



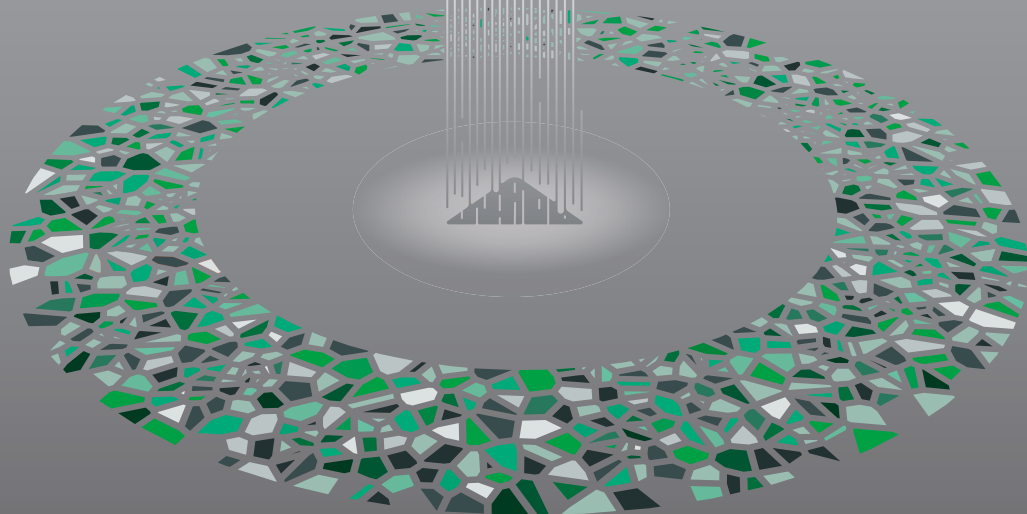
Government of the
Republic of Serbia



SOCIAL INCLUSION AND
POVERTY REDUCTION
UNIT

ROMOLOGY

RAJKO ĐURIĆ



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ROMOLOGY

Rajko Đurić

The holocaust of the Roma and Sinti
was perpetrated for the same motive of racial madness,
with the same preparation and same will
that came to be expressed in the planned and
complete destruction of the Jews.

Roman Hercog

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A WORD FROM THE EDITOR

Dr Rajko Đurić was a renowned advocate of Roma rights, writer, publicist and one of the foremost experts in the history of the Roma people, culture and Romani language. As undoubtedly the greatest of intellectuals with origins in the Roma community, not only within the territory of the Republic of Serbia and former Yugoslavia, but also beyond, he has made a significant contribution to the preservation of the cultural identity of the Roma, the systematisation of the Roma language, and recording of their history.

In one of his key works, *The History of the Roma* (2006), he recalls the suffering, exoduses, nomadic life of his compatriots, but also their Indian roots, the kingdoms they belonged to, and where they lived. "Orthography is a matter of social and cultural need", he stated in the *Orthography of the Romani Language* (2011), where he presented the principles and rules of the Roma script, the phonetic system and rules of orthography. In the *History of Roma Literature* (2010) he presented over 100 important Roma authors from across the globe, along with their works.

Romology, the final work he has written, represents the tendency of the author to promote this important interdisciplinary field that requires, for the welfare of the Roma community, to be included in the academic curricula of higher education institutions in our country. It is intended in equal measure for the Roma and non-Roma community, and in addition to the term, definition and development of Romology as a scientific discipline, it deliberates on the culture, identity, history (with an important place reserved for the Roma holocaust), grammar and standardisation of the Romani language.

We hope that this book, covering nearly all elements of the identity of the Roma community, will serve as a textbook in higher education institutions in Serbia for the curriculum of Romological studies, and will remain as added value of the extremely rich creative opus of Professor Đurić, to be inherited by future generations.

Slavica Denić

Conversation with God

God,
You stopped creating!
Water ages,
Fire grows yellow, blackens.
There is ever more fruit without seed.
God,
You stopped creating!
The worm burrows in the apple,
The bird curses its flight
And the killer judges the truth!
There are ever more dead who live,
The light of the Sun grows grey...
God,
You stopped creating!
The pine in my garden grows blind,
Even prayer glues my lips together!
Something terrible, God, stands before people...
Look, God!
Even the wind is afraid.
God, create,
A world anew.
Give unto the leaf the power of Your dew,
To every creature – a lock of your hair.
And draw Your comb through Time.
Fertilise the seeds with the power of angels.
Create, God!
Create thine self anew!

Rajko Đurić

1. INSTEAD OF AN INTRODUCTION

„...Still the Gypsy Jesus waits...“
Antonio Maçado

The philosophical and anthropological concepts of man include the sketch of *homo viator* (the traveller).¹ This sketch presents the Roma in a plastic and pregnant manner, with their native home as *homo hierarchicus* (the caste world), i.e. India. Those who survived the terrifying wars of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni (971/1030), who devastated and pillaged northern and north-western India 17 times during the period 1001–1027, areas predominantly home to Roma, moved like specks of dust. This was the first genocide the Roma lived through, along with the other peoples of northern and north-western India. In the eyes of Mahmud of Ghazni and his followers, they were godless (*kuffar*), as stated Kishori Saran Lal (1920–2002), one of the most renowned historians of medieval India.² The next Roma exodus from India followed after the second war in Tereim or Taraori (Haryana) in 1192. Muhammad of Ghor (1149–1206) and his followers, losing the war in 1191, wiped out the Roma both from the Indian “book of the born”, as well as the book of the “dead”. Their bones, along with the bones of other Indian victims, about 40 million people, remained in mass graves in India. Historians have stated that his was the biggest holocaust in the history of humanity.³

The experience of the author of this text, researching the history of Roma for decades, is contained in a single sentence: Before us, they killed the truth about us!

Wiped from history, Roma have become the subject of myth that in time, due to the loss of historical memory and awareness, they themselves started believing. Myth transforms history into nature. One of the best illustrations for this view is the painting *The Sleeping Gypsy* by the French naïve painter Henry Rousseau (1844–1910). As she sleeps in the desert, the lion is her guardian and interpreter of her dreams!

The Roma have become citizens of European states as early as the XV century. Their experiences “from” India “to” Europe, the personification of *homo viator* recalling Joyce’s *Ulysses*, are contained in the following lines:

“Blood makes the waters shallower,
It snuffs out the song of living
The screams and wails of many a creature.”⁴

Their view of the world is presented in “Prayer”⁵:

“None like You, Lord God!
Do, show mine unhappy self
What You can and know.
Let all the world die
While You, God, survive!

¹ Diemer, Alwin: *Elementarkurs Philosophie, Philosophische Anthropologie*, Duesseldorf–Wien, 1978.

² Kišor Sarani, Lal: *Growth of Muslim Population in Medieval India*, New Delhi, 1973.

³ Đurić, Rajko: *Hiljadu godina od egzodusa Roma iz Indije*, Murska Subota, 2019.

⁴ Roma folk song.

⁵ Radičević, V. Branko, Ukhlik, Rade: „Molitva“, pesma iz knjige Ciganska poezija, Beograd, 1967.

For my love!
 Just keep Your head straight on
 When You create the world anew!"

The deconstruction of the world in the form of a prayer where, centuries later, the concept of deconstruction was presented by modern philosophers headed by Jacques Derrida (1930–2004), stems from their existence, reflecting all the misery of past centuries. With this "burden" on their shoulders, they are seemingly outside everything to do with the world of man and living. Their life as a whole is an example of the perversion⁶ of anthropology into zoology or, expressed in the words of Italian philosopher Giorgio Agamben (1942), they are representations of homo sacra (the holy man), the reminder of a life stripped bare.⁷

Those who would understand should imagine the crossing of the Tar desert, then the Hindu–Kish, Afghanistan, the seat of the Ghazni and Ghurid Empire, tribal and religious wars, later the Crusades, epidemics, natural disasters, floods. All this in a world wholly alien to them. And the hunger, endless hunger ripping the soul from their children they hold in their arms.

Paraphrasing the words from the novel *Bridge over the Drina River* by Ivo Andrić (1892–1975) one may conclude that all were free to show their true self before them, i.e. bloody "under the skin", with no remorse or shame thereafter.

Romology should become the spiritual weapon of Roma and all those sympathetic to their suffering and pain, the scars on the body of the world. This is witnessed by a fragment from a poem by Antonio Machado:

"Sing him a song, my people,
 Still the Gypsy Jesus waits,
 For them to wash the blood from his hands,
 To free him from the cross!"⁸

When I visited the Art History Museum in Vienna in the nineteen–seventies, housing Titian's *Gypsy Madonna with Jesus*, I understood Machado's message not just as an artistic one, but as a message from a man to the world, where the suffering and tribulations of the Roma people are a reflection of the suffering and tribulations of Jesus.

⁶ Pervert (v.) – to distort, to misapply, to debase (lat.).

⁷ Đurić, Rajko: *Homo sacer, lingua sacra*, Murska Subota, 2019.

⁸ Đurić, Rajko: *Istorija romske književnosti*, Vršac, 2010.

2. THE “STANDARD WORK” OF RACISM

„It is easier to smash an atom than a prejudice.“
Albert Einstein

European scientists have tried to discover the country of origin of the Roma people based on data on the Roma language.⁹ The research conducted between the XVI and mid-XVIII century was fruitless, since the science of language at the time did not have appropriate knowledge and methods based on comparative research.

2.1. A reflection on romological theories: “Tsiganology”

Heinrich Moritz Gottlieb Grellmann (1756–1804) is considered the founder of “tsiganology”.¹⁰ His book *Dissertation on the Gipsies*, being an historical enquiry concerning the manner of life, family economy, customs and conditions of these people in Europe, and their origin was his doctoral dissertation, published in 1783 in German, and thereafter, as the “standard work”, translated into English (1787), French (1788 and 1810) and Dutch (1791).

Grellmann, a theologian by education, had no former interest in Roma, nor any knowledge of Roma or Sanskrit, one of the basic conditions for studying the origin of this people and the key for the scientific explanation and understanding of their way of life and culture. He moved to Göttingen, the “Mecca” of enlightenment in Germany at the time, invited by the University professor of natural history and chemistry Christian Wilhelm Bittner, teaching in Jena, where Grellmann was from. Bittner, in possession of a large library, naturalist collections and material on Roma since he himself was interested in the language and customs of the people, provided the material on the Roma to Grellmann. He also ensured him access to material from the collection in Vienna, collected during the period of Maria Theresa (1717–1780) and her son Joseph (1741–1790), who used this material for their assimilatory policies towards the Roma.

Grellmann was also provided support by one of the founders of physical anthropology Johann Friedrich Blumenbach (1752–1840), a professor at the Göttingen University. Blumenbach, the “geometer of race” as his contemporaries called him, had more than 200 human skulls in his private collection, including six Roma skulls.¹¹

2.2. Barbarity and enlightenment

The authors of the *Dialectic of Enlightenment*, Max Horkheimer (1895–1973) and Theodor Adorno (1903–1969), made the critical observation that enlightenment contributed to humanity’s slide back into barbarity, since it did not free itself from barbaric methods and views of the world and people. History shows that iron is destroyed by rust, and man by idleness and lack of freedom. Compromises in human issues always go in favour of inhuman things, with profits for those who would rather attend freedom’s funeral than celebrate its birth. Martin Luther (1483–1546) and his followers have strongly fortified the foundations of antisemitism and antitsiganism. Among other things, they

⁹ One of the first scientific students of the Roma language was Bonaventura Vulcanius (1536–1614), Professor of Latin and Greek at the University of Leiden (The Netherlands). After his death, Jakob Thomasius (1622–1684) defended a dissertation on Roma at the University of Leipzig, where he was a professor. The renowned philosopher Gottfried Leibnitz (1646–1716) was his student.

¹⁰ Heinrich Moritz Gottlieb Grellmann is considered as the “father” of tsiganology, later opening the path to criminology, and in the Nazi period to criminal biology, opening the doors of Auschwitz and other death camps to tens of thousands of Roma from Germany and other European countries.

¹¹ This datum may best witness the ethics of scientific research in Europe, particularly German, during the era of enlightenment whose “father” was Immanuel Kant (1724–1804).

created a state preventing, to express things in the spirit of the teachings of the New Testament, clearly and unambiguously telling Jesus and Barabbas apart.¹² Thus Jesus, along with the Jews and Roma, thanks to Luther and his followers, once again found himself on the “cross”.

Grellmann, a theologian desiring a career, subjected his work to the popular sentiment of the time, making no notice at all of books by those authors who came before him and determined that the Roma originate from India. One of those was Johann Christoph Christian Rüdiger (1751–1822), who published a book in 1782 in Leipzig stating that Roma are from India. Using a construction, Grellmann formulated a view whereby the Roma way of life and thought was “oriental”, and the culture originating from this type of thinking is unchanging. This was the introduction to the “first chapter” of antitsiganism in Germany, with the character of a scientific study. In contemporary research Grellmann’s “standard work” is even compared to texts about Roma from national-socialism. Namely, this work issued an invitation to create “order” among the Roma using police measures, and that they, as a separate race, should become the subject of study for criminal biology, racial hygiene and eugenics.

The second draft of tsiganology bears the “seal” of the University of Königsberg. The former student and colleague of Immanuel Kant (also registered in the “black book” of the history of racism as the author of the racial scale where the last three rungs are held by Indians, black people and the Roma) Christian Jakob Kraus (1753–1807) is the creator of a project with the intent to study the Romani language, the Roma “non-European body” and Roma “non-civic character”. In this regard, Kraus visited Roma people awaiting the execution of a death sentence by hanging in the Königsberg prison. Namely, in accordance with an edict by the Prussian government of 5 October 1725, any Roma person captured by the authorities could be arrested and sentenced to hanging without trial.¹³

A total of 148 edicts were published against the Roma in Germany from 1500 to 1800 (they ceased to be in force only in 1960). No German thinker or poet protested this barbarity.

The enlightenment that portended humanity leaving its “juvenile age”, provided support for social repression and a policy of violence. The Roma, who did not lack virtues, but rights and freedoms, ended up on the noose, particularly in Prussia. Its king Frederick the Great (1712–1786) was characterised by certain modern-day intellectuals as a forerunner of Hitler. When Franz Bopp (1791–1867) from Germany and Rasmus Rask (1787–1832) from Denmark formulated the principles and programme of Indo-European comparative studies, they created the basis for the scientific study of the Romani language. The two-volume work by one of the founders of German etymology August Friedrich Pott (1802–1887) *The Gypsies in Europe and Asia*, published in 1844–1845, is the first scientific work on the Romani language. Pott reflected on all prior important studies of the Romani language in Europe and listed the majority of words from the Romani language that were, as he proved, of Sanskrit origin.

¹² Barabbas is a Jewish insurrectionary liberated by the Roman governor Pilate at the request of the Jewish leaders of the time, sentencing Jesus Christ to be crucified instead.

¹³ Certain documents from the period related to Roma have still not been made available to the public.

2.3. Dialects and the “secret language”

The next student of the Romani language, history and folklore, particularly songs and fairy tales, was the member of the Academy of Sciences in Vienna Franz Miklosich (1813–1891), the first to scientifically explain the origin of the name Tsigani.¹⁴ This highly fruitful and renowned philologist published more than 10 scientific papers on the Roma during the period 1872–1880. Unfortunately, he is mainly remembered for the classification of dialects and idioms of the Romani language. Of Slovene origin, Miklosich certainly knew that the Slovene language had more than 50 dialects, and that Germans had more than 60 groups and subgroups.

Among the approximately seven thousand languages of the world, not counting dialects, there barely exists a language with no dialects. Why is it so surprising to some that the language of the Roma, who live almost all across the world today, has more than 10 dialects? It is not a question of the number of dialects. Depending on the criteria, there may be more or fewer of them. It is about the fact that a language is the internal link of the essence of a people, and its segmentation can promote and cause an increasing divide between dialect groups and lead to mutual rivalry, as warned by American anthropologists. On the other hand, the number of dialects is used as a quasi-argument for cutting down the rights and freedoms of the Roma, particularly those rights and freedoms envisaged by the Council of Europe Charter for Regional or Minority Languages, ratified by many European countries.¹⁵

The Austrian linguist Johann Knobloch (1919–2010), who as a national-socialist studied the Roma prisoners of the Lackenbach camp, made use of the description of dialects and their classification as “evidence” of the lack of an “original” Roma language. Receiving a medal from the President of Austria in 1982, Knobloch, teaching general and applied linguistics as a professor emeritus at the University of Bonn, held lectures on the Roma and their language, despite the fact that the association of Roma in Cologne demanded that Knobloch be tried as a war criminal.

Dialectological studies were also used to produce and analyse “rotwelsch” dictionaries (secret language, “Gauersprache”), used by criminals.

These examples show that “Tsiganology”, even in the works of its best representatives, retained the form of mocking the human spirit and human dignity, i.e. that there is a continuity between it, criminalistics and criminal biology. The *Book of Gypsies* is also another item in favour of this thesis, authored by a high-ranking officer of the central police station in Munich Alfred Dillman (1849–1924), and published in 1905 by the Reichszentrale for the census of Roma and Sinti. After the police, the programme for the destruction of Roma was created by German scientists. But “tsiganology” survived even after Auschwitz.

2.4. “Gypsology” and magic

“Gypsology” was created in 1888 under the scientific association “Gypsy Lore Society” in Liverpool, based on the initiative of English folklorist and anthropologist David McReachy (1851–1925), with cooperation by Francis Groom, Charles Leland and others. The main concepts of “gypsology” were Roma folklore, magic and oral lore, with subsequent interest in the Romani language.

¹⁴ The “Fortune-Book” of Holy Father Nikephoros I from Constantinople is one of the oldest written sources that mention the Athinganer or Melchisedekianer, a sect whose member Melchisedech of Salem enjoyed the respect of the priest king and was believed to be the logos or Holy Spirit, i.e. a possessor of divine power attributed to Jesus Christ. The centres of this sect in the V century were in Egypt and Byzantium. Nikephoros was a bitter enemy of Athinganers and Paulikaners, i.e. the Manicheans. Miklosich provided a philological interpretation where-by the name Tsigani originates from Athinganos i.e. Athinganers. This item of data made me ask the Nobel winning writer Gabriel Garcia Marques (1927–2014) whether Melchisedech, a character from his novel *Hundred Years of Solitude* (2011) is in any way related to the above sources. With a smile, he replied: “I would have to study this another hundred years. I will not live that long. Those who would, should.”

¹⁵ Available at <http://fer.org.rs/wp-content/uploads/2018/03/Evropska-povelja-o-regionalnim-ili-manjinskim-jezicima.pdf>

This science, as well as “tsiganology”, has in its name the mistaken name Gypsy, “Egyptian”. Under the influence of a mistaken tradition, even George Abraham Grierson (1851–1924), rather famous for his language studies in India, titled his volume XI *‘Gypsy’ Languages*. This volume discusses tribes and tribal groups, with some of them presented by this researcher, called “linguistic imperialist” by critics, as “criminal tribes”. These tribes, although they never heard of Egypt, or the Roma, were called as such after the works treating the Roma in Europe.

Traces of an unconscientious approach to the life and culture of the Roma are noted in many books, including some in the Serbian language, with many being a kind of mixture of “tsiganology” and “gypsology”. These are “sciences” without insight into the essence of the subject of study, without thinking things through and rational discovery, “science” devoid of meaning, since they have made the subject of their inquiry pointless *a priori*. Stepping on the truth about a people, they have trampled over all scientific principle and the truth itself, i.e. the essence of humanism. Their enterprise and the balance of their pseudo-research could be the programme of a large number of romological interdisciplinary scientific research projects.

Intending to provide a summarised overview of the research and topics of “tsiganology” and “gypsology”, we note the following paradigmatic areas:

- The Roma are a people of a lower oriental race, its members tending towards crime and idleness. This paradigm is primarily the result of ethnography and physical anthropology. These paradigms were taken on by criminalistics and, during Nazi times, criminal biology. The above-mentioned *Book of the Gypsy* by Alfred Dilmann, representing a sizable census of Roma and their families with brief genealogical data, was the template for many police manuals.

Books of this kind were also used during the period after World War II, even in states with a socialist regime. The works of Dr Robert Ritter (1901–1951) and his associates, classifying the Roma based on an analysis of their blood and identification of their blood types, were used to send the Roma to the Nazi death camps, mainly Auschwitz. The results of this research was used in certain European countries, such as Norway, Sweden (a Swedish delegation has submitted documentation on the sterilisation of Roma women in the mid-nineteen-nineties to the European Council), the former Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Slovenia. Thus the word “Gypsy” became a diagnosis.
- The Roma have no faith, culture, or any original work of art of their own. As pariahs, living “here and now”, they present the work of others as their own. Those who claim this stultify the life of the Roma, i.e. their existence as a people, since those who negate their creative work, artistic and cultural values, negate the point of their existence. In other words, in their view the Roma as a people are without aim or sense. The sources of this paradigm originate in ethnology, culturology, literature, art history, musicology, linguistics...
- The main source of the third paradigm are visual arts, particularly documentary and feature films. This is the basis for the domination of two extreme images: “the

jolly life of the Roma”, and “dirty, ugly, evil”. The “Burdush language” is a poseban fenomen, čije je izvorište pomenuta paradigma. Srpski jezik na ovaj način stiće poseban oblik i boju, što izaziva smeh i odvratnost.

Media treating Roma issues are the source of various paradigms. It has been noted that, along with reports on socially unacceptable issues, the first and last name of a person of Roma origin is labelled with their national affiliation. In the reverse case, when something is positive and socially acceptable, the nationality is left out.

- In the past, the Roma have been presented as the source of various disease. Based on new genetic research genes that seldom appear in other peoples have been identified in the Roma population. However, certain ethnologists have made use of the results of these studies to formulate theses about “dangerous genes” among the Roma.
- Antitsiganism is a widespread and deeply rooted phenomenon of resentment. It is evidenced in stereotypes, structures of sensory perception, views, social action and opinion, and due to centuries of repetition; it is used by habit that certain writers and thinkers presented as the “second nature” of human beings. Therefore the “seed” of antitsiganism is contained in all paradigms. However, its strongest power is expressed in the totalitarianism of a neo-fascist and neo-Nazi type, or neo-Stalinism. Its forms of appearance vary. They are, for example, racial discrimination, adversarial relationship, persecution, pogroms, organisation of public events presenting ethnic cleansing programmes or praising Nazis like Himmler, Goebbels, Ante Pavelić, Milan Nedić, etc. They are most frequently presented as patriots, while forgetting the historical experience that shows being a man is the best way to become a patriot. Societies cannot be democratised with such movements and parties, nor can they reach a form where human rights, freedoms and dignity are holy.
- “Auschwitz of lies” is the phenomenon of denying the number of victims in death camps and other camps, that numbered 42,500 in Europe during World War II, as established by American historians from the Holocaust Museum in Washington.¹⁶ this is an integral part of antisemitism and antitsiganism and an attempt to diminish the responsibility of Nazi and fascist states in Europe and their leaders.
- Paternalism occurred in the nineteen-nineties, during the dissolution of socialist states in Europe. Based on projects aimed at improving the life of Roma and their status in society, and combating racism, Roma and non-Roma non-governmental organisations were funded by European, American and various other foundations. An advantage was given particularly to organisations from states that already had a large number of Roma refugees, such as the former Yugoslavia and Romania. Later, the Roma Decade Fund was created, funding the employment, housing, social welfare and education of Roma in the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria, Macedonia, Albania, Serbia, Montenegro, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia. Due to these funds, certain results have been achieved,

¹⁶ In early March 2013 nearly all important daily papers in Germany informed the public that American historians have found there were 42,500 camps in Europe during World War II. As announced, the newly discovered data will be published by 2025.

primarily in education and healthcare for the Roma community. The Roma gymnasium¹⁷ “Gandi” in the Hungarian city of Pecs is the ultimate proof that Roma know what a better life is and what “steps” lead to it. Due to the funds from the Roma Decade 2005–2015, Roma gymnasiums were opened in Kolín, near Prague and in Brno. Roma language, social policy, etc. started to be studied in a certain number of faculties in European cities (Paris, Prague, Budapest, Bucharest, Nitra, Vršac, and Zagreb). However, in nearly all countries that accepted the Roma Decade programme, the Roma have gained new “masters”, paternalists that behave as if they are the owners of the funds. Thus the words of the French philosopher Roland Barthes (1915–1980) came true, saying that “paternalism is another face of racism”, and paternalism over the Roma follows that which the “masters” from Europe exported to their former colonies in Africa, South America and Asia.

If there were “higher and lower” races, it would be easy to prove that the “higher races” have caused nearly all the great misfortune in history. Numerous wars, with indescribable destruction and horrifying numbers of victims as a consequence,¹⁸ the creation of colonies and enslavement of billions of people, the manufacture of lethal weapons that could destroy the world, pollution of nature and the human environment, an increasing gap between the rich and the poor, an increase in the number of non-democratic and totalitarian states worldwide are just some of the indicators that could be used to produce a horrifying “portrait of the higher race”. However, science has undeniably shown that there is just one, human race, whose family includes the Roma, an ethnic group arising in the area of northern and north-western India.

¹⁷ The “Ghandi” foundation established the “Gandi” gymnasium in Pecs in 1994, where 20 to 30 students of Roma nationality graduate every year and successfully prepares to enrol in universities.

¹⁸ The American sociologist Rudolf Rummel found that during the period 1900–1987 there were 169 million civilian victims and 34 million soldiers. During the period 1480–1499 there were nine wars; 1500–1599 there were 87; 1600–1699 there were 239; 1700–1799 there were 781 wars; during 1800–1899 there were 651 wars; during 1900–1940 there were 892 wars. Finally, after the end of World War II, 1945–2000, there were more than 200 wars.

3. AN ENCOUNTER WITH INDIA

„In India a Roma is at the source.“
Rajko Đurić

I arrived in India in early March 1976. The first Roma culture festival was being held in Chandigarh, the capital of Punjab, created based on plans by the renowned architect Corbusier (1887–1965). The festival was opened by Indira Gandhi (1917–1984), Prime Minister of India, also the patron of the Second Festival also held in Chandigarh in 1983.

3.1. Many faces – one people

An Indian Roma, a Brahmin, V. R. Rishi (1917–2002), my host, organised this festival. Pandit Rishi completed Russian language studies. He was the interpreter for Russian in the Office of Jawaharlal Nehru (1889–1964), father of Indira Gandhi. Then he worked in diplomacy, mainly in Indian embassies in English-speaking countries.

From him I learned that the Hindus call their land Bharat (“great place”). India, Hindus, and the Roma are called: Bharat, Bharati thaj e Roma.

My host tells me that he has read some of my poems translated into English, and was surprised to find them full of content that is close to Indian spirituality. On that occasion he particularly noted two poems, “Before us” and “A and U”.

3.2. OHM and poetry

Do you know what OHM is? – he asked me. Fearing to say something wrong, I stayed silent. I was eagerly awaiting his answer.

In the poem “A and U” you renewed OHM, the holy syllable and symbol of Hinduism, talked about in the Upanishad, Bhagavad Ghita¹⁹, etc.

The map of spiritual India is like the map of the human soul. It is deeply impressed into the essence of every Roma. Other maps exist as well in addition to this one, particularly those produced under the influence of Christianity and Islam. Religions are powerful since they follow man from birth, to death and fill his living activities from morning to evening. They have written the “daily schedule” people adhere to as the Sun does to its path. Therefore one might say India is testing the power of its ideas on the Roma, starting from those contained in its myths and religions, all the way to philosophical teachings, Rishi says.

In Your name, Rishi, nearly every Roma recognises the word *rašaj* (“priest”)?

The name Rishi is Vedic in origin. It was the name of the man reading the holy verses from the Vedas in temples. In brief, Rishi is an intermediary between God and people. The Roma name for God, as far as I know, is like the Vedic one, “deva”. In time, this name was suppressed, its place was taken by the word *baga*, “god”, and the world *devel* started to designate a divine creature that glows, an angel. Finally, through Latin, it produced the word for day, *dives*. Words, if one may say so, are the eyes of time.

¹⁹ Religious and philosophical works from India.

“People can no longer read words ‘inscribed’ in their brain and soul”, adds Rishi’s friend, a yoga professor at the University of Chandigarh. “But I don’t want to lecture you, I propose you free your heart of hatred. You will see what you will live through once you ‘drain’ every last drop of hatred from yourself. A truth un-lived is a truth half-known”, he said, leaving Rishi’s home.

Soon after him Rishi left, too, calling me *tripto*. Why? Because for nearly anything they offered me in terms of food or drink, I replied, with gratitude, in Roma *chalo* (full). As my hosts see things, food is the source of not just physical, but also spiritual fulfilment. Therefore instead of the adjective *chalo* in Punjab they use the word *tripto*.

Out of curiosity, I took the yogi’s advice as my “holy duty”. I started to “drain” hatred from myself, drop after drop, hatred that was there not just in my heart and soul, but also eyes and ears, in nearly all senses, even my hair and nails. One Indian proverb says: “If a man combs his hair every day, why does he neglect his heart and soul?”

3.3. Light aura

Repeating the words “there is no more hate in me”, I felt a light aura around my head. When I told that to the yogi, he asked me: “Do you know why God and divine creatures in all religions are represented with a light aura around their head?”

“God is a being of love, not hate”, was my answer.

“Now, I believe, you understand why in the Vedas *deva*, the origin for the Roma name Devel, is the name for God and light, and even a guest. If we follow the word of God, his light is in us. While this light is in us, we even see thoughts, those like particles and those like waves, thoughts of varying wavelengths, and thus, various colours. We can reorganise them so as to be in harmony with the God Ishvar or logos (in European terms), i.e. to prevent disorder or chaos. The truth”, the yogi continued, “is hard to notice, since its whole is elusive for people. You probably heard of the Indian story about blind people and the elephant. The first blind man touched the elephant’s trunk and as he was never in contact with an elephant said that it is like a snake. The second blind man touched his legs, and said an elephant is like a pillar. The third blind man touched the elephant’s belly, and said it looks like a barrel. The fourth blind man touched the elephant’s tail and he thought it was like a rope, and so on.”

What is this story about? It is a brief tale about the truth being whole. When the entirety of a thing or being is reduced to its part, i.e. the whole is replaced by parts, this produces the well-known fallacy – *pars pro toto* (a part instead of the whole). This is how European scientists, with honourable exceptions, treated Roma for centuries. Treating them like a thing, they drew them into Procrustes’ bed²⁰ and created a “truth” about them that corresponded to their construct, which looks like the ideas of the blind people from the above story.

²⁰ According to ancient Greek myth, Procrustes placed his guests into a bed that was too short, and then hacked off their feet.

3.4. Romology – Sun of the life of Roma worldwide

British colonists treated the Indian population and people in a similar fashion. The view of man as dust and ashes was the leading idea of many quasi-scientists serving power and capital. The concentration camps were created in accordance with this vision. They were a consequence of the *nomos* (law, regulation, custom) of a sick society. Crimes in these camps are the consequence of *logos* (mind, word, speech, meaning, principle) of a sick and perverted society.

Romology needs to face these and many other things, concluded the yogi, and then, stroking his elegant beard, he approached me and said: “In Chandigarh there is a Rock Garden Museum, created by Nek Chand (1924–2015). I am Ram Sing, his friend. I am a yoga professor. It is many things in one, like the science of language covering a greater number of variable and invariable words and categories, but it is a study of language, not words and categories. Or even better said in the spirit of our times and traditions, it is the *atman* (self) that simultaneously permeates consciousness and the object and covers knowledge as the highest form of consciousness. This could also be an ideal for Romology, that I see picturesquely as the “Sun of the life of Roma worldwide”. Romology is an Indo–European interdisciplinary study of Roma in the world and in time.

As I was going to the Rock Garden Museum, I was thinking about the “definition” of Romology presented by Sing. Romology as the “Sun of the life of Roma worldwide” or a formulation expressed in the language of science, romology – Indo–European interdisciplinary study of Roma in the world and time is the most acceptable one.

3.5. Contest with God

As I stepped into the museum, I felt as if I was entering the Garden of Eden. It exceeded all my expectations. With a recommendation by Mr Sing, a last name typical to adherents of the Sikh faith,²¹ I quickly met Nek Chand, a personification of the well-known saying that unusual people always look quite usual.

“To save you the usual question of how this was all created, I will answer you as I do all others, by considering my idea divine, and my work as a contest with God. We Hindus love to compete and compare ourselves to God. Anyway, part of him is in us, the spark of the soul, or *atman*. This spark gives our thoughts the speed of light and uncovers the presence of God or the divine in ourselves. It is the incentive for any big human plan. A man without a plan is like a bird without wings. Human creative work is always preceded by an idea and a plan. Nothing grand and important in history was produced without a plan and recognition. There were so many life and death struggles for recognition. The dead, however, do not recognise!” Chand explains that nearly everything in the museum comes from a garbage heap. In today’s factories the lifetime, i.e. duration of things are programmed in advance. Every rejected item is witness to rejected human creativity, rejected human time and people.

²¹ Sikhism is a faith arising in India in the XVI century to bring peace between the quarrelling “brothers”, Hindus and Muslims. The Sikh believe God is “light”, and their main holy book is called Grant sahib.

3.6. Garbage heap as a source of history

“The time is here, it would seem, to study the history of humanity based on an analysis of the garbage heap. Anything produced is being produced to be used. This process is not, however, unlimited. Many things have become obsolete a long time ago. The consequence is that an increasing number of people are becoming obsolete. This museum I secretly planned and built bears witness of our world. Cleaning the world of the garbage heap that threatens to engulf us, we prove it is possible to create objects that are the measure of beauty even from what is treated as ugly and eerie. However, the biggest polluters cannot become people who make the world happy. People with an unregenerated soul cannot change the world to suit man or God.”

“What should be done?”

“Seek the soul!”

“How?”

“There are many paths. One of them is a dialogue with God. But this dialogue should be held as far as possible from temples. Temples are also being drowned in the garbage heap. If the temples are not cleaned and enlightened with truth, they will fall under the weight of deception and lies. Temples must become a gathering place of people. The truth was always on the side of those least privileged. In places that decide on human and social problems and pains there may be no privileged ones. Their words must be the truths of the day, the breaking news.”

“Why did you build this museum ‘illegally’?”

“In a time of mud and blood few are those in favour of creating something durable and nice, something that will show people that creative work does not depend on their ‘seal’ or their readiness to open the cash register that was, by the way, filled by citizens whose minds they have occupied and bribed through various means. In a country where castes, presented as a “gift of God”, have sucked all the juice from people like poison weeds, even awareness that members of certain castes and sub-castes are in fact people, the population of India will live a long time yet with its ‘caste rags’. Even Gandhi did not dare openly oppose castes. The disappointed, the *diliti* (untouchables), have changed their political option, but this did not help much. Human truths required the longest and most persistent struggle. Regardless of the amount of shed blood, one never knows whether the truths have definitely won. My work, the Rock Garden Museum, shows that my challenge was ‘accepted by God’. God created man for man to praise him. By praising him, I have also been praised”, said Chand, and added that he has held exhibitions worldwide.

4. THE ROMA IN INDIA – INDIA IN THE ROMA

“Man will be unable to drink his fill of the starry sky and human face. You watch and watch and it is all already seen, yet unknown, familiar, yet new. The face, it is the flower of this plant called man. A flower moving, changing its expression, from laughter, fervour or thoughtfulness, to senseless dumbness or immobility of still life.”

Ivo Andrić

Many Roma characters, starting from my family members and relatives, to acquaintances or people from photographs, I recognised, I thought, in the faces of Hindu men and women. In the language of the body, soul or spirit there are many things I see or recognise as elements of expression typical of Roma.

4.1. When a Roma is not a stranger

When do different expressions start to occur in the never-ending “play” between nature and culture? Does language change before the language of the body, soul and spirit? This and many other expressions await a response.

The statements of many Roma also require a response: “I lost the feeling of being a stranger for the first time when I stepped foot on the soil of India!”

When Indian TV journalists asked certain Roma how they feel in Chandigarh, they started to choke back tears and reply: “I am no longer a stranger!”

When and how did this “stranger” capture their soul? Quite certainly after the exodus, a thousand years ago, the “sentinel” on the border of each state.

And how?

By freezing the marrow in their bone through fear and creating in them all sorts of inferiority complexes visible on them and in them until they die.

“I am no longer a stranger!” This is the feeling that could, as I thought, be described by paraphrasing Jean Paul Sartre (1905–1980) as a feeling that “death in the soul” gave way to “life”. This is not easy to understand, for just as every man dies “their own death”, thus every man bears “their death in the soul”. This phenomenon, noticed by philosophers among those who felt like strangers, “eternal strangers”, was acquired by the Jews and Roma due to centuries of stigmatisation. It is not in vain that a man who is free of the complex for even a moment says: “I feel I could fly!” Looking at the faces of Roma from whose souls “life” has blown away “death”, with a feeling they “could fly”, a stone fell from my heart as well.

The Roma have, thus, after a thousand years, recognised their “mother”, India. *Amari daj vadže si dživdi!* (“Our mother still lives!”), announced several Roma, with tears in their eyes.

4.2. New falsehoods

When the “mother” and its children, the Roma, start seeing each other more frequently and in greater numbers, the links will start to branch out and amplify, and self-awareness will bear fruit like that of the tree of knowledge from the Garden of Eden. However, available data unfortunately bears witness that the “stepmother” of the Roma yet lives.

Claudia Lichnofsky defended a doctoral thesis at Humbolt University in Berlin, on the creation of “new identities” of the Roma, Ashkali and Egyptians, victims of the war on Kosovo, in the late nineteen-nineties. In her thesis she published, inter alia, that “the name Roma is not the name of a people”. “This name was”, she writes, “made up by the Roma elite in the seventies.” This is probably the most severe example of the degradation of the reputation of the Berlin University bearing the name of the renowned linguist Wilhelm von Humboldt (1757–1835) during the period after World War II. And of science, of course.



Rajko Đurić and Sait Balić visiting India



Rajko Đurić and Sait Balić visiting India

5. ROMOLOGY: DEFINITION AND DISCIPLINES

„Romology is the Sun of the life of Roma.“
Ram Sing

Romology became a subject for higher education and university studies in Europe and the USA only at the end of the XX century. To date, there is no universally accepted definition. We most frequently use the term romistics – its content, scope and reach considerably narrower than the content, scope and reach of the term romology – or in the Roma language *džanglipe e Rromendar* (knowledge of the Roma), which is, unfortunately, scientifically insufficiently determined and imprecise.

5.1. The term romology

The name romology has been derived from the name of the population *Roma* (sg. Rrom, pl. Rroma) and the Greek word *logos* (word, speech, mind, reason, power of thought and reason, morals). In the spirit of contemporary translations, we could, therefore, say that romology is the *logos* on the life of the Roma.²² This term is, therefore, similar to the conceptual names of sciences such as albanology, turkology, japanology, etc. or judaistics that could, due to the similar historical destiny of Jews and the Roma, particularly due to the holocaust and diaspora, be the best model for romology.

5.2. Subject of romology

The subject matter of study of romology is the life of the Roma in all its forms (history, culture, society, language, literature, etc.). This means that its subject are people who, based on their historical origin, ethnic, cultural, linguistic and other characteristics and historical fate and conscience represent a community. The members of this community, citizens of many European and non-European countries today, live in double social systems. The ruling and dominant system is exhibited towards them mainly as external and is the source of threats and danger, while their own system appears and internal and is sensible to them. This is, therefore, a human and social group with a specific status where many discordant and conflicting social relations and interests intertwine.

On the other hand, this is a community where, due to the above status and relations, various phenomena manifest. Romology can scientifically describe, explain and understand these relations and phenomena in cooperation with social sciences, particularly history, social sciences and sociology. Furthermore, the task of romology is to reconstruct various phenomena and events from the historical and cultural life of the Roma. These are, therefore, factors that caused specific events and promoted processes in certain geographic and social areas and certain periods of history that affected its history and marked its social and cultural life, their social relations and social awareness. To maximise specificity, romology is directed to cooperate with history and its disciplines.

²² Prior to this, as explained above, the terms “tsiganology” and “gypsology” were used, that no longer have scientific value as they were proven to be wrong and politically incorrect.

Based on discoveries made to date, romology has formulated the principle that anything that interferes with the social integration of the Roma should be overcome. These factors that interfere with social integration also occur in the sphere of the majority society and its state, but also in the sphere of life of the Roma and their tradition.

5.3. Research priority – antitsiganism

Antitsiganism is used by a small group of scientists in Europe, primarily in Germany. Since the name “Tsigani” is most widespread in Europe and antitsiganism is also most deeply rooted in the awareness and cultures of its people, antitsiganism must have priority in the studies.

- The name “tsigan” (“gypsy”) needs to be returned under the scientific “magnifying glass” of linguists, onomasticians, socio-linguists, historians, sociologists, culturologists, politicologists, etc. since quite unexpectedly it occurs in the “scientific research” of certain Roma.

The book *Roma (Difference and intolerance)*, authored by Andžej Mirga and Leh Mruz (Serbian edition by Akapit, Belgrade, 1997), states that the name “tsigani” is acceptable since it has been “in long scientific use”.

Because of a failure to reach an agreement between Natasha Winter, president of the Sinti Association in Cologne, who insisted that the Monument to European Holocaust Victims in Berlin hold the engraved name “Tsigani”, and Romani Roza who, reasonably, opposed this, there was a holdup in the uncovering of the long-expected monument.

Art historian Žarko Vidović (1921–2016) stated that “for the Roma people the name Tsigani is in fact a symbol of their fate as martyrs, and that the prohibition to use the word Tsigani as politically incorrect is, in fact, a way to hide the truth of their suffering during World War II”.

- Prejudice based on the name Tsigani often narrows down social interaction and practice. It restrains the working and living opportunities for many Roma and slows down their integration. It has been empirically proven that the Roma perform jobs that members of the majority people consider “unworthy” (such as working in waste disposal, cleaning public toilets, etc.) or unacceptable since the jobs are low-paid.
- Social practice in many cases is part of the framework of the historical and social life of people and determines relations between members of the majority population and members of national minorities. An event, even a minor one, may become the cause for mass attacks or persecution of the Roma. Since the fall of the Berlin wall to date this has occurred in certain European countries.²³

²³ One example are attacks against Roma settlements in France, occurring in late March 2019. Media published a news item that the Roma allegedly steal children and drive them away by vans, rejected by police as an unfounded claim. However, right-wing organisations perpetrated attacks against Roma settlements in France for days.

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- The isolation of the Roma, starting as early as the XVI century according to available historical sources and materials, is still treated as a “normal” phenomenon. “Gypsy settlements” that exist in nearly all European countries are an example of racial segregation. There were cases of Roma living in settlements erected on atomic garbage heaps, such as in Spain. On orders by the Council of Europe, doctors have found a large number of people from this settlement suffered from skin cancer. In Belgrade, Roma have lived in the “Gazela” settlement, where rats would bite children during the night. “Gazela” was torn down, but this city still has several dozen such smaller settlements where Roma live to date (such as the Čukarička Padina settlement).

5.4. What does romistics cover

Romistics exists within romology as a separate academic discipline. It studies, documents and mediates the Romani language and literature in the Romani language in its historical and current form. To put it simply, it is divided into Roma philology and history of Roma literature. Roma philology studies, documents and mediates the development of the Romani language since its beginnings to date.

The field of study of Roma philology are parts of linguistic disciplines such as phonetics, phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics, pragmatics, etymology, dialectology, historical linguistics, sociolinguistics. In addition to ancient Indian languages, primarily Sanskrit, and certain new Indian languages closely related to the Romani language, Roma philology takes into consideration languages that had an effect on the Romani language such as Iranian, Armenian, Turkish, Greek, Slovene, Romanian, etc.

Roma literature is studied and presented historically, and by author, and in regards to its content, by type, form, theme and motive.

5.5. Interdisciplinary approach

Romology is an Indo–European (if we take into consideration the Middle East, Indo–Arabic–European) interdisciplinary academic discipline, its subject matter consisting of a complex of historical issues and problems, as well as a number of other issues and problems stemming from the process of practical interaction of the Roma community and its members with the world, ranging from India, to Europe, and then from Europe to non–European countries.

Between the subject and object of research and among disciplines there are, picturously said, “airy” and “optical” walls, providing for rapid and elastic transitions from discipline to discipline, making it possible to encompass and study the subject matter of studies as fully as possible.

Since the subject matter and method are inseparably connected, romology uses those research methods that best correspond to the specifics of its subject of study. It is necessary to keep in mind that this subject always contains complex human endeavour and social and historical reality, and that both are subject to transformation.

5.6. Reasons for the appearance of romology

The need for romology was publicly expressed in the late nineteen–sixties. The need stemmed, on the one hand, from the theoretical–critical awareness of social and historical science, and on the other, from the tendency and critical awareness of Roma themselves, who first started facing the holocaust they lived through (like the Jews) and their own social status, human and collective rights and freedoms.

Based on the fact that Roma are in the most difficult position in all European states and are the biggest victims of racism and racial discrimination, with barely any scientific attention paid to this fact, the need arose to construct romology. This need, supported by many progressive scientists, intellectuals and university professors, is an integral part of the tendency to overcome the inhumane status, i.e. change all social conditions and relations that have led to the existence of these people to lose social, political, and even human meaning. Awareness of the need to establish romology, of its scientific importance and value, is part of the emancipatory awareness that is an important property of the philosophical and scientific awareness that sees the foundations and indivisible scientific, human and social values in truth and freedom.

Accordingly, the starting point of romology is – Roma are primarily people, part of the human world and human relations. Philosophical discovery that starts from ontological, epistemological and axiological assumptions and critical thinking of this world and social relations is its horizon. Using these discoveries and critical thought as a “compass”, it endeavours to analyse, explain and understand the place and status of Roma in the world they live in, that is at the same time the world of many other people, ethnic communities and national minority groups.

Along with other sciences, romology noticed that the daily life of Roma in many European and non–European countries is an impressive view of the traditional historical relationship towards Roma, the existing social situation and governing social and economic relations. The daily life of these people shows, in fact, that human life is dehumanised and devastated, and that people, under pressure from the past and ruling social, economic and political relations, exist as degraded, repressed, abandoned, and scorned beings.

To acquire its *topos* (means of proof), romology must elaborate the purpose and sense of the scientific methods and sciences (description, clarification, prediction) and reliably explain what are scientific discoveries and evidence, along with the principles of scientific research and presentation, elements and structure of research, etc. The results of its research and truth should always be an invitation to change the circumstances and world where minorities, even under the most favourable conditions, are exposed to many injustices and pressures, particularly Roma, still an example of perverting anthropology into zoology.

5.7. ROMOLOGY AND ONOMASTICS

„O čhavo bijandol bi navesko. Kana džaltar akale
themestar sar manuš, o nav ovel leski čarain!“
“A child is born with no name. When it leaves this
world as a man, the name becomes its star!”

Popular Roma adage

The Roma have many ethnonyms (names) that, based on origin, are divided into endonyms (rromonima) and exonyms (dasanima, gadženima or goranima). The main endonyms are **Rrom**, pl. **Rroma**; **Sinto**, pl. **Sinte**; and **Kalo**, pl. **Kale**.

According to the discoveries of onomastics, a linguistic interdisciplinary science on the origin and meaning of names, the name takes on the characteristics of a symbol, i.e. has a symbolic function and characteristic semantic meaning.

The endonym Roma, as the name of a people also meaning “man” and “spouse” (this is also the case with the names of some other people), originates from the name of the divinity Rama, meaning that Roma are Rama’s children (Romaničel, “children of Roma”, a group of Roma in Southern France is an example in favour of this idea).

5.8. Interpretation of the name Roma

Some linguists and philologists believe the name Roma originates from Domba (Sanskrit *Doma*), an ethnic nomad group living in the north of India. (In favour of this, the advocates of the first idea state that the initial **rr-** in the Roma word rroj f., spoon, has the same origin as **Rr-** in the name Rrom.)

Others, in relation to the name Rrom, state the Sanskrit word *rama* (sweet, dear, charming, etc.). Unfortunately, these are examples that show how their authors reduce onomastics only to linguistics, even though as an interdisciplinary science it touches on many other sciences, such as anthropology, ethnology, geography, history, sociology, etc. However, this is essentially a hidden form of “racist packaging”, i.e. attempt to prove that Rroma are the descendants of one of the lowest castes, with insufficiently convincing “Arian origins”, i.e. arguments from the Nazi ideology.

There is no sense reflecting on other explanations of the name Rrom, particularly those neglecting its Indian origin. These are arbitrary assumptions that the name Rrom originates from Rumelia, the former name of Byzantium, or the name Roma, as the capital of Italy, Rome, is called.

5.9. First order symbols

We believe it would not be a problem not to know the origin of the name Roma. There are many European and non-European people for whom the origin of their name is unknown. However, if a people are identified with this name for centuries, if it is part

of their “birth certificate”, then for that people it has a satisfactory measure of both connotation and denotation. It has permeated the language of those people, their religion and customs, their culture, literature, history, their desires and ideals, future plans, and the Roma, Jews and Armenians have suffered and lived through a holocaust under that name.

The name is, therefore, their first order symbol. The name is what the individual identifies with, saying: “Me sem Rrom” (“I am Roma”). It is what the family, the clan, the tribe identify with (subgroups): “Amen sam Rroma” (“We are Roma”). The people (group) identify with the name: “Amen sam Rroma” (“We are Roma”). Contrary to them are other peoples with their names. In Romani, all non-Roma are called Das (pl. Dasa), Gadžo (pl. Gadže), Goro (pl. Gore) and Muslims – Xoraxaj (pl. Xoraxaja). i Muslimani – Xoraxaj (pl. Xoraxaja).

The name Das

The names Rrom and Das (pl. Dasa)²⁴ form a pair arising while the Roma lived in India, before the exodus. Thus this is a pair that represents a category with the significance of orientation.

The other two pairs are Rrom–Gadžo and Rrom–Goro. They were produced from the names of Mahmud Ghazni and Muhammad of Ghor.

The names Sinto and Kalo are geographic in origin. The first originates from the province of Sindh (in modern-day Pakistan), and the second from Khalistan (“pure land”), the name of a state in Punjab that the Sikh are trying to renew today.

5.10. Tribal names

Among tribal names the most important are *Tamara* or *Tomara*, *Mandova* or *Mandu* and *Gopta* or *Gomani*. All three names are Indian in origin. The oldest of them is the Gopta tribe. The majority of them lives in Croatia, but during World War II they suffered mass persecution by the Ustasha. They, and in particular their dialect, were described by Rade Uhlik.²⁵ Tamara, the majority of them outside India in Serbia and Macedonia, had a very important role during the period from the VIII to the XII century in India. They, historically speaking, come after the rule of Harsha, the first Indian king who was, as it is believed, of Roma origin.

Mandova, used as a pejorative name for the Roma by Serbs as well, is a name with a geographic origin. Namely, in Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh there is an area and city called Mandav, where in the past, very likely, Roma have lived. This name, in addition to Serbia, is also known in Bulgaria, where many Roma have the family or first name of Mandov.

A subgroup worth noting is *Manuša*. It is part of the ethnic group of Sinti. Its members mainly live in the south of France. Translated, manuša are people. As far back as ancient India, Manuša have, in accordance with customs and rituals, prepared food and drink when someone dies.

²⁴ Dasa (natives whom the Aryans forced to retreat south) means “foreigner”, “servant”, “slave”, “demon”

²⁵ Rade Uhlik: Onomastički nazivi, Zemaljski muzej, Sarajevo, 1956.

5.11. Clans and personal names

There has been very little research into clans and personal names. Clan names of Indian origin have reached the public primarily due to Roma writers or researchers of Roma origin for whom these names were part of everyday life.

Mina (“fish eye”) is a clan with members living from India, through Serbia, to Canada and the USA.²⁶

The variant *Minešti* occurs among the Kalderaši. Kalderaši make cooking pots. This is why they are called Kalderaši, since in Romanian *kaldar* means cooking pot.

In addition to the clan name *Mina*, of ancient origin are also the names *Puru* and *Kuru* (village of Umčari), *Brgoj* – freely translated meaning “Roma Prometheus” (village of Malo Orašje, family of Milan Jovanović, whose Roma name is Paka), etc.

Certain clan names of non-Roma origin are also very widespread. For example Šajin, a numerous Roma group that lived in Serbia (primarily Vojvodina) and Croatia. The name originates from the Persian word for falcon. During World War II they suffered mass persecution at the Jasenovac concentration camp.

In various Balkans countries there are Roma groups with ancestral last names based on their occupation, region, etc. Some of the Roma groups have emigrated from Serbia to other countries. E.g. *Mačvaja*, originating from Mačva, and living in the USA, Argentina, Brazil, etc. American anthropologists treated them as a special group, since they did not know the origin of the name Mačvaja.

Servi is a numerous group of Roma in Ukraine and Russia. These are Roma who left Serbia during the mass exodus of Serbs under Arsenije IV (1698–1748) and settled in Ukraine and Russia (e.g. Nikolai Slichenko, born in 1934, Director of the “Romen” theatre is a member of the Servi group).

Male and female personal names of Indian origin are the following: Bidže m., Bidža ž., Bhuva m., Drona m., Džango m., Goga m., Gola ž., Goli m., Guga m., Jaja m., Kalo m., Kalea m., Kali ž., Keke m., Kenda ž., Kojče ž., Koko m., Loli ž., Lolo m., Lodžo m., Mandori m., Makar m., Meneka m., Mona ž., Mone m., Murga m., Patalo m., Patari m., Saki m., Šero m., Šilja ž., Šiljo m., Taso m., Titalo m., i ž., Toko m., Tota ž., Toto m., Tula ž., Xari m., Xote m., Xoxa m., Xula m., etc.

Some of these names have preserved their meaning. For example, Gola – Goli means round; Koka – lion; Murga – chicken; Saki – friend, buddy; Šero – lion; Šiljo, Šilja – person gifted with particular strength; Titalo – butterfly; Toto – peacock; Tula – scale; Xari – appellative for Shiva; Xoxa – attribute for the god of fire, etc. These names with a lexical meaning revitalise and enrich the Roma vocabulary.

Some of the above examples bear witness that personal names can be of use to reconstruct Roma beliefs and religion prior to their exodus from India. The name Devel – god, the words rašaj, žrec – priest, trušul – trident, used by Shiva to slay demons, lingam – Shiva’s sex organ, Marut – the divinity tearing apart clouds and causing rain, certain myths of fire, the goddess Kali, deified by the Roma as Sara or Bibi, are elements that could be used to produce the “mosaic” of their ancient religion, speaking of Hinduism and Shakti, the power attributed to female deities in the VIII century.

²⁶ In Serbia, the Marković family in the village of Međulužje near Mladenovac belongs to the Mina clan.

As for Buddhism, dominant in Kannauj, the centre of Harsha's kingdom, barely any elements survive. Chakra, the wheel – the symbol found on the Roma flag, is certainly the most important surviving element.

Last, but not least, there are many historical and social-cultural issues. Some of them, as we will see, have an onomastic character. These are primarily the names of certain historical personages, toponyms and family relations.



Third global Roma congress held in Göttingen in 1981

6. INTRODUCTION TO ROMOLOGY

“History is anchored in the present, it has its assumptions in the past and its consequences aim to the future.”

Karel Kosik

The introduction to romology covers an explanation of the ethnonym (endonym) Roma, Sinti (Roma group in Germany), and Kale (Roma group in Spain and Portugal), of groups, subgroups, names of clans and personal names, the name Dasa and the religion – Hinduism, Buddhism, Jainism and Islam.

The topic of the Introduction to Romology is also the comparative analysis of the phonological system of the Romani language and Sanskrit, and the etymological analysis of the Romani language from the perspective of analyses conducted by the most renowned linguists, philologists and romists. These issues are also relevant for the standardisation of the Romani language, the perspective and importance of romology.

Kings of Roma origin

The next thematic area is newly discovered data on kings of Roma origin in countries in northern and north-western India. King Harsha is one of the most important. After his death, the kingdom disintegrated. A large number of states and minor tribal states arose. This is characteristic of the period from the VIII to the XII century. During this period, northern and north-western India were the target of the terrorist-pillaging campaigns of Sultan Mahmud Ghazni, and 160 years later of Mohammed of Ghor, who conquered a large part of India and opened it for the strong incursion of Islam into India. This has also left its mark on the core of the Roma. They lived through another division – into Hindus and Muslims, and then into Muslims and Christians. This is one of the primary divisions among Roma.

Drafting a romological map that will include geographic and historical data on Roma in India is one of the key tasks of the *Introduction to Romology*. It is also necessary to plan a romological map with geographic and historic data on Roma in Europe that would, in addition to a scientific goal, meet other purposes as well.

6.1. The painful impression of “identity”

The issue of Roma culture before the exodus is the next topic of the *Introduction to Romology*. Its paradigm, to be shown based on analysis, still exists and contributes to the survival of the cultural model that can be called traditional. On the other hand, its function is still notable in the Roma identity, expressing various elements. Perhaps no other people in the world see their identity so dramatically and painfully. Their literary work contains numerous examples bearing witness of these impressions. As soon as we mention “the letter Ts that begins the word Tsigani”, writes Predrag Jovičić,²⁷ a Roma poet from Serbia, a Roma person faces this drama. These impressions, followed by redness in the face, sweating, trembling, crying, self-immersion, etc. are exhibited ranging from fear and trepidation, ethno-mimicry and denial of national identity, to self-hatred, as witnessed by Roma literary texts.

²⁷ Predrag Jovičić: *Isčupani iz života*, Titovo Užice, 1990.

6.2. Romology and ethics

Romology is to be understood as a complex science based on ethics. Its truths are the result of reasoning, but reasoning that contributes to the education of the “heart”. It is the discovery of people who have been devoid of all rights for over a thousand years, owners of a “bare life”. It witnesses people who crossed a road from India to Europe, where at practically every step there is a danger of a man being trampled under powers or various passions. It sees the truth of people who, with “heart in hand” as Danko in the story “Old Izergil” by Maxim Gorky, illuminate the way not only for themselves, but also for humanity that has, as we bear witness, started to shut its eyes when it sees man.

When this man’s forehead is stamped with the label “Tsigan”, just as during Nazism every Roma wore a yellow band around their arm with the black Latin letter “C”, then the face of man is no longer noticed. A contribution to this was provided also by scientists, primarily those who were followers of racism and national-socialism (criminal biologists, hygienists and eugenicists), but also certain quasi-scientists in other European and non-European countries.

Therefore romology should become part of the study not only of Roma, but as many as possible students of non-Roma origin. The scientific truth of the Roma and the Jews, labelled for centuries as a lower race, is the truth of humankind.

Romology tells the truth and presents knowledge about man and the Roma, a community whose members, under majority pressure, formed societies that represent ghettos, with conditions unworthy of man. Its truth and knowledge relate to every place of Roma life and work, and the world they belong to. The Roma are a test for this world, justice in it, its democratic nature, human rights and freedoms. Therefore Romology, speaking of Roma, always talks about society and humanity. Its truths are universal, not particular. Every true science about man is founded on ethics.

6.3. Romology and India – the land of ancient civilization

India, Bharat Ganarhaya, with a surface area of 3.3 million square kilometres, is the seventh country in size, and with a population of 1.3 billion, after China, second by population numbers in the world. In the south it opens onto the Indian Ocean, in the west to the Arab Sea, in the east to the Bay of Bengal. The countries it borders are Pakistan, China, Nepal, Bhutan, Bangladesh, Myanmar, while Sri Lanka and the Maldives are islands in the Indian Ocean. The Indian Andaman and Nicobar islands are the borders of India with Thailand and Indonesia.

In addition to Egypt, China and Mesopotamia, India is the land of ancient civilisation. The Harappa cultures and Mohenjo-Daro from 2600 BCE have impressed the world. Namely, archaeologists have found that in 2600 BCE there existed a so-called Harappa culture and Mohenjo-Daro, and this archaeological find is within the territory of modern-day Pakistan.

Another item of data bearing witness of the territorial and geographic changes under the influence of history is Taxila, a once famous Indian university where, as it is believed, Panini once taught, the author of the renowned *Eight Chapters* where he presented the grammar of the Sanskrit language in an impressive manner. This is a city that has seen many Indian kingdoms, today within the territory of Afghanistan.

The most important period for the Roma from the long and rich Indian history is the medieval period.

6.4. Harsha – the first Indian king of Roma origin

Harsha (590–647), known as Harshavardhana, was the first Indian king of, as it is believed, Roma origin. He was head of the kingdom of northern India from 600 to 647, its centre first in Thanesar (east Punjab, today Haryana), then in Kannauj (Uttar Pradesh), symbolising the end of the period of ancient and start of medieval India.

Harsha acquired the reputation and built his authority in wars against the White Huns. He was celebrated for successfully resolving the clan conflicts that always lingered in the north of India. He became a Buddhist and made it possible for Kannauj to become a Buddhist centre. The state he created was organised according to a centralist model.

Tragic family events, caused by politics and the victory of the south-Indian king Pulakeshin II (610–642) who penetrated Malwa, a region of extreme historical importance, caused tremors throughout the kingdom.

6.5. Roma dynasties

Onto the scene came the Rashtrakuta, ruling a large part of Maharashtra, Kannauj and certain cities, the Pala, a dynasty holding Bengal, Bihar and a large number of cities, and Pratihara, a Gurjara dynasty with its seat in Ujjain, ruling northern India.

On the other hand, the Arab incursion has started, already winning certain Indian territories in 712, and opening the path for Islam in India. Caliph Muhammad ibn Qasim (695–715) became the most famous.

On the Indian side, Nagabata I (730–760) from the Gurjara-Pratihara dynasty during Avanti in the region of Malwa, Madhya Pradesh, became renowned through defending the country from the Arab conquerors, the Abbasids and Umayyad. As early as 738, he defeated the Arabs. Mihira Bhoja (836–885), one of the most enlightened and most educated kings of India was his descendant.

This period of Indian history is known as the period of the wars for the conquest of Rajasthan, occurring during the period 712 to 816.

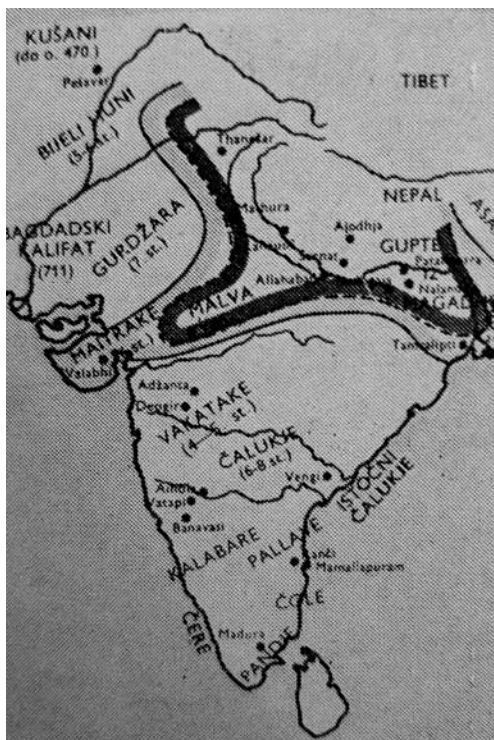
Of great importance for the history of the Roma and romology is data mentioned in this work for the first time about certain Roma dynasties. The dynasty of Tamara or Tomara is covered in most detail. According to their origin, they are Rajput, “sons of kings” from Rajasthan, the Indian military aristocracy that had 36 clans.

The name Pal is preserved among the Roma. It occurs in the film *I Even Met Happy Gypsies*. Ananga Pal was a king of the Tamara dynasty during the period 736–754, with its centre in Gwalior (Madhya Pradesh), and later covering Delhi and its surroundings (the construction of the famous *Red Fort* is attributed to the Tamaras), and other areas. This Roma group had 19 dynasties.

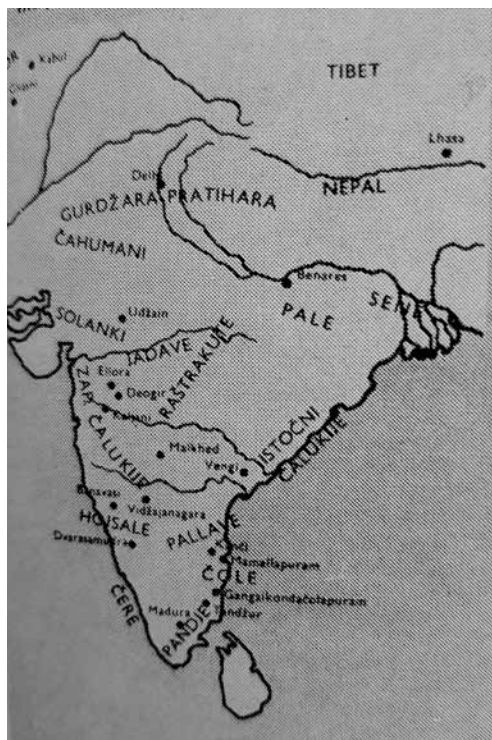
The last one was headed by Prithviraj Chauhan (1178–1192), crowned when he was only 11 years old, after the death of his father Sameshwara. He is one of the most popular Indian rulers – the personification of youth, adventure, great education, courage and dedication to the ethical code of the Rajput. Placing his life on the line for Samyogita, he entered into legend.

The father of his wife Samyogita, Jayachandra (1170–1194), also of Roma origin, was the king of Kannauj. He is talked of in a negative light in the collected Roma stories published by Rade Uhlík under the title *Gypsy King Penga*.²⁸

The period of Roma dynasty rule in India ends with them, although the Tamar or Tomar, living in Serbia and Macedonia, had distinguished roles in various walks of life in India.



India during Gupta times



India during the time of the penetration of Islam

²⁸ Uhlík, Rade: *Ciganske priče*, Sarajevo, 1957.

7. WARS AGAINST INDIA AND THE ROMA EXODUS

During the period from 1001 to 1027 Mahmud Ghazni conducted 17 terrorist-raiding campaigns against northern and north-western India. This sultan, presented by G.V.F. Hegel (1770-1831) as one of the “cruellest military leaders in the history of humanity”, did not even enjoy great respect in the eyes of his father Sabuktigin, who decided his younger son Ismail was to take over power after his death. When Sabuktigin died in 997 and Ismail took over on 5 August 997, holding the title of emir,²⁹ Mahmud made plans to oust Ismail from power. With the help of his younger brother Yousef and uncle who was a general, Mahmud removed his brother Ismail from power in 998 and became the first sultan in the history of the Ghaznavids, their centre in Ghazna, in the east of Afghanistan. Mahmud seemed to have run his policies and military strategy in accordance with the name of the Hindu Kush mountain range. This name followed the Sanskrit “pariyatra parva” (seat of the river Indus), then during Alexander of Macedon (356 BCE – 323 BCE) Kaukasus Indikos (Caucasus). The third name, as mentioned above, Hindu Kush, given to it during the Arab-Muslim wars initiated against the Indian subcontinent, to this day means “kill the Hindus”.

Mahmud Ghazni attacked Peshawar (modern-day Pakistan) in 1001, then his pillaging and destruction was aimed at Bhatia (1005 and 1001), Nagarkot, the capital of Punjab at the time (1014), the former seat of the Harsha kingdom, Thanesar, where 50,000 people were killed, then in 1015 he attacked Kashmir.

7.1. The first Roma exodus from India

Mahmud Ghazni and his army arrived in Mathura and Vrindavan on 2 December 1018, where, according to eyewitnesses, they conducted a massacre. There were thousands of Hinduist temples in that area, since according to mythology and beliefs the god Krishna was born nearby. Mathura was covered in oil and burned. The flame only died out when it was completely burned down. Al Utbi (961-1040), personal secretary to Mahmud, described the massacres in Thanesar and Mathura: “The blood of kafir (the godless) painted the waters of the river Ghaggar, flowing by Thanesar, in blood for weeks. The survivors could not get to water, since the water supply network was damaged, the wells poisoned. The fire of the oil burning in Mathura stayed aflame for more than 20 days and nights.” At the end of his report, Al Utbi wrote: “Praise Allah for bringing such honour and glory to us, Muslims!”

At the end of the same year Mahmud Ghazni attacked Kannauj, containing approximately a thousand predominantly Buddhist temples. Chroniclers described husbands and fathers throwing their women and children into fire so they would not live to be captured by Mahmud’s followers.

As estimated by the renowned scientist Al Beruni (973-1050), following his patron Mahmud, the destroyed temples were worth at least two hundred years of work, since that was the time required to create something similar. These massacres and devastation were the cause and reason for the first Roma exodus from India. The captured mainly young people ended up in Bagdad, on the largest slave market of the time. Craftsmen and construction experts ended up in Horastan, where many edifices and temples were being raised. The name of this region

²⁹ Emir (the magnificent) is a nobles’ title.

produced the Roma name *Xoraxaj* or *Xoraj* that relates to Turks and other Muslims.

During the period from the X to the XII century Gwalior was ruled by the Tamara dynasty. The Tamars were also in power in Haryana and Delhi. A second group was in Madhya Pradesh. In the end, Mahmud Ghazni also destroyed the magnificent temple of Somnath in Gujarat in 1025. According to American philosopher and historian William Durant (1885–1981) this was “indescribable barbarity. The terrorist-raiding campaigns of Mahmud Ghazni were one of the most terrible events and bloodsheds in the history of mankind. This was hitherto unseen barbarity that triumphed over civilisation”, concludes Durant.³⁰

Mahmud Ghazni fought wars or quashed rebellions almost to his very death, on 30 April 1030. He contracted malaria in the battlefield, leading to a tuberculosis infection that killed him. The doors of his grave site in the mausoleum in Ghazni are decorated with pillaged pieces decorated with gold from Somnath, that he participated in destroying. This was described in detail by Indian historians Ramesh Chandra Majumdar (1888–1980) and Romila Thapar (1931). The most important consequence of the wars of the Arabs and Mahmud Ghazni against India is the penetration of Islam as a political force into the populous and multi-religious India. The destruction of Hindu temples, the killing of the Indian population, particularly of Hindu believers as “infidels”, their enslavement and leading those captured to the slave market, had very serious and grave consequences for cohabitation and peace in the country. The loss of Punjab, at least temporarily, was a serious and great loss.

7.2. The second Roma exodus

The second Roma exodus followed the second war between Muhammad of Ghor and the king of Delhi, and Ajmir Prithviraj Chauhan, occurring in Tarain or Taraori, in Haryana, in 1192. During the first war in 1191, occurring in the same place as the second war, in Taraori, Prithviraj Chauhan was the victor. Adhering to the ethical code of the Rajput, Chauhan released the captured Mohammad of Ghor. However, one year later the sultan and military commander from Ghor in Afghanistan, after studying the war plans in detail and amassing a force several times as strong, comprised of a large number of mercenaries, desiring victory, returned to the same place in India.

For this war Prithviraj Chauhan organised a confederacy of Rajput (sons of kings) comprised of 159 feudal kingdoms. However, his enemy Muhammad of Ghor made use of the hand extended by Chauhan’s rivals and enemies in India, including the king of Jammu (region between Punjab and Kashmir), and Chauhan’s father in law, the father of Samyogita, Jayachandra, the king of Kannauj. In this second war Chauhan was defeated, after being captured, blinded and executed. The brothers of the king of Ajmer and Delhi and his closest war aides were also subjected to terrible torture. Samyogita committed suicide.

The victory of Mohammad of Ghor enabled the strong penetration of Islam into India, leading to Delhi becoming a sultanate, with consequences for the entire subcontinent. The accounting made by the abovementioned historian Lal, whereby this was the period of the greatest holocaust in the history of humankind, is the root for an immense research programme for romology, all the more since this discovery was not known before in the history of India.

³⁰ William Durant: *India*, Washington, 1936.

8. THE ROMA IN MIDDLE EASTERN COUNTRIES

Having lost their state, the Roma became a people, to put it picturesquely, “without a home, without a grave”. In Middle Eastern countries they were stigmatised as “infidels”, meaning they were devoid of any rights, often the right to live in Islamic countries. During the crusades they were targeted at every step. The nomadic way of life and ethno-mimicry contributed to their partial protection.

8.1. Luric legend instead of history

Ferdowsi (940–1020), a world renowned poet, author of the famous epic *Shahnameh*, in one episode of the epic mentioned the Lurs, citizens of Cambodia, a province in Afghanistan. About 12,000 of them were invited by Bahram V Gor, the Shah of the Sassanid (320–438) to come to his court and regale his subjects with their musical and dancing artistry. In exchange, he gave them food and drink, livestock and grain seeds, and ordered that they keep the seeds for sowing and start taking care of themselves. However, the Lurs, identified with the Roma, did not adhere to the shah’s orders, thus he exiled them.

Ferdowsi’s patron was Mahmud Ghazni. The poet was part of Ghazni’s retinue during his invasion of India. According to this episode from *Shahnameh*, the Lurs are the descendants of Roma, i.e. the Roma are the Lurs. There is a province of Luristan in Iran, and a Nuristan province in Afghanistan. This name originates with the Arab word “nauar”, actually the name of a glowing substance used by musicians and entertainers in Arab countries. In addition to Lurs and Nurs, there are other local names. The name of Indian origin Domara or Domba is also in use, particularly in Israel. It is typical of Middle-Eastern countries that the past lasts for a long time. Since change passes by the Roma, it is their thousand-year companion. A way of life. Tribes of non-Roma origin in Middle-Eastern countries identify with the Roma for their same or similar lifestyle.

8.2. Empirical research

The German researcher Hermann Arnold published in 1965 that he met several nomadic tribes in Qazvin, Teheran, Amol, near Mejgun, north of Teheran, Kalak, west of Teheran, near Shiraz, etc. According to him, many of these tribal groups call themselves Kauli. They are also mentioned under the names Gurbetima and Karachi. This last name could be of particular importance. There are about 100,000 Roma living in Iran.

The Iranian Kirus Piranu studied these tribes in direct contact for 10 years, and published a book in 1969 under the title *The Gypsy of Iran*. Certain Roma groups have arrived to Iran, he assumes Piran, during the XI century, i.e. directly after Ghazni’s invasion of India. The tribes are divided into clans.

Romology, which is to show and explain the way of life of various tribal groups, using documentary and video material, should cover all Middle Eastern countries. Compared to others, this topic is the least studied. Very rich, but insufficiently studied materials

and documents can be found in archives in Iraq, Egypt and Syria.³¹



Gypsy Girl, oil on canvas, Boccaccio Boccaccini, XVI century

³¹ According to current data, there are more than 300,000 Roma living in Syria today.

9. THE ROMA IN EUROPE: A LIE REPEATED A HUNDRED TIMES PAVES THE ROAD TO HELL

„Kon lel amaro pačape, mekel amari vogi čučī!“
“He who takes our hope away, turns our soul into desert!”

Popular Roma adage

The name Europe holds a special meaning for the Roma. As individuals and a people, they wove their hopes into the name of this continent. For them, as for many others, Europe was the personification of the mind and the cradle of democracy and human rights. For them, even more than that, since they are without their homeland and state. Historical sources show that no continent has so cruelly taken away their hope for a “better and happier tomorrow” than Europe, where in accordance with the beliefs at the time, man was treated as the best machine or an extension of it, performing envisaged duties and tasks under duress.

9.1. Human skin as history

For many Roma the history of their people is like the skin of Luis Simon, a prisoner from the Buchenwald concentration camp whose commandant Carl Otto Koch (1897-1945) could, it would seem, compete for the top of the list of criminals in the history of humanity.

Simon, a French Roma, had tattoos all over his body. When Koch noticed this, he ordered Simon to be skinned alive, tanned and his desk upholstered with the skin. As evidence shows, the Nazis had experts for this type of work. Koch's wife, Ilse (1906-1967), working in Buchenwald and Majdanek, was “specialised” in turning human skin into shades for table lamps and book binding, and even furniture!

In every European state, as the documents bear witness, Roma were treated as creatures “without cross or soul”, as Ivo Andrić wrote in his novel *Bridge over the Drina*. Anyone could “look at a Roma as a target” and see, as our Nobel-winner states, the pain sucked out of his body by the clay, and that the only place that is by his measure being – a grave.

9.2. A view of Europe at the time of the Roma arrival

Romology starts with the topic of Roma in Europe, its most voluminous area. The view of Europe in the XII, XIII and XIV century contrasts with views from later times, especially modern ones. This was not a Europe of happiness and joy, but a continent of fear and sorrow. Various severe diseases, especially the plague, cut short the lives of many people. The flame of the Inquisition swallowed many lives. This was a time of obsession with the devil, the crusades, Ritter knights and their combat, the age when a horse cost more than a man, sometimes even a mail shirt!

Many other details may be listed to show the severity and suffering of people in Europe at the time. Part of the data relates to the population numbers of certain states. For example, England had only three million people in 1120. Another item of data is from Strasbourg in 1130, when garbage collection was first organised. The production of alcohol using distillation or the construction of windmills also originate from this time.

9.3. Genghis Khan and the Lateran Council

Genghis Khan (1162–1227), uniting the Mongol tribes and creating the Mongol Empire, marked both the history of Asia and that of Europe. The term democide is tied to his name – the complete destruction of the citizens of a state or multiple states. His penetration towards Europe, particularly as of the moment he faced the Ottoman Empire, accelerated the crossing of Roma from Middle-Eastern countries to Turkey and Byzantium, and from the area of these countries, towards the Balkans.

Pope Innocent III of the Roman Catholic Church (1160–1216), who organised the Fourth Council of the Lateran (1212–1215), caused changes not only in the church, but also the lives of Europe and its citizens. He made the Inquisition official, introduced indulgence,³² started a war against France and interfered in the political life of European states. The persecution of heretics in various countries certainly contributed to the persecution of Roma and their difficult situation in Europe. This is shown by analyses of certain historical sources from states that left the most notable mark on the Roma being. The “first circle” was formed by Germany, Spain and Romania.

9.4. The Roma in Germany

The German authorities left the most painful mark on the lives of the Roma and Sinti. Certain titles of edicts that numbered 148 between 1500 and 1800 bear witness that the authorities did not treat them as people, i.e. as human beings, but as “birds”, insects, vermin, etc. The edict of 4 September 1498 treats them as “Vogelfrei”, meaning they were outside all laws of the time. The German historian Joachim S. Hohmann (1953-1999) and author Reimer Gilsenbach (1925-2001) wrote extensively about this.³³

Historical sources from this period, lasting for 447 years, mark ever more important events regarding the life and fate of the Roma. A rough calculation shows that Roma in Germany lived without sunlight for 163,155 days.

As an illustration, it is useful to recall that nearly all anti-Roma laws were signed by church dignitaries and German kings. The “father” of the Protestant Church in Germany, Martin Luther (1483–1546) and his most fervent followers, who provided many contributions to antisemitism, also “blessed” antitsiganism and supported or promoted many anti-Roma measures in Germany.

Among state notaries and authorities we will mention Emperor Maximilian I (1493–1519), Elector Augustus von Sachsen (1553–1586), Elector Johann Georg II (1656–1680), Emperor Ferdinand I (1531–1558), Elector Wilhelm I (1640–1688), Prussian King Friedrich I (1701–1713), Prussian King Friedrich II (1730–1772). Analyses show that it is a systematically organised action and armed injustice (considered the most terrible injustice by Aristotle), inflicted on an unarmed people that cannot be found in the annals of European history.

³² Indulgence or remission is the purchase of sin by money or other material goods. This custom was introduced by the Catholic Church, and particularly present in practice from the XI century.

³³ Joachim S. Hohmann: *Geschichte der Zigeunerverfolgung in Deutschland* (History of Roma Persecution in Germany), Frankfurt/M, 1981; Reimer Gilsenbach: *Weltchronik der Zigeuner* (World Chronicle of the Roma), Frankfurt/M, 1994; Erih From, *Bekstvo od slobode*, Beograd, 1989.

9.5. Absurd charges against the Roma

Some charges against the Roma were absurd. For example, they were charged with being “aides of the devil” and “witches”, “Tatar and Turkish spies”, and even “child thieves”. This was used as the reason and cause for persecution, pogroms and mass hangings, particularly during the time of Friedrich II in Prussia. Thus Germany has shown that it truly treats the Roma in the spirit of an old adage of their saying: “All people have lies. Only we, Germans, have life lies!” This type of lie sometimes had the character of an ontological lie. Thus, for example, it was told that the “flame of philosophy” has moved from Ancient Greece to Germany, and that it produced the “absolute spirit” that is the cognitive embodiment of the essence of being.

It is unusual, even paradoxical, that the majority of edicts against the Roma were published in the XVIII century, the century of enlightenment and the French revolution (1789–1790), erecting the flag of “Liberty, fraternity and equality” and the Marseillaise announcing that the “East and the West awaken”. Eugen Delacroix, author of the painting *Freedom*, noted: “Freedom leads the people”. Historical experience has, however, shown that the road to freedom is determined primarily by those who lead it, and its character is given by politics, imbued with the character of the people.

Romology could give a significant contribution to the study of this phenomenon. One Roma adage briefly expresses the experience and views of these people of wars and the revolution: „hanči lačo našti resel pe čurasa thaj puškasa. E godjasa arakadol pe o drom lačhimasko, o drom e bi došengo thaj bi bezehengo. Kaj si lačhipe, bijandol lošalipe; kaj si lačhipe, barol thaj zurardol o čačipe! Kaj si but čačipe, harnjardol e čhibe hohavimaske” (“No good deed is made by sword or gun. The path to good is discovered by brains, it is the road without sinners or sin. Good makes happiness grow and spread; justice makes truth grow and become strong! Where there is a lot of truth, the language of lies is not heard”).

During the XVIII century the main force in Europe was Great Britain who, along with the USA, demanded that enlightenment imbue all of life, the state, and social order and politics, not just science, culture and the arts. Enlightenment was to be the new revolution of the enlightened people, capable of building new European and global roads. However, instead of a global revolution, many have opted for a partial revolution that quickly arrived at an impasse. The Copernican revolution was made in heaven, but not on Earth. Certain rulers became more enlightened, proving to be followers of science and the arts, but became, in fact, enlightened absolutists who did not give up dominion over people and the rule of their destiny. The USA grew into a new global power. Russia expanded and also tended to become a great power. Turkey was already an imperial power. Asia was dominated by China. The Roma, a little people among great powers, lived ever more in hiding, trying to make ends meet. Even this life, that looked like “dying in instalments”, was under constant oversight and control. In all these states, other than China, the Roma were direct or collateral damage, eternal losers or the personification of *homo sacera* (bare life).

9.6. Faustian-Mephistophelean Culture

Under the expansion and power of technical, technological and bio-power, under the umbrella of military and political might, the world became ever more efficient and cruel.

In this Faustian-Mephistophelean culture man has become barely the ante in the game of Faustus and Mephistopheles, with the Almighty drawn into the game through ontological lies. This cruel game, the anticipation of certain aspects of life in Germany and Europe in the XX century, was described by the famous J. F. Goethe in his work *Faustus* (1749-1832). It seems to have been used to open the space for human head hunters, able to monetise their sick passions in a special city treasury that had the item “premium for gypsy heads”.

Among the myriad examples showing the treatment of Roma in Germany, we note an example described in a book by Joachim S. Hohmann: “In 1700, during the counting of the hunter’s catch in a small region of the Rhyne principality, a Gypsy woman and her baby were also found. This was a time of fighting the Gypsies with flame and sword, when they were hung, quartered between wheels or burned at the stake for merely stepping across borders. A premium was paid for every Gypsy killed, a special thaler per head, encouraging the population ever more to hunt Gypsies.”³⁴

German authorities treated the Roma and Sinti as foreigners for centuries. As a people of “foreign blood” and “non-Aryan race” they could not obtain personal ID, meaning they could not register permanent residence and were thus devoid of all rights and the opportunity for normal existence – employment, enrolment of children in school, right to minimum social welfare and healthcare, etc. They were an “object” under the care of the police, controlling them from “the cradle to the grave”. “We saw more police in Germany than sun in the sky”, a German Roma and Sinti adage says.

9.7. The Roma in Spain

The Spanish archive has approximately 700 documents about Roma (Kale or Gitanos). Furthermore, a large number of documents were uncovered in maritime and judiciary archives, and county and city archives and libraries. The majority of the documents and material have been systematised and mainly studied.

Bernard LeBlanc, studying documents on Roma in Spain for years, learned that the first groups of Roma arrived to the country between 1420 and 1425. According to chronological data, the first group of Roma arrived to the German town of Hildesheim in 1417. Led by “counts” Tomas and Martin, saying they come from “Little Egypt”³⁵ (in fact the name of a large Roma settlement in the Peloponnese in Greece, the town of Madon, today Methoni), they arrived in Andalusia in 1462.

The first to raise charges against the Roma were Spanish priests. The main reason consisted in the claim that Roma deal in “witchcraft” and “magic”, thereby acquiring ever more prominence among the popular masses in Spain. This was one of the most horrifying charges at the time, since the Inquisition particularly forbade “the use of magic”. The reaction of church circles was immediately supported by the kings, thus in 1499 orders were already issued that the Roma must leave Spain. Those failing to observe the order were sentenced to 100 lashes of the whip, and then exiled by force. Those who came back had their ears cut off and were held in shackles for 60 days. After this torture, they would be forced to leave the country again. Those who were in a helpless situation and came back to Spain, would become slaves.

Roma in Portugal were in a very difficult situation, many of them sentenced to six years on

³⁴ Joachim S. Hohmann: *Geschichte der Zigeunerverfolgung in Deutschland* (History of Roma Persecution in Germany), Frankfurt/M, 1981.

³⁵ Roma leaders such as the above Tomas and Martin presented themselves as “counts”, a customary title for many Roma leaders.

galleons as a punishment. Many were deported to Portuguese colonies, particularly to Brazil. During the late XVI century Roma were issued the death penalty by order of the authorities.

King Carlos II (1616–1700), who was physically and intellectually disabled, issued the order whereby every Roma, nomad, or permanently settled, is at risk of being sentenced to death if found in the company of another two in a public place, with any of them having weapons. This order was followed by two more: based on the first, of 16 September 1708, measures against the Roma were made even more severe: Namely, if the arrested Roma tried to escape or resist arrest, the representative of the authorities was authorised to kill them. Based on the law of 17 September 1745, immediately after king Philip V (1673–1746), the founder of Prado in Madrid, nomadic Roma were blinded.

The gates of hell, where the Roma of Spain were imprisoned for several centuries, were cracked open by king Carlos III (1716–1788). During the final year of his life, Philip adopted the “Pragmatics” whereby all previous laws on the persecution and death sentence for Roma were revoked.

9.8. The Roma in Romania

The history of Romania since the creation of the Roman province of Dacia up to the XIII century is generally insufficiently known. During the great Migration Period from the IV to the VII century, various barbarian tribes crossed Romania (Goths, Huns, Avars, Slavs), flowing towards middle Europe or entering Byzantium. Slavic tribes stayed the longest in Romania, leaving a powerful impact on the formation of the Romanian people.

During the late IX and early X century most of the country was part of the Bulgarian Empire, headed by Emperor Simeon (845–927), making possible the so-called golden century of the Bulgarian Empire. From the mid-X and first half of the XI century a considerable part of the country was part of Kievan Rus. Two related areas were formed by the XIII century – the Vlach area (around 1324) and Moldavian (1359), vassals of Hungary, and later the battleground of the interests of Hungary, Poland, Austria, Russia and Turkey.

It is not precisely known when the Roma arrived in Romania, but it is assumed to have happened in 1417, when they appeared in many other European countries. There were three groups of Roma slaves (robi): slaves of the state, slaves of monasteries and churches, and slaves of rich people, i.e. private slaves. According to some sources, the only right of slaves was to receive cornmeal used to make gruel (mamaljiga) and a negligible amount of sunflower. All slaves were severely whipped, particularly private or boyar (nobleman) slaves.

One anonymous writer from the mid-XIX century writes: “In summer they wore only shirts of rough canvas, already rotten from much wear. In winter they wrapped themselves in rags thrown into the garbage; torn clothes, old covers, worn carpets, all this was good for them. They had no roof over their head. They slept wherever. The nobleman’s foreman (vatave), wrapped in fur, whip in hand, gathered them each morning to tell them their daily chores and duties. It was a desperate sight: a bunch of smelly, pale, naked and skinny creatures would leave stables, hovels, dugouts – everywhere, teeth chattering with cold. The foreman, mainly rough and merciless, would whip them now for pleasure, now to show his diligence. Such was the fate of Gypsies owned by boyars in 1852.”

Romania also had a slave market. Entire families were sold, or only those who were physical-

ly stronger. The harsh and cruel status of Roma slaves caused mutinies and outlawry (hajduk slaves, so-called netots). The Roma leader in Moldova, Stefan VIII Razvan, managed for a short time in 1595 to be leader of Moldova, but according to historical sources, he was quickly executed.

The Romanian writer and historian Mihail Kogălniceanu (1817–1891) left a moving description of the fate of Roma slaves in Romania, and presented details of how the centuries of Roma slavery in Romania actually came to an end.³⁶ Only in mid-XIX century was the shameful law of slavery formally revoked. But slavery was still *de facto* sustained.

The described chain of evil that left a scar on the body and soul of many Roma across the above countries is visible on the body and soul of Roma living in other countries in Europe.

9.9. The Roma in the Ottoman Empire

Osman (1258–1325), who separated from the Seljuk, became the founder of the new Ottoman Empire that existed from 1249 to 1923. If a single page were to be written about the Roma for every year, it would amount to a 674-page book! With the conquest of Turkey, the borders kept expanding and the number of Roma growing. With the fall of Byzantium and conquest of Constantinople (later renamed to Istanbul) the Ottoman Empire, counting around 35 million citizens, was a global power.

According to the oldest preserved Turkish census from the end of the fourteen-nineties, Roma Christians lived in the nahiyah of Istanbul, Livi Viza, Gallipoli, Edirne, Yambol, Chirmen, Nikopol, Plovdiv, Kyustendil, Sofi Niš, Kruševac, Smederevo, Bosna, Prizren, Vučitrn, etc. According to the results of the census, performed to collect taxes and other dues, there were 3,237 ordinary and 211 widower households.³⁷

A later census from 1522–1523 (in the year of 929 of the Hijri, i.e. Islamic calendar) contains more precise data on the number of Roma households and the population by area. Thus, for example, Rumelia was estimated to be home to about 66,000 Roma, with approximately 47,000 Christians. Based on estimates, around 16,000 Roma lived in Turkey at the time, 12,500 in Greece, over 28,000 in Bulgaria, around 2,000 in Albania and around 22,000 Roma in Macedonia, Serbia and Bosnia.

Due to these and other data from the above census, and laws on Roma they issued, certain sultans, such as Suleiman I (1494–1566), who ruled from 1520 to 1566, can be used as the basis for romological and sociological theories.

Roma in the Ottoman Empire were *rayah*, i.e. slaves. In some parts of the Empire, as described in certain chronicles, they were shackled. But in a large number of regions (*sanjaks*) they had their own, Roma commanders. Their main duty was to collect taxes. Certain dues exceed even imagination: “bride tax”, a tax on the first wedding night, tax on “gypsy freedom”, etc. Most Roma lived in cities, in special quarters called *mahallah*. This model and way of housing, a picture of racial segregation, has survived to this day in most European countries, especially those arising after the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire in 1923.

In states where slavery has ruled for centuries, the seed of human rights and democracy cannot shoot forth easily or quickly, nor bear fruit. Where human Substance has been destroyed and people still think “with their belly”, the seeds of freedom cannot sprout deep roots. The people of nearly all Balkans countries, particularly members of national minori-

³⁶ Rajko Đurić, *Seobe Roma*, Beograd, 1986.

³⁷ Olga Zirojević: *Cigani u turskim izvorima*, Beograd, 1984.

ties and the Roma, ate a “bread of a hundred crusts” up to the nineteen-sixties, slept in stables with the cattle and rose at dawn, between three and four AM, with a hoe on their shoulder to “catch the train” as they used to say – and provide themselves and their family with a few kilos of flour. In those days it was frequent to hear the adage: “We are living earth walking on dead earth. We are all dead, we just don’t know the day of our funeral!” Or the day of the “funeral” of the empire, seemingly one of the most beautiful pages of history.

9.10. The Roma in the Habsburg and Austro-Hungarian monarchy

The Austro-Hungarian monarchy that lasted from 1867 to the end of World War I in 1918 was the second global power that had Roma living within its territory. The majority of Roma (around 56,000) lived within the territory of Hungary and parts of Romania, Slovakia, and Poland (the parts of Poland of the time are part of modern-day Ukraine).

Before that, Roma were the subject of attention of Maria Theresa (1717–1780). Namely, she first made the decision on 13 November 1761 on changing the name Tsigan into Neubauern or Neue-Ungarn (Uj-magyarok), and then a decision eliminating the nomad way of life. Finally, on 27 November 1767 another draconian measure followed – children were forcefully taken from Roma parents and entrusted to citizens and farmers for education. Boys older than 16 years of age were referred to military service, and those between 12 and 16 to study a craft. Marriage between men and women of Roma origin was forbidden.

An eyewitness left the following recording of these measures: “One day, deadly for that genus – and remembered with terror – carts followed by soldiers appeared in all parts of Hungary where Gypsies lived. They took away all their children, from those just weaned off their mothers’ breasts, to young couples that haven’t even removed their wedding regalia. The desperation of these unfortunate people cannot be described. Parents crawled before soldiers, hung from carts that drove away their children... Pushed away with blows from rifle butts and sticks, they could no longer follow the carts where their children were piled onto, and some of them killed themselves right away. These cruel measures could hardly convince the Gypsies of the correct morality they preached to them and were not of such nature that they could instil respect for the institutions the authorities wanted to impose on them. This violent act was fruitless and despite all the edicts of Maria Theresa and Joseph II, Gypsies yet remain...”

Roma were present until the end of World War I, when the Austro-Hungarian monarchy dissolved. Most of them were in states with majority populations of Hungarian and Slavic origin.

Just as there were sad and painful images after the dissolution of the Ottoman empire, so were there sad images presenting the dissolution of the life of the Roma after the breakdown of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. In Romania, for example, the Roma lived in caves, while in some places in Vojvodina they lived in corn husk cottages. They were eternal losers both when empires were built and when they crumbled, in war and in peace. Nobody is counting the number of Roma victims, nor do the places of their suffering get marked.

9.11. The Roma in France

The first Roma groups within the territory of France were registered in 1419. They were believed to have arrived from Switzerland. Since their origin was unknown, they were called Saracens, a name for North-African and Spanish Muslims. As described, this was a group of about 120 people, living on the left bank of the Seine. Their leader was a certain Andre, presented as a “count of Little Egypt”. Three years later, in 1422, some from this group visited Martin V (1369–1431), pope from 1417 to 1431. Pope Martin V issued them with a protective letter of universal character, allowing their stay in all catholic countries. Initially, the relationship between the authorities and guests was of mutual tolerance, but later the Roma were accused for quackery and magic, and the first punishments were issued, including the death penalty. The greatest amount of persecution was noted during the time of Louis XIII and Louis XIV. During Louis XIII (1601–1643), ruling with his mother 1610–1643, the Parliament renewed the edict from 1530, then adopted a number of regulations used to force the Roma to leave France. During Louis XIV (1638–1715), who governed for 72 years, from 1643 to 1715, several orders were issued demanding that the Roma leave France in a very short period of time, with very strict punishments envisaged otherwise.

The “war” against the Roma lasted until the end of the XIX century, but they were not left in peace during the XX century, either. Up to the end of the nineteen-sixties they had so-called anthropological cards instead of personal ID documents.³⁸

9.12. The “red line” are discrimination and persecution

The status of Roma is essentially no different in other European countries. However, empires, Russia included, and the above states are the countries where the majority of Roma lived and where their status was the most difficult. Through this, it is clearly seen that the discrimination and persecution of Roma flows through the history of Europe as a “red line”, showing the characteristic marks of certain states. Thus, for example, in Germany which fought the Roma “with fire and sword”, the circle around them closed very quickly. As German historians wrote referencing historical sources, German hunters hunted them in forests and received premiums for every one they killed, adult or child.

In Spain, the Catholic Church left its mark on the persecution. This church, the home and place where the Grand Inquisitor implemented his plans, called its fellow citizens to hunt the Roma with the tolling of its church bells.

Romania, the country where slavery stayed longest in Europe, nearly to the end of the XIX century (Russia also stepped into the XIX century with slavery) was, according to records by the historians and writers of this country, a true hell. The writings of the above mentioned Mihail Kogălniceanu bear best witness of this.³⁹

When Turkey established the borders of the Ottoman Empire at sword point, taxes were introduced for the “*rayah*”, proven to be an efficient and functional means of subjugation. The so called “blood tax” was proven to be particularly efficient, covered both in literature and history.

The Habsburg and Austro-Hungarian monarchy used assimilation in the intent to turn Roma into so-called *neubauers*.⁴⁰ This also met the need for soldiers.

³⁸ French authorities issued Roma in their territory “anthropological cards”, facilitating their control by the police. These cards were revoked after the film *I Even Met Happy Gypsies* by Aleksandar Saša Petrović won the *Palme d’Or* in 1967.

³⁹ Đurić, Rajko: *Seobe Roma*, Beograd, 1986.

⁴⁰ Category introduced by the Austro-Hungarian nobility, literally meaning “new peasants” referencing assimilated Roma.

France tried to solve the Roma problem through exile, particularly during the reigns of Louis XIII and Louis XIV.

Enlightenment, as shown, was a misfire not only in Germany, but also France. It is unforgivable that certain absolutists who committed a number of crimes against the Roma, acquired the epithet of “enlightened”.

9.13. Conclusion

Europe, wherein one can differentiate the Balkans, Eastern Europe, Central Europe, Western Europe, and Scandinavia, and Northern America, are the main gates of human habitation on this planet of ours. The foundations of this human habitation have been laid down, one could say, theoretically. But they have barely been started in practice.

Long-term slavery and numerous wars in Europe and worldwide, not to mention other causes and reasons, have robbed man of a faith in a better and more civil world and society where it is possible to live in peace and dignity. While ingenious individuals appeared in many areas, uncovering many earthly and heavenly secrets, or gifting humankind with unique and ingenious literary, artistic, musical works, in politics and statehood, since the time of Aristotle to this day, as the world’s greatest experts prove, this was not the case. No list of geniuses published in the last 200 or more years mentions a politician or statesman.

Perhaps the most barbaric century, the XX century, with two world wars, marked by fascism, Nazism and Stalinism, with victims in the millions, with the Jews and Roma living through a holocaust, does not seem to be a sufficient lesson. After the fall of the Berlin wall, there is no country in Europe that was not wet by the tears or soaked in the blood of Roma, who once again face the rise of neo-fascism and neo-Nazism in Austria, Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Croatia, Italy, Hungary, Germany, Romania, Russia, Slovakia, Serbia, Ukraine, and other countries.

Since the fall of the Berlin wall to date, pronouncements against Roma were given by the three-time Prime Minister of Slovakia Vladimír Mečiar, Italian President Silvio Berlusconi, French President Nicolas Sarkozy (one of his wives was Roma), etc.

Official records indicate that there are 174 languages spoken in Russia. Among others, these explicitly include the Permyak language (293,406 speakers or 0.2%), Eskimo (1,750 speakers or 0.001%), Ket (1,494 speakers or 0.001%), etc. However, the Roma language was not listed by any sources (August Friedrich Pott listed in his work *Gypsies of Europe and Asia*, Hale 1844-1845, referencing Russian sources, that there are 1.5 million Roma living in Russia).

Last, but not least, German Nobel winner Gunther Gras published a book about Roma titled *Without a Voice (Ohne Stimme)*. Gras, among other things, stated there are 12 million Roma living in Europe. However, this largest European national minority still does not even have a representative in the European Parliament, or any other European representative office.

Europe, and not just Europe, has still not even taken a proper stance and view of national minorities, with Roma being the most vulnerable. Preventing war and totalitarian regimes and dictatorships must be the priority tasks for European politics and diplomacy. A large number of examples from history, particularly from the XX century, bears witness that mil-

lions of people were sacrificed to the “god of war” in full view of politicians and statesmen. The world saw countless times that a state without freedom is like a concentration camp without barbed wire.



Monument to victims of the raid in Novi Sad



10. ROMA HOLOCAUST

“War is not over, nothing is over; humanity is in prison.”

Romain Rolland

“Barbarity was contrary to all education. There is talk of a threat of falling into barbarity. But it does not threaten, it was Auschwitz; barbarity continues to exist as long as there are conditions essentially making this fall possible. Therein lies great trouble.”

Theodor Adorno

When thinking about the Roma holocaust, it is as if eight Mechau Roma children from the Auschwitz – Birkenau concentration camp look down from heaven. These children, with one blue and one black eye, i.e. heterochromia, were used by Josef Mengele (1911-1979) to conduct experiments. After a certain time, Mengele, “the angel of death” as he was called by prisoners of this camp of horrors, removed the eyes of these children and placed them in test tubes with a special liquid, sending them on to the Dahlem Ophthalmological Clinic in Berlin.

Thereafter he shot the Mechau children dead with his revolver, put them in his car and drove them to the crematorium within the above concentration camp, where the so-called Gypsy family camp Bile was located, housing over 20,000 prisoners from nearly all of Europe. The former associate of the head of the Berlin Hygiene Institute in Nazi Germany Dr Robert Ritter, Karin Magnussen, a psychologist from Hamburg and Mengele’s friend, hid the eyes of the Mechau children until 1990.

The news published in 2013 resounded like thunder. German Nazis and their followers created 42,500 concentration camps across Europe! This was discovered after years of research by historians of the Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, not around 7,000 as claimed by German historians.

The list of Roma killed in Jasenovac was first published in the *History of the Roma Holocaust* in 2008. Instead of the 5,273 Roma killed, as claimed by Croatian historians, a list was found with the first and last names of 23,233 Roma.

Based on numerous instances of research it was proven that correct data is obtained when the numbers from preserved lists are multiplied by two, or in regards to Roma, three or more, since on the one hand many Roma did not wish to declare themselves as such, and on the other, Roma were used by members of majority peoples as hostages. Finally, many crimes against the Roma are not even registered.

According to the press release by the Federal Government of Germany of 17 March 1982, the holocaust of the Roma and Sinti was recognised with great delay. The number of victims was then assessed around 500,000, considerably less than the newly discovered data. Unlike other peoples and groups, the Roma were never indemnified.

10.1. Attempts to relativize the Roma holocaust

Until its official recognition, the Roma holocaust passed through “a grinder”. Ones denied it, claiming the camp prisoners were only the “asocial” and “criminals”. Others, some in high state and administrative positions during the government of Konrad Adenauer (1876-1967) also held important posts during Nazism. They prevented any attempt to ask questions about Roma suffering during the SS dictatorship. One of them was Karl Siegfried Bader (1905-1998), participant of the International Congress of the International Criminal Police held on 5 June 1936 in Belgrade, where discussions were held on the “danger” of Roma. Hermann Arnold, advisor to the Ministry of Police and Ministry of Health of Germany, hid documents during the nineteen-seventies and eighties on the Roma from the Nazi period, confiscated after protests by certain renowned German writers and intellectuals.

Simon Wiesenthal (1908–2005), the famous “Nazi hunter”, as a participant of the Second Roma Congress in Gottingen in 1981, providing a great impetus to research into the Roma holocaust, said: “During Nazism there was no difference between the persecution and destruction of Sinti, Roma and Jews in concentration camps, they suffered together. I always emphasised that national-socialists aimed for the total destruction of all Jews, Roma and Sinti.”

Eugen Kogon (1917–1987), author of the famous work *SS State*,⁴¹ wrote the following: “National-socialists attempted, in accordance with their racial doctrine and in a barbaric way in line with their power, to eradicate the Roma. The consequence of this was that the survivors could no longer be integrated. The status of the Roma, compared to the pre-Nazi era, did not change a bit. There is plenty of evidence for this, and it looks terrifying.”

The German philosopher Ernst Tugendhat (1930) wrote, in the preface to the book *In Auschwitz exhausted, persecuted to this day*, the following: “In the Third Reich we, Jews, were treated as people of a lower race. Gypsies are treated as a lower race even today, although this is not noted publicly and openly, but that is how they are treated in everyday life.”

Certain Roma philologists also provided a contribution to the relativization of the Roma holocaust. They replaced the term holocaust with the word *poraimos* (derived from the word *porado* that has a vulgar meaning). They have thus forgotten the fact that the holocaust marks an epoch, a fundamental term in history and historical awareness, and any attempt to replace the term with another is an attempt to desecrate this mark, subvert history, particularly the history of Roma that is, with reason, divided into history before and after Auschwitz, and their historical awareness and culture of memory. *Poraimos* is, furthermore, a rather inappropriate word for the indescribable tragedy experienced by Roma in World War II.

10.2. Program and phases of the destruction of the Roma and Sinti

The documentation at the disposal of the Central Council of Sinti and Roma in Heidelberg⁴² shows that the holocaust of Sinti and Roma was racial, antitsiganist and adversarially motivated, ideologically propagated, systematically planned, bureaucratically organised and executed based on factory production, but often in a way that has no prior examples in the history of humanity. Considering the measures undertaken against the Roma and Sinti, several phases can be noted.

⁴¹ Eugen Kogon: *SS država*, Zagreb, 1982.

⁴² Available at: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Central_Council_of_German_Sinti_and_Roma

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- he first phase covers the time from 1933, when Adolf Hitler (1899-1945) became Reich Chancellor on 30 January, up to 1935 when on 15 September the Nurnberg laws were published, representing the legal basis for the destruction of Jews and Roma, declared as the only people of “foreign blood” in Europe.
 - The second phase covers the time from 1936, when the Olympic Games were held in Berlin, while in Marzahn, not far from Berlin, the first concentration camp was built for the Roma and Sinti, with many of them later deported to Auschwitz – Birkenau, until 1938 when Austria was “joined” to Germany, Czechoslovakia was dissolved, and Moravska and Czechia were placed under German protectorate. The first groups of Roma and Sinti were deported to the death camps of Dachau and Buchenwald. Heinrich Himmler (1900-1945) published on 8 December the order on how to regulate affiliation to the “gypsy race”.
 - The third phase covers the time from 1939, when the German-Soviet non-aggression pact was concluded on 23 August. In early September war started against Poland. The Reich Security Service (RSHA) was founded in that year. SS member Arthur Nebe (1894-1945) was appointed as head of the V Section charged with deporting Jews and Roma, dictated by Adolf Eichmann (1906-1962), until 1940, and/or 1941. During the nineteen-forties the Nazis conquered Norway, Denmark, Belgium, France and Holland. Richard Heidrich (1904-1942) organised a conference during that year on the deportation of Jews, Roma and Sinti to Poland. The first group of 2,800 Roma and Sinti arrived to Auschwitz that year, with Rudolf Hess (1900-1947) appointed as its commander. A Roma camp was built in Austria, in Lackenbach. A year later, in 1941, the attack against the USSR started, and engulfed the Balkans countries. There were mass executions of Roma in conquered countries and regions. NDH was declared on 10 April 1941, and the death camp of Jasenovac – “Auschwitz in Croatia” was opened the same year. The camps Topovske šupe, Banjica, Sajmište and others were opened within the territory of Serbia.
 - The fourth phase covers the time from 1942 to August 1943. A conference was held in Wannsee near Berlin on the “final solution” to the Jewish question, i.e. their total destruction. Early that year the destruction of Roma at the Kulmhof camp and in many other countries started, particularly in Romania where an entire system of camps was created – Transnistria. Himmler published an order on the deportation of Roma to Auschwitz – Birkenau from all across Europe. The measures against Roma in Italy were also made stricter. Dr Josef Mengele arrived to Auschwitz – Birkenau in May 1943.
 - The fifth phase covers the time from mid-1943 to the liquidation of the “Family Gypsy Camp” in Auschwitz – Birkenau during the night between 2 and 3 August 1944. Roma underwent mass liquidation in many camps during that period.
 - The sixth phase covers the time from August 1944 to 27 January 1945, the day of liberation of Auschwitz. The survivors included only one Roma person!
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- The seventh phase covers the time from 27 January to the capitulation of Nazi Germany.
- The eighth phase covers the duration of the Nurnberg process from 14 November 1945 to 1 October 1946. The holocaust of the Roma and Sinti was not mentioned!

Analyses show that the majority of Roma and Sinti died in death camps within the territory of Germany and Poland, in Jasenovac (NDH) and Transnistria (Romania). According to available data, the number of victims is one million and 250,000 Roma.

A monument to the European Roma and Sinti victims, authored by Daniel Karavan, an architect from Israel, was uncovered on 23 October 2012. The monument is in Berlin, in the Tiergarten park, across the Reichstag building. Next to the words of former President of Germany Roman Herzog, quoted in the beginning of this book, the monument includes the engraved poem "Auschwitz" by Roma poet from Italy Santino Spinelli.

Sunken face, Extinguished eyes,
Lips like ice.
Silence.
Butchered heart,
No breath,
No words,
No tears.⁴³



Monument to the Sinti and Roma Victims of the holocaust in Berlin



Auschwitz concentration camp

⁴³ Rajko Đurić: *Istorija romske književnosti*, Vršac, 2010.

11. ROMA CULTURE

“Culture is the human face of people.”

Rajko Đurić

The word “Sanskrit” denoted culture in ancient India. Unlike the word “prakrit” (nature, natural), Sanskrit was first the name of the language used to write the Vedas.⁴⁴ According to classification, there were four Vedas: 1) Rigveda – the book of holy verses, hymns or religious texts; 2) Samaveda – book of religious poems; 3) Yajurveda – book of sacrifice and rules of sacrifice; 4) Atharvaveda – book of magical formulas, such as curses, spells, etc.

Furthermore, the word Sanskrit covered everything made by man. These are, for example, myths, works of religion and philosophy, various ideas, values and norms for organising social order, literary epics, dramas, etc. In other words, all that is not natural, but made by man.

Culture, as a term related to all the social heritage of a group of people, originates from the Latin word *colere*, to settle, raise, protect, respect.

The main element of social heritage are patterns of thought, feeling and action of a group, community or society. With Roma, these are the forms clean-unclean (*užo-mahrime*), happy-unhappy (*baxtalo-bibaxtalo*), etc. Part of the pattern of thought consists of ideas and values belonging to the symbolic or spiritual culture, opposed by material culture. Material culture consists of numerous diverse objects and tools, counted by some state communities, such as France, as civilizational achievements. Ideas denote concepts or terms of thinking, thought and imagination, pictures produced by the human spirit of various things. Values are related to what is good, correct or desirable. They are usually the basis for social norms, their disrespect or violation subject to various sanctions. E.g. if a younger person does not cede their seat to an older one, they are said to be “uncouth”. This may cause a feeling of shame in them, followed by blushing. In the life and culture of the Roma, the mechanism of shame (*ladžo*) has a more powerful role than the mechanism of fear, occurring as a rule in authoritative states and cultures. Anthropologists and ethnologists consider laughter and shame as phenomena representing “border lines” between the human and animal world. There is physiological evidence for this.

Cultures are subject to change and capable of adaptation. However, the degree of change even with the same social groups varies if they live under different social conditions or interact with groups whose, for example, religion differs to their own, e.g. Islam and Christianity. Roma culture contains numerous examples as proof of both change, and adaptation.

11.1. Man (not) always loses

Culture, the “human face of people”, is created through centuries. Opposed to Meša Selimović who, under the influence of the Quran, wrote in his novel *Death and the Dervish* that “man always loses”, Roma show that man “not always loses” as long as there is culture. Viewed from an anthropological perspective, the human face originates from culture,

⁴⁴ Veda is knowledge, familiarity (this meaning is preserved, for example, in the Slovene language). The verb to know was derived from the word veda.

while from a theological perspective, the existence of man and culture is evidence of the existence of God.

Certain historical events contain examples that seem to dispute this viewpoint. For example, the Spanish Civil War in 1936 that inspired Pablo Picasso to create *Guernica*⁴⁵ or the Auschwitz death camp that pushed renowned German philosopher Theodor Adorno to formulate the famous idea of the inability to write poetry after Auschwitz.⁴⁶ But these truly emotional events led to immortal human works such as the *Guernica*, and Adorno's dramatic question about the camp, proving that culture can be a "purgatory" for man, society, and history.

The creator of culture is man. The process of its creation unfolds under the wing of the social community, that already had the foundations of culture, or a type of "cultural building". Using these foundations or this "building", creators turn their dreams to reality, build upon and change existing cultural forms and content.

History makes the final judgement of the new work, i.e. places its "mark" on cultural assets. Along with society, history contributes to the creation and stabilisation of a cultural system and crystallisation of ideas and values. This establishes social and historical measures and meanings in culture.

11.2. Rromanipe – Romano dživdipe

The word *rromanipe* designates Roma culture.⁴⁷ The adage *Rromanipe – romano dživdipe* ("Roma-hood [is] the Roma life") suggests that Roma-hood is the source of the cultural life of Roma, i.e. that an individual, a member of the Roma community, is on the one hand determined from birth to death by Roma culture, and on the other, that the Roma community cannot preserve its cultural identity if Roma-hood runs dry.

A similar message is contained in the popular Roma adage: *E Rroma bi rromanipesko si sar jag bi kaštesko!* ("Roma without Roma-hood are like fire without wood!"). Meaning that without Roma-hood the Roma can be assimilated.⁴⁸ Roma-hood is thus perceived as a culture that is the process and result of the humanisation of man. A child is called by its name, presented with its parents, brothers and sisters, grandparents, various words are said to it, various songs, lullabies, etc. are sung to it. In the "cradle" of Roma-hood grows a future member of the Roma community.

Various elements of Roma culture, facts from the family and social life of Roma, literary and musical creative work, transmitted from generation to generation for centuries, are repeated from day to day, becoming part of the personality and awareness of individuals. Later, the child is taught to walk and warned of various dangers in its closest environment, taught to use the things it needs, to use toys, etc. Gradually, with the help of its elders, an individual enters the system, becomes part of the national and cultural system, reflected as part of their person and awareness. Habits and knowledge from this "school" can later be used by them as parents. Habits and knowledge stemming from the Roma culture can be sorted into five groups.

⁴⁵ *Guernica* is one of the best known paintings by Pablo Picasso (it is a mural 349.3 cm x 776.6 cm in size, oil on canvas) and one of the best known anti-war paintings in the world. When he heard of the merciless bombardment of Guernica, a small town in the north of Spain on 26 April 1937 by the Italian and German air force where the town was nearly annihilated, Picasso had the idea for the painting. He produced it in only 35 days, and it is one of the best known anti-war symbols.

⁴⁶ "To write a poem after Auschwitz, this is barbarism", wrote Theodor Adorno in 1951, in *Erziehung nach Auschwitz*, Gesamte Schriften, volume 10, Frankfurt/M 1976. (*Education after Auschwitz*, complete works, volume 10).

⁴⁷ Related to identical or similar phenomena mention in definitions of culture.

⁴⁸ The USA calls assimilation "melting pot".

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- The first group covers cultural and social habits and knowledge that is the foundation of the relationship of an individual to themselves. These are: first name, birthday, maintaining hygiene, personal wardrobe, hobbies, interest for certain cultural activities and content, love of a certain kind of music, personal dreams, etc.
 - The second group covers relations to others. These are, for example, greetings, social games, participation in celebrations and events, making friends, knowing family relations, marriage, etc.
 - The third group covers relations to nature. These are various habits and knowledge, starting from knowledge of plant and animal life, to various natural processes and behaviour in these situations.
 - The fourth group is human relations to the afterlife. Knowing various customs regarding deceased members of the family, relatives and clan, cult of the dead, etc. are some elements in this group.
 - The fifth group covers the relation of man to God. These are, therefore, religious habits and knowledge, various customs, behaviour in temples, rites, etc. The idea and awareness of the holy is the essence of elements in this group.

11.3. Aspects of culture

Analysis leads to the conclusion that romanipe, as the traditional Roma culture, contains the following aspects:

- Communication aspect – the majority of cultural content is communicated through the Romani language which is, by definition, a means of communication.
- Cognitive aspect – the majority of cultural content represents a form of knowledge. For example, names for family relations are told, such as mother, father, brother, sister, grandmother, grandfather, uncle, etc. Or things that may be harmful or dangerous for human life are communicated. Knowledge of living beings and things is transmitted, of heavenly bodies and phenomena, or earthly phenomena such as, for example, floods, fires, etc.
- Normative aspect – a child is presented with the normative world of the community from infancy. For example, “we shouldn’t” spit into the fire, point at a graveyard, touch objects considered taboo, etc. Or, it is prohibited to curse God, mother, grandmother, grandfather, steal, lie, etc.

- Visionary aspect – culture contains elements that transcend the real world, i.e. indicate there is a “better and higher world” that the existing one, or that the existing world can be improved or changed with human activity, by changing one’s views or behaviour, etc.
- Orientation aspect – designates those elements of culture considered to be pillars of its community, the main source of the worldview and view of humans for its members, used to formulate the rules of everyday life and behaviour. Adhering to these rules is viewed as the relationship of individuals towards life and survival. Contrary, those who do not adhere to the rules bring themselves and their community into danger. This role in the Roma community is played by the pair clean-unclean. An analysis shows that this pair (užo–mahrime) designates the border between life and death, light and darkness, or God and the devil. This representation is in a close connection to the ideas of caste and the caste system in India. Happiness, as an idea also stemming from the Indian view of *daivi* (happiness), is the motive and rationale behind many actions by Roma, since happiness is the goal and purpose of their life. To avoid potential misunderstandings, it should be noted that there is no human community that is indifferent to happiness or rejects it as an idea and value. However, in the Roma community the culture of happiness holds the highest role, it is a value and ideal.
- Instrumental aspect – culture contains knowledge of the manufacture and use of instruments, i.e. tools used by man in everyday life or certain circumstances, such as, for example, knife, spoon, hammer, anvil, train, airplane, or spaceship. The instrumental aspect of culture is treated as part of civilization by some communities.

To put it briefly, for the Roma culture, biophilic in character,⁴⁹ it is of primary importance and significance to be, and not to have. There is no verb “to have” in the Romani language. To express the idea of ownership, one must use a construction. For example, I have money in Romani is expressed: *Man si love*, literally meaning: *Me is money*. Loosely translated it means “money has me, I don’t have the money”. Roma explain the ideal of life as follows: Live to experience as many pleasant things as possible, and avoid what is unpleasant.⁵⁰

⁴⁹ Biophilic character means it respects life as the highest value.

⁵⁰ The philosopher Erich Fromm defined the ideal of human life similarly in his study *Anatomy of Human Destructiveness* (Zagreb, 1989). Furthermore, certain translators of the Old Testament indicated that the tree in paradise produced fruit with “pleasant and unpleasant” taste (in ancient Jewish: “da ad tob wa ra”), and not good and evil.

11.4. Social and cultural assets

Roma culture has attracted the attention of those who are not Roma. The Roma life, that does not contain many elements of their culture, has attracted the attention of many European and non-European writers and artists.⁵¹ Works by European writers, particularly from the Romantic era, describe freedom and love as the highest values.

Furthermore, Roma knowledge of medicinal plants found an application in the pharmaceutical industry. Sergius Golovin (1930–2006), author of the book about the *Roma Zigeuner Magie im Alpenland*, stated in 1973 that the pharmaceutical company “Ciba” from Switzerland produced certain medicines based on traditional Roma recipes.

Music is the greatest cultural asset of the Roma. Modern sociology speaks of “social” and “cultural” assets. Social assets are the entire system of connections and relations of a group, enabling them to start certain business programs, such as those by the Jews, Turks, Greeks or Italians. Cultural assets are certain cultural goods or skills that can become part of economic initiatives. The Roma have not made use of their social or cultural capital to date.

In certain countries even the names “Gypsies” and “Gitanes” were used as social-cultural assets. For example, there are products called “Gypsy cheese”, “Gypsy sauce”, “Gypsy schnitzel”, or the French cigarette brand “Gitanes”.

In addition to traditional culture, Roma in Europe have started to show and prove themselves as cultural creators. The Italian renaissance painter of Roma origin Antonio de Solario (1465–1530), nicknamed “lo Zingaro”, is assumed to have been born in Venice. This extremely talented artist, like many other renaissance painters inspired by Christian legends and motifs, is the author of several works that are “corner stones” in the history of fine arts.

11.5. Roma Nobel Prize winners

The main artwork of Andrea Solario is *Salome with the Head of Saint John the Baptist*, produced between 1507 and 1509.⁵² This painting is exhibited at the global “temple” of fine art, the Louvre in Paris, that also presents many other fine art immortals, finding inspiration in the Roma and their lives. Solario was the founder of a fine arts school in Napoli, producing many important late-renaissance painters.

Otto Mueller (1874–1930) is one of the leading founders of the expressionist art group “Bridge”, the author of an entire series of paintings showing the Roma. Mueller was also Roma. He was a professor of the Fine Arts Academy in Dresden and Munich. The Nazis destroyed 357 works by authors of the art circle he and his followers belonged to in 1937, under the charge that it was degenerate art (*entartete kunst*).

The Parisian painter of Roma origin Serge Poliakoff (1900–1960) was born in Russia. He started fine art studies in Moscow in 1919. Faced with the horrors of the Russian revolution, mercilessly swallowing human life, he abandoned Russia and through Sofia reached Belgrade. According to some sources, he lived on Ada Ciganlija, earning his living by playing the guitar in restaurants. Later, he travelled through Vienna to Paris.

⁵¹ The data was presented in the *Little Romological Dictionary*.

⁵² Salome is mentioned in the Gospel of Mark and Gospel of Matthew.

He studied painting in Paris and London, enabling him to master the secrets of modern painting and discover the “language” of colour, using it to speak of himself and the world. His paintings are exhibited in famous galleries across Europe, mainly in Munich. It is interesting to note that the famous reporter and publicist Egon Erwin Kisch (1885–1948) interviewed Poliakov and described his numerous family in Moscow as part of the book *Emperors, Priests, Bolsheviks*, published in 1927 in Berlin.

Helio Gomez, engraver and painter, a Spanish Roma (1905–1952), the best known political engraver of Spain, won over his contemporaries with his courage and sharp quill.

The academic Miodrag Mića Popović (1923–1996), painter and film director, was one of the best known painters in Serbia. Many books have been published about him and his art. As for writers, first of all are those that have entered all literary lexicons and encyclopaedias in Europe through their work. These are John Bunyan (1628–1688) from England, author of the book *The Pilgrim’s Progress*, Ion Budai Deleanu (1760–1820) from Romania, Panajot Istrati (1884–1935) from Romania, Živojin Žika Pavlović (1933–1998) from Serbia, film director, “father” of the black wave in former Yugoslavia, and author of the book *Gypsy Graveyard*, and finally, Stevan Pešić (1939–1994).⁵³

On this occasion the name of the philosopher and professor of the Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade Miladin Životić (1930–1997) cannot be avoided, as well as the film director from France Tony Gatlif (1948), a Roma born in Algiers, making more than 15 films about the Roma and winning multiple awards and prizes.

We finish this chapter about Roma culture in the spirit of the adage “the thread decorates the work”. The Roma have two Nobel prize winners – August Krogh (1879–1939) from Denmark and Anjezë Gonxhe Bojaxhiu (1910–1995), better known as Mother Teresa.



First review of culture achievements of Roma in Serbia



Parade of the participants of the Seventh Review of Cultural Achievements of Roma in Serbia

⁵³ Other Roma writers and their works are presented in the book *Istorija romske književnosti* by Rajko Đurić (Vršac, 2010).

12. STANDARDISATION OF THE ROMANI LANGUAGE

„I daj del e manušes o čam, i dajake čhib
si leske vođake so si o kham e phuvjake.“

Rhomo phenipe

“A mother gives a man his face, the mother tongue
is for his spirit as the Sun is for the land.”

Roma adage

“The language that everyone understands
is the language of human decency.”

Ernst Bloch

The project *standardisation of the Romani language* is based on linguistic discoveries about language and the term “standardisation”. Current knowledge and experience confirms that every language is in fact a norm, and standard language is a specially normalised norm. On the other hand, this project relies on the history and culture of India, the homeland of Roma, their language being one of the many neo-Indian languages.

12.1. Pathways and phases of standardisation

All languages are socially conditioned and pass through various phases of historical development. The Romani language, like many other languages, shows, however, that an entire old language is never poured into a new one, nor is a new one a complete reformation from an old one. Language primarily serves to express and exchange thoughts, views, information and knowledge. Furthermore, it has the power to affix and trade knowledge and experience.

Some of the important properties of language are creativity, abstraction of terms and potential for creating a metalanguage to reflect on the language itself. Issues of standardisation of the Romani language are not yet complete.

Representatives of Roma communities from Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia, Kosovo, Montenegro and Macedonia are engaged in this project, indicating there was a deep social and cultural need, both of the communities and states they represent, as well as the region, a large part of the territory of former SFR Yugoslavia. The process of standardisation of the Croatian, Bosnian, Bosniak, Serbian and Montenegrin languages are examples showing the justification and current importance of this project and endeavour. This was the case earlier, let us recall, with the Macedonian and Albanian languages.

Encouraged by scientific analyses showing that Romani dialects in these regions contain incomparably more identical, similar and common elements than those that differentiate them, representatives of the Roma communities and above states decisively ask that the project *standardisation of the Romani language* be given priority importance both in the above countries, as well as in all programmes aimed at the education, reintegration and integration of Roma in Europe. Standardisation of the Romani language empowers Roma identity, promotes

their integration, and is an efficient means of protection from assimilation. This process can be the source of implementation of rights and freedoms of The Roma in Europe, particularly those contained in the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages,⁵⁴ ratified by many European states.

12.2. Romani language as a study and lecture subject

Although after the ratification of the European Charter the Romani language became the subject of university studies in certain European states, then a subject in primary and secondary schools, the language of media, etc. strong prejudice against the Roma and antitsiganism, as a specific form of racism, a proven useful substitute for antisemitism, create many obstacles and difficulties in this field. Having in mind the historical experience that endangering individual rights and freedoms is always the endangering of many rights and freedoms, if not all, the establishment is proposed of relevant institutions for the standardisation, nurture and development of the Romani language. For this purpose it is proposed to start a magazine for publishing scientific work on these issues and literary texts in the Romani language. Finally, it is necessary to plan the development of a standard Romani dictionary, and a practical manual under the working title “Sar vakardol, sar lekhardol” (“How it is said, how it is written”).

One important linguistic discovery is that *language is in motion*.

The process of standardisation must accord with this discovery. As a normalised form, standard Romani language will find its application in public communication and should become the language of education, science, culture, media, and other public areas. This project is intended for these needs and goals.

12.3. What is standardisation

Language standardisation is ongoing in many African and Asian countries, as well as European ones (Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Montenegro). The linguists Heinz Kloss (1904–1987) and Eugenio Coseriu (1921–2002), experts on the issue, presented their opinion. According to Kloss' definition, three levels should be differentiated during language standardisation: the umbrella language (*Dachsprache*), the language being built (*Ausbausprache*) and the language the standard will differ from (*Abstandsprache*).

The opinion that every language can be standardised won out in modern linguistics. This takes into consideration not just the past and current state of a language, but also its future, i.e. intentions for language standardisation. Furthermore, the following rules have an almost axiomatic meaning: Every dialect is a language. A language, however, is not a dialect.

The intent of standardisation of the Romani language was presented in 1971 when the First World Romani Congress was held in London. Twenty years later, at a congress in Warsaw, the Commission for Standardisation was formed and the work programme was presented. Summer schools and seminars were used to educate professionals, expert teams created terminology and models, while dictionaries, grammars, etc. were written. Thus a script was produced, Latin, with 39 letters. Dialects that have preserved aspirates, existent in neo-Indian languages, the grammar structure and categories that are approximately the same or very similar to those in certain neo-Indian languages were given advantage, i.e. were treated as primary.⁵⁵

⁵⁴ The Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe adopted the European Charter on Regional or Minority Languages on 25 June 1992, coming into force on 1 March 1998. The Assembly of Serbia and Montenegro, at its session held on 21 December 2005, adopted the Law on the ratification of the European Charter on Regional or Minority Languages (“Official Journal of Serbia and Montenegro – International Agreements”, No. 18/05). For Serbia as the successor to the state union of Serbia and Montenegro the Charter came into force on 1 June 2006.

⁵⁵ Gramatika romskog jezika by Rajko Đurić (Belgrade, 2019) provides broader and more precise explanations.

13. THE PHONETIC SYSTEM OF THE ROMANI LANGUAGE

The phonetic system of the Romani language consists of sounds that are the smallest elements of spoken language. They differ from one another audibly, acoustically and articulatorily.

Phonetics studies their material properties, such as volume, pitch, timbre, etc.

Phonology studies differences in the meaning of sounds in language, their properties, relations, etc.

The basis of the phonetic system of Romani is comprised of *vowels*, *diphthongs* and *consonants*.

13.1. Vowels

Romani has five vowels: a e u i e. As the nature and properties of these sounds depend on the mutual position of parts of the speaking apparatus (tongue, palate, lips, etc.) during pronunciation, they are divided into front and back order vowels.

The front order vowels are: **i e**.

The back order vowels are: **a o u**.

Both front, as well as back order vowels may be at the start of words (initial position), in the middle of words (medial position) and ends of words (final position).

The vowel a

The vowel **a** may be short or long.

The vowel **a** is short, for example, in the words, **andre** (inside), **avri** (outside), **dad** (father), **gav** (village), **pandž** (five), **manuša!** (man!), **raja!** (sir!), etc.

The vowel **a** is long in the words **an!** (bring!), **angar** (coal), **džal** (goes, runs), **marel** (hits), **barh** (rock), **gad** (shirt), **ma!** (no, don't!), **phenja** (sisters), **rat** (night), etc.

Special cases

The vowel **a** is very short in the words **čat** (roof), **čang** (knee), **dab** (strike), **xal** (skin, bag), **jag** (fire), **kat** (scissors), **kašt** (tree), **khak** (armpit), **mak** (fly), **mas** (meat), **phak** (wing), **šah** (cabbage), etc.

The vowel **a** is very long in the words **bal** (hair), **čar** (grass), **dar** (fear), **xar** (pit), **phar** (silk), **sar?** (how?), **thar** (molar), etc.

The vowel o

The vowel **o** may also be short or long.

The vowel **o** is short, for example, in the words **okoja** (she), **okova** (him), **doš** (sin, guilt), **mol** (wine), **lon** (salt), **gono** (bag), etc.

The vowel **o** is long in the words **čor** (thief), **dori** (string, rope), **kovlo** (soft), **mišto** (tasty, good), **balo** (pig), **arno** (egg), **čačo** (true), **rromano** (Roma), etc.

The vowel u

The vowel **u** may also be short or long.

The vowel **u** is short, for example, in the words **učo** (tall), **ušt** (lip), **učanel** (sift), **dud** (light), **ruv** (wolf), **šut** (vinegar), **thud** (milk), etc.

The vowel **u** is long in the words **užo** (clean), **umal** (field), **but** (much), **buti** (work, labour), **dur** (far), **rup** (silver), **tu** (you), etc.

The vowel e

The vowel **e** may also be short or long.

The vowel **e** is short, for example, in the words **beng** (devil), **beš!** (sit!), **deš** (ten), **dives** (day), **me** (I), etc.

The vowel **e** is long in the words **beli** (stake), **bero** (boat), **kher** (house), **nevo** (new), etc.

The vowel i

The vowel **i** may also be short or long.

The vowel **i** is short, for example, in the words **ilo** (heart), **iv** (snow), **čhib** (tongue), **dilo** (crazy), **khil** (butter), **gili** (song), **šing** (horn), etc.

The vowel **i** is long in the words **čikat** (forehead), **čhin!** (cut!), **kiral** (cheese), **rin** (jege), **či** (no, is not), **rati** (night), etc.

The function of vowels may be taken on by certain consonants, primarily the consonant **r**.

13.2. Diphthongs

Diphthongs may be exclamations found at the beginning, middle or end of certain words. Exclamations are, for example: **ai!** (ah!), **oi!** (hey!), **iu!** (oh!), etc.

Certain exclamations produce rising diphthongs in the words **aino**, **ajno** (surprised), **iuino**, **ijono** (wondering), etc.

The exhaled diphthong **ai** occurs in the following words: **čaj**, **čaj** (tea), **kikai**, **kikaj** (cauldron), **phabai**, **phabaj** (apple), **sonakai**, **sonakaj** (gold), etc.

The diphthong **oi** occurs in the words **goi**, **goj** (sausage), **heroi**, **heroj** (boot), **rroi**, **rroj** (spoon), **šoši**, **šošoj** (rabbit), etc.

In accordance with accepted rules confirmed by speaking experience, instead of the above diphthongs the letter *j* is used. Thus, the above words have the written form **aj! oj! ju! ajno, ijino, čaj, kikaj, phabaj, sonakaj, goj, heroj, roj, šošoj**, etc.

The diphthong **ia** occurs as a rule in all medium verbs in the present tense. E.g.: arakhadiav (I am at), bangiav (I bend), džungadiav (I wake), kerdiav (I become), lačhardiav (I dress), mala-diav (I meet), etc.

In accordance with accepted rules confirmed by speaking experience, instead of the diphthong **ia** the above verbs should use the letter **y**. The above words thus have the written form **arakhadyav, bangyav, džungadyav, kerdyav, lačhardyav, maladyav**, etc. (Since spoken practice shows that the vocal group **-ija-** (*ya*) in the above words often transitions into **o** (arakhadov, bandjov, džungadov, kerdov, lačhardov, malado, etc.), it is permitted to use the letter **o** in such cases. The basis of the word should remain unchanged, except in cases where due to vocal shifts this is unavoidable. Example: džungadov (I wake), džungados (you wake), džungadol (he/she/it wakes), džungados (we wake), džungadon (you wake), džungadon (they wake).

13.3. Consonants

Based on the rules of international linguistic classification, consonants are divided into two groups. The first, horizontal group of this two-dimensional schematic, contains consonants identified and described based on the **place of pronunciation** or **articulation**. The second, vertical group contains consonants identified and described based on the **manner of articulation**, i.e. by **resonance**.

Consonant classes

Based on the above principles and phonological analyses of consonants in the Romani language to date, 10 consonant classes can be identified.

- **The first class** of non-aspirated plosive consonants contains the sounds **k, t, p**, affricate **č**.
 - The consonant **k** is a velar plosive. It occurs, for example, in the words kalo (black), kan (ear), kat (scissors), kerel (do), kon? (who?), etc.
 - The consonant **t** is a dental plosive. It occurs, for example, in the words trin (three), tu (you), etc.
 - The consonant **p** is a bilabial plosive. It occurs, for example, in the words pandž (five), pani (water), patrin (leaf), pijel (drink), pustik (book), etc.
 - The consonant **č** is a pre-palatal affricate, a complex sound. It occurs, for example, in the words čaj (tea), čalavel (move, go towards), čat (roof), čor (thief), etc.
 - The second class of aspirated plosive consonants contains the aspirates **kh, th, ph, čh**. These consonants are in a phonological opposition to consonants in the first group, in the sense defined by the representatives of the Prague school. This means that these consonants can form words that differ by meaning from the words formed by consonants in the first group.
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- The consonant **kh** occurs, for example, in the words kham (sun), khas (hay), kher (house), etc.
 - The consonant **th** occurs, for example, in the words than (place), thav (thread), thulo (fat), etc.
 - The consonant **ph** occurs, for example, in the words phal (board), phen (sister), phral (brother), etc.
 - The consonant **čh** occurs, for example, in the words čhavo (son), čhonut (moon), čhuri (knife), etc.
- **The third class** of non-aspirated plosive consonants contains the sounds **g, d, b**, the affricate **dž**.
 - The consonant **g** is a velar plosive. It occurs, for example, in the words gav (village), gili (song), grašt (horse), etc.
 - The consonant **d** is a dental plosive. It occurs, for example, in the words duj (two), dur (far), etc. If it is found before the vowel **i**, it transitions to **dj**. For example, dives (day), **dj**ivesavol, etc.
 - The consonant **b** is a bilabial plosive. It occurs, for example, in the words baro (big), berš (year), bičhalel (send), bikinel (sell), but (much), etc.
 - The consonant **dž** is a prepalatal affricate. It occurs, for example, in the words džal (go), dživil (live), džuvli (woman), etc.
 - **The fourth class** of nasal consonants contains the sounds **m** and **n**.
 - The consonant **m** is a bilabial nasal. It occurs, for example, in the words mačho (fish), maki (fly), manuš (man), etc. When found between vowels, **m** sounds like a labial sonant. For example: amal (friend), amaro (our), dumo (shoulder), dumukh (fist), etc.
 - The consonant **n** is a dental nasal. It occurs, for example, in the words nakh (nose), nav (name), nevo (new), etc. When found between vowels, **n** sounds like a dental sonant. For example: anav (name, nickname), dino (given, delivered), gono (bag), sano (thin), suno (dream), etc.
 - The variant **n** occurs before **g** and **k**. For example: bango (bent, lame), čang (knee), kangli (comb), tang (narrow), inklel (exit, climb), unkil (go hoarse), etc.
 - **The fifth class** contains the sounds **v, r, l**.
 - The semi-vowel **v** is a labio-dental semivowel. It is created with the lower lip and upper teeth, with vibration of the vocal chords. (It is contrasted to the voiceless **f**.) This semi-vowel occurs, for example, in the words var (times), vakerel (speak), vast (arm), viram (point), voj (she), etc.
 - The sound **r** is alveolar, or supradental. This means the point of its articulation are the dental bases above which the tongue vibrates. If it is next to a vowel, **r** has the role of a consonant, such as in the words raj (sir), rani (missis), rang (colour) rat (night), rup (silver), etc. If between vowels or sonants, it takes on the role of a vowel. For example: brš (year), bršnd (rain), krlo (voice), vrtinel (turn), etc.
 - The sound **l** is also alveolar. However, during its pronunciation the tip of the tongue
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touches the palate of the upper jaw. It occurs, for example, in the words **lav** (word), **lel** (take), **likh** (nit), **lolo** (red), **lon** (salt), etc. If found before the vowels **i, o, e, a**, it transitions into **lj**. For example: the adjective **dilo** (crazy) produced the causative verb **diljarel** (to drive crazy); the noun **gili** (song) produced the causative verb **giljarel** (to sing, to write songs); the adjective **lolo** (red) produced the causative verb **loljarel** (to paint red); the verb **sovel** (sleep) produced the causative verb **sovljarel** (to put to sleep); the adjective **kalo** (black) produced the causative verb **kaljarel** (to paint black), etc

- **The sixth class** contains only the sound **rr**.
 - The sound **rr** is a retroflex. This sound is produced by raising the tongue and gently bending its tip back, articulated towards the hard palate, the so-called palatum. The sound occurs, for example, in the words **Rrom** (Roma), **Rroma** (the Roma), **rroj** (spoon), **barr** (rock), **porr** (belly), **porra** (guts), etc.
 - **The seventh class** contains the so-called hissing sounds **s, š, c, z, ž**, called sibilants. The consonants **s, z and c** are dental, the consonants **š and ž** are palatal.
 - The consonant **s** is similar to Serbian. It occurs, for example, in the words **sa** (all), **sap** (snake), **sasto** (healthy), **sastro** (father in law), **sasuj** (mother in law), etc.
 - The consonant **z** is predominantly present in words of foreign origin. For example: **zor** (force, power), **bezeh** (sin), etc. It is very rarely present in original Roma words. For example: **azbal** (touch), **vazdel** (raise), **lizdral** (shiver), etc.
 - The consonant **c** is predominantly present in words of foreign origin. It is very rarely present in original Roma words. For example: **cara** (tent, caravan), **crdel** (pull), etc.
 - The consonant **š** is similar to Serbian. It occurs, for example, in the words **šah** (cabbage), **šov** (six), etc.
 - The consonant **ž** only occurs in words of foreign origin.
 - **The eighth class** consists only of the sound **h**.
 - The velar Romani sound **h** has a varied origin, thus it is hard to define and describe, as is the case in both neo-Indian and some European languages. It occurs, for example, in the words **hadž** (itch), **halado** (washed), **hando** (dug out), **harno** (short), **hasardo** (lost), **haštil** (to yawn), etc.
 - **The ninth class** consists only of the sound **x**.
 - The guttural sound **x** also has a varied origin. It occurs, for example, in the words **xabe** (food), **xaing** (well), **xal** (bag, skin), **xas** (cough), etc.
 - **The tenth class** is mixed.
 - It has two subclasses. The first subclass consists of sounds that are the result of sound changes and phenomena – **j, dj, č, čh, lj, nj**.
 - The second subclass consists of sounds with foreign origins – **f, y**. In case of need, the register of this class can be complemented with other subclasses.
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13.4. Sound changes

When certain sounds are found next to one another during changes or the formation of words, they affect one another. This produces sound changes, i.e. there are changes and substitutions of sounds in forms of a word or in words created during the process of formation. On the other hand, since the Romani language is of Indian origin, it is necessary to have sandhi in mind. (Sanskrit: along, together; dhi, from the verb dha, to put). This is of an express phenomenon of ancient Indian languages, affecting the formation of words and sound changes in neo-Indian languages. As noted before, through certain examples, the influence of sandhi is also noticeable in Romani, as confirmed by a certain number of words from this language.⁵⁶

The first class

The sound k

In certain Roma dialects the consonant **k** in front of the vowels **i**, **e** at the beginning of words (initial position) and in the middle of words (medial position) transitions into **č** or **č̣**.

Examples:

– Kidel, to pick – čidel; kilo, stake – čilo; kinel, to buy – činel; kir, ant – čir; kiral, cheese – čiral; kireš, cherry – čireš; kirvo, godfather – čirvo etc. this change also occurs in words where **k** is in the middle of the word: bikinel, to sell – bičinel; pokinel, to pay – počinel. There are, also, some words of foreign origin, such as, rakija – račija, etc.

– Kerel, to work – čerel; kermo, worm – čermo; mekel, to leave – mečel; pekel, to bake – pečel, etc.

– There are rarer examples when **k** transitions into **č̣**, **čh** or **č̣h**. These are, e.g. džukel, dog – džučel; the adjective kašuki, deaf – kašuč̣i; kašuke, deaf – kašuč̣e; the plural form of the noun makh, fly – mač̣ha. (Variants include mač̣ha and maḳha.)

– **K** transitions into **č̣** in certain words of foreign origin, such as, kemane, a musical instrument – č̣emane, kebab – č̣evap, rakija, rakia – rač̣ija, etc.

In the written form it is necessary in all the above and similar words, as well as in case suffixes (post-positions – genitive singular -ko, -ki, -ke; dative singular -ke) to retain the original sound k, written using the letter k.

The sound t

In certain Roma dialects the consonant **t** before the vowel **i** in the initial or medial position transitions into **c** or **č̣**.

Examples:

– Tikno, small – cikno; tiknjarel, reduces, subtracts – ciknjarel, etc.

– Tiknol, decreases – ciknol; tiro, yours – č̣iro; tiri, yours – č̣iri; tire, yours – č̣ire, etc.

– Ratilo, it grew dark – rač̣ilo; arati, yesterday – arač̣i; buti, work – buč̣i, etc.

⁵⁶ Đurić, Rajko: *Gramatika romskog jezika*, Beograd, 2019.

In the written form it is necessary to retain the sound **t** in all the above and similar words, as well as in case suffixes (post-positions – ablative singular **-tar**, locative singular **-te**) and in ordinal numbers (e.g. **jek**, one – **jekto**, first; **duj**, two – **dujto**, second).

It is written using the letter **t**.

– Exception: When **t** is in a medial position between the vowel **u** and consonant **l**, a change occurs. E.g. the verb **hutel**, to jump, has the past tense forms **hutlem**, **hutlan**, **hutlo**, **hutli**... (I jumped, you jumped, he jumped, she jumped...) However, the joined consonants **tl** are almost regularly pronounced as **kl**. Thus, **huklem**, **huklan**, **huklo**, **hukli**, etc. In this case it is correct to write **huklem**, **huklan**, **huklo**, **hukli**...

The sound p

The consonant **p** is not subject to change.

In written form it is necessary to retain it in all positions in words where it occurs. It is written using the letter **p**.

The sound č

In certain Roma dialects the consonant **č** is incorrectly pronounced as **ć**.

– For example **čačo** (correct) – **ćačo**; **čačipen** (truth) – **ćačipen**; **čalo** (full) – **ćalo**; **čar** (grass) – **ćar**; **čik** (mud) – **ćik**; **čuči** (sucks) – **ćuči**; **čučo** (empty) – **ćučo**, etc. These and similar words pronounced incorrectly are not correct in written form.

In the written form it is necessary in all above and similar words to retain the original sound **č**, written using the letter **č**.

The second class

Sounds from this class are the consequence of **aspiration**, characteristic for ancient Indian and neo-Indian languages, as well as certain European ones, such as German and English. The aspirated sound is a consonant followed by the sound **h**.

The aspirate kh

In certain Roma dialects the aspirate **kh** before the vowels **i**, **e** changes into **čh** or **čh**.

Examples:

- **Khelel**, to dance – **čhelel**; **kher**, house – **čher**, etc.
 - **Khil**, butter – **čhil**; **khino**, tired – **čhino**, etc.
 - **Makhel**, to spread – **mačhel**; **nakhel**, to pass – **načhel**, etc.
 - The aspirate **kh** remains unchanged in the following and similar words: **bokh**, hunger (pl. **bokha**); **drakh**, grapes (pl. **drakha**); **dukh**, pain (pl. **dukha**); **jakh**, eye (pl. **jakha**); **khakh**, armpit (pl. **kha- kha**); **lekh**, letter, sign (pl. **lekha**), **likh**, l (pl. **likha**); **lokh**, world (pl. **lokha**); **lokho**, easy (pl. **lokhe**); **makh**, fly (pl. **makha**); **nakh**, nose (pl. **nakha**); **phakh**, wing (pl. **phakha**); **rukx**, tree
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(pl. rukha). The aspirate **kh** also remains in words derived from these words.

In written form it is necessary in all the above and similar words to retain the original aspirate kh, written using the digraph kh.

This is the only aspirate that takes any position in a word.

*The aspirate **th***

In certain Roma dialects the aspirate **th** before the vowel **e** changes into **čh**.

For example, **them**, world – **čhem**. This change is not acceptable. If the word ending in **-e** is connected by the connector **thaj**, and, with another word, the aspirate **th** from the connector becomes silent. Example: me (th) aj tu. (Ja and ti.)

In written form it is necessary in the above word and similar words to retain the original aspirate th, written using the digraph th.

This aspirate cannot be found in the finite position, i.e. at the end of words.

*The aspirate **ph***

This aspirate is not subject to change.

In written form it is necessary to retain it in all words where it occurs. It is written using the digraph ph.

The aspirate **ph** is always at the beginning of words and very rarely takes up the medial position. It is never at the end of words, in the finite position.

*The aspirate **čh***

In certain Roma dialects the aspirate **čh** before the vowels **a**, **i**, **u** changes into **čh** or **š**.

Examples: **čhavo**, child – **čhavo**; **šavo**; **čhib**, language – **čhib**; **šib**; **čhdel**, throw – **čhudel**; **šudel**; **lačho**, good – **lačho**; **lašo**; **mačho**, fish – **mačho**; **mašo**, etc. This is, once again, incorrect pronunciation.

In written form it is necessary in all the above and similar words to retain the original aspirate čh, written using the digraph čh.

The third class

The sound *g*

In certain Roma dialects the sound *g* in front of vowels changes into *dj* or *dž*.

– Examples: *g*ili, song – *dj*ili, *dž*ili; *g*ilabal, to sing – *dj*ilabal, *dž*ilabal; *g*inel, to count – *dj*inel, *dž*inel; *g*iv, wheat – *dj*iv, *dž*iv, etc.

In certain Roma dialects the sound *g* in front of the vowel *e* changes into *dj*.

– Examples: *g*elem, I left – *dj*elem; *g*er, itch, mange – *dj*er, etc.

When *g* is between the vowels *i* and *a*, there is also a change in certain dialects.

– Examples: *sig*arde, fast, swift – *sidj*arde, *sidž*arde.

In certain foreign words, such as *magija* (magic), *g* transitions into *dj* or *dž*.

When *g* is in the middle of words between the consonant *n* and vowels *i*, *e*, *a* or *o*, a change also occurs into *dj* or *dž*.

– Examples: *bangi*av, I bend – *bandj*jav, *bandž*jav; *nangi*, naked – *nandj*i, *nandž*i; *tangol*, narrows – *tandj*ol, *tandž*ol; *khangiri*, church – *khandj*iri, *khandž*iri, *bengalo*, *djavast*, mean – *bendj*alo, *bendž*alo; *mange*, to me – *mandj*e, *mandž*e; *amenge*, to us – *amendj*e, *amendž*e etc.

In written form it is necessary in all the above and similar words, as well as in case suffixes (postpositions – genitive plural -go, -gi, -ge; dative plural -ge) to retain the original sound *g*, written using the letter *g*.

The sound *d*

In certain Roma dialects and a small number of words the sound *d* in front of the vowel *i* transitions into *dj*.

– For example: *dives*, day – *djives*; *divesa*, days – *djivesa*; *divesavol*, it is dawning – *djivesavol*; *adives*, today – *adjives*, etc. In some dialects the word *dives* is pronounced as *gives*. The change is also shown in the word *mardj*jav, they are beating me – *mardj*jav, etc.

In written form it is necessary to retain the original sound *d* in all of the above and similar words, in case suffixes (postpositions – ablative plural -dar, locative plural -de) and in adjectives being compared (comparative -der) or in verbs that in past tense (preterit) have the characteristic marker -d. It is written using the letter *d*.

– Exception: When *d* is in a medial position between the vowels *n* and *l*, a change occurs. For example: the verb *phandel* – to tie, has the past forms *phandlem*, *phandlan*, *phandla*... (I tied, you tied, he tied, she tied...). However, the joint consonants *dl* are pronounced almost regularly as *gl*. Thus, *phangle*, *phanglan*, *phangla*... In this case it is correct to write **phan-*g*lem, phanglan, phangla**...

The sound b

The consonant **b** is not subject to change, except in cases where it is found in front of **s**. Then it transitions into **p**.

In written form it is necessary to retain it in all words where it occurs. It is written using the letter b.

The sound dž

In certain Roma dialects the sound **dž** is pronounced **dj** or **ž**.

– Examples: **dž**anav, I know – žanav; **dž**av, I go – žav; **dž**ivdo, alive – živdo; **dž**uto, pair – žuto **dž**uvli, woman – žuvli, etc. This change is unacceptable in written form.

In written form it is necessary in all the above and similar words to retain the original sound dž, written using the digraph dž.

*The fourth class**The sound m*

The sound **m** is not subject to change.

In written form it is necessary to retain it in all words where its occurs. It is written using the letter m.

The consonant n/nj

The most frequent changes occur in plural forms of nouns in the female gender whose base form ends in the consonant **-n** or syllable **-ni**. Then **n** transitions into **nj**.

– Examples: phen, sister; penja, sisters; ran, branch; ranja, branches; rani, missis; ranja, mistresses; grasni, mare; grasnja, mares; pani, water; panja, waters, etc. Furthermore, the sound **nj** exists in words of foreign origin.

In written form it is necessary to accept these changes.

In all other words and their forms where n occurs it is necessary to retain it. The consonant also needs to be retained in the postposition -ne- that occurs when ordinal numbers change case.

Example: jekto, first – e.g. ablative: jektonestar – from the first; dujtonestar – from the second, etc. **It is written using the letter n.**
Its change is written using the digraph nj.

The fifth class

The consonant v

The consonant *v* is not subject to change.

In written forms it is necessary to retain it in all words and their forms where it occurs. It is written using the letter v.

The consonant r

The diverse etymological origin of the Roma sound *r* and many other reasons and circumstances have contributed to the creation of an entire register of nuances in its pronunciation. However, the voice did not undergo thorough change, nor is it subject to significant changes.

In written form it is necessary to retain it in all words and their forms. It is written using the letter r.

The consonant l/lj

The consonant *l* (so-called liquid) is not subject to change when it is in the beginning of words (initial position), or at the end of words (final position). In a large number of cases it does not change when it is in the middle of words, particularly when it is preceded by the consonants **g-(gl)-**, **r-(rl)-**, **s-(sl)-**, **š-(šl)-**, **b-(bl)-**, **k-(kl)-**, **č-(čl)-**, **v-(vl)-** in a word. However, changes do occur when it is in the middle of a word (medial position) between short and long vowels, and under the influence of iotation, i.e. when it blends with the sound *j*. Then *l* changes into *lj*. Furthermore, the sound *lj* exists in words of foreign origin.

– Examples: lačhipen, goodness; ladž, shame; lav, word; lava, words; lil, paper, letter; lokho, easy; lolo, red; lon, salt; love, money; lošalo, happy, etc.

– Examples for words where the consonant *l* is at the end of words: bal, hair; čel, offspring, roj, people; čel, measles; Devel, God; mel, dirt; šel (number) 100; ternjol, rejuvenates, etc.

– Examples for words where the consonant *l* is in the middle of words: balvał, wind; čalo, full; ilo, heart; angle, forward; berli, bee; reslo, it has arrived; dikhlo, scarf; bešlo, he sat down; šelo, rope; šuvlo, bloated; džanglo, known; ulo, owl, etc.

In written form *l* needs to be retained in all these and similar letter. Furthermore, certain verbs in preterit have a characteristic marker -l- (e.g. resel, to arrive – preterit: reslem, I arrived; reslan, you arrived; reslo, he arrived, resli, she arrived, etc.). It is written using the letter l.

Words such as *balji*, *sow*; *čiriklji*, *bird*; *rovlji*, *stick*; *xoljariko*, *angry*, etc., and a large number of so-called causative verbs where the consonant **l** occurs, **needs to be written using the digraph *lj***.

The sixth class

The sound rr

In certain Roma dialects the sound **rr** is pronounced as **x**.

– For example: **Rrom**, Roma – **Xom**; **rroj**, spoon – **xoj**; **barr**, rock – **bax**, etc.

In written form these changes are unacceptable. Therefore the sound rr needs to be retained in the above words, their forms, and words derived from them. It is written using the digraph *rr*.

The seventh class

The consonant s

The consonant **s** occurs in the beginning, middle or end of words without change.

– For example: **sa**, all; **sado**, simple; **sano**, thin; **sap**, snake; **sastri**, iron; **sasuj**, mother in law; **saso**, healthy; **dives**, day; **džas**, we go; **khas**, hay; **xas**, cough; **mas**, meat, etc.

The consonant **s** has the most frequent conjunction in Romani words with the consonants **t-(st)**, **k-(sk)**, **p-(sp)**, **v-(sv)**, **r-(sr)**, **n-(sn)**, etc.

– During changes to nouns in the male gender denoting living beings in the instrumental singular there is a double **s**. For example, **manušessa**, with man. This doubling is unacceptable.

– On the other hand, changing words in instrumental plural gain the conjunction **ns**. For example, **manušensa**, with people; **barrensa**, with rocks; **lensa**, with them, etc. In this case the sound **s** shifts into **c**, producing the form **ca**. Thus, **manušenca**, **barrenca**, **lenca**, etc.

The change in the first case above caused that in certain Roma dialects **s** changes into **h** or **j**. For example, instead of **manušesa** – **manušeha** or **manušēja**; instead of **lesa**, with him – **leha** or **leja**, etc. This occurrence, originating from Sanskrit, is called visargisation.

Except for the form -ca, the sound s needs to be retained in all words and their forms, as well as case suffixes (postpositions – instrumental singular -sa, -sar) where it occurs. It is written using the letter *s*.

The consonant š

The consonant š also occurs in the beginning, middle and end of words without change.
– For example šax, cabbage; maškar, middle; deš, ten; biš, twenty, etc.

In written form the sound š needs to be retained in all words and their forms it occurs in. It is written using the letter š.

The consonant c

The consonant c occurs in a small number of Roma words, some already listed.

In written form the sound c needs to be retained in all Roma words of foreign origin and in case suffixes (postposition – *instrumental plural* -ca, -car). It is written using the letter c.

The consonant z

The consonant z also occurs in a small number of Roma words, some already listed.

In written form the sound z needs to be retained both for words from Romani, as well as words of foreign origin. It is written using the letter z.

The consonant ž

The consonant ž is present in words of foreign origin or the consequence of change, e.g. of the sound dž into ž, characteristic of certain dialects.

In written form the sound ž should only be used in words of foreign origin. It is written using the letter ž.

The eighth class

The consonant h

In addition to being an element of aspirates and the result of sound changes and occurrences, the sound h is present in a small number of Roma words, some already listed.

In written form the sound h needs to be retained both for words from Romani, as well as words of foreign origin. It is written using the letter h.

The ninth class

The sound x

The sound **x** in the majority of cases originates from foreign languages or is the result of sound changes and occurrences in Romani.

In written form the sound x needs to be retained both for words from Romani, as well as words of foreign origin. It is written using the letter x.

The tenth class

The sound j

The sound **j** from the first subclass of this mixed class is the result of various sound changes and occurrences, including, for example, the old (pre-iottis) **i**, or the sound denoted in Indian languages with **y**, diphthongs, etc.

The sound **j** in the initial position, i.e. beginning of Roma words is a so-called prothesis – an occurrence consisting of the original form of the word being preceded by certain sounds that are integrated with it and make up its base (the vowel **a** and consonants **j**, **n**, **v** are the main prothetic suffixes).

– Examples: **jag**, fire; **jakh**, eye; **jekh**, one, etc.

In the middle of words: **bajrarel**, to raise; **dija**, has entered; **kleja**, knickknacks; **najarel**, to bathe, to wash, etc. At the end of words: **baj**, sleeve; **duj**, two; **goj**, sausage; **khoj**, fat; **rroj**, spoon; **šaj**, to be able to, etc.

In written form the sound j needs to be retained in words that have become standard in the Romani language vocabulary and in words of foreign origin. Furthermore, certain verbs have a preterit marker -j (e.g. rovel, to cry – preterit: rujem, I cried; rujan, you cried; ruja, he cried, she cried, etc.). It is written using the letter j.

The sound dj

The sound **dj** is the result of sound changes and occurrences, the most important ones already described. Furthermore, it is a part of words with foreign origin. **It is written using the digraph dj.**

The sound ċ

The sound **ċ** is the result of sound changes and occurrences. Furthermore, it is a part of words with foreign origin. **It is written using the letter ċ.**

The sound čh

The aspirate **čh** is the result of sound changes and occurrences. **It is written using the digraph čh.**

The sound lj

The sound **lj** is the result of sound changes and occurrences. Furthermore, it is a part of words with foreign origin. **It is written using the digraph lj.**

The sound nj

The sound **nj** is the result of sound changes and occurrences. Furthermore, it is a part of words with foreign origin. **It is written using the digraph nj.**

The sound f

The sound **f** from the second subclass of the mixed tenth class is foreign in origin.

In written form the sound f needs to be retained both for words that have become standard in the Romani language, and for the use of words of foreign origin. It is written using the letter f.

The sound y

The sound **y** from the second subclass of the mixed tenth class is used for etymological and historical reasons, and for words of foreign origin. Namely, in many scientific studies of the Romany language published in German, English, French and other European languages, the letter **y** was used to denote a sound similar to **j** or **i**, one that lies between those two sounds. Quoting text in its original form requires that the letter **y** find its place in the Romani script.

Furthermore, the use of the letter **y** is necessary to clearly differentiate in written form between **medium**, on the one hand, and **active** and **passive**, on the other.

Thus, in written form the sound y needs to be retained in the above cases. It is written using the letter y.

Based on the described classes of sounds, their analysis and analysis of sound changes, one may concluded that the Romani language has 38 symbols, with 10 (**čh, čh, dj, dž, kh, lj, nj, ph, rr, th**) written as digraphs, and 28 (**a, b, c, č, d, e, f, g, h, x, i, j, k, l, m, n, o, p, r, s, š, t, u, v, y, z, ž**) with simple letters.

13.5. Other sound changes

In addition to the above, the Romani language contains other sound changes. Knowledge and understanding of these sound changes contributes to correct speech and writing, and understanding of the processes that caused changes in words or those following the creation of more complex words.

Types of sound changes

Apheresis

Apheresis denotes the loss of the first sound from a base word.

For example, the personal pronoun *amen*, us, is sometimes pronounced *men*. Certain case forms of this personal pronoun are sometimes pronounced without the initial **a**. For example, *mende*, at our place, instead of *amende*, etc. Or the word *vadže*, sometimes pronounced *adže*, etc.

Alternation

Alternation is a regular occurrence in etymologically related words in a synchronous plane. On the other hand, it is expressed in the morphological plane and serves for grammatical differentiation.

The Romani language contains many examples that confirm both cases. One of the paradigmatic examples for the first case are the nouns **raklo**, boy, lad; **rakli**, girl. These nouns in Hindi and related languages are **larko**; **larki**. As for the second case, alternation occurs in declination, word change by case, and conjugation, verb change by tense.

Apocope

Apocope denotes the loss of the final sound in the base word.

For example: the noun *baxt*, luck, is sometimes pronounced *bax*; *grast*, horse – *gra* or *gras*; *kašt*, tree – *kaš*; *vast*, hand – *va* or *vas*, etc.

Assibilation

Assibilation is a phenomenon causing “squeaking” (so-called (Ger.) *Zischlaut*) in certain words. It has become common in certain Roma dialects. For example, the word *tikno*, little, is pronounced *cikno*; *kinel*, to buy – *cinel*; *khino*, tired – *cino* or *cihno*; *crdel*, to pull – *cidel*; *kiral*, cheese – *ciral*, etc. The above examples show that in Romani, like other languages, assibilation occurs (a) when the sound **t** is found between the vowels **i**, **e**, illustrated by the paradigmatic example **generation** – *generacija*; (b) when the consonants **k** and **g** are in front of the vowel **i**.

Assimilation

Assimilation is a phenomenon stemming from the articulative adjustment of a given sound to those around it. (There are several types of this phenomenon – *progressive*, *regressive*, *total*, *partial*, *reciprocal* and *contact assimilation*). One previously unnoticed, but important example is the change occurring in the case forms of personal pronouns due to assimilation. Namely, the personal pronoun *me*, I, has the genitive form *mango*, me; dative – *mange*, to me; instrumental – *mancar*, with me; locative – *mande*, at my place; ablative – *mandar*, from me. The personal pronoun *amen*, we, has the genitive form, *amengo*, us; dative – *amenge*, to us; instrumental – *amencar*, with us; locative – *amende*, at our place; ablative – *amender*, from

us. According to the standing paradigm, the personal pronoun *me*, I, should have the following forms in the above cases: *manko*; *manke*, *mansar*, *manste*, *manstar*.

Since for the personal pronoun *me*, I, the base of the oblique case is **man**, me, with the added postposition **-ke**, the sound **k** is between the sound **n** in the base of the oblique case and the long vowels **o** and **e**. Therefore a change has occurred in the case forms of the personal pronoun *me*, I in genitive and dative. These changed forms are similar to the forms of the personal pronoun *amen*, we, in genitive and dative. Thus the form (gen. sg.) **mango**, me – (gen. pl.) **amengo**, us; (dat. sg.) **mange**, to me – (dat. pl.) **amenge**, to us, occurs.

The form of the personal pronoun *me*, I in instrumental occurs by adding the postposition to the base of the oblique case **man**. This means that the form **mansa**, with me occurs. However, the sound **s** between **n** (in the base of the oblique case **man**) and the long vowel **a** (from the postposition **-sa**), changes into **c**. Thus, the form **mancar** occurs. This leads to the form (instr. sg.) **mancar**, with me; (instr. pl.) **amencar**, with us.

The form of the personal pronoun *me*, I in locative occurs by adding the postposition **-te** to the base of the oblique case **man**. This means that the form **mante**, to me, at my place occurs. However, the sound **t** between the consonant **n** (in the base of the oblique case **man**) and the long vowel **e** (from the postposition **-te**) changes into **d**. This produces the form (loc. sg.) **mande**, to me, at my place – (loc. pl.) **amende**, to us, at our place.

The form of the personal pronoun *me*, I in ablative occurs by adding the postposition **-tar** to the base of the oblique case **man**. This means that the form **mantar**, from me occurs. However, the sound **t** between the consonant **n** (in the base of the oblique case **man**) and the long vowel **a** (from the postposition **-tar**), also changes into **d**. Thus, the form **mandar**, from me occurs. So, once again the form (abl. sg.) **mandar**, from me – (abl. pl.) **amendar**, from us occurs.

Thus the following may be concluded: the postposition (**-go**, **-ge**, **-car**, **-de**, **-dar**) added to the bases of oblique cases of declined words were produced as a result of assimilation.

Another consequence of assimilation are deformed forms of the personal pronoun *tu*, you. Namely, this pronoun has lost its genitive form. It is replaced by the possessive pronoun **tiro** or **ćiro**, yours.

In certain dialects, this occurred with the other personal pronouns: instead of **mango** – **morro**, mine; instead of **amengo** – **amaro**, ours; instead of **tumengo** – **tumaro**, yours.

The forms of the personal pronoun **tu**, you are also deformed in dative, instrumental, locative and ablative.

These examples show that the phenomenon of assimilation is very frequent in the Ro-

mani language, and knowledge of it is very important to explain changes that occur to the bases and forms of words. The opposite phenomenon is dissimilation.

Elision

Elision is the phenomenon of dropping superfluous and unnecessary vowels in words or between words, particularly in cases of hiatus (dieresis). The Romani language is rife with such examples.

Epenthesis

Epenthesis is the insertion of sounds or groups of sounds in certain words. This occurs most frequently in cases of hiatus (dieresis) in certain words.

For example, the word *phub*, *pass*, is sometimes incorrectly pronounced – *phumb*.

Epinthesis

Epinthesis is the prolongation of the base form of a word. In the Romani language the sounds **k** and **n** or the vowels **a**, **i** are the most frequent in this role. In some cases epinthesis is necessary, in others it is superfluous and unnecessary.

For example, it is necessary in nouns such as *angrusti*, ring – *angrustin*; *amali*, girlfriend – *amalin*; meadow, field – *livadin*, etc. It is, however, superfluous in words such as *čhuri*, knife – *čhurik*; *pori*, tail – *porik*; *našti*, cannot – *naštik*, etc. This phenomenon is, for example, very frequent in the speech of Roma in Vojvodina.

Glottalization

Glottalization is a phenomenon that occurs through the merging of certain consonant groups that produces a coarse, guttural sound, i.e. it produces laryngisation.

For example: the word *manro*, bread, that due to the alternation in certain dialects is pronounced *marno*, was changed in certain dialects and is pronounced *maxno*. Thus sometimes numerous variants of the base word may arise. An illustrative example of this is the possessive pronoun *morho*, mine, with the variants: *munro*, *mungrho*, *mrno*, *mxno*, *mlo*.

lotation

lotation occurs particularly in Slavic languages, but it is also present in the Romani language, as illustrated by various examples. The plural of some Romani words, such as, for example **phov**, brow; **phuv**, earth; **sovli**, vow; **suv**, needle; **xiv** (xv, xuv), hole, etc. the sound **j** occurs as the indicator of the etymological origin of these words. (Sanskrit; *bhru* f., brow; *bhumi* f., soil; *vratana* n., vow; *suci* f., needle; *kha* m., hole.) Thus the plural forms of these words are *phovja*, brows; *phuvja*, soils; *sovlja*, vows; *suvja*, needles; *xivja*, holes. Contrary to

this, in some Romani words where the base ends in the vowel **-v**, the sound **j** is missing in the plural, since they have a different etymological origin. For example, *ruv*, wolf – *ruva*, wolves; *džuv*, your – *džuva*, yours, etc.

Contraction

Contraction is the phenomenon of shrinkage or reduction of two syllables into one syllable. A special form of this is syneresis, denoting the melding of two vowels or syllables into one vowel or syllable. The opposite phenomenon is dieresis. From a wealth of contraction examples in Romani we note several paradigmatic ones: *Devel*, God – *Del*; *dives*, day – *djes*; *morho*, my – *mo*; *tiro*, your – *čo*; *sem*, I am – *sm*, etc.

Metathesis

Metathesis is the displacement of sounds and letters in words. Depending on the dialect, this phenomenon is relatively frequent. For example, the noun *asjav*, mill, occurs in a dozen variants (*ajsav*, *sjav*, *vsjav*, etc.). This would seem to be a consequence of the development of this word, originating from the Sanskrit noun **pasani f.**, mill. This also occurs with the words *čirvo*, godfather – *čivro*; *phurd*, bridge – *phrud*; *pašavro*, rib – *pašvaro* (*pašravo*, *paršavo*, *prašavo*, etc.), *rat*, night – *jrat*, etc.

Palatalization

Palatalization denotes the softening of frontal palatal sounds **dj, ć, č, dž, ž, š, lj, nj**. The conversion of the sounds **g** into **dj**, **k** into **ć**, **kh** into **čh**, and the other sounds above was described previously, noting various examples.

Prothesis

Prothesis denotes the placement of certain sounds to the beginning of words that are then integrated with them, as previously illustrated with certain examples. Prothetic suffixes – the vowel **a** and consonant **j** are already regular in many Romani words. However, there are examples that show the prothetic **j** is unnecessary, and its use may be considered incorrect. These are, for example, the following words: **abijav**, wedding – (incorrectly) *jabijav*; **agor**, end – (incorrectly) *jagor*; **aver**, other – (incorrectly) *javer*; **ilo**, heart – (incorrectly) *jilo*; **vov**, him – (incorrectly) *jov*; **voj**, her – (incorrectly) *joj*; **von**, they – (incorrectly) *jon*, *jone*, etc.

The use of prothetic **v** in certain words is incorrect. These are, for example, the following words: **učho**, tall – (incorrectly) *vučho*; **ušť**, lip – (incorrectly) *vušť*; **arho**, flour – (incorrectly) *varo* or *jaro*, etc.

The use of prothetic **h** in certain words is also incorrect. For example, **amal**, friend – (incorrectly) *hamal*; **amalin**, girlfriend (incorrectly) *hamalin*, etc.

The use of x is also not correct. For example **amil**, to mix – (incorrectly) *hamil*. (This verb has an etymological nest in the Sanskrit *mix* (III), to mix. Synonyms are the Romani verb **prčil**, to mix, stemming from the Sanskrit *prc* (VII, III), to mix.)

Visargization

In Sanskrit there is a voiced aspirate **h** and a visarga **h**. (Visarga is in transcription denoted with a dot under the letter h). The name “visargization” originates from visarga, the voiceless aspirate. This voiceless aspirate is still reflected in certain Romani words. For example, *jag*, fire – *jaga*, fires; *pat*, foot – *pata*, feet, etc. Under the influence of visarga, a consonant in the final position of certain words (for example, **les**, him; **pes**, oneself) or in case forms (accusative, instrumental, locative and ablative) it is pronounced as a voiceless h.

In some dialects the sound **j** occurs instead of **s**.

For example *manuš*, man– *manušes*, of a man; *manušeh*.

Mixed sound changes

Mixed sound changes primarily denote two sound changes or multiple sound changes in a single word that cause smaller or greater changes to it. On the other hand, the Romani language was exposed to the influence of various other languages for several hundred years, ranging from Iranian and Armenian, through Turkish, Greek, Slavic, to Romance and Germanic languages. Some of them, such as Iranian, Armenian and Greek, have left notable traces in all Roma speech. Other languages affected certain Romani dialects of those Roma groups that lived longer within the given language areas, i.e. in their territories.

Sandhi

We finish the chapter on sound changes and phenomena with a brief reflection on sandhi, also mentioned above. Sandhi is a phenomenon within the strict rules system of Sanskrit denoting the mutual influence of the end and beginning of words following one another in a spoken sequence.

Sandhi denotes the joining and mutual alignment of words in a spoken sequence. This process of joining is based on 12 rules. Some of these rules are related to vowels and their changes, the final **i**, **u**, **r** turning into semi-vowels. According to one of these rules, ai before vowels produces a long **a**, **au** produces **av**, etc. Other rules are related to vowels, consonant groups and their changes under certain defined conditions.

In addition to the above words, Romani has a number of examples showing sandhi and the impact of the formulated rules. For example, in some dialects the word **gav**, village, is pronounced **gau**; **prnango**, barefoot, was produced by merging the noun **punro**, leg and the

adjective **nango**, naked (literally: “footbare”).

The compound word **šrnango**, bareheaded, was produced by merging the noun **šero**, head and adjective nango, naked, bare (šrnango is literally “headbare”).

There is also **khangiri**, temple – **khan**, to dig, dig in, plus **giri**, church. (Only this Romani compound preserves the Sanskrit verb **khan**, to dig, and the noun **giri**, church, identical to the Hindi noun with the same meaning.)

Examples of sandhi are also certain compounds produced from verbs, reflexive pronouns and nouns.

For example, **delpesare**, to wrestle, etc.

13.6. Romani script

The Romani script is Latin. It is based on an analysis of the Romani sound system and its sound changes. The Romani script consists, as noted above, of 38 letters. Ten are digraphs (double letters), and 28 are simple letters. The sequence of letters in the script is as follows:

A a	Čh čh	Dj dj	G g	J j
B b	Ć ć	Dž dž	H h	K k
C c	Čh čh	E e	X x	Kh kh
Č č	D d	F f	I i	L l
Lj lj	O o	Rr rr	Th th	Z z
M m	P p	S s	U u	Ž ž
N n	Ph ph	Š š	V v	
Nj nj	R r	T t	Y y	

- N F O R M A C I J A

O RADU PRVOG SVETSKOG KONGRESA ROMA U LONDONU

Mnogostrukom pomoći, etičko-političkom podrškom i obezbeđenjem finansij=skih sredstava Savezne konferencije SSRN Jugoslavije, delegaciji Roma Jugoslavije bilo je omogućeno da, u sastavu: Slobodan Berberski, književnik, Beograd; Faik Abdu, diplo, irani ekonomist, poslanik Sobranja Makedonije; Nusret Sehar, profesor, uzme aktivno učešće u radu Prvog svetskog kongresa Roma, koji je održan u Londonu 8.- 12. aprila 1971.

Kongresu je predsedavao delegat Jugoslavije - Slobodan Berberski. Kongrs je počeo sa svečanim otvaranjem i radom u plenumu. U prvom plenarnom zasjedanju govorili su predsednik ~~britke~~ organizacije Roma Britanije Gratan Puxon, predsednik Internacionalnog komiteta Roma Vanco Roudé, predsednik Kongresa Slobodan Berberski. Kongres, tokom prvog plenarnog zasjedanja posetila je i pozdravila ~~je~~ Joan Wickers, zvaničan predstavnik Conseil de l'Europe i poslanik parlamenta Britanije. Dalji rad Kongresa odvijao se u komisijama: 1- za jezik; 2- za školstvo; 3- za utvrđivanje fašističkih zločina nad Romima tokom drugog svetskog rata; 4- za socijalna pitanja; 5- za pitanja kulture. Delegati Jugoslavije, pojedinačno učestvujući u radi u više komisija, zapravo su učestvovali u radu svih komisija i time dali svoj doprinos radu svih komisija. Trećeg dana je Kongres organizovao demonstracije u oblasti Midlands, mestu Walsall, povodom spaljivanja tri devojčice (jedna stara 2,5, a dve stare po 3 godine, bliznakinje) iz porodice Murpehy od strane fašističke organizacije ove oblasti, koja, čini se, bila je u stanovitoj koordinaciji s policijom ove oblasti. Četvrtog dana Kongres ponovo radio u plenumu, s osnovnim zadatkom utvrđivanja organizacione strukture svetske organizacije Roma. Kongres je radio u Plenumu i na kraju drugog dana, kada je verifikovao rezolucije komisija.

Pre no šro budemo u mogućnosti da Saveznoj konferenciji SSRNJ prezentiramo integralne tekstove rezolucija, kao i programske deklaracije, obaveštavamo o glavnim odlukama.

- 1.- 8. april, dan početka rada Prvog svetskog kongresa Roma proglašava se za praznik Roma svih kontinenata.
- 2.- Proklamovano je da je jedino ime naše nacionalne grupacije, ~~ROM~~ odnosno svakog pripadnika njenog - ROM.
- 3.- Kongres je prihvatio tekst i melodiju Svečane pesme Prvog kongresa.
- 4.- Kongres je verifikovao zastavu nacionalne grupacije Roma, koja je trobojna (horizontalni položaj): gornji deo - plavo, simboliše nebo; donji deo - zeleno, simbol šume i poljane; u srednjem delu zastave, preko plave i zelene boje točak crvene boje, što simbolizuje nomadu (točak) i krv uništavanih Roma tokom vekova (crvena boja). Zastava 60

- se upotrebljavati samo prigodnim prilikama. Kako u SFRJ postoji i zakon o načinu korišćenja zastava narodnosti, to će i Romi u Jugoslaviji koristiti svoju zastavu zavisno od tih zakonskih odredaba.
- 5.- Kongres je proglasio opštu toleranciju jezika romano, smatrajući da u pisanoj reči, naročito u oblasti umetnosti i nauke, valja da bude baza kalderaško-džambaskog dijalekta. Konačnu odluku o jeziku valja da donese praksa pisane književnosti, a ne akademske rasprave.
- 6.- Kongres je odlučio da se u svim zemljama evidentira broj Roma-žrtava fašizma, putem organizacija Roma i preko UNESCO-a, putem vlada i boračkih organizacija, s ciljem da se na bazi tih podataka:
- a- zatraži obeštećenje i ovo deponuje kod UNESCO-a s ciljem da se ova sredstva koriste za đizanje škola, opšteg prosvetćivanje i razvoj kulture Roma;
 - b- da se, na bazi ovih podataka, napiše monografija o fizičkom uništavanju Roma tokom drugog svetskog rata.
- 7.- Kongres je obavezao izvršne organe svoje da: a- svake godine organizuju svetski festival folklora Roma, s tim što bi se ovaj uvek održavao u drugoj zemlji.
- 8.- Kongres je obavezao svoje izvršne organe da pokrenu list, reviju i ediciju iz oblasti nauke i umetnosti. Redakcije lista, revije, edicij, valja da budu oformljene od Roma iz raznih zemalja.
- 9.- Kongres nije stavljao na dnevni red pitanje Romanistana, ali je na određeni naćin utvrdio da je Romanistan tamo gde žive Romi. Taćnije svoje etnićko konstituisanje treba ostvarivati u svim sredinama u kojim živimo. Teza Maximoffa, književnika: "Jevreji su posle odrćzanog kongresa realizovali državu, mi posle odrćzanog kongresa treba da realizujemo puno jedinstvo naroda", precizno formuliše odnos prema pitanju Romanistana.
- 10.- Kongres je odlučio da se o ćitavom radu obaveste OUN, UNESCO, Conseil de l'Europe, te, vlade svih zemalja Evrope, ali i vlade nekih vanevropskih zemalja.
- Od delegacije Jugoslavije Kongres je s razlogom oćekivao ućešće i pomoć. Delegacija je ta oćekivanja i ispunili. Osnovna teza naće delegacije da nezavisno od mogućih oprećnih gledanja na iste probleme valja naći humani pristup i fiksirati razloćno ono što nam je svima zajednićko, bila je svestrano prihvaćena i donela krupne rezultate. U radu Kongresa, nadalje, manifestovan je odlučan otpor prema svakoj mogućoj blokovskoj politici ~~ixx~~, i, isto tako otpor prema eventualnoj mogućnosti da akcija Roma postane eksponentom bilo koje verske organizacije. Nedvosmisleno je jasno fiksirano da osnovni smisao svih akcija Roma je emancipacija kao oblik oćveće: nja i borbe protiv veom prisutnih tendencija ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ da se Rome danas, modernim metodama, gurne u potpunu asimilaciju.

Ohrabrujuće je da buržoaske agenture nemaju svoje uporište kod Roma. Što je, razume se, sasvim prirodno, ako se znaju obični surovosti progona na zapadu još i danas (Britanija, Španija, Francuska i dr). Valja ustajati da uporište kod Roma nemaju ni nacizam, ni staljinizam, po našem dubokom uverenju ni u zemljama "lagera".

Kongres je nedvosmisleno jasno utvrdio da je položaj Roma u svim zemljama sveta izvanredno težak, ali, da, u socijalističkim zemljama, iako ni u jednoj od njih nije rešeno pitanje Roma, otvorene su ili se otvaraju šanse za rešenje, za razliku od zapada gde zasada, i pored izvesnog poboljšavanja položaja u ponekim sredinama, nema pouzdanijeg otvaranja perspektiva. Duboko je uverenje Kongresa da se na zapadu mogu otvoriti perspektive jedino zajedničkom borbom Roma istoka i zapada. U takvoj situaciji stvorena je velika odgovornost i velika mogućnost delovanja progresivno orijentisanih Roma Jugoslavije. Da tu već u ovom trenutku postoji širok prostor za dalju afirmaciju humanog, antikanonskog, vanblokovskog, najbolje potvrđuje činjenica, veoma upečatljivo afirmisana, da su stavovi akcije Roma Jugoslavije, već dve godine nailazili na punu podršku u mnogim zemljama, a pogotovo na samom Kongresu. No, da bi ta moguća misija humanog Roma Jugoslavije mogla izvršiti i širi uticaj i doneti krupnije rezultate na planu izmene položaja Roma u svetu, ~~biće~~ na određen način je zavисno od rešavanja pitanja Roma u samoj Jugoslaviji.

Kongres je u svome poslednjem plenarnom zasjedanju utvrdio i organizacionu strukturu svetske organizacije Roma:

Predsednik Kongresa: Slobodan Berberski, Jugoslavija
 Predsednik Internacionalnog komiteta: Vanco Rouda, Francuska
 Prvi sekretar Inter. komiteta: Leulea Rouda, Francuska
 Drugi sekretar Inter. Komiteta: Gratan Puxon, Britanija
 Predsednici i sekretari svih komisija čine plenarni deo rukovodstva. Ako se bude ukazala potreba biće sazvani svi delegati na većanje.

Iz Jugoslavije, pored već rečenog, za sekretara komisije za školstvo izbaran je Faik Abdu, u komisiju za jezik ušli su Nusret Sehar, Rajko Đurić i Šaip Jusupovski; za kulturu Faik Abdu. Kongres, do svog drugog saziva nastavlja rad kroz komisije i druge oblike. Tako, komisija za školstvo održaće svoje zasjedanje u Skopju 1972, za pitanja jezika u Španiji, za socijalna pitanja i pitanje žrtava u Nemačkoj (zapadna) i dr.

16. IV 1971.

Slobodan Berberski

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14. MORPHOLOGY OF THE ROMANI LANGUAGE

During the XIX century morphology became the main term for flexion and word creation. Later, its subject of study expanded, so in addition to the forms it studies the internal structure, function and morphemes, the smallest containers of meaning in words of a language.

The goals of its analyses are identifying the criteria used to determine the type of word, describe regularities, flexion (declination, conjugation and comparison), research grammar categories, such as: tempus (tense), modus (mood), and their linguistic correlates, basic elements, principles of combining the semantic function of newly created words within word creation, etc.

In Romani there are 11 types of words, divided into changeable and unchangeable. Articles (with a noun), nouns, adjectives, pronouns and verbs are changeable words. Adverbs, prepositions, conjunctions, particles and exclamations are unchangeable types of words. Grammatical categories that apply to nouns, adjectives, pronouns and determinatives are: gender, number, case, living/non-living. The grammatical categories that apply to verbs are: person, number, modus, tempus, and *genus verbi*.

14.1. Article

It is the name for words denoting the gender and number of a noun. The definitive article with male gender nouns is *o*; with female gender nouns it is *l*. In plural for both genders as a rule the article is *e*.

For example: *o manuš* (the man), *e manuša* (the people) *i manušni* (the woman), *e manušnja* (the women) *i standardizacija e rromane čhibake* (the standardisation of the Romani language) *i rromani čhib* (the Romani language), *o alfabeto e rromane čhibako* (the script of the Romani language).

14.2. Nouns

The Romani language has:

- Two genders: male and female;
- Two numbers: singular and plural;
- Three basic cases: nominative, *casus obliquus* (oblique case) and vocative. The oblique case, using certain suffixes (postpositions), produces genitive, dative, accusative, instrumental, locative and ablative. Furthermore, prepositional is also in use. Thus, eight + one;
- The category of living covers nouns for living beings, having certain suffixes in the oblique case, and/or accusative:

Male gender nouns **-es** in singular, **-en** in plural. Male gender nouns for objects have no suffices, their form in the oblique case is identical to the form in nominative.

Female gender nouns for living beings have **-a** in singular, **-en** in plural. Female gender

pronouns for objects have no suffixes and their form in the oblique case is identical to the form in nominative.

14.3. Case

Kazuso (lat. *casus*, case). Case as a morphological category is every individual form of a noun in the declination paradigm. Many noun words undergo changes ranging from phonetic-phonological, through morphological, to certain postpositions, case suffixes. Of course, this leads to changes in accents. The Romani case system is a two-step one. Nominative, *obliquus* (oblique case) and vocative are the primary cases. Genitive, dative, instrumental, locative and ablative are secondary cases. They are built by using the base of the oblique case (its form is that of accusative) and certain postpositions originating from the central-Indian linguistic period. (The postpositions for genitive, dative and ablative are at the same time prepositions, as is the case in Hindi). Prepositional is also a part of the case system. Depending on the functions and meanings, cases can be used free-form, with or without an article. They may be tied with a preposition or mandatory determinator.

Finally, they can be simultaneously tied with a preposition and mandatory determinator. The use of cases in Romani depends on the types of verbs and verb forms, and other types and forms of words. There are also certain rules for the use of cases, either traditional, or those stemming from the development of literacy, literature and contemporary Romani communication. Sometimes this shows extra-linguistic traces and influences, e.g. religious, cultural, social, etc. Finally, sociolinguistic causes and circumstances affect the Romani case system and use of cases.

14.4. Male gender nouns

Male gender nouns for living beings have different endings.

For example: *o anro*, egg (*e anre*, eggs); *o bakro*, lamb (*e bakre*, lambs); *o brid*, deer (*e bri-da*, deer); *o dand*, tooth (*e danda*, teeth), *o devel*, god (*e devla*, gods); *o grast*, horse (*e grasta*, horses), *o guruv*, ox (*e gurva*, oxen); *o manuš*, man (*e manuša*, men); *o rič*, bear (*e riča*, bears); *o Rrom*, Roma (*e Rroma*, Roma); *o ruv*, wolf (*e ruva*, wolves); *o šošoj*, rabbit (*e šošoja*, rabbits), *ulo*, owl (*e ule*, owls), etc.

Some of the above nouns are identical to their base. These are: *o brid*, deer; *o dand*, tooth; *o grast*, horse; *o manuš*, man; *o rič*, bear; *o Rrom*, Roma; *o ruv*, wolf; *o šošoj*, rabbit. The oblique case adds the suffix -es to these nouns, remaining in genitive, dative, accusative, instrumental, locative and ablative singular. This suffix is followed by the postpositions (final suffixes) **-ko**, **ki**, **ke** for genitive; **-ke** for dative; accusative is identical to the form of the oblique case; **-sa** for instrumental; **-te** for locative; **-tar** for ablative.

For example, *o manuš*, man, has the same form in nominative singular; in the oblique case – *manušes*. In plural, the noun *manuša*, has the base **manuš**. Its form in the oblique case plural is *manušen*.

Singular

N. o manuš (man)
G. e manuš**ko** (of man)
D. e manuš**ke** (to man)
A. e manušes (man)
V. manuša! (man!)
I. e manuš**esa** (with man)
L. e manuš**este** (at a man)
Abl. e manuš**estar** (from man)

Plural

e manuša (men)
e manuš**engo** (of men)
e manuš**enge** (to men)
e manušen (men)
manušalen! (men!)
e manušencar (with men)
e manuš**ende** (at the men)
e manuš**endar** (from men)

Prepositional, having the form of nominative, is always accompanied by prepositions. Prepositional usually replaces locative and ablative. For example, instead of manušeste, the prepositional form is **ko manuš**, at the man; instead of manušestar, **tar o manuš**, from the man.

Contrary to these, the nouns *anro*, egg, *bakro*, lamb, *ulo*, owl, are not identical to their base. Their bases are: anr, bakr-, ul-. This means the suffix -es is added to these bases in singular, and the suffix -en in plural. Thus, the oblique case of these nouns in singular is an**res**, bak**res**, ul**es**. This, like in the previous case, is followed by the postpositions: -**ko** (genitive), -**ke** (dative), accusative is identical to the oblique case, -**sa** (instrumental), -**te** (locative), -**tar** (ablative). The postpositions for the case forms in plural are the same as for the noun manuša. These nouns differ from the preceding nouns in the vocative singular.

For example, *o bakro* has the following changes:

Singular: N. o bakro, G. e bak**resko**, D. e bak**reske**, A. e bak**res**, V. bakreja! (the sound *j* occurs for phonetic reasons), I. e bak**resa**, L. e bak**reste**, Abl. e bak**restar**.

Plural: N. e bakre, G. e bak**rengo**, D. e bak**reng**e, A. e bak**ren**, V. bakralen!, I. e bak**rencar**, L. e bak**rende**, Abl. e bak**rendar**.

Finally, the noun *devel*, god, due to a sound change (contraction) has the base **devl**. This means that the suffix -**es** is added to this base in the singular, and the suffix -**en** in plural. This is, like in the above cases, followed by the above postpositions.

The noun *devel* changes as follows.

Singular: N. o devel, G. e dev**lesko**, D. e dev**leske**, A. e dev**les**, V. devla!, I. e dev**lesa**, L. e dev**leste**, Abl. e dev**lestar**.

Male gender nouns that denote objects also have various endings. For example *o angar*,

coal (*e angara*, coals), *o aster*, saddle (*e astera*, saddles), *o barr*, rock (*e barra*, rocks), *o burr*, straw (*e burra*, straws), *o čaro*, bowl, plate (*e čare*, bowls, plates), *o kher*, house (*e khera*, houses), *o lil*, paper (*e lila*, papers), *o mas*, meat (*e masa*, meats), *o sastri*, iron (*e sastra*, irons), *o šolo*, rope (*e šole*, ropes), *o umblal*, ember (*e umblala*, embers).

Among these nouns only *o čaro*, bowl, plate, *o sastri*, iron, *šolo*, rope have a base that differs from their form. Their bases are: **čar-**, **sastr-**, **šol-**. This means that the suffix **-es** is added to these bases in the singular, and the suffix **-en** in the plural. Therefore, the oblique case of these nouns singular is *čares*, *sastres*, *šoles*. However, the accusative of these nouns, nor the other nouns above with the same base and form, does not have the suffix **-es**. **Their form in accusative is identical to the form in nominative.**

In the other singular cases the forms of all nouns have the following postpositions after **-es**: **-ko**, **-ke**, **-sa**, **-te**, **-tar**. The oblique case in plural has the suffix **-en**. In the other plural cases the forms of all nouns have the following postpositions after **-en**: **-go**, **-ge**, **-ca**, **-de**, **-dar**.

At the same time it is necessary to keep in mind the explanations presented in the section on sound changes.

Based on the above examples, a rule may be derived: all Romani nouns in the male gender ending in **-o**, also meaning the diminutive suffix **-oro** (diminutives), have a base different from their form. An exception are personal names (*nomen proprium*), both Romani, as well as of non-Roma origin. Due to sound changes, this rule does not apply to certain nouns of foreign origin, such as: *o akordo*, chord; *o ansamblo*, ensemble; *o akto*, act; *o dokumento*, document; *o efekto*, effect; *o elemento*, element; *o fakto*, fact; *o gaso*, gas; *o inserto*, insert; *o koncerto*, concert; *o patrijarho*, patriarch; *o psalmo*, psalm; *o studento*, student, etc.

Their form in the oblique case is *akordos*. This is followed by postpositions. Nouns of this type have the plural form with **-ura** or **-a**: *e akordura* (*e akorda*), *e ansamblura*, *e aktura*, etc. Their form in the oblique case is *akordunengo*, *aktunengo*, *faktunengo*, etc. Special cases are some foreign nouns such as *o biro*, bureau, office.

Abstract male nouns with the suffix **-ben** or **-pen** also have a form different from the base. For example, *keriben*, activity (*keribnata*, activities); *čaćipen*, truth (*čačipena*, *čačipnata*, truths); *lačhipen*, goodness (*lačhipena*, *lačhipnata*, goodnesses); *šukaripen*, beauty (*šukaripena*, *šukaripnata*, beauties), etc. The bases of nouns of this type are: **kerib-**, **čačip-**, **lačhip-**, **šukarip-**. In the oblique case singular they gain the suffix **-es**. This is followed by postpositions, meaning *keribesko*, *keribeske*, *čačipeske*, *lačhipeske*, *šukaripeske*. The accusative form is identical to the nominative form.

In plural their base is **keribnat-**, **čačip-**, **čačipnat-**, **lačhip-lačhipnat-**, **šukarip-**, **šu-** **karnat-**. In the oblique case they gain the suffix **-en**. This is followed by postpositions. This means *keribnatengo*, *čačipengo*, *čačipnatengo*, *lačhipengo*, *lačhipnatengo*, *šukaripengo*, *šukaripnatengo*.

14.5. Female gender nouns

The majority of female gender nouns ends in **-i**. Different endings than this also occur.

Examples of nouns for living beings: *i bakri*, sheep (*e bakra*, sheep); *i dženī*, woman (*e dženja*, women); *l grasni*, mare (*e grasnja*, mares); *i gurumni*, cow (*e gurumnja*, cows), etc.

The bases of these nouns in singular are: **bakr-**, **džen-**, **grasn-**, **gurumn-**. In plural: **bakra**, **dženja**, **grsanja**, **gurumnja**.

The form of the oblique case in singular is: *bakra*, *dženja*, *grasnja*, *gurumnja*.

This is followed by the postpositions **-ko**, **-ke** (the accusative has the same form as the oblique case), **-sa**, **-te**, **-tar**.

The vocative has the form: *bakrije!* *dženije!* *grasnijje!*, etc.

The forms of the oblique case plural are: *bakran*, *dženjan*, *grasnjan*, *gurumnjan*.

Since *-en* follows **-a**, only the *-n* remains, the sound *e* is lost. This is followed by the postpositions **-go**, **-ge** (the accusative has the same form as the oblique case), **-ca**, **-de**, **-tar**.

Different endings apply to the nouns *i čhaj*, daughter (*čhaja*, daughters); *i phen*, sister (*e phenja*, *e pheja*, sisters); *i prija*, child's mother-in-law (*e prije*, pair of mothers-in-law); *i sasuj*, mother-in-law (*e sasuja*, mothers-in-law), *i džuv*, louse (*e džuva*, lice), *i pišom*, flea (*e pišoma*, fleas), etc.

Their form and basis do not differ. They have the form in the oblique case singular *čhaja*, *phena*, *prija*, *sasuja*, *džuva*, *pišoma*.

This is followed by the postpositions **-ko**, **-ke** (the accusative has the same form as the oblique case), **-sa**, **-te**, **-tar**.

The vocative is: *čhaje!* *phene!* *prija!* *sasuje!* *džuva!* *pišoma!*

The forms of the oblique case plural are: *čhajan*, *phenjan*, *prijan* (*prijen*), *sasujan* (*sasujen*), *džuven*, *pišomen*. This is followed by the postpositions: **-go**, **-ge** (the accusative has the same form as the oblique case), **-ca**, **-de**, **-dar**.

The vocative is: *čhajalen!*

Female gender nouns for objects also have an ending in **-i** in the majority of cases. These nouns lose this ending in the base. This means they change in the same way as nouns ending in **-i** for living beings. The only difference is in the accusative.

Endings other than **-i** also occur.

For example: *i akhorin* (tree), *walnut* (e akhorina, walnuts); *i jak*, eye (e jakha, eyes); *i jag*, fire (e jaga, fires); *i suv*, needle (e suvja, needles), etc. The above paradigm applies to the case forms of these nouns. Thus, *suvjako*, *suvjake*, *suv*, *suvja!*, *suvjasa*, *suvjate*, *suvjatar*; *suvjengo*, *suvjenge*, *suvja*, *suvjalen!*, *suvjenca*, *suvjende*, *suvjendar*.

The following rule may be derived based on the above examples: all Romani nouns in the female gender ending in **-i**, including those with the suffix **-ori** (diminutives), have a base identical to their base form. The same is valid for male gender nouns ending in **-i**.

In Romani there is a group of female gender nouns with the suffix **-mata**.

For example *akharimata*, calling; *bičhalimata*, sending; *durimata*, distancing; *mothovimata*, storytelling; *phenimata*, telling; *vakarimata*, speaking; *rovimata*, crying, etc.

Nouns of this type have the same form in singular and plural. Their base ends in **-t**, meaning *akharimat-*, *bičhalimat-*, *durimat-*, *mothovimat-*, etc. The oblique case in singular has the form *akharimata*, *bičhalimata*, etc. (Two **-aa** meld into one **-a**). Postpositions are placed after this.

Singular: N. *akharimata*, G. *akharimatako*, D. *akharimatake*, A. *akharimata*, V. *akharimataja!*, I. *akharimatasa*, L. *akharimatasa*, Abl. *akharimastar*.

Plural: N. *akharimata*, G. *akharimatako*, D. *akharimatake*, A. *akharimata* (if the noun denotes a living being, the accusative form is with **-en**), V. *akharimatalen!*, I. *akharimatanca*, L. *akharimatande*, Abl. *akharimatandar*.

Personal names ending in **-a**, whether of Roma or foreign origin, are identical to the base. As in the above case, two **-a** meld into one **-a**, followed by postpositions. This rule also applies to male gender nouns ending in **-a**.

14.6. Personal pronouns

Roma personal pronouns indicate persons.

Speaking persons are: **me**, I; **amen**, we.

Interlocutory persons are: **tu**, you; **tumen**, you (pl.).

Absent persons being talked about are: **vov**, he; **voj**, she; **von**, them.

Personal pronouns undergo case change.

– Personal pronouns **me**; **amen**.

N. me (I), G. mango (from me), D. mange, maj (to me), A. man (me), V. /, I. manca, mancar, maja (with me), L. mande (about me; but usually means at my place), Abl. mandar (from me).

N. amen (we), amengo (us), D. Amenge (to us), A. amen (us), V. /, I. amenca, amencar (with us), L. amende (about us, but usually means at our place), Abl. amendar (from us).

The personal pronoun *me*, I has a similar paradigm as the personal pronoun *amen*, us. Other than sound changes and phenomena that have a role in this, it should be known that the personal pronoun *me* originates from the Sanskrit personal pronoun *aham*, we, with its non-emphatic form **me**. This non-emphatic form has various syntactical functions and semantic meanings in Sanskrit. The genitive forms *mango*, of me, and *amengo*, of us, are always used with the preposition **bi**, without. Other than the preposition **bi**, no other preposition is used. Since the genitive of the speaking persons is rarely in use, possessive pronouns are used instead: **morro**, my; **morri**, my (f.); **more**, mine; **amaro**, our; **amari**, our (f.); **amare**, ours. The preposition **bi**, without, is also used with these possessive nouns in the genitive meaning. These possessive nouns change by case.

– Personal pronouns **tu**; **tumen**.

N. tu (you), G. tuko (of you), D. tuke (to you), A. tut (you), V. tu! (you!), I. tusa, tuja (with you), L. tute (about you; but usually means at your place), Abl. tutar (from you).

N. tumen (you), G. tumengo (of you), D. tumenge (to you), A. tumen (you), V. tumen! (you!), I. tumenca, tumencar (with you), L. tumende (about you; but usually means at your place), Abl. tumendar (from you). [all in plural]

Due to phonetic reasons the relevant postpositions for genitive **-ko**, dative **-ke**, instrumental **-sa**, locative **-te** and ablative **-tar** are added to the base of the personal pronoun *tu*, *ti*. Its form in genitive is very rarely in use, instead the personal pronouns are used: **tiro**, **ćiro**, your; **tiri**, **ćiri**, your (f.); **tire**, **ćire**, yours. The preposition **bi**, without, is also used with these possessive pronouns in the genitive meaning. These possessive pronouns change by case. The genitive form *tumengo*, of you, from the personal pronoun *tumen*, you, is similar. Namely, instead of this form that is rare in use, the possessive pronouns are used: **tumaro**,

your; **tumari**, your (f); **tumare**, yours. The preposition **bi**, without, is used both with the above genitive form, as well as with possessive pronouns, that change by case.

– Personal pronouns **vov**, **voj**, **von**.

N. vov (he), G. lesko, leski, leske (his), D. leske (to him), A. les (him), V. /, I. lesa, lesar (with him) L. leste (about him, but usually meaning at his place), Abl. lestar (from him).

N. voj (she), G. laki, lako, lake (her, hers), D. lake (to her), A. la (her), V. /, I. lasa, lasar (with her), L. late (about her, but usually translated at her place), Abl. latar (from her).

N. von (they), G. lenge, lengo, lengi (their, theirs), D. lenge (to them), A. len (them), V. /, I. lenca, lenkar (with them), L. lende (about them), Abl. lendar (from them).

The declination of these personal pronouns thus has a somewhat different paradigm, otherwise a phenomenon present in Hindi and many other languages.

Prepositions are very rarely used with the case forms of personal pronouns. In addition to the preposition **bi** (without) in genitive, a few prepositions are used with forms of personal pronouns in locative, e.g. **dži** (next to).

This also applies to the reflexive pronoun **pes** (oneself), **piro** (own) and interrogatives **kon** (who) and **so** (what).

14.7. Verbs and their changes

As for changes, verbs are the most mutable type of word. Depending on the class, the base verbs end in vowels or consonants.

For example **la-**, **le-** (take), **da-**, **de** (give), **pi-** (drink), **ori-** (fly) are verbs with bases ending in vowels.

Verbs with bases ending in consonants are much more numerous.

For example **ačh-** (stop), **av-** (come), **beš** (sit), **dik-** (see), **džan-** (know), **mar-** (beat), **mer-** (die), **muk-** (let), **pek-** (bake), **rak-** (keep), **šun-** (hear), **vak-** (speak), **tas-** (sink), **traš-** (be afraid), **thab-** (burn), **ušt-** (rise), etc.

Roma verbs are divided into two groups: thematic and athematic.

– Thematic verbs are those that have the theme **-a** in all indicative persons singular and plural.

Singular: xav (I eat), xas (you eat), xal (it eats).

Plural: xas (we eat), xan (you eat), xan (they eat).

– Athematic verbs do not have –a in all persons singular and plural.

Singular: pijav (I drink), pijes (you drink), pijel (it drinks).

Plural: pijas (we drink), pijen (you drink), pijen (they drink).

As shown by the example, the finite forms in present tense are: first person – v; second person – s; third person – l.

Plural: first person – s; second person – n; third person – n.

– The exception are auxiliary verbs *sem* (I am), *kamam* (love, want), *tromam* (dare), the modal verb *šaj* (be able) and defective verb form *-stalem* (manage, get by).

The change of the verb *sem* is as follows: *sem* (I am), *san* (you are), *si* (it is).

Plural: sam (we are), sen (you are), si (they are).

The modal verb *šaj* retains its base form in all persons singular and plural.

The defective verb form *-stalem* has the prefixes *ake-*, *eke-*, *kaj-*. This produces various meanings. This verb form is good for illustrating verb gender, since it has forms for male and female gender in the third person.

Singular: *aketalem* (I appear, here I am), *aketalan* (you appear, here you are), *aketalo* (he appears, here he is), *aketali* (she appears, here she is).

Plural: *aketalam* (we appear, here we are), *aketalen* (you appear, here you are), *aketale* (they appear, here they are).

Many Romani verbs express gender differences shown in the present third person indicative.

The examples presented and mentioned show that for finite verb forms the characteristic grammatical categories are: person – first, second and third; number – singular, plural; tense – (present, preterit, future I, aorist, perfect, pluperfect, and future II); mode (modus) – (indicative, conjunctive, conditional, optative, and imperative); *genus verbi* (state) – (active, medium and passive).

The infinitive forms are nominal, and they undergo declension. These are: infinitive (tense, verb gender, case); participle (tense, verb gender, case, number, and gender), verbal adjective (case, number and gender).



Rajko Đurić in the company of Emil Šćuka, former President of the World Roma Organisation and Marcel Courthiade, Professor of Romani Language at the Inalco University in Paris.



Rajko Đurić in the Museum of Roma Culture in Belgrade

15. WORD FORMATION

Word formation covers the study and description of processes and rules in the formation of complex words based on the available linguistic material. Depending on the interest and need, the vocabulary structure of a language may be reviewed from a historical-genetic aspect or synchronous-functional aspect.

Word formation first requires the classification of linguistic tools, to be used as the basic element for word formation, both in simple and complex words. In this regard, it is necessary to establish the so-called base morphemes, elements of derivation (affixes, prefixes, suffixes).

The second task is the description of types and models to be used to organise word formation. The description of the semantic aspect of word formation procedures may not be neglected through this.

The majority of word formation can be subsumed under the term derivation, i.e. the derivation of new words using affixes, suffixes and prefixes, forming composites, etc.

15.1. Nouns and their formation

Nouns in the Romani language end (terminate) in:

1. vowels: **-o, -i**
2. diphthongs: **-ai, -oi, -ui**
3. a large number of consonants classified by class:
 - I. **-k, -t, -p, -č**
 - II. **-kh**
 - III. **-g, -d, -b, -dž**
 - IV. **-m, -n**
 - V. **-v, -r, -l**
 - VI. **-rr** (very rare examples)
 - VII. **-s, -š, -c**
 - VIII. **-h**
 - IX. **-x** (very rare examples)

No word in the Romani language ends in the aspirates **-th, -ph** or sounds from the tenth class, other than words of foreign origin, so-called loanwords.

In Romani there are male and female gender nouns. The neuter gender is not present in this language.

Male gender nouns

Male gender nouns change by the declination **-es**, **-os** or **-as**, and some by mixed declination.

The majority of male gender nouns ends in the vowel **-o**, few in the vowel **-i** or **-a**; diphthongs that transform to **-j** and the consonants: **-l**, **-r**, **-g**, **-š**, **-k**, **-d**, **-s**, **-b**, **-v**, **-t**, **-m**, **-n**, **-p**, **-č**, **-x**, **-rr**.

Examples:

o: *-čhavo*, son; *raklo*, boy; *bakro*, lamb, *džuklo*, dog; *khoro*, pitcher; *ilo*, heart, etc. In plural these nouns end in **-e**.

i: *dilindari*, madman; *makari*, crocodile, personal Roma name Makar (story by Maxim Gorky "Makar Chudra"); *enderi*, courage, bravery; bowels, channel, groove, spout; it also occurs as the Roma male personal name Venderi, Enderi. These and similar pronouns in the plural end in **-a**.

a: *murga*, chicken, etc. This noun and similar nouns in the plural end in **-e**.

j: *muj*, mouth; *puj*, chicken, etc. (Plural – **a**.)

consonants: (**-r**, **-l**, **-g**) *bal*, hair; *čor*, thief; *beng*, devil, etc. (Plural – **a**.)
 (**-š**, **-k**, **-d**) *manuš*, man; *čik*, mud; *dand*, tooth, etc. (Plural – **a**.)
 (**-s**, **-b**, **-v**) *dives*, day; *drab*, medicine; *džov*, oats, etc. (Plural – **a**.)
 (**-t**, **-m**, **-n**) *rat*, blood; *Rrom*, Roma; *than*, place, etc. (Plural – **a**.)
 (**-s**, **-č**, **-x**) *sap*, snake; *rič*, bear; *šax*, cabbage, etc. (Plural – **a**.)
 (**-rr**) *barr*, rock, etc. (Plural – **a**.)

Female gender nouns

Female gender nouns change according to declination A.

The majority of female gender nouns end in the vowel **-i**, more rarely in the vowel **-a**, the above diphthongs that transition into **-j** and the consonants: **-g**, **-b**, **-k**, **-n**, **-š**, **-l**, **-m**, **-v**, **-r**, **-t**, **-kh**, **-dž**, **-rr**, **-h**.

Examples:

i: *-bakri*, sheep; *balji*, sow; *buti*, job; *lindri*, dream; *gili*, song, etc. (Plural – **a**.)

a: *-džura*, fever, etc. (Plural – **e**.)

j: *baj*, sleeve; *goj*, sausage; *rroj*, spoon, etc. (Plural – a.)

consonants: (-g, -b, -k) -*jag*, fire; *čhib*, tongue; *lik*, louse, etc. (Plural – a.)
(-n, -š, -l) -*men*, neck; *truš*, thirst; *bul*, butt, etc. (Plural – a.)
(-m, -v, -r) -*lim*, snot; *phuv*, earth; *bar*, hedge, garden, etc. (Plural – a.)
(-t, -kh, -dž) -*rat*, night; *drakh*, grapes; *ladž*, shame, etc. (Plural – a.)
(-rr) -*thar*, jaws, *vilica*, jawbone, molar, etc. (Plural – a.)
(-h) -*pih*, eye gound, etc. (Plural – a.)

In addition to their base meaning, the above nouns can have various others. For example the noun **čhavo**, son, also means child, young man (figuratively) closest relative; relative in the broader sense and member of the Roma community; one who adopted the Roma way of life, their customs and values; one who remains faithful to a natural way of life; one who believes in God, one who behaves like a child, showing exceptional talent for something, etc.

New words are built from the noun **čhavo** by adding certain suffixes to its base čhav-.

If the suffix **-oro** is added to this base, it will produce the new word (diminutive): **čhavoro**, developing child. A double diminutive, a frequent phenomenon in Romani, produces the new word: **čhavororro**, a child just born, a little baby.

If the suffix **-ro** is added to the base čhav, another new word will be produced: **čhavro**, boy, lad, etc.

If the suffix **-lo-** is added to the base of this word čhavr- (in this case an **i** occurs between these segments) this will produce a third new word: **čhavriilo**, became a young man, etc.

If the suffix **-mata** is added to the base word čhavri, this will produce **čhavrimata**, childishness, children's business, silly behaviour, pranks, etc.

If the suffix **-pen** is added to the same base, it will produce the abstract noun: **čhavripen**, childhood.

Other newly developed words are **čhavari**, man who likes children, **čhavarka**, woman who likes children. These words are developed using the suffix **-ar**, used to build a certain type of verb in Romani (causatives).

Words newly developed from the noun **čhavo** also include **čhavekherlin**, kindergarten, **čhavagebar**, nursery, etc. The same noun is used to develop the adjectives and adverbs **čhavikano**, **čhavrikan**, children's, childlike, boyish.

The adjective **čhavrikano** was used to develop the abstract noun **čhavrikanipen**, childhood, etc. Causative verbs can be used to build various types of nouns. For example, **čavrrarel pes**, to behave like a child, to rejuvenate, etc.

Nouns with the property of **self-activity**, i.e. those that in English have the prefix *self-* (self-harm, etc.) are built from the present and preterit base of the medium.

The noun **jag** means fire as a natural phenomenon, blaze, bonfire, high temperature, etc. Also, shooting a firearm; light, glow, increased bodily temperature or (figuratively) blushing, embers, excitement, passion, joy, intense emotion and reaction, etc. Adding certain suffixes to the base of the noun **-jag** produces new words.

jag + **-ori**, **jagorri**, little fire; jag + **-alo**, **jagalo**, fiery; **jagaripen**, fieriness; **jagdinipe**, wild-fire; **jagatro**, fireman; **jagdlin**, fireworks, etc.

The noun jag also produces causative verbs. For example, **jagarel**, to set on fire, **jagardjol**, it burns, etc.

Connecting two or more words produces compounds or figurative expressions.

15.2. Adjectives and their formation

Adjectives, like nouns, are most frequently formed through various suffixes (endings) from other adjectives and other types of words. Some of the adjectives produces in this way are the abovementioned: čhavr-**ikano**, children's; jag-**alo**, fiery, etc.

Other than these, there are many other suffixes.

Examples: guru-**vano**, relating to cattle; bakr-**ano**, relating to sheep; dukh-**ado**, painful; sunak-**ano**, gold-en; paj-**astalo**, water-y; kašt-**uno**, wood-en; arač-**utno**, yesterday-'s; tel-**utno**, low-er; čuč-**valo**, with large breasts; phral-**esko**, brother-'s, etc.

Since the above examples show that in word formation suffixes have a very important role, it is necessary to classify them, with a brief reflection.

15.3. Numbers and their formation

Numbers serve to express quantity and numerically quantified values and sets. The basic or cardinal numbers are: *jek*, one; *duj*, two; *trin*, three; *štar*, four; *pandž*, five; *šov*, six; *efta*, seven; *oxto*, eight; *inja*, nine; *deš*, ten. The number **jek** appears in the role of the indefinite article before nouns and adjectives. In this role *jek* changes in singular and plural.

The ordinal numbers are: *jekto*, first; *dujto*, second; *trito*, third; *štarto*, fourth; *pandžto*, fifth; *šovto*, sixth, etc.

Distributive: *sako pandžto*, every fifth; *sako eftato*, every seventh.

Iterative: *dujvar*, twice.

Multiplicative: *pandžvarno*, five-fold.

Collective: *tuce*, dozen.

Fractions: *jek dešukutin*, one-tenth.

Džuto, couple.

Numbers in combination with indefinite pronouns (*savorre*, everyone; *luduj*, both; etc.), adjectives, adverbs or nouns form compound words.

Numbers produce causative verbs. For example *dujarel*, to double; *trinarel*, to triple; *dešarel*, to increase tenfold, etc. A similar method produces causative verbs from iterative numbers (e.g. *dujvararel*, *džutarel* etc.). The present and preterit base of the medium produces nouns whose meaning determines the context.

15.4. Verbs and their formation

Verbs are a type of word with complex forms and system of function. They designate phenomena in time such as action, events, and states. Regarded from the standpoint of morphology, verbs have conjugation and grammatical categories such as:

– *Genus verbi* (“state“ in Serbian grammar; “diathesis“ in Greek; “voice“ in English. The ancient Indian grammarian Panini distinguished three voices: *parasmaipada*, “word for oneself” – active; *atmanepada*, “word for self” – medium; *karmanivacya*, “act of word” – passive. These three voices also exist in the Romani language. Semantically, medium is similar to reflexive, denoting actions originating from the subject and related to the subject).

– *Tempus* – verb tense (Romani has present, future I, aorist, perfect, pluperfect, future II).

– *Modus* – verb mode. (Romani has indicative, subjunctive, conditional, optative, and imperative)

Due to alignment with the subject of a sentence, verbs establish relevant links to the person and number. Considering the type of action and aspect, verbs are also a semantic-grammatical category.

Based on *valence*, i.e. the potential for binding, a verb is treated as the syntactic centre of a sentence. I.e. congruence is established between the verb and subject.

From a grammar aspect, verbs are divided into transitive and reflexive, full and auxiliary verbs.

Regarding valence, there is a division into verbs of zero value, single-valence, two-valence, three-valence and four-valence. (The valence of a verb as a special class of word is reflected in its ability to bind other words in a sentence to itself. The binding of words is based on their mutual lexical-semantic links and grammatical rules of each language individually. Based on this, model sentences were established with zero-value predicates, two-parts with a single-valence predicate, three-parts with two-valence predicates, four-part with tri-valence predicates, and five-element with four-valence predicates for many European languages. There are also differences. For example, this is the case particularly with medial verbs that can have various valence values.

Considering the relationship to the subject, verbs can be personal and impersonal.

Considering the relationship to the object, verbs can be reflexive (*fulavel pes*, he combs his hair), reflexively used (*sa e vudara putavon*, all doors open) and reciprocal (*somdisavel pes*, to make peace).

Considering the type of conjugation, verbs can be strong, weak or irregular.

Finally, from a semantic standpoint, there are attempts to group verbs into those denoting action and activity (*drabarel*, to read; *kinel*, to buy), events (*prastal*, to run, *umblavel*, to hang), states (*sovel*, to sleep), occurrences (*ovel*, to happen), weather, emergencies (*brišindarel*, it rains).

Unlike many other European languages, Romani has **causative verbs**. They can be derived from nearly all types of changeable words and some unchanging, e.g. adverbs. The majority of the words are produced from the present base, the base of preterit and participle.

As an illustration, we will list a few examples: *jag*, fire – *jagarel*, to set on fire; *kat*, scissors – *katarel*, to cut with scissors; *suv*, needle – *suvjarel*, to prick with a needle; *paše*, near – *pašarel*, bring closer; *dur*, far – *durarel*, move farther, *sararel*, generalise; *sarrarel*, compare, etc.

16. MORPHOLOGICAL ELEMENTS

16.1. Suffixes

Suffixes (lat. *suffigere*, to add onto, to continue) are morphological elements, added onto a free morpheme or free constructed morpheme becoming an inseparable part of the newly created word. Considering morphological-syntactic functions, a difference was introduced between *derivation suffixes* (used for word formation) and *flexive suffixes* (suffixes that are the result of grammatical word change – declination, conjugation, comparison).

Among the examples above, derivation suffixes are, for example, **-phen** (in the word *čhavripen*, childhood), **-alo** (in the word *jagalo*, fiery), **-uno** (in the word *kaštuno*, wooden, etc.) An example of a flexive suffix is **-esko** (in the word *phralesko*, brother's).

Suffixes serve to create systematic differences in the meaning of words.

Based on their origin, suffixes in Romani can be divided into 10 groups:

1. The first group covers the suffixes **-ben**, **-pen**, used to build abstract nouns in the Romani language exclusively in the male gender (These suffixes correspond to the Sanskrit *-tvama*, Pre-Sanskrit *-ppana*.) For example, *čaćipen*, truth; *lačhipen*, goodness; *šukaripen*, beauty, etc. A small number of Romani words preserves the suffix **-pana**. For example *tara-pana*, pleasure, joy.

2. Nouns from medial verbs and verbs in medium with the suffixes **-ben**, **-pen** are those with the property of self-action. E.g. *mudardipen*, suicide.

3. The second group consists of the suffix **-mata**. It produces nouns of the type *khelimata*, play; *gilabimata*, singing; *siklimata*, learning; *asamata*, laughing; *sovimata*, sleeping, etc. Nouns of medial verbs and in media with the suffix **-mata** have the property of self-activity. For example, *sikljardipen*, self-learning, self-education.

4. The third group covers the suffix for forming diminutives: **-oro**.

Examples: *akhororro*, little nut; *bašnororro*, little cock; *buznorri*, little goat; *khamorro*, little sun; *čarorri*, patch of grass, etc. In this most frequent diminutive suffix the sound *rr* occurs.

This group includes the two secondary **-lo**: *čiriklo*, little bird; **-ičho**: *baličho*, piglet.

Finally, there are suffixes to build diminutives of personal names, for males **-iška**; for female **-ika**. Male: *Kaniška*, *Ganiška*, etc. Female: *Karika*, *Putrika*, *Radika*, etc.

5. Suffixes of the type **-nda**, **-and**, **-na**, **-ni**, **-ri**, **-una**, **-ari** are for various nouns.

For example: *brišind*, rain; *bašno*, cock; *buzni*, goat; *angrustri*, ring; *kikavjari*, pot-maker, etc.

6. Suffixes of an adjectival origin are: **-lo**, **-alo**, **-valo**, **-ver**, **-ano**, **-vano** (-vane), **-tno**, **-ikano**. For example: *šutlo* (*šuklo*), sour; *thulo*, fat; *baxtalo*, happy; *bokhalo*, hungry; *čhorvalo*, bearded; *barvalo*, rich; *godjaver*, smart; *xarano*, wise; *korvano*, stealthy; *khamutno*, sunny; *andralutno*, inner; *devlikano*, divine, etc.

7. Comparative suffix **-der**.

For example, *baroder*, increased; *tiknider*, diminutive; *lačoder*, improved, etc.

8. Suffixes of certain case forms combined with the suffix for diminutive.

For example: *čhavreskorro*, (from) a little boy; *dajakerro*, (from) mommy, etc.

Ablative postposition in singular **-tar**, the suffix is in the word *akatar*, from here; *okotar*, from there, etc. Ablative postposition in plural **-dar**, the suffix is in the words *jekhendar*, from some; *akalendar*, from these; *upralendar*, from the upper ones, etc.

9. Suffixes produced from pronouns:

– Indefinite pronouns **-muni** (moni): *jek čomuni*, something, produced the noun *čomuni*, thing.

– Interrogative pronouns **kisi?** how many? produced the word *kuti*, *kući*, little; **savo?** which? produced the word *gasavo*, such, etc.

10. Suffixes of participative origin **-to**: *mato*, drunk; **-lo**: *phandlo*, closed.

-do: *dživdo*, *dživ*; **-to**: *bešto*, planted, sitting; **-me** (-ime, -ome) *marime*, dishonoured, etc. The first variant of this suffix is most often added to foreign words: *vrasime*, boiling; *pisome*, written; *lečime*, cured, etc. The suffix often replaces the endings **-iv** and **-ljiv** occurring in Serbian words such as *sumnjiv*, *jeziv*, *grabljiv*, *dimljiv*, etc. Another variant of this suffix **-ome** is also added to foreign words. For example, *paxome*, frozen, etc.

11. Suffixes in adverbs: **-es**: *čačes*, really, truly; *gugles*, sweetly; *lačhes*, properly; *užes*, cleanly; *rromanes*, Romani; *kamles*, desirably; *mulikanes*, deathly, etc.; **-l**: *upral*, from on top; *telal*, from the bottom; *avrijal*, from outside, *andral*, from inside; *dural*, from a distance; *pašal*, from up close, etc.; **-ar**: *jekhar*, once; *kekar*, never; etc., **-var**: *dujvar*, twice; *trinvar*, thrice, etc.

12. Suffixes of foreign origin (for example from Greek or Romanian) represent a special group. The most frequent suffix from Greek is **-mos**. It occurs as a suffix in Roma words. For example: *marimos*, fight, battle; *xamos*, food; *pimos*, drink, etc. The most frequent suffix from Romanian is **-ura**: *satura*, clocks; *bobura*, grains, *vasura*, dishes; *mitura*, myths, etc.

16.2. Semi-suffixes

Semi-suffixes or suffixoids are used to form words related by meaning. Thus the limit between a suffix and suffixoid is not solid. The most frequent semi-suffix is **-čos**, produced from the negation **čī** or **čhi**, no, it is not. It marks a partial lack of quality or quantity. For example, *pharničos*, whitish; *loličos*, reddish; *pharičos*, semi-heavy, etc.

16.3. Prefixes

Prefixes (lat. *praefigere*, add to the beginning) are morphological elements that precede words. The most frequent Romani prefixes are: **a-**, **bi-**, **či-**, **ke-**, **na-**, **ni-**, **pra-**, **sa-**, **som-**. Rarer or very rare are, e.g. **i-**, **o-**, **u-**, **h-**, **f-**, **pal-**, etc.

Examples: *bijav*, wedding, *-abijav*; *džukaripen*, waiting, *adžukaripen*; *kharipen*, calling, inviting *-akharipen*; *rati*, night – *arati*, yesterday; *bijanipe*, birth; *bidikhlo*, unseen; *biranglo*, unshaved; *bikerdo*, not done; *kethanipen*, togetherness; *somdživipe*, living together; *somkerdo*, complex; *palpale*, again, etc.

16.4. Infixes

Infixes (lat. *infigere*, add inside) are morphemes for forming words that are inserted into words, whether because the base of the word is too short, or due to sound changes.

One paradigmatic example in Romani is the noun **div**, day. It is only preserved in this form in certain Romani dialects, e.g. in Slovenia. The affix **-u** was then added to the base of this noun, producing its changed form *divu*. (For example in Murska Subota.) Macedonian Roma have added the affix **-e** to the base, making its new form in those areas *dive*. However, in many dialects the affix **-es** was added to the base, making *dives* the most widespread form of the noun *div* in Romani.

This example can lead to the conclusion: all male gender nouns that in the genitive, dative, instrumental, locative and ablative contain **-eses-** in the middle (followed by characteristic case suffixes, postpositions), contain infixes.

Infixes are contained in adverbs and negations. For example *khatende* (somewhere); *katinende* (nowhere).

Romani contains many words of foreign origin with suffixes becoming infixes. The most frequent suffixes, i.e. infixes are: **-aža** (montaža), **-algia** (nostalgia), **-alo** (socialo), **-ari** (parlamentari), **-arx-ia** (monarxia), **-cia** (policia), **-encia** (konferencia), **-filo** (bibliofilo), **-fono** (telefono), **-grafi** (fotografi), **-ika** (politika), **-ismo** (simbolismo), **-astika, istika** (onomastika, anglistika), **-iv** (aktivno), **-iva** (perspektiva), **-kratia, kracia** (demokratia), **-krato** (birokrato), **-logia** (rromologia), **-mania** (megalomania), **-metria** (geometria), **-nimo** (sinonimo), **-nomia** (astronomia), **-sfera** (atmosfera), **-skopia** (mikroskopija), **-texnia** (biotexnia), **-terapia** (fitoterapia), **-teza** (hipoteza), **-tura** (diktatura), etc.

16.5. Affixes

Affixes (lat. *affigere*, to affix) is, on the one hand, the overall name for all free elements used to form words (prefixes, infixes, suffixes, etc.), and on the other, extending words by adding one letter or syllable.

Etymological research of the Romani language shows that many Romani words were extended in this way.

This phenomenon occurs in words of foreign origin. For example, the Serbian word **rad** (work) is expanded with the affix **-o**, the nouns **prezident** (president) or **krst** (cross) also **-o**. This could be used to formulate a rule: all foreign origin nouns in the male gender with the base and main form ending in the consonants **-d, -k, -m, -n, -h, -s**, etc. in Romani gain the affix **-o**. (In plural this type of noun as a rule has the suffix **-ura**: *prezidentura*, presidents; *advokatura*, lawyers; *poslanikura*, members of parliament, etc.)

Foreign origin male gender nouns ending in **-r** are most frequently added the affix **-i**, while only some have the affix **-o**.

For example, the Serbian noun **kolar – kolari; manastir – manastiri; rudar – rudari; guslar – guslari**, etc. In plural these types of nouns are: *kolara*, kolari; *rudara*, rudari; *guslara*, guslari.

Certain nouns ending in **-r**, such as **car, bar, par, žar**, etc. get the affix **-o**: *caro*, *baro*, *paro*, *žaro*. The plural forms are: *carura*, *barura*, *parura*, *žarura*.

Certain nouns, such as, for example, the nouns **đavo** or **sto** have the suffix **-olo**: *djavalolo*; *stolo*. (Pl. suffix **-ura**: *djavalura*, devils; *stolura*, tables.)

Certain foreign origin nouns, such as **škembe**, have the suffix **-ko**: *škembeko*, etc. (Pl. suffix **-ura**: *škembekura*, pork bellies.)

16.6. Morphological elements in compounds

Compounds in Romani form by merging the same, similar or different words.

Examples: *deldevlesko*, God of gods; *manušmanušesko*, man's man; *dadčhavesko*, son's father; *xabemasesko*, meat food; *tovereskipori*, axe handle (literally: axe tail); *pirakekana*, pot handles (literally: pot ears); *jagakičhib*, fire flame (literally: fire tongue); *rromanodji*, Roma soul, etc.

Some compounds are the result of sandhi. To the above we add several more examples: *Devleskigili* – Lord's song; *džutengo* – pair; *durethanesko* – evil spirit; *biphabajalno* – fruitless; *xadžvalo* – gourmand; *muledjosko* – destitute, desperate, etc.

Many foreign origin compounds remain unchanged, particularly those with the suffixes **logia-**, **kratia-**, **nomia-**, **skopia-**, etc. For example *antropologia*, anthropology; *birokratia*, bureaucracy; *astronomia*, astronomy; *radiskopia*, radioscopy, etc. (However, changes occur due to declination and in adverbs and adjectives. For example *antropologikane*, anthropological; *birokratikane*, bureaucratic; *astronomikane*, astronomical, etc.)

17. ORTHOGRAPHY OF THE ROMANI LANGUAGE

17.1. Uppercase letters

Initial uppercase is used for:

- Personal names,
- The first word in a sentence,
- Names of books, artwork, etc.,
- Words of respect,
- Abbreviations, Zodiac names, etc.

Personal first and last names

Initial uppercase letters are used for personal first and last names: *Aleksa, Bojan, Branko, Marija, Milica, Nada, Svenka, Ivo Andrić, Miroslav Krleža, Danilo Kiš, Nebojša Popov, Mirko Đorđević, Milan Kangrga, Jul Briner, Ana Šomlo, Brižit Bardo, Vesna Korać, Ljuba Demeter.*

Personal names in languages with Latin script are written using the orthographic rules formulated in national orthographies or in the original. This is also necessary due to the fact that Roma first and last names as a rule exist as names in the countries they live in.

For example: *Fransis Bejkon* – Francis Bacon; *Đordano Bruno* – Giordano Bruno; *Čarls Darvin* – Charles Darwin; *Deni Didro* – Denis Diderot; *Erih From* – Erich Fromm; *Alber Kami* – Albert Camus; *Karl Marks* – Karl Marx, *Bertrand Rasel* – Bertrand Russel; *Artur Šopenhauer* – Arthur Schopenhauer, etc.

An initial uppercase letter is used for all possessive adjectives produced from personal names, e.g. *e Aleksasko* (Aleksa's), *e Bojanesko* (Bojan's), *e Brankosko* (Branko's), *e Mariako* (Marija's), *e Milicako* (Milica's), *e Nadako* (Nada's), *e Svenkako* (Svenka's), etc.

Attributes and nicknames are written in uppercase if they have merged with the name to the point of becoming part of it or are used themselves instead of the name: *o Dušan Zoralo* (Dušan the Mighty), *o Petro Baro* (Peter the Great), etc.

When such an attribute is not part of the name, but serves to describe it, it is written with an initial lowercase: *o Stević terneder* (Stević junior), *Stević o dad* (Stević the father). This is also the case with common nouns designating occupations, titles or positions: *o gilabarno Šaban* (the singer Šaban), *o kraljo Petro* (King Peter), *o prezidento Tadić* (President Tadić), etc.

If the personal name has acquired a general meaning, it is written with an initial lowercase: *amperi* (ampere, unit of measure for electrical current, named after the French),

scientist Ampere, *rentgeno* (roentgen), etc.

This is also the case for inventions, e.g. *rentgeno* (medical device, named after Roentgen); *mercedeso* (Mercedes, the car), etc.

The names of peoples and their members are written with an initial uppercase: *Roma* (Roma), *Rrom* (Roma man), *Rromni* (Roma woman), *Austrijacura* (Austrians), *Austrijano* (Austrian man), *Austrijanka* (Austrian woman), *Bulgara* (Bulgarians), *Bulgaro* (Bulgarian man), *Bulgarka* (Bulgarian woman), *Serbura* (Serbs), *Serbo* (Serb man), *Serbka* (Serb woman), etc.

Geographic names and names derived from them

The names of states, countries, provinces, cities, villages and hamlets are written with an initial uppercase. Ethnic names (names of populations) derived from such names are also written with uppercase. For example *Bosančo*, *Bosanka* (Bosnian man/woman), *Biligradosko*, *Biligradoski* (Belgrade man/woman), *Bečosko*, *Bečoski* (Viennese man/woman), etc.

The names of continents, states, countries, cities and villages comprised of multiple parts – each word is written with uppercase. This is also the case with names of streets, squares, parts of a city, etc.

Names of institutions and organisations

An uppercase initial letter is used for names of institutions, organisations, parties, associations, etc. For example, *O Ministeriumo e kulturako* (The Ministry of Culture); *O Ministerimuo e buĉake* (The Ministry of Labour); *Demokratikani partija* (Democratic Party), etc.

Historical events

An uppercase initial letter is used for the names of historical events, wars and movements. For example *O Dujto themesko maripen* (World War II); *I Oktobreski Revolucija* (October Revolution), etc.

Names of deities and names of holy books

An uppercase initial letter is used for deities of various faiths: *o Devel* (God), *o Alaho* (Allah), *o Isuso* (Jesus), etc. *Then*, *i Devleski daj* (Mother of God), *o Devlesko ĉhavo* (Son of God), etc., as well as holy writ *o Kurano* (Quran), *Purano testamento* (Old Testament), *Nevo testamento* (New Testament), *i Biblia* (The Bible), *o Talmudo* (Talmud, a collection of Jewish lore and laws) *i Tora* (The Torah, Moses' law, used by the cantor in synagogues to sing sections on Saturdays).

Names of holidays

The names of holidays are written with an initial uppercase letter: *o Djurdjevdan* (St. George's Day), *i Vasilica* (Vasilitsa, a Roma holiday), *i Patradji* (Easter), *o Krečuno* (Christmas), *o Nevo berš* (New Year), etc.

First word in a sentence

The first word in a sentence is written using an uppercase initial letter. For example, *Adives tatarel o Kham*. (The sun is warm today.); *Varekana sikavava e ternen sar te bašalen lavuta, akana naštimaj, phurilem*. (I used to teach young people how to play the violin, I can no longer do it, I am old.) *I Ana gelisata te arakhel pes pe amalinasa e Sarasa an Parizo, kaj voj, gelitar an Londono!* (Ana went to meet her friend Sarah in Paris, when she went to London.)

An initial uppercase is also used after a colon when dealing with quotes between quotation marks, behind questions marks and exclamation marks. For example: *O sikavarno vakarda: „Te kamena but te džanen, atoska sičon, sičon, sičon!“* (The teacher said: “If you want to know a lot, then study, study, study!”) *Mi phen pučla man: „So kerdan adives an škola?“* (My sister asked me: “What did you do in school today?”)

Names of books and works of art

The names of works of art and books, magazines, newspapers, articles, poems, regulations, laws, etc. are written using an uppercase initial letter. An initial uppercase letter is also used for the names of characters in works of art, as well as buildings and structures.

Honorifics

An uppercase initial letter is also used for honorifics. For example, *Me andem Tumenge jek lil mor dadestar*. (I brought You a letter from my father.)

Abbreviation and names of Zodiac signs

Some abbreviations are written in uppercase. For example *SRB* (SRB, Serbia); *SL* (SL, Slovenia), etc. Zodiac signs are written with an uppercase initial, to differentiate them from ordinary words. For example, *Mačho* (Pisces); *Tula* (Scales), etc.

17.2. Lowercase

Lowercase is used for:

- Names of material and immaterial objects;
- Common names of plants and animals;
- Names of heavenly bodies and phenomena;

- Terminological names, terms and categories;
- Names of mythical and other imaginary creatures and phenomena;
- Article with nouns: **o** with a male gender noun; the article **i** with a female gender noun; the article **e** with both gender nouns in plural, (When a sentence starts with any of the words accompanied by one of the above definite articles, the article is written using an uppercase letter.);
- Religions: *budisto* (Buddhist), *hinduisto* (Hinduist), *hristiano* (Christian), *katoliko* (Catholic), *protestanto* (Protestant), *muslimano* (Muslim), etc;
- Directions on the map: *disorig* (east), *ratorig* (west), *utarig* (north), *mesmerig* (south), *utadisorig* (north-east), *mesmeratorig* (south-west);
- Various abbreviations, e.g. like *rm.* (Roma), *skr.* (Sanskrit), *prof.* (Professor), *dr* (Doctor), etc.

When *devel*, god, is a general noun, it is written with an initial lowercase letter. The same applies to the noun *beng*, devil, etc.

To put it in the shortest possible way, lowercase is used for all common nouns and all non-independent words, i.e. words that acquire their true meaning only in connection to another word, or a term denoted by another word.

These are, thus, adjectives, pronouns, numbers, verbs, adjectives, prepositions, conjunctions, particles and exclamations.

17.3. Mixed: lower and upper case

They are written in the cases demonstrated by the following examples: *O Baro rič* (the Big Dipper constellation), *O Dudesko drom* (the Milky Way), *I Bari paraštuj* (The Good Friday), *O Nevo berš* (The New Year), etc. This is contrasted with examples of the following type: *o maripe Kosovoste* (The Battle of Kosovo), *o maripe Vaterloste* (The Battle of Waterloo).

17.4. Writing words contiguously or separately

Contiguous

Words are written contiguously when they are compounds. It was already explained that compounds are formed by joining same or similar words, producing new meaning.

- The noun *Devel*, god, forms the compound *deldevlesko*, god of gods. This compound has a new meaning: perfect, unattainable, invincible, etc. This method was used to produce compounds from the nouns *manuš*, man: *manušmanušesko*, incredible man, the apotheosis of manhood; *ilo*, heart: *iloilesko*, kind-hearted; *kham*, sun: *khamkhamesko*, an example of justice, etc. These compounds are written contiguously.

– The noun *šero*, head, and adjective *nango*, naked, produced the compound *šrmamgo*, bareheaded; *punro*, leg, and adjective *nango*, naked, – *prnango*, barefoot, etc.

– The adjective *kalo*, black, and noun *bal*, hair, produced the compound *kalebalengi*, black-haired; *panro*, white, and noun *bal*, hair – *parnebalengo*, gray-haired, etc. these compounds are also written contiguously.

– There are also various nouns: Budapest, Danilovgrad, Suvobor, etc. as well as nouns of the type autobiographer, automechanic, autosuggestion, etc.

Separate

However, *deldevlesko*, is written separately, for example, in curses and vows:
Te marel man o Del – devlesko! (May I be struck down by the God – of – gods!)
Te phabarel tut o kham – khamesko! (May the sun in heaven burn you up!)

There are also various geographic names: *Han-Pijesak*, *Ivan sedlo*, etc. or noun names, such as *auto-drom* (highway), *auto-kher* (car house), etc. In such cases the rules of national orthographies apply.

17.5. Negation

Negation is a sentence constituent, i.e. a part of the sentence. The negations **naj** (am not, is not), **ni**, **či** (no, is not), **na** (no, don't) are written separately from the words being negated. With this function they most frequently stand before nouns, adjectives, verbs, numbers, adverbs and prepositions.

They are written contiguously if they are: (a) lexically with adverbs (*naj*, *niči*, etc.), indeterminate pronouns (*niso*, *khonik*, *khanči*) or prepositions (*bi*), certain modal verbs (such as *šaj-našti*) or coordinating conjunctions (*ni... ni*); (b) morphological (*namaj*, *nimaj*, *nisar*, *nisosko*, *bisosko*, *bisostar*); (c) idiomatic; (d) intonation; and (e) as a sentence equivalent *naj*, is not.

Najstalo (it is gone) is written contiguously; (*-stalo* is also written contiguously in the following combinations: *aketalo*, here it is; *eketalo*, there it is; *kajstalo?* where is it?, *savostalo!*, what a guy! *sostale!* so many!)

When negating the predicate of a sentence, the particle *na* is written separately. For example, *Tu na pokindan.* (You did not pay.)

When negating the subject, the particle *na* or *či* is written separately. For example, *Tu či pokines!* (You don't pay!)

When negating the object, the preposition *bi* is used more frequently with the particle *či*, written contiguously. For example, *O bipokindo pipe.* (Unpaid drink.)

The preposition *bi* is written contiguously when forming nouns of the type *biavipen* (non-arrival), *bixačaripen* (lack of understanding), *biarakhadipen* (inability to manage), etc.

In the forms of the passive verb adjective, such as *bifulado* (uncombed), *bithodo* (unwashed), *bipherdo* (unfulfilled), etc. it is written contiguously.

It is written separately, however, in: *bi mango* (without me), *bi amengo* (without us), *bi tumengo* (without you), etc.

17.6. Various particles

The adverbs: *kanakana*, *varekana* (occasionally), *kajkaj* (in places), *kajso* (where-what), *kajkana* (sometimes), *gejaso* (like), etc. are written contiguously. *Gejaphendo* (so to say) is written contiguously, or in sentences of the type *sarsar... nisar*.

For example, *Vov sarsar, me nisar!* (Him perhaps, me – no way!) Contiguous is used for *savorre* (all), *sadžik*, *sadžikaj* (until), etc.

The particles *ma kas* (anyone), *fi so* (whatever), *ma so* (anything), *ma soske* (for any reason), *ma sostar* (of whatever), *ma soste* (at anyone's), etc. are written separately.

17.7. Numbers

The combinations *jek-duj* (one-two), *trin-štar* (three-four), etc. are written separately.

This is also the case for the combinations *kotor-duj* (a piece or two), *kilo-duj* (a kilo or two), *gono-duj* (a bag or two), etc.

The compound numbers: *dešujek* (eleven), *dešuduj* (twelve), *dešutrin* (thirteen), etc. are written contiguously.

The words *jekhenge* (the number one), *dujenge* (the number two), *trinenge* (the number three), *štarenge* (the number four), *pandženge* (the number five), *dešenge* (the number ten) are written contiguously. Also, *dešujekhenge*, *dešudujenge*, *dešutrinenge*, *dešuštarenge*, *dešupandženge*...

Ordinal numbers are written contiguously: *jekto* (first), *dujto* (second), *trito* (third), *štarto* (fourth), etc.

The auxiliary word *var* (times) is written contiguously in the cases *jekvar* (once), *dujvar* (twice), etc. The word *jekvaratar* (at once), etc. is written contiguously.

Separate words are: *jekto var* (first time), *dujto var* (second time), *trito var* (third time), *štarto var* (fourth time), *pandžto var* (fifth time), *dešto var* (tenth time), etc., also *duj var dujenge* (two numbers two); *duj var duj* (two times two).

Compounds like *jekhevastesko* (one-armed), *jekhejakhako* (one-eyed), *dujevastengo* (two-armed) *dujegodjengo* (shifty), *dujemujengo* (two-faced), *šelepunrengi* (centipede), *še-leberšengo* (hundred-year-old), *šeluberšutnipen* (centenary, century), etc. are written contiguously. Separate words are: *jekhe vastesa* (with one arm), *jekhe jakhasa* (with one eye), *duje vastenca* (with two arms), *duje godjenca* (indecisive), *duje mujenca* (with both faces), *šele punrengi* (with 100 feet), *šele beršenca* (with a hundred years), etc.

17.8. Verbs

The verb and particle *naj, ni, čh, na*.

In Romani there are certain verbs that have merged with the particle *na, no*.

For example *našarel*, chase away; *našel*, run away; *našti*, grow powerless; *naštisarel*, prevent, etc. There are also forms written contiguously: *najsi*, is not; *namaj*, don't, etc.

Separate words are used in many cases where the particle *na* is along a verb or verb forms regarding negation or denial. For example, *na kamel*, will not; *ni džal*, it's not going; *na pijel*, is not drinking; *čhi hačarel*, does not understand, etc.

The copula *sem* (I am, am) in the present indicative (singular: *sem, san, si*; plural *sam, sen, si*) is written separately.

The negative form built using the negation *naj* or *čhi* (no, is not), is also written separately.

Present indicative: singular – *naj sem, čhi sem* (I am not), *naj san, čhi san* (you are not), *naj si, čhi si* (is not); plural – *naj sa, čhi sam* (we are not), *naj sen, čhi sen* (you are not), *naj si, čhi si* (they are not).

Forms of present subjunctive are written separately: singular – *te sem*, if I were, *te san*, if you were, *te si*, if he were; plural – *te sam*, if we were, *te sen*, if you were, *te si*, if they were.

The auxiliary verb *kamel*, to love, to want, used to form future tenses is written separately.

Reflexive verbs are written separately.

Negative forms in imperative are written separately. For example, *Na mar!* Don't be silly!

Negative forms in injunctive are written separately. For example, *Ma xoxav!* Don't lie!

17.9. Adverbs

Compound adverbs are written contiguously: *kajkaj*, someplace; *kanakana*, sometimes; *očirila*, a moment ago; *napal*, later; *khatinende*, nowhere; *nikana*, never; *nikatar*, from out of nowhere; *nisar*, in no way, etc.

When two adverbs are next to one another they are connected by a hyphen. Examples: *kabor-gabor*, to an extent; *sar-agja*, in a way; *kate-kote*, here and there; *upre-tele*, up-and-down; *sig-sigeder*, in a rush; *abut-but*, more-or-less; *dje-djeste*, to this day; *dje-djesestar*, day-to-day; *poso-šoro*, by any means, etc.

The postposition **-tar** (from) and preposition **dži** (to) enter into a relationship with the adverbs producing the following forms of words: *atoska*, then; *dži atoska*, until then; *de atoskara*, since then; *dži akana*, to date, etc.

17.10. Prepositions

Certain prepositions are connected to nouns or pronouns. For example, *arati*, yesterday; *detharin*, morning; *okoladje*, day before yesterday, etc.

They are written separately in the cases listed: *angla i rat*, early evening; *anglo nilaj*, early summer; *dži bengeste*, damn it; *dži Devleste*, to God; *angla mande*, before me; *paša tute*, with you, etc.

17.11. Punctuation terms and punctuation symbols

Punctuation consists of symbols aimed at optically regulating written text in accordance with the principles and rules of orthography.

A full-stop, question mark or exclamation mark are placed at the end of a sentence.

Within the sentence one uses the comma, colon, semicolon and other symbols aimed at clarifying grammatical and semantic aspects in a text, such as: intonation characteristic for spoken word, listing, direct speech, quoting, etc.

Full stop

Viram is the Romani name for a “full stop” [.].

It is a female gender noun. (Plural: e virama.)

The full stop is the most important symbol in dividing a text into its component parts.

It is written:

- At the end of a declarative sentence: *Me sem o Branko.* (I am Branko.);
- At the end of a negative sentence. *Me najsem nasvalo.* (I am not sick.);
- At the end of an impersonal one: *Del o brišind.* (It is raining.);
- *Meklan e pustik akate.* (You left a book here.);
- At the end of expanded ones: *Sikaven e Marijake i nevi pustik e rromane gilenca thaj paramičeca.* (Show Marija the new book of Roma poems and stories.);
- A full stop is used after ordinal numbers used in various contexts.

Examples: *I paraštuj si 5. dives an kurko.* (Friday is the fifth day of the week.)

Mor čhavo si bijando po 11. avgusto 1970. berš. (My son is born on 3 August 1970.)

– A full stop is used between hours and minutes.

O aeroplano ujrael an 6.54 minutura. (The plane leaves at 6:54.)

A full stop is written after abbreviations of the following type:

- *br., berš* (yr, year),
- *ma., masek* (mo., month),
- *gn., gindo* (no., number),
- *pm., po misali* (e.g., for example),
- *gph., geja phendo* (so to say),
- *gakh., geja akhardo* (so-called),
- *td., thaj dureder* (etc., and so on),
- *thv., thaj vaver* (etc., and other things).

There are also the abbreviations:

- *m. j.* (*muršikano jeri*, male gender), *dž. j.* (*džuvljikano jeri*, female gender),
- *sg.* – name for singular, *pl.* – name for plural,
- names of cases: *N.* (nominative), *G.* (genitive), *D.* (dative), *A.* (accusative), *V.* (vocative), *I.* (instrumental), *L.* (locative), *Abl.* (ablative), *P.* (prepositional).

Question mark

Pučimaski cihna is the Romani name for the “question mark” [?]. The question mark is written at the end of independent interrogative sentences, whether with interrogative words or without.

For example, the sentence „Meklan e pustik akate“ (You left a book here) – may be phrased:
„Mekes e pustik akate?“ (Are you leaving a book here?)

Kana džastar khere? (When do you leave for home?)

Kaj kames te xas? (Where do you want to have lunch?)

Soske? (Why?)

Exclamation mark

Akharimaski cihna is the Romani name for the “exclamation mark” [!].

The exclamation mark is written after sentences, phrases or individual words that are an invitation, order, plea or denote excitement, raised spirits, etc.

Examples: *Phir sigeder!* (Walk faster!)

Prasta mande, dik, so andem tuke! (Run to me, look what I brought you!)

Lela, ašun so ka phenav tuke! (Lela, listen to what I say!)

Uh, so kerden e manušesar! (Oh, what did you do to the man!)

Ake, inklel o kham! (Here, the sun is rising!)

Comma

Padicihna is the Romani name for the “comma” [,].

It is a noun in the female gender. (Plural: *e padicihne*.)

The comma is an orthographic symbol denoting directness, subsequent explanation, opposition, special emphasis, words or phrases directly addressing and words or expressions presenting the view of the author to the content of the statement.

A sentence is by definition a grammatical, semantic and intonational communication unit. It can be simple or complex, and thus a comma is used to precisely define the internal relations within a sentence, particularly in a **dependent complex sentence**.

Dependent complex sentences contain the conjunctions:

- Temporal – **kana** (when), **džik** (as), **džikaj** (while), **jav** (as soon), **sar** (how), **kvam** (just), **napal** (after), **kvam so** (only just), **atoska** (then), etc.
- Causal – **andar** (since, due to), **vaš** (because), **sar** (how), **kana** (when), **kaj** (as, since), etc.
- Conditional – **te** (if), **kana** (when), **va** (to), **kimva** (if), etc.
- Permissive – **ma** (oh), **takaj** (although), **te** (only, if even), etc.
- Modal – **sar** (how), **sargo** (as), **sarkaj** (as if), **ma sar** (however), etc.
- Intentional – **te** (to), **sar** (how), **takaj** (let), etc.
- Consequential – **atoska** (then), **te** (to), **va** (to), etc.
- Declarative – **va** (to), **si** (to), **sar** (how), **kaj** (where), etc.
- Relational – **savo** (which), **kasko** (whose), **sarsavo** (what kind), **so** (that), **kuri** (where), **katar** (from whence), **džikaj** (until when), etc.

Examples:

Kana ka resel khere, vov ka akharel man telefonosa. (When he comes home, he will telephone me.)

Na kirav adives xabe, **kaj** našti avava khere e bare bućendar. (Don't make lunch today, I can't make it from all the work.)

Te savorhe kamena, tajsa šaj te džas an kino. (If you all want it, tomorrow we can go to the cinema.)

Arak e love, **kaj** bi lovengo si but phare! (Guard your money, for without money it is very hard!)

Kana si nasvalo, maj feder si te pašljol khere. (When he is sick, he better lay at home.)

Baxtalo sem, **kaj** napal but berša, šaj palpale te dihav tumen. (I am happy to see you again after all these years.)

Džikaj si o manuš terno, vov ni lel sama sastimastar. (While a man is young, he does not worry about health.)

Te dži thara na reslan, atoska sa xasardan! (If you do not come by tomorrow, you will lose everything!)

Kvam so reslo, pašljilo, sar mulo suta. (As soon as he arrived, he lay down and fell into a dead sleep.)

Na dža devleske, **kaj** adives si phangli i bibloteka, i Patradji si. (Don't go in vain, the library does not work today, it is Easter.)

Takaj nasvaljo, pi buti gelo, sar bi dži lovende avela. (Although sick, he went to work to earn money.)

Napal i buti, dža an foro thaj ači **džikaj** kames, **jav** telefonirasa maj, me e autosa ka re-sav. (After work, go to town and stay as long as you want, as soon as he telephones me I will arrive by car.)

Tajsa ka uštas jasvinate, **sar** bi resasa so maj sig an Pariso. (Tomorrow we rise at early dawn, to get to Paris as fast as possible).

The reasons for using the comma can also be parallel events and listing, addition, opposition, particular emphasis and inversion (reverse order of sentences).

There are examples in the Roma anthem “Djelem, djelem”:

*Djelem, djelem lungone dromenca, Maladilem baxtale Rromencar.
E, ej, Rromalen,
E, ej, čhavalen!*

This example shows that a comma is used after the vocative and particles denoting address. The quoted sentences show when the comma is also used.

Ma, pe gadava bajo averčhande trebel te dikhel pe. (However, this issue should be viewed differently.)

Va, sa geja sasa. (Yes, it all happened like that.)

Vakarava tumenge duje rromane pustikendar, liduj si e rromane čhibatar. (I will tell you about two Roma books, both about the Romani language.)

O dad e tikne Anako, purano profesori, avilo jek rat te malavel pes mancar. (The father of little Ana, an old professor, came one evening to meet me.)

I Esma Redžepova, rromani gilarni. (Esma Redžepova, Roma singer.)

Sa dijem! – phenda vov, thaj buvljarda pe izdrane vasta. (I gave all! – he said, then spread his trembling hands.)

Čhi džuvdo, čhi mulo, sajek po phuv pašljo! (Neither alive nor dead, always lying on the ground.)

Khinje e lungone dromestar, sar dije an kher, pele thaj sute. (Tired from the long trip, as soon as they entered the house, they lay down and fell asleep.)

Save mangel andre te den, musaj angleder po udar te maren. (Those who wish to enter, must first knock on the door.)

Godova so vakardan, mange naj hačarimaske. (What you said, I don’t understand.)

Semicolon

The semicolon [;] represents a separating symbol stronger than a comma, but weaker than a full stop.

Pe bibaxt, man naj ciro te phirav; rigal akava, ačhilem bi lovengo. (Unfortunately, I have no time for a walk; furthermore, I am out of money.)

I Nada but kamel e džukle; o Nikola but kamel e bilen. (Nada loves dogs a lot; Nikola loves cats a lot.)

Colon

A colon [:] is placed after words hinting at lists, before direct (quoted) speech, before a declaratory sentence without a conjunction, explaining the preceding sentence, before a quotation and with the meaning “according to”. For example, *Vidžajarde 4 : 2.* (They won 4 : 2).

Quotation marks

Quotation marks [„ ”] are used to separate words that do not belong to the author of the text, in literary texts with dialogue, when using words with a derisive, ironic or opposite meaning, quoting titles of books, etc.

Example: *Mor profesori e historiako phenda: „I historia si sikavni e dživdimaski!“* (My history teacher said: “History is the teacher of life!”)

Dash

As an orthographic symbol the dash [-] is used to insert a piece of text (word, phrase or sentence), hint at itemised listing of things, separate a part of a phrase to be emphasised, mark paragraphs, in links with two or more parts, in conjunctions that denote spatial relations, such as direction, distance, etc. in conjunctions denoting temporal relations, in literary texts as a replacement for quotes used in dialogue, etc.

Example: *Po autodrom Beograd – Niš si o moteli „Jerina“.* (The model “Jerina” is on the Belgrade–Niš highway.)

Hyphen

The hyphen [-] is a symbol used in semi-compounds, at the end of a line as part of the word crossing into a new line, between parts of semi-compounds, when separating words into syllables, between double last names, after abbreviations, followed by the relevant suffixes.

Example: *Mi daj arati phenda maj: „Kames-ni kames, e baxtatar našti te našes!“* (My mother told me yesterday: “Whatever you do– you can’t escape fate!”)

The remaining symbols are:

Apostrophe

The apostrophe ['] is a symbol denoting one dropped or unused vowel, as a semi-quotation mark – ekvaš upanalí cihna.

Examples:

Br'šind (rain); Br'š (year), etc.

Vakardol pe: „o romano lav 'breš' kerdilo e sanskritikane lavestar 'varsa' pal o lav 'brišind' e sanskritikane lavestar 'vrsti'“. (It is claimed that the: “Romani word 'breš' is derived from the Sanskrit word 'varsa', while the word 'brišind' is from the Sanskritword 'vrsti'”).

Bracket

The bracket [()] as an orthographic symbol is used to separate an added part of text in a textual unit, having the character of supplementary data or explanation.

Ellipsis

An ellipsis [...] as an orthographic symbol denotes that text is missing or is the sign of incompleteness of something written.

Slash

The slash [/] has the meaning of a fraction. For example $2/3 = \text{duj tritja}$ (two thirds). It can also denote a period of time (2010/2011), etc.

18. STANDARD GRAMMAR TERMS

A

o ablativo (lat. *ablativus*, relating, separating), a case in Romani indicating where something originates from or what it is being separated from, etc. Declinating words in singular gain the ablative suffix *-tar*, from. (In plural, due to sound changes, *-dar*, from). E.g. E manušestar (from a man); Irisalo e dromestar. (He is back from the trip.); Akrak tut e džukelestar! (Beware the dog!) The Romani ablative corresponds to the Serbian ablative genitive.

As a rule, when nouns in ablative are divided into syllables, the postpositions *-tar* and *-dar*, remain whole. For example man-uš-es-tar; drom-es-tar; džu-kel-es-tar. This rule also applies when transferring parts of words into a new line, marked with a hyphen as an orthographic symbol. This means that when there are interruptions in these words and the interrupted parts are moved to the next line, in accordance with orthographic rules, they are written as follows: manušes-; manuš-; man-; dromes-; drom-; dro-; džukeles-; džukel.

o ablauto (ger. *Ablaut*, down-voice; or *apophony*, sound gradation), denotes change in certain vowels in etymologically similar words. In Romani there is an entire order of phonetic-phonological phenomena of this type.

abstrakta (lat. *abstractus*, to generalise, to separate; to build concepts and thought images), denotes a semantically defined class of nouns with semantic meaning. Romani nouns of this type have the suffixes *-ben* or *-pen*. These nouns denote concepts, properties, relationships, ideas and terms. As a rule, when nouns with these suffixes are divided into syllables, the suffixes *-ben* and *-pen* remain indivisible. This rule also applies to transferring parts of words into the next line, denoted by a hyphen as an orthographic symbol.

adjektivo (lat. *adjectivum*, adjective; gr. *epitheton*), adjective, as a type of word it undergoes declination (case change) and comparison. Syntactically, it has an attributive and predicative use. Adjectives in Romani decline as nouns, they have three stages – positive, comparative and superlative. For example, baro, big; bareder, bigger; baresto, biggest. Superlative is formed also using the prefix *-maj*: majboro, tallest. Certain examples, such as mulo, dead, have no comparison. Adjectives with an attributive function in Romani are subject to congruence, i.e. alignment by gender and number with the noun they precede. (Many adjectives of foreign origin are not subject to congruence. For example, zeleno phabaj, green apple.) Semantically, there is a certain similarity between adjectives and adverbs. As a rule, when adjectives and their case forms are divided into syllables, the prefix *-maj* and suffixes *-der* and *-sto* remain indivisible. This rule also applies to transferring parts of words into the next line, denoted by a hyphen as an orthographic symbol.

adjunkto (lat. *adjunctus*), linguistic expression in an attributive function, preceding of following elements that are semantically specified. For example, Okoja mori pustik. (That book of

mine.) I but lači pustik, i pustik akaja, me vastaste kaj si. (A very good book, this book I have in my hand.)

adnominalno (lat. *ad nomen*), denotes any syntactic element in an endocentric construction serving to modify one name. I.e. these are all forms of attributes from adjectives, genitive attributes, prepositional attributes, etc.

adverbo (lat. *ad verbum*, from a verb), adverbs are a type of word semantically modifying verbs, adjectives, adverbs, and serve the entire sentence. An adverb is an unchanging type of word. They are classified as free, such as *belvelasa*, in the evening; pronominal, such as *napal*, then; *inčate*, there; *godoleske*, because of that, etc. Regarding use, they may be used adverbially or predicatively. For example, *Vov, kerel averčhande*. (He does it differently.) *Vov si avrečhande*. (He is different.) Also, adverbially and attributively. For example, *I pustik pašljol akate*. (The book lies here.) *I pustik akate*. (Book here.) Or, only adverbially. For example, *Voj kerel buti bilošales*. (She does the work unwillingly.) A special group are sentence adverbs. For example *fajma*, perhaps; *kerdol pe*, I think, etc. Semantically, there are temporal adverbs (aka-na, now; *arati*, yesterday; *de atoskara*, since); local (*akate*, these; *andral*, inside; *odoring*, there); modal (*baxtales*, happily; *korvanes*, blindly); and causal (*godoleske*, because of that; *takaj*, despite that, etc.). Morphologically, there are base adverbs, derived ones, and those produced by compounding two or more words. When adverbs are divided into syllables, their morphological structure must be known. For example, *akana*: a-ka-na; *arati*: a-ra-ti; *de atoskara*: de at-os-ka-ra; *andral*; an- dr-al; *odoring*: o-do-ring; *baxtales*: baxt-al-es; *korvanes*: kor-van-es, etc. This rule should also be applied to moving parts of words to the next line, denoted with a hyphen as an orthographic symbol.

adverbialikane, denotes a sentence article, adverbial denotation, characterising one word regarding time, place, type or mode. This semantic function corresponds to a division in traditional grammar into temporal, local, modal, causal, conditional and consecutive adverbials.

adverbialikani vakaji, adverbial sentence, differs syntactically and semantically. In a semantic regard there is a difference between the primary and secondary sentence. Regarding semantic function, they are divided into causal, local, modal and temporal.

adverzitivikani vakaji, adversive or contrary sentence. For example, *Vov si dilo, ama naj sasto them dilo!* (He is crazy, but not all the world is crazy!) *Ni perel o brišind, o Kham tatarel*. (It is not raining, **the Sun is shining**.)

afereza (gr. *aferesis*, subtraction, removal), denotes the abbreviation of a word by leaving out its beginning, first letter or first syllable. In Romani, this most frequently occurs with certain words starting with the sound **h**.

afgacia, word formation using affixes. Depending on the place where elements for word formation are found, there is prefixation (prefixes come in front of the word, e.g. *čačo*, correct,

bičáčo, incorrect); suffixation (suffixes are placed after the base word, e.g. *nevo*, new; **nevimata**, news). As a rule, when words are divided into syllables, prefixes and suffixes remain indivisible. This rule also applies to moving parts of words with prefixes and suffixes into the next line, denoted with a hyphen as an orthographic symbol.

aflacia, a relation between languages that have common origin in an older “proto-language”. For example, Romani is one of the neo-Indian languages, related to Hindi, Punjabi, etc. originating from Sanskrit.

afrikata, affricates, compound consonants, such as *c*, *č*.

agenso (lat. *agere*, to act), a sentence member, agens, denoted as the cause or initiator of action, unlike *patiens*, that suffers the action. Agens and *patiens* are semantic terms that need not be in a correlation with the syntactic functions of subject and object. Namely, agens in active is denoted as a rule by nominative, while in passive it is usually expressed using ablative, or with prepositions. For example, *E love ka oven e manušestar phakvarde*. (Money will be used by man.) Prepositions are rarely used with personal pronouns in Romani. (For example, from me, from you, from him, etc. can only be expressed with ablative: *mandar*, *tutar*, *lestar*, etc.)

aktivo, active, the active state (opposite: *pasiv*).

akuzativo, accusative, the case with the function of object. A noun denoting a living being has the form of *casus obliqua* (oblique case) in accusative, while a noun denoting a thing has the form of nominative. For example, *Dikhav o del, ni dikhav e Devles*. (I see sky, I don't see God.) Other than the object, accusative may have other functions and meanings in Romani. These are, for example, subject accusative: *Dukhal les o šoro*. (His head hurts.) Also, predicative accusative with the function of semantic core in the copulative predicate. For example, *Lijem te lekharav nevi pustik*. (I started writing a new book.) Romani also has a double accusative. For example, *Akharda e čhavren te sikavel len sar te lekharan romanes*. (He invited the children to teach them how to write Romani.) This case is accompanied by certain groups of Romani verbs and verb forms, such as *si*, to have, *del*, to give, and in particular, causatives denoting the result of action. These verbs that agree with accusative create various meanings read in context. As a rule, when nouns in accusative are divided into syllables, the postpositions *-es* and *-en* remain. This rule also applies to transferring parts of words into the next line, denoted by a hyphen as an orthographic symbol.

akcento (lat. *accentus*), denotes emphasised pronunciation of a syllable in a word, accent. The science studying accents and accentuation is called accentology.

alfabeto (first two Greek letters, alpha and beta), denotes the Latin letters in a given sequence, the alphabetic sequence. The Romani language has adopted this alphabetical sequence. Latin letters are used to alphabetise the Romani language, producing the Romani script.

akharimaski cihna (rro. *akharipen*, calling; *cihna*, sign), exclamation mark that ends a sentence. This orthographic symbol is used as a rule at the end of a sentence denoting a command, order, feeling or impetus. It may be found within a sentence, after a word or set of words that present surprise or a warning. To warn the reader of the content of a word, set of words or sentences in a text, they may be followed by the designation (**sic!**) meaning “thus” in Latin. Three exclamation marks may be used sometimes (**!!!**) in a text, after a word, set of words or sentences to more strongly emphasise their content. Finally, the exclamation mark may be combined with the question mark (**?!**).

akšara (skr. *akšara*, syllable), a syllable is a phonetic-phonological unit of words, and/or speech. Vowels, as a rule, carry the syllable. In Romani the sound *r* may also carry the syllable. For example *prnango*, barefoot, is divided into the syllables **pr-nan-go**; *prnandjol*, to take off one’s shoes: **pr-nan-djol**; *kaštosalo*, included: **kašt-os-alo**, etc. When a compound is divided into syllables, it is necessary to know its composition. This can serve to correctly divide it into syllables. This knowledge is also necessary to carry over parts of compound words into the next line, denoted by a hyphen as an orthographic symbol.

alternacia (lat. *alternatio*), denotes an alternation in a word that may be qualitative, quantitative, vowel or consonant-based.

alveolarutno (lat. *alvus*), is the name for supradental sounds articulated in the alveoli, i.e. the dental palate. They are further divided into apico-alveolar, produced by touching the tip of the tongue against the alveoli, such as the sound **rr** in *Rrom*; and palate-alveolar, produced by the front of the back of the tongue touching the alveoli, such as the sound **š** in the word *šlisni*, bracket.

ambigviteto (lat. *ambiguitas*, *ambiguity*), is the name for words with multiple meanings. Ambiguity is eliminated in several ways, e.g. through speaker competence, paraphrasing, grammatical analysis, i.e. disambiguation or monosemy. Linguistically this produces polysemy and homonymy; syntactically-structurally – polysyntacticity, constructional homonymy.

anakolutya (gr. *anakolutia*), denotes a grammatical deficiency in the regularity of a sentence structure produced due to a sudden change or interruption, particularly after longer inserted sentences or due to missing words that need to be filled in by meaning.

apokopa (gr. *apokope*), is a name for a sound change where spoken sounds are lost at the ends of words. For example, *gras*, instead of *grast* (horse), *vas*, instead of *vast* (hand), etc.

apostrofo (gr. *apostrofos*), the orthographic symbol apostrophe shows part of the word has been left out.

apozicya (lat. *appositio*, addition), represents an additional designation of the noun, adjective or adverb word or phrase, separated by intonation or punctuation. One that is case congru-

ent constitutes a noun phrase. Adjectival apposition is called appositive. This is an attributive structure that may apply to the subject or predicate. For example, Lizdrando e daratar garadilo. (Trembling from fear, he hid.)

artiklo (lat. *articulus*, article), is the name for words that denote the noun gender and number. Romani has a determinate and indeterminate article. The determinate article with male gender nouns is **o**, with female gender nouns **i**. In plural both male and female gender nouns use the article **e**. The indeterminate article is **jek**, one. The article changes case along with nouns. A noun in vocative is without an article.

artikulacya (lat. *articulare*, clearly pronounce), articulation or pronunciation.

aspirata (lat. *aspirare*, exhale air), aspirate consonants. In Romani these are **čh, čh, kh, ph, th**.

asibilacya (lat. *assibilare*), is the name for the phenomenon of a sound merging with a sibilant sound, such as **š** or **ž**.

asimilacya (lat. *assimilatio*), the phenomenon of assimilation of sounds based on the place of sound formation. Many Romani words have thus been changed.

atematikane kernavna, athematic verbs, a class of verbs in Romani. The division of verbs into athematic and thematic was established in Sanskrit based on the formation of the present base of the verb.

atributo (lat. *attributum, atribuere*, to attribute), in grammar, an addition to the subject denoting what the subject is like, whose it is or where it is from. For example, phanrralo gag, silk shirt; godjaver manuš, smart man; purani kirešlin, old cherry; mariikli phabajenca, apple pie, etc. Thus, attributes may be congruent, non-congruent, predicative or attributive. For example, o doktoro Acić (Doctor Acić), O hotelo „Interkontinental“ (Hotel “Intercontinental”), I bibi Ana (auntie Ana), etc.

augmentativo (lat. *augmentativum*), is the name for words that increase or strengthen the initial meaning of a word. In Romani augmentative is formed using the suffix **-ina, -urina**. For example, šerina, big head; kherurina, big house, etc. As a rule, when augmentatives are divided into syllables, the suffixes remain indivisible. This rule also applies when moving words into the next line, denoted with a hyphen as an orthographic symbol.

B

baro varn (rro. *baro*, big; *varn*, letter), uppercase as an orthographic symbol denotes a personal name, first word in a sentence, first word in the title of a book, article, honorific, etc.

bilingvizmo, denotes a person speaking two languages. The Roma are bilingual in every country; e.g. in Albania they speak Romani – Albanian (or dialects of that language), in Bosnia Ro-

mani – Bosnian, in Bulgaria Romani – Bulgarian, in the Czech Republic Romani – Czech, in Croatia Romani – Croatian, in Denmark Romani – Danish, in Finland Romani – Finnish, in France Romani – French, in Germany Romani – German, in Greece Romani – Greek, in Hungary Romani – Hungarian, in Italy Romani – Italian, in Lithuania Romani – Lithuanian, in Macedonia Romani – Macedonian, in the Netherlands Romani – Dutch, in Poland Romani – Polish, in Portugal Romani – Portuguese, in Romania Romani – Romanian, in Russia Romani – Russian, in Serbia Romani – Serbian, in Slovenia Romani – Slovenian, in Spain Romani (kalo dialect) – Spanish; in Ukraine Romani – Ukrainian, in the UK Romani (phagerdi dialect) – English etc. This phenomenon has just started to be scientifically examined.

binarizmo (lat. *binarius*, containing two), double, consisting of two units. Elementary contents are va (yes) / ni (no), si, (yes, it is) / naj, nič, či (no, it is not), putardo (open) / biputardo (not open). Roman Jakobson used the procedure of binary segmentation in phonology, while other linguists used the same procedure in syntax and semantics.

C

casus oblicus (lat. *casus obliquus*, oblique case) denotes cases which are dependant of the verbs. Masculine animate nouns take the ending –es in the oblique case (plural ending -en). Animate feminine nouns take the ending –a in the oblique case (plural ending -en). Casus obliquus and other accusative forms are the same in this case. Casus obliquus serves as a basis for genitive, dative, instrumental, locative and ablative; cases which differ from each other in characteristic postpositions. Inanimate masculine and feminine nouns also take the above-mentioned endings, but their forms in accusative case are identical to nominative case. When nouns are split up into syllables, the rule is that the oblique case endings remain unsplit. This rule also applies to transferring parts of words into the next line, denoted by a hyphen as an orthographic symbol.

casus rectus (lat. *rectus*, right), adopted from Greek (*ptosis orthe*) as the name for the nominative.

cihna (rr. *cihna* f., symbol), orthographic or punctuation notion.

crdini cihna (rr. *crdel*, draw; *cihna*, symbol) orthographic symbol dash, used to separate the part of a sentence which holds some additional explanation, thus it is used instead of a comma or colon. Furthermore, it can be used to announce a break between the previous and the following part of text, to announce specific parts of text which follow each other, or to separate direct and indirect speech, substituting quotation marks, e.g. in plays, when notions are juxtaposed, for marking relations such as spatial, temporal, quantitative etc. (from – to), in the meaning of “according to”, as a substitute for colon (announcing sport results and similar), etc.

č

čačolekhavno (rr. *čačo*, correct; *lekhavel*, to write), ortography.

D

dativo (lat. *datum*, given) denotes the case of “giving”. (In Greek *dotike ptosis*; in Sanskrit *sampradana*) This case denotes the indirect object. It depends on verbs, and accordingly, we differentiate “the necessary dative case”, “the independent dative case”, “the ethic dative case”, “the possessive dative case”, “the dative of interest”, “dativ simpaticus” (for expressing gratitude). The dative case can have different syntactic and semantic functions. E.g. *as subject*, with models: sovel *pe mange*, I feel like sleeping; boldel *pe lake an šero*, It is a vertigo in her head; etc. *As object*, appearing with various semantic verb classes such as *anel*, bring; *bikinel*, sell; *kinel*, buy; *vakarel*, speak; *phenel*, say; *mothol*, tell; *unzarel*, offer; and reflexive and medial verbs etc. E.g. Anda love *pe dadeske* thaj kirada *leske habe*. (She brought money to her father and made him lunch.); *Vazde baro monumento pire mule dadeske*. (They raised a big monument for their dead father.) etc. The dative case in Romani does not know some forms and models which exist in Serbian – e.g. with prepositions such as spatial, instrumental, causative or concessive dative. In Romani, these forms and models are mostly expressed with locative case. Predicative function, as a semantic core in a copulative predicate, e.g.: *Vov si sajek gilake*. (He is always up for a song.); *Me sem pimaske*. (I am up for a drink.) etc. (The Romani predicative dative case corresponds to the Serbian predicative accusative case.) Apart from verbs, the dative case also depends on some words (nouns, pronouns, adjectives). E.g. *Dar leske*. (He is scared.) *Ladžo lake*. (She is ashamed.) The dative case is also used in an adverbial sense. E.g. *Džas Devleske!* (You are going there in vain!) *Devleske bičaldem leske lil*. (I sent him the money in vain.) etc. When nouns in the nominative case are split into syllables, the rule is that the postpositions *-ke* and *-ge* remain unsplit. This rule also applies to transferring parts of words into the next line, denoted by a hyphen as an orthographic symbol.

deadjektiva, are words derived from adjectives. E.g. *O loljaripen šukarel la*. (Make-up makes her pretty.); *džuvljengo loljaripen*, women’s make-up; *akulo*, confused – *akulipen*, confusion; *akulimata*, confusing; *akularael*, confuse etc.

deklinacya (lat. *declinare*, savijati), to bend) denotes the change (inflection) of nouns, articles, adjectives, numbers and pronouns which are declined through cases in singular and plural.

deminutivo (lat. *deminuere*, to diminish) nouns and other words which receive a diminutive meaning through the suffix *-oro/-ori*. When these words are split into syllables, the suffixes remain unsplit. This rule also applies when splitting parts of words at the end of a line, marked by a hyphen.

denominativa, are words derived from nouns. E.g. *avasara*, an occasion – *avasarel*, to make an occasion; *pada*, notion – *padal*, to crate a notion (thematic verb); *mati*, judgement (logic)– *matikerel*, to judge; *somalpa*, conclusion – *somalparav* to conclude; *sipe*, being – *sipal*, to be (thematic verb); *pes*, oneself – *pestel*, to be on one’s own; *pestipen*, self (a philosophic category); *piro*, one’s own – *pirarel*, create kinship (*piraripe*, kinship) etc.

denotacya (lat. *denotacio*, denoting) denotation represents the basic meaning of a language notion.

depedencya (lat. *dependere*, to depend on) denotes syntactic relations such as dependence, determination and subordination. Dependence is e.g. presented between adjectives and nouns. It represents the basis of grammar developed by the French structuralist linguist Lucien Tesnière (1893–1954), the creator of the valence of verbs.

deponencya (lat. *deponere*, to lay) relates to a group of verbs with a passive form, but an active meaning; e.g. the verb pašljol, to lie is an example of a deponent verb in Romani. The causative pašljarel, lay has its origin in this verb.

derivacya (lat. *derivatio*), denotes the derivation of one word from the other; word formation.

determinacya (lat. *determinatio*, delineation), denotes the syntactic and semantic delineation between two language elements, one being more closely determined. E.g. *jek matematikaki pustik* (one Math book). I.e. the noun *pustik*, book, is more closely determined by the adjective *matematikaki*, the relation of determination is established.

deverbativa, are words derived from verbs; e.g. *adil*, to begin – *adipen*, beginning; *maril*, to swear – *maripen*, swearing (in the sense of the ritual codex *užo/marime*, clear/not clear); *gilabel*, to sing – *gilabipen*, singing; *khelel*, to play – *khelipen*, playing etc. When deverbative nouns are placed next to another noun in genitive case they turn into nominative case form and syntactically they take the subject position in a sentence; semantically they represent the agent or pseudoagent. These are *nomina actionis*. E.g. *Čirkljengo gilabipen resel dural*. (The song of birds comes from the distance.) Names of places are created by joining deverbatives and nouns; e.g. from *khelipen*, playing, and *than*, ground we form *khelimaskothan*, playground. This type of noun is called *nomina loci*, location names. Denominalising deverbative nouns we are presented with *nomina agentis*, the agent. In this case, the rules applying to abstract nouns with suffixes *-ben* and *-pen* apply here as well.

duj virama (rro. *duj*, two; *viram*, point), colon is an orthographic symbol which shows that the text on its right side is explained by the text on its left side. The colon is also used for explanations, quotations and text development.

dyareza (gr. *diarexis*, *razdvajanje*), separation), diaeresis, is a sound phenomenon which leads to the removal one of two vowels from a word. E.g. one *o* from the word *doodjengo*, asthmatic, is removed; one *i* from the word *biiripe*, not returning, is removed, etc.

dyateza (gr. *diathesis*, state) the state of verbs (active, passive, medium). As a syntactic category, diathesis is based on the morphological ability of the predicate to mark the semantic meaning of the subject in a sentence with its form. There is active and passive voice. Active is e.g. *andol*, they bring; *čalavdol*, they hit; *xalavdol*, they wash etc. Passive is *phandlo/i*, closed;

mudardo/i, murdered; pharuvdo/i, changed etc. It is also used in the modal form; e.g. So te kerdol? (What can be done?) In the imperative e.g. Arakhado! (Take care!) Na marisovo! (Do not get angry!) The sound -d- in the middle of the mentioned words marks the border which moves left or right, according to the diathesis and whether it is the diathesis of medial or accusative verbs. E.g. andol is split into syllables in the following manner: and-ol; čalavdol: čal-avd-ol; xalavdol: xal-avd-ol; phandlo/i: phand-lo/i; mudardo/i: mud-ar-do/i; pharuvdo/i: phar-uv-do/i. This rule also applies to transferring parts of words into the next line, denoted by a hyphen as an orthographic symbol.

diftongo (gr. *diftongos*), a diphthong, i.e. two separate vowels joined in one syllable; e.g. ao, eo, io, etc.

dyalekto (gr. *dialektos*), dialect, a form of spoken language. Dialectology is the scientific study of dialects. In Romani, there are various dialects originating from sound changes and phenomena, communication made impossible among some Romani groups, due to historic and socio-linguistic reasons, etc.

E

elizya (lat. *elidere*, to push out) elision denotes the omission of vowels, especially when there is hiatus which needs to be spanned, not only in independent words but also when one word ends and the other begins with a vowel.

epikojnono (gr. *epikoinos*, common) nouns with both masculine and feminine gender; e.g. arman, curse; men, neck, etc.

epiteza (gr. *epithesis*, addition) denotes an addition of a letter or syllable at the end of a word in order to stress the word. E.g. čurik, knife; porik, tail, etc.

etimologya (gr. *etimos*, correct; *logos*, word), the science of origin, basic meaning and semantic-formal development of individual words, as well as their relation to the words of the same origin in different languages. Historical contrastive language analyses, carried out in the 18th and 19th centuries, used etymology to reconstruct the Indo-European language. Etymological research offers proof about the relation between Romani and New Indo-Aryan, which is found in the common basis – Sanskrit. A number of etymological studies and dictionaries have been published such as e.g. R. Turner, *The position of rromani in Indo-Aryan*, Edinburgh 1927; P. Valtonen, *Suomen Mustalaiskielen Etymologinen Sanakirja*, Helsinki 1972; W. R. Rishi, *Multilingual Romany Dictionary*, Chandigarh 1974; S. A. Wolf, *Grosses Wörterbuch der Zigeunersprache*, Hamburg 1987; L. Manuš, *Čiganu – Latviešu-Angļu Vardnīca*, Riga 1997; R. Djurić, *Romski glagoli, njihovo poreklo i značenje*, Belgrade 2009.

F

fleksya (lat. *flexio*, bending), flexio is the change of words: with nouns it is declination; with

verbs – conjugation; adjectives – comparison. All flexion forms represent a paradigm. Flexion categories, with semantic and syntactic functions, are gender, case, number, person.

fonemo (gr. *phonema*, sound) the smallest segment of speech with a possible meaning and function since the 19th century. Since the members of a single language community pronounce one sound differently, phonological analysis is used to determine the phoneme based on the pronunciation of the “ordinary speaker”. Phonemes are placed between slashes; e.g. /n/ represents the phoneme n.

G

genitivo (lat. *casus genitivus*), denotes origin. (In Sanskrit *sasthi*, from the sixth one; in Greek *ptosis genike*.) Genitive singular is formed by adding the postposition *-ko* (*-ki/-ke*) on the oblique case basis of masculine nouns; by adding the postposition *-ki* (*-ko/-ke*) on the oblique case basis of feminine nouns. Genitive singular is formed by adding the postposition *-go* (*-gi/-ge*) on the oblique case basis of masculine and feminine nouns. As has been explained, postpositions in the plural are the result of sound changes and phenomena. In Romani, as in other languages, this case represents the case of connection. I.e. its usage is conditioned by the notion of connecting two specific things through a specific relation. On the other side, the genitive case also has the possessive, partitive, qualitative and ablative meaning. Since adverbs are also used with genitive, its field of meaning is widened and enriched. If to this one adds the fact that the forms of some nouns and names have the characteristics of adjectives, the meaning of adverbs or are used as names, in direct or indirect meaning, which is also true of genitive clauses, then it can be said that in Romani the genitive case, after locative, is the most comprehensive case regarding functions and it is the most complex regarding its semantics. Examples for the possessive genitive: *e Milanisko kher* (Milan's daughter), *e vošeske čirklja* (forest birds); an example for genitive definitivus: *e pimaski vjasa* (vice of drinking); an example for explicative genitive: *e marimasko biužipe*. (the horror of war); an example for genitive of intensity: *E gilengi gili* (The song of all songs); subject genitive: *e Rromengi duk* (suffering of the Roma people); object genitive: *e krisosko akharipen* (summoning of the court); qualitative genitive: *e parne čorako phuro* (an old man with a grey beard); partitive genitive: *Sa e manušengi daj si e phuv*. (Earth is the mother of all people.); temporal genitive: *E nakhle beršesko ivend sas but šudro*. (Last winter was very cold.); causative genitive: *E ileski duk nasvarda man*. (A heart disease made me ill.). The most common prepositions with genitive are *bi* (without), *pe*, *po* (on, instead), *an* (on, in.) E.g. *Geletar bi mango*. (They left without me.) *Po than e demokratunengo avile e “kale”*. (The “blacks” took it instead of the democrats.) *An bebgjeski jak i jag te phabol!* (Let the fire burn in the eyes of the devil!) Genitive in Romani corresponds to the genitive in Serbian in a lot of examples. However, there are examples which point out the difference. E.g. it is spatial genitive in Serbian with adverbs *do* (to), *kod* (at), *oko* (around), *između* (between), *ispred* (in front of), *iza* (behind), *ispod* (under); temporal (*jedno jutro*, one morning; *oko*, around, *iza*, after, etc.); associative genitive, with the preposition *kod* (at). (In all these cases, a preposition is used in Romani.) There is also some difference when compared to the Serbian subject genitive with the preposition *od* (from) with mental verbs such as to be

afraid, to be ashamed, to hear, to buy, etc. In Romani, ablative is used in all these cases. There is also some difference when compared to object genitive, e.g. Čuvaj se psa! (Beware of the dog!) In Romani, ablative is used in these cases as well. Additionally, there is some difference when compared to the instrumental genitive in Serbian. In Romani, instrumental is used instead. Finally, there is some difference when compared with the Serbian subject genitive with the preposition *kod* (at) in the meaning of agent/pseudoagent, especially in reflexive passive sentences. In a lot of similar cases, locative is used in Romani. In Serbian, along paranumeric quantifiers, the genitive case asks for nominative in Romani. E.g. kilogram *jabuka* – kilogramo phabaja (one kilo of apples); litar *vode* – litra paj (one litre of water); par *cipela* – džuto minija (a pair of shoes); šaka *sol* – burnik lon (a handful of salt) etc. When nouns are split into syllables, the rule is that postpositions *-ko*, *-ki*, *-ke* and *-ge*, *-go*, *-gi* remain unsplit. This rule applies to splitting words in genitive at the end of a line, marked by a hyphen.

grafemo, grapheme is the smallest distinguishing unit in a written language, analogous to a phoneme in spoken language. Graphemes are the written form of phonemes. There is a clear difference between some graphemes and phonemes. For marking phonemes such as č, ċ, 3 (dž), š etc. on teleprinters or computers (if the graphemes č, ċ, dž, dj, š etc. are missing), one uses the letters cc (for the phoneme č), ch (for the phoneme ċ), dzz (for the phoneme 3 i.e. dž), ss (for the phoneme š) etc. This or similar marking was used in the past in Romani.

H

haplografya (gr. *haplos*, simple; *graphein*, to write), denotes an error in writing, made by writing two letters as one. The reverse process is called dittography.

heterografya (gr. *heteros*, different; *graphein*, to write), denotes the usage of different written signs for different sounds, as well as writing words in a different way although they are pronounced the same, e.g. kafa/kaffee/cafe. This is also the term for deviating from the orthographic norm.

hiatuso (lat. *hiatus*, hiatus), is an occurrence in which two vowels appear next to one another in one word or at the end of one and the beginning of the other word (or syllable). Elision takes place in that case.

homografya (gr. *homos*, the same; *graphein*, to write), homography is phenomenon of words having the same spelling but different meanings.

homonima (gr. *homos*, same; *onoma*, name), homonyms, words which sound the same, being of a different etymological origin and meaning. In Romani, there are a lot of homonyms, especially verbs. E.g. bar (garden); barr (stone); bar (time). Homonym verbs are very common in Romani. The first systematic analysis of homonym verbs was presented in the book by R. Đurić *Romski glagoli, njihovo poreklo i značenje* (Beograd, 2009).

I

idiomo (gr. *idioma*), idiom, peculiarity of a language, vernacular, dialect, speech, way of speaking or any peculiar, independent speech in general. The study of dialects is called *idiomatology* or *idiomatics*.

ilokucya (lat. *in, u; loqui*, speak) illocution refers to speech as well as some specific forms of speech and speech acts, as explained in the respective theories on speech acts by the English philosopher John Langshaw Austin (1911-1960) and the American theoretician John Rogers Searle (1932). In line with their theoretical postulates, the following illocution types have been identified: 1. Assertive (comprising assertions, statements, etc.) 2. Directive (with imperative forms of verbs such as demand, ask, order, etc.); 3. Commissive (with verbs such as promise, approve, swear, threaten, etc.); 4. Expressive (with verbs such as thank, congratulate, apologise, etc.); 5. Declarative (comprising expressions such as “in the name of the people”, “I resign”, “I declare”, etc., which reflect the attitude of an institution towards the individual and vice versa). Hence, such speech acts have an illocutionary role and refer to the speaker’s intention in his/her communication with the outer world. Therefore, a statement is a speech act at the same time, which means that the speaker is simultaneously performing two activities: making a statement (a locutionary act) and implementing his/her communicative intention (illocutionary act).

imperativo (lat. *imperare*, to order) imperative, is a grammatical mood used to express an order or prohibition, e.g. *Av akaring!* (Come here!) *Na vakar!* (Don’t speak!) Absolute imperative forms exist for the second person in both singular and plural, in case of which the singular form is usually identical to the base of the verb, whereas the plural form receives the ending *-an* (for thematic verbs) and *-en* (for athematic verbs), e.g. *xan!* (Eat!) *keren!* (Do!) Middle voice: *-on: kerdon!* (Do become!) The emphatic imperative has the *-ta* or *-ba* endings, e.g. *avta!* (Do come! 2nd p. sg.) *avtatan!* (Do come! 2nd p. pl.) *pučba!* (Do ask! 2nd p. sg.) *pučenba!* (Do ask! 2nd p. pl.)

infinitivo (lat. *infinitum*), infinitive, the base form of a verb, representing a non-finite verb form. This verb form no longer exists in the Romani language. (It has only been found in some Romani dialects in Croatia.) Consequently, the Romani verbs are listed in their present tense, 3rd person singular forms, e.g. *kerel*, does, works.

injuktivo (lat. *iniunctio*, regulation) injunctive is a common name for all the constructions that express a command. The injunctive is formed with the negative particle *ma*, (not) preceding the imperative form of a verb, e.g. *ma ker!* Don’t do! (Imperative form: *na ker!*)

inhoativo (lat. *inchoare*, begin) inchoative is a verb type denoting a gradual beginning or transformation from one state to the other, e.g. *to flower/to start flowering*. The majority of these verbs have been derived from adjectives. The Romani verbs of this type are, for example, *parnjavol*, to start getting white / grey hair; *ljoljavol*, start reddening; *harnjavol*, get shorter; *tiknjavol*, become smaller, etc. These examples show that verbs of this type are formed by merging adjectives with the verb *ovel*, become, be.

instrumentalo (lat. *instrumentalis*, case) the instrumental case both literally and figuratively denotes the means or instrument or merging. (the Sanskrit term is *karana*, means, instrument; *tritiya*, the third time). It is formed by adding the *-sa* ending to the oblique case of singular masculine and feminine nouns; the *-ca* ending is added to plural nouns. (As has previously been explained, the postposition *-ca* is a result of phonological changes). Instrumental verbs such as to coin, to hammer, to saw, to plough, to brush, etc. are complemented by the instrumental. In a sentence, this case may play the role of a semantic subject – agent or pseudo-agent, most frequently in passive sentences, e.g. *O taxtaj si pherdo moljasa*. (The glass is filled with wine.) *Astardo si e jagasa*. (He is caught by fi re.) As the instrumental object, i.e. in the role of the object of a sentence, it appears with certain semantic verb classes, as shown in the following examples: *Naj pesa, irisarda e godjasa*. (He is not with himself, he has lost his mind.) *Calada e udaresa kana inklisto kherestar*. (He slammed the door when he left the house.) *Mor phral diriguil e orkestroza*. (My brother conducts an orchestra). The most frequent are the instrumental of means and the sociative instrumental, but it may also be explicative, causal, intentional, conditional and functioning as the determiner of background circumstances. There is a significant correspondence between the instrumental in the Romani and Serbian language. Only a few instances of the situational and quantifying instrumental in Serbian demand the usage of a different case form in Romani. In such cases, the following rule applies: when the nouns in the instrumental case are divided into syllables, the postpositions *-sa* and *-ca* are indivisible. The same rule applies when breaking up a word at the end of a line, which is then marked with a hyphen.

K

kazuso (lat. *casus*, case), case as a morphological category represents any individual form of a nominal word in its respective declensional paradigm whereby many nominal words undergo several changes ranging from phonetic and phonological, morphological to acquiring certain postpositions and case endings. Of course, this also causes changes in accentuation. The Romani case system is two-layered – the nominative, the oblique case and the dative are primary cases. The genitive, dative, instrumental, locative and ablative cases are secondary cases. They are formed by adding adequate postpositions to the oblique case stem (identical in form to the accusative case); the postpositions in question originate from the Middle Indian period. (Postpositions for the genitive, dative and ablative cases are prepositions at the same time, which is also the case in Hindi.) Prepositional is also a part of the Romani case system. Depending on their function and meaning, cases may be used in their free form, with or without an article. Moreover, they may be bound with a preposition or an obligatory determiner. Finally, they can be simultaneously bound with a preposition and an obligatory determiner. The use of cases in the Romani language depends on the verb and its forms as well as on other parts of speech and their forms. There are, furthermore, certain rules on the usage of cases, whether traditional or those that evolved from the development of literacy, literary creation and contemporary communication in Romani. At times, this even reflects some extra-linguistic traces and influences, e.g. religious, cultural, social, etc. Finally, but not least important, sociolinguistic factors and circumstances affect the Romani case system and the use of cases.

kauzativa (lat. *causativus*, causative) Causatives are a semantic verb class indicating the cause of an action. In Romani, such verbs are derived from verbs or nouns, adjectives, numbers, adverbs or particles. There are three groups of causative verbs: causatives with the suffix *-av*, causatives with the infix *-al* and causatives with the infix, i.e. suffix *-ar*. For the sake of a more detailed explanation, the verbs from which the accusative forms are formed are listed in the present tense of 1st person singular, e.g. *ačhav*, I stand – *ačhavaav*, I stop; *asav*, I laugh – *asavav*, I make laugh; *azbav*, I touch – *azbavav*, I touch; *bilav*, I melt – *bilavav*, I melt; *darav*, I fear – *daravav*, I frighten; *khelav*, I play – *khelavav*, I outplay, etc. Causatives with the infix *-al* are: *bašav*, I whistle – *bašalav*, I play an instrument; *bičhav*, I send – *bičhalav*, I send, etc. The most numerous are the causatives with the infix *x*, i.e. suffix *-ar*, e.g. *rovav*, I cry – *rovljarav*, I start crying; *sovav*, I sleep – *sovljarav*, I put to sleep; *lon*, salt – *londjarav*, I season; with salt; *suv*, needle – *suvjarav*, I sew; *rat*, blood – *ratvaram*, I bleed; *kalo*, black – *kaljarav*, I turn black; *sig*, fast – *sidjarav*, I hurry; *buvlo*, wide – *buvljarav*, I widen; *paše*, close – *pašarav*, I bring closer; *dur*, far – *durarav*, I move away, etc. Another group of Romani verbs has the following causative forms with the *-ar* infix: *maril*, scold, contaminate – *marisarel*, scold; *vulil*, wrap – *vulisarel*, wrap, enwrap; *krill*, disappear, spend time – *krlisarel*, get lost, disappear. Following that model, this causative form is constructed from foreign words, e.g. *fabril*, to paint – *fabrisarel*, to paint, to colour; *paril*, to rip – *parisarel*, etc. For illustration's sake, the examples of causative verbs listed below are divided into syllables: *azbavav*: *azb-av-av*; *bičhalav*: *bič-al-av*; *londj-ar-av*; *suvjarav*: *suvj-ar-av*; *kaljarav*: *kalj-ar-av*; *durarel*: *dur-ar-el*; *marisarel*: *mar-is-ar-el*; *vulisarel*: *vul-is-ar-el*; *krlisarel*: *krl-is-ar-el*; *farbisarel*: *farb-isar-el*, etc. These examples show that it is necessary to know the morphological structure of causative verbs in order to be able to divide them into syllables. Therefore, when dividing the causative verbs into syllables, their morphological structure is to remain intact. Suffixes that become infixes as a result of conjugation cannot be divided. This rule applies when breaking up a causative verb at the end of a line, which is indicated by the insertion of a hyphen. Causatives in the middle voice contain the marker *-d-* which makes them morphologically distinguishable, e.g. *ačhavyav*, I pause; *asavyav*, I laugh; *bilavyav*, I melt; *ratvadyav*, I bleed; *pašadyav*, I come closer; *vulisadyav*, I wrap myself; *farbisadyav*, I paint myself, etc. (The preterite (past tense) forms of these verbs have the *-l-* marker, e.g. *ačhadilem*, I paused; *asavdilem*, I laughed; *bilavdilem*, I melted; *ratvardilem*, I bled; *farbisardilem*, I painted myself, etc. The participle forms of these verbs are: *ačhadilo/i*; *asavdilo/i*; *bilavdilo/i*; *ratvardilo/i*; *pašardilo/i*; *vulisardilo/i*; *farbisardilo/i*). The above rule also applies here, i.e. when dividing these verbs into syllables, their morphological structure must be preserved, e.g. *ačhavyav*: *ač-avd-yav*; *bilavyav*: *bil-avd-yav*; *ratvadyav*: *ratv-ard-yav*; *pašadyav*: *paš-ard-yav*; *vulisadyav*: *vul-is-ard-yav*; *farbisadyav*: *farb-is-ard-yav*. This rule also applies when breaking up a middle voice causative at the end of a line, indicated by a hyphen.

kernavni (rro. *kernavni*), verb (gr. *rhema*, speech, statement; lat. *verbum*, word) – the most important and the most numerous part of speech in the Romani language. With causatives, their share in the lexical fund of the Romani language amounts to more than 70%. Additionally, this part of speech has a very complex system of forms and functions. The Romani verb system, which evolved under the influence of the Sanskrit verb system, preserves almost all the verb forms from the ancient Indian period. From the aspect of morphology, verbs undergo conju-

gation, changes in person, number, mood and, in some cases, gender. On the other hand, their grammatical categories are voice (*genus verbi*), *tempus* (tense) and *modus* (mood). (There are some other features that are not taken into consideration at this stage.) The division of verbs into two main categories – thematic and athematic, within which the Old-Indian grammarians have identified ten different classes, has been partly preserved in Romani as well. Consequently, there are different conjugational paradigms, derived conjugations (e.g. causatives), nominal verb forms – participles (Present Participle active, Present Participle middle voice, Preterit and Perfect Participle active, Preterit and Perfect Participle middle voice, Perfect Participle passive, Participle of necessity). As has previously been stated, there are three verbal voices (active, middle voice, passive), five ways for the speaker to express his/her opinion or views on something (indicative, subjunctive, conditional, optative and imperative – categories of mood) and six tenses, the main being the present, future and preterit tense. A verb's grammatical function is the predicate. Personal verb forms and auxiliary verbs that have referential features – (present, past, future) – most frequently perform that syntactical function. Formal and semantic structure of a sentence largely depends on the semantics of the predicate. This is shown by a verb's rection (predicate and valency), modality, morpho-syntactical forms of semantic predicates (verb form or auxiliary verb and a noun, adjective or adverb), negation, mutual dependence between theme and rheme, etc. Various questions regarding spelling and its rules arise from the abovementioned instances. With a view to solve various dilemmas and problems, it is necessary to know the morphological structure of verbs and verb forms which, in a vast number of cases, represent a combination of verbal roots and suffixes, present or preterit stems and suffixes, etc. One of the basic rules is that concerning the division of verbs into syllables, as well as the rule referring to breaking up a verb at the end of the line, indicated by a hyphen.

komparacya (lat. *comparatio*, comparison) comparison, comparison of adjectives. The base form of an adjective is called the positive. The comparative is usually formed by adding the suffix *-der* to the positive, e.g. *baro/i* (big, m/f) – *baroder* (bigger, m), *barider* (bigger, f). The plural form of both masculine and feminine forms is *bareder*. The superlative is formed by adding the suffixes *-sto* or *-derder* to the positive, e.g. *barosto* (the biggest, m), *barista* (the biggest, f), *baroderder* (the biggest, m), *bariderder* (the biggest, f). The plural forms of both masculine and feminine forms are *bareste* (the biggest) and *barederder* (the biggest). Foreign adjectives form their comparatives with the prefix *maj*, e.g. *zeleno* (green m/f), comparative – *majzeleno* (greener m/f). The superlatives have the same form, but the *maj* prefix is more emphasised). The rule that applies here is that the prefixes and suffixes must not be divided.

kompozita (lat. *componere*, put together) a composite, a composite word, a compound; frequent in Romani. It is, in fact, a very common phenomenon in many languages, but is probably most frequent in the languages of India. In Sanskrit, for instance, several types of composite words have been constructed – copulative and coordinative composites (*dvandva*, “a couple”), determinative (*tatpuruša* “someone’s agent”) and (*dvigu*, “having two cows”), action-carrying (*karmadharya*), possessive (*bahuvrihi*, “much rice”), adverbial (*avyaybhava*, “unchangeable”, indeclinable). Some of the Sanskrit composites have been preserved in Romani, e.g. *angrusti*,

ring (angušt, finger + ring, circle); angali (arms); angali kašt (measure: armful of wood); phabaj (apple): from the Sanskrit phala, fruit + bahu, abundant, dangling; indjarel (carry): from the Sanskrit i (II; I; IV) go, get + dhr (X; I) carry, a verb from which the Romani noun drez, load, armful, is derived, i.e. drez stands for everything that represents a carrying load; diveseskodud (daylight); dešupandž (fifteen); pandžvardeš (fifty); šuk-duk (beauty and pain); thagaresko-kher (king's palace); drabengi-dženi (pseudo-medic, herbwoman); kheresko-šero (house master, host); čavedophralenge (children of two brothers); džuklengokherorro (dog house); baro-raj (great king, great gentleman); hanamik (friend); barenakhesko (a person with a big nose, large-nosed); barenajengo (long-fingered man; a thief); parnečorengo (grey-bearded); dogodjeno (doublefaced); bidošalo (innocent); bidjosko (remorseless); bimosko (inconsiderate, unprincipled); bikušalo (incompetent); tamisalo (darkened); mijil (look like, take after), etc. Apart from the composites of this type, there are the so-called case-composites which are derived from different case forms, e.g. manuš-manušesko (a man's man); manuš-manušeske (a man for a man); manuš-manušestar (man from man); manuš-manušeste (man in man), etc. Therefore, there are composites (in linguistic terms) that are formed by merging two nominal members (the so-called N+N composites); a noun and a verb, e.g. divesavol, day is breaking (dives, day + verb ovel become); an adjective and a noun, e.g. ciknejakhengo (a man with small eyes, scoundrel); an adjective and an adverb, e.g. ciknjosavol, become smaller (cikno, small + ovel, become); a noun and a verb, e.g. bijanel, give birth (from Sanskrit bhava, m. beginning, birth + ya (II) come), with various other meanings; a verb and a verb, e.g. irisavol, to return (iril, return, ovel, become). In terms of aspect, i.e. the manner of their semantic interpretation, composites may be determinative, e.g. duvareskormano, a closet, a cupboard; possessive, e.g. kalejakhengo, black-haired; copulative, e.g. gadeskibaj, shirt sleeve; kašukolalo, deaf-mute; lolevuštengi (with red lips), appositive, e.g. baro-raj (great gentleman) and adverbial, e.g. anglejakhengo (before one's eyes, obviously). Case-composites comprise a special group of composites. The above-mentioned examples and explanations may be useful for the spelling rules and punctuation.

kongruencya (lat. *congruentia*, agreement) congruence denotes a morphological means for the syntactical structuring of a sentence, i.e. a formal, mutual agreement between words comprising a syntactical whole with regards to grammatical categories such as gender and case, which is usually reflected in a word's morphological structure. Congruence in Romani is, first and foremost, seen in person and number agreement between the subject and the verb form, e.g. E manuša resen. (The people are arriving); then, in the case, number and gender agreement between the subject and the predicate, e.g. Voj si but Lači. (She is very good.) Congruence is also shown in the agreement between the article, attributive adjective and noun, e.g. Akaja si i majnevi pustik. (This is the newest book.). Similarly, there is congruence between the noun and its apposition, e.g. Vov rodel e Bojanes, e čhaves pire amelestar. (He is looking for Bojan, the son of his friend.)

kontrakcyja (lat. *contractio*, to shrink) contraction denotes the compression or shortening of two syllables into one.

kopula (lat. *copula*, hook) copula, which may either be affirmative or negative, represents the connection between the subject and the predicate. Copular verbs are, in fact, auxiliary verbs (lat. *auxillaris*). In Romani, the first auxiliary verb is *sem*, *si* (I am, I'm) with its numerous forms. (Depending on the sentence structure, this verb has multiple meanings. One of them is "to have"). The second auxiliary verb is *ovel* (to be). The third auxiliary is *kamel* (want). Other verbs with a copulative role include: *avel* (come), *ačhel* (stay), *akardol* (call), *bučhol* (name), etc. Those are, hence, all verbs which are semantically and syntactically motivated and may also have a grammatical role, e.g. *I rakli si šukar*. (The girl is beautiful.) *Voj si la šukar jakha*. (She has beautiful eyes.) *O raklo si barenakhesko*. (The boy is large-nosed.) *E barenakhestar si les bari duk*. (His big nose is causing him a lot of pain.) *Vov ovel dives-divestiar sa maj but nasvalo*. (He is getting sicker and sicker by the day.) *Me pačav, kaj vov nimaj ovel peste*. (I think that he will not recover.) *Ulo sar dilimano!* (He is acting like a lunatic!) *So ulo?* (What happened?) *Me kamav te studiriv matematika*. (I am going to study mathematics.) *Tajsa kam arakhadov e profesoresa*. (Tomorrow I will meet the professor.) *Angla i rat ka perel o brišind*. (It's going to rain in the early evening.). Of the above-mentioned, the verb *sem*, the form *ulo* (contracted form of the verb *ovel*) and particles *kam*, *ka* (contracted forms of the verb *kamel*), used to form the future tense and the analytical future of type I, cannot be divided into syllables.

L

lavni (rro. *lav*, word) corresponds with the term *nomina* (lat. *nomen*, gr. *onoma*). The term designates all the nominal words, i.e. those that undergo declension, i.e. nouns, adjectives, pronouns and numbers. In accordance with the linguistic and grammatical classifications, this group includes:

nomen acti, comprising nouns such as *mangimata*, *rodimata* (requests), *mothodimata* (announcements), *kethanimata* (adjustments), *thomupen* (crying out), *jaomata* (laments).

nomen actionis, comprising nouns that have largely been derived from verbs, e.g. *kerimno* (deed), *adošaripen*, *jertisaripen* (apology), *asvalipe* (passion, mania), etc.

nomen agentis, comprising nouns that have largely been derived from verbs but indicate the doer of an action, e.g. *kiravni* (cook, f), *šulavni* (cleaning lady), *bučarno* (worker), *indjarno* (porter), etc.

nomen appellativum, comprising nouns denoting generic names, e.g. *manuš* (man), etc.

nomen instrumenti, comprising nouns denoting instruments, e.g. *tover* (axe), *transormatori* (transformer), etc.

nomen proprium, comprising proper names.

nomen communis, comprising collective nouns and nouns that can change their gender.

leksemo (gr. *lexis*, word) lexeme is a linguistic term denoting the basic meaning of a word. Lexemes are, therefore, words listed in a dictionary. The most important lexemes are verbs and nouns, e.g. the verb *kerel*, do, make, has different forms: *kerav*, I do; *keres*, you do; *kerel* he/she doed; *kerdijav*, I become; *kerdilo*, he/she became; *kiravel*, he/she cooks, etc. All these forms belong to the same lexeme, i.e. the verb *kerel*, whose base is *ker-*, and *kr* is its root. Structuralists, the most prominent among them being Andre Martinet (1908-1999), a French linguist, introduced new terminology (moneme, sememe, etc.) and provided a new definition of a lexeme. According to his definition, a lexeme is a “lexical unity” formed by a single moneme. (Moneme has the same meaning as the somewhat older term “lexical morpheme”, as opposed to the “grammatical morpheme” that only has a grammatical function.) On the other hand, according to another definition, a lexeme consists of one or more sememes. In the semantical component analysis, a sememe denotes the smallest unit of meaning.

lokativo (lat. *locativus*, location case), locative is a case that indicates data on location. (The Sanskrit equivalent is *saptami* f, or *adhikarana*, n.). The locative case of singular masculine and feminine nouns is formed by adding the postposition *-te* to the oblique case. (e.g. *grast*, horse – *grasteste*; *grasni*, mare – *grasnjate*). The locative case of plural masculine and feminine nouns is formed by adding the postposition *-de* to the oblique case of the plural form of the noun. (e.g. *grastende*, about the horses; *grasnjende*, about the mares). The rule that applies here is that when the nominal words in the locative case are divided into syllables, the postpositions *-te* and *-de* remain indivisible, e.g. *grast-es-te*; *gras-nja-te*; *grast-en-de*; *gras-njen-de*, which means that, in case these words are broken up, the parts that are written in a new line may, in accordance with this rule, be written as follows: *grastes-* (or) *grast-*; *grasnja-* (or) *gras-*; *grasten-* (or) *grast-*; *grasnjen-* (or) *gras-te*. *este*. *te*. *njate*. *de*. *ende*. *de*. *njende*.

The locative has both a synthetic and analytical form, i.e. it may be used either without or with prepositions. Apart from marking the location and place, the locative case is used to mark the time in which an activity takes place, as well as to express and mark various other relationships, states and happenings. For instance, the locative case with paired prepositions *tar*, *katar* (from) – *dži* (to) is used to mark length from its initial to its final point in space, e.g. *Tar mande dži tute si 2 kilometra*. (From me to you, there is a 2km distance.). Time is indicated in the same manner. The next paired prepositions are *andar* (from) and *an* (into), etc. Locative is also used as an adverb, e.g. *akate* (here), *okote* (there), *inčate* (there), *akaringate* (here), *odoringate* (there), *rigate* (to the side), *jekvarate* (in a moment, in a breath), *zalagate* (almost), etc. Furthermore, it may appear in various constructions such as *manuš-manušeste* (from man to man), *kher-khereste* (from house to house), *gav-gaveste* (from village to village), etc. Locative is the widest-ranging case in Romani, with a very common and diverse usage. On grounds of comparison with the locative case in Serbian which is always complemented with prepositions, by applying the contrastive analysis, it may be concluded that there is a certain discrepancy between the locative case in Romani and the locative case in Serbian.

M

markeri (franc. *marquer*, mark) a marker is a so-called boundary signal, which is a part of a

“boundary”, a term used in linguistics and linguistic theories. In the Romani language, a marker is, first and foremost, used (1) for marking the preterit tense, a form used to indicate a past activity, and (2) with a view to mark the middle voice. The following are markers that mark the preterit tense: **-d-**, **-j-**, and **-l-**. The majority of Romani verbs, first and foremost the transitive and all the causative verbs take the preterit marker **-d-**; e.g. *kerel*, work, do: *kerdem* (I did), *kerdan* (you did), *kerda* (he/she did); *kerdam* (we did), *kerden* (you did), *kerde* (they did). The same preterit marker is found in *anel*, (bring), *čhalavel* (hit), *phirel* (pass), *marel* (hit), etc. Many thematic verbs such as *asal* (laugh), *daral* (fear), *ladžal* (shame), *langal* (limp), *pačal* (believe), *prastal* (run), etc. take the preterit marker **-j-**, e.g. *asajem* (I laughed), *asajan* (you laughed), *asaja* (he laughed, she laughed). A small group of verbs takes the preterit marker **-l-**. Those are: *arakhel* (fi nd), *bešel* (sit), *merel* (die), *nakhel* (pass), etc., e.g. *bešlem* (I sat), *bešlan* (you sat), *bešlo* (he sat), *bešli* (she sat); *bešlam* (we sat), *bešlen* (you sat), *bešle* (they sat). Finally, there are verbs such as *džal* (go), *xal* (eat), etc. that, depending on the dialect, take either the **-j-** or the **-l-** preterit markers. The preterit base ends in the marker **-d-**. The participle form of the verb is formed by adding the corresponding endings to that base, e.g. *kerdo* (done); *čalado* (hit); *darajlo* (frightened); *ladžajano* (ashamed); *bešlo* (planted, sitting); *mulano* (numbed), etc. A gradual differentiability of transitive forms is created by doubling the marker (e.g. **-j-l-**). The verbs of this type are *asajlo* (smile, chuckle); *hutajlo* (jumping), etc., e.g. *asajlem*, I smiled; *hutajlem*, I jumped, etc.

All the verbs in their middle voice form take the **-d-** marker which, apart from the morphological, also has a semantic function, i.e. it represents a semantic criterion for the distinction of the middle voice from both the active and the passive voice, e.g. *kerel*, do, work: *kerdyav* (I become), *kerdyos* (you become), *kerdyol* (he becomes); *kerdyas* (we become), *kerdyon* (you become), *kerdyon* (they become). The present tense base ends in marker **-d-**. This base is used to form the preterite tense: *kerdilem* (I became), *kerdilán* (you became), *kerdilo* (he became), *kerdili* (she became); *kerdilam* (we became), *kerdilen* (you became), *kerdile* (they became). This paradigm shows that the **-l-** marker is always found in the middle voice preterit tense. The spelling rules that apply here are in line with this.

morfemo (gr. *morphe*), morpheme, is the smallest element of a language that has been invested with meaning. Being a basic phonological and semantic element it cannot be further reduced, e.g. *čik* (mud), *dud* (light), *me* (I), *pes* (me), *duj* (two), etc. morphemes are principally different from syllables which represent a concrete unity of speech sounds (*parole*). A syllable may consist of several morphemes, as in the above-mentioned examples. The typology of classification and differentiation of morphemes observes the postulates on the unity of form and meaning. With regards to the function of meaning, there is a distinction between lexical and semantical morphemes. And finally, but not least important, as regards grammatical morphemes (e.g. inflectional morphemes or those reflecting various relationships in a sentence), there are bound and free morphemes.

N

navni (rr. *nav*, name) noun; apart from verbs, nouns are the most important part of speech

in Romani. Morphologically, the following are relevant categories for nouns in the Romani language: **gender** (masculine, feminine), **number** (singular, plural) and **case** (primary – nominative, the oblique case, whose form is that of the accusative and vocative; secondary – genitive, dative, instrumental, locative and ablative; and propositional which has the same form as the nominative case, but is only used with prepositions.) Semantically, nouns can be concrete or abstract. Concrete nouns are proper names, generic names, appellatives such as manuš (man), grast (horse), gilabrano (singer), etc., common nouns, e.g. plaina (mountains), material nouns, e.g. arro (flour), rup (silver), rat (blood). Abstract nouns, which are largely derived from verbs and adjectives, signify properties, e.g. pačivalipen (loyalty, fidelity), processes, events and cases, e.g. sune (dreams), relationships, e.g. amalipen (companionship, friendship), measures, e.g. kilometro (kilometre), etc.

negacya (lat. *negare*, deny) negation may be expressed with various means: with the prefixes *a-* (*ačhado*, stopped), *bi-* (*bipačano*, disobedient), *ni-* (*nisar*, nohow); with the infix *-n-* (*khatinende*, nowhere); with the suffix *-či* (*khanči*, nothing); particles *naj*, *inaj*, *nane*, *nahi* (no); *nabut* (little); *nimaj* (no more), *nivar* (not once), *nijek* (none), *nijekvar* (not once), *khonik* (nobody), *khanika* (nobody), *khanikaske* (to nobody), *doš* (mistake), *opipa* (against), *šonja* (nought), *najstalo* (disappeared, got lost). Even some renowned names or names of former concentration camps are used as expressions with absolutely negative meaning, e.g. “Hitler”, “Aušvic” “Buhenvald”, “Dahau”, etc. In this very comprehensive “book” of various possibilities for “not”, *naj*, *ni*, *či* and *na* occupy the most prominent place.

The particle *naj* (isn't) is the negative form of the auxiliary verb *sem*. Therefore, the copula *si* ('s, is) may almost always be replaced by the negative copula *naj*. In other words (in terms of formal logic) the form *S is P* is replaced by *S is not P*. When the particle precedes the auxiliary verb *sem* (I am, I'm) the form *naj sem*, meaning *I am not*, is derived, e.g. *naj sem* (I am not), *naj san* (you are not), *naj* (he/she is not); *naj sam* (we are not), *naj sen* (you are not), *naj* (they are not). *Naj* cannot occupy a position after *sem*, except in a small number of constructions, e.g. *si – naj* (there is and there isn't). Moreover, just as the verb *sem* means to have, *naj* means not to have, e.g. *naj man* (I don't have), *naj tut* (you don't have), *naj les* (he doesn't have), *naj la* (she doesn't have); *naj amen* (we don't have), *naj tumen* (you don't have), *naj len* (they don't have). Therefore, since the verb *sem*, to have, requires an accusative or double accusative, the particle *naj*, meaning I don't have, also requires an accusative or double accusative. (The literal translation of these constructions are: “me not” or “me not me”; “you not” or “you not you”; “him not” or “him not him”... In this case, the object is always in the nominative case.)

Naj may precede the present participle forms (*naj prastando*, not overrun); perfect participle forms (*naj kerdo*, nije done); the passive (*naj putardo*, not open); a noun with no article (*naj manuš*, not man); a noun with an article (*naj o manuš*, not (the) man); an adjective either without or with an article (*naj kalo*, not black); personal pronoun (*naj tu*, not you); a demonstrative pronoun (*naj akava*, not this); a number (*naj trin*, not three); an ordinal number which is always preceded by an article (*naj o dujto*, not the second); adverbs (*naj dur*, nije far); prepositions (*naj an*, not in...), etc.

Ni or **či** may be used in front of auxiliary verbs *ovav* (be, become) and *kamav* (want), as well as many other verbs. *Ni džava tajsa pi buti.* (I will not go to work tomorrow.) *Ni xalem kħanči.* (I haven't eaten anything.) *Ni kamav la.* (I don't love her.) *Či suta.* (She didn't sleep.) *Či muli.* (She didn't die.) Analysis has shown that internal negation, contrastive negation, transposed negation and raised negation, double negation – (frequent with the ablative case) – multiple negation, rhetorical questions, etc. are usually expressed with the negative particle *ni*. (The *naj* negation is used in negative sentences, e.g. declarative-negative and interrogative-negative sentences, different expressions and phrases.)

Na is used in commands, orders, prohibitions, etc. Negative indefinite pronouns occur in negative sentences with a general quantification, e.g. *kħonik* (nobody), as well as the common adjective such as *nisavo* (no) or the pronominal adverb, e.g. *nisar* (nohow, on no account) or negative expressions such as *nijek* (none), *nivar* (not once), etc. Negation is also common with the preposition *bi* (without). Negative particles *naj*, *ni*, *či* and *na* cannot be divided, they are always written separately.

nominativo (lat. *nominativus*), nominative is the first case which is usually used to state who the doer of the action is or what it is that we ascribe to something. The nominative case has the form of the nominal word, which implies that it is the unmarked case in a declension. In a sentence, nominative is the case used to fill in the position of the grammatical subject, but it may also appear as a constituent part of the predicate. With regards to its functions and meanings, the nominative case has its three basic models. These are: the nominative of appellation, the subject and the predicate.

The nominative of appellation has the function of an appellative (name, title, term, etc.), e.g. *i Ana, Ana*; *i Evropa, Europe*; *o kher, house*; *amen, we*; *lesko, his*; “*Bi kheresko, bi limoresko*”, “Without a home, without a grave”, a title of a collection of poems; “*O kher umblavimaske*”, “Time of the Gipsies”, the name of a film by E. Kusturica. The subject nominative has the function of the grammatical subject in a sentence, e.g. *O manuš lekharel.* – The man is writing.

The subject nominative may also have the function of a subject complement, i.e. as an attribute: *I lači pustik but mol.* – A good book is valuable. As an attributive: *E čiriklja ladavne ni nakhaven akate o ivend.* – Migratory birds do not spend the winter here. As a position: *O Marko, mor terneder phral, irisalo khere.* – Mark, my younger brother, came back home. As an appositive: *I Sara, khini, pašljili thaj sutili.* – Sarah, being tired, lied down and fell asleep.

The predicate nominative is a part of the semantic core of a copular predicate or a semantic complement of a semi-copular or decomposed predicate, e.g. *O Arijel si studento.* – Ariel is a student. *I Borka si lači.* – Borka is good. Semi-copular verbs such as *kerdol* (become), *ačhol* (stay), *díčhol* (look), *bučhol*, *akardol* (be called), *kerel pe* (pretend), etc., create special nominative models, e.g. *I Indira díčhol baxtali.* – Indira looks happy; *I rakli bučhol Tanja.* – The girl is called Tanja., *Vov kerel pe nasvalo.* – He is pretending to be sick. In Romani, as opposed to Serbian, numeric, pronomic and parnumeric quantifiers are in the nominative case. (In Serbian, they are in the partitive genitive.), e.g. *Trin rakle.* (Literally: Three boys.) – Three boys. *Deš amen.* (Ten we.) – Ten of us.; *But von.* (A lot of they.) – A lot of them.; (With pronomic quantifiers such as “many of them”, “none of us”, Romani uses the ablative case: *But lendar. Ni-*

jek amendar.). Furthermore, kilogramo phabaja (kilogramme apple) – a kilogramme of apples; litro thud (litre milk) – A litre of milk; gramo lon (gram salt) – a gram of salt; metro štofo (metre fabric) – a metre of fabric; burnik rezo (handful rice) – a handful of rice; gono giv (sack wheat) – a sack of wheat; xal arro (sack flour) – a sack of flour; kotor lil (piece paper) – a piece of paper; kotor manro (piece bread) – a piece of bread; buka kiral (bite cheese) – a bite of cheese, etc.

Interjections such as ake (here), eke (there), dik (look), etc., in other words, particles which, in an immediate conversation, direct the interlocutor's attention to a certain object, also require the nominative case. (Serbian requires the genitive case, i.e. the presentative/exclamative genitive.), e.g. Ake o autobus! (Here bus!) – Here's the bus! Eke o manuš! (There man!) – There's the man! Dik o beng! (Look devil!) – Look at the devil! (In Romani, there are emphatic pronominal forms such as aketalo (here he is), najstalo (he's gone)) that alternate like the auxiliary verb sem, I am, I'm, meaning only in the present, e.g. aketalem! – here I am!; aketalan! – here you are!; aketalo! – here he is! aketali! – here she is!; aketalam! – here we are!; aketalen! – here you are!; aketale! – here they are! The same paradigm applies to the negative form najstalo. The emphatic pronominal forms are, in fact, composites. The first was derived from the pronoun ake, here and eke, there; + Sanskrit verb as (II class), asti, be, exist. The second was derived from the negative particle naj, no, not + verb as. Their ultimate form is the result of sandhi.). The above-mentioned examples and explanations enable the immediate perception of the application of spelling and punctuation rules.

numero (lat. *numerus*, number), number (rro. *djindo*), a part of speech denoting quantitative relationships. They are most frequently used with nouns, adjectives, pronouns and verbs. (The number is, therefore, treated as a verb category as well. The suffix *-ar* is attached to numbers, thus forming causative verbs such as to double, to triple, etc., which in their middle voice forms have different meanings, e.g. *dujardjav*, I divide myself in two parts, etc.). The cardinal numbers are: jek (one), duj (two), trin (three), štar (four), pandž (five), šov (six), epta (seven), oxta (eight), inja (nine), deš (ten), dešujek (eleven), dešuduj (twelve), (...), biš (twenty). When used with nouns, jek is the indefinite article which is not marked for gender. Romani numbers are not marked for gender, e.g. *duj rakle* (two boys) – *duj raklja* (two girls). They are declined as masculine nouns. When preceding a noun or an adjective, numbers are in their oblique case form, e.g. N. jek manuš (one man); G. jekhe manušesko; D. jekhe manušeske; A. jekhe manušes; V. /; I. jekhe manušesa; L. jekhe manušeste; Abl. jekhe manušestar. Ordinal numbers are derived by adding the suffix *-to* to the ordinal numbers: jekto (the first), dujto (the second), trito (the third), etc. When naming the first entity in a range, we use the adverbial adjective *angulno*; when naming the last entity in a range, we use *paluno*. Multiplicative numbers are formed by adding the word *var* to the ordinals, e.g. *dujvar* (twice), *trinvar* (thrice), etc. (If the word *var* is written separately, it means times, e.g. two times two.). Distributive numbers are: jek thaj jek, jek po jek (one by one), duj thaj duj, duj po duj (two by two), etc. Indefinite numbers are: duj-trin (two or three), trin-štar (three or four), etc. Fractional numbers are *opaš ili jek paš* (a half), *opaš jek* (half one), *opaš – duj* (half two), etc. Then we have *džuto* (a couple), both as a number and a noun; *luduj* (both, both, m., both, f., both as adjectives and numbers. (Skr. *ubha*, both; *ubh VI*; *IX*; *VII*, tie together, bind), etc. As the above-mentioned examples and explanations have shown there are numbers, words and suffixes that cannot be divided and broken up at the end

of the line; however, there are numbers and compounds that can.

O

objekato, gočarno (lat. *objectum*, object) object signifies the instrument of an action. In the Romani language, an object is inflected with case endings of nouns and pronouns. The cases in question are, first and foremost, the accusative case – both without and with prepositions, (direct object) and the dative case, genitive, instrumental and locative (direct or indirect object, but this depends on the type of verb used in the sentence), e.g. Čalada *e manušes e baresa*. (He heat the man with a stone.) Najarel *e džukeles*. (He's bathing the dog.) Koriguil *les*. (He's correcting him..) Kerel kher *pe čhaveske*. (He's building a house for his son.) I Jana si *bi bučako*. (Jana is without a job.) Čide love *abijaveske*. (They have raised the money for the wedding.) Mor čhavo dirigul *e orkestroa*. (My son conducts an orchestra.) Na muk *ruveste e bakres*. (Don't leave the lamb to the wolf.) Dik tut *pe leste*. (You should look up to him.) Siklilo *pe late*. (I got used to her.). These examples show that even when the case endings in Romani and Serbian differ, thanks to the specific verb types, corresponding semantic relations may be established with the object in the nominal phrase.

P

padicihna or **padi** (rro. *padi*, comma; *cihna*, sign), a comma is a punctuation mark used to denote the listing of a string of words, instances of additional explanations, special emphasis, words denoting a certain contrast, when the author (speaker) is directly addressing the reader (listener), etc.; in complex sentences in which the dependent clauses contain the above-mentioned temporal conjunctions, as well as causal, conditional, concessional, manner, intentional, consecutive, declarative and relative conjunctions; in compound sentences, in the part of the sentence containing contrastive conjunctions (such as but, while, instead). Commas are used in parts of complex sentences that contain a conclusive conjunction such as well, therefore; exclusive conjunctions such as except, except that; in parts stating a consequence, which is expressed with the conjunction hence; in conditional clauses, etc.

predikato (lat. *praedicare*, to state) the term predicate corresponds to the Greek term *rhema*, statement. It may have a personal or impersonal form. The predicate ascribes an activity, state or a feature to the subject. When the function of the predicate is performed by a verb in its finite form, the activity or feature may be ascribed to the person speaking, the person addressed or the third person. Other than its finite forms, verbs may also appear in other forms. The role of the predicate may also be performed by other parts of speech such as nouns, adjectives and numbers. With regards to the above-mentioned, predicates may be *verbal* and *nominal*, whereas depending on their morphological structure, they may be either *simple* or *complex*. Depending on the sentence type and its meaning, predicates can be classified into *copular*, *non-copular*, *semi-copular*, *modal*, *phasal*, etc. With regards to the level of complexity of their syntactical form, there are *analytical*, *synthetic* and *complex* predicates. Finally, but not least important, there are semantic predicates, as parts of the semantic sentence structure, which

can be *zero-valent (avalent), monovalent, divalent, trivalent and quadrivalent*. The predicate creates the so-called predicative frames thereby creating the sentence structure inside of which there can be a front field, a middle field and a back field, e.g. *O Aco džal detharinasa pe džungale džukelesa te phirel.* (Aca goes in the morning with his dangerous dog for a walk.) The following possibilities arise from the sentence above:

1. *Detharinasa džal o Aco pe džungale džukelesa te phirel.* (On mornings goes Aca with his dangerous dog for walks.)
2. *Pe džungale džukelesa džal o Aco detharinasa te phirel.* (With his dangerous dog goes Aca in the morning for a walk.)
3. *Džal o Aco detharinasa pe džungale džukelesa te phirel?* (Does Aca go for morning walks with his dangerous dog?)

In the sentences above, we find the following grammatical roles: *o Aco (Aca)* – subject; *detharinasa* (in the mornings) – time adverbial; *pe džungale džukelesa* – prepositional phrase *džukel (dog)* – in the instrumental case. It is only in the sentence (1) that the subject is in the front field, which corresponds to the “normal” sentence type in Romani.

In sentence 1. the time adverbial is at the beginning; the sentence 2. begins with a prepositional phrase, while the subject is in the middle field. In the interrogative sentence 3., the verb precedes the subject. With the insertion of punctuation marks, e.g. exclamation mark or a combination of the exclamation mark and the question mark, sentences 1, 2 and 3 acquire new meanings. The resulting sentences may be interpreted as expressing astonishment, admiration, doubt, etc. Hence, punctuation marks may well contribute to the predicate acquiring a new communicative aspect, i.e. together with the predicate, punctuation marks may become parts of the theme-rheme relationship.

prepozicionalo, prepositional, prepositional case or the so-called pendant, as it is capable of replacing the genitive, dative, accusative, instrumental and, most frequently, the locative and ablative synthetic forms. The prepositional has the same form as the nominal words in the nominative case, e.g. *Čikalo dži kaj čanga.* He had mud to his knees. (Romani – locative, Serbian – genitive: *Čikalo dži čangende.*) *Crda drom kaj amala.* He went to his friends. (Romani – locative, Serbian – dative: *Crda drom pe amalende.*) *Phangla e grastes ko kažt.* (He tied the horse to a tree.) (Romani – locative, Serbian – accusative: *Phangla e grastes kaštete.*) *Tar o Beograd dži ko Zagreb si 600 kilometra.* From Belgrade to Zagreb there is a 600 kilometre distance. (Romani – ablative, Serbian – genitive: *E Beogradostar dži Zagrebeste si 699 kilometra.*) *Ašundem tar o Branko.* I heard from Branko. (Romani – ablative, Serbian – genitive: *Ašundem e Brankostar.*), etc.

pučimaski cihna (rro. *pučel*, ask; *cihna*, sign) a question mark is a punctuation mark that signifies the end of an interrogative sentence, which usually contains words such as *kon?* (who?), *soske?* (why?), *so?* (what?), *karing? kuri?* (where to?), *kaj?* (where?), *sar?* (how?) etc. The question mark inside a sentence signifies doubt or disagreement with the word it follows. Combined with an exclamation mark, it signals the intensification of doubt, disagreement and astonishment.

R

rigalichna (rro. *rig*, side; *cihna*, sign) a slash is a punctuation mark which is used when numerical data are inserted into a text, when the lines of a poem are written horizontally, etc.

S

subjekato, adarno (lat. *subjectum*, subject, basic term), according to traditional grammar, the predicate and the subject constitute the basic form of a declarative sentence. Morphologically, the syntactic function of the subject is marked by the nominative case in Romani, as is the case in many other languages. From the aspect of semantics, the subject is ascribed the “agentive” function, i.e. the subject is the entity that causes the activity denoted by the predicate. Even though this applies to a majority of cases, there are examples in Romani that are in contrast to this assertion, e.g. in cases such as *si man* (to have), *naj man* (not to have), etc., which demand that a difference between the grammatical and logical subject be made. In general theory papers and works of modern grammarians, this issue is frequently discussed.

Š

šlisnicihna or **šlisni** (skr. *šlisni*, bracket; *cihna*, sign) Brackets are punctuation marks that serve to signify that a part of a sentence that falls within its scope contains an explanation of the text. Brackets may be found inside a sentence (at the beginning, in the middle or at the end) and there are different types of brackets such as parentheses, square brackets, angle brackets or braces.

T

tikni crdinichna (rro. *tikno*, small; *cihna*, sign), a hyphen is a punctuation mark that serves to indicate that the elements divided by a hyphen represent a whole, i.e. that they are in fact a single lexical entity. A hyphen may connect two or more units of a compound word in which they have an equal relationship with one another, or in which one of those units is subordinated to the other, e.g. *rromano-srbikano alavari* (Romani-Serbian dictionary); *muršikane-džuvlikane relacye* (male-female relations); *fonetikani-fonologikani-morfologikani analiza* (phonetic-phonological-morphological analysis), etc. A hyphen may also connect names of people, two surnames of the same person, two or more units in a compound in which one of the elements is a number, symbol or a letter, e.g. *70-beršutnipe* (70th anniversary); *B-vitamino* (vitamin B), etc. A hyphen divides words and phrases in which words contradict one another (e.g. *dives-rat*, *day-night*; *upre-tele*, *up-down*, etc.). a hyphen may also be used when breaking up a word at the end of the line

U

upanale cihne (rro. *upral*, from above; *cihna* sign), quotation marks are punctuation marks indicating that the text they are surrounding is quoted or given a new meaning. The text in question may be a single word, a sentence, several sentences or a textual fragment. Quotations may also be used to indicate vague or incorrect meaning, other meanings, doubt or else

an ironic attitude towards the text surrounded by quotations. Quotations and single quotations are used for titles of books, newspapers, articles, etc.

valenca, verbs have valence because of their capacity to bind and group other words in the sentence. The French linguist L. Tesnière is the author of the valence theory. According to that theory, the combination of certain words is based on a lexical and semantic relationship, as well as the grammatical rules that apply for every individual language. Semantic and syntactic valence is illustrated with sentences that contain one, two, three four or five grammatical roles. The following are sentences with a single grammatical role: Račavol. (It's getting dark.) Detharinvol. (It's dawning.) Djivesavol (The day is breaking.); sentences with two grammatical roles: E čhave plivin. (The children are swimming.) Savore ačas. (We are all silent.); sentences with three grammatical roles: I Ana prindžarel e Saša. (Ana knows Saša.) E turistura dikhaven o foro. (Tourists are exploring the city.); a sentence with four grammatical roles: O Ivo ačhel irisardo e zejenca. (Ivo has turned to his back.); a sentence with five grammatical roles: O manuš lekharel lil e amaleske e kompjuteresa. (A man is writing a letter to his friend on the computer.)

viram (skr. *viram*, full stop) a full stop is a punctuation mark which is used to indicate the end of a sentence which is neither an interrogative nor a command. It is also used after abbreviated words and expressions, after a sequence of units and digits in a complex number.

viram padicihna, semi-colon is a punctuation mark which, in hierarchical terms, is less pronounced than a full stop, but more pronounced than a comma. This punctuation mark indicates a demarcation line between two sentences that are relatively independent from one another, when at least one of them is complex. This punctuation mark is also used in the so-called symmetrical sentences, sentences without conjunctions, etc. Other punctuation marks include ellipsis and ellipsis in parentheses.

vokativo (lat. *vocare*, to call) vocative, the case of address, a form comprising the name of the person we want to pay attention to what is stated in the sentence and a form we use to call somebody. This case is essentially void of any syntactical and semantic value. The vocative case has a communicative value. Consequently, a nominal word in the vocative case is not preceded by an article. If the nominal words are of Romani origin, their vocative case forms are as follows: amala! (friend!); amalalen! (friends!); manuša! (man!); manušalen! (people!). Examples of Romani masculine names are: Kaleja! Meneka! Patalo! Murga! Toko! Toto! Feminine nouns have the following forms: amaline! (girlfriend!); amalinalen! (girlfriends!); phene! (sister!); phenalen! (sisters!), etc. Examples of Romani female names are: Kalije! Luga! Kojče! Huta! Titalo!

For the sake of demonstration, the following sentences contain the vocative case forms: Phralalen, aven akaringate! (Brothers, come here!) Devla, dik pe mande! (God, take a look at me!) So phendan, daje? (What did you say, mother?) Soske san, manuša, xoljariko? (Why are you angry, man?) The vocative case is always followed by a comma, while the sentence is always ended with an exclamation or question mark.

Apart from the above-mentioned rules and instructions, it is necessary to observe that neither the question mark or the exclamation mark (or any other punctuation mark) can be taken over to the next line by itself.

19. ROMA IDENTITY

Philosophical and scientific-empirical research shows that the root of the consciousness of the human species was not foreign to any people, including the Roma. Many philosophers quoted the example of Oedipus, who caused the downfall of the Sphynx, the symbol of the riddle, by deciphering the key question of human life. *Mutatis mutandis*,⁵⁷ this beginning of the human, and not just European, as considered by Hegel, is also contained in the name Roma, one of its meanings being “man”. There are several nations in the world whose name, in addition to ethnic affiliation, contains the meaning “man”.

Although this issue is the foundation and the lighthouse of philosophy, and the “Ariadne’s thread” of doing philosophy, humankind unfortunately remains in the dark, since humanity was being undermined for centuries. The view of man and his world was demolished along with the humanity. Those that committed the greatest evils took part in this, since they could not decide whether to be evil or good, i.e. to do good or evil deeds, as written by Hannah Arendt (1906–1975), calling this the “sad truth”.⁵⁸

Therefore, the question of identity is tightly related to the definition of man that says: Man is that which exists humanly. Man proves his belonging to humankind through his life, thoughts and deeds.

19.1. Theories of identity

The question of identity (lat. idem, the same) is considered universal and reaches into the distant past, to Aristotle and Plato. Identity is defined as a relation denoting the relationships between two objects. Relations are abstract factors, and not specific units. They have their definition, or domain, area of value or co-domain, complementarity, and are in a tight relationship with the structure and system. Therefore we differentiate internal and external relations. Internal relations are those in a mutual relationship and connection within one object. External relations are the reverse.

Historically, the question of identity gained in significance in the philosophy of the American pragmatist William James (1842–1910), who had an impact on the understanding of identity of George Herbert Mead (1863–1931). However, Erving Goffman (1922–1982), the originator of the thought that society is “a grand stage for various roles”, and Lothar Krappmann (1936), who believes that a key role in identity is that of language, facial expressions, gesticulation, costume, etc. have provided a significant contribution to identity theory.

Researchers believe the term identity is multidimensional. The affective or qualitative dimension, emotional, social, organisational, etc. are the most important dimensions. Without intending to enter into other theories, we will note that important contributions to identity theory were also provided by Jürgen Habermas (1929) and Norbert Elias (1897–1990).

Until we have a reliable answer to the question posed by Habermas – can complex societies build an identity of the mind – we must content ourselves with the Roma adage: “There is no dawn without sun!” However, judging by current worldwide trends, money has an increasing power and role, thus it may be presumed that the development of identity on

⁵⁷ *Mutatis mutandis* is a Latin expression meaning – after we change all that has to change, after all necessary changes.

⁵⁸ Arendt, Hana: *Izvori totalitarizma*, Beograd, 1999.

the global level is in the hands of the rich and powerful, rather than the power of the mind.

19.2. Nazi heritage

Regarding the Roma, the first-grade task formulated in the spirit of a philosophical thought that states: “only once we turn to the thoughts, will we be able to think of the future”, is the deconstruction of anti-tsiganist text that shackles Roma identity and their future.

In certain European countries the constructed Roma identity and views of it were institutionalised until the nineteen-nineties. Vaclav Havel and the other signatories of Charter 77⁵⁹ announced that around 15,000 Roma women were sterilised in Czechoslovakia after World War II. As stated in Council of Europe documents,⁶⁰ this measure was also applied in Sweden and Norway. In certain provinces in FR Germany fingerprints were taken from new-born Roma and Sinti children, and police photographed funerals without permit or authorisation. In Hungary, blood analysis was performed for decades to “determine the Roma identity”. This was used to prove the “Roma identity”. So, just as during Nazi times. After this, their typical “physical and mental properties” were described.

19.3. Sources of Roma identity

The Roma identity has multiple sources. Picturesquely stated, it is between the “Indian anvil” and “European hammer”. The first and oldest source is of Indian origin. The family and name of the Roma people, certain preserved tribal names, preserved personal names of Indian origin, some symbols of Indian origin, the Romani language, customs, also originate from this source.

After the exodus, in addition to the family and language that are constant “guardians” of the Roma identity, its most important components are religions – Islam and Christianity. The third source is European, in the broadest sense of the word. The fourth source is the holocaust of the Roma and Sinti.

The fifth source appeared in the early nineteen-seventies, with the self-organisation at the European and international level (International Romani Union, European Roma Union, etc.).

Finally, there are the most important cultural and artistic work and most important persons from various walks of Roma life (Internal Roma Academy of Arts and Sciences, Roma PEN Centre, European Association of Romani Writers, Documentation Centre of Sinti and Roma in Heidelberg, Roma Archive in Austin [USA], etc.).

Personal names of the male and female gender are the most numerous and frequent elements of identity. This is followed by the name Roma and adjective Romani, and various words derived from this name and adjective. International Roma Day, 8 April, recognised by the United Nations, the Romani flag and anthem, International Holocaust Day, 27 January, and Roma Holocaust Day, 2 August, as dates that are part of the culture of remembrance, are the youngest layer of the collective Roma identity, ever expanding and growing stronger.

⁵⁹ Povelja 77 is a document formulated and signed by dissidents from Czechoslovakia, headed by Vaclav Havel, whereby the public, inter alia, discovered for the first time that Roma women were sterilised during the period after World War II.

⁶⁰ Krivokapić, Boris: *Zaštita manjina*, Beograd, 2004.

19.4. Exemplary personages as elements of identity

All peoples have personages that are celebrated and respected, i.e. deserving and exemplary and as such are or can be elements of identity. Such personages, although in an incomparably smaller number, were also produced by the Roma people.

Tamari, a Roma tribe, built the city of Delhi in 736. Later they also built other buildings and forts, such as that of Gwalior, the pride of the people of India.

Prithviraj Chauhan, king of Delhi and Ajmer, was the last Indian king of Roma origin. In the battle of Taraori in 1191 he defeated the conqueror of India Muhammad of Ghor and spared his life. But a year later, in 1192, he returned with a far more powerful army, killed Prithviraj and caused the Roma exodus from India.

August Krogh (1874–1949) from Denmark, won the Nobel prize for medicine (physiology) in 1920.

Mathematician Sofya Kovalevskaya (1850–1891), a Roma woman of Russian origin, professor at the University of Stockholm, made new discoveries in mathematics.

Politicians and statesmen such as Juscelino Kubitschek (1902–1976), President of Brazil 1956–1961 and Fred Sinowatz (1929–2008), Austrian Chancellor 1983–1986.

National Hero Stevan Đorđević Novak (1919–1943) is the only national hero of Roma origin in the former Yugoslavia and Europe.

Ceferino Gimenez Malla El Pele (1861–1936), declared a martyr of the Catholic Church during the time of Pope John Paul II.

Philosopher Miladin Životić (1930–1997), hero of the post-war Serbia.

Romani Rose (1846), President of the Central Council of German Sinti and Roma.

Painters: Antonio Solario (1463–1530) from Italy, Otto Mueller (1874–1930), German expressionist, Sergey Polyakov (1900–1969), born in Russia, lived and worked in France.

Writers: John Bunyan (1628–1688) from England, author of the famous *Pilgrim's Progress*, one of the most translated books after the Bible; Ion Budaj Deleanu (1760–1820), author of the work *Țiganiada*; Slobodan Berberski (1919–1989); Mateo Maximoff (1917–1999); Veijjo Baltzar (1942–); Rajko Đurić (1947–2020); Mariella Mehr (1947); Bari Karolyi (1952).

Film director, “father of the black wave” in former Yugoslavia, author of the book *Gypsy Graveyard*, Živojin Žika Pavlović (1933–1998); film director from France Tony Gatlif (1948) the author of several renowned films, particularly *Les Princes* and *Latcho drom*.

Actors: Charlie Chaplin (1889–1977), Rita Hayworth (1918–1987), Yul Brynner (1920–1985), Ava Gardner (1922–1990), Bob Hoskins (1942–2014), Zoran Radmilović (1933–1985), Sir Michael Caine (1933–), Antonio Banderas (1960).

Jazz guitarist Django Reinhardt (1910–1953).

Musicians from Hungary: Janos Bihari (1769–1828), Karolyi Boka (1808–1860), Lajos Berkes (1837–1885), Pista Danko (1858–1932), The Orchestra of 100 violins from Budapest, Robert Lakatos (1965); musicians from Romania: Grigoras Dinicu (1889–1949); Dumitru Siminica, Gheorghe Zamfir (1941–); musicians from Spain: dancer Carmen Amaya (1912–1963), Paco de Lucia (1947–2014); musicians from Serbia: Šaban Bajramović (1936–2008), Boban Kostić (1960–2014), Bakija Bakić (1923–1989), Fejat Sejdić (1947–1989), Marija Šerifović (1984–), winner of Eurovision 2007; musicians from Macedonia: Esmā Redžepova (1943–2016); musicians

from the USA: Elvis Presley (1935–1977); musicians from Russia: Nikolai Slichenko (1934), former director of the Romen theatre in Moscow.

Football players: Zlatan Ibrahimović (1981–), Andrea Pirlo (1979–), Jesus Navas (1985–).

An identity is constantly built and dissolved. The collective identity impacts the individual and vice versa – the individual identity affects the collective. Many processes – psychological, social and cultural, affect its formation. Linguistic, social and cultural memory “boil down to” historical memory, powering identity.



Folklore group from Niš



“Rom” Association from Niš



*Monument to Šaban
Bajramović in Niš*

20. DEVELOPMENT AND PROSPECTS OF ROMOLOGY

Romology is a social science that has its assumptions and foundation in philosophical understanding and anthropological discovery. One of the main understandings is that the Roma community, Indo-European by origin and character, is comprised of people who, in addition to their native language, speak at least one other language, most frequently the language of the majority people of the country they live in, and in addition to their ancient, traditional beliefs and customs, they profess the religion dominant in the area and country they live in. As a rule, these are Islam or Christianity. The most important discovery, however, is that they are people, meaning they are part of humankind, and humanity permeates their main human and social values.

20.1. Non-territorial European minority

The Roma are a non-territorial European national minority, the only one in Europe with this status. This is, thus, a community with members living in segmented societies, as a rule bilingual, and their way of life is exposed to the influence of various religions, customs and cultures. One Roma adage states: "The Earth was made for man to live with other men. This is the best way for a man to know oneself!" So, "with", not "next to" or "above", and particularly not "against" others who are different.

Romology as a science must always keep in mind that the truth is whole and must ensure the whole is not replaced by a part (*pars pro toto*). Similarly, it must differentiate between appearance and essence, form and content, cause and effect. However, unlike natural sciences where the difference between cause and effect is a key principle, in social sciences, including Romology, one of the basic methods is understanding.

20.2. Ethical principles: main principles of romology

The guiding principles of romology must be the principles of ethics. Any violation of ethics is a violation of scientific truth. If it adheres to ethics and its principles in its reflections and research, romology can contribute to it greatly. The Roma have been viciously persecuted for centuries, survived the holocaust, and as warned by German philosopher Ernst Tugendhat, some still treat them as members of a "lower race". Since antitsiganism and prejudice against the Roma are everyday phenomena, it would be socially justified and desirable to introduce romology as a subject, at least an optional one, into social science faculties.

20.3. European Centre for Romology

Aiming to create a long-term development programme for romology as an academic discipline and scientific research project, it is necessary to form a European Centre for Romology, to coordinate the work between departments and instructorships for romistics, faculties and higher education schools, between European and non-European universities where romology has become a study subject.

The development and uniformity of terminology and methodology requires the planning and organisation of seminars for teachers and representatives of media companies that provide information in the Romani language. Perhaps the date of birth of Mahatma Gandhi, 2 October, whose name is born by the Roma gymnasium in Pecs, is a good date to organise a meeting of European romologists and indologists, Roma teachers and journalists.

The legal and political status of Roma in Europe and its states is an unavoidable topic of scientific research. For the Roma, and for issues of vital importance for the survival of this minority, many states have established a rubric “others”. This is *de facto* a form of ignoring them, denying them.

A system analysis is needed to show that some national minorities are favoured, and others increasingly discriminated. The Roma are mainly in last place in this “caste system” in European states. This fact, and the tragic experience of the two world wars, the conflicts and wars after the dissolution of former Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia and USSR, impose the need to think about establishing the same rights and freedoms between nations and national minorities. If a man is not recognised in all his individuality, then his rights and freedoms are narrow and limited. Just as there is no good and less valuable human language, thus is there no good and less valuable people. The state – it is all of us! A state where some are privileged and others discriminated carries the “birthmarks” of a slave state. It is illusory to expect improved rights and freedoms of national minorities if they are not equated in all regards with nations. Even under that condition, it is difficult to expect that all the injustice would be overcome, since everyday life is in favour of the more numerous and powerful.

The United Nations, Council of Europe, European Union, OSCE, etc. have published a number of documents, resolutions and recommendations on the protection of national minorities, their rights and freedoms. The Roma, although under different names, are mentioned in several of these documents and recommendations. However, even though several years, or even decades have passed since their publication, the sun has yet to “shine” on the Roma. One exception is the European Charter on Regional or Minority Languages,⁶¹ its ratification lasting from 1992 to 2005, also representing a test of the views and relationships of European states to national minorities.

The Lund Recommendations⁶² on the Effective Participation of National Minorities in Public Life provide a new hope for national minorities that truly do not lack virtues, but rights and freedoms. A democratic society is unimaginable without the effective participation of national minorities in public life and the creation of special institutions with the main aim of ensuring effective participation in public life. However, these institutions must be created democratically, and their action may not occur under the “tree of non-freedom” that, where it exists, must be ripped out by the roots and burned. Countries will hear the national minorities only of the United Nations and European institutions influence them to compensate all injustices done to national minorities and ensure their democratically elected representatives are present in all power structures and all levels of authority. The European Centre for Romology could provide a significant contribution to this and it is in the interest of Europe to politically and financially support the establishment of this centre.

⁶¹ Available at: https://www.bnv.org.rs/dokumenta/11_Zakon_o_ratifikaciji_evropske_povelje.pdf

⁶² The Lund Recommendations on the Effective Participation of National Minorities in Public Life is an OSCE document from 1999 covering 24 recommendations focusing on: 1) participation of national minority members in state governance as a whole; and 2) local self-government participation in certain local and internal affairs. Available at: <https://www.osce.org/sr/hcnm/32253>

21. ADDENDUM: LITTLE ROMOLOGICAL DICTIONARY

Acton, Thomas (1948), English sociologist at the University of Greenwich, where he established Romani studies. At the centre of his work is the issue of Roma education. He is the author of the first book on Roma politics.

Antitsiganism, is a form of racism denoting an adversarial view and relation to the Roma and Sinti. This form of enmity and racism has various characteristics typical of antisemitism. During the 17 terrorist-pillaging attacks of Mahmud Ghazni on northern and north-western India (1001-1027) the Roma have been labelled “kafir” (“infidels”). As the nearly first mass victims of jihad, after the exodus from India, Roma within the territory of the Byzantine Empire were identified with Athinganoi, members of a sect of heretics with their centre in Egypt and Byzantium. As “tsigani”, the Roma were religiously, socially, culturally, political hated and despised in nearly all states, particularly on the European continent. Nearly any war or wave of antisemitism in Europe caused enmity towards the Roma. Institutionalised, i.e. state and church enmity led, as a rule, to Roma persecution. “Antitsiganist” laws bear witness of this, the majority voted in in Germany. Based on these laws, the Roma were punished and cruelly tortured, persecuted and deported as slaves to colonies of European states on the African, North and South American continent, and Australia. Antitsiganism, many laws against the Roma, their persecution, institutions created to register and control them, etc. preceded national-socialism, that planned their full extermination. However, antitsiganism, presented as the “antechamber” to Auschwitz, lived on after the end of World War II. Antitsiganism, called “the madness of Europe” by Dutch sociologist Leo Lucassen, started particularly to bloom after the fall of the Berlin wall, as a phenomenon of totalitarian tendencies. The formation of extreme radical parties, neo-fascist and neo-Nazi groups and parties can lead to antitsiganism becoming – as it was shown – a successful replacement for antisemitism.

Antić Marko (1991), sportsman of Roma origin. At the European Karate Championship in 2016 won the silver medal, and at the World Championship in 2017 won third place – the bronze medal.

Antonio Allegri (1489–1534), the most important renaissance painter from Parma. Author of the painting *Roma woman with sleeping child*.

Acković Dragoljub (1952), doctor of romology. Born in Osipaonica near Smederevo, graduate from the Faculty of Political Science in Belgrade, and received his PhD at the European Centre for Peace and Development in Belgrade, a UN faculty that formed a Centre for Romological Studies. Acković is the author of a number of books, including the studies *Traditional Non-Material Culture and Heritage of the Roma*.

Adelsburger Sidonie (1933–1943), a Roma girl adopted by a married couple from Austria. When the Nazis discovered the adopted girl was of Roma origin, they deported her to Auschwitz, where she was killed in 1943. The Austrian writer Erich Hackl wrote the book *Farewell Sidonia*, and a film was made based on it.

Adsinkhani or **Athingannoi**, the name that gave rise to the name Tsigani. It originates from the word Athingannoi from the Dream Book composed by Holy Father Nikephoros from Constantinople. Athingannoi or Melchizedekiannoi were members of a sect established by Melchizedek, the priest king of Salem. In the eyes of his followers, he was a deity like Jesus Christ. The centres of this sect in the V century were Egypt and Byzantium. The author of the above Dream Book was a devout opponent of the Athingannoi and Paulianers, i.e. Manicheans. The Dream Book states that the “Athingannoi are the same as demons” and provides the following interpretation: “Whomsoever dreams of an Athingannoi, will be unhappy”. The Byzantine names **adsinghani** or **athingannoi** produced the Latin *acinganus*. This Latin name produced the name **Tsigani** and its different variants. The places they lived were called “tsiganmala” and places they buried their dead “tsigani graveyards”. Thus the name Tsigani became a border between this world and that world. Since Roma lacked family names for a long time, “Tsigan” was added to their personal name. This produced a sizable documentation (police and judicial files) used to write chronicles, or as a historical source.

Agamben Giorgio (1942–), Italian philosopher, author of a number of books, *Homo sacer* (*Bare Life*) may be very inspiring in examining the life of the Roma.

Akasha, a Sanskrit word denoting everything “shining” or “glowing”. According to ancient Indian belief, this is the fifth cosmic element. This word also denotes shining heavenly beings that constantly flicker. The Roma in Serbia have the female name Akasha, and the expression “khelel sar Akaša” (“dances like Akasha”) and the name for the sky.

Akušipe, a curse, became the subject of study of a newly established scientific discipline, **maledictology**, established by Reinhold Aman (1936–2019). This scientific discipline studies curses as a form of verbal aggression and part of language, relying on psychology, psycho-linguistics, socio-linguistics, folklore studies, etc. Other than the above, the Romani language, rich in curses, has the following terms: galatipe (Sanskrit *garj*, “to curse”, “mumble”, etc.), maripe, “verbal attack”, “denigration”, etc. Roma curses have not been sufficiently studied by science.

Allah, Arab word for God, of Aramaic or ancient Jewish origin. Allah is the only all-powerful deity. Islam is the name of the religion and means “subject to the will of God”. According to legend, Mecca was the place of divine “revelation”, with the word of God transmitted to people by the prophet Muhammad and angel Gabriel. Muslims – the name for the faithful living worldwide. There are around one billion 800 million, meaning Islam is the second biggest religion. Roma living in Muslim countries and states, and/or areas of states that

were under the Ottoman Rule, are also Muslim to a large extent.

Albacin Joaquin (1966), Roma writer from Spain. Published two novels about Roma life.

Aleksandrović Marija (1972–), doctor of philology and literature. Defended her doctoral thesis “Symbols in Roma oral poetry – presence and meaning” at the Faculty of Philosophy in Novi Sad. Author of a number of texts about Roma topics in literature. Employed at the Higher School for Teacher Education in Vršac.

Aliev Mustafa (1928–2004), known by his Roma name Manuš Romanov, was a renowned theatre director in Sofia. In addition to theatre work, he was politically active. After liberation from communists, he was elected member of parliament twice.

Alienation, the international term for estrangement. One of the central topics in particular in the philosophy of Karl Marx (1818– 1883). This is, likely, one of the key philosophical and sociological theories of the XX century, leaving a strong mark on the literature and art of the age. Man is becoming alienated from himself, from humankind, from other men and from nature. Man turns the essence of his being into a tool. This is the state of the entire human history and all social relations to date. A radical change of society and social relations, i.e. a revolution, opens the option do disalienation.

Alliluyeva Sergeevna Nadezhda (1901–1932), second wife of J. V. Stalin (1878–1953), with whom she bore her son Vasil (1921–1962) and daughter Svetlana (1926–2011). Stalin – previously married to Ekaterina Kato Svanidze (1885–1907), mother to his son Yakov (1907–1943), who was captured and killed by the Nazis in the Sachsenhausen concentration camp, married her when she was only 18. In Moscow she was the secretary of various Bolshevik officials, including Lenin and Stalin. She graduated from the Industrial Academy in Moscow with the title of Engineer. According to published data, Stalin often abused her, leading to Nadezhda’s suicide on 9 November 1932. Their daughter Svetlana wrote of this, also stating that Nadezhda was Roma by origin, her parents originating from Georgia.

Amuni, name for an anvil, originating from Greek. As one of the main tools in the blacksmith’s trade, one of the main traditional crafts, it is part of many customs and rituals, including magic rituals.

Angar, coal – male Roma name.

Angarali, female Roma name.

Analysis, a method involving division of complex units (objects, phenomena, processes, etc.) for scientific observation and study. It belongs to analytics, i.e. analytical theory, presenting the types of division and its rules, broadly part of the methodology.

Anthology of original Roma poetry from around the world, published in 2018 in Berlin, under the title *Morning Thunder of Words* (taken from a poem by the author of this book). This representative anthology was edited by Wilfried Ihrig and Ulrich Janetzki, with a preface by Dotschy Reinhardt, and postscript by Klaus-Michael Bogdal. This poetic atlas of Roma and Sinti – as the subtitle states – represents poems by Roma and Sinti authors from the following countries: Germany, Austria, Switzerland, France, Belgium, Italy, Spain, England, Ireland, Scotland, Scandinavia, Poland, Hungary, former Yugoslavia, Russia, Belarus, Ukraine, Lithuania, Latvia, Romania, Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Slovakia, USA, Canada, Argentina.

Anthropology (gr. *antropos*, “human being”, *logos*, “science”), philosophical discipline and science linked to the names of Arnold Gehlen (1904–1976) and Max Scheler (1874–1928). As a science, it belongs to the natural (biology) and social-humanist sciences. It studies human life and culture, similarities and differences between people, their ways of life, thought, the treatment by humans of others, nature, and deities in various social communities and cultures. Within former Yugoslavia the predominant research was part of physical anthropology (Leopold Gluck in Bosnia, several scientists in Slovenia, Petar Vlahović in Serbia). Great Britain conducted social-anthropological, while USA and Canada conducted cultural-anthropological research. (The differences are terminological). The most numerous and widespread are ethnographic-anthropological and linguistic-anthropological research. One of the latest studies is genetic-anthropological (covering a sample from Bulgaria, Baltic countries and Vlach Roma). Based on an analysis of 50 percent of the sample, Roma are considered to originate from central India (analysis of the Y chromosomes and mitochondria shows that the male haplogroup H and female haplogroup M in the Roma population shows the greatest relation to a population in central India, a smaller part with a population in northern India and Pakistan, and finally with the population of the Middle East and Europe). This study largely confirms previous linguistic and historical discoveries.

Archetype, a word from Greek meaning proto-cause, proto-image, etc. The Swiss psychiatrist Carl Gustav Jung (1875–1961), the founder of so-called analytical psychology, created this term, introducing the difference between the personal and collective unconscious. An archetype is an element in his hypothetical construct, i.e. a unit of the collective unconscious. It covers patterns of thought, feeling and action deposited through centuries through many generations of forebears. Thus it represents, as Jung believed, an element of basic structure and dynamic of the collective unconscious. Jung distinguished four main types of archetypes in human development: athlete type, warrior type, statesman type, spiritual type. The collective unconscious is the oldest and most influential layer of the human psyche, since it represents the spiritual treasury of inherited experience. The collective unconscious is approximately the same in the psyche of all people, regardless of the historical epoch or culture, Jung believed. The collective unconscious is, thus, universal and supra-personal. It can be irrational and destructive, or a reservoir of precious values and wisdom, Jung explained.

Arli, an Islamised Roma group with its members living within the territory of Turkey and all countries that used to be part of the Ottoman Empire at some point. This is a sedentary Muslim group, its members speaking Romani (Arli dialect), slightly different to other Romani dialects. The majority of Arli Romani live in Turkey, in Istanbul, Ankara, Izmir, etc. Also in Macedonia (Skopje is the only city in Europe and the world with a Roma municipality, mosque, mullahs, primary school, with the principal and majority of teaching staff of Roma origin), in Kosovo (many have moved to Serbia, to Maribor, Austria and Germany), in south-east Serbia (a considerable number, especially in Leskovac, joined the Adventist Church), Bulgaria (where a considerable number accepted Christianity or moved to Turkey), and finally, northern Greece.

Arman, Romani word for a curse. (In Sanskrit arman denotes a severe eye disease. The variant in Gurbeti is “romaya”, a consequence of phonetic-phonological processes.) The Roma have a large number of curses. The curses have started to be collected about twenty years ago. However, they have not been sufficiently analysed. There are unusual ones, such as “E baxtatar te peres mujesa po barh thaj džikaj ni xasa les pe punre te nauštes!” (“From the weight of happiness may you fall on a rock and not get up on your feet until you eat it!”)

Ashkali, a minority Roma group from Kosovo. This name with a local character – “people from the garbage heap”, since as the servants of Albanian beys they had to sleep outside the walls surrounding the bey houses – became part of the European and international public during the seventy-day peace conference on Kosovo starting on 6 February 1999 in the castle of Rambouillet. Intending to present to the international public that a large number of peoples and ethnic groups live in Kosovo, the President of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia at the time Slobodan Milošević (1941–2006) decided that participants in this conference will be, in addition to representatives of the Roma, also representatives of the Ashkali and Egyptians. Thus, “new ethnic groups were born”. Financial motives and reasons contributed to these two “groups” continuing to exist.

Atman, Sanskrit word denoting (in Romani) pes, man (Eng. *Self*, Ger. *Selbst*). The highest part of man is a clear awareness of oneself. This principle is universal, but during incarnation it may acquire weakened attributes (buddha, manas, kama, etc.). Indian spiritual heritage is focused on atman, self-awareness. There is a difference between the Indian and European term of self-awareness. Namely, while the European covers intellectual (cognitive) self-awareness, the Indian term is expanded and also covers sensual and physical self-awareness, intuition and awareness acquired by the whole being.

Avgin or **medo**, name for honey, used as food. It is attributed curative and medical properties.

Auschwitzology (the name originates from the author of this book, created from the name Auschwitz), a science studying the life and fate of prisoners in the 42,500 concentration

camps that were created in World War II, according to research by a group of historians from the Holocaust Museum in Washington. Auschwitzology also covers research into the lives of all others involved in the creation of concentration camps and supervision of prisoners, starting from the commanders, to the capos, and persons providing various services.

Auschwitz – Birkenau, death camp, Auschwitz II, within the camp complex comprised of Auschwitz (former army barracks in the Polish town Oświęcim) and Auschwitz III or Monowitz – Buna, a labour camp. In Auschwitz – Birkenau, formed in 1941 and existing until 27 January 1945 when the Red Army arrived and liberated the camp, there was a “Gypsy Family Camp” designated B II e. The creation of this camp section in Auschwitz – Birkenau (its plan of construction discovered only in 2008 in the attic of a building in the Kreuzberg quarter of Berlin) followed Himmler’s order (Auschwitz – Erlass) of 16 December 1942. This order envisaged the deportation of the Roma and Sinti to Auschwitz – Birkenau from all European countries occupied by German Nazis. Based on record books found, the “Gypsy Family Camp” BIIe housed around 22,600 prisoners. Of this number, hunger, exhaustion, sickness and cold killed 13,600 persons, the others were killed in gas chambers or in other ways. (Auschwitz II had six gas chambers and four crematoriums). The book *History of the Roma and Sinti Holocaust* describes in detail all transports to Auschwitz – Birkenau, the experiments performed by Mengele and others, quotes statements by survivors, witness statements by certain Auschwitz commanders, etc. However, it has not been explained to this day who and why gave the idea to form a family camp that did not exist for any other people. The answer is: Robert Ritter and members of his team, particularly Eva Justin, learning Romani from Otto Rosenberg and “testing” the prisoners of the concentration camp in Marzahn by asking them the question: What is most important for you? What can’t you imagine your life without? Nearly all “tested” Roma and Sinti responded that it was their family. In this regard, the consulted certain German ethnologists, who confirmed that the family was the holiest of holies for the Roma and Sinti. This produced the idea to create a Roma “family camp” in Auschwitz – Birkenau. From May 1940 to January 1945, the Auschwitz camp complex was secured by around 10,000 SS soldiers, with 9,686 of them listed by name. The majority of SS members (4,481) secured Auschwitz in January 1945, when evidence of the crimes was being destroyed. Prior to that, security was between 3,000 and 4,000. Rudolf Höss was commander of Auschwitz for the longest time, from 4 May 1940 to 11 November 1943. “Masters of life and death” in the Roma family camp, starting from February 1943, to the end of its existence, were Bruno Pfütze, Franz Johann Hofmann, Gerhard Palitzsch, Ludwig Plagge, Friedrich Haber, Jakob Jochum, Reinhold Hartwecker, Hermann Buch and Georg Bonigut. The political “commissar” of this camp was Pery Broad, with several doctors, the most monstrous being Mengele, conducting various experiments.

Auschwitz – Birkenau, also a magazine published during the late XX and early XXI century in Berlin. Its main topic was the holocaust of the Roma and Sinti.

Auschwitz – lies, the translation of the German compound, so-called determinative composite, formed from the nouns Auschwitz and Luege (lie). As a term, it denotes the denial or relativization of the holocaust, or its transformation into an event of war. I.e. that Germany during national-socialism did not systematically destroy Jews with the intent of full extermination. Auschwitz-lies are part of the ideology appearing immediately after World War II with the aim to reduce German responsibility for the war and committed war crimes, particularly the holocaust, and to protect the greatest war criminals. In this regard, Auschwitz-lies reduce the total number of committed atrocities, number of victims, deny the use of frightening criminal methods, negate the existence of many camps, rename criminal endeavours and measures into endeavours and measures common in war, deny the veracity of certain witness statements and documents, etc. The leadership of Nazi Germany issued an order already in June 1943 (Sonderaktion 1005) to start hiding the bodies and masking the places where crimes were committed. The mass murder of people, instead of through written reports, was reported only orally.

Even before the above action, the term “evacuation” was used instead of the term deportation; “special treatment” instead of killing and final solution. As of November 1944 the destruction of gas chambers and crematoria was started in the Auschwitz – Birkenau concentration camp, thus hampering the reconstruction of committed crimes and criminals. (The method of destroying traces of crimes was also applied in Jasenovac). For these reasons camp commanders and administration were often changed, and to eliminate witnesses of crimes and criminals, prisoners in many camps were murdered, particularly in death camps. Our research shows that all forms of Auschwitz-lies related to the holocaust of the Jews were also applied and are applied to the Roma holocaust. Decades had to pass to discover that the Roma and Sinti were treated like the Jews by the Nazis. Certain official documents and events bear witness to this (Law on the protection of descendants from persons suffering from inherited diseases, of 14 July 1933, the basis for the sterilisation of many Roma and Sinti, even years after World War II was over). Communal camps were organised in many German towns during 1933 and 1934 for Roma and Sinti; according to a decision from 1935 public performances by musicians of Roma origin were prohibited; according to the Nurnberg racial law adopted in 1935, only Jews and the Roma were considered and treated as “races of foreign origin”; during the Berlin Olympic year in 1936 the camp in Marzahn was established (today’s quarter of Berlin), its prisoners the Roma and Sinti; according to Himmler’s statement: “The issue of Gypsies will be regulated in accordance with the essence of their race”; he was competent for the institute established that year in Berlin, headed by Dr Ritter; the decision on the deportation of the Roma and Sinti to Auschwitz – Birkenau from all countries occupied by Germany was also made by Himmler. The Gypsy Family Camp was destroyed on 2 August 1944.

Bajo, appellative, form of address for father. From the Sanskrit name for father, bap.

Bal, name for hair. It is believed that children’s hair should not be cut until they are one year of age. In Romania, mainly Transnistria, there are Roma that do not cut their hair nor shave their beards. A so-called silver cup is characteristic for this Roma subgroup, called

“Roma bare balenge” (“Long-haired Roma”). As a status symbol, the cup gives its owner the highest reputation and power, and represents the main identity marker for the group.

Balić Osman, head of the “Yurom” organisation in Niš and Director of a recycling enterprise that employs predominantly Roma persons. (The last name Balić is from the same Turkish word meaning fishmonger). He stated that in Serbia there are 100,000 work-capable persons of Roma origin without jobs.

Baltzar Veijo, (1942–) Roma author from Finland, wrote numerous novels and plays, performed at the Helsinki theatre that he managed.

Bandura, female Roma name of ancient Indian origin.

Bunyan, John (1628–1688) preacher of the English Baptist Church and author. Wrote many works, including *Pilgrim's Progress*, the crown of his creative work and marker for a literary epoch in England and Europe. This work, written by Bunyan in prison, is the most translated after the Bible. Thus, in this case, the most apt words are those by Hegel from his *History of Philosophy* related to the German philosopher Jakob Bohme (1575–1624). Paraphrasing Hegel's judgment, stated with the words: “The shoemaker Jakob Bohme became a great philosopher. However, many philosophers are shoemakers”, one might say: “The tinker John Bunyan was a great writer. However, many writers are tinkers.”

Baxt, Roma name of Persian origin for happiness. (The Sanskrit name for happiness *śuka* is preserved in the form of the male Roma name *Šuka*.) In Roma life and culture happiness is the highest ideal and value to be reached and achieved by an individual. One Roma adage says: “Bijan man, daje, baxtalo thaj čhude man an karne!” (“Bear me, mother, happy, and throw me into thorns!”) Another adage explains misfortune: “Kon si bijando bibaxtalo, e Devlestar si bistardo!” (“He who is born without happiness, is forgotten by God!”) All religions speak of happiness. Christianity and Islam link permanent happiness to heaven; it is partly so in Judaism, while Hinduism and Buddhism treat happiness from the standpoint of teachings of rebirth, and see it in daily life in the “here” and “now”. Happiness is also an issue and optic in ancient Greek philosophy, and to a lesser extent, in medieval philosophy, occasionally modern and contemporary philosophy, predominantly regarding ethics (Kant, Schopenhauer, Nietzsche, Sartre, Ludwig Marcuse, Fromm) and art. This issue, considered one of the most important questions of humanity, became the topic of biology, neurology, psychology, sociology, etc. Neurologists and pharmacologists have discovered that dopamine and serotonin have an important role as neurotransmitters and hormones in the experience of joy and happiness. Psychological research and testing confirm that the question of happiness is very important for many people worldwide (children and family are in first place for many respondents regarding happiness), followed by other everyday needs. From the standpoint of sociology, since ancient times to date societies are divided into the few happy ones and many unfortunate individuals. Today, however, the gap between them is ever deeper. According to the predominant

trend, a small number of “happy” will lord over a vast number of unhappy individuals. The results of sociological research witness that happiness is connected to parenthood, meetings and contacts, social stability, self-respect and opportunities for self-realisation, personal reputation and social status, material income, etc. Norway, Denmark, Sweden and the Netherlands are, according to sociological research, “the happiest countries in the world”. Statements by certain reputable authors contrast these findings. For example, in *Roadside Signs* Ivo Andrić wrote: “When I am not desperate, I am no good.” An oft quoted adage is: “Happiness is to be loved.” The statement of blind Roman statesman Apius Claudius (340-280 BCE) is one of the most frequently quoted: “Everyone is the architect of their own happiness”.

Bari Karolyi (1951), author and dramatist. Lives and works in Budapest. Published a number of renowned books. For his literary work and contribution to Roma and Hungarian culture he was awarded the highest national prize “Lajos Kossuth”.

Bašić Goran, university professor, Director of the Social Science Institute in Belgrade and Secretary of the Board for studying the life and customs of Roma at SANU. Wrote a number of noted papers and published several books on the Roma. Was the main expert for drafting the Strategy for the Social Inclusion of Roma 2016-2025.

Bebler Aleš (1907–1981), participant in the Spanish Civil War, national hero, renowned diplomat, wholeheartedly supporting Roma action in former Yugoslavia. As a man of international spirit and orientation, and a revolutionary, he demanded the political leadership of Yugoslavia show greater understanding for Roma problems. However, when he realised one of the main opponents of the Roma struggle for emancipation in former Yugoslavia was Stane Dolanc, he decided to address Josip Broz Tito with this issue. Bebler’s letter does not seem to have reached Tito’s hands. He was deeply disappointed by the situation in the country, but he did not give up to the very end. “Truth is on your side. Sooner or later you will win! And the names of your opponents will be extinguished by justice!” Bebler once said.

Beng is the Romani name for the devil. This word, originating also from the Persian language, means ugly, hunchbacked, spirit. The *Romani Dictionary* composed by Rade Uhlik lists the word **pisáci**, meaning “demon” or “water spirit” in Sanskrit; in popular speech there are also the names **keša** (from ancient Indian myth) and **biužo**, unclean. Roma mythological tales of the origin of the devil mention kešali and kešalo, parents of the main demon, “forefather” of all demons, cause of all evils in this world. (Opposite to them, the “Roma spirit”, its name of Greek origin – Karankoči – sleeps in the ashes under the embers and wears a red cap, the locus of his power. One who can gain this red cap acquires power over Karankoči and can have his heart’s desire. According to one story, Karankoči disappeared from this world when the Nazis created the Auschwitz concentration camp, fearing he will lose his cap!) According to other stories, the devil lives in a dark cave, its form and area constantly shifting, depending on the devil’s movement and

behaviour. The Roma name for this cave is **džuvdi xiv** (living hole) or **bengesko than** (devil place). The floor, ceiling and walls of this cave move, and the devil feels like in hell. One Roma adage warns: "Pe majučhe thana e zorake an raštra ačhen majbare bengal!" ("The biggest ones in the highest places of power in a state are demons!")

Benz Wolfgang (1941–), German historian, Director of the Centre for Research on Antisemitism at the Technical University in Berlin 1990-2011. This internationally renowned historian published the *Encyclopaedia of National-Socialism* and a considerable number of books about Nazism and camps. This research contains several papers about Roma suffering. Benz's critique of antitsiganism is precious, with attempts to revive it by ethnologists Mark Munzel (1943) and Bernhard Streck (1945) with their associates at the University of Leipzig.

No Home, No Grave is the title of a book of poetry by Rajko Đurić, with the Belgrade edition in 1979 followed by publication in Poland, Italy, France, Germany and Spain. The same title was used for the standard and pocket edition of his Roma history in German, issued by "Aufbau – Verlags" in Berlin.

Berber Mersad (1940–2012), renowned Sarajevo painter finding inspiration for his creative work in the characters and life of the Roma. Some of his painting cycles are permeated with this topic. The War in Bosnia, giving rise to a hell for his people, Muslims and the Roma, was marked by Berber with Roma characters, as witnessed in particular by the cycle dedicated to Srebrenica.

Bibi, Roma name of Sanskrit origin for an aunt. This word, used to address every woman with respect, also denotes the goddess Kali or Durga, celebrated among the Roma in Serbia. Bibi, under the name Kali Sara, its cult quite widespread in Spain and Latin American countries, is celebrated in the south of France, in Saintes-Maries-de-la-Mer, where Roma pilgrims from many European countries gather. Roma associations under the name Kali Sara were established in Bosnia and Croatia.

Bible, Gypsy (Gypsy Bible), name of a collection of poems of the renowned Polish poet Julian Tuwim (1894–1953). Tuwim cooperated with the Roma woman Bronisława Wajs Papsza (1908–1987) and recommended her book Papsza's Poems for publication.

Bidža, female Roma name, "winner", Victoria.

Bidže, male Roma name, "winner", Victor.

Bihari Janos (1764–1828), Hungarian violinist of Roma origin, written about by Franz Liszt, Bela Bartok, chroniclers and musicologists such as Marko Miklos (1865–1933), author of the *Album of Roma Musicians* 1896, Balint Szarosi, author of a book about Roma music in Hungary, etc.

Bijav or **abijav**, Roma name for wedding. The origin of this name is from the ancient Indian Pali language. (The Sanskrit name for a wedding is karapidana.) The name form Pali is preserved in the Marati language, spoken in Maharashtra, and the Hindi language. A wedding, usually lasting for three days, is followed by many customs and rituals. The centre of attention are the groom and the bride, their parents, and numerous other relatives. The wedding, where the newlyweds are gifted, is a “stage” for relations and names. Ethnographic literature describes the customs and rituals in a satisfactory manner. However, the names for relatives have not yet been fully described and classified.

Bickendorf near Cologne, the so-called collective communal camp for Sinti and Roma, founded on 23 April 1935. This camp housed around 1,000 prisoners, many victims of Nazi terror. This place, called the “Black-White Place” (“Schwarz-Weis-Platz”), became a memorial in 1990.

Jules Bloch (1880–1953), renowned French Indologist. Published a book about the Roma and their language.

Bojaxhiu Anjezë Gonxhe (1910–1997), known as Mother Teresa, winner of the Nobel peace prize (1979), is of Roma origin. Born in Skopje, her ancestors settled in Prizren. She arrived in India through Dublin, where she worked as a nurse. Along with other nurses, in Calcutta she took care of people suffering from leprosy. Guided with the idea that help for the unfortunate knows no limits, she created branches of her humanitarian organisation in many countries around the world. Media and documentary films about her contributed to the entire world learning about her tireless work and self-sacrifice. Pope John Paul II beatified her.

Boretzki Norbert, Professor of the University in Bochum, Germany. Along with Birgitte Ygl, defending her doctoral thesis on Roma dialects in Greece, he published the *Romani-German-English Dictionary and Atlas of Romani Dialects in Europe*.

Bori, in Romani means daughter in law. In Hindi a daughter in law is called vadu (The Sanskrit snuša gives rise to the Slavic names snaša and snaha, and this word gives rise to the Roma female personal name Nuša.) The daughter in law takes over many duties and obligations, particularly in the Kalderas and Lovar tribal community.

Borov George (1803–1881), renowned English linguist and author. Had a particular interest in the dialect of the Spanish Roma – kalo. Translated the Bible into kalo in 1837 and published several books about Roma life in Spain.

“**Bridge of God**”, a story by Rajko Đurić, carved into the Sun Arch in Strasbourg in the Romani, German, French and English languages, along with literary work by authors from many European countries. This is currently the only Romani text carved into a public cultural facility. The Sun Arch, with literary works by European authors, was produced as

a symbol of an enlarging European Union, i.e. European unification.

Brlī or **birovli**, name for a bee, considered a holy being. Its sting is believed to be medicinal.

Population numbers of Roma in Europe are presented by estimate or based on population censuses held in certain European countries. According to estimates, there are between 10 and 12 million Roma living in Europe. (Experts estimate the number of Roma in Europe is around 15 million). By country, the population numbers of Roma according to estimates by the Council of Europe or 2011 censuses are as follows: Romani – 1,950,000; Bulgaria – 750,000; Spain – 700,000; Hungary – 500,000; Slovakia – 500,000; Serbia – 500,000; France – 310,000; Czech Republic – 275,000; North Macedonia – 185,000; Greece – 175,000; Italy – 130,000; Germany – 120,000; Great Britain – 100,000; Bosnia and Herzegovina – 60,000; the Netherlands – 40,000; Austria – 37,500; Portugal – 35,000; Croatia – 35,000; Poland – 32,500; Montenegro – 24,000; Sweden – 17,500; Belgium – 12,500; Slovenia – 10,000; Finland – 10,000; Norway – 5,000; Latvia – 4,500; Lithuania – 3,500; Ireland – 3,000; Estonia – 1,250.

According to estimates by the Greek Government there are around 20,000 Roma living in Greece. Experts estimate around 350,000. Among the former USSR states, estimates say there are around 250,000 living in Russia, 7,000 in Belarus, 150,000 in Ukraine and 25,000 in Moldova.

As for the share of Roma population relative to the total population number, the situation is as follows: Bulgaria – 10.3% (government estimate – 4.9%); North Macedonia – 9.6% (government estimate 2.7%); Slovakia – 9.2% (government estimate 2%); Romania – 8.3% (government estimate 3%); Serbia – without Kosovo – 7.1% (government estimate 2.1%); Hungary – 7.1% (government estimate 3.2%); Turkey – 3.8%; Albania – 3.2%, etc.

Data is lacking regarding the population number of Roma in Denmark, a country where at least around 10,000 Roma live; according to our information, the population number of Roma in Romania is between two and three million; in France it is around 600,000; in Germany around 350,000; in Austria, according to Dr Klaus Sipal, former head of office of the President of Austria Kurt Waldheim and high-ranking officer of the Austrian police, in Vienna only there are around 60,000 Roma, in Burgenland, the Austrian province that is traditionally the home to the majority of Roma, there are between 25,000 and 30,000 Roma. In Greece the realistic population number of Roma is around a million; in Turkey, Ankara, Istanbul and Izmir alone have around 600,000 Roma, thus according to our estimate the realistic number of Roma cannot be under two million.

As for the states arising after the dissolution of the USSR, the presented data on Roma numbers do not correspond to the real situation at all. It should be kept in mind that certain XIX century Russian scientists estimated around 3.5 million Roma lived in Russia. (This data is found in A. F. Pot's book *Gypsies of Europe and Asia*, Hale 1844-1845). Certain Russian ministers or government officials stated during the nineteen-twenties that the number of Roma in Russia is over a million. In favour of this is certain linguistic research, particularly that of Baranikov. Moldova and the Ukraine also had a large number of Roma, visible in current newspaper articles. Data on Roma settlements, available from graduate

and masters' theses of students of Roma origin is one of the best indicators for the real numbers of Roma. If established, the European Centre for Romology could obtain the most reliable data. Facts from former Yugoslavia should be kept in mind: the number of Roma in official records and the real numbers of Roma in certain towns and regions in Serbia, for example, in Šabac it was 1 : 20%; in Mladenovac 1 : 80%; in Grocka 1 : 95%.

Budžulja, Roma name of Sanskrit origin for a venomous snake. Preserved as a term of ridicule.

Burhan Rahim (1949), founder of the "Phralipe" theatre and director. After living and working in Skopje, moved to Mulheim in Ruhr, Germany, where he lives after retiring. *Soske? (Why?)* – on the Roma holocaust – *Bloody Weddings* by Lorca, *Romeo and Juliette* by Shakespeare are the most successful plays he directed. He is the winner of the Hiroshima Foundation prize for 2002.

Buri, evil spirit or evil man, supernatural being.

Cara, tent, wagon. Living in wagons was the way of life for Roma for centuries after the exodus from India. When they moved to a sedentary way of life, cara became the name for a Roma settlement, rromani cara, mahallah.

Centre for Roma Studies in Rome was established in 1978 through the work of Catholic priest Bruno Nicoloni (1927–2012) and pedagogue Mirella Karpati (1923–2017). The centre published the *Lačo drom* magazine publishing studies about the Roma or literary works by Roma authors.

Tsigani, gypsies, a name of Byzantine-Greek origin for the sect of "Athingannoi", with their centres in Byzantium and Egypt. The first currently known source mentioning this sect is a Dream Book from the V century composed by Nikeforos II, a high church official. When Roma reached the territory of Byzantium its population saw them as members of this sect and called them "Athingannoi". This name produced Tsigani that, depending on the native language of people – has different variants. This name penetrated the social and political life of European people and became part of numerous prejudices against the Roma. As this name entered the official language of states and their institutions, particularly the judiciary and police, the Roma became the object of criminalisation. This is the basis for antitsiganism that, as a special form of racism, denotes an enmity towards the Roma and persecution of Roma. Since 15 September 1933, when the Nazi party congress in Nurnberg was held – attended by Adolf Hitler – antitsiganism became part of the legislative sphere of Nazi Germany. The police was competent for the Roma and Sinti in Nazi Germany, establishing various police services and racial institutions, managed by Himmler. On the other hand, the name Tsigani entered culture and art. Many literary and poetic works, fine art and music works, certain films, etc. are labelled with this name.

Finally, this name is contained in the phrase "tsigani syndrome" denoting a feeling

of guilt among persecutors of the Roma and Sinti – tightly connected to the “Auschwitz syndrome” – a feeling of guilt of certain Roma and Sinti for being born Gypsy – closely tied to the phenomenon of self-hate described in the eponymous book of the German philosopher of Jewish origin Theodor Lessing (see under Lessing).

The Gypsies, name of the famous poem by Alexander Sergeyevich Pushkin (1799–1837). The author of one of the best texts about this poem is Yuri Domrovsky (1909–1978), a Roma writer from Moscow, in captivity in Siberia. Pushkin’s poem, written at the time of exile in Bessarabia, when he befriended Gypsies, is also mentioned by Fyodor Dostoevsky (1821–1881), describing the Roma character Kulikov in his *House of the Dead* (1861).

Gypsies Are Found Near Heaven is the title of a Soviet film from 1975, based on the books by Russian author Maxim Gorky (1868–1936) *Makar Chudra* and *Old Izergil*. The director of this musical, who became famous worldwide, is Emil Vladimirovich Loteanu (1936–2003), who filmed *Lăutarii* prior to this. Moldovan composer Eugene Doga (1937–) is attributed for the popularity and success of this film, with Svetlana Toma playing Rada.

Gypsy Baron, a musical piece by Austrian composer Johann Strauss (1825–1890).

Gypsy Songs is a musical cycle by the German composer Johannes Brahms (1833–1897). Opus no. 103 contains 11 songs. Opus no. 112 has four songs, produced in cooperation with Hugo Conrat (1845–1906) from Vienna.

Gypsy Stories, the title of an anthology edited by Turkish literature historian Tahir Alangu (1915–1973). This extremely valuable anthology contains, in addition to works by authors from Turkey, stories about Roma from certain European countries. Yugoslavia was presented through a story by Branko Ćopić (1915–1984). It was published in 1972.

Ciro, Roma name for time, short time.

Cvetković Dragiša (1893–1969), President of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, his name linked to important historical events before and at the start of World War II. With Vlatko Maček (1879–1964) he signed the agreement establishing the Banovina of Croatia, something Prince Paul as the Regent of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia was in favour of. Initially the leader of the Croat Peasant Party (HSS), Maček, the Vice-President of the Yugoslav Government, demanded that part of Croatia be Boka Kotorska, Dubrovnik, Srem, part of Bačka, and parts of Bosnia and Herzegovina. These demands, other than the annexation of Dubrovnik and certain other areas, were not met, nor was the definitive border of Croatia defined. The agreement was signed on 26 August 1939. Ivan Šubašić (1892–1955) was named head of the Banovina. The second event was the agreement on accession to the Tripartite Pact, signed on 25 March 1941, and annulled two days later, on 27 March, when large protests were held in Belgrade, organised by the British intelligence service. Cvetković, along with his government, was removed from power by representatives of the

military coup. Cvetković, of Roma-Cincar origin, was thereafter arrested several times. He fled the country on 4 September 1944, through Bulgaria, Turkey and Italy, reaching Paris where he remained until his death. He was rehabilitated in the meantime.

Chander Krishan (1914–1977), Indian writer (born in Rajasthan) publishing a large number of books and film scripts in Hindu and Urdu. In his book *Girl and a Thousand Flowers*, translated into Serbo-Croatian, tells of the difficult life and sad fate of the girl Lachi, presented in the author's version as Roma. In addition to this book, describing blind Lachi (who is, as her name denotes, "of good and noble birth"), according to available data there is a translation of *Bengal Ballads* into German (Leipzig, Insel-Verlag, 1976), speaking of "Indian Roma", and a translation of the work *Mahuja, the Beautiful Gypsy* into English. Part of this type of Indian literature is the story authored by Mazurudin Ahmed, author of the book *India without Wonder* issued in 1943 in Leipzig. This story tells of Prithviraj Chauhan, of Roma origin, and the king of Kanauj, Jayachandra, whose daughter was Prithviraj's wife. As Prithviraj was believed to be the greatest rival of the king of Kanauj, he decided to lead a campaign against him. However, the father in law was defeated repeatedly by the son in law, so to get his revenge, the king of Kanauj invited Muslims from Afghanistan to help. The Muslims finally defeated Prithviraj, and the Muslim general Qutbuddin Aibak (1150-1210) built the minaret Kutub Minar, 73 metres tall, and a mosque in Delhi, thus announcing the victory and supremacy of Islam in India.

Magazines about the Roma of an international character and importance are *Gypsy Lore Society* (1888) in Liverpool, *Etudes tsiganes* (1955) in Paris, *Lačo drom* (1978) in Rome, Roma (1976) in Chandigarh and *Auschwitz – Birkenau* (1999) in Berlin.

Čena, Roma name for earrings.

Čoxano, name for a vampire. The belief in spirits or vampires is quite widespread among Roma.

Čhuri or **čhurik**, Roma name for a knife.

Čhurara, knife-makers, a sub-group making and selling knives.

Čhave, name for Roma children. Part of this group are **čhavre**, boys, young men; **čhora**, girls, young women. (Non-Roma boys are **rakle** and girls **raklja**.)

Dad, Roma name for father. (In ancient India, in Sanskrit, this was the name for the paternal grandfather.)

Daj, Roma name for mother. (In ancient India, in Sanskrit, this was the name for the paternal grandmother.)

Dar, Roma name for fear or trepidation. There are also **traš** and **bajo**. (All three words of Sanskrit origin.) Fear is by definition a foundational term expressing a state within a human being facing a threatening situation, starting from a physical reaction, to a feeling of insecurity, to worry about one's appearance or dignity. There is a difference between an indeterminate fear and a targeted fear. As a collective term, fear covers, as explained by psychologists, a range of feelings with the common denominators of insecurity and worry. Reactions and behaviour depend on the type of personality. In the Roma community – conditional on the culture of the Roma people – fear is always accompanied by a feeling of shame. This mechanism returns the individual under the wing of the community, helping him to avoid desperation through advice, support and solidarity. An analysis of fear in the Roma community, its members exposed to fear and trepidation nearly every day, is a great challenge for romology. Roma tradition shows that freedom and love are the best “cure” for fear and trepidation.

Das (pl. **Dasa**), Indian natives forced by Aryans to the south of this subcontinent. But the linguistic memory of Roma retains these names. The female gender is: **Dasni** (pl. **Dasnja**).

Deleanu Ion Budai (1760–1820), “Romanian Homer”, as presented by certain Romanian literature historians, comes from a Roma family living in the village of Cigmău, near Hunedoara in Transylvania. Extremely talented, studied theology, philosophy and law in Vienna. Doctored in theology. When he returned to Romania, he was given the post of gymnasium professor in Blaj. However, under pressure by the clergy at the time, he had to leave service. He moved to the Ukrainian city of Lviv, where he worked on legal affairs. This “ingenious poet”, as seen by some Romanian intellectuals of the time, wrote his epic *Țiganiada* during 1805-1812. (It was published in its entirety only in 1925). Deleanu is the paradigmatic example of suffering because of Roma origin. He shone a light on the case in his letter to a friend. Romanian philologist Peter Mayer, whose name is borne today by the University in Târgu Mureș. As a volunteer, he took part in the German-Turkish war on the side of Germany. Thus he reached Egypt, where he wrote to Mayer. Deleanu concludes the letter with the words: “As you are also a Gypsy, like me, you should know that it is one thing to have respect and write something for our Gypsies. They should better understand their predecessors and be taught to avoid folly, in case they fall into such situations. It is certain that I – as some historians do today when looking for the origin of their people, sprucing it up with various events and finding their origin in God himself – added many untruths and made up various events commendable of our Gypsies. I love only the truth. If my endeavour succeeds, you will receive from me other works with no folly, but serious ones, quite heroic. Stay well.” The critical issue of *Țiganiada* was published only in 1999, due to literary critic and historian G. I. Tohaneanu. In the meantime, doctoral dissertations were defended on certain Romanian universities about the *Țiganiada*. One of them was in 2015 by Daniela Amalia Filip at the University of Kluj-Napoca.

Denić Slavica, Roma activist. Defended her doctoral thesis “Gender Identities and Interculturality: Critical Analysis of Affirmative Measures in Higher Education Institutions in

Serbia 2000-2013” at the University of Novi Sad.

Devel, God in Romani. India, the land of origin for Roma, is like a sea with gods afloat on it. All gods have the property of Brahman and Ishva, the proto-creators of the world of gods. Deva is the shining god, Ishvara the supreme deity. Bhagavan is the god most honoured, Viratsvarupa the personification and manifestation of the universe, Dharmadeva the god of justice, etc. “Filtering” the floating deities, the men of ancient India placed Brahman, the creator of the world, first – his wife, Sarasvati, the goddess of language, science, art and music, is second. They are followed by Vishnu, maintaining the world, Lakshmi, goddess of luck, Rama, god of perfect love, Shiva, etc. Most important for the Roma are Devel, Rama, Shiva and his wife Kali, along with the goddess Sarasvati. They performed rituals and prayers in temples built underground – **khangiri**. (Another type of temple was called **udajiri**. In Hindi **giri** means church.) The rites were organised and performed by priests – **rasaja**. They read and sang holy script and said prayers, addressing the main deities Devel and Shiva, their spirit and body, mentioning their body and all organs. This erotic aspect is an important part of their rituals and prayers. The ritual of demon killing was performed using Shiva’s trident – **trušula**, kissed as Christians kiss the cross. At the end of a long ceremony, the faithful were refreshed with food and drink. The ancient Roma religion was a polytheistic Hindu-type religion. The goddess Kali or Durga was a mix of elements of the prehistoric cult of the Great Mother and Kali. This mix, called Bibi, produced the protector of children. Her “temple” is the native tree, having the meaning of taboo. The surviving remainder of the female deity from the Indian religious past is Patradji, “Easter”. This is, in fact, a *crossing* of Patradji and Easter, as is the case in the celebration of St. George’s Day – Indra and St. George. The forms held in India were also retained by Devel and certain elements related to Shiva, particularly his phallus.

Dialectology, a philological discipline studying variant forms within a language, differentiating between ethnolect, dialect, subdialect and idiolect. Regarding the Romani language, the number of dialects varies depending on the researcher and geographic area where Romani speech is studied. Franz Miklosich (1813–1891), an Austrian of Slovene origin, had the greatest influence on researchers of the Romani language and its dialects in Europe.

Dialectometry, socio-linguistic or ethnolinguistic method applied to precisely define the degree of relation between two dialects or multiple dialects. This method was first applied to dialects in Romani by Marcel Courtiade.

Dimić Momčilo Moma (1944–2008), author of Serb origin. His book *Gypsy Bed* and poem about a Roma mother contributed to defending the humanity and dignity of the Roma. Standing on the side of those degraded and despised, Dimić has, in the spirit of the best and deepest European literary tradition about the Roma, its foundations being the works of Lorca, Christian Morgenstern, Kostis Palamas or, for example Janko Polić Kamov, author of the *Poem above Poems*, wrote a poem that represents an unsurpassed ideal of literary work about Roma in Serbia. Due to Dimić, the stories of Roma author from Sweden Kath-

erine Taikon *Katitzi*, were translated into Serbian with Dimić's commentary.

Dimić Trifun (1957–1987), collected Roma folklore, primarily popular songs, curses and oaths. He translated the New Testament into Romani.

Dinicu Grigoraș (1889–1949), famous Romanian violinist of Roma origin. Held a concert in 1937 in Paris, and in 1939 in New York.

Distance, international name for distance, interval, separation. In social psychology, sociology and romology this term is used for the relationship expressed by the majority people towards minorities. In nearly all European countries and beyond, majority populations show the greatest distance towards the Roma (see social distance).

Dombrovsky Yuri (1909–1978), Roma writer from Moscow, author of several novels with the best known being *The Keeper of Antiquities*, published in Serbian. During Stalinism he was exiled to Siberia, living in a camp for years. His testimonials are a valuable contribution to stalinology and descriptions of stalinocracy.

Draghici Damian (1970), American jazz musician from Bucharest, of Roma origin. Draghici completed music studies in Athens, doctoral studies at the Boston University with the highest marks, working on jazz music in Los Angeles.

Duraković Nijaz (1949–2012), professor at the Faculty of Political Science, where he taught Comparative Political Systems and International Relations, and the Faculty of Law of the University in Sarajevo, where he taught Contemporary Legal and Political Systems. He was a renowned political official, the last president of the Central Committee of the Communist Union of Bosnia and Herzegovina (1989–1990) and official of the party created through the transformation of the Communist Union. The author of 16 books. Originating from a Roma family in Stolac, he spent the war in Sarajevo.

Society (lat. *societas*, friendly relation, *socius*, partner), represents a unit comprised of men and women of various ages, living in a single limited space and in a given time, with established social relations and individuals having assumed or determined social roles and statuses. As an organised social system, a society that may be semi-open (or semi-closed) by type has its structure and dynamics. The structure of society consists of the **economic base** (production of material goods and creation of conditions to meet basic human and social needs) and **extension** (social awareness, religion, morals, philosophy, science, art, etc.). Every society must have factors of dynamics and development. Historically, social forms were horde, family and tribe, people, nation, state and its apparatus. The primary institutions of all forms are marriage and family. The earliest societies are hunter and gatherer societies, followed by agrarian and cattle-farming societies, traditional industrial and the global society, currently being formed.

Dvorniković Vladimir (1888–1956), Croatian philosopher and ethnocharacterologist, wrote a text about the “character” of the Roma, published in his book *Characterology of Yugoslavs*, published before World War II, in 1934 under the “Kosmos” editorial, and renewed twice during the nineteen-nineties by the Belgrade “Prosveta”. Dvorniković’s writing about the Roma is soaked in racism and clichés, and is one of the texts in the Serbo-Croat linguistic space representing an example of the paradigmatic denigration of the Roma in general.

State (Roma raštra), a form of social organisation at a level of development where society is divided into layers, ranks and classes, since their interests are in opposition. In this type of situation it is necessary for organisation to keep the opposing sides together, within the “limits of the order”. There are various definitions of a state, ranging from antique times, through Christianity, through Thomas Hobbes (1588–1679), John Locke (1632–1704), to our age. Various societies created various states. There are different constitutions, laws, governments and parliaments. Political parties have deepened the social gap, particularly now that they have become “enterprises” as Max Weber stated. Regardless of the form and organisation, no state has made people happy. Sophocles has already noticed that the state stopped existing the moment it became the property of the individual. “The state, it is I”, said Louis XIV. As long as there is a state, there is no freedom, others have said. The legal state should be dissuaded from holding a fist. Max Weber warned that the state finds monopoly on physical violence dearest. The Roma, whose language preserves the Indian names for state – stan and raštra – have the following adages: The eyes of the state are the people working in its secret services. A terrible state is the most terrible of terrors! If a state makes its sons and daughters unhappy, it will live to be toppled by them. A state is a state while it fights with all its might against criminals and malcontents. Only one measure can be applied against a criminal state – topple it! It is easier to suffer horrors in a state than a horrible state! Many states offer their subjects the choice between evil, bad, and terrible. While in India, the Roma lived in states with republican organisation. Of course, they were witness to many political, and particularly social injustices. However, the use of violence was controlled. After the exodus, as foreigners, they became subjects of empires and kingdoms, imperial creations and absolutist rule and dictatorships of various kinds. They lived in states that personify the rule of law rarely and for very short periods. The “black milk” they drank “in the morning”, “at noon” and “in the evening” sharpened their mechanisms and senses, thus they can sense and anticipate events that will occur in the near future in a state.

Dukađin Leka (1420–1481), the author of the Canon and leader of the resistance and fight against Ottoman power. His father Pavle was a prince from 1461, and Leka inherited him. According to some sources, Leka’s son was killed by a Roma. Leka Dukađin was expected to kill all his compatriots and exile them from the territory under his power. Dukađin, however, said: “You don’t buy two simits (loaves of bread) for a metallic (unit of money, mariash = 5 paras), so one blood asks for no more than one blood.” (This is about blood vengeance, part of the traditional legal code as a punishment, regulated by Dukađin himself.)

Đorđević Tihomir (1868–1944), ethnologist, professor at the Faculty of Philosophy, member of SANU. Obtained his doctorate in Germany, at the University of Leipzig, with a thesis on Roma in Serbia. One of the main parts of the thesis was formulated as a question: What keeps Gypsies together as a people? Đorđević replied that these are occupations. This response is incorrect, since outside India the choice of occupation was determined by the needs of the population of the country where they stayed temporarily or for a longer time. A pre-determined occupation, as it was according to the caste system rules, is not functional or sustainable in another environment. For example, imagine 1,000 smiths or musicians in one place, one region. (To an extent, this was the reason for moving). The essential response to the set question may be the way of life, or racial discrimination, independently of motive. I.e. pogroms and persecution, the most frequent case in Europe. The second key question is about Roma culture, formulated as the question: What, Gypsies have culture? Đorđević's response to this is descriptive, listing objects made by Roma, forms and types of their folklore, with many – as he claimed – taken from the oral tradition and culture of other peoples and their folklore. In a word, culture is treated above the social system and independently of the structure of society, with society treated as a phenomenon without culture or cultural values. If culture is the human face of people – as this book tells and shows – then Roma are a people without a human face in the interpretation of Tihomir Đorđević, whose views and method were accepted by many ethnologists in Serbia researching Roma life and culture.

Đurić Rajko (1947–2020), graduated in philosophy and doctored in sociology at the Faculty of Philosophy of the University of Belgrade. He was a journalist for the *Politika* daily and editor of its cultural section. The author of over 500 publicist articles published in various magazines across former Yugoslavia and thirty books (collections of poems and non-fiction), with some translated and printed in Germany, France, Great Britain, Italy, Spain, Poland, Hungary, Romania, USA, Japan, etc. He was a translator for the film *I Even Met Happy Gypsies* by Aleksandar Saša Petrović and co-scriptwriter for *Time of the Gypsies* by Emir Kusturica. He wrote the drama *To Kill Zoran Đinđić*, directed by Zlatko Paković. The winner of a number of prizes and awards, including the American award of the Fund for Free Expression in New York, “Kurt Tuholski” of the Swedish PEN Centre in Stockholm, Open Society Institute in Budapest, etc. Nominated several times for the Nobel Prize in Literature. President of the International Roma Academy of Arts and Science, established in 2011, and member of the Committee for the Study of the Life and Customs of Roma of SANU.

Džafo Nikola (1950), painter of Roma origin from Novi Sad. He is written and talked about as an engaged artist, as he presents himself. Also worked in scenography. Won the *Politika* award in 2011.

Džamutro, son in law, Roma term for blood relation, of ancient Indian origin.

John Singer Sargent (1856–1925), Spanish painter. Author of the painting *Carmencita from 1890*.

Edouard Manet (1832–1883), renowned French painter. Author of the painting *Gypsy with a Cigarette*.

Elser Georg (1903–1945), attempted an assassination of Hitler on 8 November 1939. Elser was of Sinti origin. Unfortunately, Hitler left the beer hall 15 minutes early and thus avoided death. Elser was arrested and taken to a special cell in Dachau, where he was guarded by special guards until the end of the war. This was under orders by Hitler, planning a spectacular process after World War II was over and the Nazis won. Elser was killed after Germany surrendered and Hitler committed suicide.

Ethics, philosophical discipline or science about morals. The Greek philosopher Aristotle (384–322 b.c.e.) divided virtue into ethical (acquired by education and imitation of models) and dianoethical or intellectual (acquired by reasoning and mind, education), i.e. those related to the purpose and goal of a happy life. These are virtues of duty. When a man fails to adhere to duties originating from dianoethical virtues in his actions, he is acting based on his conscience. Based on Aristotle's division of virtues a difference was established between normative ethics (discovering moral principles a priori, i.e. independently of experience as done by German philosopher Immanuel Kant) and descriptive ethics (defining and establishing principles of good and evil, correct and wrong, etc. based on customs).

As the Roma are of Indian origin, a brief reminder is necessary to Indian sources of ethics. These are the religions of Hinduism, Buddhism, and Shaktism. The sources of ethics and morals in Hinduism are the deities Vishnu, Shiva, and their incarnations (avatar). Vishnu is the personification of cosmic order. His most important incarnations, the ethical and moral model for the faithful, are Rama and Krishna. Shiva is the model for ascetics, believing God is separate from the world. Holidays are the joy of life, pilgrimage and participation in mass religious celebrations, personal health and health of family members, relaxation acquired through yoga and meditation, are also ethical source. Moksha (liberation of death and rebirth), dharma (duty based on laws, rights and customs), karma (spiritual concept whereby no consequence is without a cause), God, soul, caste and spiritual technique are the core of Hinduism, and thus the source of ethics and morals. Many of the above elements are contained in Buddhism, defined as enlightenment and wakefulness. To achieve nirvana, according to Buddhist teaching, it is necessary to respect the four truths of dharma: 1. Life is suffering. 2. The cause of suffering is adherence to transient things and ignorance. 3. If the causes of suffering are removed, inner happiness will be experienced. 4. Keep to the eight-fold path. Shaktism celebrates female deities – Durga, Lakshmi, Sarasvati, Kali, Devi, a common characteristic of all Roma. According to this, the main models for the Roma are incarnations of Vishnu – Rama and Krishna, and female deities from Shaktism.

A general threat, such as the coronavirus pandemic, has shown that in many areas of

life and society there is no ethics. Masters of political power and lords of biopolitics, officially presented as spokespeople of the “experts” – (“experts” without ethics capitulated during the mid-twentieth century, performing monstrous pseudo-scientific experiments for those in power!) – it was shown they can cooperate successfully to the detriment of people and society. As it turned out, neither side keeps to ethics. This experience is practically a call to mutiny, to introduce ethics into all important areas of human and social life: anthropoethics, bioethics, demographic ethics, ethnoethics, epidemiological ethics, ethics of genetic experiments, ecoethics, ethics and resources, political ethics, food ethics, ethics of trade and business, technical and technological ethics, management ethics, banking ethics, court ethics, school ethics, etc. Capitalism has “harnessed” pedagogy, psychology and sociology for its purposes, thus they are involved in many human and social areas. This should also be the subject of ethics. Of course, it must focus on politics, political institutions and parties, security and safety, the media, etc. This type of ethics should be conceived in accordance with European measures, engaging the most renowned ethicists from global and European universities. Ethics committee members cannot be representatives of any spheres of power, nor representatives of political parties. Unlike “scientific services” that supply the state and its bodies on citizens, ethics committees should be a citizen “service” about the state, its bodies and para-state bodies.

Ethnographers, description of phenomena from the material and spiritual culture of certain peoples. The subject of its study are also the origin and development of people. These studies create ethnographic collections and ethnographic museums.

Ethnology, science of peoples, studying their origin, development and culture. It attempts to discover the specificities of peoples, and things common to the majority of peoples. In this regard, it is intertwined with cultural anthropology and other social sciences, e.g. archaeology, history, musicology, etc.

Eugenics, during the XIX century, it was imagined as a biosocial science that was supposed to create a programme to improve the human species and prevent “inferior” individuals and groups to ruin “good genes” by preventing them from having children through sterilisation (Gr. *eu genos*, good genes, the words forming the name eugenics). Francis Galton (1822–1912), cousin to Charles Darwin (1866–1944), is considered the founder of this pseudoscience, its fanatical adherents being the Americans Charles Davenport (1866–1944), biologist and Madison Grant (1865–1937), and particularly scientists in Germany who were followers of Adolf Hitler. Alfred Ploetz (1860–1940), one of the founders of the Institute for the Nurture of Heritage and Race in Gusen, is the author of the book *Euthanasia in the NS State*, while Eugen Fischer (1874–1967), Erwin Baur (1875–1967) and Fritz Lenz (1887–1976) are the authors of the book *Basics of Human Heritage and Racial Hygiene*, having the reputation of “standard work” during Nazi times. Hitler’s conviction whereby the “human life has value only when in service of the race or society” was shared by many German scientist and, of course, all members of the Nazi party. As early as 1934 Germany adopted

the Law Preventing the Birth of Offspring of People with Inheritable Diseases, leading to the murder of many people, and around 350,000 undergoing sterilisation. The scum, as stated by Thomas Mann, gained the opportunity to worry about the cleanliness of the German race, destroying each day the lives of people who “deviated from the Aryan ideal” created in the heads of insane people. The ideas of eugenics, under other names, continued to live on after the end of World War II. During the breakup of Yugoslavia and start of the wars, eugenics was popularised in Belgrade by delivering “information and instructions” in post boxes of citizens, and popularising books, including *Mein Kampf* by Adolf Hitler.

Eudemism (Eudemian Ethics), the expression denoting a “happy man” (“baxtalo manuš”). This is a man whose life has all the general reasons to be considered happy. Later, according to theories by Epicurus (341–270. b.c.e.), happiness was defined as an inner spiritual property, peace and bliss. This should be the goal of every individual life. Unlike individual, social eudemism is the wellbeing of the entire society. This is the happiness of the maximum number of people. According to German philosopher Immanuel Kant, welfare can be the goal of our actions only when it is about others. When it is about ourselves, the goal needs to be duty.

Eugen Delacroix (1798–1864), French painter. Author of the painting *Goetz and the Gypsies*.

Farhi Moris (1935–2019), long-term vice-president of the International PEN Centre, helping establish the Roma PEN Centre. Author of a number of books, including the literary-historical work *Children of Debt*, its topic being the Roma holocaust. Of Jewish-Turkish origin, born in Thessaloniki, had a lot of sympathy for the Roma, speaking of them as “brothers by historical fate”. This was truly a man of great mind and heart, a citizen of the world who proved through his life and work that humanity was always his goal in life.

Films about the Roma were made in many European countries and the USA. One of the oldest is the silent film *Carmen* directed first in 1918 in Germany, then in 1921 in the USA, by the famous German director of Jewish origin Ernst Lubitsch (1892–1947). The US version is titled *Gypsy Blood*. Carmen is played by famous actress of semi-Roma origin from Poland Pola Negri (1897–1987), a Hollywood star. Her close friend was Charlie Chaplin. *Carmen*, a myth of XX century art, was also produced in the USA by Otto Ludwig Preminger (1905–1986). It is a musical produced in 1954. Dorothy Dandridge (1922–1965) plays Carmen. Spanish director Carlos Saura (1932) also filmed *Carmen*, nominated for the Palme d’Or at the Cannes Film Festival in 1985. William Dieterle (1893–1972) made a film in 1936 based on the novel *Notre Dame of Paris* by Victor Hugo (1802–1885). In Russia, in 1929, director Fyodor Alexandrovich Ozep (1885–1949), in coproduction with Germany, filmed *The Living Corpse*, based on a work by L. N. Tolstoy (1828–1910). The famous actress Anna Sten (1908–1993) appeared in this film, thereafter becoming a Hollywood diva. (During the shooting of this film in Germany her and Ozep decided to emigrate from the USSR). Loteanu, who filmed *Lautari* and *Gypsies Are Found Near Heaven* during the nineteen-seventies (see

Gypsies Are Found Near Heaven), was followed by films based on the book *Gypsy Aza*, by Ukrainian writer Mikhail Staricky (1840–1904) and *Gypsies* based on the eponymous novel by Anatoly Kalinin. Budulaya – the name of the main character in the novel and role in the film that experienced a “return” in 1985 – was played by Moldovan actor Mikhai Volontir (1934–2015). Aleksandar Petrović (1927–1995) became famous through the topic of the Roma, his 1968 film *I Even Met Happy Gypsies* won the Palme d’Or of the Cannes Film Festival. Doubtless, this is the best art film from the so-called black wave. *Time of the Gypsies* by Emir Kusturica (1954) also had a lot of success. Films with Roma themes were filmed in Hungary, its capital hosting the film festival “Ake dikhea?” (“You want to watch?”) since 2016, as well as in Sweden, Finland, Slovakia, Slovenia, Bosnia, Macedonia, etc.

Fonseca Isabel (1961–), historian from New York, her father Gonzalo Fonseca (1922–1997) was a renowned sculptor from Uruguay. She is the author of a book about the Roma, published under the title *Bury Me Standing*, after a Roma adage: *Praxosar man pe punre, te dikhav po Del upre!* This book was highly successful, translated into many languages and seeing many editions. (It was also translated into Croatian.)

Flamenco, denotes a group of Andalusian songs and dances. The music consists of singing (*cante*), instrumental performance (*toque*), Roma dance (*gitana flamenco*) and dance (*baile*). Flamenco has a large number of various forms, called palo. The forms are divided based on metrics (*compas*), rhythm and tempo, tonality, melody and harmony. As of 2010, flamenco is considered part of Spanish heritage, studied in schools since 2014.

Fo Dario (1926–2016), renowned Italian dramatist. Winner of the Nobel prize for Literature in 1997, author of the book *Razza di zingaro*, its topic being the life and fate of Sinti boxer Johann Trollmann Rukeli (1907–1944), who was, after humiliation, killed by Nazis at the Wittenberg concentration camp. Fo published this book to return dignity to the humiliated man. Trollmann was rehabilitated on 9 June 2010. A monument in the form of a boxing ring was erected to him in the Berlin quarter of Kreuzberg.

Franz Philomena (1922–), the only surviving Roma holocaust victim still alive. She was a prisoner in Auschwitz. Talking to the author of this book, she explained that she was saved from death by “her beauty and love”. Asked what moment from Auschwitz remained in her memory, she answered: “When they cut my hair and forced me to appear before the Nazis naked, to shower with ice-cold water! After that, I was tormented by suicide for months. But love helped me free myself of the nightmare! Can you imagine what it is like to be tormented by suicide day and night in Auschwitz, where life is worth nothing, and your life is spilled on the ground like water from a smashed glass!” In her book *My Holocaust* she described her life “after point zero”. This is also recounted by the books *Burning Glass* by Otto Rosenberg (1927–2001) who, as a boy, cleaned Mengele’s boots every morning in Auschwitz – Birkenau, books by Čaje Stojka (1933–2013), who was in Auschwitz – Birkenau with her brothers (in the Gypsy Family Camp and Bergen – Belsen). The Documentation and Cultural Centre in Heidelberg provided the largest contribution

to auschwitzology and auschwitzocracy to date. Recently, Roma suffering has been an inspiration to Roma writers and poets, dramatists, film directors, painters and composers.

Gadžo (pl. Gadže), Roma name for non-Roma, like Goyim, the name for those not belonging to the Jewish people.

Gatlif Tony (1948), a Roma of Algerian origin. Living in Paris since 1960, where he experienced international recognition as a film director. His best known films about Roma are *Cante Gitano* (1981), *Les Princes* (1982), *Lačo drom* (1993), *Gadžo dilo* (1997), *Me sem Rom* (1998), *Korkoro* (2009), etc. Winner of a number of awards, including the award of the Cannes Film Festival for the film *Dilo gadžo*.

Genocide, a term used in history and international law. Formed from the Greek word **genos**, meaning origin, family, people, and the verb *caedere* from Latin, meaning kill. This term was first used by Raphael Lemkin (1900–1959), a Jew of Polish origin, in 1933 at the Law Congress in Madrid. Immediately after World War II it started to be used in political and legal documents of the United Nations and many countries.

Group, international term related to human association. Used in social science. There are two basic motives and reasons for people associating: 1. Feeling of belonging and safety ensured by group membership; 2. Achieving common goals and overcoming difficulties. By type, groups can be family, informal friendly and formal organised groups. Based on duration, they may be permanent or short-term. According to size, small and large, local and international. Common interests and interaction between its members are the main properties of a group.

Gilsenbach Reimar (1925–2001), author from Brodowin, Germany, wrote several books about Roma prisoners in concentration camps and their descendants. Its three-volume work *World Chronicle of Roma*, a quintessential historical source, contains a lot of data useful for romological studies.

Goga, Roma male name of ancient Indian origin.

Gola, Roma female name of ancient Indian origin, meaning “round”.

Goli, Roma male name of ancient Indian origin, meaning “round”.

Goro (pl. Gore), Roma name for foreigner. Assumed to originate from the name of Muhammad of Ghor, conqueror of India, whose victory led to the second exodus of Roma from India.

Guga, holiday of the snake and dragon in Haryana, its name preserved in Romani.

Gune, Roma male name of ancient Indian origin.

Gustave Dore (1832–1883), French painter. Author of the painting *Flamenco Dancer*.

Hatzis Alexandros (1968–), of German-Roma origin (his father Kostas Hatzis is a Roma from Greece), became known for singing songs about the Roma, authored by the most renowned Greek poets, in theatres and recording them on CDs. For example, he became famous singing the song “12 Roma Speeches” (“Dodekalogos tou Gyftou”), by the famous poet Kostis Palamas (1859–1943), author of the anthem of Olympos. (The music was composed by Spyridon Samaras, 1861–1917) and the anthem of Athens. For Hatzis, his work as an artist and creator keeping to the slogan “from another angle”, (“Alli opsi”), also drew the interest of Mikis Theodorakis (1925), with whom he created the extremely successful musical play “The Path of Greece is Long” (“Mia zoh Ellada”).

Heydrich Reinhard (1904–1942), the “architect of the holocaust”. Himmler’s right-hand man, he carefully planned and prepared nearly all activities of mass destruction of people, until his assassination in the Czech Republic, where he was Deputy Protector. Stories tell that even Adolf Hitler saw Heydrich as “a man with a heart of ice”.

Heinschink Mozes (1939–), Austrian, from Vienna, a former hotel worker, specialised in the kalderas dialect. Published a number of books in German, some intended for individual learning of Romani or school lectures. Author of documentary and TV films and collector of various documentary materials, music tapes, etc.

Hancock Ian (1942–), a Roma from England, university professor in Austin, Texas. Author of many articles and books, with *Pariah Syndrome* causing the most attention. Hancock is the director of the Romani Studies Centre and Archive and documentation centre at the University of Texas in Austin.

Heredia Juan de Dios Ramirez (1942–), a Roma from Spain, after completing studies at the University of Barcelona worked as a radio-journalist, and during the nineteen-eighties worked in politics. Worked as a deputy at the European Parliament from 1986 to 1999, the first Roma representative at the European Parliament.

Himmler Heinrich (1900–1945), considering the creator of the idea of the holocaust. He held competence over Nazi concentration camps, and he decided directly about the fate of the Roma and Sinti, both in Nazi Germany and Europe. Visited Belgrade twice, in 1941 and 1942, meeting representatives of volksdeutschers.

Hübschmannova Milena (1933–2005), professor of Romani language at the University of Prague. Initiator and editor of the magazine *Džaniben* and author of the *Roma-Czech Dictionary*.

Hitler Adolf (1889–1945), of Austrian origin, leader of the Nazi party winning 43.9% of votes in the 1933 elections, enabling him to become Chancellor of Germany. During World War II, that he planned, caused and led from 1939 to 1945, around 70 million people were killed. His best portrayal of himself is the sentence: “I only loved my dog”. As explained by Erich Fromm, he in fact hated humankind, life itself. Hitler, whose main principle was the “leader principle”, was obsessed with racial ideology, where the Germanic race and German people were supposed to become masters, and the members of all other peoples slaves in the new, Third Reich. Only the Jews and the Roma, as a “lower race”, *Untermensch*, were supposed to be fully exterminated. Lies, terror and concentration camps were the main means for achieving this goal, described by Hitler in his book *My Struggle (Mein Kampf)*. In the beginning he tolerated “unanimous party pluralism”, but very soon the “pluralism” became that of him and his closest associates, listening to the voice of the people only through the greeting “Heil Hitler” and the shout of “Deutschland uber alles!” It is a little known fact that Hitler was nominated by a Swedish member of parliament for the Nobel Peace Prize in 1939! Thomas Mann, German Nobel prize winner, commented thus on the state of his country: “Germans were given to make a never before seen revolution: without an idea, against anything higher, better, kind, against freedom, truth, rights. Nothing like that has ever happened in the sphere of humanity.”

Holocaust (gr. *olokauston*, burnt, fully incinerated), denotes the extermination of the Jews and the Roma by the Nazis and fascists. The holocaust holds a central place in the history of the XX century and has marked the epoch. As a term denoting the destruction of the Jews it occurred in 1189. Namely, during the coronation of the King of England Richard the I, many delegations came to the church in London to congratulate him. But when the bishop notices the Jewish delegation, he asked the king: “How can these people have access to a Christian church?” The Jews were immediately removed from the church. However, a rumour started in town that the “pious king” has expelled the Jews from the church, and the citizens of London joined the crusaders and started attacking the Jews, robbing and burning their houses. Many Jews lost their lives then. The worst pogrom was performed in York. Herbert Samuel (1870–1963) used the term for the first time in 1943, denoting Nazi persecution and crimes against the Jews. A year later, the holocaust was mentioned in the “legal claim against Germany”, and thereafter entered various fields as a general term with the core meaning of mass destruction of Jews in World War II.

Holomek Karel (1937), engineer from Brno, a renowned Roma activist, leading to the creation of several Roma institutions. The Roma Museum in Brno is his great success. “If our ancestors would have, during the thousand years since the exodus of Roma from India, marked the path they took from India to Europe with a dozen buildings that we and our descendants could be proud of, perhaps our lives and views would be different. As long as we kneel, it will not be known where we came from, what path we took, or where we are going!”, said Holomek.

Horvat Jožek Muc (1965), Roma leader in Slovenia. Author of a number of books, starting

with a monograph on the oldest Roma settlement in Pušča, near Murska Subota, to the *Grammar and Dictionary of the Romani Language*. Made a great contribution to Roma development in Slovenia, as witnessed by the award he won in 2000.

Hrabal Bohumil (1914–1997), author of the book *Poetry Clubs*, with its topic of Roma in the Czech Republic. This book is the result of the work of multiple authors, including Jaroslav Vrhlicki (1853–1912).

Hula, Roma male name recorded among the Roma in Serbia, but also occurs with Roma in other states, e.g. the USA. The origin of this name is Persian.

Xoxa, Roma male name of ancient Indian origin. One of the epithets of Agni, god of fire.

International Roma Academy of Arts and Sciences was founded in early September 2011 in Belgrade. This highest arts and science institution of the Roma has a representative artistic and scientific-research character. Its composition includes roman and non-Roma persons whose creative and other work contributes to Roma emancipation, their rights and freedoms.

Iveković Mladen (1903–1970), doctor of law from Zagreb, revolutionary, arrested and in early 1942 taken to the Ustaša death camp Jasenovac. The *History of the Roma Holocaust* published a list of Roma killed in this camp, exceeding 60,000. Iveković, as a witness to the suffering of Roma adults and children – described in a moving way what he saw and lived through until July 1942, when he was released through an exchange. In addition to the books by Đorđe Miliš, Dr Nikola Nikolić and Draga Čolanović, this is perhaps the most moving contribution to auschwitzology and the truth of auschwitzocracy with the example of Jasenovac. “I don’t know how many Gypsies were killed in total in Jasenovac. While I was there, at least 30,000. I saw a river of Gypsies, their women and children pouring into Jasenovac daily. They were coming to a slaughter. How indescribably eerie the scenes of farewell of Gypsies from their women and children! It is so terrible, it leaves a lifelong mark. The Gypsy children, with curly hair and large, black eyes, so dear and warm! Their little hands holding on dearly to their mothers and fathers. Their cries reaching into the bones. They killed wagonloads of such Gypsy children every day. Why? Nobody knew. Because they are vagrants, because they are Gypsy.” Iveković, who worked after the end of World War II as a minister in the Croatian government and Yugoslav ambassador to Italy and Germany, described the fate of a Roma orchestra established in Jasenovac, its members killed with mallet strikes to the skull in early July 1942. “The concert held by the Gypsies one week for the prisoners was held at a time when Gypsy slaughter was at its peak. Horrified groups of Roma moved around camp, including a Gypsy group of singers and players. They sang from their soul, the sung with tears in their eyes, they sang for us all, and to heaven in mindless hope that their song and music would save them from death. How terrible their song “Gypsy Farewell”, a well-known Russian romance. But the Ustaša executioners cackled like demons, already looking forward to Gypsy skulls crack-

ing under the blows of the bloody mallet. The prisoners asked if it was possible that these talented Gypsy players would also be killed! Some hoped, like the players themselves, that the executioners would give up their intent or at least postpone the murder after this concert. This group could provide entertainment to the Ustaša themselves, who were so in want of it, due to their bloody work. But no, these poor young Gypsies were taken to slaughter the next day. Their music rang in the ears of the prisoners as the funeral march to all the victims of the insane terror of the Ustaša.”

History, a science studying people and their acts in the past, memory of important events and occurrences, discovering unknown facts, documents and material, collating, organising, presenting and interpreting information on historical persons and events, and analysing the daily life of people from times past. Roughly taken, it is classified as the history of the ancient age, medieval history, modern age history and contemporary history. It can also be studied as the history of peoples or states, or thematically and problematically, etc. Man-history-society are three inseparable wholes. History constantly warns and teaches.

Istrati Panait (1884–1935), born in Braila, Romania. The French writer Romain Rolland helped him try his hand at literature. After the book *Kyra Kyralina*, praised by critics, he returned to Braila, where he lived from 1927 to 1929. After that he visited Russia and published three books about it in France. “We Europeans believed what happens over there, when in fact we were slaves to beautiful big words. According to the situation here, life is indescribably beautiful. There, life is horrible...” Because of his books Istrati was called “Gorky from the Balkans”. However, even though he experienced literary fame during his life, he lived on the bottom of the social ocean.

Iviron, a monastery located on the north-eastern side of the Holy Mountain, built in the X century on the ruins of Clement’s Monastery. Its founders are the Georgian Prince Varazvache and King Davici, along with Saint John (Efimos) and George. It was named Iviron by the old name for Georgia – Iveria. One of the 20 monasteries on the Holy Mountain, Iviron is third in the hierarchy of monasteries there since, according to legend, it houses relics related to Jesus Christ. A monk from this monastery recorded that the Roma arrived to Atos in 1068 (Atos is the name of the mountain on the Holy Mountain).

Jajo, Roma male name of ancient Indian origin.

Jasenovac, “the Auschwitz of the Balkans”, as the title of the book by Jewish historian Gideon Graif calls it, was the largest concentration camp and death camp in the Balkans, built by the Ustaša of the Independent State of Croatia (NDH), existing August 1941 – April 1945. In this camp, comprised of camp I in the village of Bročice, camp II in the village of Krapje, camp III Cigłana (with the crematorium), camp IV Kožara, camp V Stara Gradiška, child camps in Sisak and Jastrebarsko, with additional killing fields in Gradina, Jablonec, Mlaka, Dubica (lime factory) and Granik (on the Sava River) – over 500,000 Serbs, around

80,000 Roma, 12,500 Jews, and around ten thousand Yugoslav communists were killed, the majority Croatian.

Jors Jan (1929–1977), author and photographer of Belgian-American origin. His book about the Lovari Roma, with whom he lived and travelled around the world for a while, had a lot of success with readers and the scientific research public.

John Paul II (1920–2005), head of the Roman Catholic church, declared a saint on 28 April 2014. He was the first pope to accept an audience by the representatives of the International Roma Organisation in 1990, with the Vatican paper *Observatore Romano* publishing a full front page article on this. On the 50th anniversary of the deportation of Roma to Auschwitz, the pope sent the message: “Along with all participants of the commemoration of 50 years of the deportation of Roma to Auschwitz, deeply touched, I fall to my knees in the place guarding the ashes of the victims. The tragic fate of Gypsy men and women, brothers and sisters from Auschwitz – Birkenau, will be in my memory forever. I paid respects to them several times already as Metropolitan of Krakow, now I do it as Pope.”

Junghaus Timea (1975–), Roma woman from Hungary, art historian who secured a pavilion for the Roma at the Venice Biennale. This was achieved at the 52nd Biennale in Venice. She is the author of several renowned exhibits, initiator of the “Janos Balazs” gallery opened in 2002 in the 8th district in Budapest, and author of the project to build the Museum of Roma Art.

Kajtazi Veljko (1960–), member of parliament at the Croatian Sabor. Before the dissolution of Yugoslavia, graduated at the Military Academy in Sarajevo.

Kako, uncle – Roma term for a relative of ancient Indian origin. In the Roma community any older man is called kako. Certain linguists believe the word is one of the oldest ones, from the human ur-language, occurring in the languages of several peoples in the world. Kale, Kaleja, Roma male name of ancient Indian origin.

Callot Jacques (1592–1635), French engraver, first to treat etching as a new art discipline. He was the first to present the Roma in Europe using etchings, producing an entire series of etchings with a lifelike character.

Karika, Roma female and family name of ancient Indian origin, its meaning being “woman endowed with a lot of knowledge and skill”.

Carmen, name of a Spanish Roma woman, the main character in the eponymous novella by French writer Prosper Merimee (1803–1870). The novella served as the basis for Georges Bizet (1838–1975) to produce the four-act opera that won the hearts of millions of viewers and listeners and inspired many artists – painters, sculptors, theatre and film directors to create, listening and living the truth of love, honour and blood. Thus Carmen became one

of the greatest myths of XX century art. "Carmen is the soul and world in a dream. It is the dream of absolute love", said German philosopher Friedrich Nietzsche.

Caste, key term of the social morphology of the Indian community. Louis Dumont (1911–1998) explained in his book *Homo Hierarchicus* (1966) that a caste is the main property of social stratification in Indian society, in accordance with ancient religious belief, having four basic castes initially. The top of the caste system are Brahmins, priests and teachers. They were charged with interpreting holy books. As learned people, they wrote laws, dealt in legal affairs and taught. Kshatriya were the second caste, with the duty of protecting and defending the country from enemies and dealing with politics. The third caste consisted of the productive population preserving the purity of the race. These are the Vaishyas. They are traders, farmers, cattle-farmers, artisans, etc. The fourth caste consists of non-Aryan Shudras. They were of Dravidian origin, dark-skinned. They were servants, labourers, cattle keepers, builders of roads, wells, etc. Outside of this were the pariahs. They were not part of the caste system and treated as unworthy members of the community. They worked in the most undignified tasks and had the status of "untouchables". Later, this division was made significantly more complex by the so-called Jat system, with its basic term being gotra. (This term also occurs among the Roma. For example, the family of Milan Jovanović, from Malo Orašje, declaring itself a descendant of Brgoje, keeper of the holy fire, said its gotra belonged to the Agnivasha clan, i.e. those that brought holy fire from the sky like Prometheus and are keepers of the holy flame). In India, in Rajasthan and Pakistan, there were 2,700 Jat clans registered. Of key importance for the Jat system are forefathers, place, language, title. This highly complex social system, compared by some scientists to a jungle, left its mark on the social community of the Roma.

Keka, Roma male name of ancient Indian origin. One story from the collection of Roma folk tales recorded by Rade Uhlik is called "Gypsy Emperor Keka".

Kenrick Donald (1929–2015), Jew of Polish origin, his parents moving to England where Kenrick graduated in art history at the University of London. Well versed in many languages, he worked on Roma history. The book he wrote with Grattan Puxon *The Destiny of Europe's Gypsies* appeared in 1972. It is the first scientific work on the Roma holocaust.

Kojče, Roma female name of ancient Indian origin. This name most likely produced the last name Kojčić.

Koštana, Female Roma name of ancient Indian origin and title of a drama by Borisav Bora Stanković (1876–1927). The Roma are also described in some other works by this author.

Klemperer Victor (1881–1960), German philologist and professor of French literature of Jewish origin, author of the cult book about the language of Nazism *LTI* (Language of the Third Reich) and voluminous *Diary*, describing the "heart of darkness", i.e. Nazism and its consequences for the everyday life of people. The translation of *LTI* into Serbian appeared in early 2000.

Communication, an international term originating from the Latin verb *communicare*, to state. The noun derived from the above verb *communicatio* means notice. To state means bringing one's action in harmony with the community, i.e. society. This is, thus, the process of creating links among people, or as said by Claude Levi-Strauss (1908-2009), exchange. Communication, the individual production of symbolic content in accordance with a code, anticipates the reception of this content by other entities. (Codes may be logical-objective, aesthetic-subjective and social). As a definition it covers the sender, the message, the medium, the recipient and the goal. It is based on the exchange of meaning and as such is the central phenomenon of culture. Ritual communication relies on togetherness. In addition to speech, i.e. language, it may include other forms, such as music, celebrations, etc. Transmission communication is characteristic for the western-European circle. This is actually a remote process that includes control. Why do people communicate? To give meaning to our experience and the world, i.e. to give sense to what people believe in, think about themselves, about their relations with others, and what is real for them.

Joaquin Cortes from Cordoba (1969–), flamenco dancer, his skill impressed the world. Indira Gandhi, patron of the Il Roma Festival in Chandughar in 1983, even rose and bowed to Cortes, asking the audience to clap as loud as possible, since “he came from heaven to earth to give us a heavenly dance!” Cortes founded his ballet group. He is an honorary UNICEF ambassador.

Courthiade Marcel (1948–), a linguist from France of Occitan origin. He is a professor at INALCO in Paris, teaching Romani language and civilisation. (The term civilisation is used in France instead of the term culture, but its range is somewhat broader since it also covers, for example, archaeology). He is the author of the dictionary *Morri angluni rromane čhibaqi evroputni lavustik* (Roma, Hungarian, English, French, Spanish, Germany, Greek, Ukrainian, Romanian, Croatian, Slovak). This multilingual dictionary was published in Budapest in 2009.

Krasnići Alija (1952–), Roma author. Published several books, the best known being *Čergarske vatre*, *Zvezdani snovi*, *Crna bajka*, *Čije je sunce*, etc.

Kris, Roma name for the traditional Roma court. It is competent for preserving the social, legal and moral order of the tribal community of Kalderaš and Lovar. The main judge, krisari and the jurors, krisatora, make a unanimous sentence. The work of the court is public. The decision of the court must be obeyed both by the party appearing as the defendant, as well as the party appearing as the claimant. The executive body takes care of executing the judgment. In case of settlement, a pativ, or ceremonial rite is performed. The costs were borne by the defendant. The harshest punishments that could be issued are mahrim or magardo, i.e. “unclean” having the status of pariah, and porado, exiled from the community. However, today these sentences are not issued, since they are obsolete.

Kubitschek Juscelino (1902–1976), President of Brazil 1956-1961. His father Joao Cesar de

Oliveira (1872–1905) was a travelling salesman, and mother Julia Kubitschek (1873–1973), a Roma woman from the Czech Republic, was a teacher. Juscelino graduated in medicine and specialised urology. While he worked in a military hospital, his friends invited him to join the Social Democratic Party, leading the opposition against the ruling party of the President of Brazil, lawyer Getulio Vargas (1882–1954). Vargas was under the influence of fascist parties, arising modelled after Mussolini's fascist party. (The model of Italian fascism was the template for dictatorships in many South American states, their future "foretold" already by Hegel in his *Philosophy of History*, saying coups are their destiny, while presenting the USA as the "land of the future".) Since many citizens of Brazil are of Italian descent, fascist parties were rather massive, particularly in the Federal District of Sao Paulo. Vargas committed suicide. Two years later, he was succeeded by Kubitschek, the 21st President of Brazil, with the slogan "In five years, 50 years of progress!". His "Plan with 31 goals" represented a historical undertaking – to turn Brazil into the main force in Latin America and ensuring its democratic development. The main endeavour in this plan was the new city of Brasilia, created during 1956–1961. Recognition of his great achievements followed after his death, i.e. assassination, committed on 12 August 1976, that was – as proved in the meantime – planned by members of dictator groups and regimes in Latin America. His funeral was attended by 300,000 people, and the Memorial Juscelino Kubitschek (JK) was built in Brasilia, the city he created with his associates.

Culture, as a word originating from Latin (*colere*, to inhabit, raise, respect, etc.), entered nearly all of the world's languages. Through culture denoting "that which is better" – as Goethe said speaking with Ackermann – man left barbarity. He did not go the way of nature; but his own way. From fire, to cosmic flight, from a rock to a skyscraper, from a stick to a deadly weapon, man has crossed an enormous road. The achievements of civilisation and culture bear witness of this. Culture, representing the human face of people, covers the scale of human need, system of meaning and symbols, system of values, ideas, norms and social rules. Social phenomena only gain a human meaning if certain cultural content participates in them. No social phenomenon or process can be conceived or understood without relation to culture, i.e. the components contained therein. On the other hand, society as an organised system represents, both conceptually and empirically, a framework for cultural processes and social phenomena. Therefore one cannot speak of cultural phenomena as something outside social phenomena, nor can a difference be made between cultural and social processes. As for civilisation, it covers those things necessary for survival. These are, for example, means of production and transport, various inventions, etc. Roma culture arose under certain social conditions. Like the Roma, it travelled the road from India to Auschwitz. It experienced man's downfall into the deepest pit and as a living witness to horrible events, "gave birth" to a culture of remembrance. This branch of culture is tightly related to history, the process of humanisation, but also unfortunately dehumanisation, i.e. creation and destruction of man, and the process of human progress and human deterioration.

La Chunga, Micaela Floris Amaya (1938–), famous flamenco dancer admired by all of Eu-

rope. Several documentary films were made about her. She was also a painter presenting her work in exhibitions organised in France, the country of her birth.

Lakatos Menyhert (1926–2007), Roma writer from Hungary. The author of several renowned works of prose, the most successful one being *The Colour of Smoke*, published in the Serbian language by “Minerva” from Subotica. The topic of this novel is the Roma holocaust, i.e. deportation of the Roma from north-eastern Hungary to Auschwitz.

Lackenbach, a place in the Austrian province of Burgenland, the location of a concentration camp for the Roma and Sinti 1940–1945. Many prisoners from Lackenbach were deported to Auschwitz – Birkenau, Ravensbruck, or other death camps. The camp was under SS supervision. The first commandant was Hans Kollross, then Franz Langmuller, Fritz Eckschlager, and Julius Brunner. This camp was studied and a study was written about it by Erica Turner.

Lautari (the name originates from the word lute, a type of oriental musical instrument), is the name for Roma violinists in Romania, Hungary and Serbia. The oldest written source mentioning this name is from 1558. The Romanian (Vlach) Prince Mirce Cobanu (?–1559) mentioned the lautari as he gifted a violin to a Roma court musician. (His father was Radu IV, 1495–1508, Vlach duke.) The violin was the “royal instrument” of the Roma in Moldova, Montenia, Oltenia and Transylvania, the main “nursery” of Roma violinists, while the most famous ones were from Bucharest.

Lebedev Ivan Rom (1903–1991), writer and dramatist, whose dramas were performed at the “Romen” theatre in Moscow. As the organiser of the Roma Komsol in Moscow in 1923 he propagated and implemented the “sovietisation” of Roma in Russia. The first Roma school in Moscow was opened in 1926.

Lessing Theodor (1872–1933), German philosopher of Jewish origin, author of the book *Self-Hatred*, a phenomenon that exists not only among the Jews, but also among the Roma, as a consequence of a thousand-year racial discrimination, antitsiganism, persecution, and the holocaust suffered during World War II.

Camps, created from the very start of national-socialist rule. (The Weimar Republic, 1919–1933, had two camps with Roma prisoners. The first was in Stargard in Pomerania, the other in Zilov (a quarter of Kotbus). By the end of World War II – as determined by historians of the Holocaust Museum in Washington – there were 42,500 camps. Of those, 30,000 were labour camps, 1,150 Jewish ghettos, around 1,000 camps for prisoners of war, 500 brothels... The death camps were Auschwitz, Auschwitz – Birkenau, Treblinka, Dachau, Sachsenhausen, Buchenwald, Bergen – Belsen, Ravensbruck, Lublin, Mathausen, Jasenovac... Surviving prisoners of Roma origin, Philomena Franz, Caja Stojka and Otto Rosenberg, published books about their suffering and that of their family members, while Josef Muller is the author of books presenting his memory of the time when his twin brother

was killed, and he was sterilised.

The author of this book met Rosenberg several times – his Roma name is Paco (sparrow), and he cleaned the boots of Josef Mengele in Auschwitz – Birkenau. Once, in a few sentences, he painted a picture for me of the daily troubles of the prisoners. “People’s teeth were falling out from pain when they could not sit or lie down from haemorrhoids, not to mention the indescribably back-breaking labour. But Himmler’s words: “Here, there are only those who work or those who are dead!” became the law. Nobody dared go to the doctor after his visit, for they would be killed. Not to speak of hygiene in a death camp, where a drop of water had its price. Certain prisoners – guinea pigs, were given a substance along with their food that made their guts disintegrate. God, the suffering! Once you leave hell, you remember the time occasionally, and wonder if there is a scale that shows the severity of Nazi crimes, from these and various other crimes, to the ashes of the victims. The smoke from the crematorium, I think, reached heaven, writing a tale of what happened in Auschwitz – Birkenau and many other camps.”

Camp language, created among camp prisoners. They combined words from their native language with German, creating a language the camp administrators could not understand (the camps held captives speaking 42 native languages). Otto Rosenberg, who was in Marzahn, Dora, Buchenwald, Auschwitz – Birkenau and Bergen – Belsen spoke of this to the author. For example, one of the camp language words was džuva, lice. In Auschwitz – Birkenau one could purchase various items for lice, since a person on whom doctors found lice would be spared.

Lolo, Roma male name of ancient Indian origin.

Loli, Roma female name of ancient Indian origin.

Lorca Federico Garcia (1898–1936), Spanish poet, “god of poetry” killed by Spanish fascists in Alfacar, near Granada. He wrote the “Gypsy Ballads”, representing a unique and inimitable work of literature – with the sigh of the soul and cry of pain of death. He connected the “graphs” of sighs and screams to a personal experience, formed by artism and traditional Roma folk song and dance, derived from the Indian kathaka style. Deep in Roma conscious and unconscious, Lorca reached the archetypes of the collective unconscious and published that poetry is the “distilled” soul of the human being, proto-nature and divine will of creation. The poet dressed the world in a green robe, the colour of life, fertility, hope, innocence and freedom. This was opposed by black, the colour of death, seen as a personal threat. The “Gypsy Ballads” is Lorca’s poetic evidence for the existence of God. On the other hand, this is Lorca’s testamentary statement to the world that the Roma always lose. As the personification and guardians of a primordial humanity, radiating from their eyes, they are at the crossroads of being and non-being. When they are, they are not; when they are not, they are. As long as they live in this world, the “Gypsy Ballads”, along with the name of their creator, will be heard in the beating of their heart.

Lucassen Leo (1959–), professor at the University of Leiden, with an international reputation. Lucassen is the Director of the International Centre for Migration Research and author of a number of renowned books, including the study *Gypsies, the History of a Police Term of Order in Germany 1700-1945*, published in Cologne in 1996. He originated the phrase: “Antitsiganism is the term expressing Europe’s madness!”

Mala, Roma female name of Sanskrit origin, meaning “wreath”.

Little Egypt, name of a XIV century Roma settlement on Modoni, on the Peloponnese. (In fact, the name comes from Venetians. The Greek name for Modoni is Metoni). The Roma settlement was on the hill of Gipe, while the town itself was home to Greeks, Jews and others. The Roma, arriving with their leaders to western European countries, would say they come from Little Egypt. Thus, in certain western European states they were mislabelled *Gypsies*, in Spain *Gitanos*. In some countries, such as Turkey, this name was preserved in the form Kipti, in Albania and among Kosovar Albanians as Madjup, in some parts of Macedonia and Serbia as Djupci, and in the Dubrovnik Republic as Jedjupci. The Dubrovnik poet Andrija Čubranović (second half of the XVI century) is the author of the famous book *Jeđupka*, printed in 1599. Mikša Pelegrinović (1500–1562) is the author of “Iubka”, considered by some as a template for Jeđupka. On the other hand, German writer Achim von Arnim (1781–1831) is the author of *Isabel of Egypt*, considered one of the best achievements of German romanticism, the breeding pool of antitsiganism. Even Goethe could not help it. Namely, in the fifth act of his *Goetz von Berlichingen* he describes a meeting between Goetz and the Roma, who promise him fidelity and safety. “We are prepared to lay down our lives for you!” says the Roma elder to Goetz. However, the commissary of the Berlin theatre changed this scene that was, according to Lessing (1729–1781), one of the most exciting and beautiful scenes in the drama. As free-minded folk, the Roma were shown as musicians and entertainers, in the “Lusig ist Zigeunerleben” style. Why? The Berlin audience, reacting with disgust and contempt to the word “Gypsies”, would protest if, according to the commissary, the Roma were shown as people solidary with Goetz and saying that they would even protect him with their lives. Goethe was asked about this by Ackerman. He explained that this scene was meant to pay homage to the “aristocratic origin” of the Roma and “their affinity to freedom”.

Mandori, Roma male name of ancient Indian origin, means “keeper of the temple”.

Manush Leksa (1942–1997), linguist, poet and translator of Roma origin from the former USSR. Published a number of papers on the Romani language, wrote children’s poetry in Romani, and translated the *Ramayana* epic into Romani.

Marzahn, concentration camp formed from 4 to 16 July 1936, before the opening of the Olympic games held that year in Berlin. The police arrested about 600 Sinti and Roma and led them to Marzahn, in a forest near a graveyard, 16 kilometres from the centre of Berlin. This concentration camp, with a large number of its prisoners deported to the death camp Auschwitz – Birkenau, was called “Rastplatz” (“Rest Place”) by the Nazis.

Marinković Ilija (1981–), world-renowned violinist of Roma origin. Born in Belgrade, living in Vienna, working as a professor at the Academy of Music in Milan. After participating in the Italian festival “Bravo bravissimo”, where he was declared a wunderkind for the skills shown on the violin, as a nine-year old he became a student of the Academy of Music in Vienna. His professor at the time, whose class included Michael Frischenschlager (1936), said: “A musical genius on the violin!” He performed under the conductors Lorin Maazel (1930 – 2014) and Zubin Mehta (1936–). His mastery impressed the whole world.

Marushyakova Elena, ethnologist from Sofia, studying the life and culture of Roma for years. President of the “Gypsy Lore Society”.

Crowd, a term introduced into sociology by Nobel Prize winner Elias Canetti (1905–1994), author of *Crowds and Power*. He distinguished the following types of crowds: flight crowd, baiting crowd, slow crowd, reversal crowd, feast crowd and prohibition crowd. Danger is the cause for a flight crowd, consisting of people with varied social and cultural origin. The crowd of this type lacks distance. The crowd disintegrates as soon as there is no danger. People return separately to the place they fled together. A baiting crowd is formed for a goal that needs to be achieved as soon as possible. Its goal is crime. Canetti explained that there are two types of death. One of them is exile from the group, i.e. ostracism, one of the harshest punishments. The lone victim most often ends up in suicide. Another type of death is surrender to an enemy. Thus an individual, wishing to avoid surrender, fights to the end, i.e. accepts a life or death struggle. A feasting crowd forms based on an invitation, with the goal of pleasure. In addition to food and drink, external prohibitions are off, thus the crowd feels close. But, since the goal of the gathering is short, this crowd disintegrates quickly. An example of a crowd free of command are slave uprisings against masters, “coloured” against whites, revolutionary crowds, etc. This crowd is the result of a long-term process. Injustice and degradation, tolerated by people for centuries, cause an explosion with tremors throughout society. Masses in fear of irrational power (god, devil, vampires, end of the world, etc.) are created based on words of preachers, witch doctors, stories from various sources, etc. These are the causes and reasons for turning people into pious servants of god and patient creatures, expecting the end of the world. Roma across the world join various sects, ranging from the Baha’i to Jehovah’s Witnesses. (This phenomenon has been insufficiently studied among the Roma). Finally, there is the crowd rejecting obedience. Examples are protests, strikes, etc.

Meneka, Roma male and female name of ancient Indian origin.

Mihailović Dejan (1932–2016), professor of violin at the Belgrade Academy of Music since 1984. Before that he was the professor at the Academy of Music in Novi Sad. Many talented Roma students studied in his class. He was the pedagogue to Nemanja Radulović (1985–) and Robert Lakatos (1983–), who became the best known. Mihailović was fatherly to students of Roma origin and due to this love, the talent of many of his students kept

developing.

Mineski, “fish eye”, the name for a large Roma clan with members across Europe, found also in Canada and the USA.

Mirga, Roma male name of ancient Indian origin. It is, e.g. the last name of ethnologist Andrzej Mirga, a Polish Roma. Its origin is the Sanskrit word *mrigaya*, hunter.

Moce, “Free”, Roma male name of ancient Indian origin.

Mode, Roma male name of ancient Indian origin. It is, e.g. the name of the Prime Minister of India Narendra Modi, from Gujarat.

Minor and **major scale** of the Roma, the first is c - d - es - fi - ge - as - b - c. The sequence of the major scale is c - des - e - f - g - as - b - c. Their structure consists of three sounds. For example, c - e - g; g - b - a; g - b - d. This issues were treated by Franz Liszt (1811–1886), who wrote the book *Gypsies and Their Music in Hungary* and Georges Bizet (1838–1875), when he wrote the opera *Carmen*, its premiere in Paris on 3 May 1875. Roma music in Spain and jazz, particularly that of Django Reinhardt, have a different structure.

Moral, its origin in the Latin word *moralis*, manner, character, behaviour. Moral contains the criterion applied to the actions of people, thus it is seen as a form of social conscience. It should be kept in mind that moral norms are not the same in all social groups or historical periods, meaning it is relative. Moral is a two-sided phenomenon. On the one hand, it obliges the individual, thus having an internal action, on the other, as a social phenomenon it is subject to social assessment and control, meaning it has an external action. This is not the case with customary norms, external relative to the individual, or legal ones, under the competence of the state and its bodies. Related to morals are ethics, moral philosophy. Ethics has various theories that can roughly be sorted as deontological and normative. Deontological theories (Gr. *deon*, duty) demand unconditional obedience to moral commandments and ask a man to adhere to them regardless of consequence. Normative theories treat moral norms in a social context. Both the ethics of the saint and the ethics of the hero are foreign to the Roma. According to their views, man is above all norms, and thus an instance of morals. Man is not measured by morals, but morals by man. For a man to be a man, he must be above all norms. The content of all norms and imperatives is to live humanely and to act humanely.

Mudžula, Roma male name.

Mulić Zoran (1957–), professor at the Academy of Music in Novi Sad and Higher School for Educators in Vršac. Member of the International Roma Academy of Arts and Sciences.

Murga, “chicken”, Roma male name of ancient Indian origin.

Naka, Roma male name of ancient Indian origin, the basis for the Serbian last name Nakić. This is, e.g. the last name of Dalibor, President of the National Roma Council.

Niculescu Florin (1967–), Roma violinist from Romania who became a member of the group of Stefano Grappelli (1908–1997) at 13 years of age, creating Roma jazz with Django Reinhart.

Nikolić Jovan (1955–), a poet whose first book *Guest from Nowhere* touched the starry sky. Anyone who loves and understands poetry saw this book as a revelation. After this book, Nikolić enriched the poetic library of Europe and the world with the collections *St. Goerge's Day* and *Room on Wheels*.

Nikolić Sofka (1907–1982), “queen of folk music” of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. In 1927 recorded one of the highest circulation records of the time in Europe. She was friend to the “Black Pearl” Josephine Baker, and her listeners and fans included some of the better known writers of the time, such as Aleksa Šantić, Branislav Nušić, Tin Ujević, Gustav Krklec, actors, renowned politicians of the time, etc. However, her only daughter Marica died in 1938, at 17 years of age. Crushed by the pain, she left the stage. Her words remain: “Songs are sung, sorrow is mourned!”

Nobel winners about the Roma, a topic that can be treated from multiple standpoints. Here we would like to note winners of the Nobel Prize for Literature who were inspired by the life of the Roma to write poems, prose and dramas where they appear in various roles, or essays prompted by various reasons and events. The first Nobel Prize for Literature was awarded in 1901, to a French author of Occitan origin, Frederic Mistral (1830–1914), writing about the Roma in his works, he became a Nobel laureate in 1904. The next, in 1905, was awarded to Polish author Henryk Sienkiewicz (1846–1916), who varied the Roma theme through several novels. Swedish poet Selma Lagerlof (1858–1940), inspired by the life of the Roma, became “immortalised” in 1909. The German Gerhart Hauptmann (1862–1946), also varying the Roma topic in his novels, became a laureate in 1912. Amidst World War I, in 1915, the prize went to Romain Rolland (1866–1944). The world-renowned writer Thomas Mann (1875–1955) won the highest literary prize in 1929. Herman Hesse (1877–1962) became a laureate in 1946, while the American Thomas S. Eliot (1888–1965) did so in 1948. The prize for 1954 went to Ernest Hemingway (1890–1961); two years later to Spaniard Juan Ramon Jimenez (1881–1958); in 1958 to Boris Pasternak (1890–1960). Ivo Andrić (1892–1975), who varied the Roma topic in many of his works, won the Nobel Prize in 1961. Heinrich Boll (1917–1985), who was personally engaged and contributed to improving the status of the Roma and Sinti in Germany and recognition of their holocaust won the Nobel Prize in 1972. A decade later, in 1982, the award went to Colombian author Gabriel Garcia Marques (1927–2014), author of the novel *One Hundred Years of Solitude*, describing Melquiades, a Roma from Macedonia. Dario Fo won the prize in 1997, and Gunther Grass (1927–2015) two years later. He was personally engaged in the Roma problem and half the amount of the Nobel Prize was invested in the foundation “For Roma Welfare” in Lubeck. Writers whose

work speaks of the Roma and who won the Nobel Prize after Grass include 2004 Elfriede Jelinek (1946–); 2006 Orhan Pamuk (1952–) and 2016 Bob Dylan (1941–).

Data and the book *Europe's Invention of the Gypsies* by Klaus-Michael Bogdal (1948–) can be used to write a whole new chapter of Romology. Adding to this great names of world literature, such as Miguel de Cervantes (1547–1616), Shakespeare (1564– 1616), Goethe (1749–1832), Schiller (1757–1805), Dostoyevsky (1821–1881), Tolstoy (1828–1910) and Lorca (1896–1936), author of “Gypsy Ballads”, the most magnificent poetic temple of Roma in world literature, and over 1,000 painters worldwide eternalising the visage and soul of the Roma on their canvas, including some of the best known like Titian (1488– 1576), Velasquez (1599–1660), Rembrandt (1606–1669), Francisco Goya (1746–1826), Vincent van Gogh (1853–1890), Picasso (1881–1973), Salvador Dali (1904–1989) and certain composers, this is truly a unique global phenomenon. The “empty sheet” in global and European history is made up for by the history of art.

Onomastics, a special branch of linguistics, its name derived from the Greek word *onoma*, name. Depending on what it studies, various names exist. Anthroponomastics studies personal names and nicknames, their origin, history and meaning. These are anthroponomastic data. (The author of this book is one of the first to draw scientific attention to this issue.) Donyms are names of people. One should differentiate between endonyms or autonyms (term denoting the form of a term used in the language of origin) and exonyms (term denoting the form of a term used in a foreign language). Eponym is the linguistic term showing the derivation of a new name from an old, e.g. Adam – Adam’s apple; Rom – rromani baxt, etc.

Osman Nedo (1958), actor and poet of Roma origin from Skopje (Macedonia), living and working in Cologne (Germany). He was a member of the theatre troupe “Phralipe” in Skopje and Mulheim on Ruhr. He had several roles, the best known are his performances in Shakespeare’s drama *Romeo and Juliette* and in Lorca’s drama *Blood Wedding*. As a poet, he expressed his experience of art and life in the collection *Do Not Give Birth to Me*.

Pana, Roma female name of ancient Indian origin.

Parni, Roma female name, meaning “white”.

Patalo, Roma male name of ancient Indian origin.

Peca, Roma female name of ancient Indian origin meaning owl.

Peloponnese, peninsula in Greece with a surface area of 21,549 square kilometres, the southernmost part of Greece. Mentioned often in connection to the Roma. Named after Pelops, who ruled it. In medieval times “Pelops’ Island” was named “Morea”. (In some European states the Roma are also known as “Moreans”). Larger cities on the Peloponnese are Sparta, Corinth, Argos and Megalopolis, while the city of Methoni, its name changed

by Venetians to Modoni, housed a large Roma colony. Modoni is a firmly fortified town, not particularly beautiful. It is home to many Jews and Greeks and few Christians. Next to Modoni is a hill with around 200 small houses or huts where Egyptians live, called Hayden, lending this place the name "Little Egypt", as a writer from that time recorded. When the Roma reached Dubrovnik and medieval lands, the Roma leaders said they came from "Little Egypt" and presented themselves as "counts from Little Egypt". Many believe the Roma from the Peloponnese and surrounding peninsulas established contact with pilgrims coming from the Holy Land, thus they identified with them. (When I was in first grade of primary school, certain Roma groups, most often the so-called spindlers, sold or exchanged objects made of wood for wheat, corn, flour or pork fat, and travelled along cards drawn by oxen with huge horns, saying they come from Little Egypt. As penitents, they are condemned to travel forever. There are records of the Roma from the Peloponnese since 1348. Simon Simonis, or Simon Fitz Simonis, an Irish Franciscan and travel writer, whose passport was approved personally by Sultan Al Nazir Muhammad, stayed in Greece from 1322 to 1324. In 1322 he wrote of seeing the people of Ham in Crete. (The goal of Simonis' journey was to describe Cain's journey, and the journeys of all other victims of damnation). A forefather of the people of Ham or Hamites, according to the Old Testament (Genesis 9.24), is Noah's son Ham, brother of Shem and Japheth. According to the Bible (Genesis 9.21 – 27 and 5.32), Noah cursed his son Ham and his son Canaan, since Ham saw him naked and told this to their brothers (Modern researchers of Noah and the deluge assume it was about incest committed by Ham, and there was no deluge at all.) Since Roma were accused of making nails for the crucifixion of Christ as blacksmiths, and in the version by Simon Simonis as Ham's descendants, they were sinners on multiple counts in the eyes of the faithful at the time. Canaan's descendants, primarily according to Irish mythology, are the African people who, as punishment by God, became slaves. All those who became victims of leprosy are also "Canaan's descendants", the Calvinists claimed. The news of the Roma feud (Feud Atinnganorum) in Corfu is from 1346. The oldest news are from 1056 about Roma arriving from Armenia to Epirus and from 1068, by a Georgian monk (see the note about Ivron).

Petrović Đurđica (1927–2003), during the nineteen-eighties dean of the Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade. First to find and publish data on the Roma in the Dubrovnik archives. Namely, a document from 5 November 1362 – one of the oldest items of evidence on the presence of Roma in the Balkans – states that the Roma left some precious items as lien for a loan. The Roma then lived outside the walls protecting Stradun.

Pica, Roma female name meaning nightingale.

Pico, Picuka, Roma male name of ancient Indian origin meaning nightingale.

Picasso Pablo (1881–1973), ingenious painter, whose work left a strong mark on the XX century. Picasso, who originally knew the life of the Roma from Spain, immortalised them through his paintings in a way never before seen in the history of painting.

Pisari Milovan (1980–), historian from Belgrade, wrote the study *Roma Suffering in Serbia during the Holocaust*, published in 2014.

Pito or Pitu, Roma male name of ancient Indian origin.

Pomana, rite, not religion or “charity” as erroneously written in certain texts and dictionaries. This rite for the dead is practiced by the Kalderaši. The word is of Serbian origin – pomen (remembrance, warning, etc.) The Kalderaši used it to mean funeral feast, organised for the deceased. After the funeral all members of the procession and relatives eat food that has been prepared. The place at the “head” of the table is reserved for the deceased. The plate set in his honour holds the head of the sacrificial lamb or pig and a glass of water. The cooks may not be family members. This rule is also in force for service. Pomana is organised after the seventh day as of the funeral, after 40 days (according to the traditional rite, after 40 days a glass of water and sugar is not left in the room where the deceased has died, since their soul is believed to have already arrived to heaven), after half a year and after one year. The ritual mourning of the deceased is performed for 40 days by walking round the house or (in the past) around the cart.

Censuses of the population of a certain area have been conducted, historically, as early as Babylon (3800 b.c.e.), in Greece, Israel, China, Egypt, Rome, etc. These censuses, just as during the Roma censuses in the Ottoman Empire, were conducted for tax and military purposes, during the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, covering male Roma. More modern censuses originate in the XVII, XVIII and XIX centuries (Canada and the USA). The first census in accordance with the scientific method was implemented in the USA in 1970. The branch of statistics dealing with censuses is census statistics. Censuses are conducted in phases: 1. Preparing the census, 2. Collecting information door to door, 3. Data processing, analysis and review, 4. Publishing the results of the census.

Census of Roma in Serbia during 1834-2002 is one of the paradigmatic examples showing the complexity of the problem of a Roma census. The results of statistical and demographic censuses, on the one hand, are a picture of ethnomimicry, characteristic of all national minority members, particularly the Roma and Jews, who never trusted state endeavours, not even statistical-demographic censuses. Statistical-demographic censuses were, both in the eyes of the Roma and the state – from the census taker to data analysis and the presentation of the results – a political issue. The author of this book recalls that census takers during the nineteen-seventies filled the census sheet for all Roma in certain places in Serbia by themselves, putting “Serb” under the rubric related to national affiliation. This is confirmed, for example, by the questionnaires from villages in the municipalities of Smederevo, Smederevska Palanka, Jagodina, Mladenovac, Sopot, Barajevo, Obrenovac, Ljig, Valjevo, Loznica, etc. For example, in the village Umčari, Selevac, Cerovac, Strižilo, Međuluzje, Đurinci, Manić, Lisović, Meljak, etc. – with thousands of Roma – there are barely twenty in the census data. The following census data also bears witness of this:

in 1834 in Serbia the census shows 18,000 Roma (0.7%); 1846 – 11,800 (0.3%); 1850 – 13,000 (0.4%); 1859 – 18,000 (1.7%); 1863 – 20,000 (1.8%); 1866 – 25,527 (2.1%); 1874 – 24,807 (1.8%); 1890 – 37,570; 1895 – 46,212; 1921 – 41,200; 1945 – 52,180. (the head of the Nazi German Military Administration in Serbia Harald Turner, 1891–1947, reported on 11 April 1942 to SS General Karl Wolff, chief of the personal staff of Heinrich Himmler, that “the Jewish issue, as well as the Gypsy issue, has been fully liquidated.”) In 1953 the Roma population in Serbia, according to the census, is 58,800; 1961 – 9,826!; 1971 – 49,894; 1981 – 76,833; 1991 – 94,492; 2002 – 108,193; 2011 – 147,600. (Of this number, 87,242 persons stated that Romani is their native language.) The Roma are, after Hungarians (293,299 or 3.9%), the most numerous national minority. However, nearly all agree that Roma are the most vulnerable national minority or pariahs in Serbian society.

Popović Mića (1923–1996), one of the best known Serbian painters, member of the Serbian Academy of Science and Art, Roma on his mother's side. He is the author of the painting *Gypsy Musicians at the Train Station in Ristovac* (1970).

Pošojka, Roma female name of ancient Indian origin, meaning “welfare”.

Praxope, Roma name for a funeral. (Literally “turn into ash”, probably originating with the collective memory of the traditional funeral pyres. The original Romani word for ash of Sanskrit origin is *basma*). There are words of foreign origin for a grave: *grobo* and *limori*. Until recently grave sites were marked modestly. However, recently graves have become a status symbol, with huge tombs being built equipped with furniture or devices, such as phones, radios or TVs. In some countries, headstones are shaped like animals. For example, in Italy they are shaped like horses. In USA a grave site is purchased during the life of the person to rest in it. This place cannot – according to current custom – be marked by anyone from the family of the “future” deceased, but only someone unrelated to the family. After the rite this person is treated as a relative to the “future” deceased and all members of his family. A celebration is held on this occasion for the new relative. He toasts the honour of the “future dead person” whose place is secured, the “eternal home” for his remains, saying the prayer: “Devla bareja, Tu savo akava them kerdan thaj pe leste manuŝes meklan, inkli angla o X kana resela phangle jakhenca dži Tute. Lesko dji si užo sar o kham, lokho sar e por, sar Ćire angela si. Unzar leske Ćiro vast thaj legar les an rajo, kaj, ĆaĆimasa te vakarav, si lesko than!” (“Great God, You who created this world and left man in it, greet X when he comes to you with eyes closed. His soul is clear as the sun, light as a feather, like your angels. Give him your hand and lead him into heaven, where truth be told lies his place!”) The other guests shout: “All you have said about X is true! Let God lead him into heaven!” The Roma have crossed an enormous path after the exodus before reaching Europe. Where and how they buried their dead in Afghanistan, Iran, Iraq, Syria, Turkey, Byzantium... nobody wrote about.

Pupa, Roma female name of ancient Indian origin, meaning “cook”.

Putrika, Roma female and male name of ancient Indian origin. From the Sanskrit word *putri*, meaning son.

Radika, Roma female name of ancient Indian origin.

Radulović Nemanja (1985–), with Ilija Marinković and Robert Lakatos, the third Roma “wunderkind” to win the hearts and souls of his audience not only through musical ability, but also his presence. He is an internationally recognised genius, whose original performances spread joy. His bow “awakens the dream in a flower and creates heaven, its stars circling his head.” The musical wonder created by Radulović is equal to a philosophic one, the “wonder” with power to show the path to the world’s deepest truths.

Raatzsch Andre (1978–), head of the art section of the Documentation and Cultural Centre in Heidelberg. Raatzsch, whose father is German and mother a Hungarian Roma, is the author of the cultural-artistic utopian project “Romanistan”, part of “Paradise Lost”, an exhibition by Roma artists at the Venice Biennale.

Requiem for Auschwitz, a work of music by Roger Moreno Rathgeb (1964–), composed after his visit to Auschwitz. He is of Sinti origin, living in the Netherlands.

Rembrandt van Rijn (1606–1669), world renowned Dutch painter. Author of the *Spanish Gypsy* “*Preciosa*”.

Rina, Roma female name of ancient Indian origin.

Ritter Robert (1901–1951), head of the Institute for Racial Hygiene and Demographic Biology in Berlin, his pseudo-research leading to more than 20,000 Roma and Sinti being deported to Auschwitz and Auschwitz – Birkenau. This double doctor of science, psychology and medicine, with his associates Eva Justin (1909–1966), Adolf Würth (1905–1907), assistant to Nazi eugenicist Eugen Fischer, Sophie Ehrhardt (1902–1990), participating in experiments conducted on prisoners in Sachsenhausen, Dachau and the ghetto in Lodz, Ruth Kellermann (1913–1999), Gerhart Štein (1910–1971) and others, performed the classification of the Roma and Sinti in accordance with Nazi ideology and teachings about race. As a Nazi “service”, planning to turn their crippled philosophy into history as Thomas Mann wrote, they wrote symbols next to the names of Roma and Sinti from a census, based on blood analyses. The symbol Z (from the name Zigeuner) meant “pure blooded Gypsy”, the symbol ZM meant “mixed race” with equal amounts Roma and German blood; the symbol ZM+ meant mixed with predominant Roma blood; ZM- meant mixed with predominantly German blood; the symbol NZ meant a person of German origin, living in a way typical of the Roma. Würth, with close ties with Arthur Nebe, head of Section V of the Nazi Reich Police, explained the purpose of studying the Roma and Sinti as follows: “The question of Gypsies for us is primarily a racial question. Just as the national-socialist state has solved the Jewish question, it will have to thoroughly regulate the Gypsy question.” After the end

of World War II nobody from this Berlin institute faced a court. The court of justice has passed over nearly all “anthropologists” of Nazi Germany and Austria, with some of them continuing their experiments funded by the German Research Society (DFG), enjoying worldwide repute!

Reemtsma Katrin (1958–1997), ethnologist from Berlin and author of several critical books about German ethnologists dealing with the Roma during various periods of history. In one book, published in 1996 in Frankfurt am Main, she wrote that Martin Bloch, professor of ethnology at the University of Leipzig, mentor to ethnologist Tihomir Đorđević, was not only a racist, but on orders of the Nazi police during war he stayed in Belgrade, Bucharest and Thessaloniki, tasked with reporting the population numbers of Roma in Serbia, Romania and Greece to prepare for their deportation to Auschwitz – Birkenau.

Roma, pl. Roma, general name for the people that produced various derived names and terms to denote social and cultural phenomena, relations, activities, institutions, etc. (Romnji pl. Romnja is the female gender noun.)

Romani Rose (1946–), leader of German Sinti and Roma, long-time president of the Central Council of German Sinti and Roma and founder of the Documentation and Cultural Centre in Heidelberg. Due to the struggle to recognise the holocaust of the Sinti and Roma and antisiganism, improving their status in Germany and Europe, Romani has gained international repute and recognition comparable to a statesman’s repute and recognition. He holds a central place in Sinti and Roma history.

Romanipe, term encompassing Roma tradition and culture, closely tied to Roma identity.

Romani anthem, Roma anthem that, along with the flag – its top blue (denoting the sky) and bottom green (denoting the earth) with the six-spoked wheel in red (denoting karma) – was accepted at the First Roma Congress in London on 8 April 1971. This day was declared International Roma Day. The anthem has the following lyrics: “Djelem, djelem lungone dromenca, / Maladilem baxtale Rromenca. / 2. A Rromalen, katar tumen aven, / E cahrencar, bokhale čhavenca? / Vi man sasa bari familia, / Mudarda la e kali legija. / Sa len čhinda, vi rromnjen, vi rromen, / Maškar lende vi cikne čhavoren. / 3. Putar Devla, će kale vudara, / Te šaj dikhav munre familia. / Pale ka džav lungone dromen- ca, / Thaj phirava baxtale Rromenca. / 4. Upre Rroma, si tut trom akana, / Aven manca sa lumnjaće Rroma, / O kalo muj thaj e kale jakha, / Kamava len sar e kale drakha.”

Gypsies, Forgotten Children of India, the title of a book by Chaman Lal, who was a participant at the First Conference of Non-Aligned States held in 1961 in Belgrade, with Jawaharlal Nehru (1889–1964), father to Indira Gandhi (1917–1984). Nehru and Lal visited the Roma settlement in Marinkova Bara in Belgrade, and in 1962 he published the above book in English. It promoted interest in the Indian scientific and cultural public for the Roma and “opened the door” of India to the Roma. But only after the First Global Roma Con-

gress, where the International Romani Union (IRU) was formed, were the Roma invited to India. The president of the Punjabi government at the time Zail Singh said, in his opening words, that he is also of Roma origin.

Romistics, academic discipline on Roma language and their oral and written literature. Romology, academic scientific discipline that became needed during the late XX century, when the Roma and their lives became the subject of university studies. Understood as the “logos” of the life, history and culture of the Roma, a people of Indian origin that found refuge in Europe after the exodus during the XI and XIII century, it is conceptually seen as an Indo-European study implemented in an interdisciplinary manner, since its intent is to study all areas and aspects of the Roma community, its members the victims of anti-tsiganism, an enmity of the majority people and repression by state and other institutions, historically and structurally regarded comparable to antisemitism. On the other hand, romology studies the opportunity of overcoming the state characterised as a pariah syndrome in Europe, i.e. the perversion of anthropology into zoology. As long as overall slavery is not eliminated, until all the injustices and prohibitions in society are not prevented, the Roma will live as the pariahs of Europe, bearing the shackles of slavery, the personification of the most horrific injustices and prohibitions, i.e. the living picture of Jesus on the cross. Only those who feel compassion to the suffering of the Roma feel compassion with the suffering of Jesus Christ, i.e. it is clear that truth is on the side of those least privileged. Only then will they awaken their awareness of their human origin and humane treatment – when they energetically demand that the Roma be freed and live in conditions dignified of people and citizens. Defending the Roma, they also defend human dignity and equality among people and citizens, defend justice and freedom without which no society is not, nor can it become, a humane society.

Sali, Roma term for a relative, meaning sister in law.

Salo, Roma term for a relative, meaning brother in law.

Sarasate Pablo (1844–1908), Spanish composer, finding inspiration for his work in Roma life. He titled his Opus no. 20 for violin and piano “Gypsy Airs”.

Sastro, Roma term for a relative, meaning father in law.

Sasuj, Roma term for a relative, meaning mother in law.

Savić Svenka (1940–), professor emeritus, coordinator of the Centre for Gender Studies in Novi Sad. Graduated from the Faculty of Philology in Novi Sad, completed her doctorate at the Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade, defending her thesis “Speech Development in Twins and Non-Twins”. Through this she became professor of psycho-linguistics at the Faculty of Philosophy in Novi Sad. As a psycho-linguist she became interested in Roma issues, thus becoming a member of the SANU Committee for Studying the Life and Cus-

toms of the Roma. She set the basis for creating and studying gender terminology. As coordinator of the Centre for Gender Studies she initiated and organised Romani studies. Certain graduate students of Roma origin, completing gender studies, wrote and defended doctoral theses. Svenka Savić was the mentor for doctoral students and president of the commission for doctoral defence at the University of Novi Sad.

Sejdović Ruždija (1966–), Roma writer from Montenegro, living and working in Cologne, Germany. The collection *Light and Midnight* (1988) opened his doors to poetry and indicated he is a poet with a future. His *Eremite* (Ease and Unease of a Roma), published in 2011, is a book that confirms this.

Siminica Dona Dumitru (1926–1979), a Roma from Romania, the “king of song” of all time. Siminica, his father Nicolae a violinist, was born in Targoviste. A eight, he had a public performance that brought him renown and the status of “wunderkind”. When he moved to Bucharest in 1952, his inimitable voice brought him success after success. Everyone saw him as a singer whose throat produced the music of a philharmonic or 100 violins. It was and remains an inimitable voice, the voice of Dona Dumitru Siminica, who sang the great song of earth and sky.

Social distance, a term introduced in sociology by the American sociologist Robert E. Park (1864–1944), as a type of module of human views and behaviours in interaction and a form of social relation. It is applicable to races and classes and measureable like, for example, intelligence. His student Emory S. Bogardus (1922–1973) developed a scale that covers marriage, personal friendships, neighbourly relations, cooperation, attitude to migrants, etc. Considerable attention was given to social distancing by the Chicago Sociology School, while in Europe it was covered by Georg Simmel (1858–1918).

Sociolinguistics, an independent linguistic science developed in 1960. Its founders are the American William Labov (1927) and Brit Basil Bernstein (1924–2000). Its further development was affected by William Stewart (1930–2002) and Heinz Klose (1904–1987). The subject of its study, on the one hand, is the impact of social and cultural norms on language, and on the other, the impact of language on social and cultural processes and interlingual relations and impact. The Roma language is exposed to the influence of various languages and thus presents a challenge to sociolinguistic research. The University of Graz is currently the most important centre for this type of research.

Sociology (lat. *societas*, society), the science about society, appearing in the XIX century. Its “three pillars” are Emile Durkeim (1858–1917), Karl Marx (1818–1883) and Max Weber (1866–1920). Aiming to explain society and social phenomena, sociology uses various methods, starting from empirical research, to critical analysis and thought. The fields and topics of sociology are society and types of society, social interaction and daily life, culture, society and the individual, family, marriage and personal life, ethnic and racial affiliation, stratification and class structure, labour and economic life, modern organisa-

tions, rule, ideologies and political power, mass media, education, religion, revolutions and social change, global change, etc.

Relations may be: 1. **jekhe ratesko**, blood; 2. **lino čavo**, adopted; 3. **hanamikanipe**, in-laws; 4. **an nav e Devlesko kerdo**, spiritual; 5. **averčhande kerdo**, other.

Džene jekhe rateske, blood relations are natural. They originate from the same ancestor and are rectilinear. For example, my brothers, sisters and me come from the same father and mother and are first-order blood relations. Marriage between first order blood relations is prohibited by all rules and norms. Sexual relations between first order blood relations are also prohibited. In case of violation of this prohibition, it is treated as an unforgivable sin for the perpetrators. For a family or familial group this is a lifetime shame that can have tragic consequences. Blood relations on lateral lines (sons and daughters of uncles and aunts) are treated as first-order relations. Blood relations between half-brothers and half-sisters, no matter if paternal or maternal (collateral line). Prohibitions also apply to second order blood relations, third and fourth order blood relations. Blood relations are terminated with members of the fifth generation. These are so-called **parne birovlja**, white bees. The relation between “white bees” and blood relations is labelled with the expression “**duje mulenge jakha**”, “the eyes of two dead men”, i.e. extinguished relations.

Lino čavo, adopted child – the act of adoption is accompanied by various customary and magical actions – it has the status of blood relation. For an adopted child the same rules apply regarding marriage and sexual relations.

Hanamikanipe or hanamičipe, i.e. in-laws, the relation between parents and close relatives of the groom and parents and close relatives of the bride. An analysis of the word *hanamitanipe*, a paradigmatic example of word-building in Sanskrit and neo-Indian languages using the sandhi principle, provides insight into the social and cultural life of the Roma. This word consists of the 1. Pronoun **ham**, in Hindi meaning us. This word is the basis for the words together, similar, equal, people of similar views and ideas, to marry a sister, to unite, etc; 2. The noun **nika**, meaning marriage contract, wedding; 3. **mi** is the short form of the verb *mithuni*, to unite, pair up; (Roma in Vojvodina, in Vršac, for example, say *mithunisale e papina*, the geese copulated); 4. If using the verb *hanamičisavol-* (and example showing that in addition to active and passive, Romani also has medium), **-avol** comes from *bhu, bhavatil*, in ancient Indian meaning to become, to originate. Thus, the analysis shows that parents agree on the marriage between two children, and they guarantee the link will be permanent. They confirm this through oaths, rites and ritual purchase. This is not a blood relation, but the moral and customary norms and will of parents for the link between their children to be permanent and happy prevent the brother in law having relations with the sisters in law, and vice versa. These prohibitions also relate to relations between father and daughter in law, mother and son in law.

The fourth type of relation covers **čirvipe**, best man/woman; **phralipe trušulenca**, blood brothers; (blood father and blood mother is a special type of relation); and **phena trušu-**

lenca, blood sisters. In principle, spiritual relations are respected like first order blood relations. According to belief and tradition, the “guardian” of this kind of relation is God.

Finally, regarding other types of relation, there are “milk relations” – existing among Arabs and mentioned, for example, by Enver Hoxha (1908–1985), Albanian leader or general Stepa Stepanović, nursed by a Roma woman from Kumodraž. There is also “bringing back the dead”, a form of medical treatment of severely ill persons using special magical objects made by a Roma blacksmith at midnight, then buried in an unknown grave.

Serbian Academy of Science and Arts, SANU, has a long tradition of studying the Roma. In addition to ethnologists, geographers, historians, demographers, statisticians, lawyers, sociologists, authors and artists finding inspiration in the life of the Roma, even some mathematicians wrote of them, such as the famous Mihailo Petrović Alas (1868–1943), writing with exuberation about Roma music as witnessed by his text “Mija – Nightingale”. SANU contains a Committee for Studying the Life and Customs of the Roma, its presidents the academics Miloš Macura (1916–2005), Ljubomir Tadić (1925–2005) and Vojislav Stanovčić (1930–2017). The current president is Tibor Varadi (1939–).

Stalinology, a name created by the author of this book to denote the science treating the victims of Stalin’s terror. It studies the political victims of Stalin’s terror in the former USSR and other European and non-European countries, and victims deported on government orders to Siberia for various reasons or victims that did not meet government requests (e.g. surrender of wheat in Ukraine, liquidation of writers and artists whose work was not in line with social realism, religious people, fighters who fell into Nazi hands in inescapable situations, etc.) The victims of Stalin’s terror included the Roma, accused of “hiding gold and ducats while the working people are dying”.

World Day of Romani Language is 5 November, established by UNESCO in Paris based on a proposal by the association “Kali Sara” from Zagreb. It is the day for awarding the “Ferenc Stojka” and “Šaip Jusuf” prizes for scientific achievement in the field of Romani language.

Šajn, Roma family name of Persian origin. This last name, related to Šainović, means falcon. Šajn is, for example, the last name of Srđana Šajna, former member of the National Assembly of Serbia, while Šainović is the last name of the poet Lika from Bora. The list of Roma killed at the Jasenovac concentration camp 1941–1945 has a large number of persons of Roma origin with the last name Šajn. The majority of Roma killed in Jasenovac, of the total 60,000, had the last name Nikolić or Jovanović.

Šiftar Vanek (1919–1999), Slovenian lawyer, author of a book about Roma from Slovenia. The house he lived in, in Tišina, near Murska Sobota, was turned into a Roma museum, and the funds he saved created a foundation for financing various projects.

Šiljo, Roma male name of ancient Indian origin.

Štrukelj Pavla (1921–2015), ethnologist from Ljubljana. Her doctoral topic was Roma culture in Slovenia. Her thesis was defended as a monograph with the title *Roma in Slovenian*.

Šero, Roma male name of ancient Indian origin, meaning lion. **Šuka**, Roma male name of ancient Indian origin, meaning luck. **Šukarni** (pl. **Šukarnja**), Roma name for fairies.

Taboo comes from the Tonga language from Polynesia. It denotes holy things, as originally discovered (1791) by seafarer James Cook (1728–1779). The issue was treated by many ethnologist, psychologists and sociologists. Taboo covers all things that are subject to prohibition, many for religious reasons, some from social or economic, and some from ideological-political reasons. (E.g. this was the fate of people on Goli Otok during the clash of Josip Broz Tito and Stalin, or the fact hidden from public that in some places in Slovenia the Roma were also killed by partisans!) From a sociological standpoint, taboo contributes to stabilising society, i.e. prevents speaking in public of things that may cause social or emotional tremors. E.g. topics being avoided in India are menstruation, the “holy cow”, the huge slum settlement Dharavi in Bombay, populated by about a million people primarily working in recycling, etc. The above issues from India also touch on the Roma community. For example, many older Roma apologise to their interlocutor as soon as they mention the word “blood” since in the cultural-social matrix of the Roma community blood is subject to taboo, as a source of ritual impurity. Thus a woman could not prepare food or appear in public ceremonies, etc. while menstruating. In a word, she was isolated and at a distance with family members and relatives. Since they are of Indian descent, the cow was for them, like the Hindus, a holy being. (But according to official reports, India is nevertheless the world’s second exporter of cow leather!) After the exodus, necessity forced the Roma to depart from this taboo. They started using beef as food. But they declared a type of caterpillar to be “holy” or “God’s cow”. The caterpillar, enjoying the treatment of a holy cow in India, may not be touched or killed! Finally, Roma in all countries work in collecting secondary raw materials, considered a typical source of their income. Science has thus far not studied this phenomenon. We assume this to be a consequence of centuries of persecution and pogroms, exclusion and racial segregation and ethnic distance, established by the majority population of the country they live in and applied to them. These and other factors that led to the Roma becoming an ethno-class, or better said caste of untouchables, caused a collective regression. This phenomenon intertwines defence mechanisms discovered by psychoanalyst Sigmund Freud (1856–1939), and systematised by his daughter Ana Freud (1895–1982) in the book *Ego and the Mechanisms of Defence*. These are regression, dissociation or isolation, and divided thinking. These mechanisms, caused by centuries of discrimination and persecution, led to a collective regression in the economy of some Roma groups. I.e. these groups sought protection in collecting secondary raw materials, recalling original gatherer societies (hunting was never favoured among the Roma, while for many clans and tribal groups fishing was taboo). Collecting raw materials is not the mere choice of many Roma, but a form of historical and social regression. The authorities and cruel people who exiled them from society led to them living in garbage-heaps and finding a source of subsistence in garbage. These slums and favelas are home to “former people” whose human substance

is largely cracked. Of their culture only the Roma music remains that – as a Roma from Skopje said – treats their souls. Comparing the past and future, a Roma from Berlin said: “The Nazis treated us like garbage to be burnt. Today’s antitsiganists treat us as garbage to be traded, and open to us the gates of the garbage market, with a cynical comment: *Das Geld stinkt nicht!* (Money does not stink!) In the Roma community there are many taboos of religious and social-cultural origin. For example, one must not use a tree struck by lightning as fuel; a winter rose may not be brought into the house; frogs, weasels or swallows may not be killed; one may not eat the meat of magpies, ravens or horses; one may not use the effects of a dead person, etc.

Tamas Peli (1948–1993), a Roma painter graduating in the Netherlands. Had a lot of success as a painter in Hungary, but also in Europe. The greatest inspiration for his work was found in religion.

Taso, Roma male name of ancient Indian origin.

Titian Vecelli (1488/1489–1576), world-renowned renaissance painter, from Venice. Author of the painting *Gypsy Madonna with Jesus*, painted around 1510. This painting, 83.5 x 65.5 cm in size, radiating calm and beauty, is at the Art History Museum in Vienna.

Titalo, Roma male and female name of ancient Indian origin, meaning butterfly.

Toko, Roma male name of ancient Indian origin.

Toto, Roma male name of ancient Indian origin, meaning peacock.

Tota, Roma female name of ancient Indian origin, meaning female peacock.

Totem, a phenomenon studied by anthropology, ethnology and sociology. The name comes from the Ojibwe language, spoken by a tribal clan in south-eastern Canada (oteman or ododeman, meaning blood relation between brothers and sisters. Europe learned of the word and phenomenon in 1791 from fur trader James Long). A totem may be natural phenomena, plants, animals, etc. that serve as a model for rules of behaviour. Ethnologists have found that there exist, for example, a wolf clan, frog clan, fire clan, etc. Ethnological data on Roma clans come from a more distant past – fire clan, moon clan, bear clan, etc. Totems regulate rules on sexual relations and marriage and blood relations. More broadly, totemism is seen as an animist religion. The book by Emile Durkhem *Elementary Forms of Religious Life* is doubtless the best work on the topic.

Tula (variants Dula and Cule), Roma female name of ancient Indian origin, meaning scales.

Velasquez Diego (1599–1660), Spanish painter, author of the painting *Sign on Roma Woman*.

Vincent van Gogh (1853–1890), Dutch painter, author of the painting *Gypsy Camp with Horse Cart*.

Wippermann Wolfgang (1945–), German historian, teaching Contemporary History at the Free University in Berlin, where he doctored with Ernst Nolte. Wippermann is an expert for ideologies, such as fascism, antitsiganism, antisemitism... His book *As Gypsies (Wie die Zigeuner)* is one of the most valuable historic works about the Roma.

Wiesenthal Simon (1908–2005), head of the “Simon Wiesenthal” Centre in Vienna (an eponymous centre was established in Los Angeles in 1977). Wiesenthal, famous worldwide as the “Nazi hunter”, studied a number of concentration camps, including the death camps – Buchenwald, Treblinka, Sobibor, Majdanek, Ravensbruck and Mauthausen. His tireless work uncovered some of the greatest war criminals, like Adolf Eichmann (1906–1962), Franz Stangl (1908–1971), commander of Treblinka, and Hermine Braunsteiner (1919–1991), who participated in the crimes committed at the Majdanek and Ravensbruck concentration camps. The former minister of police of the Ustasha Croatian state Andrija Artuković (1899–1988) was also discovered and sent to Zagreb, where he was condemned as a war criminal. Wiesenthal also looked for Mengele, but he unfortunately eluded the court of justice. He also took part in the work of the Second World Roma Congress in 1981 in Gottingen. “During Nazism there was no difference between the persecution and destruction of the Sinti, Roma and Jews – they suffered together in concentration camps. I always emphasised that the national socialists aimed for the total destruction of all Jews, Roma and Sinti.”

Leadership, a topic studied by sociology, politicology and history. Based on research to date, the following types of leadership have been found: 1. Autocratic leadership – when one person imposes its will to other group members. It also occurs in hierarchically organised groups, like the army, police, religious institutions, etc. The model is accepted as the norm in the army, police and religious institutions. An illustrative example is the adage: *Roma locuta, causa finita!* (It will be as it was said in Rome!); 2. Democratic leadership – when no one person dominates, and the group is positive towards the initiative of all members; 3. Collective leadership – the group avoids the idea of leadership in the strict sense – all members have the same status and power; 4. Laissez-faire leadership when no member of the group accepts responsibility for making decisions.

Voicu Ion (1923–1997), Romanian violinist of Roma origin, teacher of the renowned Yehudi Menuhin and David Oistrakh.

Uhlik Rade (1899–1991), member of the Academy of Science and Arts of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Studied the Roma for more than 50 years. Uhlik graduated in germanistics in Vienna. He was a gymnasium teacher of German in Prijedor, where one of his Roma students was Slobodan Glumac, editor of the *Večernje novosti* daily and one of the initiators

of Studio B, then in Tuzla, where Meša Selimović taught at the time, and in Sarajevo. He collected a large number of Roma folk songs and stories and published a number of papers in the field of the phonology and morphology of the Roma language. He is the author of the *Serbo-Croat – Romani – English Dictionary*, published in Sarajevo in 1983.

Životić Miladin (1930–1997), professor at the Faculty of Philosophy of the University of Belgrade, where he taught axiology and contemporary philosophy. He was in the Praxis group and student of the Summer School of Philosophy held in Korčula. Due to his progressive ideas and critical views of socialism in former Yugoslavia, along with seven colleagues he was removed from the Faculty of Philosophy, only to be returned after Tito's death. During the peak of disintegration of Yugoslavia and start of the wars among the newly formed states Životić, of Roma origin, established the group "Second Serbia" with his colleagues, fighting against the wars and the regime of Slobodan Milošević. One of the greatest anti-war heroes – as he was called, a man who defended peace and humanity in Serbia during a time of blood and mud.



Rajko Đurić

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23. ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Professor Dr Rajko Đurić, President of the International Roma Academy of Arts and Sciences, was born on 3 October 1947 in Malo Orašje near Smederevo. He graduated in philosophy and completed his doctorate in sociology at the Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade. Between 1971 and 1991 he was a journalist for the *Politika* daily newspaper. He published around thirty books – collections of poetry, dramas and non-fiction about the history, culture and language of the Roma, including: *The History of Roma*, *The History of the Roma Holocaust* (co-authored by Antun Miletić), *History of Roma Literature and Grammar of the Roma Language*. His poems and books have been translated into German, French, English, Swedish, Spanish, Italian, Romanian, Hungarian and Japanese. He was the interpreter for the film *I Even Met Happy Gypsies* and co-scriptwriter, professional consultant and interpreter for the film *Time of the Gypsies*. He won a large number of awards and prizes, the most prominent being awards from the Fund for Free Expression in New York, the Swedish PEN Centre, the Open Society Institute and Cultural Centre in Madrid.



Rajko Đurić (1947–2020)



**SUNKEN FACE,
EXTINGUISHED EYES,
LIPS LIKE ICE.
SILENCE.
BUTCHERED HEART,
NO BREATH,
NO WORDS,
NO TEARS**

SANTINO SPINELI