

ROMANI IN EUROPE

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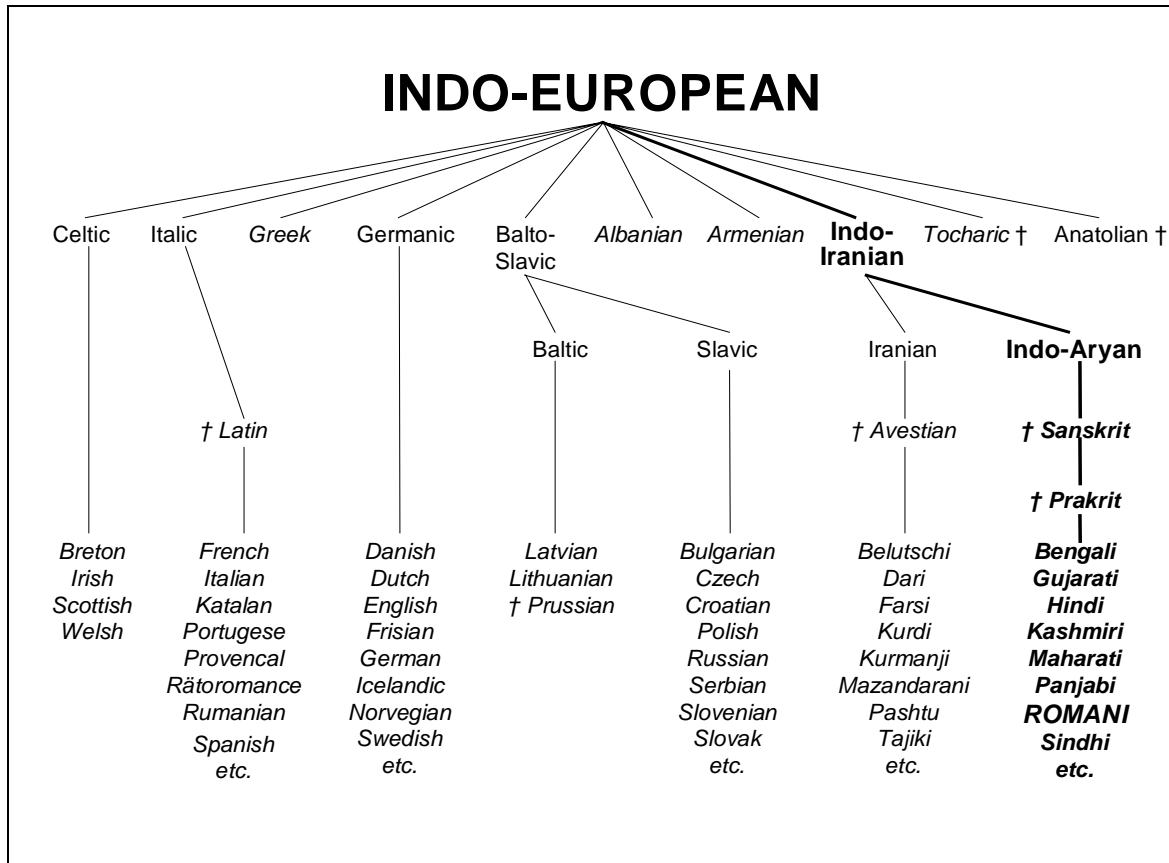
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1 Affiliation, Varieties, Speakers

Romani, the common language of the Roma, the Sinti, the Kale and other European population groups summarised by the pejorative denomination gypsies, belongs to the Indo-Aryan branch of the Indo-European language family and is the only New-Indo-Aryan language spoken exclusively outside of the Indian subcontinent.

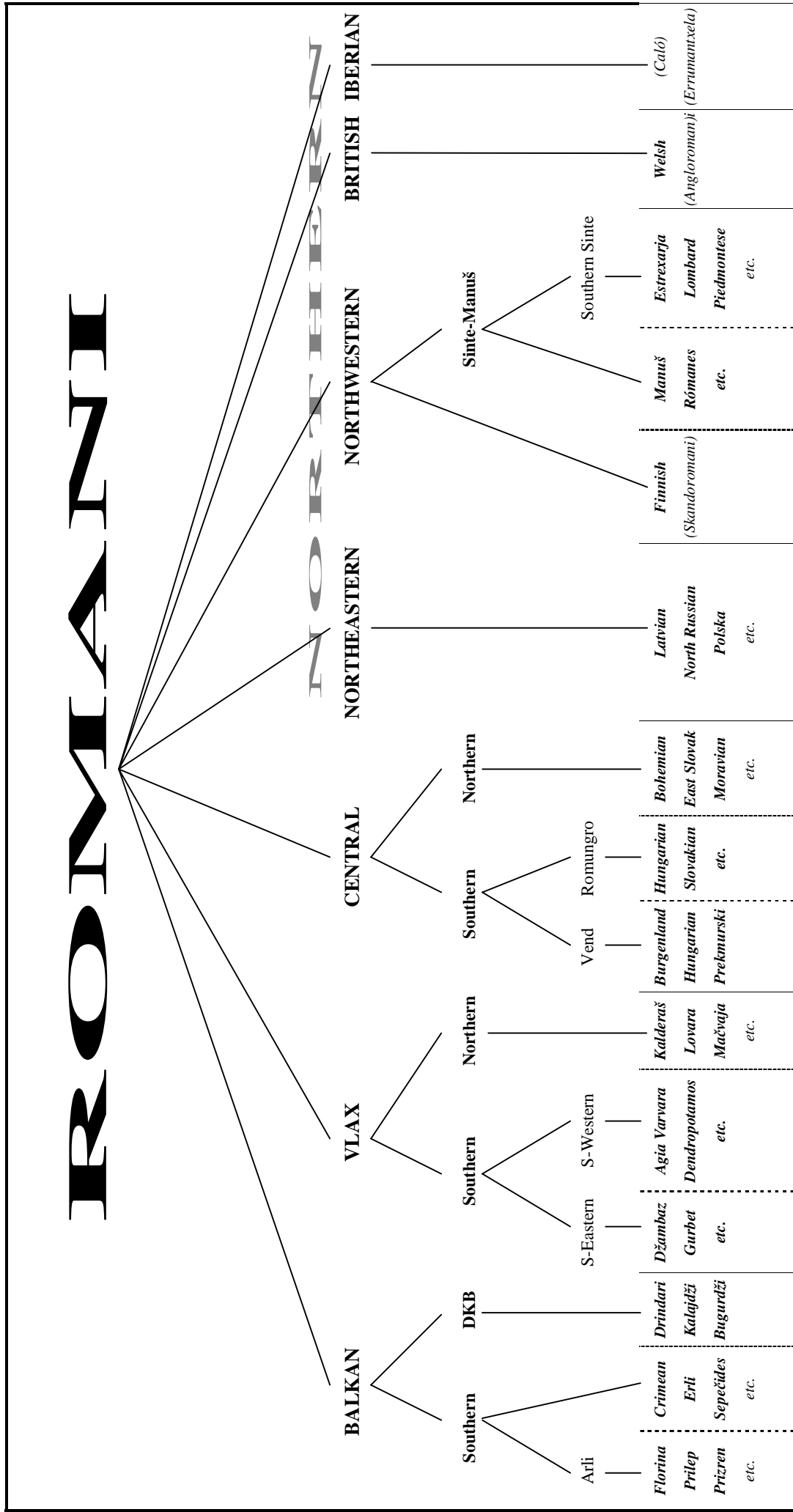
table 1



From a linguistic point of view Romani may be described as a heterogeneous cluster of varieties without any homogenising standard. The division into eight dialect groups shown in table 2 is a simplified graphical version of the description given in Matras (2002).

The terminology used for the individual varieties is primarily based on the denominations of the respective groups of speakers, which again are highly heterogeneous: Apart from the label *Romungro*, which is – sometimes pejoratively – used for settled Hungarian Roma, and *Vend* 'border' for small groups in the border regions of Austria, Hungary and Slovenia, the Central varieties show mainly geographic definitions. The same is valid a. o. for the southwestern Greek Vlax varieties of *Ajia Varvara*, a suburb of Athens, and of *Dendropotamos*, a suburb of Thessaloniki, as well as the northern Vlax variety of the *Mačvaja*, a group originating in the Serbian *Mačva* which today lives in the USA – primarily in California. Some denominations name professions, e. g. *Bugurdži*, *Čurara*, *Kalderaš*, *Lovara*, *Sepečides*, with the meaning: drill-makers, sieve-makers, tinkers, horse-dealers, basket-weavers. The denominations *Arli* used for Kosovar and Macedonian Roma as well as *Erli* for a group living in Sofia are indications of the long-lasting settled way of life of these Balkan Roma: the Turkish word *yerli* stands for 'native'. The name *Gurbet* derives from the Arabic word *gharib* 'strange' which has been transmitted via Turkish. *Rumeli* or *Rumelian Romani* stands for the Turkish variety of Romani recorded by Paspatis in 1870.

table 2



Because of shared conservative features, Northwestern, Northeastern, British and Iberian varieties are sometimes treated as Northern group of Romani (Bakker 1999). Denominations among these varieties range from geographical definitions to group names and even one language denomination is used: *Rómanes*, derived from an ethnonym adverb, is a widespread language name among the *Sinte*, a group denomination with unclear etymology. *Manuš* 'human being' and *Caló* 'black' are both self-designations among Northern groups. The geographical denominations define the current living space – *Lombard Sinte*, *Finnish Romani*, etc. – as well as the country of origin – *Estrexarja Sinte* (in the case of the *Russian Estrexarja Sinte* the country of origin is the former Austrian Hungarian Empire).

So called Para-Romani varieties are marked by brackets. These are varieties of the respective majority language with Romani lexicon and, if at all, only a few Romani structural features: *Errumantxela* is a variety of Basque, *Caló* is a variety of Spanish, *Angloromani* of English, *Scandoromani* summarises Para-Romani varieties based on various Scandinavian languages.

Realistic estimations report that the number of Romani speakers in Europe is approx. 4.6 million. Table 3 summarises these realistic estimations according to Bakker et al. (2000). Percentage (%) shows the approximate percentage of the Romani speaking Roma population in each country.

table 3

Country	speakers	%	country	speakers	%
<i>Albania</i>	90.000	95%	<i>Latvia</i>	18.500	90%
<i>Austria</i>	20.000	80%	<i>Lithuania</i>	4.000	90%
<i>Belarus</i>	27.000	95%	<i>Macedonia</i>	215.000	90%
<i>Belgium</i>	10.000	80%	<i>Moldova</i>	56.000	90%
<i>Bosnia-Herzegovina</i>	40.000	90%	<i>Netherlands</i>	7.000	90%
<i>Bulgaria</i>	600.000	80%	<i>Poland</i>	56.000	90%
<i>Croatia</i>	28.000	80%	<i>Romania</i>	1.030.000	80%
<i>Czech Republic</i>	140.000	50%	<i>Russia</i>	405.000	80%
<i>Denmark</i>	1.500	90%	<i>Serbia & Montenegro</i>	380.000	90%
<i>Estonia</i>	1.100	90%	<i>Slovakia</i>	300.000	60%
<i>Finland</i>	3.000	40%	<i>Slovenia</i>	8.000	90%
<i>France</i>	215.000	70%	<i>Spain</i>	1.000	1%
<i>Germany</i>	85.000	70%	<i>Sweden</i>	9.500	90%
<i>Greece</i>	160.000	90%	<i>Turkey</i>	280.000	70%
<i>Hungary</i>	290.000	50%	<i>Ukraine</i>	113.000	90%
<i>Italy</i>	42.000	90%	<i>United Kingdom</i>	1.000	0.5%

Based on these approximate percentages of the Romani speaking Roma population in table 3, the total number of Roma in Europe amounts to 6.6 million people. More generous estimations refer to the total number of European Roma to be about 12 million. As the Roma have always been, and still are, a group which demographically can only be identified with difficulty, all numbers are assumptions and more or less realistic estimations. What is even more problematic is the different basis for these estimations which becomes apparent if we compare the basis for the numbers given for Austria and Spain. The number 25.000 given for the Austrian Roma includes the autochthonous Roma population and migrants who came as so-called guest workers from the middle of the 1960s onwards. Disregarded are the recent migrations from the Balkans and Eastern Europe which were caused by the various conflicts and the consequential bad economic situation. The number given for Spain only includes the autochthonous Roma population, the *Calé*. The same is valid for the number given for the UK: only the autochthonous *Romanichal* are included, working migrants of the last decades and recent mi-

grants are not considered. Furthermore Portugal is missing in table 3 which – like most Western European countries – has a Roma population consisting of an autochthonous group which immigrated centuries ago, the Calé, members of Vlax groups who came from the late 19th century on and recent migrants from Eastern Europe and the Balkans.

Despite all problems with numbers, it is a fact, however, that there are some million Roma and some million Romani speakers in Europe.

2 Sociolinguistic Situation

Romani is a language that until recently has not existed in a written form and has exclusively been passed on orally. It has not developed a codified standard and, as a consequence, no prescriptive norms. This linguistic situation reflects the socio-political situation of the Roma: politically, economically and culturally marginalized, ethnically stigmatised, discriminated against and persecuted, the Roma could only survive in small groups, that led to the geographical and social heterogeneity that still exists today. Consequently, the people concerned have been in no position to build large political-economic structures or to get their share of political and economic power. Considering that the development of standard varieties generally follows the development of political and economic power structures, it becomes clear why Romani does not have a codified standard and also that it will not be able to develop a generally accepted standard in the near future. This has to be seen in connection with the status of Romani as a non-territorial language. As Roma were denied large estate throughout centuries and were only able to live in small groups – extended families or communities of interest, the so called *kumpanias* – there was no chance to develop larger social units which are a. o. the basis for self-contained socio-economic structures. On account of this the Roma were always dependent on the socio-economic structures of the respective majority population and – as a consequence – Romani was and is limited to intra-group-communication. This consequently inhibited the development of a standard and the development into a territorial language.

Until this day for most Roma their respective Romani variety is reduced to intra-group-communication and thus limited to certain domains. Romani primarily functions as intimate variety. Nearly all Romani speakers are bi- or multilingual and use the language of the respective majority population(s) for inter-group-communication in public and most often also in informal or partly public domains. As a result, no social stratification can be found within the individual Romani varieties. The dominance in the use of the respective majority language becomes apparent in the abstracted collective repertoire in table 4:¹

table 4

acrolect	MAJORITY LANGUAGE(S)	Public diatypes that are used in public formal domains when dealing with authorities, at school, in the media etc.
mesolect	MAJORITY LANGUAGE(S) Romani	Diatypes of the social macrocosm that are used in partly public informal domains with acquaintances, at work, etc.
basilect	MAJORITY LANGUAGE(S) ROMANI	Diatypes of the social microcosm that are used in private informal domains in the family and when in contact with friends, etc.

diatype = functionally defined linguistic variety

1 For more detailed information on this repertoire model see Halwachs (1993).

This repertoire displays the full range of functions as, for example, among some Kalderaš groups where Romani dominates the internal communication and is also used when in contact with speakers of other Vlax varieties. More frequently, however, Romani does not function in the social macrocosm but is only used as an intimate variety, as shown in table 5:

table 5

acrolect	MAJORITY LANGUAGE(S)
mesolect	MAJORITY LANGUAGE(S)
basilect	MAJORITY LANGUAGE(S) Romani

These limitations in the functional dimensions together with the lack of a standard and a written language are the major reasons for the fact that Romani has not only very little prestige with the majority population, but also that many Roma consider it inferior as compared to the language of the respective majority population.

The low prestige of the language, reduced domains, multilingualism and the pressure to assimilate on the part of the majority culture make Romani a dominated language whose relationship to the contact languages has always been asymmetric and never bilateral. As a result various phenomena of language contact and language shift occur ranging from lexical borrowings from the majority language to monolingualism in the majority language. In this way some Roma groups have given up Romani without, however, losing their ethnic awareness. Today, Roma living in Romania, Greece Hungary, and Serbia have Romanian as their mother tongue but still feel as Roma. Of course, there are also groups whose ethnic awareness was also lost when language shift occurred.

The following example 1 shows the use of Romani by a 33 years old female member of the Viennese Kalderaš, who was born in Serbia but raised in Austria. The excerpt shows various loans from Serbian and one German lexeme and can be treated paradigmatic for the Romani use of this generation. This kind of language use can in no case be treated as language attrition, it's just common Romani.²

example 1	female 33 / 2000 / Kalderaš-Romani
<i>Kodola ševořja sî but KULTIVIRANI, si-ćile o gažikano trajo, kaj kava ŽIVOTO SVIDJOL PE lengê o řomano DONEKLE. Phares sî lenge, te phanden pesko ŽIVOTO kakale Řomenca, save žan pe'l gava, save UOPŠTE či RAZUMIN lendji bući kaj von sićile. Sargod kaj žal e Xešći še, voj sî <u>Krankenschwester</u>.</i>	These girls are very CULTIVATED, they have got used to the life of the Gadže because THEY LIKE this LIFE, the Roma one (ONLY) PARTLY. It is difficult for them to connect their LIVES with these Roma who go into the villages, who don't UNDERSTAND their work AT ALL which they have learnt. As, for example, X's daughter goes (to work), she is a <u>nurse</u> .

SMALL CAPITALS = SERBIAN ELEMENTS / underline = German elements

Among many Romani communities especially in Western Europe the functions of Romani are only very marginal. Every day life communication is dominated by the respective majority

2 All examples presented here are taken from the Austrian context which in respect of its Roma population is paradigmatic for Western European countries: there is one autochthonous group, there are members of Vlax groups who came from the second half of the 19th century onwards, as well as working migrants who came from the 1960s onwards, and recent migrants from Eastern Europe and the Balkans.

languages and Romani is only used for special purposes like paying respect to the elders (example 2) or establishing intimacy (example 3).

example 2	A: male ~12 / B: male ~70 / 2000 / Lovara-Romani
A: <i>Devlesa rakhav tu, nano.</i>	With god I come across you, uncle.
<i>Sar žal tuke?</i>	How are you?
B: <i>Mišto! So keres?</i>	O.k. What are you doing?
A: <u><i>Ich war in der Schule und ...</i></u>	<u>I've been to school and ...</u>

underline = German

Apart from the initial step in Romani the whole conversation is in German. The same is true for the following example:

example 3	A: female ~45 / B: female ~ 50 / 2002 / Burgenland-Romani
A: <i>A: Meg prinčares man? Me i A.</i>	Do you still know me. I am A, the sister of X, from Y.
<i>som, Xiskeri phen, ando Y.</i>	
B: <i>He, dur na diklom tut.</i>	Yes, I haven't seen you for a long time.
<i>Sar džal tuke?</i>	How are you
A: <i>Latscho taj tumenge?</i>	O.k., and you [pl.]?
B: <i>Palikerav, latscho</i>	Thank you, ok.
<i>Atschen andi Beči?</i>	Do you [pl.] live in Vienna?
A: <u><i>Ja, seit fünfzehn Jahren schon.</i></u>	<u>Yes, since fifteen years by now.</u>

underline = German

The function of Romani in this initial sequence is similar to the one in example 2. Two women who haven't met each other for years are establishing intimacy by using the former primary intimate variety of the group. After this introduction, which established the relationship, the rest of the conversation was in German, the primary language of every day life of the two interlocutors.

It's only a little step from the marginal use of Romani to language shift. At the moment this process can be observed among the Turkish Sepečides Roma. The language situation among the Sepečides living in Austria corresponds to the situation in Izmir one generation ago.³ Consider example 4:

example 4A: male ~60 / B: female ~55 / C: female ~ 30 / 2002 / Sepečides-Romani	
A: <i>Akana, so mangena mandar?</i>	Now, what do you want from me?
B: <i>So ka mangas tutar? Baro familjako koro sina.</i>	What will we be wanting from you? You are very helpful.
A: <i>Apo so mangena? Vaker!</i>	So, what do you want? Speak!
B: <i>Ale akhar o HALİS opre, vakerava tuke! Jek halıs na manges ti geles opre. Savo muj theresa?</i>	Carry the carpet up, I tell you. Not even a carpet you want to carry up. Aren't you ashamed? [lit.: What a face do you have?]
A: <i>Aj so, melalo te si, ti akharel les hem ti thovel les i bori korkori!</i>	Who cares, if it is dirty, the daughter-in-law shall carry it and wash it herself!
C: <i>BABA, hilfst du mir?</i>	FATHER, <u>do you help me?</u>
B: <i>Keres lake YARDİMI?</i>	Will you help her?

3 Today the use of Romani among the Sepečides of Izmir can be observed only very rarely. As regards language use the group has to be judged as monolingual Turkish with only a few elders having competence in Romani and using Romani on special occasions.

A: [to C] <i>Aj to rom so kerela?</i>	Well, what's your husband doing?
C: <i>Mi rom isi <u>krank</u>. Mi rom <u>krank</u>. Mo rom <u>krank</u>, <u>kann er nicht waschen</u>.</i>	My husband is <u>ill</u> . My husband <u>ill</u> . My husband <u>ill</u> , <u>he can't wash</u> . THAT'S WHY
<i>HASTADİR ONDAN! ...</i>	HE'S ILL. ...

SMALL CAPITALS = TURKISH ELEMENTS / underline = German elements

Both of the older interlocutors are trilingual: speaker A with German as mother tongue and native-like competence in both Romani and Turkish; speaker B has been socialised in Romani and Turkish and has learned German after migrating to Austria. This trilinguality explains why speaker C is using Turkish as well as German in conversation with her parents-in-law. In a situation with speaker B alone speaker C would most probably use Turkish and maybe also some Romani. If members of the young generation – C's three sons between the age of six and ten – were present the whole conversation would most likely be in Turkish and German only.

This data suggests that in the case of speaker C language shift goes hand in hand with language attrition. This is indicated by speaker C's use of the feminine form of the possessive pronoun *mi* 'my [fem.]' with the masculine headnoun *rom* 'hus-band'. Only in the second repetition she uses the appropriate masculine form *mo* 'my [masc.]'. Maybe the use of the feminine form *mi* in this example is triggered by the phonetics of the corresponding Turkish suffix *-mi*; another index that Turkish is the primary language of speaker C and her Romani competence is first of all a passive one. Besides Turkish, which is the linguistic bridge between the three generations, German plays an important role in the language use of this family. Romani is only used by the old generation, the younger generations almost exclusively use Turkish and German and have – if at all – only reduced competence in Romani.

This language competence and language use scenario can be found among many Roma families and small Roma communities. In many cases language shift is completed and Romani only left lexical traces in the language use of the majority language as demonstrated in example 5:

example 5	2002 / Romanes (Sinte)
<i>Wo sind die ČHAWI? ...</i>	Where are the CHILDREN? ...
<i>Als wir MANGERN waren. ...</i>	As we were HAWKING. ...

CAPITALS = ROMANI

Čhawi 'children' shows the regular plural ending of Rómanes. The second example – *mangern* < *te mangel* 'hawking' < 'to hawk' – indicates that most lexical relics are morphologically integrated into German. Semantically these relics denote elements of the traditional life of the Sinti.

This use of lexical relics resembles those of Para-Romani varieties and indicates that *Angloromani*, *Caló*, etc. are not products of language attrition but in-group varieties of the respective majority languages used by groups which are undergoing or which already have undergone language shift.

3 Codification, Expansion, Functions

In the context of self-organisation of individual Roma groups Romani plays a key role: Self-organisation in most cases goes in line with the guidelines of the dominant culture and may be described as emancipation by means of organisational assimilation. It is via this development that the common definition criteria of 'nation', 'ethnic group', and other socio-cultural concepts of the respective majority population are taken over and adopted. In the course of this organisational assimilation the ideology of European national states becomes more and more important and consequently Romani becomes the primary identity factor of the respective Roma

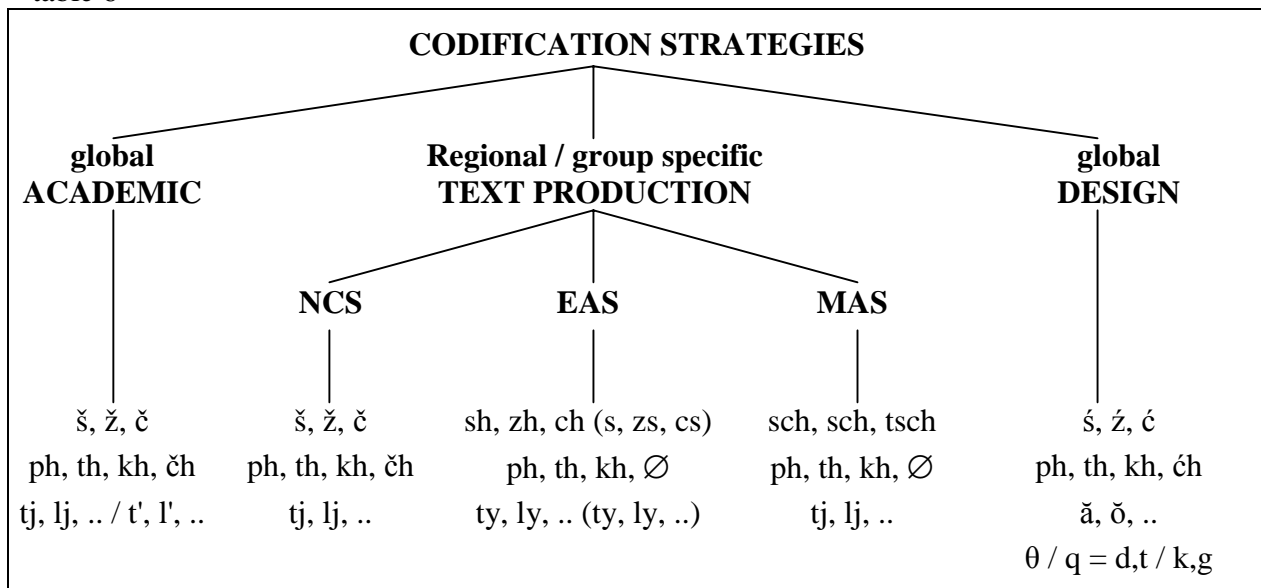
group. This process triggers the codification and expansion of Romani and the emblematic and mobilising functions of language use are gaining ground.

3.1 Codification

Codification is to be regarded as the emancipation of Romani from other European national languages. The single attempts of codification lie between the tensions of regional and global approaches resulting from the heterogeneity of Roma and Romani. The regional or group-specific approaches take into account the requirements of the single groups of speakers and therefore are primarily oriented on a communicative basis, whereas the global approaches are more or less politically motivated.

As the missing tradition of a written language is regarded as a major deficit the promotion of a written form is the first step of any codification initiative. According to Matras (1999) in this context there are two types of global codification approaches in contrast to the regional group-specific approaches.

table 6



source: Matras (1999)

The "codification for the purpose of academic documentation of speech (Academic Codification)" and "codification in the service of unification and language engineering projects (Language Design)" are to be considered as global approaches. Whereas, the "codification for the purpose of transposing oral usage into texts directed at audiences (Text Production)" is determined by communicative aspects on a group-specific level.

In view of the academic level, a type of norm has developed in recent years: "Though never conventionalised among Romani linguists, a consensus seems to prevail on the use of wedge-accent, as employed in south-western Slavic alphabets, to indicate palato-alveolars (š, ž, č) and the use of *-h* to indicate distinctive aspiration on voiceless stops and affricates (ph, th, kh, čh)." The marking of the palatisation with postponed *j* or with accent is one of the few open points of this convention for the written language.

The Language Design Project presented here is classified by Djuric/Cortiade (1990) as polylectal and, as it has been declared to be the standard by the International Romani Union (IRU), is described as the Romani common alphabet. The single common factor with the academic convention is the marking of the aspiration with the postponed *-h*. For the palato-alveolars the acute accents are used instead of the wedge-accent. The palatisation is marked by the so-called *čiriklo* ('bird') on the vowel. One of the most apparent characteristics of this

process to implement a written language is the so-called morphographs which are used to capture the morphophonological alternation of case suffixes in different phonological environments. The locative suffix in *mande* as well as in *tute* is written by the sign similar to the theta <θ>, for example, the dative suffix in *mange* and in *tuke* is written by the <q>. This codification, which is to be understood as polylectal or as variety embracing, attempts to do justice to Romani in terms of structure but also attempts to emphasise the independent appearance of the written form. Considering that the development of standard varieties generally follows the development of political and economic power structures, it becomes clear why this codification approach has not become a generally accepted standard, although having been declared as such by the IRU. Besides IRU documents the writing system is in use in Romania where approx. 15.000 children are taught Romani in school. The Romanian implementation of this global approach strategy is on the one hand due to a centralised Romani teaching approach by the ministry of education. On the other hand it is made possible by the, compared to other countries, quite homogeneous linguistic situation of Romani in Romania.

The group-specific and communicatively oriented approaches which naturally gain higher, but regionally limited, acceptance lie in a position exposed to tensions between the approach of bringing it in line with global approaches and the taking over of the conventions of the written language of the respective majority language. Three strategies can be distinguished: in the case of the 'no-compromise' strategy, global strategies for the regionally group-specific text production are adopted. Some publications in Kalderaš-Romani use the academic conventions without any consideration of the conventions of the written language of the respective country of publication (France, Sweden, USA).

The 'elaborate adjustment' strategy adapts, to a certain extent, to the conventions of the respective majority language, on the other hand it stresses also the independence of Romani by adopting global conventions. That is why Hungarian Romani publications are characterised by the adoption of Hungarian conventions as well as by the use of elements of global strategies: in Hungarian the marking of the palatisation is by a postponed -y which is global or in this case international as taken over from the convention of written language on the basis of the ASCII-Code; this shows the written form of palato-alveolars. The possible Hungarian way of writing is indicated below in brackets.

As an example of the 'moderate adjustment' strategy the written language of Burgenland Romani is mentioned. The marking of palatisation and aspiration correlate the scientific approach because also in German the multigraph and not the diacritica convention is applied. The palato-alveolars are also written according to the German pattern: <sch, tsch>. The voiced-unvoiced dichotomy is neutralized in this variety.

3.2 Expansion

The contrast between global and regional approaches also characterises the lexical expansion of Romani.

Up to a few decades ago Romani was primarily used as intimate variety. Only with the self-organisation according to the ideal of the majority culture was this limitation perceived as a shortcoming. At the same time the first attempts to use Romani as language in the media were launched, which nurture the necessity of expanding into formal domains. This expansion is most evident on the lexical level as an enormous amount of technolectal designations are missing in Romani. The lack of these definitions has not created a communicative problem until the attempt to change consciously the status of Romani. Romani disposes of a strong integration morphology which renders it possible to adopt each word from the respective majority language and to integrate it morphologically into Romani. This advantage of Romani is considered as a disadvantage in view of the attempts of emancipation of the language resulting in 'purity demands'.

At the beginning of the codification the representatives of the Burgenland-Roma, for example, requested to substitute all Slavonic, Hungarian and German elements of their Romani variety by Indian or best by Sanskrit lexemes. Only a laborious demonstration of the etymological heterogeneity of other European national languages could neutralise this demand.

A similar attempt was made in the course of the codification of a Macedonian variety of Romani. In this case neologisms from Hindi were adopted, which – among others - has resulted in the adoption of *komando* 'command' to Romani as borrowed from Hindi, because the real origin was not clear. These attempts to purify Romani from European vocabulary aim to increase the prestige of Romani.

Similar intentions lie behind the strategy to take over missing lexemes from English. This way of proceeding is found in a newspaper published in Prizren in the Kosovo. If in this case the international value of English is meant to increase the prestige of Romani in the two examples mentioned above, it is hoped to achieve the same result by using Sanskrit or Hindi which are sometimes felt as the 'languages of the mother country'.

Increasing the prestige of the language by the adoption of lexemes from high-prestige languages applying the integration morphology represents one of the global strategies for the expansion of Romani. Another strategy applies the derivation and composition morphology. See two examples from the design Romani by Courthiade:

Instead of using *internacionalo* 'international' the word *maškarthemutno* is used. This lexeme consists of *maškar* 'between' and the adjective *themutno* deriving from *them* 'country, state' and as a consequence it is to be considered a loan translation. In the meantime this positive example for expansion from the substance of the language starts to assert itself on an international level – *maškarthemutne*.

Xurdelin 'kindergarten, nursery school' which similarly has been created from the substance of the language, on the other hand, is an unfortunate neologism. The plural *xurde* used as a noun of the adjective *xurdo* 'tiny' is often used for 'small change, coins', sometimes for 'children'. The derivation suffix *-lin* makes fruit trees from fruits, such as *phabalin* 'apple tree' from *phaba* 'apple'. The question whether 'small change tree' or 'children tree' has asserted itself is easily answered: *Xurdelin* in which meaning it might have, is only used, if at all, by real hardliners of this design-project.

The regional expansion strategies are also based on the integration morphology, but in contrast to the global integration strategy they use the respective primary contact language as the lexical source.

Burgenland-Romani does not use the internationalism *organizacia* 'organisation, association' but *farajn* taken over from German 'Verein'. In contrast to the international use, 'Romani organization' is not named *romani organizacia* but *romano farajn*. Corresponding to the German dialectal use for 'hospital' the lexeme *schpita* taken from 'Spital' is used. Instead of using *schpita* the loan translation *nasvalengero kher* from the inherited substance would also be possible (*nasvale* means 'the sick (pl.)' and *kher* 'house').

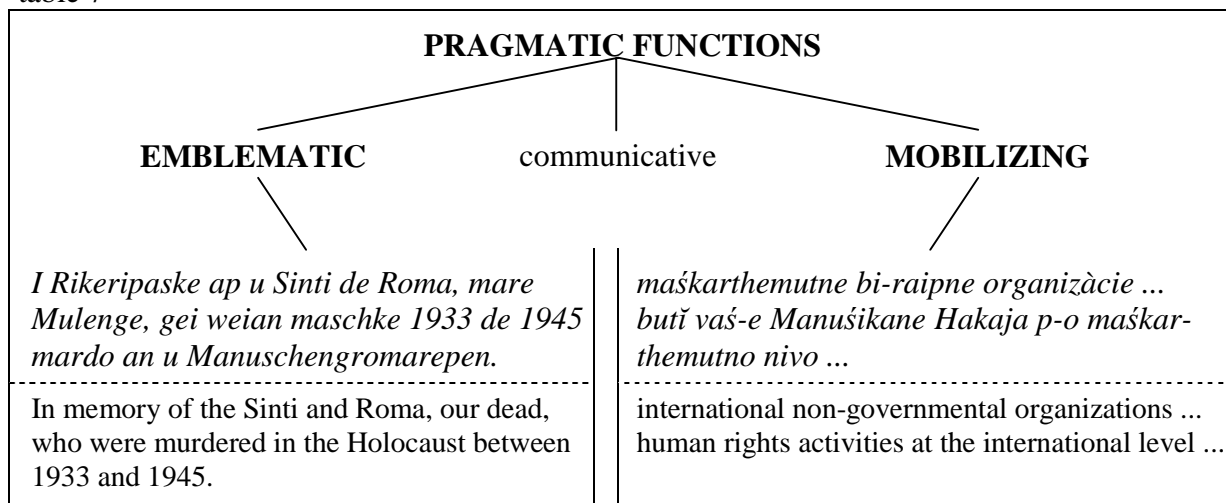
Whether the regional strategy dominates the global strategy in lexical expansions depends on a variety of factors. If the initiator of the codification is an international organisation, global strategies will prevail. The same is valid for groups with a strong international spread. Groups which have been settled for a longer period and which therefore are partly assimilated, on the other hand, generally apply regional strategies and mainly borrow from the primary contact language. This distinction does not establish a rule at all, but shows a general tendency since there are enough counter examples.

3.3 Emblematic and Mobilising Functions

In parallel to codification and to lexical expansion Romani has also experienced changes and expansion on the pragmatic level. Due to the new internal status as primary identity marker

the emblematic function and the mobilising function, beside the communicative function, come to the foreground for the written use of Romani.

table 7



source: Matras (1999)

Matras (1999: 495) defines "emblematic texts which are not intended to enhance the addressee's knowledge in order to action on his part, but rather to elicit emotional identification on the part of the addressee with the aesthetic symbolism of the text in its particular language-external context."

Emblematic function on a micro level is attributed to Romani single words in texts in the majority language. In this context it is worth mentioning the numerous names of newspapers and magazines in Romani, such as the Austrian magazine *Romano Kipo* 'Roma Picture' which is quarterly published and which – apart from the title – almost exclusively is written in German.

A further, longer example for an emblematic text is the sentence mentioned in figure 2 in Rómanes being the Romani variety of the German Sinti. This sentence was shown together with its German translation at the end of a commemorative exposition to the Holocaust. This shows a regional group-specific codification: German conventions for the implementation of a written language are used. It is worth mentioning that the neologism *Manuschengromarepen* was used for 'Holocaust', which literally translated means 'striking dead of people'.

On the macro level of emblematic texts there are Bible translations and among others the translation of the *Ramayana* by Leksa Manuš. Such translations have their effects on the external world and demonstrate to the majority population that Romani is suitable for long complex texts; on the other hand they also have their effects on the internal world, on the Roma, to whom such translations demonstrate the value of Romani. This consequently strengthens the identification with their own language and culture. The primary and from most translators main intention to give the addressees great reading pleasure is mostly prevailed by the emotive-emblematic function.

As mobilising-rallying functions Matras (1999: 496) defines "the shaping of a text in such a way that would demonstrate ideological commitment and political allegiance and identification."

The use of the Design-Romani by Courthiade after its recognition as official Romani standard in the context of the Fourth Romani World Congress in April 1990 in Warsaw has shown its mobilising-rallying function. In the years after, the proponents of this decision have used the conventions defining the criteria for the implementation of a written language set by the Warsaw decision and also the neologisms in internal papers as well as in publicly obtainable publications, such as the *Rromani Uniaquoro Lil*, the newspaper of the Romani union which

is published irregularly. The examples of texts shown in figure 2 are taken from the minutes of a meeting of Romani delegates at an international conference in June 1994. By using these conventions, ideological commitment as well as political allegiance and identification with the Romani union, its resolutions and its decision bearers is demonstrated.

4 Different Countries – Different Models

4.1 Science, School, Media and Codification in Austria

At the beginning of the collaboration of Roma and science in 1993, the members of the Austrian Romani project have not at all been aware of the heterogeneity of the Austrian Roma society:

table 8 – demographic parameters of the different groups

	<i>Burgenland-Roma</i>	<i>Sinti</i>	<i>Lovara</i>		<i>Balkan-Vlax-Roma Kalderaš/Gurbet/...</i>	<i>Balkan-Muslimic-Roma Arlije/Bugurdži/...</i>	various
A	Hungary	S-Germany Czechia	Hungary Slovakia	Hungary	Serbia / Montenegro / ...	Macedonia/ Kosovo / ...	Balkans E-Europe
	15th century	~ 1900		1956	mid 1960s on		late 1980s on
B	E-Austria	cities	larger Vienna area				cities
	rural [urban]	urban				urban	
C	roman catholic / protestant / ...				orthodox	muslimic	various
D	autochthonous			allochthonous			illegal

A country & time of immigration

B area of living

C main religious affiliation

D political status

Without the openness to accept the socio-cultural differences of the single groups and the resulting divergent attitudes, the project could have never been realised in such a way. Both sides had to go through difficult moments of learning and experiencing which then have founded the basis of a successful collaboration.

It was important to distance the homogeneity demands by which the Roma are confronted with by national authorities and by international organisations. In part, homogeneity is also represented by Roma-intellectuals and by Roma representatives working on an international level in relation to authorities and organisations. On a political level, this may be an advantage because it legitimates the respective demand for being represented and because it shows the necessary stress attributed to the topic. For the single Roma groups, however, it is a disadvantage: it is easier to administer homogeneous groups and therefore they correspond with the interests of the authorities. If the authorities and organisations are shown an image of a European homogene or even of a national homogene Roma society, the authorities do not reflect and ask about that situation and accept it willingly as it really simplifies their task to realise the duty of the majority population in relation to the Roma. A further consequence of such wrong ideas of homogeneity is that wrong activities and financial support measures are initiated that do not correspond to the actual needs of an individual Roma group.

4.1.1 Romani and Codification

The Austrian Romani project is neither a purely scientific academic project nor a folkloristic must of language conservation, but it is a scientifically grounded project conducted on behalf of individual Roma groups. The project aims to confront the threatening language death and wants to contribute to the preservation of the culture and the identity of the Roma.

Apart from the necessary knowledge concerning heterogeneity among the Austrian Roma and the problem arising from the homogeneity requirements, it was absolutely necessary for all scientific collaborators to avoid any kind of »scientific arrogance«. Right from the start it has been important to be open and to approach the task without prejudice and without any

pre-established concepts. It was crucial to approach all tasks in an ingenious way and to react to each situation in an intuitive manner. Only by adopting such an approach it is possible to obtain relatively authentic and descriptive results and to avoid the problem of the »self-fulfilling prophecy«. Furthermore, it is necessary to accept the Roma who participate in the project and to consider them experts in relation to their mother-tongue and to take into consideration their ideas regarding the writing, standardisation and realisation in the teaching etc. up to a certain extent. As far as the integration of certain groups is concerned, it is absolutely necessary to allow the participation of as many members of the Roma groups as possible and not just a few representatives of them.

The Romani project has started with the codification of Burgenland Romani threatened by extinction. The starting point of the codification was meant to be the development of a writing system. As today's experience shows it, some incorrect steps were taken in these first phase of the codification process. On the grounds of the idea to homogenise the language and considering it a politically necessary step to create a common writing system, the representatives of the Burgenland-Roma were ready to use the south-Slavic Latin conventions for writing their language. Only when the circle of Roma people participating in the project was extended it became clear that the main part of the Roma preferred a writing system on the basis of the German language. This way of thinking regarding the writing system was supported by a relatively extended study with respect to a spontaneous writing approach. The reason why German was chosen as the basis for writing is the wish to disassociate clearly from other Roma groups and from other minorities of the Burgenland (Croats and Hungarians). The fact that the younger generation of the Burgenland-Roma in particular was taught the German alphabet also supported the idea to base the writing system on the German alphabet.

If there had not been an extension of the members of the circle of Roma collaborators – which honestly was not an easy step – the writing of the language would have been realised according to the method that scientifically and maybe also politically was considered the best. Developments in view of the main problems and main desires to preserve the language, however, would not have been achieved at all. This experience has made clear just how important it is to take a large group of Roma collaborators for the acquisition of information in order to obtain results that are practicable. It is true that one-person-studies are of high scientific value. For the realisation of the results in the context of a whole group, however, they might constitute a problem.

The difficulty to integrate a large number of people in studies has also been observed by ethnologists and anthropologists at the same time. In the context of field research, representatives or the representative of a group is met and only after a while the outsiders follow. Both groups of people have their interests, which partly do not correspond to the interests of the group as a whole. This is mainly true for the outsiders who expect from their participation in the project to gain a higher intra-group prestige. For this reason they try to prevent the contact between the scientists and the other members of the group. It was the most difficult task for the work with the single groups to overcome this blockage without risking that these first informants would lose their face.

The question of writing in view of the collaboration with a Sinti group in a larger town in Austria may be described as follows: in this case too, it was the wish to disassociate from the non-Austrian Slavic alphabet, increased by the fact that the German alphabet was learned, to lead to the creation of writing conventions according to the German model. Additionally, there is the wish to disassociate from the Burgenland-Roma: the Sinti use in their writing system among others the letters <z> and <w> which do not exist within the conventions established for Burgenland-Romani; for expressing the diphthong /aⁱ/ they write <ei> instead of <aj> as also shown in example 6:

example 6

<i>Bgld-Romani</i>	<i>Rómanes</i>	English	" <i>Romani proper</i> "
<i>cidel</i>	<i>zerdel</i>	'to pull'	<i>cidel</i>
<i>nevo</i>	<i>newo</i>	'new'	<i>nevo</i>
<i>tschaj</i>	<i>tschei</i>	'girl, daughter'	<i>čaj</i>

This way of writing does not correspond to the internationally common conventions, it corresponds, however, to the requirements and ideas of the Sinti concerned. They want to hand down *Rómanes* to their children without causing any sensation. As very often it happens that if only the parents and the children, but not the grand-parents, are living in the same house the handing down of the language from generation to generation is at risk. This is the reason why it would be helpful to have written materials in order to encounter this development. As a lot of Sinti – as mentioned before – regard *Rómanes* as a tabooed in-group-marker it is not in the interest of the proponent to disseminate their materials outside the sub-group. This way of thinking, however, is respected by the scientific members of the project team.

As far as the Lovara are concerned, a writing system in accordance with international convention has been chosen. There are two reasons for this decision: on the one hand there are no family ties at all, rendering impossible that common decisions are taken and on the other hand the Austrian Lovara are part of an internationally largely extended group and therefore it seems worth producing written materials which are understood not only by the small group of Lovara living in Austria but by all of them.

The collection of texts *Tusa ande akhoren khelos ...* (Cech et al. 2001) is written in a way of writing according to international standards. The tellers of the single stories, who belong to the group of Austrian Lovara immigrated at the end of the 19th century, refuse this kind of writing with the argument that the writing does not correspond to the Austrian Lovara. An Austrian writing system is considered a writing system which corresponds to the German example and which also considers sub-group specific phonetic realisations, as shown in example 2. In this example a spontaneous writing approach is confronted with the codification in correspondence with the south-Slavic Latin alphabet:

example 7

spontaneous writung	codification
<i>Eg derno Rom Romnasa dej ehta Schaworensa dradellas besge Grastenza dej Wurdonenza katar o jeg Gaw ga o aver. Won pachtale sas dej batschage, ge won slobodo sas. Lengi Luma sie i Mall dej eh Puvwa. Won garingodi sie Kehre. De sar oh Dad ih Tschiblowa chutilel dej drabosge tradel, chulawel ih dorni Dej besge Triene Schejangen schugar gale pall, dej won tschilaben benge Ro- mane pure tschila.</i>	<i>Jekh terno Rom Romnasa taj ehta šavorenca tradelas peske grastenca taj vurdonenca katar o jekh gav ka o aver. Von baxtale sas taj pačake, ke von slobodno sas. Lengi luma si i mal taj e phuva. Von karingodi si khere. De sar o dad i čiplova xutilel taj traboske tradel, xulavel i terni dej peske trine šejangen šukar kale bal, taj von gjilaben penge romane phure gjila.</i>

The collaboration with the Lovara is an essential basis for a successful collaboration of Roma and science: if there is no self-organisation supported by the majority of the respective Roma-group, it is nearly impossible to reach results which are acceptable for the majority of the group. A successful self-organisation requires that there are individuals who are generally accepted and that there is an organisational centre, an association or something similar within the group. If these conditions are not fulfilled, as is the case within the Austrian Lovara, no satisfactory results are achieved in relation to the realisation of the results of the codification.

On the contrary, the linguistic awareness arisen by the project causes that not only the variety spoken within the group is attributed the level of a »pure Romani« but also the idiolect is considered as such. That does not endanger the mutual understanding of the individual speakers but a group variety which is agreed on, not only from a written but also from a lexical and grammatical point of view is generally impossible.

The ideas regarding the creation of a writing mentioned above is valid for the lexical and the grammatical description, too. Group-specific characteristics are to be considered in the respective codification as also the sub-group-specific characteristics are to be taken into consideration. When taking account of the variety it is guaranteed that a possibly large group of speakers is able to identify with the result of the codification. This implies to walk on a tight-rope between group-specific and sub-group-specific characteristics but also between collective and individual or idiolect-related characteristics. In this process, the Romani as a whole must not be omitted; this aspect within the process of codification requires that a certain control from outside is exerted by an expert of Romani who, however, is not involved in the current works.

4.1.2 Romani, School and Media

Each codification of Romani implies that, in future, Romani education in school is held, too. This, however, is meant to be a middle-term or long-term goal. According to the principle »a language which is taught in school only is a dead language« the main emphasis of the collaboration with the individual groups is put on the conservation or the creation of a vivid linguistic surrounding. The most important contribution, the primary socialisation of their children in Romani, is to be fulfilled by the Roma themselves. Interest in the language and the culture shown from outside and relating activities within the group as a consequence may positively influence the decision to use Romani in intra-group communication and when talking to the children, since they emphasise the value of the Roma culture and Romani. This aspect is of increasing importance as the Roma in central and western Europe are subject to high pressure to assimilate on the grounds of economic reasons and the children are brought up monolingual, in the language of the majority population. This monolingual education is reasoned with the argument that the opportunities of the children to participate in the society of wellbeing would increase. If the own culture and the own language do have a positive image the probability for a functioning linguistic surrounding increases which, as a consequence, increases the continuity in the passing on of the language.

The basis for a vivid linguistic surrounding is that Romani is used as an intimate-variety for the intra-group contact. Within no Austrian Roma group this is completely realised. The fact that the German language has advanced even in informal domains is a result from the changed living conditions. Nowadays, ethnic and social stigmatism are not to be equalled to the concept of isolation. Fringe groups also participate in the modern information society. The Roma are exposed to monolingual German speaking media as is the majority population. It is impossible to break this dominance of the majority language. It is worth trying to expand Romani in its dimensions of functionality and to establish it as a language of media (of course it won't be possible to do that on an equal level with the majority language). A precondition for such an expansion is the codification: the development of a writing system and grammatical as well as lexical description of the individual Romani varieties. The basis for such a process of codification is in general the collection of the traditional stories, of songs and of the »oral history« of the individual Roma group. In most cases these are the first texts which are available in printed form and which are used within the media. If the process is stopped at this point, Romani remains restricted to the folkloristic-traditional context and the opportunities for a functional emancipation in relation to the majority language are not seized. A precondition for this emancipation is the approach of the Roma to the media. The collateral conditions for the production of newspapers as well as for the production of radio and TV pro-

grammes have to be elaborated and offered whereby the institutions of the majority population are required. The idea that »we produce newspapers and programmes for you and about you« is not to be followed, but instead the idea that: »how can we help you with the production of your own newspapers and programmes?«. In terms of content, the first media productions will be based on group-specific cultural aspects. As there is the risk – as stated previously – that the whole process stops on a folkloristic tradition-related level it is necessary to expand, in terms of content, as soon as possible and to deal, for example, with other Roma group's political and socio-economic questions as well as with other minorities. This kind of expansion in terms of content promotes the lexical expansion of Romani. In this context, care must be taken that the expansion does not merely consist of borrowings from the majority language, but that the existing linguistic substance is used wherever possible. It is to take into account that there are lexemes which are already available in other varieties. The borrowing of neologisms from other varieties could easily contribute to a process of homogenisation of Romani in relation to lexical internationalisms.

It should be mentioned in this context that the use of Romani in the media may only take place in consideration of the heterogeneity of the single groups, because otherwise the newspapers and programmes are produced only for interested *Gadže* and maybe for the minority of international Roma politicians. If the interest in the media products of the own group would cause an interest in the newspapers and programmes produced by other groups this could mean a contribution to a process of natural linguistic homogenisation, which should not be underestimated.

Possibly the most important aspect of partial-emancipation in terms of media of Romani is the integration of young people in this process. Their integration could take place either in the production – young people are attracted by modern technology – and also in terms of content so that topics regarding the culture of young people is covered by the group-specific intimate variety.

This aspect should also be taken into consideration when teaching materials are created. As Romani is of small or of no economic value it is not enough for young people that Romani is positively regarded, it also has to be interesting to them. The bases for this positive aspect are, among others, the internal and external appreciation of Romani as well as its use in the media. Based on these considerations teaching Romani in schools could be quite interesting if modern means of communication such as computers are used. The prestige associated with technology may be used in order to increase the prestige of the language.

Education in Romani, in schools, makes sense only – as mentioned previously – if there is a well functioning linguistic surrounding and if, at the same time, the image of Romani is increased by its expansion in its functional dimension and by its use in modern media.

4.2 Education and Romani in Romania

Number of schools:	102
Number of pupils:	12,650
Number of teaching staff:	260

4.2.1. Short Historical Survey (1990–1998)

In 1990–1991 the Ministry of Education and Research structured two of its efficient strategic targets: the germs of an Roma infrastructure – by attracting Roma pupils to study to be primary school teachers – and the beginning of teaching Romani three hours weekly at three secondary schools with pedagogical profile (in Bucharest, Bacău, Târgu Mureş). Later on, between 1991–1994, the Ministry outlined three more strategic targets:

- The extension of teaching Romani (four hours weekly at the request of Roma pupils and parents) in grades I–XIII.

- The co-optation of the first unqualified ethnic Roma teachers (secondary school graduates with Bacalaureate diploma) to teach 3–4 supplementary Romani lessons weekly for grades I–IV.
- The beginning of cooperation between Roma and non-Roma NGOs involved in the educational field and in education for Roma.

In the academic year 1992/1993 were allocated 10 special places at the Department of Social Assistance of the University of Bucharest to Roma candidates. Admission was granted on a minimal criteria basis (mark 5.00).

On October 20th 1992, for the first time in Romanian higher education, a practical university course in Romani was introduced at the Faculty of Foreign Languages and Literature of the University of Bucharest (continued and extended today as an independent section).

During the following period, between 1994–1997, the above-mentioned actions continued, the most prolific period was between 1998–2002. This period represents a successful model of education for Roma in Romania.

4.2.2 Principles

The education for Roma had to be rethought and four principles for Roma education were developed:

- The first principle concerns the aim that education for Roma must become, in perspective, an educational system ensured in preponderance by teachers promoted and instructed from among the ranks of ethnic Roma.
- The second principle was to renounce to design educational programs for Roma without the prior consultation of the beneficiaries, the Roma.
- The third principle was to reconsider the educational contribution demonstrated in schooling projects by Roma NGOs and non-Roma NGOs, as well as domestic and foreign governmental structures, since the Ministry and the pre-school, primary, junior secondary and senior secondary school system offered to be partners in the carrying out and initiation of schooling projects for Roma.
- Finally, the fourth principle is the reconsideration of the concept of "integration".

4.2.3 Programmes by the Ministry of Education and Research

In order to have an impression of the modality in which the above enumerated strategic principles were pursued, Gheorghe Sarau (2002) compared them with a circular edifice.

I "Roof"

The "roof" of the construction is well built and solid. It is founded in the strategic program to structure a new Roma intelligentsia. This intelligentsia should in the future represent the model of aspiration and motivation for Roma to redefine their identity on a modern basis and in a specific way. From the accomplishments, measures and activities of the Ministry in this regard we mention:

Amplification of the program to allot separate places for Roma candidates in faculties and university colleges based on minimal criteria at the admission examination.

Extension of the study of Romani language and literature at higher educational level by setting up a department at the Faculty of Foreign Language and Literature of the University of Bucharest. In the academic year 1998/1999 another section, that could be chosen as a second specialization (the first specialization being Romanian or a foreign language), was established. The Ministry allotted 10 places yearly to ethnic Roma or non-Roma candidates, who wished to obtain a specialization at superior level in this field.

Initiation of a tuition program of open and distance education at higher educational level for unqualified Roma teachers (without higher educational studies, being only graduates of secondary education with a Bacalaureate certificate) in order to obtain a university diploma with double specialization as "primary school teachers and teachers of Romani".

The allocation of distinct places for Roma at secondary, vocational and apprentice school level completes the series of facilities that began in the school year 1990/1991 by allotting places for the instruction of future Roma primary school teachers.

Attraction and "pre"-formation of potential ethnic Roma teachers (secondary school graduates with Bacalaureate diploma) by intensive summer courses of three weeks. In August 2002, a similar summer course was organized to coach (qualified and unqualified) Roma teachers who would teach the history and the traditions of Roma scheduled for minorities (one hour for grades VI and VII).

II "Body"

The "body" of the building, which is circular. It is constructed of a series of pillars distributed in several concentric circles forming the infrastructure. These are the Roma "human" pillars. In the center of these circles of pillars there is a strong supporting-pillar, that of the non-Roma teachers, and between this pillar and the Roma "human" pillars is the circle of pillars formed by the network of Roma NGOs and non-Roma NGOs that show concern in the field of education.

- The first "human" supporting-pillar, the exterior one, is formed by the Roma and non-Roma network of inspectors appointed in 1999 at the 42 county inspectorates and the municipality of Bucharest. These inspectors, in compliance with their job description, apply the strategy of the Ministry concerning the education of Roma at the local level. Even the appointment of some of these inspectors was made in the context of affirmative measures promoted by the MER, so that in October 1999, out of the 42 inspectors 22 were selected from among the ranks of Roma teachers. The training of inspectors for education intended for Roma, from the perspective of new activities was achieved between October 1999 and October 2000 when a series of workshops was organized. On these occasions a series of public acts and documents were elaborated.
- The second concentric ring of "human" supporting-pillars is formed by qualified or unqualified ethnic Roma teachers, who teach the native Romani variety in schools. It is known that the Roma did not choose monolingual education (tuition of all school subjects in Romani), but the tuition of Romani 3–4 hours/week in grades I–XIII was requested.
- The third concentric ring of "human" supporting-pillars is formed by the ethnic Roma teachers of different specialization. This ring includes the teachers qualified before 1989, but is especially formed by the new ethnic Roma (kindergarten, primary and secondary school) teachers instructed after 1990, who did or did not receive support for the admission to faculties or university colleges, but who acknowledge themselves as Roma and militate actively for the schooling of the Roma.
- The fourth concentric ring of "human" supporting-pillars is formed by the ethnic Roma school mediators working due to the initiative of NGOs. The volunteers can also be included here. (Volunteers work in schools and communities with Roma pupils. The volunteer program initiated by the Organization "Save the Children!" and at this stage at an experimental level).
- The fifth concentric ring of the "human" supporting-pillars is represented by the Roma and non-Roma NGOs – domestic and foreign – governmental and non-governmental structures that have carried out and still carry out important projects concerning the schooling of Roma in partnership with the Ministry, the county school inspectorates and the school units. Thus, beside the partners with which the Ministry cooperated between

1993–1997, beginning with 1998 the cooperation was extended to other NGOs, governmental and non-governmental structures. There are over 80 organizations with whom the Ministry collaborated.

- The central supporting-pillar – that of non-Roma teachers (especially Romanians and Hungarians), including school headmasters, but also the human factor of county school administration – is the strongest, and from a chronological perspective, the first in the history of education that sustained and encouraged the instruction of entire generations of ethnic Roma pupils and youth. Another project was meant to elaborate educational/teaching materials for Roma to assist the work of Romanian and Hungarian kindergarten and primary school teachers. These teachers work with Roma children, who do not know well enough the language of tuition – Romanian or Hungarian – at the beginning of schooling. Thus, in 2001 the following educational materials were elaborated and published:
 - a. Illustrated trilingual dictionary (Romanian-Hungarian-Romani and Hungarian-Romanian-Romani dictionary), which contains 600 color illustrations of the words that were suitable to be sketched. The two trilingual dictionaries include 1.700 words (including the illustrated ones), extracted from alternative Romanian and Hungarian primers.
 - b. "My Daily Program" with trilingual text (Romanian-Hungarian-Romani) in rhymes;
 - c. The audiocassette "The Best Roma Tales and Parables". It addresses Roma pre-school children and pupils through beautiful Roma tales that stereotypically end with expressions of parables of the following type: "Do you see children, that is why in life it is better to ...". Naturally the target group of all these educational materials could be extended (through their bilingual or trilingual character). For example, they could be used in regular Romani lessons or in education with tuition in Romanian or Hungarian language providing an intercultural perspective.

To assist the work of Romanian and Hungarian kindergarten and primary school teachers, Roma and non-Roma pupils and a team of the General Directorate for Pre-university Education initiated the PHARE Project, also called "Year Zero in Education". This program is addressed towards Roma and non-Roma pupils, who did not attend kindergartens and would thus attend a special school year.

A very important contribution was made by the Center Education 2000+ by pursuing different projects in collaboration with the Ministry of Education and Research, local inspectorates and schools. These projects brought a new perspective into the whole educational system in Romania. One of these projects is called "Equal Opportunities for Roma Children". Through school development plans and parental involvement carried out in co-operation with The National Institute for Curriculum Development (SLO, The Netherlands) in which the Center Education 2000+ organized training for Roma and non-Roma teachers the publication of many books such as: "ABC – Anglutno Lil" and "I Rromani Čhib" by Mihaela Zatreanu, which are used in the schools by children and teachers, containing important educational strategies for Roma children was made possible.

III "Fundament"

The "fundament" of the edifice is unstable if we limit ourselves to the configuration of pre-school and primary education for Roma.

The Ministry recommended several Orders on "Second Chance through Education" National Program; on the experimental enforcement of the program of fighting against the marginalization, social and professional exclusion of youth who abandoned compulsory education and did not acquire minimal competences to take a job; on "Second Chance through Education" (national program) to county school inspectorates for the school year 2000/2001.

In September 2002 the pilot-project entitled "Year Zero in Education", which addresses especially those Roma pupils (but non-Roma as well), who did not attend kindergarten began. During the preparing year the future pupils are prepared to become a first-form pupil by recovering the training they should have acquired during kindergarten.

4.2.4 Other activities (May 1998 – January 2001)

Beside actions, targets and strategic programs already referred to on the occasion of enumerating the component parts of the national "edifice" of education for Roma ("the roof", "the body" and "the fundament"), the following strategic activities have been notable during the period of reference:

Initiation of a database on education for Roma. In order to propose more efficient decisions, in September 1998 we considered useful the establishing of a documentary database in the field.

Another strategy was to elaborate instruments for work in schools (syllabuses and textbooks) with the help of ethnic Roma teachers. The Ministry of Education and Research assisted the elaboration of two Roma primers, published with the financial help of "Education 2000+" Program and Resource Center for Roma Communities Cluj-Napoca. The primers represent the creative initiative of four Roma teachers.

Another solid strategic program was the strengthening of tuition in Romani in schools.

Another strategic program of the Ministry of Education was the cultivation of Romani through extracurricular activities organized during summer holidays (camps on Romani, camps on intercultural education).

4.3 Bilingual Communities in Bulgaria and the Bulgarian School Policy

4.3.1. Functions of Languages

The formal (national) language performs three basis functions besides its communicative one: integrating, consolidating and separating. We have to note that very often the integrating and consolidating functions are mixed up. In principle they are two different phenomena related to a different state policy. Integration refers to various social circles of a particular ethnic group and is an element of state formation. In Bulgaria, the state policy of integration affects only the territorial and social differences of the population. The school is the main state institution having an integrative function.

There are special requirements of the consolidating policy, i.e. to consolidate minority or subordinated ethnic groups and the majority ethnic community by means of a single language. If we take the situation in Bulgaria as an example, this means that strategies for consolidating ethnic groups of Turks, Roma, Jews, Armenians, Wallachians, Gagaouz, etc. with a community called Bulgarian nation which comprises the population of the Bulgarian state should be adopted.

According to Videnov, the formal language is the main consolidating means, which provides equal opportunities for everyone and guarantees possible communication between all members of a community. In treatises on general sociolinguistics, the phenomenon Switzerland, where there are four official languages, is frequently given as an example. Sociolinguists also add that this country is divided into cantons, but actually there are four regions that differ in size, with the German speaking region dominating. The conditions in the Balkans cannot be compared with those in Central Europe, however: In the Balkans terms like "canton" and "autonomy" are not popular because they are considered as a step towards separation.

Nowadays, at the beginning of the 21st century, the strategies of the language policy of all Balkan countries are directed towards the separating function of formal languages. The aim is to avoid bilingualism of ethnic groups living together in particular areas, who may demand autonomy and separation at the right time. This possibility is defined by the separating func-

tion. Politicians usually do not speak so frankly and motivate their strategies by underlining the advantages of the formal language for the status quo.

We have to point out another fact established by the human history: in all states separate ethnic groups are confronted with each other. In some countries such a confrontation is insignificant because consolidation is based on prosperity. In the Balkans, however, the confrontation has a different nature and is often a source of riots and wars.

And yet, what is the role of a formal language? Is it possible that a language might be the cause of such grave interethnic relations? We have learnt from history that an ethnic group begins to gain autonomy when another formal language is introduced on ethnic grounds. The formal language namely gives a sense of segregation, because it arouses opposition in intellectual circles. Bilingualism is the only way out of the situation. It is considered only natural if a particular ethnic group has the opportunity to speak both languages equally well: one of them is used for interethnic communication, the other for institutional (official) purposes. There are many similar examples for bilingualism worldwide and sociolinguists see it as natural, because the motivation for acquiring and maintaining two or more languages is different. Bell (1980) discusses language hierarchies among bilingual and multilingual people and refers to languages as first, second language, etc. In a state, languages though formal have different status and prestige.

The school preparation of bilinguals is connected with great efforts, but it is in principle possible. In our country prestigious West European languages through which we can communicate with the rest of the world are taught at school.

During the last several years, Bulgarian politicians began to employ the notion "mother tongue", which had been used since ancient times, but back then conveyed a different meaning, because it referred to the acquisition of particular dialects of different languages. Nowadays another term is preferred – "family language" – because the connotation of the other term, due to the association with the mother, is avoided. Usually the emotional question why people are not given the opportunity to learn their mother tongue is raised.

Is it possible that someone might forbid somebody to learn a desired language in the contemporary conditions of Europe? The answer of course is negative. It is obvious what a state can do: it is responsible for the acquisition of the official language by means of the school as an institution.

In reality, however, there are different cases and additional impediments to such a solution. The Bulgarian population in some villages in Eastern Rhodope Mountains is sparse or consists of several families only. Bulgarian Turks there communicate in their ethnic dialect and a suitable environment for acquiring Bulgarian language is not provided for the rising generation. We can easily imagine what problems can have a seven-year old child experiences when he or she starts school. The state policy in such cases should be oriented towards looking for experts in pedagogy, socio- and psycholinguistics in order to create a special methodology to solve these problems. Of course teachers should use the ethnic dialect as a basis for achieving bilingualism. In this respect there is experience and appropriate methodologies prepared by Kyuchukov (1997). It is obvious that the contemporary Bulgarian school should adapt to the existing situation, instead of introducing regulations and requirements referring only to the needs of Bulgarian students.

4.3.2 The Situation of Romani in Bulgaria

Some aspects of the problems concerning the acquisition of the Bulgarian language by Roma students on the surface seem unproblematic. Educational strategies do not take into consideration the neighbors. Bulgarian Roma are spread in almost all towns and villages of the country. In the past, they had their own residential areas, and nowadays they live in certain quarters in cities. This makes them bilingual by birth. Special statistical research revealing the number of families who do not speak any Romani ethnic dialect have not been conducted. If a child is

"immersed" in Bulgarian language environment from his or her birth on, the problems of language socialization of Roma children are not specific in comparison to Bulgarian children. The Bulgarian school accepts such children and employs an already established language teaching methodology.

The majority of Romani families, however, speak Romani, and only switch to Bulgarian when discussing particular topics. As a result of their low educational level and scarce contacts with a Bulgarian environment, the adults in these families speak a creolized version of Bulgarian, which is subsequently acquired by the children. School, where curricula do not differ from those designed for Bulgarian students, is a source of negative emotions: this is one of the reasons for the unwillingness of Romani children to go to school and their dropping out of school at the first opportunity. The state policy is to impose sanctions (fines) on parents, but in our turbulent times they cannot be collected. We should seriously think about the question what kind of future we are building for our nation, when we do not even care about the literacy of this numerous group of children.

The situation in some East Bulgarian and West Bulgarian villages, that are only inhabited by Roma is especially alarming, because the economic conditions have led to a complete loss of their Bulgarian nationality. Seven-year old Roma children start school without speaking even a creolized version of the Bulgarian language. As mentioned above, teachers reach an impasse: the school syllabi are intended for children speaking Bulgarian but the reality is quite different. There is only one solution: hard work based on the family's Romani with the aim of acquiring the language of the Bulgarian school, i. e. the formal Bulgarian.

5. The Educational Status of Romani in the European Union

The status of Romani in the educational system differs from country to country. In most countries, including those of the EU, Romani is not a recognized language. Nevertheless, there are schools where Romani is used. Educational material in Romani has been produced for several Romani dialects in different European countries. Most of the materials were prepared by enthusiastic Roma, seldom with the support of local or state authorities. The use of these materials is also limited to one or two schools, at least in the EU. Below there is an overview of EU countries and the use of Romani in primary education, with information gathered from diverse, but undoubtedly incomplete sources.

Austria

Five dialect groups present. Teaching materials, comic books, dictionaries, story books, computer games, periodicals for adults and children, scientific studies have been produced or are being developed for the Burgenland Roman dialect and the Lovari dialect.

Belgium

Several dialect groups are present. No Romani teaching materials have been produced. There seems to be no Romani education in Belgium.

Denmark

The original Danish Romani population has been partly deported and has partly assimilated. In several places there are small communities of Roma, most of them from former Yugoslavia, and most of them arrived from the sixties onwards. Most of these are speakers of Vlax and Balkan dialects. Some families came from Slovakia, probably speakers of Slovak Romani. There is no teaching material and no formal Romani education. An initially successful experiment in Helsingør, where the largest Roma community of Denmark resides, collapsed in the early eighties not long after its start; parents resisted the teaching of Romani, apparently because the dialect used deviated from their own (even though there are three dialect groups represented in Helsingør, see Liegeois 1998: 204).

Finland

Dialectally homogeneous, but endangered. Dictionary, teaching material. Well organised community, that keeps language education in their own hands. There is an official representative body of Roma who deal with issues relating to Roma and who advise the government. The cultural autonomy of Roma is recognized in an amendment to the Finnish Constitution. Romani is used in day-care centers and it is possible to learn Romani as a voluntary subject in a few schools. Many Kaale (as they call themselves) are reluctant to share their language with outsiders. According to official figures, a few hundred of the Roma children take Romani classes at present.

France

Dialectally diverse. Teaching materials available for some varieties, mostly for adults. Also story books, dictionaires, grammars. Little or no use of Romani in schools. The Gypsy Research Center of Paris has produced some educational material in a standardised form of Romani.

Germany

Some teaching materials have been developed for Roma, one of them in three dialcts. Occasional Romani teaching. Romani speaking teaching assistants in some places. The Sinti object the involvement with their language to outsiders.

Greece

Dialectically diverse. Research on Romani varieties and development of teaching strategies and teaching materials are slowly develloping.

Ireland

Number of Romani speakers is negligible. The Irish Travellers are not historically related to the Roma, and they have no knowledge of Romani.

Italy

Dialectally diverse. Teaching materials, dictionaires, and grammars have been produced for several dialects. Many linguistic studies. Nevertheless, school teaching in or about Romani seems to be limited. Courses for adults have occasionally been taught.

Liechtenstein

Probably no teaching initiatives. According to the Liechtenstein government, there are no minorities in Liechtenstein.

Luxembourg

Probably no teaching initiatives, even though there is a modest number of Romani speakers in Luxembourg.

Netherlands

Except for some more of less private initiatives, no teaching material has been produced – at least not published. Some periodicals and poetry were published. Sinti resist outside involvement with their language, and Roma from former Yugoslavia lack the resources. Occasional small-scale teaching initiatives at a few primary schools.

locally called Rommani (a combination of Norwegian and Romani) for which printed teaching material exists.

Portugal

The number of Romani speakers in Portugal is negligible. No texts have been produced, and the descendants of the first immigrants have lost their language.

Spain

Most of the indigenous Gitanos (descendants of the immigrants of the 1500s) no longer speak Romani. They have developed a new language called Calo, in which the Romani lexicon is

used in a Spanish grammatical framework. Some teaching materials and several dictionaries exist for this variety. Knowledge of Romani is limited to Gitano intellectuals and more recent immigrant groups such as Kalderaš. A reconstructed Romani is sometimes used in print, mainly in periodicals. There is also a Romani version of the Spanish Constitution, called Romano-Kalo, but this has more symbolic than communicative value.

Sweden

Sweden has recently recognized Romani. Song books, several teaching books, reading materials, and a grammar have been produced, and more is being produced. Money has been reserved for Romani mother tongue teaching and mass media. Sweden is dialectally diverse: speakers of Finnish Romani, Kalderaš, Lovara and Balkan varieties are established groups in Sweden. Some government documents have been translated into Arli Romani (Balkan) and Kalderaš (Vlax) dialects. Apart from these, there are also the descendants of the very first Romani immigrants, who call themselves Romani Manuš. They no longer speak the same Romani, but a combination of Romani and Swedish, which is a distinct language. There is a dictionary of this language, but no teaching materials.

United Kingdom

The descendants of the very first immigrants, the Romanichal, no longer speak Romani, but a combination of Romani and English, which they call Rommany. There is some educational material available in this language. There are also thousands of Romani speaking immigrants, speakers of different dialects. No educational material seems to have been produced by or in collaboration with those groups.

The use of Romani in primary education in the countries of the European Union thus far seems to be marginal, both as a language used in class and as a teaching subject.

The situation in secondary education is even worse: there seems to be no secondary school in the EU (in contrast to some Central European countries) where Romani is a teaching subject, or the language of instruction.

At the university level, Romani has been studied and taught at least in Austria, Denmark, France, Germany, Italy, and the United Kingdom in the last decade.

6 Conclusions

The situation of Romani in Europe is more complex than of other minority languages. This is due to the dialectal heterogeneity of Romani and the preference of single Roma groups for their own dialects, rather than a common language; a reflex of the lack of unity among the Roma. Sometimes it even happens that Roma are the ones that do not accept Romani being taught to their children in schools.

On the other hand, there are social and institutional discrimination and prejudices towards Roma all over Europe. There is no equal participation education and, in most cases, the educational needs of Roma children are ignored. This resulted and still results in a high degree of illiteracy among Roma and in many cases also in a negative attitude towards education. In spite of all of this, Roma have been able to preserve their language, culture and history and Romani remains one of the most vital minority languages in Europe.

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