

**9<sup>th</sup> International Conference on  
Romani Linguistics**

**Research Institute for the Languages of Finland,  
Vuorikatu 24, 00100 Helsinki,  
September 2–4, 2010**

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## The traditional songs of the Finnish kaale – Use and non-use of Romani language

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Roma culture has survived mostly by virtue of oral tradition. The fact that Roma people in Finland have developed neither written standard nor a tradition of writing and that they have been segregated for centuries combine to form a special function in their folklore. Hence Roma folklore has become a substitute for social communication and a means of strengthening their ethnicity and sense of group cohesion. This is perhaps the reason why Roma folklore survived. The topics of the Roma songs, as well as any folkloristic material, widely reflect the former Roma way of life and culture. The song tradition plays a part in upholding the Roma community. The reality of former generations and the norms of the community have been passed down verbally from one generation to another. Because the social unit of the family plays a large role with the Roma and fellowship takes place within the family circle, most singing occurs within the family circle as well.

The Romani language is one of the many minority languages spoken in Fenno - Scandinavia. The Roma children in Finland speak Finnish and go to Finnish schools. The first problem they are faced with is that they will lose their native language. The Romani language will only be their second language, a foreign language of sorts which they have to study separately. For maintaining a Roma culture and identity, however, a living Romani language is imperative (see Koivisto 1994).

My ethnographic field research was carried out among Roma between 1994-2010. The methods of participant observation and the life story interviews were employed during the fieldwork. During that time about 1000 Roma songs were recorded, among them many religious as well as popular songs, and some instrumental performances played on the guitar. In this paper I ask why there are nowadays only a few songs in the Romani language. I will show that there is much historical depth in this phenomenon: Roma used their language mainly when they didn't want "white" people to understand their speech. This phenomenon is certainly a sign that the songs of the Finnish Roma in the Romani language are directed primarily towards Roma and are used, in their primary function, internally within the group. People sing above all for their own entertainment at family gatherings. However during the opening-up process of Roma culture within Finland, the audience for Roma musicians is increasingly becoming another, that is, majority audience. There are new music festivals in Finland like *Porvoo Roma music festival* (arranged first time in 1995) where Finnish Roma songs are performed for the majority audience. Still in the case of Finnish Roma songs, the verbal and emotional interaction between the singer and audience is very important. The Romani language text is still very important. My presentation addresses these questions via fieldwork.

## **Screening of the short film Sabiha. With an introduction on the Muslim Roma trilingual community of Xanthi (Greece)**

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Sabiha is a Muslim Rom woman living in Greece. As a little girl, she was selling flowers at night in the Greek cities. At 14 she was married against her will, facing domestic violence. After her father's death she found the strength to make an unusual turning in her life. She created an association for Rom women's and children's rights, while she has decided to attend highschool herself. Her personal story gives insight into the Roma experience in Thrace, and more generally in Europe nowadays, characterized by the exclusion from the dominant society and the state's educational institutions.

This short film will be preceded by a sociolinguistic presentation of the Roma trilingualism in Xanthi and the neighbouring city of Komotini (Thrace, Greece). Both varieties belong to the Vlax Romani branch and were heavily influenced by contact with Turkish since the Ottoman times, characterized by the remarkable use of Turkish verb morphology for Turkish loan verbs. The speakers are nowadays typically trilingual in Romani, Turkish and Greek with different degrees of competence in the three languages. They use Turkish and Greek for trade and other professional activities, and Romani mainly at home and as a community language. The majority of the Komotini Roma have received practically no formal education in any of their languages and are not literate in Romani.

### **Sabiha**

10 min 35: 2009

Languages: Greek and Romani

Subtitles: French

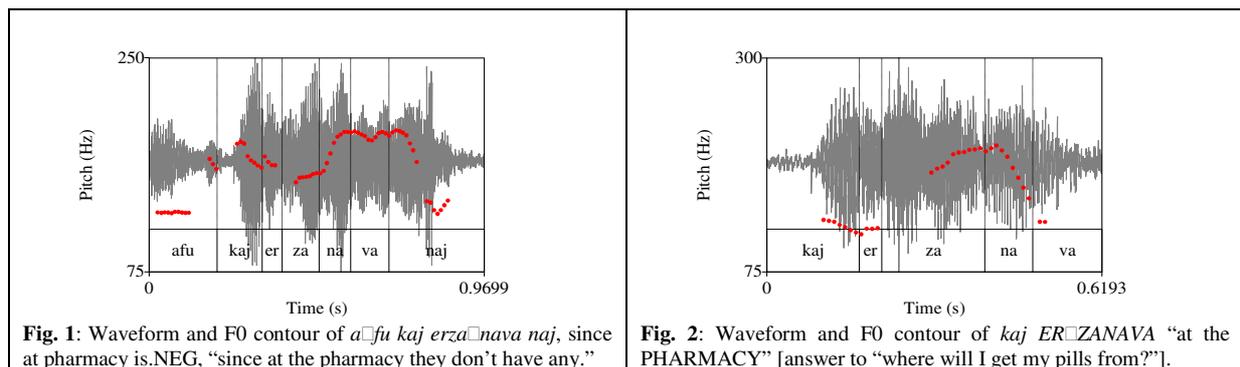
## Prosodic, morphological and syntactic focus marking in Komotini Romani

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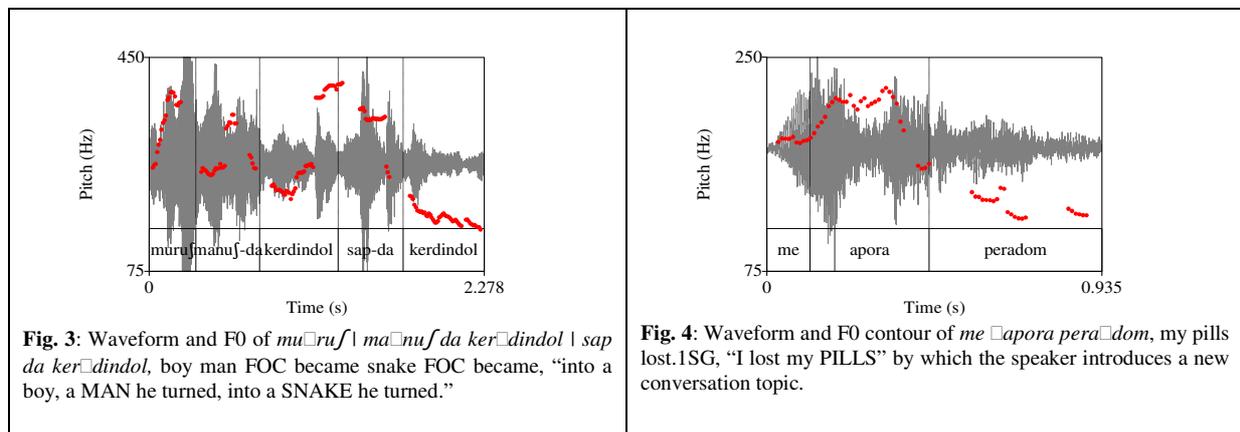
The variety of Romani on which we report is spoken by a small Muslim community in Greece, settled in the suburbs of the city of Komotini (Thrace). Komotini Romani belongs to the Vlach Romani branch and is heavily influenced by contact with Turkish since the Ottoman times. The speakers of this variety are typically trilingual in Romani, Turkish and Greek with different degrees of competence in the three languages.

Our study is based on the analysis of a corpus of natural data (story telling and spontaneous dialogues) from three Roma speakers (two males and one female, all in their thirties) and elicited data from two speakers.

Komotini Romani displays an interesting and unusual array of focus marking strategies: focus is marked by a variety of means, including the use of the Turkish focus marker *-da*, word-order changes, accentuation, and, unusually, changes in the location of stress (which is neither metrically motivated nor used as a delimitative marker -as in French or Greek-, or as a means to contrastively accent a particular morpheme in a word -as in English. See Figures 1 & 2).



Romani can thus be added to the small number of languages, such as Serbian (Godjevac 2004), which have a large repertoire of focus marking means and tend to use them concurrently (see Figures 3 & 4). Moreover, the concurrent use of various focus marking strategies in Romani runs counter to the proposal of Skopeteas & Fanselow (in press) who formalize the idea that focus marking strategies are not typically combined.



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## The Catalan Romani (*caló català*) in the work of Juli Vallmitjana

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Juli Vallmitjana i Colomines (1873-1937) was a Catalan writer who made an extensive use of Catalan Gypsies as the topic of some of his plays and novels. It is clear that he had a close contact with Gypsy people, and from this contact he developed an interest on the Romani speech of Catalonia (*caló català*). He introduced *caló* words in dramatic works, and words and dialogues in his novel *Sota Montjuïc*, which constitutes an interesting source of this language, but his chief contribution is a very remarkable list of words and phrases in an appendix on *Caló català* that was included in the first edition of *Sota Montjuïc*. All these materials have not been analysed in depth until now: Ackerley only took account on some *Caló* words contained in one work of Vallmitjana, and other authors concentrated their interest more on the slang forms furnished by this writer (Vallmitjana is also a very important source for Catalan crime jargon) than on the Romani attestations.

Vallmitjana's work is practically the only source for covering the gap between the earliest written sources of Catalan Romani (at the first half of 19<sup>th</sup> Century) and the present attestations of this dialect, now on the verge of extinction.

In this communication I offer a preliminary report of all these Romani materials recorded by Juli Vallmitjana, and an assessment of their importance for our knowledge of Catalan Romani.

## **Romani language in the public and the private sphere of social life in Poland after 1989**

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The aim of this essay is to show the situation of Romani language in the Republic of Poland after the end of communism in 1989. It is destined to show the tendencies in a development and using that language as well as the obstacles and achievements in the field of Romani language issue in Poland over the period of last twenty years.

The main thing to be taken into account is the fact of the presence of 5 groups of Roma people in the Polish territory: Polish Roma (Polska Roma), Carpathian/Mountain Roma (Bergitka Roma), Lovara, Kelderari and Sinti. All these groups represent different extent of Romani identity and different attitude towards many aspects associated with it and they speak different dialects of Romani language. Each of them came from different neighbour countries and this fact has its' strong implications their Romani.

The second issue that needs to be considered is the Polish Law in terms of national and ethnic minorities and their language protection. The Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities and the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages Protection have been ratified by the Republic of Poland. Additionally, the Act on National and Regional Minorities of the 6<sup>th</sup> of January 2005 obliges Polish authorities at all levels to act in favour of minorities in terms of preservation their culture, language and identity. Although the Romani population in Poland is rather small in comparison to other Visegrad Group Countries there are conducted quite a lot of actions for Roma community, including the supporting of using Romani language.

In Poland there are published books, newspapers and school manuals as well as their translations into several dialects of Romani language. The main recipients of those books are certainly various groups of Roma. The same situation is with regard to the radio programmes in Romani. All these actions are financed by funders of the Romani associations or they are performed voluntarily, especially in electronic media. So far nobody knows how popular and welcomed are such initiatives among the member of Romani communities in Poland.

The next thing to be considered is how the using Romani language in everyday's life is perceived by the surrounding society. Poland is definitely a homogenic country in terms of national groups and Polish society is not accustomed to the presence of other nations, especially the nations who do not come from Europe and are very noticeable in terms of appearance and prefer to live among themselves. The other thing that should be analysed are the situation of Romani people, who have to speak 2 languages, sometimes even more when abroad and the situation of Romani children who are to speak 3 or more languages at home and at school.

The last thing is the future of Romani language in Poland which is suffering from the lack of professional linguists of that language. The issue of the possible perspectives of financing also needs to be considered. Another problem is a frequent emigration of Polish Roma to the Western and Northern Europe's countries.

## **A possible analogy-based analysis of Lovari loan-verb adaptation markers**

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When trying to predict linguistic phenomena and, in a broader sense, general behaviour, analogical theories can be very useful and can yield very realistic results as proposed in Skousen (2009) describing the exemplar-based theory called Analogical Modelling.

The verbal paradigms of the Lovari dialect spoken in Hungary show signs of paradigm levelling and a somewhat surprising phenomenon which is described as gradual defectiveness in Baló (2008). Certain verb classes lack certain forms of their paradigms without any apparent phonological or morphophonological reason and are moved towards the consonantal class, which has the highest type and token frequency among all of them, displaying signs of analogical changes in the verbal system.

Turning our attention to the loan verb adaptation markers *-sar* and *-sajv*, we know from Matras (2002) that they are comprised of a particle *-s-* denoting loan-verb adaptation and a transitive or an intransitive derivational suffix, respectively. Based on the information regarding internal verb formation and loan-verb adaptation confirmed by native informants the Lovari spoken in Hungary shows a very interesting and somewhat contradictory picture. Firstly, the form *-sav* is not used at all, *-sajv* is used instead in the present tense. Secondly, both *-sar* and *-sajv* take part in internal verb formation; and thirdly, there is an additional suffix *-in* which is used to adapt loan-verbs but lacks the *-s-*.

These phenomena provide a good basis for an analogy-based analysis of the verbal system, as the suffix *-sar* in particular has a crucial role in the derivation of consonantal verbs, which form the largest and most common verb class. In this aspect, the fact that it can be used both in internal verb formation and in loan-verb adaptation also loses its significance. In relation to this, a parallel may be drawn between the Lovari suffix *-sar* and the Romanian suffix *-sc*, which is derived from the Latin inchoative affix. As Costanzo (2008) points out, it appears in a subclass of the fourth conjugation as a stem extension but earlier it was used in verbs borrowed from Balkan languages as well as in internal derivatives.

In general terms we can say that the forms and paradigms containing the suffixes *-sar* and *-sajv* can be considered as patterns which are both tools and bases of analogical changes in the Lovari verbal system.

## The Middle Indic origins of the Romani feminine declension

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Romani, as most Central and North-western New Indo-Aryan languages, has two grammatical genders, masculine and feminine. In my contribution I will deal with the origin of the inherited feminine suffixes and, alongside it, show that all oikoclitic (thematic) feminine declension classes reconstructed by Elšík (2000) for Early Romani (cf. also Elšík & Matras 2006:72) can be traced back to Middle Indo-Aryan (MIA).

MIA, as known from Prākritis, had three basic feminine classes, which, with reference to their stem-forming suffix, may be called  $\bar{a}$ -stems,  $\bar{i}$ -stems (including several  $i$ -stems) and  $\bar{u}$ -stems. In the singular they had a zero-marked nominative, i.e. the plain stem (e.g.  $j\bar{u}-\bar{a}-\emptyset$  louse-STEM.F-NOM.SG.F ‘a louse’), while the majority of other case relations were marked identically by means of the suffix  $-e$ , which gave rise to the general oblique case ( $j\bar{u}-\bar{a}-e$  louse-STEM.F-OBL.SG.F ‘of a louse, to a louse, by a louse...’). In Proto-Romani, apocope of final vowels led to the stem suffix being lost in the nominative ( $d\check{z}uv-\emptyset$ ), whilst retained in the oblique, where, on the other hand, the old case suffix was lost ( $d\check{z}uv-a-\emptyset$ ). As a result of the same development, the feminine plural marker draws on the same source:  $j\bar{u}-\bar{a}-o$  louse-STEM.F-NOM.PL.F >  $d\check{z}uv-a-\emptyset$  ‘lice’. It follows that the MIA feminine stem suffix underwent regrammaticalization in Proto-Romani. Moreover, the fact that the  $-a$  suffix is applied to all feminine nouns, i.e. irrespective of their class affiliation in MIA, points to its analogical extension. Nevertheless, Romani has also retained traces of the MIA  $i$ -/ $\bar{i}$ -stems, viz. in the jotated consonantal class, which seems to continue the old  $i$ -/ $\bar{i}$ -stems; cf.  $suv$ , OBL.SG/NOM.PL  $suv-j-a$ , MIA  $s\bar{u}-\bar{i}$  ‘needle’;  $phuv$ ,  $phuv-j-a$ , MIA  $bh\bar{u}m-i$  ‘earth’.

I will also outline the development of the Romani  $i$ -stem nouns (the type  $bor-i$ ), in which the suffix  $-i$  is known to be a reflex of a derivational suffix  $-i(y)-\bar{a}$ - (< OIA  $-ik-\bar{a}$ -). In this connection I will show that there is a historical allomorph of this suffix in Romani, viz. in  $sasuj$  from MIA  $s\bar{a}s-uy-\bar{a}$  ‘mother-in-law’. Several other feminine nouns will be discussed in my paper.

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## Comparing Romani and Slovenian Nominalization

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A set of English adjectives (such as *high-low*, *deep-shallow*, *wide-narrow*, etc.) can be paired and only the first member of each pair allows nominalization with the suffix *-t/-th*, while the second allows *-ness* but not *-t/-th*. This pattern (*high-height* vs. *low-\*lowth/lowness*) is widely attested cross-linguistically (Japanese, Korean and English, as well as German and French). Jang (2008) notes that Romani nominalization pattern is quite different from this general one in that the second member of each pair in Romani counterpart does allow the same nominalization suffix. The purpose of this paper is to extend and compare the nominalization pattern of Romani with that of Slovenian and reach the conclusion that the uniform nominalization is not the result of pidginization nor accidental spreading, as argued in Jang (2008). Rather the uniform nominalization pattern, found in Romani and Slovenian, may be a different mode of nominalization, unlike that of English, German, Japanese, Korean, etc.

**Romani:** Many dialects of the Romani language do not follow the same pattern in English. For example, in Burgenland Romani, the nominal form of *dugo* ‘long’ is *dugipe* and that of *harno* ‘short’ is *harnipe* ‘shortness.’ In other words, the nominal suffix for both ‘long’ and ‘short’ is the same, namely *-ipe*. Furthermore, the verbal suffix *-VI* (meaning a vowel + l) is the same as in *dugo-dugarel* ‘lengthen’ and *harno-harñarel* ‘shorten.’ Jang (2008) shows that the 26 dialects of Romani do not follow the general pattern of nominalization found in English and others. Why it is so? One logically possible way to pursue would be a historical explanation such that the Romani languages lost the distinction between the primary and the secondary nominalization for measure adjectives during putative pidginization process at some point of time. Rejecting this proposal, we argue that languages differ from each other in that they allow different modes of nominalization.

**Slovenian:** Consider the Slovenian nominalization data, given in (2). In this language, the same suffix is employed for both members of the pair (see *višina* (height) vs. *nižina* (\*lowth)). As shown in (2), the nominalization pattern of Slovenian, which is not genetically related to Romani, is exactly the same as that of Romani, and different from that of English, Japanese, or Korean. Verbalization pattern in Slovenian is also the same as that of Romani. For example, *višati* (heighten) and *nižati* (\*low(t)en) employ the same suffix, unlike the English translation. (Further examples will be provided in the paper). Adverb-formation in Slovenian is also the same as that in Romani, but different from that in English, as shown in *visoko* (adv. high) and *nizko* (adv. low).

## **Some problems of the Roma onomastics on a post-Soviet territories**

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The author considers an origin and the modern use of the Romani ethnonyms (endoethnonyms and exoethnonyms) in Russia and in the post-Soviet states.

Some ethnonyms used in the scientific publications have the pejorative connotation, being as a matter of fact exoethnonyms, which are used by the Roma themselves only for the additional explanation (for example, čuxny = lotfitka roma).

Such ethnonyms as polska roma or servy, being used as endoethnonyms, concern to groups, though closely related, but nevertheless representing now quite independent divisions from the point of view of language (dialect) and ethnographic features.

The author brings an attention to the question on their use in the special literature without the necessary additional explanatory notice.

## **Conversational Patterns in Romani - Hungarian Bilingual Spoken Discourses**

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The goal of my talk is to present a many-sided, inductive, data-driven investigation of a spoken discourse in a small Romani - Hungarian language community of Székesfehérvár, Hungary. I intend to give a complex analysis of a short unstructured, natural, spontaneous speech and also a ceremonial speech, a blessing is introduced. The abstracts of the transcript data are presented from different approaches.

After explaining the nature of the research first I observe how the socioeconomic status of the speakers determines their participation in the discourse and indicate their communicative roles according to their sex, age and marital status.

Describing the language switch between Hungarian and Romani I concentrate on both quantitative and qualitative aspects of this linguistic phenomenon. I demonstrate how the partners and the situation of the conversation, the purpose of the interaction and the content of the discourse influence language choice (note, that code switching does not equal language choice as the former can last for only a length of a word or expression).

Investigating the stable and mobile items of the Romani lexicon we are to see examples of Hungarian loan words with Hungarian suffixes and those with their original Hungarian ones. Concerning the lexicon the keywords of the discourse, the role of discourse markers and their quantitative aspect are identified, both Hungarian and Romani lexicon identifying scripts are examined.

The dialogues introduced give examples of the roles of word transfer. Addressing, inquiry or insult are possible techniques of the speaker for appointing another counterpart of the discourse. Parallel speech, interruption and overlapping are also typical features of the studied corpus. The discourse is interpreted as a natural flow of speech acts.

I myself am Hungarian. As close Romany communities may be reluctant to cooperate with non-Roma I established contact with a representative of the target group, so the two of us made up a mediating team. My assistant initiated the audio recording of spontaneous bilingual speech at a family party that took place after a socio-cultural event, christening a baby. Originally the speech flow was recorded on cassettes but now it is digitalized so that possible further analysis can be carried out under more preferential conditions.

## **Using Professor Matras' audio-visual resources on Romani language and culture in tertiary education – beyond linguistics**

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During the past few years professor Matras and his team at the University of Manchester created useful resources based on their international research work. Two of these resources, two DVD-ROMs ‘The Romani language: an interactive journey, 2007’ (a multilingual resource that discusses the history of the Romani language and indirectly that of the Romani people and ‘Romani tales, 2009’ (an interactive resource in English with original narrations partly in Romani) that raises awareness of certain aspects of Romani culture and values (both downloadable from: <http://romani.humanities.manchester.ac.uk/files/cd1.shtml>) can be used in education beyond language classes.

The University of Pecs, Hungary is a unique institution in our country as it has a department focusing on Romany Studies within the Institution of Education. The institution welcomes Erasmus students specialising in social studies and humanities from all over Europe. One of my classes offered to these students focuses on challenges of minorities in the Continent, especially those appearing in educational systems. There is essential need to discuss the peculiarities of Romany people among these minorities as they are the biggest international minority of Europe.

Inspired by a summer university lecture given by Professor Matras on his resources at the Central European University, Budapest in the summer of 2009 during the spring semester of the academic year 2009/2010 I tried to apply his resources in my classrooms of international students. In my talk I would like to share my experiences with these dvds and suggest further techniques of possible application of these wonderful resources beyond the interest of Romani language learners and linguists.

## Linguistic Atlas of Central Romani

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Central Romani, one of the major dialect groups within Romani (e.g. Boretzky 1999, Matras 2002, 2005), traditionally spoken in the area of the historical Kingdoms of Bohemia, Hungary, and Galicia, remains one of the last idioms of East Central Europe and one of the last major dialect groups of Romani that lack a comprehensive description of their cross-dialectal variability. A dialectological atlas of Romani (Boretzky & Iglá 2004), which draws almost exclusively on published sources, represents Central Romani by less than a dozen of regional varieties. The few existing publications on the cross-dialectal variability within Central Romani (Lípa 1965, Boretzky 1999, Elšík *et al.* 1999, Červenka 2006) are likewise seriously limited in their coverage and sources of data.

The current paper will present the objectives, the methodology, and the preliminary results of an on-going project that will result in the publication of the *Linguistic Atlas of Central Romani*, a comprehensive resource based on a wealth of data from several hundred local varieties of Central Romani. (As of April 2010, 180 different varieties of Central Romani have been documented.)

The paper will discuss the geographical scope and coverage of the project; its sources of data; the structure of the *Linguistic Questionnaire for the Documentation of Central European Romani*, which has been used to elicit linguistic data in the field; the structure of the *Linguistic Database of Central European Romani*, which has been used to store and analyze the data; the list of linguistic features to be included in the Atlas; the structure of the prose comments to the maps; and several methodological problems encountered during the project. The paper will also present some preliminary results of the project, including several preliminary maps of selected features.

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## Lost features in Finnish Romani

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I will discuss from a diachronic point the nature of Finnish Romani as a mixture of features induced by the contact with Finnish and of features considered diagnostic for the Northwestern and Northeastern groups of Romani dialects (Matras 2002, 2005; ROMANI Project Manchester 2006; Tenser 2008). Focus will be on a number of features that have been documented in early sources of FR since the end of 18<sup>th</sup> century, but that have been subsequently lost while on Finnish soil:

- Lack of *s/h* alternation: The earliest sources of FR suggest that long forms of present tense did not yet show *s/h* alternation (e.g. *drabaweisa* ‘read-Pres.2Sg-Rem’, *bachhasa* ‘want-Pres.1Sg-Rem’) at the turn of 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century. Copula forms in *s-* occurred almost exclusively.
- Dediphthongization took place in certain words, such as *djejno* > *džēno* ‘man’, *bejro* > *bēro* ‘boat’, *joun* > *jōn* ‘they’ etc. during the 19<sup>th</sup> century.
- The use of long vowels/diphthongs have declined in a number of morphemes, e.g. *rakkavejsa* ~ *rakkavēsa* > *rakkaveha* ‘to speak-Pres.2Sg-Rem’, possibly indicating a shift in the stress pattern.
- The treatment of syllables with *v* as coda changed during the 19<sup>th</sup> or early 20<sup>th</sup> century: *bjav* > *bjau* ‘wedding’, *lav* > *lau* ‘word’, *gav* > *gao* ~ *gau* ‘village’.
- The inherited initial *a-* is documented in FR, but has been mostly lost: *ada* > *da* ‘this’, *adavva* > *dauva* ‘this’, *akāna* > *kāna* ‘when’, *akōri* > *kōri* ‘there’ (but *ame* ~ *me* ‘we’, *av-* ~ *v-* ‘to come’, *āxx-* ‘to be’ etc.).
- 2nd Pl. Past in *-e* (*tume tšerde* ‘you.PL did’) has superseded 2nd Pl. Past in *-en* (*tume tšerden*).
- The ablative preposition *katar* and the specific marker *vare-* are documented in FR, but do not occur anymore.

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## Language planning between ambition and reality

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Typically, the self-organisation of dominated minorities functions in line with the "organisational guidelines" of the respective dominant majority population. Roughly speaking, this process may be described as emancipation by means of organisational mimicry. Of course, the ideology of the European nation state with its demands for homogeneity on all levels is the principal guideline of this organisational assimilation. It is via this development that the common definition criteria of 'nation', 'ethnic group', and other socio-cultural concepts of the respective majority population are taken over and adopted. Therefore, culture and language – maybe the most ostensible cultural factor of many minority groups – move into the focus of attention. Consequently, the emancipation of the minority language becomes part of the political program and activists claim the same status for their language as European national languages have. More or less the self-organisation of Roma follows this pattern and Romani has been assigned a key role in the political process.

On the background of the homogeneity demands mentioned above the plurality of Romani is perceived as heterogeneity and as a shortcoming. The same applies for the lack of a literary tradition and the fact that Romani almost exclusively functions as vernacular in informal domains. To overcome this shortcomings Roma activists have decided to go into language planning on the basis of the model used to develop an oral vernacular language into a standardised written language of government. In the context of the ongoing political process and its underlying ideology the creation and implementation of a Romani standard is a logical step and a legitimate objective. But from a practical point of view these ambitions cause a lot of problems. Taking into consideration the sociolinguistic situation of Romani which has to be seen as sociocultural reflex of the sociopolitical situation of its speakers a Romani standard seems to be wishful thinking.

Using a compound language planning model as basis, the paper presents an overview of ongoing language planning Activities from top down as well as from bottom up. Thereby it is possible to compare the political ambitions of Roma activists with the sociolinguistic reality of Romani language planning.

## Aspects in the use of Romani in Finland

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In this presentation I will discuss aspects that have had a major impact on the way Romani has been used in both private and public sectors in Finland. The societal changes and the attitudes of the Roma themselves towards Romani are such aspects that either contribute to or hinder the survival of the language. The choices made by the members of the language community about the language they use mirror their sociocultural norms and expectations. In addition, it is also possible to differentiate the intimate, informal, formal and group specific domains on the one hand, and on the other hand those that can be defined on the basis of various activities, such as home, school, occupation, church and other religious communities, media etc. that coincide with the institutions within the language community (Fishman 1972a, 1989: 235-239). The survival of Romani as the spoken language used within the family and as a secret language in the community has undergone massive changes (Valtonen 1968: 241).

The changes in the use of Romani and the usage scenarios have not been widely studied. One of the earlier studies was published in the dissertation "Suomen romaaniväestön ryhmäluonne ja akkulturoituminen" [Group character and acculturation of Finnish Roma.] by Reino Vehmas, in which he reviews among other things also issues in the Roma culture and language and their preservation (Vehmas 1961: 91–99, 188–189). The statistics on the language skills and language use of the Roma were based on the interviews carried out by the Social research centre [Sosiaalinen tutkimustoimisto] in 1954. Another study, carried out by the welfare office of Helsinki [Helsingin huoltovirasto] in 1979, included research data on the proficiency level in Romani. In her book "Kulttuuri-identiteetin jäljillä" [On the traces of a cultural identity. On the cultural identity of the Finnish Roma at the beginning of the 1980s.], also Tuula Kopsa-Schön touches briefly on the proficiency and the use of Romani (1996: 44). According to her estimation, the Finnish Roma population of over 65 years of age are the most fluent speakers of Romani. Her results show that the language proficiency of the middle aged Roma population (between 32 and 64 years of age) is satisfactory and the proficiency of the young Roma speakers (up to 31 years of age) the weakest. The surveys mentioned above together with my own studies in the national field survey concerning the use of the Roma language (Hedman 2009) strengthen the assumption that the proficiency and use have considerably declined during the last 40-50 years.

Romani is used in different speech situations by on average only one third of all interviewees. The language is used mostly at home with the children and the relatives. The children who have learned Romani at home have only somewhat better language proficiency than the children that have received instruction on it at school. Only 12 percent of the Roma pupils in the basic school receive instruction in Romani. Lack of qualified teachers, reluctance of the schools to organize instruction in Romani and partly also the attitudes of the parents have proven to be problematic issues in teaching Romani.

The attitudes of the older Roma people have previously limited language research, language material production as well as instruction in Romani. In my presentation I show that the Roma people nowadays take a different stance to the issues mentioned above. The last decades, especially the late 20th century, have witnessed a massive tendency towards increasing the public use of the Roma language, and towards widening the domains. Are the measures efficient enough in order to revive the Roma language, or will it become an extinct language?

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## Romani Language Exam - Linguistic Standards – Instruction in the Mother-Tongue

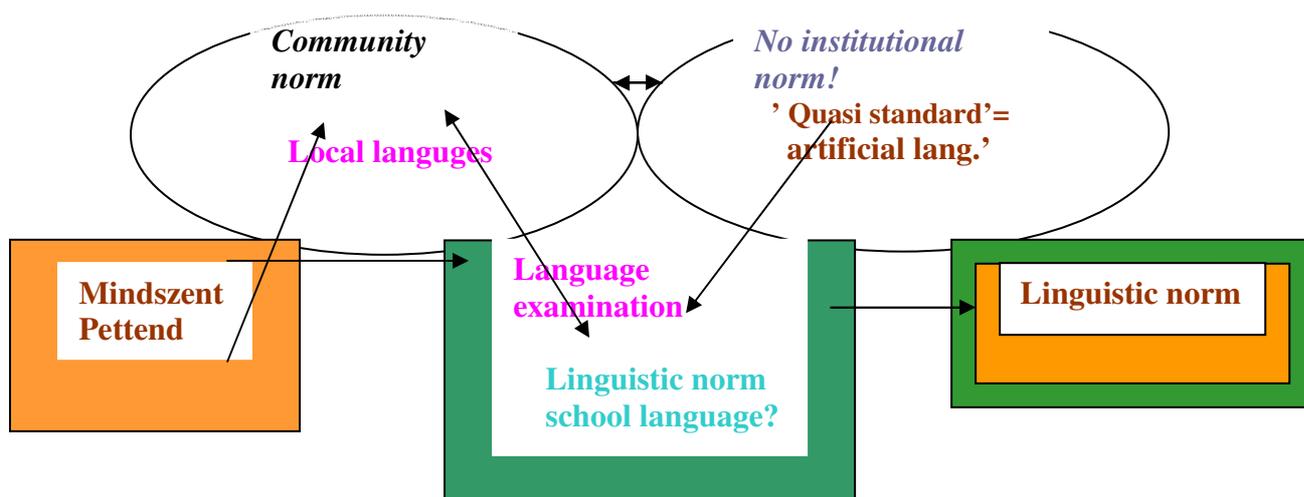
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It has been possible to take a language exam in the Lovari dialect of Romani at the Foreign Language Training Centre of Eötvös Loránd University in Budapest since 1995.

Romani exists in its dialects. In Hungary, there are communities speaking the Churari, Cerhari, Mashari, Lovari and various other dialects. Ildikó Hegyi has carried out field work in Churari-Lovari and Kolompari communities in Mindszent and Pettend, where she acquired the Romani language.

More than 90% of those taking the language exam are native Hungarian speakers; Gypsy examinees are very rare. A language exam is a degree requirement and it also means additional points at the entrance exam. Lovari / Romani Gypsy belongs to the family of Indo-European languages and it has a complex grammar and sophisticated vocabulary. The exam is communication based and its level of difficulty is the same as that of other language exams. In other Indo-European languages there is a linguistic norm, based on which dictionaries, language books and other information sources are made. In case of the Gypsy language, however, we cannot talk about a standard yet, and the appropriate information sources and trained teachers are also missing. In Romani there are only local community norms; linguistic norms do not exist. The prevalent written form is the one propagated by Gypsy intellectuals such as Hajnalka Kolompár, Melinda Rezmuves, Szilvia Lakatos, Gusztáv Nagy, József Daróczi “Choli” and others. It is English based and this is what we use at language exams as well.

The relationship between dialects (local languages), language examination and instruction in the mother tongue can be illustrated as follows:



According to the figure, the local languages constitute the basis of language examinations. However, the Lovari used at the exams is somewhat different from the local dialects; therefore, it is a “quasi standard”, an artificial language. The institutionalized standards are still missing and the emerging norm will most likely be based on the language used at the exam. The system is “upside down”. In other words, a standard is developed as a

result of the exams, not the other way around. Gypsy people have expressed several times: they would like their children to learn Romani at school. It is an obligation of mainstream society to listen to this request, for learning in one's mother tongue is one of the cornerstones of children's rights.

## “Sar san? ¿Cómo estás? How are you?”

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### English

In 2007 was founded in Spain the Romany Culture Institute inside of the State Ministry of Culture as a public and state foundation. Among its aims there is the protection and development of the romany language. The "Sar san?" project trends to develop this aim. The "Sar san?" project consist of several actions. Among them we could mention the next:

- 1) To publish a romany language teaching handbook which has been creted under the criteria established in the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages. This handbook should be developed in three learning levels (A1-A2, B1-B2 and C1-C2). In all the levels will consists of three books: a student's book, an activity book, and a teacher's guide. Also, in every level will be a CD in order to allow students to learn the romany fonetics.
- 2) To develop courses to teach young romani people (with a previous education as secondary school level) to became romani language teachers.
- 3) To take an agreement with the Spanish Education Ministry in order to allow these romany teachers to teach romany language at the schools.

The first material (the A1-A2 handbook) will be published in that year 2010.

### Rromanes

Ando berś 2007 andi Espànja sas kerdo o Rromani Kulturaqo Institutò ando Kulturaqo Themutno Ministèrio sar jekh themutni aj publikani fondàcia. Maşkar lenqe resa si o rromani čhibăqo zamavipen aj brakhipen. O projèkto “Sar san?” kamel te zamavel akaja res. O projèkto “Sar san?” si les andre verver bută. Maşkar lenŕe şaj te phenav akala:

- 1º) Te das avri jekh rromani čhibăqo manuàlo so si kerdo telal e kritèria kotar o Europaqo Khetano Referenciaqo Kàdro vaś e čhibënqe siklăripen. Akava manuàlo si te ovel zamavdo ande trin siklavipnasqe nivelură (A1-A2, B1-B2 aj C1-C2). Anda sa e nivelură si te ovel trin pustika: jekh siklŏvnenqi pustik, jekh butăqo ştartorro aj jekh siklărnenqi pustik. Vi si te ovel jekh CD te siklŏn amari rromani fonètika.
- 2º) Te zamavas kŭrse kàste siklăras amare čhavenqe aj čhajenqe (phureder desar deşuoxtò berşenqe aj sikle minimal zi ko dŭjto skŏla -gimnàsium/institutò-) sar rromani čhibăqe siklărne.
- 3º) Te keras durust (akord) e Siklavipnasqo Espanikano Ministerioça kàste odola rromani čhibăqe siklărne şaj te siklăren amari čhib ande skŏla.

O jèkhto kotor (e pustika kotar o nivèli A1-A2) ka ovel avridino ando adaberś 2010.

### Español

En el año 2007 en España fue creado el Instituto de Cultura Gitana dentro del Ministerio de Cultura del Estado como una fundación pública estatal. Entre sus objetivos está el desarrollo y la protección de la lengua romaní. El Proyecto "Sar san?" pretende desarrollar este objetivo. El Proyecto "Sar san?" consta de diversas acciones. Entre ellas podemos mencionar las siguientes:

- 1º) Publicar un manual de enseñanza de romanó que ha sido elaborado bajo los criterios establecidos en el Marco de Referencia Europeo para la enseñanza de las lenguas. Este manual deberá ser desarrollado en tres niveles formativos (A1-A2, B1-B2 y C1-C2). En todos los niveles constará de tres libros: un libro del alumno, un cuaderno de trabajo y una guía para

el maestro. Así mismo, cada nivel contará con un CD para que el alumno pueda aprender la fonética romaní.

2º) Desarrollar cursos para formar a jóvenes romaníes (con una previa formación a nivel de instituto) mayores de edad como maestros de romanó.

3º) Acordar con el Ministerio de Educación de España un convenio para que estos maestros de romano puedan enseñar nuestra lengua en las escuelas.

La primera parte (los libros del nivel A1-A2) serán publicados en el año 2010.

## Recent dictionary work in the Finnish Romani Language

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In this paper, I will be discussing my recent work in the field of Romani-language dictionaries. It has often been considered a major flaw in Finland that there are no Romani-language dictionaries that would be necessary for the teaching of Romani and preserving it in order to prevent it from disappearing as a language used by the Roma people.

I have published two dictionaries (Koivisto 1994, 2001). My third dictionary is now ready for publication, and it will possibly come out in the publication series of the Board of Education this year (Koivisto, forthcoming). All the dictionaries are based on my personal knowledge of the Romani language. The "Normative Glossary of the Language of Gypsies" (1971) and Thesleff's dictionary (1901) have been useful as reference works to some degree, just as certain other dictionaries.

Writing dictionaries has been a pleasant task for me. The most important issue in this work has been that Romani is my native tongue. I have often thought that, having been used by Roma for centuries, Romani should not be allowed to disappear today, either. Even if Roma did not speak their native tongue to the same degree as before, it is good that there are dictionaries that can help us to preserve the language. The work has not been easy, but it has been very rewarding, in spite of all the hardships involved.

I have been privileged to follow the footsteps of the linguistic history of my own people.

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## On the “lithuanianness” of Lithuanian Romani

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In the first and the only research of Lithuanian Romani made by Lithuanian scholars (Salys, Kisinis 1936:11) it is said that because of historical circumstances the largest amount of borrowings in Lithuanian Romani are from Polish and Belarusian, and Lithuanian language is not mentioned as a source of borrowings at all. More recently, Tenser (2005:1) writes that “Lithuanian Romani didn’t accumulate any significant borrowing from the Lithuanian language”, and that all adoptions are from Polish and Russian. Tenser explains such a situation by singling out the fact that Lithuanian language “was not the dominant official or upper class form of communication on that territory”. But still it is hard to believe that almost four centuries of common life with Lithuanian speakers didn’t make any influence on the local dialect of Romani. This expectation was borne out when in a recent article L. Cherenkov (Czerenkow 2009) gave numerous examples of borrowings from Lithuanian into Lithuanian Romani.

This paper is focused on Lithuanian influence which is possible to find in Lithuanian Romani. I outline several of the instances of such influence:

- (i) use of borrowed verb prefixes *nu-*, *uš-* < Lith. *nu-*, *uš-*;
  - (ii) use of the preposition *be* ‘without’ < Lith. *be*;
  - (iii) the emphatic pronoun *pat* ‘same’ < Lith. *pats*;
  - (iv) numerous further loanwords such as *rudzen* ‘autumn’ < Lith. *ruduo*, gen. *rudens*; *k’emo* ‘courtyard, yard’ < *kiemas*; *žv’ero* ‘beast’ < *žvieris*.
  - (v) the possessor in existential and predicative possessive constructions (which is usually expressed by the locative case in Romani) in Lithuanian Romani (and in Lotfitka) is expressed by the dative (Tenser 2005:44). This can be understood as an influence from Baltic languages (cf. Lith. Rom. *Mange dukhal o nakh* ‘I have pain in my nose’, Lith. *Man-DAT.SG. skauda-PRS nosį-ACC.SG.* ‘id.’, Latv. *Man-DAT.SG. sāp-PRS deguns-NOM.SG.* ‘id.’).
- In this paper I aim to give a comprehensive list of Lithuanian traces in Lithuanian Romani, and at the same time I try to determine the place of Lithuanian among other sources of lexical and grammatical borrowing in the Lithuanian dialect of Romani.

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## **The status of Romani language in Hungarian schools**

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Due to a revolutionary legislation in 1993 Romani is a minority language in Hungary that can be taught as a native language in public education if there is a need for it required by the parents. However, there has not existed data showing Hungarian schools and kindergartens in which Gipsy language teaching is a practice. Because of this until recently we had no idea of who teaches Romani, what books are used for language teaching, and who the learners of Romani are. We lack information on the results of the language teaching.

This challenge of our education is especially important for me as a Romany woman, an assistant teacher at the Department of Romany Studies at the University of Pecs, Hungary. In 2009 a research was carried out by our department, in which those educational institutions were examined where Gipsy language learning exists. The aim of the data collection was to map those schools and kindergartens where Romani language teaching programmes exist, and to examine the effectiveness, the structure and content of these programmes. Furthermore, the opinion of the local governments, minority governments and non-governmental organisations about these projects were examined. Our aim was to collect the books, workbooks, other tools used for the language education.

The results of this national study revealed that there are a lot of tasks ahead of us in order to establish a more effective Romani language teaching. I find it important to have more professional language teachers in the future, so the aim of our department is the teacher training programme. In a unique way we offer a language teacher degree in Romany from 2009 September on master level. Furthermore, there is a need for research in relation with the Romani language.

One of our most important roles is to prepare such books, workbooks and supplementary materials, which suit the expectations of the teachers and the students. If we found Romani language teaching serious in Hungary, there is a need for more support, not only in case of books, but regular, organised courses, and the evaluation of results.

## **Finnish Romani in the Context of Finnish Language Policy**

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Finnish Romani is still spoken, on different levels of fluency, by the majority of the about 13,000 Finnish Roma. It is, however, a seriously endangered language because it is very seldom acquired by children as their first language and the proportion of fluent speakers is rapidly falling. The paper discusses the role of the official language policy of Finland in supporting and possibly revitalising Finnish Romani.

In Finland, there is no language law defining the acknowledged minority languages of the country. However, the Sami, the Roma, and the users of sign languages are explicitly mentioned in the present Constitution as minority groups having specific rights to their language and culture. On this basis, Romani has been given some limited rights in several laws, and it can be taught at schools as an optional subject. Finland also defined Romani as a non-regional minority language when it ratified the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages.

There are at least three policy issues that bear on the future of Finnish Romani:

1. Because the speakers of Finnish Romani are dispersed and do not possess such a traditional habitation area as the less numerous Sami, for instance, there are no municipalities where the Roma would appear as a significant minority to be taken into account in, say, planning the school curriculum.
2. Traditional approaches to linguistic rights stress the rights of the speakers of a minority language to use their native language in different functions; when not the functions, but the survival of the language is at issue, a different policy would be needed. Using Romani in some official publications may symbolically heighten its status but will not save it. And Romani language classes for Roma children at schools are only formally native language classes; in actual fact, Romani is taught as an in-group second language.
3. Provisions in Finnish legislation do not explicitly distinguish between Finnish Romani and other Romani varieties. After the EU enlargement to Romania and Bulgaria we may now be slowly approaching a situation in which the majority of the Romani speakers in Finland, or at least the majority of the fluent speakers residing in the country, will speak other varieties. This will require more explicit wordings in language legislation: do all Romani varieties have minority rights in Finland (as they have in Sweden), or only Finnish Romani?

## **Mapping the Romani Dialects of Romania**

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Despite having by far the largest Romani speaking population, Romania is almost terra incognita as far as the descriptive dialectology of Romani is concerned. Most material collected there is in the form of texts, dictionaries, or prescriptive teaching and learning materials, and has not been assessed in relation to its dialectological position. My paper thus presents what I believe to be the first attempt at a macro-level mapping of the Romani dialects of Romania, based on selected features extracted from recent fieldwork archived in the RMS database. The results point to a general north-south division, with further subdivisions that support, to some extent, self-assigned group labels. In respect of some features, however, the entire territory figures very much as a transition zone with considerable variation. Overall, Romania constitutes a crossroads of several major isoglosses in Romani, and is perhaps one of the most diverse regions within the dialectological landscape of European Romani.

## **Quality education in Romani for Europe: the QUALIROM project**

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The Project QUALITY EDUCATION IN ROMANI FOR EUROPE aims for piloting the Curriculum Framework for Romani (CFR) and the corresponding European Language Portfolio Models (ELPs) which – based on the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages – were developed by the Council of Europe.

The CFR includes the reference levels A1-B2 and although the ELPs were created for learners in primary and lower secondary schools only, QualiRom also pilotes the CFR on upper secondary and tertiary level as well as in further education. Furthermore teacher training modules are developed for all levels of Romani teaching. The implementation on primary and secondary level takes place in up to three schools in Austria, Czech Republic, Finland, Slovakia and in the Republic of Serbia as third country participant with the participation of Romania as an experienced partner in Romani teaching for evaluation and possible future implementation. Romani courses are offered for students and adult learners at Graz university and are adopted by the partner universities. Activities are realised in close cooperation with local Romani teachers and local as well as national educational authorities. To ensure professional realisation, teachers at all levels are prepared comprehensively for the handling of the CFR and its ELPs by experts of the European Centre for Modern languages (ECML).

The main challenge of the project is the socio-cultural plurality among Roma. Their socio-cultural situation differs both between and within single regions. Consequently, the schooling situation of Roma children and their need concerning Romani teaching varies considerably: apart of divergent policies and attitudes towards Romani teaching on the side of majority populations and national administrations, the potential learners are speaking different varieties with different levels of proficiency and they resp. their parents have different attitudes towards Romani teaching: factors that have to be taken into account in the implementation of the project.

The paper outlines the constitutive internal and external factors of this diversity as well as the resulting band with of situations, discusses the problems which arise from this diversity and presents the strategies chosen to deal with these divergent situations.

## **Automatic word form recognition in Burgenland Romani (BR): Possible uses for the MALAGA-Parser for Burgenland Romani**

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We have implemented a parser for automatic word form recognition in Burgenland Romani (henceforth BR). The BR parser recognises each possible word form of the lexemes that are included in its lexicon. The output of the parser is a morphological analysis of a given word form. For the implementation we used the MALAGA-framework that is based on the left associative grammar formalism. This grammar formalism allows the computer supported analysis of words and sentences. The implementation of the BR morphology is based on descriptive work on BR as well as on our own findings during our work on BR.

The aim of the presentation is first to briefly demonstrate the functionalities of the parser and to show what is needed in order to implement such a parser. Then we intend to give an overview of possible uses in the framework of our work on Romani. Since the parser allows for automatic morphological tagging of BR texts it enables us to browse our electronic BR text collection for morphologically defined constructions instead of just strings. Finally we will discuss some problems that are related to the fact that the parser is lexicon based (instead of e.g. probabilistic) and therefore cannot deal with 'unknown' lexemes, i.e. lexemes that are not included in the parser lexicon. The lexicon of the parser is identical to the BR lexicon stored in the lexical online database ROMLEX at present. Since BR is rapidly expanding into new functional domains, its lexicon is constantly (and quite rapidly) growing. Therefore it is to be expected that, especially in new texts, there are many unknown words. At the same time, BR lacks any kind of prescriptive standard which results in both phonological and morphological variation in the documented texts. Thus, if the parser comes across a word form it cannot analyse, there are at least three possibilities: the respective word form can be the result of a spelling error, it can be the result of morphological or phonological variation or it is a newly formed BR word. (i.e. a BR lexeme that is not yet part of ROMLEX). If the unknown word form occurs with a certain frequency in the corpus, it is most likely that it is a new BR word and will consequently be added to the BR lexicon of ROMLEX.

## The dramatic situation of the gypsy language in Spain

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It is an obvious fact that peoples having their own language increase and strengthen their identity. Peoples with their own language feel then united in a project of a common life to some extent different to the life of the others. That is why the preservation, development and establishment of the language are the main aim and a struggle for these communities, and for nationalist politic systems.

Maybe I shall repeat until exhaustion –specially to our Centre European Roma brothers– that the 700.000 Gypsies living in Spain do not speak Romani and we don't understand it. Actually, we neither know to speak Kalo. When we speak Kalo, what we do is to string some Gypsy words, very few, in the Spanish grammar structure. Spanish Gypsies conjugate Kalo verbs in Spanish.

The Spanish Gypsy doesn't decline. Actually, he doesn't know what is to decline, because Spanish doesn't have declinations. Spanish Gypsies use *prepositions* continuously. *Genders* are the same of Spanish and the phrase structure corresponds exactly to the Spanish structure.

Any plan, then, addressed to almost the half of the Spanish Gypsies who don't know to write nor to read, to make them learn the standard Romani would result in a useless effort the aim of which is totally impossible to achieve.

It is true that if a Spanish Roma moved to live to any Centre or Eastern European country, and he or she lived with a Roma family, in a Roma neighbourhood, and his or her interlocutors were Roma and spoke Romani, this Gypsy would learn Romani and would speak Romani even if he or she didn't know the difference between a nominative pronoun and an accusative pronoun. His or her school would be the daily and continuous interaction with the language and his or her motivation would be the imperative necessity of speaking to be understood and to understand to tackle the daily needs.

The Spanish Gypsies know absolutely nothing about standard Romani. To them, this language is as unknown and distant as German or Japanese could be –and I say German and Japanese, and not Portuguese or Italian, because they could understand some Portuguese or Italian, but they would not get a sole word of German or Japanese.

Romano-Kalò intends to be the standardized tool of the Roma from Spain, Portugal and the south of France that, respecting the singularities of Kalò preserved until today, adopts the basic grammar rules of the universal or standard Romani language.

## **Kon “romanedyr”? (Who’s more Romani?) Contest between author and translator**

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An exotic lexicon of Romani in prose translations into Russian is a very peculiar object for linguistic analysis. One recent sample is an outstanding translation of a Polish novel by J. I. Kraszewski *A hut / cabin outside the village* (1854) firstly appeared in a popular Russian journal *Biblioteka dla chteniya* (*Library for reading*, 1856). Relation between the author and the translator is not simple. I dare to describe it as *contest*. This contest runs around the question ‘Who is more skilled in Romani?’

1) Translator is experienced enough to omit author’s mistakes in used Romani lexica: DAJ ‘mother’ >> ‘\*daughter’.

*Polish*: – Co ci to – rzekła – czyś szalony *dados*? A tożbym ja twoją *daj* (córka) być mogła, a ty ojcem moim! [121-122]. Are you crazy, *dados*? I could be your *daj* (**daughter**)? And you could be my father. No Romani word in *Russian* translation: Что съ тобой? вскричала Аза: рехнулся, кажется, на старости леть! Да ты мне въ дедушки годишься. <285> What happened to you? You probably have lost your mind in old age? You could be my grandfather.

2) Some Romani words are corrected by the translator: SHUKEL ‘dog’ >> DŽUKAL ‘dog’. *Polish*: Bóg, ... dał nam węch jak staremu *szukeli* (psu) szukającemu sobie lekarstwa. [24]. *Russian*: Богъ далъ намъ чутъе, какъ старому *джукалу*\*\*\*, что отыскиваетъ себе целебную траву <78> Thank God we have as good noses as to an old dog looking for a curative herb.

3) Some expressions are totally changed: BYNKA GASINA ‘devil’s child’ >> BYNGESKRI DČAY ‘devil’s daughter’. *Polish*: *Bynka gasina* (diable dziecko), where *bynk-* is Romani for ‘devil’, *-a* – the ending of Polish masculine nouns in the genitive singular case, *gasina* – an obscure word, which looks neither Polish, nor Romani. [25]. *Russian*: Бынгескри *дчау*\*! \*Чортова дочь. <79> Devil’s daughter.

So, the translator, whose name W. Mroczek does not tell us too much, took charge of careful edition, where had found confused Romani words. It is a very unusual role for translators.

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## **Romani-Russian bilingualism: the conflict of cultural and linguistic models in education and ways of resolving**

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For minorities who retained some of the remnant of their past clanship (Roma, native peoples of the North), it is characteristic to have a *verbal* model of their native language functioning, which is connected to the traditionally narrow sphere of communication in the synchronous (geographic), as well as in the diachronous (inter-generic) aspects. This model is conditioned by the specificities of the intra-ethnic sphere, functioning of ethnic social institutions and ethnic values [1: 18-21]. Along with that the possession of *writing skills* is related to the *fixation of verbal language forms*, not the development of written forms as such.

Preservation of the specificities of the verbal type of communication within Roma determines their problems in studying and acquisition of nationwide language skills at the level of the state standard, which presents an important condition for social competition. This way, the interference of the native language into Russian manifests itself at the level of the *language model*, too. In particular, the verbal tradition conditions the fixation of Romany speech via Cyrillic alphabet in phonologic method. Thereat, the absence of a language norm as such in the native language — on the one hand, and on the other — recognition of a dialect multi-variance of the native speech, provide constraints in understanding the *role* of linguistic norms in Russian as well as in their acquisition.

In Russia the bilingual education of the most minorities is related to consistent acquirement by the students of the basics of the native language, and then – the official language (Russian). These programs are meant for the written model of the native language, and the shift at the start of basics' studying, depending on the scale of the linguistic differences, can make up to 3 weeks to 4 months. In case of Romani-Russian bilingualism it is necessary to *correlate the cultural and linguistic models*, with the help of introduction of written language into the native Romani language (family and children's literature in Romani) as well as increase of the share of verbal methods of Russian language tutoring [1: 21]. The shift between the start of studying the basics, apparently, should be up to 6 months and more, which is also conditioned by the lack of pre-school practice for the Romani children [2]. In conditions of lack of ethnic pedagogic personnel the range of restraints in communication between a child and a teacher as well as in the bilingual communication at the elementary school can be settled with the help of audio- and video materials and dictionaries.

Today the absence of bilingual adaptive programs is a factor of drawback for Romani children within the school programs as well as massive outflows of 10-11 year old pupils [3: 36]. Unfortunately, Russian legislation does not offer any mechanisms for realization of Roma rights for adaptive educational programs; another problem is the ethnic personnel training. In this context, the amendments in 2007 to the Russian Federal Education Act no. 309, and the Budget-Funded Entities' Reform Act, passed by Russian State Duma in 2010, along with the lack in the Russian legislation of enactments regarding the ethnic discrimination, can aggravate the situation with protecting the rights of Roma for adaptive educational programs and for development of communicative sphere of the native language.

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## **Romani=Romipen? The connection between Romani and Romipen among the "Yugoslavian" Romani community in Vienna**

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Since a couple of years Romani migrants in Austria are first of all perceived as beggars from post-communities countries on the streets of Vienna and Graz. However, Roma and Romnija have not only been migrating to Austria since the fall of the Iron Curtain, but already 4-5 decades ago, when Roma and Romnija from former Yugoslavia moved to Austria within the state-organised "guest worker" (Gastarbeiter) migration. This big migration movement was not especially targeted at Roma and Romnija, but this group came along with other groups and communities with the aim to work and stay in Austria temporarily. Contrary to this initial aim, many of them stayed permanently and due to the (socio-)political changes in former Yugoslavia many more Roma and Romnija decided to look for a better life in Austria or to seek asylum as war refugees. Due to this, today the "Yugoslavian" Romani community is the biggest Romani community, and a very heterogeneous one, in Vienna.

Up to now just a few articles are dealing with issues concerning this community or the languages spoken by its members (e.g. the journal of Romano Centro or HALWACHS, Dieter. 2000. LANGUAGE CHANGE IN PROGRESS. The Case of Kalderaš-Romani in Vienna. Paper at the 5 INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS ON ROMANI LINGUISTICS. September 14th -17th 2000, Sofia; HALWACHS, Dieter W. / Heinschink, Mozes F.(2003) Sprachwandel im Romani der in Wien ansässigen Kalderaš, in: Europa der Sprachen: Sprachkompetenz - Mehrsprachigkeit - Translation. Akten des 35. Linguistischen Kolloquiums in Innsbruck 2000. Teil I: Sprache und Gesellschaft, ed. by. Lew N. Zybatow, Frankfurt/M.: 263-272.).

The case study described in my talk is based on sociolinguistic field research, which was carried out in Vienna with Roma and Romnija from former Yugoslavia. The interview partners are either 1st or 2nd generation migrants living in Austria and their individual migrations were motivated by personal (job, better economic future) and/or (socio)political reasons (e.g. war)

To gain data I carried out participant observation and half-structured sociolinguistic interviews. In doing so – having the background of the interview partners in mind - I focused on language use and raised the following questions: Which languages are used in which contexts? Which languages are passed on to the next generation? What is the status and function of the official languages of the successor states of former Yugoslavia? Is Romani a necessary ethnic marker for the creation of Romipen and what value does Romani have in everyday life?

In my presentation I will present some first results of my research in this Romani community in Vienna, focusing on the connection between Romani language use and the creation of Romipen.

## At the intersection of linguistics and social anthropology: socionyms ROM and ĐOM as an ethno-sociologic source

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Inter-disciplinary linguo-anthropologic studies represent analysis of socially important terms, working as *linguistic markers of social and ethno-social relations*, i. e. are a specific type of *ethno-sociologic sources*. The studies include the analysis of semantics and etymologies of terms as well as their function in the *context of ethnical culture*. A special attention is paid to the analysis of socionyms (the term was introduced by V.A.Popov [1]), meaning the definition of the age, gender and social function, recognized by modern scientists as the terms of blood relation and kinship. Being extremely stable elements, socionyms can retain in the language of native speakers for a very long time, even when they change the language, and mark their genetic connections.

One of the most important elements of Roms' terminology is the socionym **Rom** (in case of Doms' and Loms' terminology — Dom and Lom). Within the zone of inter-ethnic dialog the socionym **Rom** is recognized as ethnicon, but that is its *secondary, acquired* meaning. At the same time, its *primary* semantics deals with the definition of a family-clan group, which ascends to the Indo-Arian etymon in the forms **đom / đomba**, as well as **ođombara / kođumba** from Austro-Asiatic **đomba / tumba** [2]. Though not all Romani groups in Europe have **Rom** as an ethnicon, most of them (Sinti, Manush, Kale) retain the names **rom, romni** as socionyms and derivative vocabulary for definition of family-kindred relations, which proves the common *ethnical* origin of these groups.

The comparative linguo-anthropologic analysis of operation of the socionym **Rom** as well as its etymon **đom** in the inter-ethnic and intra-ethnic spheres, in association with the data of the ethno-social history of India [4; 3], says:

1. **Rom < đom** was *the original socionym* of one of the *participants of the ethnogeny* of Proto-Roms, most probably, of the Austro-Asiatic (Proto)Munda, who changed over to Indo-Arian, while preserving their native self-name.
2. The central role of the term **Rom < đom** in social terminologies of Roms points out a substantial role of its speakers in formation of Proto-Roms.
3. The socionym **Rom** in Proto-Roms' terminology *originally* defined not a social group, but an *intra-ethnic* social function; i. e. it marked an *ethnic* feature.
4. The unity of social terminologies of the European Roms and the central role of the socionym **Rom** in those indicate that the Proto-Roms formed as a result of the contact of Arian and Indo-Arian groups and the *(Proto)Munda understratum*, and thus, represented a population layer (probably, quite large) with common genetic and ethno-cultural relations; therefore, the question of polysynthesism of Proto-Roms that results periodically in studies, should most probably be viewed upon from the point of view of the aspect of the development of the processes of ethno-cultural and social dynamics of that layer.
5. In the process of caste formation the name **đom** has acquired *social* meanings.

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## **Language change caused by expansion into formal domains: some preliminary considerations**

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The self-organisation of the Roma on an international level, which started in the second half of the 20th century, aims at the emancipation of Roma as an European nation. In this process Roma identity is defined in terms of culture and consequently language. As the Roma self-organisation process is modelled on the organisational structure of European majorities resp. nations, the ideology of the European nation state is the underlying principle of this process. European nations dispose of national languages which are used in all domains, from the private sphere via everyday life to public formal contexts. Compared to these languages, and on the background of its oral tradition as well as of its almost exclusive use in informal domains, Romani is considered as not fully functional. Therefore, initiatives have been started to use Romani in education, the media and other public domains resp. to expand its usage spectrum into formal domains.

The concrete results of this practice are in the focus of interest of a sub-project of RomIdent – The Role of Language in the Transnational Formation of Romani Identity. The expectation here is that the expansion into formal domains surfaces not only in an expansion of vocabulary but also in structural changes such as the generalisation of derivational patterns, more elaborated sentence structures, etc. Some of these changes are caused by literality and/or are most likely triggered by linguistic code mapping, i.e. the process of projecting linguistic material of a target language onto the given structures of a source language.

The analysis is based on impressionistic data collected during the last years as well as on a random sample scanned for similar phenomena. The paper gives an incomplete overview of phenomena of language change which most probably result from the expansion of Romani into formal domains. Furthermore, it presents some preliminary considerations regarding causes and effects of this ongoing process.

## **The Art of Silence: How Finnish Roma Cope with Taboos in Communication**

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The elementary features in contemporary Finnish Romani culture are hierarchical social structure, based on age and gender, and sexual taboos between age and gender groups. The focus of the taboos is in the fertile female sexuality, as it has been and still is in numerous societies all over the world. In Roma society a young woman is in a key position because of her power to pollute her social surroundings as well as her material environment by breaking the rules of respect and shame. Respect and shame are linked together in Romani context so that to show respect both to men and women older than oneself means "shameful", that is chaste, decent, shy and reserved behaviour. This "proper" behaviour indicates that one cannot talk in mixed company about topics which cause pollution, shame, humiliation and disgrace to everyone present. The topics which must publicly be avoided are associated directly or even only indirectly with sexuality and the lower part of the body: menstruation, sanitary towel, intercourse, birth, maternity leave, marriage, baby's age, birthday, stomach, internal deceases, underwear, men's trousers and shirt, women's skirt, toilet, bodily functions etc. In situations where avoiding certain topics is impossible, part of the company leaves the room without any comments, to let the talk continue. Roma are also excellent in using roundabout expressions or periphrases.

The taboos between age and gender groups are strictest among the members of the nuclear family including the in-laws. The nonverbal rules of body placement must be known to everybody: father and a grown-up daughter or mother and a grown-up son cannot stay in the same room by themselves; the younger one is supposed to leave without any verbal notice.

Without any research, the linguistic skills of Finnish Roma have some times been estimated as poor. However, the rules linked with the taboos demand both a variety of nonverbal forms of behaviour and special verbal skills, like inventing suitable roundabout expressions and periphrases, to maintain the image of a properly behaving person.

