

BOTANICAL LIFE-FORMS IN EUROPEAN ROMANY

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ABSTRACT.—Fifty European Romany (Gypsy) lexicons are examined. The typical botanical life-form inventory in E.R. is "tree" + "grass-grerb" + "bush." The data suggest two alternative reconstructions of the Romany life-form lexicon at ca. 1000 A.D. when the Gypsies left India. The first reconstruction contains only a "tree" term and a partially consolidated "grass" term. The second contains fully consolidated "tree," "grass" and "bush" terms. The effects of subsequent language contact and bilingualism on plant life-form lexicons are discussed. Finally data from two closely related varieties of Romany are evaluated regarding the effect of urbanization on wood/tree polysemy.

INTRODUCTION

In this paper¹ I will examine the botanical life-form lexicons of the varieties of Romany spoken by European Gypsies. The botanical life-form lexicons of two closely related varieties of *Kalderasitska*, the Romany spoken by the *Kalderasa* or "Coppersmith" Gypsies will serve as primary data which will be evaluated in the context of comparative data from other varieties of European Romany (hereinafter: E.R.). Finally a general statement concerning the development of European Gypsy botanical life-form lexicons will be proposed.

During recent years linguistic anthropologists have dedicated considerable effort to the construction of theoretical models which clarify the ways in which certain nomenclatural domains show pan-cultural regularities in their development. Some of the most interesting and productive work in this area has been done by Cecil Brown with regard to the ways in which human languages add plant life-form labels to their lexicons. Life-form labels are those taxa which are immediately superordinate to generic labels in folk taxonomies. In North American English, for example, beech, oak and maple are all genera classified under the English botanical life-form label "tree."

Brown (1984) has demonstrated that for plants:

1. The occurrence of life-form labels in languages is implicational: certain life-form labels are regularly encoded in languages before others. Thus, plant life-form labels are added to languages in a relatively fixed sequence.
2. This sequence is strongly associated with societal complexity. Languages spoken in large-scale, state-level societies commonly have many life-form labels, while languages spoken in small-scale societies have relatively few such labels. As technology and urban life increasingly distance humans from their natural environments, the numerous generic and specific labels which small-scale societies have for plants decrease. This decrease favors a concomitant increase in number

of life-form labels. Thus, the numerous life-form labels of languages spoken in large-scale societies, act as a sort of nomenclatural "shorthand" for what was lost.

3. The sequence apparent in the growth of life-form labels can be understood by the application of pan-human principles of naming behavior and marking.

THE STUDY OF GYPSY NOMENCLATURAL SYSTEMS

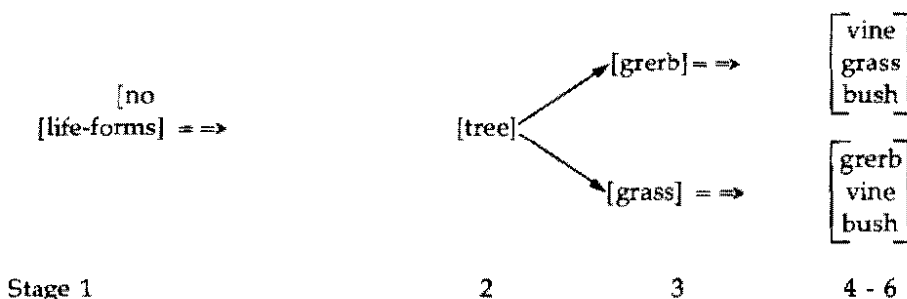
The linguistic behavior of Gypsies presents us with data relevant to the study of how developmentally constrained nomenclatural systems such as life-form inventories behave. Around 1000 A.D., the Gypsies left India and during much of the ensuing millennium, lived in and traveled through numerous European countries. The vast majority of Gypsies are at least bilingual. They speak the language of the country in which they have settled, or the languages of the countries through which they travel most heavily. They also usually speak a variety of Romany, which is classified as an Indic language belonging to the Indo-Iranian branch of Indo-European. By definition, Gypsies are always in symbiosis with the culture and language of the host states in which they live and/or through which they travel. The collective term with which Gypsies label the non-Gypsy citizens of these states, is *gaze* or *outsiders*.

During the ten centuries of Gypsy-Gaze symbiosis, there has been ample opportunity for items of linguistic and non-linguistic culture to be transferred from one group to the other. Even with regard to extremely conservative Gypsy communities, one should not underestimate the degree of Gaze cultural influence. Likewise, several regions and subcultures of modern state societies, such as Spain, have been rather profoundly affected by Gypsy language and culture (see Claveria 1951: chapt. 1).

In view of the foregoing, the status of life-form nomenclatures in Gypsy communities poses itself as a theoretically interesting question. Have Gypsy communities, because of their symbiosis with European state societies, adopted the life-form nomenclatures of their Gaze neighbors? Put another way, are the structure and content of Gypsy botanical life-form lexicons best explained by processes of language contact and bilingualism, or has an indigenous nomenclature been retained?

THE DEVELOPMENT OF BOTANICAL LIFE-FORM TERMS

Brown (1984:24) found the following sequence for the development of botanical life-forms in a sample of 188 languages:



That is, some languages have no life-form terms and thus form Stage 1. Others have only one life-form term (always "tree") and thus occupy Stage 2. Two term

systems (either "tree" and "grerb" or "tree" and "grass") comprise Stage 3. If the Stage 3 term is "grerb," then Stages 4, 5, and 6 involve the addition of "vine," "grass" and "bush" in no particular order. If the Stage 3 term is "grass," Stages 4, 5, and 6 involve the addition of "grerb," "vine," and "bush," again, in no particular order (Brown 1984:23-24).

The five life-form terms are defined as follows:

- "tree," Large plant (relative to the plant inventory of a particular environment) whose parts are chiefly ligneous (woody).
- "grerb," Small plant (relative to the plant inventory of a particular environment) whose parts are chiefly herbaceous (green, leafy, nonwoody).
- "bush," Plant of intermediate size (relative to the plant inventory of a particular environment) which is characteristically bushy (shows much branching and lacks a single, main support).
- "vine," Elongated plant exhibiting a creeping or twining or climbing stem habit.
- "grass," A flowerless, herbaceous plant with narrow, often bladelike or spear-shaped leaves (Brown 1984:13-14).

KALDERASITSKA

The European Kalderasa see themselves as one of the three great tribes of the *Rom*, a category of Gypsies which also includes the *Lowára* and the *Tšurára*. They speak a form of Romany which, in terms of basic vocabulary and grammatical features, is strongly Indic, but which at the same time has adopted as many as 1,500 Rumanian loan-words (Gjerdman and Ljungberg, 1963:xix-xx). The Rom had, prior to the 1850s, spent at least a century in Rumania where they found an economic niche. In the 1850s there was a massive diaspora of Rom out of Rumania. They now live in, or travel through North, Central and South America, Europe, and Australia.

Gjerdman and Ljungberg (1963, hereinafter G&L) have published an excellent descriptive grammar and 3,600 item vocabulary of "Swedish" Kalderasitska based on the language of Mr. Johan Dimitri Taikon, or *Miloš* (ca. 1879-1950). The book has become a classic in the area of Gypsy linguistics and is the definitive work on Kalderasitska. Beginning in 1972, in the course of various field trips to Spain, I have been able to spend approximately a year and a half living and working in a community of Kalderasa in a large Spanish urban center. Data concerning Kalderasa botanical life-form categories will be drawn from both the Taikon vocabulary and from my own field observations among the "Spanish" Kalderasa.

Swedish and Spanish Kalderasitska are closely related varieties of the same language, and, as such, are instructive regarding botanical life-form development. To the Kalderasitska cases I add the botanical life-form lexicon of the Welch Gypsies as recorded by Sampson (1968). For data on the life-form lexicons of other European Gypsy communities I have relied upon Wolf² (1960) who provides data concerning the distribution of 3,862 words in 47 Romany lexicons with the following geographical distribution: 17 (36%) from Germany, 13 (28%) from Western and Northern Europe and 17 (36%) from Eastern and Southern Europe (Wolf 1960:34). The total number of lexicons in our sample, then, comes to 50.

BOTANICAL LIFE-FORM TERMS OF THE SWEDISH KALDERASA

Botanical life-form categories cited in G&L are:

1. "tree," G&L (256a) claim an Indic etymology for the "tree" term *kaš*, referring the reader to Sampson (1968:pt. iv:138-139) who cites the Sanskrit *kastha* "piece of wood, log" as an etymon. In addition, G&L (256a) note that in Taikon's speech *kaš* also means "wood."
2. "grass," G&L (368b) gloss *tšar* as "grass." They give an Indic derivation for the word citing Sampson (1968:pt. iv:56) who cites the Sanskrit radical *car* / *carati* meaning "to roam, graze" as its etymon. G&L (281a-b) also list *luludži* "flower" <Modern Greek *lulúdi* "flower," a secondary meaning of which is "herb," or perhaps "flower-plant." Cognates of *luludži* occur in three of the Romany lexicons listed by Wolf (entry 1815), where they mean only "flower."
3. "bush," *túfa*, according to G&L (374a) means, in the variety of Kalderasitska spoken by Taikon, "bush" or "shrub." They cite the Rumanian *túfe* "bush, shrub" as its etymon.

BOTANICAL LIFE-FORMS OF THE SPANISH KALDERASA

Spanish Kalderasa plant life-forms are:

1. "tree," in the Spanish variety of Kalderasitska, *kaš* is restricted to meaning "wood." The Spanish Kalderasa "tree" term *sálka* is defined by informants as being big and having woody parts as opposed to the "grerb" term *tšar* (see below) which is small and has no woody parts. G&L (337a) list the same form (*sálka*) in the Swedish Kalderasitska vocabulary where it means "sallow, willow" or "osier" and relate it to the Rumanian and Transylvanian *sálke*. Although *sálka* came into Kalderasitska as a Rumanian-Transylvanian loan word, it has a wide distribution and a long history in South Central and Western Europe. The Castilian *sarga* "a kind of osier or willow" (Velázquez de la Cadena, 1970:576) is also a cognate. Corominas and Pascual (1983:v:176) relate that, in Spain, *sarga* signifies several species of the genus *Salix*, and also suggest that the Castilian form, as well as its Catalan cognate, came into Romance from the Celtic *SALICA (which corresponds to an attested form SALICO-) by way of the Proto-Basque *SARICA.
2. "grerb," Spanish Kalderasa informants equate their "grerb" term *tsar* with the Castilian "grerb" term *hierba* which means "any small plant without rigid, woody parts, that generally germinates and dies during the same year" (Moliner 1984:ii:41). Castilian does not distinguish between "grass" and "grerb." Moliner (1984:i:590), for instance, defines *césped* "lawn" in terms of *hierba*: "a short and dense 'herb' (*hierba*) which covers the ground . . ."
3. "bush," The Spanish Kalderasitska "bush" term is *bózi*. G&L (216b) list the Swedish Kalderasitska cognate *bózo* "elder-shrub," (genus *Sambucus*,) which is derived, they note, from the Rumanian *boz* "elder bush." Again the word has a wide distribution and considerable history in South Central and Western Europe. The Castilian *sauco* "elder" is a cognate, derived according to Corominas and Pascual (1983:v:176-177), from the classical Latin *SAMBUCUS*, via an intermediate form *SABUCUS*. Corominas and Pascual also note that the classical form survives in "Italian, and in various Sardinian, Rhaeto-Romanic and Occitanian dialects."

DISCUSSION

Both Swedish and Spanish Kalderasitska have three botanical life-form terms. Both languages have "tree" and "bush," but have taken somewhat different developmental routes, in that the Swedish Gypsies encoded "grass," while the Spanish Gypsies encoded "grerb" at Stage 3. According to Brown (1984:13-14 and above) "grass" is distinguished from "grerb" in that its leaves are bladelike, and it bears no flowers. "Grerbs" then, have broader leaves and can have flowers. In his book, Brown (1984:14) employs the English "herb" to mean "grerb." We have seen that the Spanish Kalderasa *tšar* includes both grasses and herbs. The Swedish Kalderasa perhaps distinguished between these two concepts by the use of *flower* to label herb, hence, this use of flower might be an incipient "grerb" label.

The data presented by Wolf do not provide a *label for label* translation for each Romany life-form term. Hence, in entry 3438, Wolf *collectively* glosses the many forms of *tšar* which he compiled as "grass, lawn, pasture-land" and "herb (*Kraut*)." In the development of life-form lexicons, however, "grass" and "grerb" are not totally exclusive categories. Brown (1984:14) maintains: "Grerb, when encoded, always includes nongrass herbaceous plants (denoted by *herb* in this work). However, it is frequently extended to grasses . . ." This broader Stage 3 category includes both herbs and grasses. This being the case, Stage 3 in E.R. seems to be a "grass-grerb" stage in its most inclusive sense, i.e., as including herbaceous *and* sometimes grass-like small plants—but also at times representing purely grass-like small plants, and only such plants.

ADDITIONAL BOTANICAL LIFE-FORMS IN EUROPEAN ROMANY

The botanical life-form lexicons for 47 varieties of E.R. (compiled from Wolf, 1960) are listed in Table 1. The first column of this table contains Wolf's code letter or number for each of the 47 varieties he investigated. The third column lists the author of each vocabulary or lexicon, while the life-form labels in each Gypsy lexicon follow each author's name. The last column gives the stage of life-form development of each lexicon. Since the vocabularies represented in the table vary greatly in length, sampling error must affect the completeness of the shorter and intermediate length lexicons. To assess this effect, a sample of 1,110 lexical items from Wolf was randomly selected, and then sorted by vocabulary of origin. The fraction represented by the number of items selected from each lexicon, divided by the total number of items (1,110), and expressed as a percent, indicates the completeness of each vocabulary, and is listed in column two. Since the life-form lexicons are listed by order of completeness (least to most), the lexicons listed toward the end of the table should be considered as most representative of E.R. The initial 19 lexicons, which individually represent < 1% of the total sample of words in Wolf's compendium, have their life-form stage score followed with a question mark to indicate their probable incompleteness.

Inspection of the Table indicates the following:

1. *The Typical Life-form Lexicon in Romany.* Of the last 16 and most complete lexicons in Table 1 (3 through 0), 12 encode for "tree" + "grass-grerb" + "bush." These referents are represented in the table by the numbers 2, 3, and 4 respec-

tively. The unnumbered terms, usually the first listed, designate "wood." It will be recalled that the two Kalderasitska lexicons also encoded for "tree" + "grass-grerb" + "bush." Welch Romany (see below) also encodes for this sequence. Thus 15 of the 19 Romany varieties discussed (79%) encode for "tree" + "grass-grerb" + "bush."

2. *Implicational Relationships.* The encoding sequence for Romany botanical life-form lexicons viz. "tree" + "grass-grerb" + "bush" is rare but not unique—Brown (1984:25) found this sequence in 4% of the world-wide sample of 188 languages which he investigated. This encoding sequence is violated (signified by * in the table), only three times in the E.R. data.

STAGE 2 AND 3 IN EUROPEAN ROMANY

Both varieties of Kalderasitska share the Indic term *tšar* at Stage 3. Wolf (3438) glosses *tšar* as "grass, lawn, pasture-land," and "herb" and records variants of the term in 24 European Gypsy languages. Sampson (1968:pt. iv:55-56) also notes a form of *tsar* meaning "grass" in Welch Romany. Other possible labels for the "grass-grerb" category are contained in the following entries given by Wolf.

- (3181) *štoro* (and variants) "herb" in one lexicon (2, after Uhlik) ◀ Unclear.
- (935) *grāsa(n)* "grass" in one lexicon (d, after Etzler) ◀ Swedish *gräs*.

WOOD/TREE POLYSEMY

Witkowski, Brown and Chase (1981) have shown that approximately two thirds of the world's languages have a common term for wood and "tree," while Brown (1984:60-62) has found that of a world-wide sample of 188 languages, 93 languages (49%) exhibit wood/tree polysemy. He presents a strong argument "that tree usually develops through referential expansion from 'wood' " as a response to increase in societal scale. Such growth in scale would involve a speech community's distancing itself from the natural environment to the point where a "tree" label would be a convenient device to refer to a class of objects, the individual members of which have lost a degree of adaptive importance and therefore salience.

The Kalderasitska case is instructive concerning changes in societal scale and wood/tree polysemy. According to Gjerdmann (G&L, 1963:v-xi), their informant, Mr. Taikon traveled through Sweden, Norway, Finland, Russia, the Baltic States, Poland, Germany and France. At least some of his travels took place during horse and wagon days, as is indicated by the considerable emphasis in his lexicon on items having to do with horses and their care. It is certain that these journeys took him and his people to many rural campsites, where they came in contact with a great variety of plant life. G&L (1963) list the following "tree" names (with probable etymologies) in Taikon's vocabulary: *anino* "alder(-tree)" ◀ Rumanian *anin* (197b); *pendexin* "hazel bush/tree" ◀ Persian, Kurdish *penaxā* (309b); *dudulin* "mulberry tree" ◀ Rumanian *dud* (230a); *pālmo* "palm tree" ◀ "European" (304a); *mestetiin* "birch tree" ◀ Rumanian *mesteaken* (290a); *o kaš le kritšunósko* "Christmas-tree" (256a); *brádo* "fir, spruce" ◀ Rumanian *brad* (216b); *sálka* "sallow, willow, osier" ◀ Rumanian *sálke* (337a); *pedureátsa* "crab(-tree)" [sic] ◀ Rumanian *peduréts* (310b); *líka* "linden tree" ◀ Russian *líko* (278b); *phabelin* "apple tree" ◀ Sanskrit *p'abai* (311b); *plópo* "popular, aspen" ◀ Rumanian *plop* (319a); *pruiin* "plum tree" ◀ Rumanian *prúne* (327a);

strežári "oak" < Rumanian *stežár* (346b); *akhorín* "walnut tree" an Indic form (194a); *rekiíta* "sallow, osier, willow" < Rumanian *rekiíte* (333a). G&L (1963:46) note that the suffix *-ín* is placed on names of fruits to form the name of the tree upon which a particular fruit grows.

The Spanish Kalderasa present a rather different case in their relationship to the natural environment. By their own admission they are "city Gypsies" rather than "country Gypsies." Even the best informants know little of the horse and wagon days, and of the vocabulary related to horses. They are sedentary and their domestic and work environment is urban and has been urban for fifty years. They have little interest in plant life. When I went over the above list of "tree" names with knowledgeable informants they recognized very few of the non-fruit "tree" labels and they knew nothing of the *-ín* suffix used by Taikon. They did recognize *pálmo*, "palm tree" for which they use the Castilian label *palma*. *Sálka* was, of course, recognized, but only as the life-form label "tree." They knew "pine tree," but only as "Christmas tree," *sálka kretšunóski*. "Apple tree" was glossed as *sálka phabaiéngi*. "Fruit trees" could, in general, be glossed by combining *sálka* with a genitive form of the fruit which they bear (as in the last example).

Taikon's people made their living by doing metalwork on a contractual basis for the Gaze, as do the Spanish Kalderasa. Hence, the appellation "Coppersmith." The technological vocabularies of the Swedish Kalderasa and the Spanish Kalderasa are very similar. It is highly probable that there is little technological difference between the two groups in the area of metalworking process. The difference between the two groups lies in their typical lifeways. First, the Spanish Coppersmiths adopted the automobile. Second, they opted, years ago, to use the urban center in which they live as a permanent base of operations for their business. The Spanish Coppersmiths have become urban businessmen, who have only sporadic contact with a rural environment—hence, they have been distanced enough from the world of natural things to have lost many individual "tree" names, and, as part of the same process, to have expanded a particular "tree" name into a "tree" life-form, eschewing the wood/tree polysemy of their Swedish predecessors who had a more rural lifestyle.³

In Swedish Kalderasitska *sálka* is restricted in meaning to "sallow, willow" or "osier." Languages often innovate life-form labels by expanding the reference of folk generic labels (Brown 1984:71 *et seq.*) and frequently "tree" terms develop from extension of the referential range of the label for a tree which is particularly important in a local environment (Brown 1984:60). Sallow, willow and osier trees belong to the genus *Salix* of the cosmopolitan family *Salicaceae*. The genus *Salix* contains about 300 species and is of economic importance for materials used in tanning, the manufacture of charcoal, small wooden implements and baskets (cf. Lawrence 1951:447-448). Such activities would certainly have been important with regard to the estate economies in Rumania prior to the 1850s, which is the approximate date of large-scale Rom out-migration from that country.

WOOD AND TREE LABELS IN EUROPEAN ROMANY

In Table 1, forms of *kaś* (entry 1334) meaning "wood, tree, stick" and "staff" appear in all but eight of the 47 lexicons searched. These lexicons represent the smaller and therefore least complete vocabularies. Another lexicon (d, after Etzler) lists *hultrum* "wood," a German loanword. We have seen that *kaś* has its etymon in the Sanskrit *kāśtha* which means "piece of wood" or "log." It is unlikely that

Romany developed directly from Sanskrit but it is interesting and significant that in Sanskrit wood/tree polysemy had dissolved into separate terms for "wood" = *kāṣṭha* and "tree" = *vrkṣa* (Burrow 1959:161; Sampson 1968 pt. iv:321).

The foregoing is important because it compels one to entertain the hypothesis that all, or some of the ancestors of the Gypsies came out of India, a millennium or so ago, speaking a variety of Romany with separate wood and "tree" terms, the wood term being ancestral to the modern *kaš* and the "tree" term consisting of some other Indic word or words. An excellent candidate would be the form ancestral to *ruk* and its variants which denote "tree" in 24 of the Gypsy lexicons summarized by Wolf (2801). Of the 16 most complete lexicons searched by Wolf, 12 had *ruk* terms for "tree" (see Table). *Ruk* also glosses "tree" in the Welch variety of Romany studied by Sampson (1968: pt. iv:321). Sampson (1968) traces *ruk* to the Sanskrit *vrkṣá* or *rukṣa*, both denoting "tree" and gives the Prakrit *rukḥa* and the Hindi *rūkh* as cognates. Wolf (444) gives only one other Romany "tree" label of Indic origin: *daró*, *daru* < Hindi *taru*; < Persian *daraxt*, which appears in just one lexicon (5, after Serboianu, in the Table). Two additional "tree" labels are given by Wolf: *chopácho* (1493) < Rumanian *copac* "tree," from one Romany lexicon (5, after Serboianu) and *lithi* (1784). The first term: *chopácho*, involved the direct borrowing of a European "tree" label. For the second label, *lithi*, Wolf gives a tentative Eastern and Southeastern European etymology, citing the Albanian *lis*, and its cognates in Serbo-Croatian, Slovak, Czechoslovak, and Polish—all meaning "leaf." Wolf seems overcautious in this case. We are dealing with a wide-spread European word, which is represented in three varieties of Romany (13, after Puchmayer; 10, after Wratlslaw; and 8, after Jesina). As noted by Brown (1984:67), plant parts sometimes expand lexically to designate life-forms.

EUROPEAN ROMANY STAGE 4 AND THE INNOVATION OF BUSH

Bor at its cognates represent a frequent label for the life-form "bush" in E.R. Wolf (328) records variants of the label meaning "hedge, bush, grove, wood, forest" and "undergrowth" from 13 varieties of E.R. (11 of which appear in the 16 most representative lexicons), and cites Hindi *būṭā* "bush, shrub;" Persian *bote* "bush, shrub" and Polish *bór* "forest" as cognates. The primary meaning of the label is "hedge" which signifies a "fence or boundary formed by a row of shrubs or small trees planted close together . . ." (WTNID 1976:1048). The secondary meaning "bush" is clear. The tertiary denotation, the (Ger.) *Hain* means "grove" but also a "sylvan glade" as well as a "bosket" = "thicket" and "boscage" = "a growth of trees or shrubs" (NCGD 1958:213; WTNID 1976:257). Clearly, the term signifies referents along two continua, viz., size: (small to large plant) and density: (single plant to assemblage of plants). It would not be imprudent to approach the primary and secondary meanings (which largely coincide with those of the word's Oriental cognates) as being the usual meanings of *bor* in E.R.

Wolf (2801) also gives the diminutive of *ruk* "tree," *rukoro* "little tree," hence "shrub," which appears in one variety of Romany (6, after Colocci (Balk.)), while Sampson records a similar "bush" label for Welch Romany—*bita* or *xuredō ruk* "little tree," beside *buros*.⁴ Two additional "bush" terms of low representation are cited by Wolf:

- (3555) *túfa* "bush, shrub, green oak branch" from one lexicon (5, after Serboianu) < Rumanian *tufe* "bush, heath, briar patch" < Latin *tufa* (Cioranescu

1960:863, and identical to the "bush" term in Swedish Kalderasitska, *qv.*, above).

- (2799) *rugo*, from two lexicons. In one it means "blackberry, bramble, raspberry and wild rosebush," while in the other "bush," (lexicon 2, beside *hrgo*, after Uhlík) <Rumanian *rug* "bramble" (*Rubus caesius*) "any thorny bush or shrub" < Latin *rubus* "bramble or blackberry bush" (Cioranescu 1960:708; Leverett 1895:783).

Thus, three European loanwords for "bush" found their way into E.R.; one of which (*tufa*, above) involved direct borrowing, while two involved lexical expansion of a European generic term (*rugo*, above and *bozi* in Spanish Kalderasitska). But let us return to the etymological status of *bor*. Could it have a European origin? Proponents of this point of view might stress the Polish *bór*, "forest" as a form phonetically close to the modern Romany *bor* and would suggest a Slavic origin for the term. Sampson (1968:pt. iv:48-49) gives the origin of the Welch Romany *buos*, "bush," as "somewhat obscure," but finally doubts a Slavic origin in favor of its being a cognate of the Hindi *būtā*, "bush," as does Pott and Miklosich (Sampson 1968:pt. iv:49). This is also the view of Wolf (see above). The Hindi cognate is certainly close to *burā* (a variant of *bor*, which occurs in five of the lexicons in the table).

THE SPANISH KALDERASITKA BUSH TERM

It will be recalled that the Swedish Kalderasitska cognate for the Spanish Kalderasitska "bush" label *bózi*, is *bózo* meaning "elder bush." According to G&L (63; 216b) *bózo* forms its nominative plural in Romany through the addition of the (Rumanian) ending *-urea*, hence *bózurea* "elder bushes." Spanish Kalderasa informants, however, state that *bózi* is the same in both singular and plural and equate it with the Romany *sulumá* "straw(s)," the plural of *sulúm* "straw."

Brown (1984:62), in discussing the innovation of "gerb" terms, remarks that in both genetically and geographically separate Mayan and Polynesian language groups, "gerb" terms have evolved from the referential expansion of words denoting "rubbish, garbage, trash, litter, rotten stuff, and the like." A common colloquial meaning of Castilian *paja* "straw" is "a thing of little importance or interest" or "the useless part of something . . . that which remains when what is of value has been selected" (Moliner 1984:ii:604). The climate of the city in which the Spanish Kalderasa live is dry and the vacant lots in its working-class—residential and industrial districts are densely covered with low, dry, straw-colored bushes for a good part of the year. The ground cover of this "worthless" vegetation provides the Gypsies with their primary and enduring notion of "bush". Two processes seem to be going on here. First we see an example of life-form/plant assemblage polysemy and second, we note a reversal of the process of expansion noted by Brown. Instead of a useless and "bothersome" entity expanding to include neutral and even useful plant material, neutral or even useful entities have begun to take on negative meanings due to the special social and ecological environment in which the Spanish Kalderasa speech community finds itself.

MARKING AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF BUSH

The straightforward lexical process which seems to have governed the develop-

ment of "bush" for European Gypsies entails *marking* in terms of binary opposition according to the dimension of *size*. According to Brown (1984:83 et seq.) unmarked items in a language are shorter, used more frequently, and are *implied* in implicational relationships rather than being the *impliers* in said relationships. Regarding the growth of "bush" terms when "tree" and "grerb" labels are already present in a language Brown (1984:107) contends:

Usually only after the tree/grerb distinction is made and biggest plants are distinguished from smallest ones, will a bush class be recognized which consists of those botanical organisms that are smaller than the largest plants and larger than the smallest plants in any given environment. Thus tree, grerb, and bush form a marking sequence based on size in which tree is least marked, bush is most marked, and grerb is in between in marking value.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Earlier in this paper I posed the question: Have Gypsy communities, because of their symbiosis with European state societies, adopted the life-form nomenclatures of their Gaze neighbors? Put another way, are the structure and content of Gypsy botanical life-form lexicons best explained by processes of language contact and bilingualism or has an indigenous nomenclature been retained? The answer to this question has several parts:

(1) Regarding the botanical life-form development of E.R., we found that the typical lexicon has three terms viz. "tree," "grass-grerb," and "bush." While there was a "vine" term in Sanskrit (Sampson 1968:pt. iv:88), it appears not to have survived as such in any of the Romany varieties examined. The Stage 4 status of E.R. would seem to be more in accord with the relatively small-scale orientation of Gypsy society than with the Stage 5 or 6 status that tends to occur in large-scale urban societies.

(2) The data presented might support the hypothesis that the ancestors of the European Gypsies left India with native terms for wood and "tree" and less surely for "grass" and "bush." The fact that the Sanskrit etymon for *tsar* signified "to roam, graze," might be interpreted as evidence that 1,000 years ago, the Gypsy equivalent of this radical had not consolidated into a nominal label for "grass." Proponents of this point of view might stress the Polish *bor*, "forest" as a form phonetically close to the modern Romany *bor* and would suggest a Slavic origin for the term. However, one could also follow Sampson and doubt a Slavic origin for *bor* and stress the view that it is a cognate of the Hindi *būtā*, "bush." Another interpretation, then, would favor the position that a millennium ago the Gypsies left India with fully consolidated terms for "tree," "grass," and "bush."

(3) The most stable life-form related term has been the wood term or *kas*. Only one European loanword for "wood" found its way into only one Romany lexicon (*hultrum* in lexicon d, after Etzler). The rest of the terms have been somewhat less stable in that European synonyms, on occasion, have passed into Romany lexicons. Such was the case with the Swedish *gräs* "grass" (d, after Etzler); the Rumanian *tufe* "bush" (Swedish Kalderasitska; 5, after Serboianu); and the Rumanian *copac* "tree" (5, after Serboianu).

However, if one considers the percentage of Indic terms (including the terms for wood) which survive in E.R. life-form lexicons, the effect of European contact on E.R. is less important than is the persistence of an indigenous Gypsy life-form nomenclature. If we consider the most complete population of lexicons, i.e., the last 16 cases in the Table, as well as the Kalderasitska and Welch cases, and if we count *bor* items as being European loanwords, then 68% of the terms in this population are of Indic origin. If we count the *bor* terms as being Indic, then the percentage increases to 84%.⁵ If we do not count wood terms in our calculations, the figures are 61% and 81%, respectively. Moreover, although European synonyms were incorporated into the E.R. life-form lexicon, other loanwords were not, but rather represented lexical expansions of European terms. Thus, in Spanish Kalderasitska, the term *sálka* was not borrowed with its European meaning "willow, osier, etc." intact, rather, the European term was expanded to signify "tree in general." Likewise the Spanish Kalderasitska "bush" term *bozi*, resulted from an expansion of a Rumanian loanword meaning "elder bush." Other examples of European terms which underwent lexical expansion when they were borrowed by Romany were *lithi* "leaf," which expanded to "tree" in three lexicons described by Wolf (8, after Jesina; 10, after Wratlslaw; and 13, after Puchmayer); as well as *rugó* "bramble," which expanded into "bush" (2, after Uhlik). Here, the effects of language contact were indirect.

(4) Two closely related varieties of Romany were found to differ in that one, Swedish Kalderasitska possessed wood/tree polysemy while the other, Spanish Kalderasitska, had separate terms for wood and "tree." These two Gypsy societies differ in that the Swedish community led a primarily rural life-style, while the Spanish group are urban Gypsies. This finding from Kalderasitska is in agreement with Witkowski, Brown and Chase (1981) who maintain that presence of wood/tree polysemy correlates with societal scale.

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"tree:" *ruk* (Sampson 1968:pt. iv:321). "grass:" *čār* (Sampson 1968:pt. iv:56-57). "bush:" *buros* (Sampson 1968:pt. iv:48), beside *bita* or *xuredō ruk* lit. "little tree" (Sampson 1968:pt. iv:321).

⁵In the calculation of these figures, multiple variants of a term (e.g. *ruḡo*, *hrḡo*) were counted as only one term.

TABLE 1.—Botanical life-forms in 47 varieties of European Romany (after Wolf, 1960).

15	[0.00]	Ludolfus:---	1?
17	[0.09]	Van Ewsum: 2. <i>raeck</i>	2?
16	[0.09]	Vulcanius: <i>kascht</i>	1?
e	[0.18]	Miskow: <i>khas</i>	1?
i	[0.18]	Barrere-Leland:---	1?
n	[0.18]	Ganander:---	1?
G	[0.27]	Pischel: <i>gast</i>	1?
g	[0.36]	Winstedt:---	1?
R	[0.36]	Beschreibung: <i>gascht</i>	1?
l	[0.36]	Febvre (Romanes): 3. <i>tchar, cear</i>	*?
b	[0.45]	Febvre (Calo): 2. <i>carchta</i> 3. <i>cha</i>	3?
12	[0.45]	Kruse: <i>kascht</i>	1?
14	[0.45]	Grellmann: <i>karscht, kazht</i> 2. <i>ruk</i>	2?
f	[0.54]	Palm: <i>kast</i>	1?
L	[0.72]	Tielich:---	1?
a	[0.81]	Calvet: <i>kaš</i>	1?
k	[0.81]	Francis: 2. <i>kosh</i> 3. <i>chaw</i>	3?
M	[0.09]	Blankenburg: <i>gasch</i> 2. <i>ruck</i>	2?
P	[0.90]	Rudiger: <i>gascht, karscht</i> 2. <i>rukkes</i>	2?
11	[0.99]	Borrow (Hung. & Trans.): <i>karscht</i> 2. <i>rook</i> 3. <i>char</i>	3?
1	[1.17]	Colocci (Ital.): <i>khast(e), kuast</i> 2. <i>ruc</i>	2
m	[1.26]	Smart: 2. <i>rook</i> 3. <i>chor</i>	3
4	[1.35]	Kopernicki: 2. <i>kašt</i> 3. <i>čiar</i> 4. <i>bur</i>	4
h	[1.53]	Thesleff: 2. <i>kašt, kacht</i> 3. <i>čar</i>	3
J	[1.53]	Graffunder: <i>gascht</i> 2. <i>ruk</i>	2
K	[1.62]	Frenckel: <i>kascht</i> 2. <i>ruk</i>	2
C	[1.89]	Juhling: <i>gast</i> 2. <i>ruk</i> 4. <i>bur</i>	*
7	[2.16]	v. Sowa (Slovak): <i>kašt</i>	1
c	[2.16]	Iversen: 2. <i>kasjt, kasj</i> 3. <i>kjar</i>	3
Q	[2.16]	Beytrag: <i>kasht, kaahsd</i> 2. <i>ruck</i> 3. <i>tschaar</i>	3
A	[2.16]	Wolf: <i>gascht</i> 2. <i>ruck</i>	2
3	[2.34]	Rozwadowski: 2. <i>kašt</i> 3. <i>čār</i> 4. <i>bur</i>	4
d	[2.79]	Etzler: <i>kasjt, hultrum</i> 2. <i>ruckan, rubban</i> 3. <i>tjar, graša(n)</i>	3
13	[2.79]	Puchmayer: <i>kaszt</i> 2. <i>lithi</i> 3. <i>czár</i> 4. <i>bura</i>	4
F	[2.97]	v. Sowa (E): <i>kašt</i> 2. <i>ruk</i> 3. <i>čar</i>	3
9	[3.33]	v. Wlilocki: <i>kast</i> 2. <i>ruk</i> 3. <i>cár</i> 4. <i>bura</i>	4
H	[4.14]	Liebich: <i>gascht</i> 2. <i>ruk</i> 3. <i>tschar</i> 4. <i>porr</i>	4
N	[4.50]	Bischoff: <i>gascht</i> 2. <i>ruk</i> 4. <i>porr</i>	*
E	[4.50]	v. Sowa (W): <i>kašt</i> 2. <i>ruk</i> 3. <i>čar</i> 4. <i>bor</i>	4

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NOTES

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²The data from Wolf must be used with care. The data collected from the Spanish and Swedish Kalderasa as well as from the Welch Gypsies should be considered as representing the "best" data for our purposes, since they were collected under rigorous field conditions from Gypsy informants in three separate communities. Hence, the probability of cross-contamination of these sources is near zero. According to Wolf (p. 36-43), some of the authors of the 47 lexicons, to a greater or lesser degree, copied from each other. This possibility must then be kept in mind when interpreting these data. One way of *minimizing* the probable effects of copying is to use lexicons from geographically distinct areas. The most important data from Wolf are the last 16 (entries 3 through 0 in the Table) and most complete lexicons. These lexicons represent, according to their titles and Wolf's commentary (1960), the speech of Gypsies in: East Germany (F), West Germany (E), Germany (H, N, D, O), Germany and Eastern Europe (B), Rumania (5), Sweden (d), Poland (3), Czechoslovakia (8, 13), Transylvania (9), Austria (10), the Balkans (6), and Serbia and Croatia (2). Except for the German cases, a reasonably wide geographic spread is evident. Further, the probability of copying can be *assessed* by the similarity of each lexicon to the other lexicons in terms of the life-form labels themselves, their orthography, and the diacritical marks they carry. In general, copying should engender great similarity among lexicons. I have not found any two lexicons which are alike in all of these three features. In fact, with a few exceptions, the lexicons are rather dissimilar. Combined with the Kalderasitska and Welch cases the data from Wolf seem sufficient to get a good idea of a typical life-form lexicon in E.R. and a rough idea of the relative contributions of Indic vs. European labels to that lexicon.

³A claim could be made that wood/tree polysemy and its lack could be shaped in Gypsy languages by its presence or lack in the languages of host-states in which Gypsies live. According to Witkowski, Brown and Chase (1981:4) both Swedish and Spanish lack polysemy. However Polish and Russian have it, and Mr. Taikon spent time in both countries, and he is said to have spoken fluent Russian, and imperfect Swedish (G&L 1963:V-VI). A claim has been made by one scholar (Tillhagen, cited in G&L 1963:XX) "that the Gypsy [*sic*] language of Taikon and his tribesmen 'was mixed with Russian words and constructions.'" G&L doubt this, because Slavic words constituted less than 2% of the 3,600 word vocabulary collected from Mr. Taikon. Many Kalderasa communities have Russian backgrounds; they like Russian music and dancing, and keep and use samovars. This is markedly true of the Spanish Kalderasa. Quite a few of their now deceased forebearers, the contemporaries of Taikon, spent time in Russia and spoke Russian. Yet the Spanish Kalderasa thought it very strange to refer to both wood and "tree" by the same word.

⁴Welch Romany plant life-form labels are as follows: wood: *kāšt*, *kāš* (Sampson 1968:pt. iv:138).

TABLE 1.—*Botanical life-forms in 47 varieties of European Romany (after Wolf, 1960).*
(continued)

5	[5.14]	Serboianu: <i>chásh</i> 2. <i>daro, daru, chopácho</i> 3. <i>cear</i> 4. <i>túfa</i> 4
D	[5.14]	Finck: <i>kašt</i> 2. <i>ruk</i> 3. <i>tšār</i> 4. <i>bor</i> 4
10	[5.23]	Wratislaw: <i>kašt</i> 2. <i>ruk, lithi</i> 3. <i>čar</i> 4. <i>porr, pore, bura</i> 4
6	[5.23]	Colocci (Balk.): <i>kasht, kash</i> 2. <i>ruk</i> 3. <i>tchar</i> 4. <i>rukoro</i> 4
8	[5.59]	Jesina: <i>kašt</i> 2. <i>ruk, lithi</i> 3. <i>čar</i> 4. <i>bura</i> 4
B	[5.68]	Hrkal: <i>kašt</i> 2. <i>ruk</i> 3. <i>čar</i> 4. <i>bor, bur, bura</i> 4
2	[5.86]	Uhlik: 2. <i>kaš</i> 3. <i>čar, štoro, štaro, šturo</i> 4. <i>bur, rugo, hrgo</i> ... 4
o	[5.95]	Kraus: <i>kascht</i> 2. <i>ruk</i> 3. <i>tschar, tscharr</i> 3

[99.98% total]

BOOK REVIEW

The Peyote Book: A Study of Native Medicine. G. Mount. Arcata, CA: Sweetlight Books, 1987. Pp. 80, \$7.50.

The American Indian has consistently had to fight for his religious right to use the peyote cactus, a completely unaddictive psychoactive drug basic to a cult that has done wonders against alcoholism and other problems and for native respect among American Indians through the Native American Church. Some of our western and southwestern states have enacted oppressive laws against the native religious use of peyote, quite against Federal laws that permit its ceremonial use.

This little book should be had by anyone interested in the ethnobotany of peyote and in the rights of a true minority to practice its own inoffensive religious practices based on an inoffensive plant.

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