

# ABSTRACT NOUNS IN SLOVAK ROMANI\*

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This study aims to describe the onomasiological structure of abstract nouns in Slovak Romani. The onomasiological base of this structure is represented by the formants *-(i)ben*, *-(i)pen* or *-(i)šagos*, and the onomasiological mark by bases of different parts of speech such as verbs, adjectives, past participles, adverbs, nouns, pronouns, prepositions, numerals or particles. The study focuses especially on an analysis of names of actions and names of qualities, which constitute the richest subgroup of abstract nouns. The object of analysis is onomasiological marks – motivating words, which are the main indicator of the meaning of action or the meaning of quality of an abstract noun. In some cases they are transpositions from motivating words into abstract nouns; in others new naming units are generated to refer to new content and express new meanings. What then plays a significant role in determining the meaning of an abstract noun is context.

**Key words:** Slovak Romani, onomasiological structure of abstract nouns, onomasiological base *-(i)ben*, *-(i)pen*, *-(i)šagos*, onomasiological mark of abstract nouns, names of actions, names of qualities

## I. Introduction

Abstract nouns designate non-independent phenomena of reality such as qualities, events, actions, states, feelings, ideas, metalanguage notions, hypernyms, etc., which are abstracted from their carriers in thinking and regarded as independent. A real object as a denotation exponent is missing with them.<sup>1</sup> These naming units are a natural part of lexicon. Their number is growing with the intellectualization of language, i.e. the need to denote phenomena related to society's scientific, technical or cultural development and the development of journalistic, administrative and technical styles, which require a

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<sup>1</sup> HORECKÝ, J., BUZÁSSYOVÁ, K., BOŠÁK, J. Dynamika slovnej zásoby súčasnej slovenčiny, p. 99.

more precise and differentiated manner of expression. The number of abstract nouns (hereinafter “ANs”) is also on a slight increase in Slovak Romani. Besides commonly used non-derived ANs (e.g. *bacht* “happiness, luck”, *pařiv* “honour, respect”, *ladž* “shame”) and derived ANs (e.g. *čaćipen* “truth, justice, law”, *barvalipen* “wealth, fortune”, *dživipen* “life”, *pharipen* “difficulty, trouble”, *roviben* “crying, weeping, lamentation”, *mariben* “fight, battle”, *meriben* “death”, *soviben* “sleep”, etc.), which are used in everyday speech, but also in published narratives or folk tales, quite a few ANs (the same or different ones) are found in dictionaries compiled by M. Hübschmannová<sup>2</sup> and A. Koptová.<sup>3</sup> Derived ANs are also included in *Pravidlá rómskeho pravopisu*<sup>4</sup> (Rules of Romani Grammar),<sup>5</sup> which was written as part of documentation essential for the standardization of Romani. Unfortunately, the context of the use of derived ANs (we speak of derivatives with the formant *-(i)pen/-(i)ben* and *-(i)šagos*) listed in dictionaries and the grammar book of Romani cannot be usually checked in texts since they are scarce. The official declaration of Romani as a standardized language in Slovakia in 2008 did not lead to the emergence of stylistically diverse Romani texts. In Romani one can hardly speak of technical language. There were only a few attempts at laying the foundations of technical style: *Declaration of the Roma of the Slovak Republic on the Standardization of the Romani Language in the Slovak Republic. Romengeri Deklaracija andal Slovakijakri republika pedal romaňi čhibakeri šstandardizacija andre Slovakijakeri republika*<sup>6</sup> or the translation of a scholarly publication in the field of religious studies and ethnology, *God Can See Everything, O Del sa dikhel*.<sup>7</sup> The texts of 2001 and 2011 census forms can be considered an attempt at an administrative style. Journalistic texts can be occasionally found in the *Romano nevo lil* newspaper. None of these texts, however, were originally written in Romani; they are all translations from Slovak, which naturally had an influence on their Romani versions. It is also evident in translators’ efforts to find Romani equivalents to Slovak abstract lexis. Sometimes they derived the required ANs: *avrikeriben* “solution”, *avrithem* “abroad”, “a foreign country”, *palepheñiben* “reply” (n.), *thod’ipen* “membership”, “affiliation” (*themakero thod’ipen* “citizenship”), *rachtišagos* “census”, *šajipen* “possibility”, etc. As can be seen, the structure of Romani makes this fully possible, and the ANs formed in this

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<sup>2</sup> HÜBSCHMANNOVÁ, M., ŠEBKOVÁ, H., ŽIGOVÁ, A. *Romsko-český a česko-romský kapesní slovník*. Praha: Státní pedagogické nakladatelství, 1991.

<sup>3</sup> KOPTOVÁ, A. *Romčina do vrečka*. Košice: PEZOLT PVD, 1995.

<sup>4</sup> Kolektív autorov. *Pravidlá rómskeho pravopisu s gramatickým a pravopisným slovníkom*. 1st ed. Bratislava: Štátny pedagogický ústav, 2006.

<sup>5</sup> There are 164 of them altogether, 38 of which have the formant *-(i)šagos*, i.e. almost a half of 80, which I found in dictionaries and all analysed texts.

<sup>6</sup> Published in *Romano nevo lil*, 2008, Vol. 18, No. 856 – 859, p. 2.

<sup>7</sup> KOVÁČ, M., MANN A. B. (eds.) *Boh všetko vidí. O del sa dikhel. Duchovný svet Rómov na Slovensku. Romani pařaviben pre Slovensko*. Bratislava: Chronos 2003.

way are comprehensible in context.

Sometimes translators ascribed a new meaning to an already established AN. Such ANs include, for example: *bašaviben* “theatre performance”, *bešiben* “domicile, residence” (*jekheskere bešiben* “address of usual residence”), “occupancy”, *kheriben* “household”, *dikhiñiben* “image” (*dikhiñiben pal o Roma* “image of the Roma”), “view, point of view” (*pal o Romengero dikhiñiben* “from the Roma point of view”), “performance” (*raťakero dikhiñiben* “full-length performance”), *šund’ipen* “relations” (*buťakero šund’ipen* “business relations”). In this way, a range of meanings of ANs is extended, and there is a greater ambiguity and dependence on context. Translators sometimes replace Slovak ANs with descriptions whose bases are constituted for example by common and very general ANs such as *keriben* “activity, act, deed, proceedings” (*o keriben pal o mozi* “filming”), or specify the meaning of ANs with an attribute: *andro dedičsko vaj krisakero keriben* “in probate or civil proceedings”, *kulturno-jekhetaneskero keriben* “cultural-social event”, etc.

This study primarily focuses on the occurrence and formation of ANs in contemporary Slovak Romani. The analysis of abstract nouns relies on dictionaries and texts included in the list of excerpted literature. However, the possibility of the existence or emergence of other ANs is not excluded. Some ANs were formed *ad hoc*; sometimes there is a slight difference in meanings that are attributed to them in different sources. In most cases, however, it is not considered relevant for our analysis; therefore, it is not pointed out.

## II. Formation of abstract nouns

Abstract nouns are formed by derivation through the formants *-(i)ben*, *-(i)pen* and *-(i)šagos*, which are suffixed to bases of different parts of speech: verbs, adjectives, past participles and nouns, and less frequently adverbs, pronouns, prepositions, numerals and particles. Derivative formants then are only signals of abstractness of naming units formed by them (yet these can sometimes pass to the category of concretized nouns, e.g. *ačhaviben* “construction (building)”, *andrethodo* “additive”, *pašl’ipen* “lair, den”, *pašl’uviben* “bed/cot”), and not the category of abstract naming units (e.g. names of actions or names of qualities) to which such abstract nouns belong. Its meaning then depends on what naming unit is the motivating word. Verbal bases especially yield names of actions (*asaben* “laughter”, *demavkeriben* “hitting, pounding, hammering (n.)”, *charñariben* “shortening (n.)”, *sikhľ’uviben/sikhľ’uipen* “learning, studying (n.)”, *čavargišagos* “wandering, roaming (n.)”), and adjectival bases yield names of qualities (*šukariben* “beauty”, *lol’ipen* “redness”, *bachtal’ipen* “happiness, luck”, *phurikañipen* “outdatedness, old manners”, *akutñipen* “the present time”). Names of qualities are also derived from past participle bases, which function mainly as adjectives in Romani (*bokhal’ard’ipen* “malnutrition”, *bisuťipen/bisuťiben* “insomnia”, *biphandl’ipen* “freedom”). Denominal ANs can

have the meaning of an action (*čohaņipen* “sorcery”, *čorachaņiben* “thefts”) or a quality (*amal'ipen/amal'išagos* “friendship/companionship”, *džuvl'ipen* “effeminacy”). The same formants (*-(i)ben*, *-(i)pen*) also yield abstract naming units denoting categories of the real world, which act as hypernyms in relation to relevant hyponyms, e.g. *šučiben* “feeling, sensation”, *ačhiben* “event”, *čalaviben* “motion, movement”, *čulad'ipen* “liquid, fluid”.

Besides the above mentioned derivative formants, ANs are also sporadically derived by others, e.g. *-ker*: *dujdondeskro* “compromise (n.)” (*duj* “two” + *dondes* “in two” + the suffix *-ker*); *-do*: *gendo* “number, quantity”.

The onomasiological structure of abstract nouns thus consists of an onomasiological base constituted by the formants *-(i)ben*, *-(i)pen* or *-(i)šagos*, and an onomasiological mark constituted by word-formation bases of different parts of speech.

## 1. The onomasiological base of abstract nouns

### 1.1. Formants *-(i)pen/-(i)ben*

The formants *-(i)pen/-(i)ben* are the most typical derivative suffixes of ANs. They are pre-European, of Indian origin. According to Matras,<sup>8</sup> who quotes Schmid (1968, also 1963), *-(i)pen* is a deadjectival affix OIA *-itvana-*, while *-iben* continues the deverbal suffix OIA *-itavya*. “The non-etymological extension *-en* in *-iben* is explained by Schmid (1968) as a contamination through *-ipen*.” Matras points out that “this contamination in structure parallels a tendency of the two affixes to merge functionally as well.”

The statement about the functional merger of derivative formants *-(i)pen* and *-(i)ben* is to a certain extent also applicable to Slovak Romani. According to Hübschmannová,<sup>9</sup> the choice of a particular formant is given by custom. This possibility is, for example, supported by the use of the formants *-(i)pen* and *-(i)ben* in analogical antonymous names of qualities derived from adjectives: *pharipen* “difficulty, trouble” < *pharo* “difficult, troublesome” vs. *lokiben* “easiness, simplicity” < *loko* “easy, simple”.

Sometimes the derivative formants *-(i)pen* and *-(i)ben* yield ANs with the same lexical meaning: for example, from adjectival bases:

*korkoro* “alone, lonely” > *korkoriben/korkoripen* “solitude, loneliness”, *šukar* “beautiful” > *šukariben/šukaripen* “beauty”; from nominal bases: *ruš* “anger, dispute” > *birušiben/birušipen* “moderation, patience”; from verbal bases: *ačhel* “to be” > *ačhiben/ačhipen* “stay”, *arakhel* “to guard” > *arakhiben/arakhipen* “protection, refuge”, \**sikh-* “to teach” > *sikh'uviben/sikh'uvipen* “study (n.)”; from adverbial bases: *čoral* “in secret” > *čoral'iben/čoral'ipen* “confidentiality,

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<sup>8</sup> MATRAS, Y. *Romani. A Linguistic Introduction*, p. 74.

<sup>9</sup> HÜBSCHMANNOVÁ, M. *Gramatický přehled*, p. 664.

secret”, *kamukeri* “pretence, for appearance's sake” > *kamukeriben/kamukeripen* “hypocrisy”.

In other cases, a different derivative formant in connection with the same base can however yield an AN with a different meaning. For example, from adjectival bases: *nalačo* “bad, evil” > *nalačhiben* “injustice”, *nalačhipen* “negation”; from nominal bases: *rašaj* “clergyman, priest” > *rašajipen* “church”, *rašajiben* “clergy”; from verbal bases: *visarel* > *visariben* “return, revenge, payback, metamorphosis, change”, *visaripen* “coup”, *dživel* “to live” > *dživipen* “life”, *dživiben* “livelihood, living”.

A different derivative formant can sometimes distinguish an abstract noun from a concrete noun: *paš'ol* “to lie” > *paš'liben* “childbirth, delivery”, *paš'lipen* “lair, den”.

Although the occurrence of both formants, i.e. *-(i)pen* and *-(i)ben*, with the same base is not rare, the analysis of abstract nouns reveals a prevailing trend, also pinpointed by Elšik et al.,<sup>10</sup> that in the Southern Central group, which includes Slovak Romani, “a tendency is maintained for *-iben* to specialize in deverbal abstracts, while *-ipen* is predominantly deadjectival.”

The predominantly deadjectival formant *-(i)pen* logically predominates in the formation of ANs from past participles that assume the role of adjectives (*demado* “stricken” > *demad'ipen* “strike, blow, punch, collision”, *avrikidlo/avrikidno* “chosen” > *avrikid'lipen* “choice”), but also from nouns (*bacht* “good luck, fortune” > *bacht'ipen* “blessedness”, *čhavoro* “child” > *čhavoripen* “childhood”, *bal'i* “sow, swine” > *bal'ipen* “foul trick, filth”, *gil'i* “song” > *gil'ipen* “singing (n.)”).

The great productivity of the formant *-(i)pen* is also attested to by its ability to form ANs from various parts of speech, although such derivatives are rather rare. For example, from adverbs: *andral* “inside” > *andral'ipen* “interior”, *anglal* “ahead” > *anglal'ipen* “lead”, *dost(a)* “enough” > *dost'ipen* “capacity”, *feder* “better” > *federipen* “improvement”. From pronouns: *ajso* “such” > *ajsipen* “quality, essence”, *kajci (ajci)* “so much” > *kajcipen* “abundance, plenty”, *keci* “how much” > *kecipen* “summary, total”, *lengero* “their” > *lengeripen* “their habit/manners/individuality”. From prepositions: *angle/anglo* “before” > *angl'ipen* “precedence, privilege”. From numerals: *buter* “more” > *buteripen* “surplus”, *but* “a lot, much, many” > *but'ipen* “sufficiency, plenitude”, *čineder* “less, fewer” > *činederipen* “minority”, *jekh* “one” > *jekhipen* “unity, uniqueness, sameness”, *jekhvar* “once” > *jekhvaripen* “permanence”. From particles: *bizo* “no doubt, certainly” > *bizovipen* “reliance”.

<sup>10</sup> ELŠIK, et al., pp. 29 – 30, qtd. in MATRAS, Y. *Romani. A Linguistic Introduction*, p. 74.

## 1.2. Formant *-(i)šagos*

The formant *-(i)šagos* is of foreign origin. It consists of two elements: the suffix *-(i)šag*, which has the form *ság* in Hungarian and serves to produce ANs of the type *adósság* “debt” there, and the suffix *-os*, which is typical of masculine loan nouns in Romani (in Slovak Romani *adošagos* “debt”). This formant is affixed to different bases, especially of foreign but also domestic origin. Nominal bases yield, for example, these ANs: *bitangišagos* “roguery, mischief” < *bitangos* “rowdy, rogue”, *rabišagos* “slavery, imprisonment” < *rabos* “slave, prisoner”, *vitejzišagos* “heroism” < *vitezis* “hero”, *amališagos* “friendship” < *amal* “friend”. Verbal bases yield, for instance, the following ANs: *čavargišagos* “wandering, roaming (n.)” < *čavarginel* “to wander, to roam”, *parančolišagos* “order, command (n.)” < *parančolinel* “to order, to command”, *čudališagos* “amazement, admiration” < *čudalinel pes* “to wonder”, *pořinišagos* “pay (n.)” < *pořinel* “to pay”, *kamišagos* “debt” < *kamel* “to owe”, *kampelišagos* “obligation” < *kampel* “to need”. Adjectival bases yield, for example: *hamišagos* “envy” < *hamišno* “envious”, *siznišagos* “virginity” < *sizno* “virginal”, *garudišagos* “secrecy (of voting)” < *garudo* “hidden”; *bachtališagos* “happiness, blessing” < *bachtalo* “happy, blessed”.

If ANs are derived from verbs, the formant *-(i)šagos* is the only one that is suffixed only to the root of the verb (transitive or intransitive), i.e. not to the verbal base extended by the suffixes *-av*, *-ker*, *-o-*.

The use of the loan formant *-(i)šagos* results in the adaptation of the phonic structure and adjustment of orthography in Romani. (Furdík<sup>11</sup> speaks of transphonemization and transorthographization): the original long *a* in *-ság* is shortened to a short *a* and *s* is transcribed as *š*.

Just like the derivative formants *-(i)pen* and *-(i)ben* are sometimes used to yield ANs from the same base, examples from our sources show that both of these formants can be replaced with the loan formant *-(i)šagos*, no matter if affixed to domestic or foreign bases. ANs formed in this way are usually included in dictionaries as synonymous, e.g. *pořiniiben/pořinišagos* “pay (n.)”, *antisemitiben/antisemitišagos* “anti-Semitism”, *bachtalipen/bachtališagos* “happiness, blessing”, *bizovipen/bizišagos* “reliance, trust”, *iriņipen/irišagos* “record (n.)”, *kamplipen/kamplišagos* “obligation”, *meglisaļipen/meglisaļišagos* “faint(ness)”, *sizņipen/siznišagos* “virginity”, *šigitišagos/šigitiņiben* “help, assistance”, *tuņipen/tuņiben/tuņišagos* “cheapness, inexpensiveness”, *zuņiben/zuņipen/zuņišagos* “boredom”.

In some cases, however, the author takes the opportunity to derive ANs with the help of both formants to express a subtle semantic difference. For example, the translator used both ANs *amalipen/amališagos* in the same article in the *Romano*

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<sup>11</sup> FURDÍK, J. *Teória motivácie v slovnej zásobe*, p. 69.

*nevo l'il*<sup>12</sup> newspaper to distinguish through a different derivative formant between the Slovak words “priateľstvo” (friendship) and “kamarátstvo” (friendship, fellowship), which she translated as *amalipen* and *amališagos*, respectively. Similarly, Koptová<sup>13</sup> lists in her dictionary lexical units in which a different derivative formant serves to distinguish a meaning, an example being the AN motivated by the verb *vičinel* “to call”. The AN “calling, call (n.)” is translated as *vičiňiben/vičišagos* in Romani, but elsewhere *vičiňiben* is listed as “appeal, plea” and “invitation”, and *vičišagos* as “password, catchword”.

As can be seen, the formation of ANs in Romani has not stabilized yet, and all three derivative formants can be affixed both to domestic and foreign bases (often to the same base).<sup>14</sup> What is produced in this way are either non-hybrid lexemes, whose onomasiological mark and onomasiological base are of the same origin (domestic or foreign), or hybrid lexemes, whose onomasiological mark and onomasiological base are of different origin, as is demonstrated by the following table.

Table 1

## Non-hybrid lexemes:

1. original base + original formant  
(*lol'ipen, bachtipen, ajcipen, andral'ipen, keriben; dujmujengero; gendo*)
2. loan base + loan formant, both of the same origin  
(*rabišagos, čavargišagos, bizošagos*)

## Hybrid lexemes:

1. original base + loan formant  
(*kampelišagos, bibachtališagos, poňiňišagos*)
2. loan base + original formant  
(*bizovipen, iriňipen*)

<sup>12</sup> ĎURINOVÁ, I. Priateľky. Amalkiňi. Transl. by Inga Lukáčová. In *Romano nevo l'il*, 2010, Vol. 20, No. 6, pp. 10 – 11.

<sup>13</sup> KOPTOVÁ, A. *Romčina do vrecka*.

<sup>14</sup> The domestic derivative formants *-(i)pen* and *-(i)ben* are mostly connectable with domestic bases, and the foreign derivative formant *-(i)šagos* is predominantly connectable with bases loaned especially from Hungarian, but also from Slovak.

3. loan base + loan formant, both of different origin  
(*antisemitišagos*, *radišagos*)
4. original base modified by a loan prefix + original formant  
(*dodikhiben* “supervision” < *dodikhel* “to supervise”,  
*odpheniben* “reply, answer” < *odphenel* “to reply, to answer”,  
*prekeriben* “reconstruction” < *prekerel* “to reconstruct”,  
*priavl'iben* “arrival” < *priavel* “to arrive” (*avel*),  
*rozgejl'ipen* “breakup, separation” < *rozdžal pes* “to break up, to  
separate” (*rozgejlo* “separated”),  
*zabešiben* “session” < *zabešel* “to be in session”,  
*zvičiniiben* “outcry (n.)” < *zvičinel* “to outcry”).

## 2. The onomasiological mark of abstract nouns

The onomasiological mark of ANs can be constituted by bases of different parts of speech: verbs, adjectives, past participles and nouns, and less frequently adverbs, prepositions, pronouns, numerals or particles. The origin, form and lexical content of the onomasiological mark often have a decisive impact on the meaning of the given AN. Since names of actions and names of qualities constitute the largest subgroup of ANs, our analysis of the onomasiological mark focuses especially on them.

### 2.1. Names of actions

“Abstract naming units for action express a dynamic mark, designate action as nominalized, independent of the agent of action, and therefore abstracted from it.”<sup>15</sup>

Abstract naming units of action are most often motivated by a verb (*denašiben* “run (n.)” < *denašel* “to run”). Common are derivatives of a second degree, in which the motivating verb constituting the base of an AN is derived from an adjective (*bararipen* “upbringing (n.)” < *bararel* “to bring up” < *baro* “big, grown up”), and less frequently from a noun (*raťisal'ipen* “dusk” < *raťisal'ol* “to get dark” < *rat* “night”). The AN formed in this way is still related to the original word, but it also reflects (some) grammatical categories of the

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<sup>15</sup> HORECKÝ, J., BUZÁSSYOVÁ, K., BOSÁK, J. *Dynamika slovnej zásoby súčasnej slovenčiny*, p. 113.



immediately motivating word, e.g. transitivity as in the AN *buchlaripen* “extension” derived from the transitive verb *buchl'arel* “to extend”, or intransitivity as in the AN *buchl'ipen* “width”<sup>16</sup> derived from the intransitive form of the verb *buchl'ol* “to expand”. Both ANs are related to the adjective *buchlo* “large, wide”. A name of an action can be directly motivated by a noun (*chulajipen* “husbandry” < *chulaj* “husbandman”; *čorachaňiben* “thefts” < *čorachano* “thief”).

### 2.1.1. The verb as a motivating element of an abstract name of action

Any verb can serve as a motivating element of an AN if its semantics make it possible. Abstract names of action do not reflect grammatical categories of a motivating verb such as person, tense and mood. However, suffixes expressing the *aktionsart* of the motivating verb are formally preserved and become part of the onomasiological mark of ANs. The function that these suffixes have in the verb is often reflected in the lexical meaning of the given ANs.

The onomasiological mark in the onomasiological structure of the name of action is thus either the root of the verb (R-) or the verbal base, which contains derivative formants affixed to the root of the verb and indicating, for example, repetitiveness of action (R-*av-*, R-*ker-*, R-*avker-*), progressivity (R-*ar-*) or regressivity of action (R-*o-*). The AN also preserves the prefixes of the motivating verb, either the original ones (*avri-R-* and others), or loaned from Slovak (*do-R-*, *ob-R-*, *od-R-*, *pri-R* and others), which modify the meaning of the verb: they express, for example, the inchoativity or temporal or spatial orientation of an action, but also other meanings, which are reflected in the meaning of the AN (e.g. *zvičňiben* “outcry (n.)” [Slovak “zvolanie”] < *zvičinel* “to cry out” [Slovak “zvolať”], *obgejl'ipen* “bypass (n.)” [Slovak “obchádzka”] < *obdžal* “to bypass” [Slovak “obísť”], *rozgejl'ipen* “breakup, separation” [Slovak “rozchod”] < *rozdžal pes* “to break up, separate” [Slovak “rozísť sa”]).

#### 2. 1. 1. 1. ANs with the onomasiological mark R-

A name of action is often formed in such a way that derivative formants *-(i)ben*, *-(i)pen* and *-(i)šagos* are attached directly to the root of a motivating verb. Such a motivating verb can be intransitive or transitive (of domestic or foreign origin).

The root of the intransitive verb is an onomasiological mark, for example, in ANs:

*ačhiben* “domicile, residence, stay” (*than butengero ačhiben* “address of permanent residence”; also *buteskero ačhiben*); “incident; case; event” < *ačhel* “to be”; *asaben* “laughter, smile, giggle; ridicule” < *asal* “to laugh, to smile”, *čavargišagos* “wandering, roaming (n.)” < *čavarginel* “to wander, to roam”, *čudal'šagos* “amazement; admiration” < *čudal'inel pes* “to wonder”, *gondol'ipen*

<sup>16</sup> This is a name of a quality.

“opinion; thinking”, *gondolišagos* “thought; thinking, contemplating” < *gondolinel* “to think, to consider”, *daripen* “dread, fright” < *daral* “to be afraid”, *meriben* “death” < *merel* “to die”.

An interesting group of this category of ANs is formed by the names of action whose onomasiological mark is R- – a semantically specific group of verbs referring to sounds<sup>17</sup> or names of atmospheric actions. They are usually abstract nouns with an onomasiological mark and an onomasiological base of foreign origin, for example: *cinkišagos* “ringing (n.)” < *cinkinel* “to ring”, *gravčišagos* “noise, roar; lament, wail” < *gravčinel* “to yell; to make noise; to wail”, *halasišagos* “quarrel (n.)” < *halasinel pes* “to quarrel”, *harangozišagos* “ringing (n.)” < *harangozinel* “to ring”, *hučišagos* “roar, whirr (n.)” < *hučinel* “to roar, to whirr”, *chirmitišagos* “guffaw (n.)” < *chirmitinel* “to guffaw”, *chrapuštišagos* “rustle, rattle (n.)” < *chrapuštinel* “to rustle, to rattle”, *jajgatišagos* “wail (n.)” < *jajgatinel* “to wail”, *zengišagos* “thunder; clatter; potter; roar (n.)” < *zenginel* “to clatter, to potter, to roar”, *hrmišagos* “thunder (n.)” < *hrminel* “to thunder”, *bliskišagos* “lightening (n.)” < *bliskinel* “to lighten”.

The onomasiological mark of many names of action is the root of a transitive verb, for example: *dikhiben* “look, outlook; view; (medical) checkup, instructions, supervision” < *dikhel* “to see, to look at”; *ašariben* “praise, a word of praise” < *ašarel* “to praise”, *geñiben* (also in the form *geñipen*, *giñiben*, *geniben*) “counting, calculation; census” (*savo hino andro rozgino ča akanutno geñipen bi e buči* “who are unemployed at the decisive moment of the census”); “budget” < *genel* “to count, to calculate”, *kampelišagos* “necessity”, *kampelišagos* “obligation, duty” < *kampel* “to need”, *mangipen* “request, plea; application” < *mangel* “to request; to apply”.

As demonstrated by the above mentioned examples, the names of action formed in this way can be transpositions of verbs into nouns without a change in lexical content, or they can have a differently wide range of related meanings or overlap with the category of concrete nouns.

### 2. 1. 1. 2. ANs with the onomasiological mark R-av-

ANs with the onomasiological mark R-av- can but do not have to preserve the meaning that the suffix -av- has in a verb.<sup>18</sup>

In the verb the suffix -av is attached to both intransitive and transitive roots. The verb containing the base R-av- expresses the causality of action (“to happen, to make something happen”), the repetitiveness or duration of action, or the transitivity of action. The verb with the base R-av can reflect one or more of the above mentioned functions of the suffix -av. For example, the intransitive verb

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<sup>17</sup> HORECKÝ, J., BUZÁSSYOVÁ, K., BOSÁK, J., op. cit., p. 114 points to this type of ANs in Slovak.

<sup>18</sup> See also MATRAS, Y., op. cit., pp. 121 – 123 and HÜBSCHMANNOVÁ, M., op. cit., pp. 648 – 649.

extended with the suffix *-av* changes into a transitive one (*izdral* “to shiver” > *izdravel* “to shake off”, *kamel* “to fall in love” > *kamavel* “to love”), but also into a transitive causative one (*ačhel* “to stand” > *ačhavel* “to stand up (someone)” (i.e. to make someone/something stand up), *asal* “to laugh, to smile” > *asavel* “to entertain” (i.e. to make someone laugh), *daral* “to be afraid” > *daravel* “to frighten, to scare” (i.e. to make someone afraid), or it remains intransitive but acquires the meaning of repetitiveness or duration of action (*demel* “to beat, to pound” > *demavel* “to beat, to pound (repeatedly, continuously)”, *kančavel* “to squint”, or as an intransitive verb it has the meaning of causality (*bašel* “to sound, to resound, to echo” > *bašavel* “to play, to sound” (i.e. to make something sound))).

If the suffix *-av* is attached to a transitive root, the result is a transitive causative verb (*džanel* “to know” > *džanavel* “to inform, to announce, i.e. to let someone know”), or a transitive repetitive verb (*arakhel* “to find; to get; to find out” > *arakhavel* (*avri*) “to discover, to invent; to search”, *cinel* “to buy” > *cinavel* “to do shopping”), or a transitive repetitive verb modifying the meaning of a transitive verb of duration (*genel* “to read” > *genavel* “to read aloud to someone”, *marel* “to beat” > *maravel* “to give someone a thrashing”) or a verb of duration with the same meaning as a motivating verb (*prasal* “to ridicule, to nickname” > *prasavel* “to ridicule, to nickname”). This group also includes transitive verbs without their intransitive counterpart (*čalavel* “to touch, to reach for, to cancel, to mix”;<sup>19</sup> *lekhavel* “to write”, *našavel* “to lose; to kill, to annihilate”;<sup>20</sup> *pharavel* “to chop (wood), to split, to slit, to tear up”, *phosavel* “to prick”, *phukavel* “to complain”, *thovavel* “to be jealous”, *zumavel* “to try something”, etc.

Many verbs with the base *R-av-* yield names of action, which often have a counterpart in ANs with the onomasiological mark *R-*, e.g. *kamaviben* “loving (n.), affection” vs. *kamiben* “love (n.)”, *ačhaviben* “construction (*vachtoskero* *ačhaviben* “period of construction”), housing development, standing, defence” vs. *ačhiben/ačhipen* “stay, incident, episode; case; event”, *bašaviben* “music, playing; entertainment (Roma); performance (theatrical)” vs. *bašiben* “playing (n.), manner of play”, *asaviben* “smile (n.)” vs. *asaben* “giggle (n.), ridicule, laughter”, but also “smile (n.)”; *daraviben/daraviben* “fright, dread, awe, threat, menace” vs. *daripen* “fright, dread, fear” (besides *dar*) and others. Some ANs are derived from the base *R-av-*, where *R-* is the root of a transitive verb:

*džanaviben* “information, announcement” vs. *džañiben/džaniben* “knowledge, science, piece of knowledge”, *arakhaviben* “discovery, invention” vs. *arakhiben/arakhipen* “discovery, invention, protection”, *cinaviben/cinavipen*

<sup>19</sup> The same verb with the reflexive pronoun *pes*, that is *čalavel pes*, has an intransitive meaning “hýbať sa” (to move).

<sup>20</sup> The intransitive *naš-* has a different meaning: “to run”.

“purchase, shopping” vs. *ciñiben* “purchase”, *genaviben* “reading aloud (n.)” vs. *geñiben* “reading (n.)”, *maraviben* “thrashing (n.)” vs. *mariben* “fight, brawl, struggle, rupture”, *lekhaviben* “prose, fiction” vs. *lekipen* “spelling, orthography”, *naašviben/naašvipen* “doom, perdition; abortion, miscarriage; loss”; *pharaviben* “splitting (n.)”, *phosaviben* “stab, sting, bite (n.)”, *phukaviben* “lawsuit”, *phukavipen* “complaint”, *thovaviben* “being jealous (n.)”,<sup>21</sup> *umavipen* “the act of leaving home to acquire experience”.

The above-mentioned examples reveal that ANs formally preserve the R-*av-* of the motivating verb, but the lexical meaning of the AN with this onomasiological mark in many cases does not clearly reflect the meaning of this mark in the motivating verb. In several cases, especially in those where ANs are derived from multi-meaning verbs, the relevant AN also has multiple meanings.

In our sources we have not found a single example in which the onomasiological mark R-*av-* would contain the root of the loan verb, not even an example that would contain the onomasiological base *-(i)šagos* connected to the onomasiological mark R-*av-*.

### 2. 1. 1. 3. ANs with the onomasiological mark R-*ker-* and R-*avker-*

Matras<sup>22</sup> generally considers the suffixes *-ker-* and *-avker-* attached to the root of the verb in Romani transitivizing markers, yet admits that in “North Central dialects (Bohemian, Western and Eastern Slovak) ... and in Rumungro, the simple marker *-ker-*, and in the eastern regions also the complex forms *-avker-* and *-kerker-*, survive in iterative function, modelled on the system of Slavic aspect. They lose their transitivizing function, allowing aspectual modification of intransitive roots as well: *gil'avkerel* “to sing frequently””.

According to Hübschmannová,<sup>23</sup> verbs with the suffix *-ker-* express not only the repetitiveness but also the finality and intensity of action.

Examples from the sources under analysis show that the suffix *-ker-*, unlike the suffix *-av-*, expresses iterativity more unambiguously. The iterativity is then often preserved also in the meaning of the AN, e.g. *demavkeriben* “hammering, hitting, pounding (n.)” < *demavkerel* “to hammer, to nail”, *denaškeriben* “running around (n.), swarming (n.), confusion, commotion” < *denaškerel* “to run around, to fly around, to swarm”, *koškeriben* “cursing (n.)” < *koškerel* “to curse”. These are examples of transpositions from verbs into ANs (verbal nouns) without a change in the lexical meaning. In some cases, however, the AN expresses the finality or intensity of action, which can but does not have to be included in the verb, e.g. *čandkeriben* “continuous vomiting” < *čandkerel* “to vomit continuously or frequently”, *rovkeriben* “crying (n.), lamentation” <

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<sup>21</sup> This is also the name of the quality “jealousy”.

<sup>22</sup> MATRAS, Y., op. cit., pp. 124 – 125.

<sup>23</sup> HÜBSCHMANNOVÁ, M. Gramatický přehled, p. 646.

*rovkerel* “to whimper, to snivel”, *ašarkeriben* “exaggerated praise, flattery” < *ašarkerel* “to flatter”, *bikenkeriben* “busy trade” < *bikenkerel* “to sell”. Some nouns formed in this way are designations of a result of an action described by a verb: *chudkeriben* “(rich) catch; income” < *chudkerel* “to receive; to catch”; *davkeriben* “distribution of presents” < *davkerel* “to give, to distribute; to give continuously or frequently” and others. And the AN with the onomasiological mark R-*ker-* can also have a parametric meaning (*merkeriben* “mortality” < *merkerel* “to die; to be dying”).

Iterativity is sometimes expressed by means of the complex form *-avker-* (it is a double expression of repetitiveness): *ačhavkeriben* “continuous stopping, procrastination, interrupting (n.)” < *ačhavkerel* “to interrupt, to stop continuously” < *ačhel* “to stand still”, *čhivavkeriben* “throwing about (n.)” < *čhivavkerel* “to throw about” < *čhivel* “to throw” (in this case there is also an iterative form in the dictionary – *čhivavel* “to be throwing”).

In the verbs of the second class whose R- ends in the vowel *a*, a consonant *v* (but also *l* and *r*) is inserted between the root of the verb and the suffix *-ker-*: *asavkerel* “to giggle” > *asavkeriben* “giggle (n.)”, *chasavkerel* “to cough” > *chasavkeriben* “cough (n.)”, etc.

In the verbs of the third class with the base R+*-o-*, the suffix *-ker-* is attached to the extended stem: *sikh'ol* “to learn” > *sikh'uvkerel* “to learn continuously or frequently”, *paš'ol* “to lie” > *paš'uvkerel* “to lie continuously or frequently, to lie about”. Our sources did not include ANs with the onomasiological mark R-*ker-* derived from the verbs of the third class, although theoretically it is possible to form, for example, *sikh'uvkeriben* < *sikh'uvkerel* “to study continuously/hard”.

#### 2. 1. 1. 4. ANs with the onomasiological mark R-*ar-*

Some names of actions are derived from a group of verbs formed by the derivative formant *-ar*. As far as verbs with the suffix *-ar* are concerned, Hübschmannová<sup>24</sup> speaks of causatives, which can be derived from nouns (*rat* “night” > *ra'arel* “to stay overnight, to have someone stay overnight”), from adjectives (*baro* “big” > *bararel* “to exaggerate; to bring up, to raise, to grow”), from verbs (*sovel* “to sleep” > *sovl'arel* “to put to sleep, to lull to sleep”), from past participles (*pherdo* “full” > *pherd'arel* “to fill”), but also from other parts of speech (*jekhetane* “together” > *jekhetañarel* “to unify”). Verbs with the suffix *-ar* denote an action aimed at an object. We speak of a progressive meaning. The AN then refers to this activity.

Matras<sup>25</sup> considers the suffix *-ar* a transitive marker. “The marker’s principal impact on the typology of the language is to allow transitive verbs to derive from adjectives (‘factitives’).” The marker *-ar* also allows transitive verbs to derive

<sup>24</sup> HÜBSCHMANNOVÁ, M., op. cit, p. 648.

<sup>25</sup> MATRAS, Y., op. cit., p. 123.

from other parts of speech, especially from adverbs and participles as Hübschmanová points out as well. If a verb with the marker *-ar* derives from a noun, the result may not be only a transitive verb (*paňarel* “to water, to irrigate” < *paňi* “water”, *rajarel* “to rule, to govern” < *raj* “master, lord”), but also an intransitive verb (*buťarel* “to labour, to drudge” < *buťi* “labour (n.), drudgery”, *dromarel* “to travel” < *drom* “journey”, *suňarel* “to dream; to daydream, to fantasize” < *suno* “dream (n.)”).

Verbs derived by the formant *-ar* in many cases become motivating elements of names of action.

The most frequent motivating element of a name of action is a deadjectival verb. (ANs derived from past participles which have the function of an adjective are also included.) The abstract noun in such cases denotes an action that induces a state described by an adjective: *bararipen* “upbringing (n.)” < *bararel* “to bring up” < *baro* “big”, *bokhalaripen* “starvation” < *bokhalarel* “to starve someone” < *bokhalo* “hungry”, *buchlaripen* “expansion, (great) width, boom” < *buchlarel* “to expand, to spread, to stretch” < *buchlo* “large, wide”, *cikňaripen* “diminishing (n.)” < *cikňarel* “to diminish” < *cikno* “small, short”, *čalariiben/čalariipen* “nutrition” < *čalarel* “to feed, to satiate” < *čalardo* “full, satiated”, *charňaripen* “shortening (n.)” < *charňarel* “to shorten” < *charno* “short”, *saňaripen* “narrowing (n.); weight reduction plan” < *saňarel* “to make thin, to narrow” < *sano* “thin, slim, narrow”, *sastariiben/sastariipen* “healing, curing (n.)” < *sastarel* “to heal, to cure” < *sasto* “healthy”, *žužaripen* “cleaning (n.)” < *žužarel* “to clean” < *žužo* “clean”, *avrimurdaripen* “genocide, slaughter (n.)” < *avrimurdarel* “to slaughter, to exterminate” < *murdardo* “killed, slaughtered”).

It is evident that some of the names of action formed in this way have the derivation base *-(i)pen*, others have the derivation base *-(i)ben*, and still others can have both of these derivation bases.

A less frequent motivating base of a name of action is the denominal verb: *buťaripen* “labour (n.), drudgery” < *buťarel* “to drudge, to labour” < *buťi* “work (n.)”, *čhungaripen* “spit (n.)” < *čhungarel* “to spit” < *čhung* “saliva”, *danderipen* “bite, sting (by insects) (n.)” < *danderel* “to bite, to sting” < *dand* “tooth”, *došaripen* “lawsuit” < *došarel* “to sue” < *doš* “guilt”, *dromaripen* “travel, pilgrimage (n.)” < *dromarel* “to travel, to pilgrimage” < *drom* “journey”, *rajaripen/rajaripen* “rule, reign (n.)” < *rajarel* “to rule, to reign; to command” < *raj* “master, lord”, *suňaripen* “hallucination” < *suňarel* “to hallucinate, to dream” < *suno* “dream (n.)”).

Names of action are also derived from deverbal verbs with the marker *-ar*; its attachment to the root of a verb results in a transitive verb: *čitlaripen* “stilling (n.)” < *čitlarel* “to still, to quiet down” < *čitel* “to be quiet” (< *čit* “sh!, hush!”).

Relatively rare are names of actions whose motivating verb with the base *R-ar* is derived from an adverb, e.g.: *anglaripen* “progress” < *anglarel* “to favour” <

*anglal* “forward, ahead”, *jekhetañariben* < “unity” (*phraleskero jekhetañariben le baptisten* “Brotherly Union of Baptists”) < *jekhetañarel* “to unite” < *jekhetane* “together”.

Some names of actions whose motivating element is a verb with the suffix *-ar* are transpositions from verbs into nouns without a change in the lexical meaning; what arises is a verbal noun (*buchl'aripen* “expansion”, *sast'ariben/sast'aripen* “healing, curing (n.)”, *žuž'ariben* “cleaning (n.)”, *dromaripen* “pilgrimage (n.)”, *rajariben/rajaripen* “rule, reign (n.)”, *band'aripen* “bending (n.)”, *nand'aripen* “bathing (n.)”, *sikh'l'ariben* “learning (n.), educating”, etc.). In other cases there might be shifts in meaning or emergence of a new meaning (*charñariben* “abbreviation, shortening (n.)”, *buchl'aripen* “space (besides expansion)”, *but'aripen* “labour, drudgery”, *čal'ariben/čal'aripen* “nutrition”).

### 2. 1. 1. 5. ANs derived from verbs with the base R-o-

This is a specific group of names of actions because the suffix *-o-* extending the root of the verb (along with the palatalization of the previous consonant) is in most cases not preserved in contrast to some other previously mentioned cases. It may be found only in a few bases of ANs in the form *-u+v-* (*sikh'l'uviben/sikh'l'uvipen* “learning, studying (n.)” < *sikh'l'ol* “to study”, *achal'uvipen* “premonition” < *achal'ol* “to understand”, *nand'uvipen* “bath (n.)” < *nand'ol* “to have a bath”).<sup>26</sup>

Verbs with the role of a motivating element in the names of actions are intransitive derivations from adjectives, nouns and verbal roots.<sup>27</sup>

Verbs ending in *-ol* derived from adjectives and nouns “are generally denoting transition between states”<sup>28</sup> (*barol* “to grow” < *baro* “big”, *d'ivesal'ol* “to dawn” < *d'ives* “day”) or the regressive intention of an action (orientation of an action at its subject: *mat'ol* “to get drunk” < *mato* “drunk”). In the case of adjectival derivations, the marker is attached to the adjectival root.

“Derivations from verbal roots are often reflexives (*sikh'l'ol* “učit' sa” – “to study”; *nand'ol* “kúpat' sa” – “to have a bath”; *band'ol* “ohnút' sa” – “to bend (down)”), or they can be “synthetic passives” (*dičhol* “to be seen”), or “lexicalized intransitives such as *dikh'l'ol* “to appear” of *dikh-* “to see””.<sup>29</sup>

According to Matras,<sup>30</sup> “(i)n Eastern Slovak Romani, intransitive derivation assumes an aspectual non-durative or ‘semelfactive’ function (qtd. Bubenik and

<sup>26</sup> On the origin of the suffix *-o-*, or more precisely *-(j)o(v)-*, see MATRAS, Y., op. cit., pp. 125 – 126.

<sup>27</sup> Matras, Y., op. cit., p. 120 mentions also the derivation from the adverb *pašal* “close”, that is *paš'ol*, which is not found in this meaning in our sources.

<sup>28</sup> MATRAS, Y., op. cit., p. 120.

<sup>29</sup> MATRAS, Y., op. cit., p. 120.

<sup>30</sup> MATRAS, Y., op. cit., p. 121.

Hübschmannová, 1998), modelled on Slavic *aktionsart* distinctions: *demad'ol* “to hit oneself incidentally” < *demavel* “to pound/hit repeatedly” < *demel* “to hit”, *asand'ol* “to smile” < *asal* “to laugh””. The verb *demad'ol* expresses also the regressive intention of an action (i.e. orientation at its subject).

Names of actions may be formed from all the mentioned derivations with the suffix *-o-*.

The motivating verb with the R-*o-* base is most often a deverbal verb, and this motivating verb may be of various character. Some names of actions are formed from verbs with a reflexive meaning, e.g. *angloband'ipen* “forward bend (n.)” < *band'ol* (*anglal*) “to bend forward”, *nand'uvipen* “bath (n.)” < *nand'ol* “to have a bath”, *phad'ipen* “breakthrough (n.)” < *phad'ol* “to break, to crack”, *phundripen* “crack (n.)” < *phundrol* “to crack open”, *sikh'luviben/sikh'luvipen* “studying, learning, drill (n.)” < *sikh'lol* “to study”, *ul'ipen* “birth (n.)” < *ul'ol* “to be born”.

Other names of actions are derived from verbs with the meaning of a synthetic passive: *dičhiben* “appearance” < *dičhol* “to be seen”, *arakh'lipen* “finding (n.), discovery” < *arakh'lol* “to be found, to be discovered (also to be situated)”.

Some names of actions are derived from verbs that form an intransitive counterpart to a transitive verb with the same root: *učhal'iben* “shade (n.)” < *učhal'ol* “to shade” (in contrast to the transitive *učhal'arel* “to shade, to shield”), *pašl'iben* “childbirth” < *pašl'ol* “to lie, to lie down” (in contrast to *pašl'arel* “to lay”), other names of actions are derived from verbs with the formant *-o-* without a transitive opposite: *megl'isalipen/megl'isališagos* “unconsciousness” < *megl'isal'ol* “to lose consciousness, to faint”.

In relatively few cases of names of actions, the motivating verb is a deadjectival verb with the suffix *-o-*. Their identification may be hindered by the fact that this *-o-* is left out and only the previous palatalized consonant is retained as it is with ANs derived from adjectives: *nasval'ipen* “illness, sickness” < *nasvalo* “ill, sick”, while there is also a verb *nasval'ol* “to become sick”, *baruñipen* “induration” < *baruñol* “to indurate, to harden” with a figurative meaning < *baruno* “stony” (< *bar* “stone (n.)”). It seems that names derived in this way often pass into the category of concrete nouns: *arad'ipen* “ruin (n.)” < *arad'ol* “to crumble” < *arado tele* “crumbled”, *khaml'ipen* “sweat (n.)” < *khaml'ol* “to sweat” < *khamlo* “sweaty”, *murdal'ipen* “carcass” < *murdal'ol* “to perish, to conk out” < *murdalo* “conked out”.

In our sources we found several motivating verbs with the formant *-o-* derived from nouns: *divesal'ipen* “dawning (n.)” < *divesal'ol* “to dawn” < *dives* “day”, *rafi'sal'ipen* “dusk” < *rafi'sal'ol* “to be getting dusky/dark” < *rat* “night”.

#### **2. 1. 1. 6. ANs derived from verbs modified with a prefix**

In Slovak Romani there are quite a lot of ANs whose onomasiological mark has a domestic prefix or one loaned from Slovak, modifying the meaning of the base verb. The domestic prefix is usually placed after the verb in the motivating



verb: *chudkerel avri* “to examine/to question (somebody)” > *avrichudkeriben* “investigation”, *phučkerel avri* “to question, to interrogate” > *avriphučkeriben* “interrogation”, *thovel pes andre* “to intervene” (literally “to step in”) > *andrethovipen* “intervention”, etc.

The motivating element of a prefixed AN may also be a verb without a prefix: *sivkerel* “to embroider” > *avrisivkeriben* “embroidering”, *murdarkerel* “to slaughter” > *avrimurdarkeriben* “slaughter, genocide”. In these examples, the prefix *avri-* is a calc of the Slovak prefix *vy-* with the same meaning.

Verbs modified with a Slovak prefix (*do-*, *ob-*, *od-*, *pre-*, *pri-*, *roz-*) act as motivating elements of numerous ANs. Such a prefix retains the function it has in Slovak also when attached to a Romani base. The form of the onomasiological mark of the name of an action is usually pfx-R-; sometimes its form is different (pfx-R-*av*; pfx-R-*ker*): *dodikhiben* “supervision” [Slovak “dohľad”] < *dodikhel* “to supervise” [Slovak “dozerat”] < *dikhel* “to watch”, *obgejlipen* “bypass (n.)” [Slovak “obchádzka”] < *obdžal* “to bypass” [Slovak “obísť”] < *džal* “to pass, to go”, *odmukhiben* “forgiveness” [Slovak “odpustenie”] < *odmukhel* “to forgive” [Slovak “odpustiť”] < *mukhel* “to let go”, *prekeriben* “reconstruction” (literally “redoing”, [Slovak “prerobenie”]) < *prekerel* “to reconstruct, to redo” [Slovak “prerobiť”] < *kerel* “to do”, *prithoviben* “addition, supplement” [Slovak “pridanie”] < *prithovel* “to add” [Slovak “pridať”] < *thovel* “to set”, *rozgejlipen* “breakup, separation” [Slovak “rozchod”] < *rozdžal pes* “to break up, to separate” [Slovak “rozísť sa”] < *džal* “to go”, *sprastarkeriben* “cluster, frenzy, gathering” [Slovak literally “zbiehanie”] < *sprastarkerel pes* “to gather, to cluster” [Slovak “zbiehať sa”] < *prastal* “to run”, *zaačhaviben* “standstill, stop (n.)” [Slovak “zastavenie”] < *zaačhavel* “to stop (somebody)” [Slovak “zastaviť”] < *ačhavel* “to stop”, *zvičiniiben* “outcry (n.)” [Slovak “zvolanie”] < *zvičinel* “outcry” [Slovak “zvolať”] < *vičinel* “to call”.

As has been demonstrated, in the case of ANs derived from verbs the immediate motivating element is the base of the verb along with the root of the verb, containing a formant showing transitivity, intransitivity, iterativity, reflexivity or causativity of an action expressed by a relevant verb that is in correlation with the verbal root expressing the primary lexical meaning. For example, the transitivity in the name of the action *sikhlariben* “teaching (n.)” < *sikhlarel* “to teach” in contrast to the reflexivity of AN *sikhluviben* “studying, learning (n.)” < *sikhlol* “to study, to learn”, with both of them being in correlation with the root \**sikh-* meaning “to teach”. Similarly the AN *demavkeriben* “hitting, pounding, hammering (n.)” immediately reflects the meaning of duration expressed by the suffix *-ker-* in the motivating verb *demavkerel* “to nail, to hammer” while being in correlation with the verbal root *dem-* meaning “to pound, to hit”.

Many names of actions with a different onomasiological mark are

transpositions from verbs into nouns without a change in the lexical content; the result is a verbal noun (*gondolišagos* “thinking, contemplating (n.)” < *gondol'inel* “to think, to contemplate”, *pharaviben* “splitting (n.)” < *pharavel* “to split”, *koškeriben* “cursing (n.)” < *koškerel* “to curse”, *sast'ariben/sast'aripen* “healing, curing (n.)” < *sast'arel* “to heal, to cure”, *sikh'l'uviben/sikh'l'uvipen* “learning, studying (n.)” < *sikh'l'ol* “to learn, to study”).

Frequent shifts in meaning result in names of actions that have many related meanings or sometimes completely new names are formed (e.g. *geñiben* [also *geñipen*, *giñiben*, *geniben*] “counting (n.), arithmetic; census; budget” < *genel* “to count”).

Names of actions derived with the help of the derivative formant *-(i)ben* attached to various bases (here R- and R-*ker-*) sometimes have a parametric meaning: *bešiben* “occupancy”, *merkeriben* “mortality”.

If an AN is derived from a polysemous verb, the name of the action is also polysemous.

The boundary between an AN and a concrete noun is sometimes blurred, and the corresponding name carries both meanings depending on the context, e.g. *avrikhel'iben* “prize, victory” with both an abstract and a concrete meaning; *dikhlariben* “performance, introduction” in both meanings, *dovakeriben* “agreement, contract” (*dovakeriben pale kerd'i but'i* “performance contract”), *iriben* “letters, script, writing (n.)” (*paličkimen iriben* “in block letters”), etc.

Similarly, the abstract noun *ačhaviben* may have an abstract meaning “construction” (*vachtoskero ačhaviben* “the construction period”), or a concrete meaning “a construction (a building)”, *akhariben* may have an abstract meaning “a calling, an invitation”, but also a concrete meaning “an ordinance, a public notice”, *bešiben* may have an abstract meaning “living”, but also a concrete meaning “a dwelling, a settlement, a habitation”, *band'ipen/band'aripen* has an abstract meaning “declination” and a concrete meaning “an arch, a dome”, *chand'ipen* has an abstract meaning “itching”, but also a concrete meaning “eczema”, *labaripen* may mean “heat” but also “a burn”, *mangipen* may mean “a request” but also “an order form, an application”, *pekiben* means “baking” but also “pastry”, *uriben* means “dressing” but also “clothing, clothes, a dress”, *vič'iñiben* may mean “an outcry; an appeal” but also “an invitation card”, etc.

The fact that the boundary between an abstract noun and a concrete noun is often blurred or that an abstract noun may be converted into a concrete one may be supported by its appearance in plural form: *god'aripena* “(a lot of) experience”, *hordipena* “collections” (“he made two collections of data”), *keribena* “conditions” (*nalačhe socijalna keribena* “bad social conditions”), “events”; *lekhavipena* “short stories”, *phučibena* “questions”, *chabena* “groceries”, *bešibena* (*duj bešibena*) “two households”, *ačhibena* “events”, *gul'ipena*

“sweets”.<sup>31</sup>

Some of the nouns derived from a verbal base with the help of the derivative formant *-(i)pen* and *-(i)ben* carry only a concrete meaning in the analysed sources, e.g. *makhiben* “fat/grease/lard”, *murdalipen* “carcass”, *muteripen* “dung-water”, *pašliben* “lair, den”, *pašl'uviben* “bed/cot”, *sivkeriben* “sewing stuff”.

The derivative morpheme *-(i)pen* and *-(i)ben* may be attached to any form of an onomasiological mark, but the derivation morpheme *-(i)šagos* appears only with the onomasiological mark R- (i.e. with the root of the domestic and the loan verb).

### 2. 1. 2. The noun as a motivating element of an abstract name of action

Names of persons can be used as immediate motivating elements of names of action: *čohaňipen* “sorcery” < *čohaňi* “sorceress”, *čorachaňiben* “thefts” < *čorachno* “thief”. The resulting ANs thus designate actions carried out by the persons that are named by the motivating nouns.

### 2. 2. Names of qualities

Names of qualities along with the names of actions form the largest subgroup of abstract naming units. Similarly as in the case of names of actions, these are abstracted from the carrier, i.e. from the carrier of a quality. Names of qualities are formed with the help of a derivative formant *-(i)pen*, less often *-(i)ben*, and only rarely *-(i)šagos*, most often from adjectives (qualitative and relative adjectives) and past participles (in function of an adjective). We may speak of either a transposition from the motivating word into an AN with no change in the lexical content (*lolipen* “redness” < *lolo* “red”, *biphandl'ipen* “freedom” < *biphandlo* “free”, *hamišagos* “envy (n.)” < *hamišno* “envious”) or there might occur a shift in meaning or a new meaning may arise (*garudišagos* “secrecy (of voting)” < *garudo* “hidden”, *devl'ikaňipen* “religion” < *devl'ikano* “divine/godly/godlike”, *čirlatuňiben* “history; prehistory/ancient times” < *čirlatuno* “ancient, former, old, stale (food)”). Names of qualities may also be formed from other parts of speech, e.g. adverbs: *pašiben/pašipen* “nearness” < *pašes* “near”, *pašoriben* “a very short distance” < *pašores* “very near”; numerals: *jekhipen* “individuality” < *jekh* “one”.

Also a verb (correlative with an adjective) may act as an immediate motivating element of a name of a quality. An AN formed in this way may have a meaning of an action. Once in a context it acquires a concrete meaning. For example, *buchl'ipen* < *buchl'ol* “to expand” < *buchlo* “large” may be a name of the action

<sup>31</sup> Occasionally also an AN in the diminutive form can be found: *lačo bešibenoro* “comfortable/nice habitation”.

“expansion” but also of the quality “width”.

### **2. 2. 1. Names of qualities derived from adjectives**

ANs with the meaning of a quality are formed from non-derived as well as derived (desubstantival, deadverbial, deadjectival) adjectives.

#### **2. 2. 1. 1. A non-derived adjective as a motivating element of an AN**

Non-derived adjectives either have the suffix *-o* (*baro* “big”) or do not have suffixes at all (*šukar* “beautiful”). A relatively high number of the names of qualities formed on their basis are transpositions from adjectives into ANs with no change in the lexical content: (*šukariben* “beauty” < *šukar* “beautiful”, *duripen* “distance” < *dur* “distanced, far”, *lolipen* “redness” < *lolo* “red”, *učiben* “height” < *učo* “high”, etc.), or there might occur a shift in meaning or a new meaning may arise, e.g. AN *zoraliipen* < *zoralo* “strong, powerful” < *zor* “strength/power” may carry the meaning “strength” (internal); “power” (a case of transposition), or “stiffness/firmness” (shift in meaning), or it may acquire a completely new meaning “determination; aggression”. Another example of transposition and a shift in meaning depending on the context is the AN *taiipen* meaning “warmth” but also “temperature” < *tato* “warm”, etc.

#### **2. 2. 1. 2. Derived adjectives as motivating elements of ANs**

The group of derived adjectives which function as motivating elements of ANs consists of denominal adjectives formed by the suffixes *-alo*, *-ikano*, *-kano*, *-no*, *-utno*, *-tuno*, *-do*, or less frequently by *-valo* and *-kero* as well as deadjectival and deverbal adjectives.

The denominal adjectives ending in *-alo* frequently serve as motivating elements for the formation of names of qualities, such as *bachtaliipen* “happiness, blessing” < *bachtalo* “happy, blessed” < *bacht* “happiness, luck”, *džungaliipen* “dirty trick, meanness; cruelty, brutality; vice” < *džungalo* “disgusting, unsightly, nasty, impure; cruel, evil” < *džung* “filth”, *džuvalipen* “lousiness; pediculosis”; (fig.) “flea-bag” < *džuvalo* “lousy” < *džuv* “louse”, *paňalipen* “flood; juiciness; wateriness” < *paňalo* “juicy; watery” < *paňi* “water”.

In some cases an analogically created adjective becomes the motivating element of a name of a quality. Such an adjective, however, does not have a nominal base, e.g. *nasvalipen* “illness, ailment” < *nasvalo* “ill”, *jevalipen* “uselessness” < *jevalo* “useless”.

Adjectives ending in *-(i)kano* form a rather heterogeneous group and serve as motivating elements of names of qualities. These are either denominal adjectives, such as *devlikaňipen* “religion” < *devlikaňo* “divine/godly/godlike” < *del* “god”, *gadžikaňipen* “non-Romani manners, behaviour” < *gadžikano* “non-Romani/gadjo” (adj.) < *gadžo* “non-Romani or gadjo (n.)”, *rajkaniiben* “luxury” < *rajkano* “luxurious” < *raj* “master, lord”; or deadjectival adjectives, e.g.

*phurikaňipen* “outdatedness, old manners, tradition” < *phurikano* “old-fashioned, outdated; antique, traditional”, including those which can function as both adjectives and nouns: *barikaňipen* “pride, condescension” < *barikano* “proud; condescending”, which at the same time means “a proud and conceited person”, *barval'ikaňiben* “snobbery” < *barval'ikano* “snobbish” and “a snob”.

The motivating adjective ending in *-ikano* correlates in some cases with a word which can function as a noun, adjective or adverb: *čačikaňipen* “authenticity; factuality” < *čačikano* “true; real; genuine” < *čačo* “truth; true, real; truly, really”.

Rare are ANs derived from denominal adjectives ending in *-valo*: *ratval'ipen* “contusion” < *ratvalo* “bloody” < *rat* “blood”. (This case may probably be considered a transition of an AN into the category of concrete nouns.)

Denominal adjectives ending in *-(a)no* can also function as motivating elements of ANs: *manušiben* “altruism” < *manušno* “human” (adj.) < *manuš* “human” (n.), *mulaňipen* “deathly pallor” < *mulano* “cadaverous” < *mulo* “cadaver”. If the adjective in the role of a motivating element of an AN ends in *-no*, it is not always denominal: *hamišagos* “envy (n.)” < *hamišno* “envious”.

Adjectives with the suffix *-uno* can also serve as motivating elements of ANs. They carry the meaning of nouns as well: *angluňipen* “inception” < *angluno* “previous, first; ancestor, predecessor; foreman, fore part”. *opruňipen* “height; elevation” < *opruno* “upper (adj.), and also a hill, top”, *paluňipen* “background, remnant” < *paluno* “back (adj.), and also back part”.

Yet another group of names of qualities is formed by those ANs whose motivating element is an adjective with the suffix *-utno*, including deadverbial adjectives: *akanutňipen* “the present time” < *akanunto* “present” (adj.) < *akana* “now”, *pašutňiben* “neighbourhood” < *pašutno* “near; neighbouring” < *paš* “nearby (adv.), in the neighbourhood”; denominal adjectives: *biagorutňipen* “infinity” < *bi* + *agorutno* “end (adj.), ultimate” < *agor* “brim, end”, *ladžangutno* “chastity” < *ladžand'utno/ladžangutno* “chaste” < *ladž* “shame”; as well as adjectives that are formed from particles: *šajutňipen* “possibility; need; opportunity; chance” < *šajutno* “possible; necessary” < *šaj* (a particle which carries the meaning of possibility).

The motivating word for the AN *angločirlatuňiben* “prehistory” < *anglo* “pre” + *čirlatuňiben* “history” is a deadverbial adjective formed by the suffix *-tuno*: *čirlatuno* “former, ancient” < *čirla* “before, formerly, a long time ago”.

In the following group of names of quality, the motivating element is an adjective ending in *-do*: *ašund'ipen* “fame, renown” < *ašundo* “famous, renowned”, *budžand'ipen* “ruse, fraud” < *budžando* “canny, sly”, *cind'ipen* “wet (n.), humidity” < *cindo* “wet” (adj.), *d'ind'ard'ipen* “length” < *d'ind'ardo* “long”, *garudišagos* “secret (n.)” < *garudo* “hidden”.

Furthermore, ANs can be motivated by adjectives ending in *-kero*, e.g. *bibuťakeriben* “unemployment” < *bibuťakero* “unemployed”, *jileskeriben*

“cordiality, compassion” < *jileskero* “cordial; compassionate”; *lačhejileskeriben* “mercy” < *lačhejileskero* “merciful”.

In some cases the adjective/adverb comparative forms become the base (motivating) forms for the names of qualities: *barederipen* “enlargement” < *bareder* “larger”, etc.

The prefix *bi-* in the names of qualities indicates an absence of a quality or attribute: *bidošalipen* “innocence”, *bizoralipen* “weakness”, *bimanušiben* “inhumanity”, *bibuťakeriben* “unemployment”, etc.

### 2. 2. 2. Past participles as motivating elements of names of qualities

Past participles can be used as base forms for deriving names of qualities. In Romani, past participles most frequently perform the function of adjectives. Šebková<sup>32</sup> points out that past participles functioning as adjectives can have either one very specific meaning (e.g. *pokerdo* “enchanted” (a calc of Slovak “porobený” [*po* + *done*]) or a wide range of different shades of meaning (e.g. *bisterdo* “forgotten” and “forgetful”, *chalo* “greedy, insatiable; gluttonous, lost, destroyed”). This variety among the names of qualities derived from past participles is related to the polysemous nature of the latter.<sup>33</sup>

A past participle is sometimes transposed into an AN without any change in its lexical content, for example: *anglephend'ipen* “prediction” < *anglephendo* “predicted”, *phend'ipen* “statement” < *phendo* “stated”, *biphandl'ipen* “freedom” < *biphandlo* “free”, *avrikidl'ipen* “choice” < *avrikidlo/avrikidno* “chosen”.

Sometimes a new naming unit with a new meaning is formed, e.g. *bisuťipen/bisuťiben* “insomnia” < *bisuto* “sleep-deprived” (a transposition should yield an AN “sleep deprivation”), *achal'uvipen* “intuition, premonition” < *achal'utno* “quick-witted; perceptive; comprehensible” (not “quick-wittedness; perceptivity; comprehensibility”) *chudl'ipen/chudňipen* “trap/catch (n.)” created formally from *chudlo* “touchy; susceptible, delicate, susceptible to illness; contagious”, *angluno kerd'ipen* “creation” < *angluno* “preceding, previous, first” + *kerdo* “done” (adj.), *avrideňipen* “ordinance” < *avri* + *dino* “out + given”.

Some names of qualities derive from only some of the meanings of the respective past participle, e.g. *ačhad'ipen* “a stop (on the road)” < *ačhado* with the meaning of “stopped” but not “built, constructed”, *bokhal'ard'ipen* “undernourishment” < *bokhal'ardo* from “undernourished” but not “famished”.

In the case of nominalization derived from past participles with the help of formants that are characteristic of ANs, a change in category sometimes takes place – abstract nouns become concrete, e.g. *kerd'ipen* “product” < *kerdo* “produced, made”, *bod'ard'ipen* “winch; spinning reel; capstan” < *bond'ardo* “coiled”.

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<sup>32</sup> ŠEBKOVÁ, H., ŽLNAYOVÁ, E. Romaňi čhib, učebnice slovenské romštiny, p. 169.

<sup>33</sup> It must be again underlined that our analysis focuses only on the mentioned sources, which does not mean that examples of names of qualities derived from past participles with different meanings could not be found in other sources.

### 2.3. Nouns as motivating elements of ANs

ANs can also be derived from nouns, especially by means of the derivational formant *-(i)pen*, rarely by *-(i)ben* (*suňiben* “hallucination” < *suno* “dream (n.)”). In addition, ANs can be derived from loan nouns by means of the formant *-(i)šagos* (*baratšagos* “brotherhood”).

The base nouns, which perform the function of motivating elements of ANs can refer to persons, objects, animals or abstract naming units.

#### 2.3.1. Names of persons as motivating elements of ANs

The most interesting, and rather heterogeneous, group of abstract nouns motivated by nouns consists of naming units derived from names of persons. These naming units generally express the meaning of various subtypes of quality.

Such is, for instance, the case of the names of qualities which are characteristic of the persons denoted by the motivating nouns: *muršipen* “bravado” < *murš* “ironside”, *džuvlipen* “effeminacy” < *džuvli* “woman”, *bengipen* “roguery” < *beng* “rogue”, *bitangišagos* “roguery, mischief” < *bitangos* “rowdy, rogue”, *romipen* “the state of being a Rom” < *rom* “Rom”, *diliňipen* “foolishness, madness” < *dilino* “fool, madman”, *vitejzišagos* “heroism” < *vitejzis* “hero”.

In these cases, the process can be identified as a transposition of a concrete noun into an abstract noun. The latter expresses the meaning of a quality, and no change or shift in the lexical meaning occurs.

A similar transposition takes place in ANs denoting family or social status: *phralipen* “brotherhood” < *phral* “brother”, *kirvipen* “godparenthood” < *kirvo* “godparent”, *amalipen/amališagos* “friendship” < *amal* “friend”, *rabišagos* “slavery” < *rabos* “slave”, *rašajiben* “clergy” < *rašaj* “clergyman, priest”, *čhavoripen* “childhood” < *čhavoro* “child”, etc.

The meaning of some ANs is defined by context: *rajipen* can express the meaning of social status “ruling class, nobility”, a nominalised quality “hauteur” and can also denote a lord’s property “manor, estate”.

#### 2.3.2. Names of objects as motivating elements of ANs

Names of objects in the role of immediate motivating elements of names of action can be observed in our sources only occasionally: *akhaliben/jakhaliben* “sight” < *jakha* “eyes”.

#### 2.3.3. Names of animals as motivating elements of ANs

In addition, ANs can be derived from concrete nouns which denote animals. ANs formed in this way express the meaning of quality attributed to the respective animal, for example: *balipen* “swinishness” < *bali* “swine, pig”; *ruvipen* “wolfishness; brutality” < *ruv* “wolf”; *rikoňiben* “brutality” but also “fun” < *rikono* “dog”.

#### 2.3.4. Abstract naming units as motivating elements of ANs

Non-derived abstract naming units function as motivating elements of numerous abstract naming units, e.g. *bacht'ipen* “blessedness” < *bacht* “happiness, luck”, *berš'ipen* “era” < *berš* “year”, *džung'ipen* “dirt, crap, garbage; impurity” < *džung* “filth, dirt”, *khand'ipen* “smell, stench (n.)” < *khand* “smell (n.)”, *suñiben* “hallucination” < *suno* “dream (n.)”; *šil'ipen* “shade; chill, frost, cold (n.)” < *šil* “cold (n.), chill”; *šišitšagos/šišitñiben* “darkness”, *šišitñiben* “dark (n.)” < *šišitno* “gloom, dark (n.)”, *vod'ipen* “kindness, affability” < *vod'i* “soul”, *zoripen* “strength (inner), power; firmness; determination” < *zor* “strength”.

Some ANs take the prefix *bi-*, which has a negative meaning and indicates a lack of the content denoted by the motivating abstract noun. The motivating AN can be either non-derived: *balvaj* “wind” > *bibalval'ipen/bibalvajipen* “windlessness”, *but'i* “work, job” > *bibut'ipen* “unemployment; idleness, inactivity”, *dar* “fear, horror” > *bidaripen* “boldness”; or derived: *čačipen* “truth; law” > *bičačipen* “injustice; inequity; grievance”, *manušiben* “humanity, humaneness” > *bimanušiben* “inhumanity, inhumaneness”.

### III. Context-dependence

Besides the base word, the context can also play an important role in defining the meaning of ANs.

In some cases, an abstract naming unit can have the meaning of an action or a quality as determined by context. Such ANs generally have a verbal base (deadjectival verb) as their motivating element: *buchlaripen* “expansion” and “(great) width”, *barikañipen* “contempt” and “condescension”, *bešiben* “dwelling” and “occupancy”, *bisteriben* “forgetting” and “forgetfulness”, *bokhal'aripen* “starvation” and “greed, avidity”, *bond'alipen* “rotation” and “a bend in the road”, *chochavkeriben* “cunning” as well as “constant lying”, *rajariben/rajaripen* “reign, rule” and also “imperiousness, bossiness”, *sañariben* “thinning” and “weight reduction plan”, etc.

Similarly, it is only possible to determine by context whether an AN denotes an action or rather a result of such an action, e.g. *pañariben* can carry the meaning of a verbal noun “irrigation”, “watering” and also “moisture”, *pekiben* can express the meaning of a verbal noun “baking” but also that of the result of the action, “pastry”.

In some cases there occur ANs denoting both a name of a quality and a name of a related institution: *paťabipen* “religiosity”, “religion”, *manušiben* “humaneness” and “humanity”.

Finally, dictionaries often list several related meanings of one and the same abstract naming unit, e.g. *ačhaviben* “construction, housing development; standing; defence”; *asaben* “giggle (n.); mockery; laughter; smile (n.)”;



*bašaviben* “music, playing, entertainment (Romani); performance (theatrical)”, *buchl'ipen* “expanse; extent; stretch, width”, *dikhiben* “look (n.), insight; vista; check-up (medical); approach (*humanistikano dikhiben* “humanistic approach”)", *džaniben* “teaching; knowledge; piece of knowledge; familiarity”, *god'ipen* “wisdom; discretion; consciousness; intellect; logic; memory; conviction; common sense”, *zoral'ipen* “strength (inner); power; firmness; solidity; (fig.) determination; aggression; intensity”, and many others.

As has been demonstrated, there are instances of transposition from the motivating word into an AN. However, in most cases the ANs which denote an action or a quality generate new naming units. These new naming units denote new contents and express new meanings. For example, the naming unit *ačhavkeriben* “interrupting (n.)” < *ačhavkerel* “to interrupt constantly” is a transposition – the AN denotes an action and maintains the same lexical content as the original word. On the other hand, the word *bašaviben* “playing (n.)”, for instance, was formed by means of a transposition of *bašavel* “to play” (both naming units have the same lexical content), but *bašaviben*, with the meaning of “music” or with the even more specific meaning of “entertainment (Romani)” and “performance (theatrical)”, is a new independent naming unit which denotes a new content and expresses a new meaning.

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