

Marginal Multilingualism as the Roma People Identity¹

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Abstract. The present paper is trying to introduce the concept of marginal multilingualism as a form of multilingualism different from the elites' multilingualism. The concept fits for the Roma and for the immigrants' multilingualism. The Roma marginal multilingualism describes the current Roma linguistic abilities. In the EU after 2000, it is largely developed, also its roots are in their way of living as migrants in continuous interactions with people speaking different languages, in their history. It focused on the component languages and on the categories of speakers with marginal multilingualism' abilities. The paper assumes, that in the age of global communication, the Roma marginal multilingualism is to be minutely researched as a treasure of informal ways to easy pick up new languages and as a practical resource of multilingualism so needed in the global process eager for multilingual resources. Well-known the marginal multilingualism could be valorized as an European resource in the inclusion process, because the main role of the marginal multilingualism is to facilitate the linguistic interactions between new neighbors and to prevent the social misunderstandings.

Keywords: *marginal multilingualism, Roma marginal multilingualism, linguistic insertion*

1. Introduction: Why to ignore the Roma multilingualism?

The multilingualism - defined in the more simplest terms – is a feature of an individual or a group to speak more than one language. The multilingual is an umbrella term for the persons that prove to speak two or more languages. The experts in the field distinct between bi-lingualism, tri-lingualism, four languages and multilingualism for more than four. Those individuals that spoke more than seven languages are polyglots; and those that mastered over the 11 languages are the hyper – polyglots. The mentioned experts also elaborated academic tools to score

¹ The research was done in the framework of the collaborative project MIME Project, Mobility and Inclusion in multilingual Europe, CE – Culture and Education - Grant Agreement No. 613 344, in the thematic area: The multilingualism and the Roma people: challenges and opportunities. <http://www.mime-project>.

the linguistic abilities of each person². The individuals' multilingualism is silently and traditionally associated with the cultural or social elites. It is a matter of the aristocratic prestige, and, in the same time, a matter of the contemporary social utility, of social progress. A multilingual individual is automatically better valorized in his group and in those living around it. It gets more respect and prestige.

In the public imagery, traditionally, the groups' multilingualism is associated with a great area, with a glorious past³ which provided to its citizens the intercultural experience and a correspondent education, internalized in the formal or informal ways. (Reversely, the monolingual groups are di-associated from a glorious past⁴, from an intercultural experience and a correspondent education. The monolingualism is not valorized as an asset, except by the extra-nationalistic ideologies.)

The contemporary EU – confronted with large linguistic diversity, internalized in the formal or informal ways.

In the shadows of the EU' multilingualism (elites' multilingualism) and unmanageable linguistics diversity, there is a third category: the marginal multilingualism.

The present paper is an attempt with a double face. Firstly, it is trying to introduce the concept of the marginal multilingualism, and secondly, to prove the existence of the marginal multilingualism', at least as the Roma⁵ multilingualism.

² See http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=uriserv:OJ.C_.2014.183.01.0026.01.ENG&toc=OJ:C:2014:183:TOC. Consulted February, 2018.

³ It is the case with multilingualism of the Great Empires' centers. Let's think to the center/s of Babylonians, of ancient Persians, of the Alexander the Great ones, of Bactria – today Balkh province in Afghanistan, other times the center of a great religious cultures as the Zoroastrian, Buddhist-Shamballa and Moslim, the center of the civilizations as Ariana, Greater Khorasan; of the Romans Centers, city of Rome, of Konya (Anatolya), Constantinople and many others. In the modernity there are to be considered, at least, the multilingual centers of the Venetians, Amsterdam, London, Paris, the emblematic multicultural Vienna. Contemporary, all the European metropolis are multilingual. In Oslo, according with the Pakistan sources - live the world most large diasporas speaking Pashto.

The great areas multilingualism is seen politically and culturally as an asset as a key to attract creative people there and to spin-over the quality of life there.

(In the margins there are also large linguistically hyper-diverse groups, that compose the New-Babylonia.) e

⁴ For the concept of multilingualism in Europe see <http://www.mime-project>.

⁵ The word Roma -pl, from Rom is taken as an umbrella term for ethnic groups as Roma, Sinti, Travellers, Gens du Voyage, Kallé ... populations of Europe. It was adopted as a politically

The final goal of analyzing the marginal multilingualism is to provide a fertile soil to identify its role in transforming the EU unmanageable linguistic diversity into a way of self-managed linguistic and social insertion of the marginals. Using the educational ways, a marginal multilingualism is more open to be transformed into a multilingualism appropriate for social inclusion.

2. Marginal multilingualism as a concept

The notion of marginal multilingualism is a response to the linguistic reality of our times. There are varieties of multilingualism not included in the European traditional concept of multilingualism⁶.

The Roma people in move all around Europe and the new dis-advantaged⁷ “migrants” arrived in the EU countries speaking among them in multiple languages are the most obvious cases of people that practice a special form of multilingualism: the marginal multilingualism.

This multilingualism admits the adjective marginal for three reasons: a) it is common among the social groups living in the marginal areas, as the marginalized groups (Roma and the poor and uneducated migrants); b) it presents features and roles distinctive from the common multilingualism (the elites’ multilingualism); c) it is scholarly not described yet and publicly ignored and politically un-valorized.

The presences in Europe of such a multilingualism is simply to be noticed. All the Roma – indifferently where they live – they speak their own language, some others dialects of Romani – sometimes not mutually inter-comprehensible – and the local language. They are at least, bi-lingual. *De facto*, they are regularly multilingual.

correct one at the first congress of International Romani Union, 1971, Orpington with the large contribution of the Gypsologists as Kendrick, Acton and Puxon. The term is used in conformity with the EU documents, post 2010, the EU Framework for National Roma Integration Strategies up to 2020 and other EU documents, as [COM(2011) 173 final], even there are academics with different views as Horvath, I. and Năstasă-Kovacs, L. eds (2014). Analytically seen, the term Roma is considered as an umbrella term for speakers of Romani (Romanes) and for the speakers of the Romani pogadialects, (mixed languages); for the speakers of languages non-comprehensible for Roman as the Gabors’ language, (the speakers of Shataroshi – Interv. No. 2.) or the Kashtale people that lost their mother tongue. It is comparable with the British umbrella term GRT.

For the same people – living outside of Europe, in the Near East or US, the term is Gypsies.

⁷ Poor, un-educated, and, frequently, out of co-ethnic and linguistic networks.

(See below.) The poor and uneducated migrants – as a special segment of the migrants' groups toward Europe in the recent years – were or became effective multilingual in a very short time due to the multilingual contexts of the camps, where they live⁸. (Professor Vittoria Guillen Nieto – from University of Alicante, Language department, studied the case of the Romanians migrants' manual workers in Spain before 2007. She noticed, that in the linguistic context, they need short time to acquire the Spanish: one to two months.)

It is the MIME project⁹ that introduced it, in the theory and far beyond it, in the political culture oriented to support the European public policies of multilingualism promotion for inclusive purposes.

As the common type of multilingualism, the marginal one characterizes individuals and groups.

A person is a marginal multilingual when its linguistic competences are appropriated to fulfill the group's needs. The degree of its abilities in a certain language is not to be evaluated according to the academic requirements - at least at the level B in the Barcelona scale -! To meet the present group's needs – surviving and figuring ways out of the today marginal condition - are to be considered as the workable criteria in assessing a marginal multilingual speaker' linguistic abilities.

We can consider a group as multilingual – partly - when at least 20% of its members are multilingual. (A group is totally multilingual when at least 80% of its members are multilingual.)

The components of the marginal multilingualism are: the mother tongue, languages of the contexts with obvious social utility – as the English, by the way - and the associations of languages and dialects. As association of languages, the marginal multilingualism includes mainly varieties of languages spoken by tiny minority; spoken in private; and charged with emotional functions¹⁰; with endangered

⁸ The Roma – that could not read and write in their own language – according to those requirements are out of any linguistic competence. They neither fulfil the conditions to be considered as monolingual.

⁹ The theoretical framework of MIME project with its main concepts – the multilingualism, inclusion, and mobility as challenges and opportunities for the today Europe [as defined initially by the project leaders and enriched after by Grin (2014); (2015); Marác (2016) and others] – are definitional concepts. Complimentarily with these, the UOR-RCIMI introduced the marginal multilingualism concept. For more <http://www.mime-project>.

¹⁰ There are emotional functions of a language those that facilitate: a) the expressions of the group's and individual sensibility – from the intimate emotions, feelings towards the self and others, to the religiosity, artistic and cultural feelings; b) the easy and immediate receiving of

identities conservation; with creative roles¹¹; aside a language/s spoken for the wider communicative actions. As associations of languages plus dialects, it keeps all the mentioned features: languages spoken in tiny groups, privately, and by adding, as components, the dialects (not mutually comprehensible¹²).

The association of language and dialects transforms such a multilingualism in a most unconsidered one, according to the contemporary stereotypes. Being unconsidered, the *marginal multilingualism* is also pushed out of the inventory of the society resources. It is un-valorized by the society at large, even it is intensively used by the group.

Trying a functional definition of the marginal multilingualism, it is to accept that the marginal multilingualism is functioning as a group' tool in exploring the other communities offer of opportunities or to insert in those that seem to be more offering.

The main roots of the marginal multilingualism are the “social” bilingualism – composed by the mother tongue and the language used as official /or only as dominant in a certain area - and the tendency to acquire new languages needed in mobilities.

There are three added roots of the marginal multilingualism: a) trans-generational transmission of the old traditional languages for the group only, (languages without a current political status¹³); b) the mobilities and with them, the acquisitions of new language/s¹⁴ in each new context, needed in the interactions with the locals; and c) the invention of new languages or alteration of old languages to meet the new needs in new contexts.

There are traditional languages those languages that result from the “lost” vernacular languages pushed out by the political, religious and cultural programs or simply by the promotion as official language of one single out of many vernacular languages spoken in an area. (Regularly, the official is the language of the politically, religiously and culturally dominant group at the moment of the linguistic paradigm

impressions connected with the self and others, expressed in a religious, artistic and cultural context.

11 There are identity's conservative and creative roles those that insure: a)

12 Sometimes such dialects could be bridges to comprehend others languages, the languages practiced in the past by the group, or practiced in other geographical areas.

13 Not international, not national, not politically recognized minorities language, but languages privately used in tiny groups with the same origins.

14 The new acquired languages signify languages or/and dialects spoken as the variety generally practiced in the region.

changing.¹⁵) In the case of Roma, the obsolete languages – accepted as traditional in the group cultures – are the languages of the civilizations that the group crossed through, in their history.

The new acquired languages and dialects are those needed in a new linguistic context ¹⁶, where the group arrived due to its mobilities, firstly the local language and secondly, the official one - or the equivalent to the official. (Regularly, the conquerors language¹⁷, a language arrived at our homes - does not reach the marginal multilingualism. (There are the elites' multilingualism that assimilates such languages, maybe in a two ways process of assimilation.)

The marginal multilingualism's functions are: a) to insert the outsider in the new linguistic and social environment; b) to open ways to the social inclusion.

The marginal multilingualism is flexible; easy acquirable, changeable with any new context. It is intimately related with the group or individuals' geographic mobility. It is totally dependent by their interactions with groups speaking different languages or dialects.

It is hazardous, being composed by languages and dialects aleatory picked up. The components sometimes belong to the same linguistic family, sometimes not at all.

It is informally acquired, through methods discovered in situ or traditionally used in the group. The most innovative of the methods – that we noticed, among the mobile Roma - are the traditional methods: learning all from all and the learning by doing.

It is valuable for the group's surviving and internally valorized as such. For the societies at large, it is unconsidered and un-valorized, it is out of political projects yet.

The marginal multilingualism, in nowadays Europe, considered on the

¹⁵ The changing of the medieval linguistic paradigm in Europe means the transfer of the political, religious and cultural functions from the Latin to the dialects spoken in Tuscany, Castilla, Catalunya, etc

¹⁶ The new acquired languages signify languages or/and dialects spoken as the variety generally practiced in the region.

¹⁷ The Russian – in spite a large policy of imposing it – remained unassimilated in Romania, in Albania, and in a limited measure, in Hungary, too. In the international summer schools, the Romanians, Albanians and Hungarians remained out of the Russian' speakers' groups, the people with Slavic roots, but also Georgian, Armenian, Kazaks, Mongol, Uzbeks... Such speakers gravitated informally to the speakers of the other languages, then Russian: Romanians to the Romanic – French, Italian, Spanish - the Hungarians to the German ...

criterion of the main speakers, gets two types:

a) the marginal multilingualism of the traditional mobile and informally educated population¹⁸ – as the Roma, or others minorities with similar features are;

b) the marginal multilingualism of the contemporary poor migrants¹⁹, mobile and informally educated too – recently arrived in Europe as migrants or refugees; In majority, they are unable to speak a *lingua franca* or a language understandable in Europe.

The two types are not exclusive, one to other. By contrary, nearby the large illegal camps of poor migrants in Europe, the Roma groups from Eastern Europe are doing their common business, they interacted. They were notified nearby the ex-European migrants' camps in Beograd, Madrid, Naples, Roma. They communicated picking up and using the needed linguistic elements.

Considered after the criterium, the number of languages and dialects mastered, the forms of the marginals multilingualism are the classical ones. Namely: bilingualism; trilingualism; multilingualism, polyglot individuals and hyperpolyglots individuals.

In the multilingual contexts, the groups of the marginals are: bilingual or trilingual. In some rare case they are multilingual. The individuals are regularly bilinguals, trilinguals, multilinguals, polyglots or hyperpolyglots. What it is amazing is that the marginal multilingualism is ignored, even there are quite significant number of polyglots among the marginals as there are people that acquired informally the new languages using special methods.

On brief, the marginal multilingualism is the multilingualism that applies to the social marginal individuals and groups - Roma and the poor and uneducated migrants; that is oral, informally acquired, hazardous in composition and with a social utility strictly connected with the origin' group interests only;) *that* is publicly largely ignored and politically un-valorized.

3. Marginal multilingualism in the EU's policies

Within the EU philosophy on languages and cultures identity, the

¹⁸ Formally, they are considered as uneducated.

¹⁹ The category does not refer to those migrants and refugees that are highly educated or qualified; that are in command of several languages – in written and oral varieties, formally acquired, and possible to be subjects of EU System of transferable credits.

multilingualism²⁰ – *de facto* the elites' multilingualism - is regarded as asset. The languages implicitly advised to be learned are the mother tongue + 2 other different languages, the well-known philosophy: **M+2!** The choice on which languages are to be selected is rhetorically pretended to be the privilege of the learners themselves. Although, there are two other factors that are the main decision makers in the field: the state linguistic (educational policy) and the major social utility. The position of the languages in the Education Curricula, their categorization – international, national, minorities, local, or neighboring' language – plus the requirements for the languages' competences on the labor' market are the major determinants in the presence of certain languages in a concrete society. The languages spoken in a certain area are: the mother tongues for each group with a linguistic and cultural identity; the language of political identity – national, official or minority language, takes the second position; after it, "the languages with an international circulation", (known under such a label in the European educational jargon) and reported in the statistics as the *foreign languages*²¹, ; the languages largely active in the context, minorities languages spoken as foreign language, not as languages of identity, are included.

In Europe, there are languages with such a status English, French, German and in some extend, Russian, Spanish or Italian from European families and Japanese, Chinese and Arabic from the non-European areas.

It results that the EU today recommended multilingualism invites to learn Mother Tongue plus 2 others from the mentioned list. Recently, maybe under the inspiration of India – which proclaimed Sanskrit as the language of national identity –, CE recommended also the Latin and Greek.

The languages that shaped in large extend the European modernity – the Aramaic, Hebrew, Arabic – are kept under the silence.

The other national languages get limited chances in being Europeanly promoted or to be of the European interests. Except for diplomatic and political reasons or special business they did not capture the foreigners' interest.

In such a context – modeled by the elites' multilingualism, strongly directed by the today's social utility and marked by a high competition for the first positions – the

²⁰ See the CE https://europa.eu/european-union/topics/multilingualism_en. and the special documents on encouraging the EU citizens to become multilingual.

²¹ See *Distribution of people aged 25–64 by knowledge of foreign languages, 2007 and 2011 (%)* <http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics>. Consulted, February, 2018.

languages of the marginals are excluded from the very beginning. The concept of the EU multilingualism is, by default, limitedly viewed and limitedly valorized for a tolerant and inclusive on contributions and responsibility bases. We need the concept of marginal multilingualism to see the non-international languages as real candidates for an European multilingualism composed on the different bases and opening the ways to other contributors to the European tolerance and inclusion projects.

The marginal multilingualism is absent as a goal in the EU's education strategies, and as a resource in the inclusion projects and strategies. Unfortunately, it is neither regarded as a resource by the Roma political organization as International Roma Union or others; or the Roma scholars.

4. General features of the Roma groups' marginal multilingualism

The Roma groups considered as a whole illustrate the marginal multilingualism at the EU level, the EU being taken here as whole, too. The dimensions of the Roma multilingualism in the today EU are amazing.

Quantitatively, the dimensions of the Roma multilingualism result from: the number of the languages that the Roma groups all together, could speak; and from the categories of languages needed by the groups to earn their living. They give an image of a linguistic resource active in today EU and un-valorized in a common interest.

At the EU level, the Roma, as an imagined community, is able to provide speakers for the all the 24 official languages, for all the 60 minorities languages, for all Roma varieties, dialects and jargons – around 100; for some of the languages of the newly arrived in Europe with the so-called migration crisis, the immigrants' languages that could be estimated to be, at least, 100²².

A fair estimation on the total number of languages available to become Roma' assets, the languages' number in which the Roma groups could provide speakers, raises to the 300, or around 300. (Here, the term language is taken as independent idioms, languages and dialects.) It is highly possible to be higher.

In the EU, a maximal list for the component languages' categories of the Roma marginal multilingualism comprises seven categories. They could be: 1) one of **the five/**

²² Pop, Lia, (2016): *New Added Languages within EU - 2015 and the Roma' language*, published in www.jims.e-migration.ro.

or more²³ forms of Romani²⁴, accepted in the scholarly literature²⁵ as the mother tongue for Roma; 2) the other variety/ies of Romani, than the mother tongue; 3) the different dialects of Romani and related languages; 4) the mixed languages with Romani; 5) and many other non-Romani languages - official²⁶ and distinct in the majority of the European member states, 6) the languages of European minorities; plus 7) some of the languages of marginal immigrants.

At the EU level, the Roma marginal multilingualism is also a progressive

²³ See the note on Romani.

²⁴ *Romani* is the name for the language/s of the Roma people in Europe. It is frequently used and quite generally embraced in our days.

The language is in progress to multiple codification, based on different Roma' dialects, in different member states:

- in Austria on the bases of *Burgerland's Romani* variety, German script – (Latin alphabet) -, with roots in 1990;
- in Bulgaria Romani language publications use dialects as the *Erli* of Sofia, the *Kalburdžu* varieties of the Varna district, and the so-called '*Drindari*' dialect of Sliven, Cyrillic Script, codification efforts began in 1990;
- in Czech Republic and Slovakia, on the basis of **East Slovak dialects** and *Lovari*, Latin script codification efforts began already in the late 1960s, and were revived after the political transition in 1990;
- in Hungary: Written Romani is usually based on the **Lovari dialect**, Latin script;
- in Macedonia, a flexible form of literary Romani was proposed already in 1980 based on either the *Džambazi (Gurbet)* or *Arli dialects*, and using the South Slavic writing system in both its Roman and Cyrillic forms
- in Romania, based to some extent on the **Kelderash' dialect** and the Courthiade and Sarau's inventions; Latin script with special diacritics, efforts stated in 1990;
- in Russia on the bases of **Ruska Roma** and Cyrillic script, codification effort in the early 1930;
- in Serbia, codification and written materials in the **Gurbet/Džambazi** dialect, and follow the writing system of Serbian, either in its Cyrillic or, more frequently, Roman variant, featuring {š ž č} and {ph th kh čh}.

In the Roma's political documents, there are also alternated terms used: as the Romanes²⁴ or Romani Chib. The *Charter of the Roma Rights*, uses the name *Romanes*. At the Art. 13, it states: "As our language, Romanes shall be equated with all other European languages. States, as well international institutions, shall therefore ensure by all appropriate means that Romanes is protected as a living European language. This includes taking measures to promote public acceptance of Romanes and all measures stipulated in the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages, as well as support our own educational institutions and native-language classes at schools."

²⁵ Matras, Yaron, (2005) - *The status of Romani in Europe*, Report submitted to the Council of Europe's Language Policy Division, October 2005; Matras, Yaron, (2005), *The Future of Romani: Toward a Policy of Linguistic Pluralism*, (2005), <http://www.errc.org/article/the-future-of-romani-toward-a-policy-of-linguistic-pluralism/2165>. Consulted, March, 2018.

²⁶ Or a language with an equivalent political status.

multilingualism. The internal mobilities and migrations across the borders generated the needs for communicating in new languages or dialects. Simultaneously, the group's instruments to meet such needs are generated additional multilingualism "naturally" developed.

The Roma groups in East Europe spoke traditionally the Near Asian' Roma and Gypsies languages or dialects. Several groups of Roma, Romanian citizens, spoke Tatar Crimean' Gypsy Language and Turkish Gypsy language. When they involve in emigration. They speak too, the languages of the regions where they emigrate: Turkey and Caucasian's states were migrants' destinations for several entrepreneurial Roma families.

The new immigrations in EU – according to the Dom Research Center which reported that among the migrants and refugees from East there are Gypsies too – brought in Europe, Gypsies languages closed with the Romani. The new languages are again new sources for the Roma marginal multilingualism.

The Roma moved nearby the "migrants" camps, in order to do business with them, and they pick up the languages needed. Nearby the Napoli there are Roma doing business – interacting linguistically - with the Chinese people!

The Republic of Cyprus's Roma – native speakers of *Kurbetca*²⁷ (in Arabic, with the meaning: foreign) a small population according to the reports – developed their multilingualism as refugees (immigrants) in Turkey, after the 1974 war and the island division. They recently engaged in coming back, in the EU member Republic of Cyprus. A new source of multilingualism, including dialects related with the Turkey's variety of Romani and Gypsies language and Kurdish language.

After 1990, the Roma marginal multilingualism is increasing as number of speakers, and not only as number of the languages and dialects spoken. The Roma population is around 11 mil. in Europe and 7 mil., in the EU. (It constantly and significantly increases; the Roma being the most vigorous European population.) Similarly, the number of those that newly assumed the Roma identity and practiced the Roma' marginal multilingualism also did. With them, the total multilingual Roma number evolved dramatically.

On the other side, after 1990, the new Roma intense mobilities²⁸ - inside and

²⁷ See Horváth, István, (Eds.), (2017): *Raport de cercetare – SocioRoMap. O cartografiere a comunităților de romi din România*, [Research Report - Socio-RoMap. A Cartography of the Roma Groups in Romania] Institutul pentru Studiarea Problemelor Minorităților Naționale, Cluj Napoca.

²⁸ The new Roma mobilities reinvented their traditional nomad live, as circulatory migrations.

cross borders - provided them with multiple opportunities to interact with speakers of different new (for them) languages. With those, the number of the languages spoken diversified and multiplied.

The Roma progressive marginal multilingualism's evidences do not mean that the dynamic of the Roma multilingualism is exclusively progressive. There are multiple cases of regress in the field as the cases of Romani traditional languages extinction in the Western parts of Europe or the Kashtale group in Bihor, that completely lost their language; or the cases of traditional professions collapse inducing the professional jargon collapse. With their settlements, the impulses to use concomitantly multiple languages dramatically decreased and, again, the urge to practice other languages, new languages decreased proportionally.

That is the Roma are the most multilingual European Union's mega-group. (Maybe, other European groups could provide speakers for many different languages, excellent polyglots and hyper-polyglots, but there are not known cases of speakers of the Roma varieties and dialect too.)

It is true, this is not credited as a real multilingualism, because it is oral, informally acquired and un-integrated in the EU Transferable Credits System. It is objectionable as superficial, to be only pretended, in several cases, as unable to transfer from one culture to another, the deep and universal meanings. Although it is unfairly rejected as incompatible with the standards created for and by the elites' multilingualism.

Quality of the Roma multilingualism. For those Roma, that belong to the marginal category – not the educated and integrated ones – the languages are orally, and only orally. That is, they do not read, do not write in the languages that they spoke. In Pisa system of tests, they appeared as illiterates as poor users of any languages, inclusively in the Romani.

Nevertheless, some of them can run successful business in many languages, in those composing their marginal multilingualism. They could communicate²⁹ using their linguistic abilities in the languages acquired in sensitive issues as the fortune tellers,

²⁹ A hyper-polyglot – an international salesman – in an Interview listed as languages that he can speak: its mother tongue – Shataroshy -, the Romani variety active in Austria (Burgerland Roma/ Sinte); active in Croatia (Gurbet/Džambaz); active in Hungary (Lovari Roma); active in Poland (Bergitska Roma); active in Russia (Ruska Roma), active in Kazakhstan, active in Lithuania; active in Serbia; plus the non-Romani related languages as Croatian, German, Hungarian, Polish, Romanian, Russian, Serbian, Ukrainian.

magicians, or the Roma traditional healers do. They could entertain in the most demanding area: comedy. Charly Chaplin – an international artist with assumed Roma origins – is the inheritor of a long history of professional Roma comedians, clowns, buffoons, jokers. They made comedy, in many languages, in their circus long routes³⁰, being aside the traders and caravans escorts the historical multilingual marginals.

That is, the exclusive oral linguistic competences do not imply for all the cases, that the speakers are “culturally” illiterate or unable to create and communicate profound meanings, with universal openness. The children of the family with mentioned profession acquired languages as part of their professional abilities and enter early in the artistic-creative responsibilities. The famous *Cirque du Soleil* prove it, beyond any doubt. (They even succeeded to get a formal recognition for their children linguistic abilities³¹, among other subjects.)

5. The concrete dimensions of the Roma groups multilingualism

The Roma multilingualism is more obvious when the analyze describes it, country by country.

The TABLE in the Annex 1 provides data on each EU country’s linguistic context and specifies Roma languages spoken there, in a multilingual context. The case of UK, a country engaged in the Brexit, is still preserved in the Table, because of its political inter-conditionalities and similitudes with the EU member states in the field of multilingualism.

It results from the Table, that there are no EU member states without Romani variety spoken there; that the Romani is practically an European language, and the label “non-indigenous language” is a stigma, that is to be removed, from the data bases, and – especially – from the public image on Roma’s languages. The scholars should signalize it, politicians provide the political and legal tools, the bureaucrats implement the administrative conditions to take it as real European languages. The new generation of Europeans would be able to valorize the Roma multilingualism as an European asset in

³⁰ See the novel authored by Bass, (Schmidt) Edward (1941): *Circul Humberto*, [Humberto Circus], Bucuresti, Publisher Editura pentru Literatura si Arta, Romanian version, Marcel Gafton si Lia Toader.

³¹ See Pombo, Herculano da Sequelra, M., Silva, (2009) – *Potential circumstances to special educational needs in circus’s artists children, when travelling*, in „Revista Educacion Inclusiva”, Vol II., no. 1/2009, pp. 29-46.

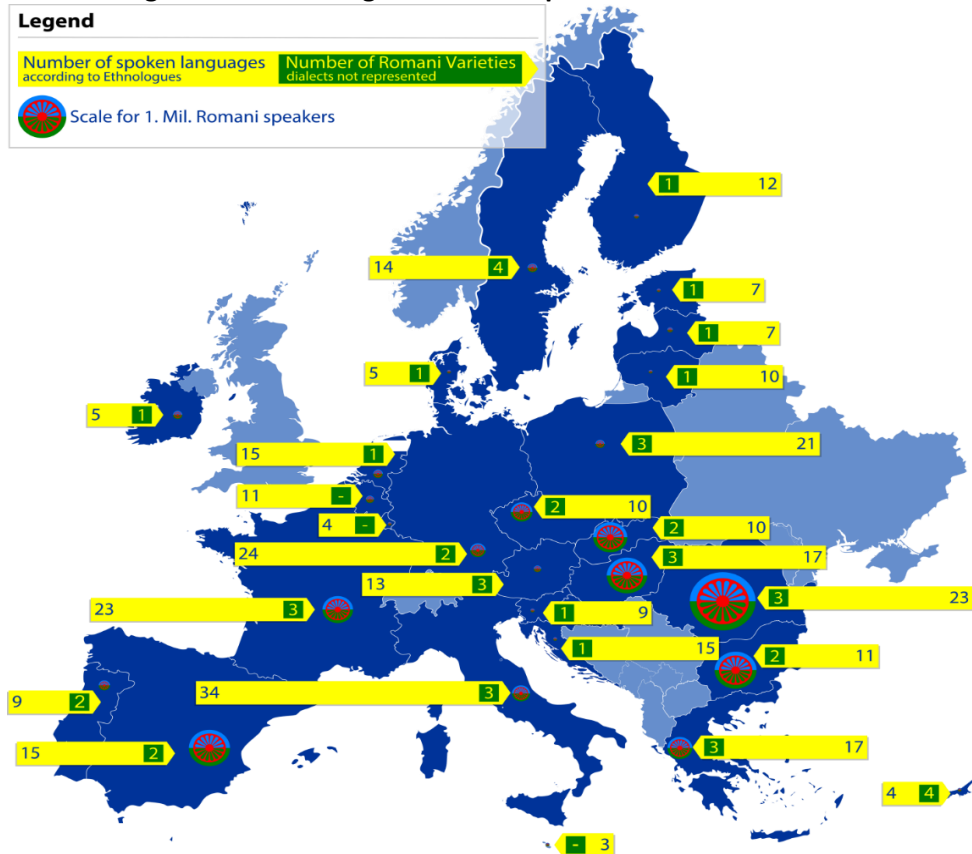
the global competition to universalize the information, ideas, values.

The Table shows too that the Roma - previously settled in Easter and Central EU states, now engaged in circulatory migrations and mobilities across EU - are the most multilingual groups in Europe, obviously multilingual in the sense of marginal multilingualism.

Having in mind the free movement of citizens across the EU and the intense mobilities from East, it is to take into account that the new languages arrived or settled in a certain country change the linguistic landscape, the soundscape there. It introduces for the natives the possibilities to pick up such languages for practical reasons.

An image at a glance of the EU multilingualism with the Romani and its varieties included is provided in the Map below.

Figure 1. The Multilingualism in Europe with the Romani Included



The Map is trying to offer an image of the EU multilingual complexity and the position of the Romani inside. The Map underlines that the Romani language open ways to an internal multilingualism, by capturing varieties – languages, dialects – spoken by the different Roma groups.

6. The concrete dimensions of the Roma persons multilingualism

The field researches allow to consider that the Roma persons speak:

- a) at least, two languages in each EU member state; (They are generally bilingual! We did not meet any Roma unable to speak, aside its mother tongue, another language, picked up directly in the linguistic context. The single exception of non-bilingual marginal Roma meet in the RCIMI field research in Romania are the Kashtale-Roma. They do not speak any more their mother tongue, but they claimed they are Roma, respecting the Roma rules – Romanipen³², living in compact communities of Kashtale. In the case of inter-marriages with other Roma – the persons entered in their community is not allowed to transmit that form of Romani to the children.

Which the spoken languages would be for each EU member state, it results from the Map.)

- b) in a multilingual context, they are tri-lingual or multilingual; (In each Oradea city' tram, market, hospital, a common experience is to heard Roma- Gabors - Gypsies as they prefer- speaking alternatively their languages – among them – Romanian with the Romanians and Hungarian with Hungarians.

Which the spoken languages would be for each EU member state, it could be approximately deduced from the Table in the Annex 1, which underlines the minorities languages spoken in a certain country. More information on the Romani varieties is available in the special data bases as those compiled by INALCO Paris, University of Gratz, University of Manchester, or University Austin-Texas, *SIL Ethnologue*. A specific data base on the marginal multilingualism we did not identified; neither data bases with the multilingualism including the competencies in Romani. Such data bases are to be compiled in specific EU projects. with these specific objectives. For some countries, there are specific research which mapped the languages spoken by Roma in the country and let us presume that they have a good command on the neighboring areas. *De facto* there are conditions when a specific group as the Lovari from Romania speak Hungarian and Lovari from Hungary and Slovakia, as the Roma language in the neighborhood areas; there are also cases, when the Roma - in Romania - do not speak the Gabors language. Special research should compile a repertoire of the marginal multilingualism groups and persons, as the EU available resources.)

³² *Romanipen* means: the rules of life (habits, and traditional professions), the institutions (*Romani Cris*), the values of the Roma (*pakiv*= honor, *phralipe*=brotherhood, *pakin*=order).

- c) involved in special mobile activities – salesmen, healers, entertainers, magicians, fortune-teller, clowns and others – the Roma are multilingual, polyglots, or hyper-polyglots. (We quoted before a case of salesman, member of a family of polyglot men.)

For some individuals – those who earn their living in a continuous and variate mobilities as the Roma entertainers or international salesmen do – there is vital to speak many languages and to get methods to rapidly extend their multilingualism.

That is, concretely, the Roma are the most multilingual European Union mega-group, in terms of number of languages spoken and in terms of number of speakers. (Maybe, other European groups could provide speakers for many different languages, excellent polyglots and hyper-polyglots, but, among these elites, there are not known cases of speakers of the Roma varieties and dialect too.) That is the Roma are in the unique position of being the most multilingual mega-group. It is true, this is not credited as a real multilingualism, because it is oral. Or, maybe because, the Roma marginal multilingualism is informally acquired and not registered bureaucratically in the EU systems, as for example, in the EU Transferable Credits System.

7. Conclusions

The obvious linguistic insertion of the Roma people in the EU's member states is founded in their basic multilingualism, a marginal multilingualism. The marginal multilingualism is a major part in the pattern of their identity! Aside the marginal multilingualism, and in dependence of it, there are their continues mobilities, inside each host society and its culture; and aside the migrations – historical and contemporary - across the languages and civilizations. All together expresses what the Roma are, how they survive, and how they could contribute to an inclusive Europe. Their multilingualism invites to study their methods of acquiring informally new languages and of opening the inter-comprehensibility ways in the Babylonia, as routes to the linguistic mutual inclusion; to use them as multilingual persons to be contributor in the process of the marginal immigrants' linguistic insertions. That is, the conceptual distinction the multilingualism (*de facto*, the elite's) multilingualism / marginal multilingualism could unveil a large European resource: the marginal multilingualism as groups' multilingualism and persons' multilingualism.

Looked in its details, the marginal multilingualism reveals also its methods to develop; its potential for the EU inclusion policy and non-conflictual co-existence – its very role to ensure the linguistic insertion in the new socio-linguistic context as the

compulsory stage in the inclusion process.

It suggests, that in the new strategies of inclusion, a preliminary political phase, the linguistic insertion is to be considered and launched as the first workable project addressed to different concrete categories of marginal people. Its distinct instruments of collecting available resources to supplement the public financing, its implementation and assessing' process should be separately conceived and implemented. The identification of the possible agents of inclusion inside the groups to be included and of the languages that could mediate the inter-comprehension must be also taken into account. The mentioned insertions should be flexibly accounted and communicated.

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ANNEX No. 1: ROMANI & THE EU LANGUAGES' CONTEXT

(according to Lewis, M., Paul; Gary, F., Simon, and Charles, D., Fennig, (eds.). 2017, *Ethnologue: Languages of the World, Twentieth edition*, Dallas, Texas: SIL International. Online version: <http://www.ethnologue.com>)

	COUNTRY AND LANGUAGE/S			THE LANGUAGE OF THE ROMA PEOPLE (Gypsies) IN THE COUNTRY, according to 2017 Ethnologue ... SIL International
	Country + SPEAKERS / main language + the years of report & the sources	LANGUAGE/S with a national, provincial or educational ... Status)	Total living languages and their origins	Varieties of the macro-language ROMANI [rom] + dialects' (Ds)
1	Austria / Republic of Austria 8,712,200 (2016 – World Bank)	German, Standard [deu] 1. Hungarian [hun] 4. (Educational)	13 living languages 8 indigenous + 5 non-indigenous + Immigrants languages	3 Romani [rom] varieties + 3 dialects (Ds) Catalogued in the <i>Ethnologue</i> as: Non-indigenous ³³ Christians ³⁴ . Romani Carpathian : Burgenland Romani, (Central Romani, Regional Co-official) Romani Sinte : Manuš, Romanes, Sinte, Sinti, Sintitikes. Romani Vlax ³⁵ [rmy] Status: 5 (Developing). <i>Lia Pop' Comments</i> : + Rom Ungrika
2	Belgium/ Kingdom of Belgium D:5,660,000 (E.C., 2012). F:8,530,000 in Belgium. (E. C. 2012). G:4,630,000 (E. C. 2012).	Dutch, Flemish [nld] 1 (official). French, Vallon, [fra] 1 (National). German deu Standard [deu]	11 living languages 10 indigenous + 1 non-indigenous + Immigrants languages.	No reports in the <i>Ethnologue</i> Could be all the Romani varieties spoken in the EU + in other countries Romani Vlax - 15 000 of speakers – are mentioned in the Joshua Project https://joshuaproject.net/people_groups/14567/BE <i>Lia Pop' Comments</i> : All the Romani varieties and dialects from Eastern Europe + Rom Ungrika are likely to have been brought

³³ Non-indigenous after 500 years is a presumption that needs some arguments.

³⁴ The thesis that they are generally Christians needs proves. The magi, fortune tellers, witchcrafts, bears tamers, snakes' charmers, or fakirs are the Roma specific practices, their brand. Or, those practice are not Christian at all. According with Christians, they are "pagan" forms of religion, harshly rejected by the Christians. More or less, they embraced by some groups of Roma as part of their historical heritage. It is not excluded to be the traces of the ancient religion in the Upper Hindu Valley: the Zoroastrian religion.

³⁵ On the name *Vlax-Romani*, applied to the Eastern European Romany, there are reasonable doubts. In fact, there is not a single Rom in the whole universe that would recognize himself as a "Vlax". saying «Ame sam Kalderasha», or «Ame sam Churarya», or «Ame sam Lovarya», or else «Ame sam Gábor», or other identification, but surely one would never hear from any of them saying «Ame sam Vlaxurya» or «Ame das дума Vlaxitsko Romanes». (Sándor Avraham: About Roma Denominations at

http://www.imninalu.net/Roma_appendix.htm#denominations, consulted March, 14, 2017).

	COUNTRY AND LANGUAGE/S			THE LANGUAGE OF THE ROMA PEOPLE (Gypsies) IN THE COUNTRY, according to 2017 Ethnologue ... SIL International
		1 2 (Provincial).		there by the recent Roma migrants and Roma EU citizens, especially by the “journalists” – as they call themselves when they take the job of selling newspapers.
3	Bulgaria/ Republic of Bulgaria 7,020,000 (E.C. E.C. 2012).	Bulgarian [bul] 1 (National).	11 living languages (4 indigenous, 7 non- indigenous)	2 Romani [rom] varieties + 2 dialects (Ds) ³⁶ Catalogued in the <i>Ethnologue</i> as: Non-indigenous, Christians ³⁷ + Muslim. Romani Balkan [rmn] Scattered near urban areas Burgas, Gabrovo, Sliven, Sofia, and Grad Sofia provinces; Stara Zagora province: Kazanlak municipality;. <i>Alternate Names:</i> Gypsy. <i>Classification:</i> Indo-European, <i>Comments:</i> Religious- Ethnic groups: Jerlides (western Bulgaria), Drindari (central Bulgaria). Muslim + many others. Romani Vlast [rmy] Sofiya province: Ihtiman. 1,830 (2011 census). <i>Status:</i> 5 (Developing). <i>Alternate Names:</i> Rom. Turkish Romani is absent in <i>Ethnologue</i> , but it is reported in the field research. <i>Lia Pop’ Comments:</i> There are there all the varieties and dialects of Romani and Gypsies language - from Turkey, and Eastern Europe – Greece, Macedonia, Serbia and the varieties of the Near Asia (Lebanon, Syria) plus varieties of Gypsies languages from Egypt, Eritrea, Ethiopia ... Iraq, Iran, Afghanistan ... brought recently by migrants)
4	Croatia/ Republic of Croatia Hrv. 4,200,000 (E. C. 2006).	Croatian [hrv] 1 (National). Bosnian [bos] 2 (Provincial). Italian [ita] 2 (Provincial). Venetian	15 living languages (5 indigenous 10 non- indigenous)	1 Romani [rom] varieties Catalogued in the <i>Ethnologue</i> as: Non-indigenous, Christians ³⁸ . Romani Sinte [rmo] 2 (Provincial). Statutory provincial working language in Medjimurska county (2002, <i>Constitutional Law on the Rights of Minorities</i> , Article 15). 14,400 (2014 UNSD).

³⁶ In Bulgaria, the Romani Central dialect is from Sofia to the Black Sea; Tinsmiths’ dialect is in central and northwest Bulgaria; Arlija in Sofia region; Drindari in Sliven and Varna provinces. 481,000 in Bulgaria, all users. 281,000 (2011 census). 100,000 Arlija, 20,000 Dzambazi, 10,000 Tinsmiths, 10,000 East Bulgarian. 200,000 (Gunnemark and Kenrick 1985). *Dialects:* Arli (Erli, Sofia Erli), Tinnars Romani, Greek Romani, Dzambazi, East Bulgarian Romani, Paspatian, Ironworker Romani, Drindari (Chalgijis, Kitajis), Pazardžik Kalajdzi, Khorakhani.

Plus: Ihtiman.

³⁷ See Note 2.

³⁸ See Note 2.

	COUNTRY AND LANGUAGE/S			THE LANGUAGE OF THE ROMA PEOPLE (Gypsies) IN THE COUNTRY, according to 2017 Ethnologue ... SIL International
				<i>Lia Pop'</i> Comments: other unreported varieties are probable. See the varieties in Bulgaria.
5	Czechia/ Czech Republic 10,400,000 (E. C. 2012).	Czech [ces] 1 (National).	10 living languages (5 indigenous 5 non- indigenous) + Immigrants languages	2 Romani [rom] varieties + 2 dialects (Ds) Catalogued in the Ethnologue as: Non-indigenous. Christians ³⁹ . Romani, Carpathian [rmc] Scattered. 2,710 (2011 census). <i>Status:</i> 5 (Developing). Recognized language (2001, National Minority Rights Act No. 273, Article 2). <i>Alternate Names:</i> Bashaldo , Hungarian-Slovak Romani, Karpacki Roma ⁴⁰ <i>Romungro</i> . Romani Sinte [rmo] 5,100 (2004). <i>Status:</i> 5 (Dispersed). Recognized language (2001, National Minority Rights Act No. 273, Article 2). <i>Alternate Names:</i> Romanes, Sinte, Sinti, Tsigane ⁴¹ . Ethnic group: Sasítka Romá. <i>Lia Pop'</i> Comments: the language name' similitude with some Nordic varieties Lule and with the name in Iran (Fereydan) Lule indicated the pre-Romani varieties.
6.	Cyprus/ Republic of Cyprus 57,000 (E. C. 2012). 1,410 Turkish speakers in the Republic of Cyprus (2013 UNSD).	Greek [ell] 1 (National). Turkish [tur] 2 (Provincial). De facto provincial language in Northern Cyprus	4 living languages (2 institutional ized) + Immigrants languages	No data on Romani language available in SIL Ethnologue 2017. 1 Romani [rom] variety: Kurbetca <i>Lia Pop'</i> Comments: According with Dom Research Center - http://www.domresearchcenter.com/journal/18/cyprus8.html . and other reliable sources – there are in Cyprus people – which are taken as Roma, multilingual and speaking also their own language. They are locally named “Gypsies” and “Roma”, such as “Tsiggani”, “Athiggani”, “Yifti”, “Kouroupetti”, “Fellahi” in Greek and in Turkish as “Çingane”, “Fellah” or “Kurbet”. They call themselves as Kurbet-s, which means <i>foreigners</i> (in Arabic). They speak a language, that they call Gurbetcha/ Kurbetca. Religiously they are in majority Muslims, but there are Roma, who are Christians and Greek speaking, known as Mantides, and they were included in the Greek Cypriot

³⁹ See Note 2.⁴⁰ *Dialects:* Moravian Romani, East Slovak Romani, West Slovak Romani. Not intelligible of Vlax Romani [rmy] or Angloromani [rme].⁴¹ *Dialects:* **Lallere**.

	COUNTRY AND LANGUAGE/S			THE LANGUAGE OF THE ROMA PEOPLE (Gypsies) IN THE COUNTRY, according to 2017 Ethnologue ... SIL International
				community in 1960. Kurbetcha is an unrecognised language in the Republic of Cyprus.
7	Denmark / Kingdom of Denmark 5,380,000 (E.C. 2012)	Danish [dan] 1 (National).	5 languages 4 living + 1 extinct language (3 indigenous 1 non-indigenous) + Immigrants languages	1 Romani [rom] variety + 1 dialect (D) ⁴² Catalogued in the Ethnologue as: Non-indigenous, Christians. ⁴³ Traveller Danish [rmd] No known L1 speakers. <i>Status:</i> 10 (Extinct). <i>Ethnologue' Comments:</i> Roma transported to Denmark by James IV of Scotland in July 1505. <i>Lia Pop' Comments:</i> the recent migrations and Roma mobilities brought in Denmark the Roma and Gypsies languages from Central and Eastern Europe plus Gypsies' languages from North Africa, the Languages of Africaya.
8.	Estonia/ Republic of Estonia 1,040,000 (E.C. 2012).	Estonian, Standard: [ek k] 1 (National).	7 languages (4 living + 1extinct language) (3 indigenous 1 non-indigenous) + Immigrants languages	1 Romani [rom] variety + 1 dialect (D) ⁴⁴ Catalogued in the Ethnologue as: Non-indigenous, Christians ⁴⁵ . Romani, Baltic: [rml] Järva, Pärnu, and Rapla counties. 360 (2013 census). <i>Alternate Names:</i> Balt Romani, Balt Slavic Romani, Baltic Slavic Romani. <i>Ethnologue' Comments:</i> Ethnic groups: Lajenge Romá (eastern Estonia), Lotfitka Romá.
9	Finland / Republic of Finland 5,100,000 (E.C. 2012). swe. 2,661,000 in Finland,	Finnish : [fin] 1 (National). Swedish: [swe] 1 (National). Saami, Inari [smn] 2 (Provincial).	12 living languages (10 indigenous and 2 non-indigenous) + Immigrants languages	1 Romani [rom] variety + 1 dialect (D) ⁴⁶ Catalogued in the Ethnologue as: Non-indigenous, Christians ⁴⁷ . Romani, Kalo Finnish [rmf] Scattered. 10,000 (2001 census). Total users in all countries: 11,650. <i>Status:</i> 5 (Developing). <i>Alternate Names:</i> Fíntika Rómma, Kaalo, Roma. <i>Autonym:</i> Kaalengo tšibbaha.

⁴² Dialects or an Independent language: Rodi, Rotwelsch, An independent language based on Danish [dan] with heavy lexical borrowing from Romani. Not inherently intelligible of Angloromani [rme]. Maybe intelligible of Travellers Norwegian [rmg] and Traveller Swedish [rmu]. *Classification:* Mixed language, Danish-Romani.

⁴³ See Note 2.

⁴⁴ Laiuse Romani.

⁴⁵ See Note 2.

⁴⁶ *Dialects:* East Finnish Romani, West Finnish Romani. Not inherently intelligible of Tavringer Romani [rmu], Traveller Norwegian [rmg], Traveller Danish [rmd], or Angloromani [rme].

⁴⁷ See Note 2.

	COUNTRY AND LANGUAGE/S			THE LANGUAGE OF THE ROMA PEOPLE (Gypsies) IN THE COUNTRY, according to 2017 Ethnologue ... SIL International
	smn 271,000 (E.C. 2012). 2,390,000 (E.C. 2012)			
10	France / French Republic 62,900,000 in France. (E.C. 2012). 2,900,000 (2010).	French: [fra] 1 (National).	21 living languages (15 indigenous and 6 non-indigenous) + Immigrants languages	3 Romani [rom] varieties + 3 dialects (Ds)⁴⁸ Catalogued in the <i>Ethnologue</i> as: Non-indigenous, Christians ⁴⁹ . Romani, Sinte [rmo] 28,400 (2000). <i>Status:</i> 5 (Dispersed). <i>Alternate Names:</i> Romanes, Sinte, Sinti, Tsigane. Caló [rmq] 5 (Developing). 15,000. <i>Alternate Names:</i> Gitano, Iberian Romani. Errominxella [emx] , in the regions of South West 500 speaker out of total of 1,000 (France + in the Basque Country). <i>Status</i> Moribond. <i>Alternate Names:</i> Calo Vasco, Basque Calo. <i>Classification:</i> mixed language. Basque-Romani <i>Lia Pop' Comments:</i> The recent migrations and Roma mobilities brought in France the Roma and Gypsies languages from Central and Eastern Europe plus Gypsies' languages from North Africa, the Languages of Africaya.
11	Germany /Federal Republic of Germany 77,800,000 in Germany, (E.C. 2012). Total users in all countries: 129,502,820 (as L1: 76,813,820; as L2: 52,689,000).	German, Standard:[de u] 1 (National). + others recognized under CRML.	24 living languages (19 indigenous 5 non-indigenous) + Immigrants languages	2 Romani [rom] varieties + dialects (Ds) 6⁵⁰ Catalogued in the <i>Ethnologue</i> as: Non-indigenous, Christians ⁵¹ . Romani, Sinte [rmo] Niedersachsen and Hamburg states: colonies south. 80,000 (2000). Ethnic population: 200,000. Total users in all countries: 195,200. <i>Status:</i> 5 (Developing). Statutory language of national identity (1998, CRML. signed in November 1992 and ratified by the Federal Bundestag Implementation Act, Gazette, page 1314), FRG: Bundestag Resolution of June 1986 confirmed the need for improvement of living conditions and integration into society of the Germany Romany ethnic group. CRML Initial Report (2002). <i>Alternate Names:</i> Sinte, Sinti, Sinto-Manush, Ziguener. <i>Autonym:</i> Romanes. A member of macrolanguage Romany [rom].

⁴⁸ Romani Sinte' *Dialects:* Manouche (Manuche, Manush) ; *Romani Caló Dialects:* Catalanian Caló, Spanish Caló. *Classification:* Mixed language, Iberian-Romani.

⁴⁹ See Note 2.

⁵⁰ *Dialects:* Gadschkene, Estracharia, Krantiki, Kranaria, Eftawagaria, Praistiki.

⁵¹ See Note 2.

	COUNTRY AND LANGUAGE/S			THE LANGUAGE OF THE ROMA PEOPLE (Gypsies) IN THE COUNTRY, according to 2017 Ethnologue ... SIL International
				<p><i>Classification:</i> Indo-European, Indo-Iranian, Indo-Aryan, Intermediate Divisions, Western, Romani, Northern.</p> <p>Ethnologue' Comments: Non-indigenous. Seminomadic. Christians.</p> <p>Yeniche [<u>yec</u>] Baden-Württemberg state; scattered. <i>Status:</i> 6a (Vigorous). <i>Alternate Names:</i> German Travellers, Jenisch, Yenische. <i>Dialects:</i> None known. German with a heavy cryptolectal lexical infusion from Traveller Danish [<u>rmd</u>], Western Yiddish [<u>yih</u>], Vlax Romani [<u>rmy</u>], and Hebrew [<u>heb</u>]. <i>Classification:</i> Mixed language, German-Yiddish-Romani-Rotwelsch.</p> <p><i>Lia Pop' Comments:</i> The recent migrations and Roma mobilities in the EU are brought in Denmark the Roma and Gypsies languages from Central and Eastern Europe plus Gypsies' languages from North Africa, the Languages of Africaya. That is the other varieties of Romani could be un-reported yet.</p>
1 2	Greece/ Hellenic Republic 10,700,000 (E.C. 2012).	<p>Greek: [<u>ell</u>] 1 (National). <i>De facto</i> national language.</p> <p>Turkish: [<u>tur</u>] 2 (Provincial).</p>	16 living languages (3 indigenous, 3 non-indigenous) + Immigrants languages	<p>4 Romani [rom] varieties + 4 dialects (Ds)⁵² + 1</p> <p>Catalogued in the <i>Ethnologue</i> as: Non-indigenous.</p> <p>Romani, Balkan [<u>rmn</u>]⁵³ Macedonia administrative unit (<i>Serres dialect</i>); Peloponnese, Western Greece, and Ionian Islands: Peloponnese (<i>Pyros dialect</i>); Epirus and Western Macedonia: Epirus (<i>Romancilikanes dialect</i>). 40,000 (1996 B. Iglia). 10,000 Arlija, 30,000 Greek Romani. <i>Status:</i> 6a (Vigorous).</p> <p>Romani Vlax [<u>rmy</u>] Attica administrative unit: Ajia Varvara, suburb of Athens; Thessaly and Central Greece administrative unit: Karditsa regional unit, Sofades; Trikala regional unit; Epirus and Western Macedonia: Parakalamos. 1,000. <i>Status:</i> 5</p>

⁵²*Dialects:* *Sepečides Romani* (Greek Romani, Sepeči), Arli (*Arlije, Erli*), Serres (Greek Macedonia); *Romancilikanes* (Peloponnese and Western Greece), *Pyrgos Yifti*. (*Gyptos*) +

⁵³.

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				<p>Developing). <i>Alternate Names</i>: Rom, Romanés, Tsingani⁵⁴. Nonsettled Gypsies are called <i>Yifti</i>. (<i>Gyptos</i>) distinct from Rumanovlach, a variety of Romanian. Christians. Romano-Greek [rge] Thessaly and Central Greece Administrative Unit; secret language, itinerant builders, especially in Evrytania and Fthiotis. 30 (2000). <i>Status</i>: 8b (Nearly extinct). <i>Alternate Names</i>: Hellenoromani, Romika. Structured on Greek [ell] with heavy Romani lexicon. <i>Classification</i>: Mixed language, Greek-Romani. Ethnologue's <i>Comments</i>: Related variants are Dortika, a secret language spoken by wandering builders from Eurytania Prefecture, Kaliarda, Athens. May no longer be anyone's speaker as the L1. Kurbetcha (un-recognised) <i>Lia Pop' Comments</i>: The Greece reunites the largest repertoire of Romani language and dialects, plus the varieties of Gypsies language plus the mixed language. name' similitude with some Nordic varieties Lule and with the name in Iran (Fereydan) Lule indicated the pre-Romani varieties.</p>
1 3	Hungary, 9,840,000 (E.C. 2012).	Hungarian [hun] 1 (National).	17 living languages (4 indigeous and 13 non- indigenous) + Immigrants languages	<p>3 Romani [rom] varieties + 3 dialects (Ds) Catalogued in the Ethnologue as: Non-indigenous, Christians⁵⁵. Romani, Carpathian [rmc] Nógrád county: Húgyag; Csongrád county: Szeged⁵⁶. Few speakers. <i>Status</i>: 5 (Developing). <i>Alternate Names</i>: Central Romani, Romungro⁵⁷. <i>Classification</i>: Indo-European, Indo-Iranian, Indo-Aryan, Intermediate Divisions, Western, Romani, Northern. Dialects: Kalderashi and Lovari's ones. Romani, Vlax[rmy] 54,300 (2011 census). Ethnic population: 309,000 (2011 census). <i>Status</i>: 6a (Vigorous). <i>Alternate</i></p>

⁵⁴ *Dialects*: Lovari, Grekurja (Greco), Kalpazea, Filipidzía, Xandurja. Grekurja is probably Turkish [tur] influenced, distinct from Greek Romani dialect of Balkan Romani [rmn] (I. Hancock);

⁵⁵ See Note 2.

⁵⁶ Dialect: Gurvari

⁵⁷ *Dialects*: Gurvari, Vend Romani, Veršend Romani.

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				Names: Beás, Cigány, Roma ⁵⁸ . Classification: Indo-European, Indo-Iranian, Indo-Aryan, Intermediate Divisions, Western, Romani, Vlax.
1 4	Ireland /Eire 4,545,000. In Ireland, all users. 4,270,000 (E.C. 2012). 275,000 (E.C. 2012). [gle]1,138,000 in Ireland, all users. 138,000 (E.C. 2012). 1,000,000 (E.C. 2012).	English: [enɡl] (National). Dialects: South Hiberno English, North Hiberno English. Irish: [ɡle]. Alternate Names: Erse, Gaelic Irish, Irish Gaelic.	5 living languages (4 indigeno us and 1 non- indigeno us) + Immigra nts languages	1 Romani [rom]/variety Gypsies' language. Catalogued in the Ethnologue as: Non-indigenous. Romani-Shelta [sth] 6,000. Total users in all countries: 86,000. Status: 6a (Vigorous). Alternate Names: Cant, Gammon, Irish Traveler Cant, Sheldru, The Cant. Classification: Mixed language, Irish-undocumented. Ethnologue' Comments: The secret language, or cryptolect of the Travellers in the British Isles. Not Romany according with the speakers.
1 5.	Italy/ Italian Republic 57,700,000 (E.C. 2012).	Italian [ita], 1 [National]	34 living languages (28 indigenous and 6 are non- indigenous)	3 Romani varieties + dialects (Ds) 3 Catalogued in the Ethnologue as: Non-indigenous, Christians ⁵⁹ . Balkan Romani (5000) Romani Vlax [rmy] 5 (Developing). 4,000 in Italy. 1,000–3,000 Kalderash, 1,000 Lovari. Romani Sinte [rmo] 5 (Dispersed). 14,000 in Italy (1980). 10,000 Manouche, 4,000 Slovenian-Croatian. Lia Pop' Comments: 1. The classifications needs new proves and adjustments Kalderash, 1,000 Lovari are the Roma dialects from Hungary, of Romungro the Sicilian varieties deserve more attention as possible traces of the ancient Siculi people migrations, using the maritime routes. 2. The recent migrations and Roma mobilities brought the Roma and Gypsies languages from Central and Eastern Europe plus Gypsies' languages from North Africa, the languages of Africaya. That is the other varieties of Romani could be un-reported yet. The Ethnologue data are not entirely consistent with the anthropological data ⁶⁰ .

⁵⁸ *Dialects:* Lovari (Hungarian Lovari), Cerhari.

⁵⁹ See Note 2.

⁶⁰ **Italian Roma** (with citizenship): about 90,000, of which: *Croatian Roma*: 7,000 arrived from northern Yugoslavia after World War II. *Khalderasha* is a subgroup; *Roma Lovari*: 1,000, which mainly deal with horses breeding (the word comes from the Hungarian word for horse,

	COUNTRY AND LANGUAGE/S			THE LANGUAGE OF THE ROMA PEOPLE (Gypsies) IN THE COUNTRY, according to 2017 Ethnologue ... SIL International
1 6	Latvia /Republic of Latvia 1, 752, 260	Latvian [lvs] 1 [National] Russian [rus] is also largely spoken as L1. + Immigrants languages	7 living languages (4 indigenous and 3 non-indigenous) + Immigrants languages	1 Romani variety + dialects (D) 1. Catalogued in Ethnologue as: Non-indigenous, Christians ⁶¹ . Romani: Status: 5 (Developing). <i>Alternate Names:</i> Balt Romani ⁶² , Balt Slavic Romani, Baltic Slavic Romani. <i>Classification:</i> Indo-European, Indo-Iranian, Indo-Aryan, Intermediate Divisions, Western, Romani, Northern. <i>Ethnologue' Comments:</i> Ethnic groups Lotfítka Romá (western Latvia). Christians. <i>Lia Pop' Comments:</i> Other varieties and dialects of Romani – resulted from recent migration and free movement within EU - could be un-reported yet.
	Lithuania/Republic of Lithuania 2,800,000 (E.C. 2012).	Lithuanian. [lit] 1 (National). Russian [rus] is also largely spoken as L1.	10 living languages (4 indigenous and 6 non-indigenous) + + Immigrants languages	1 Romani variety + dialects (1 [rom]. + Ds) Catalogued in Ethnologue as: Non-indigenous, Christians ⁶³ . Romani Balt ⁶⁴ 1,350. <i>Alternate Names:</i> Balt Romani, Balt Slavic Romani, Baltic Slavic Romani. <i>Classification:</i> Indo-European, Indo-Iranian, Indo-Aryan, Intermediate Divisions, Western, Romani, Northern. <i>Comments:</i> Non-indigenous. Christians.

16.); *Balkan Roma*: 70,000; *Yugoslav Roma* present mainly in the fields of Northern Italy. *Roma arrived from Romania*, the group that is growing; have communities in Milan, Rome, Naples, Bologna, Bari, Pescara, Genoa, but are expanding in the rest of Italy.

Southern Italy Roma: 30,000 in, distinguished in: *Roma of Abruzzo and Molise*, who arrived in Italy following the Arbëreshë refugees from Albania after the Battle of Kosovo Polje in 1392, speak Romanesque mixed with local dialects and rehearse the breeding and trade of horses, as well as in the case of women, chiromancy (romnia). Several nuclei have emigrated to various centers in Lazio from the twentieth century; *Roma Neapolitans* (Napulengre), well integrated, until the seventies were mainly engaged in the manufacture of fishing gear and walking shows; *Cilentan Roma*: 800 residents in Eboli, with high literacy tips; *Rom Puglia*, are mostly engaged in agriculture and horse breeding (some of them run horse butchers); *Calabrian Roma*: one of the poorest groups, with 1550 still living in fortune homes; *Sicilian nomads* – with a language called *Baccagghiu*.

Northern Italy Roma Sinti: 30,000, mainly resident in North and Central Italy, and one of the main occupants of the race, which is disappearing and forcing them to reinvent themselves in new crafts, from scrapers to bonsai sellers.

⁶¹ See Note 2.

⁶² *Dialects:* Latvian Romani (Lettish Romani, Lotfítka Romani, Lotfítka Romani cib, Lotfítka Romá), North Russian Romani, Estonian Romani (Čuxny Romani).

⁶³ See Note 2.

⁶⁴ *Dialects:* Lithuanian Romani, Polish Romani (Polska Roma).

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				<i>Lia Pop' Comments:</i> Other varieties and dialects of Romani – resulted from recent migration and free movement within EU - could be un-reported yet.
1 8	Luxemburg/ Grand Duchy of Luxembourg [fra] 471,600. 57,600 (2011 census). 414,000 (E.C. 2012).	French [fra]: 1 (National). <i>Alternate names:</i> Fran zösisch, Français. German, Standard: [deu] <i>Status:</i> 1 (National). <i>Comments:</i> N on- indigenous	4 living languages. (2 are indigenous and 2 are non- indigenous.) + Immigrants languages	No data on Romani language available in SIL 2017 Ethnologue.
1 9	Malta /Republic of Malta [eng] 376,200 in Malta, [mlt] 393,000 (E.C. 2012).	English [eng] 1 (National). Maltese [mlt] 1 (National). <i>Alternate Names:</i> LSM, Lingwa tas- Sinjali Maltija, Lingwi tas- Sinjali Maltin.	3 living languages (2 indigenous, 3 non- indigenous) + Immigrants languages	No data on Romani language available in SIL 2017 Ethnologue.
2 0	Netherlands/K ingdom of the Netherlands 15,700,000 (E.C 2012)	Dutch [nld] 1 [National]	15 living languages (13 indigenous, 2 non- indigenous) + Immigrants languages	1 Romani variety [rom] + + dialects (Ds) 1 Catalogued in the Ethnologue as: Non- indigenous, Christians ⁶⁵ . Romani, Sinte [rmo] ¹⁶⁶ Scattered. 1,300 (2010 J. Leclerc). <i>Status:</i> 5 (Dispersed). <i>Alternate Names:</i> Romanes, Sinte, Sinti. <i>Classification:</i> Indo-European, Indo-Iranian, Indo-Aryan, Intermediate Divisions, Western, Romani, Northern. <i>Comments:</i> Non-indigenous. Christians.
2 1	Poland 37,400,000 (2013 UNSD).	Polish [pol] 1 (National).	21 living languages (7 indigenous,	3 Romani varieties [rom] + dialects (Ds) 3 Catalogued in the Ethnologue as: Non- indigenous, Christians.

⁶⁵ See Note 2.

⁶⁶ *Dialects:* Manouche.

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			14 non-indigenous)	<p>Romani, Carpathian [rmc] Scattered, Lesser Poland, Silesian, and Subcarpathian provinces, along border with Ukraine (historical Galicia); <i>Status</i>: 5 (Developing). <i>Alternate Names</i>: South Polish Romani⁶⁷. <i>Classification</i>: Indo-European, Indo-Iranian, Indo-Aryan, Intermediate Divisions, Western, Romani-Northern.</p> <p>Romani, Vlax [rmy]⁶⁸ 5,000. <i>Status</i>: 5 (Developing). <i>Alternate Names</i>: Rom. <i>Classification</i>: Indo-European, Indo-Iranian, Indo-Aryan, Intermediate Divisions, Western, Romani, Vlax..</p> <p>Romani, Sinte [rmo] <i>Status</i>: 5 (Dispersed). <i>Alternate Names</i>: Romanes, Sinte, Sinti, Tsigane⁶⁹. <i>Classification</i>: Indo-European, Indo-Iranian, Indo-Aryan, Intermediate Divisions, Western, Romani, Northern.</p> <p><i>Ethnologue' Comments</i>: Ethnic group: Sasítka Romá.</p> <p><i>Lia Pop' Comments</i>: Other varieties and dialects of Romani – resulted from recent migration and free movement within EU - could be un-reported yet.</p>
2 2	Portugal / Portuguese Republic 10,000,000 (E.C. 2012).	Portuguese [por] 1 (National). Mirandese [mw] 2 (Provincial).	9 living languages (6 indigenous, 3 non-indigenous) + Immigrants languages	<p>2 Romani [rom] varieties + dialects (Ds) 2 Catalogued in the Ethnologue as: Non-indigenous, Christians⁷⁰.</p> <p>Vlax Romani (500)s</p> <p>Calo [rmq] 5 (Developing). 5,000. <i>Alternate Names</i>: Calão, Gitano, Iberian Romani⁷¹. <i>Classification</i>: Mixed language, Iberian-Romani.</p> <p><i>Lia Pop' Comments</i>: The other varieties of Romani brought by recent migrations could be un-reported yet.</p>
2 3	Romania / Romania 19,900,000 (E.C. 2012).	Romanian: [ron] 1 (National). Statutory	23 living languages (5 indigenous, 3 non-	<p>3 Romani [rom] varieties + dialects (Ds) 3 Catalogued in the Ethnologue as: Non-indigenous, Christians⁷².</p>

⁶⁷ *Dialects*: Bergitka.⁶⁸ *Dialects*: Lovari (Polish Lovari).⁶⁹ *Dialects*: Manuche (Manouche).⁷⁰ See Note 2.⁷¹ *Dialects*: Spanish Caló, Portuguese Calão, Catalanian Caló, Brazilian Calão.⁷² See Note 2.

COUNTRY AND LANGUAGE/S				THE LANGUAGE OF THE ROMA PEOPLE (Gypsies) IN THE COUNTRY, according to 2017 Ethnologue ... SIL International
		national language Hungarian [hun] 2 (Provincial). Romani 2 Local (over 20% total county population) (2001, Law No. 215, Article 40(7)).	indigenous) + Immigrants languages	Romani, Balkan [rmn] ⁷³ Scattered. Black Sea region. <i>Status</i> : 6a (Vigorous). <i>Classification</i> : Indo-European, Indo-Iranian, Indo-Aryan, Intermediate Divisions, Western, Romani, Balkan. <i>Comments</i> : Non-indigenous. Many moved to Germany since 1989. Muslim. Romani, Carpathian ⁷⁴ [rmc] Cluj department; Mures department: Bahnea, Glodeni, and Targu Mures. <i>Status</i> : 5 (Developing). <i>Alternate Names</i> : Romungro. <i>Classification</i> : Indo-European, Indo-Iranian, Indo-Aryan, Intermediate Divisions, Western, Romani, Northern. Romani, Vlach [rmy] concentrations in Dolj and Caras-Severin counties; scattered elsewhere, in the south and southeast. 246,000 (2014 UNSD). 6,000,000 to 11,000,000 Roma worldwide (1987 I. Hancock). Total users in all countries: 538,480. <i>Status</i> : 6b (Threatened). Recognized language (2001, Local Public Administration Law No. 215, Article 40(7), others). <i>Alternate Names</i> : Danubian, Gypsy, Roma, Romanese, Tsigene, Vlach Romany. <i>Autonym</i> : Romani. Romany [rom] ⁷⁵ . <i>Classification</i> : Indo-European, Indo-Iranian, Indo-Aryan, Intermediate Divisions, Western, Romani, Vlach. <i>Lia Pop' Comments</i> : The Turco and Tatar languages of the Gypsies in Dobruja are not reported.
2 4	Slovakia/ Republic of Slovakia	Slovak : [slk] 1 (National).	10 living languages (6)	2 Romani [rom] varieties + dialects (Ds) 2 Catalogued in the Ethnologue as: Non-indigenous, Christians.

⁷³ *Dialects*: Ursári (Ursari).

⁷⁴ *Dialects*: Galician, Transylvanian.

⁷⁵ *Dialects*: Sedentar Romani, Kalderash (Coppersmith, Kalderari, Kelderash, Kelderashícko), Ukraine-Moldavia, Eastern Vlach Romani (Bisa), Churari (Churarícko, Sievemakers), Lovari (Lovarícko), Machvano (Machvanmcko), Serbo-Bosnian, Zagundzi, Sedentary Bulgarian, Ghagar, Gabor, Vallachian. Kalderash and Churari are occupational ethnonyms; Machvano is a geographical one. Other names are 'Argintari', silversmith and 'Lingurari', spoonmakers. Machvano and Serbian Kalderash have south Slavic superstratum; Lovari influenced by Hungarian [hun]. All 20 or more Vlach dialects are inherently intelligible; differences are mainly lexical and sociolinguistic (I. Hancock). In the new research conducted by Matras every administrative division language is separately taken.

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	4,750,000 (E.C. 2012).		indigenous, 5 non-indigenous) + Immigrants languages	Romani, Carpathian [rmc] ⁷⁶ Total users in all countries: 157,010. <i>Status</i> : 5 (Developing). <i>Alternate Names</i> : Bashaldo , Central Romani, Hungarian-Slovak Romani, Karpacki Roma, Sárrika Romá, Ungrike Romá. <i>Autonym</i> : Romanes ⁷⁷ . <i>Romany [rom]</i> . <i>Classification</i> : Indo-European, Indo-Iranian, Indo-Aryan, Intermediate Divisions, Western, Romani, Northern. Romani, Vlax [rmy] Scattered ⁷⁸ . <i>Status</i> : 5 (Developing). <i>Alternate Names</i> : Rom. <i>Classification</i> : Indo-European, Indo-Iranian, Indo-Aryan, Intermediate Divisions, Western, Romani, Vlax.
2 5	Slovenia/ Republic of Slovenia 1,910,000 (E.C. 2012).	Slovene: [slv] 1 (National).	9 living languages (2 indigenous, 7 non-indigenous)	1 Romani [rom] variety + dialects (Ds) 3 Catalogued in the Ethnologue as: Non-indigenous, Christians ⁷⁹ . Romani, Carpathian ⁸⁰ [rmc] Pomurska region, Kuzma municipality, Gornji Slaveci, near Murska Sobota. 3,830 (2003 UNSD). <i>Status</i> : 5 (Developing). Statutory language of national identity (1991, Constitution, Article 65). <i>Classification</i> : Indo-European, Indo-Iranian, Indo-Aryan, Intermediate Divisions, Western Romani. <i>Comments</i> : Non-indigenous. Christians. Lia Pop's Comment: The other varieties of Romani could be un-reported yet.
2 6	Spain/ Kingdom of Spain 45,890,000 speakers in	Spanish Castellano Español, 1 (National). Lia Pop – comment:	15 living languages (14 indigenous, 1 non-indigenous)	2 Romani varieties + dialects (2 [rom]. + Ds) Catalogued in the Ethnologue as: Non-indigenous, Christians. Calo Romani ⁸¹ , Gitano, Hispanoromani, Iberian Romani 40 000. Status 5 (Developing)

⁷⁶ Banskobystricku region: Brezno, Krupina, and Rimavská Sobota districts; Nitriansky region: Šaľa district. Trnavsku region: Senica district (West Slovak Romani dialect); Presovsku region: Bardejov district; Kosicku region: Krompachy area (East Slovak Romani dialect). 123,000 (2013 UNSD).

⁷⁷ *Dialects*: Moravian Romani, East Slovak Romani (Servika Romani), West Slovak Romani, Romungro.

⁷⁸ *Dialects*: Lovari, Kalderash (Kaldarári), Slovak Bougesti.

⁷⁹ See Note 2.

⁸⁰ *Dialects*: Prekmurski Romani.

⁸¹ *Dialects*: Spanish Calo, Portuguese Calao (Calao Lusitano-Romani), Catalan Calo, Brazilian Calao. (A cryptological variety of Spanish [spa], Hancock) Regional dialects have Iberian base Calo, with common use in Spain and Portugal.

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	Spain (E.C, 2012)	Catalan, Galician and Valencian EU recognized, by CE and EP.	+ Immigrants languages	Erromintxela [emx] Scattered in País Vasco autonomous community. 500 (2009 J. McLaughlin). <i>Status</i> : 8a (Moribund). <i>Alternate Names</i> : Basque Caló, Caló Vasco. <i>Classification</i> : Mixed language, Basque-Romani.
27	Sweden / Kingdom of Sweden 8,840,000 (E.C. 2012). 5,000 speakers of Gutniska (1998 S. Håkansson), and 30,000 of Jamska.	Swedish [swe] 1 (National).	14 living languages (10 indigenous, 4 non-indigenous) + Immigrants languages	4 Romani [rom] varieties + dialects (Ds) 3 Catalogued in the Ethnologue as: Non-indigenous, Christians ⁸² . Romani, Kalo Finnish [rmf] 1,650 (Parkvall 2009). Ethnic population: 3,000. <i>Status</i> : 5 (Developing). <i>Alternate Names</i> : Fíntika Rómma, Kalé. <i>Classification</i> : Indo-European, Indo-Iranian, Indo-Aryan, Intermediate Divisions, Western, Romani-Northern. <i>Comments</i> : Non-indigenous. Christians ⁸³ . Romani, Tavringar [rmu] Norrbotten county: Lapland, scattered elsewhere. No known L1 speakers. <i>Status</i> : 9 (Dormant). <i>Alternate Names</i> : Resande Romani, Roma, Romani, Rommani, Scandoromani, Svensk Rommani, Traveller Swedish. Independent language based on Swedish [swe] with heavy lexical borrowing from Northern Romani varieties. Not intelligible of Angloromani [rme]. <i>Classification</i> : Mixed language, Swedish-Romani. <i>Comments</i> : Arrived in Sweden via Denmark in 1512. Romani, Vlax [rmy] ⁸⁴ Stockholm. 10,500 (Parkvall 2009). <i>Status</i> : 5 (Developing). Recognized language (2009, Language Act No. 600, Article 7). <i>Alternate Names</i> : Rom, "Zigenare" (pej.). <i>Classification</i> : Indo-European, Indo-Iranian, Indo-Aryan, Western, Romani, Vlax. Saami, Lule [smi] Norrbotten county: Gällivare and Jokkmokk municipalities, along Lule river. 1,500 (Krauss 1992). 1,000–2,000 speakers in Norway and Sweden (Salminen 2007). Ethnic population: 6,000. Total users in all countries: 2,000. <i>Status</i> : 2 (Provincial). Statutory provincial language in

⁸² See Note 2.

⁸³ See Note 2.

⁸⁴ *Dialects*: Kalderash (Taikon Kalderash), Lovari, Arli, Machvano, Gurbet.

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				administrative area municipalities located in at least part of the following counties: Dalarna, Jämtland, Norrbotten, Västerbotten (2009, NMNML Act No. 724, Article 6). <i>Alternate Names</i> : Lule, Saami, "Lapp"(pej.) <i>Autonym</i> : Julevusámegiella. Saami. <i>Classification</i> : Uralic, Sami, Western, Northern.
	*United Kingdom / United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland 63,182,000 2012 Census Users: 55,600,000 (E. C. 2012).	English [eng] National Language	13 living languages	<p>Angloromani [rme] Scattered. 90,000 in United Kingdom (Hancock 1990). Population total all countries: 197,900. <i>Status</i>: 6a (Vigorous). <i>Alternate Names</i>: Anglo-Romani, English Romani, Gypsy Jib, Pogadi Chib, Posh 'N' Posh, Romani, Romani English, Romanichal, Romano Lavo⁸⁵, Romany <i>Classification</i>: Mixed language, English-Romani <i>Comments</i>: Christians.</p> <p>Polari [pld] No known L1 speakers. <i>Status</i>: 9 (Second language only). <i>Alternate Names</i>: Palari, Palarie, Parlare, Parlary, Parlyaree: Used among homosexual men in Britain. Some observers trace its roots to sailors and seafarers, alleging that it derived from a maritime lingua franca. L. Pop Comment: Pahari? <i>Comments</i>: An in-group language among theatrical and circus people.</p> <p>Romani Vlax [rmy]⁸⁶ 4,100 in United Kingdom (2004). <i>Status</i>: 5 (Developing). <i>Alternate Names</i>: Rom, Romanes, Tsigane. <i>Classification</i>: Indo-European, Indo-Iranian, Indo-Aryan, Central zone, Romani, Vlax <i>Comments</i>: Christians.</p> <p>Romani Welsh [rmw] England and Wales. <i>Status</i>: 9 (Dormant). <i>Dialects</i>: None known. Not inherently intelligible of Angloromani [rme]. member of macrolang. Romany [rom].</p>

⁸⁵ *Dialects*: Not inherently inter-comprehensible with Welsh Romani [rmw], Traveller Swedish [rmu], Traveller Norwegian [rmg], or Traveller Danish [rmd]. Grammar is English with heavy Romani lexical borrowing. Many dialects.

⁸⁶ *Dialects*: Kalderash, Lovari.

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				<p><i>Classification:</i> Indo-European, Indo-Iranian, Indo-Aryan, Central zone, Romani, Northern <i>Comments:</i> Ethnic groups: Volshanange, Kalá. Christians.</p> <p>Traveller Scottish [tr] 4,000 in United Kingdom. <i>Status:</i> 6a (Vigorous). <i>Alternate Names:</i> Scottish Cant, Scottish Traveller Cant <i>Classification:</i> Unclassified <i>Comments:</i> Blend of High Romani and Elizabethan Cant. Earliest texts go back to 16th century. Not Gypsies. Nomadic in Scotland.</p>