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TURKISH AND ARMENIAN LOANWORDS IN BULGARIAN ROMANI

1. INTRODUCTION

The languages in a contact are characterized with phenomena as code-switching and borrowings from language A to language B. Armenian and Turkish are two languages which came in a contact with Romani during the mid centuries, when the Roma people were in their way from India to Europe. According to Crystal (1992) vocabulary borrowings are usually called loanwords. Sankoff/Poplack/Vanniarajan (1991) estimate that the loanwords are impossible to distinguish from the native lexicon into which they are borrowed on the basis of phonology, morphology and syntax. The general principle is that *content words* are borrowed while *function words* are resistant to loan. There are studies which show borrowings and loanwords in Romani from Armenian (Boretzky/Igla 1994; Boretzky 1995). However, up till now there is no any lexico-semantical classification made of the existing Armenian and Turkish loanwords in Romani.

My observations here are on a dialect which exists in Bulgaria and it belongs to the group of *Vlah dialects* and it contains Armenian and Turkish loanwords. In some parts of Bulgaria this dialect is spoken by Muslim Roma and they are called *Laho* (*Vlah Roma*) (in North-East Bulgaria). In some other parts of Bulgaria the speakers of this dialect are Christian Roma (for example in Southern parts of Bulgaria around the town of Stara Zagora) and they are called *Dasikane Roma* (*Christian Roma*). Kyuchukov (1994) reporting about the language mixing of Romani with Turkish among the Muslim Roma in Bulgaria also mentions this dialect calling it *Laho dialect* as the speakers of it call themselves.

2. AIM OF THE STUDY

My goal here is to classify the existing Armenian and Turkish loanwords into lexico-semantical groups and to show two different types of loanwords: a) the first one from Armenian (old forms of borrowings) and b) the new one from Turkish (new forms of borrowings).

3. INFORMANTS AND DATA COLLECTION

The data for this study was collected in Bulgaria among the speakers of *Vlah dialect*. This dialect is much more conservative than the existing non-Vlah dialects. The speakers have Muslim or Christian religion, however the both groups have the same loanwords from Armenian and Turkish. They live in different circumstances and have different second lan-

guages (L2) – the Muslims have Turkish as L2 and the Christians have Bulgarian as L2. In their vocabulary one can find the same loanwords from both Armenian and Turkish (for example the word *paramisi* for 'fairy tale' in both groups is unknown and they use the word *masali* from Turkish *masal* 'fairy tale').

The data was collected in the usual setting of the speakers – at home, speaking naturally, and they were asked to tell autobiographical story and a fairy tale in Romani. The conversations were recorded and transcribed. The informants are between 30 and 70 years old male and female and all together their total number is 5 – two male and three female (2 female Muslim speakers from North- East Bulgaria and 2 male and 1 female Christian speakers from South Bulgaria).

4. LEXICO-SEMANTICAL GROUP OF NOUNS

4.1. Loanwords from Armenian

The Armenian loanwords in Romani are were adapted with very slight changes, usually as they exist in Armenian. It is known that Romani came in contact with Armenian before arriving to Greece and it is obvious that there are no Greek elements in this first type of loanwords. Here I will try to classify them in different lexico-semantical groups.

4.1.1. Parts of human body

čekat from Arm. *čikar*	'forehead'
morči from Arm. *morth*	'skin'
koč from Arm *koč*	'knee'
ogi from Arm *ogi, hogi*	'soul'

4.1.2. Names of vegetables and fruits

dudum from Arm. *dudum*	'pumpkin'

4.1.3. Names of foods

bokoli from Arm. *bokel*	'small flat loaf'
xumer from Arm. *xəmor*	'dough'

4.1.4. Names of animals

grast from Arm. *grast*	'horse'
khuro from Arm. *khurak*	'young horse'
rikono from Arm. *koriwn*	'puppy'

4.2. Loanwords from Turkish

The loanwords from Turkish are much latter incorporated and they are formed differently. Usually the Turkish words are used without any phonological or morphological changes, but with Romani suffixes for masculine and feminine gender: *-i, -es, -os*. The loanwords with Turkish origin can be divided into the following groups.

4.2.1. Names of plants, flowers, fruits and vegetables

arpadzikos from Tur. *arpacik*	'seed onions'
asmas from Tur. *asma*	'vine arbor'
bademi from Tur. *badem*	'almond'
baklas from Tur. *bakla*	'broad beans'
gjuli from Tur. *gül*	'rose'
zarzavati from Tur. *zarzavat*	'greens, vegetables'
zjumbjul from Tur. *zümbül*	'hyacinth'
limoni from Tur. *limon*	'lemon'
pamukos from Tur. *pamuk*	'cotton'
patladzani from Tur. *patlacan*	'eggplant, aborigine'
spanakos from Tur. *spanak*	'spinach'

4.2.2. Names of animals

gargas from Tur. *garga*	'crow, rook'
melezi from Tur. *mellez*	'half-blood'
hergeles from Tur. *hergele*	'herd of horses'
papagali from Tur. *papagal*	'parrot'

4.2.3. Words from the nature

bostani from Tur. *bostan*	'melon field'
boazi from Tur. *boaz*	'defile, gorge'
gjoli from Tur. *göl*	'pool, puddle'
derjav from Tur. *dere*	'gully, gulch, ravine'
kanaras from Tur. *kanara*	'crag, cliff, rock'
meras from Tur. *mera*	'common pasture'

4.2.4. Names of minerals

elmazi from Tur. *elmaz*	'diamond'
kalajo, -i from Tur. *kalay*	'tin'
katrano, -i from Tur. *katran*	'tar'
sedefo, -i from Tur. *sedef*	'mother of pearl'

4.2.5. Names of foods and drinks

baklavas from Tur *baklava*	'baklava'
bulguri from Tur. *bulgur*	'grouts, croup, grits'
gjuveči from Tur. *güveç*	'earthenware dish, pan'
kajmas from Tur. *kıyma*	'minced mead'
kajmaki from Tur. *kaymak*	'cream'
kaves, kajava from Tur. *kahve*	'coffee'
kebapi from Tur. *kebap*	'grilled meal'
kurabes from Tur. *kurabe*	'cookie, biscuit'
kjoftes from Tur. *köfte*	'meat ball'
lokumi from Tur. *lokum*	'Turkish delight'
mezes from Tur. *meze*	'appetizer'
musakas from Tur. *musaka*	'meat and vegetable hash'
pastarmas from Tur. *pastırma*	'dried, jerked, cured meat'
rakıs from Tur. *rakı*	'plump, grape brandy'
sazdarmas from Tur. *sızdırma*	'corned beef, pork'
sarmas from Tur. *sarma*	'stuffed cabbage/ vine leaves'
turšus from Tur. *turşu*	'pickled vegetables, pickles'
halvas from Tur. *halva*	'khalva'
čorbas from Tur. *çorba*	'soup'
šerbeti from Tur. *şerbet*	'syrup, sherbet'
jufkas from Tur. *üfka*	'noodles'

4.2.6. Names of plays and musical instruments

dajres from Tur. *dayre*	'tambourine'
zurnas from Tur. *zurna*	'kind of clarinet'
kjočeki from Tur. *köçek*	'belly dance'
maanes, maanedes from Tur. *maane*	'folk song'
sazi from Tur. *saz*	'kind of guitar'
tarbukas from Tur. *tarbuka*	'pander, mandolin, lute'

5. LEXICO-SEMANTICAL GROUP OF VERBS

This particular dialect contents also a lots of verbs, which roots are from Turkish nouns. The first group are the verbs, which are formed with verb formation elements: *-disajlo, -tisajlo*.

a) verbs, formed with suffix *-disajlo*

asladisajlo	from the Turkish verb	*aslamak*	'graft, bud'
kondisajlo	from	*konmak*	'alight, perch'
kavardisajlo	from	*kavarmak*	'fry, roast'

ujdisajlo	from	*uymak*	'agree'
kalajdisajlo	from	*kalaylamak*	'tin'

b) verbs, formatted with suffix *-tisajlo*

artisajlo	from	*artmak*	'stay'
alastisajlo	from	*alasmak*	'get use to'
bastisajlo	from	*basmak*	'step'
čaktisajlo	from	*çakmak*	'remember'
sinaštisajlo	from	*sinaşmak*	'get use to'

Another group of verbs with Turkish origin are formed from Turkish words (often nouns) with the copula *etmek* 'to do' or *olmak* 'to become'. Often these verbs are loan translations from Turkish.

c) verbs from Turkish nouns plus verb *etmek* 'make, do'

from *inat etmek*	*inatlici kerav*	'be obstinate'
from *kepaze etmek*	*kepazes kerav*	'make a show of somebody else'
from *maytap etmek*	*majtapi kerav*	'mock'
from *maskara etmek*	*maskaras kerav*	'defile, sully'
from *pazarlik etmek*	*pazarlici kerav*	'bargain'
from *trampa etmek*	*trampas kerav*	'exchange'

d) verbs from Turkish nouns plus verb *olmak* 'become, stand'

from *maskara olmak*	*maskaras kerdiljom*	'I made a show of myself'
from *rezil olmak*	*rezili kerdiljom*	'I made a show of myself'
from *pisman olmak*	*pishmani kerdiljom*	'I am sorry'

From the Armenian nouns also is possible to be formed verbs with the copula *dav*.

for example *from shol*	*shol dav*	'whistle'

However from Armenian nouns are formed adjectives with the suffix *-alo*, which also can be grouped.

for example *zoralo*	from Arm. *zor*	'strong'
pixalo	from Arm. *pix*	'rheumy-eyed'
pakivalo	from Arm. *pačhiv*	'believer'

6. CONCLUSIONS

The classification presented here gives floor for discussions about the typology of code-switching – are these words nonce borrowings or established loanwords. It seems that the Armenian words are established loanwords, because there are evidences from other dialects

where these words are used as well. The question which arises is about the Turkish words. It is obvious that in the vocabulary of the speakers of this dialect there are words from different areas which are missing. Than the question is why the speakers do not borrow those words from Bulgarian, which is the language of the majority. Why although the differences in their L2 the speakers do use the same Turkish words. It seems to me that these words are also established loanwords, although they are acquired later than the Armenian ones. It is known that till some 50 years ago, different groups of Roma were speakers of Turkish because of historical reasons. It is quite possible that the Turkish words in the vocabulary of the speakers of this dialect are also established loanwords since 50-60 years. This could be the reason that they do not use Bulgarian and prefer Turkish ones. Perhaps these are the words which are acquired first at home. Than it is natural these words to be accepted as Romani ones.

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