



TRABAJO DE FIN DE GRADO

«Lexical presence of Romani dialects in Spanish and English»

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ABSTRACT

The present project shows a lexical study of Romani dialects in Spain and England and its presence among non-Gypsy speakers today. This study covers Sociolinguistics as a discipline, making an observation of this dialect in its social context. The relevance of studying this dialect is due to the fact that there are few studies focused on positive aspects of the Romani dialect, such as the lexicon on the family field. The methodological basis for this research comprises two surveys, one for *Caló* and the other for *Angloromani*, which rigorously shows the knowledge of the informants about the dialect.

Keywords: Romani, *Caló*, *Angloromani*

RESUMEN

El presente proyecto muestra un estudio léxico de los dialectos del romaní en España e Inglaterra y su presencia entre los hablantes no gitanos en la actualidad. Este estudio aborda la Sociolingüística como disciplina, haciendo una observación de este dialecto en su contexto social. La relevancia de estudiar este dialecto se debe a que existen pocos estudios centrados en aspectos positivos del dialecto romaní, como es el léxico del ámbito familiar. La base metodológica de esta investigación consta de dos encuestas, una para el Caló y otra para el Anglorromaní, que muestran de manera rigurosa el conocimiento de los informantes sobre el dialecto.

Palabras clave: Romaní, Caló, Anglorromaní

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1. INTRODUCTION

Romani, derived from Sanskrit and spoken by the Gypsy or Roma community, originates from northwestern India. This population expanded in the first millennium, reaching southern Europe around 1100 AD, and their dialect evolved with them over the centuries to become what we know today as *Caló* in Spain or *Angloromani* in England.

The exodus of Gypsies to Europe occurred due to two diasporas: the first comprising the initial moment when they settled in southern Europe in the first millennium as a consequence of the Muslim conquest or rule in India; and the second, in the last half of the 19th century, in which Gypsies from the Balkans and Hungary left for northern Europe due to the abolition of slavery of their ethnicity. Although the vast majority left for the north in the 19th century, Gypsies had been in England much earlier.

As a result of the persecution, marginalisation and exclusion of the Romani people, and thus of their language, Romani has remained present as a minority language or linguistic variety within the language of the country in which it coexists.

The topic of this paper covers both personal and linguistic motivations of the researcher. It is intended to shed light on a language discriminated against by history and marginalised by society from its origins. The research will focus on studying the level of lexical survival of Romani that currently exists in both Spain and England regarding the family field. To achieve this end, rigorous scientific data will be provided, which will serve to clarify how much knowledge the Spanish and English speakers have and provide new data on this issue that has been little studied, especially in English-speaking countries. In this way, the findings will be compiled and a final assessment of the topic will be made.

The aim of this study is to elucidate the degree of lexical presence of Romani today, and subsequently to demonstrate whether the dialect has potential when it comes to having more notoriety within the Spanish and English population, or whether it will remain stagnant with the current existing lexicon. The research on this dialect also covers other linguistic questions about how much of the population uses Romani words in their daily life, which words do they know of *Caló* or *Angloromani* and if they know other words referring to the family sphere.

This project is based on the hypothesis that the Spanish population knows a lot of *Caló* words and uses them in their daily life, however, when it comes to the family area, the opposite would be the case. Most studies focus on negative aspects due to the history of the Romani, among them delinquency and prison language. This reason leads one to think that within the study of lexical units there will not be many positive answers, but, they may know words from the field of crime. Those who may know some of the words are likely to be the older generations since it is a very old dialect and has not been given enough importance to promote its study.

As far as the *Angloromani* is concerned, the starting assumption is that the English population will not know any of the proposed words. This is motivated because there are few materials and studies on the *Angloromani* lexicon and its presence among speakers. As with *Caló*, it is expected that if anyone knows any of the words it will be in the older age groups. Words such as ‘*mother*’ or ‘*brother*’ could dominate knowledge in this field. This is based on the authority of ‘*mother*’ within Roma families and the meaning of ‘*brotherhood*’ or ‘*security*’ within the Gypsy people with the word ‘*brother*’.

Despite being a very familiar ethnic group, not only by their own choice but also determined by its history, this paper will focus on discovering if familiar words within Gypsy families themselves have come to encompass a large part of the population, focusing on non-Gypsy people.

This work has different objectives, which are to carry out a sociolinguistic study with a defined number of people, covering different age groups, gender and their level of education, and to check whether the different words selected cover a large part of the people surveyed. Also it will be analyzed which age group knows the most lexicon, and by which genre they are best known. In the same way, with the aim of reaching a conclusion on the current situation of this dialect, it will be checked with the results obtained whether the hypothesis about *Caló* in Spain is fulfilled as well as with *Angloromani*. As this is a final degree project and not a wider research project, it should be noted that the results obtained in this study are based on a sample taken from a part of the population and do not correspond to the rest of the Spanish or English population.

Regarding the structure of the work, it is divided into six sections and finally, the annexes. In the first place, this project includes a first look at the subject of *Caló* and *Angloromani* in

theoretical and applied linguistics, then a theoretical framework, a section on methodology, an analysis of the results and a final section in which the conclusions of the study will be dealt with.

The first section is focused in such a way that first it is known at what point the Romani dialect is in Spain and England, to later see how the matter in question is treated theoretically within both countries. Also, the materials that are currently useful for this research thanks to applied linguistics will be presented.

In the theoretical framework section, the works of other authors who have served for the development of this research will be exposed. In it, some confusions will also be discussed with regard to other words that are often used when referring to the *Caló* and the *Angloromani*.

In the methodology section, the procedure carried out for this work will be explained, in other words, how the collection of materials was carried out, as well as how the questionnaire was elaborated and the objectives it pursues.

Afterwards, an analysis of the results of both surveys will be performed. The data collected in the investigation will be provided and described in order to find out how many people say they know the lexical units and which age group and which gender stand out most with respect to their knowledge of these words. That is, what part of the population is more familiar with it. In addition, other questions will be discussed as to whether having Gypsy acquaintances influences the knowledge of this lexicon.

And finally, the conclusions will be discussed. In this section, a final assessment and balance of the data collected in the research will be made, as well as the possible future investigations that can be presented from this study. Also, it will be checked whether the starting hypothesis has been fulfilled or not, along with some final reflections.

2. THE SUBJECT WITHIN THE FIELD OF THEORETICAL AND APPLIED LINGUISTICS

This investigation is based on previous researches, in which it has been possible to collect necessary materials on both dialects. Thanks to these previous investigations, it will be

exposed the situation in which the studies on the Romani dialect are found, and what kind of materials are available for its analysis. In addition, the problems faced by an investigation of this type will be highlighted.

As far as *Caló* in Spain is concerned, there is a greater variety of studies related to theoretical linguistics than in *Angloromani*. Among these studies there are some oriented towards its analysis from a sociolinguistic approach, such as the study by Krinková (2014) in which she explains the problems encountered in the study of a marginal lexicon. In it, Krinková (2014: 6) determines that one of the most decisive problems encountered when studying *gitanismos*, coming from *Caló*, is that, being a marginal lexicon, they belong mostly to an oral lexicon, which entails a variability of orthography, grammar and even pronunciation.

This is one of the problems faced by the present work, because, after searching in different dictionaries for a specific word, either in *Caló* or *Angloromani*, spelling variations have been found from one to another, with its own unit prevailing and with alterations in some consonants. This is the case of *c>k* [*coco* > *kako* (uncle)]; *vv>v* [*chavvis* > *chavis* (children)]; or the absence of ‘h’ [*phral* > *pral* > *pal* (brother)] belonging to the most recent glossaries and dictionaries in *Angloromani*. Meanwhile, in the case of *Caló*, there is also the passage of *vv>v* [*chavvo* > *chavó* > *chavoró* (‘boy’)], and alterations in some consonants of the same word [*paparũi* > *paruũi* (‘grandmother’)].

On the other hand, authors such as Ivo Buzek or Miguel Roperó Núñez are the most predominant in studies on lexicography in *Caló*. One of the works that has been most helpful for this work is the article *La creatividad léxica documentada en los diccionarios de caló* by Ivo Buzek (2018). In it, the author explains that in the making of *Caló* dictionaries, authors copied each other's compilations, and although they are all based on George Borrow's dictionary, they also contain other words from earlier authors.

On the other hand, turning to the subject of *Angloromani*, Charles G. Leland (1873: 78) explains what happens with this dialect:

Though the language of the Gipsies has been kept a great secret for centuries, still a few words have in England oozed out here and there from some unguarded crevice, and become a portion of our tongue. There is, must be admitted, a great difficulty in tracing, with anything like accuracy, the real origin or identity of such expressions.

For this reason, when choosing *Angloromani* words referring to the family sphere, some similarities are found with words from the *Caló* dialect in Spain. The origin of both dialects comes from the ancient Romani, which has been varying its forms depending on the country in which it has been spoken, and hence, in the '*The Angloromani Project*' dictionary by the University of Manchester there are words from the Angloromani noted as words with "European origin". This is the case of *chav* ('child') in Angloromani and *chavoró* ('boy' or 'child' as well) in *Caló*.

This is supported in the book *Romani in Contact: The History, Structure, and Sociology of a Language* by Yaron Matras (1995: 128) in the words of Boretzky:

Boretzky (1992) shows that *Caló* has a significant number of words in common with the Northern dialects, in particular Sinti and Angloromani. Iberian Romani, therefore, seems to be historically a separate branch, most closely related to the Northern dialects and non-Vlach Balkan dialects.

In summary, the fact that it is a marginal lexicon with many variations, especially spelling, and it is found some "lexical creativity" means that it will encounter different problems when investigating them.

In terms of the materials available through applied Linguistics, as far as selecting words from the *Angloromani* family domain is concerned, the comprehensive book *Romani in Britain: The Afterlife of a Language* by Yaron Matras (2010) has been very useful. Most of the words have been extracted from it and compared with other dictionaries and glossaries. In addition, the University of Manchester's '*The Angloromani Project*', which has greatly aided this research by using its online dictionary to determine whether different words originated from *Angloromani* or were of another linguistic variety. As far as *Caló* is concerned, more dictionaries and glossaries that will be cited later in the methodology section have been found.

Thanks to this set of materials, it has been possible to make a selection of words within the field to be studied. In addition, it has been possible to understand the situation encountered by previous researchers which serves as a background for this investigation. In this way, it helps to understand the limitations that will be faced and how to overcome them.

3. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The subject of this research is based on Dialectology, a branch of General Linguistics that studies linguistic varieties and how they differ from each other. It will be exposed the degree of presence of the Romani dialect in Spain and England nowadays. Furthermore, the focus of the study will be lexical, as it will be centered on: 1) finding out which words have transcended society today; 2) which ones are the most known and 3) if they know the meaning or synonyms of these Romani words in Spanish and English. Also, it will be checked in which group of people they have the most notoriety. Below, it will be presented those works and authors who have laid the theoretical bases of this research.

3.1 RESEARCH BACKGROUND

3.1.1. Confusion among *romanó*, *romaní*, *caló*, *germania*, *flamenco* and *gitanismo*

The *Caló* lexicon in Spain is commonly confused and referred to with other terms such as *romanó*, *romaní*, *germania*, *flamenco* or *gitanismo*. Krinková (2014:2) explains that the most notable influence of *gitanismos* has to do, in addition to industrialisation, with the development of slum underworld speech. And that, “otro canal de penetración de los gitanismos en la lengua española fue una ola de moda llamada *flamenquismo*”.

However, Roperó Núñez (1977: 18) is, one of the authors who delve into the problem of this confusion when it comes to designating *caló* and explains the following:

Con frecuencia se identifica el lenguaje de *germania* con el *caló* y viceversa; de hecho, hasta hace poco, el DRAE definía la *germania* como la “jerga o manera de hablar de los gitanos, ladrones y rufianes...” y el *caló* como la “jerga que hablan los rufianes y gitanos”. Sin embargo, como muy bien demuestra C. Clavería, J. Casares, R. Salillas y otros, la lengua de los gitanos, emparentada con el sánscrito y conocida en España con el nombre de *caló*, nada tiene que ver, ni por su origen ni formación, con la vieja *germania* castellana.

In this way, Roperó Núñez (1977: 55) separates the meaning of both words and clarifies that the jargon of delinquency, that is, *germania*, should not be confused with *Caló*, since a slang will not cease to be so for many terms it adopts from a language, nor will it cease to be so for many loans that are included in it, as has been the case with *Caló*.

On the other hand, *romanó* and *romaní* are described as “términos exactos para la lengua original de los gitanos españoles” (Buzek, 2010: 17). When this author says ‘exact terms’ he

means that they designate the same thing, in this case as mentioned, the language of the Spanish Gypsies. Buzek (2010: 17), furthermore, points out that very little of their grammatical system and archaic lexicon is currently preserved, and that the variants *romanó* and *romaní* are synonymous, pointing to the distinction of grammatical gender, as *-ó* is the ending of the nominative masculine singular and *-í* the ending of the nominative feminine singular.

However, “una posible definición de Caló consensualmente aceptada sería que se trata de unos residuos limitados del léxico original gitano, fuertemente contaminados con préstamos del español que se apoyan íntegramente en las estructuras gramaticales españolas” (Buzek, 2010: 18). The present research will focus on what remains of this limited lexicon in today's society.

Continuing with this author, the definition he offers of *germanía* is that of “un nombre genérico que se daba en el Siglo de Oro a los gremios del crimen organizado, igual que su jerga” (Buzek, 2010: 18). Buzek (2010: 18) explains that it was not a language but rather a sociolect based on Spanish with a cryptic function, since it was based on “*germano*”, that is, the member of one of these groups or syndicates who made use of this crypto-language in order, firstly, to show that he belonged to the group, and secondly, so that in some cases it could not be understood by someone who did not belong to the group.

As far as *flamenco* language is concerned, Roperó Núñez (1977) states that *Andalusian* and *Caló* are essential constituent elements of it, as well as the language of *germanía*, although as a less important element (p. 38). Moreover, “el flamenco ha sido, junto con el argot de los delincuentes, el principal medio de propagación de gitanismos” (Roperó Núñez, 1977: 17).

As for the definition of *gitanismos*, it would be “una palabra que ha penetrado de un dialecto romaní (gitano) en una de las variantes no estándar de la lengua mayoritaria y es usada (al menos ocasionalmente) por los miembros de la sociedad mayoritaria, o sea por los no-gitanos” (Krinková, 2014: 1). Furthermore, she adds that “los gitanismos del español no provienen de un dialecto del romaní flexivo (como, por ejemplo, los gitanismos presentes en la lengua húngara, rumana, etc.), sino del pararromaní caló (lengua mixta compuesta de un elemento romaní y uno procedente del español)” (Krinková, 2014: 2).

Finally, the studies considered in this research also highlight the situation of this dialect and the confusions that arise from it. Following Buzek (2010: 259), he determines that the use of *gitanismos* in Spain is as follows:

En cuanto a la ubicación en la escala del nivel de uso, los gitanismos en el español europeo actual pertenecen en su mayoría al registro coloquial. Muchos de ellos ya han caído en desuso o han llegado a cobrar valores pragmáticos de uso humorístico o despectivo.

Once the differences in meaning are known in the context of this work and the definitions provided for the terms *romanó*, *romaní*, *caló*, *germania*, *flamenco* and *gitanismo*, it should be noted that the investigation will focus on *Caló*, from which a series of words and their meaning will be known and studied based on target respondents who are the non-Gypsy population.

3.1.2 The difference between Angloromani and Romnimos

As in Spain, in England there are also two terms that refer to the English romani. These are *Angloromani* and *Romnimos*, and they differ because according to Hancock (1984: 367):

In Britain, two distinct varieties of Romani are spoken, the inflected (Romnimos) and the creolized (Angloromani), the latter perhaps 80000 people, not all of whom are ethnically Gypsy, and the former by between 200 and 500 people, perhaps more, primarily in north central Wales. These estimates do not include the small number of different Continental dialects.

Likewise, it would also be wrong to speak of the term *Gypsy* in England, since “The name ‘Gypsy’ is a misnomer, and not much liked by Gypsies themselves, whose self-designation is *Kalo* (Romnimos) or Romnical (Angloromani) or often Traveller in English” (Hancock, 1984: 367). Furthermore, Hancock (1984) explains that the Romani language is currently fragmented into at least sixty different dialects and their classification is still being studied by researchers, which differs depending on who is studying them, although there is a more superficial classification: Northern European dialects and Southern European dialects.

Hancock (1984: 368) argues that English Romani belongs to the Northern branch of dialects and that, historically, it is closely related to the Sinti dialects spoken in Germany. As for the change these dialects have undergone, he explains “In the 500 years of separation from the continental dialects, Romnimos has not appreciably altered, and there is still 75 per cent of

greater mutual intelligibility with speakers of some other European (and American) varieties of the language” (Hancock, 1984: 368). However, the case is very different for Angloromani, since “Angloromani, which has grown out of, but away from, Romnimos, cannot be understood by speakers of any other dialect” (Hancock, 1984: 368).

Hancock (1984: 368) also argues that the small number of words of French origin within the English Romani suggest that their entry into England was via Belgium or northern France, and that proves evidence of traffic between the British Isles and Scandinavia, as these have undergone similar linguistic development among the Romany population there.

Having explained the differences between the two, it should be noted that the study will be carried out on those dialects that are unintelligible to any foreigner, since both *Angloromani* and *Caló* are pararomanian dialects, i.e. dialects that use the grammatical rules of the majority languages in which they are spoken, and for this reason, the focus of interest will be on the lexicon of this dialect within Spanish and English.

3.2 THEORETICAL BASES

3.2.1 Sociolinguistics

Starting to know what Sociolinguistics is, first we will take a brief definition of this discipline provided by Labov (as cited in López Morales, 2004: 21) who affirms “la Sociolingüística estudia las lenguas, tanto diacrónica como sincrónicamente, pero en su contexto social”. So, it is better understood that Sociolinguistics is the discipline in charge of responding to a different orientation, with different principles and purposes regarding concerns about the relations between language and society (Gimeno Menéndez and Montoya Abad, 1989: 16).

This made its appearance within Applied Linguistics in the 1960s in the United States and Canada (López Morales, 2004: 7), although the term “Sociolinguistics” appeared for the first time in 1949, according to Fishman (1995: 12) to designate new linguistic activities taking place in the United States, and in 1952, according to López Morales (*Ibid*) in the title of an article by Huskell Currie (1952) published in the Southern Speech Journal, where he already defined this discipline as the study of the relationship between language and society (Londoño et al., 2012: 2).

“La Sociolingüística es indudablemente de carácter interdisciplinar” states Fishman (1995: 13) and to consolidate itself as a science of this nature it has adopted contributions from other sciences such as psychology, discourse analysis, psychology and pragmatics, sciences also closely related to the study of individual and social phenomena in relation to languages. (Londoño et al., 2012: 5)

Returning to this discipline at the present time, it can be argued that it is mainly responsible for studying phenomena that occur in a specific speech community, which is what has been worked on in this research. It can be understood, according to the definition provided by Moreno Fernández (2005: 19) that: “una comunidad de habla está formada por un conjunto de hablantes, pero que, además, comparten un conjunto de normas y valores de naturaleza sociolingüística”. Likewise, it should not be confused with the concept of language community, a distinction also made by the same author (*Ibid*) nor should it be confused with the concept of linguistic community (Fishman, 1995: 54), both of which are broader and more general concepts than that of speech community. One of the objectives of this study is to provide an idea of whether the non-Gypsy population in Spain and England is receiving *Caló* or *Angloromani* words and knows their meaning. To do this, it must be taken a sample of this speech community and submit it to study based on previously chosen lexical units. This is done with the aim to find out how they react to them, if they know them, if they know how to provide synonyms and if they remember the means by which they learned about it.

In short, this discipline is fundamentally concerned with the study of various phenomena, one of them is linguistic variation (Gimeno Menéndez and Montoya Abad, 1989: 31). This phenomenon of linguistic variation can be defined as: “cada una de las manifestaciones o expresiones de una variable.” (Moreno Fernández, 2005: 18) This defined concept must be differentiated from that of a linguistic variable, which, as Cedergren (as cited in López Morales: 2004: 56) defines it, a set of realizations or expressions of the same linguistic element, that both realizations of the same element result as equivalent, since each element or linguistic unit that can manifest itself in different ways.

Authors such as H. Cedergren and López Morales point out that the appearance of different linguistic variables is due to exclusively linguistic and social factors. (Moreno Fernández, 2005: 18) Thus finding different types of variation (phonetic, grammatical, lexical, etc.) but highlighting the influence of extralinguistic factors, or known as social (*Ibid*: 31), in general,

the extralinguistic factors that have the most influence on the phenomenon of variation are sex, age, educational level, sociocultural level and ethnicity. (*Ibid*: 34) These are precisely those that will be used to carry out this study.

3.2.2 The Romani dialect

Matras (2002: 1) explains that the Rom are known in Western culture as nomads and travelers, on the other hand, in Southeast Europe it is a very different vision of them, being considered as the lowest and stigmatized social stratum. In addition, this same author (*Ibid*) adds that stereotypes surround the image of the Romani, often considered as jargon or an argot, a group of varieties called “gypsy languages”. In addition, it explains that the purposes of Romani linguistics are similar to the research fields of Descriptive Linguistics, that is, it pursues issues related to diachrony, structural change, its dialectal diversification, maintenance and loss of the language. In this case, what this study is really interested in is knowing if there is lexical survival of the dialects to be treated.

The problem with this dialect is that the majority of those who study it do not belong to the Gypsy community. Matras (2002: 4) comments that “recent years have also seen the participation of an increasing number of native speakers of Romani in activities devoted to the study and promotion of their language”, however, despite helping on these studies and expanding the knowledge of Romani, none of them opted to study it belonging to this group. For this reason, the author (*Ibid*) continues by referring to researchers that “they face the special ethical responsibilities of scholars investigating a society which has not been in a position to produce a scientific tradition of its own”. All this makes its study and understanding more difficult to carry out. It also affects the little lexical knowledge that the population has of it.

Continuing with this author (Matras 2002: 13) he refers to the fact that apart from the Romani dialects, there is the inclusion of extensive Romani vocabularies as well as a special lexicon in varieties of the majority language used by communities in other parts of Europe. Also Matras (*Ibid*) mentions that these are the *Angloromani*, *Basque Romani*, *Scandoromani* and *Caló*, among others. This makes the study interesting because, due to its history, Romani has been considered a “secret language” and has always remained on the margins of society.

3.2.3 The *Caló* and the *Angloromani* loanwords

This research is based on the fact that *Caló* does not have many means by which to evolve because it has never been given prestige. This is easily proven as it has always been associated with the lower classes of society. Since the origins of *Caló*, there has never been an incentive for young people to learn it or to create schools or courses for the development of this dialect. Ivo Buzek (2011: 20) already explained that “el romaní quedó arrinconado y aislado en el hogar familiar y no tuvo muchas posibilidades de desarrollo. Además, el prestigio socioeconómico y sociocultural estaba claramente en el lado del español”. In some ways, however, some words have remained with us. Although that is only what prevails, single lexical units within Spanish language. Buzek (2011: 20) incises on this notion because lexical borrowings were added to grammatical interferences, so that the Spanish language always carries more weight.

Mercedes Román (as cited in Buzek, 2011: 23) clarified that Spanish Gypsies speak *Caló*, but this is currently endangered, so it is only used to identify ourselves as Gypsies among other Gypsies. The aim of this study is to find out if the non-Gypsy population also knows one of the most hidden parts of their lexicon, since it is usually used at home to refer to the family. Despite knowing that it is at risk of extinction, the objective is to identify if this lexicon has also penetrated society in some way.

What is also intended to be analyzed are the responses of different people with different socio-cultural backgrounds, one of them being the level of education. It will be assessed whether those who respond correctly to the proposed lexical units have a low, intermediate or high level of education, since it has always been thought that the words of this dialect were used by the lower classes or uneducated people. As Buzek (2011: 25) says:

Desde el punto de vista diacrónico, los gitanismos hispánicos son préstamos pero en comparación con los de otras lenguas que el español había adoptado a lo largo del tiempo, los del caló llevaban desde principio una fuerte marcación diafásica, ya que los gitanismos tradicionalmente han sido considerados como pertenecientes al habla de la población del nivel sociocultural y socioeconómico muy bajo que, por tanto, carecía de cualquier posible prestigio —por mínimo que sea—.

In this way, *Caló* was always associated with uneducated people or those with low purchasing power. This fact is related to the fact that the *Caló* lexicon is always treated as derogatory, with negative connotations that originally did not have or simply to make fun of the ethnic group itself. According to Buzek (2011: 26) this is because “las documentaciones lexicográficas igual que las textuales nos dan a entender que los gitanismos en el español europeo pertenecen en su mayoría al registro coloquial”.

As for England, Yaron Matras (2010: 24) stated that the Roma population has been settling for generations in many different places and that they are engaged in a greater diversity of occupations than in the past. For this reason, lexical categories are filled with borrowings from contact with neighboring languages. Furthermore, he adds that these loanwords are potentially understandable by people who do not belong to the Roma community. Because of their daily lives are no longer what they used to be, many of them can influence their environment with some *Angloromani* words. It is expected that it will not be very noticeable among the English population but some of these borrowings resulting from language contact will be easily recognisable to non-Gypsies. For this reason, it is intended to assess the degree to which this dialect is present in England as well.

All these facts have motivated the desire to carry out this study and to find out whether it is true among people with no studies or a minimal education, as well as to observe whether or not there are negative connotations in the possible definitions they may give.

3.2.4 The study of *Caló* and *Angloromani* words from respondents

One of the aims of this research is to find out whether any of the words chosen for study have undergone any change in its meaning. On the basis of the answers to the questionnaires, it will be assessed whether there are any words which coincide several times with another meaning, and these will be analyzed in order to determine what changes have taken place.

However, the fact that the answers to the questionnaires do not coincide exactly with the definitions provided by the dictionaries or documentary sources does not mean that the term has undergone a change over time, but that it also may often be a mistake. Many *Caló* words, being closely related by their history to the marginal population, are treated as if they were swear words. This idea is supported by Ropero Nuñez (1991: 16):

De ordinario, el hispano-hablante que emplea o escucha alguno de estos términos desconoce su origen y los identifica con otros términos propios del lenguaje de germanía o del argot de la delincuencia; otras veces, duda si se trata de un término de origen gitano, de una palabra “malsonante” o de una palabra característica del lenguaje popular andaluz.

This does not happen in Angloromani because its presence is less than in Spain. Even so, there may be words that, because they are related to an ethnic group as marginalized as the Gypsies themselves, are treated with negative connotations.

In fact, *Caló* is almost always studied in a way that aims to determine the socio-cultural level of its speakers and the registers in which they are used, but as it is a dialect in disuse, Romani tends to be studied from a diachronic perspective (Buzek, 2010: 259). As this is a final degree project, it would not be possible to cover this in the research. However, a final assessment will be made of the selected words in both *Caló* and *Angloromani* to see if any of them are given a different meaning.

The same happens in relation to the Angloromani. In fact, no sociolinguistic study regarding this dialect has been found and the materials that are available are almost always revisions of Romani over time. On the other hand, there are some very limited materials, referring to their origin, their semantics or their phonology. Materials that do not help us to clarify the question that is dealt with in this study. Therefore, less theory is available than in other investigations. This is another of the factors that call attention when it comes to finding out what presence of these dialects exists in the countries in question. The fewer works on it, the more the motivation of the researcher to carry out the analysis and verify the data obtained from this project grows.

4. METHODOLOGY

To begin by explaining the methodology that will be carried out, it should be noted that in order to verify the starting hypothesis of this research work, a study has been carried out with a sociolinguistic methodology. In order to conduct this study with the greatest possible scientific rigor, dictionaries, glossaries and books have been previously consulted in which a series of words from the family sphere appear. Once the most interesting options to analyze later have been selected, the reference manual entitled *Metodología Sociolingüística* (1990), by Moreno Fernández, has been consulted.

From this manual by Moreno Fernández (1990: 15), the so-called “rules of observation of linguistic facts” have been followed exactly, which, as Durkheim rightly calls them, are as follows:

Regla 1: El investigador debe dejar a un lado cualquier noción previa.

Regla 2: El objeto de la investigación deben constituirlo fenómenos definidos por unos caracteres exteriores, comunes y constantes.

Regla 3: Los hechos sociolingüísticos no deben ser confundidos con sus manifestaciones individuales.

Regla 4: Los hechos han de ser observados utilizando la técnica más adecuada a cada caso.

In this way, a constantly changing phenomenon such as language itself is investigated, which is influenced by elements outside the language itself. The aim of the research is to find out whether Spanish and English speakers know words of the dialect in question within the familiar sphere as set out in rule number two. Thus, studying the question of knowledge of the Romani lexicon in these countries by observing individuals within the social context, as specified in rule number three.

Among the different possible methods that exist to carry out a study of these characteristics, the survey technique has been selected. This has been chosen since it has a basic question-answer scheme, specifically, the questionnaire technique. As Moreno Fernández (1990: 10) explains, this technique differs from others mainly in that the questions are established in advance and must be presented identically to all the individuals who participate in it.

Furthermore, he points out that it is important that the questions are well written, both in terms of content and form, since they must not contain any ambiguities or provoke ambiguities in the respondent (*Ibid*: 100). Thus, of all the words that were initially selected, many of them have synonyms, but of the 20 words finally chosen, 10 in *Caló* and 10 in Angloromani, all of them have different orthographic forms or synonyms. Due to the problems discussed by Krinková in the section “The subject in the field of theoretical and applied Linguistics”, these words have different spelling forms or synonyms. In the following, the words selected for the study of *Caló* will be presented:

- Grandfather: *Paruñó, paparuñé, batipuré, tesquelo*

- Grandmother: *Paruñí, paparuñi, batipurí, tesquela, beripapí*
- Husband: *Rom, ro*
- Wife: *Rumí, romí*
- Mother: *Bata, chindai, dai*
- Father: *Bato, batico, batú, bada*
- Son: *Chavoró, chabal*
- Daughter: *Chavorí, chabala*
- Brother: *Plaño, plaloró*
- Sister: *Plañí, plalorí*

Likewise, the selected *Angloromani* words are the following:

- Grandfather: *Phurodad, pura dad, puro dai, pappus*
- Grandmother: *Phuridaj, puri mai, puro mai*
- Husband: *Rom, rowm, rommi*
- Wife: *Romni, bori, rummi*
- Mother: *Daj, mai, mammus*
- Father: *Dai, da, daddus*
- Son: *Chav, chavvo*
- Daughter: *Chai, chi*
- Brother: *Pal, phral, pral*
- Sister: *Pen, phen*

Once the words have been exposed, the first option of them has been selected, the reason for this selection is because some coincide more times in different dictionaries such as the case of *rom, rumí, bata* and *bato* in *Caló*, as well as the case of *phurodad, phuridaj, romni, rom, daj, dai, chav, pal* and *pen* in *Angloromani*. While others have also been selected due to a simpler spelling, and therefore easier to remember, such as *chav, pal* and *pen* too. In addition, words such as *chavoró, chavorí, daj* and *dai* were selected because in common speech options such as *chabal, chabala, dad* and *mum* or *mai* are used more often and they would not be as interesting for the research as the selected ones.

In this questionnaire, the two types of questions that exist for this specific method have been used: fixed alternatives questions (scales) and open-ended questions. (*Ibid*: 100) The questions of fixed alternatives or scales consist of presenting gradual answers to the individual who performs the questionnaire, that is, fixed options among which they must choose. (*Ibid*: 100) And open-ended questions allow the informant to provide data that is not possible with fixed alternative questions (*Ibid*: 102)

Moreover, this type of survey helps to improve its dissemination since it can be sent online to a larger number of informants without the need to be interviewed in person. (*Ibid*: 94) Furthermore, both surveys, on *Caló* for Spanish non-Roma informants and on Angloromani for English non-Roma informants, were elaborated in online format thanks to the *Google Drive* platform. This platform allows questionnaires to be created and distributed through social networks thanks to the internet. In this particular research, the questionnaire was delivered by providing a link via *Whatsapp*, via social networks and via e-mail, so that it could be easily accessed.

With regard to the size of the sample taken for this study, it was easier to find Spanish informants than British ones, which is why the sample taken for the *Caló* is larger than that of the Angloromani. In both cases, the aim was to obtain as many respondents as possible. In order to get more British informants, Erasmus students, native professors, student delegation and the internationalization office of the University were contacted to pass on the survey as well as to spread the survey through English acquaintances via *Whatsapp* and *e-mail* to more people.

Finally, in the sample taken for the survey on the lexical presence of *Caló* in Spain, a total number of 30 informants took part, and among them, people from 18 to 50 years of age completed the questionnaire. They were separated into three age groups: 10 people from 18 - 30 years old (young people), 10 people from 31 - 50 years old (adults) and 10 people over 50 years old (older adults). Thus, all informants had to be of legal age, residents and natives of Spain. On the other hand, as for the sample taken for the UK *Angloromani* survey, the number of participants was smaller, about 13 people in total. As with the *Caló*, it was divided into the same age groups and they had to be of legal age and native English speakers. It has been working with this number of informants because it could not be possible to find a larger sample of the population that would like to participate, there has been less collaboration from

native English speakers and, being a final degree project, it is not possible to deal with this topic on a larger scale. At the same time, the data obtained from this group of informants respond to this project and not to general conclusions.

Once the data from both questionnaires have been obtained, the data are identified, grouped, sorted and compared, performing a quantitative analysis, in which we identify each word provided and how many of them have been answered. (*Ibid*: 109)

4.1 COLLECTION OF MATERIALS

For the collection of materials with which the present study has been carried out, different steps have been followed:

To begin with, the number of lexical items was selected, in this case words from the *Caló* and *Angloromani* dialect within the familiar sphere, which are going to be helpful for this final work. In order not to make the questionnaire tedious to answer and not to make it so long that it could confuse or tire the informants, it was decided to use a total of ten words in *Caló* and ten words in *Angloromani* as tools for the research.

Secondly, sources such as internet glossaries, dictionaries and books available in online format have been used for the most part, except for *Caló*, the dictionary by María José Llorens (1991). Also, the main sources used for *Caló* were the dictionary by Barsaly Dávila and Blas Pérez (1943), the dictionary of Gypsies and their customs by María José Llorens (1991) mentioned above, and the dictionary by José Manuel Mójica Legarre (n. d.). On the other hand, for the study of words in *Angloromani*, the book *Romani in Britain: The Afterlife of a Language* by Yaron Matras (2010) and the online dictionary The Romani Project - *Angloromani dictionary* (Manchester University Project) have been used for the preliminary selection of words within the sphere to be treated.

Once this information is within reach, the third step takes place, where the ten elements in *Caló* and the ten elements in *Angloromani* that will be used for the questionnaire with which have been worked are selected from all the lexical elements available in the sources consulted. These lexical items are, in *Caló*: 1) *paruñó* (grandfather), 2) *paruñí* (grandmother), 3) *rom* (husband), 4) *romí* (wife), 5) *bata* (mother), 6) *bato* (father), 7) *chavoró* (son), 8)

chavori (daughter), 9) *plañó* (brother) and 10) *plañí* (sister). Being the equivalent in Angloromani: 1) *phurodad* (grandfather), 2) *phuridaj* (grandmother), 3) *rom* (husband), 4) *romni* (wife), 5) *daj* (mother), 6) *dai* (father), 7) *chav* (son), 8) *chai* (daughter), 9) *pal* (brother) and 10) *pen* (sister).

Once selected, all that remains is to group the lexical units and include them in the inquiry by asking the corresponding questions. The elaboration of both open and closed questions will be explained in the following section, where each of the proposals for the study of this topic will be explained.

4.2 QUESTIONNAIRE DEVELOPMENT AND OBJECTIVES

With the firm intention of preparing both questionnaires that provide the data that respond to the following starting hypothesis of this research work, a process has been followed that consists of the parts that will be exposed to.

The first section corresponds to the elaboration of the profile of the informants who participated in this questionnaire. First of all, it is specified that the informants to this survey are anonymous, that in order to participate they must answer the questions marked with an asterisk and the optional ones if applicable, and that the confidentiality of the data collected is guaranteed, as it will only be used for academic purposes. To this end, a completely anonymous profile is drawn up, preserving the identity of the participants, but answering four questions related to social variables, namely age, gender, level of education and whether they have any Gypsy acquaintances. It should be clarified that in this study, the aim is to deal with these social variables in relation to knowledge of the words, i.e., an analysis is made of these variables in relation to the phenomenon under study. These questions are fixed-choice questions, in which informants must choose between the options shown in them.

In relation to age, it is divided into key generations: those who were born at the height of the digital age, i.e. Millennials and Generation Z (from 18 to 30 years old), Generation X (from 31 to 50 years old) and Baby Boomers (from 50 years old). In this way, we would have a wider age range of participants for both surveys. In addition, they should specify whether it is a man, a woman or other (including other possible genders) who is conducting the surveys.

On the other hand, there is the level of education of the informants. The aim of knowing the level of education of the informants is to see whether, depending on their level of education, they are able to know more or less lexicon. The informants have to choose between four different options: no studies (no studies at all during their lives), basic studies (from primary to compulsory secondary education), higher studies (baccalaureate and intermediate studies) and university or similar studies (university degrees, higher degrees, Master's studies, etc.).

Lastly, respondents should answer whether they have any friends or acquaintances of Gypsy ethnicity. In this way, it will be known if a percentage of those who have answered if they know these words have some kind of influence to know it.

Once these four questions have been answered in relation to extra-linguistic factors that may influence the people who have taken the survey, they move on to the second part of the survey, which consists of questions related to the knowledge of *Caló* and *Angloromani* words. The ten words selected for each survey are presented with four types of questions. The first two questions in each section are fixed-choice or scaled, while the last two are open-ended.

In the first question, a word in *Caló* or *Angloromani* from the family domain is presented. The word order is the same as that given above when each word to be studied is mentioned. This question has two possible options for answering, yes or no. The aim of this first question is to see whether the informant is able to know the meaning of the word or not.

Continuing with the second question, this one refers to how they came to know the word (if known), i.e. the means by which they came to know it. It consists of several options including: through reading, through family members, through friends, through the media, through the internet or other (and please specify which other means). The aim is to find out from which means the meaning of this word has come to the respondents.

Thirdly, an open question is added in which they are asked to specify through which other means they have come to know the proposed word. The aim of this option is to broaden the ways in which both dialects have been known.

And fourthly and lastly, with regard to knowledge of the words, the informant is asked if he/she can explain what the word means or what synonyms he/she would use for that word if

he/she knows it; if they do not know it, no answer is given. This question is intended to find out whether they really know the meaning of the words or what they refer to. In addition, it will also find out if there are any words that are treated with a meaning other than the one it has tried to study.

Definitely, after answering all the questions related to these words, the informant is asked a final set of questions. All of them are open-ended, and seek to find out whether the informant knows other lexical units that are related to the dialect, to the field under study or whether he/she knows other words from these dialects in his/her daily life. These questions are the following for both questionnaires: 1) Do you know any words belonging to the *Caló*/Angloromani or Romani dialect? (if so, please indicate which); 2) Do you know any *Caló*/Angloromani words that are used specifically in the family sphere? (if so, please indicate which); and 3) Have you ever used any *Caló*/Angloromani words in your daily life (if so, please indicate which).

The aim is to gather information on the knowledge of lexical units of this dialect and to see if some words are more predominant than others in society. Both original questionnaires can be seen in the annexes of this work, in order to have a better understanding of the structure of the questionnaire.

5. ANALYSIS OF THE RESULTS

Once the data collection with the questionnaire is completed, the data obtained from the total of 30 and 13 informants of the *Caló* and *Angloromani* respectively are manually counted. These data are sorted and classified so that they can be compared and analysed quantitatively. The results will be shown in bar graphs in the following section of this work and, apart from commenting on the results obtained, they will be compared with the initial hypothesis, discussing whether they coincide or not.

First, the data collected for *Caló* and then for *Angloromani* will be presented separately. In addition, an analysis of the social variables, an analysis of the lexical unit knowledge questions and an analysis of the three final open-ended questions will be presented. The analysis of the lexical units will be done in pairs since it is about the word in *Caló* or *Angloromani* referring to the family in masculine and its equivalent in feminine

(grandfather/grandmother - *paruñó/paruñi*), and this series of words will be related to the relevant social variables.

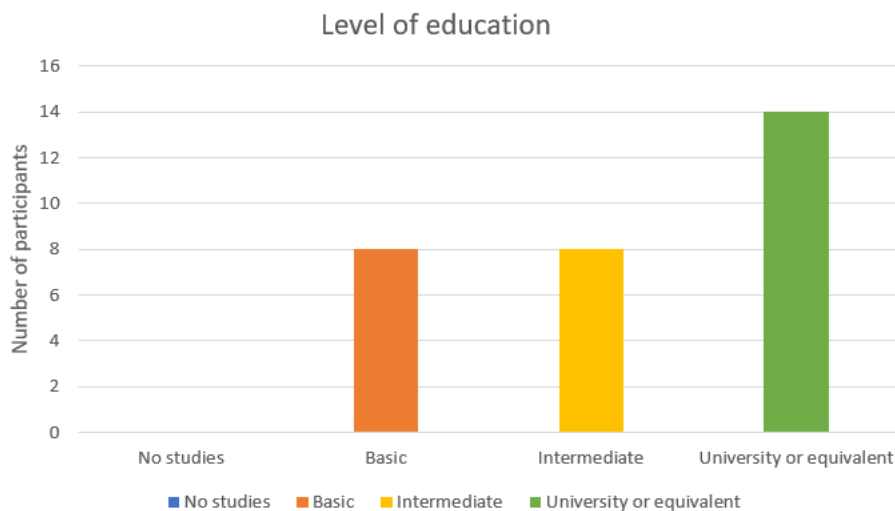
5.1 ANALYSIS OF SOCIAL VARIABLES IN THE *CALÓ* SURVEY

Before starting the analysis, first of all, it should be made clear that the age of the informants will not be represented in the graphical model. As previously mentioned, it is known that there are 30 informants in total, and that every third part belongs to the three different generational age groups, being a total of 10 persons between 18 and 30 years of age; 10 persons between 31 and 50 years of age; and 10 persons over 50 years of age. Where the percentages will be shown in relation to age is in the analysis of the lexical study.

The same case is faced with the question of gender since 15 men and 15 women have been selected, none of the respondents has identified themselves with a gender other than man or woman. For this reason, age and gender will be considered as fundamental variables for the study of lexical knowledge in relation to *Caló*. Once this has been clarified, the graphs will be presented in relation to the level of education of the informants.

Figure 1

Table on the social variable of the level of education of those surveyed in the Caló questionnaire.



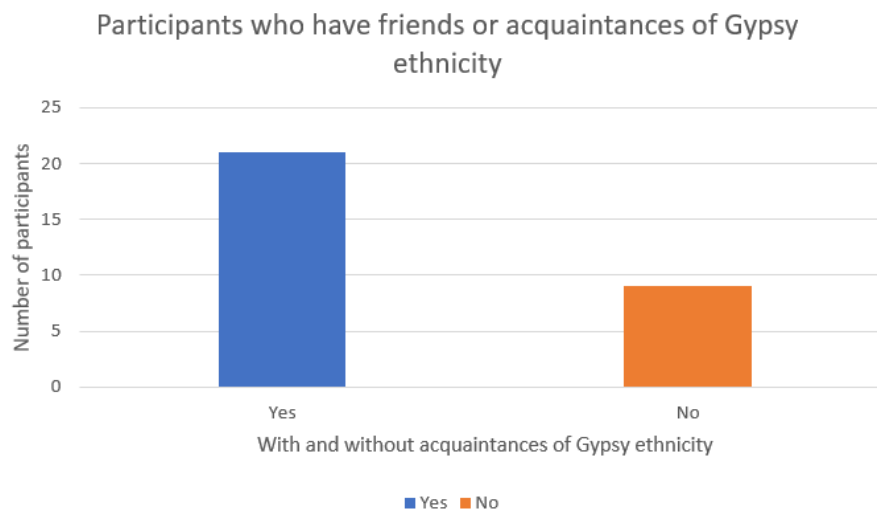
Note. The graph represents how many respondents participated according to the corresponding level of education: no studies, basic, intermediate or university studies.

It should be underlined that all informants who have participated in the questionnaire have studies, from basic to intermediate and university level or equivalent, so no results are

obtained for informants with no studies at all. Of the 30 informants, a frequency of 8 respondents have basic studies, 8 respondents have intermediate studies and a frequency of 14 respondents have university studies. Participants were also asked whether they had any Roma acquaintances or friends. Below is the graph with the values given by the respondents.

Figure 2

Table on the social variable whether respondents have Roma friends or acquaintances.



Note. The graph represents how many participants in the *Caló* survey have friends or acquaintances of Roma ethnicity and how many do not.

Among all the informants, 21 people have stated that they have friends or acquaintances of the Roma ethnic group, while the remaining 9 have indicated that they have no acquaintances of this ethnic group in question. Due to the fact that the results in relation to educational level and whether or not they have Roma acquaintances are not similar, these two variables will not be central to the study, but will be analyzed inserting the data collected together with the main variables. This separate analysis will be done to see the percentages in relation to the level of studies and whether knowing Gypsy people influences the knowledge of lexical units.

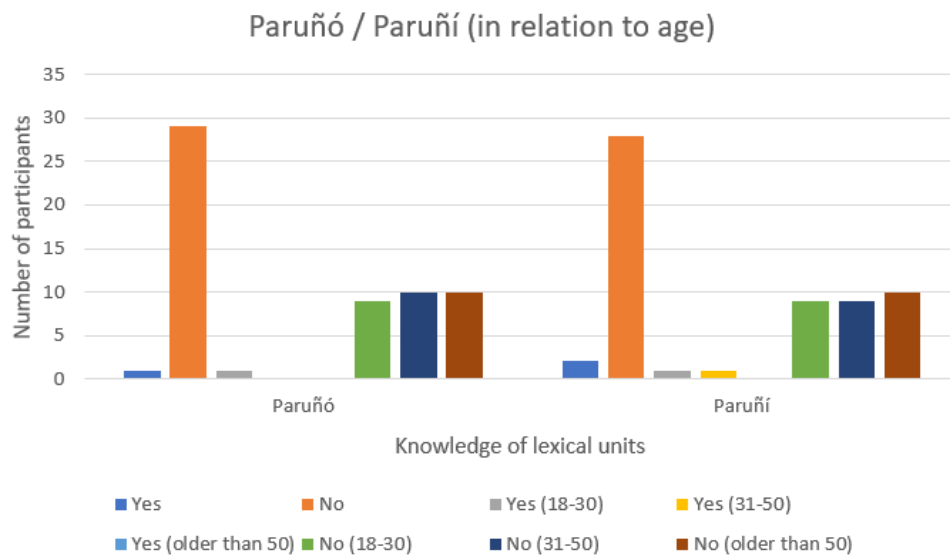
5.2 ANALYSIS OF LEXICAL UNITS OF *CALÓ*

In this subsection it will be dealt with each word in the order in which they appear in the survey. Moreover, they will be analyzed in pairs since each lexical unit corresponds to the masculine kinship and its feminine equivalent. Each graph will deal with the two relevant

social variables in relation to the words: the identification of the term by age and the knowledge of them by gender. In addition, the means by which they have known them and the meaning or synonym provided by those who know them will be discussed. Finally, interspersed with the study of the two fundamental variables, will also be discussed the knowledge of the lexical units in relation to the level of studies and the possible influence that knowing people of Roma ethnicity may have.

Figure 3

Table on respondents' knowledge of the lexical units *paruňó* and *paruňí* related to their ages.



Note. The graph shows who knows and who does not know the lexical units *paruňó* and *paruňí* in relation to the ages of the respondents.

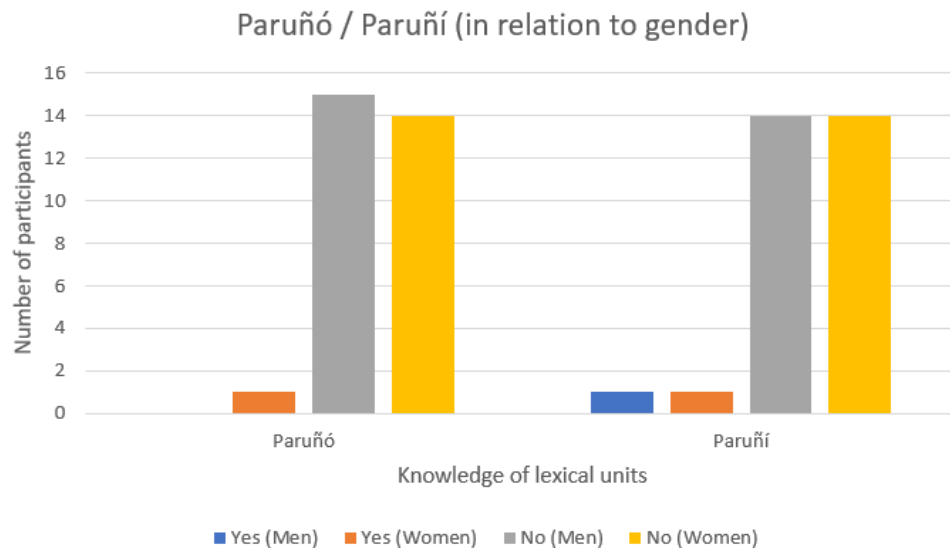
Starting with the lexical units *paruňó* and *paruňí*, i.e. grandfather and grandmother, it can be observed that the vast majority of informants do not recognise the words. A frequency of 1 informant between 18 and 30 years old claims to know *paruňó*, while a frequency of 2 informants, one between 18 and 30 years old and the other between 31 and 50 years old claim to know *paruňí*. It has been interesting to know how one of the respondents from the youngest age group knows these words despite not being known by the majority of the sample taken.

The informant who claims to know the word *paruňó* says that she knows it through relatives. While the two informants who say they know the word *paruňí*, one says that she knows it from relatives and the other from reading. However, the informant who knows the word *paruňí* through reading has not been able to specify a synonym or say what it means. On the

other hand, the same informant aged between 18 and 30 who says she knows *paruñó* and *paruñí* from relatives has specified that their synonyms are ‘grandfather’ and ‘grandmother’, respectively.

Figure 4

Table on respondents’ knowledge of the lexical units *paruñó* and *paruñí* in relation to gender.

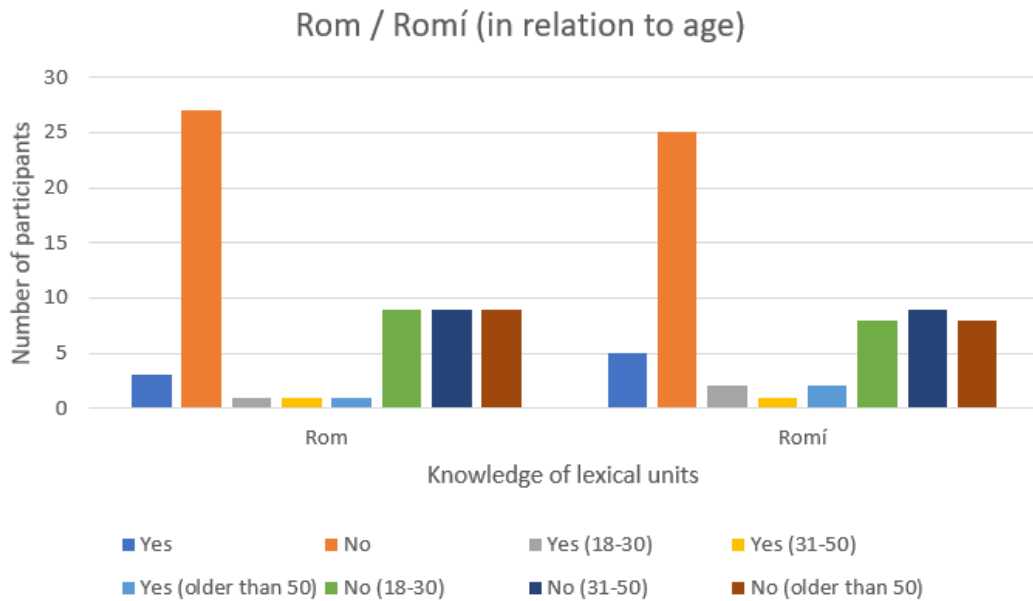


Note. The graph shows who knows and who does not know the lexical units *paruñó* and *paruñí* in relation to the gender of the respondents.

The informant who reported knowing both *paruñó* and *paruñí* and stating their meaning correctly was a woman, while the other informant who also reported knowing the word *paruñí* but did not specify its meaning, was a man. Despite being a woman with a basic education, she marked that she did have Gypsy acquaintances or friends, so this could be closely related to her answer as to how she came to know the word. The man, on the other hand, had a university education, and also stated that he knew people of Gypsy ethnicity. Consequently, there is a chance that having acquaintances of this ethnicity does have an influence on word knowledge. In spite of this, the total percentage of knowledge of the word *paruñó* was 3.33%, being entirely female, and 6.66% for the word *paruñí* (3.33% male and 3.33% female), a very low percentage in relation to the sample taken.

Figure 5

Table on respondents' knowledge of the lexical units *rom* and *romí* related to their ages.



Note. The graph shows who knows and who does not know the lexical units *rom* and *romí* in relation to the ages of the respondents.

Respecting the words *rom* and *romí*, that is, husband and wife, *rom* has a frequency of 3 informants, one from the first age group between 18 and 30 years old, other from second age group between 31 and 50 years old and other from the age group over 50 years old. However, the response was more positive for *romí*, with 5 informants: two of them between 18 and 30 years old, one between 31 and 50 years old and other two informants over 50 years old. In this pair of lexical units, the over-50 age group comes out on top in terms of knowledge of both words, with 3 different informants in this age group. However, the positive response is still very low for both.

The two informants who recognised the word *rom*, the respondent aged between 18 and 30 years old marked knowing it from relatives and said that its synonym is 'man'. On the other hand, the respondent between 31 and 50 years old detailed knowing the word through a training course, and added the word 'Gypsy man' as a synonym. However, the 50+ informant said that the means by which he knew the word was through family members, and added the synonym 'Romani Gypsies'. All of them getting very accurate to the meaning since the *rom* entry also appears for 'man', and although it is not specified that it is a 'Gypsy man' in any

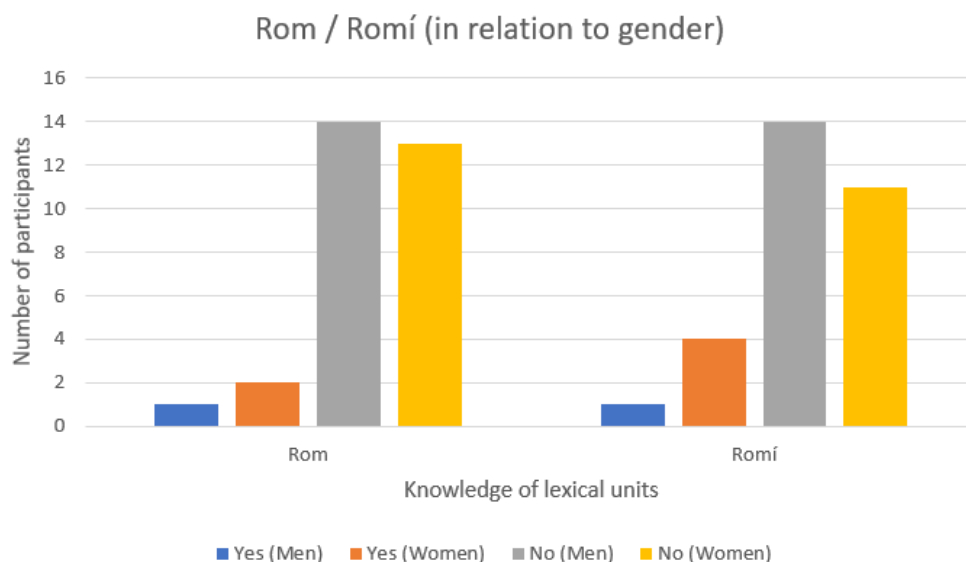
dictionary, it is related to romani (romani man/ gypsy man > rom) and to refer to a non-Gypsy man the word *gachó* is used mostly.

As far as *romí* is concerned, of the two informants aged 18-30, one of them was not able to specify its meaning or give a synonym for it, although she said he knew it from the Internet. The other one said she knew it from reading and added ‘woman’ as a synonym for this word. As for the informant aged 31-50 who stated that he knew it from a training course, she added ‘Gypsy’ as a synonym. Finally, regarding the two informants over 50, one of them rewrote ‘Romani Gypsies’ as a synonym and the last one knew it from the media but did not know any synonyms.

Despite the informants limited knowledge of these lexical units, those who specified their meaning did so knowing for sure what they meant. Thus, although there is little positive response, it can be affirmed that the majority of those who know it can specify its meaning.

Figure 6

Table on respondents’ knowledge of the lexical units *rom* and *romí* in relation to gender.



Note. The graph shows who knows and who does not know the lexical units *rom* and *romí* in relation to the gender of the respondents.

As far as the gender of respondents on these words is concerned, it is women who have the greatest command of these words. With 2 women compared to 1 man who know the word *rom* (10% in total, being 6.66% women and 3.33% men) and 4 women compared to 1 man

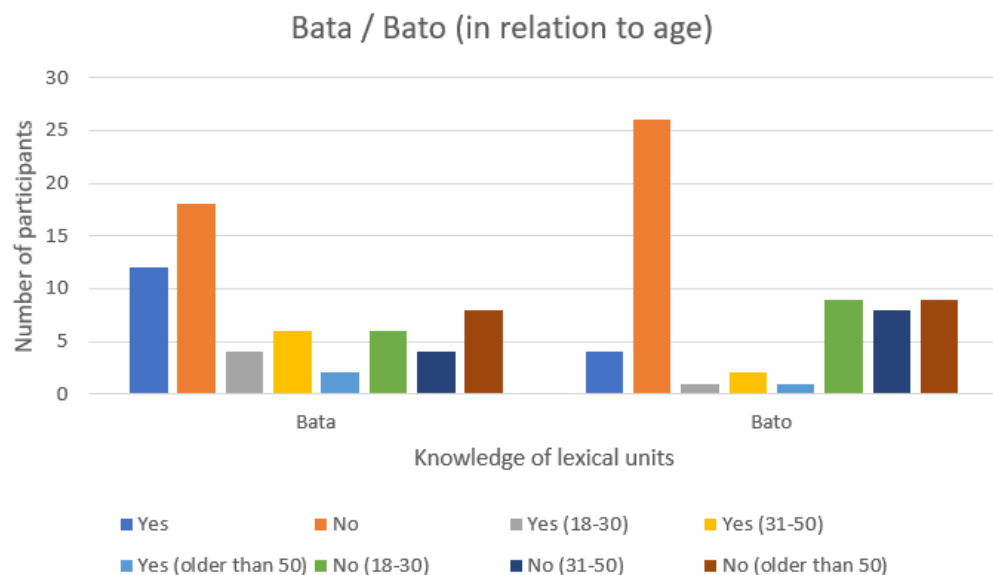
who know *romí* (16.6% in total, being 13.33% women and 3.33% men), it can be concluded that it is women who know the most about these proposed lexical units.

As for their level of education, one of the women who say they know the word *rom* has a basic education and the other a university education. The man also has a university education. On the other hand, regarding *romí*, one woman has a basic education, two of them have intermediate studies and one has a university education, while the man has a basic level of education. Therefore, the level of education is not so important in this case for the knowledge of the words.

Finally, one of the women who knows the word *rom* has Gypsy acquaintances, while the other woman and the man declare that they have no Gypsy friends or acquaintances. As for *romí*, all of them reported having Gypsy acquaintances. So, it can be said that in this case it is also related to the knowledge of the lexicon with a strong influence of the ethnicity.

Figure 7

Table on respondents' knowledge of the lexical units *bata* and *bato* related to their ages.



Note. The graph shows who knows and who does not know the lexical units *bata* and *bato* in relation to the ages of the respondents.

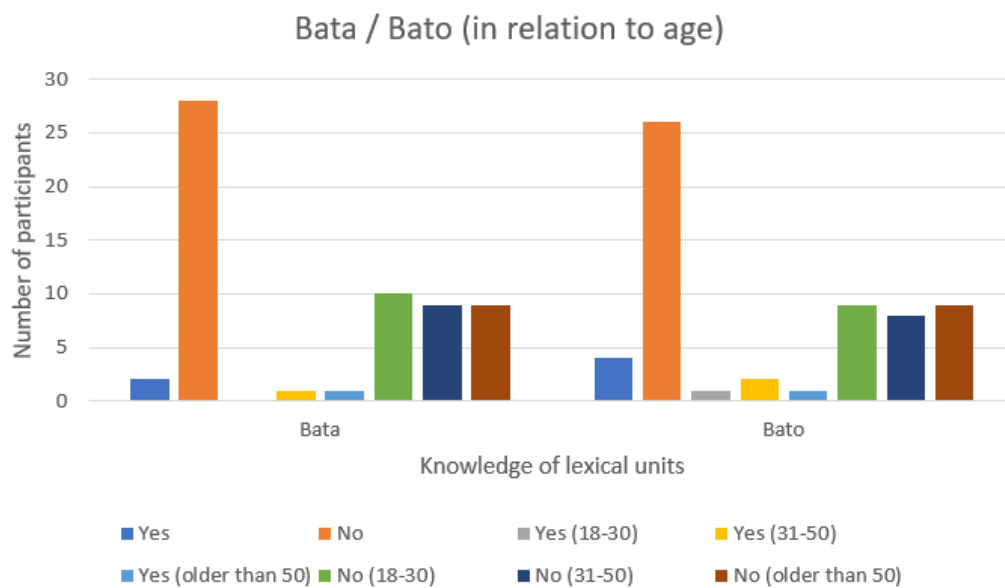
As for the words *bata* and *bato*, the graph corresponds to what the informants have marked in the survey. However, there is a problem with the word *bata*, and that is that most of the informants who marked knowing it have treated it as if it were the word *bata* in Spanish,

providing synonyms such as ‘bathrobe’, ‘garment for being at home’, ‘comfortable garment’ or ‘garment to cover nudity’.

However, if we eliminate all those who have confused it with *bata* in its common Spanish meaning and those who have not been able to answer any synonym or explain its meaning, we would only have two informants who have answered correctly. Therefore, the graph that would be left would be the following.

Figure 8

Table on respondents’ knowledge of the lexical units *bata* and *bato* related to their ages.



Note. The graph shows who knows correctly and who does not know the lexical units *bata* and *bato* in relation to the ages of the respondents.

In this way, it can be observed that, as with the other words, the predominant response is negative. Only 2 informants answered correctly to the word *bata* and only 4 respondents said they knew the word *bato*. The informants who said they knew *bata*, one of them stated knowing it through family members, while the other was through a training course. In the case of *bato*, these same two informants also said they knew the male equivalent through family members and the training course, while the other two said they knew it through the media and through family members as well.

Among those people who recognized the word *bata*, one belongs to the age group between 31-50 years and the other to the older age group over 50. Regarding the word *bato*, one is

from the age group of 18- 30 years old, other two in the 31-50 age group and another over 50. The two people who said they knew the word *bata*, one of them put ‘mother’ as a synonym and the other ‘old non-Gypsy woman’. Otherwise, the synonyms given for the word *bato* were ‘old non-Gypsy man’, ‘father’ twice and one respondent from the 31-50 age group who marked knowing it from family members wrote ‘a person with few manners’, thus interpreting it as the common meaning in the Spanish language.

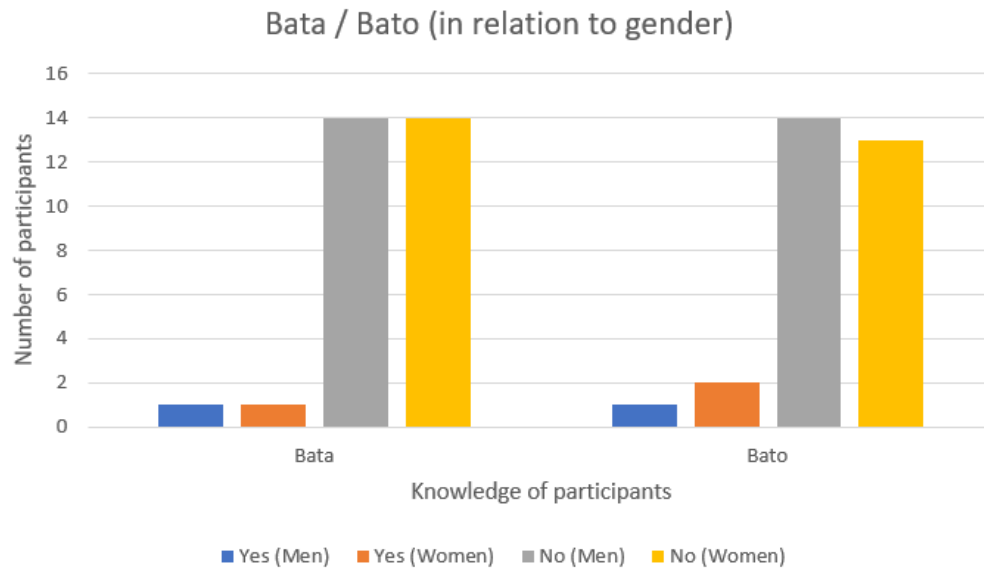
For this reason, one of the informants who said he knew the word *bato* can also be eliminated. In this way, the two groups of adults would remain for *bata* and three informants from each age group for *bato*.

In addition to the people who know the words from relatives, it would be interesting to know through which media an informant has recognized the word *bato*, since the programs that talk about gypsies tend to be largely negative or ridiculing them. For this reason, it opens up a whole range of possible new studies on what connotation certain words from *Caló* have for respondents.

Therefore, it could be considered that those who really know the meaning of *bata* would be only one person. For *bato* would be two accurate people, and one that is very close to its real meaning. In none of the sources consulted does the word *bato* or *bata* appear to refer to non-Roma people, but it is generic for everyone. On the other hand, it can be considered that the person who has known it through relatives may have used it to refer to non-Gypsy mothers. Hence, it is interesting to know where the knowledge of these units comes from in order to know if it influences the idea or the meaning they have of them.

Figure 9

Table on respondents' knowledge of the lexical units *bata* and *bato* in relation to gender.



Note. The graph shows who knows and who does not know the lexical units *bata* and *bato* in relation to the gender of the respondents.

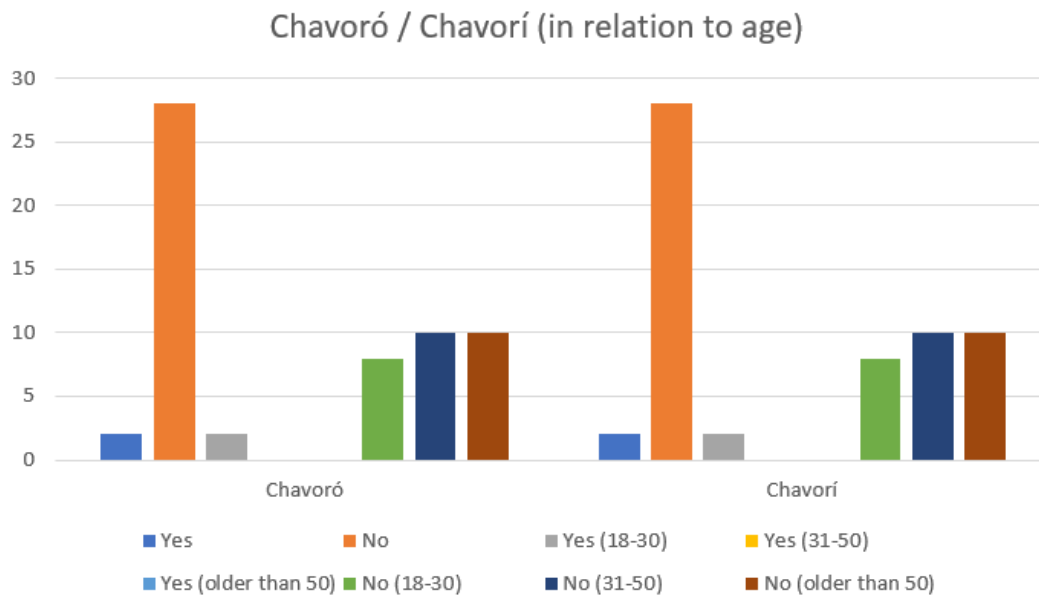
This graph shows the results of informants who have known the lexical units, eliminating those who have identified *bata* and *bato* with other uses of Spanish. Regarding gender, although very even, it can be concluded again by saying that women have more knowledge of these words than men.

The word *bata* is known by a woman and a man (6.66% in total, being 3.33% women and 3.33% men), while the word *bato* is known by 2 women and 1 man (10% in total, being 6.66% women and 3.33% men). Among them, the woman who knows the word *bata* has a university education and the man has a basic education. As far as *bato* is concerned, the two women have university studies while the man has basic studies. Despite participating more respondents with university studies, it is true that those with basic studies are also able to identify some words and provide synonyms correctly.

All the informants who have known both lexical units have indicated that they have friends or relatives of Gypsy ethnicity. Consequently, as in the previous case with *rom* and *romí*, it can be said that it does have an influence when it comes to knowing the words.

Figure 10

Table on respondents' knowledge of the lexical units *chavoró* and *chavorí* related to their ages.



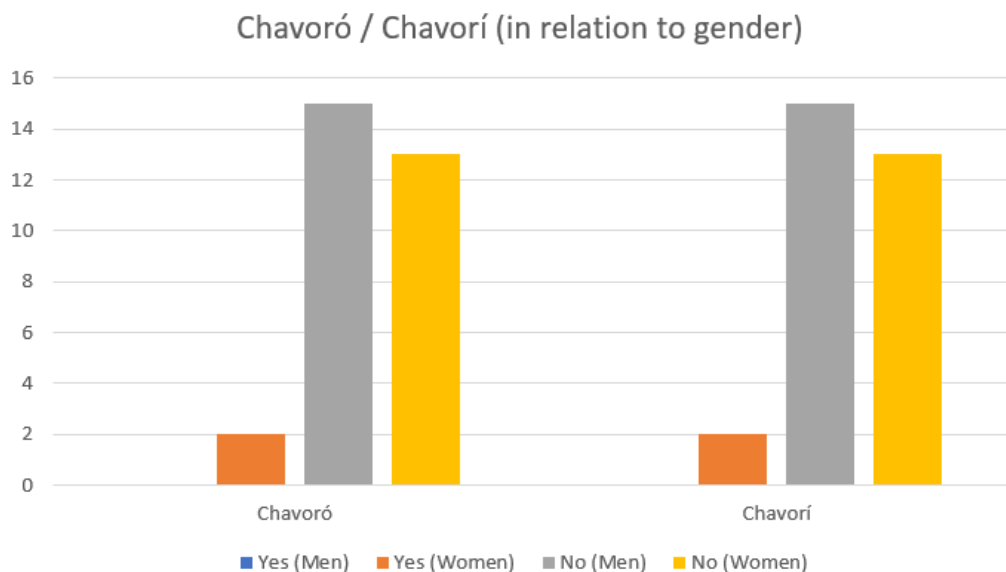
Note. The graph shows who knows and who does not know the lexical units *chavoró* and *chavorí* in relation to the ages of the respondents.

As can be seen in the graph, both the word *chavoró* and *chavorí*, that is, boy and girl, or son and daughter, are known by two informants. Both words are known by two informants between 18-30 years old. Being only two people from the youth group and none of the other age groups, it cannot be said that one stands out much more than the other. However, this age group does stand out from the others in this case. Also, being quite old words it is striking that there is still a very low percentage of young people who do know it.

Only one informant provided the synonyms 'son' and 'daughter' for *chavoró* and *chavorí*, respectively, and marked knowing it from the media. The other informant could neither give any synonyms nor explain their meaning, but marked knowing it from the internet. Due to the fact that this informant did not provide any synonyms, it would not be accurate to say that he knows both words. As in the case of *bata* and *bato*, it is surprising that people who know some words claim to know them from the media. Despite not having specified any of them which media in the open 'other' section, it can be seen how the media also affect the understanding of some *Caló* words.

Figure 11

Table on respondents' knowledge of the lexical units *chavoró* and *chavorí* in relation to gender.



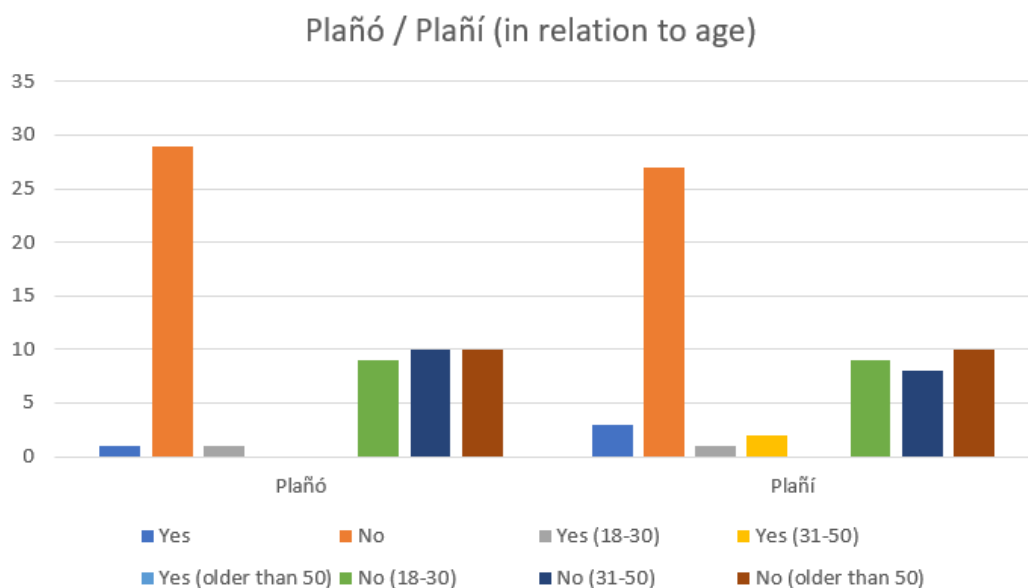
Note. The graph shows who knows and who does not know the lexical units *chavoró* and *chavorí* in relation to the gender of the respondents.

In terms of gender, women again outnumber men. It is not a very large difference, but it is once again women who know more words. The total number of respondents who have answered that they do know these words is 6.66% of the total, being entirely women. Therefore, it is a small but revealing sample in terms of gender.

Regarding the level of studies, one informant has basic studies and another intermediate. In this case, having a high level of education is not very decisive when it comes to knowing the terms. Nevertheless, it is quite important to know that both reported having friends or acquaintances of Gypsy ethnicity, which, compared to another pair of lexical units, again coincides with the people who have more *Caló* knowledge.

Figure 12

Table on respondents' knowledge of the lexical units *plañó* and *plañí* related to their ages.



Note. The graph shows who knows and who does not know the lexical units *plañó* and *plañí* in relation to the ages of the respondents.

Regarding the word *plañó* and *plañí*, i.e. brother and sister, this graph shows those who said they knew it and those who said they did not for the different age groups. However, after analyzing the surveys individually and looking at the responses to each lexical unit, it can be concluded that no informant knows both words.

Regarding the word *plañó*, one informant wrote ‘I deduce it from the word *pladiñera*’. This word refers to women who in the past were paid to go and mourn at funerals. Having clarified this, it can be understood why in the word *plañí*, they answered ‘I understand that it is a different verb tense from the previous word (*plañó*)’, ‘cried’ and ‘cry’. All of them having known it from reading. Therefore, none of the informants knew this word from *Caló*.

5.2.1 FINAL COMPUTATION

By pooling all the data collected from the different lexical units and the respondents, a final assessment of the data has been made. Among all the respondents, half of them, 15 in total, have marked knowing a word in *Caló* correctly. As for the main variable of age, it was surprising to see how the youngest age group, from 18 to 30 years old, was the one that most often responded knowing some of the lexical units. Within this age group, 7 respondents

declared to know a proposed word, and among all of them, there were 10 positive responses to these words: *paruñó* (1); *paruñí* (1); *rom* (1); *romí* (2); *bato* (1); *chavoró* (2); *chavorí* (2). In this way, they position themselves as those who know the most *Caló* words.

In this case, the initial hypothesis is not fulfilled, since what was expected was a greater knowledge of the older age groups. However, it has been a discovery that the younger generations have access to these words through the media and mostly through relatives, acquaintances or friends of Gypsy ethnicity. Those who responded that they knew some of the words through relatives were non-Gypsy people married to Gypsies. However, of all the times that any of the lexical units were recognised, there was only one person who said that they had no Gypsy acquaintances. For this reason, this is a determining factor for the knowledge of *Caló*.

As for the second age group, 31-50 years old, 6 of the total respondents answered that they knew a word, with a total of 5 positive responses: *paruñí* (1); *rom* (1); *romí* (1); *bata* (1); *bato* (1). Mainly, there were 6 positive responses but as one of the informants answered *bato* as 'person with few manners' and not with the meaning in *Caló*, it is eliminated from the final calculation. And lastly, with regard to the third age group, over 50 years, there were only 2 respondents who knew any word, with a total of 5 positive responses: *rom* (1); *romí* (2); *bata* (1); *bato* (1).

Finally, regarding the second fundamental variable, there were many more positive responses from women than from men. With a total of 12 women and 3 men who know any of the words. Being a total of 50% positive responses: 40% women and 10% men. Therefore, the two social variables in which this dialect predominates is among the population between 18-30 years of age and the female gender. All these data extracted from the sample taken for this research, since being a limited sample it would not correspond to the total population.

5.3 ANALYSIS OF OPEN-ENDED QUESTIONS

Finally, there will be a brief analysis of the open-ended questions regarding *Caló*. Starting with the first question 'Do you know any word belonging to the *Caló* or *Romani* dialect? If so, please indicate which one', the answers to this question have been: *pestañí* (the police), *chorar* (to steal), *chavorí* (girl), *chavoró* (boy), *ronear* (to flirt), *naquelar* (to pass), *jamelar*

(to eat), *calé* (Gypsy man), *camelo* (to fall in love/ to flirt) and *achantar* (frighten). All of them are from 4 women except the first two words (*pestañi* (the police) and *chorar* (to steal)) and the last one (*achantar* (to frighten)) that were added by 2 men. In addition, 3 informants were from the 18-30 age group, 2 from the 31-50 age group, and 1 informant from the age group over 50. Once again, the younger group stands out over the older ones.

Going on to the second question, ‘*Do you know any Caló word that is used specifically in the family sphere? If so, please indicate which one*’ the answers have been less: *puchelar* (talk), *diquelar* (see) and *churumbel* (boy). All of them were contributed by 3 women, 1 between 18-30 years old, and 2 between 31-50 years.

And finally, to the third proposed question: ‘*Have you ever used any Caló word in your daily life? If so, please indicate which one*’, the answers have been: *payo* (non-Gypsy man), *yeli* (gypsy song in honour of the bride), *puchelar* (to talk), *camelar* (to fall in love), *canguelo* (fear), *chivato* (sneak), *fetén* (cool) and *sobar* (to sleep). All these options were contributed by two women and two men. Among them, 2 informants belong to the age group of 18-30; 1 for the 31-50 age group and another one for the age group over 50. Also, highlighting the younger generations.

What these results indicate is that despite having a low response, words that belong to *Caló* still remain among us and often its knowledge is not known. However, being precise in terms of the results and as occurs with the analysis of lexical units, those who dominate the most lexicon are women and the age range which provide most *Caló* options is between 18 and 30 years.

5.4 ANALYSIS OF THE SOCIAL VARIABLES IN THE *ANGLOROMANI* SURVEY

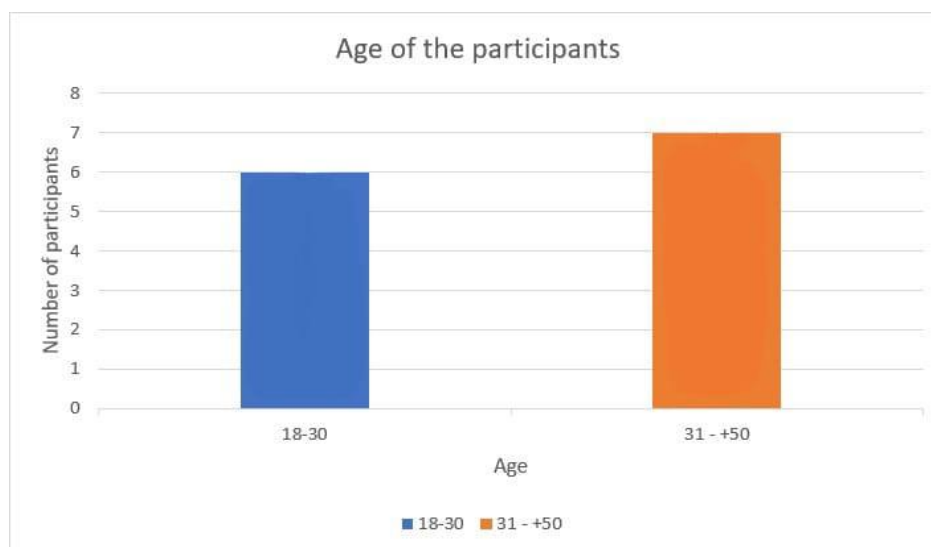
Before starting with the analysis of the lexical presence of *Angloromani*, it should be added that it has been waiting for some time in case there were more responses to this questionnaire. However, participation was low because it is more difficult to find English people who are willing to take part in this type of study. An analysis of the findings of this survey will be made with the data collected.

Due to the small sample size, it has not been possible to match the numbers of women and men and their levels of education. The participation of men was higher, with 8 informants, than that of women, with 5 informants. As for the level of education, all of them have a university level of education and only one person has an intermediate level of education, considering that all of them have higher education. Moreover, all of them declared not to have any friends or acquaintances of Roma ethnicity.

Having clarified this, the study will be carried out on the basis of the social variable of age groups with 6 informants in the age group 18-30 years, 4 in the age group 31-50 years and 3 over 50 years. In order to make the data as equal as possible, it has been decided to create two age groups: the first one from 18-30 years old and the second one from 31 to over 50 years old.

Figure 13

Table on the social variable of age of the participants surveyed in the *Angloromani* questionnaire.



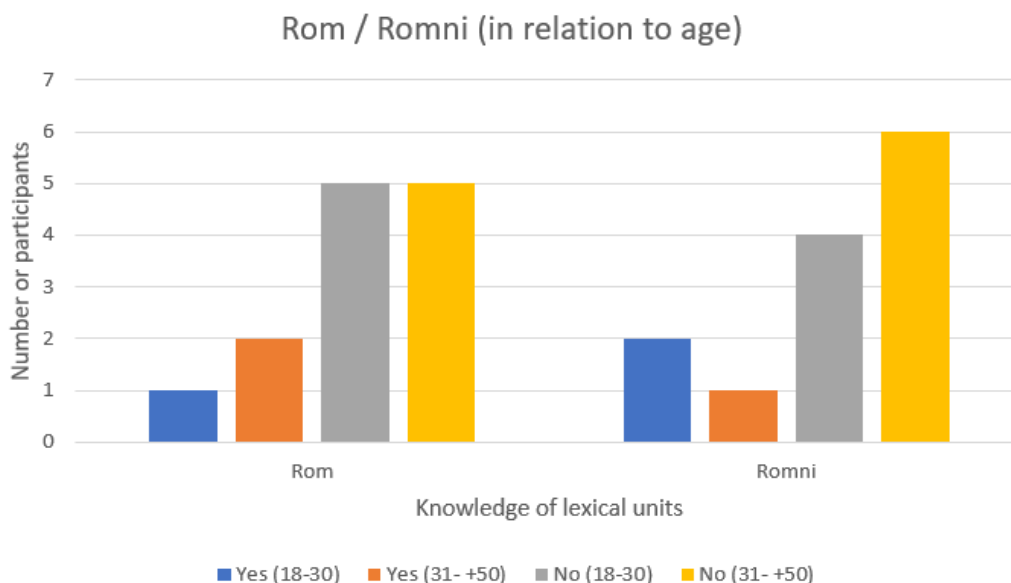
Note. The graph shows how many participants there are in each age group for the *Angloromani* survey.

5.5 ANALYSIS OF THE LEXICAL UNITS OF *ANGLOROMANI*

As far as the first pair of lexical units *phurodad* and *phuridaj* (grandfather and grandmother), is concerned, none of the respondents know these words, so there is a total lack of knowledge about *phurodad* and *phuridaj* in the sample taken.

Figure 14

Table on respondents' knowledge of the lexical units *rom* and *romni* related to their ages.



Note. The graph shows who knows and who does not know the lexical units *rom* and *romni* in relation to the ages of the respondents.

As for the knowledge of *rom* and *romni* ('husband' and 'wife') in relation to age, it can be seen that by very little, the older age group stands out over the younger one. On the other hand, with regard to *romni*, the opposite is the case with two informants from the younger age group and only one from the older age group.

When it comes to seeing what answers they have provided about the meaning or synonyms of these lexical units, it has been verified that these are not really precise data on whether they really know these lexical units. Regarding *rom*, the youngest informant stated that he had known it by reading it online; however, he could not give any example or synonym of what this word means. With regard to the two informants of the older age group, one of them stated that he knew it through the Internet but he did not add its meaning on his own either, so it cannot be verified that he really knows it with certainty. On the other hand, the other informant in this group said he knew it through reading, and specified that he knew the word on 'CD-Rom' but that he assumed that in this type of survey it referred to something else. Therefore, this informant would be eliminated because there is certainty that he does not know the word from *Angloromani*.

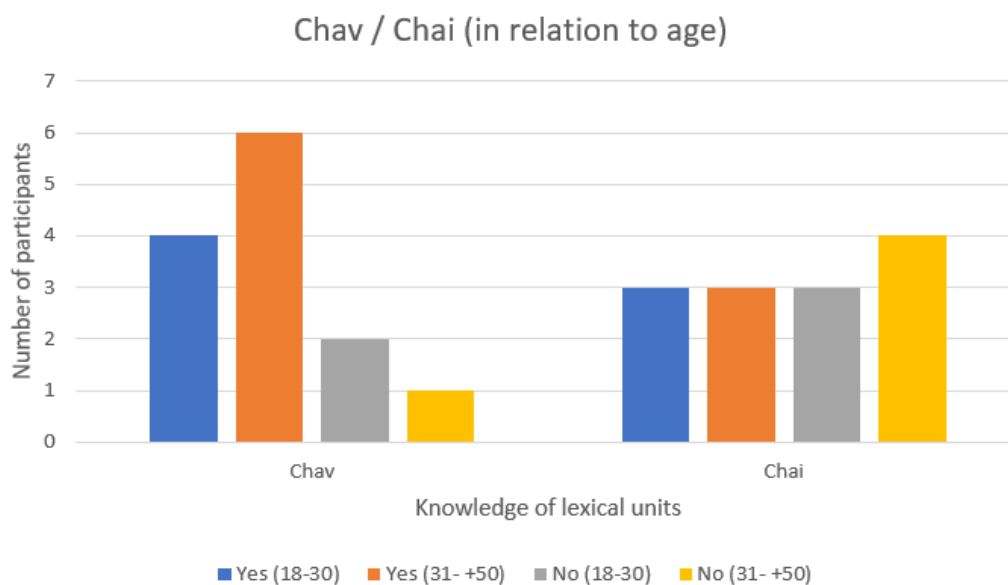
Regarding *romni*, between the two people in the youngest age group, one said he knew it through family members but did not provide any definition of it, and the other informant said he had seen it on the internet but was not sure of its meaning, without specifying to which it refers. As for the informant from the second age group, he said he knew it through family members too, but he did not add synonyms or their meaning.

However, it has been interesting to know how a person from the age group of 31 to +50 years who has indicated that he does not know the word *romni*, wrote that for him, it sounds like the word ‘Romani’, which refers to the Gypsy race. Despite not knowing it, he has related its meaning and has a notion of what the word ‘Romani’ means.

Moving on to the next pair of lexical items, *daj* and *dai* (father and mother), none of the respondents knows either words.

Figure 15

Table on respondents’ knowledge of the lexical units *chav* and *chai* related to their ages.



Note. The graph shows who knows and who does not know the lexical units *chav* and *chai* in relation to the ages of the respondents.

Regarding this pair of lexical units, *chav* and *chai* (boy and girl, respectively), the figures on the knowledge of these words in relation to age are very high. Next, the data will be decomposed:

Regarding the word *chav*, 4 out of 6 informants between 18 and 30 years old declared knowing it, and 6 out of 7 informants between 31 and over 50 years old as well. The interesting thing about this word has been knowing that it has a very negative connotation in England.

Among the 4 youngest informants, two have declared knowing her through friends and the other two, one through the internet and the other through socializing and growing up. The two definitions provided by this age group have been:

- *“Chav for me is a word that is derogatory and is used to vilify working class struggles in the media.”*
- *“A person of questionable fashion, and from a poorer background.”*

As can be seen, it is used to belittle the working class or people with few resources. However, that is not all the meanings that the word *chav* refers to, but the 6 informants of the oldest group also reported:

- *“A negative term used to refer to a particular type of young person who dresses in a certain way (often sports wear) and is considered to have brash manners. In the North of the UK some uses Charva although the connotations are a little different.”*
- *“To describe a certain person based on how they look.”*
- *“Describe a certain person.”*
- *“Derogatory stereotype of working class violent youth.”*
- *“Derogatory term for someone who is underclass, uneducated. Scally.”*
- *“Person of specific type of social background. Usually big earrings, harsh makeup, barberry outfits.”*
- *“For me, it's a really rude word and its meaning is negative. In terms of synonyms, I would say ‘idiot’.”*

Therefore, it is not only used for the poorest classes but it is also used to despise their ways of dressing, attire and makeup as well as their manners, considered violent. With all these contributions, it can be concluded by saying that this *Angloromani* word which appears in dictionaries as ‘child’, ‘son’ or ‘boy’, has undergone an evolution in England and is used in a derogative way towards the poor classes. This fact is closely related to the fact that Gypsies

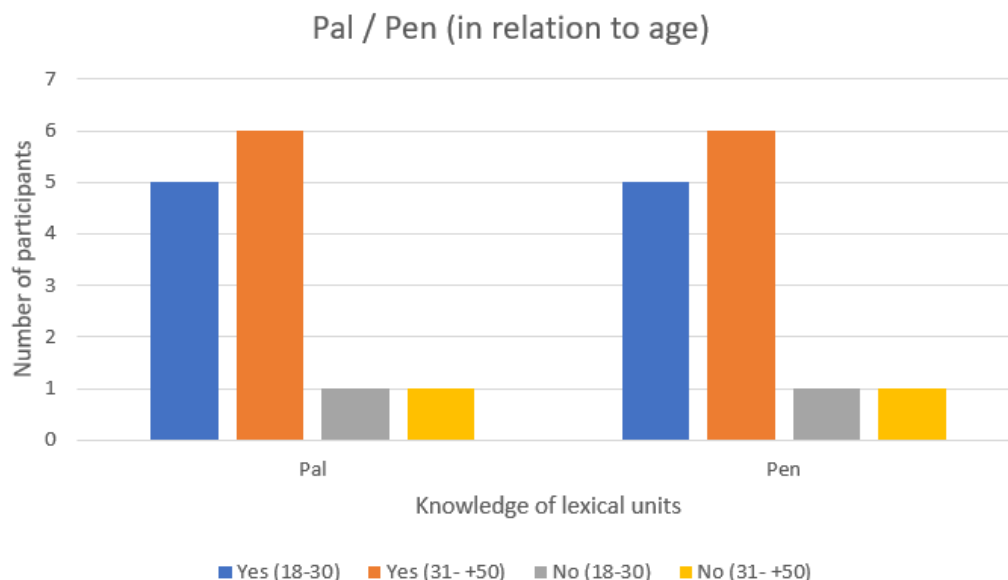
used to be from very poor classes and were marginalized. In addition, they were demonized by saying that they were criminals, hence it is related to bad manners or violent behavior.

Investigating a little more about this word, in different social networks it has been observed in which contexts they are used and what people think of it. More specifically, in the *TikTok* platform, a makeup influencer wanted to illustrate a makeup transformation from a considered ‘*chav*’ girl to an elegant girl . In it, it can be seen how she uses hard makeup, wild hair and sportswear, as well as a mockery by putting her teeth black. In the comments of this video, you can see how many people tell her not to use those terms referring to women with less economic potential since it is a very rude word. This video will be left in the annexes of this work for a better understanding.

Finally, as far as the word *chai* is concerned, none of the informants could correctly state a synonym or its meaning. Instead, they all related the word to a kind of Chinese tea flavour or plant. Therefore, none of those who marked knowing it really know its meaning in *Angloromani*.

Figure 16

Table on respondents’ knowledge of the lexical units *pal* and *pen* related to their ages.



Note. The graph shows who knows and who does not know the lexical units *pal* and *pen* in relation to the ages of the respondents.

Moving on to the last pair of words *pal* and *pen* (brother and sister), both have received positive responses from most informants. With 11 respondents in total for both words: 5 informants being from the younger age group and 6 informants from the older age group.

Starting with the word *pal*, respondents aged 18-30 years old reported knowing it through friends and one of them through reading. As for the 31 to +50 age group, most of them said they knew it through friends, common parlance and relatives.

All of them have given the same three synonyms: 'mate', 'friend' and 'buddy', except one person who wrote 'bredin', which comes from the word 'bredren', that is, a group of friends or comrade. Therefore, it can be said that this word has become established in common English speech and is often used to refer to friends with the same meaning as 'bro' (brother). This makes *pal* the only word in the study of *Angloromani* that has become established among English speakers.

On the other hand, as for the word *pen*, despite the data collected and the informants who said they knew it, all of them said they knew it because of education or school referred to a writing utensil. Therefore, none of the informants would count as part of the population who know this word from the dialect being studied.

5.5.1 FINAL COMPUTATION

To conclude, making a final computation, among the 13 informants there were a total of 22 positive responses to the words presented above. Specifically, only the correct answers to *chav* and *pal* are counted. There have been 10 positive and correct answers to the studied words from the 6 informants belonging to the younger age group, while, among the 7 informants of the second age group, there have been a total of 12 positive and correct answers. Due to these data, it can be said that those who have more knowledge of these lexical units are in the age group from 31 to over 50 years old. Although, the data are very equal. This is due to the fact that in the younger age group there was one informant less. Therefore, there are no significant differences between the two age groups.

What is enlightening about this study is that there is hardly any knowledge of the proposed words in *Angloromani*. Among all the lexical units, only *pal* has made its place among

English speakers, while *chav* has evolved as an insult towards the lower classes because of its physical and psychological characteristics.

5. 6 ANALYSIS OF OPEN-ENDED QUESTIONS

As for the open-ended questions, none of the informants was able to make any new contributions about *Angloromani*, even if they were not from the family field. In fact, all questions were answered with ‘I don't know’, ‘no’, ‘not from my knowledge’ or ‘not applicable’. Only the question ‘*Have you ever used Angloromani words in your daily life? If so, please indicate which one*’ was answered by adding the word *pal*. Therefore, with respect to this small sample of the English population, which corresponds only to this research work, it can be concluded that this is a dialect which is in disuse among English speakers.

6. CONCLUSIONS

The present work started with the hypothesis that the Spanish population did know many *Caló* words, besides, as far as this study was concerned, it was expected that the population would not know most of the words within the family sphere. In addition, the population that was thought to know the most lexicon was that of the age group over 50. On the other hand, with regard to the *Angloromani*, due to previous research for the investigation and the low volume of materials, it was known that negative responses to the words proposed for the study would prevail. Furthermore, it was thought that none of the age groups would have much knowledge about other *Angloromani* words.

As this is a final degree project and that large-scale data cannot be taken from the Spanish and English population, several points have been verified with the sample taken. In the first place, it has been known that the age group from 18 to 30 years of the *Caló* sample has been the ones who have given the most positive responses regarding the proposed words. Regarding gender, women dominate the knowledge of this dialect. In addition, having acquaintances of the Gypsy ethnic group has been decisive when it comes to knowing more lexicon. Even so, the lexicon of the family area has not been the best known by the respondents, due to the fact that negative responses have abounded.

As for the *Angloromani*, those who know the most words are the older age group, although very evenly matched with the youngest. Although the results have not been as fructive in the positive way expected, it has been shown that some lexical units have been introduced into the common language of English speakers: *pal* in a positive way to refer to ‘friend’ and *chav* has remained as an insult to the working class. In the starting hypothesis, it was said that words like ‘mother’ and ‘brother’ could be the words best known by the informants, and it has also been demonstrated in the case of *Angloromani* with *pal*.

The most interesting thing in the study of *Caló* has been seeing that social factors influence the way in which information about the dialect reaches us. Specifically, age, gender and knowing people of the ethnic group have been determinant for knowing more words of the dialect apart from the proposed lexical units. Mostly, young women have contributed with more words that they use in their daily life. In the case of *Angloromani*, none of the informants could say a word about this dialect, which leads to thinking that it will disappear completely in time.

In conclusion, it is expected that this project will help to see the situation of the Romani dialects in Spain and England. Moreover, this topic touches the researcher personally and the aim is to give importance to a dialect on which there are very few studies, especially in England. It would be interesting to know in further studies not only how much is known about *Caló* or *Angloromani*, but also what its uses are. All of this is due to the fact that both television and society itself have tended to belittle this ethnic group, and it would not be surprising that many of its words contain a strong negative meaning. Who knows what the results of this same study may be in a few years' time. The language is alive and the speakers will continue to use it and to influence others. This means that there is always room for further changes as far as Romani dialects are concerned.

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ANNEXES

ANNEX 1: Questionnaire on *Caló*

Presencia léxica del dialecto romaní en España

Los informantes de esta encuesta son anónimos, para participar rellene todos los campos obligatorios (marcados con asterisco al final de cada pregunta) y los opcionales si corresponde. La confidencialidad de los datos recogidos está garantizada. La información obtenida solo se usará para fines académicos.

Esta encuesta tiene una duración de menos de 10 minutos.

 No compartido



* Indica que la pregunta es obligatoria

Datos personales

Rellene los siguientes datos personales. La encuesta es totalmente anónima y no será divulgada la identidad de la persona encuestada.

Indique su edad: *

18 - 30

31 - 50

+ 50

Indique su género: *

- Hombre
- Mujer
- Otro

Indique su nivel de estudios: *

- Sin estudios
- Básicos
- Intermedios
- Universitario o equivalente

¿Tiene amigos o conocidos de etnia gitana? *

- Sí
- No

A continuación, encontrará una serie de palabras procedentes del caló, variedad lingüística del romaní en España. Indique si conoce las palabras.

¿Conoce la palabra *paruñó*? *

- Sí
- No

¿Cómo ha conocido esta palabra?

- Por medio de la lectura
- Por medio de familiares
- Por medio de amigos
- A través de los medios de comunicación
- Por medio de Internet
- Otro (por favor especifique)

Otro:

Tu respuesta

¿Qué significa esta palabra o qué sinónimos utilizarías?

Tu respuesta

¿Conoce la palabra *paruñí*? *

- Sí
- No

¿Cómo ha conocido esta palabra?

- Por medio de la lectura
- Por medio de familiares
- Por medio de amigos
- A través de los medios de comunicación
- Por medio de Internet
- Otro (por favor especifique)

Otro:

Tu respuesta

¿Qué significa esta palabra o qué sinónimos utilizarías?

Tu respuesta

¿Conoce la palabra *rom*? *

- Sí
- No

¿Cómo ha conocido esta palabra?

- Por medio de la lectura
- Por medio de familiares
- Por medio de amigos
- A través de los medios de comunicación
- Por medio de Internet

Otro (por favor especifique)

Otro:

Tu respuesta

¿Qué significa esta palabra o qué sinónimos utilizarías?

Tu respuesta

¿Conoce la palabra *romí*? *

Sí

No

¿Cómo ha conocido esta palabra?

Por medio de la lectura

Por medio de familiares

Por medio de amigos

- A través de los medios de comunicación
- Por medio de Internet
- Otro (por favor especifique)

Otro:

Tu respuesta

¿Qué significa esta palabra o qué sinónimos utilizarías?

Tu respuesta

¿Conoce la palabra *bata*? *

- Sí
- No

¿Cómo ha conocido esta palabra?

- Por medio de la lectura
- Por medio de familiares
- Por medio de amigos
- A través de los medios de comunicación
- Por medio de Internet
- Otro (por favor especifique)

Otro:

Tu respuesta _____

¿Qué significa esta palabra o qué sinónimos utilizarías?

Tu respuesta _____

¿Conoce la palabra *bato*? *

- Sí
- No

¿Cómo ha conocido esta palabra?

- Por medio de la lectura
- Por medio de familiares
- Por medio de amigos
- A través de los medios de comunicación
- Por medio de Internet
- Otro (por favor especifique)

Otro:

Tu respuesta

¿Qué significa esta palabra o qué sinónimos utilizarías?

¿Conoce la palabra *chavoró*? *

Sí

No

¿Cómo ha conocido esta palabra?

Por medio de la lectura

Por medio de familiares

Por medio de amigos

A través de los medios de comunicación

Por medio de Internet

Otro (por favor especifique)

Otro:

Tu respuesta _____

¿Qué significa esta palabra o qué sinónimos utilizarías?

Tu respuesta

¿Conoce la palabra *chavorí*? *

- Sí
- No

¿Cómo ha conocido esta palabra?

- Por medio de la lectura
- Por medio de familiares
- Por medio de amigos
- A través de los medios de comunicación
- Por medio de Internet
- Otro (por favor especifique)

Otro:

Tu respuesta

¿Qué significa esta palabra o qué sinónimos utilizarías?

Tu respuesta

¿Conoce la palabra *plañó*? *

- Sí
- No

¿Cómo ha conocido esta palabra?

- Por medio de la lectura
- Por medio de familiares
- Por medio de amigos
- A través de los medios de comunicación
- Por medio de Internet

Otro (por favor especifique)

Otro:

Tu respuesta

¿Qué significa esta palabra o qué sinónimos utilizarías?

Tu respuesta

¿Conoce la palabra *plañí*? *

Sí

No

¿Cómo ha conocido esta palabra?

Por medio de la lectura

Por medio de familiares

Por medio de amigos

- A través de los medios de comunicación
- Por medio de Internet
- Otro (por favor especifique)

Otro:

Tu respuesta _____

¿Qué significa esta palabra o qué sinónimos utilizarías?

Tu respuesta _____

Otras preguntas:

¿Conoce alguna palabra perteneciente al caló o dialecto romaní? Si es así, por favor indique cuál:

Tu respuesta _____

¿Conoce alguna palabra del caló que se use específicamente en el ámbito familiar? Si es así, por favor indique cuál:

Tu respuesta

¿Ha usado alguna vez alguna palabra en caló en su vida cotidiana? Si es así, por favor indique cuál:

Tu respuesta

Muchas gracias por participar en esta encuesta, para finalizar solo debe pulsar el botón de "Enviar".

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ANNEX 2: Questionnaire on *Angloromani*

Lexical presence of Romani dialect in England

Respondents to this survey are anonymous, to participate please fill in all mandatory fields (marked with an asterisk at the end of each question) and optional fields if applicable. The confidentiality of the data collected is guaranteed. The information will only be used for academic purposes.

This survey takes less than 10 minutes.

 No compartido



* Indica que la pregunta es obligatoria

Personal data

Fill in the following personal information. The survey is completely anonymous and the identity of the person surveyed will not be disclosed.

Indicate your age: *

18 - 30

31- 50

+ 50

Indicate your gender: *

- Man
- Woman
- Other

Indicate your level of education: *

- No studies
- Basic
- Intermediate
- University or equivalent

Do you have friends or acquaintances of gypsy ethnicity? *

- Yes
- No

Below you will find a series of words from Angloromani, a linguistic variety of the Romani dialect in England. Indicate if you know the words.

Do you know the word *phurodad*? *

- Yes
- No

How did you know this word?

- Through reading
- Through relatives
- Through friends
- Through the media
- Through Internet
- Other (please specify below)

Other:

What does this word mean or what synonym would you use?

Tu respuesta

Do you know the word *phuridaj*? *

- Yes
- No

How did you know this word?

- Through reading
- Through relatives
- Through friends
- Through the media
- Through Internet
- Other (please specify)

Other:

Tu respuesta

What does this word mean or what synonym would you use?

Tu respuesta

Do you know the word *rom*? *

- Yes
- No

How did you know the word?

- Through reading
- Through relatives
- Through friends
- Through the media
- Through Internet

Other (please specify)

Other:

Tu respuesta

What does this word mean or what synonym would you use?

Tu respuesta

Do you know the word *romni*? *

Yes

No

How did you know this word?

Through reading

Through relatives

Through friends

- Through the media
- Through Internet
- Other (please specify)

Other:

Tu respuesta _____

What does this word mean or what synonym would you use?

Tu respuesta _____

Do you know the word *daj*? *

- Yes
- No

How did you know the word?

- Through reading
- Through relatives
- Through friends
- Through the media
- Through Internet
- Other (please specify)

Other:

Tu respuesta _____

What does this word mean or what synonym would you use?

Tu respuesta _____

Do you know the word *dai*? *

- Yes

No

How did you know this word?

- Through reading
- Through relatives
- Through friends
- Through the media
- Through Internet
- Other (please specify)

Other:

Tu respuesta _____

What does this word mean or what synonym would you use?

Tu respuesta _____

Do you know the word *chav*? *

Yes

No

How did you know this word?

Through reading

Through relatives

Through friends

Through the media

Through the Internet

Other (please specify)

Other:

Tu respuesta _____

What does this word mean or what synonym would you use?

Tu respuesta

Do you know the word *chai*? *

- Yes
- No

How did you know this word?

- Through reading
- Through relatives
- Through friends
- Through the media
- Through Internet
- Other (please specify)

Other:

Tu respuesta

What does this word mean or what synonym would you use?

Tu respuesta

Do you know the word *pal*? *

- Yes
- No

How did you know the word?

- Through reading
- Through relatives
- Through friends
- Through the media
- Through the Internet

Other (please specify)

Other:

Tu respuesta

What does this word mean or what synonym would you use?

Tu respuesta

Do you know the word *pen*? *

Yes

No

How did you know this word?

Through reading

Through relatives

- Through friends
- Through the media
- Through Internet
- Other (please specify)

Other:

Tu respuesta

What does this word mean or what synonym would you use?

Tu respuesta

Other questions:

Do you know any words belonging to the Angloromani dialect? If so, please indicate which one:

Tu respuesta

Do you know any Angloromani words that are used in the family sphere? If so, please indicate which one:

Tu respuesta

Have you ever used any Angloromani words in your daily life? If so, please indicate which one:

Tu respuesta

Thank you very much for participating in this survey, to finish you just have to press the "Send" button.

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ANNEX 3: Videos from the *TikTok* platform discussed in the analysis of the data collected from the *Angloromani*, specifically how English people view people considered *chavs* in the UK.

- Video 1:
<https://www.tiktok.com/@emilytembymakeup/video/7163348305878011141?q=english%20chav%20makeup&t=1685046199580>
- Video 2:
<https://www.tiktok.com/@sophiehannah/video/7190071909592190213?q=english%20chav%20makeup&t=1685046199580>
- Video 3:
<https://www.tiktok.com/@lisa.bpro/video/7211566770363190533?q=english%20chav%20makeup&t=1685046199580>