

Toward Defining the
Position of Turkisms in Romani
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The lexical influence of Turkish¹ on the Romani language is a paradigm of the relationship of Turkish to the languages of Europe. As with the languages of Europe, so with the dialects of Romani the further one moves away from the old boundaries of the Ottoman Empire, the less frequent become the loan words of Turkish origin. Likewise, the presence of a significant lexical component of Turkish origin is a distinctive feature of the so-called Balkan linguistic league and of the so-called Balkan dialects of Romani.² In the literary languages of the Balkan linguistic league, however, the stylistic function assigned to words of Turkish origin frequently relegates them to colloquial, expressive, or archaic status. It is here that the question of Turkisms in Romani takes on its most significant aspect: given that Literary Romani is currently in the process of formation, what is to be the place of Turkisms and how does the current situation compare with that in other Balkan languages?³

Studies of Turkish influences in the Balkan languages began in the earliest days of Balkan linguistics (e.g., Miklosich 1884, Seliščev 1925, Skok 1935). Works dedicated to specific aspects of Turkish elements in individual Balkan languages are so numerous that a mere listing of them would constitute a separate work in itself. There has been no significant study, however, of the Turkish influence upon Romani. This is in keeping with the fact that Romani is generally ignored in studies pertaining to the Balkan linguistic league (but cf. Kostov 1973). I have argued elsewhere (Friedman forthcoming-a) that Romani, especially Balkan Romani, occupies a significant place in Balkan areal phenomena and deserves the attention that has been too long denied in this context, among others. Although a complete study of the relationships between Turkish and Romani is beyond the scope of this paper, it will attempt to provide some foundations for such a study.⁴

An excellent survey of the present-day status of Turkisms in the Balkan literary languages is to be found in Kazazis (1972). After briefly discussing the retreat of Turkisms from their strongest position in the nineteenth century, Kazazis begins his discussion of their current status with an important section on exceptions to this general retreat. Aside from the fact that many words were not pushed out but merely down (from neutral to colloquial or expressive) or to one side (to archaic or historical), Kazazis points out that as a result of certain historical circumstances some Turkish lexical items actually spread after the fall of the Ottoman Empire. Three cases in point are Serbo-Croatian, Romanian, and Greek. In the case of the first two, the literary prestige of the dialects of regions that were under Ottoman rule for extended periods, Belgrade and Muntenia, respectively, led to the spread of some Turkisms into regions where Turkish rule had been short and its influence minimal that became parts of modern Yugoslavia and Romania (e.g., Serbo-Croatian *čevāpčići*). For colloquial Greek, a new source of Turkisms in the early twentieth century was the exchange of populations between Greece and Turkey, which began in 1923 (Kazazis 1972:95). These examples will have relevance to our discussion of Romani language planning.

The discussion of Turkish influence on the Balkan languages extends to all manifestations of linguistic structure: phonological, morphological (both inflectional and derivational), syntactic, and semantic. As I have argued elsewhere (Friedman forthcoming-b), in many instances one is ultimately left with the question of whether Turkish served as the source of a given phenomenon, merely influenced the development of a tendency which existed autochthonously, or in fact represents a parallel development

without causal connection. For the Balkan literary languages (and their dialects), the lexicon usually represents a fairly unambiguous case of influence via borrowing, except where the etymology of a given word is dubious or there has been borrowing back and forth, e.g. where Turkish has borrowed from Greek or Romance and consequently the precise source of the word in other Balkan languages may be uncertain (cf. Boretzky 1975:135-69). In the case of Romani, however, this problem contains additional complexities.

In most studies of the lexical influence of Turkish in the Balkans, it is either assumed or specified that no distinction is made between words of Turkic origin and words borrowed by Turkish from Arabic or Persian, since in any case Turkish served as the intermediary by which these words entered the target language. Romani, however, is in a different position from the rest of the Balkan languages in this respect. Upon leaving India the Roms came into direct contact with Persian and borrowed a number of important words. Some of these Persian words are found throughout the Romani dialects and also in Turkish, e.g., baht 'luck, happiness', others are characteristic of Balkan Romani and Turkish but not of other Romani dialects, e.g. laf/laf 'word'. To this can be added the fact that at least some words of Arabic origin could have entered Romani through either a Turkish or Persian intermediary.⁵ Barring clear phonological evidence indicating one or another source in certain instances, we are left with those words where the precise provenience would be difficult or impossible to establish given the current state of documentation. On the one hand, it could be argued that those Persian words in Turkish and Balkan Romani not shared with the other Romani dialects probably entered after those other dialects had migrated beyond the confines of the Ottoman Empire and therefore are of Turkish origin in Romani. On the other hand, it could also be argued that since we have no documentation of Romani prior to 1537 (v. Cortiade 1986) and very little prior to the end of the nineteenth century, there is no way of determining whether these words were borrowed directly from Persian and then lost in the non-Balkan dialects or not.

The question of the route of Persian borrowings could conceivably influence decisions of language planners. In this regard it is instructive to consider the experiences of the other Balkan literary languages concerning vocabulary building during the formative phases of language codification. All of the modern literary languages of the Balkans, except Albanian, had diachronically and/or synchronically closely related languages to serve as sources of vocabulary to meet the demands of expanded areas of use. Synchronically, Romanian had its sibling Romance languages, especially French and to a lesser extent Italian, and diachronically it had Latin, Bulgarian, Macedonian, and Serbo-Croatian had Russian and Church Slavonic in synchronic and diachronic relationship, respectively, albeit Russian itself was significantly influenced by Church Slavonic during its literary formation. Greek had the earlier Attic and Byzantine Greek, and Turkish had other Turkic languages, including some dating from earlier centuries. In the formation of each of these languages there were proponents of seeking vocabulary and inspiration from the related languages, the archaizers/purifiers, and there were those who sought to remain close to everyday speech and utilize dialectal potential; they can be called the colloquializers (cf. Vuk's piši kao govoriš 'write as you speak'). In the case of Romanian, French and Latin words were Romanianized and brought into the language. Serbo-Croatian and Macedonian are both strongly "colloquialized" languages, whereas Bulgarian made more extensive use of Russian and Church Slavonic in its vocabulary building, although in most other respects and in general principle archaizing tendencies were excluded from the language. In Greek the archaizers were victorious to a certain extent, so that today the language is plagued with the diglossic situation they created, viz. the opposition between the Atticized demotic called katharévousa 'puristic' and the true demotic (dhimotiki). In Turkish, the lexicon has been gradually changed over the decades to the extent that the language of today and that of a century ago are virtually mutually incomprehensible.

In the process of vocabulary building, all of the nascent Balkan literary languages, whether archaizing/purifying or colloquializing, made some overt and vigorous attempts at eliminating vocabulary of Turkish origin, or, in the case of Turkish itself, Arabo-Persian, origin (see Kazazis 1972:93-94).⁶ In the case of Turkish, the excessive enthusiasm of the creators of Turkic neologisms threatened to create a new diglossia. This was thwarted in the 1930's by the bizarre *güneş dil teorisi* 'sun language theory', according to which, among other things, Turkish was the mother of all languages. Given this ludicrous but by no means unprecedented type of assumption,⁷ words borrowed from Arabic and Persian could be retained since they were ultimately of Turkish origin anyway. (It is thought that Atatürk himself launched this theory in order to prevent the impoverishment of Turkish by the radical purifiers [Heyd 1954].)

With regard to the elimination of Turkisms per se, there is a line of reasoning which, although based on emotional nationalism and nineteenth-century ideas of progress, is nonetheless still to be found among those both professionally and nonprofessionally concerned with language in the Balkans. Kazazis (1977:302-303) in his review of Dizikirikē s 1975 gives a summary of this type of thinking that is worth quoting. According to the attitude in question:

"... depending on their origin, loanwords differ as to the degree to which they defile a language. Thus, the Romans, the Franks ('(mediaeval) West Europeans'), the Venetians, all left their linguistic (read: lexical) imprint on Greek. Those were, however, civilized nations, so that their loanwords into Greek are not much of a disgrace and do not wound the "linguistic dignity" of the Greeks as Turkish loanwords do (6ff. and passim). The latter are a shameful reminder of the centuries-long abject subjugation of the Greek nation to a culturally undistinguished people, the Turks."

Let us now turn to Romani in this general context. The position of Romani today can be compared to that of various Balkan languages in the nineteenth century. It has been used by its speakers, until recently, exclusively in the domains of oral communication. It is divided into many dialects, and while the core vocabulary is more or less uniform -- the majority of differences within it being due to regular phonological developments that are readily reduced to common graphic forms (cf. Cortiade 1986) -- there is a large lexical area beyond this core where vocabulary has yet to be developed or where various dialects have reached individual solutions either by borrowing from different languages or by preserving or creating native forms not common to the majority of dialects. One of the tasks facing literary Romani, therefore, is the creation or selection of vocabulary in these realms which will be acceptable to and usable by as wide a body of speakers as possible. With regard to non-core vocabulary, the situation in Romani is more complex, perhaps, than it was for the Balkan languages because Romani speakers are spread over a far greater geographic area, and the vocabulary outside the core is correspondingly more divergent.

In the selection and creation of vocabulary, the same basic considerations face Romani as faced the Balkan literary languages. Romani has a prestigious ancestor -- Sanskrit -- which stands in a direct diachronic relation to it, albeit one separated by a greater time distance than that separating, e.g., Attic, Latin, and Old Church Slavonic from Greek, Romanian, and Macedonian and Bulgarian. Romani likewise has synchronically related literary languages -- Hindi, Punjabi, Marathi, Gujarati, Kashmiri, etc. -- whose relative degrees of closeness to Romani vary (see Turner 1927:34). It has been proposed (Puxon 1978/79:69) that vocabulary be expanded by means of borrowings from Hindi, and Jusuf and Kepeski (1980) attempt to implement this policy in their Romani grammar. The difficulties inherent in such an approach, aside from the

obvious dangers of diglossia illustrated by the fate of Greek, can be seen in the failure to adapt words to the Romani phonological system, e.g., bhavi 'soznanie' (Jusuf and Kepeski 1980:191) 'consciousness', and the failure to recognize words of non-Indic origin in Hindi, e.g., zamani 'epoha, vreme' (Jusuf and Kepeski 1980:211) 'epoch, time', which in fact comes from Arabic zamān and probably entered Hindi via Persian. On the other hand, the presence of a loanword in both an Indic language of India and in Romani could be construed as justification for retaining the word in Romani regardless of its ultimate origin or the fact that it entered the languages independantly.

This brings us to a consideration peculiar to Romani relative to the other languages being considered here. Indic and Iranian are unique among the groups of Indo-European in being unambiguously and demonstrably descended from a common dialectal ancestor within Indo-European, viz. Indo-Iranian. Unlike the Balto-Slavic and Italo-Celtic dialectal unities, which are still considered moot by some, Indo-Iranian unity is unquestionable, e.g., the peoples had a common ethnonym, Aryan, and there is not a single Indo-European dialectal isogloss that separates them. In addition to this fact, Persian enjoys a significant literary prestige and was a language with which Romani came into contact at such an early date that, while it did occur during migration, it may have preceded diaspora. Thus while it would make no sense for Bulgarian to have looked to Lithuanian or for Romanian to have looked to Welsh or Irish, the relationship of Romani to Persian is both socioculturally and genetically closer. In terms of emotional attitudes such as those quoted from Kazasis above, the position of loanwords of Persian origin, regardless of whether or not they entered via a Turkish intermediary, could carry a higher degree of acceptability to some speakers on historical grounds.

Let us turn now to the concrete consideration of Turkisms in Romani dialects. It would appear that in some dialects of Romani spoken outside the Balkans, the Turkish element is virtually nonexistent. Thus, for example, Sampson (1926) does not give a single word of Turkic origin, nor does Bhatia (1963) in his limited vocabulary. Pobožniak (1964:72-73) does mention Turkish, but only as an intermediary for Armenian and Greek. The dialects of Balkan Romani, of course, display considerable Turkisms, but no concrete studies of them exist. As a contribution to such a study, which could possibly serve the purposes of language planners but which will in any case be of interest to linguists, we will examine the dialect of the district of Agia Varvara in Athens as described by Gordon Messing (forthcoming).

The Roms of Agia Varvara came to Greece from Turkey, and some of the older speakers still know Turkish. A number of verbs of Turkish origin take the personal endings of the Turkish aorist (geniş zaman), although others have been completely assimilated. Messing himself does not claim completeness for his glossary of the dialect and specificities that he excluded, among others, Turkish words that occurred but once in his corpus. He writes that he confined himself to "basic terms". Nonetheless, an analysis of Messing's glossary can serve as a useful first step in defining the position of Turkisms in Romani. The dialect of Agia Varvara has not been subjected to direct Turkish influence since approximately the end of World War I. Given Balkan history, almost the same claim could be made for Albanian, Macedonian, and Bulgarian south of Moesia. The dialect as Messing recorded it thus reflects a situation parallel to that which we would have seen in other Balkan languages if the literary norms were not yet established.

In the appendix which follows, I have given all those Turkish words given in Messing's glossary and thus in common use in the Romani dialect of Agia Varvara. I have also given the Turkish original and indicated its language of origin.⁸ In some cases, the word may actually have entered Romani through some other medium, e.g., directly from Persian as mentioned above or via Slavic as in the case of nouns ending in /-ica/ or /-ija/. I have not attempted, however, to define these instances due to their mootness. In those cases where the etymology itself is unclear I have so indicated, while on occasion I have indicated the ultimate source or additional borrowing by means of the directional sings >

(to) and < (from). The glossary is organized by language of origin, and within that alphabetically by Romani entry. From this it can be seen that a large number of "Turkisms" are in fact of non-Turkic origin.⁹ I have also supplied, where possible, the Serbo-Croatian equivalent from Škaljić's (1966) dictionary of Turkisms in Serbo-Croatian. These equivalents not only demonstrate that the vast majority of Turkisms in the Romani of Agia Varvara are attested in a well-established literary language,¹⁰ but also serve as a preliminary toward a highly desirable study, viz. a comparative dictionary of Turkisms in the Balkan languages.

By way of conclusion, we can make the following points with regard to Turkisms in Romani. Firstly, the comparison between the dialect of Agia Varvara and the attested Turkisms of Serbo-Croatian show that the former does not exceed the latter in surface evidence of Turkish lexical influence. Secondly, while dialects spoken outside the Balkans show far less Turkish influence, the relative progress of Literary Romani in the Balkans may encourage the spread of some Turkish loanwords (cf. the Serbo-Croatian and Romanian situations mentioned above). Thirdly, while the conscious attempt to eliminate Turkisms (or Arabo-Persianisms) in the Balkan literary languages has resulted in their stylistic lowering or marginalization, the same motivations need not apply to Literary Romani. Although the tendency towards purism has been manifested (cf. Puxon 1978/79), the Roms have fewer nonlinguistic reasons for eliminating words of Turkish origin. As has already been mentioned, many of these words are ultimately of Persian origin and therefore more closely related to Romani than to the other Indo-European languages of the Balkans. In fact some were no doubt borrowed directly from Persian during the early history of the Romani people. In addition to this, the elimination of Turkisms from the other Balkan languages was in part motivated by political independence from the Ottoman Empire. In the case of Romani, the Turkish language does not occupy a similar political position as distinct from other non-Romani languages. Finally, regardless of the ultimate fate of Turkisms in Literary Romani, their study -- especially in the context of a comparative Balkan lexicon -- will add to our understanding of linguistic history and language contact.

NOTES

⁰I wish to thank the American Council of Learned Societies for a grant for East European Studies [1986], which provided me with the time to conduct this research.

¹By Turkish I mean Osmanli Turkish unless otherwise specified.

²The term Balkan Romani, when used taxonomically, refers to a specific group of Romani dialects spoken, for the most part, south of the Jireček line. These dialects are generally characterized by a lack of Romanian influence.

³This relates to the question of the position of foreign loans in general, but Turkisms occupy a special place due to their specifically Balkan nature.

⁴This paper will of necessity be limited to a consideration of the lexicon.

⁵There is likewise the question of whether an Arabic word in Turkish entered directly or via Persian, but this consideration is not of concern to us.

⁶It is worth noting that in many cases the Turkisms of the former are the Arabo-Persianisms of the latter, since Turkish served as the intermediary via which many words of Arabic and Persian origin entered the Balkans. We thus have the interesting situation in which the same term is considered archaic in both Turkey and the Balkans.

⁷Similar claims have been made for Arabic, Hebrew, Phrygian, etc., and the related misconception that the earlier form of a language can continue to exist intact in some place while changing in others thus producing an asynchronous dialect continues to mislead some amateur linguists.

⁸The abbreviations used are the following: A=Arabic, C=Chinese, F=French, G=Greek, I=Italian, L=Latin, M=Mongolian, P=Persian, S=Sanskrit, T=Turkish. In the case of the Romani, I have retained Messing's transcription.

⁹In those cases where neither Škaljić (1966) nor Redhouse (1979) gave a non-Turkic etymology, I have assumed Turkish origin.

¹⁰The questions of differing stylistic values and levels of frequency of individual lexical items in the two languages, while of vital concern to a complete analysis is beyond the scope of this paper. For our purposes, we are simply concerned with the facts of attested occurrence.

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APPENDIX

Romani	Turkish	Origin	Serbo-Croatian	English
ah[a]máki	ahmak	A	áhmak	fool
akrápo	akrep	A	ákrep	scorpion
ama	ama	A	àma	but
askéri	asker	A	àsker	soldier
bási (?)	bah[*]s (Acc. bahsi)	A	--	bet
beláva	belá	A	bèláj	trouble
berekéti	bereket	A	berícet	blessing
ðakikáva	ðakika	A	--	minute
ðaúlo	ðavul	A	ðaùlbaz	large drum
ðavadžío	ðavetçi	A	ðavèdžija	{pimp} [inviter]
ðavéti	ðavet	A	ðávet	feast, banquet
ðáima	ðayma	A	ðáimá	always
ðudá	ðut	A	ðüd	mulberry
ðudžáno	ðükkán	A	ðüçán	shop
ðunyáva	ðünja	A	ðünjá	world, etc.
ðžézba	cezve	A	ðžézva	coffee pot
esíri	esir (dial. yesir)	A	jèsir	prisoner
esméri	esmer	A	èsmer	swarthy, dark
faydáva	fayda	A	fájda	term, grace, profit
hafífi	hafif	A	hàfif	light, gentle
Romani	Turkish	Origin	Serbo-Croatian	English
hasíri	has*r	A	--	mat
háko	hak	A	hāk	right, justice
hávir	hay*r	A	hãir	no (orig. good)
hekímo	hekim	A	hècim	doctor
hesápo	hesap	A	hèsáb	bill, account
imzáva	imza	A	imza	signature
istráli	esrar	A	èsrár	hashish (lit. secret)
kabáti	kabahat	A	kabáhat	mistake, fault
kaféava	kahve	A	káhva	coffee
kaxíri/kaxúri	kah*r	A	káhar	anguish
kenéfo	kenef	A	óenifa	toilet
kéfi	keyif	A	óëif	pleasure, good mood
kibári	kibar	A	kibár	noble, upper-class
kibríta	kibrit	A	óibrit	match[es]
kiráva	kira	A	kiriija	rent
kizméti/kuzméti	k*smet	A	kismet	fate
kizmétlis	k*smetli	A+T	kismètlija	lucky
kusúri	kusur	A	küsür	defect, fault
lazími	láz*m	A	lázum	need, obligation
makaráva	makara	A	mákara	ball of thread
makápo	matkap	A	mátkaf	drill
maksús-maksukanó	mağşuş	A	--	false (adulterated)

maraféti	marifet	A	`marifet	{genitals} skill, trick
masáli	masal/mesel	A	--	story, tale
maxaláva	mahalle	A	máhala	neighborhood
maysíli	mayasól	A	majásil	hemorrhoids
merdžáno	mercan	A	mèrdžân	{bead}, coral
mileti	millet	A	milet	nation, race, people, etc.
mindéri	minder	A	minder	cushion
misíri	məsər	A	misir	corn
musadáva	müsaade	A	--	{leeway, postponement}, permission
muxtári	muhtar	A	mütär	chief, president
headman, naléti	nâlet	A	nâlet	mean, evil
Romani	Turkish	Origin	Serbo-Croatian	English
nizámo[s]	nizam	A	nizâm	order, system, law
rakiya	rak*	A	rákija	brandy
sabá[h]	sabah	A	sâbah	morning
sandúko	sandak	A	sânduk	trunk
saybíó	sahib	A	sahibija	master, owner
sa[h]áto[s]	saat	A	sâhat	hour, watch, clock
semsiyáva	šemsiye	A	šemsija	umbrella
sevdáva	sevda	A	sèvdâh	love
sevdalís	sevdales	A	sevdâlija	in love
sevérim	sever	A	sèvdisati	to love
sevenírim	sevinir	A	--	to enjoy/ rejoice
sofráva	sofra	A	söfra	table
suréti	suret	A	sûre[t]	photo, picture
šakáva-šakadžío	šaka-šakac*	A	--	joke-prankster
šey	šey	A	šěj	thing
šeytáno	šeytan	A	šejtan	devil
tamámi	tamam	A	tâmâm	exact[ly]
tayráva	tayyare	A	--	airplane
tohapi	tuhaf	A	tüháf	strange, odd
tulusúmo	tölsəm	A	tilsum	{ghost} talisman, magic power
usúl	usul	A	úsül (principle)	slowly, quietly
vakíti	vakit	A	vâkat	(period of) time
vála	vallah	A	vâlâh	By God
verémi	verem	A	vèrem	tuberculosis
xa[v]úzi	havuz	A	hävuz	cistern, tank
yási	yas	A	--	mourning
zamáno	zmana	A	--	time
zaráro	zarar	A	zaèae	damage
zerzeláva	zelzele	A	zelzèla	earthquake
zeytia /zeytinka	zeytin	A	zèjtin	olive (oil)
zifto	zift	A	zift	pitch, tar
belki	belki	A+P	bèlçim	perhaps

kefsizi	keyifsiz	A+T	œeifsuz	ill-humored, unwell
kunápo	kœnnap	A<?L	kanápa	string
maymúna	maymun	A<?P	májmun	monkey
Yunáno	Yunan	A<G	Júnán	Greece
Romani	Turkish	Origin	Serbo-Croatian	English
kandili	kandil	A<G<L	kândilj	candle
simíto	simit	A<L?S	simit	pretzel, bagel
fildzáno	fincan (coll. filcan)	A<P	findžan	cup
tšorápo	çorap	A<P	čarapa	sock, stocking
fustúko	fœstœk	A<P?G	fústuk	{peanut} pistachio
ismári	išmar	A?	--	wink
džandarmáva	jandarma	F	--	police{station}
pálto[s]	páto(G paltó)	F	--	jacket coat
alay {lav}	alaya {almak}	G	álaj (regiment)	{make} fun
avlín	avlœ	G	ávlija	courtyard
Giritlio	Giritli	G	--	Cretan
kestanáva	kestane	G	kœstœn	chestnut
naxtári	anahtar	G	--	key
papázo	papaz	G	pápaz	priest
tulúmo	tulum	G	tulum	goatskin sack
alamáno	Alaman	I	Aláman	German
gazéta	gazete (old=gazeta)	I	gázeta	newspaper
távlo	tavla	I/G	távla	backgammon
furtšáva	fœrœa	I?G	fřœa	brush
mangín	mangœr (money) {merchandise}, money	M?	mângar	
(Ambrol)	(Armut)	P	ármut	pear
bax){baxtaló}	(baht)	P	báht	luck {lucky}
akšámisti	akšam [œstu]	P	ákšam	[toward] evening
aynáva	ayna	P	ájna	mirror
badžáva	baca	P	bádža	chimney
barabéri/berabéri	barabar/beraber	P	barábár	together
ba[x]tšáva	bahœe	P	bášœa	garden
béti	bed	P	bœt	ugly
dénki	denk	P	dœnjak	package
dosto/dostínka	dost	P	dœst	friend
dušmánœ	düşman	P	düşman	enemy
duvári	duvar	P	düvár	wall
džámo	cam	P	džám	glass
goláno	gulám (boy)	P	gulán[fer] (tramp)	{hipster}
hem	hem	P	hœm	also
her	her	P	hœr[œun] (every day)	
hitš	hiœ	P	hiœ	nothing, no
way				
indžír	incir	P	indžír	fig
kemanáva	keman	P	œemâne	violin
Romani	Turkish	Origin	Serbo-Croatian	English
keptšáva	kepœe	P	kœvœija	large mixing spoon

kilímo	kilim	P	ólim	rug
kisi	kese	P	kěsa	bag, purse
koró	kör	P	óör	blind
kurnázi	kurnaz	P	kürnáz	shrewd, sly
lekyáva	leke	P	lěce	stain, spot
luláva	lüle	P	lúla	pipe
majtápo	maytap	P	--	mockery
meméli/mumoli	mum	P	müm	candle (P=wax)
merdivéa	merdiven	P	mërdevine	stairs
mezáva	meze	P	měza	snack
nári	nar	P	nār	pomegranate
ne...ne...	ne...ne...	P	--	neither...nor
nohúto	nohut	P	nóhut	chickpea
pamúko	pamuk	P	pámuk	cotton
parés	para	P	pāra	money
partšáva	parça	P	párče	piece
patlidžáno	patlıcan	P	patlidžan	eggplant
patsáva	paça	P	päçe	calf/sheep-foot stew
peškiri	peşkir	P	pěškir	towel, napkin
petmézo	pekmez	P	pèkmez	syrup, molasses, jam
pexliváno	pehlivan	P	pehliván	wrestler
pëndžerka	pencere	P	pëndžer	window
pirindži	pirinç	P	pirinč	brass
pisi	pis	P	pīs	dirty
pitši	piç	P	--	bastard
postakia	pösteki	P	--	fleece, sheepskin
sadé	sade	P	sáde	only, just, simply
saráy	saray	P	sāraj	palace
sersémi	sersem	P	--	foolish, stunned
šekéri	şeker	P	šécer	sugar
šišáva	şişe	P	šise	bottle
taxtáva	tahta	P	tāhta	board, plank
tazés	taze	P	táze	fresh
táne	tane	P	táne	quantifier: 'piece, individual'
Romani	Turkish	Origin	Serbo-Croatian	English
temízi	temiz	P	témiz	clean
terzió	terzi	P	tèrzija	tailor
testeráva	testere	P	testèra	saw
téri	ter	P	--	sweat
tšaršafó	çarşaf	P	čársáf	sheet
tšaršiya	çarşo	P	čáršija	bazaar, market
tšenáva	çene	P	čéne	chin
tšifti	çift	P	čift	pair
tšorbáva	çorba	P	čörba	soup
xalía	halı	P	hālija	carpet
ya	ya	P	jā	or
zerém	zira	P	--	because

zindžiri/sindžiri	zincir	P	sindžir	chain
ziyáni	ziyan	P	ziján	damage
zor	zor	P>T	zôr	strength
zori	--	P>T	--	difficult
zuralo	--	P	--	strong
zuralipe	--	P	--	health
pahalís	pahal*	P+T	paháli	expensive
tahtábiti	tahtabiti	P+T	--	bedbug
yabandžio	yabanc*	P+T	yabandžija	foreigner, stranger
tšay	çay	P<C	čáj	tea
kilíto	kilit	P<G	čilít	lock
haváno	havan	P>A	hävän	mortar
adímo/adúmo	ad*m	T	--	step
aleširim	al*šmak	T	alištisati	learn, get used
analéka	anal*k	T	--	step-mother
arabáva	araba	T	arába	cart
asláno	aslan/arslan	T	árslan	lion
atšiki	aç*k	T	áčik	open
ayláki	aylak	T	--	idle
aylíko/aylúko	ayl*k	T	ájluk	rent {monthly (pay)}
ayráno	ayran	T	--	buttermilk
ayváva	ayva	T	--	quince
azárim	azmak	T	ázdisati	be angry, in heat, act wild
azgúni	azg*en	T	ázgin	horny, wild,
bablúko	babal*k	T	babáluk	step-father
bakíri	bak*r	T	bákar	copper
Romani	Turkish	Origin	Serbo-Croatian	English
baltáva	balta	T	bálta	hatchet
basarím/basarúm	basmak	T	básati	step on, press
batáko	batak	T	(bátak=crook)	swamp
batururúm	bat*rmak	T	batérisati	lose
baturúm	batmak	T	--	sink
bayíri	bay*r	T	báir	slope, ascent
baylirim	bay*lmak	T	bailisati	faint
bedzéko	böcek	T	--	cockroach
beklérim	bekler	T	--	wait
benírim	beğenir	T	begënisati	like
benzérím	benzer	T	benzëisati	resemble
bešliko	(bešlik) şeş-bes	T	(bëšluk) šëš-bëš	backgammon (5-para coin)
betšime	biçimli	T	biçümlü	suitable
biti	bitti	T	bitisati (be ruined)	finished
borán (?)	buragán	T	--	storm
boyáva	boya	T	bôja	paint, color
bozár (3sg)	bozmak	T	bözdisati	spoil
bozlúko	bozuk	T	bözuk	ruined
bórdži (?)	borç	T	börçlija	debt
bulúto	bulut	T	--	cloud
búzo	buz	T	büz [gibi]	[like] ice
da	da	T	--	also

daha/da	daha	T	dāha[-beter/-đuzel]	more [worse/ beautiful]
dalgáva	dalga	T	dālga	wave
damári	damar	T	--	vein
damláva	damla	T	--	drop
davranúrum	davranmak	T	davrānisati	bestir oneself
dayanáv	dayanmak	T	--	lean
dayanérəm/ dayanúrum	dayanmak	T	dayānisati	support, endure
dálo	dai	T	--	branch
demék	demek	T	dēmek	almost [so-to-speak]
demi/demiden	demin[den]	T	--	just now
denízi	deniz	T	denizi (sea-blue)	sea
derini	derin	T	--	deep
dermendžio	değirmanci	T	--	mill (Tk. miller)
derméno	değirmen	T	--	coffee-grinder
deštirim	değiştirir	T	--	change
Romani	Turkish	Origin	Serbo-Croatian	English
deváva	deve	T	dēva	camel
didiko/dudúko	düdük	T	düduk	flute
dilsizi	dilsiz	T	--	mute
diréko	direk	T	dīrek	beam, girder
dízi/dúzi	dizi	T	điz	{in a} straight (line)
dokonur	dokunmak	T	dokūnisati	annoy
dolandridžio	dolandırır	T	--	cheater, rascal
dolanúrum	dolanmak	T	--	wander
dumúk	yumruk?	T	jümruk	fist
dušunúrm/dišinirim	think		düşünür	T
džalaváv	çalar ?VE	T	--	hit
erkén	erken	T	--	early
evlenirim	evlenir	T	--	marry
fišéko/fiséko	fişek ?	T	fişek	cartridge
genisi	geniş	T	--	wide, broad
ger (cf. Paspati gher/ghel)	kel	T	óëla	ringworm eczema, etc.
geúzi	göğüs	T	--	breast
géne	gene	T	đene	again
gidiklarim	g*d*klamak	T	--	tickle
gyetš	geç	T	--	late
gyozlítsa/džozlítsa	gözlük	T	đözluci	glasses
Ingiliza	İngiliz	T	--	
	English{woman}			
islerim	işler	T	işlëisati	work
kamtšio	kamç	T	kāmdžija	whip
kapáko	kapak	T	kāpak	lid, cover
karanúko/karalúko	karanlık	T	karānluk	darkness
kariš[t]irim/	karışır [karıştırır]	T	T	karištisati
	mix, stir, mess			
	karištërisati	with		
kavurmáva	kavurma	T	kāvürma	meat stew

kavúno	kavun	T	--	melon
kaymáko	kaymak	T	kâjmak	cream, foam,
kazanúrum	kazanmak	T	kazânisati	earn, gain
kirétsi	kireç	T	--	lime, whitewash
kizárim	kəzmak	T	--	get angry
kolárum	kollamak	T	kol[džija]	protect [guardian]
komšúya / komšiya	komşu	T	kômšija	neighbor
konušúrum	konuşmak	T	konüştisati	converse, speak
koptša	kopçe	T	köpça	button (Turk.= hook & eye)
Romani	Turkish	Origin	Serbo-Croatian	English
kovalarum	kovalmak	T	--	hunt, chase
krusúmo	kurşun	T	kürşum	lead, bullet
kurturúrum	kurtulur (kurtarər)	T	(kurtârisati/ kurtâlisati) se	escape (save)
kuštík	kayş ?	T	kâiš	belt
kuzus	kuzu	T	küzum!	{baby} lamb,
pet				
okúrum	okumak	T	okûisati	read
oyalus	oyalə	T	--	edged with lace, embroidery
patlárum	patlamak	T	--	burst
piskyúla	püskül	T	püskul	tassel
sal-salal-saladir	sallamak	T	--	shaking-wiggle -wag
sandžia	sancə	T	sândžija	sharp pain, stitch
sanírim / sanúrum	sanmak	T	--	believe, presume
saris / sarús	sarə	T	sari[luk] (-ness)	yellow
sarmáva	sarma	T	sârma	stuffed grape leaves
selíko	çelik	T	čelik	steel
sézi	ses	T	sēs	voice
sidžimo	sicim	T	sídžim	string
sikislíko	sikiş	T	sikter (scram, fuck off)	sexual intercourse
sikulmáva	səkəlma	T	--	trouble, distress
soláko	solak	T	sòlak	left(y)
solárim	solar	T	--	fade, bleach
so[m/v]ná, sovrá,	sonra	T	--	after(wards), etc.
sonánda				
sudžúko	sucuk	T	sudžuka	sausage
suría	sürü	T	--	a bunch, a lot
súti	süt	T	süt[ljâš]	milk [rice pudding]
šimšéko	şimşik	T	šimšik	lightning
tarláva	tarla	T	--	cultivated field
tádi / dádi	tat	T	--	taste

tatlís	tatlɨ	T	tátli	tasty, sweet
Romani	Turkish	Origin	Serbo-Croatian	English
tekmé[v]a	tekme	T	--	kick
téki	tek	T	tëk	one only, odd
tiksinúrum	tiksinir	T	--	be disgusted
tokáva	toka	T	tòke	buckle
tózi	toz	T	töz	dust
tšakmaklior	[šimšek] çakar	T	--	lightening flashes
tšakmáko	çakmak	T	čámak	(cigarette-) lighter
tšalgidžío	çalgɨçɨ	T	čalgidžija	musician
tšalgiya	çalgɨ	T	čalgija	musical instrument
tšelíko	çelik	T	čèlik	{erection} steel, also peg, pin
tšervyáva	çevre	T	čëvra	{gold-} embroidered kerchief
tšindžír[y]a	tencere	T	tëndžera	frying pan, pot
tšizgia	çizgi	T	číza	line
tšoktán	çoktan	T	čök (much)	long time since
tšopdžío	çöpçü	T	--	garbage collector
tšópura /tšoplíko	çöp /çöyük	T	--	garbage
turlus(-turlus)	türlü (türlü)	T	türü-türü	sort (various)
tutúno	tütün	T	tütun	tobacco
usúmo	həsm	T	--	relative
utšúzi	ucuz	T	--	cheap
xavútsi	havuç	T	--	carrot
xurlisaráv	xorlar	T	--	snore
xuvar dó	hovarda	T	hovârda	spendthrift {having holes}
yakáva	yaka	T	jäka	collar
yalárim /yalárum	yalar	T	--	lick
yalúko	yağlık	T	jägluk	handkerchief
yan [g]liši	yanlış	T	jänliš	false, wrong
yaríni	yarın	T	--	tomorrow
yaslanúrum	yaslanır	T	--	recline, lie down
yastíko	yastık	T	jästuk	pillow
yašárim	yaşar	T	jášá! (viva!)	live
yatáki	yatak	T	jätak	bed
Romani	Turkish	Origin	Serbo-Croatian	English
[yaváš /yavás	yavaş	T	jávaš	slow[ly]
yazía-yazaráv	yazı-yazar	T	jaziya	writing-write
yorgáno	yorgan	T	jörgan	cover, blanket
yuhúni/yuhúno	oyun	T	öjn	game
y]uzméko	yüzmek	T	--	swimming, bathing
bezbetéri	bes(emphatic)+ beter(ugly)	T+P	bèter	scoundrel

hastanáva	hastahane	T+P	hastáhana	hospital (sick-house)
bayráko	bayrak	T/P	bâjrak	flag
damgáva	damga	T/P	dâgma	stamp, mark
kemési	kümes	T<G	ôümez	chicken-coop
nasúl/našúl	naşal (dial.)	T?	--	bad, mean,
wicked	'shameless'?			