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Language and the representation of Romani identity on websites

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Language and the representation of Romani identity on websites

Introduction

Languages serve social and symbolic functions, quite apart from their practical communicative uses. This is true of all languages but is especially pertinent in the case of Romani, the language of the Roma people. In this article we examine the public discourse surrounding Romani through an analysis of websites which discuss the Roma. A key function of websites is to portray the world view of organisations or individuals who manage them in order to influence the opinions of the reader. Websites act as a representation of the organisation that authored them and are important mechanisms through which to present an image of the organisation. Therefore, the websites of activist organisations represent those organisations' views on Roma identity, of which the Romani language may be a key facet. The aim of this research is to unpack prevailing themes surrounding the discussion of the Romani language. Using publicly available material from websites we ask: how does the Romani language contribute to the depiction of Roma identity by individuals and organisations?

The four most apparent themes we extracted from the sample are: the concept that Romani is an identity marker of the Roma people, that Romani is the key to the Roma people's history, that Romani is an important cultural artefact, and finally the argument that the status of Romani should be improved in order to promote and preserve the language.

In total our sample included 100 websites. Data were collected through an internet search for 'Roma/Romani' and then by following links on the initial websites surveyed. The sample was first accessed in 2011. The data was then re-examined in October 2013. 39 of the websites in the sample had British English as their main language; other strongly represented languages were French (10), Czech (5), Italian (6) and Hungarian (6). For a full breakdown of languages included in the sample please see the Appendix. Over half of the sample websites appeared to be run by NGOs (56), 16 appeared to be personal sites run by individuals and 10

presented themselves as news sources; a full break down of the organisation type represented in the sample is available in the appendix.

Public discourse on Roma rights

Much of the public discourse on the Roma and the Romani language stems from organisations and individuals who have an interest in political issues affecting the Roma people. Thus we examine the public discourse on Romani within the context of the wider Roma political movement. By ‘Roma political movement’ we mean any action which seeks to promote Roma rights and pride in Roma heritage and culture. The pervading political reality makes it pertinent for those working to promote Roma rights to present the Roma as a ‘nation’, that is an ethnic group that shares a culture and an identity. In this research we assess situations in which Romani has been used as an instrument to achieve these political aims. Such a ‘nation’ presentation links Roma groups across Europe and the world under one identity rather than regarding each Roma community as a separate unit. The advantage of this presentation is that the Roma can be represented on a trans-national level. The idea is that trans-national bodies can then protect the Roma from abuse that they face in individual states (Beck 1994:182). Furthermore, the international stage is an environment in which groups may exercise political influence based on moral obligation rather than strength, which is advantageous for Roma activists as the Roma are not a powerful group anywhere in Europe and have been historically marginalised.

For this reason, some Roma activist organisations may strategically propagate the concept of a Roma nation in their discourse by emphasizing unity and shared culture. Examples of this strategy can be seen below in the presentation of the Roma on the websites of various organisations. The nation presentation establishes Roma identity as one which remains separate from the socioeconomic position of the community. This is in opposition to the ‘lifestyle’ narrative which presents the status of ‘Gypsy’ as a function of social problems, such as poverty or a lack of education. The ‘lifestyle’ narrative is dispreferred by many organisations as it associates Roma identity with stigmatising social problems rather than a culture and ethnicity as in the ‘nation’ narrative. Additionally, the nation narrative allows discrimination against the Roma to be framed as racism rather than any other, less politically salient, form of discrimination. Racism is heavily legislated against at the European level by pan-European policies such as, for example, the Directive on Racial Equality (Council

Directive, 2000). Such legislation means that framing discrimination as a racist issue is a powerful tool in combating inequality.

Since the late 1980s European institutions have taken an increasing interest in the groups who fall under the umbrella term ‘Gypsy’. Prior to the 1990s, the Roma were not specifically legislated for by international actors, but were subsumed under generic terms of ‘nomad’ or ‘travellers’ (Róvid 2011:2). In 1993 the Council of Europe Assembly recommendation 1203 on the Gypsies of Europe (Council of Europe, 1993) described the Roma as a ‘true European minority’, thereby acknowledging their status as an ethnic-national group. Moreover, this recommendation encouraged the Council to grant consultative status to “representative international Gypsy organisations”. More recently, in April 2011, the Council of the European Union issued ‘An EU Framework for National Roma Integration Strategies up to 2020’ (Council of Europe 2011) which aims to form pan-European policies for increased social inclusion of the Roma people. In order to be able to categorize the people referred to in such documents this EU approach implies that the Roma who reside in different countries are part of the same ethnic group or even ‘nation’, though the term is not explicitly used. In this environment of international activism many initiatives and organizations that work to promote Roma rights are international in their outlook and scope which again entails regarding diverse Roma communities as parts of a whole.

The International Romani Union (IRU), which was founded in 1971 at the First World Romani Conference, has been an important player in the Roma movement. Their first conference led to the adoption of the Roma national flag and a commitment to the Roma people becoming recognised as an ethnic group with central political representation. This was further articulated in 1990 in the ‘declaration of nation’ from the International Romani Union. The IRU strongly promotes the ‘nation’ narrative and officially supports a standardised Romani language. They received support from the Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi who recognised the Roma as an ‘Indian diaspora nation’. The IRU was also given consultative status by the United Nations Economic and Social Council Sub-Commission on the Promotion and Protection Human Rights. Since then the IRU’s efforts have been somewhat disjointed and many other organisations have emerged to promote Roma civil rights.

Organisations do not always adhere as strongly to the nationhood narrative as does the IRU, which called in 2000 for the Roma to be recognised as an ‘a-territorial European nation’ (Vermeersch 2007:161). The European Roma and Traveller Forum (ERTF), which holds

consultative status at the Council of Europe, defines the Roma as a “European national minority”. This acts to reassure those of their member organisations who feel that the non-territorial nation narrative threatens the civil rights of Roma in the countries they reside in by bringing into question the Roma’s claim to citizenship of those countries and further ostracising them from mainstream society. For example, the Central Council of German Sinti and Roma, which is the most influential German Roma organisation, reject the notion of representation for the Roma at the European level. They also do not agree with the promotion of Romani language and culture by the state, seeing these as private domains to be managed by Roma families by themselves (Matras 2014). There are a plethora of national, pan-European, and international organisations which aim to promote the civil rights of and empower the Roma. Each will present their own interpretation of the identity of the Roma, many using Romani as a tool in this presentation. It is these representations which we examine in this research.

Roma identity and nationhood

According to some ethnographic works (Gay Y Blasco 2001, Stewart 1997, Theodosiou 2004) some of those categorised under the term ‘Roma’ do not consider this as a crux of their identity but may only identify strongly with their own particular community. Vermeersch states that “many of the people who are considered to possess that identity do not think of themselves as ‘Roma’ but as members of particular descent groups in particular nation-states” (2005:453). One aspect which contributes to this view is that the ‘history’ of the Roma is a relatively recent discovery. The Roma have historically been regarded as an immigrant race from overseas, but there is no historical record of a collective awareness of their Indian origin. There is no evidence from medieval accounts of the Roma that the Roma groups had any idea of the Roma’s origins in India. As the Roma did not provide a ‘history’ for themselves they became surrounded in mythologies which incorrectly presented them as having come from Egypt. This can be seen in the label ‘Gypsy’ which stems from the English word at the time for ‘Egyptian’. This trend is repeated in other languages, for instance the Greek word for gypsy, *Yifti* is derived from the medieval Greek word *Ægypti* for ‘Egyptian’ (Matras, 2014).

Since prevailing notions of nationhood require a people to have a common history (see Handler 1988), the discovery of the Indian origins of the Romani language and thus the Roma people has political significance. It has given the Roma a stronger historical narrative

which is utilised in various ways as we will examine below. However, the emergence of this ‘new’ history is regarded by some as only being of interest to politically minded Roma and outsiders. Our research on discourses surrounding Romani shows a strong tendency from political minded organisations like NGOs to focus on this history for reasons discussed above. Of the 14 NGOs that explicitly discussed the Romani language, 11 focused on its unifying properties or its history. However, it is not only politically minded Roma who are interested in the history of Romani and the Roma. During her fieldwork in Moscow Lemon found that awareness of an Indian heritage was growing among Russian Roma. She reports that most of the Roma she encountered in Russia showed great interest in India. In her experience Roms would often collect Bollywood posters or have their photographs taken in saris. This demonstrates that, at least in some places, the Indian origin of the Roma is taken seriously by Roma people themselves (2006: 98).

In the classic nationhood model a nation is attached to a territory. This applies to both official nation states supported by political borders and minority ethnic groups which claim a particular region (even if that region crosses political borders). This is a significant issue in the representation of the Roma and contributes to the importance of the Romani language in narratives of Roma nationhood. Indeed, Patrick Williams has suggested that the Romani language acts as sort of substitute for territoriality, in that it marks the boundaries of the Roma world (Williams 1984:389 in Stewart 1997:235). In this definition of the Roma people anyone who speaks, or whose ancestors spoke, the Romani language is a member of the Roma nation (Matras 2012:4). Stewart observed that the Romani language provides a ‘potent means of exclusion’ for the Vlach Hungarian Roma whom he worked with. For these Roma, speaking Romani acted as a way of drawing a boundary between what is Roma and who is not (1997:45). This is observed in our analysis of the discourse publicly available on websites, where Romani is emphasised as a defining characteristic of ‘being Roma’.

Romani language as a key facet of Romani identity

Of the 100 websites examined in the sample we found 42 made no mention of the Romani language at all. An analysis of the public discourse available in the websites which did discuss the Romani language suggests four key themes. Firstly, Romani is often used to identify and define the Roma, at least in part. 8 of the websites from our sample utilised the Romani language as an identity marker for the Roma people. Secondly, the linguistic origins

of Romani are often discussed as they reflect the history of the Roma people themselves, we found that 20 websites of the sample were explicit in recounting the history of the Romani language. The third apparent theme from the sample was the presentation of the Romani language as a cultural artefact of the Roma people. In this representation the Romani language is used as a concrete example of ‘culture’ which is unique to the Roma, but also part of their everyday life. Our analysis found 9 websites that promoted Romani in this way. Lastly, the analysis found that there is public discussion surrounding the status of Romani as a language, as organisations and individuals seek to enhance the status of the language as a method of improving the status of the people who speak it.

Some of the websites belonging to Romani organizations or initiatives included a section that introduced the Roma people, but many did not explicitly define the Roma or give any information about their culture. In these cases knowledge of the Roma is presupposed and the Romani language is not brought into the discussion. Notable examples of this are the websites of the European Roma and Traveller Forum¹ and the European Roma Rights Centre². In this research we have acknowledged such examples and included them in our sample, though it has not been possible to assess their identity narrative of the Roma people.

As a result of their dispersion across Europe and the world the Roma are group that is difficult to define by factors that usually accompany ethnicity, most notably territory. As a result they are sometimes defined as a ‘lifestyle’ group, or a socioeconomic class. Those working to improve the situation of the Roma do not favour this definition for reasons discussed above. The Romani language provides a contrast to this and allows the Roma to be defined by their language, an ethnic trait, which identifies and unifies the Roma. An example of Romani being used to define the Roma is found on the website for Pavee Point³, an Irish organisation which advocates for the human rights of both Irish Travellers and the Roma who live in Ireland. In the frequently asked questions section the website answers the question ‘who are the Roma?’ by identifying them as ‘a minority ethnic group that originated in Northwest India’ and goes on to say that ‘they speak a Sanskrit based language called Romani that now exists in similar forms across European countries’. This is an organisation which promotes the welfare of all ‘gypsies’ or ‘travellers’ both Irish Travellers and Roma.

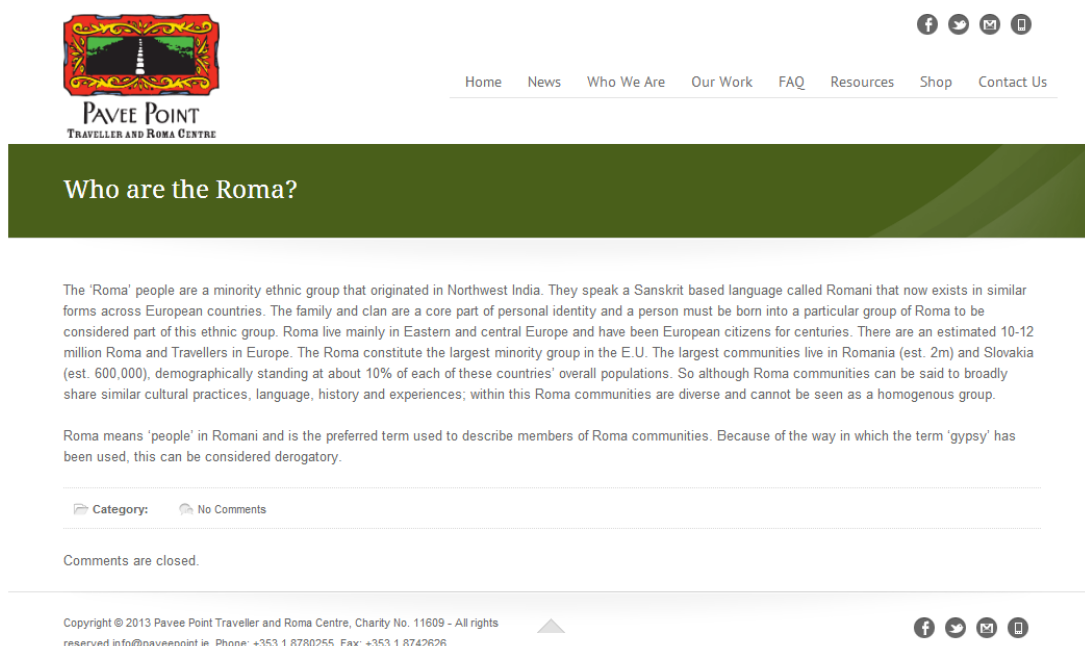
¹ <http://ertf.org/> Date Accessed 28/10/2013

² <http://www.errc.org/> Date Accessed 28/10/2013

³ <http://paveepoint.ie/> Date Accessed 30/10/2013

Due to long the long held association of these two groups it is not surprising to find an NGO that caters to the needs of both groups. The website does distinguish throughout the site between Roma and Irish Travellers. In the above example the Romani language is used in part to make that distinction explicit to those who may not know that they are two separate groups. This definition of the Roma highlights that they are from India and speak a common language which has its origins in Sanskrit. This definition of the Roma not only identifies the Roma by their language but also associates their language with a historical narrative. This is a common theme which we will return to further in this article.

Figure 1: Pavee Point FAQ



<http://www.paveepoint.ie/question/who-are-the-roma/>- Date Accessed: 31/10/2013

In the quote above Pavee Point⁴ specifically state that the Roma are an ethnic minority group, the implicit distinction is drawn in opposition to the Roma being a ‘lifestyle group’ and the Romani language is used as an example to bolster this point. This pattern is repeated on the French website Romanitude⁵, a news blog dedicated to the Roma which seems to be run by two individuals, one of whom, Jean-Pierre Dacheux, appears to be an academic with an interest in the Roma. The tagline of the website is ‘Resistance and romanitude’. In an article entitled ‘Que savons nous des Roms?’ (‘What do we know about the Roma?’) Dacheux writes that the Roma have “a language, customs and conception of family life of

⁴ <http://paveepoint.ie/> Date Accessed 30/10/2013

⁵ <http://www.romanitude.fr/> Date Accessed 30/10/2013

their own” and are “what we call an ethnicity, that is to say, a cultural minority”⁶. In both these instances the fact that the Roma have their own language is used to support the assertion that they are an ethnic minority.

In addition to defining the Roma, the Romani language may be spoken of as a force which binds the Roma together, despite differences of place and lifestyle. An example of this discourse is found on the website for Scottish Gypsies, a website devoted to Scottish Roma family histories seemingly set up by an individual which tells readers that

Their language has been a major unifying force as they have kept Romani as their own, although dialects have developed and their own language has been affected by the language of the nation within which they live.⁷

This text overtly identifies language as a trait that unites the Roma, stating that not only is it indicative of who is a Roma but it is also responsible for maintaining that identity across time. The Scottish Gypsies website seems to be the work of an individual and the difference between opinion and fact is not clearly demarcated. The author is clearly sympathetic to the Roma, though it is not clear if they consider themselves to be one. What is interesting about this example is the importance afforded to the Romani language as a “unifying force” even though the rest of the website is entirely focused on Roma from Scotland. The author seems to consider the history of the Scottish Roma to be the history of all Roma, beginning with the departure from India.

The website of the Union Romani⁸, a Spanish organisation, also credits the Romani language as being a unifying trait of the Roma people by identifying it as the ‘universal gypsy language’. The website states that Romani “makes it possible for all Gypsies to understand and easily communicate with each other”. In this way it heavily stresses Roma unity through Romani. The Union Romani are also involved in promoting the creation of a standardized universal Spanish Romani, which would “dispense with Castilian grammar”⁹. A section of the website explains how this will be done. One of the considerations in this plan is:

⁶ <http://www.romanitude.fr/spip.php?article47&lang=fr> Date Accessed 30/10/2013

⁷ <http://www.scottishgypsies.co.uk/early.html> Date Accessed 30/10/2013

⁸ <http://www.unionromani.org/> Date Accessed 30/10/2013

⁹ <http://www.unionromani.org/ftp/idioma02.asc> Date Accessed 6/12/2011

Facing the alternative, when learning the meaning of a word, between choosing an unknown term appearing in some of these dictionaries or using a word currently used by the Gypsies in the rest of the world, there must be not the slightest doubt. We have to choose the current word, which will allow us to understand and be understood by any Gypsy in any place on the planet¹⁰.

The authors clearly feel that being able to communicate with other Roma in Romani is essential to the Gitanos (Spanish Roma) sense of pride and culture.

A more subtle example of the use of Romani to demarcate who has a Roma identity in the opinion of the websites authors is included in the website ‘Savvy Chavvy’¹¹ an English ‘Social network for young gypsies and travellers in the UK’. In this case an information video on the website which lays down behavioural expectations uses words from the Angloromani lexicon, which a remnant of the group’s Romani speaking past. Certain sentences in the video are only intelligible to those who share this vocabulary. The vocabulary does not make the website inaccessible to non-Roma but serves to highlight who the website is aimed at by giving young Roma a feeling of in-group solidarity due to ‘their’ words being used and shows outsiders that it is not a place for those who do not know the dialect words, i.e. non-Roma. Another example of this use of Angloromani is found on the website of an individual who researches the family history of Roma people in the UK¹². The website opens with a greeting in Romani ‘Latcho Divvus or as some say Kushti Divvus, Nevi Wesh, Kushti Bokt’ but does not go on to actually discuss the Romani language. Here the role of Romani is to signal to those in the know that this is a Romani site, run by one who is part of the group, as evidenced by their knowledge of Romani terms. This is indicative of a belief that it is the Romani language which demarcates the line between the Roma and non-Roma and alludes to in-group solidarity.

¹⁰ <http://www.unionromani.org/ftp/idioma02.asc> Date Accessed 6/12/2011

¹¹ <http://www.savvychavvy.com/> Date accessed 30/10/2013

¹² <http://romanygenes.com/> Date accessed 30/10/2013

Figure 2: Romany Genes Welcome page

<http://romanygenes.com/> Date accessed 30/10/2013

Language as an account of Romani history

The Romani language is considered by many to be the key to understanding the history of the Roma people. That Romani is descended from an Indian language is irrefutable considering the extent of shared vocabulary and structure (cf. Matras, 2002; Turner, 1927; Rüdiger 1782). We can therefore conclude that the language travelled from India with the Roma population into Europe. The extent of Greek loanwords tells us that the group spent a long time in Greece before splitting up to live all over Europe.

There is a particular discourse surrounding the languages history which explicitly highlights the connection to India as being of great cultural significance to the present day Roma. The motivations behind such a discourse are similar to those which relate speaking Romani to being Roma. A group presents better on an International level if they have a collective history to promote and identify with. Interestingly, the Associazione Them Romano¹³ a website which heavily promoted the narrative of a nation without a state did not rely on language at all to make this claim. Instead the Associazione Them Romano tells readers that “The Gypsies represent a trans-national nation without a territory” but does not

¹³ <http://web.tiscali.it/associazionethrom/> Date Accessed 30/10/2013

use the Indian origin of Romani to promote any particular historical narrative of the Roma people.

The History and Language tab of the Journey Folki website presents the Romani language as an instrumental aspect of the Roma people's history. The website is run by an NGO and the authors present themselves as being Roma. In a section called 'The history of the Roma' CJ Eastwood provides a lengthy description of the similarities between Romani and various Indian languages. He affirms "It is without doubt that the Roms have an Indian root. This can be proved with a thorough and in-depth study using a combination of language, customs, belief and DNA." Here the author links the linguistic evidence to other forms of evidence, "customs belief and DNA", in an effort to link the identity of the Roma more strongly with an Indian heritage in the mind of the reader. The idea of unity is at the forefront in this text. It often refers to 'we' and speaks of the Roma as an international group rather than focusing attention on any specific country. For example on the Journey Folki homepage Victor Vishnevsky states:

it is about time to understand that our race was a victim for centuries to the white people, {we were dark when reached Europe} we are a minority in this world, and all this time they took advantage of our ignorance, but today, they have finely realized, that they were wrong, for treating our race with such severity.¹⁴

This discourse highlights the unity of the Romani people across the world using terms like 'us' and referring to the actions of national governments worldwide. It also again emphasises the Roma's journey from India 'we were dark when (we) reached Europe'. Both this text and the history and language text cite Dr. Ian Hancock as the source of their information. Hancock's focus when discussing the Roma is on unity for all Roma people across borders and also in establishing a narrative centring on a shared Indian heritage (Hancock 2002). The Journey Folki website harnesses discussion of the Romani language to present the Roma as a unified separate culture with a long shared history, as Hancock's work does.

¹⁴ <http://www.journeyfolki.org.uk/> Date Accessed 30/10/2013

Figure 3: Journey Folki Welcome Page

The screenshot shows the homepage of the Journey Folki website. At the top, there is a banner with the title "JOURNEY FOLKI" in a stylized font, flanked by images of people and a horse-drawn cart. Below the banner is a navigation menu with links: "History & Culture", "Folk Arts", "Library", "Forums", "Community", and "About Us". A search bar is located on the right side of the menu. The main content area is divided into several sections. On the left, there is a section titled "Home" with a sub-section "Trainers" and a photo of a horse-drawn cart. In the center, there is a heading "Journey Folki" followed by the subtitle "To Promote and Perpetuate Gypsy and Traveller Communities within Britain". Below this is a welcome message: "Welcome, Please look around and make yourself at home. You'll find information about our people and culture, both past and present. Our Library is constantly being updated. Please share any stories, you think others could enjoy. Artists, musicians and poets are invited to step forward for the benefit of all. We have so much to share, both within our communities and without. Here is a good place to start - please join us!". Below the welcome message is a paragraph: "The Board now has a new Moderator and we will be updating all areas of the site We hope to get the site back to its original purpose of discussing all things 'Romany' And of course we are also happy to converse with non Romany folki as I am sure we all have family members from both, so subjects not pertaining to Romany culture or History are also welcome In fact anything that relates, or concerns the human race as a whole. We hope to always show the positive side of our culture and not to sensationalise facts and stories about the Romany people and non Romany and to be truthfull and honest in our aproach on all subjects.". On the right side, there is a section titled "Welcome To Journey Folki" with a photo of a horse-drawn cart and a list of links: "American Romanichals", "Gypsies In Jordan", "LOVING DALSTON", "O NEVO DROM", and "Romany Heritage". At the bottom of the page, there is a URL: "http://www.journeyfolki.org.uk/ Date Accessed 30/10/2013".

In a similar way to Journey Folki, the Roma Routes Project¹⁵ defines the Roma as “descendants of the ancient warrior classes of Northern India, particularly the Punjab, and they are identifiable by their language, religion, and customs, which can be directly linked to those of the Punjabi in northern India”. The Roma Routes project is a European Union supported project which aims promote European Roma cultural heritage. Here again we see the India narrative fore-fronted. This website also claims that the Roma were members of a particular caste whilst they were in India. It is unclear what their sources of information are, other than that it is a project devoted to maintaining the cultural heritage of the Roma, so it is clear that the Roma must then be a separate cultural group with a unique population who share a common history. The text available on the Roma Routes website includes a quote from Milena Hübschmannova and Jaroslav Jurasek which paraphrases a speech by Indira Gandhi, former Prime Minister of India, in which she praises the Roma for their strength in the face of historical adversity and refers to their continuing search for identity whilst they revive their culture and continue to integrate with their host societies¹⁶. In this context it is clear that the author of the text considers this unique culture to be intimately connected to their Indian heritage. It should be noted that this description of the Roma was found on the

¹⁵ <http://www.romaroutes.eu/> Date Accessed 11/07/2011

¹⁶ <http://www.romaroutes.eu/> Date Accessed 11/07/2011

website in 2011 and appears to have subsequently been removed. The website now (October 2013) does not contain and specific definition of the Roma or version of their history.

Another text which promotes the significance of the Indian history, using Romani as a tool, appears the South West Alliance of Gypsies website. The South West Alliance of Gypsies¹⁷ acts as a network for Roma NGOs around the South West. The section which provides general information on different kinds of travellers is authored by an individual, Revd Roger Redding, Chaplain to Gypsies & Travellers, Chairman, SWANomads and he does not make the sources of his information clear. This part of the site describes how ‘foreign’ words were incorporated into the ‘Romany’ language which was previously Sanskrit based. The website describes this Sanskrit based language as the Gypsies ‘native tongue’. Such a description suggests heavily that in the author’s opinion, the most important part of Romani heritage is their Indian ancestry.

Where there was a discussion of the history of the Romani language available from the websites its Indian origin was universally mentioned. However, in addition to this some websites made a special effort to ground Romani in a European context by emphasising the number of loan words from European languages in Romani and vice versa. For example the information pack on the Roma provided by Travellers Times¹⁸ explains that while much of Romani is similar to Indian languages it has picked up vocabulary words from the many countries that they passed through. This serves the dual purpose of informing the reader of the history of the Roma and also highlighting their ‘European-ness’ in light of the fact that they have lived in Europe for centuries. This linguistic narrative characterises both the Roma’s Indian history and European history as having equal relevance. In a similar way a website produced by the Language Council of Sweden emphasised that there have been Romani speakers in Sweden since the 1500s and that Swedish has borrowed some slang terms from Romani, for example ‘pooch’ for ‘dog’.¹⁹ It also provided generic information about Romani’s Indian roots but the extra information regarding adoption of Romani terms in Swedish seems to be intended to highlight the place of the Roma people in Swedish society by pointing out their long standing involvement in the country. This type of presentation was also found on the Romany Wales project website which listed Romani derived English

¹⁷ <http://www.gypsytravellerhelp.org/> Date Accessed 30/10/2013

¹⁸ <http://www.travellerstimes.org.uk/> Date Accessed 30/10/2013

¹⁹ http://www.sprakradet.se/GetDoc?meta_id=2332 Date Accessed 30/10/2013

words²⁰. Language is used here as a tool to demonstrate the longevity of the two communities' relationship.

Figure 4: Romany Wales: English words of Romani origin

The Romani language

The basic grammar and vocabulary of Romani is similar to that of Hindi and Punjabi and therefore suggest its origin to be in North West India. However, it differs greatly throughout the world, with many forms and dialects, having been enriched by the languages of the countries through which the Gypsies travelled or in which they settled. For example, the Romani name for a Gypsy caravan is *vardo*, which comes from the Iranian word *urdon*.

Although Romani is now being written down, traditionally it was an oral language. In order to communicate between themselves, Gypsies developed a system of leaving messages made from natural materials along their route. These signs are called *patrin* or *pateran* and may consist of twigs, leaves, stones, etc arranged in a particular fashion. They might indicate how many are in the group, their direction of travel, or even how friendly the locals are towards Gypsies!

Do you recognise these words?

These everyday English words (followed by their meanings) are derived from Romani

bamboozle (cheat)	lolly (money)
bosh (nonsense)	mockers (jinx)
busk (play music)	mush (mate)
char (cleaner)	nark (informant)
chav (youth)	pal (friend)
corker (lie)	posh (classy)
cosh (stick)	rogue (rascal)
cove (chap)	rum (strange)
cushti (good)	stir (prison)
dad (father)	tanner (sixpence)

<http://www.valleystream.co.uk/romany-history.htm> Date Accessed 30/10/2013

In the sample of public discourse we have analysed, the Romani language's Indian origin is highlighted to exemplify the fact that the Roma are a separate culture distinct from catch all term 'Gypsy' and several make this point explicitly. However, included in the sample is a website called The Gypsy Poet which focuses on an exotic version of the Roma which conflates the romanticised image of 'Gypsies' with the Roma. These are the images of a 'free people' that live outside of the constraints of modern society. Importantly, this is a website set up and run by an individual dedicated to showcasing their own poetry rather than a politically driven individual or organisation. Still, it may be representative of the more informal dialogue surrounding 'Gypsies' which relies heavily on romantic tropes but it is unique in our sample for presenting such a view so uncritically. The site is filled with romantic images of 'Gypsies' and is subtitled "journey into the land of freedom". The text on the part of the page entitled 'Gypsy life and Gypsy lore' is very difficult to read and appears

²⁰ <http://www.valleystream.co.uk/romany-history.htm> Date Accessed 30/10/2013

to be lifted wholesale from various other websites. The Indian origins of the language are discussed several times, along with some unreferenced figures such as “Romany has about 2 million speakers, largely outside India”. The text goes on to state that “The homeland of the Roma, (is) in any case be considered India” and also that “Gypsy women are famous fortune tellers”. This part of the overall website is difficult to find, and this, coupled with its haphazard presentation suggests that providing a narrative of Gypsy history is not a priority of the author. Instead he indulges Gypsy tropes in poems with themes, which include ‘childhood’ and ‘freedom’. Clearly, this site does not indicate the perspective of any organisation but it is an interesting example of how the linguistic history of the Romani language can be presented alongside old stereotypes without comment in a non-political discourse about the Roma people and the Romani language.



ROMANY HERITAGE
<http://romanyheritage.wetpaint.com/>

Share

In the following pages I present a glimpse into the life history and folk lore of the g

Gypsies began to appear in England in the late 14th century - they were dark-skinned with dark hair and became nicked after middle-east travellers from the past.

The gypsies came from India but 'upped' and left in the 11th century probably due to persecution. They began to move from Afghanistan, Persia and Greece before entering the Balkans and spreading throughout Europe.

Originally called 'Domba' the Hindi for 'the people' this slowly changed to become 'Rom' or 'Roma'. The Romani language developed over the centuries from Hindi incorporating new words from the various countries they travelled.

“There are some 15 Million Roms dispersed across the world. Their history is one of suffering and misery, but it is also one of the victories of the human spirit over the blows of fate. Today, the Roms revive their culture and are looking for their identity. On the other hand, they integrate into the societies in which they live. If they are understood by their fellow citizens in their new homelands, their culture will enrich society's atmosphere”.

Figure 5: The Gypsy Poet: Gypsy Life and Lore. Cut of text as appears on the website.

http://www.thegypsypoet.co.uk/gypsy_life_and_gypsy_lore.html Date Accessed: 30/10/2013

Romani as a cultural artefact

Twelve websites in our sample presented Romani as a cultural artefact to be shared and protected. Language is a concrete entity that may be presented as an aspect of culture quite easily. Learning even a few words in another language encourages the learner to appreciate the reality of the culture that the language belongs to in a way that isolated customs do not. Romani is firmly linked with the day to day reality of the Roma people and therefore can be an aide in encouraging respect and tolerance from outsiders. The Gypsy Roma Traveller (GRT) Leeds²¹ website, a resource provided by Leeds council, encourages users to make use of various resources that are available for learning Romani. They state that a Romani workbook and CD available for schools can “affirm and celebrate Roma culture”. This website also hints at possible standardisation, which is a status issue, by suggesting that the resources are available in the Vlach dialect as it is “widely understood by the many Roma from a whole range of Eastern European Countries from where our Roma communities are coming from”. However, the GRT Leeds website’s is main concern with the Romani language is promoting it as a cultural artefact which will enhance outsiders understanding and esteem for the Roma people as a living culture, not an exotic archaism.

Figure 6: Gypsy Roma Traveller Leeds, Romani Language learning recourses



<http://www.grtleeds.co.uk/Culture/languages.html> Date Accessed: 30/10/2013

²¹ <http://www.grtleeds.co.uk/> Date Accessed 30/10/2013

Similar resources can be obtained from the Roma Support Group²² website which also aims to promote respect through teaching outsiders about Roma culture. The Roma Support Group is a British charity which supports Eastern European immigrants and refugees. The charity states on its website that part of its mission is “Making the public aware of Roma culture, heritage and current situation of Roma refugees and migrants in the UK”²³. So providing resources for learning the Romani language fits into this aim.

This attitude is found similarly in websites such as the Slovakian website Roma Požomatar (rómovia od Bratislavy),²⁴ which includes a short mini-course in Romani as well as a Romani- Slovak dictionary. This mini-course appears to be an isolated effort and is not the same quality as the packs and links provided by the British NGOs. This may be a result of the sample or a reflection of the importance placed on minority language and cultures in each country by bodies with access to funds. The Hungarian website Romapage²⁵, a learning portal which provides current news about Roma affairs as well as information about the Roma in general, also contained a language learning section which was more complete, comprising several different lessons. These lessons were still primarily featured texts, however, and it is not clear that there were any further resources available. Interestingly, a Spanish personal blog called ‘Gitanos’²⁶ included a link to the Romani project at Manchester’s Romani learning resource. This may point to a lack of such resources available in Spanish.

²² <http://www.romasupportgroup.org.uk> Date Accessed 30/10/2013

²³ <http://www.romasupportgroup.org.uk> Date Accessed 30/10/2013

²⁴ <http://www.romapozomatar.estranky.sk/> Date Accessed 30/10/2013

²⁵ <http://www.romapage.hu/> Date Accessed 30/10/2013

²⁶ <http://antonioherediaortega.blogspot.co.uk/> Date Accessed 30/10/2013

Figure 7: Romapage Romani language learning resource



<http://www.romapage.hu/Lov%C3%A1ri+k%C3%B6z%C3%A9pfok> Date Accessed 30/10/2013

Whilst other British organisations focused on Romani itself, the Welsh organisation Travelling Ahead²⁷ deals with Angloromani as an expression of Welsh Roma culture. Travelling Ahead is a forum for young Roma and Travellers in Wales. The Travelling Ahead website lists language explicitly under 'Our culture' and includes a video which gives examples of Angloromani words. Such a showcasing of the language is intended to foster pride among speakers and interest and respect among those who are learning about it. As much of what is considered to be 'Roma culture' is disparate or over stereotyped, the Romani language provides an alternative method through which to display community pride.

The status of the Romani Language

Finally, some of the public discussion of Romani surrounds the status of the language itself. Nine of the websites we investigated were concerned with this in some way. The motivations behind this discussion are formed from the other themes running through the discourse surrounding the Romani language in the public domain, which have been mentioned in this

²⁷ <http://www.travellingahead.org.uk/> Date Accessed 30/10/2013

article. These are to promote the interests of the Roma people as a political unit and to foster a sense of pride in culture. The Romani language has a different status in different countries, depending on their attitude towards minority languages and the Roma people in general. In our sample of websites we found an example from the Language Council of Sweden, which provides information on ‘your right to use minority languages’ in various Romani dialects available for download. The website also provided information about books published in Romani.²⁸ The website confirmed that Romani was one of ‘Sweden’s five minority languages’. This demonstrates a very positive attitude towards the Romani language, especially the fact that they have made information about language rights available in Romani dialects. The message is that Romani is recognised, respected and encouraged by the Swedish government. Romani is not an official minority language in the UK. The Traveller’s Times²⁹, reported on a letter to the editor which appeared in the Times newspaper on the 24/07/2013 on this subject and added to their summary:

“The lack of recognition means quality learning materials, like books and CDs, are extremely difficult to find. This in turn means that children miss out on the chance to learn in their ancestral language.”

The text states that without such government intervention as seen in Welsh and Gaelic languages, Romani will continue to decline. The writers of this piece believe that the decline of Romani would be a negative thing, though they do not make explicit why. We can imagine, though, that this is due to the strong association of the Romani language with Roma pride and culture as seen in the examples of discourse in the previous sections. Similarly, the Union Romani³⁰, a Spanish organisation, includes in its list of ‘Rromani Aspirations’ that the Romani language should be considered as one of the European minority languages, and that ‘its lack of territoriality should not adversely affect its protection and development.’³¹ The Union Romani believe that efforts to promote the Romani language have not gone far enough and that teachers should be trained so that Romani may be taught in schools. These ‘aspirations’ request intervention from governments to protect the Romani language, as it is considered an important, but vulnerable facet of the Roma peoples identity.

²⁸ http://www.sprakradet.se/GetDoc?meta_id=2332 Date Accessed 30/10/2013

²⁹ <http://www.travellerstimes.org.uk/list.aspx?c=00619ef1-21e2-40aa-8d5e-f7c38586d32f&n=3f253034-8f0e-418c-b775-1cc1070934e8> 30/7/2013

³⁰ http://www.unionromani.org/pueblo_in.htm Date accessed 30/10/2013

³¹ http://www.unionromani.org/pueblo_in.htm Date accessed 30/10/2013

Figure 8 the Union Romani 'Algunas Aspiraciones Gitanas'

Una oficina de los derechos gitanos- Es imprescindible que las autoridades europeas revisen sus políticas de asilo y migración. La creación de una oficina internacional para la información, orientación y asesoramiento para los derechos del pueblo *romà* sería de gran ayuda en la solución de estos problemas.

Los jóvenes apuestan por su cultura- Los jóvenes *romà* europeos manifiestan su deseo de encontrar un camino que permita conseguir el bienestar social y cultural de su pueblo y su plena incorporación a la sociedad plural europea. Esto implica la necesaria conservación de su patrimonio cultural y de sus tradiciones.

El romanó debería llegar a las escuelas- La lengua romani ha de ser considerada como uno más de los idiomas minoritarios europeos de la **Carta Europea de las Lenguas Regionales y Minoritarias** sin que su aterritorialidad signifique un menoscabo para su protección y desarrollo. Los poderes públicos y las organizaciones *romanè* deben poner en marcha programas de formación de profesorado para la enseñanza del *romanò* en las escuelas públicas. Se impone la protección de la literatura romani estableciendo una política de promoción de las creaciones literarias en *romanò*.

Recuperar valores culturales- Se debería realizar un programa de investigación multidisciplinar e

http://www.unionromani.org/pueblo_es.htm Date Accessed 20/10/2013

In addition to the issue of official status there is the question of standardisation and preservation of the Romani language, in particular standardisation of written Romani. Various people and organisations are attempting to standardise a written form of the language but the majority of texts which exist in Romani are not read widely, and exist for largely symbolic reasons. An example of this effort to standardise written Romani, or at least one dialect of it is found on the website of Çingenelerin Sitesi³², a Turkish organisation which aims to promote understanding between the Roma and non-Roma, is attempting to produce a dictionary of all Romani words in a Turkish Romani dialect. This is despite the fact the website maintains that Çingene (Gypsies) may constitute different races and speak different languages. Therefore this attempt is not an attempt to present the Roma as a unified front but an attempt to conserve the language for its own sake as well as to celebrate the local Çingene culture.

³² <http://www.cingenyiz.org/sozlukkampanya.htm> Date accessed 30/10/2013.

Figure 9: Çingenelerin Sitesi: The Turkish- Romani dictionary

Çingenelerin Sitesine Hoşgeldiniz

Romanlar, Abdallar, Elekçiler, Domlar, Lomlar, Mirtipleri Çingene olarak adlandırılan veya kendisini Çingene olarak kabul eden herkes! Burası sizin siteniz.
Cingeneviz.org Gönüllü Başvuru Formu Radyo Çingene'de Dj Olmak İster misiniz? ENGLISH ANASAYFA

Kampanyalar

Romanca Sözlük Kampanyası

Cingeneviz.org olarak yeni bir kampanya başlatıyoruz. Türkiye'nin çeşitli bölgelerinde konuşulmakta olan çingene dillerine ait temel sözcük ve gramer kurallarını sizin yardımıyla sitemizde yayınlıyacağız. Başlangıç olarak Roman çingenelerinin kullandığı Romani diline ait bir sözlük çalışması yapıyoruz. Kendi çabamızla Laxo ve Xorahane romanlarından derlediğimiz küçük bir sözlüğü aşağıda yayınlıyoruz. Bundan sonra sizin göndereceği kelimeler ve kalıp cümlelerle bu sözlük daha da zenginleşecektir. Bu bölüme katkıda bulunmak isteyen arkadaşlar gerekli bilgilerin yer aldığı bir maille eklemek istedikleri sözcük ve kalıp cümleleri bize ulaştırabilirler.

İrtibat: cingeneviz@yahoo.com

Gerekli Bilgiler:
Bilgileri yollayan kişinin memleketi. Hangi Roman grubuna ait olduğu. Yollanan sözcük ve kalıp cümleler türkçe karşılıkları ile beraber mail adresimize yollanmalıdır.

Organlar

Organlar	Besin Maddeleri	Sıfatlar
Chib: Dil	Ambroll: Armut	But: Çok
Chiba: Diller	Drakh: Üzüm	Buxio: Geniş
Çank: Bacak	Fisiy: Fasulye	Civdo: Canlı
Çhora: Sakal	Linta: Mercimek	Khanlo: Kötü
Danda: Dişler	Mamuxa: Boğurtlen	Mulo: Ölü
Dant: Diş	Mandro: Ekmek	Phuri: Yaşlı(kadın için)
Gi: Karın	Maro: Ekmek	
Kalimco: Çiğer	Kan: Kulak	

<http://www.cingeneviz.org/sozlukkampanya.htm> Date accessed 30/10/2013.

The European Roma and Travellers Forum website³³, which represents the forum that currently represents Roma people at the Council of Europe, contains information on Roma language day which is to be held on the 5th of November. To mark the occasion a presentation on the Romani language was made at the Council of Europe headquarters, including input from a member of the 'committee of experts of regional and minority languages'. This sort of event is aimed at promoting the Romani language among officials in order to improve the status of Romani in member European countries. Such efforts are reflective of the belief that the Romani language is an integral part of the Roma people's culture and that is important for the cultural rights of the Roma people that their language is protected from erosion.

Conclusion

Of the four main themes we discussed in this article, the Indian origin of the Romani language is the most discussed on the websites. In the Appendix we have also coded websites which briefly mentioned the Romani language but did not elaborate on it as part of a narrative on Romani identity. There were 19 such websites in the sample. 56 of the websites in the

³³ <http://ertf.org/index.php/component/content/article/8-news/192-romani-language-day> Date accessed 31/10/2013

sample were created by NGOs. This was the organisation type most represented in the sample. It is unsurprising that the sample contained so many considering the amount of NGOs devoted to dealing with Roma issues which exist across Europe and the world. Where the NGO websites did discuss the Romani language they tended to focus on the identity functions of the language. 7 of the websites discussed the historical origins of Romani and 4 described Romani as a unifying trait of the Roma people. Overall, the most common theme was the Romani language's historical origins. This history was discussed by 20 websites in total, and was the most common theme found in websites maintained by individuals. The presentation of the Romani language as a cultural artefact was found in 16 websites of the sampled and appeared evenly across the most common author types of NGO, individual, and news source. The issue of status occurred across the sites, though it only appeared on the website of one NGO. Status was discussed in two news articles, on a government website and on the website of a missionary organisation. It is difficult to say whether there are more governmental agencies that portray Romani in a similar way to that in which it appears on the Language Council of Sweden's website³⁴.

From this research it is clear that the Romani language is utilised in various ways by various actors in the Roma political movement and those outside it to present specific understandings of the Roma people. Common to all discussion of the Romani language found in this sample is a desire to engender respect for the Roma people from outsiders and pride in Roma heritage from Roma people themselves through the Romani language.

³⁴ http://www.sprakradet.se/GetDoc?meta_id=2332 Date Accessed 30/10/2013

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Website name	URL	Themes	Main Language	Author Type	Date Accessed
Ahirkapi Roman Orkestrası	www.ahirkapi.com	Does not mention language	Turkish	NGO	30/10/2013
Aj, Romanlen!	http://aj-romale.tumblr.com	Does not mention language	English	Individual	01/07/2011
Amaro Drom	http://www.amarodrom.hu	Awareness of Romani assumed	Hungarian	NGO	01/07/2011
ASSOCIATION FOR HUMAN RIGHTS PROTECTION OF ROMA	http://www.humanrightsofroma.20m.com/	Does not mention language	Macedonian, English	NGO	01/07/2011
Associazione Them Romano	http://web.tiscali.it/associazionethrom	Historical Origins	Italian	NGO	30/10/2013
Athinganoi	http://www.athinganoi.cz/	Does not mention language	Czech	NGO	01/07/2011
Balkansambl	http://balkansambl.free.fr/	Awareness of Romani assumed	French	Individual	01/07/2011
Balval	http://balval.pagesperso-orange.fr/	Language Status	French, Some English	Individual	01/07/2011
Centre de Médiation des Gens du Voyage	http://www.cmgv.be/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=76&Itemid=	Does not mention language	French	NGO	01/07/2011
Cigany forum	http://www.cybacity.com/romaniforum	Awareness of Romani assumed	English	Social	01/07/2011
Cingenelerin Sitesi	http://www.cingeneyiz.org/	Language Status	Turkish	NGO	30/10/2013
Daja Roma Women Organization in Macedonia	http://www.daja.org.mk/mk/IndexMK.asp	Does not mention language	Macedonian, English	NGO	01/07/2011
Decade of Roma Inclusion	http://www.romadecade.org/	Does not mention language	English	Gov	01/07/2011
Dépêches Tsiganes	http://www.depeches-tsiganes.org/	Does not mention language	French	NGO	01/07/2011
ECRE	http://www.eu-romani.org/	Does not mention language	English	NGO	01/07/2011
Embaixada Cigana do Brasil - Phralipen Romani	http://www.embaixadacigana.com.br/index.htm	Awareness of Romani assumed	Brazilian Portuguese	NGO	01/07/2011
ERGO Network	http://www.ergonetwork.org/	Awareness of Romani assumed	English	NGO	01/07/2011
ERRC	http://www.errc.org/	Awareness of Romani assumed	English	NGO	30/10/2013
ERTF	http://ertf.org/	Awareness of Romani assumed	English	NGO	30/10/2013
Federación Autónoma de Asociaciones Gitanas	http://fagacv.es/	Historical Origins	Spanish	NGO	30/10/2013
Fédération nationale des associations solidaires d'action avec les Tsiganes et les Gens du voyage	http://www.fnasat.asso.fr/	Does not mention language	French	NGO	01/07/2011
Federazione romani	http://federazione-romani.wordpress.com/	Historical Origins	Italian	NGO	01/07/2011
Friends, families and Travellers	http://www.gypsytraveller.org/	Historical Origins, Cultural Artefact	English	NGO	01/07/2011
Gitanos	http://antonioherediaortega.blogspot.com/	Cultural Artefact	Spanish	Individual	30/10/2013

Gypsy Caravan	http://www.gypsycaravanmovie.com/	Does not mention language	English	Media	01/07/2011
Gypsy Evangelical Mission "Life and Light" in Russia	http://gatief2010.ucoz.ru/	Historical Origins, Language Status	Russian	Missionary	01/07/2011
Gypsy Poet	http://www.thegypsypoe.com/	Historical Origins	English	Individual	30/10/2013
Gypsy Roma Traveller, Leeds	http://www.grtleeds.org.uk/	Cultural Artefact, Language Status	English	Gov	30/10/2013
Idea Rom	http://idearom.jimdo.com/	Does not mention language	Italian, Some English	NGO	01/07/2011
International Union of Roma of the Baltic States and the CIS «AMARO DROM»	http://www.romanadrom.org/	Does not mention language	Russian	NGO	01/07/2011
Journey Folki	http://www.journeyfolki.org.uk/	Historical Origins	English	NGO	30/10/2013
Khamoro	http://www.khamoro.org/	Does not mention language	Czech, English	NGO	01/07/2011
Manush alapitvány	http://manush.hu/en/bemutat_eng.htm	Does not mention language	Hungarian, English	NGO	01/07/2011
Muzeum romské kultury	http://www.rommuzeum.cz/	Historical Origins, Awareness of Roma	Czech, English	Museum	01/07/2011
National Office for the Roma	http://www.rroma.ro/	Does not mention language	Romanian, English	NGO	01/07/2011
National Roma Centrum	http://www.nationalromacentrum.org/	Awareness of Romani assumed	Macedonian, English	NGO	01/07/2011
National Romani Anti-Discrimination Organisation	http://www.nrado.com/	Does not mention language	English	NGO	01/07/2011
O Vurdón- Archived version	http://archive.is/zbQe6	Historical Origins	Italian	Individual	01/07/2011
Open Society Foundations	http://www.soros.org/initiatives/roma	Does not mention language	English	NGO	01/07/2011
Osservazione	http://www.osservazione.org/	Does not mention language	Italian	NGO	01/07/2011
Paradise Lost	http://www.romapavilion.org/index.htm	Awareness of Romani assumed	English	NGO	01/07/2011
Partidor Romilor	http://www.partidoromilor.ro	Language Status	Romanian	Political Party	01/07/2011
Patrin	http://www.reocities.com/paveepoint	Does not mention language	English	Individual	01/07/2011
Pavee Point Traveller	http://paveepoint.it	Roma Identity Marker	English	NGO	01/07/2011
Photo mythology	http://www.photomythology.com/pages/home.html	Does not mention language	English	Individual	01/07/2011
Phralipe	http://phralipe.com/	Does not mention language	Hungarian	News	01/07/2011
Rencontre Tsiganes	http://www.rencontres-tsiganes.asso.fr	Awareness of Romani assumed	French	News	01/07/2011
Roma Children's Centre	http://www.romachildrencentre.org/	Does not mention language	English	NGO	01/07/2011
Roma Community Centre DROM	http://www.drom.org.mk	Awareness of Romani assumed	Macedonian	NGO	01/07/2011

Roma Institute	http://www.romainstitute.sk	Does not mention language	Slovak, English	NGO	01/07/2011
Roma Lom Foundation	http://www.romalom.org/en/	Does not mention language	Bulgarian, English	NGO	01/07/2011
Roma Organization for Multicultural Affirmation	http://www.romasosprilep.org	Does not mention language	Macedonian, English	NGO	01/07/2011
Roma Požomatar (rómovia od Bratislavy)	http://www.romapozomatar.estranky.sk/	Cultural Artefact	Slovak	Individual	30/10/2013
Roma Rights Forum 'Arka'	http://www.arkaroma.mk/	Does not mention language	Macedonian, English	NGO	01/07/2011
Roma Routes	http://www.romaroutes.org/	Roma Identity Marker, Historical Origins	English	Gov	11/07/2011
Roma Support Group	http://www.romasupportgroup.org.uk	Cultural Artefact	English	NGO	30/10/2013
Roma Transitions	http://romatransitions.org	Does not mention language	English	NGO	01/07/2011
Roma Virtual Network	http://www.valery-novoselsky.org/romavirtualnetwork.htm	Language Status	English	News	30/10/2013
Roma-Lom Foundation	http://www.romalom.org/	Does not mention language	Bulgarian, English	NGO	01/07/2011
Romani	http://www2.arnesi/~eusmith/Romani	Awareness of Romani assumed	English, Romani	Individual	01/07/2011
Romani Archive and Documentation Centre	http://www.radoc.net	Historical Origins	Multi	Resource	01/07/2011
Romani Arts	http://bcis.pacificu.edu/roma/	Awareness of Romani assumed	English (US)	Individual	01/07/2011
Romani Baht Foundation	http://baht2000.free.bg/en.html	Does not mention language	Bulgarian, English, Romani	NGO	01/07/2011
Romani Criss	http://www.romanicriss.org/	Does not mention language	Romanian	NGO	01/07/2011
Romani World	http://www.romaneworld.org/	Does not mention language	English	NGO	01/07/2011
Romanitude	http://www.romanitude.org/	Roma Identity Marker	French	NGO	30/10/2013
Romano Centro	http://www.romano-centro.org/	Awareness of Romani assumed	German	NGO	01/07/2011
Romano hangos	http://www.romanohangos.cz/index.php	Awareness of Romani assumed	Czech, Romani	News	01/07/2011
Romano lil - Organo ufficiale dell'Opera Nomadi Nazionale	http://www.operanomadiazionale.it/index.asp	Historical Origins	Italian	NGO	01/07/2011
Romano Sinti United Community Association of Queensland Inc.	http://www.sintiromanicommunity.org/	Historical Origins	English	NGO	01/07/2011
Romano Than	http://www.romanothan.org/	Does not mention language	Romanian	NGO	01/07/2011
Romany wales project	http://www.valleystream.co.uk/romany-history.htm	Historical Origins	English	Research	30/10/2013
Romany & Traveller	http://www.rtfhs.org/	Does not mention language	English	Social	01/07/2011
Romany Genes	http://romanygenes.org/	Historical Origins	English	Individual	30/10/2013

Romapage	http://www.romapage.hu/	Cultural Artefact	Hungarian, Romani	News	01/07/2011
Romaversitas	http://www.romaversitas.edu.mk/	Does not mention language	Macedonian	Edu	01/07/2011
Romaweb	http://romaweb.hu/romaweb/index.htm	Does not mention language	Hungarian	NGO	01/07/2011
Romeurope	http://www.romeurope.org/	Does not mention language	French	NGO	01/07/2011
Romnet (Denmark)	http://www.romnet.dk/	Does not mention language	Danish	News	01/07/2011
RomNews	http://www.romnet.org/	Does not mention language	Hungarian	News	01/07/2011
Romodrom	http://www.romodrom.cz/cs/	Does not mention language	Czech, English	NGO	01/07/2011
Romové v České republice	http://romove.radio.cz	Historical Origins,Awareness of Roma	Czech, English, German, French	Media	01/07/2011
Rroma	http://www.rroma.org/	Cultural Artefact	English, French, German	News	01/07/2011
Sar Phirdem	http://sar-phirdem.pagesperso-orange.fr	Does not mention language	French	NGO	01/07/2011
http://www.savvychavvy.com/ Savvy Chavvy	http://www.savvychavvy.com/	Roma Identity Marker	English	Social	30/10/2013
Scottish gypsies	http://www.scottishgypsies.org/	Roma Identity Marker	English	Individual	30/10/2013
Show Racism The Red Card	http://www.theredcard.org/education	Does not mention language	English, Welsh	NGO	01/07/2011
South West Alliance of Nomads	http://www.gypsytravelhelp.org/	Historical Origins	English	Network	30/10/2013
språkvård, språkrådet - Institutet för språk och folkminnen	http://www.sprakradet.se/romanichib	Language Status, Roma Identity Marker	Swedish	Gov	30/10/2013
Ternipe-International Roma Youth Network	http://www.romayouth.com	Roma Identity Marker	English	NGO	01/07/2011
The Gypsy Connection	http://thegypsyconnection.blogspot.co.uk/2009/04/biggest-list-of-gypsy-links-	Awareness of Romani assumed	English	Individual	01/07/2011
The Roma History	http://www.romahistory.com/	Cultural Artefact	English, German, Romani	Individual	01/07/2011
The Romani connection website	http://www.rromaniconnect.org/	Historical Origins	English	Individual	01/07/2011
TR - Translation Romani	http://www.translationromani.net/en	Awareness of Romani assumed	Multi	Individual	01/07/2011
Travelling Ahead	http://www.travellingahead.org.uk	Cultural Artefact	English	NGO	30/10/2013
Travellers times	http://www.travelletimes.com/	Historical Origins,Language Status	English	News	30/10/2013
Tsiganes	http://mayvon.perso.infonie.fr/	Historical Origins	French	Individual	01/07/2011
Union of Albanian Roma- Amaro Drom	http://www.unioniamarodrom.org	Cultural Artefact	Albanian, English	NGO	01/07/2011
Union Romani	http://www.unionromani.org/	Roma Identity Marker	Spanish	NGO	30/10/2013
Voice of Roma	http://www.voiceofroma.com/	Cultural Artefact	English (US)	News	01/07/2011

Websites by Theme	
No mention on Language	42
Roma identity marker	8
Historical Origins	20
Cultural Artefact	11
Language Status	9
Awareness of Romani Assum	19

Author Type	
Educational	1
Governmental	4
Individual	16
Resource	1
Media	2
Museum	1
Network	1
News	10
NGO	56
Political Party	1
Research	1
Social	3

Main language	
Albanian	1
Brazilian Portuguese	1
Bulgarian	3
Czech	5
English	37
English (US)	2
French	10
German	1
Hungarian	6
Italian	6
Macedonian	7
Multi	2
Romanian	4
Russian	2
Slovak	1
Spanish	3
Swedish	1
Turkish	2
Romani At All	3

NGO websites by Theme	
Roma identity marker	4
Historical Origins	7
Cultural Artefact	4
Language Status	1
Awareness of Romani Assumed	9
No mention on Language	32

Individual's Websites by Theme	
Roma identity marker	1
Historical Origins	5
Cultural Artefact	3
Language Status	1
Awareness of Romani Assumed	3
No mention on Language	3

News Websites by Theme	
Roma identity marker	0
Historical Origins	1
Cultural Artefact	3
Language Status	2
Awareness of Romani Assumed	2
No mention on Language	3

English Websites by Theme	
Roma identity marker	5
Historical Origins	12
Cultural Artefact	5
Language Status	3
Awareness of Romani Assumed	7
No mention on Language	12

French Websites by Theme	
Roma identity marker	1
Historical Origins	1
Cultural Artefact	0
Language Status	1
Awareness of Romani Assumed	2
No mention on Language	5

Hungarian Websites by Theme	
Roma identity marker	0
Historical Origins	0
Cultural Artefact	1
Language Status	0
Awareness of Romani Assumed	1
No mention on Language	4

Czech Websites by theme	
Roma identity marker	0
Historical Origins	2
Cultural Artefact	0
Language Status	0
Awareness of Romani Assumed	3
No mention on Language	3