German loans in Sinti-Manuš Romani

Daphne Reitinger

(University of Graz)

Keywords: Language Contact, Romani, Sinti, Manuš, Usage-based approach

Recently, the case has been made that cognitive linguistic and psycholinguistic research outcomes on bi- or multilingualism and the cognitive processing of language should be more strongly integrated into the study of language contact, and that for these subdisciplines to join forces will make for a promising outcome (e.g. De Bot and Bülow 2021). A possible starting point for one such endeavour is to adopt a usage-based perspective in the (re-)definition of terminological categories in contact linguistics, such as transfer, calquing, borrowing and codeswitching (Onysko 2019), as well as the consideration of the degree of bilingualism of a speech community and the interconnectivity of bilingual individuals' linguistic units in the mind. Subject of the present study are two varieties of the New Indo-Aryan Romani, which has been described as *"a fascinating 'laboratory' for the study of bilingualism and contact-induced language change"* (Matras and Adamou 2020, 329). More specifically, a Sinti variety from 19th century Italy (Caccini 2001) and a more recent variety of Manuš (Valet 1985, 1986) are examined. Both have left the sphere of German as a primary contact language, the motivation for choosing these varieties being to examine established integrated loanwords as opposed to possible nonce borrowings. This allows for the exclusion of possible individual motivations for the instances of borrowing and for analysing a conventionally established loan layer in the varieties at a general level. Both variety's lexemes with a potential of being German loanwords were extracted from the sources and assigned a value of borrowing likelihood on a scale adapted from Haspelmath and Tadmor (2009). The lexemes present in both varieties were assigned a semantic field and compared with a focus on conceptual content. The resulting German loans are analysed adopting a usage-based perspective by considering factors like entrenchment and similarity, and possible motivations, such as semantic specificity of the unit, are discussed. Finally, the German loans are contextualised within the results of Haspelmath and Tadmor's (2009) Loanword Typology project. The results contribute to the understanding of extent and facilitating integrational factors of the German loan layer in the lexicon of the respective varieties, and allow for an assessment of the stable German-derived vocabulary in Sinti-Manuš varieties on a more general level, as well as for the extent of German-derived loans in the respective semantic fields.

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