

Vít Bubeník &amp; Milena Hübschmannová

DERIVING INCHOATIVES AND MEDIOPASSIVES  
IN SLOVAK AND HUNGARIAN ROMANI

## 1. INTRODUCTION

The perusal of recent grammatical treatments of derived verbs in various Romani dialects reveals widely diverging practices in the description of their semantics and morphology. Hancock's (1994) major dichotomy is that of thematic and athematic verbs. He does not categorize basic thematic verbs either semantically or morphologically, but within derived verbs the distinction of thematic and athematic categories is crucial; e. g. within inchoatives thematic *bang-j-ov-el* 'is crooked' and athematic *obl-o-sáv-el* 'becomes round' differ in their post-stem affixes *-j-ov* vs. *-sá*; thematic passive *ker-d-j-ov-el* 'is made' and athematic *farb-o-sáv-ol* 'is painted' are distinguished similarly. Cech/Heinschink (1996: 25) in their treatment of Sepečides-Romani subdivide derived verbs (the group of Passive/Intransitives in their terminology) as consisting of: a. passive/reflexive verbs, b. intransitive verbs, c. deadjectival intransitive verbs, and d. denominal intransitive verbs with inchoative meaning. Boretzky (1994: 62) recognizes the existence of a "special form of the synthetic passive" which possesses various functions. Hübschmannová et al. (1991) in their treatment of Slovak Romani subdivided all the verbs in three formal conjugations based on the shape of the stem-forming vowel: Conjugation 1 (with ablaut *a ~ e*) and Conjugation 2 (with *a*) include basic verbs; their Conjugation 3 consists of old and new derivatives (intransitives, reflexives, inchoatives and passives). All these derivatives share a common morphology of two suffixes: *-j* (jod) and *-av/-ov*. The latter suffix is observable only in the 1<sup>st</sup> Pers Sg and Pl. In this paper we will be referring to all the verbs of Conjugation 3 by a traditional term MEDIOPASSIVE, used in grammars of Sanskrit, Greek and other IE languages. Our reasons for re-adopting this term will become obvious during our treatment.

There are also differences in the way various scholars analyze and describe these verbal derivatives. Hancock (1994: 125) segments the thematic passive form *kerdjovav* 'I am made' as consisting of the preterite stem together with the "non-final affixes" *{-j-ov}*: *ker-d-j-ov-av*. Cech/Heinschink (1996: 26) recognize the passive suffix *-j* and the passive inflection *-ava* which are added to the participial stem, e. g. *kin-d-j-ava* 'I am bought'. Hübschmannová et al. (1991: 628) recognize the suffix *-uv* before which the dental consonants are palatalized, e. g. *ker-d'-uv-av*. While the latter approach is synchronic, the former two are diachronic in recognizing the source of the palatalization, i. e. the jod. The following suffix appears in

several allomorphs; its *-v* usually disappears in non-first persons, and in the 1<sup>st</sup> Pers there are vocalic alternants such as /uv/ ~ /ov/ in Slovak Romani.

In what follows we will examine synchronic and diachronic processes by which these derived verbs were formed in Slovak and Hungarian Romani. This large group of verbs (of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Conjugation) will be viewed as consisting of (i) derivatives based on participles, and (ii) derivatives based on adjectives. In Section 2 of this paper we will examine the derivatives based on participles in this order:

- (i) participles of lost primary verbs;
- (ii) participles of intransitive verbs;
- (iii) participles of transitive verbs (with further subcategories of participles of causatives in *-av-do*, and participles of compound verbs in *-dn-o*); and
- (iv) participles of so-called 'psych'-verbs.

In Section 3 we will study derivatives based on

- (i) primary adjectives;
- (ii) secondary adjectives; and
- (iii) nouns and adverbs.

## 2. MEDIOPASSIVE DERIVATES BASED ON PARTICIPLES

### 2.1. Derivatives based on participles of lost primary verbs

Certain verbs – presented in Table 1 – are available only in their mediopassive form and their participle.

| EAST SLOVAK ROMANI | WEST SLOVAK ROMANI        | HUNGARIAN ROMANI          |                      |
|--------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|----------------------|
| <i>labol</i>       | <i>thabol/phabol</i>      | <i>thabol/phabol</i>      | 'burn; glow'         |
| <i>paš'lol</i>     | <i>paš'lol</i>            | <i>paš'ol/paššol</i>      | 'lie (down)'         |
| <i>terd'ol</i>     | <i>terd'ol</i>            | <i>terd'ol</i>            | 'stand'              |
| <i>bašol</i>       | <i>bašol</i>              | <i>baššol</i>             | 'bark'               |
| (reg. 'crow')      | (reg. 'crow')             | 'sound, rumble (stomach)' |                      |
| <i>sikh'lol</i>    | <i>sikh'lol</i>           | <i>sikjol</i>             | 'learn; get used to' |
|                    | <i>sikhlovel</i> (Šaštín) |                           |                      |

Table 1. Derivatives based on participles of lost primary verbs

The verb *labol* 'burn; glow' is available only in its finite forms; its derivational base \**labo* is not found freely. Its other forms are *thabol* and *phabol* in WSR and HR (esp. in the causative form *phabarel angra* 'burn charcoal pile'). Palatalized dental consonants *l'* and *d'* in ESR *paš'ol* 'lie (down)', *terd'ol* 'stand' and *sikh'lol* 'learn; get used to' indicate that their earlier forms were derived from the participles *pašlo* 'laid', *terdo* 'raised' and *sikhlo* 'used to' to which the derivational suffixes *-j* and *-ov* were added.

The verb *sikh'ol* means primarily 'to learn' (cf. its productive derivatives *sikh'uviben* 'study' and *sikh'uvkerel* 'keep studying') and secondarily 'get used to'. Its derivational base, the participial form *sikhlo* means '(someone who is) used to' (regionally also 'custom, habit'). In certain varieties of WSR (e. g. in Šaštín) one encounters its fuller form *sikhlovel* 'he learns, studies' consisting of the participial base *sikh-l-* to which the verb *ovel* 'become' was attached. The ESR, WSR and HR forms of the verb 'learn; get used to' are displayed in Table 2:

| ESR                  | WSR                | HR                 |              |
|----------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------|
| <i>sikh-l'-uv-av</i> | <i>sikh-l-ovav</i> | <i>sik-j-uv-av</i> | 'I study'    |
| -o-s                 | -oves/-o-s         | -o-s               | 'you study'  |
| -o-l                 | -ovel/-o-l         | -o-l               | 'he studies' |
| -uv-as               | -ovas/-uv-as       | -uv-as             | 'we study'   |
| -o-n                 | -oven/-o-n         | -o-n               | 'ye study'   |
| -o-n                 | -oven/-o-n         | -o-n               | 'they study' |

Table 2. The verb 'learn; get used to' in Slovak and Hungarian Romani

The participial form *sikhlo* '(who is) used to' may be traced all the way back to OIA *śikṣita* 'taught, instructed' (the passive participle of *śikṣate* 'learns, studies'). This finite form, unavailable in Romani, is found in Indo-Aryan languages (Apabhramṣa *sikkh-ei*, Hindi *sikh-nā*). Its original meaning 'taught, instructed' had to be recreated in Romani on the basis of the passive participle of one of the two causative verbs: *sikhavel* 'show' or *sikh'arel* 'teach' (cf. Hübschmannová/Bubeník 1997: 138):

| (1)              | CAUSATIVE            | PASSIVE PARTICIPLE          |
|------------------|----------------------|-----------------------------|
| * <i>sikh-el</i> | <i>sikh-av-el</i>    | <i>sikh-a(v)-do</i>         |
|                  | 'show'               | 'shown; learned, educated'  |
| <i>sikh-l-o</i>  | <i>sikh-l'-ar-el</i> | <i>sikh-l'-ar-do</i>        |
| 'used to'        | 'teach'              | 'learned, erudite; teacher' |

As observed above, the primary verb *sikh-* has not survived into Romani but its causative form, *sikh-av-el*, may be traced back to MIA *sikkh-āv-* (vs. OIA *śikṣ-aya-*). Also the other causative form, *sikh-l-ar-el*, with the causativizing suffix *-ar*, is most likely descended from MIA *-āḍ*, which survived as *-aḍ*, in Gujarati (cf. also *-ār* in Apabhramṣa).

## 2.2. Derivatives based on participles of intransitive verbs

This category seems to be limited to a single example of the verb (*de*)*našel* 'run'; its derivative *naš'ol* (ESR), *našlol* (WSR), *naššol/naš'tol* (HR) means 'to disappear'. This is a remarkably archaic verb whose basic finite forms and the participle go back all the way to OIA as shown in (2):

- (2) *naš-el* < OIA *naśy-ate* 'be lost, disappear; flee, escape'  
*naš-l-o* < OIA *nāś-ita* 'lost' (causative passive participle of *nāś-aya-ti* 'make disappear, flee').

## 2.3.1. Derivatives based on participles of transitive verbs

Depending on the meaning of the basic transitive verb its participial derivative may possess passive, reflexive or 'middle' voice meaning. The term mediopassive (i. e. non-active) may be used as an umbrella term for this group of derivatives presented in Table 3.

| TRANSITIVE<br>VERBS            | PASSIVE<br>PARTICIPLES             | MEDIOPASSIVE<br>DERIVATIVES                       |
|--------------------------------|------------------------------------|---|
| <i>mar-el</i><br>'beat'        | <i>mar-d-o</i><br>'beaten'         | <i>mar-d'-o-l</i><br>'be beaten'                  |
| <i>pher-el</i><br>'draw water' | <i>pher-d-o</i><br>'filled'        | <i>pher-d'-o-l</i><br>'fill (intrans.) with'      |
| <i>čhin-el</i><br>'cut, tear'  | <i>čhin-d-o</i><br>'cut, torn'     | <i>čhin-d'-o-l</i><br>'break lose'                |
| <i>čhor-el</i><br>'pour'       | <i>čhor-d-o</i><br>'poured out'    | <i>čhor-d'-o-l</i><br>'scatter, spill (intrans.)' |
| <i>šun-el</i><br>'hear; sniff' | <i>šun-d-o</i><br>'heard; smelled' | <i>šun-d'-o-l</i><br>'be heard; smell (intrans.)' |
| <i>tav-el</i><br>'cook'        | <i>ta(v)-d-o</i><br>'cooked'       | <i>ta-d'-o-l</i><br>'be cooked, cook (intrans.)'  |

Table 3. Mediopassive derivatives based on participles of transitive verbs

To exemplify the difference between the passive and the middle voice meaning, the passive perfect *čhin-d'-il'-a* in (4):

- (3.i) *e kočak čhin-d'-il'-a*  
the button tear+PP+PP+3SG

means 'the button broke loose', i. e. not the stative 'the button was torn off'. The stative meaning would be expressed by the analytic passive construction as in (3.ii):

- (3.ii) *e kočak has čhindo*  
the button was torn  
'the button was torn off'

Another option to express the meaning 'the button broke loose' would be to use the reflexive construction as in (3.iii):

- (3.iii) *e kočak pes čhind'a*  
the button REFL tore+3SG  
'the button broke loose'

The implication, however, would be that the button 'tore itself' of its own "free will". Thus the reflexive construction in (3.iii) would be suitable for animate subjects such as in *o rikonoro pes čhind'a pal o lancos* 'the dog got off the chain'.

There are several transitive verbs whose mediopassive derivatives seem to be based on the verbal root (i. e. not on the participial stem): *phad'-o-l* 'be broken, crack', *pet'-o-l* 'be baked', *dičh-o-l* 'be seen':

| TRANSITIVE VERBS       |       | MEDIOPASSIVE DERIVATIVES            |   | PASSIVE PARTICIPLE                |
|------------------------|-------|-------------------------------------|---|-----------------------------------|
| <i>phag-el</i> 'break' | >     | <i>phad'-o-l</i> 'be broken, crack' |   | <i>phag-l-o</i> 'broken, cracked' |
| <i>pek-el</i> 'bake'   | > (?) | <i>pet'-o-l</i> 'bake' (intrans.)   | < | <i>pek-o</i> 'baked'              |
| <i>dikh-el</i> 'see'   | >     | <i>dičh-o-l</i> 'be seen'           |   |                                   |
|                        |       | <i>dikh-l-o-l</i> 'clear up'        | < | <i>dikh-l-o</i> 'seen'            |

Table 4. Mediopassive derivatives based on the verbal root

In these verbs it appears that the suffixes *-j* and *-ov* were attached to the root:

\**phag-j-ov-el* > *phad'-o-l*

\**dikh-j-ov-el* > *dičh-o-l*

\**pek-j-ov-el* > *pet'-o-l*

As a piece of evidence one can pinpoint that there is another middle voice derivative of *dikh-el*, namely *dikh-l'-o-l* 'clear up' which is based on the participial form *dikh-l-o* 'seen'. The verb *pet'-o-l* (cf. Czech *péci se*) seems to be based on the verbal root *pek-el* as well; witness its active perfect form *pek-l'-o-m* 'I (have) baked' which displays the palatalized participial stem in *-l'*. Diachronically, however, one has to remember that the past participle of this verb was not formed with one of the apical suffixes (*-ta*, *-na*, MIA *-illa*); its Prakrit form was *pakka* (cf. Hindi *pakkā* 'ripe') going back to OIA *pak-va*. In other words, one cannot be sure whether Romani *pet'-o-l* goes back to \**pek-j-ov-el* (a root-based derivative) or \**pekk-j-ov-el* (a derivative based on the participial stem). It could also be that the participial stem-forming consonant was lost; thus the older form *dičh-o-l* 'is seen' could originally be \**dikh-l'-o-l* comparable with the later formation 'clear up'. This loss of the participial stem-forming consonant may be observed in other Romani dialects. For instance, in Bugurdži there are forms such as *mar-jola* '(the heart) beats'; in the past *mar-dz-ilo* ~ *mar-ilo* (cf. Boretzky 1993: 76), whose equivalents in SR would be *mar-d'-o-l* and *mar-d'-il'-a(s)*; similarly, Bugurdži *šun-jola* 'it is heard' corresponds to SR *šun-d'-o-l* with the participial stem-forming element *-d*. Unlike in SR, in Bugurdži the second participial element *-l* in the mediopassive perfect is omitted; contrast SR *phuter-d'-il'-om* 'I was opened' with Bugurdži *phutér-dz-j-om*. In Bugurdži the latter form comes 'dangerously' close to the active perfect *phuter-dz-óm* 'I opened'. Notice, however, that these forms are distinguished by their accents. The SR and Bugurdži systems are contrasted in (4):

| (4)             | SLOVAK ROMANI           | BUGURDŽI               |                |
|-----------------|-------------------------|------------------------|----------------|
| ACTIVE PRESENT  | <i>phuter-av</i>        | <i>phuter-av-a</i>     | 'I open'       |
| ACTIVE PAST     | <i>phuter-d'-om</i>     | <i>phuter-dz-óm</i>    | 'I opened'     |
| PASSIVE PRESENT | <i>phuter-d'-uv-av</i>  | <i>phuter-dz-j-ava</i> | 'I am opened'  |
| PASSIVE PAST    | <i>phuter-d'-il'-om</i> | <i>phutér-dz-j-om</i>  | 'I was opened' |

2.3.2. Reflexive verbs based on participles of iteratives (verbs in *-av*)

With these verbs when forming the passive participle the consonant *-v* of the suffix *-av* disappears:

| SEMELFACTIVE<br>TRANSITIVE | ITERATIVE<br>TRANSITIVE       | PASSIVE<br>PARTICIPLE       | REFLEXIVE<br>DERIVATIVE                                     |
|----------------------------|-------------------------------|-----------------------------|---|
| <i>dem-el</i> 'hit'        | <i>dem-av-el</i> 'pound'      | <i>dema-d-o</i> 'hit'       | <i>dema-d'-o-l</i> 'hit oneself'                            |
| <i>pek-el</i> 'bake'       | <i>pek-av-el</i> 'roast'      | <i>peka-d-o</i> 'roasted'   |   |
|                            | <i>čal-av-el</i> 'touch, hit' | <i>čala-d-o</i> 'hit'       | <i>čala-d'-o-l</i> 'move'<br>(cf. Czech <i>pohnout se</i> ) |
|                            | <i>phar-av-el</i> 'split'     | <i>phara-d-o</i> 'split'    | <i>phara-d'-o-l</i> 'split oneself'                         |
|                            | <i>phos-av-el</i> 'prick'     | <i>phosa-d-o</i> 'spiteful' | <i>phosa-d'-o-l</i> 'prick oneself'                         |

Table 5. Reflexive derivatives based on participles of iterative verbs

Unlike reflexive verbs in English, but similarly to reflexive verbs in Czech, reflexive derivatives of iterative verbs in Romani remain in the mediopassive form even if only a part of the goal is affected. Contrast *demad'ilom* and *demad'ilom o šero* with English 'I hit myself' and 'I bumped my head' (in Czech: *uhodil jsem se* and *uhodil jsem se do hlavy*). The unmarked reading of both constructions is the involuntary activity. The active counterpart of the latter sentence with the 'head' in the instrumental allows for both voluntary and involuntary interpretation:

|               |                       | [head]                         | [tree]                               |
|---------------|-----------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| (5)           | Ag=Go                 | Ag=Go                          | Ag → Go                              |
|               | <i>demad'ilom</i>     | <i>demad'ilom o šero</i>       | <i>demad'om le šereha andro kašt</i> |
| (cf. Czech)   | <i>uhodil jsem se</i> | <i>uhodil jsem se do hlavy</i> | <i>narazil jsem hlavou o strom</i>   |
| (vs. English) | 'I hit myself'        | 'I bumped my head'             | 'I bumped my head on the tree'       |

2.3.3. Compound verbs with *-del* 'give'

A special category is represented by compound verbs of the type NOUN-'give' such as *čhungar-del* lit. spittle-give 'to spit'; *phurd-del* lit. blow-give 'to blow', etc. With some of them older non-univerbized collusions are still in existence: *del čhungard* 'spit', *del phurd* 'blow'. With others only univerbized forms are available: *cirdel* 'draw', *čhandel* 'vomit', *chudel* 'grasp, gain', *kidel* 'collect, take', *kikidel* 'press', *randel* 'peel', and others.

| COMPOUND VERBS WITH <i>-DEL</i> | PASSIVE PARTICIPLE                          | MEDIOPASSIVE DERIVATIVE                        |
|---------------------------------|---|--|
| <i>cirdel</i> 'draw'            | <i>cir-dl-o</i> 'drawn out'                 |  |
|                                 | <i>cir-dn-o</i>                             | <i>cir-dn'-o-l</i> 'withdraw; peel' (intrans.) |
| <i>phurdel</i> 'blow'           | ( <i>phurd-un-o</i><br>'wheezy, asthmatic') | <i>phur-dn'-o-l</i> 'grow flatulent'           |

|                        |                                      |   |
|------------------------|--------------------------------------|---|
| <i>chudel</i> 'grasp'  | <i>chud-l-o</i> 'touchy, contagious' | <i>chud-l-o-l</i> 'catch (fire)'                                |
|                        | <i>chud-n-o</i>                      | <i>chud-n'-o-l</i>  |
| <i>kikidel</i> 'press' | <i>kikid-l-o</i> 'pressed'           | <i>kikid-n'-o-l</i> 'be (com)pressed, draw<br>(close) together' |
| <i>randel</i> 'peel'   | <i>rand-l-o</i> 'peeled'             | <i>rand-l-o-l</i> 'scratch oneself'                             |

Table 6. Mediopassive derivatives of compound verbs with *-del* 'give'

The free verb *del* 'give' forms its passive participle in *-no*, but the existence of compound participles in *-l*, such *cir-dl-o* 'drawn out', *chud-l-o* (< \**chud-dl-o*) 'touchy', *rand-l-o* (< \**rand-dl-o*) 'peeled', displayed in Table 6, allow us to postulate another simple form *di-lo*. Both forms are mentioned by Sampson (1926: 202) in the dialect of Welsh Romas: *dinō* and *dilō*; in addition, Sampson mentions double-marked forms *dinilō* and *dindilō*. In diachronic perspective, this is a continuation of the state of affairs since the OIA period with two passive participles of the verb 'to give': *datta* (< reduplicative \**dad-ta*) and *dina*. The latter form is the source of Romani *dino* (via MIA *dinna*). Romani *dilo* and Hindi *diyā* go back to another non-reduplicative protoform \**di-ta* (< \**də-tós*). (The situation in Sanskrit was actually quite complex with the form *dita* serving as the passive participle of either *dāti* 'cut' or *dyati* 'bind', and *dina* as the passive participle of *dadāti* 'give' and *dāti* 'cut'). In contemporary SR passive participles and their mediopassive derivatives the preference for *-l* or *-n* seems to be governed by phonotactic constraints; e. g. one finds *rand-l-o* 'peeled' not \**rand-n-o* (but there is *rand-n'-o-l* 'scratch oneself'). On the whole, the suffix *-l* seems to be more productive.

#### 2.4. Derivatives based on participles of psych verbs

The so-called psych verbs belong to the 2<sup>nd</sup> Conjugation which is marked by the vowel *-a* in all persons. (It should be remembered that not all the verbs of Conj 2 are psych verbs, e. g. *chal* 'eat', *džal* 'go', *prastal* 'run', *lidžal* 'lead' also belong here.) Unlike the other verbs, psych verbs form their participles by the suffix *-ndo*: *asa-l* 'laugh' → *asa-ndo* 'smiling'; *dara-l* 'be afraid' → *dara-ndo* 'timid'; *ladža-l (pes)* 'be ashamed' → *ladža-ndo* 'shy, bashful'. We saw above that the derivational process operating on participles of transitive verbs decreases their valency by deriving their intransitive mediopassive counterparts. In the case of psych verbs which are already intransitive this derivational process is used for aspectual purposes. Basic psych verbs are inherently durative and their mediopassive derivatives are semelfactive or inchoative (depending on the verb): *asa-l* 'laugh' → *asa-nd'-o-l* 'smile (once)'; *dara-l* 'be afraid' → *dara-nd'-o-l* 'get frightened'; *ladža-l (pes)* 'be ashamed' → *ladža-nd'-o-l* 'become ashamed'; *paťa-l* 'trust, believe' → *paťa-nd'-o-l* 'believe suddenly'. These derivational processes are surveyed in Table 7.

| PSYCH VERBS                       | PARTICIPLE IN -NDO                             | SEMELFACTIVE/INCHOATIVE DERIVATIVES           |
|-----------------------------------|--|---|
| <i>asa-l</i> 'laugh'              | <i>asa-ndo</i> 'smiling'                       | <i>asa-nd'-o-l</i> 'smile (once)'             |
| <i>dara-l</i> 'be afraid'         | <i>dara-(n)do</i> 'timid' (~ <i>dara-dno</i> ) | <i>dara-nd'-o-l</i> 'get frightened'          |
| <i>ladža-l (pes)</i> 'be ashamed' | <i>ladža-ndo</i> 'shy, bashful'                | <i>ladža-nd'-o-l</i> 'become ashamed'         |
| <i>pa'a-l</i> 'trust, believe'    | <i>pa'a-do</i> 'believing; reliable'           | <i>pa'a-nd'-o-l</i> 'trust, believe suddenly' |
| <i>troma-l</i> 'dare'             | <i>troma-do</i> 'bold, daring'                 |   |
|                                   | <i>troma-lo</i>                                |   |

Table 7. Semelfactive and inchoative derivatives based on participles of psych verbs

The semelfactivity of their mediopassive derivatives is especially pronounced in the imperative as shown in (6) on examples from ESR:

- (6) *ma dara-nd'-uv, kana sig ust'-av-a* (ESR)  
 don't be-afraid+PART+become when early get-up+1SG+FUT  
 'Don't be afraid, when I get up early [in the morning]'
- asa-nd'-uv choča jekhvar* (ESR)  
 laugh+PART+become at-least once  
 'Smile at least once'

In conjunction with the adverbial correlative pair *kecivar - ajcivar* 'as many times' – 'so many times' the mediopassive derivative may express a series of semelfactive events as shown in (7):

- (7) *kecivar džal e bori khatar o sastro, ajcivar ladža-nd'-o-l* (ESR)  
 as many times so many times be-ashamed+PART+become+3SG  
 'As many times the daughter-in-law goes around the father-in-law, so many times she becomes ashamed'

The mediopassive form in the past tense may possess the meaning of subitaneity (suddenness). Contrast the active form *pa'a-n'-a(s)* 'he believed' with its mediopassive counterpart *pa'a-nd'-il'-a* 'he suddenly believed' in (8):

- (8) *oladžane, so pa'a-n-e le Kristus* (Oláh's translation of NT, forthcoming)  
 those people who believe+PP+PL the Christ  
 'those people who believed [gradually, ultimately] in Christ'
- kana o Saul dikh-l-a o baro vudud, pa'a-nd'-il'-a le Rajes*  
 when the Saul see+PP+3G the big light believe+PART+PP+3SG the lord  
 'When Saul had seen the big light, he suddenly believed in Christ'

A propos the morphology of the active past of psych verbs, some authors (e. g. Lípa 1964) recognize several forms. For instance, to *dara-v* 'I am afraid' one can form *dara-n'-om* ~ *dara-dn'-om* ~ *dara-nd-om* 'I got frightened'. The latter form is based on the participle *dara-ndo* 'timid', while its metathesized counterpart *dara-dn'-om* could be influenced in its



formation by compound verbs in *-del* (e. g. *cir-del*, *cir-dn'-om* 'I drew out'). *Dara-n'-om* would appear to be its simplified form. The reason behind this simplification might be the situation in certain forms of the present mediopassive and active past which come 'dangerously' close to each other. They are shown in (9):

|     |                                    |     |                                 |   |                  |
|-----|------------------------------------|-----|---------------------------------|---|------------------|
| (9) | PRESENT MEDIOPASSIVE               |     | PAST ACTIVE                     |   | (SIMPLIFIED)     |
|     | <i>asa-nd'-ol</i> 'he smiles'      | vs. | <i>asa-nd'-al</i> 'you laughed' | ~ | <i>asa-n'-al</i> |
|     | <i>asa-nd'-on</i> 'ye, they smile' | vs. | <i>asa-nd'-an</i> 'ye laughed'  | ~ | <i>asa-n'-an</i> |

In these two pairs of mediopassive and active forms the contrast of tense and aspect (present semelfactive vs. past durative) is carried solely by the post-stem vowel (the vowel in the personal suffix). Simplified forms are more distinct in co-indexing tense and aspect by a different shape of the stem forming element.

### 3. INCHOATIVE DERIVATES BASED ON ADJECTIVES AND NOUNS

#### 3.1. Inchoatives based on primary adjectives

This type of derivation is extremely productive. Practically any primary (non-derived) adjective may serve as an input to this process. The meaning of these formally mediopassive derivatives is inchoative, lit. to enter into the state of possessing the property denoted by the adjective. Here are some examples: *bar-o* 'big' → *bar-o-l* 'grow, increase, multiply'; *šuk-o* 'dry' → *šut'-o-l* 'dry up'; *kal-o* 'black' → *kal'-o-l* 'turn black'. Derivatives from endingless and borrowed adjectives (Hancock's athematic grammar) are formed by the morpheme *-isal'* (*-asal'*); e. g. *šukar* 'beautiful' → *šukar-isal'-o-l* 'grow beautiful'; *aver* 'another' → *aver-isal'-o-l* 'differ' (neol.); *šarg-o* 'yellow' (borrowed from Hungarian *sárga*) → *šarg-isal'-o-l* 'turn yellow'.

Practically to any inchoative verb one finds a diathetic counterpart formed by the causative suffix *-ar*: *bar-ol* 'grow, increase' vs. *bar-ar-el* 'educate; grow (trans.), raise'; *šut'-ol* 'dry up' (intrans.) vs. *šut'-ar-el* 'dry up' (trans.); *kal'-ol* 'turn black' vs. *kal'-ar-el* 'blacken; beat someone up, belabor'.

#### 3.2. Inchoatives based on secondary adjectives

Inchoatives based on secondary adjectives are less common but they do occur. For instance, to *bar-o* 'big' one forms *bar-ikan-o* 'haughty, conceited' → *bar-ikan'-o-l* 'become haughty, conceited'; *rat-va-lo* 'bloody' → *rat-va-l'-o-l* 'bleed'; *bokh-a-l-o* 'hungry' *bokh-a-l'-o-l* 'be hungry'; *kher-utn-o* 'domestic' → *kher-utn'-o-l* 'become domesticated' (the secondary adjective may be derived from a noun as in the latter three instances).

As with primary adjective (3.1), one also finds causative counterparts to these inchoative derivatives: *bar-ikan'-ol* 'become haughty, conceited' vs. *bar-ikan'-ar-el* 'dress up'; *rat-val'-ol* 'bleed' vs. *rat-val'-ar-el* 'beat/injure someone until he bleeds'; *bokh-al'-ol* 'starve' vs. *bokh-al'-ar-el* 'starve someone'.

Causative verbs may serve as an input to the derivation of reflexive verbs by the reflexive pronoun *pes* 'oneself', e. g. *bar-ar-el* 'educate; grow, raise' → *bar-ar-el pes* 'give haughty airs'; *boh-al'-ar-el* 'starve someone' → *bokh-al'-ar-el pes* 'starve oneself' (to describe the behavior of Jaina saints). Starting from the primary, secondary and tertiary adjectives, *bar-o* 'big', *bar-ikan-o* 'haughty' and *bar-val'-ikan-o* 'snob', these three derivational processes of inchoativization, causativization and reflexivization make up for a rich derivational paradigm presented in Table 8:

| INCHOATIVES                             |   | ADJECTIVES                                |  | CAUSATIVES                             |   | REFLEXIVES                                       |
|---|---|---|--|--|---|--|
| <i>bar-ikan'-ol</i><br>'become haughty' | ← | <i>bar-ikan-o</i><br>'haughty'            |  | → <i>bar-ikan'-ar-el</i><br>'dress up' | → | <i>bar-ikan'-ar-el pes</i><br>'dress up oneself' |
|   |   | ↑   |  |  |   |  |
| <i>bar-ol</i><br>'grow'                 | ← | <i>bar-o</i><br>'big'                     |  | → <i>bar-ar-el</i><br>'educate; grow'  | → | <i>bar-ar-el pes</i><br>'give haughty airs'      |
|   |   | ↓ (?)                                     |  |  |   |  |
| <i>bar-val'-ol</i><br>'become rich'     | ← | <i>bar-val-o</i><br>'rich'                |  | → <i>bar-val'-ar-el</i><br>'enrich'    | → | <i>bar-val'-ar-el pes</i><br>'enrich oneself'    |
|   |   | ↓   |  |  |   |  |
|   |   | <i>bar-val'-ikan-o</i><br>'snob, upstart' |  |  |   |  |

Table 8. Derivational potential of the adjectival root *bar-o* 'big'

Some of the above forms have long history. *Bar-o* itself may go back to OIA *vṛddha* 'grown' (the verbal root *vṛdh* 'grow, increase'); Sampson (1926: 29), however, traces this word back to the Skt ghost word *vaḍra* 'great', Pkt *vaḍḍa*, Dardic *baro*); the secondary adjective *bar-va-lo* may be traced back to the passive causative participle *\*vardh-āp-ita* (cf. MIA *vaḍḍhāvia*; Sampson (1926: 25), however, traces this word back to Skt *balavant* 'powerful, mighty'); and the causative *bar-ar-el* goes back to the late MIA (Apabhraṃśa) causative *vaḍḍh-ār-*.

As to iteratives (2.3.2) one may form passive participles to all causative verbs by the suffix *-do*: *bar-ikan'-ar-do* 'dressed up, dandified', *bar-ar-do avri* 'educated', *bar-val'-ar-do* 'nouveau riche'. These are open to the process of lexicalization.

The main difference between inchoatives and reflexives is the feature of intentionality of the latter category. The following pairs make this point especially clear. The inchoative verb *san'-ol* 'become thin (naturally)' has a reflexive counterpart *san'-ar-el pes* 'be on diet' (i. e. to thin intentionally). The inchoative verb *taš-l'-ol* 'get drowned (by accident)' has a

reflexive counterpart *taš-l'-ar-el pes* 'commit suicide by drowning'. The inchoative verb *kham-l'-ol* 'sweat' has a reflexive counterpart *kham-l'-ar-el pes* 'to sweat intentionally (i. e. to undergo sweating cure)'.

### 3.3. Inchoatives based on nouns and adverbs

Only a few derivatives belonging to this category are found. Atmospheric verbs of the type *rat'-o-l* 'it grows dark' (derivational base *rat* 'night') and *d'ives-al'-o-l* 'it dawns' (*d'ives* 'day'); and verbs of the type *murš-o-l* 'become a man; take courage' (derivational base *murš* 'man') and *džuvl'-o-l* 'mature (about a girl)' (*džuvli* 'woman'); *jekhetan'-o-l* 'join' (intrans.) (*jekhetane* 'together').

Denominative derivatives studied in Section 3 are reminiscent of those produced by conversion in English, a technique for deriving verbs from nouns without affixation, as in 'We are just horsing around', 'Stop clowning', etc. But the real similarity exists with the Sanskrit strategy of *nāmadhetu*, or noun-root, involving affixation. The characteristic sign of *nāmadhetu* is the derivational suffix *-ya* which is attached to nominal stems, e. g. *śukl-a* 'white' → *śukla-ya-te* 'turns white', *kāk-aḥ* 'crow' → *kāka-ya-te* 'becomes/acts like a crow', etc. In Romani the suffix *-(j)ov*, grammaticalized verb 'become', is attached to nominal roots in parallel fashion, as shown in (10):

|      |                     |                     |                          |
|------|---------------------|---------------------|--------------------------|
| (10) | SANSKRIT            | ROMANI              | DENOMINATIVE DERIVATIVES |
|      | <i>siṃha-ya-te</i>  | <i>murš-ov-el</i>   | 'takes courage'          |
|      | lit. becomes a lion | lit. becomes a man  |                          |
|      | <i>nārī-ya-te</i>   | <i>džuvl'-ov-el</i> | 'becomes a woman'        |

## 4. SOME DIACHRONIC AND COMPARATIVE OBSERVATIONS

An older state of affairs before the verb *ov-el* 'become' was cliticized to the participial stem was described by Sampson (1926: 215). In the dialect of the Romas of Wales the 'proto-auxiliary' *av-el* 'go; become' could appear not only after (as in 11) but also before participles (as in 12):

- (11) *kedō 'vela* [Sampson 1926: 215]  
do+PP=become+3SG+FUT  
'It shall be done'
- (12) *t'ā kekār na 'vela* *dik'šinō papalē* [Sampson 1926: 215]  
and ever not=become+3SG+FUT seen again  
'and he will never be seen again'
- na 'vasa* *našadē kek*  
not=become+1PL+FUT lost+PL not  
'we shall not be lost'

In (12) the passive auxiliary is actually cliticized to the negative particle *na*; contrast Sampson's *na=vela dikhšinō* 'he will not be seen' with its counterpart in SR *na dičhola*. Here the auxiliary *ov-el-a* was reduced to a suffix through the process of grammaticalization: *dikh-l'=ovela* > *dičh(l)ovela* > *dičhola*.

In contemporary Romani dialects the independent verb *ovel* 'become' appears only in two dialectal areas (cf. Boretzky 1995: 10):

- (i) South Balkan, i. e. all the dialects which were originally spoken south of Vlach (such as Arli, Erli, Drindari, Bugurdži); and
- (ii) in subdialects of Romungro, Burgenland and North Slovenia; secondarily also in South Slovakia (but not in Bohemia and Poland)

Diachronically, the verb *ovel* 'become' goes all the way back to OIA *bhavati* 'becomes, is'. Romani is remarkable in preserving the consonant *-v* of the root. In the IA context this *-v* has been lost in major Western IA languages (Hindi, Gujarati, Sindhi), but it has been preserved in others, most notably in Panjabi, Rajasthani and Marwari. On the other hand, all the IA languages have preserved a trace of the original initial consonant *bh-*, namely *h-*, which has been completely lost (or replaced by *-j* (?), see below) in Romani. The singular subparadigm in some of these languages is given in (13):

|      |                |               |             |             |             |                   |
|------|----------------|---------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------------|
| (13) | OIA            | PRAKRIT       | ROMANI      | PANJABI     | RAJASTHANI  | MARWARI           |
|      | <i>bhavāmi</i> | <i>havāmi</i> | <i>ovav</i> | <i>hōvā</i> | <i>hveû</i> | <i>whēû</i>       |
|      | <i>bhavasi</i> | <i>havasi</i> | <i>oves</i> | <i>hōvê</i> | <i>hvai</i> | <i>huwai/whai</i> |
|      | <i>bhavati</i> | <i>havai</i>  | <i>ovel</i> | <i>hōvê</i> | <i>hvai</i> | <i>huwai/whai</i> |

On the whole, in IA languages cliticization of the verb *bhavāmi* to participles is much less common and later than that of its sigmatic counterpart *asmi*. That one is documented in all the periods of IA; Classical Sanskrit formed its periphrastic future by cliticizing sigmatic forms of the copula to agentive nouns in *-tar*, e. g. *kartā=smi* 'I will make'; Nia Prakrits formed their preterit by cliticizing the copula to the past participle, e. g. *kada=mhi* 'I (have) done' (cf. Bloch 1933/1965: 272); on the other hand, Apabhramṣa formed its analytic passive in this fashion (cf. Bubenik 1996: 117ff.).

Traces of cliticization of the verb *bhavāmi* to the past participle for the purpose of forming the active preterit (paralleling the development in Nia Prakrits) are available from the area of East Hindi in both Medieval and Modern Awadhi dialects. Awadhi forms are less distinct because the root final consonant *-v* has been lost here. We may glance at some forms of the Awadhi preterit (Saksena 1937/1971: 248, 253, 260) to establish this point:

|      |      |                 |              |   |                  |   |                         |
|------|------|-----------------|--------------|---|------------------|---|-------------------------|
| (14) | Sg 1 | <i>mare(h)û</i> | 'I struck'   | < | <i>mārē=haû</i>  | < | <i>māridē havāmi</i>    |
|      | 2    | <i>marē/isi</i> | 'you struck' | < | <i>mārē=hasi</i> | < | <i>māridē havasi</i>    |
|      | Pl 1 | <i>maren</i>    | 'we struck'  | < | <i>mārē=han</i>  | < | <i>māridē havāmo</i>    |
|      | 2    | <i>mareu</i>    | 'ye struck'  | < | <i>mārē=hahu</i> | < | <i>māridē hava(t)ha</i> |

It is worth mentioning that in Lakhīmpurī dialect of Awadhi (Saksena 1937/1971: 248) analytic constructions of the type *marā haû* possess the passive meaning 'I have been struck' (similarly, *dēkhā haû* means 'I have been seen' while the synthetic form *dēkhû* from *dēkhē haû* means 'I saw'). In other words, the forms based on the Old Magadhi passive participle in *-ā* developed an active meaning while innovative analytic constructions combining the passive participle in *-ā* with the auxiliary *haû* possess the passive meaning. (As mentioned above Apabhramṣa formed its analytic passive in exactly the same fashion.) This difference in voice is somewhat perplexing; Awadhi is the non-ergative variety of Hindi but undergoing strong influence from its prestigious Western counterpart which is ergative. The latter language forms its passive by another auxiliary, namely *jānā* 'go'.

Thus both Modern Avadhi *mare(h)û* 'I struck' and Romani *mard'uvav* 'I am struck' go back to the same ancestral form of the type *mārita bhavāmi*. Their diverging development may be sketched as shown in (15):

|      |                     |   |  |
|------|---------------------|---|--|
| (15) | OIA                 | <i>mārita bhavāmi</i>                     |  |
|      |                     |   |  |
|      | <i>māridē havam</i> | <i>māridō hovāmi</i>                      |  |
|      | <i>māriē havam</i>  | <i>mardo hovam</i>                        |  |
|      | <i>mārē=havâ</i>    | <i>mard(o)=hovav</i>                      |  |
|      | <i>mārē=haû</i>     | <i>mard=jovav (?)</i> <i>h &gt; j (?)</i> |  |
|      | <i>mareû</i>        | <i>mard'=ovav</i>                         |  |
|      | 'I struck' (Awadhi) | 'I am (being) struck' (Romani)            |  |

Further dilemma is the "unlawful" ("nicht lautgesetzlich") change *h > j* in Romani. There are some speculations in Bubeník (1993) about this unusual development along the lines of a purely phonetic development (prothetic vowel) or a contamination with verb 'be' in its Slavonic shape *\*jes*.

We should also remind ourselves of phonologically irregular developments in the formation of imperfects by cliticization of the copula in Old Church Slavic and Latin. In the latter language the form such as *laudābam* 'I praised' contains *b* instead of *f* predicted by regular phonological development from PIE *bh*; cf. *\*bher-* > Latin *fer-ō*. This irregularity could be caused by the cluster *bhw* reconstructed in the proto-form *\*laudā-bhw-am* (< *\*bhū* 'be').

## 5. CONCLUSIONS

The preceding discussion allows us to draw the following conclusions:

5.1. Romani during its formative period behaved as a typical IA language in rebuilding its verbal morphology on the basis of participial stems. One is struck by the systematicity and the degree of synthesis of the resulting morphology. This in addition to preserving the

synthetic morphology of the present tense makes up for an archaic Prakrit-like typology of Romani. We want to recapitulate in (16) the three main processes regarding the formation of the ACTIVE PERFECT, MEDIOPASSIVE PRESENT and the MEDIOPASSIVE PERFECT which are responsible for this phenomenon:

- (16.i) ACTIVE PERFECT was formed by cliticizing the copula (in the present tense) to the PP:  
e. g. *ker-d-j-om* 'I did/have done' cf. *s/h-om* 'I am'
- (16.ii) MEDIOPASSIVE PRESENT was formed by cliticizing the verb *ovel* 'become' (in the present tense) to the PP:  
e. g. *ker-d-j-ovav* lit. I am made 'I pretend'  
*sikh-l-j-ovav* lit. I am educated 'I study'
- (16.iii) MEDIOPASSIVE PERFECT was formed by cliticizing the copula to the double-marked participial stem (the second marker is always *-il*):  
e. g. *ker-d'-il-j-om* 'I (have) pretended'  
*sikh-l'-il-j-om* 'I (have) studied'

5.2. Deriving mediopassives by the cliticizing of the verb *ovel* 'become' is *sans pareil* in the context of IA languages. In doing so Romani restored the OIA dichotomy of so-called *parasmaipada* and *ātmanepada* verbs (in Pāṇinian terminology): verbs with active and verbs with middle voice (= our mediopassive) suffixes. As is not so well-known and appreciated, in Sanskrit the middle voice forms, such as *kur-u-te* 'he does for himself', and the passive forms, such as *kri-ya-te* 'it is done', share one set of so-called *ātmanepada* suffixes. In Sanskrit, however, the distinction between the middle voice and the passive is helped by ablaut. These forms are surveyed in (17):

|          |  |  |  |
|----------|--|--|--|
| (17)     | PARASMAIPADA<br>(forms with active suffixes) | ĀTMANEPADA<br>(forms with middle voice suffixes) |  |
|          | ACTIVE                                       | MIDDLE   | PASSIVE  |
| Sanskrit | <i>kar-o-ti</i><br>'he does'                 | <i>kur-u-te</i><br>'he does for himself'         | <i>kri-ya-te</i><br>'it is done'                     |
| Romani   | <i>ker-el</i><br>'he does'                   | <i>ker-d-j-ol</i><br>'he pretends'               | <i>ker-d-j-ol</i><br>'he is born'<br>lit. he is made |
|          | <i>mar-el</i><br>'he beats (someone)'        | <i>mar-d-j-ol</i><br>'(the heart) beats'         | <i>mar-d-j-ol</i><br>'he is beaten'                  |
|          | ---  | <i>sikh-l-j-ol</i><br>'he studies'               | ---<br>lit. he is educated                           |

Another remarkable restoration – but helped by the situation in Romani's contact language, Medieval Greek – is the interplay of voice and tense/aspect resulting from the point 16.iii above. In Sanskrit (but also in Ancient and Modern Greek which also dichotomize their verbs into those with active and those with mediopassive suffixes) one co-indexes the aspectual contrast imperfective vs. resultative (retrospective, perfect) by means of diathesis. With certain middle voice verbs, such as 'be born', 'die', etc. the imperfective aspect is realized by the mediopassive morphology whereas its resultative counterpart carries the active morphology. Examine some examples in (18):

|      |               |                                   |                                  |
|------|---------------|-----------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| (18) | Aspect:       | IMPERFECTIVE                      | RESULTATIVE                      |
|      | Diathesis:    | MEDIOPASSIVE                      | ACTIVE                           |
|      | Sanskrit      | <i>jā-ya-te</i> 'is (being) born' | <i>jajān-a</i> 'has been born'   |
|      | Romani        | <i>ul-j-ol</i> 'is (being) born'  | <i>ul-il-j-a</i> 'has been born' |
|      | Ancient Greek | γίγν-εται 'it happens'            | γέγον-ε 'it has happened'        |
|      | Modern Greek  | γίν-εται 'it happens'             | γίνη-κε 'it has happened'        |

In Romani the perfect does not have to be double-marked as in *mer-el* 'he dies' vs. *mu-l-j-a* 'he has died, is dead' (i. e. not \**mu-l-il-j-a*). Here, Romani does not resemble Sanskrit (*mri-ya-te* vs. *mamār-a*) or Ancient Greek (τέθνη-κε) but Latin *mor-itur* vs. *mor-t(u)us est*.

5.3. And finally, one might argue for the above dichotomy of active and mediopassive verbs (or if you prefer Sanskrit terminology of *parasmaipada* and *ātmanepada*) to be the primary dichotomy to be established when classifying Romani verbs. Within active verbs one has the usual distinction of transitive and intransitive verbs; mediopassive verbs are, of course, only intransitive. This three way classification based on semantic principles finds its counterpart in morphology in the three conjugations proposed by Hübschmannová et al. (1991).

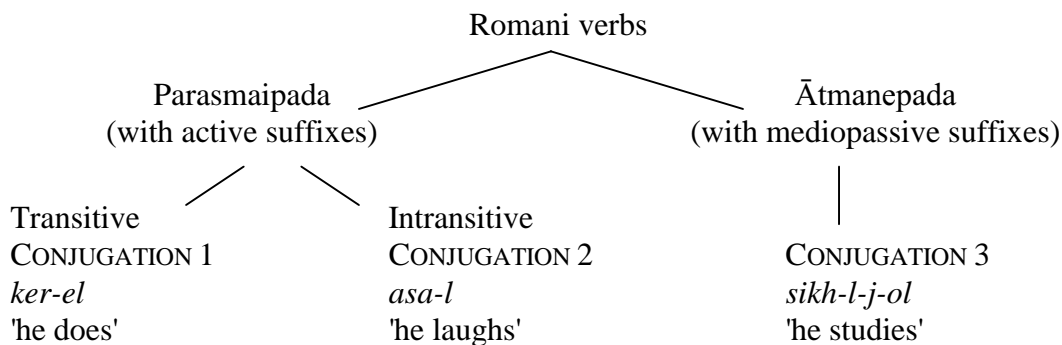


Figure 1. Classifying Romani verbs

## REFERENCES

- Bloch, J. 1933 *L'indo-aryen du véda aux temps modernes*, Paris (English translation by A. Master, *Indo-Aryan from the Veda to Modern Times*, Paris 1965).
- Boretzky, N. 1993 *Bugurdži. Deskriptiver und historischer Abriß eines Romani-Dialekts*, Wiesbaden.
- 1994 *Romani. Grammatik des Kalderaš-Dialekts mit Texten und Glossar*, Wiesbaden.
- 1995 Die Entwicklung der Kopula im Romani, *Grazer Linguistische Studien* 43: 1–50.
- Bubenik, V. 1996 *The Structure and Development of Middle Indo-Aryan Dialects*, Delhi.
- Cech, P./Heinschink, M.F. 1996 *Sepečides-Romani*, München.
- Hancock, I. 1995 *A Handbook of Vlax Romani*, Columbus, Ohio.
- Hübschmannová, M. et al. 1991 *Romsko-český a česko-romský kapesní slovník*, Praha.
- Hübschmannová, M./Bubeník, V. 1997 Causatives in Slovak and Hungarian Romani, in: Matras, Y. et al. (eds.) *The Typology and Dialectology of Romani*, Amsterdam: 133–146.
- Sampson, J. 1926 *The Dialect of the Gypsies of Wales*, Oxford.
- Saxena, B. 1937/1971 *Evolution of Awadhi (A Branch of Hindi)*, Allahabad/Delhi.

Vít Bubeník

Memorial University of Newfoundland

Milena Hübschmannová

Charles University of Prague