
NEW DEVELOPMENTS IN BALKAN VLAX ROMANI

Hristo Kyuchukov

Abstract

The paper presents some features of Balkan Vlax Romani and the way how the new words are formed in the process of codification of the language. The paper gives information and ideas about the process of standardisation of the language using lexical items from different dialects. In cases when there is no possibility to take words from different dialects the process of creation of neologisms is shown following the grammatical rules of Romani.

Keywords: Romani, dialects, word formation, codification.

1.-Introduction.

Romani is a comprehensive language with its grammatical structure. In this paper I will try to show how some grammatical categories are developed and preserved in some Vlax Romani dialects spoken in Balkan countries and how they can be used for the process of codification of Romani. These are dialects spoken by *Gurbeti*, *Dzhambazi*, *Kalajdzhi*, *Zagondzhi*, *Kalburdhi* Romani groups and subgroups and they live in Bulgaria, Macedonia, Greece, Turkey, Kosovo, Serbia and Romania. Generally speaking their religion does not influence their language. They can be Muslims or Christians, but the grammatical characteristics of the dialects are the same.

Number of authors during last decades published on different dialects related to the mentioned ones, showing the grammatical structure of Romani and its close relationship with Indo-Aryan languages (Đurić, 2005; Hancock, 1995; Iglă, 1996; Kyuchukov, 2003; Matras, 2002; Sarau, 1992). From lexical point of view, part of Romani still preserves items from Indian languages and the other part is made up by borrowing words, using the "patterns" offered by the old Romani suffixes and prefixes. The observations on different dialects prove that the Romani

lexicon comes from the derivation of suffixes and prefixes and by their combinations.

2.- Suffixes and prefixes in Romani

a) Suffixes. With the use of some suffixes, one may create: *nouns, adjectives, adverbs, verbs, numerals.*

Nouns

The suffixes **-no** (for masculine noun) and **-ni** (for feminine nouns)

a) *from verbs:*

- from the verb *arakh-av* "to find, guard, take care"+ suffix **-no** >*arakhno* with feminine suffixe **-ni** > *arakhni* "care taker, bodyguard, finder"
- from the verb *astar-av* "to catch" + suffix **-no** > *astarno*; with feminine suffixe **-ni** > *astarni* "trap, something that catches".
- from the verb *sikav-av* "to point to" + suffix **-no** > *sikavno*; with feminine suffix **-ni** > *sikavni* "guide, teacher".

b) *from nouns:*

The **-ni** suffix is used to get feminine nouns. For instance:

- from the masculine noun *grast* "horse" + **-ni** >*grastni* "mare"
- from the masculine noun *manuš* "man" + **-ni** > *manušni* "woman"
- from the masculine noun *rom* "Rom" + **-ni** >*romni* "Roma woman"
- from the masculine noun *thagar* "king" + **-ni** > *thagarni* "queen" etc.

The suffix **-ipe(n)** forms the abstract nouns. With the help of the suffix **-ipe(n)** from nouns, adjectives and verbs:

a) *from nouns:*

- from the masculine noun *amal* "friend" + suffix **-ipe(n)** > *amalipe(n)* "friendship";
- from the masculine noun *phral* "brother" +suffix **-ipe(n)** > *phralipe(n)* "brotherhood"

b) *from adjectives:*

- from the adjective *dil/o(-i,-e,-e)* "crazy, mad, stupid"+suffix **-ipe(n)** >*dilipe(n)* "madness, stupidity"
- from the adjective *šukar* "beautiful"+suffix **-ipe(n)** > *šukaripe(n)* "beauty"

c) *from verbs:*

- from the verb *kam-av* "to want, to wish, to love" + suf. **-ipen** > *kamipen* "wish, love".

The Suffix **-lin**.

a) *from nouns:*

- from the noun *ambrol* "pear"+ suffix **-lin** > feminin noun *ambrolin* "pear tree"
- from noun *phabaj* "apple" +suffix **-lin** > feminin noun *phabajlin* "apple tree"

The nouns can also be formed from some adjectives.

Adjectives

Adjectives can be formed by adding to the word the following suffixes:

The Suffix **-utn/o (-i,-e,-e)**. The adjectives formed by means of this suffix come from:

a) *nouns:*

- from the noun *kašt* "wood" + suffix **-utn/o(-i,-e,-e)** > adjective *kaštun/o(-i,-e,-e)* "wooden, made out of wood"
- from the noun *kher* "house" + suffix **-utn/o(-i,-e,-e)** > adjective *kherutn/o(-i,-e,-e)* "domestic, pertaining to the household"

b) *adjectives:*

- from adjective *čač/o(-i,-e,-e)* "right, just, true" + suffix **-utn/o(-i,-e,-e)** > adjective *čačutn/o (-i,-e,-e)* "truthful, just"

c) *adverbs:*

- from the adverb *akana* "now" + suffix **-utn/o (-i,-e,-e)** > adjective *akanutn/o(-i,-e,-e)* "contemporary, from now"
- from the adverb *opre* "up"+ suffix **-utn/o(-i,-e,-e)** > adjective *oprutn/o (-i,-e,-e)* "superior"

d) *prepositions:*

- from the preposition *anglal* "before, in front of" + suffix **-utn/o (-i,-e,-e)** > adjective *anglutn/o(-i,-e,-e)* "anterior, preceding"
- from the preposition *palal* "after, behind" + suffix **-utn/o(-i,-e,-e)** > adjective *palutn/o(-i,-e,-e)* "posterior, following"etc

The Suffix **-(v)al/o (-i,-e,-e)**. Adjectives of this type are formed:

a) *from nouns:*

- from the masculine noun *čhor* "beard" + suffix **-(v)al/o(-i,-e,-e)** > adjective *čhorval/o (-i,-e,-e)* "person who has a beard"
- from the masculine noun *rat* "blood" + suffix **-(v)al/o(-i,-e,-e)** > adjective *ratval/o(-i,-e,-e)* "bloody"

The Suffix **-ikan/o (-i,-e,-e)**. Adjectives can be formed from:

a) *nouns:*

- from the masculine noun *muřš* "man" + suffix **-ikan/o(-i,-e,-e)** > adjective *muřšikan/o (-i,-e,-e)* "manly"
- from the feminine noun *žuvli* "woman" + suffix **-ikan/o(-i,-e,-e)** > adjective *žuvlikan/o(-i,-e,-e)* "womanly"
- from the masculine noun *phral* "brother" + suffix **-ikan/o(-i,-e,-e)** > adjective *phralikan/o(-i,-e,-e)* "brotherly"

b) *adjectives:*

- from adjective *dilo* "crazy, mad, stupid" + suffix **-ikan/o (-i,-e,-e)** > adjective *dilikan/o(-i,-e,-e)* "crazy, foolish"

The Suffixes **-esk/o (-i, -e, -e)** / **-eng/o (-i, -e, -e)** / **-ak/o (-i, -e, -e)** / **-ang/o (-i, -e, -e)** are forms for the Genitive of the nouns.

- from the masculine noun *dad* "father" +suffix **-esk/o (-i, -e, -e)** > adjective *dadesk/o(-i,-e,-e)* " the father's" (Gen.)
- from masculine noun *dada* "father's"+ suffix **eng/o (-i, -e, -e)** > adjective *dadeng/o (-i,-e,-e)* "the father's" (Gen);
- from the feminine noun *daj* "mother"+suffix **-ak/o (-i, -e, -e)** > adjective *dajak/o(-i,-e,-e)* "the mother's" (Gen);

The Participial Suffixes **-d/o (-i, -e, -e)**

- from the verb *lačhar-av* "to fix, to repair" > *lačhard/o (-i, -e,-e)* "fixed, repaired"

Adverbs

The Suffix **-es.**

- from the adjective *roman/o (-i,-e,-e)* "rom" + suffix **-es** > *romanes* "in a roma way"

- from the adjective *čač/o(-i,-e,-e)* "right, just" + suffix **-es** > *čačes* "truthfully"

The Suffix **-al**.

- from the masculine noun *maškar* "middle" + suffix **-al** > adj. *maškaral* "from the middle"
- from the adverb *avri* "outside" + suf. **-al** > adverbs *avrjal* "from the outside"

Verbs

The Suffix **-ar-/ -jar-** is one of the most productive Rromani suffixes and added to nouns, adjectives, numerals, adverbs, verbs, it can form verbs.

a) from nouns:

- from the feminine noun *mel* "dirt" +suffix **-jar-** > verb *meljar-el* "to get something dirty"
- from the feminine noun *loš* "joy"+suffix **-ar-** > verb *lošar-el* "to make somebody happy"

b) from adjectives:

- from the adjective *bar/o(-i,-e,-e)* "big"+suffix **-jar-** > verb *barjar-el* "to grow, to cultivate, to develop"
- from the adjective *dil/o(-i,-e,-e)* "crazy, stupid" + suffix **-jar-** > verb *diljar-el* "to drive somebody crazy"
- from the adjective *šukar* "beautiful"+ suffix **-jar-** > verb *sukarjar-el* "to beautify, to make beautiful"

c) from adverbs:

- from the adverbs *dur* "far" + suffix **-jar->** verb *durjar-el* "to run from, to put some distance between"

d) from verbs:

- from the verb *sikljol* "to study"+ suffix **-jar-** > verb *sikljar-el* "to teach"

B. Prefixes

The Prefix **bi-** can form:

a) *nouns*:

prefix **bi-** + feminin noun *baxt* "good luck, chance" > feminin noun *bibaxt* "bad luck"

b) *adjectives* :

prefix **bi-** +adjective *londo* "salty" > adjective *bilondo* "with no salt"

c) *verbs*:

prefix **bi-** + verb *starel* "to catch, to grab, to remember" > verb *bistarel* "to drop, to forget"

prefix **bi-** + verb *kinel* "to buy"> verb *bikinel* "to not sell, to not buy"

3.- Codification of Romani.

Two specialists of Romani language influenced very much my way of thinking regarding the codification/standardisation of Romani: Ian Hancock (1993) and Milena Hübschmannova (1984,1993). In my close relationship with both of them throughout the years, I was very much encouraged and motivated to look what is the place of Indian languages in contemporary Romani and particularly how the Indian languages can be used in the process of its codification.

In mid-1990-s when I was working for the Bulgarian Ministry of Education as an expert of Romani language I promoted the idea that the main Romani dialects in the country should be known and the similar words from different dialects should be used in the process of standardization of Romani. During this period, textbooks in Romani were developed and published and teacher-training courses with more than 100 teachers in the country were organized. The textbooks usually were written bilingually, Romani-Bulgarian and the Romani part, was at least with two dialects (from Vlax and non-Vlax dialectal group). The variety of alphabet which was used was similar to the English alphabet and for example [č] was written as [ch], [š] was written as [sh], and [ž] as [zh] (Кючуков et al., 1993; 1995; Кючуков & Янакиев, 1996).

At the beginning of 2000-s large number of Roma and non-Roma scholars and experts on Romani language started intensive discussions about the necessity to study further the individual Roma dialects and to describe them. Comparison between the dialects described in past and their contemporary thesaurus show a great number of words, which existed in Romani language in mid-centuries, but

later in 20-21 c. they got lost. The Romani linguists who are not more than 100 around the world are not so much interested in this issue. There is no any completed research until nowadays in this direction.

My visits to India (2001, 2002, 2013) and my contacts and discussions with Indian experts such as Dr. L. Chandra, Dr. Sh. Shashi, who are ignored by some European Romani linguists, helped me to developed the new approach towards the standardization/codification of Romani: to look the Roma words with Sanskrit and Hindi origin who are lost in one dialect but still do exist in other Roma dialect and to use them in the process of standardization. This formed my position: Romani should go back to its Indian roots and use the existing vocabulary from Indian languages in different Romani dialects in the process of standardization. In this way Romani will become much richer. The idea to look at Indian roots in the process of standardization of Romani actually is not totally new – many years ago, in this direction did work also Vania de Gila Kochanowski and Shaip Jusuf, but as said, what I propose is to combine this with scrupulous analysis of Romani dialects existing nowadays and selection of missing vocabulary from this depository.

The international meetings and conferences held during the last 25 years conducted in Romani, or at which Romani language translation is used, show that at this stage Roma have more "liberal approach" to the language, i.e. it does not exist a strict definition of what is right and what is wrong, which words/forms should be used and which not. They show tolerance towards dialectal features on all levels of the language that allows a gradual rapprochement of the dialect varieties. In course of time a specific form of something like international Romani conference language appears.

In the course of the time the questions of the grammar, lexicon will be inevitably discussed. Already now endless formal and informal discussions of the lexicon are ongoing – which word is “better” and which one is “worse”. This is done with the idea to make suggestions how to unify the language. What is needed is to settle the principles on which these suggestions will be based.

As far as the lexicon is concerned one might discuss:

- the revitalization of “old” words that have been lost in many varieties;
- the use of internationalisms;
- the use of loan words from the contact languages.

As far the writing system is concerned the practice shows that all European countries use their own varieties of writing system, mostly based on locally used alphabet variations as this is shown by Matras (1999; 2005) and Friedman (2003). A good survey about the existing alphabets and schoolbooks is done by Bakker and Daval-Markussen (2013). The establishment of the International Day of Romani

language and the conferences in Zagreb conducted during the last several years showed that Romani cannot be codified and standardized in all countries at once. The idea which came through different meetings with Roma linguists and activists is that first to be done a regional codification for group of dialects which are related to each other.

The very first step to be undertaken should be to establish which kind of alphabet or which kind of writing system should be used. Some attempts in this respect are already done. In the next table I compare the alphabets variations developed in some Balkan countries during the last three decades.

Kepeski & Jusuf	Đurić	Demir & Durmiš	Kyuchukov	Kruezi
1980	2005	2012	2013	2015
A, a	A, a	A, a	A, a	A, a
B, b	B, b	B, b	B, b	B, b
C, c	C, c	C, c	C, c	C, c
Č, č	Č, č	Č, č	Č, č	Q, q
Ć, ć (Kj, kj)	Ć, ć	Ć, ć	-	-
-	Čh, čh	Čh, čh	Čh, čh	-
-	-	Čh, čh	-	-
D, d	D, d	D, d	D, d	D, d
Dj, dj (Đ, đ)	Đ, đ	Dj, dj	-	-
Dž, dž	Dž, dž	Dž, dž	Dž, dž	-
E, e	E, e	E, e	E, e	E, e
F, f	F, f	F, f	F, f	F, f
G, g	G, g	G, g	G, g	G, g
H, h	H, h	H, h	H, h	H, h
X, x	X, x	X, x	X, x	-
I, i	I, i	I, i	I, i	I, i
J, j	J, j	J, j	J, j	J, j
K, k	K, k	K, k	K, k	K, k
-	Kh, kh	Kh, kh	Kh, kh	
L, l	L, l	L, l	L, l	L, l
Lj, lj	Lj, lj	Lj, lj	-	-
M, m	M, m	M, m	M, m	M, m
N, n	N, n	N, n	N, n	N, n
Nj, nj	Nj, nj	Nj, nj	-	-
O, o	O, o	O, o	O, o	O, o
P, p	P, p	P, p	P, p	P, p
-	Ph, ph	Ph, ph	Ph, ph	-
R, r	R, r	R, r	R, r	R, r

-	Rr, rr	Rr, rr	-	-
S, s	S, s	S, s	S, s	S, s
Š, š	Š, š	Š, š	Š, š	Sh, sh
T, t	T, t	T, t	T, t	T, t
-	Th, th	Th, th	Th, th	-
U, u	U, u	U, u	U, u	U, u
V, v	V, v	V, v	V, v	V, v
-	Y, y	Y, y	Y, y	Y, y
Z, z	Z, z	Z, z	Z, z	Z, z
Ž, ž	Ž, ž	Ž, ž	Ž, ž	Zh, zh

As one can see for the period of 1980 till 2015 variety of alphabets were proposed by different authors. It is obvious that the alphabets suggested by K. Kepeski and S. Jusuf (1980), R. Djuric (2005), L. Demir and N. Durmis (2012) are influenced by Serbo-Croatian alphabet because the authors include in Romani alphabets also letters for sounds which are adopted under influence of majority language and in this sense they do not belong to Romani language. In the table above they are given in *Italic*. The alphabet of Kruezi as can be seen ignores the Indian origins of the language and he is under the influence of Albanian writing system and does not take into consideration the aspirated consonants and widely uses combinations of two consonants for one sound. The alphabet of Kyuchukov is based on the phonological principals of N. Trubetzkoy (1969). The differences in the pronunciation of a word in different dialects not necessarily should be taken into consideration, because they do not bring any different meanings in Romani. In some dialects the word *garlic* from Romani will be pronounced as [sir] and in other dialects as [syr], but the meaning is the same. The alphabet should give the possibility to write all the forms of the word. Next step can be to decide which form will be accepted as correct and which as not correct. For the time being is more important for Roma to learn to write in Romani in easiest way, but at the same time with an alphabet which has the sound bases.

In the following table some words from Indian languages are shown which are still preserved and used by Romani speakers of different Roma dialects in Balkan countries, although some of the words changed their meanings in Romani.

Indian languages	Romani	English
A		
Ā (āv)	(j) av, ale	come
āc	ač	stay, wait
acchā	lačhe	good
āg	jag	fire
āgūthī	angrustni, angusti	ring
akharot	akhor	walnut
andā	anrno/ arno/ andro	egg
angar	angar	embers
anglā	anglal	front, front
aṅgūṭhā	angutho	thumb
aur	aver, verver	other
asū	asva	tear
B		
bādh	phande	close
bāh	baj	sleeve
bahin, bahan, bhain	phen	sister
bahut	but	many
baīṭh	beš	sit
bakrā	bakro	ram
bakrī	bakri	sheep
bal	bal	hair
bānkā	bango	hooked
bār	bar, ekh var	once
bārā	bar	garden, stone, fence
barish	bryšynd	rain
barh	barjol	grow
be	bi	not without

bhāī	phral	brother
bhang	bango	hooked
bhār	pherdol	refill
bhar	pherdo	full
bhārī	pharo	heavy
bhūkh	bokh	hunger
bhūm	phuv	land
bik	bikin	Sell
bis	biš	twenty
bisar	bistar	forget
buḥa	phure, phurane	old
byā	bjanipe	birth
byāh	bjav	wedding, marriage
C		
cambānā	čambav	chew
cānd	čhunud	moon
cār	štar	four
carī	čar	grass
cha	šov	six
chikna	čhik	sneeze
chīn	čhinav	excerpts, share
chūcha	čučo	empty, empty
churī	čhuri	knife
ciknā	čiken	fat, tallow
ciriyā	čirikli	bird
cor	čor	thief
coḥi	čoripe	theft
cūcī	čuči	female breast

cūm	čumide	kiss
cuṛa	čorav	thieve
curānā	čorav	thieve
D		
dādā	dad	grandfather, brother
dāī	daj	mother
dar	dar, darav	fear
darā	darav	frightened
das	deš	ten
dāt	dand	tooth
de	de	give
dekh	dikh	look
deo	del	god
dho	thojpe	washing
dhō	dhovipe	carrying
dhūā	thuv	smoke
do	duj	two
doī	roj	spoon
dor	dori	link
dōs	doš	guilt
dūdkh	thud	milk
duh	dušav	milking
dukh	dukh	pain
dūr	dur	away
E		
ek	ekh, jekh	one
ek bār	ekh var	once, once
G		

gābhinī	khamni, phari	pregnant
gandh	khand	odor
gāō	gau	village
gār	gar, praxo	bury, hide
gau, gāī	guruv	cow
ghām	kham	sun
ghar	kher, khyr	house, home
gharā	grast	horse
ghas	khas	hay
gin	kin	number
gohār	akhar	cry! [call]
gon	gono	sack
H		
ha	va	yes
ham	ame	we
hamārā	amaro	our
har ek	sa (seko) ekh	each
hās	asal	laughing
J		
jā	dža	go
jag; jagā	džangipe, džangav le	awakening, wake him
jamāī	džamutro	son-in
jān	džan	know
jī	dživ	life
jibh	čhib	language
jū	džuv	louse
K		
kahā	kate, kaj	where? to where?

kālā	kalo	black
kām	kamlipe	desire, passion, love
kān	kan	ear
kaṅghī	kangli	comb
kar	ker	do
kāṭh	kašt	tree
khā	xa	eat
khana	xav	eat
khāsī	xas	cough
khāsnā	xasav	cough
khel	khel	play
kīl	kilo	nail
kīṛā	kir, ryma	ant, worm
kiti	kiti, kici, kozom	how much/ how many
krimi	kermo	white worm
kūd	xuti	jump
kaun, kon	kon, ko	who
kuhni	khuj	elbow
L		
ladjadjā	ladžo	shame
lāj	ladž	shame
lāl	lolo	red
laṛkā	raklo	non-Roma boy
laṛkī	rakli	non-Roma girl
le, lah	le	take
le-jāna	džanipe	knowledge
līkhī	likh	nit
lon (м. р.) сол	lon	salt
lubhānā	lubni	whore

M		
machlī	mačhi (o)	fish
māg	mang	want
main	me	I
mājh	maškar	cross
majholā	maškaral	between, in the middle
makkhan	makh	maginot
makkhī	makh	fly
mal	mel	dirt
māmā	mamo, daje	mom
mānus, mānuk	manuš	man
mar	mer	die
mār	mar	fight
māṛā	marno	bread
mās	mas	meat
matā	mato	drunk
merā	muro, mundry	mine
mūh	muj	face
N		
nā	na	no, do not
nāk	nakh	nose
nakh	naj	finger
nanḡā	nango	naked, nude
nas	naš	run
nayā	nevo	new
nikālnā	inkalav	bring out
O		
oḡh	urjape, orajpem, vurajpe	dressing

P		
pāc	panč	five
pānī	pani, paj	water
pānkh	pakh	wing
paṛ	per	fall
pās	paš	at, around
pattā, pāt	patrin	leaf
paṭṭu	patave	coarse cloth
phār	pharovel	rips
phir	phir	walk
phūs, bhūsā	phus	strew, hay
pī	pi	drink
pighal	bilav	swim, melts
pūch	pučh	ask
purānā	purine	old
purānāpan	puranipe	antiquity
pustak	pustik	book
R		
rakh	brakhel	protect
rānī	rajni	missis
rāt	rat, rjat	night
rāy	rajo	mister
ricchnī	ričini	bear
rīch	ričino	bear
ro	rov	weep
rūkh	ruk	tree
rūpā	rup	silver
S		

sāc, sāc	čač, čačipe	truth
sāk	šaga	fruit
sāp	sap	snake
sārā	sare, sa	all
sarāh	šar	praise
sās, sāsu	sasuj	mother in-law
sasur	sastro	father in-law
sau	šel	hunderd
sī	suvav	sew
sikh	sikjo	learn
sikhnā	sikjov	learn
sīng	šyng, šing	horn
sir	šoro	head
so	sovel	sleep
sonā	suno	dream
sōnā	sumnakaj	gold
sū'ī	suv	needle
sūar	šukar	nice
sūgh	sung	nice smel
sūkh	šyl	cold
sukhā	šuko	dry
sun	šun	listen
T		
tale	tele, talal	below
tālu	taloj	palate
tattā	tato	warm
terā	tiro, kiro	yours
thān	than	location

rańg	tang	narrow
thingnā	tikno, ciklno	small
tīn	trin	three
tīrās	truš	thirst
tū	tu	you
tum	tume	you (pl.)
tumhārā	tumaro	yours
U		
ũc	učo	high
uparlā	upral	above
uṛ	urjan	flyung
V		
vah	voj, vov	s/he

4.- The codified Romani terminology.

One can say that there are three levels of standardization of a language:

I level: Standardization of Romani in a particular country – Romania, Slovakia, Sweden, etc. It is related particularly to orthography and loan-words in Romani language from the majority contact languages.

II level: Standardization of Romani on regional level in Slavic speaking Balkan countries (Bulgaria, Macedonia, Serbia, Kosovo, Montenegro, Croatia).

III level: Standardization of Romani for international purposes in communication between Roma from different parts of the world.

The standardization on national level usually goes through the following process – one of the most popular Romani variety is chosen and it is used as a mean of communication, for publications and etc. The terminology chosen is the most comprehensive for all other groups.

On Regional level the similar varieties which exist in neighboring countries are used for standardization. The common terminology is used as a base (usually from a language which was in a contact with Romani in early stage of its development, for example from Turkish) In Balkan countries where most of the Roma are Muslim and at the same time they are Turkish speaking the common terminology is form Turkish.

In my earlier works (Ключуков 1993; Kyuchukov 1998; 2009) I showed different lexico-semantic groups from Turkish which are used in different varieties of Romani:

- Names of plants, flowers, fruits and vegetables;
- Names of animals;
- Words from the nature;
- Names of minerals;
- Names of foods and drinks;
- Names of plays and musical instruments.

There are different strategies for creating a standard common terminology on international level. One of them is using loan-words from Armenian and Greek, which are the same in all varieties around the world. Roma in their way from India to Europe come in contact with Armenian and Greek in early 12 c., and there are a lot of examples from Armenian in the international Romani, e.g.:

- Parts of human body: *čekat* (forehead); *morči* (skin); *koč* (knee) (*v)ogi* (soul);
- Names of vegetables and fruits: *dudum* (pumpkin);
- Names of foods: *bokoli* (small flat loaf); *xumer* (dough);
- Names of animals: *grast* (horse); *khuro* (young horse); *rikono* (puppy).

All Romani varieties have some examples from Greek (Bakker and Kyuchukov 2000), e.g. metallurgical terms: *amoni* (anvil); *kakavi* (kettle); *petalo* (horseshoe); *karfin* (nail); *sviri* (hammer)

The new terminology in the standardized variety of Romani is created mainly from English terminology with added suffixes from Romani:

-a (sg.); **-e** (pl.)

Examples (nouns):

Romani	English
<i>specifika</i>	specifics
<i>lingvistika</i>	linguistics
<i>analizo/analiza</i>	analyses
<i>sistemo/sistema</i>	system
<i>baziso</i>	base
<i>logika</i>	logic

<i>forma</i>	forma
<i>literatura</i>	literature
<i>leksika</i>	lexics
<i>fonetika</i>	fonetics

-o (sg.); **-ja** (pl.)

Examples (nouns):

Romani	English	Romani	English	Romani	English
<i>telefono</i>	phone	<i>leksikono</i>	lexicon	<i>specialisto</i>	special
<i>treno</i>	train	<i>seriozo</i>	serious	<i>elemento</i>	element
<i>computero</i>	computer	<i>minoriteto</i>	minority	<i>autoro</i>	author
<i>prezidento</i>	president	<i>principo</i>	principle	<i>varianto</i>	variant
<i>regiono</i>	region	<i>mediatoro</i>	mediator	<i>dialecto</i>	dialect
<i>karaktero</i>	character	<i>levelo</i>	level	<i>deficito</i>	deficit
<i>seminaro</i>	seminar	<i>alternativo</i>	alternative	<i>proceso</i>	process
<i>fondo</i>	fond	<i>mandato</i>	mandate	<i>kongreso</i>	congress
<i>faktoro</i>	factor	<i>interneto</i>	internet	<i>testo</i>	test
<i>problemo</i>	problem	<i>sistemo</i>	system	<i>leksikono</i>	lexicon
<i>analizo</i>	analyze	<i>intereso</i>	interest	<i>moderatoro</i>	moderator

-ija; -ije

Examples (nouns):

Romani	English
<i>ortografija</i>	orthography
<i>strategija</i>	strategy
<i>etnologija</i>	ethnology
<i>metodologija</i>	methodology
<i>leksikografija</i>	lexicography
<i>etnografija</i>	ethnography

-alno (sg.); **-alne** (pl.)

Examples (adjectives):

Romani	English
<i>emocionalno</i>	emotional
<i>regionalno</i>	regional
<i>internacionalno</i>	international

<i>lokalno</i>	local
<i>socialno</i>	social
<i>specialno</i>	special
<i>globalno</i>	global
<i>spiritualno</i>	spiritual
<i>leksikalno</i>	lexical

-(a)no; -(a)ne

Examples (adjectives):

Romani	English
<i>urgentno</i>	urgent
<i>politikano</i>	political
<i>lingvistikano</i>	linguistic
<i>modernikano</i>	modernized
<i>tehnikano</i>	technical
<i>gramatikano</i>	grammatical

-cija; -cije (-zija; -zije)

Examples (nouns):

Romani	English	Romani	English	Romani	English
<i>fondacija</i>	foundation	<i>relacija</i>	relation	<i>unifikacija</i>	unification
<i>kondicija</i>	condition	<i>variacija</i>	variation	<i>standartizacija</i>	standardization
<i>edukacija</i>	education	<i>populacija</i>	population	<i>kodifikacija</i>	codification
<i>organizacija</i>	organization	<i>funkcija</i>	function	<i>komunikacija</i>	communication
<i>deklaracija</i>	declaration	<i>kooperacija</i>	cooperation	<i>participacija</i>	participation
<i>rezolucija</i>	resolution	<i>deskripcija</i>	description	<i>konservacija</i>	conservation
<i>konferencija</i>	conference	<i>institucija</i>	Institution	<i>izolacija</i>	isolation
<i>tradicija</i>	tradition	<i>informacija</i>	information	<i>ratifikacija</i>	ratification
<i>generacija</i>	generation	<i>proposicija</i>	proposition	<i>kolaboracija</i>	collaboration
<i>konkluzija</i>	conclusion	<i>konvergenција</i>	convergence	<i>segregacija</i>	segregation
<i>komplikacija</i>	complication	<i>kompetencija</i>	competence	<i>desegregacija</i>	desegregation

5.- Conclusion.

From one side Romani is still very rich preserving old forms of vocabulary from Indian languages mainly from Sanskrit and Hindi. Throughout the centuries Romani succeeded to adapt words from contact languages, using the rules of Indo-Aryan languages. The debates on the codification of Romani which is so vivid now among Roma linguist, educators and activists will most probably continue in the

next decades as well. The process of codification should be in future build more on a scientific bases. The needed approach for developing the codified lexicon is to use some of the forgotten lexicon which still exists in Balkan Vlax dialects. The Balkan dialects of Vlax Romani have also the oldest forms of some Hindi and Sanskrit words which can be used in the process of codification of the language.

During the last decades, during international meetings, where Romani is one of the used languages for translation, in published documents and reports of International institutions and NGO organizations, the English based Romani terminology is more and more common. The task in front of the linguists now is now is to make much better classification of the neologisms in Romani, which did not exist some 25-30 years ago. These kind of systematic work is needed not only for national and regional codifications but also for codification on international level.

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