


## The Socio-Communicative Language of Empowerment of Roma: a Case Study



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### Annotation

*This article presents the results of a case study with Romani speakers from Germany. Poverty among Roma communities in Europe is the reason for the growth of racism in almost all EU countries. On the other hand, Roma communities are becoming more organized and responding to existing forms of racism. One form of Roma response is emancipation and expansion of the language they use. **The purpose of the article** is to show a template model for language analysis of spoken text. The article also shows the empowerment of the Roma community in Germany, openly opposing existing forms of Antromanism. **Research methods and techniques.** The study included one Romani speaker, a young Romani man born in Serbia who immigrated to Germany as a child. In his everyday communicative ecology, he speaks four languages: Romani, Serbian, German and English. Sociolinguistic methods are used to analyze his language. When speaking German, he uses lexical units of Romani and English, and at the same time uses various sociolinguistic strategies known among multilinguals. **Results and discussion.** A Romani speaker is fluent in German, and uses situational lexical borrowings from Romani and English, code-switching sentences, discursive strategies such as cursing and neologisms. The presented model of speech analysis can be used for further sociolinguistic research, analyzing the data of spoken language. **Conclusions.** The powers of the Roma in supporting Ukraine in the Russian-Ukrainian war are shown, during this war is condemned. As an illustration of empowerment, the appeal of the Roma organization to various international institutions, as well as the recommendations of the EU Council from 2021 on equality, integration and participation of Roma are cited.*

**Keywords:** Roma, empowerment, language, conversational analysis.

### Introduction

#### ***The Roma and Sinti communities in Germany and their self-organization***

Germany is one of the West European countries with diverse groups of Roma and Sinti. One part of Germany's Roma and Sinti communities was settled here for approximately 700 years. They came with the first waves of Roma migrants who came to Europe as Indian refugees, approximately 1,000 years ago from the northwestern areas of India. The other segment of Roma comprises migrants from different East European countries. Some of the migrant Roma came in the

1960s and '70s, mainly from former Yugoslavia. A third segment of the Roma came in recently – after the entry by some East European and Balkan countries into the EU members.

The Roma groups have different cultural backgrounds – different religions and speak different Romani dialects as mother tongues. The cultural background in some cases is an obstacle for communication, solidarity, and mutual aid among different Roma communities. However, recently there have been more cases of cooperation between representatives of different Roma groups and Sinti, establishing non-governmental organizations or small organizations to help Roma.

It is known that the Roma from Bulgaria is in cities such as Berlin, Bremen, Hamburg, and Duisburg. The Romanian Roma are concentrated in cities such as Berlin, Frankfurt am Main, Cologne, while the Polish Roma are mainly in Berlin and Hamburg; the Serbian Roma are concentrated in cities such as Berlin, Dusseldorf, and Hamburg. In most of these cities, the Roma created their own organizations and they help the Roma communities with information, translating letters and documents, serving as a bridge between institutions and the communities.

### ***Roma communities: poverty and racism***

Different studies by international organizations such as the Minority Rights Group in London, (Guy and Kovats (n.d.) and individual researchers, such as Lajcakova (2007) have reported about the situation of Roma in East European countries. The Minority Rights Group in a report about EU-funded projects in Hungary, Slovakia and in Czech Republic notes that the study uses different «methods of participatory evaluation to identify the experience of Roma beneficiaries and other stakeholders in the projects, and makes recommendations for improving the effectiveness and efficiency of future EU-funded initiatives aimed at improving the lives of Roma people in the Central and Eastern European region. The lessons learnt are relevant to a new wave of accession states with significant Roma populations as well as to other poor and excluded groups in such countries». Lajcakova's study (2007) also makes more or less the same recommendation: «attempts to «adapt» the minority should be replaced by the transformation of mainstream institutions that would facilitate the inclusion of the Roma along with more balanced recognition policies». Regarding Romani education, the author argued that the integration approach should aim to achieve the inclusion of Romani children in the mainstream educational system while at the same time the state should offer classes of and in the Romani language (p. 83).

In a study about poverty and discrimination of Roma in Europe, Tomovska (2010) claims that systematic violations of human rights along with the lack of opportunities and advancement of quality of life deepen human insecurity among the Roma. The author suggests five sets of security concerns to be examined: economic, health, personal, community and political security threats. The human security model can be used as a basis for further policy and reforms in this area. Tomovska (2010) comes to the conclusion that «the human security paradigm for protection and empowerment of Roma communities throughout Europe needs to be recognized as a priority» (p. 82).

Acton and Ryder (2013) in a study on Roma civil society and partnership between Roma communities and Roma civil society, national governments and European institutions, argue that inclusive community development can have transformative potential by promoting a 'Social Europe', a vision of society based on solidarity, equality, social justice and internationalism.

In 2013 the European Parliament produced a report on empowerment of Roma women in Hungary. The report analyses the existing living conditions of Romani women. The analysis shows that the present living conditions of Romani women in Hungary call for intervention. The national Roma inclusion strategy may have positive impacts on women's empowerment, but its effectiveness is limited.

Analyzing the EU policy towards Roma integration, D'Agostino (2014) recommended to the EU:

- «1. Empower Roma grassroots organizations through community capacity building.
2. Develop a structured dialogue with Roma grassroots organizations to foster their involvement and active participation in policy-making and consultation processes.
3. Facilitate the access to funding mechanisms at the local level» (p. 3–4)

M. Kovats (2003: 5) writing about the discourse of (anti-)racism between other things says «By now it will be no surprise to learn that in the «looking-glass» world of the Roma issue, even antiracism has been co-opted to serve the right-wing agenda. The discourse has become central to the justification for defining «Roma» people and their interests as collective and unique, as well as for explaining inequality in terms of culture, requiring low-cost, moralistic (that is, rights-based) «solutions». Prejudice and discrimination are real and serious problems for many «Roma» people, yet anti-Roma racism is a complex phenomenon composed of many social, cultural and economic factors. In the brave neo liberal world, given the costs of reintegrating superfluous labour, post-communist economies provide no basis for equal opportunities. Instead, racism has become functional again as a way of rationing resources and facilitating social fragmentation through the revival of traditional social divisions. The fashion for attributing objective disadvantages – unemployment, low life expectancy, slum housing – to racism, ensures not only that conditions continue to deteriorate, but enables elites to deny political responsibility by blaming the popular prejudices for their failure to act. Central and eastern European states have shown themselves unable to mobilise the political and financial resources necessary to prevent the disintegration of most Roma people. European institutions therefore have an important role to play. The extension of EU anti-discrimination provisions to the region provides an opportunity for addressing racist attitudes and behaviour. Yet without a fundamental shift in Europe’s values, even these measures will prove largely ineffective, and may even increase social tensions if crudely implemented» (p. 5)

This review of the literature although limited shows that during last two decade the issue of Roma poverty and racism increased and because of that the empowerment as a necessary step was stressed in several documents and scientific publications. However, the authors have the same understanding of «empowerment». As D’Agostino summarizes it the most common understanding of it is the capacity building and providing knowledge to different groups of Roma.

### ***Roma multilingualism in Europe***

The multilingualism among the Roma communities in most parts of the world is a normal phenomenon. To speak three or more languages and dialects of languages in everyday communication is a natural process for them. For example, in Kosovo, Abercrombie (2021) reports that the Roma speak Romani, Serbian, Albanian and Turkish. From my fieldwork in Macedonia, I had the same observation. The Macedonian Roma speak Romani, Macedonia, Turkish and Albanian.

Pop and Pop (2019) report about the «marginal multilingualism» among Roma in Romania. The authors report that the Roma communities speak Romanian, Hungarian and some variety of Romani. The use of all these languages in everyday communication is quite normal for them. In another study Extra and Yagmur (2004) reported that Roma children in Hamburg (Germany) and Goteborg (Sweden) together with their mother tongue Romani they also speak Serbian, Bosnian, Croatian, Russian, Turkish, English.

Byram (1998) writes that the teaching languages to multilingual classrooms is not only of teaching a language, but also it is a process of strengthening the identity. Learning/speaking more than two languages the children do not lose their mother tongue but it is opposite it gives them a strong feeling that they have to know it better in order to understand the other languages as well.

### **Roma empowerment studies conducted in Germany**

Among Roma and Sinti organizations in Germany, research has been carried out on the empowerment of the communities.

The methods used for conducting the research are structured questionnaires divided into 7 sections and free interviews with some Roma representatives. Out of 76 Roma and Sinti organizations in all of Germany, 70 responded to the questionnaires. The free interviews were conducted with 70 Roma and Sinti individuals.

The analyses were done qualitatively and quantitatively. For the qualitative analysis, methods from sociolinguistics are employed: discourse analyses and code-switching.

The written answers to the questionnaires were in German, but a few questionnaires were also answered using Romani or English.

The free interviews were also conducted primarily in German, and several also in Romani. Although all the participants in the study (interviewers and interviewees) are Roma or Sinti and are speakers of different Roma dialects, the language used during the interviews was German. However, German is the second language for all of them and sometimes in order to understand each other they switched to different languages. The language used during the interviews is marked by features of the everyday conversational language. According to Francis and Hunston (1992), the structure of this kind of conversation is the following:

Initiation	→ opening
Response	→ answering
Follow-up	→ following up.

In sociolinguistics the classical method of spoken narrative as used by Labov (1972) is also familiar. The structure of the narrative according to this methodology is orientation, complicating action, evaluation, result or resolution, coda.

Among bilinguals and multilinguals, as is the case of the Roma in the study here, another sociolinguistic phenomenon is also observed: borrowing and/or code switching. According to Myers-Scotton (1995), code-switching has its social motivation. Borrowing according to Myers-Scotton is on a lexical level and code-switching is on sentential level. Code-switching could be intra-sentential and inter-sentential. That depends on the context, situation, and topic of the conversation. Code-switching also can be «situational» and «metaphorical».

This paper presents a case study of a single Romani speaker. In analyzing the free interview methods drawn from sociolinguistics conversational analysis and analyses of code-switching were used.

### **Results**

An analysis was made of the speech of a single respondent. The study aim is to identify the key patterns for further conversational analysis of bilingual Romani speakers.

The speaker is a young Roma man from ex-Yugoslavia, living in Germany and multilingual, speaking Romani, Serbian, German and English. He was born in ex-Yugoslavia and at the age of 3 relocated with his family to Germany.

He is educated and he is an activist taking part in different political events nationwide. His German language proficiency is very high and in the interview one can see that often the speaker borrows lexical items from English, he also uses Romani borrowings albeit very rarely. He also makes use of another communicative strategy: creating new lexical items in German, combining two known lexemes.

#### ***Situational lexical borrowing***

##### *English borrowings*

As shown in example 1, the speaker borrows the word *bridge* from English while speaking German:

Ex. 1: *Dann glaube ich, dass der Prozess des Empowerments bei mir die Begegnungen mit Menschen waren, die mir einfach auch eine Bridge gegeben haben, mit denen ich mich auf einer Brücke treffen konnte, auf so einer imaginären «Achtungsbrücke» sag ich mal.*

[Then I think that the process of empowerment for me was the encounters with people who simply also gave me a bridge, with whom I could meet on a bridge, on such an imaginary 'Achtungsbrücke' I say.]

The speaker knows the German word *Brücke*, but uses the English lexeme *bridge* and then he translates it into German and explains its meaning. Why does he do that? What is his motivation to use the word first in English? Actually, this is done purposely and is a kind of strategy – using the word *bridge* he wants to signal his awareness of English as a lingua franca and perhaps show us that he has a social status equal to that of the interviewer or even that he has a higher status. Important as an English term here is also the use of the term *empowerment* instead of the German equivalent. He also creates a compound term «*Achtungsbrücke*» in German, a «bridge of attention».

In example 2, the borrowed English word is *open-minded*.

Ex. 2. *Roma sind nicht homogen, sie sind heterogen, das heißt, jeder hat auch viele andere Erfahrungen gemacht. Also open-minded zu sein, offen zu sein und vielleicht das eine mit dem anderen zu unterscheiden, das fällt vielen leicht, aber vielen aber auch nicht, deshalb will ich das gar nicht so pauschal sagen, dass alle ein Problem damit haben.*

[Roma are not homogeneous, they are heterogeneous, which means that everyone has had many different experiences. So being open-minded, being open and perhaps distinguishing one from the other is easy for many, but also not for many, so I don't want to say that everyone has a problem with it.]

Here again the speaker uses the same approach. First, he uses the English term *open-minded* and after that he explains it in German. The use of one and the same expression in both languages has its social meaning – it shows that the speaker knows both languages, but the use of English adjective places the speaker in a somewhat higher social bracket.

In example 3 the speaker uses two other English words although he knows perfectly well the equivalents lexemes in German. The English words are *family* and *happy*.

Ex. 3. *Ich brauch aber auch meine family und so und deshalb, wenn ich da ausgegrenzt werden würde, dann würde ich auch nicht happy sein. Und alles andere ist mir Wurscht.*

[But I also need my family and so, if I would be excluded, then I would not be happy. And I don't care about anything else.]

Why doesn't the speaker use the word *Familie* and *glücklich* speaking in German? This mode of mixing, inserting English words, reminds the listener that he has a different, in some sense more internationally-minded status. English has a high prestige in society. Even just a borrowed word from English, speaking any other language puts the speaker in a different category – the category of the better educated, shows that the speaker is intelligent and has a higher social status as reflected in his hybrid lexical discourse.

As can be seen from the examples. the speaker tends to uses more nouns and adjectives than verbs in the process of borrowing.

#### *Romani borrowing*

In the data there is just one case of Romani borrowing. Speaking about the Roma history and the Romaphobia, he uses the word *Porajmos*, and after that explains the meaning of it, referring to it by the internationally known term Holocaust. The use of *Porajmos*, which is not much known in popular historical discourse even among the Roma, serves to show that the speaker is familiar with international terminology regarding Roma and shows that he is a Roma activist.

The use of English and Romani borrowings while speaking German shows that he is capable of switching from one language to another, and is operating with three language systems. Of course, the speaker knows that and he plays with it while speaking with the interviewer, trying to underscore discursively his enhanced social position.

#### *Sentential code-switching*

The speaker makes use not only of lexical borrowings but also sentences in English, as in example 4.

*Ex. 4. gerade mit geraden Rücken im Spiegel gucken kann und sagen kann, I know where I came from.*

[I can look straight in the mirror with a straight back and say, I know where I came from]

The sentence *I know where I come from* shows the speaker's security and his level of freedom in society. He does not have any problems with himself, his identity and ethnic background. He has the confidence to speak openly about everything. And exactly the use of English sentence serves to emphasize his emancipation and empowerment, alluding to his Romani background using an English sentence in an otherwise German discourse narrative.

Example 5 presents another instance of sentential code-switching.

*Ex. 5. Ich bin nicht alleine auf dieser Welt und meine Gefühle haben eine gewisse Validität. Also sie sind valide, sie sind messbar an bestimmten Punkten und das kannst Du nur machen, wenn Menschen ähnliche Erfahrungsberichte haben und deshalb war es für mich super wichtig, dem ganzen auch einen politischen Charakter zu geben. Okay go for it! Queer Roma muss raus.*

[I am not alone in this world and my feelings have a certain validity. So they are valid, they are measurable at certain points and you can only do that if people have similar testimonials and so it was super important for me to give it a political character as well. Okay go for it! Queer Roma has to go out.]

The use of the expression *Okay go for it!* shows agreement with a personal value and aim, in this case that the queer Roma must be more visible in the society. The sentence is not translated into German. The speaker supposes that the interviewer understands the meaning of it and this is why he does not translate it. The appeal with this sentence is that it underscores: the Roma (in this case queer Roma) should be emancipated and visible, as a marker of self-confidence.

It is interesting that both sentences are not translated into German. When the speaker was using the lexical borrowings, there was always kind of translation and explanation in German. Not translating the sentences but just using it in English is a discourse strategy. Before and after using the sentence there is always an explanation given about something in German. So in this case the code-switching into English with a sentence is another way of giving the same message which was expressed in German. a mode of emphasis. The strategy can show two things to the listener – the status of the speaker and his emancipation/empowerment.

### **Discourse strategy.**

#### ***Cursing***

Answering some of the interviewer's questions, the speaker also uses another discourse strategy – cursing. Jay (2000) in her book *Why we curse. A neuro-psycho-social theory of speech* states that the curse words express states of emotion: «They intensify emotional expression in a manner that is not possible with non cursive words» (p. 17).

Cursing is used by the speaker below in several examples. In the first example, he explains about the educational system in Germany, noting that he is not happy with it. To show his disappointment with the system he uses cursing language.

*Ex. 6. Deswegen kann ich für mich stolz behaupten und das ist auch Teil meines Empowerments Gedankens, dass ich dem deutschen Bildungssystem den Arsch ins Gesicht zeigt*

*habe und gesagt habe, hier fuck you, mit mir nicht, ich zeige euch, dass es geht, es ist zwar ein harter Weg.*

[That's why I can proudly claim for myself, and that's also part of my empowerment idea, that I showed the German education system the ass in the face and said, here fuck you, not with me, I'll show you that it's possible, although it's a hard way.]

The cursing words are used in both German and English. The borrowed English expression **fuck you** shows the anger of the speaker and his protest in criticizing the German educational system. Most probably he knows other German expressions which he could use to express his anger, but he prefers to use a common vulgarity in English. Why? For the speaker it is clear that using English cursing will place him on a higher level of social status. He also uses a metaphorical expression from Romani as a calc into German **den Arsch ins Gesicht zeigt**. It is a cultural expression which means that he got what he wanted although there were difficulties, and the other hand he was a kind of outsider but succeeded nonetheless. However, there is a second meaning of the use of this metaphorical expression as well. Using such vulgar vocabulary with someone you humiliate that person, you show that you do not have respect for them, and in Roma culture you in a sense pollute the interlocutor. In Roma culture when someone pr an institution is polluted you do not communicate with that person or institution. S/he or it is outside of the community and no one communicates with him/her/it. The target reference here is the German educational system and its representatives.

Example 7 also has vulgar expressions.

*Ex. 3. Der Nino hat sich da auch rausgekämpft. Mit meiner Hilfe mit meiner Unterstützung und Vanessa hat es direkt mit Abitur hinbekommen (luftholend) und das ist für mich halt schon so mhm ziemliches ähm Vorgefühl von es ich habe geschafft. Ich habe geschafft. Du hast es hinbekommen, dass deine Kinder zu mindestens ein etwas einfacheren Bildungsweg hatten als du. Gerade deine Tochter ähm und das stärkt enorm und das gibt einem auch das Gefühl auch ähm, das klingt doof, also ich will nicht sagen, **das hat sich gelohnt diese Scheiße zu fressen. Nein, diese Scheiße zu fressen, hat sich überhaupt nicht gelohnt.***

[Nino has also fought his way out of it. With my help, with my support, and Vanessa got it right with the Abitur (taking a breath) and that is for me just already so mhm quite a sense of I've made it. I have made it. You managed that your children had at least a somewhat easier educational path than you. Especially your daughter um and that strengthens you enormously and that also gives you the feeling also um, that sounds stupid, so I don't want to say that it was worth it to eat this shit. No, eating this shit was not worth it at all.]

The speaker is angry about the education of the children. And it seems that even though as an activist he was fighting to make the situation better, it is clear that the situation did not change. It seems he is sorry about the lost time in the past to achieve something which today is no longer as good as it use to be. Using such an expression in German is clear that he can express his emotions much better. He had to grapple with discrimination and some say it makes you stronger (**das hat sich gelohnt diese Scheiße zu fressen**), but he says it had no such supposed value.

### **Neologisms**

Only a person who knows very well a language can play with it effectively. Some of the strategies used by very good speakers of a language are when they use a word with one meaning and transfer that meaning to another word or object, which is not very usual. This is the way metaphors are born. For example, a child is seen as beautiful as a snow. In these cases more nouns and adjectives are used, as grammatical categories.

Verbs are more difficult or impossible to transfer. During the interview, the speaker creates some neologisms in German which are verbs and actually the verbs are more difficult to be created as neologisms. Here are some examples without further context from the interview:

- 1) *segradiert* is a new nonce verbal created on the basis of combining *segregate* and *degrade* in English. The meaning of the new verb is degradation through segregation;
- 2) *verkriminalisiertwirst* uses a verb which does not commonly exist in German, and it is created by the speaker in order to express the meaning of process of criminalizing someone, a process that goes beyond the boundaries. The standard term in German is simply *kriminalisiert*;
- 3) *resilienzverfahren* is a newly created verbal noun as a compound which shows the elasticity of a process, and it means that the process could be taken in different directions.

### Conclusion

It is impossible to make any conclusions on the language of empowerment among Roma in Germany, just analyzing one interview. But still some tendencies are clear. The whole interview give us a metainformation about empowerment. This metainformation is expressed through a metalanguage which the speaker uses. According to Stefanova (2014) and Mertz and Yovel (2003) the core function of metalanguage is its role in constituting and framing ongoing discourse. In other words, metalinguistic features can be performatives whose domain is discourse. They do not merely discuss the communicative code but actually shape it. My observations show the following linguistic phenomenon from the metalanguage.

1. The speaker has very good knowledge of German. It is also obvious that he has a good knowledge of English as well. The way how he speaks German gives us information who he is.

2. Speaking German, the speaker uses some strategies known from sociolinguistics such as lexical borrowing or sentential code-switching to English. This strategy is used to give us the metainformation that he has a high status in the society, and he is at the same equal level as the researcher.

3. Cursing is another discourse strategy used by the speaker. This strategy demonstrates that the speaker is empowered and emancipated. Although with Roma origin through his language he gives the metainformation that he is very much German as well, or at the same level as the Germans.

4. The good knowledge of the German language gives the possibility to the speaker to create neologism in German. This makes the speaker an interesting interlocutor and shows that he can play with the metalanguage. This could be done only by a person who has a high self-esteem, who knows his position in the society and has the inner freedom to express himself in any possible way using the language as a tool.

The empowerment and emancipation of the Roma in Germany was demonstrated very clearly in the first week of the Russian-Ukrainian war in February 2022 when many Roma organizations from all over the world, and especially from Germany, a great many Roma individuals, including the author of the present article, launched protests and demonstrations against Putin's attack on Ukraine. Living together with other nationalities in Ukraine are more than 400,000 Roma. Roma from all over the world started to collect money, food, and clothing to send to the Ukrainian Roma. But even in a war situation, when Roma were trying to escape from the war, they were not well received in some EU countries. In the German Roma NGO *Roma Nation.org*, its director Marko Knudsen posted on the website of his organization the Ukrainian flag with the logo "Ukrainian Roma lives matters." In March 2022, he sent an open letter to the United Nations Commission for Human Rights, with a statement which is the best example of Roma empowerment using language as a tool of struggle:

"In recent reports of the nonprofit organization RomaNation.org and other media, unfortunate and horrifying trends have been noted. While Roma in Ukraine and in the



European Union have too long been victims of bias and of unequal treatment, the recent conflict and refugee wave have given new and awful examples. Antiziganism/Antigypsyism shows its ugly face in Europe. Even as Roma are fighting bravely in defense of Ukraine – just as they fought and won medals in the Soviet Army against the fascist enemy, and just as many Roma fought in so many other European wars for nations they live in. *The sympathy and solidarity that EU countries show to the people of Ukraine and to white, ethnic Ukrainian refugees does not extend to Romani Ukrainians”*

The most recent developments in the Russian-Ukrainian war in early June 2022 show an increase in Antigypsyism towards Roma. The Romani people fleeing from Ukraine and reaching neighboring countries have reported disparate, discriminatory treatment at the borders and at the hands of border patrols, humanitarian relief workers and volunteers, who apparently share the racist biases, manifest in real anti Roma behavior in all the countries involved.

Roma from all over the world supporting Ukraine in the war against Putin also feel empowered to speak, write and protest against the forms of Antigypsyism.

### Statement

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**Соціально-комунікативна мова  
розищення прав та можливостей рома: тематичне дослідження**

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(Польща).

**Анотація**

**Проблема дослідження.** У цій статті представлені результати дослідження функціонування ромської мови в Німеччині. Бідність ромських громад у Європі є причиною зростання расизму майже в усіх країнах ЄС. З іншого боку, ромські громади стають більш організованими та демонструють реакцію на форми расизму. Однією з форм реакції ромів є емансипація та розширення прав і можливостей мови, якою вони користуються.

**Метою статті** є демонстрація шаблонної моделі мовного аналізу усного розмовного тексту. У статті також показано розширення можливостей ромської громади в Німеччині, яка відкрито виступає проти існуючих форм антироманізму.

**Методи та методика.** Було досліджено мовлення одного молодого рома, який говорить ромською мовою, народився в Сербії та мігрував до Німеччини в дитинстві. У своїй повсякденній комунікативній екології він володіє чотирма мовами: ромською, сербською, німецькою й англійською. Для аналізу його мовлення використано соціолінгвістичні методи. Розмовляючи німецькою мовою, ром використовує лексичні одиниці з ромської й англійської мов й водночас використовує різні соціолінгвістичні стратегії, що відомі серед багатомовних мовців.

**Результати** показують, що носій ромської мови вільно володіє німецькою мовою й використовує ситуативні лексичні запозичення з ромської й англійської мов, «перемикання» речень, стратегії дискурсу, зокрема лайливі слова та неологізми. Представлена модель аналізу мовлення може бути використана для подальших соціолінгвістичних досліджень, які спрямовані на аналіз даних усної розмовної мови.

У **висновках** статті продемонстровано розширення можливостей ромів щодо підтримки України в російсько-українській війні та засуджено антироманізм під час вищезгаданої війни. Як ілюстрація розширення прав і можливостей цитується заклик

ромської організації до різних міжнародних інституцій, а також рекомендації Ради ЄС від 2021 року щодо рівності, залучення й участі ромів.

**Ключові слова:** роми, розширення можливостей, мова, розмовний аналіз.

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