CONVERGENCES ET DIVERGENCES IDENTITAIRES

THE INFLUENCE OF THE ROMANIAN LANGUAGE ON THE ROMANI IDIOM OF TURDA, ROMANIA

Yusuke SUMI
University of Bucharest
anachoretes.ou.o@gmail.com

Abstract:

As is known, with any type of linguistic contact, interferences occur mostly in the lexical field, the most penetrable and mobile part of the system of a language, the behaviour which is most subject to extralinguistic influences of historical, social, political economic nature. It is the field which best highlights bilateral influences – not only at the mere lexical-semantic level (loan, translation, linguistic ones), but also at the lexico-grammatical level (taking over of affixal elements, composition structures, changes of the grammatical class, conversion, with the related semantic implications).

The issues that emerge in the case of the Romani language derive from the long-lasting diachronic nature of these interferences and from the multitude of influence sources. It is often possible that a language element should have entered the Romani speech through other language. On the other hand, their almost exclusively oral circulation makes it much more difficult to identify the origin of some words which are in a long process of successive adoptions at the phono-morphological and semantic level.[1]

[1] Cf. P. Gh. Bârlea, 2013, p.132. The author refers to Antoine Meillet's statement according to which any vocabulary expresses, in fact, "a civilisation" (op. cit., p.137) Cf., also, P. Gh. Bârlea, 2010, *Multilingvismul și interculturalitate,* pp. 123-156.

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1. Lexical elements in the Turda idiom

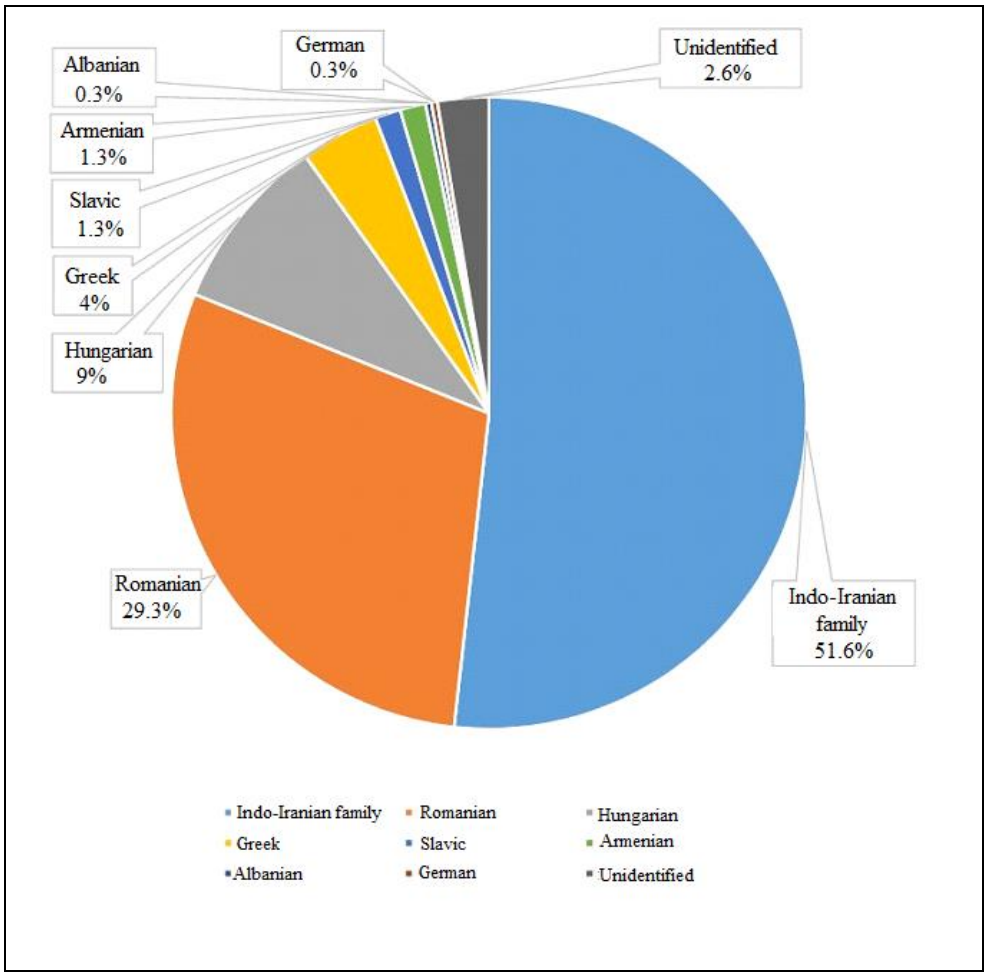
1.1. Statistical data on the etymology of words in the corpus of texts

From the relatively large number of texts we have recorded as well as from those taken from various (written) sources, we have selected approximately 1,700 vocabulary elements for our working corpus, cf. Annex 1. Index of Romani-Romanian terms. Establishing etymologies is admittedly an extremely laboriously operation even for the greatest specialists. Therefore we have considered that selecting a corpus of 300 words from various lexical fields and from all grammatical classes is enough for our study. The image this corpus provides reflects, in fact, the etymological explanations in the reference works in the field.[2]

Etymological source	Number of lexemes	Percentage
Of the Indo-Iranian family (old Indo-Iranian, Persian etc.)	155	51.6 %
Romanian	88	29.3 %
Hungarian	27	9 %
Greek	12	4 %
Slavic	4	1.3 %
Armenian	4	1.3 %
Albanian	1	0.3 %
German	1	0.3 %
Unidentified	8	2.6 %
Total	300	

[2] For clarifications in the field of Romani vocabulary etymology, we have used Boretzky & Igla, 1994.

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As the above statistical table shows, of the 300 words chosen according to a few *sui generis* criteria, about a half is represented by non-European, more precisely old Indo-Indian words. The other half is represented by words borrowed from Europe. The language which has most influenced this idiom is Romanian. Secondly, the Hungarian has significantly influenced the Romani language in the historical evolution the Carpathian Transylvanian dialect.

By analysing the etymology of the 300 words chosen from the approximately 1,700 words gathered from recording, we conclude that half

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of words are of Indo-Iranian origin. The other half are words borrowed after the Roma people arrived in Europe. The most active language, in terms of power of influence, is the Romanian language, their secondary language today, which accounts for almost 30% of the vocabulary. Then, the Hungarian influences the Carpathian dialect, as almost 10% of the vocabulary is represented by words from the Hungarian.

1.2. Phono-morphological varieties of some terms

For some concepts, the idiom we have studied records two, three, sometimes even four different lexemes in terms of form and etymological source. In most cases, semantic and contextual-stylistic specialisations or nuances are only sometimes found.

tren 'train' – the word most frequently used for "tren" 'train' is *treÌno*, a Romanian word turned Romani. Except the two words from the Romanian and the Hungarian *vonat* 'train', there is another word *gedèś/i, -a,* which comes from the Hungarian *gőzös* 'steam engine, locomotive'.

melc 'snail' – *ćèbebik/o, -e* is used by the new generation. Older people use *ćègebigo.* Progressive assimilation is to be noticed. This word comes from the Hungarian *csigabiga* 'snail'.

râu 'river' – the word commonly used in the Romani language is *pani* 'water'. *Pani* means not only 'water', but also whatever constitutes water. *Râu* 'river'*, lac* 'lake'*, mare* 'sea' are *pani* as well. In the Lovari dialect, *sea* is rendered by phrases such as *baro paji* "apă mare" 'large water'.[3] Except *pani*, this dialect also has *niroÌs/ìi, -a.* This word designates more a 'running water' or 'stream'. It probably comes from the old Hungarian words *nyiìr* 'marsh, mire'.

cărbune 'charcoal' – we notice that for "cărbune" the word *karbuÌn/o, -ă* is used. But the elder still preserve the old Romani word *angar*. Here the replacement of *Romani* words with corresponding terms

[3] In the common Romani language, *derăv* is also used, deriving from the pers. *darya, derya(b).*

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from Romanian is to be noted.

român ‘Romanian’ – in the Romani language there are several words which render the context of “om” ‘man, human being’.

The semantic field of the concept of “om” ‘human being’				
	Man		Woman	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
Romani adult	*rrom*	*rroma*	*rromni*	*rromnă*
Romani child	*ćhavo*	*ćhave*	*ćhaj*	*ćhaja*
Non-Romani adult	*gaʒo*	*gaʒe*	*gaʒi*	*gaʒa*
Non-Romani child	*raklo*	*rakle*	*rakli*	*raklă*
Human, as a being who is different from animals	*manuś*	*manuśa*	*manuś (manuśni)*	*manuśa (manuśnă)*
Emphasising of the gender/sex difference	*murś*	*murśa*	*ʒuvli*	*ʒuvlă*

All these words exist in the Carpathian dialect from Transylvania with the expected phonetic alterations. But of these, we should know that in this dialect the word *gaizìo* (< *gaʒo*, with epenthesis) means ‘Romanian’ in its strict sense. Transylvania was under the Austro-Hungarian domination and the speakers of the Carpathian dialect from Transylvania were mostly in contact with the Hungarians. But, today, *gaizìo* signifies “Romanian” rather than “Hungarian”. When the local people go to a Romanian they say “*Zìaw mange k-o gaizìo*”, while, when they go to a Hungarian they say “*Zìaw mange k-o uÌngro*”. Therefore, the word *gaizìo*, in the strict sense, means “Romanian”. In its broader sense it also means “non-Romani”. Beside *gaizìo*, there is also the word *laÌh/o, -e,* which means “Romanian”.

el ‘he’ and ***ea*** ‘she’- In Questionnaire 17 we notice that one of the new generation informants does not distinguish between *vow* “el” ‘he’ and *voj* “ea” ‘she’ and uses only *voj* for both genders. In the Lovari dialect from Hungary this phenomenon is also noticed. The Hungarian does not have the

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gender opposition marked by suffix and the pronoun *ő* is used for both *he* and *she*. For the speakers of the Lovari dialect from Hungary, the Hungarian is a secondary language, hence, in the Lovari dialect, there is only the pronoun *voj* for the third person masculine and feminine in the plural. The same thing can be noted in the Poiana district, but it is rather a very rare phenomenon. Older people, who speak Hungarian, use *vow* and *voj*. Therefore, we see that the phenomenon recorded in Questionnaire 17 does not result from the influence of the Hungarian language, but rather from the confusion of endings, which are hardly distinguishable when pronounced weakly.

a înțelege 'to understand'- According to generation, old words tend to be replaced by words from Romanian. For example, old people prefer to use the verb *xatărel* "a simți, a înțelege" 'to feel, to understand', while the young use *încelezìinel* "a înțelege" 'to understand'.

1.3. Conclusion on the lexical structure

The Carpathian Romani people lived in Transylvania under the Austro-Hungarian domination.[4] As the older locals also speak Hungarian, we may conclude that their secondary language had been the Hungarian before Transylvania came back to Romania, after World War I. But, a few generations later, the influence of the Hungarian weakens and the Romanian dominates as a power of influence. We notice that for the word "tren" 'train' there are even three terms for three generations: *gedeÌsìi,* from the Hungarian, which comes from *gőz "vapor"* 'boat, ship'*,* is probably the oldest in terms of the meaning. This word is replaced with voÌ*nato*, also from Hungarian, *vonat*, which is used in the present-day Hungarian. But there is also a third variant, *treÌno*, which comes from Romanian.

There are also phonetic alterations, depending on the generation, such as that in the structure of the word "melc" 'snail': *csigabiga (magh.) > cìeÌgebigo > cìeÌbebigo.*

[4] Grindean, 2008. In the interview with the leader of the community this particularity is also obvious and declared as such.

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2. Observations on the category of intensity of adjectives and adverbs

2.1. Degrees of comparison

The Romani language had the synthetic comparative degree ending *–eder*. But some dialects have lost this form and adopted the analytical form, with elements from other languages, such as *maj,* from Romanian, *naj* and *po,* from the Slavic languages, *leg,* from Hungarian, *da(h)a,* from Turkish, *pio,* from Greek, etc.

Of these, the most commonly used in Roma dialects from Romania is the adverbial element *maj*, which comes from the Romanian *mai*. In the Turda idiom, the comparative is also formed by means of *maj* and the respective adjective or adverb.

Főherczeg (1888) describes only the synthetic comparative by -*eder* or -*idir* (used by the German Roma people). But, he states, in the superlative, *naj, maj, leg, bala, kono* are added to the comparative form. Therefore, in his times, many dialects used *maj, naj* etc. as a marker of the superlative.

In the Carpathian dialect of Turda, the synthetic form has been lost. The Romanian language system has been completely adopted:

E RomïniÌa n'avela maj cìorri. "România nu va fi mai săracă." ('Romania will not be poorer.')

O cìhave kampel t'aven maj godăver. "Băieții trebuie să fie mai deștepți." ('Boys must be smarter.')

(Quest. 15)

In the superlative, just like the comparative degree, the Carpathian dialect from Transylvania has adopted the Romanian language system by means of the demonstrative adjective *cel, cea*, etc.

Tu avɛhɛ cìel maj lacìho bulibaÌsìa. "Tu o să fii cel mai bun bulibașa." ('You will be the best Gypsy chief.')

Voj avela cìea maj sìukar cìhɛj. „Ea o să fie fata cea mai frumoasă." ('She will be the most beautiful girl.')

(Quest. 15)

But the issue of the plural appears.

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Amen avaha cìel maj barvale. "Noi o să fim cei mai bogați." ('We shall be the richest.')

O cìhaja hin cìel maj sìukar. "Fetele sunt cele mai frumoase." ('Girls are the prettiest.')

Von has le cìel maj zìungale k-e grădiniÌca. "Ei au fost cei mai răi la grădiniță." ('They were the naughtiest in kindergarten.')

(Quest. 15)

We see that, in the plural, **cìei* and **cìele* are not used, as in Romanian, but only *cìel*, which is identical with the masculine singular, according to the Romanian grammar. In the singular, all the people of Poiana make the difference by using *cìel* for masculine and *cìea* for feminine. Why haven't they adopted the Romanian *cei* and *cele* for the plural?

2.2. The articles in the structure of comparatives

The key is the definite articles in the Carpathian dialect. In the Romani Carpathian dialect, the definite article in the plural, both masculine and feminine, is identical with that for the masculine in the plural

Definite articles (N.) in the Carpathian dialect (and the Turda idiom)			
masc. sing.	fem. sing.	masc. pl.	fem. pl.
o	*e*	*o*	*o*

Demonstrative adjectives used for the superlative in the Turda idiom			
masc. sing.	fem. sing.	masc. pl.	fem. pl.
cìel	*cìea*	*cìel*	*cìel*

We note that the speakers of Poiana-Turda have adopted the structure and terms of the Romanian superlative, but not all of them. They use *cìel* from the masculine singular and plural in the Romani language system as they do with the definite article.

2.3. Conclusions on the category of intensity

In the Carpathian dialect of Turda the analytical comparative

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and superlative degrees are used. The comparative uses *maj*, adverbial, for all genders. The superlative employs *cìel maj* in the masculine singular and plural, and *cìea maj* for the feminine singular. Without a doubt, it is the influence of the Romanian language. But innovations have been partially adopted.

Adjective *lacìho* "bun" ('good'), in the three degrees in the Roma idiom of Turda			
	Positive degree	Comparative degree	Superlative degree
masc. sing.	*lacìho*	*maj lacìho*	*cìel maj lacìho*
fem. sing.	*lacìhi*	*maj lacìhi*	*cìea maj lacìhi*
masc. pl.	*lacìhe*	*maj lacìhe*	*cìel maj lacìhe*
fem. pl.	*lacìhe*	*maj lacìhe*	*cìel maj lacìhe*

3. The issue of the vocative of nouns

In the Romani language, the vocative case of feminine singular nouns usually ends in -*(i)e* or -*(i)a*. Below are some examples from various dialects.

Lovari dialect, cf. Sztojkoì, Ilona-Glinda, Lindri, 2001-	
N. sing.	V. sing.
gazìi "femeie nerromă" 'non-Romani woman'	*gazìa!*
hilpa "vulpe" 'fox'	*hilpa!*
sìej "fată rromă" 'Romani girl'	*sìeja!*
phen "soră" 'sister'	*phenă!*
dej "mamă" 'mother'	*deja!*
Aniko "Aniko (woman's name)"	*Anika!*

Carpathian dialect from Hungary, cf. Romano, 1994.	
N. sing.	V. sing.
romni "femeie rromă" 'Romani woman'	*romnĭje!*
cìhaj "fată rromă" 'Romani girl'	*cìhaje!*

Hungarian-Gypsy dialect, cf. Wlislocki, 1884.	
N. sing.	V. sing.
phen "soră" 'sister'	*phenĕ!*
rakli "fată nerromă" 'non-Romani girl'	*raklĭje!*

We see that in the Carpathian dialect spoken in Turda, there are two endings for the vocative feminine singular, namely -*ĕ* and -*ŏ*.

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Carpathian dialect of Turda	
N. sing.	V. sing.
cìhɛj “fată rromă” ‘Romani girl’	*cìhɛìjo!*
rakli “fată nerromă” ‘non-Romani girl’	*raklĕ!*
bori “noră” ‘daughter-in-law’	*borĕì!*
phen “sora” ‘sister’	*pheìnŏ!*
cìhirikli “pasăre” ‘bird’	*cìhiriklĕì!*
dɛj “mamă” ‘mother’	*dɛìjo!* (or *maìmo!*)

It is to be noticed that, given the fact the Turda dialect is different from other dialectal variants, the vocative adds *–o* to the monosyllabic feminine nouns. This *–o* was probably created under the influence of popular Romanian in which *–o* appears with the feminine singular nouns in V.: *Maria > Mario!, Ana > Ano!* etc.

The influence of Romanian occurs in the plural vocative as well. In the Poiana-Turda idiom, nouns in the V. end in *-lec* in the plural, except the masculine nouns such as *cìhavo* (which ends in *-o*, in the nominative singular).

N. sing. and pl.	V. sing.	V. pl.
rrom (sing.), *rroma* (pl.) “bărbat rrom” ‘Romani man’	*rroìma!*	*rromaìlec!*
grast (sing.), grasta (pl.) “cal” ‘horse’	*graìsta!*	*grastaìlec!*
cìhavo (sing.), *cìhave* (pl.) “băiat rrom” ‘Romani boy’	*cìhavɛì!*	*cìhaveì!*
balo (sing.), *bale* (pl.) “porc” ‘pig’	*balɛì*	*baleì!*
cìhɛj (sing.), *cìhaja* (pl.) “fată rromă” ‘Romani girl’	*cìhɛìjo!*	*cìhajaìlec!*
phen (sing.), *phenă* (pl.) “soră” ‘sister’	*pheìnŏ!*	*phenăìlec!*
rromni (sing.), *rromnă* (pl.) “femeie rromă” ‘Romani woman’	*rromnĕì*	*rromnăìlec!*
cìirikli (sing.), *cìiriklă* (pl.) “pasăre” ‘bird’	*cìiriklĕì*	*cìiriklăìlec!*

Sarău presents the vocatives in the Romani language in the following manner:

> “*Masculine nouns ending in a consonant get* ***-a*** *in the singular,* ***-ale*** *or* ***-alen*** *in the plural”.*
> *e.g. rroìma! rromaìle(n)!*
> *Masculine nouns ending in a vowel get* ***–ea*** *in the singular,* ***-eale*** *or* ***-ealen*** *in the plural.*

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e.g. rakleìa! rakleìale(n)!
*Feminine nouns get. –**e** in the singular, **-le** or **–len** in the plural.*
e.g. pheìne! phenăle(n)! cìirikliìe! cìiriklăìle(n)!" [5]

Matras explains the vocatives in the Romani language in the following way:

*„…vocative forms, usually in masculine **-a**, **-eìja**, more seldom **-o** or **-e**, feminine **-(i)ja**, **-(i)je** and more seldom **-(j)o**, and plural **-ale(n)**."* [6]

Főherczeg classifies the inflections of the vocative according to idioms as follows[7]:

	masc. sing.	fem. sing.	masc. pl.	fem. pl.
The sedentary Turkish Romani idiom	*-eja, -ja, -a*	*-a*	*-ale*	*-ale*
The nomad Turkish Romani idiom	*-eja, -ja, -a*	*-a*	*-ale*	*-ale*
The Hungarian Romani idiom across the Danube	*-eja*	*-a*	*-ale*	*-ale*
The Carpathian Hungarian Romani idiom	*-eja*	*-a*	*-ale*	*-ale*
The nomad Hungarian Romani idiom	*-eja*	*-a*	*-ale*	*-ale*
The Wallachian Romani idiom	*-e, -a*	*-a*	*-ale*	*-ale*
The Czech-Moravian Romani idiom	*-e, -eja*	*-a*	*-ale*	*-ale*
The German Romani idiom	*-e, -eja*	*-a*	*-ale*	*-ale*

Romano presents the vocative in the Carpathian dialect of Hungary

[5] Sarău, 2008b, pp. 58-59.
[6] Matras, 2002, p. 80.
[7] Főherczeg, 1888.

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in the following way[8].

	Sing.	Pl.
rrom	*rroma!*	*rromale!*
cìhavo	*cìhaveja!*	*cìhavale!*
cìhaj	*cìhaje!*	*cìhajale!*
rromnĭ	*rromnĭje!*	*rromnăle!*

Wlislocki, who described the idiom spoken by the Transylvanian nomad Hungarian Roma people in the 19th century, notes the vocatives as follows[9]:

Nom. sing. and pl.	Voc. sing.	Voc. pl.
manusì (sing.), *manusìa* (pl.) "om" 'man, human' *graj* (sing.), *graja* (pl.) "cal" 'horse'	*manusìeja!* *graija!*	*manusìa!* *graja!*
raklo (sing.), *rakla* (pl.) "băiat nerrom" 'non-Romani boy' *balo* (sing.), *bala* (pl.) "porc" 'pig'	*rakleja!* *bala!*	*rakle!* *bale!*
phen (sing.), phenă (pl.) "soră" 'sister'	*phenĕ!*	*phenă!*
raklĭ (sing.), *raklă* (pl.) "fată nerromă" 'non-Romani gilr'	*raklĭje!*	*raklĭja!*

What we notice here is that the vocative plural variant *-lec* is not to be found in any of the sources cited above. It is a characteristic of that area. So say the young and the elder.

The only possible origin of the suffix *-lec* can be found in the verb conjugation in Romanian. In Romanian, *-ți* appears in the second person plural. This ending also appears with the imperative *haideți!* 'come along!' which has the value of interjection. In the Turda idiom there are two interjections from Romanian, *haÌjda!* and *haÌjdac!* The vocative is most frequently used together with these interjections, when calling someone. Probably, in the beginning, the plural vocative inflection in the Turda idiom was *-le*. But, as it was used with the interjection *haÌjdac!*, the phoneme [ts] was also added to the plural vocative, as in: *HaÌjdac, rromalec!* "Haideți,

[8] Romano 1994.
[9] Wlislocki, 1884.

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rromilor!” ‘Come along, Romani!’

4. The diminutive suffix *-jak*

We have noticed that, in the Carpathian idiom from Poiana-Turda, there is the *-jak* suffix. However, this suffix is used in one situation only, namely at the game of cards.

In Transylvania, Hungarian or German cards are used, consisting of a pack of 32 cards. There are 4 types, namely *Dudum* “Duba” ‘Bells’, *MaÌko* “Ghinda” ‘Acorns’, *Lolo* “Roșu” ‘Red, Hearts’, *ZöÌldon* “Verde” ‘Green, Leaves’, and each type has Ace, King, Over Knave and Under Knave. Apart from the four, there are cards numbered 10 (also called Queen), 9, 8, 7. The suffix *-jak* appears in the name of these numbered cards.

Name	Another name	Number represented, in general
TulÌzo “as” or “tuz” (< rom. *tuz*) ‘ace’	-	11
Krali “rege” ‘king’	*Sìtarengro*	4
FilkoÌwo (< magh. *fìlkoì* “valet”) ‘jack’	*Trinengro*	3
ValeÌto (< rom. *valet*) ‘jack, knave’	*Dujengro*	2
Rani “damã” ‘queen’	*Desìengro*	10
EnăìjakEnăìjak	*Enăngro*	9
Oxtoìjak	*Oxtongro*	8
Eftaìjak	*Eftangro*	7

The suffix *-jak* appears with cards 9, 8, 7. It is enclitically attached to the cardinal numerals *enă* “noua” ‘nine’, *oxto* “opt” ‘eight’ and *efta* “șapte” ‘seven’.

The possible origin of this suffix is the diminutive *-ică* from Romanian. Cards numbered 9, 8, 7 are known in Romanian as *noică*, *optică* and *șeptică,* with the paroxytone accent *-i-*. Initially, they were probably **enă-ika, *oxto-ika* and **efta-ika,* but the accent did not remain on the *-i-* and moved to the end of each numeral. The loss of accent from *-ica* must have led to metathesis and so it remained *-jak*, in the Carpathian idiom of Turda.

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5. The system of adopting and adapting foreign words

Statistics show that almost half of the words used by the Roma people of Poiana are foreign words. We shall see here how foreign words change in this idiom. Now, Transylvania is a part of Romania and the locals' secondary language is Romanian. We shall further try to analyse the process of phono-morphological adaptations of Romanian words taken over by the Carpathian Turda idiom.

5.1. The verb

Adapting foreign words is very simple. The affix *-in-* is used; it is placed between the radical or the verb theme from Romanian and the inflections marking verbal flexion. Naturally, in the infinitive, *-in-* (which appears as an infix) is followed by the ending *-el*.

From the verb "a iubi" 'to love' the verb *jub-in-el* is formed.

Me ***iubinaw***. "Eu iubesc" 'I love'
Tu ***iubines***. "Tu iubești" 'You love'
Me ***iubindŏm*** "Eu am iubit" 'I loved'
Tu ***iubindăn*** "Tu ai iubit" 'You loved'
(Quest. 17)

Other verbs

a afirma 'state' > *afirm-in-el*
a freca 'rub' > *frek-in-el*
a citi 'read' > *cìit-in-el*
a opri 'stop' > *opr-in-el*
a organiza 'organise' > *organiz-in-el*
a amesteca 'mix' > *amestek-in-el*

Verbs from Hungarian have the same regime.

vaìlaszt-ani "a alege" 'choose' > *valost-in-el* "a alege" 'choose'
kezd-eni "a începe" 'begin' > *kezd-in-el* „a începe" 'begin'

All these verbs are conjugated according to Romani paradigms of the *kër-el* type. All borrowed verbs enter the regular conjugation by means of infix *-in-*.

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cìit-in-el “a citi” ‘read’	Sing.			Pl.		
	me	tu / traboì	vov / voj	amen	tumen	von
Present indicative	*cìit-in-aìw*	*cìit-in-eìs*	*cìit-in-eìl*	*cìit-in-aìs*	*cìit-in-ìn*	*cìit-in-eìn*
Future indicative	*cìit-in-oìho*	*cìit-in-ɛìhɛ*	*cìit-in-eìla*	*cìit-in-aìha*	*cìit-in-eìna*	*cìit-in-eìna*
Analytical future indicative	*kamaw te cìit-in-aìw*	*kames te cìit-in-eìs*	*kamel te cìit-in-eìl*	*kamas te cìit-in-aìs*	*kamen te cìit-in-eìn*	*kamen te cìit-in-eìn*
Imperfect indicative and present conditional	*cìit-in-oìhos*	*cìit-in-ɛìhɛs*	*cìit-in-eìlas*	*cìit-in-aìhas*	*cìit-in-eìnas*	*cìit-in-eìnas*
Perfect indicative	*cìit-in-(d)ŏìm*	*cìit-in-(d)ăìn*	*cìit-in-(d)ăì(s)*	*cìit-in-(d)ăìm*	*cìit-in-(d)ăìn*	*cìit-in-(d)eì*
Past conditional	*c cìit-in-ŏìmas*	*cìit-in-ăìnas*	*cìit-in-ăìhas*	*cìit-in-ăìmas*	*cìit-in-ăìnas*	*cìit-in-eìnas*
Imperative	-	*cìit-in!*	-	-	*cìit-in-eìn!*	-
Present optative	*te cìit-in-aìw*	*te cìit-in-eìs*	*te cìit-in-eìl*	*te cìit-in-aìs*	*te cìit-in-eìn*	*te cìit-in-eìn*
Past participle	*cìit-in-d/o, -i, -e, -e*					
Abstract noun	*cìit-ib/oì, -eì (cìit-imas-, cìit-iben-)*					

Conclusions

With regard to the features of the Romani Carpathian idiom spoken in Poiana-Turda, vis-à-vis the other Romani idioms or even other Roma dialects that do not belong to the Carpathian dialect, we may present the following conclusions:

1. *Romanian currently influences the most the idiom of Roma people in the district Poiana-Turda, Cluj County, Romania.* But, as the three variants for “train”: *gedeÌsìi* (from Hungarian), *voÌnato* (from Hungarian) and *treÌno* (from Romanian) or the word “snail”: *cìegebigo* and *cìebebiko* (from Hungarain) and *meÌlko* (from Romanian) show, we note that Hungarian was once the greatest influence. There are also some words that are not found in Romani dictionaries, such as *caÌlo* which means “string, thread” or *niroÌsìi* “river”. Usually, the origin of unknown words is to be found in the Hungarian language. However, we have not found possible corresponding words for the two words cited here.

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Speakers of Romani idiom from Turda suggest that *niroÌsìi* is related to the verb *nanŏl* "a se scălda" 'to bathe', which comes from the old Indian *snāna-* "baie" 'bath', but we do not believe so. The similar word is the Hungarian *nyiìres* "mesteacăn" 'birch', which comes from the Hungarian *nyiìr* "mlăștină, teren udat" 'marsh, wet land'.

As regards *caÌlo*, used in the phrase *jekh caÌlo luludĭ* "un fir de floare" (roughly translated as 'a (thread of) flower'), we have not found a similar word other than the Hungarian *col* or the Romanian *țol* from the German *Zoll* 'measure unit of approx. 25 cm'.

2. Influences of the Romanian language on this idiom are to be noted in the following aspects:

2.1. In the Carpathian Turda vocabulary, the influence of Romanian is significant. As we have said before, in the Turda vocabulary, the number of Romanian borrowed words is the largest. The variants *gedeÌsìi* (from Hungarian), *voÌnato* (from Hungarian) and *treÌno* (from Romanian); *cìegebigo* and *cìebebiko* (from Hungarian) and *meÌlko* (from Romanian), or *angar* (Romani) and *karbuÌno* "cărbune" 'charcoal' prove that Romanian words continue to enter the vocabulary with the newer generations that do not know old words or words from Hungarian, used by old generations.

2.2. The morphology of words borrowed from Romanian emphasises an interesting thing: words such as *artiÌsto* (sing.) *-artiÌsìtă* (pl.) "artist, artiști" 'artist, artists', where the palatalization of consonant *-s-* occurs, clearly show that speakers add the plural inflection *–a* to the plural form of Romanian. Romanian neuter nouns are the same: *cort, corturi* 'tent, tents' are, in the idiom of Turda, *koÌrto, koÌrtură*. But we have to know that there is also the reduced plural form *koÌrte*.

2.3. With nouns, adjectives, adverbs and verbs, the use of Romanian words is partial, which means that they often have a variant other than those from Romanian, except the new words or the new concepts (*hotel* 'hotel', *telefon* 'telephone', *elefant* 'elephant' etc.). For example: *cìebebiko* (from Hungarian) vs. *meÌlko* (from Romanian) "melc" 'snail', *angar* (Romani) vs. *karbuÌno* (from Romanian) "cărbune" 'charcoal', *baro* (Romani "mare" 'big' in the broad sense) vs. *luÌngo* (from Romanian)

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"lung" 'long', *sig* (Romani) vs. *reÌpedon* "repede" 'fast', *sìukar* (Romani. "frumos" 'beautiful' in the broad sense) vs. *ï*ncìeÌton "încet" 'slow', *xatărel* (Romani) vs. *ïncelezìinel* (from Romanian) "a înțelege" 'to understand', *sigărel pes* (Romani) vs. *gräbinel pes* (from Romanian) "a se grăbi" 'hurry'. But, as regards conjunctions, if Romanian words are used, old words are not, for example: *daÌke* "dacă" 'if' (in other dialects *te* is used), *oÌri* "sau" 'or' (*vaj* in other dialects).

2.4. In the comparative, the adverb *maj*, obviously from Romanian, is used just like in other dialects influenced by Romanian. In the superlative, we should note the peculiarity of the Turda idiom, namely the use of pronominal demonstrative adjectives *cìel* (masc. sing. and masc. and fem. pl.) and *cìea* (fem. sing.), also from Romanian. As we have explained in chapter 5, speakers use *cìel* from masc. sing. for fem. pl, just as the definite article *o* for masc. sing. is used for the plural also.

2.5. The inflection of the vocative for feminine nouns ending in a consonant is *-o* or -ŏ: *phen* "soră" 'sister' > *phenŏ!* "soro!" 'sister!', *cìhɛj* "fată" 'girl' > *cìhɛjo!* "fato!" 'girl!'. This inflection is to be found with other dialects as well and it probably comes from Romanian. The inflection *-lec*, which occurs in the plural and which we have previously said it is a curiosity, probably comes from *-ți,* the verbal inflection for the second person plural in Romanian, which also attaches to the Romanian interjection *haide!* The vocative is most frequently used together with the interjections *haÌjda* and *haÌjdac* in the Turda idiom, for example: *hajdac, rromalec!* "haideți, rromilor!" 'come along, Romani!'.

3. The suffix *-jak* is also particular, for it occurs in the name of cards. *EnăìjakÌ* "noicã", *oxtoìjak* "opticã", *eftaìjak* "șepticã" were formed by adding the Romanian suffix *–icã* in the following manner: *eftaì-ikä* > apocope: *eftaìik(a)* > synthesis: *eftaìi**a**k*.

The Romani idiom of Poiana-Turda provides an interesting picture of the current study of the Romani language in general, with all its diastratic, diatopic and diachronic phenomena. It is a living and dynamic example of interpersonal verbal communication coming from the antiquity and adapted to the century of globalisation.

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