DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 121 057 FL 007 420

AUTHOR Hancock, Ian F.
TITLE Problems in the Creation of a Standard Dialect of Romanes. Working Papers in Sociolinguistics, No. 25.
SPONS AGENCY Social Science Research Council, New York, N.Y. Committee on Sociolinguistics.
PUB DATE Jun 75
NOTE 67p.;Paper first presented to the Language Planning Session of the World Congress of Sociology (8th, Toronto, Canada, August 1974)

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.83 HC-$3.50 Plus Postage
DESCRIPTORS Diachronic Linguistics; Dialect Studies; Language Attitudes; *Language Planning; Language Research; *Language Standardization; *Language Variation; Literacy; Nomads; *Orthographic Symbols; Phonology; Regional Dialects; *Social Attitudes; Sociolinguistics; Standard Spoken Usage
IDENTIFIERS Gypsies; Rom; *Romanes

ABSTRACT

Romanes is the collective name for dialects spoken by over six million Rom throughout the world. It is felt that a standard language is an essential factor for the attainment of a united future and the possible creation of the Gypsy state of Romanestan. This paper deals with some of the problems involved in creating such a unified and standardized language, particularly problems of orthographic standardization. The central issues include: (1) prevailing non-Gypsy attitudes towards the Rom and Romanes, with the consequent effects upon the attitudes of the speakers toward themselves and their language; (2) the diversity of dialects, which raises the question of whether a composite variety should be created rather than standardizing one existing dialect; (3) the problem of individuals who no longer speak Romanes per se, but rather creolized forms of the language; and (4) the question of literacy, and attitudes towards it and formal education in general. Accompanying the discussion of these issues are a historical sketch of Romanes and a description of its modern dialects, a phonological description and a discussion of specific linguistic problems, specifically those encountered in devising an orthography. (Author/CLK)

WORKING PAPERS IN SOCIOLINGUISTICS

Number 25

June 1975

PROBLEMS IN THE CREATION OF A STANDARD DIALECT OF ROMANÉS

by

Ian F. Hancock
University of Texas
Austin, Texas

Komitia Lumiaki Romani
Paris

Sponsored by
The Social Science Research Council Committee on Sociolinguistics
Prepared and distributed at
Southwest Educational Development Laboratory
211 East Seventh Street
Austin, Texas 78701

PROBLEMS IN THE CREATION OF A STANDARD DIALECT OF ʀOMANÉS[1]

1.01 ʀomanés (Romani, Romany) is the collective name for the dialects spoken by six million or more ʀom ("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 ʀom are to make their own way toward a united future — perhaps to the eventual creation of the Gypsy state of ʀomanestán — a standardized language is essential. Gitši Sarkon, one European delegate at the 1972 Congress made this clear to the participants: *E dobína le šibáke ketanemáskes s'o anglunó páso karing o ketanemós sar ekh šenés*, "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 some of the problems involved in creating a unified, standardized dialect for a fragmented language and people.

1.10 *The origin of ʀomanés*

1.11 ʀomanés 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 Vali, who in 1760 discovered that the language of some Malabari indians studying at the time in Holland shared many features with the speech of the Hungarian ʀom with

whom he was acquainted. Sekely de Doba was probably the first to announce these similarities in print (in 1763)[2], followed by Jacob Rüdiger (in 1782)[3]. The scholar Heinrich Grellmann suggested an especially close link between Romanés and Surat, a language spoken in north-west India, a year later[4]. Subsequent scholars such as Bataillard, Pott, Miklosich, Grierson, Paspati, Bloch, &c., brought further connections with the Indian languages to light, but not until the later studies of Alfred Woolner[5], developed by John Sampson[6], 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 (Paisaćī) origin, was that of Turner published in 1926[7].

1.12 The name *Rom*, if cognate with the modern Hindi [ḍom][8], would suggest as Kenrick and Puxon point out[9], that the Indian ancestors of the Rom remained peripheral to the strictly maintained, caste-divided system. Jan Kochanowski (Vanya de Gila), a Romanó historian and linguist now resident in Paris, has suggested [10] 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 third century B.C., since knowledge of the features of several Śauraseni Prākrit 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 Paisaćī languages became far-

reaching; the very considerable Paisaci accretion dating from this time probably accounts for earlier scholars such as Bloch and Miklosich suggesting a more north-westerly origin for Romanes.

1.14 There are various independent accounts of 12,000 Indians (called *Luri*) 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. Psr. W.R. Rishi, in the most complete discussion of early Romani history to date[11] offers linguistic and anthropological evidence that the Luri, referred to as *Zott* by the poet Firdausi and today also known as *Motribiya* or *Nawar* in Iran and the Middle East, 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-western India between A.D. 1001 and 1026. Kochanowski[12] 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[13]. 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[14].

1.15 Whatever the real reasons for moving northwestwards into Persia, the Rom were not to remain there. In the years following the death of the Caliph Mamūn in A.D. 833, Rom in the country at that time were, according to Persian history, persecuted by the army of Ojeif ibn Ambassa and driven northwestwards into Caucasia, arriving there between A.D. 1000 and 1100. During this sojourn through

Iranian-speaking territories, ʂomanés acquired considerable Persian and Kurdish-derived lexicon, for example *sir* "garlic", *pošóm* "wool", *xor* "power" and *mom* "wax". It may be significant that of the Persian and Kurdish-derived lexicon in ʂomanés (*ca.* 50 items), none 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 for example *kʰilău* "plum" (from Georgian), *kotór* "piece" (from Armenian), *wurdón* "waggon" (from Ossete) and so on. At that time, Turkish had not spread westwards into what is now Turkey, and there are very few Turkish-derived items to be found in the European dialects of ʂomanés[15].

1.16 By the 13th century, a substantial group had moved into the area of Greek language domination, today western Turkey[16], and influence upon ʂomanés from Greek, both grammatical and lexical, was considerable. Lexical items from this source include *fóro* "town", *luludɨ́* "flower", *χolí* "angry", &c.

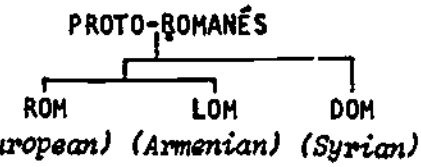
1.17 Having by that time arrived in Europe, the ʂom continued to spread outwards, absorbing (by the 14th century) southern Slavic and (by the 15th century) coming under Rumanian, Hungarian, east Slavic, German, &c., influence. During this last period, the main European dialect splits were taking place.

1.20 *The Dialects of Modern ʂomanés*

1.21 Turner[17] divides ʂomanés as a whole into the European, Armenian and Syrian (including 'Asiatic') subfamilies, without dividing each further. These divisions appear to be valid as far as they go; Sampson[18] 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[19]. If Rishi and others are correct 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, includes those of the Nawari, Kurbati, Beludži, Maraši, Nablos 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:

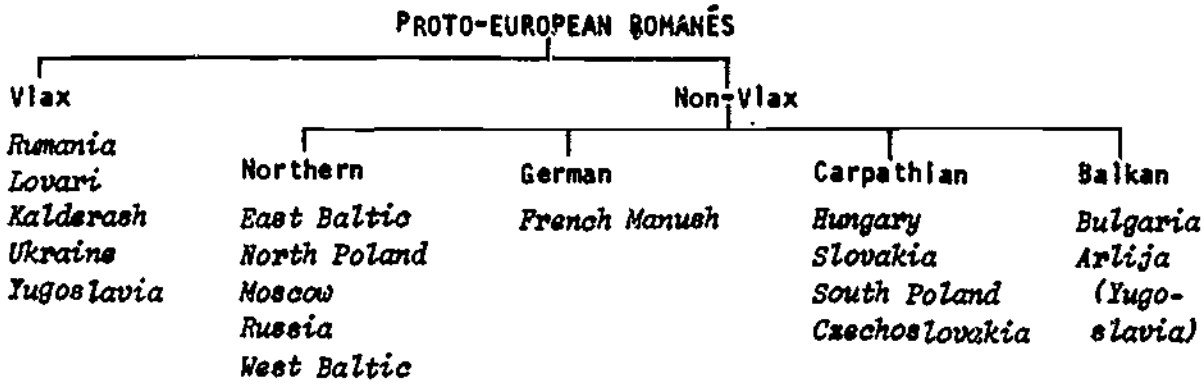


1.30 *Classification of the European Dialects*

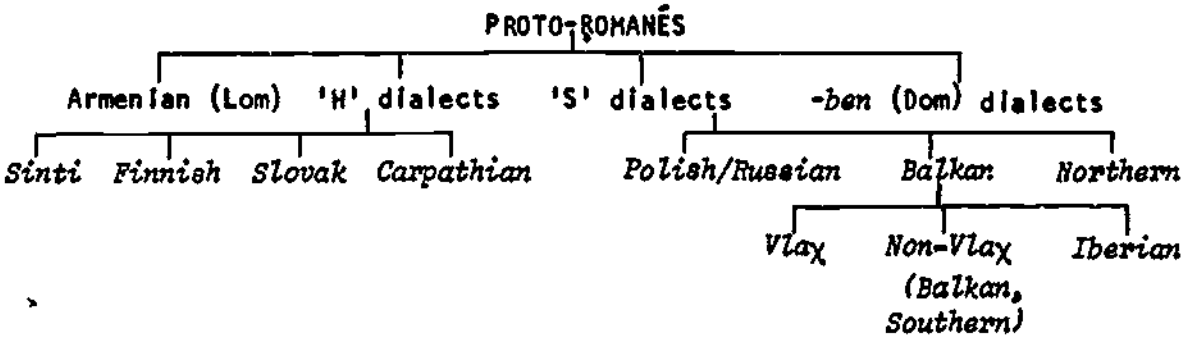
1.31 To date, the European and North American dialects — those which concern us here — have not been fully classified. Clébert[20] speaks of Finnish, Welsh, Hungarian, German, English, Catalan and Andaluz dialects, but these cannot be justified linguistically as comprising distinct groups. It is a pity 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 more recent attempts at classification is that of Kochanowski[21]

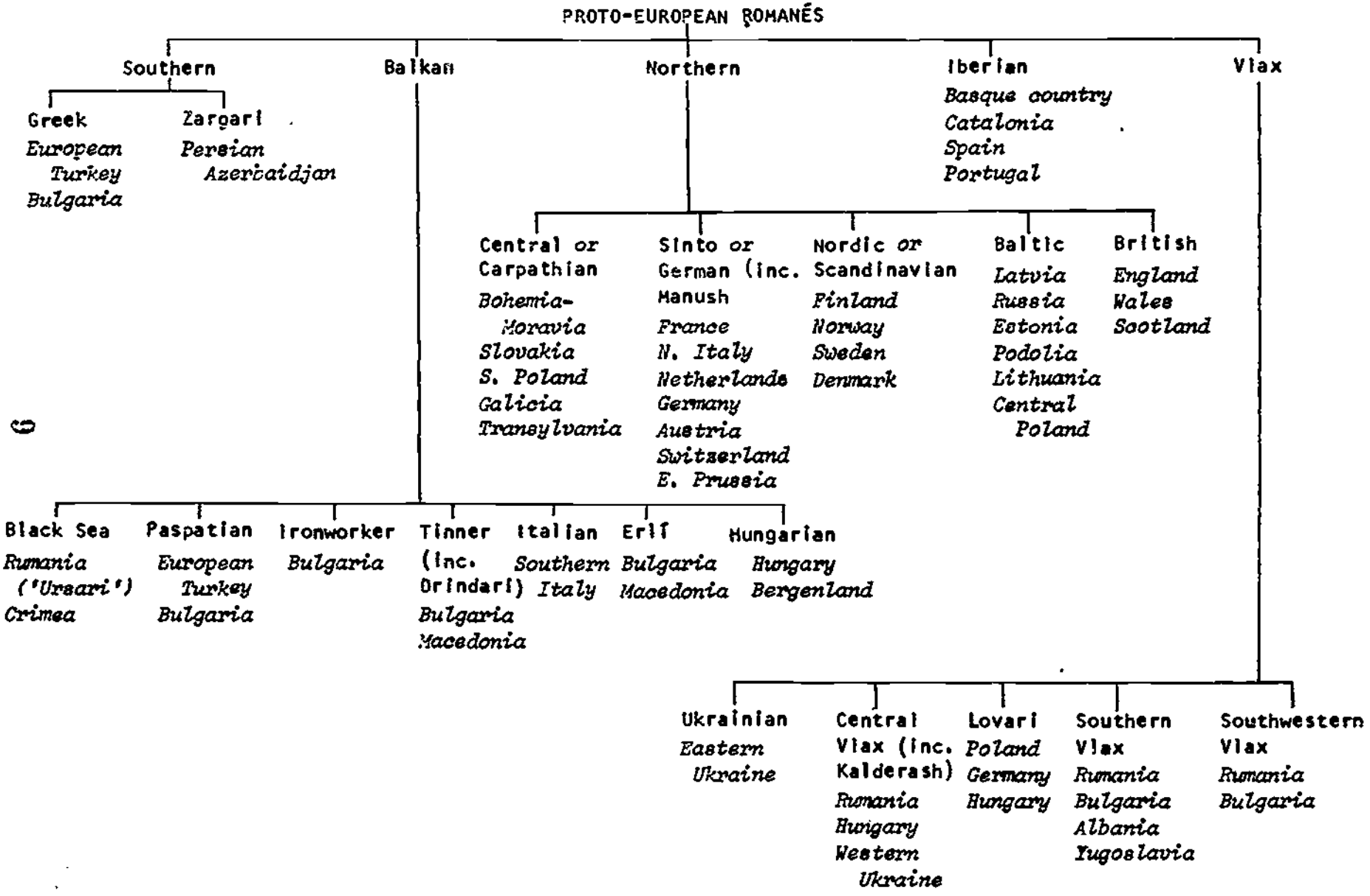
who divides the European dialects into two broad groups, *Vlax* and *non-Vlax* with the latter falling into four further groups:



1.33 A further proposed schema is that of Dr. Donald Kenrick[22] of the Romano Instituto in London:



1.34 Terrence Kaufman is currently attempting a reconstruction of Proto-Romanes at the University of Pittsburgh. Kaufman finds Kochanowski's grouping insufficiently differentiated, particularly in the area he treats as Balkan. Both the Kenrick and the Kaufman schemas are further complicated by inter-group influences cutting across and affecting all of the major branches of European Romanés. To date, his findings, based upon extensive comparative work, indicate the following classification of dialects[23]:


PROTO-EUROPEAN ROMANÉS
Southern
Balkan
Northern
Iberian
Basque country
Catalonia
Spain
Portugal
Vlax
Greek
European Turkey
Bulgaria
Zargari
Persian
Azerbaidjan
Central or Carpathian
Bohemia-Moravia
Slovakia
S. Poland
Galicia
Transylvania
Sinto or German (inc. Manush
France
N. Italy
Netherlands
Germany
Austria
Switzerland
E. Prussia
Nordic or Scandinavian
Finland
Norway
Sweden
Denmark
Baltic
Latvia
Russia
Estonia
Podolia
Lithuania
Central Poland
British
England
Wales
Scotland
Black Sea
Rumania ('Ursari')
Crimea
Paspatian
European Turkey
Bulgaria
Ironworker
Bulgaria
Tinner (inc. Drindari)
Bulgaria
Macedonia
Italian
Southern Italy
Erlí
Bulgaria
Macedonia
Hungarian
Hungary
Bergenland
Ukrainian
Eastern Ukraine
Central Vlax (inc. Kalderash)
Rumania
Hungary
Western Ukraine
Lovari
Poland
Germany
Hungary
Southern Vlax
Rumania
Bulgaria
Albania
Yugoslavia
Southwestern Vlax
Rumania
Bulgaria

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-Romani (the creolized Romanés/English of the *RomnitšaŽe* or Gypsies from Britain) speakers eventually to lose their language or, less often, to adopt one of the inflected dialects — in particular Kalderaštsko or Matšwanitsko — as some Romnitšal 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 attending the standardization of the language, especially orthographic standardization. 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 toward their language. It is also necessary to decide whether, because of the diversity of 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 forms of the language (as do for example sections of the Gypsy populations in the United States, Britain, Spain, Finland, Armenia, &c.) and for whom Romanés morphosyntax is quite foreign.

2.02 Hinging upon these considerations is the question of literacy, and of

Romané 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[24], and on the other to the *Gaǯé* or non-Romani population attributing fictitious features to Gypsies as a kind of wish-fulfilment[25], there has emerged a Gypsy stereotype bearing little or no relation to reality.

3.02 Gaǯé dissatisfied with this reality have sometimes attempted to create an illusion for themselves 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!"[26].

One American romanologue ("gypsiologist") is regarded with some amusement by his Romani 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[27], in which the writer, herself claiming Romani ancestry, created a veritable "concentrated essence of Gypsy". She described a family which sought out her help by means of trail-signs, and who had English Gypsy surnames but Hungarian

given names, who dined on roots and herbs, played violins and cimbaloms 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 suspected that these were 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*[28]. 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[29], 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 gaǯikanó point of view) or pursuing activities not concomitant with the traditional image, are equally suspect. A Ṛom who is, among other things, an expert on model ship building and who owns one of the finest 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"[30].

> "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 microörganisms: each invades, parasitizes and often destroys his victim; and, in each case, those whose resistance is low are the most susceptible to attack"[31].

> "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"[32].

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[33]. 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"[34].

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, when in fact they are not Gypsies at all but Ga[illegible]6.

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 schizophrenia, or split personality, and this might be the psychological key to the problems of minorities'[35]. 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 has retained as pertaining to him only what is common to both and therefore stable and latent"[36].

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 the *culture* 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..."[37].

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 genders 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...*Roum* 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 *Roum* and cannot be changed"[38].

In one book, *To Gypsyland*, the author travels throughout Hungary and other European countries speaking Anglo-Romani, and being addressed in it, wherever she went. In her account she is often enthusiastically accepted as a Gypsy by the Rom she meets because of her linguistic skills[39].

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"[40].

3.14 Even students of Romani studies are not exempt from such prejudgement. In a recent book on Rom, the French scholar Bloch states thet "le langage est

ce que les Tsiganes ont à eux de plus caractéristique...c'est un argot"[61]. 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"[62]. Language apart, some scholars apparently have had great difficulty in carrying out their Gypsy research, and one can only admire the devotion to their cause 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*")[63], while Heinrich Grellmann approached his subject with an "obvious repugnancy, like a biologist dissecting some nauseating crawling thing in the interest of science" ("...*offensichtlicher Widerwille wie der eines Naturwissenschaftlers der ein ekelerregendes Kriechtier im Interesse der Wissenschaft seziert*")[64].

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" [65] 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 [Gažé], you would have everybody stupid, single-tongued idiots, like yourselves. We are taken before the Poknees of the gav [magistrate of the town], myself and sister, to give an account of ourselves. So I says to my sister's little boy

> speaking Rommany, 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 curtsey, "you can tell us what our language is without understanding it!". Another time we met a parson. "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!"[46].

3.16 "On other than a scientific level, our culture maintains a loosely organized but fairly uniform system of pronouncements about language"[47]. 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 Bernovici could not speak Romanés, although he confidently 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*"[48].

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'"[49].

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"[50]:

> "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 saw 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 sufficiently 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 *musaïpé, slúžba, kandipé, thoχimós* and *vudžipé*, while for "possession" there are *máitkos* and *serámo*, although in truth the fallacy of such statements scarcely needs refuting. A similar

statement occurs in Jim Phelan's *Wagon-Wheels*[51]. This writer, "long ago admitted to the brotherhood" assures the reader that

> "there is no word for 'truth' in the romani language. There is the crux of the matter".

In Vlaχ this is *tătĭimós* and in the Northern (including British) dialects it is *tátĭipe(n)*. Many such stories get picked up and repeated again and again as the years go by. Another favorite which has appeared at least four times in the past 25 years is that of the freed Gypsy prisoner weeping for his jailer who must remain in prison. Yet another deals with the *bukó*, a small pouch used in a confidence trick involving the substitution of paper for money[52].

3.20 For the majority of Gypsy groups, the pressures inducive to self-hatred are sublimated through the concept of *marimé* or *móχadi* (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 Ŗom are considered to be "nauseating crawling things" (*cf.* §3.14) or "vermin" or a "scourge" by Gaǯé, this justifies Ŗom regarding Gaǯé in the same way[53]. And in lieu of police, government-enforced laws, &c., Romani culture itself serves as the most expedient weapon. Gaǯé are seen not only as foolish and unenlightened because of their refusal to acknowledge the superiority of the Ŗom[54], but this foolishness is reinforced and justified by regarding contact with Gaǯé as polluting or defiling the race[55].

3.21 There exists nevertheless for some Ŗom a latent doubt as to the true

worth of the Gypsy people. Many Ꞩom 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 Ꞩom are a cursed race and one 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[56].

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

3.23 This is not to say that the different dialects are seen in the same way as Gaʒikanés (non-Gypsy speech); but as long as a Kalderašítsko speaker cannot use his language with a Sintítska speaker and be understood, whether or not each is a dialect of Ꞩomanés is neither here nor there from a practical point of view. It is of little consequence whether Kalderaš Romanés *tă*^{h}*am* "skin" is interestingly close to Sinti Romanés *dăʃma*, if it isn't close enough to *mean* anything. It is the *socio*linguistic and cultural criteria which class neither dialect as Gaʒikanés.

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 since a common alternative is often lacking. In the southwestern United States, for example, visiting Mexican Kaldaráša have some difficulty in communicating with American Kaldaráša because names for newly-acquired concepts are adopted from Spanish and English respectively: *ǯa th'o bəntiladóro p'o agór əl bisyonóako* and *ǯa th'o fəno oprál e tiwl* both mean "go and put the fan on top of the television set".

3.25 Speakers of inflected dialects seldom regard these as not constituting "proper languages", although in countries where ʂomanés has become jargonized as in Britain, or has in the past been prohibited by law from being spoken as in Spain, negative feeling may be encountered[57]. But this is not the main problem. In a Gaǯó world which has always been almost universally hostile, vítsa has had to turn against vítsa[58] and nátsia against nátsia[59] 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 defense.

3.26 Old feelings die hard, and it is far from easy for older ʂom to accept the new spirit of ethnic unity which is becoming increasingly evident among members of the younger generations[60]. Nor is it even desirable for ʂom 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*. A similar organization was banned in Hungary at about the same time (in the 1950's)[61]. Gaźé 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"

Mr. Alistair Macdonald
Member of Parliament
Chiselhurst & Sidcup[62]

"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

"There is no solution to the gipsy problem short of mass murder"

Sundon Park Residents' Newsletter, October 1969[64]

"Unless you threaten the gipsies, you will never get rid of them. If we told them...we would burn them out, they would soon go away"

John Manning, spokesman
National Society of Painters[66]

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

Alyn & District
Council meeting
November 1973[63]

"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 1968

"Residents 'scared' by the gipsies: it is terrible, some of the things they are doing; they are knocking on doors asking for water and to go to the toilet"

Mrs. Norma Halford,
Secretary, Wayfarers
(/) Tenants' Assn.[65]

"Horror and disgust by the Westway: 600 tenants of the Silchester Estate signed a petition to have the gipsies removed...we hold our noses and keep our windows closed to exclude the stink they create...we wait and hope to see them leave".

Estate spokesman[67]

"MP asks expulsion of gypsy immigrants: Craig Stewart (PC-Marquette)...asked immigration minister Robert Andreas to order their deportation immediately 'to protect Canadian citizens'"[68]

"Chairman of the [Aylesham] parish council Mr. Evan Hill... would like to throw all gipsies into the sea"[69]

"Church of Ireland church desecrated: The Reverend Rhys Thomas...said there was nothing missing, and this led him to believe that it was not done by itinerants"

Leitrim, July 1974[71]

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

Birmingham (England) City Council meeting August 1973[70]

"Gypsies don't want to be housed. They don't want to be educated...they are proven thieves, vagabonds and murderers [but there is] no point in turning the gypsies off dirty bits of land which are no use to anyone"

Members of the Brixton Co-operative Woman's Guild[72]

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"[73].

3.27 Whatever linguistic prejudice exists is a corollary of the ongoing racial prejudice which has disseminated the Romani people, and while it is unlikely that the Gaǯé will ever be well-disposed towards Gypsies, it will be possible to resist and combat injustice more easily as a reunited people. *Mangáe e paiktv le Gaǯénge*, it is said, *nitšt lengo drágo* — we want the Gaǯo's respect, not his love[74].

3.28 To summarise the foregoing:

a) It seems probable that there never was a single Romanés, but 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 amongst the various Romani groups in Europe and the Americas[75].

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[76]:

> "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 inter-

> national 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 World Romani Congress, in London. Since that time, little has been accomplished beyond the discussion stage, although branches of the *Komitia Lumiaki Romani* in the USA, Canada, France, Britain and Yugoslavia have been devoting time to the formation of an international linguistic commission (*o Sathemésko Komisyóno Šibáko*)[77].

4.10 The problems to be dealt with are:

a) No single dialect spoken anywhere is so close to the common proto-form 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 the dialect. For illiterate and nomadic Rom the task would be much harder.

c) Not all Rom everywhere will ever learn, or be disposed to learn, such a 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-Rajasthani 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"[78].

4.12 Kochanowski's first proposal could be modified by attempting to trace indigenous terms for lost items in other dialects, before resorting to Hindi as a source. Thus the root *√tʰer-* "have" (< Śaurasenī "धर" *dharai* "possess, hold") might be reintroduced from its restricted occurrence in the Southern dialects to replace the *si* ("there is/are") + dative nominal construction adapted from pan-Balkan syntax: Vlaχ *si ma(nge) ɣukêl*, Southern *tʰerdv dĕüklée* "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 and lexical features, some — the use of *si* = "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 *randra-pani* "ink" (*lit.* "writing-water")[79], Finnish Romanés *saasterêngiro* "prisoner" (*lit.* "one of the iron (bars)"), British and American Anglo-Romani *prasterin-saster* "bicycle" (*lit.* "running iron"), American Kelderašítsko *ŭudró-bákso* "refrigerator" (*lit.* "cold box")[80], &c.

4.20 The more conservative varieties of Lovarítsko (Vlaχ) retain a high pro-

portion of indigenous vocabulary and idiom; one such dialect, such as [illegible] that described by Pobożniak[81] might well serve as the basis for an international standard. Other Vlaχ dialects (including some varieties of Lovarîtsko) have considarable Rumanian overlay, and include several phonemes not widespread in other dialects. These are the two r-phonemes /r/ and /ɾ/ (*bar* "wall", *baɾ* "rock"), and the š/ṣ and ž/ẓ distinctions. The contrasts need not be retained orthographically in the created standard since minimal pairs are few (cf. *šowɾí* "little girl", *šowlí* "number six").

4.21 While some Northern dialects such as the Welsh[82] or Sinti[83] are also conservative in structure and vocabulary, they differ in some important ways from the Vlaχ dialects. Some of the major differences include[84]:

	Northern	*Vlaχ*
I am	me hom	me sim
You are	tu hal	tu san
He/she is	yo/yoy hi	wo/woy si
1st person singular preterite suffix	-om	-em
2nd person singular preterite suffix	-al	-an
Loanverb infix[85]	-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 based upon the Vlaχ 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 *Lom* 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 Vlaχ, 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 incontestible"[86]. 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[87] and North American Kalderašítsko compare, without modification:

S. me džá:wa an o fó:ro
K. me ʒau and'o fóro
E. I'm going to town

S. man hi but tšá:we
K. mánge si but ʂauɽó
E. I have many children

S. o gá:džo piyéla o pá:ni akána
K. o gaʒó piyél o pai akaná
E. the non-Gypsy is drinking the water now

S. yoy wéla fon o dóktari bi-mántsa
K. woy avél le dokthorêstar bi-mánsa
E. she's coming from the doctor's without me

S. o murš kai bešél koi hi mí:ro phu:redər phra:l
K. o murš kai bešél koté se muɽé mai phuré phralés
E. the man who's sitting there is my elder brother

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

4.30 Acton[88] illustrates well the linguocentricism of different dialect speakers, which at best may amount to indifference to the speech of other Ṛom (*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'-Ṛomanēs speaker *can* of course perform this task, referring probably to an *indžin* and a *mōta* in his dialect, but the Balkan speaker would himself have to refer to *e.g.* a *parovōs* and a *furgōno*, adopting from Bulgarian, &c. The Luri or Rajput ancestors of the Ṛom 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 then be identified with any one group (except to begin with, one supposes, the Romane intelligentsia, who are by no means universally appreciated by other Ṛom).

4.40 The second question (4.10b) also raises further problems. Firstly, if settled, literate Ṛom 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 favor

of Ḑom 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 drawn by pro-acculturationists that settled, literate Ḑom *must* benefit, because being settled and literate is naturally preferable to the nomadic life style[89].

4.41 The majority of European Ḑom 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 Ḑom for that[90]. 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 (see §6.00 below).

4.42 Solutions to these problems will not be achieved until the various host nations are prepared to acknowledge the unity of the Romani people and to interact with them as a whole. Division is maintained in North America for example where government grants for educational projects are made available for American Ḑom with no interest in or consideration for Ḑom in Mexico or Canada who, if they receive it at all are subject to quite independent intervention. Such programs, always controlled by Gaǯé, have not so far recognized the authority of the International Gypsy Committee. One such has proposed its own spelling system for the language of the Romani community it is dealing with, with no thought of consultation with the International Gypsy Committee (see §4.02)[91].

4.50 The third proposal (4.10c), the question of the creation of an 'élite', 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 behavior more typical of the Gaʒé. A Spanish Gypsy, himself largely acculturated, told Jan Yoors:

> "The *Hungaros* [Vlaχ] 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* [Gaʒó] than we *apayados* [Gaʒified ones]. What we need are jobs, integration and some degree of social justice instead of all that romantic *payo* hodgepodge"[92].

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; integration is not especially sought by most Gypsies, and few would be content with only "some degree" of social justice. If such an individual waits for this to be granted by the Spanish government without the stimulus of political agitation, he will have a long wait. 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[93] — creates considerable suspicion in the minds of some, the idea of being part of a body which has its own publications, political representation and national congresses, is attractive.

4.53 Le Page notes:

> "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"[94].

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 Lovara say *amári ʒib a'amári zor*, "our language is our strength, but it 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-determinas patterns of thought and outlooks on life"[95].

4.55 With much[96] 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 subjected to continual opression, are less and less able to retreat into the indigenous culture where one can continue to be a human being with a personality of one's own.

5.00 *Devising a Suitable Orthography*

5.01 This involves selecting the most suitable system to use, although the problem cannot be tackled fully until the phonemic inventory of the variety of Romanés chosen as the standard has been adequately described[97]. At present, most of the written Romanés remains within 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:

> "Oica calif sos linastes terelas, plas-
> arandote misto men calochin desquiñao de trinchas,
> puñís y canrrias, sata anjella terelaba dicando
> on los chorres..."

Anglo-Romani English spelling conventions:

> "Cuvva-cai see sar the chinomengries chiv
> talay morro pogaddy-jib canna they coms to chin it
> dray a lil. Dicks a bitty divvy to mandy if tooty
> coms to jin",

and so on. These are, though, creolized dialects, in both cases having 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 Kelderašftsko booklet of scriptures published for circulation in France has an orthography based on French:

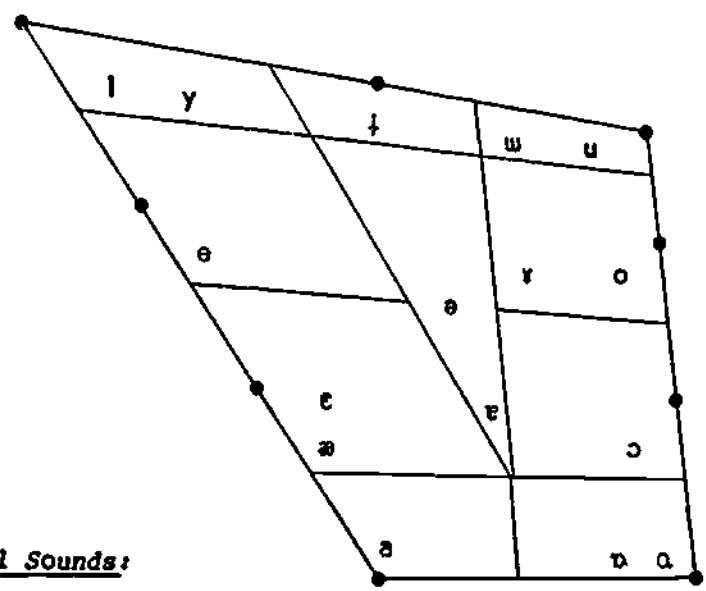
> "Nouma o Jésus phenel lenge katchia
> paramitchi: Savo manouch anda toumende, te avel
> les yek chel bakriorha, ai te xhasarel yek, tchi
> moukel le inya-var-des-tai-inya kaver ando des-
> erto te jial te rodel koudala kai si xhasardi,
> jikin tchi arakhel la?".

5.03 The argument is, presumably, that if French Kalderáša are going to be literate at all, it will be in French only, 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 Société pour la Distribution des Saintes Écritures to the Ḷom in their own language, it may only be read easily by Ḷom 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 Ḷom whose homes are in Norway and Hungary[38].

5.10 The sounds occurring in the principal European dialects are as follows (not every dialect has them all, and certain "phonèmes non-intégrés" as discussed by Kochanowski[39] 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/ [ɔ a ə ɑ ɐ]

/e/ [ɛ ɛ ə]

/i/ [ɪ ɐ j y ɨ ɤ]

/o/ [o ɔ ɤ]

/u/ [u w ɯ o]

The central series /ə/ [ə ɐ ɨ] occurs frequently in some dialects, especially Vlaχ, where others have /e i a/. These are written in Rumanian orthography as î and ă. The only other European language in Roman script with a special letter for a central vowel is Albanian, with ë. Likewise [y ɤ ɯ] occur only in some dialects, and again only as allophonic variants. In the present discussion, the central vowels are represented by schwa: /ə/; one orthography in use in the United States employs barred-i /ɨ/ for the same sound.

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', 'ę' or 'ɨ' might be used to represent the central vowels, 'ü' for [y] and so on. The main concerns in selecting the appropriate symbols are firstly whether they are generally familiar to the speakers already (ə, ë and ę 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/ ([j]): ai, au, ea, ei, eo, eu, ia, ie, yi, io, iu, oa, oi, ui and uw. Phonetic variants are many, thus /ea/ might

represent [ɛa ea ɛe ɛɐ eə eɐ] &c. Some of these are found only in lexical adoptions from Rumanien, and may not occur in the devised standard dialect.

b) *The Consonant Sounds:*

	BILABIAL	LABIO-DENTAL	DENTAL	PALATOALVEOLAR	RETROFLEX	PALATAL	VELAR	UVULAR	GLOTTAL
PLOSIVE	p b		t d			c ɟ	k g		
ASPIRATE	pʰ		tʰ	(tʃʰ)			kʰ		
NASAL	m		n			ɲ	ŋ		
LATERAL			l			ʎ			
FLAP			ɾ						
FRICATIVE		f v	s z	ʃ ʒ	ʂ ʐ	ç ʝ	x ɣ	χ ʁ	h
AFFRICATE			ts dz	tʃ dʒ	tʂ dʐ				
SEMIVOWEL	w					y			

5.14 The orthographies of nine European languages using Roman script 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

Europa, *e.g.*, p,b,t,d,g,k,m,n, &c., while others differ in frequency (k is not common in French or Rumanian) or representation (s = [ʃ] in Hungarian).

5.15 *The Plosives.* With the exception of [c] and [ɟ], these are written alike in all nine languages. The Romance languages favor 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 [ɟ] occur as variants of /k/ and /g/, and need not be represented in print (Czech and Slovak write them t' and d', Croatian as ć and đ, and Hungarian as ty and gy).

5.16 *The Aspirates.* The aspirate 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 ʰ), 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 the same size be placed following the relevant letter. A suprascript ʰ is unnecessarily precise from a practical point of view, cannot easily be handwritten, and is not available on most typewriters. The apostrophe is needed elsewhere, *e.g.* to represent elision or abbreviation, and such spellings as *pçuv, tçem, pχral*, &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] (also in French), [θ/ð] or [χ]. Aspiration need only be indicated after prevocalic stops in initial position, for example *pe/pʰe* "on/sister", *ta/tʰa* "so that/and", *kam/kʰam* "future-marker/sun", *tšor/tšʰor* "thief/beard", although it may occur phonetically before liquids (*pʰral*

"brother", *phlaɣĺn* "mountain") as well as medially and finally (*dokhtóro* "doctor, *ekh* "one"). No instances have been found, however, where aspiration in these positions (*i.e.* other than in initial *ph*, *th*, *kh*, *tšh*, + *V*) is significant to meaning.

5.17 *The Nasals.* These are [m n ɲ ŋ]. [m] and [n] present no orthographic difficulties since they are so written throughout Europe. [ɲ] variously occurs as gn (in French), as nj (in Croatian), as ň (in Slovak and Czech), as ń (in Polish) and as ny (in Hungarian). In Ŗomanés it occurs in final position only as an allophone of /n/ (in some dialects) after /l/, and need not be represented independently: *skamĺn* [skamĺn] ~ [skamĺɲ] "chair", *karfĺn* [karfĺn] ~ [karfĺɲ] "spike". Elsewhere it may be written ny (*cf.* §5.22): *ĺnya* "nine", *konyăko* "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: *hĺnka* "yet", *tšang* "knee".

5.18 *The Laterals.* These are [l] and [ʎ]. The latter, palatal sound occurs as li, lj, l', gl or ly in various European orthographies. In Ŗomanés it appears finally only as a variant of /l/ (in some dialects) after /l/, and may therefore be written /l/: *ɣĺl* [ʁll] ~ [ʁlʎ] "fart", *šĺl* [ʃll] ~ [ʃlʎ] "coldness". In other positions it may be written ly (see §5.22): *kaulyardyă* "lobster", √ *tšlyar-* "depart", &c.

5.19 *Fricatives* are numerous in Ŗomanés: [f v s z ʃ ʒ ʂ ʐ ç j x ɣ ʁ h]. Among these, orthographic f, v, s, z and h have fairly constant values throughout Europe, and may be used without modification for Ŗomanés. Localized differ-

ences 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 ş in Rumanian. [ʒ] is written j in French and Rumanian, ž in Croatian, Czech and Slovak, ż in Polish and zs in Hungarian. English sometimes represents this sound by zh[100] Of these, š and ž are probably the most universally recognised, and are recommended for use in the Romanés orthography.

The retroflex sounds [ʂ] and [ʐ] are not common in European languages; [ʂ] is heard in Polish and is written ś; [ʐ] also occurs in Polish, written rz; and a similar sound is heard in Czech (ř) and Slovak (rž). In some Vlaχ dialects these are significant in distinguishing pairs or near-pairs of words from those containing [ʃ] and [ʒ], but such distinctions are few: *šel/žel* "hundred/smallpox", *šîwina/žiwindó* "beast/alive"[101]. In many dialects, [ʃ] & [ʂ], and [ʒ] & [ʐ] have fallen together as /š/ and /ž/ or else never were distinct, [ʂ] and [ʐ] corresponding to [tʃʰ] and [dʒ] in non-Vlaχ dialects.

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

The voiceless uvular fricative is shown by ch in German, Czech, Slovak and Polish, and sometimes by kh or ch in English. As with the choice of the symbols š and ž for [ʃ] and [ʒ], digraphs involving h should 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 [ʁ] occurs as the common pronunciation of /r/ in many dialects of French and German as well as in Danish and some Swedish and Dutch dialects. It is therefore uniformly represented by r in print; in no European language does [ʁ] contrast phonemically with [r], although in several varieties of Romanés these are distinctive phonemes. In Matšwanítsko for example, the following pairs occur: *rai/ʁai* "lord/twig", *bar/baʁ* "wall/rock", &c. In most dialects however, the single /r/ phoneme has the flap or trill value only. Ways of indicating the voiced uvular fricative in scholarly treatments include ȓ, ř, ʀ, rh, R, ř and ɾ. It is suggested that the single character r for the /r/ phoneme be adopted and the articulation [r] be given it for the standardized dialect. If it be necessary to indicate the uvular value, the symbol ř is suggested since the use of the wedge accent would bring it into line with the proposed characters š and ž.

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

5.21 Retroflex [ʂ] and [ʐ] are not recommended for inclusion in the phonemic inventory of the standardized dialect because of their limited occurrence in the European dialects of Romanés. Thus the affricates [tʂ] and [dʐ] incorporating these sounds may 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/: *valín* [walɲ] "bottle", *žav* [ʐaw] "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 an underlying /v/ it should be written u: *naunf* "weather", but *vuš* [wuʃ] "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 i, except before /j/ when the combination would be written yi, and except initially when y would be retained: *yaká* ([jakʰá]) "eyes". The letter y rather than i should also be used to represent the palatal [ɲ], *viz.* ny, and [ʎ], *viz.* ly: *nyánya* "dear aunt", *lyálya* "dear sister". The letter y is preferred to j, thus *yai!* rather than **jaj!* (a shout of surprise), because its value is constant in most European languages despite its restricted currency, while j may represent [j], [ʒ], [dʒ], &c. 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:

Orthography	*Standardized*	*Kəldəraščtsko*
pinro ("foot")	[pinró]	[pə̃:ʁó]
sim ("I am")	[sim]	[sym]
valin ("bottle")	[valĩn]	[ʊalĩn]
xutyav ("I jump")	[χutʲáv]	[χucáᵛ]

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

a b d dz dž e (ə) f g h i k kh l ly m n ny o

p ph r (ř) s š t th ts tš tšh u v x y z ž

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

French-based System	*Proposed System*
"Nouma o Jésus phenel lenge katchia paramitchi: Savo manouch anda toumende, te avel les yek chel bakriorha, ai te xhasarel yek, tchi moukel le inya-var-des-tai-inya kaver ando deserto te jial te rodel koudala kai si xhasardi, jikin tchi arakhel la?"	"Numa o Žezus phenel lenge katšia paramitši: Savo manuš anda tumende, te avel-les yek šel bakrioŕa, hai te xasarel yek, tši mukel le inya-var-deš-hai-inya kaver and'o dezerto te žal te rodel kodala kai si xəsardi, žikin tši arakel-la?"

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 Kəldəraščtsko *kăko* "this", *kakŏ* "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 the rule that in the standardized dialect, stress is uniformly initial

(or ultimate, penultimate, &c.), and this decision adhered to.

5.30 Since a considerable proportion of the Romani population lives in eastern Europe, and since much of the cultural and political renaissance is originating there, there are strong arguments for the creation of a standardized Cyrillic orthography for use in Communist bloc countries.

5.31 The basis for such an orthography is given here, with the Latin equivalents as listed above at §5.24:

Romanized	*Cyrillic*	*Romanized*	*Cyrillic*
a	а	o	о
b	б	p	п
d	д	ph	п'
dz	дз	r	р
dž	дж	(ř)	(р̌)
e	е	s	с
(ə)	(ъ)	š	ш
f	ф	t	т
g	г	th	т'
h	h	ts	ц
i	и, ы	tš	ч
k	к	tšh	ч'
kh	к'	u	у
l	л	v	в
ly	ль	x	х

m	м	y	й
n	н	z	з
ny	нь	ʒ	ж

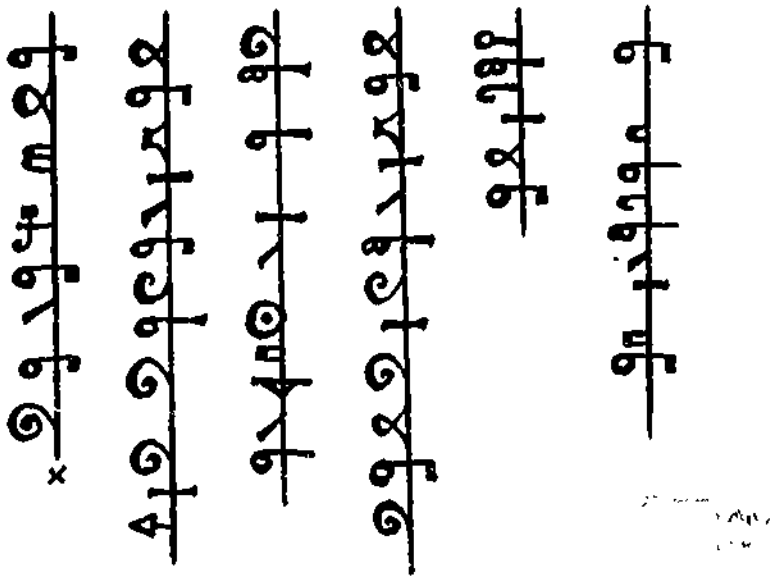
5.32 Non-Russian h ([h]) has been adopted from Serbian orthography, which also includes Нь (for НЬ [ɲ]), Љ (for ЛЬ [ʎ]), j (for Y [j]), Џ (for ДЖ [dʒ]) and ћ and ђ for the palatals [c] and [ɟ]. In Macedonian the latter sounds are represented by ќ and ѓ respectively. Bulgarian ъ has been adopted for the central vowel, although many non-Slavic languages in the Soviet Union employing Cyrillic orthography include the symbol ə for this. Symbols for [c], [ɟ] and [ə] are included here should they be required, although as discussed above at §5.12 and §5.19 they appear to be non-essential sounds in the language.

5.33 The selected passage (§5.02) would read as follows in this orthography:

> "Нума о Жезус п'енел ленге кача парамичи:
> Саво мануш анда туменде, те авел-лес йек шел бакриоѓа,
> най те хасарел йек, чи мукел ле инья-бар-деш-най-инья
> кавер анд о дезерто те жал те родел кодала кай си
> хасарди, жыкын чи аракел-ла?".

5.40 It is of passing interest to mention that there is record of an *indigenous* Romani script, first mentioned in 1908 by Decourdemanche[102] and reproduced by Clébert[103]. Decourdemanche gives no source 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[104] 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. Buzo Rodgers, on the other hand, knows of one woman who maintained that such a script *is* in use among the *Tšéχi*

(Czech) Ꞩom[105]. An example of this script is given here:



5.41 It is not proposed that this be adopted for Ꞩomanés, but its existence is deserving of attention, especially if eventually verified. Historically it would support the belief of those such as Ronald Lee and others that Iberian Ꞩom 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 Ꞩomanés 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 both Ꞩom and Gaʒé toward the western education of Gypsy children — though for different reasons.

6.03 Too much formal learning is usually regarded by the Ʒom as debilitating. It is commonly heard that education (in the Gaʒó sense) "softens the brain" — *kowlyarél e gogi, o sitšarimôs and'e škôli!* — or that it may lead to insanity — *kam-kerêl o dilimôs*. 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 "Gaʒikané ways" is seen as a very real threat to *Romanîya*, 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 Gaʒé because of the possibility of romantic involvement[106].

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[107], it is thought of as fitting that only men should acquire these skills. Many Ʒom are unable to read, and the parents of a literate girl would find difficulty in obtaining for her a husband. While this is still a commonly-encountered attitude in the USA, more and more Ʒom 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 Gaʒikané ways now.

6.05 Thomas Dimas, who has been working with the Ʒusftska Kaldəráša in Florida goes as far as to see illiteracy as one criterion of cultural retention. His observations, hitherto unpublished, are reproduced here in full[108]:

"In the United States, the nation that coined the phrase 'melting pot', the continuing internal solidarity and resistance to acculturation of the American Rom is a phenomenon that merits closer attention. Although the underlying social dynamics of this cohesion are as yet obscure, one of the prime techniques which maintains this cohesion is not. They avoid the school system like the plague! While most other U.S. minorities are boycotting, bussing and organizing to obtain better education for their children, the Rom are, by any means at their disposal, keeping their children at home.

"As a result of this mass truancy, the majority of adult Rom in the U.S.A. are illiterate or, at best, functionally illiterate (fifth-grade reading level).

"If the origin of this practice of education-avoidance is rooted in custom and tradition rather than in a consciously organized group policy, the results of the practice are no less effective in maintaining the solidarity of the group. And if we use the tolerance of marriage outside the group as an indication of group solidarity, they are solid indeed.

The school-avoidance tradition and its resulting illiteracy acts in five specific ways to maintain the non-acculturation of the Rom:

1) The minimization of time at school reduces proportionately the influence of the teacher's value system on the Romano child, and effectively eliminates the peer-group pressure of the other children: two of the tremendous forces in the socialization process;

2) Illiteracy prevents any socialization in the direction of the majority culture through the written word. It forestalls identification with historical and cultural heroes in books and novels;

3) Illiteracy ensures that Romanés will remain the first language of the individual Rom, with the resulting reinforcement of group values which occurs when he speaks mainly to and in the company of other Rom;

4) Illiteracy limits the defection to the majority culture via the occupational route, as only the most physical, menial and low-paying jobs are accessible to an illiterate in the U.S.;

5) Illiteracy tends to discourage intermarriage between Romané males and non-Romané females since the husband's income is severely limited, and tends to remain so.

"It is plain that the integrity of the American Romani community is maintained, in great part, by severely circumscribing the options of the individual Rom. It goes without saying, however, that any well-socialized member of the Romani community does not himself feel opressed

> or deprived by his lack of reading and writing ability — rather he feels 'liberated' from the 'craziness' of the Gaǯó community, much of which he ascribes to reading and writing".

6.10 On the other side of the coin, such Ʒom as *do* want their children to be educated formally often have to contend with the hostility of the Gaǯé. 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"[109].

One British traveller attended school for a while,

> "Oh God. It was murder going to school. They wouldn't sit beside you in the seats"[110]

and probably never went back.

6.11 The most oft-repeated Gaǯó 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 Ʒom to assimilate Gaǯikanẽ ways, any more than there is for Gaǯé to forsake theirs for Romanĭya.

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[111].

6.21 Fortunately, there are representatives of the Gaǯó community who under-

stand that their desire for Gypsy assimilation is not merely arrogance, but is a policy with very harmful psychological repercussions. Such people have actively sought out Gypsy leaders and have made an effort to learn Gypsy attitudes and requirements. As a result, a small number of schools has been established with Romani coöperation and sometimes administration, probably most successfully in England, where the new National Gypsy Education Council is making slow progress, but progress nevertheless, despite less than enthusiastic Government concern.

6.22 In the United States, several schools have been started — the best known in Richmond, California[112] — but none has been really successful. The situation is too new to American educationists who still for the most part remain ignorant of what and where the Gypsies are.

6.23 A proposal for the establishment of a Romani school in the state of Texas was submitted upon request in June, 1974, by the American office of the Komitia Lumiaki Romani to a Government educational research organization. It proposed:

1. *That a school be established for Romani ("Gypsy") children in Texas, up to the age of ca. 15 years, with adult classes also made available if required. The school would be known as* E Škola Romani and'o Teksas.

2. *That, in view of the nature of the distribution of the Romani population in Texas, this school take the form of a bus or buses equipped as travelling classrooms.*

1. Te si kardya ekh škola le šavoṛenge and'o Teksas ʒi-ka 15 berš, hai trobul klesuri le Ṛomenge barile. Katša škola kam-buṣol *E Škola Ṛomani and'o Teksas.*

2. Te finka ṣudine-le sa'l Ṛom and'o Teksas, katša škola si ekh baso waike basuri kerdine sar klesuri trawlin.

3. *That the school's jurisdiction be restricted to serving an area which encompasses Houston, San Antonio, Dallas/Fort Worth, Waco, Austin, Temple and Bryan.*

3. Te wuʃaravel e školyaki kris ande feri kakaie foron: o Houston, o San Antonio, Dallas/Fort Worth, o Waco, o Austin, o Temple ha'o Bryan.

4. *That if possible, Romani teachers be trained to conduct this class or these classes.*

4. Te daštil le ʀom šai sitšaren ande katša škola pala sitšarimos.

5. *That all subjects taught meet with the approval of the Kris (Tribunal) and do not run counter to Romani culture and values, or are ultimately assimilationist in content.*

5. T'e kris ʀomani ampetšisavel sa'l trebyasa sitšarde and'e škola, hai te kakaie trebi tši terdžuven angla 'e ʀomaniya waike si kamkeren o trayo ʀomano t'avel sar kova le Gaʒenge.

6. *That such subjects include:*
   i) Literacy and writing ability in Romanés and English,
   ii) Basic mathematical skills,
   iii) History of the Romani people,
   iv) History, culture and laws of the United States.

6. Te kasave trebi si (maškar avren):
   I) Džinimos hai romomos, ʀomanes hai Gaʒikanes,
   II) O matmatiko o wušoro,
   III) E historia le ʀomenge,
   Iv) E historia, o trayo ha'o zakono le ʒenenge Amerikane.

7. *That because of frequent earlier instances of failure in establishing Romani schools elsewhere in the country, a pilot project be instituted to ascertain the potential success of such a venture.*

7. Te sas but aver školi ʀomane and'o them kai tši gele mišto, hai anda kodža kerdas proba te dikhas wai te ʒai mišto wai nitši.

8. *That a bilingual primer, or series of bilingual primers, initially be compiled, and a small group of children worked with, using these primers, before proceeding to a more far-reaching plan.*

8. Te angluno ramos ame ekh wai wuni duiʃibake bufarya le džinimasko te sitšyarel le bukvi, hai te heznisaren ekh tsine kidinimasa le ʃavoʒenge angla zumas mai ʒenensa.

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*

9. Te kheras diwano te das duma p'o mol kasawo planosko, hai te love si andine le laʃarimaske kodolesko. Sode love trobui

made available for the preparation of same, the amount of such funds being determined at this meeting.

amen, šai i disaldisaras atuntžI and'o diwano.

10. *That in the event of the pilot project being successful, proposals one through six above be implemented.*

10. Te sogodi žal mišto, ame zumavas le propunerya ekh ži-ka šow angial.

6.24 The local Romani tribunal 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 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 reiterated the common anti-education arguments discussed above at §6.03 *ff.* In California, there is a standing joke among Rom that anyone who goes to school automatically becomes a Romnitšal, the most "gažified" of American Gypsies.

6.26 Although the spirit everywhere is that Rom should govern their own progress (the 1971 World Romani Congress opened with the slogan *o narodo Romano si-les deratšo te arakʰel peako drom karing o progreso*, "The Romani people have the right to find their own way toward progress"[113]), there is a very prevalent

suspicion that whatever Ṛom becomes involved with the Gaẓé in such a venture will use the situation to further his own financial end rather than that of the community. This attitude as much as anything else has contributed to the lack of success with earlier educational projects.

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 overly subjective terms, a picture of the current injustices and hostile attitudes with which the majority of Ṛom must contend in the present day, and to support the suggestion that an end to this may be found in ethnic reunification, and that the creation of a standardized Ṛomanés 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"[114], fewer still are even *aware* that hundreds of thousands of Romani lives were extinguished in Nazi Germany, for instance, or that Gypsy slavery was abolished just little over 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[115].

7.03 The very nature of much of Gypsy life ensures that ill-feeling will never completely disappear. Ṛom are in particular the subject of Gaẓó scorn, or envy, or both. It is also annoying to Gaẓé that Ṛom want above all to be left alone; this is seen somehow as antisocial (as of course it is), and ungrateful to the country providing the Ṛom's subsistence. As a people without a country, Ṛom have to live alongside the Gaẓé 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 Gaže alike, and with authoritative representation in 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 understanding of the needs of Rom. Nationally and internationally-placed Gypsy leaders are needed 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 who maintain 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"[116],

or Brian Vesey-Fitzgerald of the Gypsy Lore Society who finds the notion of Gypsy nationalism "romantic twaddle"[117], or Jaroslav Sus (§3.14) who believes it to be an "utterly mistaken opinion" are dangerous, because they have set themselves up as spokesmen about Gypsies for other Gaže, and their statements underlie a desire to keep Gypsy life static and suppressed. Such people would be 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 for Rom at last to

be able to speak to each other in their own language, without the real danger of the standardized dialect itself being seen as a tool of oppression. A serious examination of language planning policies and nationalist movements elsewhere must be undertaken, as well as a detatched appraisal of Romani nationalism itself, before this work can be started[118].

8.00 FOOTNOTES

1. This paper was first presented in unrevised form to the Language Planning Session of the Eighth World Congress of Sociology, Toronto, August 1974, and has also been published in the Proceedings of the Thirteenth Southeast Conference on Linguistics, Nashville, April 1975.

2. Captain Sekley de Doba, in an article in the *Gazette de Vienne* for November 6th, 1763 (not listed in Black's *Bibliography*).

3. 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").

4. Heinrich M.G. Grellmann, *Die Zigeuner. Ein historischer Versuch über die Lebensart und Verfassung, Sitten und Schicksahle dieses Volks in Europa, nebst ihrem Ursprunge.* Dessau, 1783.

5. Alfred C. Woolner, "Gypsy language and origin", *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, n.s., II.285-286 (1909).

6. John Sampson, "Gypsy language and origin", *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, n.s., I.4-22 (1907) and III.180 (1910).

7. R.L. Turner, "The position of Romani in Indo-Aryan", *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, V(4).145-189 (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 3,000 and 2,000 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 Prākrits, 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 Jaïnism). Based upon the Prākrits were several colloquial and literary vernaculars known as Apabhraṁśas, and it is from these, rather than the Prākrits, that the modern Indian languages descend. Examples are modern Pahari, Hindi and Romanés from Śauraseni, Gujarati from Nagara, Marathi from Vaidarbha, Bengali and Assamese from Gaṇḍa, and so on. It has been suggested by Franz X. Miklosich, in his *Ueber die Mundarten und die Wanderungen der Zigeuner Europa's*, IV.ix-x, Vienna (1878) that some elements in Romanés are of even greater age than the Prākrits.

8. In Hindi, meaning "one of the sweeper class; janitor, menial", and in Gujarati "member of a nomadic class". H. Yule and A.C. Burnell, in their *Hobson-Jobson*, London (1886) list under *Dome, Dhome*, (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 *Dumbare* or *Dumbaru*". Other similarities in name might also be mentioned: *Lovari* with *Lohari* or *Luri*, *Kale* with *Kauli*, *Sinti* with *Sindhi* (*cf.* also *Zingān*) and even *Jat* with *(Git)ano*. G.A. Grierson, in "Arabic and Persian references to Gypsies", *Indian Antiquary*, September, 1887, p. 258, notes: "...possibly the word 'Egyptian' meaning 'Gypsy' may be a corruption of *Az-Zuṭṭ* (pronounced *Ez-Zuṭṭ*). This word is not unlike the Italian 'Egitto' in sound, which may have first led to confusion, and thence to e false analogy".
Recently there has been considerable reiteration of the statement that there are no Gypsies in India itself, the most recent being in W.R. Rishi, *Multilingual Romani Dictionary*, Chandigarh (1974), p. *iii*. This essumption is founded on an incomplete reading of Grierson (here and in four other articles), who in fact "pointed out the extreme probability of the criminal tribe known as Magahiyā Ḍôms...being descended from the same stock as the Gipsies" ("Gipsies in England and in India", *Indian Antiquary*, January (1887) p. 38). Elsewhere he hypothesizes that the nomadic groups in India "became the ancestors of the Romany Chals" (in his *Linguistic Survey of India I(1): Introductory*, Calcutta (1927), p. 186). Even Clébert (see note 20 below) basing his information on Martin Block, *Moeurs et Coutumes Tziganes*, Paris, (1936), concludes that "It is evidently dangerous to wish to establish a connection between some Indien tribes and the Gypsies on some similarities or occupation or mode of life alone...the only tribes which can be called Gypsies are the *Vanjara*, the *Lamani*, the *Chhara* and the *Luri*. For the last two, the question here is settled...it is certain that tribes of authentic Gypsies still live in India" (Clébert, p. 21). It is possible that Indian romanologues are deliberately fostering this opinion in order to avoid political involvement.

9. Donald Kenrick & Grattan Puxon, *The Destiny of Europe's Gypsies*, London (1972), pp. 13-14.

10. Jan Kochanowski, "Critère linguistique dans l'histoire dynamique", unpublished paper presented to the 1967 International Linguistics Congress, Bucharest, Rumania.

11. Padmashri W.R. Rishi, "Roma", *Roma*, 1(1).1-23 (1974).

12. Mentioned in Rishi, *op. cit.* (note 11), p. 2.

13. Lee believes that the original homeland of the ancestors of the Ṛom was in the Bactrian Steppes, under the cultural influence of the Greek principalities of Bactria until these were demolished by the invasions of the Yüe-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 rest of Europe; more easterly groups went into Russia and formed the non-Vlaχ-speaking Gypsies. Others had gone into North Africa, eventually reaching Spain before the expulsion of the Moors. The Spanish Ṛom were allies of the Moors according to Lee, and Muslim by religion, donning the cloak of Christianity after the Moorish exodus (Ronald Lee, personal communication). A different non-Indian origin has also been discussed in an imaginative religious pamphlet entitled *Gypsies are Arabs*, (Children of God Publication, London & San Juan, 1974). This liberally interprets Jeremiah Chapter XXXV as indicating an origin for the Ṛom in the Midianite and Canaanite tribes who wandered into northern India and subsequently out of it again after release from Babylonian slavery.

14. Kochanowski suggests two distinct racial origins — the Kshattriyas (fair skinned) and the Scythians (dark skinned) to account for the wide range of physical type and complexion evident among modern Gypsies. See his "Black Gypsies, white Gypsies", *Diogenes* LXIII.27-47 (Fall, 1968). The effects of interbreeding with Gaǯé, especially during the period of enslavement, should also be considered. See also A. Clarke (note 104).

15. There are, of course, items of *ultimate* Turkish origin in some dialects, but these have usually been acquired via one or another Balkan language, for example *láwuta* "violin", ultimately < Turkish *lavta* but in Ṛomanés 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 *kist* "pouch" < Arabic كيس [kîs]. See Hall Desmond, *The language of the Gypsies*, Douglas (*ca.* 1890), p. 3.

16. Then called Epirus or Ægyptus Minor, "Little Egypt".

17. *Op. cit.* (note 7).

18. *Op. cit.* (note 6).

19. It is possible that the early Ṛom inhabited eastern Persia and southwest 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 13) and is discussed by Pierre Meile in *Etudes Tsiganes* for April, 1955.

20. Jean-Paul Clébert, *The Gypsies*, London (1963), Chapter 6.

21. Jan Kochanowski, *Gypsy Studies*, New Delhi (1963). B. Gilliett-Smith also recognised the Vlax-non-Vlax division, several decades before its elaboration by Kochanowski.

22. Personal correspondence, printed with permission.

23. Personal correspondence, printed with permission.

24. Such tactics, which are the Gypsies' *own* survival mechanism, are effective enough to ensure perpetuation of the race. This is not, however, the same as the kind of widespread misinformation based upon an individual writer's own ideas without first-hand knowledge of the people or language (see for example §3.19).

25. W. Cohn, in *The Gypsies*, Reading, Mass. (1973), p. 61, believes that Gypsies continue to exist because they are needed in non-Gypsy culture as "solutions to some of [the Gaʒé's] problems". Statements such as this, and his speaking of Gaʒé "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, and note 33 below). 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 (see Mary E. Porter's review of Cohn in *Journal of American Folklore*, CCCXLVIII (April-June 1975)). 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 to sit around a "real gypsy camp fire". Waggons with names like "Gypsy Rover" and "The Borrovian" were offered for sale to these weekend gypsies.

26. Quoted from Alastair Reid, *Passwords: places, poems, preoccupations*, London (1959), chapter 18, "Tell us where to go, Guv'nor, and we'll go", pp. 165-187.

27. Vil Putnam, "The Gypsy Code", *Holiday*, June 1961, pp. 38-43.

28. Patricia Lynden, "The last holdouts", *Atlantic Monthly*, August 1967, pp. 92-96.

29. 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, "Some contemporary aspects of Gypsies and Gypsy nationalism", *Roma*, 1(2).44-54, January 1975.

30. From a talk given at Morgan State College, Baltimore, January 16th 1967.

31. From Thomas Szasz, *The Second Sin*, New York (1973).

32. From Haig Bosmajian, "The language of sexism", *ETC: A review of general semantics*, XXIX(3), 1972.

33. The 1968 (United Kingdom) Caravan Sites Act Circular N°. 49/68 states that "Gypsies are defined not by race but as persons of nomadic habit of life...The definition...covers Romanies, didicois, mumpers, Irish tinkers...". It is this traditional flexibility of the Gaǯikanó interpretation of the word, plus the Gypsy's popular image, which cause Gypsy related organizations to attract large numbers of non-Gypsy individuals (nearly all of them young single girls) identifying themselves with, and *as*, Gypsies. For a country as culturally insecure as the U.S.A., Gypsies provide a handy ethnic slot to align oneself with; labelled by behavior in the Gaǯó's terms rather than by racial and cultural affiliation it is therefore open to anybody, and has the added attractions of romance and illegality, plus a history of persecution currently so fashionable. Few such people know or would recognise Gypsies, and there are isolated cases of severe emotional disturbance arising from the discovery that Gypsies are a distinct ethnic group, which is for the most part closed to outsiders.

34. *The Courier*, Friday, February 15th, 1974, p. 21.

35. P.H.J. Lagarde-Quost, "The bilingual citizen", *Britain Today*, CXL, December 1947, pp. 15-19, and CXLI, January 1948, pp. 13-17.

36. Paul Christophersen, *Bilingualism*, London (1948), p. 9.

37. Paul Kester, *Tales of the Real Gypsy*, New York (1897), p. 305.

38. Doris Duncan, "The rocky Romany road", *Quinto Lingo*, December 1969, pp. 42-43.

39. Elizabeth Robins Pennell, *To Gypsyland*, New York (1893).

40. Anon., "The Gypsy slaves of Wallachia", *Household Words*, CLXXXV.139-142 Saturday, October 8th, 1853, p. 141. A similar attitude is found in George Washington Matsell, *Vocabulum; or, the Rogue's Lexicon*, New York (1859), in the introduction to which he states (p. *v*) that "The vocabulary of the rogue...might more properly be termed the Romany or Gypsy language". In this book, which heavily plagiarises several other works, there are in fact only nine Romanés or possibly Romanés items in the entire 130 pages of the dictionary: *boshing, chive, gorger, lil, moke, racklaw, Romoney, shero* and *sturbin*.

41. Jules Bloch, *Les Tsiganes*, Paris (1969), p. 113.

42. Jaroslav Sus, *Cikánská otázka v ČSSR*, Prague (1961), p. 89.

43. Martin Block, *Zigeuner: ihr Leben und ihre Seele*, Leipzig (1936).

44. Grellmann, *op. cit.* (note 4).

45. 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*.

46. George Borrow, *Lavengro*, London (1851), pp. 139-140.

47. Quoted from Leonard Bloomfield's article in *Language*, XX.45-55 (1944), "Secondary and tertiary responses to language", which deals with this situation.

48. Konrad Bercovici, *The story of the Gypsies*, London. (1929), p. 15, and repeated elsewhere in the same book.

49. Anon., "Caravans of mystery", *Coronet*, August 1950, p. 126.

50. Marie Wynn Clarke, "Vanishing vagabonds: the American Gypsies", *Texas Quarterly*, X(2).204-210 (1967), p. 210.

51. Jim Phelan, *Wagon-Wheels*, London (1951), p. 81.

52. This even gave rise to a whole Broadway musical, (wrongly) called *"Bajour"*.

53. The anonymous reporter on the slave camps in 19th century Wallachia (note 40, above) refers to the Gypsies there as "hideous things", and an "abominably filthy degraded tribe, exceedingly debauched" (*passim*).

54. Another word for Gažó is *Dilό*, "fool".

55. See for example Thomas A. Acton, "The functions of the avoidance of moxadi kovels", *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, L(3/4).108-136 (1971).

56. 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.

57. Especially if the inflected language is also still spoken in the environment. Not all Anglo-Romani speakers are aware that a "deeper" variety exists.

58. A *vítsa* (among the Matšwáya and Kalderáša) is a clan or extended family group.

59. A *nátsia* is a major cultural-linguistic division among the Ḑom. The Kalderáša, Matšwáya, Tšurári, &c., are different *natsíyi*.

60. For Ḑom, feelings of nationalism and ethnic pride seem to be very much the domain of the small educated middle class. The majority of Gypsies are faced daily with too much harrassment to care about such things, while the few at the other end of the social scale tend to decry — and too often deny — their roots.

61. Kenrick & Puxon, *op. cit.* (note 9), p. 207.

62. The London *Evening News*, Wednesday, June 7th, 1967.

63. The *Evening Post*, Friday, November 30th, 1973.

64. The *Essex Post*, November 24th, 1969.

65. The *South Ealing Post*, January 18th, 1974.

66. The *Sunday Telegraph*, September 24th, 1967.

67. The *Kensington Post*, London, July 1973.

68. The *Montreal Gazette*, July, 1973.

69. The *Dover Express & East Kent News*, Friday, 24th May, 1974, p. 5.

70. The *Birmingham Post*, Saturday, August 4th, 1973.

71. The *Leitrim Observer*, July 20th, 1974.

72. The *Evening News*, May, 1974.

73. Issued to Thomas and Hilda Boswell on February 25th, 1974.

74. The beginnings of this kind of respect means an end to such articles in the contemporary popular press as Peter Birge's "Hustle, hustle, aboard the caravan", The *Boston Phoenix*, April 8th, 1975, pp. 7-9 ("These people are gypsies, as in 'gyp'"), or Peter Maas' "The deadly battle to become king of the gypsies", *New York Magazine*, VII(38).26 *ff.* and VII (39).31 *ff.*, September (1974), in which the only instance where the word "Gypsy" is capitalized is where it is the name of someone's dog. The latter article is being made into a *Godfather*-type movie, which

will undoubtedly set back the work being done by the International Gypsy Committee to alter the stereotype by many years.

75. Buzo Rodgers, a California member of the KLR and himself of Romnitšal parentage, admits that as a boy he travelled widely in the United States but remained for many years ignorant of the "Continental" Ŗom (often called *Rus* by the Romnitšals). This is not everywhere the case in this country (*cf.* §1.35) but has led students to present incomplete and therefore misleading accounts of Romani life in the cities and elsewhere. See the comments on Cohn's findings in T.A. Acton, *Gypsy Politics and Social Change*, London & Boston (1974), pp. 20-21.

76. The summary (by Donald Kenrick) for the 1971 meeting appears in the *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, L(3/4).101-108 (1971) at pp. 102-103, and the summary of the 1972 meeting (by Thomas Acton) in the *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, LI(3/4).96-101 (1972), p. 100. The original proposal read:

1. *I romani ôhib si but kuô amende. Si partia amaria kulturatar tai veriga maŝkar e Roma ande eavoŕe themende.*
2. *Nai ekh dialekto kai si mai-miŝto avre dialektondar. Ame trubul ekh sentralno normalizime dialekto te vakeras ande kongresonde ta piŝas ande internasialno lilende.*
3. *O ôhibiako komisiono ka-del avre ekh lil romanes.*
4. *Si amen te arakhas ekh internasialno romano alfabeto.*

77. The dialect of Ŗomanés used throughout this paper other than in quotes is one variety of American Kelderašítsko and is not meant to represent any kind of proposed standard. The title of the Commission could equally well occur orthographically as *Satemesko Komisiono Chibako, Sathemesko Kumisjono Tšibako, Sa-T'emesko Kommisiono Č'ibako*, &c. The Vlaχ dialects probably assert themselves because their speakers are among the most clearly definable as "Gypsies" in the Gaǯó experience (see Acton's critique of Cohn referred to at note 75 above). It should be noted that Vlaχocentrism could prove to be self-defeating. This charge has already been laid by representatives of the Northern dialect speaking groups.

78. Jan Kochanowski, "The future of Romani", *in* T.A. Acton (*op. cit.*, note 29), pp. 76-77. Kochanowski's approach might seem extreme to some. He estimates a total Ŗomanés-speaking population of between fifteen and twenty million, and advocates the adoption of Ŗomanés as an international auxiliary language for all nations.

79. Example from R. Iversen, *The Romany language in Norway*, Oslo (1944), p. 214.

80. This and other examples are discussed in Ian F. Hancock, "Patterns of English lexical adoption in an American dialect of Romanés", *Orbis*, XXIV(2) (1975), ¶13.3.

81. Tadeusz Pobożniak, *Grammar of the Lovari dialect*, Cracow (1964).

82. John Sampson, *The dialect of the Gypsies of Wales*, Oxford (1926 and 1968).

83. Michael O. Reinhard, *Grammatik des deutschen Romani-Dialekts*, unpublished manuscript (to be published), Mainz (1973).

84. Tabulated and discussed in detail by T. Kaufman (*Roma*, to appear).

85. See Hancock, *op. cit.* (note 80), ¶10.1.

86. From the last chapter in Vol. I, "L'unité linguistique des Tsiganes d'Europe", pp. 184-192, of his two-volume *Gypsy Studies* (note 21).

87. Sinti examples from Reinhard, *op. cit.* (note 83).

88. *Op. cit.* (note 75), p. 55.

89. It seems to be assumed automatically by sociologists and others that acculturation is the desired goal. B.R. Goodey, in his article "Characteristics of the English Gypsy population", *Geographical Review*, LVIII.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'".

90. *Cf.* §3.06. Rena Cotton (Rena Gropper), who has written a dissertation and several articles on 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. series, XXX.107-120 (1955), p. 119.

91. "A strong basic linguistic research component...will lead to the creation of an alphabet and grammar for Romani, as the first step in the creation of a Bilingual Education package", *Gypsy Education and Development Program: Grant Proposal*, Metropolitan Development Council, Tacoma, Washington (Spring, 1975), p. 5.

92. Jan Yoors, *The Gypsies of Spain*, New York (1974), p. 120.

93. And for some, *especially* Romani-controlled officialdom.

94. Robert B. Le Page, *The national language question*, London (1964), pp. 43-44. For related discussion see also Jyotirindra Das Gupta, "Ethnicity, language demands and national development", *Ethnicity*, 1.65-72 (1974), Ian F. Hancock, "Identity, equality and standard language", The *Florida Foreign Language Reporter*, special number, to appear Summer 1975, and Talmy Givón, "Linguistic colonialism and de-colonialisation", *Ufahamu*, 1(3).33-48 (1972).

95. Quoted from Heinz Kloss, "German-American language maintenance efforts", *in* J. Fishman (ed.), *Language loyalty in the United States*, The Hague (1966), p. 222.

96. But not all, despite the general opinion. The delegates from Spain at the 1971 Congress spoke Caló among themselves continually, and it survives extensively in Latin American countries. The work of John Webb at the University of California at Berkeley, indicates possibly a greater use of Caló items in the (non-Gypsy) Spanish argots of the American south-west than in Spain itself. For the use of Caló in Spanish slang, see Jay B. Rosensweig, *Caló: Gutter Spanish*, New York (1974), reviewed by B. Rodgers, *Roma* (forthcoming).

97. This is being studied by the linguistic commission of the international Gypsy Committee and will be the subject of a later paper.

98. *Cf.* note 75, above. Acton (*op. cit.*, note 75, 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'".

99. *Op. cit.*, (note 21).

100. Although like the English value [χ] for kh, this is rare, *e.g.* "Zhivago".

101. As with the dialect used throughout this paper (see note 77), the orthography is likewise arbitrary, and does not adhere to the system proposed for the new spelling. [ʂ] and [ʐ] are represented by /ś/ and /ź/, [ʁ] is represented by /ɣ/, aspiration by a suprascript /ʰ/ and syllable stress by an accute accent. It was necessary to employ a 'natural' dialect of Ṛomanés since the standard has yet to be described.

102. J.A. Decourdemanche, *Grammaire du Tchingané ou langue des Bohémiens errants*, Paris (1908), pp. 377-380.

103. *Op. cit.* (note 20), pp. 240-242. In the Vista Books edition (1963), pp. 196-198.

104. David Dalby, "The indigenous scripts of West Africa and Surinam: their inspiration and design", *African Language Studies*, IX.156-197 (1968), at pp. 176-177. It may be pointed out in support of the possibility that the alphabet was devised by Decourdemanche that some of his translations of his names of the characters betray an imperfect knowledge of Romanés, being either wrong (for example *ker* "tent", *vai* "traveller", *pai* "foot", &c.), or else non-existent in the language (for example *dom* "house", *fai* "source"). What appears to be a mistake resulting from the interpretation of *R* for *B* leads him to gloss *Bai* instead of *Rai* as "stick" and to give it the phonetic value [b]. *Bai* in Romanés means "sleeve". Christopher Reiss, *Education of Travelling Children*, Macmillan Educational Ltd., London (1975). p. 60, conjectures that some Romani groups possibly settled temporarily with North African Berbers. This may have provided a source for the script in the light of Dalby's findings. It may also account in part for the suggested differences in origin for the Gypsies (*cf.* note 14 above, and A. Clarke, "The sero-anthropology of human population groups with special reference to European Gypsies", *in* T.A. Acton (*op. cit.* note 29), pp. 19-24, who concludes that "...however united their brotherhood, our (*sic*) European Gypsies have at least two separate ethnic origins").

105. Personal communication. The dialect in Decourdemanche's book is lexically so eclectic that it is scarcely possible to identify its speakers.

106. This is discussed at greater length in Ian F. Hancock, "The acquisition of English by American Romani children", *in* Walburga von Raffler-Engel (ed.), *Child Language Today*, (1975). which is a special issue of *Word*, XXVII (1/2) (1971).

107. One acquaintance of the writer saves 50¢ each time by being able to prepare his own bills and receipts. A common practice is to have these drawn up by public copy-typists.

108. To appear in *Etudes Tsiganes*. While Oimas' statement may reflect the situation as it has been, whether they like it or not Gypsies are increasingly becoming the subject of Gažó interest, academically as well as in the popular media. Since the latter treatments are often inaccurate and detrimental (*cf.* note 74), it is becoming more and more necessary that literate Gypsies be able to write and speak out against such misrepresentation. This has flourished in the past because of

lack of opposition or correction from the Romani side. Anne Sutherland, in her *Gypsies, the hidden Americans*, Tavistock Publns., Ltd., London (1975), p. 290, recognises other consequences: "Illiteracy may be useful in some instances for maintaining isolation, but as Gypsies become more known in America, particularly in welfare and police departments, they are at a serious disadvantage in their relations with such bureaucracies". This book is far superior to any earlier treatment of the American Rom; see this writer's critique in the *Civil Liberties Review*, II(2) (1976).

109. The *Daily Mail*, September 7th, 1965. Christopher Reiss (*op. cit.* note 104) pp. 27-29 discusses the "dirty Gyppo" taunts and anti-gypsyism in schools generally, and notes elsewhere (p. 80) that while visiting one school in connection with the Schools Council project which resulted in his book, he was "...himself mistaken for a Gypsy and stoned by some thirty pupils...".

110. From *Romano Drom: Gypsy News*, VIII.5, Spring 1973.

111. For reference to some of these, consult *e.g.* Kirsten G. Andersen, *Sigøjnere*, Copenhagen (1971) and Unn Jørstad, "Norway's Gypsy minority", *American Scandinavian Review*, LVIII.129-137 (1972), the latter hardly admitting the humanity of the Norwegian Rom. In contrast, see Maria Matolay's practical account, "Méthode d'enseignement pour les enfants tsiganes, dans une école primaire de Hongrie", *Etudes Tsiganes*, XVI(2/3).51-53 (1970). The situation in France is dealt with rather superficially in J.-C. Sangan, *Une école chez les Tsiganes*, Paris (1974), while the best treatment of the British situation is Reiss (*op. cit.* note 104).

112. 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 29, pp. 36-40.

113. See Jean-Pierre Liégeois, "Le pouvoir tsigane", *Etudes Tsiganes*, XXI(1).6-33 (1975), pp. 22.

114. Such as Christopher Wordsworth, in his review of Manfri Fred Wood's autobiography *In the life of a Romany Gypsy*, in the *Guardian* review of books (Autumn, 1973).

115. Further discussion in Hancock, *op. cit.*, (note 29).

116. Cohn, *op. cit.*, (note 25), p. 66. It is of course understandable that a narrow view of Romani political involvement would be obtained from observing only the American situation. Anne Sutherland comments on this in her concluding paragraph: "...some Gypsies, like other ethnic groups, have organized themselves politically into pressure groups. These groups are most vocal in England and France where demographic pressures are greatest. In America the movement is embryonic and as yet marginal, but destined to grow as the numbers of Gypsies grow and as the economic situation there worsens" (*op. cit.*, note 108), p. 291.

117. In the *Birmingham Post*, July 14th, 1973, p. 2.

118. I would like to thank my friends Bowee Evans, Larry Marks, William Stewart, Walburga von Raffler-Engel, Donald Kenrick, Gary Underwood, Thomas Acton, Janet Tompkins, Anne Sutherland, Ben Teague, Buzo Rodgers and others mentioned in the footnotes, whose suggestions in conversation and in correspondence added considerably to this paper.