

Course Syllabus

THE ROMA: BRINGING TOGETHER HISTORICAL, ANTHROPOLOGICAL AND LINGUISTIC APPROACHES

Language

Resource Persons: **Victor Friedman; Yaron Matras; Katalin Kovalcsik**

Victor Friedman

Romani Language: Structure, History, and Identity

The focus of these lectures will be on the history and structure of the Romani language and the use of Romani as a vehicle of both social integration and identity maintenance. Romani language is closely tied to Romani identity and Romani history for many groups. Nonetheless, examples such as Anglo-Romani and Caló constitute quite different linguistic systems, and there are also groups who identify as Romani while speaking some form of a majority or minority European national language. Since Romani always exists in contact with other languages, the study of Romani grammar brings unique perspectives to issues of language history and language contact. This is especially true owing to the unidirectional nature of Romani multilingualism, even in the Balkans, where bi-directional multilingualism was the norm for centuries. The standardization of Romani, so that the language can serve as a subject of study in non-Romani schools, as a vehicle of education (language of instruction), and as a language of literacy and access to resources (power), is a process that is being carried out at a number of levels and in various ways in different countries. An understanding of the

structure of Romani is essential to comprehending the development of the standards. Moreover, a knowledge of Romani linguistic history and dialectology is indispensable to any encounter with these debates at the transnational level.

The course does not presume a familiarity with either linguistics or Romani, although students with such experience will benefit from it. The introduction will acquaint the student with some of the basic principles of linguistic science that are essential to an informed understanding of Romani history and modern Romani language questions. The lectures will also cover the basics of Romani dialectology and Romani grammar in a manner accessible to the non-specialist but with points useful to the specialist. The approach will be of value both to those who do not know Romani and to those who speak Romani as their native language but have not had the opportunity to study it in a formal context. Issues of contact with non-Romani languages will also be treated. The lectures will also address issues of standardization and identity in both general terms and looking at specific cases.

1. History of Romani and of Linguistics: From India to Europe

This lecture will discuss the origins of modern linguistics in the discovery of regular historical principles, and the position of Romani within those principles. Modern historical linguistics has its origins in the discovery of the relationship between Greek, Latin, and Sanskrit at the end of the eighteenth century, at the same time when Romani's Indic origins were first discovered.

Marsden, William. 1785. *Observations on the Language of the People commonly called Gypsies*. Archaeologia (Society of Antiquaries of London)

Masica, Colin P. 1991. *The Indo-Aryan Languages*. Cambridge.: Cambridge University. . pp. 10-11, 14-15, 50-55, 85.

Hancock, Ian. 1988. *The Development of Romani Linguistics*. in *Languages and Cultures: Studies in Honour of Edgar C. Polomé*, ed. by Mohamed Ali Jazayery and Werner Winter. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. pp. pp. 183-223

Friedman, Victor A. and Robert Dankoff. 1991. *The Earliest Text in Balkan (Rumelian) Romani: A Passage from Evliya Çelebi's Seyahat-name*. *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society (Fifth Series)*. Vol. 1, No. 1, 1991. 1-20.

Hamp, Eric P. 1988. *Archaisms in Romani*. *Papers from the Eighth and Ninth Meetings: Gypsy Lore Society, North American Chapter*, ed. by Cara DeSilva, Joanne Grumet, David J. Nemeth. New York: Gypsy Lore Society. pp. 21-24.

Hamp, Eric P. 1990. *Conservatism and the Exemplary Order of Romani*. *One Hundred Years of Gypsy Studies*, ed. by Matt T. Salo [section editor for linguistics: Victor A. Friedman]. Cheverly, MD: Gypsy Lore Society. 151-54.

Hamp, Eric P. 1987. *On the Sibilants of Romani*. *Indo-Iranian Journal* 30.103-106.

Hamp, Eric P. 1993. *More on the Sibilants of Romani*. *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society (Fifth Series)*. Vol. 5, No. 3, 67-68.

Hamp, Eric P. nd. *Unexpected testimony*. 1 page note used with permission of author.

Hamp, Eric P. 1994. *Genetic & Dubious*. 1 page note used with permission of author.

2. The Structure and Dialects of Romani

This section will go over the basic linguistic structures and dialectal differentiation of Romani, so that the student has an understanding of the empirical data that underlie identity formation and Romani approached both as an empirical object and as an ideological one.

- Bakker, Peter and Yaron Matras. 1997. Introduction. *The Typology and Dialectology of Romani*. Y. Matras, P. Bakker & H. Kyuchukov (eds.), vii-xxx. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Outline of Romani Grammar (author's MS, 3 pp.)
- Case in Romani: Old Grammar in New Affixes. *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society (Fifth Series)*. Vol. 1, No. 2. 1991. 85-102.
- Boretzky, Norbert and Birgit Iгла. 1994. Variantengrammatik. *Wörterbuch Romani-Deutsch-Englisch für den südosteuropäischen Raum : mit einer Grammatik der Dialektvarianten*, pp. 363-418. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Key to Ventcel' and Cherenkov, p. 285 [author's ms., 1 page]
- Ventcel', T. V. and L. N. Čerenkov. 1976. *Dialekty ciganskogo jazyka*. *Jazyki Azii i Afriki I*. General ed. by N. I. Konrad, pp. 283-332. Moscow: Nauka.
- Matras, Yaron. 1999. The Speech of the Polska Roma: Some Highlighted Features and Their Implications for Romani Dialectology. *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society (Fifth Series)*. Vol. 1, No. 2. 85-102.
- Minkov, Michael. 1997. A Concise Grammar of West Bulgarian Romani. *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society (Fifth Series)*. Vol. 9, No. 1. 1-28.
- Friedman, Victor A. 1991. Case in Romani: Old Grammar in New Affixes. *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society (Fifth Series)*. Vol. 7, No. 2. 55-95.

3. Romani in its European Context (Standardization of Romani - Local and Global)

The sociolinguistic processes affecting the use of Romani in public spheres have their parallels with other "less commonly used" languages. I will focus on the standardization of Romani in the context of language planning in Europe, especially the Republic of Macedonia, where Romani is one of the six languages in official use. Particular attention will be paid to relevant issues of linguistic structure.

- Friedman, Victor A. 1999. The Romani Language in the Republic of Macedonia: Status, Usage, and Sociolinguistic Perspectives. *Acta Linguistica Hungarica*, Vol. 46, No. 3-4. 317-339.
- Friedman, Victor A. 1986. Linguistics, Nationalism, and Literary Languages: A Balkan Perspective. *The Real World Linguist: Linguistic Applications in the 1980's*, ed. by Victor Raskin and Peter Bjarkman. Norwood, NJ: Ablex. 287-305.
- Friedman, Victor A. 1985. Problems in the Codification of a Standard Romani Literary Language. *Papers from the Fourth and Fifth Annual Meetings: Gypsy Lore Society, North American Chapter*. New York: Gypsy Lore Society, 56-75.
- Friedman, Victor A. 1995. Romani Standardization and Status in the Republic of Macedonia. *Romani in Contact: The History, Structure, and Sociology of a Language*, ed. by Yaron Matras. Amsterdam: Benjamins. 203-217.
- Friedman, Victor A. 1996. Romani and the Census in the Republic of Macedonia. *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society (Fifth Series)*. Vol. 6, No. 2, 89-101.
- Friedman, Victor A. 1997. Linguistic Form and Content in the Romani-language Press. *The Typology and Dialectology of Romani*. Y. Matras, P. Bakker & H. Kyuchukov (eds.). Amsterdam: Benjamins. 181-96.
- Puxon, Grattan. 1979. Romanès and Language Policy in Yugoslavia. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 19.83-90.
- Hancock, Ian. 1993. The Emergence of a Union Dialect of North American Vlax Romani, and its Implications for an International Standard. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 99.91-104.
- Kenrick, Donald. 1981. Romano Alfabeto. *Loli Phabaj*. 1,1.3-4.
- Kenrick, Donald. 1996. Romani Literacy at the Crossroads. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*. 119.103-123.
- Cortiade, Marcel, et al. 1991. I alfabeta e standardone Rromane c'hibaqiri. *Informaciaqo Lil* 1-2.7-8.

The nature of Romany language – social implications

This lecture assume basic familiarity with the history and position of the Romani language as presented in the lecture series by Victor Friedman.

It will discuss the differentiation of 'Romani' as a full-fledged, everyday community language, and the purposeful insertion of occasional Romani-derived vocabulary into the everyday speech of populations of commercial nomads who are not Romani speakers, referred to in the literature as 'Para-Romani'. It will involve a brief characterisation of the Para-Romani phenomenon - Views on the origin of Para-Romani:
Readings:

- Hancock, Ian. 1970. Is Anglo-Romanes a creole? *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society* third series, 49, 41-44.
Hancock, Ian. 1984. Romani and Angloromani. In: Trudgill, Peter, ed. *Language in the British Isles*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 367-383.
Hancock, Ian. 1992. The social and linguistic development of Scandoromani. In: Jahr, Ernst Håkon, ed. *Language contact: theoretical and empirical studies*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. 37-52.
Kenrick, Donald. 1979. Romani English. In: Hancock, Ian F., ed. *Romani sociolinguistics (International Journal of the Sociology of Language 19)*, 111-120.
Matras, Yaron. 1998. Para-Romani revisited. In: Matras, Yaron. ed. *The Romani element in non-standard speech*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz. 1-27.
Wexler, Paul. 1997. The case for the relexification hypothesis in Romani. In: Horvath, Julia and Paul Wexler, eds. *Relexification in creole and non-creole languages. With special attention to Haitian Creole, Modern Hebrew, Romani, and Rumanian*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz. 100-161.

Kovalcsik Katalin

Romani in use: uses and abuses of linguistics

One Lecture

The nature of Gypsy culture is predominantly oral and the state of the languages (Romani and Boyash) spoken by Gypsies in Hungary is diglossic. Although the majority of the Gypsies here are not bilingual, in general these so-called 'Hungarian Gypsies' speak a dialect of Hungarian that is often more archaic than the language spoken in their surroundings and its use

language attrition and re-grammaticisation, population mergers and language intertwining, the emergence of secret codes as ethnolects, broken transmission and selective replication - The functional turnover hypothesis - Romani impact on non-Gypsy in-group jargons, slangs, and colloquial speech. The lecture relates to the dilemma in popular perception, of whether Romani is a 'language' or a 'secret jargon'. The problems of potential overlap, historical and contemporary, are discussed.

is not heavily influenced by written culture. In this sense one can say that the language of these people is really in diglossic state as well.

The lecture will present this situation with examples and touch upon consequent linguistic human rights and educational problems too.

References:

- Dorian, Nancy C. ed. 1989. *Investigating Obsolescence*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Kovalcsik, Katalin 1999. Aspects of Language Ideology of a Transylvanian Vlach Gypsy Community. *Acta Linguistica Hungarica*. 46 (3-4): 269-288.
Réger, Zita 1988. A cigány nyelv: Kutatások és vitapontok. (The Romani Language: Research and Points of Contention.) *Műhelymunkák a nyelvészet és társtudományai köréből*. 4: 155-178.
Réger, Zita 1995. The Language of Gypsies in Hungary: An Overview of Research. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*. 111: 79-91.
Saville-Troike, Muriel ed. 1982. *The Ethnography of Communication*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
Schiffman, Harold F. 1996. Diglossia as a Sociolinguistic Situation. In: Florian Coulmas ed. *The Handbook of Sociolinguistics*. 204-215. Oxford: Blackwell.
Szalai, Andrea 1999. Linguistic Human Rights Problems among Romani and Boyash Speakers in Hungary with Special Attention to Education. In: Miklós Kontra, Robert Phillipson, Tove Skutnabb-Kangas and Tibor Várady eds. *Language: A Right and a Resource. Approaching Linguistic Human Rights*. 297-315. Budapest: Institute of Linguistics, HAS.

Anthropology

Resource Persons:

Dr. Michael Stewart; Dr Paloma Gay y Blasco, Nicholae Gheorghe and Katalin Kovalcsik

Michael Stewart

Anthropological approaches to the Roma

Seven lectures and classes

These introduce students to the different schools in Roma research at the same time as uncovering the variety of Roma experience across the continent using English language monographs. We will also cover the history of communist assimilation policies in Hungary and Czechoslovakia (for which we have the best documentation) and their legacy today for the ethnicisation of Roma politics.

Part Two will place the experience of different east and central European Roma peoples in comparative perspective notably with other poor peoples of Europe and North America. Classic studies in urban ethnography will be introduced, their intellectual context and importance explained. Parallels and contrasts will be drawn with regional academic work. One special lecture will place the Roma holocaust in context using the lecturers current archival and testimonial research.

1 How have ethnographers approached Roma/Gypsies?

This will contrast the sociological and anthropological approaches and consider varying notions of culture and ethnicity.

- Okely, Judith 1983 *The Traveller Gypsies*, U. Cambridge Press
- Kaminski, Marek I. 1983 *The State of Ambiguity: Studies of Gypsy Refugees*
- Gay y Blasco, Paloma 1999 *Gypsies in Madrid: Sex, Gender and the Performance of Identity* (Manuscript)
- Gropper, Rena 1975 *Gypsies in the City: Culture patterns and survival*, Princeton, New Jersey: Darwin Press
- Gronfors, Marti 1979 *Ethnic Minorities and Deviance: The relationship between Finnish Gypsies and the Police*, University of Helsinki, Sociology of Law Series No. 1
- Acton, Thomas 1974 *Gypsy Politics and Social Change*, London: Routledge, Kegan Paul
- Silverman, Carol 1982 *Everyday Drama: Impression Management of Urban Gypsies*, in *Urban Anthropology* 11/2: 377-398
- Sutherland, Anne 1975 *Gypsies: The Hidden Americans*
- Silverman, Carol 1988 *Negotiating Gypsiness: Strategies in Context*, *Journal of American Folklore*, Vol. 100, pp.261-275
- Williams, Patrick 1982 *The Invisibility of the Kalderash of Paris: Some aspects of the economic activity and settlement patterns of the Kalderash Rom of the Paris suburbs*, pp 315-344, in *Urban Anthropology*, 11 no 3-4
- Douglas, Mary 1966 *Purity and Danger*
- Stewart, Michael 1997 *The Time of the Gypsies*, Boulder: Westview
- Kaminski, Marek I. 1983 *The State of Ambiguity: Studies in Gypsy Refugees*
- Sutherland, Anne 1977 *The Body as a Social Symbol Among the Rom*. In *The Anthropology of the Body* (edited by J. Blacking). London. Academic Press.
- Gay y Blasco, P. 1997. *A 'Different' Body? Desire and Virginity Among Gitanos*. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*. Vol. 3, no. 3, pp. 517-535

2 Scapegoating the Gypsies from socialism to post-socialism

Will consider why Gypsies did not fit communist models of nation and how they became 'the other' of state socialism as a consequence of assimilationist public policy.

- Zsolt, Csalog 1992 *We offer our Love: Gypsies in Hungary*, *New Hungarian Quarterly*, 33/127: 70-80
- Kenedi, Janos 1986 *Why are the Gypsies the scapegoats and not the Jews?*, *East European Reporter*
- Havas, Gabor, Kertesi Istvan, Kemeny Istvan 1995 *The Statistics of Deprivation*, in *New Hungarian Quarterly* 36: 67-80
- Guy, Willie 1998 *Ways of Looking at Roma: The Case of Czechoslovakia*, in D. Tong ed. *Gypsies: An Interdisciplinary Reader*, New York: Garland

3 Romanji Butji – The economics of Roma adaptations and the non-Gypsy context

The transformation of traditional Romany occupations during the past 150 years.

- Gray, J. N. 1984 Lamb Auctions on the Borders, *Archiv. Europ. de sociol.*, xxv , pp. 55-82
Pardo, I. 1996 *Managing existence in Naples : morality, action and structure*
Little, L. 1978 The Jews in Christian Europe, Ch. 3 in his book *Religious Poverty and the Profit Economy in Medieval Europe*. Cornell
Le Goff, J. 1980 *Time, Work and Culture in the Middle Ages*, esp. chapters 2, 3, 5 & 8. Chicago
Fel, E. and Hofer, T. 1969 *Proper Peasants*
Stewart, M. 1997 *The Time of the Gypsies*

4 Race, class and the 'culture of poverty' theory

Will consider in particular the lessons that can be learnt from contrasting the US and European experience of racism and racial conflict and the consequences of applying certain sociological models (Lewis) in eastern Europe

- Wacquant, Loic 1993 Urban Outcasts: stigma and division in the black American ghetto and the French urban periphery, *Int. J. of Urban and Regional Research*, 1993 17,3; 366-383.
Myers, F. 1988 Burning the truck and holding the country: property, time and the negotiation of identity among Pintupi Aborigines, In Barnard A and Woodburn J ed.s *Hunters and Gatherers, Vol. 2, Property, Power and Ideology*
Hannerz, Ulf 1969 *Soulside: Inquiries into Ghetto Culture and Community*, New York and London, Columbia University Press
Lewis, O. 1968 Introduction, *La Vida : a Puerto Rican family in the culture of poverty*, San Juan and New York
MacLeod, J. 1987 *Ain't no makin' it : aspirations and attainment in a low-income neighborhood*, Boulder: Westview
Bourgois, P 1956 *In search of respect : selling crack in El Barrio*, Cambridge University Press
Whyte, W.F. 1993 *Street Corner Society: The social structure of an Italian Slum*, esp. Chapters 1 & 2, pp.3-93, Chicago University Press
Dominguez, Virginia 1977 Social Classification in Creole Louisiana, *American Ethnologist* 4:

5 Marginality and temporality

Romany and Gypsy peoples have been associated with a distinctive orientation to the present by hostile, ethnographic and romanticising authors.

- Day, S. Papataxiarchis, E. & Stewart, M. 1999 Consider the Lilies of the Field, pp. 1-24 , *Lilies of the Field: Marginal People who live for the moment*, Westview Press
Gill, T. 1999 Wage hunting at the margins of urban Japan, in Day et al ed. as above
Meillassoux, C. 1973. On the Mode of Production of the Hunting Band, pp. 187-203 in P. Alexandre ed. *French Perspectives in African Studies: A collection of Translated Essays*. Oxford: International African Institute.
Woodburn, J. 1968. "Discussions, Part II," p. 91, in R.B. Lee and I. DeVore (eds) *Man the Hunter*. Chicago: Aldine.
1998. "Sharing is not a form of exchange": an analysis of property sharing in immediate return hunter-gatherer societies, pp. 48-63, in C.M. Hann ed., *Property Relations: Renewing the Anthropological Tradition*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

6 Tradition and Romany politics

Will consider whether the notion of 'invented tradition' degrades and denigrates the efforts of the powerless or newly empowered to validate their own history? What does the social analyst do when caught up in the claims and counterclaims of those they study?

- Foster, Robert, J. 1995 *Nation Making: Emergent Identities in Postcolonial Melanesia*, Ann Arbor: Michigan University Press
- Linnekin, J. 1991 Cultural Invention and the Dilemma of Authenticity, *American Anthropologist* 93: [with comments and response by Hanson]
- Trevor-Roper, Hugh 1984 Invention of Tradition: The Highland Tradition of Scotland, in E. Hobsbawm & Ranger eds., *The Invention of Tradition*, Cambridge University Press
- Clifford, James 1988 Identity in Mashpee, in Clifford ed. *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth Century ethnography, literature and art*, Cambridge, Mass. : Harvard University Press
- Lemon, Alaina 2000. *Gypsy Performance and Romani Memory in Russia*.
- Martins-Heuss, K. 1989. Reflections on the Collective Identity of German Roma and Sinti (Gypsies) after National Socialism, in *Holocaust and Genocide Studies*, 4 (2), 193-211.
- Szuhay, Peter 1995 Constructing a Gypsy National Culture, *Budapest Review of Books*, 5/3: 111-120
- Trumpener, Katie, 1992. "The Time of the Gypsies: A 'People Without History' in the Narratives of the West," in *Critical Inquiry* 18 (summer) 1992: 843-884.

7 Identity politics, and 'Alternative politics' among the marginalised poor.

How might the politics of everyday life and the politics of states meet? What difficulties do Roma face in constructing a politics of identity?

- Beck, Sam 1993 Racism and the Formation of a Romani Ethnic Leader, in *Perilous States: Conversations on culture, politics and nation*, ed. G. Marcus, U. Chicago Press
- Gleason, P. 1983 'Identifying Identity: A Semantic History', in *The Journal of American History*, 69, 4, March, p 910-930,
- Handler, R. 1994 'Is "Identity" a useful cross-cultural concept?', in J.R. Gillis (ed.) *Commemorations: The Politics National Identity*, Princeton UP
- Ortner, Shelly 1995 Resistance and the problem of ethnographic refusal, *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 37:73---93.
- Brubaker, Rogers & Cooper, F. 2000 Beyond Identity, *Theory and Society* 29: 1-47

Paloma Gay y Blasco

Feminist Perspectives on the Anthropology of Gypsies/Roma

Anthropological accounts of Gypsy/Roma communities have often placed special emphasis on practices and understandings to do with gender relations and with the sexed body. For example, rules and expectations about the performance of appropriate Gypsy behaviour - which separate Gypsies from non-Gypsies - are most often gendered. And, through such things as pollution beliefs and virginity rituals Gypsies/Roma often turn the sexed body into the surface where they inscribe their communal identity. How do

Gypsies/Roma, in Europe and elsewhere, conceptualise and manage the sexed human body? In what ways do practices and understandings to do with gender and sex help Gypsies/Roma maintain their distinctiveness from the dominant non-Gypsies? In order to address these questions we will reconsider material from key ethnographies using the analytical tools and perspectives provided by feminist anthropology.

Creating a Common Roma Culture – Studies from Ethnomusicology

It has been over ten years since Gypsies achieved ethnic minority status in much of eastern Europe. Parallel to the political process arose the requirement of establishing an ethnic culture not only as a kind of inner need but also on the level of political expectations. The lecture will present the processes of

the symbolic construction of a common "Roma" culture after the regime change in Hungary. This lecture relies on research conducted among all three major Romany groups in the country and surrounding territories. The processes referred to will be placed in a broader comparative context.

Reading:

- Barker, Adela Marie ed. 1999. *Consuming Russia. Popular Culture, Sex, and Society since Gorbachev*. Durham and London: Duke University Press.
- Kovalcsik, Katalin 1999. The Role of International "Gypsy Music" in the Development of the Ethnic Musical Culture of the Gypsies in Hungary. In: Bruno B. Reuer ed. *New Countries, Old Sounds? Cultural Identity and Social Change in Southeastern Europe*. 75-90. München: Verlag Südostdeutsches Kulturwerk.
- Kovalcsik, Katalin 2000. Folklore Musicians, Traditionalists and 'Electronic Gypsies' (in press.)
- Lange, Barbara Rose 1996. *Lakodalmas* Rock and the Rejection of Popular Culture in Post-Socialist Hungary. In: Mark Slobin ed. *Retuning Culture. Musical Changes in Central and Eastern Europe*. 76-91. Durham and London: Duke University Press.
- Pettan, Svanibor 1996. Selling Music. Rom Musicians and the Music Market in Kosovo. In: Ursula Hemetek ed. *Echoes of Diversity. Traditional Music of Ethnic Groups – Minorities*. 233-245. Wien: Böhlau Verlag.
- Rosenberg, Neil V. 1993. *Transforming Tradition. Folk Music Revivals Examined*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press.
- Silverman, Carol 2000. Music and Power: Gender and Performance among Roma (Gypsies) of Skopje, Macedonia. In: Max Peter Baumann ed. *Music, Language and Literature of the Roma and Sinti*. 247-262. Berlin: Verlag für Wissenschaft und Bildung.
- Kertesz-Wilkinson, Iren 1998. The Fair is Before Me. Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Studies in Gypsy Music.

Nicolae Gheorghe

Anthropology and activism

These two lectures will reflect on thirty years of personal involvement in Romany politics in Romania and more recently on the international stage, relating to debates within the Romany movements concerning

national and transnational strategies reflecting on the transformation in representation of Roma from the 18th Century Romanian text, Tiganiada to Anthropological work today.

Readings:

- Acton, Thomas. 1998. Authenticity, expertise, scholarship and politics: Conflicting goals in Romani studies. Inaugural Lecture Series, University of Greenwich.
- Gheorghe, Nicolae, & Tanaka, Jennifer. 1998. Public policies concerning Roma and Sinti in the OSCE region. OCSE Human Dimension Implementation Meeting Background Paper 4. Warsaw: ODIHR/OSCE.
- Matras, Yaron. 1998a. Review of Mirga & Gheorghe. *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society* 8, 151-154.
- Mirga, Andrzej, & Gheorghe, Nicolae. The Roma in the twenty-first century: A policy paper. Project on Ethnic Relations, May 1997.
- Central Council of German Sinti and Roma. 1994. Minority protection for Sinti and Roma within the framework of the Council of Europe, the CSCE and the UNO. Heidelberg. pp 83-111.
- Margalit, Gilad. 1996. Antigypsyism in the political culture of the Federal Republic of Germany: A parallel with anti-Semitism? *Analysis of Current Trends in Anti-Semitism* No. 9, Hebrew University of Jerusalem.
- Margalit, Gilad. 1997. The justice system of the Federal Republic of Germany and the Nazi Persecution of the Gypsies. *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 11-3, 330-350.
- Matras, Yaron. 1998. The development of the Romani civil right movement in Germany 1945-1996. In: Tebbut, Susan, ed. *Sinti and Roma. Gypsies in German-speaking society and literature*. New York: Berghahn. 49-64.
- Braham, Mark. 1993. The untouchables. A survey of the Roma people of central and eastern Europe. A report to the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. Geneva: UNHCR.
- Council of Europe: Parliamentary Assembly. Recommendation 1203 (1993) on Gypsies in Europe (Verspaget Recommendation). Strasbourg: February 1993.
- CSCE: Roma (Gypsies) in the CSCE Region. Report of the High Commissioner on National Minorities. (Van der Stoel Report). The Hague: September 1993.
- Matras, Yaron. 1996/1997. Problems arising in connection with the internationally mobility of the Roma in Europe. European Committee on Migration (CDMG) Document (98) 14. Strasbourg: Council of Europe.

History

Resource Persons: **Leo Lucassen, Michael Zimmermann, Wim Willems**

Leo Lucassen

Stigmatisation and everyday interaction: 'Gypsies in western Europe 1800-1970'

In this course we will first of all concentrate on the labelling process of very diverse groups of itinerants in Western European countries (Great Britain, France, Germany and the Netherlands) and show how these have been brought under the 'Gypsy' label in the course of time as consequence of government policies and practices. At the same time we will look at similar groups who escaped the labelling and go into the reasons for this divergent development. Secondly attention will be paid to people concerned. Who were they? Where did they come from? What occupations did they exercise and how was the relation with the non itinerant population? This approach will, finally, challenge a lot of common sense (ethnological) assumptions about the origin and nature of Gypsy groups by putting them in a much broader socio economic framework.

The history of people labelled as Gypsies, Tsiganes, cigány, bohémien or Zigeuner has thus far attracted

hardly any serious attention. Moreover, those who have devoted their research time and energy, have predominantly focussed on the antagonistic nature of the relationship between Gypsies and non Gypsies (or *Gadze*). This has produced a historiography, in which Gypsies are portrayed as victims of racism or as criminals who more or less caused the repression themselves by their anti-social behaviour. As a consequence we know a lot about the Gypsy hunts in 17th and 18th century Western Europe, the genocide in the 20th century, or about the enslavement of Gypsies in the principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia until the 1860s, but surprisingly little about the day to day interaction with the rest of society. This dominating approach is not only top down, it also fails to differentiate according to time and place so that the impression is conveyed that the 'fate' of the Gypsies was universal and only marginally influenced by time and place.

Readings

- Adams, Thomas McStay, *Bureaucrats and Beggars. French social policy in the age of Enlightenment* (New York and Oxford 1990).
- Barany, Zoltan, 'The East European Gypsies in the imperial age', *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 24 (2001) no. 1, 50-63.
- Becker, Peter, 'Vom "Haltlosen" zur "Bestie". Das polizeiliche Bild des "Verbrechers" im 19. Jahrhundert', in: Alf Lüdtke (ed.), *'Sicherheit' und 'Wohlfahrt'. Polizei, Gesellschaft und Herrschaft im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert* (Frankfurt am Main 1992) pp. 97-132.
- Beier, A.L., *Masterless men. The vagrancy problem in England 1560-1640* (London etc. 1985).
- Clasen, Claus-Peter, 'Armenfürsorge in Augsburg vor dem Dreißigjährigen Kriege', *Zeitschrift des historischen Vereins für Schwaben* 78 (1984) pp. 65-115.
- Cottaar, Annemarie, Leo Lucassen & Wim Willems, *Mensen van de reis. Woonwagenbewoners en zigeuners in Nederland (1868-1995)* (Zwolle 1995).
- Danker, Uwe, *Räuberbanden im alten Reich um 1700: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte von Herrschaft und Kriminalität in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Frankfurt am Main 1988).
- Davis, Natalie Zemon, *Society and culture in Early Modern France* (London 1975).
- Egmond, Florike, *Underworlds. Organized crime in The Netherlands, 1650-1800* (Cambridge 1993).
- Fahrmeier, Andreas, 'Passwesen und Staatsbildung im Deutschland des 19. Jahrhunderts', *Historische Zeitschrift* 271 (2000) 57-91.
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Michael Zimmermann

The National Socialist "Solution of the Gypsy Question".

One

The Nazi Persecution of the Gypsies in the Third Reich. The Pre-War Years 1933 – 1939

Discrimination against and oppression of Gypsies in the first years of National Socialist rule were not simply a continuation of traditional Gypsy policy. Measures such as reducing benefits for Gypsies in public welfare institutions now were put into practice more intensively. In some towns such as Cologne, Berlin, and Frankfurt the Gypsies had to live now in

centralized, fenced and guarded camps. At the central state level measures based on the particular racist dynamism of the Nazi system were introduced.. In this way, the traditional twofold image of the Gypsies as enemy - which excluded Gypsies both as strangers with a mysterious life-style and as allegedly work-shy spongers - was incorporated into völkisch racism.

Two

The Nazi Persecution of the Gypsies during World War II. 1939 – 1945

After the outbreak of war, the persecution of the Gypsies was greatly intensified. In accord with the goal of a global expulsion of Jews and Poles the criminal police thereafter favoured the compulsory transfer of 30,000 Gypsies from Germany. In May 1940 2,300 Gypsies - and by the fall some 500 more - were sent to German occupied Poland. The majority of the deportees was concentrated into forced labour columns under SS-control. Roma from Austrian Burgenland were affected as well. 5,000 Burgenland

Roma were deported to the Lodz Ghetto and crowded together there in a special sector. Like the Jews, the Roma were suffocated in gas vans in Kulmhof. Along with Jews, Soviet Communist party functionaries, partisans, and other "undesirable elements," Gypsies also were among the victims of the SS Einsatzgruppen, mobile killing units that operated behind the German front line in the USSR. The lecture will conclude with a consideration of the Wehrmacht in the Persecution.

Three

The "Gypsy Family Camp" in Auschwitz-Birkenau 1943/44

More than 19,300 of the roughly 22,600 individuals crowded together in the Auschwitz-Birkenau Gypsy camp were killed; more than 5,600 were gassed, more than 13,600 succumbed to hunger, illnesses, epidemics. But far from all of the 3,300 remaining survived the end of Nazi Germany. In the months before dispersal of the Birkenau Gypsy camp to other camps and satellite camps, many of them died while doing forced labour, especially at the Dora Mittelbau

camp in Thuringia or in sterilisation experiments at Ravensbrück. Others died on death marches during the last weeks of the war, or in Bergen-Belsen concentration camp where, along with tens of thousands of other prisoners, Sinti and Roma were deported shortly before the war's end, or in the Dirlwanger unit, where German Gypsies who had survived the camps were forced, in the last weeks of war, to fight on the Front line against the Red Army.

Four

The National Socialist Persecution of the Gypsies and the Preconditions of Genocide

By comparison to earlier, pre-Nazi efforts to solve the "Gypsy question," the new regime's racial conception and evolving extermination policy provided heightened incentive for the traditional "fight against the Gypsies expel the Gypsies and government attempts to settle

them was given new impetus, as centre and periphery mutually intensified the decision-making process. The Nazi synthesis ultimately led to murder. In the end, death was the only condition in which expulsion and settlement became identical.

Preliminary list of Readings:

- Burleigh, Michael & Wippermann Wolfgang 1991 *The Racial State: Germany 1933-1945*, Cambridge University Press
- Peukert, Detlev J.K. 1987 *Inside Nazi Germany: Conformity, Opposition and Racism in Everyday Life*, London: Penguin
- Fings, Karola Heuss, Herbert & Sparling, Frank 1997 *From "Race Science" to the Camps: The Gypsies during the Second World War*, University of Hertfordshire Press
- Lewy, Gunter 2000 *The Nazi persecution of the Gypsies*, Oxford

Seminar Theme/Stream

The History of peoples 'without history,' Interdisciplinarity and the direction of Romany Studies

Backbone course:

Wim Willems

Gypsiology and historiography

In the course of the past few centuries a lot of different images about so called Gypsies and other itinerant groups have been dominant in all strata of Western-European societies. In the eyes of sedentary people they were seen as Jews, spies for the heathens, social scum, exotics from the East, romantic outsiders, stubborn criminals and racial half-castes. They were (and still are) admired as performers on the stage, and at the same time despised as members of the audience. In writings about their historical evolution their position as people being different (racial, cultural, social or ethnic) is stressed, which is the main reason they are never looked upon as members/citizens of national societies. What are the

reasons for this process of exclusion? In these two lectures and classes I will, by analysing some illustrative texts considered in their historical context, try to give some insight into the nature of 'Romany studies' or 'Gypsiology'; the tensions between facts and fiction; the relation between 'knowledge' and government policies in different states; and the pro's and cons of the dominant paradigms in Gypsy-studies and other social and socio-historical work on travelling groups. By reading and analysing texts together with the students I hope to open their eyes for the corrupted views on the Gypsy way of life in writing on European history.

Seminars

V Friedman

Linguistics and history: claims of historical linguistics

This will draw on the lectures and additional material to address the question of the relationship between Romani language and Romani identity in a wide variety of the contexts in which that identity is actualised, especially how various boundaries

(linguistic, grammatical, social) are maintained or rendered permeable. Special attention will be paid to Romani structural change and conservatism in the Balkan context.

- Friedman, Victor A. 2000. Romani in the Balkan Linguistic League. *Valkanike – Glo – ssologia: Sygkhronia kai Diakhronia/Balkanlinguistik: Synchronie und Diachronie*, ed. by Chr. Tzitzilis and Kh. Symeonide – s. Thessaloniki: University of Thessaloniki. pp. 95-105.
- Matras, Yaron. 1998. Para-Romani Revisited. in *The Romani Element in Non-Standard Speech*, ed. by Yaron Matras, 1-27. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Friedman, Victor A. 2001. Romani Multilingualism in its Balkan Context. *Sprachtypologie und Universalienforschung*, 54.146-159.

Yaron Matras

Romani language and Romani origins: sociolinguistics, social de-construction, and image construction

The seminar will focus on the position of language in attempts to de-construct current views on Romani origins and Romani identity, by a school of researchers on the one hand, and the reliance on language to justify the construction of an historical narrative on Romani origins, by Romani intellectuals and activists, on the other.

We will look at the de-constructionist approach in anthropology: resisting the ethnicity = territory view;

Gypsies as ethnic communities of commercial nomads
 - The de-constructionist approach in historical text criticism: interpreting Indian origins as an external zeitgeist construction
 - The de-constructionist approach in linguistics: diffusion of words, but not of people
 - The constructionist approach in contemporary Romani intellectual activism: Romani structure as evidence for upper-caste status in an Indian homeland

Readings:

- Hancock, Ian. 1995. A handbook of Vlach Romani. Columbus: Slavica.
- Hancock, Ian. 1998. "The Struggle for the Control of Identity" in *Transitions*. 4/4:36-53.
- _____. 1985. "Non Gypsy Attitudes towards Rom: The Gypsy Stereotype," *Roma* January.
- Kochanowski, Vania de Gila. 1995. *Parlons tzigane*. Paris: L'Harmattan.
- Lee, Ronald. 1998. The Roma: Origins and diaspora. www.romani.org/toronto
- Okely, Judith. 1997. Some political consequences of theories of Gypsy ethnicity. The place of the intellectual. In: James, Allison et al, eds. *After writing culture. Epistemology and praxis in contemporary anthropology*. London: Routledge. 224-243.
- Okely, Judith. 1984. Ethnic identity and place of origin: The Traveller Gypsies in Great Britain. In: Vermeulen, Hans and Jeremy Boissevain, eds. *Ethnic challenge. The politics of ethnicity in Europe*. Göttingen: edition herodot. 50-65.
- Rishi, W.R. 1995. Roma - Descendants of warrior classes of India. Roma 42-43 and www.romani.org/rishi
- Wexler, Paul. 1997. The case for the relexification hypothesis in Romani. In: Horvath, Julia and Paul Wexler, eds. *Relexification in creole and non-creole languages. With special attention to Haitian Creole, Modern Hebrew, Romani, and Rumanian*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz. 100-161.
- Willems, Wim. 1998. *In search of the true Gypsy*. London: Cass.

Willems, W. & Lucassen, L.

The challenge from the Dutch School

Over the last decades, social historians have focused more than ever on the lives of common people. The rise of labour and ethnic history and the interest in what German colleagues have coined *Alltagsgeschichte* have stimulated many scholars to dig deep into the social, economic and cultural dimensions of the most diverse groups and

categories. What are the lessons of this work for Romany Studies? This seminar will also deal with criticisms from historical linguistics of the social constructionist approach to Romany populations through a discussion of the notion of diaspora with reference to Romany and Gypsy peoples.

Readings

- Nancy L. Green, 'The modern Jewish Diaspora. Eastern European Jews in New York, London, and Paris', in: Dirk Hoerder and Leslie Page Moch (eds.), *European migrants. Global and local perspectives* (Boston 1996) 263-281
- Donna Gabaccia, *Italy's many diasporas* (Seattle/London 2000).
- William Safran 'Diasporas in Modern Societies: Myths of Homeland and Return', in *Diaspora* 1 (1991)
- John A. Armstrong 'Mobilized and Proletarian Diasporas', in: Steven Vertovic & Robin Cohen (eds.), *Migration, Diasporas and Transnationalism* (Cheltenham 1999)
- Gabriel Sheffer 'The Emergence of New Ethno-National Diasporas', in: Vertovec & Cohen (eds.), *Migration*, 396-419

Two seminars

Memory and Forgetting

'Ethnography of the past in the present'

Readings

Bloch, M. E. F.

1998. *How We Think They Think*. Boulder, Co.: Westview.

Buruma, I. 1994. *Wages of Guilt: Memories of War in Germany and Japan*. London: Vintage.

Clendinnen, I. 1999. *Reading the Holocaust*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Cole, J. 1998. The work of memory in Madagascar, in *American Ethnologist*, **25** (4), 610-633.

Connerton, P. 1989. *How Societies Remember*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Gay y Blasco, P. 2002. 'We don't know our descent': How Gitanos of Jarana Manage the Past, in, *J.Roy.anthrop .Inst.* (N.S.) **7**, 631-647.

Halbwachs, M. 1925 *Les Cadres Sociaux de la Memoire*. Paris: Presse Universitaire de la France.

Kirmayer, L. 1996. Landscapes of Memory: Trauma, Narrative and Dissociation, pp. 173-198, in Lambek and Antze (eds).

Lambek, M. & Antze, P. (eds). 1996. *Tense Past: Cultural Essay in Trauma and Memory*. London: Routledge.

Neisser, U.

& Fivush, R. eds. 1994 *The Remembering Self: construction and accuracy in the self narrative*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Van de Port. 1998. *Gypsies, Wars, and Other Instances of the Wild*.

Webber, J. 2000. Lest We Forget! The Holocaust in Jewish Historical Consciousness and Modern Jewish Identities, pp. 107-135, in G. Abramson (ed) *Modern Jewish Mythologies*. Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press.

Young, J. 1993. *The Texture of Memory: Holocaust Memorial and Meaning*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

PRACTICAL COURSE WORK AND FIELD TRIP

A two day field trip will be organised to the South of Hungary where the complex and shifting relationship between people's who speak Romany, Hungarian (and para-Romani) and Beasi/Romanian can be observed in modern Hungary. Preparatory work by the field work team enables a rapid survey of the two communities to be carried out (with the help of local interpreters) and on one weekend day the results are then 'put together' with the help of the field-work co-ordinators (Csaba Pronai and) and the Course Director.

Two Sessions will also be led by the Course Director planning research proposals and designing course outlines for use beyond the SUN course. These sessions will examine ways in which Roma issues may be dealt with in the classroom and research programs contrasting a number of different curricula and developing practical skills of creating new curricula relevant to the needs of students in the region today.

FILM Screenings:

Gadjo Dilo

Black Cat, White Cat

T'an Baxtale!: Roma in Russia Lemon and Nakamura. 1994.

Posdlednij Tabor, (Russia) 1935.

Tabor Ukhodit v Nebo, USSR (Moldova), 1976, dir. Emil Lotianu

Larks on a String (Czechoslovakia) 1969, dir. Jiri Menzel

Latcho Drom (Hungary-France) 1994.

Marian, (Czech Republic) 1996.

CNN Broadcast, 1997.

Across the Tracks, Dir J Blake, Disappearing World, 1988 (Roma in Hungary)

What Magdalena Said, Dir. M Stewart, BBC Everyman 1993 (Czech/Roma relations)

The Forgotten Holocaust, Dir. G. Case, BBC Inside Story 1989

An Andalucian Journey, Dir. J. Bokova, (Flamenco)

Time of the Gypsies, Dir. E. Kusturica 1990