



**HRVATSKI SABOR**

KLASA: 960-01/17-02/06

URBROJ: 65-17-02

Zagreb, 2. ožujka 2017.

**ZASTUPNICAMA I ZASTUPNICIMA  
HRVATSKOGA SABORA**

**PREDSJEDNICAMA I PREDSJEDNICIMA  
RADNIH TIJELA**

Na temelju članka 33. stavka 1. podstavka 3. Poslovnika Hrvatskoga sabora u prilogu upućujem *Prijedlog odluke o izmjeni Odluke o proglašenju Međunarodnog dana sjećanja na romske žrtve porajmosa/holokausta koji se obilježava 2. kolovoza*, koji je predsjedniku Hrvatskoga sabora dostavio Veljko Kajtazi, zastupnik u Hrvatskom saboru, aktom od 2. ožujka 2017. godine.

U radu Hrvatskoga sabora i njegovih radnih tijela sudjelovat će predlagatelj prijedloga odluke.

**PREDSJEDNIK**

**Božo Petrov**

**HRVATSKI SABOR**  
**Veljko Kajtazi**  
**saborski zastupnik**

Zagreb, 02. ožujka 2017.

REPUBLIKA HRVATSKA  
65 - HRVATSKI SABOR  
ZAGREB, Trg Sv. Marka 6

Primljeno: 02-03-2017		
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6531-17-01	3	-

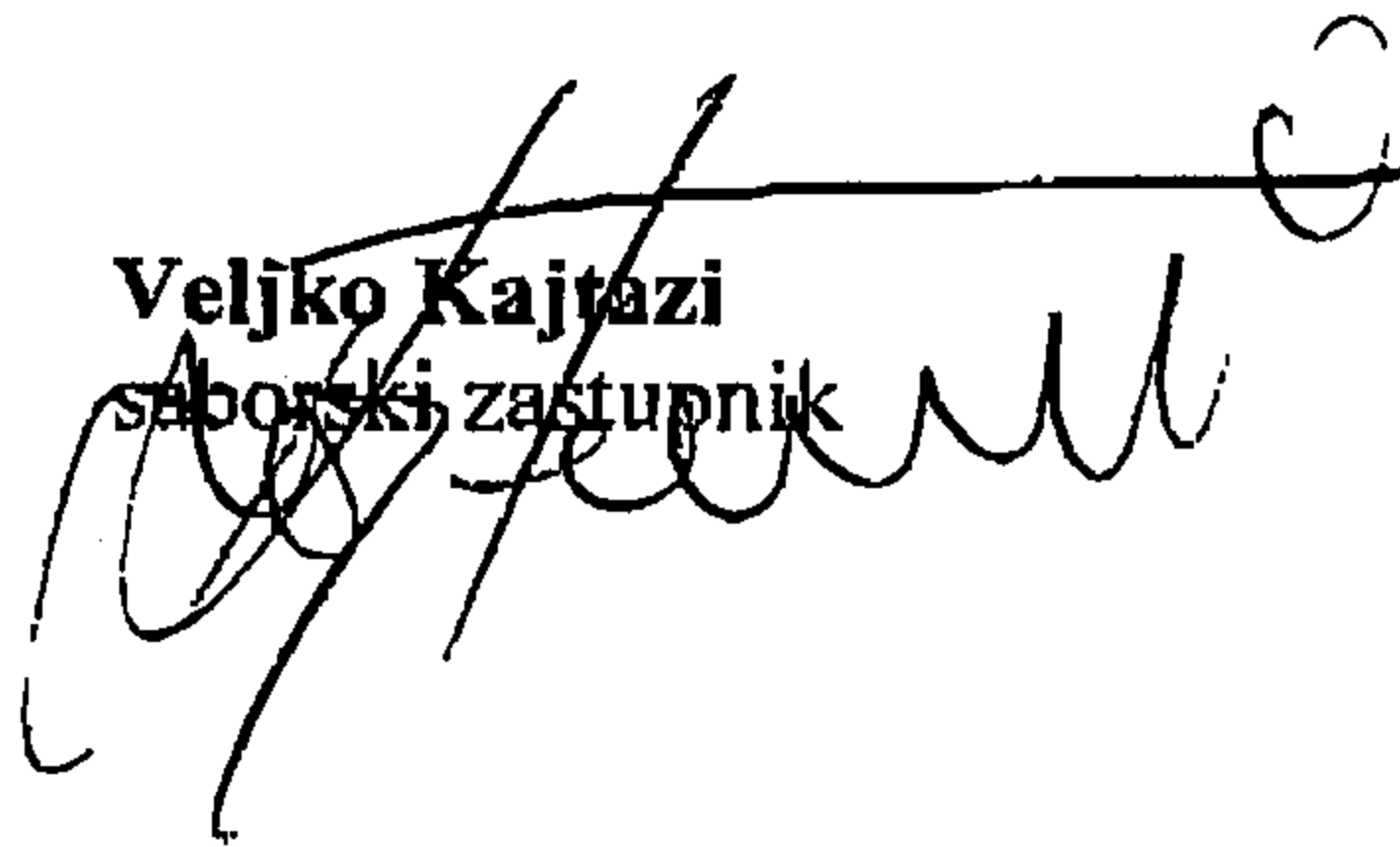
**PREDSJEDNIKU HRVATSKOG SABORA**

**PREDMET:** Prijedlog odluke o izmjeni Odluke o proglašenju "Međunarodnog dana sjećanja na romske žrtve Porajmosa/Holokausta, koji se obilježava 2. kolovoza" ("Narodne novine", br. 151/14.)

Na temelju članka 172. Poslovnika Hrvatskog sabora i članka 81. Ustava Republike Hrvatske, saborski zastupnik Veljko Kajtazi podnosi Prijedlog odluke o izmjeni Odluke o proglašenju "Međunarodnog dana sjećanja na romske žrtve Porajmosa / Holokausta, koji se obilježava 2. kolovoza".

U radu Hrvatskog sabora i njegovih radnih tijela sudjelovat će predlagatelj prijedloga odluke.

**Veljko Kajtazi**  
**saborski zastupnik**



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**SABORSKI ZASTUPNIK VELJKO KAJTAZI**

**PRIJEDLOG ODLUKE O IZMJENI ODLUKE O PROGlašENJU  
"MEĐUNARODNOG DANA SJECANJA NA ROMSKE ŽRTVE  
PORAJMOSA/HOLOKAUSTA, KOJI SE OBILJEŽAVA 2. KOLOVOZA"**

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**Zagreb, ožujak 2017.**

## **PRIJEDLOG**

Na temelju članka 81. Ustava Republike Hrvatske, Hrvatski sabor je na sjednici održanoj 3. ožujka 2017. godine donio

### **ODLUKU**

**O IZMJENI ODLUKE O PROGLAŠENJU "MEĐUNARODNOG DANA SJEĆANJA NA ROMSKE ŽRTVE PORAJMOSA/HOLOKAUSTA, KOJI SE OBILJEŽAVA 2. KOLOVOZA"**

#### **I.**

U Odluci o proglašenju "Međunarodnog dana sjećanja na romske žrtve Porajmosa /Holokausta, koji se obilježava 2. kolovoza" ("Narodne novine", br. 151/14.) u naslovu Odluke riječi: "Međunarodnog dana sjećanja na romske žrtve Porajmosa/Holokausta" zamjenjuju se riječima: "Međunarodnog dana sjećanja na romske žrtve genocida u Drugom svjetskom ratu / Samudaripen".

#### **II.**

Ova Odluka stupa na snagu danom donošenja, a objavit će se u „Narodnim novinama“.

Klasa:  
Zagreb,

**HRVATSKI SABOR**  
Predsjednik  
Hrvatskoga sabora  
mr.sc Božo Petrov

## OBRAZLOŽENJE

Hrvatski sabor je Odlukom od 12. prosinca 2014. (15. sjednici) usvojio Prijedlog odluke o proglašenju Međunarodnog dana sjećanja na romske žrtve Porajmosa/Holokausta koji se obilježava 2. kolovoza, a na prijedlog Kluba nacionalnih manjina.

U tekstu prijedloga odluke o proglašenju Međunarodnog dana sjećanja na romske žrtve koristi se izraz „Porajmos“ koji je romska zajednica koristila kao pojam kojim se obilježavalo stradanje Roma za vrijeme Drugog svjetskog rata.

Na 9. kongresu Međunarodne romske unije (International Roma Union), održanom u Rigi, u Latviji 2015. godine, predstavnici romske zajednice iz cijelog svijeta su usuglasili kako je pojam „Porajmos“ i njegove ostale varijante neprimjeren te kako je isti potrebno zamijeniti preciznijim pojmom „Samudaripen“, a to je kasnije potvrđeno na nizu sastanaka uključujući i Međunarodni znanstveni skup u povodu obilježavanja Svjetskog dana romskog jezika koji je održan 3. studenog 2016. godine na Hrvatskoj akademiji znanosti i umjetnosti u organizaciji Saveza Roma u Republici Hrvatskoj «KALI SARA».

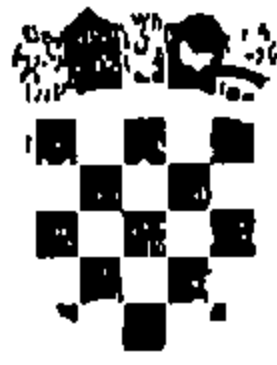
Ovim putem molim da se u odluci o proglašenju "Međunarodnog dana sjećanja na romske žrtve Porajmosa/Holokausta ("Narodne novine", br 151/14.) u naslovu Odluke tekst "Međunarodnog dana sjećanja na romske žrtve Porajmosa/Holokausta" mijenja na način da se tekst zamijeni sljedećom formulacijom - "Međunarodnog dana sjećanja na romske žrtve genocida u Drugom svjetskom ratu / Samudaripen".

Veljko Rajtazi  
sajorski zastupnik



### Prilog

1. Zaključci IRU-a od 20.8.2016. i sastanka u Rigi, Latvija,
2. Deklaracija IRU-a okorištenju pojma «SAMUDARIPEN»



**HRVATSKI SABOR  
KLUB ZASTUPNIKA  
NACIONALNIH MANJINA**

**Veljko Kajtazi**

saborski zastupnik

tel./fax. +385 (0) 1 88 87 673

Zagreb, 4.1.2017.

Br.: 203/01-17-EG

**HRVATSKI SABOR**

n/r predsjednika

**g. Božc Petrova**

**Trg Sv. Marka 6**

**HR-10000 Zagreb**

**PREDMET: Prijedlog izmjene ODLUKE O PROGLAŠENJU MEĐUNARODNOG DANA  
SJEĆANJA NA ROMSKE ŽRTVE PORAJMOSA/HOLOKAUSTA KOJI SE OBILJEŽAVA  
2. KOLOVOZA - predlagatelj Klub zastupnika nacionalnih manjina**

Poštovani predsjedniče g. Petrov,

Hrvatski sabor je Odlukom od 12. prosinca 2014. (15. sjednici) usvojio Prijedlog odluke o proglašenju Međunarodnog dana sjećanja na romske žrtve Porajmosa/Holokausta koji se obilježava 2. kolovoza, a na prijedlog Kluba nacionalnih manjina.

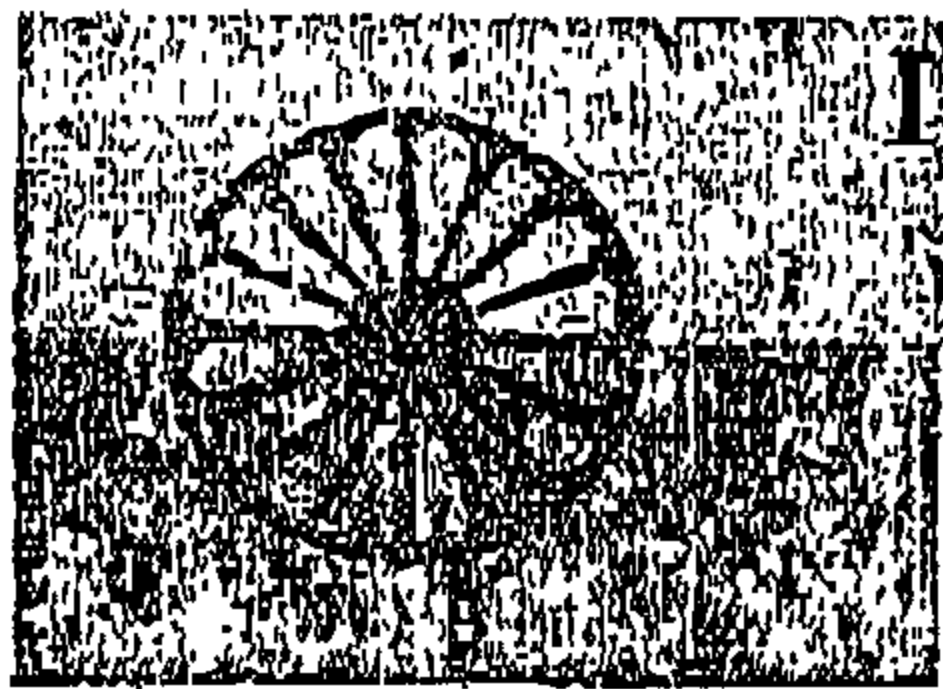
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Ovim putem Vas molim da se Odluka o proglašenju Međunarodnog dana sjećanja na romske žrtve Porajmosa/Holokausta izmjeni na način da umjesto riječi „Porajmosa/Holokausta“ na svim mjestima koristi riječ „Samudaripen“ te da što prije osobno razgovaramo o nužnoj proceduri.

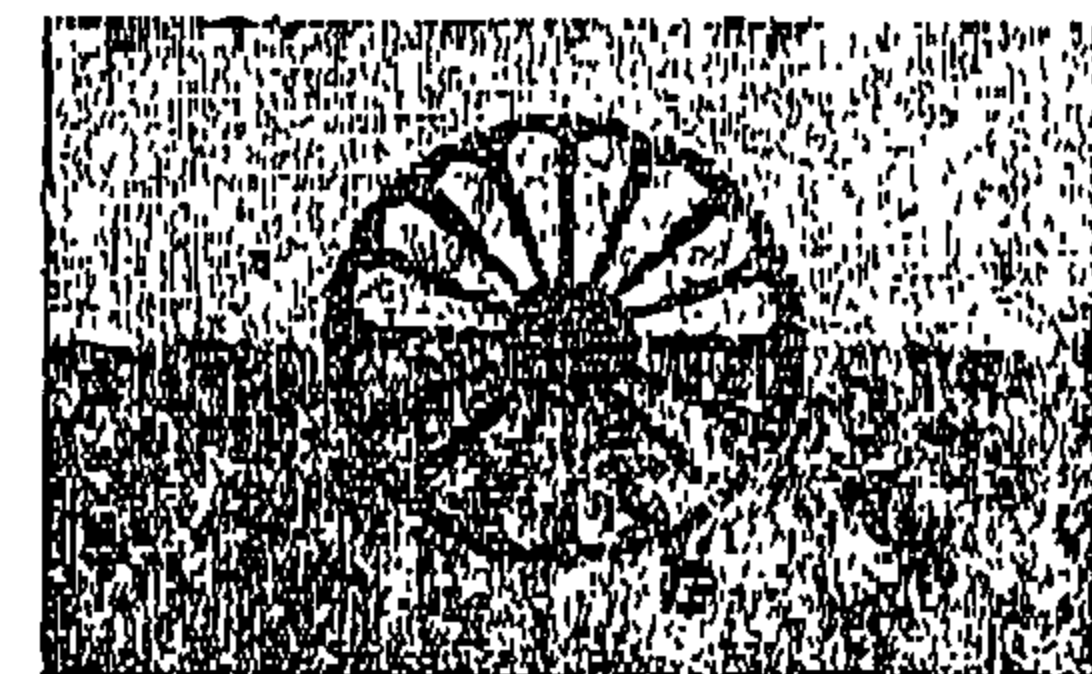
S poštovanjem,  
saborski zastupnik  
**Veljko Kajtazi**

**PRILOZI: 1. Zaključci IRU-a od 20.8.2016. i sastanka u Rigi, Latvija, 2. Deklaracija IRU-a o korištenju pojma «SAMUDARIPEN»**



# INTERNATIONAL ROMANI UNION

Office of the President of IRU  
Normunds Rudevičs



Address: Doma laukums 8a, RIGA, LV-1050  
Phone/Fax: +371 67554222  
Mob.phone: +371 27771814  
e-mail: normunds.rudevics@gmail.com  
www.iru2020.com

20.08.2016 RIGA, LV

## SAMUDARIPEN

TO VELJKO KAJTAZI AND  
To whom it may concern:

The International Romani Union (Romani: Romano Internacionalso Jekhetanipe) is an organization active for the rights of the Romani people. The IRU aims to represent all of the world's Romani peoples; to help encourage their continued cultural and linguistic development; to help resolve a variety of economic and social problems faced by Romani peoples; to connect the work of different organizations and countries toward these ends; and to support human rights for all.

International Romani Union as such also decides on the most important issues regarding Romani people around the world. One of those was acceptance of the term "Porjamos" for Romani holocaust and the marking of International Day of Remembrance of the Roma Victims of Holocaust.

The decision on the term has been modified and we hereby strongly suggest to all countries to start using the more accurate term "Samudaripen" that has been agreed upon by the IRU parliament and all other bodies - instead of the term "Porjamos". We also strongly encourage national parliaments that recognized 2nd of August as the International Day of Remembrance of the Roma Victims of Holocaust to revise their decisions and documents and to implement the new, more accurate term, „Samudaripen“ replacing the incorrect term „Porjamos“.

We are strongly supportive and proud of the countries that already implemented their decisions like the Republic of Croatia on the initiative of Mr. Veljko Kajtazi and we would like to see the accurate terminology changes accepted in the near future. Mr. Kajtazi is also initiator of the World Day of Roma Language, 5th of November, which has been recognized in the Republic of Croatia and other organizations such as UNESCO.

We use this opportunity to thank the Croatian Parliament and other national institutions of the Republic of Croatia for the support to the Roma community and the support on the preservation of the Romani culture and heritage with hopes that our latest suggestions will be approved.

In the annex of this decision we are also delivering our document („HOW TO CALL THE GENOCIDE PERPETRATED AGAINST THE RROMS IN NAZI TIMES?“) with a more detailed explanation on the term "Samudaripen".

Sincerely,

Dr. Normunds Rudevičs  
President of IRU



Stanisław Stankiewicz  
Chairman of IRU Parliament



# INTERNATIONAL ROMANI UNION

Office of the President of IRU  
Normunds Rudevičs



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## DEKLARACIA

Pal-i konsultacia thaj studie pesqere Komisariatēnqeri vaš-i čhib aj čhibāqere hakaja thaj vaš-i Edukacia, o IRU del avri akaja deklaracia :

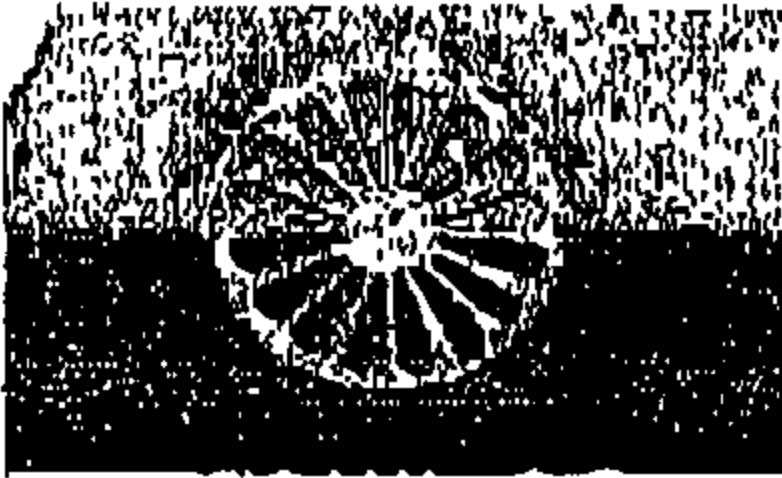
1. o lav SAMUDARIPEN si o oficialo anav e krimenqero, so kerde nazistā aj avera kuislingā angl-o thaj and-o II-to Sasundalitko Maripen upr-i rromani nacia pe rasistikane aša (*dikh ziphandli dokum.*). Naj te oven labārdine lava sar « Porrajmos », « Pharimos », « Pharravipe » ja « Holokausto ».
2. o alternativo anav RROMOCID(E) si and-o labāripen and-i anglikani čhib (juridiko konteksto) thaj šaj labārdōl vi anda avera čhibā.
3. katar-e Historiaqeri analiza vaš-e Samudaripnasqero pinzaripen, dikhlōl so akaja tragedia zi adadives naj sathane oficial pinzardi and-i Evropa aj avrial laθar. O IRU lošavel so o baro Raj o Jerzy Buzek organisarda ripiripnasqeri ceremonia and-o b. 2011 ma konstatuīl so zi akana naj thamikano pinzaripen e rromane Samudaripnasero p-e Evropaqero nivelo. Odolesqe o IRU mangel e Evropaqere bare Rajenθar te pinzaren andar-o thamikano aspekto akava kalo segmento e Manušipnasqere Historiaqero.
4. vasno si te zanel pes so, nina angl-o nazismo, sas duj oficialo zumavimāta te kerdōl samudaripen p-o Rroma : jekh katar-o Maksimiliano von Habsburg (1459-1519, karing-o b. 1500) thaj aver katar-o Friedrich-Wilhelm e Prusiaqero (1688-1740, and-o b. 1725).
5. paralel, o IRU mangel e Evropaqere vorvero Raimatenθar nina jone te pinzaren andar-o thamikano aspekto akava segmento e Manušipnasqere Historiaqero (zikaj na pinzarde les zi akana).
6. o IRU mangel e Raimatenqere Edukaciaqere Ministrienθar te integrui and-e buxle skolaqere programe (skolaqoro curriculum, nina čhavenqe, nina raklenqe) aj didaktiko materiali i tēma e rromane Samudaripnasqiri, kaj te ovel savorenqe pinzardi.
7. akaja buti te ovel kerdj and-i konsultācia e IRUsqere Komisariatēnqa vaš-i čhib aj čhibāqere hakaja thaj vaš-i Edukacia, thaj vi e rromane katedrenqa and-o Universitēte Paris (INALCO Paris-City Sorbonne), Bukurest thaj Elbasan.
8. kaj te ovel zorārdi e Historiaqeri koherēncia and-i Edukacia, thaj te peravdōl oventuālo zumavipen te del pes čačipen e nazistenqe, si te ovel integrui and-e skolaqere programe (skolaqoro curriculum) aj didaktiko materiali i tēma e rromane « Bare Telāripnasqeri » andar-o Kannauj (India) and-o b. 1018 thaj lenqere aresipnasqeri and-o respektiva Thema. Nina akaja buti te ovel kerdj and-i konsultācia e IRUsqere Komisariatēnqa vaš-i čhib aj čhibāqere hakaja thaj vaš-i Edukacia, thaj vi e rromane katedrenqa and-o Universitēte Paris (INALCO Paris-City Sorbonne), Bukurest thaj Elbasan.

Kerdo and-i Riga, 20 avgusto 2016

*Normunds Rudevičs*







# INTERNATIONAL ROMANI UNION

Office of the President of IRU  
Normunds Rudevičs



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## STATEMENT

On the basis of the consultation with, and studies by, its Commission for Language and Linguistic Rights, the IRU presidency issues the following statement :

1. the word SAMUDARIPEN is the official name of the racial motivated crimes perpetrated by the nazis and other kuisling powers before and during WWII upon the Rromani nation (see attached document). Words as « Porrajmos », « Pharimos », « Pharravipe », « Holokausto » and the like ought not be used.
2. the alternative term RROMOCID(E) is in use in English language (juridical context) and may be used also in other languages.
3. it is conspicuous from the historical analysis about the recognition of the Samudaripen that to date this strategy is not recognised everywhere in Europe and out of it. The IRU welcomes the fact that Mr Jerzy Buzek organised a memorial ceremony in 2011 but observes that there is so far no legal recognition of the Samudaripen at the European level. Accordingly the IRU urges European authorities to recognize from the legal aspect this black segment of mankind's history.
4. it is important to keep in mind that, also before nazism, there were two official attempts of genocide upon the Roms: one by Maximilian von Habsburg (1459-1519, around the year 1500) and the other by Friedrich-Wilhelm of Prussia (1688-1740, in the year 1725).
5. parallely, the IRU urges the diverse European governments to recognize from the legal aspect this black segment of mankind's history (in so far they have not yet done so).
6. the IRU urges the Ministries of Education of the various governments to integrate into the general school program (school curriculum, for both Rromani and non-Rromani pupils) and didactic material the issue of the Samudaripen in order to make it known by everyone..
7. this task will be carried out through consultation with the IRU Commissions for language an linguistic rights and of education, as well as with the chairs of Rromani studies at the Universities of Paris (INALCO Paris-City Sorbonne), Bucharest and Elbasan.
8. in order to ensure the historical coherency in education, and to reduce the risk of attempts by some pupils to approve nazi genocides, there will be integrated into the school programme (school curriculum) and didactic material the subject of the proto-Rromani exodus from India « Bare Teläripnasqeri » out of Kannauj (India) in the year 1018 and their arrival in the respective countries. This task also will be carried through consultation with the IRU Commissions for language an linguistic rights and of education, as well as with the chairs of Rromani studies at the Universities of Paris (INALCO Paris-City Sorbonne), Bucharest and Elbasan.

Done in Riga, 21 of August 2016.

*Normunds Rudevičs*



1

**"O SAMUDARIPEN"  
OR HOW TO CALL THE GENOCIDE  
PERPETRATED AGAINST THE RROMS IN NAZI TIMES?**

A word is not only a word. It is not an empty, inert label, which can be used freely and without consequences to refer to an object or phenomenon. It is a living creature, populated by references, feelings, often sufferings, links with other words and sometimes also stereotypes. If this word refers to a kind of flower or stone in remote mountains, or an object belonging to old practices, indeed its choice is then not very important, but if it refers to such an abomination as a genocide, it must be selected with great care and used with the utmost respect. The present paper is aimed at bringing reliable information into the disorder of words used to call the genocide perpetrated against the Rroms in nazi times.

**Samudaripen** is the proper word to name the nazi genocide against the Rroms. The word **Samudaripen** emerged in the 1970, first in Yugoslavia in connection with Jasenovac and Auschwitz under the forms **Samudaripe** and **Samundaripe**. It circulated later in other countries, adopting local dialectal variants like **Samudariben**, **Samudaripen**, **Samudaripa** and **Sămudarimos**. It originates simply from *sa* "all" and *mudaripen* (with respective local variants) "murder" (< *mudarel* "s/he kills") – which is clear, understandable, neutral and respectful. It is widely recognized and used, with no other connotation than its genuine meaning – and mourning, while we should avoid unsuitable words like "Holocaust" and "Porrajmos".

The Rromani word for the Hitlerian genocide against the Rromani people is therefore **SAMUDARIPEN** with local varieties:

<b>SAMUDARIFE(N)</b>	O-bi dialects (Arlj, Bačori, Kalburzi, Karpati Northern Russian etc...)
<b>SAMUDARIPO</b>	O-mu dialect (Cerhàri, Colàri etc...)
<b>SAMUNDARIPE</b>	E-bi dialects (Gurbet, Čergàri etc...)
<b>SAMUNDARIMOS</b>	E-mu dialect (Kelderaš, Lovari etc...)

**THE ALTERNATIVE JURIDICAL TERM "RROMOCIDE" IN ENGLISH**

However there exist in English an alternative juridical term, namely "Rromocide" to be used in official juridical and legal documents. When necessary this term may be used also in other languages.

**WHY IS "HOLOCAUST" AN INAPPROPRIATE WORD TO NAME THE RROMS' GENOCIDE?**

The word "Holocaust" is widely used in Germany and in countries under strong German cultural influence. It was introduced even into French by Bernadac's book "The forgotten Holocaust". Its use in German is due to Protestant churches – with a powerful Biblical culture, first not about the Rroms' but the Jews' genocide. Religious Jews took it over very soon and introduced it into their own terminology (these same orthodox Jews reject any idea of war compensation, saying that this money is cursed). The emergence of this word in the Jewish context has therefore a very deep religious rooting and belong to the strictly Jewish (and to some extent protestant) context. True enough, Jews are not the only nation who consider[ed] that God is sending calamities onto peoples as to chastise humans but this element is a crucial axis of their theology.

It is interesting to mention another nation, who took over this believing, namely the Armenians: the Armenian priest Aristakes Lastivertci had a similar perception about

the destruction of Armenia by Seljuks and Indians in 1064-1071 since he wrote: "Meanwhile the Lord became filled with rage and sent many [foreign] peoples for vengeance, [brought] from the Mountains of the Moon and from the great river crossing northern India, wicked peoples speaking foreign tongues to flood like gushing water over our lands" [*the Mountains of the Moon are to be found in Ethiopia and the text was written in a time when geographers were convinced that Ethiopia was neighbouring India, in a "Negro" continent, South of Prasodis Sea*].

This quotation is interesting for us because it refers to the first arrival of Rroms into Eastern Anatolia with Seljuk warriors. Divine vengeance through disasters has become a quite common place in religious literatures. Another historical element strengthened the link between sins and persecution in the Jewish vision of the Universe: during epidemics of plague in the Middle Ages, Christians would kill, massacre and burn Jews, whom they considered as responsible (guilty) for the disease they were suffering. This is in fact the first historical connexion between mass-murdering of Jews and Abraham's sacrifice – a connexion which is especially revolting from a rational and human point of view...

Be it as it may, these are the reasons why fundamentalist Jews consider Hitler and the nazi as God's instrument to chastise their ancestors' sins, to burn them as a sacrifice of expiation. On the other side, this is also the reason why secular Jews, who do not agree with this providential-based perception of such a "crime of the crimes", prefer the neutral term Shoah [שואה] – meaning simply "annihilation, destruction". One should leave to religious Jews their responsibility of interpreting Hitler (and all the Hitlerlets behind him) as God's tool to purify their sins by fire. Be it as it may, this conception of a providential genocide to chastise the sins of the nation is totally alien to Rromani culture.

Unfortunately, there is a specific problem in Russian language: until recently, the word холокост (Holocaust) was practically the only one in common use. Shoah does exist in this language as Шоа, but it is defined as "термин, которым обозначается массовое истребление евреев, осуществлявшееся нацистами во время второй мировой войны; то же, что холокост" [a term, which refers to the massive extermination of Jews, carried out by the nazis during WWII; the same as Holokost]. One may also find "термин, употребляемый евреями вместо термина Холокост" [a term, used by Jews instead of Holokost]. This is – as we explained above, totally wrong: it is not the same as Holocaust. If both words refer to the same reality, the first one conveys a religious justification of this reality, whereas the second one just names it, without any further implication. However, the knowledge of Jewish orthodox theology has not yet reached widely in Russia a level allowing the distinction between the two, but this should occur quite soon.

#### THE WORD "HOLOCAUST": A HYBRID HEBREW-GREEK ETYMOLOGY

The origin of the word Holocaust is also meaningful. Actually most publications give a quite simple etymology, namely from Gk. ὅλο "whole" + καυτός [not καυστός, i.e. without σ] "burnt", meaning according "entirely burnt", but in fact this is a mere simplification, since this word has a hybrid (or double) etymology.

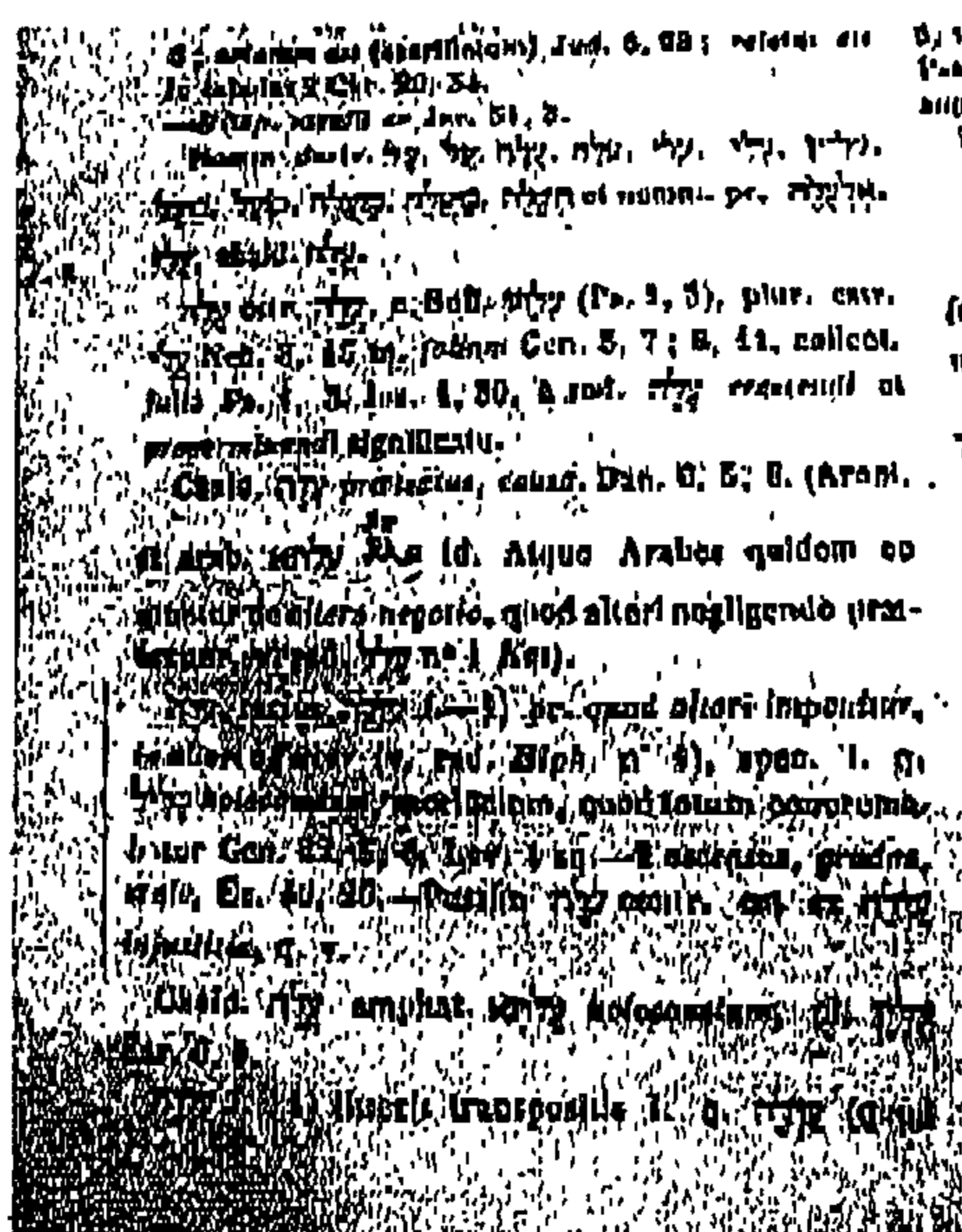
It should take on account that this Greek word was not created by the Greeks, but by the so-called "Grecian Jews" (Ἑλληνιστῆς), i. e. the majority of Jews, those who were

already speaking Greek as their mother tongue after the disappearance of classical Hebrew, as opposed to Judaistic Jews, who were speaking Aramaic ("the language of Jesus," which is still alive today in the Middle East and in the Diaspora). Grecian Jews are mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles (VI: 1, IX: 29, and XI: 20) – "μιλούσαν στους Ελληνιστές (Ιουδαίοι που μιλούσαν ελληνικά και είχαν επηρεαστεί από τον ελληνικό πολιτισμό)" ["they spoke to the Ellenistes (Jews who spoke Greek and were affected by the Greek culture)"].

The Jews of the Ancient Testament had understood quite early that human languages are not sufficient to express the sophisticated nuances of divine matters. They didn't have the pretension to achieve a complete system of wording for this field, but they tried an original and subtle approach, which indeed was suggested by the very system of Semitic roots, namely to evoke some concepts while using words expressing other concepts in a kind of punning or patronymic attraction. Most books of the Ancient Testament, especially those historical, prophetic and poetic are full of such disguised allusions.

Prof. Alphonse Maillot (1920-2003), one of the most outstanding protestant exegetes of the past century, analysed the word Holocaust and disclosed that in fact two different words stay within the first element *Holo*, namely:

- a Greek word ὅλο, as already said,
- but also the Hebrew word הָלַךְ 'olah "which was offered on an altar, sacrifice" < 'ālāh "it went up" (cf. Arabic 'alal "it was high"). I am putting in attachment the page devoted to this word taken from Paulus L. B. Drach's Hebrew Dictionary (one of the most exhaustive dictionaries in this field: *Catholicum lexicon hebraicum et chaldaicum* – 1839).



Basically the whole-burnt sacrifice was a Greek ritual, or rather a general Indo-European ritual, since it is also attested in the Vedic and Avestic traditions. However the Jews practiced also this ritual, which they called הָלַךְ [kālīl], and they coined the Greek word ὁλόκαυστος "Holocaust" (var. ὁλοκαύτωμα), as "(smoke) rising right and high, as a sign that the sacrifice is agreed by God". One should notice that this word appears basically exclusively in a Biblical context in Greek.

So it seems clear that the word Holocaust not only refers to a highly internal Jewish theological issue (including a punning coined in Biblical times) and is deeply rooted in a quite singular vision of divine punishment, but even in this framework it is restricted to a

particular group of Jews and expresses a very specific interpretation of the Hitlerian genocide, to such an extent that Jews who do not share this idiosyncratic interpretation, reject the word Holocaust with its religious and providential connotations and use Shoah "annihilation" instead.

As a matter of fact, the word Holocaust was widespread by post-WWII Germans, because it sounds pious and full of contrition in the German religious world but this is not a reason to impose it to non-religious Jews and even more to non-Jews!!!

### WHY IS "PORRAJMOS" A DEFINITELY INAPPROPRIATE WORD TO REFER TO THE RROMS' GENOCIDE?

The reason why the word "Porrajmos" has to be outlawed is of a quite different nature. It was coined in good faith by a person who knew the verb **porravel** (past **porradās**) only from books and indeed the indications given in printed sources do not evoke any inappropriate meaning. Nevertheless, the colloquial use in everyday Rromani is quite different. The verb **porravel** means "to open widely an orifice of the



**porravel**  
(o muj/jakha)

body: eye, mouth etc." There is a second meaning, which is not relevant here: "open widely one's legs – especially for a horse slipping on the paving or the ice". The abstract substantive **porrajmos** was coined from the first meaning "opening widely one's mouth", with an implicit second meaning "devouring". Unfortunately – and this couldn't

be predicted from books, the verb **porravel** and its derivatives **porravdo**, **porrado**, **porradi**, **porrajpen** or **porrajmos** etc. also refer to the wide opening of much less noble orifices of the body, with strict taboo limitations of use (however **porrajmos** doesn't mean at all "rape" as erroneously quoted on the Internet). Moreover it happens that these taboo meanings are much more frequent in everyday Rromani than the dictionary meanings – due to the fact that they are used as colloquial offences (or for the case of **porravdi**, as a euphemism for a quite common insult). One should point out that it is not a matter of dialectal or local use (as usually set forth as a pretext), but of elevated versus colloquial style, wherever in Europe and America). This is the reason why the word **porrajmos** is used chiefly by persons (usually non-Rroms), who do not speak Rromani or have only a shallow and bookish idea of the language. When the president of the International Rromani Union's Parliament asked the person who had put "Porrajmos" in circulation for more explanation or possible justifications, no real answer was given – the person at stake only thanked for the question (*pers. com.*).

Bearing in mind this linguistic fact of observation, it appears absolutely indecent, or even ignominious, to tolerate that a word with such inappropriate implications could be used to name the most abominable period humanity ever went through. As a matter of fact, even any discussion about the suitability of stained words in such a terrifying context is a profanation and a sacrilege. For example, the on-line discussion which occurred early this year between young internet surfers lacking any Biblical and generally speaking historical culture and aimed at "democratically choosing" the appropriate word to name the Samudaripen was an exercise in particular bad taste, since the arguments were of the kind: "such and such word sounds to me more serious, more terrifying, more moving etc."

Accordingly the International Rromani Union demands that **Samudaripen** (or related local forms), with capital S, should be used to name specifically and respectfully the nazi genocide against the Rroms. This doesn't leave out other genocides or attempts of genocides which were perpetrated in history, especially against the Rroms prior to

nazi times. Such episodes may be referred to as **samudaripen**, with lower case s: to quote but two, one may mention the decision of shooting all Rromani males by emperor Maximilian I (1459-1519) and the Instructions of 1725 by Friedrich-Wilhelm I of Prussia (1688-1740) to catch at sight and kill all Rroms, males and females. The fact that these decisions (and several others) were not carried out to completion doesn't reduce their genocidal dimension. For this reason, every user has to be very careful in his terminology, using Samudaripen or Genocide only in the meaning defined by international Law and only under the forms, which pay due respect to the countless victims of this antihuman and antidivine episode of recent History.

Prof. dr Marcel Courthiade

IRU Commissionner for Language and Linguistic Rights

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*Samudaripen* *Romani*

