NOTES


2) Je n'ai aucune idée des données de M. Rado Stojanov Kekavek, président de la maison de lecture du village Geljama Zeljazca, conservateur et inspecteur de la maison de lecture de cette région, bien que je gardais un certain intérêt pour ce toponyme. Je veux dire que je ne crois pas qu'il soit entré dans le cadre des deux communes.

3) Sur la deuxième palatalisation en vieux bulgare, voir Иванов (199: 115 f.)


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Hristo Kjuckov (Sofia)

THE MUSLIM ROMS-MIXED LANGUAGE AND CULTURE

6. INTRODUCTION

The paper aims to present the language situation among the Bulgarian Muslim Roms, which is a trilingual community, living in the North-Eastern part of the country and the process of language mixing between Romani, Turkish and Bulgarian. Two different Roma linguists are observed – speakers of Vlax (Zagondzi) and non-Vlax (Xoraxani) dialects. The non-Vlax dialect, which is full of Turkisms is more prestigious than the Vlax dialect, which is more conservative, but both of them have almost the same rules of language mixing. The paper will try to show the connection between language mixing and language prestige in the community and it will try to answer the question: Why do Roma speakers mix aspects of the other languages in speaking Romani?

1. GENERAL BACKGROUND

According to the last census in 1992, the total population of the Romani population in Bulgaria is 3.4% (approximately 300,000) of 8.5 million inhabitants of the country. However, neither the majority of the population, nor the Roms themselves believe in this number. Everyone thinks that there are many more Roms, but they do not know how many exactly. Other sources (for example Liegeois 1994; Mar and Kovačev 1993) estimate that the total number of the Roms is about 800,000. This figure seems closer to the truth. It is also known that one part of the Roms are Muslims and the other part are Christians, but the proportion between Muslim and Christian Roms is unknown. During the census many Muslim Roms identified themselves as Turks and many Christian Roms identified themselves as Bulgarians. This is the reason why the official number of the Roms is so low. It is supposed that the total number of the Muslim Roms is approximately 350,000-400,000 (Kovachkov forthcoming). However, until now there is no comprehensive scientific investigation on the culture of the Muslim Roms in Bulgaria. There are some observations regarding their language (Kovachkov 1995), but their language and culture are generally unknown.

The Muslim Roms in Bulgaria nowadays are settled in the areas with a large Turkish-speaking population. Most of them are concentrated in the North-Eastern and Southern parts of the country. According to Gilliat-Smith’s (1913-1914) observations, the Gypsies from Sofia were followers of the Muslim religion at the beginning of the century, but during the last 70-80 years many apparently converted to Christianity. The following groups of Muslim Roms may be distinguished according to their identity: C-Roms speaking only Romani (although they know Turkish and Bulgarian as well) and identifying themselves as Roms (they call themselves Xoraxani Roms, and are mostly...
Roms speaking intensively Romani mixed with Turkish and Bulgarian in everyday communication and identifying themselves as Roms (they call themselves millet or cingene);

- Roms speaking only Turkish (and very rarely Bulgarian and Romani although they may be able to speak some Romani dialect) and identifying themselves as Roms (they also call themselves millet or cingene);

- Roms speaking only Turkish (who are not able to speak Romani) and identifying themselves as Roms (they call themselves carale or usra millet);

- Roms speaking only Turkish and identifying themselves as Turks.

All of them live in separate areas in the cities — the so-called “Gypsy quarters” — and all groups have their own customs and traditions.

Although they are Muslims they are not very strict followers of the religion. They celebrate only the most important Muslim holidays like Ramadon and Bayram; the boy are circumcised; when somebody dies the Muslim priest is called. At the same time, however, they drink alcohol and eat pork although it is forbidden by the Koran. They also celebrate some Christian holidays like Christmas and Easter. Actually all Vlax and non-Vlax Muslim Roma groups speak Turkish and the Turkish language today has a higher prestige among them than Bulgarian or Romani. The Turkish spoken by the Muslim Roms is different from the Standard Modern Turkish language. It is influenced by the surrounding languages. From my own observations I found that those speakers of Turkish whose first language is a Vlax dialect speak Turkish with a Romani accent. In their Turkish speech the Romani influence is easily recognized. The speakers of Turkish whose first language is a non-Vlax dialect speak it more easily and without much influence from Romani. However, any native speaker of Bulgarian Turkish can immediately recognize that the speaker is not a native Turk since there is always some Romani accent present, as well as borrowing words from Bulgarian.

The Romani dialect used by Muslim Roms are divided into two main groups: Vlax and non-Vlax dialects. The Vlax dialects are Kaldaras, Laxo, Zagondzi, Kalburdi, and they contain more loanwords from Greek, Rumanian and fewer words from Bulgarian of Turkish. The non-Vlax dialects are Drandar, Erlij, Xoraxani, and mostly have many Turkish loanwords. Sometimes it happens that two od three dialects or subdialects are spoken in a single town or village. Nevertheless, there are no communication problems because all Vlax dialect speakers usually speak the non-Vlax dialect as well and easily switch from one to the other. If a non-Vlax visitor comes to a Vlax speaking family, the family starts to speak the dialect of the guest out of politeness. But not the other way around, because the Vlax dialect has a lower prestige than the non-Vlax one.

1.1. Wedding, music and dancing

Nowadays a wedding among the Muslim Roms continues for two days (usually Saturday and Sunday). During the first day there is music and the preparations for the second day in the houses of the girl and the boy who are to get married. The most interesting part is the preparations in the house of the bride. The Saturday night before the wedding the female friends of the girl come to her room and paint her hair and hands with henna abstract figures. They sing love songs and dance in a circle around her. This ritual continues till midnight and everybody goes to sleep. On Sunday morning the friends of the bride go to a bath with her and help her to put on her wedding dress. On Saturday night the bride wears a red or a blue dress and on Sunday a white wedding dress.

The music is mostly singing Turkish songs from Turkey. During the wedding there is a band and the most popular dances are the belly dance or Bulgarian folk dances. However, the dance which is most popular among the Christian Roms (so-called Ro-

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1.2. The funeral

The process of the funeral is organized according to the Muslim traditions. When someone dies a Muslim priest is invited, who reads pages from the Koran in Arabic. The body of the deceased person is washed by the priest and friends of the deceased person before being buried. In the past the naked body and the face used to be covered with special cloth. Nowadays, however, the body is dressed in normal (official) clothes. Until 15-20 years ago the body was put directly into the grave but today a coffin is used.

1.3. Changes in the religion

Many Muslim Roms have converted to Christianity during the last 20-30 years. The best example in this case is in the Roms in Sofia. Nowadays they do not celebrate the Ramadon and Bayram anymore, although when someone dies they still invite a Muslim priest. It becomes clear from my conversations with the older generation that in their childhood they observed the Muslim traditions much more strictly, but today they have ceased to do so, and they participate in Christian celebrations. The younger generation does not know any Muslim traditions at all, because the older generation does not practice it anymore.

In the areas with a large Turkish population (e.g. in Northeast the Muslim tradition are still alive but Christianity has a very strong influence, to the Roms there celebrate Christmas and other Christian holidays as well.

A new phenomenon among the Muslim Roms in the Pentecostal religion. It has, in a way, a very positive influence on them since all those who became its followers are very strict in that the men stop drinking alcohol, stop fighting with one another, and stop stealing. It is interesting to note that those who belong to the Pentecostal church have the freedom to use any language they wish while practicing their religion. It is quite normal to use Turkish, Romani or Bulgarian during the meetings. The traditional Muslim customs are observed in Arabic or in Turkish and it is impossible during the meeting to use Bulgarian or Romani. Here are two Pentecostal songs, one in Romani, one in Turkish:

1. Devlam, devlam, devlam, devlam bareja.
   Devlam, devlam, devlam, devlam gudeja.
   Kana ka aves devlam
   tere da barken tu te les
   tere da chaven tu te les.

   'My God, my god, my god,
   My God, my god, my god,
   When will you come my God,
   When will you come and your sheep to take
   and your children to take.'

2. Çakili yolumu godunnu
gorupu yordunu,
done kaška gelin siz
benim yoluma.

   'Did you see my stone way
   have you seen it and woke on it
   falling down and standing up come to my way.'

The reason for the shifts to Christian and Pentecostal religions among the Muslim Roms in the negative attitude of the majority in Bulgaria towards the Muslims and their
religion. During the Communist regime they did not have any opportunity to practice their religion, and after the democratic changes in 1989 the Christian and Pentecostal churches became more active. This is another reason for some of them to convert to these religions.

2. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

It is known from the literature that the term code mixing is used as a cover term for two phenomena — borrowing and code-switching — as a result of languages in contact: Borrowing is a more frequent phenomenon and the borrowed words from language A are phonologically and morphologically adapted and integrated in to language B. For instance among Romani speakers there are a lot of words borrowed from the language of the majority (Bulgarian, Swedish, Russian) in the country where they live. These words are phonologically and morphologically adapted and integrated into Romani.

There is code-switching if a speaker who knows two languages (A and B) and uses a word from language A speaking language B, which word is not adapted phonologically and morphologically. The reasons for code-switching can be diverse — discourse strategy, identification with a social group, lack of knowledge of the word in the first language, which the speaker use, etc.

Linguists usually differentiate between code-switching within and code-switching between sentences. Intrasentential code-switching is studied mainly by theoretical linguists and psycholinguists. Sociolinguists place less emphasis on the distinction between inter- and intrasentential code-switching. They are in general more concerned with the reasons "why bilinguals code-switch at all" (Backus 1992:1).

Another reason for CS is triggering. According to Cîlne's (1987) definition, CS is triggered by a border-word from where switching starts because this word is often pronounced in the same way in both languages.

All those phenomena more or less are observed in everyday comminication of Muslim Roma, but very few researchers describe and explain the reasons for them. The process of borrowing from Turkish by the Muslim Roma in the Balkan countries (especially in Turkey) is described by Heciniescu (1989). Frimen (1989) investigated the Turisms in the Balkan Romani dialects and showed that many Turkish words entered Romani.

3. EMPIRICAL STUDY

2.1. Data collection and informants

The data for this study was collected in North-East Bulgaria in the village of Gradinovo and in the town of Provadia. The informants from the village of Gradinovo speak Xoraxani (non-VlaX dialect), while the informants from the town of Provadia speak Zagondzi (VlaX dialect). Eleven informants were interviewed, which resulted in 11 hours of recordings. Three of them are male and eight female. The number of the speakers of each dialect is presented in the table below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Informants</th>
<th>Xoraxani</th>
<th>Zagondzi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>male</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>female</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The interviews were made at the houses of the informants in informal situations. They were asked to tell autobiographical stories in Romani, not in Turkish, which they speak as well. (Only one of the informants refused to speak in Romani and the conversation with her was in Turkish). The informants are between 50 and 60 years old. Almost all of them have a basic level of education (1st to 8th grade in the Bulgarian school).

2.2. Results

Both the VlaX and non-VlaX dialects of Muslim Roma are influenced by Turkish on various linguistic levels:

a) on the phonological level — in the Romani dialect there are Turkish high front vowels (a and u) in both the VlaX and non-VlaX dialects; consonants with aspiration are pronounced without aspiration — instead of kh, ph, th they are pronounced as k, p, t, in the non-VlaX dialects (for example: an koses -> 'in a corner' from Turkish kopye; or ker instead of kher 'house');

Most of the Turkish loanwords are phonologically and morphologically adapted to Romani. Often some of the phonemes or morphemes are lacking from the Turkish word, or the places of some morphemes are changed in the word (for example: islamba-> from Turkish haliyyordan 'to treat'; b) on the lexical level there are borrowings from Turkish (for example: keci-s ->'goat' from Turkish keci 'goat');

c) on the syntactical level the word order could be as in Turkish-SOV or the word order could be SVO. For example:

1. Mir dej' da ando gav pirel-da,
   [my mother and in a village walk - 3 sg. PT.]
   giva kidel-da. (Zagondzi dialect-VlaX dialect)
   corn gather - 3 sg PT.)

   'And my mother was walking in the village and gathered corn.'

   Here the -da suffix in the words pirel-da 'walked' and kidel-da 'gathered' is a Turkish PT ending, and the word order is also Turkish - SOV.

2. Me mangel-as ek caes. (Xoraxani dialect-non-VlaX dialect)
   [I want-1 sg PT. one/a boy]
   'I was in love with a boy'.

   In sentence 2 the word order is SVO.

   The VlaX dialects are more conservative and have fewer borrowings and loanwords from Turkish as compared to the non-VlaX dialects. It is typical of the non-VlaX dialects to have a high number of Turkisms and for Romani speakers who do not speak Turkish in can be difficult to communicate with speakers of this dialect. However, even if there are no borrowings or loanwords in the speech of the speakers, there are some differences which are shown in the following examples.

   The sentence: Where do you go? / Where are you going?
   in the VlaX (Zagondzi) dialect will sound like: 3. Kaj dzas?

   In the non-VlaX dialect (Xoraxani) it will sound like: 4. Kariga zasa?

   In this particular VlaX (Zagondzi) dialect every single sound z is changed to dz, except for the names of people, which contains the consonant ž. The non-VlaX (Xoraxani) dialect contains only the consonant ž. The consonant dz does not exist in this dialect.

   Another sentence: Come here! will be
5. Ajde adate!
in the Vlax (Zagondzi) dialect and
6. Al a kale!
in the non-Vlax (Xoraxani) dialect.

Going through the data there is no single case of intersentential CS. All informant’s
CS-s are intrasentential. It is an interesting phenomenon, because the speakers never
“break” the borders of the sentence, speaking Romani. All examples show the different
types of intrasentential CS.

The underlined words in the following sentences are the non-Romani elements. I
will give examples of code-switching, borrowing and triggering with Romani, Turkish
and Bulgarian.

A. The examples from 7 to 12 are patterns of lexical code-switching from Bul-
garian into Romani.

7. Znaci mangela te chiha.
[means-it want-3 sg PRES your daughter]

8. Nezavisimo save gaveste arakadij.
[does no matter which village-in is-3 sg PRES]

9. Aysuke može te dav la.
[Asye-to/I can to give her]

10. I can give her to Ayahé’ (Xoraxani)

11. Mir day, sâšto amare romnia.
[my mother, also our women]

12. Me kerav i večerja.
[I do-1 sg PRES the dinner]

The words znaci, nezavisimo, može and sâšto are directly taken from Bulgarian
without any changes. As seen the CS could be at the beginning or in the middle
of the sentences. The main reason for CS here are the lexical gaps in the sentences, and
the speakers switch to Bulgarian to fill the gap. Also in the Xoraxani Romani dialect there
are no words for ‘it means’ and ‘I can’. The known words for ‘it means’ and ‘I can’ from
other dialects like dikel pe; phenal pe and me asthi are typical for the Vlax dialects and
they are unknown to speakers of this non-Vlax dialect. The words semejstvo and večerja
are Bulgarian nouns and they are used by Vlax and non-Vlax speakers. The speaker do
not know the Romani word for family but he knows the Turkish word. Why he prefers to
use the Bulgarian word is unclear. The speaker who use the Bulgarian word for dinner
knows both Romani and Turkish words for it, but the reason to use the Bulgarian word
one is to ironise what she is doing. It becomes clear from the context to the interview.
The speakers of the Vlax dialect also code-switch and the places of CS are almost
the same as by non-Vlax speakers. The explanation for CS by the Vlax speaking dialect is
also the lack of knowledge of Romani words. Both groups (Vlax and non-Vlax) do not
use Turkish words for CS because these words are too abstract for them and they do not
know them in Turkish.

The examples from 13 to 14 demonstrate the same phenomenon, but the CS-s are
from Turkish.

13. Onbes-tane bajce sine amen.
[fifteen CLASS pigs are to-us]

[my father married-3 sg PT another woman get-2 sg PT]

Here the Bulgarian words are changed and adopted to Romani. The words gerdaya
kompleki in example 17 are from the Bulgarian words gerdon’ necklace’ and komplekt’
set’. However, the Turkish endings for plural -ja and for singular -ci are added to the
words and they became Romani. In example 18 the Bulgarian word is praznik’ holy-
day’. In this dialect the ending for the plural form is -ca.

B. Patterns of borrowings

– from Bulgarian:

15. An onar inkeren lacipe.
[and they not-do-3 pl PRES kindness]

[where bring-2 sg PRES me son-my]

17. Samo tikiysin to muj.
[only close-2 sg PRES your mouth]

Here the Bulgarian words are changed and adopted to Romani. The words are gerdaya
komplekti in example 17 are from the Bulgarian words gerdon’ necklace’ and complekt’
set’. However, the Turkish endings for plural -ja and for singular -ci are added to the
words and they became Romani. In example 18 the Bulgarian word is praznik’ holy-
day’. In this dialect the ending for the plural form is -ca.

– from Turkish:

18. Alti-jeski koro lijas.
[gold from bracelet buy-3 sg PT]

[my father horse-selling make-3 sg PT]

The borrowings from Turkish are much more frequent among the Xoraxani speak-
ers than Zagondzi speakers, and going through the data it was really hard to find more

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examples of borrowings in the speech of Zagondzi speakers. In example 19, which is from the Xoraxani dialect the word which is borrowed from Turkish is *altın* ‘gold’, but as shown there are some changes in the word – mostly in the ending (the word got an ending *-jeski*). In example 20, the borrowed word is from Turkish cambazlık ‘horse selling’. However, the word is adopted to Romani with the ending *-i*.

It is interesting that in the complete data I could not find any sentence where there were examples of mixed borrowings from Bulgarian and from Turkish. It seems that the process of borrowing from these two languages in the same sentence is rather difficult for the speakers of both dialects.

C. Patterns of triggering

As it was mentioned above the triggering is a process where a border-word stimulates the code switching. And because of the same pronunciation of the border-word in both languages, it is very easy to switch from one language to another. The following examples show the triggering from Romani to Turkish.

22. Mo rom Varṇa’də isley.

*My husband works in Varṇa* (Xoraxani)

In this example the border word is *Varṇa’də*. In the Xoraxani dialect instead of the Turkish word *isley* the word *kerla xazmeci* could be used which means works, but probably the same way of pronunciation of the word *in Varṇa (Varṇa’də)* is the reason for using of the Turkish *isley*.

It has to be noticed that again in the Zagondzi dialect there are no cases of triggering. It is more typical for the Xoraxani dialect, although the examples of triggering in the interviews are not so many.

3. DISCUSSIONS

Analyzing the data I was trying to find the factors which influence the speakers for code-mixing. In the first place there are social factors as prestige of the used language and the participants in the conversation. Some of speakers, for instance, changed their normal way of speaking, just because I was one of the participants in the conversation and they knew that their speech was recorded. Other informants were trying to show better knowledge of Turkish and they were using more Turksisms. In fact borrowings are more often used in their everyday conversation, just between themselves.

The Xoraxani dialect speakers have negative attitudes to the Romani dialect spoken by Zagondzii. They also have negative attitudes to the Bulgarian language. On the hierarchy of the languages in the Bulgarian society (according to their system of values), the Turkish language ranks highest and this is one of the reasons that the parents teach their children to speak Turkish from a very early age, and not so much Romani or Bulgarian.

Moreover, for these Romani speakers the Romani language is considered to be prestigious even if it contains a lot of borrowings from Turkish.

Other factors which influence language mixing are linguistic factors. The three languages Romani-Bulgarian-Turkish being in a contact for centuries influenced each other at different levels. The process of borrowing was as into Romany so into Bulgarian and Turkish. In all those three languages one can find different stages of words from each language. Romani also has many borrowings from both languages, Bulgarian and Turkish, but especially those two dialects discussed in the paper got more from Turkish than from Bulgarian. They may be grouped into following groups of borrowings:

- phonological – *a* and *o* sounds from Turkish;
- morphological – in both dialects there are integrated morphemes from Turkish;
- the possessive *-m* (in word *Devča-m* → my Good);
- the past tense *-did* (in *piret-da* → walked);]
- the locative *-da* (in *Varṇa-da* → in Varṇa)
- lexical – in both dialects there are words borrowed from Turkish and adopted to Romani.

A very interesting linguistic phenomenon is triggering. The use of a word in Romani, which is pronounced in the same way as in Turkish, creates code-switching.

4. CONCLUSION

The two dialects discussed in the paper are the non-Vlax (Xoraxani), which has more cases of language mixing and a higher prestige in the community, and the Vlax dialect (Zagondzi), which has less cases of language mixing and lower prestige in the community. Actually, the language and the culture of the Muslim Romans in Bulgaria and not very different from those of the Muslim Romans in the other Balkan countries (Albania, Macedonia, Greece, Turkey). This is clear from the publications available on the subject, although their number is very limited (Heinsch 1989; Friedmann 1989).

Summarizing what was presented in the paper, the following conclusions could be made:

- The Muslim Roman speakers switch to Turkish and Bulgarian speaking Romani, because those three languages are connected. The switches could be at the beginning, in the middle and at the end of the sentences. These kind of switches are typical for both the Xoraxani and Zagondzi dialects. Usually the speakers switch to Turkish because they do not know the Romani of Turkish substitutions, and switch to Turkish, because it sounds more prestigious.
- For the Xoraxani dialect it is typical Bulgarian-Turkish code switching, but it is not typical for the Zagondzi dialect because it is more conservative.
- In both dialects there are borrowings from Bulgarian and Turkish, but there are no sentences with mixed Bulgarian and Turkish borrowings.
- The triggering as a process is typical for the Xoraxani dialect and there are no cases of triggering in the Zagondzi dialect.
- It seems that the main reason for CS among the Muslim Romans is the prestige of the language. Although the speakers know the Romani words they prefer to use the Turkish ones, because it gives them higher prestige in the community. The feeling that one may not be accepted by the community stimulates the speakers for more code-switching and borrowings from Turkish. Moreover, this is a reason for a language shift – from Roman to Turkish for many of them. In this sense the Roman dialects spoken by Muslim Romans could be determined as an interlanguage to target the Turkish language.

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АГНИЯ ВАСИЛЬЕВНА ДЕСНИЦКАЯ.
ЖИЗНЬ И НАУЧНАЯ ДЕЯТЕЛЬНОСТЬ

В ряду ярких имен российских филологов XX века свое особое место занимает имя Агния Васильевны Десницкой (1912—1992) — выдающегося филолога и лингвиста, организатора науки, педагога.

Широта диапазона и многообразие научных интересов А. В. Десницкой, плодотворно работавшей не только в разных областях лингвистики, но и в родственных гуманитарных дисциплинах — литературоведении, фольклористике, объясняются объективной логикой развития науки, с одной стороны, и субъективными особенностями творческого таланта ученого, с другой. Познание языка как сложнейшего явления человеческой культуры требовало включения в круг исследований целого комплекса различнообразных фактов, связанных с бытием языка в пространстве и времени. Этим определялось внутреннее обусловленное интерес А. В. к проблемам, стоящим на стыке наук, таких как язык и этнография, язык и фольклор, язык и литература, язык и общество. А. В. привлекали те разделы науки о языке, где в большей мере проявляется социально-историческая обусловленность конкретных национальных проявлений этого феномена.

С другой стороны, характерной чертой творческого облика А. В. была любовь к жизни во всех ее проявлениях, — А. В. любила природу, любила литературу, искусство, любила людей. И нет ничего удивительного в том, что литература и фольклор становятся со временем самостоятельными областями ее научных поисков. А. В. смотрела на мир взглядом ученого и художника одновременно, — как ученый она видела явление во всех его многообразных связях, как художник она запоминала всю ситуацию (цвет и краски, время и настроение, место и обстоятельства). А. В. была неутомимой путешественницей и впечатления от поездок, особенно на Балканы, охваченные свойственным А. В. жизнелюбием, служили дополнительным стимулом возникновения новых научных интересов, обнаружения новых аспектов в изучении уже известных фактов.