

Gamella, Juan F.; Adiego, Ignasi-Xavier; Fernández Ortega, Cayetano

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A CALÓ LEXICON WITH DATA ABOUT ITS KNOWLEDGE BY A GROUP OF SPANISH GITANOS OR CALÉ¹

Juan F. Gamella, Ignasi-Xavier Adiego,
Cayetano Fernández Ortega

Introduction

Caló (also known as *Romanó*) is the mixed speech that Spanish *Gitanos* developed by combining a Romani lexicon and the Spanish grammar. Since Romantic travelers and scholars documented this language in the first half of the nineteenth century (Conde; Bright 1818; Borrow 1841), *Caló* has been described as a dying language. However, there is a lack of data on the knowledge and use of this speech by *Gitano* speakers (Adiego 2005; Buzek 2011a). To begin filling this void, we developed a specific questionnaire that included a vocabulary of 360 key *Caló* terms with their Spanish translations, and we applied it to an intentional sample of 68 *Gitanos* and *Gitanas* in Andalusia. Our informants recognized 129 words on average, a greater knowledge than expected, although also more varied, as few youngsters recognized more than 80 terms. Today *Caló* is not learned by children as a mother tongue, nor considered a complete language. It is very rare to hear spontaneous conversations in *Caló* beyond a few phrases.

In this paper we offer the wordlist used in that research with the English equivalencies. This lexicon may be used independently for new tests or in combination with the paper published in *Romani Studies*. In that paper we explored the knowledge of this *Caló* lexicon by *Gitano* speakers, and we advanced a tentative proposal of three main social environments in which *Caló* is learned, as well as a summary of the social and cultural relations that predominate in each of them. Additionally, we listed the words that are known by a majority of speakers and

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the semantic fields to which they belonged, and provided some examples of the mixed discourses the informants produced when prompted with the terms from the questionnaire (see Gamella et al. 2015).

The original wordlist was elaborated by Ignasi Adiego, and later tested and modified by Gamella and Fernández after a dozen initial interviews with Andalusian *Calé*. It comprises of the most common and widespread terms of the best wordlists and dictionaries available (Gamella et al. 2011, 2012). The original terms in the lexicon derived from about 265 predecessors, most of which were Romani words found in the early wordlists of the nineteenth century and subsequent *Caló* vocabularies (see Buzek 2011a for a history of the research on *Caló*). Some new terms were incorporated from the fieldwork research when we found terms that were used by our informants but had not been considered in the initial selection. The *Caló* items are grouped into 16 main semantic fields, such as those concerning food and drink, the body, kinship-descent and collective identity, basic actions and technology, law and authorities, animals, religion and belief and so forth. The vocabulary list contains sections of 19 of the 22 main semantic fields proposed by Haspelmath and Tadmor in their Loanwords Project (2009). The vocabulary list, however, is not derived from a list of meanings developed in comparative analysis. This method could not be followed in our case, as the knowledge of *Caló* by *Gitanos* is today mostly passive. Moreover, the wordlist comprises only a third of the 1,460 items proposed in the Loanword Typology Project (Haspelmath/Tadmor 2009; Buck 1949). We could not find more than a few hundred terms in the repertoire of any living informant or any of the best vocabularies recently published (Gordaliza 2001; Montoya/Gabarri 2010).

The respondents

The 68 final respondents resided in different areas of Eastern Andalusia, the city of Granada (25 cases), and the counties of Guadix (9 cases), Alhama de Granada (19 cases), Lucena in the province of Córdoba (6 informants) and two informants in the cities of Malaga and Almeria. Finally, five informants were living temporarily in Andalusia but had come from other Spanish regions such as Catalonia, Cantabria, Old Castile and Valencia. All these respondents defined themselves as *Gitano* men and women, and are recognized as such by their neighbors.

The sample of respondents was varied by gender and age. It included both men and women from an age range from 17 to 80 years. The average age was 47 years. The level of education was varied. The sample included people who were illiterate, who had attended school for a few years, and even some college graduates. They also held different jobs, such as seasonal farm workers, street licensed vendors, Flamenco performers, waiters, and even managers and teachers.

Most informants considered the questionnaire to be adequate and complete. Almost all recognized that the terms included belonged to the “*Gitano* speech” and were similar to those they and their families used. Often they wanted to keep a copy for future consultation of study.

The questionnaire tried to elicit the active knowledge of respondents by providing a *Caló* Spanish term and asking the *Caló* translation or equivalency. This did not work well in many cases, and often the whole interview was changed into a game of identifying and translating *Caló* terms and expressions. It was a mixed process. A term was accepted as known by the informant if he or she provided an unequivocal translation into Spanish of the original *Caló* term. Often the *Caló* term worked as a cue for a string of memories to be retrieved, including dear relatives that may have died, concrete expressions and phrases said in memorable circumstances, and other versions of the *Caló* term itself (see Table 1, columns six and seven). It was, therefore, a complex experience in which often the respondents developed their own understanding of the exchange. Only a fraction of what we learned is preserved in tables and numbers, which should be understood as an index of the vitality of some lexical items of this agonizing form of collective expression and affirmation.

The vocabulary and its knowledge by *Gitanos*

In Table 1, the first three columns show first the English and Spanish translations and then the *Caló* terms used in the interviews. In the following two columns we include the number and percentage of informants who recognized each *Caló* term. The last two columns include the variations of each term most frequently quoted by informants and the alternative terms they also offered for the same Spanish items. For instance, concerning the term “tomatoes”, most informants recognized the three voices offered: *grumajes*, *gromayes* and *romañes*, but several respondents used other slightly different versions such as *gromanyes* (8 cases), *grumayes* (5 cases) and *grumanyis* (2 cases). *Baquerar* (to speak) was also quoted as *naquerar* and *laquerar*. And so forth. The widespread variations point to a lack of standardization of the *Romanó* lexicon as it is transmitted and used in different communities. The analysis of the structural variations of the vestiges of *Caló* requires a more specific research in other regions and *Gitano* networks and communities.

On average, the 68 respondents knew 129 of the 355 terms, a 36% of the whole vocabulary. Most *Gitano* adults recognized 10 to 70 percent of this vocabulary. There is, however, an important sector of *Gitano* middle-aged and old people who know over 150 terms, and the most proficient speakers know between 180 and 250. However, a quarter of all respondents knew less than 86 terms. In sum, there was considerable variation among respondents concerning both their passive and

active use and knowledge of *Caló* terms. (see Table 1). Men identified more *Caló* words on average, but they were also more varied in their answers.

Table 1 also contains data on the terms most commonly recognized or retrieved and the semantic fields to which they belong. Some semantic fields contain *Caló* terms that are recognized by a large proportion of users and retrieved more easily. Thus, these are the areas of meaningful communication that seem more alive in what is left from *Romanó*. As shown in Table 1, there is a set of terms, around 55, which are known by more than three quarters of all respondents. These are the most popular *Caló* terms in this region today. The most common are *Undibel* (God), *bata* (mother), *najar(se)* (to go), and *camelar* (to love), quoted by 99% of all respondents. Followed by *sacais* (eyes), *bato* (father), *lache* (shame), the three were quoted by 97% of informants. *Quer* (house) quoted by 96%, *jalar* (to eat), *balichó* (pork) *busnó* (non-Gypsy), *ronear* (to show off) recognized by 94% of informants.

The most active semantic field appears to be that of family and ethnic identity. However, amongst the terms *Gitano* people use commonly to denote close relatedness or kinship only a few derive from *Romano*. The two most important are *bata* or *matu* for mother (recognized by 99% of all informants) and *batu* or *patu* for father (97%). On the contrary, a semantic field of intense vitality is that of ethnic labeling and the references to non-Gypsies. Besides to the universal term: *payo/a*, some informants knew eight *Romanó* terms to refer to non-*Gitanos*: *Busnó* (94% of all respondents), *Gachó* (85%), *Lacró* (59%); *Jambo* (56%); *Sesó* or *Sesor* (5 cases), *Bengues* or *Mengues* (4 cases), *Julai* (4 cases) and *Jeray* or *Eray* (2 cases). Many *Gitano* informants also used Spanish terms such as “*castellano*”, ‘Castilian’ and “*vecino*”, ‘neighbor’ to denote non-*Gitanos* in a less insulting way.

Secondly, a small group of basic verbs are widely used in *Caló* structures and they remain widely known. For instance, *sinar*, *sinelar* as ‘to be’ is recognized by 77% of respondents; *estubelar*, *estiñelar* ‘to be’ or ‘to stay’ (by 72%); *najarse* or *najelarse*, ‘to go’ (99%); *abiyelar*, ‘to come’ (by 68%); and *chanelar*, ‘to know’ (by 81%).

The terms for body parts and functions are also widely known and represent an area of the old *Romanó* lexicon relatively well preserved. Thus, the most popular word in this semantic field is *sacais*, ‘eyes’ (97%). Terms to refer to the authorities and repressive forces (the police, the *Guardia Civil*, the army), as well to deviant figures and practices have been preserved. This fact points both to the marginal, persecuted and even outlawed overtones of many *Gitano* lives, and to the contemporary influence of the *Caló* lexicon in the Spanish delinquent and jail slang.

Words for foods and drinks are another important semantic field in the preserved *Caló* lexicon. On the contrary *Caló* words for old occupations, trades and instruments are disappearing from the memory of *Gitanos*, perhaps because they have been made obsolete by social and technological change. The same seems to apply to the fields of animals, especially productive, working animals, that of dress, and that names for places and accidents in the countryside.

Final remarks

As far as we know, this was the first extended and comprehensive study to consider usage patterns and the knowledge base of a large sample of potential *Caló* speakers. They identify themselves as *Gitanos* or *Calé* and affirm that *Caló* is the “lengua gitana”, the *Gitano* language. But they also admit that this language is agonizing, almost completely “perdido” (lost), and they affirm this in their actual language, Spanish. Most informants declare they feel sorry about this state, but are not optimistic about changing this trend. Apart from a reduced use as a cryptic resource to hide some messages from strangers, the main use of *Caló* appears to be the expression and reaffirmation of ethnic identity and cultural difference.

The living vocabulary of *Caló* includes about 400 terms. They derive from about 300 Romani predecessor expressions that can be found in most of the written vocabularies recorded since the late eighteenth century (see Adiego 2004, Buzek 2011a). The proposed lexicon includes a large proportion of this living vocabulary, at least concerning Andalusia.

The proposed lexicon seems to have been adequate for measuring the different levels of knowledge of the *Caló* lexical repertoire. Thus, this is not only another *Caló* vocabulary. It pretends to be a model of the present state of the use and knowledge of a mixed language by its original users. If this mixed language was mostly distinguished by its lexical repertoire, it seems adequate to start by studying lexical knowledge, and to use a lexicon as the priming cue for retrieval of memories and expressions. We observed that knowledge of a larger number of terms seemed to correlate with a higher competence in generating more complex and articulated sentences even if predicated with Spanish grammar. On the other hand, by pointing to the proportion of people who may or may not identify different terms, the lexical research undertaken offered a model of the parts of *Caló* that may be alive in the minds and interactions of its original speakers. In sum, this is a model to be tested, and not just a wordlist. The task ahead is to expand the research to other regions and countries where *Caló* has been spoken and to establish the part of this important mixed language that remains alive and to document it for future *Gitano* generations. Some *Gitanos* themselves are already making good progress in this job (see Montoya/Gabbarri 2010).

TABLE 1: List of *Caló* (Romanó) terms with their English and Spanish equivalencies. Number and percentage of respondents (out of 68) who recognized each term, and the main variations and alternative terms they offered for each item

ENGLISH	SPANISH (Castilian)	CALÓ (ROMANÓ)	N: (68)	%	VARIATIONS OF THE CALÓ TERMS	OTHER OPTIONS OFFERED BY SPEAKERS
1. FOOD AND DRINK						
1. Bread	1. pan	1.1. <i>tató</i>	62	91,2		
		1.2. <i>manró</i>	14	20,6		
		1.3. <i>juiner</i>	1	1,5		
		1.4. <i>marrocale</i>	1	1,5		
2. Water	2. agua	<i>pañi</i>	55	80,9		
	3. wine	3.1. <i>mol</i>	54	79,4		
		3.2. <i>moyate</i> (vino malo)	6	8,8	<i>molate</i> (1)	
4. Oil	4. aceite	<i>ampio</i>	54	79,4	<i>lampio</i> (1)	
	5. Milk	5. leche	13	19,1		
6. Chick peas		6. garbanzos	60	88,2	<i>rendundes</i> (41), <i>rاندundes</i> (4), <i>rindundes</i> (1)	
	7. Green beans, fabas	7. habas	33	48,5		
8. Beans		8. judías, habichuelas	13	19,1	<i>(h)abichoyis</i> (4)	
	9. Egg(s)	9. huevo(s)	17	25,0	<i>enreles</i> (2), <i>anneles</i> (1)	
10. Bacon, lard		10. tocino	19	27,9	<i>ralebás</i> (1)	
	ham		3	4,4		
11. Barley		11. cebada	10	14,7	<i>yobasta</i> (2)	
	12. Coffee	12. café	33	48,5	<i>cayardó</i> (6), <i>cayardeta</i> (black)	
13. Tomatoes		13. tomates	29	42,6	<i>gromanyes</i> (8), <i>gromayes</i> (5), <i>gromaniis</i> (2)	
			2	2,9	<i>loló</i> (red) (1)	
14. Wheat	14. trigo	<i>gui</i>	10	14,7		

15. <i>Food, a meal</i>	15. comida	<i>jayipén</i>	57	83,8	
16. <i>Peppers</i>	16. pimientos	<i>peperes</i>	23	33,8	<i>loles</i> (2), <i>lolós</i> (4)
17. <i>Spicy sausage</i>	17. chorizo	<i>longañó</i>	4	5,9	cold cured pork (1)
18. <i>Fish</i>	18. pescado	<i>machó</i>	8	11,8	
19. <i>Meat</i>	19. carne	<i>mas</i>	10	14,7	<i>manguí/é</i> (5), <i>macengué</i> (2)
20. <i>Spirits, liquor</i>	20. aguardiente	<i>panali</i>	13	19,1	<i>repañí</i> (5), <i>repañé</i> (1)
21. <i>Potatoes</i>	21. patatas	<i>riñoraas</i>	44	64,7	<i>riñandes</i> (3), <i>riñas</i> (1) Associated with <i>riñar</i> : to fart; also: to fuck. And then: whores, prostitutes
22. <i>Grapes</i>	22. uvas	<i>traquiales</i>	14	20,6	<i>traquias</i> (1)
23. <i>To eat</i>	23. comer	23.1. <i>jalar, jamar, jamelar</i>	64	94,1	<i>jamar</i> (1), <i>jamelar</i> (1)
24. <i>To drink</i>	24. beber	23.2 <i>jayar</i>	11	16,2	
		24.1. <i>tapiar, tipiar</i>	38	55,9	<i>tipiar</i> (6)
		24.2. <i>piyar</i>	3	4,4	<i>piyelar</i> (1)
		24.3. <i>privar</i>	7	10,3	
2. THE BODY, FUNCTIONS AND PERCEPTIONS					
25. <i>Hair</i>	25. cabello, pelos	<i>bal, bales</i>	21	30,9	
26. <i>Hand</i>	26. mano	<i>baste, basti, embastis</i>	45	66,2	<i>embastis</i> (9), <i>embasti</i> (2), <i>baste</i> (4), <i>embastes</i> (5)
27. <i>Ears</i>	27. orejas	<i>junaoras</i>	13	19,1	<i>papias</i> (2)
28. <i>Eyes</i>	28. ojos	<i>canes</i>	1	1,5	
29. <i>Nose (s)</i>	29. nariz (narices)	<i>sacáis</i>	66	97,1	<i>acais</i> (3) <i>fanales</i> (2)
30. <i>Face</i>	30. cara	<i>nacles</i>	40	58,8	<i>nacri</i> (1), <i>nacri</i> (1), <i>neeri</i> (1) <i>napiá</i> (9)
32. <i>Head</i>	32. cabeza	<i>jeró</i>	32	47,1	<i>jerol</i> (1), <i>jeró</i> (mouth) (2)
32. <i>Head (or face)</i>	32.b cara o cabeza	<i>jeró</i>	9	13,2	
31. <i>Foot</i>	31. pie	<i>chichi</i>	15	22,1	
		<i>pinrel</i>	63	92,6	<i>pinreles</i> (1), <i>pinrós</i> (4)

ENGLISH	SPANISH (Castilian)	CALÓ (ROMANÓ)	N: (68)	%	VARIATIONS OF THE CALÓ TERMS	OTHER OPTIONS OFFERED BY SPEAKERS
33. <i>Mouth</i>	33. boca	<i>muy</i>	59	86,8		
34. <i>Tongue</i>	34. lengua	34.1. <i>chipi, chibé, chibel</i> 34.2. <i>naqueraora</i>	15	22,1	<i>chibi</i> (2)	<i>piyí</i> (1); <i>muy</i> as tongue (4)
35. <i>Chin, beard</i>	35. barba	<i>chon</i>	7	10,3		
36. <i>Teeth</i>	36. dientes	<i>danes</i>	20	29,4		
37. <i>Nail</i>	37. uña	<i>ñay</i>	8	11,8		
38. <i>Fingers</i>	38. dedos	<i>embastis, bastis</i>	18	26,5		<i>dátiles</i> (2)
39. <i>Bones</i>	39. huesos	<i>cocales</i>	12	17,6	<i>jocales</i> (2)	
40. <i>Body</i>	40. cuerpo	<i>drupo</i>	4	5,9		
41. <i>Gut, intestines</i>	41. tripa	<i>pol</i>	3	4,4	<i>purriales</i> : plural, bowels (1)	
42. <i>Breasts</i>	42. pechos	<i>chucháis</i>	32	47,1	<i>chumieles</i> (4), <i>chacháis</i> (1)	
43. <i>Ass</i>	43. culo	<i>bul, bullate</i>	54	79,4	<i>bullarate</i> (5), <i>bullat</i> (1), <i>bulate</i> (2), <i>bullorengue</i> (1)	<i>jebe</i> (1)
44. <i>Testicles, balls</i>	44. testículos, cojones	<i>anrés, anreles, enreles</i>	24	35,3	<i>enrés</i> or <i>enreles</i> (5), <i>charrós</i> (1)	<i>coyares</i> : cojones
45. <i>Penis</i>	45. pene	<i>pelés</i>	7	10,3		
46. <i>Vulva, female genitals</i>	46. vulva	<i>car</i> 46.1. <i>jojoy</i> 46.2. <i>minche</i> 46.3.3. <i>jíyar</i>	15	22,1	<i>cal</i> (1)	<i>maqué</i> (2) <i>beo</i> (1); <i>vulva</i>
47. <i>Fart, passing wind</i>	47. ventosidad; peerse	<i>ril, rilar</i>	41	60,3	<i>riles</i> (3)	<i>jíyar</i> : also fig
48. <i>Heart</i>	48. corazón	<i>garlochí, carlochí</i>	19	27,9	<i>carlochí</i> (7)	
49. <i>Blood</i>	49. sangre	<i>arate, rats, arati</i>	29	42,6	<i>arate</i> (27) <i>arati</i> (2)	

50. To see	50. ver	50.1. dicar; endicar; diquelar	60	88,2	diquelar (9), indicar (8), endiquelar (5), dicar or endicar (41)
		50.2. junar	26	38,2	
51. To smell	51. oler	jindar; prejndelar	37	54,4	jundelar (4), fundelar (6), funguelar (2), goliserar
52. To hear, to listen	52. oír, escuchar	junar	26	38,2	Meaning both to see and to hear
53. To speak	53. hablar	naquerar; baquerar; alaquerar	54	79,4	naquerar (34), baquerar (17), alaquerar (5), laquerar (2)
		54.1. chamullar	2	2,9	patullar (1)
54. To say	54. decir	54.2. penar	9	13,2	
		puchar; puchelar	38	55,9	puchela (4)
55. Excrements, faeces	55. excrementos	ful	42	61,8	fu (3), fulañir (1)
56. To pee, urinate	56. orinar	mutrar	52	76,5	also muclar (3)
57. To sleep	57. dormir	sobar, sobelar	59	86,8	sobelar (4) both (5), sobelate: vocative, sleep!
3. CLOTHING					
58. Trousers	58. pantalones, calzones	balunes	20	29,4	falunes (1), galunes (1)
59. Hat	59. sombrero	estache	22	32,4	tache (1), tacho (1), estachó (1)
60. Shirt	60. camisa	gate, gati	7	10,3	catorró (1); gati
		lima	2	2,9	
61. Shoes	61. zapatos	61.1. chapires	54	79,4	chapiris (19)
		61.2. tirajáis, estirajáis	4	5,9	tirajáis (4)
62. Espadrilles	62. alpargatas	esparratiás	3	4,4	
63. Pocket	63. bolsillo	griló	3	4,4	
64. Stockings	64. medias	julamiás	2	2,9	
					alares (2)
					estache: Civil Guard (1)
					calcos (1)
					tirajáis as slippers
					pestañás

ENGLISH	SPANISH (Castilian)	CALÓ (ROMANÓ)	N: (68)	%	VARIATIONS OF THE CALÓ TERMS	OTHER OPTIONS OFFERED BY SPEAKERS
65. <i>Shirts</i>	65. faldas	<i>jachís</i>	8	11,8		
66. <i>Suit, dressed in suits</i>	66. traje, trajeado	<i>maqueo, maqueo</i>	24	35,3	<i>maqueo</i> : elegant, dressed up	
4. ANIMALS						
67. <i>Pig/pork</i>	67. cerdo	<i>balichó</i>	64	94,1	<i>balichón</i> (2)	
68. <i>Hen</i>	68. gallina	<i>bañi</i>	42	61,8	<i>bañá</i> (2), <i>basní</i> (1)	
69. <i>Animals, beasts of burden</i>	69. animales, bestias en general	<i>gayá</i>	1	1,5		
70. <i>Sheep, lamb, kid</i>	70. borrego, cordero, cabrito	<i>bestis</i>	32	47,1	<i>pestis</i> (10); <i>pesti</i> : donkey (1)	
71. <i>Goats</i>	71. cabras	<i>bracó</i>	6	8,8		
72. <i>Bull</i>	72. toro	<i>braquiás</i>	10	14,7		
73. <i>Cow</i>	73. vaca	<i>burel</i>	8	11,8	<i>brunel</i> (1)	
74. <i>He-goat</i>	74. macho cabrío	<i>burí</i>	7	10,3		
75. <i>Bird</i>	75. pájaro, ave	<i>busnó</i>	2	2,9	Mostly known as non-Gypsy	
76. <i>Chicken</i>	76. pollo, etc.	<i>chirricló</i>	7	10,3	As virginity, maidenhood (3)	
77. <i>He-Mule</i>	77. mulo	<i>chirrició</i>	15	22,1	Mostly known as chicken	
78. <i>Mule</i>	78. mula	<i>choró</i>	9	13,2	thief (1)	
79. <i>Horse, mare</i>	79. caballo, yegua	<i>chorí</i>	10	14,7	Also knife (2)	
80. <i>Ass</i>	80. burro	<i>gra, grasti</i>	11	16,2	<i>grasní</i> (1)	
		<i>grasnó</i>	8	11,8	<i>gras</i> (2), <i>grasnió</i> (1)	
		<i>jel</i>	3	4,4		
		<i>jeñi</i>	14	20,6	<i>gruñi, gruñó</i> (1)	
82. <i>Louse</i>	82. piojo	<i>chugal</i>	51	75,0	<i>chuales</i> (3), <i>chugais</i> (1)	

83. Dog	83. perro	<i>chuquel</i>	41	60,3	<i>chuquel/a</i> as bad (3)	
84. Rabbit	84. conejo	<i>joyoy</i>	20	29,4	Hare (2), mostly known as female genitals	
85. Turkey	85. pavo	<i>liliró; lila</i>	8	11,8	<i>liló</i> (2), most common as fool, dumb, idiot	
86. Cat	86. gato	<i>marcura</i>	6	8,8		
87. Doves	87. palomas	<i>parniás</i>	10	14,7	<i>pájeros</i> (1), <i>pañarís</i> (1), <i>gallinas</i> (1)	
5. TIME, WEATHER, CLIMATE						
88. Night	88. noche	<i>arachi</i>	30	44,1	<i>rachi</i> (2)	
89. Day	89. día	<i>chibés</i>	27	39,7	<i>dibes</i> (2), <i>chibel</i> (2)	
90. Cold	90. frío	<i>baroji, jil</i>	35	51,5	<i>biruji</i> (2), <i>jil</i> : cold, <i>baroji</i> : wind (1)	
91. Years	91. años	<i>brejes</i>	16	23,5	also <i>brenes</i> (1), <i>brejes</i> (2), also <i>bres</i> (1)	
92. Rain	92. lluvia	<i>brijinda</i>	23	33,8	also <i>pañí</i> (6)	
93. To rain	93. llover	<i>brijindar</i>	28	41,2	<i>prejindar</i> (2), <i>brijindela</i> (1)	
94. Sun	94. sol	<i>can</i>	8	11,8	also <i>oripandó</i> (2)	
95. Fire, bonfire, light	95. Hoguera	<i>yaqui</i>	34	50,0	Commonly known as domestic fire	
6. RELIGION AND BELIEF						
96. Priest	96. cura	<i>arayoy</i>	28	41,2	<i>cunajai</i> (5), <i>carijai</i> (1)	
97. Church	97. iglesia	<i>cangri</i>	27	39,7	<i>lacrí</i> (3), <i>cangari</i> (1)	
98. God	98. Dios	<i>Undibel, Undebel, Debel</i>	67	98,5	<i>dibel</i> (1)	
99. The Virgin	99. Virgen (la)	<i>Majari (la)</i>	45	66,2	saint woman (1), also foolish woman (2)	
100. Saint	100. santo	<i>majaró</i>	8	11,8		
101. Bogeyman	101. "coco"	<i>bute</i>	35	51,5	also: ghosts, spirits	
102. Devil	102. diablo	<i>mengue, bengue</i>	45	66,2	<i>ben</i> (3); <i>bengue</i> (31); also demon, devil, non-Gypsy (5)	

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7. INSTRUMENTS, APPLIANCES: TECHNOLOGY						
103. Scissors	103. tijeras	<i>cachás</i>	19	27,9		
104. Knife	104. cuchillo	<i>jamró</i>	15	22,1		
105. Spoon	105. cuchara	<i>jalaora</i>	19	27,9		
106. Cooking pot	106. olla	<i>perí, píri</i>	36	52,9	<i>píri</i> (9), <i>perí</i> y <i>píri</i> (2)	
107. Lamp, candle	107. candil	<i>dutí</i>	4	5,9	<i>el dutí</i> (1)	
108. Candle-wax	108. vela	<i>mumeli</i>	0	0,0		
109. Blanket	109. manta	<i>pernicha</i>	19	27,9	<i>pernicha</i> (2); also <i>bed</i> (1); <i>penuchi</i> (1)	<i>cherga</i> : horses' blanket
110. Handkerchief	110. pañuelo	<i>dició</i>	9	13,2		
111. Club	111. garrota	<i>cayá</i> (< Spanish <i>cayada</i>)	18	26,5		
112. Stick, rod	112. vara	<i>ram, anrá</i>	32	47,1	<i>ran</i> (3), <i>anrá</i> (3)	
113. Basket	113. cesta	<i>cornicha</i>	5	7,4		
114. Sickle	114. hoz	<i>chinaora</i>	2	2,9		
115. Clock	115. reloj	<i>pajató, pusaíó</i>	13	19,1	<i>pajandón</i> (1), <i>pajaió</i> (1)	
116. Wallet, satchel	116. cartera	<i>positi</i>	6	8,8		
117. Chair	117. silla	<i>pestaora</i>	9	13,2		
118. Wineskin	118. bota (de vino)	<i>moratí</i>	4	5,9	<i>bufia</i> (1)	
119. Needle	119. aguja	<i>sufre</i>	2	2,9		
120. Cigar, cigarette	120. cigarro	<i>prajo, plajo</i>	46	67,6	<i>plao</i> (7), <i>prao</i> (2)	
121. Guitar	121. guitarra	<i>bajani</i>	34	50,0		<i>sonanta</i> (2)
122. Car	122. coche	<i>berdó</i>	9	13,2	<i>bardó</i> (2)	<i>berdó</i> : chart (1)
123. Train	123. tren	<i>nejaoar</i>	12	17,6	<i>nejaoar</i> : car <i>ren</i> (1)	
		<i>rengé</i>	6	8,8		

124. Iron (nail)	124. hierro (objeto de)	<i>clafi</i> (properly 'nail')	0	0,0	
125. Things, trifles	125. cosas	<i>buchis</i>	4	5,9	
126. Rope	126. sogá, cuerda	<i>durí</i>	4	5,9	
127. Rope end	127. ramal (cabo de una sogá)	<i>elicá</i>	1	1,5	also rope
128. Headstall, halter	128. jáquima, ronzal	<i>toqui</i>	4	5,9	
129. Cards	129. cartas (naipes)	<i>lises</i>	8	11,8	
130. Documents for animals	130. guías de las bestias	<i>lises</i>	4	5,9	
131. Cowbell	131. cencerro	<i>engagallo</i>	3	4,4	
132. Soap	132. jabón	<i>tapuñes</i>	3	4,4	
133. To smoke	133. fumar	<i>prajear</i>	46	67,6	<i>prajear</i> (12), <i>prajar</i> (3), <i>prajar</i> (3)
134. To seat down	134. sentarse	<i>bestelarse, pestelarse</i>	12	17,6	<i>bestelarse</i> (1), <i>pestelarse</i> (11)
8. MONEY AND BUSINESS					
135. A five pesetas (big) coin	135. duro	<i>135.1. baré</i>	22	32,4	<i>baró</i> (3)
		<i>135.2. chuló</i>	10	14,7	
136. A peseta	136. peseta	<i>136.1. calatí, pl. calatís, calatías</i>	7	10,3	<i>lua, trejúla</i> (3), <i>trjúla</i> (1)
		<i>136.2. pañá</i>	3	4,4	
137. To sell	137. vender	<i>binar, quinár</i>	40	58,8	<i>merquinar</i> (2), <i>biquinar</i> (3)
138. Coin (Penny)	138. moneda, "perra"	<i>chuqueta</i>	25	36,8	
139. Bills	139. billetes	<i>pápiris, pápiros</i>	48	70,6	<i>pápires</i> (4)

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140. Money	140. dinero	140.1. jayeres	56	82,4		
		140.2. jurdás	32	47,1		
		140.3. parné	37	54,4		
		140.4. lobé	3	4,4		
		140.5. jetes, jates	11	16,2	jatés (10)	
141. Gold	141. oro	sonacay; sorna	33	48,5	also sorna (3); sorna: ring, jewel (3)	
142. Silver	142. plata	laya	14	20,6		
143. To buy	143. comprar; mercar	quinar, merquinar	32	47,1	quinar and merquinar (4); quinar: also to steal (2)	quinaores: horse thieves (1)
144. To pay	144. pagar	poquinar	61	89,7	apoquinar (14), acoquinar (2), acuquinar (1)	
145. To be worth	145. valer	molar; morelar	37	54,4	morelar (2), molelar (1), morela lacho (1)	
146. Lend	146. fiar	pachabar	27	39,7	pachabalar: to ow (6); pachobao: on credit (1)	
147. Debt	147. deuda	pachanda	43	63,2		
9. KINSHIP, DESCENT, IDENTITY						
148. Mother	148. madre	bata; matu	67	98,5	matus (1),	
		day	0	0,0		
149. Father	149. padre	bato, battico; patu	66	97,1	patu (6), batus (1), batu (2); patu the most usual	
150. Compadre	150. compadre	quirobo	7	10,3	cribó (1); garibó (1); piribeto (1)	
151. Brother, sister	151. hermano/a	plas, plano/a/i	17	25,0	planoró (1), plan (2); also plasno and planabi (1)	
152. Name	152. nombre	alao	8	11,8	arnao (1); also: surname	
153. Lord, gentleman	153. señor, caballero	eray, aray	18	26,5	arai: also priest (2); jera, jarray (2)	eray : also upper class non-Gypsy (4) jera, jaray : non-Gypsy (2)
154. Lady, Madam	154. señora	araiñi	14	20,6	araiñi: wealthy person (1)	

155. <i>Oumer</i>	155. dueño	<i>julay</i>	19	27,9	also as fool, simplementon (7) and non-Gypsy (4)
156. <i>Gitano (Gypsy)</i>	156. gitano	156.1. <i>caló</i>	66	97,1	also <i>cayó</i> , (1)
		156.2. <i>rom</i>	19	27,9	also <i>romanó</i> (1)
157. <i>Husband</i>	157. marido	<i>rom</i>	53	77,9	
158. <i>Gitana, Gypsy woman</i>	158. gitana	158.1. <i>calí, cayí</i>	37	54,4	<i>calí</i> (3), <i>cañí</i> (2), <i>calorra</i> (1), <i>cayí</i> (12), others: <i>calí o caló</i>
		158.2. <i>romí, rumí</i>	44	64,7	<i>rumí</i> (7)
159. <i>Wife</i>	159. esposa	<i>romí, rumí</i>	55	80,9	<i>rumí</i> (14); <i>romí</i> as Gypsy woman, <i>rumí</i> as wife (2)
160. <i>Non-Gypsy men</i>	160. payo	160.1. <i>busnó</i>	64	94,1	<i>sesó</i> (4), <i>sesor</i> (1), <i>mengue</i> (2)
		160.2. <i>gachó</i>	58	85,3	<i>gachó</i> as wealthy non-Gypsy (2)
		160.3. <i>jambo</i>	38	55,9	<i>piturrillo</i> (2)
		160.4. <i>lacró</i>	40	58,8	
161. <i>Non-Gypsy woman</i>	161. paya	161.a <i>busní</i>	41	60,3	<i>gachisa</i> (1)
		161.b <i>gachí</i>	47	69,1	
		161.c <i>lacorrila, lacrí</i>	2	2,9	
162. <i>Gypsy boy</i>	162. muchacho (gitano)	<i>chabó</i>	39	57,4	also <i>chavea</i> (1)
163. <i>Non Gypsy boy</i>	163. muchacho no-gitano	<i>lacorrillo</i>	50	73,5	
164. <i>Male child</i>	164. niño	<i>chaborró, chaborrillo</i>	57	83,8	
165. <i>Female child</i>	165. niña	<i>chaborrí</i>	52	76,5	
166. <i>Moor, Moroccan</i>	166. moro	<i>curqajay</i>	9	13,2	<i>gallandón</i> as black (1)
167. <i>To marry</i>	167. casarse	167.1. <i>bandarse, pandalarse</i>	40	58,8	<i>pandalarse</i> (1), <i>prandarse</i> (3)
		167.2. <i>romandñarse</i>	9	13,2	<i>remondñarse</i> (1)

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10. TRANSGRESSION, AUTHORITY, VIOLENCE						
168. Thief	168. ladrón	168.1. <i>randeta, randa</i>	34	50,0		<i>tinaor (1), malandeta (1), malachor (1)</i>
		168.2. <i>quinaor</i>	3	4,4		
		168.3. <i>chor, choro</i>	19	27,9	<i>chorelar (1)</i>	
169. Cattle rustler-thief	169. ladrón de bestias	<i>quinaor</i>	29	42,6	<i>quinaor</i> als debtor (2)	
170. Street urchin, rogue, rascal	170. golfillo	<i>malacató, (pl.) malacatinés</i>	2	2,9		
171. To steal	171. robar	171.1. <i>chorar; lilar</i>	52	76,5		
		171.2. <i>randar</i>	50	73,5		
		171.3. <i>quinar</i>	14	20,6		
		171.4. <i>ustilar</i>	9	13,2		
		171.5. <i>lilar o lelar</i>	6	8,8		
172. Razor, knife	172. navaja	<i>chorí</i>	42	61,8	also <i>chori</i> and <i>churi</i>	
172. Gun, pistol	173. pistola, escopeta	<i>pusca</i>	44	64,7		<i>viena</i> as hand gun
	escopeta	<i>embea, ambea</i>	7	10,3	gun, rifle	
174. Drug	174. droga	<i>bea</i>	2	2,9	<i>ful</i> as drug (2)	and also the argot terms: <i>costo, consumao, farlopa.</i>
175. A shot	175. disparo	<i>bucharnó</i>	45	66,2	<i>buchandó</i>	
176. Bullets	176. balas	<i>marmuyas</i>	10	14,7	<i>marmuyar</i> : to shot (1), to kill (1)	
176. Municipal Guards	177. guardias municipales	<i>chinetas</i>	10	14,7	non-Gypsies (1), delinquent word (1)	

177. <i>Soldiers</i>	179. soldados	<i>jeres</i>	7	10,3	also policemen (5) all police forces, Guardia Civil, soldiers
178. <i>Civil Guard</i>	178. guardia civil	<i>chute, jundamar</i>			
179. <i>Policemen, guards</i>	180. policías, guardias	180.1. <i>jeres</i>	9	13,2	
		180.2. <i>pestaños</i>	20	29,4	
		180.3. <i>jundunares</i>	62	91,2	<i>jundunares</i> (4), <i>jundunares</i> (1), <i>judunares</i> (1)
		180.4. <i>chutes</i>	26	38,2	<i>chuti</i> (5)
		180.5. <i>ambeos, embeos</i>	15	22,1	<i>embeos</i> (2)
181. <i>The police</i>	181. policía (la)	<i>pestañi</i>	63	92,6	
182. <i>Forest ranger</i>	182. guarda	<i>aracañá</i>	12	17,6	
183. <i>Mayor</i>	183. alcalde	<i>bareté</i>	13	19,1	<i>bareté</i> as mayor (5)
184. <i>Chief, headman, authority</i>	184. jefe, autoridad, mando	<i>barandé, barandó</i>	31	45,6	<i>barandé</i> o <i>barandé</i> : mayor (18), <i>baratel</i> (1), <i>barandan</i> (1)
185. <i>Prison, jail</i>	185. cárcel	<i>estarribén</i>	45	66,2	<i>estarribén</i> (10), also <i>tariben</i> (2), <i>taripén</i> (4), <i>talibén</i> (1), <i>charipé</i> (1)
186. <i>Jailed, imprisoned, incarcerated</i>	186. encarcelado	<i>estardó, estardao</i>	36	52,9	<i>estardó</i> (2), <i>estarripao</i> (2); <i>prandao, prandelao</i> (1)
187. <i>Prostitute</i>	187. prostituta	<i>lumi, lumia, lumiasca</i>	61	89,7	also <i>lumi</i> (6), <i>limiasca</i> (2), <i>mumiá</i> (2)
188. <i>Lover</i>	188. amante	<i>pirañi</i>	6	8,8	as „bad“ woman (1)
189. <i>Fight, brawl, affray, war</i>	189. ñña, pelea, reyerta	189.1. <i>quimera</i>	37	54,4	<i>quimera</i> as Gypsy fight versus <i>chingara</i> as war (1)
190. <i>To fight, to quarrel</i>	190. pelearse	189.2. <i>chingarea, chingara chingararse</i>	21	30,9	<i>chingarimientu</i> (1) <i>chingaripen</i> (8)
191. <i>To strike, to hit, to beat</i>	191. pegar, golpear	<i>currar</i>	54	79,4	<i>curripén</i> : beating (2); most common: to work <i>endiñar</i> (1)

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192. <i>To inform; to betray; tipping off</i>	192. delatar	<i>pucabar</i>	23	33,8	<i>bucabar</i> : to speak (1), <i>pucabeta</i> : informer, betrayer (2)	
193. <i>To kill</i>	193. matar	193.1. <i>marar</i> ; <i>marabelar</i> 193.2. <i>tasabar</i> ; <i>tasabelar</i>	53 28	77,9 41,2	<i>marelar</i> (5) <i>estasabar</i> (1)	
194. <i>To fornicate</i>	194. fornicar	194.1. <i>aqueyar</i> 194.2. <i>chibar</i> 194.3. <i>pirabar</i>	16 18 6	23,5 26,5 8,8	also <i>rilar</i> and <i>chingar</i>	
11. EMOTIONS, FEELINGS, PERSONAL STATES						
195. <i>Hunger</i>	195. Hambre	<i>boqui</i> , <i>bocata</i>	48	70,6	<i>boqui</i> (2), <i>bucai</i> (1), <i>cocata</i> : <i>hunger</i> (1)	<i>gallipé</i> (1)
196. <i>Grief, pain</i>	196. pena	<i>duca</i> , <i>duquela</i>	44	64,7	<i>duquela</i> is more common; also: complaints	
197. <i>Hatred</i>	197. odio, coraje	197.1. <i>graje</i> 197.2. <i>jonche</i>	5 9	7,4 13,2	<i>jonche</i> as anger (4)	
198. <i>Fear</i>	198. miedo	198.1. <i>jindama</i> 198.2. <i>trajata</i>	48 28	70,6 41,2		
199. <i>Shame</i>	199. vergüenza	<i>lache</i>	66	97,1	<i>lachi</i> (16); also <i>lachi</i> (3), <i>lacha</i> (2)	
200. <i>Luck (good)</i>	200. suerte	<i>baji</i>	23	33,8	<i>baji</i> : tip (1)	<i>malfarío</i> (2)
201. <i>Bad luck</i>	201. suerte (mala)	<i>bajío (mal)</i>	45	66,2	<i>mal bajío</i> : hurt, destroyed (1)	
202. <i>Screams, cries</i>	202. gritos	<i>golis</i>	11	16,2	also: voices (5)	
203. <i>To anger</i>	203. enfadar	<i>jachatar</i>	26	38,2	<i>está jachatar</i> : he is angry (1)	
204. <i>To shame</i>	204. avergonzar	<i>jachatar</i>	21	30,9	<i>achatar</i> : to be ashamed (4); feels <i>lache</i> (3)	
205. <i>To sing</i>	205. cantar	<i>guiyaban</i> , <i>gayíbar</i>	16	23,5		
206. <i>Sick</i>	206. enfermo	<i>nasayó (fem. nasayí)</i>	6	8,8	<i>nasaló</i> (1); <i>tubela nasayó</i> : being sick	

207. <i>Hopeless, desperate</i>	207. perdido (desesperado)	<i>najabao</i> (fem. <i>najabá</i>); (fem.) <i>najati</i>	14	20,6	also gone (3), fugitive (2), gone, hidden, scaped (1)
208. <i>To scare, to frighten</i>	208. atemorizar, asustar, dar miedo	<i>jindamar</i>	35	51,5	
209. <i>To fear</i>	209. temer	<i>trajabar</i>	17	25,0	<i>trajatar</i> (3), (a) <i>trajatao</i> (2)
210. <i>To deceive, to lie</i>	210. engañar	<i>jojabar</i>	19	27,9	
211. <i>Lie</i>	211. mentira	<i>jojana</i>	46	67,6	<i>ojana</i> (12), also <i>ojanar</i> (2); also <i>jonaneta</i> (2), <i>pujana</i> (1)
212. <i>To cry</i>	212. llorar	<i>orobar; lobarar; yoberar</i>	20	29,4	also <i>yovindar-llovindar</i> (6), <i>yubindar</i> (1), <i>yorobela</i> (1)
213. <i>Pregnant</i>	213. embarazada, preñada	<i>cambrí</i>	57	83,8	
214. <i>Rich, wealthy</i>	214. rico	<i>barbaló</i> (fem. <i>barbalí</i>)	24	35,3	<i>barbalí</i> (2)
215. <i>Poor</i>	215. pobre	<i>pelalé</i>	9	13,2	<i>pelaló</i> (5)
216. <i>Crazy, fool</i>	216. Tonto, loco	216.3. <i>diniló, dimileta; lila, liló, lileta</i>	60	88,2	
		216.2. <i>majaró, majaneta, majara, majarón</i>	43	63,2	
217. <i>Stupid</i>		216.3. <i>macandé</i>	9	13,2	
218. <i>Drunk, drunken</i>	218. borracho	<i>matobao</i>	25	36,8	<i>matobao and matinga</i> for both sexes (14)
		<i>matंगा, matingue</i>	31	45,6	
		<i>molayó</i>	0	0,0	
219. <i>Drunk woman</i>	219. borracha	<i>matigüela, mativela</i>	17	25,0	<i>matobá</i> (2)
220. <i>Dead</i>	220. muerto(s)	<i>muyao</i>	53	77,9	<i>matserao</i> (1)
		<i>muló, mulé</i>	11	16,2	<i>muló</i> (1), <i>mulcao</i> (1)
221. <i>Death</i>	221. muerte	<i>mulé</i>	17	25,0	<i>muyipen</i> (4)
222. <i>To die</i>	222. morir	<i>muyar</i>	44	64,7	
223. <i>Old men</i>	223. viejo	<i>puró, pureta</i>	62	91,2	
224. <i>Old woman</i>	224. vieja	<i>purí</i>	28	41,2	

ENGLISH	SPANISH (Castilian)	CALÓ (ROMANÓ)	N: (68)	%	VARIATIONS OF THE CALÓ TERMS	OTHER OPTIONS OFFERED BY SPEAKERS
12. PROFESSIONS						
225. <i>Teacher</i>	225. maestro	<i>aracañi</i>	5	7,4	<i>arañó</i> , also important person	
226. <i>Scribe, clerk</i>	226. escribiente	<i>libanó</i>	0	0,0		
227. <i>Doctor, Physician</i>	227. médico	<i>pusató</i>	6	8,8		
228. <i>Veterinarian</i>	228. veterinario	<i>jomisto</i>	4	5,9	<i>jumisto (1)</i>	
13. ADJECTIVES, ADVERBS, INTERJECTIONS, EXPLETIVES						
229. <i>Big</i>	229. grande	<i>baró</i>	20	29,4		
230. <i>Small</i>	230. pequeño	<i>chinorreta</i>	50	73,5	<i>chinorró (6)</i> , <i>chinorrillo (3)</i>	
231. <i>Good</i>	231. bueno	<i>lacho</i>	15	22,1	<i>chilachó (1)</i>	<i>feté, fetelito (3)</i>
232. <i>Bad</i>	232. malo	<i>choró</i>	12	17,6		
233. <i>Thin</i>	233. delgado	<i>jucó</i>	5	7,4		
234. <i>Fat, big</i>	234. gordo	<i>chuló</i>	7	10,3	<i>chuyé (1)</i>	
235. <i>Pretty, beautiful</i>	235. bonito	<i>jucal, juncal, cucal (fem.) junacti; jucarico</i>	51	75,0		
236. <i>Ugly</i>	236. feo	<i>chungaló</i>	53	77,9	<i>chungo (31)</i> , also <i>chungaleta (21)</i> , <i>changuela (2)</i>	
237. <i>Here</i>	237. aquí	<i>acobá, acoy</i>	38	55,9		
238. <i>There</i>	238. allí	<i>ayité</i>	8	11,8		
239. <i>Well, good</i>	239. bien, bueno	<i>chachipén, chipén</i>	49	72,1	<i>chachipén</i> as yes	<i>gallipé</i> : good
		<i>feté, fetén</i>	36	52,9	also <i>fité (2)</i>	
		<i>lacyo</i>	1	1,5		
		<i>mistós, mistó</i>	5	7,4		
240. <i>Slowly, little by little</i>	240. poco a poco, lentamente	<i>flemicha</i>	8	11,8		

241. True, genuine	241. verdad (de)	<i>chachipén</i>	30	44,1	
242. Yes	242. sí	<i>unga, uba</i>	14	20,6	
242. Nothing	243. nada	<i>chis</i>	9	13,2	
242. No	244. no	<i>nasti, nastis, nastias</i>	54	79,4	also: shut up (2); nothing (2)
243. Yes, of course (ironically)	245. isí, claro! (sentido irónico)	<i>chachipén ananay</i>	11	16,2	
246. Go away!	246. ¡vete!	<i>iguyélate!</i>	17	25,0	<i>biyélate! (2), najélate! (5)</i>
		<i>ichapisque!</i>	0	0,0	
247. Come on!	247. ¡venga!	<i>icurle!, icurles!</i>	21	30,9	also: hurry up, rush, haste
248. What a pity!	248. ¡qué lástima!	<i>iqué chorro!</i>	13	19,1	how bad!; <i>iqué cholorrícol!</i> : What a shame!
249. Shut up!	249. ¡cállate!	<i>imecle!</i>	18	26,5	<i>achanta la muy (2)</i>
		<i>ichelat!</i>	17	25,0	<i>tachélate! (3)</i>
		<i>inacle! o imasti!</i>	14	20,6	<i>necle (1)</i>
14. PRONOUNS					
250. I, myself	250. yo	<i>man, mansa, mansi, amanguí; musa</i>	30	44,1	<i>manguí (9); mi menda</i>
251. You	251. tú	<i>tusa, tuque, tuquis</i>	20	29,4	<i>atusa (3), tuqui (1)</i>
252. This, that	252. este, ese, aquel	<i>amanguí</i>	3	4,4	
253. Our	253. nuestro	<i>amaré</i>	1	1,5	
254. We	254. nosotros	<i>mansas</i>	2	2,9	also <i>amaró, amari (1)</i>
15. VERBS, VERBAL ACTIONS					
255. To be	255. ser	<i>smar, sinelar</i>	52	76,5	<i>sinelar (37)</i>
256. To come	256. venir	<i>abiyar, biyelar</i>	46	67,6	also <i>abiyelar (7)</i>
257. To go	257. ir(se)	<i>najar(se), najélar(se)</i>	67	98,5	

ENGLISH	SPANISH (Castilian)	CALÓ (ROMANÓ)	N: (68)	%	VARIATIONS OF THE CALÓ TERMS	OTHER OPTIONS OFFERED BY SPEAKERS
258. <i>To leave, to go away</i>	258. marchar(se)	258.1. <i>chaltarse</i>	15	22,1		
259. <i>To be</i>	259. estar	258.2. <i>pirarse</i> <i>estiñelar; estubelar</i>	15	22,1		
260. <i>To have, to own</i>	260. tener	<i>terelar; tenelar; tiñelar; tubelar</i>	49	72,1	<i>estinelar (14), tiñelar (3)</i>	
261. <i>To do, to make</i>	261. hacer	<i>querar; quereelar</i>	46	67,6		
262. <i>To be still</i> <i>Stand still!</i>	262. estar(se) quieto	<i>achelar(se), chelar(se)</i>	26	38,2	<i>querar</i>	
262. <i>To shut up</i>	263. callar(se)	<i>achelar(se), chelar(se)</i>	17	25,0		
263. <i>To shoot</i>	264. tirar	<i>bucharar</i>	27	39,7		
264. <i>To love</i>	265. querer	<i>camelar</i>	41	60,3	to fight (1), to slander (4)	
265. <i>To know</i>	266. conocer	<i>pincharar</i>	67	98,5		
266. <i>To know</i>	267. saber	<i>chanelar</i>	28	41,2	also to known; <i>pincharelar (4), pincharar (2)</i>	
268. <i>To cut</i>	268. cortar	<i>chinar</i>	55	80,9		
269. <i>To throw</i>	269. echar	<i>chindar</i>	10	14,7		
270. <i>To work</i>	270. irabajar	<i>currar</i>	31	45,6	<i>rechindar (1), chindelar (5)</i>	
271. <i>To search</i>	271. buscar	<i>dorotar</i>	55	80,9	also <i>tubillar (7), estubilar (1), currelor</i> : work, job; to disturb (1), to find (1)	
272. <i>To hide, to take away</i>	272. esconder, quitar	<i>nicobar</i>	4	5,9		
273. <i>To hide, to keep</i>	273. guardar	<i>garabar</i>	40	58,8	<i>sicobar (7)</i> ; also: to steal	
274. <i>To give</i>	274. dar	<i>dinar, endinar</i>	13	19,1	also <i>garabar</i> : to keep	
275. <i>To seem; to appear</i>	275. parecer	<i>pachobelar; pachabelar</i>	54	79,4		
			15	22,1	<i>pachubela (3), as to take (2), to must (3) and to know (2)</i>	

276. To close	276. cerrar	<i>pandar; pangar; apangar; pangarelar, pandarelar</i>	10	14,7	<i>pandar, pandelar</i> : to marry, to have intercourse (6)
277. To break	277. romper	<i>parrabar; parrabandar</i>	39	57,4	<i>esparrabar</i> (7)
278. To like,	278. gustar	<i>pisabar</i>	9	13,2	also to know (1), to inform (1)
279. To take, to steal	279. coger	<i>ustilar</i>	18	26,5	also to steal (3)
280. To show off to boast	280. presumir	<i>ronear</i>	64	94,1	also to show off, to insinuate; <i>runear</i> (3)
16. PLACES, THE HOUSE					
281. House	281. casa	<i>quer</i>	65	95,6	<i>el quer</i> : masculine; also <i>la heli</i> (5), <i>quel</i> (2)
282. Door	282. puerta	<i>burdá, burda</i>	24	35,3	<i>butal</i> (1), <i>putal</i> (2)
283. Farmhouse, state (Andalusia)	283. cortijo	283.1. <i>coime</i> 283.2. <i>patusno</i>	12	17,6	<i>cósquiro</i> (2), <i>cosquí</i> : barracks (1)
284. Street	284. calle	<i>olicha</i>	11	16,2	<i>coime</i> (2), also <i>cósquiro</i> (6)
285. Shop	285. tienda	<i>cameyí</i>	0	0,0	<i>oliche</i> (1), also as square
286. Path	286. camino	<i>dron, drom</i>	19	27,9	
287. Stable	287. cuadra	<i>estaña</i>	6	8,8	
288. Town, village	288. pueblo	<i>gao</i>	23	33,8	
289. River	289. río	<i>lalen</i> (<i>ála len</i> = “el río”?)	7	10,3	
290. Window	290. ventana	<i>perlichas, perlacha</i>	8	11,8	<i>perlacha</i> (5)
Total (average)			128,7	36,3	

