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. xmor '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'
- **zjumbjl** from Tur. zümül: '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. gül: '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. **kiyma** 'minced mead'
- **kajmaki** from Tur. **kaymak** 'cream'
- **kaves, kajava** from Tur. **kahve** 'coffee'
- **kebapi** from Tur. **kebap** 'grilled meal'
- **kurabes** from Tur. **kurabiye** '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. **pastirma** 'dried, jerked, cured meat'
- **rakis** from Tur. **raki** 'plump, grape brandy'
- **sazdarmas** from Tur. **sazdarma** 'corned beef, pork'
- **sarmas** from Tur. **sarma** 'stuffed cabbage, vine leaves'
- **turšus** from Tur. **туршу** '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 contains also a lot 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>From</th>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>artisajlo</td>
<td>artmak</td>
<td>-tisajlo</td>
<td>'stay'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alastisajlo</td>
<td>alasmak</td>
<td>-tisajlo</td>
<td>'get use to'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bastisajlo</td>
<td>basmak</td>
<td>-tisajlo</td>
<td>'step'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>çaktisajlo</td>
<td>çakmak</td>
<td>-tisajlo</td>
<td>'remember'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sinaštisajlo</td>
<td>sinaşmak</td>
<td>-tisajlo</td>
<td>'get use to'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>From</th>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>from inat etmek</td>
<td>inatlici kerav</td>
<td>'be obstinate'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>from kepaze etmek</td>
<td>kepazes kerav</td>
<td>'make a show of somebody else'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>from maytap etmek</td>
<td>majtapi kerav</td>
<td>'mock'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>from maskara etmek</td>
<td>maskaras kerav</td>
<td>'defile, sully'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>from pazarlik etmek</td>
<td>pazarlici kerav</td>
<td>'bargain'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>from trampa etmek</td>
<td>trampas kerav</td>
<td>'exchange'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>From</th>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>from maskara olmak</td>
<td>maskaras kerdiljom</td>
<td>'I made a show of myself'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>from rezil olmak</td>
<td>rezili kerdiljom</td>
<td>'I made a show of myself'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>from pisman olmak</td>
<td>pishmani kerdiljom</td>
<td>'I am sorry'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>From</th>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>from shol</td>
<td>shol dav</td>
<td>'whistle'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>From</th>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>from Arm. zor</td>
<td>zoralo</td>
<td>'strong'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>from Arm. pix</td>
<td>pixalo</td>
<td>'rheumy-eyed'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>from Arm. pačhiv</td>
<td>pakivalo</td>
<td>'believer'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

REFERENCES: