

BALKAN LINGUISTIC CONTACTS IN THE FIELD OF SOCIAL DIALECTS

(Albanian, Greek, Romany and Turkish words in contemporary Bulgarian and Serbian Slang)

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Abstract: The paper considers the history and the contemporary status of Bulgarian and Serbian slang. A part of their vocabulary is of foreign origin and reflects the process of cross-linguistic and cross-cultural exchange between different peoples on the Balkan peninsula. The number of Turkish words is significant, although their quantity has decreased considerably during the last fifty years, words of Romany origin are in second place, while adoptions from Greek and Albanian form a comparatively small group in these slangs. The growing influence of English, French and German and broader cultural relationships with the Western states have led to a relative reduction of words and phrases from other Balkan languages in Bulgarian and Serbian social dialects.

Keywords: Linguistic contacts, social dialects, slang, Bulgarian, Serbian, Turkish, Romany, Greek, Albanian.

1. HISTORY OF BULGARIAN AND SERBIAN SLANG.

Social dialects in Europe appeared later than regional dialects, as a result of the creation of social distinctions and the necessary economic preconditions of their formation, such as: occupational, financial and judicial differentiation, establishing of cultural and religious communities, social classes, formal and informal social groups (soldiers, students, artists, workers, merchants), public schools and other state institutions, etc. etc., see also (Trudgill 1983:34-50). It is interesting here to point out what the linguist Ivan Shishmanov wrote at the end of the last century in his work "Observations on Bulgarian secret languages and secret ways of speaking": "The so-called *verba sordida*, which some Latin grammarians have documented and which, obviously, they have distinguished

from *verba vulgaria* and *verba communia*, should have been nothing more than a type of *Roman argot*." (Shishmanov 1895:15).

In Western and Central Europe these social varieties of language were recorded in one way or another in late Middle Ages. In France they were mentioned for the first time in 1455 in Dijon, during the trial against the criminal group called "Les Coquillards", and some of the words and the phrases used by the outlaws built up an integral part of the vocabulary of the prominent French poet François Villon (Calvet 1994:16). In Great Britain slang can be seen in "The Canterbury Tales" by Geoffrey Chaucer in the 14th century and later in the works of Christopher Marlowe and William Shakespeare. In Bohemia, which is now a region in the Czech Republic, some slang words were noticed also in 15th and 16th century (Oberpfalcer 1934:335) and the same goes for Germany (Jirmunskii 1936:115-116). It is of great importance to underline that all specialists agree on the fact that slang existed in Europe even earlier, although we do not have written evidences from this period (Cellard 1985:17; Calvet 1994:14).

However, in Bulgaria and Serbia social dialects have a different history from that of many other European and Slavic countries. In all probability, some social dialects - slang, argot, secret ways of speaking, etc. - existed on the Balkan peninsula just as they did in other parts of Europe. This situation can be seen as being reflected in some folk songs and tales from the 14th and 15th century dedicated mostly to Krali Marko (Marko Kralevichi, in Serbia) - a historical figure, fighter for the independence of Balkan Slavs ("Sbornik...", 1942:100-127). After the old Bulgarian and Serbian Kingdoms collapsed at the end of the 14th century, these dialects shrank into several professional or secret languages - those of shoemakers, tailors, builders, street musicians as well as some groups of outlaws, rebels, beggars and burglars. The absence of their own state, national government and official education in the mother tongue and the restrictions placed on the Bulgarian and Serbian Orthodox Churches during all the years of Ottoman rule not only prevented the development of all the types of social dialects that had previously existed, but also restricted the formation of new kinds, like students' or military slang for example.

Until the 19th century perhaps all Bulgarian and Serbian social dialects were sorts of argot or secret ways of speaking¹. At that time, as a result of some economic changes in the Ottoman Empire, the formation of new classes and social groups began. Moreover, the new state institutions that were set up after the liberation of Serbia (1829) and Bulgaria (1878), created favourable conditions for a full range of social dialects, comparable with those in the West.

¹ I prefer the term "*secret way of speaking*" to the "*secret language*" because in reality these social variants of language represent only a form of speech where some or all the words or syllables are systematically altered. There are different types and names of such secret sociolects in Europe, like: *back slang*, *centre slang*, *eggy-peggy*, *Pig Latin*, *poslovechki govor*, *bird slang*, etc., and they can also be seen all over the world, from China to Latin America (Shishmanov 1895; Crystal 1987:59).

2. BALKAN LINGUISTIC CONTACTS

The long coexistence of Serbian and Bulgarian people with Albanians, Gypsies, Greeks, Jews, Turks influenced both languages and their dialects. Thus a part of the vocabulary of contemporary Bulgarian and Serbian slang is of foreign origin and reflects the process of cross-linguistic and cross-cultural exchange between different peoples and minorities on the Balkan Peninsula. Words and phrases have penetrated the two social dialects in different ways, at different times and from different languages. It is a well documented fact that during the early period of the development of Bulgarian slang a significant part of the foreign vocabulary was of Turkish and Romany origin, although there were many words from other languages as well. For instance, 57 words out of 227 (approximately 25%) in "Tarikatsko-Bulgarski Rechnik" [in translation "Bulgarian Slang Dictionary"], (Voinikov 1930:67-76) and 209 out of 753 (27.8%) in "Sofiiskiyat uchenicheski govor" [in transl. "Sofia students' slang"] (Stoikov 1945) are from Turkish and Romany origin while all the words from Western European languages (English, French, German, Italian, Spanish) in these dictionaries are respectively 4.8% and 6.7%.

Nevertheless, even now the speakers of all Bulgarian or Serbian social dialects, including slang, do not distinguish the words of Turkish from those of Arabic or Persian origin mostly because Turkish was not only a language which Bulgarian or Serbian people had to use for years in their everyday contacts with officials or neighbours, but served also as a linguistic mediator in the process of borrowing Persian and Arabic lexemes. That is why throughout this article the term "*Oriental words*" will indicate Turkish as well as Arabic or Persian words.

2.1. *Oriental words*.

The number of Oriental words in contemporary Bulgarian and Serbian slang is significant, although their quantity has decreased considerably during the last fifty years. Some of the lexemes, like *surat*, *kaun*, *farash*, *libade* and others, are still in use in the regional dialects, but most often with their original Turkish, Arabic or Persian meanings. On the other hand, we can observe a change of the linguistic and social environment in which these words are used, from regional unit to social group. In this process most of the words are given new, strong emotional expressiveness and/or receive new meanings related to their new life, to the new social sphere. This is the reason why these words are now widely considered as sociolectal or slang lexical units rather than regional.

Thematic groups. The major part of the Oriental vocabulary in contemporary Serbian and Bulgarian slang is composed of nouns and adjectives while verbs and adverbs form only a small group; there are no proverbs, articles, prepositions or conjunctions. From a thematic point of view Oriental words can be divided into seven groups:

- A. Names of the agent of the action (i.e. *Nomina Agentis*): these include words like Bulgarian *kashik* ‘soldier’ (in Turkish ‘spoon’), *farash* ‘servant’ (in Turkish ‘dustpan’), *manaf* ‘homosexual, gay’ (from Arabic *minayawi* via Turkish *manav* ‘man from the town of Minaya’), and both Bulgarian and Serbian *aver* ‘friend, peer’ (from Arabic via Turkish *havar* ‘follower, adept’).¹
- B. Designators of persons according to their physical or mental characteristics: *balık* ‘stupid man’ (in Turkish ‘fish’), *kaltak* ‘bad, dishonest man’ (in Turkish ‘prostitute’), *mihly öz* ‘stupid unreliable man’ (from Arabic via Turkish *my ıfly öz* ‘poor, bankrupt, ruined’), *pich* ‘good, reliable, elegant, smart man’ (from Turkish *piç* ‘knot, sprout’), *shebek* ‘short, stumpy man’ (in Turkish ‘monkey’), all seen in Bulgarian and Serbian slang;
- C. Parts of the human body: *badjak* ‘hip’ (in Turkish ‘leg’), *baldır* ‘thin, fine hip; fat hip’ (in Turkish ‘calf’), *kaun* ‘head’ (in Turkish *kavum* ‘melon’), *surat* ‘face’ (in Turkish ‘face’) - words all existing in Bulgarian and Serbian slang;
- D. Everyday objects: *patlak* ‘pistol, revolver’ (in Turkish ‘cracked, broken’), *ferman* ‘long, written paper’ (from Persian via Turkish ‘administrative document’), *kenef* ‘lavatory, rest-room’ (from Arabic through Turkish), *kapan/kapanche* ‘small restaurant, pub’ (in Turkish ‘trap’), *libade* ‘old, and usually dirty coat’ (from Persian via Turkish ‘jacket’), *yular* ‘tie’ (from Turkish ‘halter’), *yutiya* ‘pistol, revolver’ (from Turkish *yutu* ‘iron, as a domestic appliance’);
- E. Actions, phenomena, conditions: *bach* ‘work’ (from Persian via Turkish *baç* ‘a type of state tax on imported or delivered goods that could be replaced by work’), *bitak* ‘second hand market, flea market’ (from Persian *bit* ‘flea, louse’), *laf* ‘conversation, chat; funny interesting, clever, humorous word or phrase,’ (in Turkish ‘conversation’), *gyuvech* ‘crush, mob, crowd of people’ (in Turkish ‘stew, hotchpotch’);
- F. Features of persons and subjects: *arabiya* ‘good, reliable’ (from Arabic *harabi* via Turkish ‘destroyed, tumbled-down’), *afif* ‘unreliable, weak’, *bayat* ‘old, aged’, etc.;
- G. Verbs: *zyanya* ‘to take money from somebody, usually in a game of chance or as a result of violence’ (from Persian via Turkish *ziyan* ‘loss’), *kyarya* ‘to earn money’ (from Persian via Turkish *kiar* ‘profit, profit, gain’), *korkam se* ‘to become angry’ (from Turkish *korkmak* ‘to be angry’).

¹ Most of the examples of Serbian Slang are taken from Dragoslav Andrich (1976), others were collected personally or were given by friends and colleagues.

It is necessary here to emphasise that some of the words shown above have Arabic or Persian roots, but nearly all of them are perceived by the speakers of Bulgarian and Serbian slang as Turkish or vaguely Oriental.

Semantic shifts. From the lexico-semantic point of view the words in these seven groups represent three main shifts.

1. A small part of them has been borrowed without any change or only with a small, insignificant change in their meaning or phonetic form because they possessed enough emotional “charge” and for the speakers they were interesting, strange, exotic even in their original appearance. These are words such as *surat, laf, libade*.
2. Generally, the major part of the Oriental words, penetrating Serbian or Bulgarian slang, has undergone metaphorical transposition because they were well known or at least familiar to a very large public. In most of the cases these words were in use in the regional dialects - because they were connected with everyday-life objects and phenomena - or could be found in the administrative and legislative vocabulary. There is ample linguistic material of slang metaphor, like *balik, ferman, gyuvech, kaltak, kapan, kaun, pich, shebek, yular, bayat*, etc.
3. The third group represents slang metonymy. It includes fewer terms than the previous one but they are again a very colourful example of the way the slang speakers think and reflect the world in their speech. Here we can mention words as *baç, bitak, farash, kashik, patlak, yutiya*.

A further interesting point is that the process of semantic transformation very often continued within the slang and some Turkish, Arabic or Persian words have become a fruitful basis for a semantic derivation or a secondary metaphorization that includes sometimes even foreign words. Thus, in the 1960s speakers of Bulgarian students' slang started using the German word *mish-mash* giving it, as an approximate synonym of the Turkish word *gyuvech*, the same slang meaning - ‘crush, mob, crowd of people’. It cannot be simply described as a process of a replacement of one word with another because very often these words can be used concurrently in speech. For example, during a period of more than thirty years in Serbian and Bulgarian slang were used the words *lafya* (from Turkish *laf* ‘conversation’), *parlarya* (from French *parler* or Italian *parlare*) and *shpreham* (from German *sprechen*), all with the meaning ‘to speak, to talk’. Moreover, in the late 1970s, for about five years in some parts of the Bulgarian slang there also existed the word *redya*, borrowed from the Western regional dialects, and used with absolutely the same meaning as the words listed above. In the conversation speakers often switched from one of them to another without giving special preference or paying attention to what word exactly they used and why. This type of “code-switching” came naturally, subconsciously for many while others, who simply did not know the whole range of lexemes, did not use them although this was not an obstacle in the process of

communication. Both sides could understand each other quite well given the linguistic and situational context.

2.2. Romany words.

Words of Romany origin are in second place to words of Oriental origin in contemporary Bulgarian and Serbian Slang. It is not clear when exactly they entered the framework of the slang but, probably, it happened in the second half of the 18th century and a large number of them are still in use. Some of these Romany words have over the years entered even colloquial speech and are very often not recognised as slang. Another important aspect of the life of Romany words is that, according to the data of František Oberpfalcer, T. Sabljak and A. Barannikov, many of them can be found even in Czech, Croat and Russian social dialects (Oberpfalcer 1934:335-337; Sabljak 1981; Barannikov 1931:155-157). Among these words in the first place I would mention *gadzhe* 'girl; boy, lover' (from Romany 'non-gypsy; foreigner'), *abe* 'bread; money' (from Romany *habe* 'meal'), *mangiz* 'money', *tuzar/tudzhar* 'rich, wealthy man; tycoon', *pandiz* 'prison, police station', see (Stoikov 1945; Andrich 1976; Armianov 1989; Malikov 1992). It is interesting to notice that most of the words listed above are given with the same meaning in the Dictionary of Turkish argot (Develioglu 1959) and it shows that in all probability the relationships between Romany, on the one hand, and Bulgarian and Serbian slang and Turkish argot, on the other, were very close during the last century.

The next point that is necessary to make is that a large proportion of the Romany words that have penetrated Bulgarian and Serbian slang not only change their meanings or grammatical form, but become a productive basis from which many new words were and are made. For example, from only 6 words with a similar phonetic pattern - *dikiz* and *kiriz* 'to look, to see', *mariz* 'to fight', *piniz* 'a way, a method of doing something', as well as *mangiz* and *pandiz* (see Appendix No. 3) - in Bulgarian slang more than 50 other nouns, verbs and adjectives have been derived: *marizchiya* 'fighter', *mangizliya* 'rich person', *kirizya* 'to look', *pandizya* 'to put into a prison', *pandizchiiche* 'a young prisoner', *pandizchiiski* (adj.) 'to a prisoner, of a prisoner', and most of these new words have a high frequency over the entire Bulgarian linguistic territory.

Today, many words of Romany origin have fallen out of use or are used only rarely because they have been replaced by standard or dialectal words, or, infrequently, by new foreign words, for example: *tuzar/tudzhar/tuzhar* 'rich, wealthy man; tycoon' in Serbian and Bulgarian slang has been replaced by *bos* (from English *boss*), and in Bulgaria also by the Standard word *klechka* 'twig, stick'; in both Serbian and Bulgarian slang *mangizi* 'money' was substituted by the English word *money*; Romany *chay* 'girl' disappeared under the pressure of *girla* (from English *girl*), and many others.

2.3 Greek words.

Linguistic contacts between Bulgarian and Serbian, on the one hand, and Greek, on the other, started centuries ago and covered all spheres of life and all levels of language: regional dialects, the Standard language and, perhaps, some kinds of social dialects. These contacts grew in the official administrative language, in the field of culture and science, in religion, as well as in everyday communication. However, in the last century, as a consequence of the struggle for national identity there began independently processes of cleansing of the contemporary Bulgarian and Serbian Standard languages of loan words, primarily Turkish and Greek administrative vocabulary, and their replacement by new domestic terms or by West-European and Russian (in Bulgaria) words.

For this reason words of Greek origin today form a comparatively small group. They are for the most part nouns and have been adopted either through the Standard language or through regional dialects. Unlike other adoptions from Turkish, Romany and Albanian, all words from Greek have changed their meanings and/or their form and pronunciation, especially if they have been used before in any other part of the national language: regional and social dialects, colloquial or Standard language. Many words have penetrated Bulgarian or Serbian slang via the Standard language, such as: *apokrifi* ‘illegally published papers or notices of any university professor’ (from Greek *ἀποκρυφός* ‘hidden, secret’), *bibliya* ‘thick tome’ (from Greek *βιβλιόν* ‘book’)¹, *kitara* ‘head’ (from Greek *κιτάρα* ‘guitar’), *glarus* ‘lover or young man from the Bulgarian port-town of Bourgas (from Greek *γλαρος* ‘sea-gull’), *livada* ‘stupid person’ (from Greek *λιβάδι* ‘meadow’), *palamud* ‘a stupid person’ (from Greek *παλαμίδα* via Turkish *palamut* ‘the fish belted bonito’), *syunger* ‘a drunkard’ (from Greek *σπούγος* via Turkish *sünger* ‘sponge’), *zune* ‘peasant’ (from Greek *ζουνι* ‘waist-band’), and others.

Virtually few words that have come through regional dialects or directly from Greek are now in use. Here we can mention *daskal* ‘teacher’ (from Greek *δασκαλός* ‘teacher’), *magerya* ‘to do, to make’ (from Greek *μαγειρεύω* ‘to cook’), *parantiya* ‘prostitute’ (from Greek verb *παριαω* ‘to abandon, to leave’ via Turkish *paranti* ‘loose woman’). This simply reflects the fact that contacts between the Greek language and Bulgarian and Serbian social dialects have decreased drastically over the 20th century.

These examples illustrate the same process of semantic transformation as seen in Turkish and Romany loan words, namely metaphor and metonymy. Thus we can discover that every “lover” becomes a *glarus* (‘sea-gull’) because he dangles about the girls like a bird

¹ This word (as well as some others) exists with the same meaning in the “Dictionary of slang words and phrases” by Tomislav Trenevski, published in Skopje, FYR Macedonia, in 1997, after this paper was compiled and presented at the XVIth International Congress of Linguists in Paris, France. This is why, although interesting from semantic, sociolinguistic and ethnolinguistic point of view, they are not included here in this publication.

above the sea; or any stupid person can be called *tivada* ('meadow') because in both Serbian and Bulgarian colloquial languages the adjective "green" is a synonym of immaturity, lack of wisdom. Similarly, every thick book can be described as *bibliya* for it looks like the Holy book.

There is a much smaller number of examples of metonymy in the framework of the considered social dialects. For instance, one can call a person from the countryside *zune*, simply because all male villagers on the Balkan Peninsula used to wear a type of woollen waist-band over their trousers. From this word originate the mocking words *Zunland* and *Zunlandiya* that literally mean 'the land of the *zunes*'.

It is interesting also to point out those scanty examples of slang words formed according to pseudo-Greek phonetic patterns which most often include "typical" suffixes like *-is*, *-as*, *-os*, and roots that can be either of domestic (Standard, colloquial, dialectal, slang) or foreign origin: *avantakis* 'a benefit, a profit acquired without work or at other's expense; a person who looks for a benefit without work' (from the slang word *avanta* 'profit, benefit, gain'), *pedalopoulos* 'a male homosexual' (from the slang *pedal* - 'a homosexual').¹

2.4. Albanian words.

Adoptions from the Albanian language in Bulgarian and Serbian social dialects (especially in students' slang) are lexically few. Nevertheless, their textual frequency is considerable. Possibly because of this, most of them have gradually moved from slang to colloquial speech which in both countries is often considered as a lower variant of the Standard language which covers almost the whole speaking area and is used by people of different occupations and education.

In the first place, we must put the verbs *skivam/skibam/shkivam* in Bulgarian and *achkivam* in Serbian slang that mean 'to see, to look'. They have been adopted in the 19th century and are believed to originate from the Albanian verb *shquaj* 'to recognise' although their Albanian origin has not been conclusively demonstrated. In the beginning these words were used only in some small criminal groups, but during the first two decades of the 20th century they were transferred into slang. By 1930 they were one of the most significant slang markers in these countries while after 1960 they became a natural part of the colloquial speech. The same is true for the term *partsutsa* 'ugly woman; low-quality brandy' that comes from the Albanian phrase *për cucë* which means 'for a girl, to a girl'.²

¹ The word *pedal* exists with the same meaning in the French argot - *pédale* - where it has much higher frequency of use, see (Oxford... 1994:589).

² All meanings of the Albanian words have been consulted with Dr. Genç Lamani, Lector in Albanian language at the University of London to whom I express my gratitude.

3.0 CONCLUSIONS.

All groups of loan words adopted into Bulgarian and Serbian slang not only show the influence of a particular language (or group of languages) in a historical aspect, but also give clear indications of the contemporary linguistic situation on the Balkan Peninsula and of the relationships between Bulgarian, Serbian, Turkish, Greek, Romany and Albanian today.

In general, words and phrases that stay strongly in contemporary Bulgarian and Serbian social dialects come from the languages of those ethnic and religious groups that have considerable representation in today's states - namely, Turkish and Romany. The absence of a significant Greek (and Albanian in Bulgaria) minority reduces the extralinguistic factors that would support the presence of words of such origin in modern Serbian and Bulgarian slang.

It is important to emphasise that the growing influence of West-European languages, and especially that of English, French and German during the last forty or fifty years, as well as broader relationships with the Western states and their culture have also led to a relative reduction of words and phrases from other Balkan languages in Bulgarian and Serbian social variants of language.

APPENDIX No. 1

GREEK WORDS

apokrifi - 'illegally published papers or notices of any university professor' (from Greek αποκρυφος 'hidden, secret')

bibliya - 'thick tome' (from Greek βιβλιον 'book')

glarus - 'lover or young man from the Bulgarian port-town of Burgas' (from Greek γλαρος 'sea-gull')

kitara - 'head' (from Greek κεταρα 'guitar')

tivada - 'stupid person' (from Greek λιβαδι 'meadow')

parantiya - 'prostitute' (from Greek verb παριαω 'to abandon, to leave')

palamud - 'a stupid person' (from Greek παλαμιδα via Turkish *palamut* 'the fish belted bonito')

syunger - 'a drunkard' (from Greek σπογγος via Turkish *sünger* 'a sponge')

zune - 'peasant' (from Greek ζουνι 'waist-band')

APPENDIX No. 2

TURKISH WORDS

afif - 'unreliable, weak', *bayat* 'old, aged';
arabiya - 'good, reliable' (from Arabic *harabi* via Turkish 'destroyed, tumbled-down'),
aver - 'friend' (from Arabic via Turkish *havar* 'follower, adept').
bach - 'work' (from Persian via Turkish 'a state tax on imported or delivered goods that could be replaced by work')
badjak - 'hip' (in Turkish 'leg')
baldır - 'thin, fine hip; fat hip' (in Turkish 'calf')
balık - 'stupid man' (in Turkish 'fish')
bitak - 'second hand market, flea market' (from Persian *bit* 'flea, louse')
farash - 'servant' (in Turkish 'dust-pan')
ferman - 'long, written paper' (from Persian via Turkish 'administrative document')
gyuvech - 'crush, mob, crowd of people' (in Turkish 'stew, hotchpotch');
kaltak - 'bad, dishonest man' (in Turkish 'prostitute')
kapan/kapanche - 'small restaurant, pub' (in Turkish 'trap')
kashik - 'soldier' (in Turkish 'spoon')
kaun - 'head' (in Turkish *kavun* 'melon')
kenef - 'lavatory, rest-room' (from Arabic through Turkish)
korkam se 'to become angry' (from Turkish *korkmak* 'to be angry').
kyarya - 'to earn money' (from Persian via Turkish *kiar* 'profit')
laf - 'conversation, chat; funny interesting, clever, humorous word or phrase,' (in Turkish 'conversation')
libade - 'old, and usually dirty coat' (from Persian via Turkish 'jacket')
manaf - 'homosexual, gay' (from Arabic *minayawi* via Turkish *manav* 'man from the town of Minaya')
mihly öz - 'stupid unreliable man' (from Arabic via Turkish *myiflyüz* 'poor, bankrupt, ruined')
patlak - 'pistol, revolver' (in Turkish 'cracked, broken')
pich - 'good, reliable, elegant, smart man' (from Turkish *pich* 'knot, sprout')
shebek - 'short, stumpy man' (in Turkish 'monkey');
surat - 'face' (in Turkish 'face');
yular - 'tie' (from Turkish 'halter')
yutiya - 'pistol, revolver' (from Turkish *yutü* 'iron, as a domestic appliance');
zyanya - 'to take money from somebody, usually in a game of chance or as a result of violence' (from Persian via Turkish *ziyan* 'loss')

APPENDIX No. 3

ROMANY WORDS

abe - 'moneys; bread' (from Romany 'meal')

chay - 'a girl' (in Romany 'a girl')

dikiz - 'to look, to see' (from Romany *dikhav* ')

gadzhe - 'girl; boy, lover' (from Romany 'non-gypsy')

kiriz - 'to look, to see' (from Romany *kerav* 'to make')

mariz - 'to beat' (from Romany *marav* 'to beat')

mangiz - 'money' (from Romany *manghav* 'to ask, to beg')

piniz - 'way, method' (from Romany *penav* 'to fall' or *phenav* 'to tell')

pandiz - 'prison, police station' (from Romany *pandhav* 'to imprison')

tuzar/tudzhar/tuzhar - 'rich, wealthy man; tycoon' (from Romany 'merchant')

baro/barovets/baravets - 'rich and usually smart man' (from Romany *baro* 'big')

<i>dikiz</i> - 'to see'	}	dikizya dikizene dikizchiya dikizchiika dikizchiiche dikiziya dikel;
<i>kiriz</i> 'to see'	}	kirizya, kirizene, kirizchiya, kirizchiika, kirizchiiche, perde-kiriz, izkirizya, pokirizya, dokirizya;
<i>mangiz</i> - 'money'	}	mangizya, mangizliya, mangizliiche, mangizliika, mangizliiski, mangizchiya, mangi, mangizchiika, mangizchiiche, mangizchiiski, omangizya se;
<i>mariz</i> - 'to beat'	}	marizya, marizchiya, marizchiika, marizene, marizchiiche, izmarizya, marizchiiski (adj.), marizchiiski (adv.), omarizya;
<i>piniz</i> - 'way, method'	}	pinizchiya, pinizchiika, pinizchiiche, pinizya, pinizchiiski (adj.), pinizchiiski (adv.), izpinizya;
<i>pandiz</i> - 'prison'	}	pandizya (<i>def. asp.</i>), pandizya (<i>indef. asp.</i>), opandizvam, opandizya, pandizchiya, pandizchiika, pandizchiiche, pandizchiiski, pandiz-palas, pandizene, pandela;

APPENDIX No. 4

ALBANIAN WORDS

achkivam - 'to see, to look'

partsutsa - 'ugly woman; low-quality brandy'

skivam/skibam/shkivam - 'to see, to look'

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