

To Fred with best  
wishes,  
Ian  
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PROBLEMS IN THE CREATION OF A STANDARD DIALECT OF ROMANÉS

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Comite International Rom

KOMITIA LUMIAKI ROMANI  
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## PROBLEMS IN THE CREATION OF A STANDARD DIALECT OF ROMANÉS

1.01 Romanés (Romani, Romany) is the collective name for the dialects spoken by six million or more Rom ("Gypsies") throughout the world. Some of these diverge from each other to the extent that at the World Romani Congress in London in 1971, and again in 1972, it was often necessary to employ French as the common medium of communication. This fact made very apparent the realization that if Rom are to make their own way toward a united future — perhaps to the eventual creation of the Gypsy state of Romanestán — a standardized language is essential. Gitli Sarkon, one European delegate at the 1972 Congress, made this clear to the participants: *E dohina le žibáke ketanemákesse e'o angliwó páso karing o ketanemós sar ekh ženés*, "the achievement of linguistic unity is the first step toward unity as a people".

1.02 This paper is an endorsement of Sarkon's statement, and an examination of the problems involved in creating a unified, standardized dialect for a fragmented language and people.

### 1.10 The Origin of Romanés

1.11 Romanés is demonstrably a neo-Indian language, but its exact affiliations within the Indo-Iranian subfamily are not known with precision. Its similarity to Indian languages was first noted by an Austrian minister, Stefan Veli, who in 1760 discovered that the language of some Malabarí Indians studying in the area shared many features with the speech of the local Rom. Jacob Rüdiger was probably the first to announce these similarities in print (in 1782)<sup>(1)</sup>, the scholar Heinrich Grallmann suggesting an especially close link between Romanés and Surat, a language spoken in north-west India, a year later<sup>(2)</sup>. Later scholars, such as Bataillard, Pott, Harriott, Trumpp, Burton, Miklosich, Pischel, Grierson, Paspati, Bloch, etc.

brought further connections with the Indian languages to light, but not until the later studies of Alfred Woolner<sup>(3)</sup>, developed by John Sampson<sup>(4)</sup>, was a more easterly origin posited for Romanés. The most complete work to date pursuing this argument, i.e. that Romanés had a Central Indian (Śauraseni) rather than a Dardic (PaisaĒi) origin, was that of Turner published in 1926<sup>(5)</sup>.

1.12 The name *Rom*, if cognate with modern Indian [gom]<sup>(6)</sup>, would suggest as Kenrick and Puxon point out<sup>(7)</sup>, that the Indian ancestors of the *Rom* remained peripheral to the strictly maintained caste-divided system. Jan Kochanowski, a Romanés historian and linguist now resident in Paris, has suggested<sup>(8)</sup> that the migration out of north-central India might have been precipitated by increasing warfare among, and interference from, the rest of the population.

1.13 Because of lexical and phonological retentions in modern Romanés, it is possible to be fairly certain that this northwesterly movement occurred before the middle of the 3rd Century B.C., since knowledge of the features of several Śauraseni Prākṛit dialects has been preserved from this time in the inscriptions of King Aśoka (256-237 B.C.). In migrating into the Hindu Kush region and perhaps beyond, influence from the PaisaĒi languages became far-reaching; the very considerable PaisaĒi accretions dating from this time probably account for earlier scholars such as Bloch and Miklosich suggesting a more north-westerly origin for Romanés.

1.14 There are independent accounts of 12,000 Indians (called *Lurī*) having entered Persia as early as A.D. 439 during the Sāsānian Dynasty (A.D. 224-651) to entertain at the court of King Bahram Gur. Prs. W.R. Rishi, in the most complete discussion of early Roman history to date<sup>(9)</sup>, offers linguistic and anthropological evidence that the *Lurī*, referred to as *Zott* by the poet Firdausi and today also known as *Notrbiya* or *Nawar*, constituted the first group of *Rom* to leave India. He also

speaks of a second, later group who were taken as slaves by the Muslim warrior Mahmud Gaznavid during his forays into north-west India in A.D. 1001-1026. Kochanowski<sup>(10)</sup> believes that the ancestors of the Rom were Rajput warriors from the area now known as Rajasthan, some of whom left India after being decimated by Muslim troops at the Battle of Terain in A.D. 1192. A similar view is held by Ronald Lee<sup>(11)</sup>. If there were indeed three (or more) separate migrations from India, this would help explain the variation in dialect and physical type evident among European Rom today.

1.15 Whatever the real reasons for moving into Persia, the Rom were not to remain there. In the years following the death of the Caliph Mamun in A.D. 833, Rom in the country at that time were, according to Persian history, persecuted by the army of Djelf ibn Ambassa and driven north-westwards into Caucasia, arriving there between A.D. 1000 and 1100. During the sojourn through Iranian-speaking territories, Romanes acquired considerable Persian and Kurdish-derived lexicon, e.g. *sir* "garlic", *pošom* "wool", *zor* "power" and *mom* "wax". It may be significant that of the Persian and Kurdish-derived lexicon in Romanes (ca. 50 items), non from those languages occur which have an ultimately Arabic origin. Arabic influence upon the Iranian languages dates from ca. A.D. 650. From the languages of the Caucasus have been taken e.g. *khilau* "plum" (from Georgian), *kotör* "piece" (from Armenian), *wurdöm* "waggon" (from Ossete) and so on. At that time, Turkish had not spread westward into what is now Turkey, and there are no, or very few, Turkish-derived items in the European dialects of Romanes<sup>(12)</sup>.

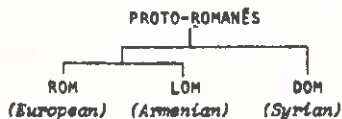
1.16 By the 13th Century a substantial group had moved into the area of Greek language domination, in what is today western Turkey, and influence upon Romanes from Greek, both lexical and grammatical, was considerable. Lexical items from this source include e.g. *föro* "town", *zuludki* "flower", *çoli* "angry", etc.

1.17 Having by that time arrived in Europe, the Rom continued to spread outwards, absorbing (by the 14th Century) southern Slavic and (by the 15th Century) coming under Rumanian, Hungarian, east Slavic, German, &c. influence. During this last period, the main European dialect splits were taking place.

1.20 The Dialects of Modern Romanés

1.21 Turner<sup>(13)</sup> divides Romanés as a whole into the European, Armenian and Syrian (including 'Asiatic') subfamilies, without dividing each further. These divisions appear to be valid; Sampson<sup>(14)</sup> indicates that at the time of entry into Persia (cf. 1.14 above) the ancestors of the Gypsies spoke a single language. This has been contested by Turner, however, who felt that a major split had occurred prior to this migration, and that it was at this time that the European and Asiatic groups became distinguished<sup>(15)</sup>. If Rishi and others are right in believing that different groups of Rom left at different times, it is also unlikely that they would have shared a common language, even if only altered by time (A.D. 439, 1001 and 1192). The Asiatic group, sometimes referred to as the *dom* dialects, include those of the Nawari, Kurbati, Beludži, Maraži, Nablus and Beirut Gypsies.

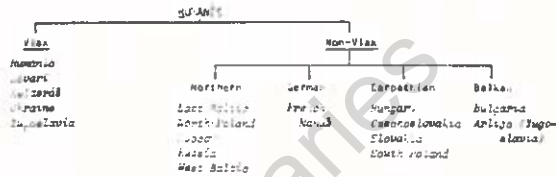
1.22 The later division between the European and Armenian (*rom* and *lom*) Gypsies occurred at the time that the move westwards into Turkey took place (cf. 1.15 above). The major divisions according to Turner, may be diagrammed thus:



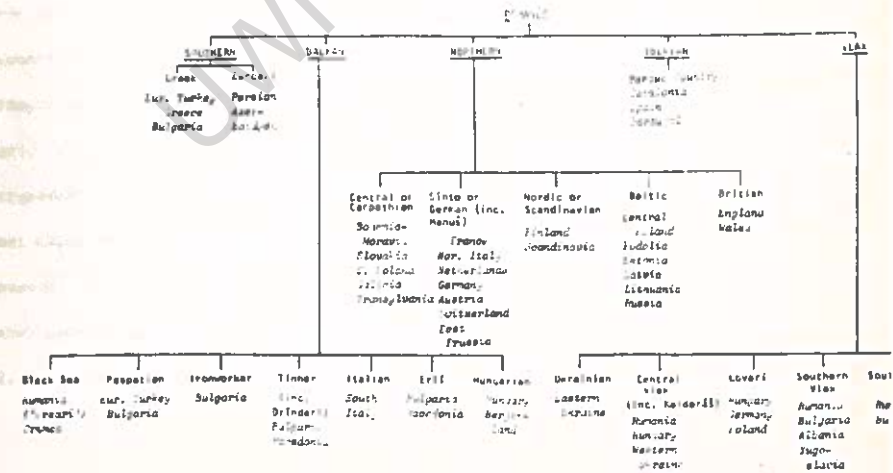
1.30 Classification of the European dialects

1.31 To date, the European and North American dialects — those which concern us here — have not been fully classified. Clébert<sup>(16)</sup> speaks of Finnish, Hungarian, German, Welsh, English, Catalan and Andaluz dialects, but these cannot be justified linguistically as comprising distinct groups. It is a pity that such observations, and a great many others based upon insufficient data, should appear in a book made so widely available.

1.32 One of the most recent attempts at classification is that of Kochanowski<sup>(17)</sup>. He divides the European dialects into two broad groups, *Vlax* and *non-Vlax*, the latter falling into four further groups:



1.33 Terrence Kaufman is currently attempting a reconstruction of Proto-Romanés at the University of Pittsburgh. To date, his findings, based upon extensive comparative work, indicate the following classification of dialects<sup>(18)</sup>:



Kaufman finds Kochanowski's grouping underdifferentiated, particularly in the area he treats as Balkan.

1.34 The schema presented here is further complicated by inter-group influences cutting across and affecting all of the major branches of European Romanés.

1.35 Speakers of all these groups are found in the western hemisphere; in the USA British and Vlax in particular, and in South America, Iberian and Vlax. There is a tendency in North America for Anglo-Romaní (the creolized Romanés/English of the Romníčala or Gypsies from Britain) speakers either eventually to lose their language or, less often, to adopt one of the inflected dialects — in particular Kelderas'tako and Matšwanftsko — as some Romníčal groups such as the Stanleys and Coopers have done. Socially there is little intergroup contact among the different speech communities, either in Europe or the Americas.

#### 2.00 Aims of the present paper

2.01 It is the object of this paper to examine factors bearing upon the present state of Romanés, and the problems of the standardization of the language. This of necessity takes into consideration several related issues; those dealt with here are the prevailing non-Gypsy attitudes toward Rom and Romanés, and the consequent effects upon the attitudes of the speakers themselves towards their language. It is also important to decide whether, because of the diversity of the dialects, a composite union variety be created, or just one existing dialect selected for the International standard. A problem also exists for Romané groups no longer speaking Romanés *per se*, but creolized varieties of the language (as do for example sections of the Gypsy populations in the United States, Britain, Spain, Finland, Armenia, etc.) and for whom Romanés morphosyntax is quite foreign.

2.02 A further question is that of devising a practical orthography. Clearly this

matter cannot be tackled until the phonemic inventory of the variety of Romarés chosen has been adequately described.

2.03 Hinging upon these considerations is the problem of literacy, and of Romani attitudes towards it, and to "formal" education generally.

### 3.00 Non-Gypsy Attitudes toward Rom: the Gypsy Stereotype

3.01 Due partly on the one hand to the closed nature of the Gypsy community, and an intentional misrepresentation of the society by its members to outsiders as a protective mechanism<sup>(19)</sup>, and on the other to the Gažé or non-Romani population attributing fictitious features to Gypsies as a kind of wish-fulfilment<sup>(20)</sup>, there has emerged a Gypsy stereotype bearing little or no relation to reality.

3.02 Gažé dissatisfied with this reality have sometimes attempted to create an illusion closer to the romantic image:

"One group of Gypsies with whom I recently spent some time told me with great glee of a woman who came to visit them regularly, bringing them presents and aspiring to the travelling life. "Imagine her!" said one of the men, "She wanted us t' go on outside on a cold winter's night and make us a fire and all sit about it, Surr, and us all supposed t' sing, with our teeth chatterin', and all. Let her come and stay in this here caravan, an' let all of us be goin' t' stay in her house in London is what I say to that!" (21)

One American romanologue ("Gypsologist") is regarded with some amusement by his Roman acquaintances because he persistently wears the bandanna and embroidered vest and sash of the stage Gypsy whenever he visits them.

3.03 Most such romantics however, are content to confine their fantasies to paper. An example of this appeared in *Holiday* magazine some years ago<sup>(22)</sup>, in which the writer, herself claiming Romani ancestry, created a veritable "concentrated essence of Gypsy". She describes a family which sought her help by means of troll-signs, and

who had English Gypsy surnames but Hungarian Gypsy given names, who dined on roots and herbs, played cimbaloms and violins for relaxation, and who spoke what appears to be a mixture of Anglo-Romani and gibberish. There is even reference to an "oath of the Green Skirt Women...about the highest honor a gypsy woman can be given". If the reader suspects that these are merely flights of an active imagination, or that the author was herself misinformed, he is dramatically reassured that "no Romany lies to one of his blood". The same reader would get a very different impression from reading an article which appeared some years later in *Atlantic Monthly* (23). In this one the writer — called a "Gypsy watcher" by the magazine — takes pains to describe how ready Gypsies are to denounce their fellows to the police.

3.04 Nonliterary stereotyping has been discussed elsewhere (24), and it has been pointed out more than once that because the stereotype is never encountered in real life, *actual* Gypsies are not usually regarded as the genuine thing. The frequently squalid Gypsy encampments along roadsides or on city dumps are, in the minds of the stereotypers, inhabited by wretched beings who give the "true Romany" (whatever that is) a bad name. Similarly, Gypsies holding positions of responsibility (from the Gažó point of view) or pursuing activities not concomitant with the traditional image, are equally suspect. A Rom who is, among other things, an expert on modal ship building and owns one of the finest private collections in the country, is considered not to be a "real Gypsy" on account of his nautical interests, by one non-Gypsy expert who presumes to know better.

3.05 A stereotyper is a definer, and to quote Black militant leader Stokely Carmichael, "people who can define are masters" (25).

"In the animal kingdom, the rule is, eat or be eaten; in the human kingdom, define or be defined... whoever first defines the situation is the victor... definers (that is, persons who insist on defining

others), are like pathogenic microorganisms: each invades, parasitizes, and often destroys his victim; and, in each case, those whose resistance is low are the most susceptible to attack"(26)

"Individuals or groups of individuals who allow others to define them as lazy, ignorant, inferior, inhuman, et cetera, have given the power of defining who and what they are to others, and this power carries with it the master-subject relationship"(27).

3.06 The Gypsy situation illustrates this well. The *Oxford English Dictionary* defines *Gypsy* as "a cunning rogue", or "a contemptuous term for a woman". As a verb it is listed with the meanings "to filch, steal". In the United Kingdom and other countries, a Gypsy is defined solely in terms of his relationship to the majority culture; a man may or may not legally be a Gypsy depending upon his mode of life, language and customs notwithstanding. A recent British county council decision determined that a traveller in England was not in fact a Gypsy, and as a result not subject to certain laws relevant to him:

"...he has not been a man of nomadic habits...in my judgement he is not a gypsy; therefore the Act does not apply" (28)

Such judgement also means that many people (in fact the majority of British travellers) are listed as Gypsies — or usually gypsies — because they are itinerant, whereas in fact they are not Gypsies at all but Gajé.

3.07 This kind of defining/stereotyping ultimately has an effect upon its recipients; attitudes of mind, reinforced by overtly repressive acts such as slavery and attempted extermination, instils through the course of time an ambivalent attitude toward the native culture and language:

"Lagarde-Quost goes so far as to say that 'there is...in most bilinguals a latent schizo-

phrenia, or split personality, and this might be the psychological key to the problems of minorities'. He means by this that the split personality explains 'the accusation so often brought up against frontier people or linguistic minorities: that they are "unreliable", "untrustworthy", "unpredictable".' And well they may be, for each of them is often unpredictable to himself unless he has deliberately analyzed his two modes of thought, and retained as pertaining to him only what is common to both and therefore stable and latent."<sup>(29)</sup>

### 3.10 Evidence of Linguistic Prejudice

3.11 It is not unusual to find linguistic generalizations made about Romanés at all levels. This ranges from extremity to extremity; on the one hand are found overly lyrical accounts of the language (although *cultura* is less well-favored):

"The Gypsies, like the birds and all wild things, have a language of their own, which is apart from the language of those among whom they dwell...the Gypsy['s]...language is deep and warm and full of the charm of the out-of-doors world, the scent of the clover and the ripple of streams and the rush of the wind and the storm. For the Rommany speech is full of all this, and though the Gypsy has few traditions, his rich mother tongue must enbalm in each word a thousand associations that thrill in the soul..." (30).

3.12 Mid-way stand well intentioned, but still subjective and highly inaccurate descriptions such as the following which appeared in a popular linguistics journal in 1969:

"All authentic gypsy communication is — and must be — oral. As they settle for a time in a new country, they acquire some of that country's words and incorporate them into *Roum*, more popularly called Romany. It is believed that the *Roum* language began as a very small one, concerned with the family, the tribe, the horses and herd — words required for a simple existence. It must be very old, for *Roum* is highly idiomatic, and the complications of verbs and

ganders is endless. There is no way to write it except phonetically, and some sounds of the gypsy tongue simply defy our twenty-six letter alphabet...*Rom* is a disorderly language, and must be learned phrase by phrase. Even the syntax differs from one occasion to another. Verbs are very difficult...no one can explain why the verb changes so radically. A major problem is that no gypsy really knows what a verb is, and it wouldn't matter anyway if he did, because this is the way it must be said. The idiom is paramount in *Rom* and cannot be changed"(31)

In one book, *To Gypsyland*, the author travels throughout Hungary and other European countries speaking only Anglo-Romaní, and being addressed in it, wherever she went. In her account she is often enthusiastically accepted as a Gypsy because of her linguistic skills (32).

3.13 At the other extreme, openly biased pronouncements such as the following may be found:

"...his language...[which] contains traces of an original character [but which] is encrusted, as it were, with words borrowed (it might, perhaps be more appropriate to say (stolen...) from a dozen different dialects" (33)

3.14 Even students of Romani studies are not exempt from such prejudgement. In a recent book on *Rom*, the French scholar Bloch states that "le langage est ce que les Tsiganes ont de plus caractéristique...c'est un argot"(34). Some even challenge reality in the light of direct evidence: Jaroslav Sus, a Czech romanologue, claims that it is an "utterly mistaken opinion that gypsies form a nationality or a nation, that they have their own national culture, their own national language"(35). Language apart, some scholars apparently have had great difficulty in carrying out their Gypsy research, and one can only admire their devotion to science which kept them at it. Martin Block, for instance, experienced "an involuntary feeling of mistrust or repulsion in their presence" ("...ein unfreiwilliges Gefühl des Mißtrauens oder des

*Widerwillens in ihrer Gegenwart*)<sup>(36)</sup>, while Heinrich Grallmann approached his subject with "obvious repugnancy, like a biologist dissecting some nauseating crawling thing in the interests of science" ("*...offensichtlicher Widerwille wie der eines Naturwissenschaftler der ein ekelerregendes Kriechtier im Interesse des Wissenschaftsbeziert*")<sup>(37)</sup>.

3.15 Published misinformation about the Romani people and language is legion. Although it has been claimed that George Borrow has "done more harm to the cause of those of us who wish the gypsy community well than almost any[one] else"<sup>(38)</sup> because of his romantic portrayal of Romani life, he nevertheless illustrates with some accuracy the Gypsy attitude to such dogma:

"It is wonderful, is it, that we should have a language of our own? What? You grudge the poor people the speech they talk among themselves? That's just like you gorgios [Gazé], you would have everybody stupid, single-tongued idiots, like yourselves. We are taken before the Poknees of the gay [magistrate of the town], myself and sister, to give an account of ourselves. So I says to my sister's little boy, speaking Romany, I says to the little boy who is with us, run to my son Jasper and the rest, and tell them to be off, there are hawks abroad. So the Poknees questions us, and lets us go, not being able to make anything of us; but, as we are going, he calls us back.

"Good woman", says the Poknees, "What was that I heard you say just now to the little boy?"

"I was telling him, your worship, to go and see the time of day, and, to save trouble, I said it in our own language".

"Where did you get that language?" says the Poknees.

"'Tis our own language, sir", I tells him, "We did not steal it".

"Shall I tell you what it is, my good woman?" says the Poknees.

"I would thank you, sir", says I, "for 'tis often we are asked about it".

"Well then", says the Poknees, "It is no language at all, merely a made-up gibberish".

"Oh bless your wisdom" says I with a curtesy, "you can tell us what our language is without understanding it!".

Another time we met a person. "Good woman", he says, "What are you talking? Is it broken language?"

"Of course, your reverence" says I, "we are broken people; give a shilling, your reverence, to the poor broken woman". Oh, these gorgios; They grudge us our very language!"<sup>(39)</sup>.

3.16 "On other than a scientific level, our culture maintains a loosely organized but fairly uniform system of pronouncements about language"<sup>(40)</sup>. The most dangerous and unforgivable kind of linguistic prejudice is that which, having achieved the sanctity of the printed page, gets transmitted through the years altered only in style. Like all of the above writers with the exception of Borrow, Konrad Bercovici could not speak Romanian, although he boldly states in his 320-page book *The story of the Gypsies* that he is dealing with

"...a people whose vocabulary lacks two words — *possession* and *duty*.<sup>(41)</sup>

3.17 Twenty-one years later, the anonymous author of an article in *Coronet* magazine plagiarizes and rewords the same statement:

"Even today, there are two important English words for which the Gypsy vocabulary has no known equivalent, and for which the Gypsy people have never exhibited any desire or need. One of them is the word "duty", the other is "possession"."

3.18 And yet, seventeen years later, in perhaps the most invidious way of all, since the plagiarism has been recast in such a way as to suggest an actual verbatim interview, the statement turns up again, in an article by Marie Wynn Clarke, typically entitled "Vanishing vagabonds"<sup>(43)</sup>:

"A young Gypsy wife said, 'there is no word in our language for "duty" or "possession", but I'm afraid there will be soon'".

3.19 Like the other anonymous writer (at 3.13 above) who sees "lexical thefts" more

In keeping with his image of the Gypsy than "lexical adoptions", none of these writers actually overcame their feelings of what they *expected* of the language enough to ask a Gypsy himself whether these words existed in *Romanés*. For a long-enslaved people whose lives were a succession of duties and obligations, and whose possessions were taken from them, it is not surprising that there are in fact several words for these concepts: for "duty" there are in the various dialects the words *mucaipé*, *slúba*, *kandipé*, *t'oximós* and *vudžlipé*, while for "possession" there are *maítkos* and *arsámo*, although in truth the fallacy of such statements scarcely needs refuting.

3.20 For the majority of Gypsy groups, the pressures inductive to self-hatred are sublimated through the concept of *móxadi* or *maxrimé* (tabu factors in the cultural experience, and a strong belief in ethnic superiority. It might be pointing out the obvious to say that antigypsyism, if it may be called that, can be held most directly responsible for the unapproachability of Gypsies by outsiders. If *Rom* are considered to be "nauseating crawling things" (cf. 3.14) or "vermin" or a "scourge" by *Gažé*, this justifies *Rom* regarding *Gažé* in the same way. And in lieu of police, government enforced laws, &c., *Romani* culture itself serves as the most expedient weapon. *Gažé* are not only seen as foolish and unenlightened because of their refusal to acknowledge the superiority of the *Rom*, but this foolishness is reinforced and justified by regarding contact with *Gažé* as polluting or defiling the race<sup>(44)</sup>.

3.21 There exists nevertheless for some *Rom* a latent doubt as to the true worth of the Gypsy people. Many *Rom* will readily deny their heritage if knowledge of it could for instance spoil the opportunity of employment. The sadness is not that *Rom* do this, but that society is such that it is *necessary* to do this. A widespread *Romani* belief holds that *Rom* are a cursed race and doomed to wander. Such beliefs are rationalized by acquiring legends to explain them, e.g. that the race is cursed

because it was a Gypsy who forged the nails with which Christ was crucified<sup>(45)</sup>.

3.22 This two-sided attitude toward the race also manifests itself in feelings about the language, which vary considerably. Few Rom are aware of the Indic origin of Romanés, which is regarded as a collection of vaguely related languages rather than constituting dialects of a common tongue. A Vlax speaker will say of a Sintl speaker that "he does not speak my language", and "language" is meant here, though Romanés šib also means "idiolect" and "dialect".

3.23 This is not to say that the different dialects are seen in the same way as Gažikanés (non-Gypsy speech); but as long as a Kaldarašitsko speaker cannot use his language with a Sintitska speaker and be understood, whether or not each is a dialect of Romanés is neither here nor there from a practical point of view. It is of little consequence whether Kald. Romanés tš'am "skin" is interestingly close to Sint. Romanés dš'mə, if it isn't close enough to mean anything. It is the sociolinguistic and cultural criteria which class neither dialect as Gažikanés.

3.24 Despite the frequent lack of interintelligibility, none of the dialects are so far apart as to give the impression that they are quite unrelated. As long as the basic Indic, and early-acquired non-Indic vocabulary is adhered to, a degree of mutual comprehension is possible. Speakers however are unaware of which items are indigenous and which are adoptions, and it would not help if they were. In the southwestern United States, for example, visiting Mexican Kaldaršša have difficulty communicating with American Kaldaršša because names for western concepts are adopted from Spanish or English respectively: ša th'o bentiladoro p'o agór la bišyonbako and ša th'o feno p'o agór la tiwiyáko both mean "go and put the fan on top of the television set".

3.25 Speakers of inflected dialects seldom as a rule regard these as not constituting "proper languages", although in countries where Romanés has become jargonized (as in Britain) or has in the past been prohibited by law from being spoken (as in Spain), negative feeling may certainly be encountered. But this is not the main problem. In a Gažó world which has always been almost universally hostile, vítsa<sup>(46)</sup> has had to turn against vítsa, and nátsia<sup>(47)</sup> against nátsia simply in order to survive. Small groups can make a living and survive as long as they remain unobtrusive. Other groups in the same district present not only competition, but a threat to welfare and survival. The concept of strength through unity does not apply easily to a people having nothing to fight with; invisibility has always been the most effective defence.

3.26 Old feelings die hard, and it is far from easy for older Rom to accept the new spirit of ethnic unity which is becoming increasingly evident among members of the younger generations<sup>(48)</sup>. Nor is it even desirable for Rom in some parts of the world yet to do so openly — not, at least, until stronger measures are available to combat possible reprisals for such activity. It should be remembered that General DeGaulle officially banned two Romani groups in France — the *Organisation Nationale Gitane* and the *Communauté Mondiale Gitane*<sup>(49)</sup>. Gažó governments and local governing bodies cannot be relied upon:

"The gipsies make a mockery of all that is decent and humane and have, in our opinion, no right to be housed among decent society"

Hr. Alistair Macdonald  
Member of Parliament (50)  
Chislehurst & Sidcup

"...as the Council pondered possible action on gipsies, one member was heard to say loudly: 'shoot them!'"

Alyn & District  
Council Meeting (51)  
November, 1973

"We are dealing with people who members of this council would not look upon as *human beings in the normal sense*".

Transcript of a broadcast of a meeting of Birmingham (England) politicians, March 1968 (52) (emphasis added)

"Councillor sounds gypsies alarm: ...Councillor Yapp said later, "all proper steps were taken to stop the [Gypsy] carevans coming into the city. It is far easier to deal with a situation before it becomes a large problem".

Birmingham City Council meeting, August 1973 (53)

"There are some of these people [i.e. Gypsies] you can do nothing with, and you must *exterminate the impossibles*".

Transcript of a broadcast of a meeting of Birmingham (England) politicians, March 19 (emphasis added)

"MP asks expulsion of gypsy immigrants: Craig Stewart (PC-Marquette ...asked immigration Minister Robert Andraes to order their deportation immediately 'to protect Canadian citizens'".

Montréal Gazette July, 1973

A typical eviction notice reads: "You are hereby notified that you are trespassing on land which belongs to the Epsom and Ewell Borough Council. If you do not leave within the next seven days, legal proceedings for your eviction will be issued against you in the High Court of Justice without further notice" (54).

3.27 Whatever linguistic prejudice exists is a direct corollary of the ongoing racial prejudice which has disseminated the Romani people, and while it is unlikely that the Gažđi will ever be well-disposed towards Gypsies, it will be possible to resist and combat injustice more easily as a reunited people. *Mangã s patikiv le Gažãnge, nitãi lãngo drãgo* — we want the Gažđi's respect, not his love.

3.28 To summarise the foregoing:

- a) It seems probable that there never was a single *Romanés*, but possibly as many as three distinct (albeit closely related) Gypsy languages whose speakers left India at different times.
- b) Because of historical and current factors, not least anti-social pressures

from the host society which continue to divide the Romanés-speaking populations, there are today a great many widely differing dialects of that language.

- c) Perhaps the greatest obstacle in achieving political and cultural unity is the lack of communication amongs the various Romani groups in Europe and North America (55).
- d) It may be assumed that progress toward reunification would be more easily made if a common dialect were available to all groups. To quote Sarkon once more, "the achievement of linguistic unity is the first step toward unity as a people".

#### 4.00 The Linguistic Problems

4.01 Romani leaders are unanimous in their desire for a standard dialect of Romanés, and repeated their plea for the creation of such a dialect, at the World Romani Congress held in April, 1971. This was summarized as follows (56):

"It was recognized that the Romani language played an important rôle both as one of the distinctive features of the Romani people in each country in which they lived and as a link between different groups. The efforts of the English and Spanish Gypsies to restore their language to active use were approved.

"It was recognized that all spoken Romani dialects are of equal merit, and that no one dialect is superior to any other dialect. Nevertheless there was a need for an international standardized dialect which could be used in periodicals and in congresses. It was hoped that at the next Congress, Romani could be used much more, and less translation required.

"It was agreed to start a journal, *Romani Chib*, to discuss language problems..."

4.02 This plea was nevertheless repeated a year later at the April 1972 meeting of the Social and War Crimes Commissions of the WRC, in London. Since that time, little

has been accomplished beyond the discussion stage, although branches of the *Komitéa Kamlaké Romani* in the U.S.A., Spain, France, Britain and Yugoslavia have been devoting time to the formation of an international linguistic commission (*Satheméako Komlayóno šibáko*) (57).

4.10 The problems to be dealt with are:

- a) No single dialect spoken anywhere is so close to the common protoform that it may be adopted without modification; in other words, whatever dialect is chosen, will have to be adapted to a more internationally acceptable form, especially lexically.
- b) Using existing means of education, the propagation of such a standard dialect will be very unevenly achieved. Settled, already literate Rom (such as predominate in eastern European countries) will have a far better opportunity to acquire such a dialect. For illiterate and nomadic Rom, the task would be much harder.
- c) Not all Rom everywhere will ever learn such a standardized dialect. This will create a "linguistic élite" consisting only of those who have learnt the new international standard.

4.11 The first of these, i.e. the actual *composition* of the new dialect, is fraught with further problems. The inflected dialects differ most in lexicon, and to unify the currently non-shared elements Kochanowski has suggested replacing

"...the borrowed current vocabulary by Hindi, because the basic vocabulary of Romani and Hindi-Rajasthaní is 60% the same, and to replace the technical words by the international vocabulary, mainly by words common to the French and English languages, of course adapting all these words to Romani phonology" (58).

4.12 Kochanowski's first proposal could be modified by attempting to trace Indig-

enous terms for lost items in other dialects, before resorting to Hindi as a source. Thus the root *ṭher-* "have" (< Śaur. वृत्त धृत् "hold, keep, possess") might be reintroduced from its restricted occurrence in the Southern dialects to replace the *ai* ("there is/are") + dative nominal construction adapted from pan-Balkan syntax: *Vlax ai ma(nda) žukāl*, Southern *ṭherdu džiūkei*, "I have a dog".

4.13 This suggestion itself presents a further problem: while 'purists' might think it right to weed out the non-native syntactic/lexical features, some — the use of *ai* = have for instance — are so widely current that the indigenous revival would be quite foreign to the majority. The same purists might also object to the introduction of international vocabulary to substitute for coinings which make use of indigenous morphemes within individual dialects: Norwegian *Romanés rovdra-pant* <sup>(59)</sup> "ink" (lit. "writing water"), British and American *Anglo-Romani praeterin-easter* <sup>(60)</sup> "bicycle" (lit. "running-iron"), American *Kelderežitsko šudró-bákeo* <sup>(61)</sup> "refrigerator" (lit. "cold box"), etc.

4.20 The more conservative varieties of Lovarftsko (*Vlax*) retain a high proportion of indigenous vocabulary and idiom; one such dialect, such as e.g. that described by Pobožniak <sup>(62)</sup>, might well serve as the basis for an international standard. Other *Vlax* dialects (including some varieties of Lovarftsko) have considerable Rumanian overlay, and include several phonemes not widespread in other dialects. These are the two *r*-phonemes /r/ and /r̄/ (cf. *bar* "well", *baṛ* "rock") and the *š/š̄* and *ž/ž̄* distinctions. The contrast need not be retained orthographically in the created standard since minimal pairs are few (cf. *šauži* "little girl", *šauži* "number six").

4.21 While some Northern dialects such as the Welsh <sup>(63)</sup> or Sinti <sup>(64)</sup> are also con-

servative in structure and vocabulary, they differ in some important ways from the Vlax dialects. Some of the major differences include<sup>(65)</sup>:

	Northern	Vlax
i am	me hom	me sim
You are	tu hai	tu san
He, she is	yo, yoy hi	wo, way si
1st person singular preterite suffix	-om	-em
2nd person singular preterite suffix	-el	-an
Loanverb infix <sup>(66)</sup>	-in-	-isar-
Usual nominalizing suffix	-pe(n)	-mo(s)

4.22 This suggests the possibility of creating two standards, one based upon the Northern and one upon the Vlax group of dialects. This leaves nevertheless a vast number of speakers of Balkan, Southern and Iberian dialects not represented — and doesn't even consider speakers of *Dom* and *Dom Romanés* in the Middle East, although since the political and cultural stimulus derives from Europe and the United States, the latter dialects should not at present be of prime concern.

4.23 Conservative Vlax, Northern, Balkan, &c. dialects have a very high percentage of common lexicon and structure; Kochanowski concludes with substantial evidence that "le tsigane d'Europe présente une unité incontestable"<sup>(67)</sup>. Non-shared features include phonemes, lexical items and calques, and even intonation patterns, adopted from the language(s) of the host country, and these in normal speech give a false impression of the extent of diversity among the dialects. It would probably not be necessary to create two or more standards if a compromise phonology and lexicon

were established. These are how German Sinti<sup>(68)</sup> and North American Kelderašitsko compare, without modification:

S. me džá:wa an o fó:ro  
K. me žau and'o fúro  
E. I'm going to the town

S. man hi but tšé:we  
K. se ménde but žaužé  
E. I have many children

S. o gá:džo plyéla o pé:ni akóna  
K. o gažó plyéi o pal akaná  
E. the non-Gypsy is drinking water now

S. yoy wéla fon o dóktarí bi-méntsa  
K. woy avéi le dokt'oréstar bi-mónsa  
E. she's coming from the doctor's without me

S. o murš kai bešéi kol hi mfro p'ú:rødar p'ra:i  
K. o murš kai bešéi koté se muró mal p'urandó p'rai  
E. the man who's sitting there is my elder brother

4.24 Clearly the dialects are closely related, and without excessive modification a standard variety based upon them is possible.

4.30 Acton<sup>(69)</sup> illustrates well the linguocentricism of different dialect speakers, which at best may amount to indifference to the speech of other Rom (cf. 3.22 ff.):

"Most Gypsies look down on speakers of dialects other than their own, and their prejudices are often taken over vigorously by any Gaujos who learn one dialect. At Epsom in 1970 I heard the visiting speaker of an east European dialect, attack all British Gypsies for letting Romani fall into disuse. Even the best 'Welsh' Romani-speakers, he assured me, though they might be able to take a fish out of the river in Romani, couldn't use it to take an engine out of a motor[-car]."

4.31 The subjectiveness of such a statement is clear; a 'Welsh'-Romanés speaker can of course perform this task, referring probably to an *indžin* and a *móta* in his dialect, but the Balkan speaker would himself have to refer to a *parovòz* and a *furgóno*, adopting from Bulgarian, etc. The Luri or Rajput ancestors of the Rom did

not leave India in motor-driven automobiles.

4.32 It may be an added benefit to have a modified standard dialect since it will not be identified with any one group (except to begin with, one supposes, the Romani intelligentsia, who are by no means universally appreciated by other Rom).

4.40 The second question (4.10b) also raises further problems. Firstly, if settled literate Rom will be able more easily to acquire not only a knowledge of the standard dialect, but through it (as is planned) a knowledge of Indo- and Euro-Romani history and the nationalist movement, the bias created in favour of Rom from the eastern European countries would result in more representation from them at the congresses and elsewhere. The implication of this fact would readily be made by pro-acculturationists that settled, literate Rom *must* benefit, because being both settled and literate is naturally preferable to the nomadic life style<sup>(70)</sup>.

4.41 The majority of European Rom have in fact been sedentary for a long time, and the American Romani population has become increasingly so in recent years. They are no less Rom for that<sup>(71)</sup>. A large number still travel however, either from necessity or choice, and must have equal representation. The way of life should not be regarded as the problem, but rather the fact that existing methods of propagating information are inadequate. Some attempted solutions are discussed below (at 6.00, Education).

4.50 The third proposal (4.10c), the question of the creation of an "elite", is not peculiar to this situation, merely new. Whatever attitudes arise from the majority, they will all have precedents.

4.51 Besides the natural resentment felt toward a privileged group, there is the feeling — perhaps even more widespread — that worldwide organizations with secretaries and fancy letterheads are somehow un-Romani, and reflect a compartmentalized

type of behaviour more typical of the Gaꝛꝛé. A Spanish Gypsy, himself largely acculturated, told Jan Yoors (72):

"The *Bungaros* [Vlax] have their own language... and it makes their strength. What would it help if we now started to learn it all over? To listen to them talk about the Gypsies' new identity and shallow utopia of an independent nation, you would think they are more *payo* [Gaꝛꝛó] than we *apayados* [Gaꝛꝛified ones]. What we need are jobs, integration and some degree of social justice instead of all that romantic *payo* hodgepodge".

4.52 This attitude, if accurately reported and not merely the opinion of the writer, is perhaps an extreme one, and reflects pressures from the surrounding culture. In contrast, in the United States where it is not uncommon, and even *de rigueur* these days for the various component cultures to maintain identity-motivated organizations and national representatives, many Gypsies are attracted to the idea of an international organization. Although anything smacking of officialdom — even Romani controlled officialdom (73) — creates considerable suspicion in the minds of some, the idea of being part of a body which has its own publications and international congresses, is attractive.

4.53 Le Page notes (74):

"There is one aspect of the scene in multilingual societies which is often overlooked. This is the importance to each racial community of having a private world into which it can retreat and discuss the political situation without being overheard by the other communities. If each community has its own newspapers, discussion and comment can be carried on in their columns without necessarily inciting anger among the other communities".

Yoors' companion, however, lives in a less permissive society. Le Page continues:

"But the situation may on the other hand incite suspicion. A Government drawn predominantly from one language community may feel uncertain of the loyalties of the other communities and feel compelled to introduce repressive censorship".

4.54 It is true that the Lovarfa say *amári jib e'amári sor*, "our language is our strength, but language is more than that. It is not

"...a mere tool and, as such, interchangeable with other tools, but...it is a moulding factor which co-determines patterns of thought and outlooks on life"(75).

4.55 With much (76) of the Spanish Gypsy population now ignorant of the language as a complete and functioning system, perhaps the most important "moulding factor" no longer exists, hence the tragic situation of people like the *apayado* above who, while labelled as *Gitanos* by the host culture and subject to continual repression, are less and less able to retreat into the indigenous culture where one can continue to be a human being with a personality.

#### 5.00 Devising a suitable Orthography

5.01 This matter has been referred to briefly at 4.20 above. The problem remains however as to what system to use. At present, most of the written *Romanés* remains in the pages of the *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, usually in a fairly narrow phonetic transcription. Nearly all non-scholarly texts which appear are in the orthography of the language of the country, thus Spanish Caló follows Spanish language spelling conventions:

"Dica calif sos linastes terelas, plas-arandote misto men calochin desquifiao de trinchas, puñis y canrriles, sata anjelía terelaba dicando on los chorres..."

Anglo-Romani English spelling conventions:

"Cuvve-kal see sar the chinomengries chiv talay morro pogaddy-jib canna they koms to chin it dray a lil. Diks a bitty divvy to mandy if tooty koms to jin",

and so on. These are, though, localized dialects, and in both cases have lost most of the native grammar and much of the lexicon to Spanish and English respectively.

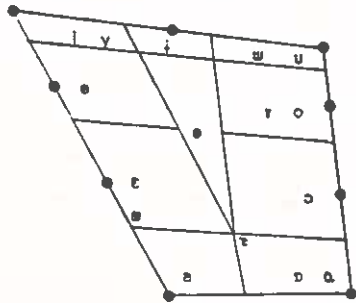
5.02 Even the spelling of inflected dialects presents a problem. A Kelderaĭtsko booklet of scriptures published for circulation in France has an orthography based on French:

"Nouma o Jĕsus pheneĭ lenge katchia  
paramitchi: Savo manouch anda toumende, te  
aveĭ les yek cheĭ bakriforha, ai te xhasereĭ  
yek, tchi moukal le Inya-var-des-tai-Inya..."

5.03 The argument is, presumably, that if French Kelderaĭtsa are literate at all, it will only be in French, and they will therefore only be familiar with that system. This is largely true, and while it has the questionable virtue of bringing the word of the Sociĕté pour la distribution des Saintes Ēcritures to our people in their own language, it may only be read easily by Rom in France. Someone in Sweden speaking the same language would find its conventions unusual.

5.04 Of course whatever writing system is devised is going to look unusual to some sections of the population, as will the standardized dialect itself. But these are facts which must be accepted if Norwegian Gypsies and Hungarian Gypsies (for example) are ever to see themselves rather as Rom whose homes are in Norway and Hungary (77).

5.10 The sounds occurring in the principal European dialects are as follows (not every dialect has them all, and certain "phonĕmes non-intĕgrĕs" as discussed by Kochanowski (78) are not included):



a) The Vowel Sounds:

5.11 The basic vowels are five, *viz.* /a e i o u/, with the following occurring as allophonic variants:

/a/ [a ə e o]

/e/ [e e ə]

/i/ [i e j y i r]

/o/ [o o r]

/u/ [u w w o]

The central series /ə/ [ə e i] occurs frequently in some dialects, especially Vlaχ, where others have /e i a/. These are written in Rumanian orthography as â and ë (the only other European language with a special letter for a central vowel is Albanian, with ë). Likewise, [y r w] occur only in some dialects, and again only as allophonic variants.

5.12 The central and secondary vowels need not be given special letters in the revised orthography, leaving five vowels only: /a e i o u/. If it is found necessary to include further symbols, 'ə', 'ë' or 'e' might be used to include the central vowels, 'ü' for [y], and so on. The main concerns in selecting appropriate symbols are firstly whether they are generally familiar to the speakers already (ə, ë and e are not) and secondly if so, are the facilities easily available to print such characters.

5.13 These five vowel symbols are also adequate to represent all possible diphthongs with the glides /w/ and /y/: ai, au, ea, ei, eo, eu, ia, ie, yi, io, iu, oa, oi, ui, Phonetic variants are many, thus /ea/ might represent [ɛa əa eə eə ea əə], &c. Some of these are found only in lexical adoptions from Rumanian, and may not occur in the devised standard dialect.

## b) The Consonant Sounds:

	BILABIAL	LABIO-DENTAL	DENTAL	PALATO-ALVEOLAR	RETROFLEX	PALATAL	VELAR	UVULAR	GLOTTAL
PLOSIVE	p b		t d			c ʃ	k g		
ASPIRATE	p <sup>h</sup>		t <sup>h</sup>	(t <sup>h</sup> )			k <sup>h</sup>		
NASAL	m		n			ɲ	ŋ		
LATERAL			l			ʎ			
FLAP			r						
FRICATIVE		f v	s z	ʃ ʒ	ʂ ʐ	ç ʝ	x ɣ	χ ʁ	h
AFFRICATE			tʃ dʒ	tʃ dʒ					
SEMIVOWEL	w					y			

5.14 The orthographies of nine European languages have been examined in order to devise the most widely acceptable system for Romanés. These are English, French, German, Croatian, Czech, Slovak, Polish, Rumanian and Hungarian. Many of the letters have a constant phonemic value throughout Europe, e.g. p, b, t, d, g, k, m, n, s, etc. while others differ in frequency (k is not common in French or Rumanian) or representation (sz = [ʃ] in Hungarian).

5.15 *The Plosives.* With the exception of [c] and [ʃ], these are written alike in all nine languages. The Romance languages favour orthographic c to k, but k is

used, and unlike c has the constant value of [k]. In addition, c represents [ts] in several languages. In Romanés [c] and [ç] occur as variants of /k/ and /q/, and need not be represented in print (Czech and Slovak write them t' and d', Croatian as č and dj, and Hungarian as ty and gy).

5.16 *The Aspirates*. The aspirated stops, being a legacy from India, have no phonemic counterparts in the European languages. This feature has been represented in several ways in linguistic treatises, for example by an h (or suprascript <sup>h</sup>), by an apostrophe, or by the symbol for a diffuse voiceless fricative (ç, χ) following the stop. The suggestion here is that an h of comparable size be placed following the relevant letter. A suprascript <sup>h</sup> is unnecessarily precise from a phonetic point of view, cannot easily be handwritten, and is not present in most typesetting establishments. The apostrophe is needed elsewhere, e.g. to represent elision or abbreviation, and such spellings as ççuv, tçem, ççrał, &c. give too unfamiliar an appearance on the printed page. The combinations ph, th, kh will have other possible values only to literate English-speaking Rom, for whom they might represent [f], [θ/ð] or [χ]. Aspiration need only be indicated after prevocalic stops in initial position, for example pe/p<sup>h</sup>e "on/sister", ta/t<sup>h</sup>a "so that/and", kam/k<sup>h</sup>am "future-marker/sun", tšor/tš<sup>h</sup>or "thief/beard", although it may occur phonetically before liquids (p<sup>h</sup>rał "brother, p<sup>h</sup>layın "mountain") as well as medially and finally (dokt<sup>h</sup>oro "doctor", ye<sup>h</sup> "one"). No instances have been found, however, where aspiration in these positions (i.e. other than in initial p<sup>h</sup>, t<sup>h</sup>, k<sup>h</sup>, tš<sup>h</sup>, + *V*) is significant to meaning.

5.17 *The Nasals*. These are [m n ŋ]. [m] and [n] present no orthographic difficulties since they are so written throughout Europe. [ŋ] variously occurs as gn (in French), as nj (in Croatian), as ň (in Slovak and Czech), as ñ (in Polish) and

ny (In Hungarian). It occurs in final position only as an allophone of /n/ (in some dialects) after /i/, and need not be represented independently: *skamín* [skamín] ~ [skamín] "chair", *karfín* [kərfín] ~ [kərfín] "spike". Elsewhere it may be written ny (cf. 5.22): *nyya* "nine", *konyáko* "brandy". [ŋ] does not generally occur except before the corresponding stops, and in most dialects, like [ɲ], it does not occur in final position. Thus it may be represented by n: *hínka* "yet", *tāng* "knee".

5.18 *The laterals*. These are [l] and [ʎ]. The latter, palatal sound occurs as ll, lj, l', gl or ly in various European orthographies. In Romanian it appears finally only as a variant of /l/ after /i/, and may therefore be written l: *rii* [ʎi] ~ [ʎi] "fart", *šil* [ʃi] ~ [ʃi] "cold(ness)". In other positions it may be written ly (see 5.22): *kamlyarāyā* "lobster", *tālyar-* "to depart", &c.

5.19 *The flap (or trill)* [r] may be written r: *piri* "pot", *rii* "side", *sor* "power".

5.20 *Fricatives* are numerous in Romanian: [t v s z ʃ ʒ β ʒ f] x γ χ θ h. Among these, orthographic f, v, s, z and h have fairly constant values throughout Europe, and may be used without modification for Romanian. Localized differences include the use of v to represent [f] in German, s to represent [ʃ] in Hungarian, and h to represent [x] in Rumanian and [χ] in Croatian.

[ʃ] is represented by sh in English, sch in German, ch in French, š in Croatian, Czech and Slovak, sz in Polish, s in Hungarian and ș in Rumanian. [ʒ] is written ǰ in French and Rumanian, ž in Croatian, Czech and Slovak, z in Polish and zs in Hungarian. English sometimes represents this sound by zh. Of these, š and ǰ are probably the most universally recognised, and are recommended for use in the Romanian orthography.

The retroflex sounds [ʒ] and [ʒ] are not common in European languages; [β] is heard

in Polish and is written ɛ̃; [ɛ̃] also occurs in Polish, written ɛ̃, and a similar sound is found in Czech (ě) and Slovak (ě). In some Vlach dialects these are significant in distinguishing pairs or near-pairs of words from those containing ɛ̃ and ɛ̃, but such distinctions are few: šez "hundred", šez "smallpox", šezina "beast", šezindō "alive" (79). In many dialects, [j] & [ɣ] and [ɛ̃] & [ɛ̃] have fallen together as /ɛ̃/ and /ɛ̃/ or else never were distinct; [ɣ] and [ɛ̃] generally correspond to [tʰ] and [dʒ] in non-Vlach dialects.

The sounds [ɕ] and [j] are not distinct phonemes in Romanés, but occur as variants of (especially) /k/ and /g/. Therefore they do not need individual orthographic representation. The same is true for [x] and [ɣ] which occur as varieties of /k/, /χ/, /g/ and /g/.

The voiceless uvular fricative is shown by ch in German, Czech, Slovak and Polish, by h in Croatian, and sometimes by ch or kh in English. As for the choice of the symbols ɛ̃ and ɛ̃ for [j] and [ɛ̃], digraphs involving h are to be avoided since this letter indicates aspiration. It is proposed that x be used to represent this sound, since its "usual" value ([ks]) is represented by the sequence ks in Romanés. Uvular [u] occurs as the common pronunciation of /r/ in many varieties of German and French, and is therefore uniformly represented by r in print. In no European language does [u] contrast phonemically with [r]. Ways of indicating the voiced uvular fricative in scholarly treatments include ʀ, R, ʁ, ʁ, ʀ and rh. In Romanés, [u] and [r] are distinct phonemes only in some (especially Vlach) dialects: raɪ "lord", ɛ̃aɪ "twig", baɪ "wall", baɪ "rock", elsewhere the single /r/ phoneme has the flap or trill value only. It is suggested that the single character r for the /r/ phoneme be adopted and the pronunciation [r] be given it for the standardized dialect. If it is necessary to be able to indicate the uvular value, the symbol ʀ is sug-

gested since use of the wedge accent would bring it in line with the proposed characters š and ž.

5.21 *The affricate sounds found in Romanés are [ts dz tʃ dʒ tʂ dʒ].* [ts] is written š in German, ț in Rumanian, and č in the Slavic languages and Hungarian. [dz] is everywhere represented by dž. In keeping with this digraph, the corresponding voiceless affricate may be written ts, thus avoiding the introduction of a new symbol such as č, and remaining uniform with other digraphs. Similarly, [tʃ] consists of /t/ + /ʃ/, and may be written tš (rather than e.g. č). [dʒ] may likewise be written dž. The former occurs as č, ch, tšch, č and cz in European languages, and the latter as ĵ, g, dsch, dž, dž and dzs.

Retroflex [ʂ] and [ʐ] are not recommended for inclusion in the phonemic inventory of the standardized dialect, thus the affricates [tʂ] and [dʒ] will be included with tš and dž.

5.22 *The Semivowels.* [w] occurs in the diphthongs [aw ew iw uw wa we wi wo wu], in some of these being an allophone of /v/, e.g. *vaŕin* ([vaɪ(n)] "bottle", *šav* ([ʒəv]) "I go". When, as in these cases, [w] represents an underlying [v] it should be so written. As an element of a diphthong not having underlying [v] it should be written u: *nauf* "weather", but *vuš* [wʊʃ] "lips".

[y] (i.e. [j]) occurs in the diphthongs [ay ey ya ye yi yo yu oy uy], and in such combinations it is suggested that the sound be represented with an ĵ, except before /i/ when the combination would be written ĵi, and except initially, when y would be retained: *yaká* ([yakhá]) "eyes". The letter y rather than ĵ should also be used for *paletal* [p], *vís. ny* and [ʌ], *vís. ĵy*: *nyánya* "dear aunt", *lyšlya* "dear sister". The letter y is preferred to ĵ, thus *yai!* rather than *\*ĵai!* (shout of surprise), be-

cause its value is constant in most European languages despite its restricted currency, while l may represent [ʒ] or [dʒ] in various orthographies.

5.23 Ideally, speakers should try to adhere to the pronunciation as represented by the spelling of the standardized dialect as closely as possible. The same orthography could even be retained for the home dialect, in the same way that (broadly speaking) one system of English spelling serves for a multitude of dialects. Thus we might have:

<u>Orthography</u>	<u>Standardized</u>	<u>Kəldərəšʔtsko</u>
pinro ("foot")	[pɪnró]	[pɛ:ʁó]
sim ("I am")	[sɪm]	[sü:m]
valin ("bottle")	[vaɪn]	[vaɪʃn]
xutyav ("I jump")	[χutyáv]	[χucáw]

5.24 In summary, the suggested alphabet consists of the following symbols and combinations of symbols:

a b d dz dʒ e (ə) f g h l k kh l̄ ly m n ny o p ph r (ʔ) s ʒ t th ts tʃ tʃh u v y z ʒ

5.25 The passage quoted at 5.02 would appear thus in proposed orthography (but not in standardized dialect):

French-based system

"Nouma o Jėsus phenel lenge katchia paramitʃi: Savo manouch anda toumende, te avel les yek chel bakrlorha, ai te khasarel yek, tchi moukel le Inya-var-des-tal-Inya..."

Proposed system

"Numa o Źezus phenel lenge katʃya paramitʃi: Savo manuʃ anda tumende, te avel-les yek ʃel bakrlora, hal te xasarel yek, tʃi muke! le Inya-var-deʃ-hal-Inya..."

5.26 It does not seem necessary to indicate syllable stress in any way, since this varies considerably from dialect to dialect. Within individual dialects placement of stress may distinguish homophones, thus Kəldərəšʔtsko *kəʁó* "this", *káko* "uncle",

and it is true that different stress and intonation patterns contribute to the lack of intelligibility among the dialects; however it need only be taught that in the standardized dialect, stress is uniformly initial (or ultimate, penultimate, &c.) and this ruling adhered to.

5.30 It is of passing interest to mention that there is record of an *indigenous* Romani script, first mentioned in 1908 by Decourdemanche<sup>(80)</sup> and reproduced by Clément<sup>(81)</sup>. Decourdemanche gives no sources for his acquaintance with this script, and no participant at the 1971 Congress was aware of its existence. The only academic discussion to have appeared to date is that of Dalby<sup>(82)</sup> in 1968 who, while admitting the possibility that it might have been devised as an elaborate scholarly hoax, finds some similarities between it and the pre-Arabic Maghreb and Andalusian scripts. An intentionally Sanskritized version of this alphabet is given here by way of example:

गे वरुनयेगी वग नेनेनोवृ  
 वृषवोगगेयोनवृनेन न गे  
 गेगन वृगेगी योनगे वोगगेगन  
 गे वृषवोगगेवृनेन नोम  
 गेवृषवो गेने

It is not proposed that this (or any non-Latin) alphabet be adopted for Romanés, but its existence is deserving of attention, especially if eventually verified. Historically it would support the belief of those (such as Ronald Lee) that Iberian Rom entered the Peninsula via North Africa rather than Europe — a belief held in question by some who base their opinions on purely linguistic grounds.

6.00 Education: Attitudes and Prospects

6.01 The establishment of a standardized Romanés dialect and a workable orthography will have to be achieved by classes of some kind, and hence through educational channels. While the problem might appear to be merely that of finding suitable instructors and obtaining the teaching materials, there are in fact a great many more problems to be overcome.

6.02 There is, first of all, a reluctance among Rom and Gažé toward the education of Gypsy children, although for different reasons.

6.03 Too much formal learning is usually regarded by Rom as debilitating. It is commonly heard that education (in the Gažé sense) "softens the brain" — *koulyarél e gogí, o sitšarimó and'e školl!* — or that it may lead to insanity — *kam-korél o dilimó*. There are several reasons for this attitude. "Formal" education is always in terms of the majority culture, making no concessions to the often quite divergent values of the Romani pupils. The teaching of "Gažékané ways" is seen as a very real threat to Romanía, the Romani way of life. Also, because schools are not now segregated according to sex, parents are extremely reluctant to permit their children to share a classroom with Gažé because of the possibility of romantic involvement.

6.04 While (in the USA at least) a basic reading-and-writing knowledge might be considered an asset, for example for reading road-maps and street and business signs, or for writing one's own receipts <sup>(83)</sup>, it is fitting that men only should acquire these skills. Many Rom are still unable to read, and the parents of a illiterate girl would find difficulty in obtaining for her a husband. While this is still a commonly-encountered attitude in the USA, more and more Rom are learning to read, if not to write. In such cases there is less adamancy toward the wives'

also learning; the feeling may still be, however, "what does she need to read for?". Despite its benefits in business, the rationale is that our parents and grandparents never needed to read and write in the past, so why should we bother with Gažikano ways now.

6.10 On the other side of the coin, such Rom as do want their children to be educated often have to contend with hostility from the Gažé. The Reverend Richard Wier, Minister of the Church and Chairman of the Edenbridge School Council, declared that

"It came as a tremendous shock when we heard that gypsy children were to be taught at the school. They smell, I'm afraid, and have the educational standard of retarded children" (84)

A British traveller attended school for a while (85),

"Oh God. It was murder going to school. They wouldn't sit beside you in the seats"

and probably never went back.

6.11 The most oft-repeated Gažé complaint is that Gypsy children are never around long enough to be educated "properly", even when they can be persuaded to come to school. This is another way of saying "stop your way of life and adopt ours, then there would be no problems". Apart from the difference in power and numbers, there is no moral justification for Rom to assimilate Gažé ways, any more than there is for Gažé to forsake theirs for Romanfa.

6.20 Several countries have attempted to deal with the situation by establishing special schools for Romani children — almost always without Romani administrative involvement, and in all cases with acculturation the prime objective (86).

6.21 Fortunately, there are representatives of the Gažé community who understand that their desire for Gypsy assimilation is not merely arrogance, but is a policy with very harmful psychological repercussions. Such people have actively sought



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| <p>7. That because of frequent earlier instances of failure in establishing Roman schools elsewhere in the country, a pilot project be instituted to ascertain the potential success of such a venture.</p>  | <p>7. Te ses but aver školl Romanf and'o them tii gold n'iste, hal anda bodde sardes probe te dikhas wal te jai m'iste wal n'iste.</p>   |
| <p>8. That a bilingual primer, or series of bilingual primers, suitably be compiled and a small group of children worked with, using the primers, before proceeding to a more far-reaching plan.</p>   | <p>8. Te angluno romos ave shk wal wunl dujibake bufares te skanimasko te s'it'it'eral te bukul, hal te boznicearen shk t'at'at' kidinimase te j'avogane angla zumas wal j'nanase.</p> |
| <p>9. That a meeting be arranged to discuss the content and applicability of such a teaching aid, and that such funds as may be required be made available, or the preparation of same, the amount of such funds being determined at this meeting.</p> | <p>9. Te kharas diwano te des duna p'o wal kasawa planasko, hal te lov' si and'ind te lejarimasko kodolasko. Sode lov' trobul amen, hal i d'ispaldisaras asunt'ii.</p>                 |
| <p>10. That in the event of the pilot project being successful, proposals are through six above be implemented.</p>  | <p>10. Te s'ogodi jai m'iste, ame sumaves te propunerte i jai ka 6 anglol.</p>   |

6.24 The local Romani tribunal has met several times to discuss the establishment of such a school and, with some reservations, it is felt to be a worthwhile project. Rom literate in English look forward to being literate in Romanés too. The few who are already (through individual tuition) have acquired some prestige within the community; not only can they read and write, but they can read and write Romanés, a language popularly believed to be impossible to commit to print.

6.25 Those who are less ready to accept even a Gypsy controlled and operated mobile school, teaching only Romani-oriented subjects, have what is perhaps a justifiable fear that the ultimate control — and hence interference — will prove to come from the Gažé after all. The older and more cautious members of the tribunal also reiterate the common anti-education arguments discussed above (6.03 ff.). In California, there is a standing joke among Rom there that any Rom who go to school automatically become Romnitšals, the most "gažified" of American Gypsies<sup>(88)</sup>.

### 7.00 Concluding remarks

7.01 No attempt has been made to provide answers for all of the problems touched upon here. The aim of this paper has been rather to present to the academic body, perhaps sometimes in emotional terms, a picture of the current injustices and hostile attitudes with which the majority of Rom must contend even today, and to support the suggestion that an end to this may be found in ethnic reunification, and that the creation of a standardized Romanés is a prime factor in the achievement of this reunification.

7.02 Although a few people may decry too concentrated an exposure to these "diatribes against injustice"<sup>(89)</sup>, fewer still are even aware, for instance, that hundreds of thousands of Romaní lives were extinguished in Nazi Germany, or that Gypsy slavery was abolished just little more than a century ago. These are not just facts of history, for the present and the future are rooted in the past, and it will require enormous effort to eradicate its effects.

7.03 The very nature of much of Gypsy life ensures that ill-feeling will never completely disappear. Rom are in particular the subject of Gažó scorn, or envy, or both. It is also annoying to Gažé that Rom want above all to be left alone; this is seen somehow as being antisocial and ungrateful to the country providing their subsistence. As a people without a country, we have to live alongside the Gažé and abide by their laws; there is no escaping this...and "escaping" is unhappily the appropriate word for most Rom in most countries. With leaders respected by Rom and Gažé alike, and with authoritative representation at the United Nations Organization and other international bodies, eventually perhaps Rom will not be put in the position of wanting to escape from their countries, but instead feel as proud of their various homelands as they are to be Rom.

7.04 Leadership must come from within. So far there has been no highly situated authority figure who has been either a Rom himself, or sympathetic to the needs of Rom. We need nationally and internationally placed Gypsy leaders who have the confidence of the Romani people, for it can only be from such leaders that Rom will accept directives as really being in their own interests.

7.05 Observers such as Cohn<sup>(90)</sup>, who maintains that

"The Gypsies have no leaders, no executive committees, no nationalist movement, no Gypsy kings... I know of no authenticated case of genuine Gypsy allegiance to political or religious causes",

or Brian Vesey-Fitzgerald of the Gypsy Lore Society who finds the notion of Gypsy nationalism "romantic twaddle"<sup>(91)</sup>, or Jaroslav Sus who believes it to be an "utterly mistaken opinion"<sup>(92)</sup> are dangerous because they have set themselves up as spokesmen about Gypsies for other Gažĕ, and their statements underlie a desire to keep Gypsy life static and suppressed. Such people are the first to accuse a Gypsy politician of not being a "real Gypsy".

7.10 Unification of the race cannot be achieved without strong and sympathetic leadership. One step toward that unification is being at least able to speak to each other in our own language. With the intention of helping to bring about this situation I humbly submit this paper to the International Linguistic Commission of the Komitia Lumiaki Romani, and to the participants at the Language Planning Session of the Eighth World Congress of Sociology for suggestions and advice.

Ian F. Hancock

June 1974

FOOTNOTES

1. Jacob C.C. Rüdiger, *Neuster Zuwachs der teutschen fremden und allgemeinen Sprachkunde in eigenen Aufsätzen, Bücheranzeigen und Nachrichten*, Leipzig 1782-1793 (Vol. I pp. 37-84, "Von der Sprache und Herkunft der Zigeuner aus Indien").
2. Heinrich M.G. Grellmann, *Die Zigeuner. Ein historischer Versuch über die Lebensart und Verfassung, Sitten und Schicksale dieses Volks in Europa, nebst ihrem Ursprünge*. Dessau, 1783.
3. Alfred C. Woolner, "Gypsy language and origin", *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, n.s., 11.285-286 (1909).
4. John Sampson, "Gypsy language and origin", *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, n.s., 1.4-22 (1907) and n.s., 111.180 (1910).
5. R.L. Turner, "The position of Romani in Indo-Aryan", *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, V(4).143-189 (1926), also published as a monograph.  
It would not be amiss to include a brief outline of the origin and affinities of the Indian languages here: Indic-speaking peoples entered the Subcontinent between 3000 and 2000 B.C., ultimately from the Indo-European homeland in north central Europe. At the time, the closely-related Iranian and Indian groups had become distinct linguistic subfamilies. Among the great number of early Indian languages, Vedic and Sanskrit are perhaps the best known, and are closely related to each other. Also closely related to these were about 40 other languages collectively known as the Prākṛits, some of which were the vehicles of extensive literatures, and which are still cultivated today as liturgical tongues, e.g. Pāli (for Buddhism) and Māghādī (for Jainism). Based upon the Prākṛits were several colloquial and literary vernaculars known as Apabhraṃśas, and it is from these, rather than the Prākṛits, that the modern Indian languages descend. Examples are modern Pehāri, Hindi and Romanés from Śaurasenī, Gujarati from Nāgara, Marathi from Valdarbha, Bengali and Assamese from Gānda, and so on. It has been suggested by Franz X. Miklosich, in his *Über die Mundarten und die Wanderungen der Zigeuner Europa's*, IV.1x-x, Vienna (1878), that some elements in Romanés are of even greater age than the Prākṛits.
6. In Hindi, meaning "one of the sweeper class; janitor, menial", and in Gujarati "member of a nomadic class". H. Yule & A.C. Burnell, in their *Hobson-Jobson*, London (1886) list under *Doms*, *Dhoms* (p. 322) "The name of a very low caste, representing some old aboriginal race, spread all over India". A quote at the same entry, dated 1817, has "...another tribe of vagrants, who are also a separate sect. They are the class of mountebanks, buffoons, posture-masters, tumblers, dancers and the like...The most dissolute body is that of the *Dumbaru* or *Dumbaru*". Other similarities in name might also be mentioned: *Lovari* with *Lohari* or *Luri*, *Kale* with *Kauli*, *Sinti* with *Sindhi* (cf. also *Zingās*) and even

*Jatt with Git(ano)*. G.A. Grierson, in "Arabic and Persian references to Gypsies", *The Indian Antiquary*, September, 1887, p. 258 notes: "...possibly the word 'Egyptian' meaning 'Gypsy' may be a corruption of *As-Zutt* (pronounced *Es-Zutt*). This word is not unlike the Italian 'Egitto' in sound, which may have first led to confusion, and thence to a false analogy".

7. Donald Kenrick and Gratten Puxon, *The destiny of Europe's Gypsies*, London (1972), pp. 13-14.
8. Jan Kochanowski, "Critère linguistique dans l'histoire dynamique", unpublished paper presented to the 1967 International Linguistics Congress, Bucharest, Rumania.
9. Padmashri W.R. Rishi, "Roma", *Roma* 1(1).1-23 (1974).
10. Mentioned in Rishi, *op. cit.*, p. 2.
11. Lee believes that the original homeland of the Rom was in the Bactrian steppes, under the cultural influence of the Greek principalities of Bactria until these were demolished by the invasions of the Yue-Chi who drove them southwards into India. The movement out of India occurred many generations later over a period of about a century, and led through Persia and the Middle East into the Byzantine Empire. After the fall of Constantinople, some groups entered the Balkans and thence the European countries; more easterly groups went into Russia and formed the non-Vlax-speaking Gypsies. Others had gone into North Africa, eventually reaching Spain before the expulsion of the Moors. The Spanish Rom were allies of the Moors, and Muslim by religion, donning the cloak of Christianity after the Moorish exodus (Ronald Lee, personal communication).
12. There are, of course, items of ultimate Turkish origin in some dialects, but these have been acquired via one or another Balkan language, for example *lavita*, "violin", ultimately < Turkish *lavta* but in Romanés via Rumanian *lăutar*, "violinist". This is also true of the Arabic-derived element in the lexicon; direct adoptions appear to be very few, for example *kîst* "pouch" < Arabic كِبْس [kîs]. See Heli Desmond, *The language of the Gypsies*, Douglas (ca. 1890), p. 3.
13. *Op. cit.*
14. *Op. cit.* (1910), p. 161 (note 3, above).
15. It is possible that the early Rom inhabited eastern Persia and south-western Afghanistan at a time when Indian languages had not yet been pushed back by those of the Iranian group. This would support Lee's theory (note 11, above) and is discussed by Pierre Helle in *Études Teiganes* for April, 1955.
16. Jean-Paul Clébert, *The Gypsies*, (1969), Chapter 6.
17. Jan Kochanowski, *Gypsy Studies*, New Delhi (1963).
18. Personal correspondence, printed with permission.

19. Such tactics, which are the Gypsies' own survival mechanism, are effective enough to ensure perpetration of the race. This is not however the same as the kind of widespread misinformation based on a writer's own ideas, without first hand knowledge of the people or language (cf. 3.19).
20. W. Cohn, in *The Gypsies*, Reading, Mass. (1973), p. 61, believes Gypsies continue to exist because they are needed in non-Gypsy culture as "solutions to some of [the Gažé's] problems". Statements such as this, and his speaking of Gažé "becoming" Gypsies (p. 62) suggest that Cohn basically believes Rom to consist of individuals from any background who are attracted to, and adopt, the culture (cf. 3.05). Though couched in the vocabulary of the anthropologist, this attitude simply supports the traditionalist image: romantic, not-give-a-damn cavaliers of the road ready to welcome any misfit from mainstream society. This kind of thinking reached its peak in Europe at the turn of the century, when various magazines such as the *Gypsy and folklore gazette* and *The Gypsy's friend* offered their readers the chance to join the "Gypsy Club" and for sixpence sit around a "real gypsy camp fire". Waggon's with names like "Gypsy Rover" and "The Borrovian" were even offered for sale to these weekend gypsies.
21. Quoted from Alastair Reid, *Passwords: places, poems, preoccupations*, London (1955) chapter 18, "Tell us where to go, Guv'nor, and we'll go", pp. 165-187.
22. Vli Putnem, "The Gypsy code", *Holiday*, June 1961, pp. 38-43.
23. Patricia Lynden, "The last holdouts", *Atlantic Monthly*, August, 1967, pp. 92-96.
24. For example by Thomas A. Acton, "Ethnic stereotypes: who are the true Gypsies?", in T.A. Acton (ed.), *Current changes amongst British Gypsies and their place in international patterns of development*, Oxford (1971), pp. 58-75, and Ian F. Hancock, "Mutrás-amen andé tumári píri-le-bílaréngi", *Roma*, 1(2), December 1974.
25. From a talk given at Morgan State College, January 16th, 1967.
26. From Thomas Szasz, *The second sin*, New York (1973).
27. From Halg Bosmajian, "The language of sexism", *ETC: A review of general semantics*, 29(3), 1972.
28. *The Courier*, Friday, February 15th, 1974, p. 21.
29. From Paul Christophersen, *Bilingualism*, London (1948), p. 9. The quotation referred to is from P.H.J. Lagerde-Quost, "The bilingual citizen", *Britain Today*, 140 (December 1947) pp. 15-19 and 141 (January 1948) pp. 13-17.
30. Paul Kester, *Tales of the real Gypsy*, New York (1897), p. 305.
31. Doris Duncan, "The rocky Romany road", *Quinto Lingo*, December 1969, pp. 42-43.

32. Elizabeth Robins Pennell, *To Gypsyland*, New York (1893).
33. Anon., "The Gypsy slaves of Wallachia", *Household Words*, 185.139-142, Saturday, October 8th, 1853, p. 141.
34. Jules Bloch, *Les Tsiganes*, Paris (1969), p. 113.
35. Jaroslav Sus, *Cikánská otázka v ČSSR*, Prague (1961), p. 89.
36. Martin Block, *Zigeuner: ihr Leben und ihre Seele*, Leipzig (1936).
37. Grellmann, *op. cit.*, (note 2, above).
38. By John Wells, one of the few British members of Parliament sympathetic to the Gypsy situation in his constituency (in Kent). Quoted from Alastair Reid, "The travellers", *New Yorker*, August 18th, 1962, pp. 37 ff.
39. George Borrow, *Lavengro*, London (1851), pp. 139-140.
40. Quoted from Leonard Bloomfield's article in *Language*, 20.45-55 (1944), "Secondary and tertiary responses to language", which deals with this situation.
41. Konrad Bercovici, *The story of the Gypsies*, London (1929) p. 15, and repeated elsewhere in the same book.
42. Anon., "Caravans of mystery", *Coronet*, August (1950), p. 126.
43. Marie Wynn Clarke. "Vanishing vagabonds: the American Gypsies", *Texas Quarterly*, 10(2).204-210 (1967), p. 210. Many other such stories get picked up again and again as the years go by. Another favourite which has appeared at least four times over the past 25 years is that of the freed Gypsy prisoner weeping for his jailer who must remain in jail. Yet another deals with the *bučó*, a small pouch used in a confidence trick involving the substitution of paper for money.
44. See for example, Thomas A. Acton, "The functions of the avoidance of mixed novels", *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, 50(3/4).108-136 (1971).
45. Although counter to this is the story that rather than being cursed, Gypsies were granted special freedom to wander the earth because the Gypsy who forged the nails spared Christ some suffering by only making three of them instead of four. Both of these tales are commonly recounted in books about Gypsies.
46. A *utšaa* is a clan or extended family group.
47. A *nátsia* is a major cultural-linguistic division among the Rom. The *Kelderáše*, *Metšwáya*, *Tšurári*, etc. are different *natsiyí*.

48. For Rom, feelings of nationalism and ethnic pride seem to be very much the domain of the educated middle class; the majority are faced daily with too much harassment to care, while the few at the other end of the social scale tend to decry — and too often deny — their roots.
49. Kenrick & Puxon, *op. cit.* (note 7 above), p. 207.
50. The London *Evening News*, Wednesday, June 7th, 1967.
51. The *Evening Post*, Friday, November 30th, 1973.
52. In E. MacColl *et al.*, *The travelling people*, London, 1968.
53. The *Birmingham Post*, Saturday, August 4th, 1973.
54. Issued to Thomas and Hilda Boswell on February 25th, 1974.
55. Buzo Rodgers, a California member of the KLR and himself a Romnitšal admits that as a boy he travelled widely in the United States but remained for many years ignorant of the existence of "Continental" Rom (often called *Rus* by Romnitšals). This is not universally the case in this country (*cf.* 1.35) but has lead students to present incomplete and therefore misleading accounts of Romani life in the cities and elsewhere. See the account of Cohn's findings in T.A. Acton, *Gypsy politics and social change*, London & Boston (1974), pp. 20-21.
56. The summary (by Donald Kenrick) for the 1971 meeting appears in the *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, 50(3/4).101-108 (1971), pp. 102-103, and the summary of the 1972 meeting (by Thomas Acton) in the *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, 51(3/4).96-101 (1972), p. 100.
- The original proposal read:
1. I romani čhib si but kuč amende. Si partia amaria kulturatar tai verige maškar e Roma ande savope themende.
  2. Nai ekh dialekto kai si mai-mišto avre dialektodar. Ame trubui ekh sentralno normalizime dialekto te vakaras ande kongresonde ta pišas ande internasiojno lilende.
  3. O čhiblako komisijono ka-del avre ekh lili romanes.
  4. Si amen te erakhas ekh internasiojno romano alfabeto.
57. The dialect of Romanés used throughout this paper is one variety of American Kelderašitsko and is not meant to represent any kind of proposed standard. The title of the Commission could equally well occur orthographically as *Satemesko Komisijono Čhibako*, *Sathemesko Kumisijono Tšibako*, *Sa-T'emesko Komisijono Č'ibako*, etc.
58. Jan Kochanowski, "The future of Romaní", in T. Acton, *op. cit.* (note 24 above), pp. 76-77. Kochanowski's approach might seem extreme to some. He estimates a total Romanés-speaking population of between fifteen and twenty million, and advocates the adoption of Romanés as an international auxiliary language for all nations.

59. Exemple from R. Iversen, *The Romany Language in Norway*, Oslo (1944), p. 214.
60. From Suzo Rodgers (personal communication).
61. Discussed in Ian F. Hancock, "Patterns of English lexical adoption in an American dialect of Romaniés", *Orbis*, 24(2)(1975), section 13.3 (In press).
62. Tadeusz Pobożniak, *Grammar of the Lovari dialect*, Cracow (1964).
63. John Sampson, *The dialect of the Gypsies of Wales*, Oxford (1926 and 1968).
64. Michael D. Reinhard, *Grammatik des deutschen Romani-Dialekte*, unpublished manuscript (to be published), Mainz (1973).
65. Tabulated and discussed in detail by T. Kaufman (*Roma*, to appear).
66. See Hancock, *op. cit.* (note 61 above), section 10.1
67. From the last chapter, "L'unité linguistique des Tsiganes d'Europe", pp. 184-192, of his two-volume *Gypsy Studies*, New Delhi (1963).
68. Sinti examples are taken from Reinhard, *op. cit.* (note 64, above), *passim*.
69. *Op. cit.*, (note 55, above), p. 55.
70. It seems to be automatically assumed by sociologists and others that acculturation is the desired goal. B.R. Goodey, in his article "Characteristics of the English Gypsy population", *Geographical Review*, 58.487-489 (1968) ends with the observation that "...It will be interesting to see how the English manage to assimilate a group of nomads whom they have long been content to 'move along'".
71. Cf. 3.06. Definer Rena Cotton (Rena Gropper), who has written several articles about North American Rom, gives the following as criteria: "A Gypsy is a member of a culture group which 1) regards nomadism as the accepted mode of life, 2) follows...fortune telling...animal handling...begging...poaching...3) usually speaks the Romani language". From her "An anthropologist looks at gypsyology", *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, 3rd. ser., 33.107-120 (1955), p. 119.
72. Jan Yoors, *The Gypsies of Spain*, New York (1974), p. 120.
73. And for some, especially Romani-controlled officialdom.
74. Robert B. Le Page, *The national language question*, London (1964), pp. 43-44.
75. Quoted from Heinz Kloss, "German-American language maintenance efforts", in J. Fishman (ed.), *Language loyalty in the United States*, The Hague (1966), p. 222.
76. But not all, despite general Gažđo opinion. The delegates from Spain at the 1971 Congress spoke Caló among themselves continually, and it survives extensively in Latin American countries.

77. Cf. note 55, above. Acton (*op. cit.*, note 55, p. 56) notes that some "...English Gypsies, however, know very little about 'foreign Gypsies', and share the host population's prejudices about any foreigners 'being allowed to come here'".
78. *Op. cit.*, (note 17 above).
79. As with the dialect used throughout the paper (see note 57), the orthography is likewise arbitrary and does not adhere to the system proposed for the new spelling. [ʃ] and [z] are represented by /ʃ/ and /z/, [u] is represented by /ɯ/, aspiration by suprascript /h/ and syllable stress by an acute accent. It was necessary to employ a 'natural' dialect in this paper since the standardized version has not been described.
80. J.A. Decourdemanche, *Grammaire du Tchingané ou Langue des Bohémiens errants*, Paris (1908), pp. 377-380.
81. *Op. cit.*, (note 16 above), pp. 240-242. In the 1963 Vista Books edition, pp. 196-198.
82. David Dalby, "The indigenous scripts of West Africa and Surinam: their inspiration and design", *African Language Studies*, 9, 156-197 (1968), at pp. 176-177.
83. One acquaintance of the writer saves 50¢ each time by being able to prepare his own bills and receipts. The usual practice is to have these drawn up by public copy-typists.
84. *The Daily Mail*, September 7th, 1965.
85. From *Komano Drom: Gypsy News*, 8 (Spring, 1973), p. 5.
86. For reference to some of these, consult e.g. Kirsten G. Andersen, *Sigajners*, Copenhagen (1971) and Unn Jørstad, "Norway's Gypsy minority", *The American-Scandinavian Review*, 58(2), 129-137 (June, 1972), this latter scarcely admitting the humanity of the Norwegian Rom. By contrast see Marie Matolay's practical account, "Méthode d'enseignement pour les enfants tsiganes, dans une école primaire de Hongrie", *Études Tsiganes*, 16(2/3), 51-53 (September, 1970).
87. For an account of the Richmond school see Anne Louis (Anne Sutherland), "Organizational problems of a Gypsy school: the Romany School of Richmond", in T.A. Acton, *op. cit.*, (note 24 above), pp. 36-40.
88. Information from Buzo Rodgers in personal communication.
89. Such as Christopher Wordsworth, in his review of Fred Wood's *In the Life of a Romany Gypsy* in the *Guardian* review of books (Autumn, 1973).
90. *Op. cit.*, (note 20 above), p. 66.
91. In the *Birmingham Post*, July 14th, 1973, p. 2.
92. *Loc. cit.* (note 35 above).