or what

What would you like to drink, coffee, tea or what else?

*Či žanglas kodo.* (5.11.1-4)  
 not knew that

He didn't know that.

*Kharavel les, ho' vi leske te sikavel páťiv.* (5.11.1-5)  
 invites him conj also him to show honour

He invites to do him honour.

*Či i šej či žanglas kodo.* (5.11.1-6)  
 even the daughter not knew that

Neither the daughter didn't know that.

*Feri kodo d'ějs šaj aves.* (5.11.1-7)  
 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 taťár, mange feri taťár!* (5.11.1-8)  
 DISCP DISCP 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!* (5.11.1-9)  
 MODP read REFL.DAT also

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!*] (5.11.1-10)  
 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'ón báro fejlo-j taj loš.* (5.11.1-11)

this very big thing-is and pleasure

This is a very important event and a big pleasure.

*Nad'ón báro sas taj barválo.* (5.11.1-12)

very big was and rich

He was very important and rich.

*O prámaši igen lášo-j, taj vi leski romňi.* (5.11.1-13)

the chief.doctor very good-is and also his wife

The chief doctor is very good, and so is also his wife.

The coordinators *taj*, *vaj/vat'*, *vi*, and *či* 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 sínonde-j,* (5.11.1-14)

the hats various in.colours-are

*maj but vineti, mojake, kávejoša vat' párne.*

CPR much blue violet brown or white

The hats had various colours, mostly blue, violet, brown or white.

*S1 E šavoura anna le. S2 Jo? I Lulud' o Joška vaj ko?* (5.11.1-15)

the children will.bring them DISCP the Lulud' the Joška or who

S1 The children will bring them. S2 Really? Lulud', Joška or who?

*Khanči či andas, či márho, či mas, či krumpli.* (5.11.1-16)

nothing not brought neither bread nor meat nor potatoes

He didn't bring anything, neither bread nor meat nor potatoes.

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 apal anadas te pen taj le Rom penas, xanas, mulatinas.* (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 kodoj andi pinca sas, garade má [sas],* (5.11.2-2)  
 and those in.the cellar were placed already was  
*pripravime [sas], lešinas les.*  
 ready was waiting him

And they were in the cellar, on their place, ready, waiting for him.

*A čirikja pinžáres palaj pour taj le manušes [pinžáres] palaj vorba.* (5.11.2-3)  
 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 nadón lošan taj [kodolestar] bárimange-j.* (5.11.2-4)  
 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.* (5.11.2-5)  
 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:

*Jaj vi mure jákha dukhan vi muro šejro dukhal.* (5.11.2-6)  
 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 tover, e mačeti sas le, taj kadej.* (5.11.3-1)

the axe, the machetes cop.IPFV they.ACC and so

They had an axe, machetes, and so on.

*O maj angluno vorbij taj del le príkazi, so te keren taj kadej sa.* (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.

*Den dĕjs, phenen: “lášo dĕjs!”, taj kadej taj kadej* (5.11.3-3)

they.give day they.say good day and so and so

They are greeting, saying: “Good afternoon!” and so on.

*Kecavo sar xumer-i, taj ánde šute zejčĭgo, brokolica,* (5.11.3-4)

such like pasta-is and inside they.put vegetables broccoli

*ropaj, paprika vaj kadej.*

carrots pepper or so

It is similar like pasta, and there are vegetables inside, broccoli, carrots, pepper or alike.

*Taj adĭn šos tuke vaj kadej?* (5.11.3-5)

and honey you.put REFL.DAT or so

And you add honey, or what?

*Č’ avla šibáli vaj kecavi.* (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:

*Dikhen la, hoť tecij lenge vaj niči.* (5.11.4-1)

see.IMP.2PL her conj is.liked them.DAT OR not

See, whether they like her.

*Univar kames le, univar niči.* (5.11.4-2)

sometimes you.like them sometimes not

Sometimes you like them, sometimes you don't.

*No me uravou ma, tume site dikhen ma, hoť kadej šaj žav vajniči.* (5.11.4-3)

DISCP I will.dress me you MODP see me CMLP SO MODP I.go OR not

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 keŕi* “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 vať 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 Sered' not in.the Sered'

S1 They stayed in Sered' S2 No, not in Sered'.

**Adverb**

*Na mindík kado ánde ikerdas pe.* (5.11.4-10)

not always this ASPP kept REFL

This hasn't been obeyed always.

*Ítílin le na kadej, hoť keren ánde pala le o vudar,* (5.11.4-11)

they.sentence them not so that make VERBP behind them the door

*halem bítetin 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.

*niči žojine, paraštune.* (5.11.4-12)

not on.Thursday on.Friday

not on Thursday, on Friday

*Na mišto d'ásolin penge dades.* (5.11.4-13)

not well morned their father.ACC

They didn't morn well for their father.

*Amáre Rom na nad'ón kamen te phíren pe verastášes.* (5.11.4-14)

our Roms not very they.like to go.ITER on funeral

The Lovaris don't like too much to attend funerals.

*niči tehára.* (5.11.4-15)

not tomorrow

## Adjective

*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..

*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.

*E gáže keř texan so kinkeren, hej, kana žan.* (5.11.4-18)

the people how.much food conj they.buy.ITER DISCP when they.go

*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.

*S1 Taj i Mancí či potinel le? S2 Naj niči keř.* (5.11.4-19)

and the Mancí not pays them DISCP not so.much

S1 And Mancí does not pay them? S2 Well not so much.

**Sentence**

*Na hoť te phenel peska romňake te na kerel kodo maj but,* (5.11.4-20)

not CMPL conj says his wife CMPL not does that CPR much

*halem šimaj teje 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 d'ějs 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.

*Adějs 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 maladõn le but Rom taj či 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 DISCP they.gave him firstly 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 sestračici.* (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)  
 DISCP when they.request yet also money MODP 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 phusavkernas 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 dĕjs.* (5.11.4-27)  
 and MODP 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 dúr.* (5.11.4-30)  
 DISCP also about her MODP you.care.POT DISCP not you.are far

Well you could care about her, too, you are really not far away.

*Hoť 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, mamó. Taj vi šukár-i, sa, no.* (5.11.4-32)  
 and actually good-is DISCP mummy and also beautiful-is all DISCP

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 šėja, 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 paťan. (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)*  
 DISCP MODP COP.SUBV CPR many people not only one person

Indeed 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 bútajik vorbinas pa kodo, vi deš berš pa kado vorbinas. (5.11.4-38)*  
 DISCP 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 trajin či jejkh, khonik.* (5.11.4-39)

already not live not one nobody

Not a single one is still alive, nobody.

*Kodolen či trobuj či mužika, kadej dīlaben.* (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 čistřna naj!* (5.11.4-43)

even not dry.cleaners is.not

There aren't even dry cleaners!

*Či atunči či kerdalas khanči.* (5.11.4-44)

not then not you.would.have.made nothing

Neither then you would not have made anything.

*Či na mezřjas, hoř keř řavoura-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 Patrādř, či na kirade khanči.* (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 řanenas te ginen taj či te skirin.* (5.11.4-47)

our Roms not knew to read and not to write

The Roms could neither read nor write.

## Concretion

*Taj nás ká te žal, či ká doktores, či khanči.* (5.11.4-48)

and NEG.COP where to go not to doctor not nothing

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*.

*Te na šinen la taj si nejvi!* (5.11.4-49)

MODP not cut it conj is new

They may not cut them, as it is new!

*Me phen-ous že ža-v na promoci taj či muk-el-as ma.* (5.11.4-50)

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.

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.

*Šosa ek škorica taj dúj vaj trín feri hřebički taj šosa dúj paramanči.* (5.11.4-51)

you.put one cinnamon and two or three only cloves and you.put two oranges

You insert one cinnamon bar, only two or three cloves, and finally two oranges.

*Taj ío dad taj tí dej, ká bešen?* (5.11.4-52)

and your mother and your father where they.live

And where do your parents live?

*Mindík phírelas ánde taj ávri.* (5.11.4-53)

always go.ITER into and out

He went always in and out.

*Kodo kharavel peske nípos, ho' te na avel ande kado korkouri* (5.11.4-54)

that invites his family conj in.order.to not cop.SUBV in this alone

*taj vi te sikavel le níposke páťiv kodolesa.*

and also in.order.to show the family honour with.that

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.

*Majinti le Rom, kana trádkerenas taj sas mindík pej droma,* (5.11.4-55)

once the Roms when they.travelled and were always on.the ways

*trobunas te maladòn khetánes.*

they.needed to they.meet together

In ancient times, when the Roms travelled and were always on the way, they needed to meet.

*O manuš, sar bárol opre, dikhel taj sitól maj but* (5.11.4-56)

the man when grows VERBP sees and learns CPR much

*peske dadestar taj peska datar.*

his father.from and his mother.from

Man sees and learns most from his parents, when he grows up.

*Le manušesa o romimo žal, sar bárol taj phúrol,* (5.11.4-57)

the man.with the Rom.culture goes when grows and gets.old

*taj voun site vezetin les apal ando trajo taj maškar o románo taršašágo.*

and they MODP lead him then in.the life and between the Rom's society

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, *taj* optionally reinforces the coordination formed of other set operators *na/niči, vi, či*, see the appropriate sections.

#### 5.11.4.5 Disjunction Coordinator *vaj/vat'*

Alternations, options are expressed by *vaj*, individually also *vat'*. Like *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:

*Žan ánde ando kher, kana jivend-i, vaj kana milaj-i,* (5.11.4-58)

they.go inside into.the house when winter-is or when summer-is

*ávri pi udvara žan.*

out on.the courtyard they.go

They go inside into the house in winter, and in summer they go outside to the courtyard.

*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 búti, 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 niči?* (5.11.4-62)  
 now MODP try or not

Should I try it now or not?

*Zumavav akánik, ho' 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 dúj 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 dĵja dĵlaben pe mulatšágoste vať ande verastášeste.* (5.11.4-68)

these songs they.sing on celebration or in funeral

They sing these songs on celebrations or funerals.

*Ďĵlabenas mulatoušo vať khelimaski dĵli.* (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 tĵsíc.* (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 páрни 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 adîn, sar amári [adîn]?* (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<sup>25</sup>.

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 les 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

<sup>25</sup> Lucie Bílá, a popular Czech singer

Solely Kejža has made this out of her son.

*Naj musaj te kamen pe, te kamen pe.* (5.11.4-81)

not MODP CMLP they.love REFL CMLP they.love REFL

They don't need to love one another.

*Feri ho' tecij lenge, te tecij lenge, taj má len la.*

only conj is.liked they.DAT if is.liked they.DAT and already they.take her

Just if they like her, if they like her, they already marry her.

*Khanči nás andi Sereda. Feri so phagerde le khera sas.* (5.11.4-82)

nothing was in.the Sered' just RELPR they.destroyed the houses was

In Sered' was nothing, just the destroyed houses were there.

*Feri garav-ker-d'on-as taj rov-en-as.* (5.11.4-83)

just hide-ITER-PFTV-PASS-3PL-IPFV and cry-3PL-IPFV

They were just hidden all the time and cried.

*Feri me sim čišli.* (5.11.4-84)

just I I.am slim

Just me am slim.

*Laki ňoma feru khate avel.* (5.11.4-85)

her trace just here comes

Just her trace appears here.

*Pe kodo pamatalinav feru.* (5.11.4-86)

on that I.remember just

I just remember that.

In connection with a negated predicate, the monosyndetic *feri* states an exception, still not grammaticalized as a preposition (not requiring case agreement). The excluded element is the one following *feri*, the relation set for the exclusion is defined in the negated clause in case agreement with the excluded element. Also *te na (čak)* “don't” appears in this meaning

*Taj már naj ma feru jejkh pheň.* (5.11.4-87)

and already NEG.COP I.ACC just one sister

And I have just one more sister.

*Nás khote Rom feru voun.* (5.11.4-88)

not.were there Roms just they

There were no Roms than them.

*Khanikas či mukle, feri les.* (5.11.4-89)

nobody not let.go just him

They didn't let anybody go, expect for him.

*Sako jejkh čaládo kamel hoř te na avel prá la 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 hibázijas 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 mindenfejlíka bajura,* (5.11.4-92)

Among.the Roms fall diverse troubles

*phenas le kurvašágura, márimátura, le melále búťa 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.

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