

Thede Kahl & Ioana Nechiti  
The Boyash in Hungary

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Thede Kahl & Ioana Nechiti

# THE BOYASH IN HUNGARY

A Comparative Study among the Arġeleni  
and Munċeni Communities



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# Foreword

The present book is concerned with the language and culture of the Boyash “Gypsies” in southern Hungary, who speak archaic dialects of Romanian and call themselves *băiași*. Up until the beginning of the 20th century, the Boyash communities were almost unknown in the countries in which they lived. Up until the beginning of the 20th century, Boyash communities were almost completely disregarded in the countries in which they lived. Over the past couple of decades, several research projects have looked at these communities in Serbia, Croatia and Hungary, leaving Boyash groups in other countries largely unstudied. This study, then, aims to undertake a linguistic and sociolinguistic comparison of the vernaculars spoken by the two sub-groups of the Boyash in Hungary: the *Munțeni* and *Arğeleni*. The Argelean vernacular is the only one for which standardization efforts have been made. Hungary has emerged as

the only country in which Boyash lessons at high school have improved the possibilities for preserving the Boyash language and have had a considerable impact on the prestige and emancipation of the minority language. This study tries to analyze the aforementioned dialects and their sociolinguistic situation on the basis of field recordings carried out among Boyash speakers in southern Hungary in the villages of Alsószentmárton and Gilvánfa and in the city of Pécs between 2010 and 2014.

We would like to thank, first of all, the speakers of these vernaculars who, through their stories and accounts, have revealed the richness of the archaic Romanian dialects spoken in Hungary. Special thanks go to Dr. Anna Pálmainé Orsós from the Department of Romology at Pécs University, Faculty of Humanities, who facilitated our access to the places of research time and again. Further thanks go to László Ambrus (Gilvánfa), Edit Orsós

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We are delighted to inaugurate the new book series **VANISHING LANGUAGES AND CULTURAL HERITAGE (VLACH)** published by the Austrian Academy of Sciences with this volume. We dedicate it to all our informants in gratitude for their contribution to gathering valuable field material. We also hope to motivate other researchers to contribute to the comparatively new field of Boyash studies and to continue the documentation and analysis of vanishing languages.

Jena, Vienna in May 2019

Thede Kahl and Ioana Nechiti

# 1 Introduction

## 1.1 Brief introduction to the history of Roma, Boyash and Rudari migration

“Gypsies” have been settled in Central and Eastern Europe since the 14th century and, depending on the duration and intensity of contact, have been influenced by the Romanian culture and language to different extents. A distinction is made between groups, which have Romanian influences in their Romani due to their dwelling in a Romanian-speaking environment, and other groups who have lived in a Romanian-speaking environment for so long that they have been linguistically completely assimilated. The members of the first group speak a Romani variant and describe themselves in their own language as Roma (SG.M *rom*, SG.F *romni*; M.PL *roma*, F.PL *romnia*). Their Romani language has traces of Romanian, not only in its vocabulary, but also in the morphology. Those who remained in Ro-

manian-speaking areas and in some cases mixed with Romanians, whether they live within or outside Romanian territory, today speak an archaic dialect of Romanian and call themselves *băiași* in the northern part of their distribution area and *rudari* in the southern part. Whether *băiași* (Boyash) or *rudari* (Rudari), these groups have been classified historically and anthropologically as being Gypsy or Roma. The Boyash and Rudari reject this denomination delivering arguments which differentiate them from the (other) Roma groups. One of the strongest arguments supporting their otherness is their language, which preserves no traces of Romani. This study seeks to provide a contrastive comparison of the two subgroups of the Boyash in Hungary: the **Munțeni** and **Argeleni**.

Economic circumstances resulted in the Roma being forced into slavery and serfdom, first of all in Wallachia and sub-

sequently in Moldova and Transylvania. The majority of those Roma who did not fall into serfdom were declared *robi* (bondsmen). The social status of the *robi* varied, depending on whether they worked for members of the lower nobility, great landowners or monasteries. As they became increasingly dependent upon their lords, they were also forced to adopt a sedentary way of life. The *robi* could be given away or sold at any time and most of them were bitterly poor and experienced oppression and exploitation on a daily basis. The diary of the German traveller and hermit of Gauting (FONSECA 1996: 248-249), as well as the childhood recollections of the Romanian writer Mihail Kogălniceanu (HANCOCK 1987: 16-17), offer a valuable insight into the cruel conditions in which those Gypsies who were kept as slaves were forced to live, and not only in the Danube Principalities and Transylvania (for today's antiziganism see HAUPT 2006).

For the *robi*, the 18th century was marked by extensive sedentarization measures. In 1724, Charles VI (1711-1740) registered all Gypsies in the Kingdom of

Hungary and in Transylvania and attempted to persuade them to adopt a sedentary lifestyle, convert to Roman Catholicism and to pay a Gypsy poll tax. Maria Theresia (1740-1780) and Joseph II (1780-1790) introduced further measures, including the prohibition of marriages within the group, the obligation to learn a trade and recognition of eligibility for conscription (WOLF 2004: 145). The more radical sedentarization measures introduced in the early 19th century finally led to greater sedentarization, although among certain segments of the population state pressure to adopt a settled way of life tended to encourage their nomadic lifestyle even more (WOLF 2004: 145). Serfdom was gradually abolished in two stages in 1837 and 1856 (FRASER 1998: 227-230). Direct exploitation was replaced by a system of day-labour contracts. In 1844 many of the Gypsies who had been owned by the church or the Austro-Hungarian Crown were liberated and four years later the provisional government decreed that all Gypsies were to be freed. However, it was only twelve years later that the Romanian landowners (Rom. *boieri*) gave their assent.

As a number of historical sources contain references to gold washers in the 18th century (FENEȘAN 1967: 55-64; WILSDORF 1984), it may be presumed that the Boyash probably lived in the Apuseni Mountains (Rom. Munții Apuseni), in particular in the Ore Mountains (Rom. Munții Metaliferi, Hung. Erdélyi Érchegység), in the Mühlbach Valley (Rom. Valea Sebeșului) and in areas of Little Wallachia (Vâlcea) or Greater Wallachia (Argeș) (WOLF 2004: 145). Gold washers alone had the right to, “pan the sands from the rivers and mountains for gold” (KOGĂLNICEANU 1840: 17). This brought the Rudari and Aurari a higher social status than other tax-paying Gypsies. As a consequence, the Rudari, Aurari and Lingurari advanced socially and were among the “most educated”, with some of them already living in houses during KOGĂLNICEANU’S (1840: 18) lifetime. Their specialist professions meant that they were in greater demand and enjoyed greater respect than other Roma groups. However, as “gold production declined during the 18th century, workers were no longer needed” (WEIGAND 1908: 174).

Following the liberation of slave Gypsies in 1856 under the ruler of Wallachia, Barbu Știrbei, who supported the emancipation of Gypsies belonging to private persons, and after efforts made by Alexandru Ioan Cuza as the ruler of the United Romanian Principalities (1859) to remove the last traces of bondage, the situation of the former slaves deteriorated, because, unable to ply their old goldsmiths’ trade, they had to change their occupation. Being compelled to abandon gold panning, the Romanian-speaking Roma took up basket weaving and woodworking (MIHOK 2000: 174), occupations for which they are still known today. This was accompanied by a migration movement, which has gone down in history as the “second wave of Gypsy migration” (ZAMFIR/ZAMFIR 1993: 82-83), and which was initially directed towards regions such as southern Transylvania, followed by Central Europe, especially Hungary, eastern Slovakia (PAPP 1982: 4-5; LÁSZLÓ 2001), Bulgaria, and eastern Serbia (Timok Valley). From here they moved on to other regions further south such as

Greece. Isolated cases of migration were also registered in Turkey, Bosnia, Ukraine and Russia, as well as southern Poland.

Once they arrived in Hungary, there was no better fate in store for them. One of the most important documents revealing the attitude of the authorities toward the Roma of Hungary at the time is a census initiated by Károly Hieronymi, the minister of the interior, on 19 November 1892. The census was undertaken with the purpose of putting an end to the Gypsies' way of life, as they were constantly moving around the country. However, the census was not confined to the nomadic Gypsies, but also included those who had already been assimilated into wider society (KÉMÉNY 2000: 106). Language, faith, family, and other aspects were also surveyed.

Hungary occupies a special place in the configuration of Roma groups, their identity and group affiliation. According to KÉMÉNYI (2000: 105), Hungarian Gypsies can be divided today into three main linguistic groups, each with its own specific lifestyle: Magyar-speaking Ro-

munjeros, the Magyar- and Romani-speaking Vlach Gypsies, and the Romanian- and Magyar-speaking Boyash Gypsies. MARUSHIAKOVA (2004: 38-42) also identifies three main Roma groups in Hungary. The largest in number is *roma ungrika* or *romungro* (71%), who settled on the territory of Hungary as early as the 16th and 17th centuries, and who, with a few exceptions, have lost their mother tongue, Romani, and now speak Hungarian. They identify themselves as Hungarians or *cziganyok* (i.e. Gypsies). The second group consists of *olah roma* (Vlach Roma, 21%), who emigrated during the 19th century from the present-day territory of Romania and speak a variant of Romani with several Romanian (especially lexical) influences. The third group (6%) is the Boyash (Hung. *beás*), speakers of archaic Romanian dialects, who today live in the regions of Baranya, Tolna, Zala, Somogy, and in the vicinity of Budapest (KÉMÉNY 2005: 73-81).

The idea that the Boyash are a homogeneous population can no longer be sustained. Like the Marburg ethnologist BLOCK (1936: 110), we assume that they



are miscegenated descendants of the Gypsy miners and gold workers, the sedentary (Romanian) population and escaped state and monastery slaves, although less subject to state laws and probably with the possibility of interethnic marriages. This would explain why the physiognomy of the Boyash on the whole differs from that of other Roma groups and why members of the same family can be found with lighter and darker complexions. In view of Maria Theresia's prohibition of marriages within the group, the occurrence of this visible sign of miscegenation is hardly surprising. Both this miscegenation, as well as the migration of the Boyash and Rudari to many places in east and southeast Europe, happened too long ago for people today to remember where their ancestors came from. Since the forefathers of the Boyash were engaged in gold washing and working, one can assume that they learned these skills from the Romanians. This would explain why they lost the Romani language at an early

date and became monolingual speakers of Romanian.

Today, the Boyash population is spread over eastern Slovakia (around Košice), Ukrainian Transcarpathia (Verhnja Vižnicja, Poroškovo, Mirča), Hungary (the southern Hungarian comitate along the southern border), large parts of Romania (with the main areas of settlement in the southern Romanian plains and southern Transylvania), the Republic of Moldova, Croatia (mainly Slavonia, Međimurje), Serbia (eastern and central Serbia, the Vojvodina, and there chiefly in the Bačka, s. FLORA 1969: 14), Bosnia (eastern parts of the country around Tuzla, Brčko District, Sarajevo), north and northeast Bulgaria (e.g. Varna, Zlatarica), the Republic of Macedonia (Bitola), Greece (especially Thessaly, Alexandria, Zefyri, KAHL 2011: 196-197), and, according to PETTAN (2002: 182), also in Kosovo to where they migrated from Serbia. Due to their deportation in World War II (ACHIM 2007: 95) they can also be found in Transnistria.

## 1.2 The Baranya region in southern Hungary

Baranya or Baranja (Hung. Baranya; Croat./Serb. Baranja; in German rarely referred to as Komitat Branau) is a geographical region between the Danube and the Drava rivers. The county of Baranya lies in southern Hungary, on the border with Croatia, with the river Drava forming part of its southern border, and the river Danube its eastern border. The capital of Baranya County is Pécs.

During its long history, the region of Baranya was part of the Roman Empire, the Hunnic Empire and a historical administrative unit within the Kingdom of Hungary. In 1526 the county was occupied by the Ottomans, becoming part of the Ottoman Empire until it was liberated in 1689. After the Ottoman retreat, large groups of Croats migrated from Bosnia into Slavonia and Baranya. This population is today known as the Šokci (Croat./Serb. *Šokci*, Hung. *Sokácok*), a collective term for the South Slavic Catholic refugees speaking Štokavian dialects from Bosnia, Herzegovina, Dalmatia and Ragusa in the Otto-

man era. At the end of the 17th century, Baranya was captured by the Habsburg Empire (resp. Habsburg Monarchy, Austrian Empire, Austro-Hungarian Empire). After World War I, it was occupied by Serbian troops and after the Treaty of Trianon administrated by the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes and by Hungary. Today, the region is divided between Hungary and Croatia with the major part lying in Hungary. In Hungary, the region is part of Baranya county (Hung. *megye*), and in Croatia part of Osijek-Baranja county (Croat. *Osječko-baranjska županja*). The northern part of the county is a hilly region (Mecsek Mountains, up to 682 metres) with many forests. The central areas extend up to the Baranya Hills and the Villány Mountains. The eastern and southern parts are flat.

Baranya has the largest number of minorities in Hungary, being home to 34% of the German minority and 32% of the South Slavic minorities in Hungary. In 2011, the population of Hungarian Baranya numbered 386,441, including 315,713 Hungarians (86.54%), 22,150 Germans (6.07%), 16,995 Roma (4.66%) and 6,343

Croats (1.74%). A rest of 3,600 (0.99%) are indefinable. Half the county's population lives in the county town or in its immediate vicinity, while 22% of the population lives in villages that have fewer than 1,000 inhabitants.

### 1.3 The language of the Boyash – Arġelean and Munĉan

With regard to the language spoken by the Roma groups that reached Hungary during various periods, the 1892 census (KÉMENY 2000: 108-111) shows that 38% had Hungarian as their mother tongue, 30% were Romani-speaking, and 24% were Romanian-speaking. The other Roma spoke Slovak, Serbian, German, Croatian, etc. In 1971, following long-standing state efforts to “magyarize” them, the results of the census were as follows: out of a total of 320,000 Roma, 71% (224,000) were Hungarian-speaking, 19% (61,000) were Romani-speaking, 7.6% (25,000) were Romanian-speaking, and 0.2% spoke other languages (KÉMENY 2000: 110). It is worth noting that after 1971, the ethnic sub-groups of the *Munĉeni*, *Arġeleni*,

and *Tiszani*, who speak an archaic dialect of Romanian, formed the majority of Roma in the southern rural areas of Baranya and Somogy close to the Croatian border. However, according to the 1994-1995 census, the linguistic panorama of the Munĉeni and Arġeleni Boyash has changed considerably since then. In the year 2000 only 5.6% still spoke archaic Romanian (KÉMENY 2000: 112). Under these conditions, the bilingualism of the Romani-speaking Roma and the Romanian-speaking Roma has undergone major changes, meaning that these languages are only used functionally, in the private domain within the family, as an affective language, while Hungarian is the language of the public domain. Another factor that triggered the process of monolingualism was the elimination of Roma settlements called *cumpáni* (Arġ./Munĉ.) between 1965 and 1985.

At the beginning of the century, the Boyash lived in isolation, in settlements in the woods outside villages, which contributed to the preservation of their native language. Between the world wars, the measures taken by the government

brought the Boyash from these isolated settlements named *culibe* (Munĉ.) or *cuvérze* (Arĝ.) closer to villages, inevitably bringing them into contact with the Hungarian language. Official business (with doctors, lawyers, mayors)

could only be conducted in Hungarian. Practising religion was no longer possible either without knowledge of the Hungarian language, because there were no Munĉeni or Arĝeleni Boyash priests in the new settlements (KÉMENY 2000: 113).

## 2 Current state of knowledge

Up until the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, the Boyash and the Rudari communities, their origin or affiliation to an ethnic group and the language they spoke, were almost unknown in the countries in which they lived. The first written works about them were two reports on the communities of Romanian speakers in Bosnia by IEȘAN (1906: 7), and later on by FILIPESCU (1906: 198). The two works describe their settlements and occupation (woodworking). In 1937, at Čokešina, near the Drina River, on the former border between Serbia and Bosnia, PETROVICI (1938: 225) reopened the issue of the communities of Romanian-speaking Gypsies with an article entitled *The Romanians of Western Serbia*. At the beginning, he writes: *From the first glance, these Romanians – as they call themselves – raised a doubt in my mind: they were quite dark-skinned. I asked them straight away: ‘Are you by any chance*

*Gypsy?’ ‘Either Gypsy or Romanian, as you wish,’ they answered. Similarly, to speak ‘either Romanian, or Gypsy’ is the same thing for them.* Three decades later, GHEȚIE (1968: 501-508) revisited the material collected by Petrovici, identifying the phonetic phenomena specific to the Boyash vernacular of Serbia, such as the palatalization of *n*, the passage from *ê* and *ĝ* to *ś*, *ź*, etc. An essential study for understanding the linguistic evolution of the Rudari and Boyash is the doctoral thesis of Ion Calotă, a dialectologist from Craiova (1995). His work is a study of *a dialect whose particularities are spread around an area that includes south-west Transylvania, south-east Crișana, and the north-east of the Banat, and this group, which is different not only from Gypsies, but also from Romanians, came from the western Carpathians, where they used to work as gold miners and panners* (CALOTĂ 1974: 3). A more recent contribution is that of

SARAMANDU (1997), who researched the dialect of the Boyash of Međimurje, in northern Croatia, on the border with Hungary and Slovenia, during an investigation for the New Romanian Linguistic Atlas. After analyzing the material gathered in the field, Saramandu concluded that, *the area of origin of the Boyash includes the south-east of Crișana, the north-east extremity of the Banat, and the south-west extremity of Crișana. It is the area where the palatalization of the dentals [t, d] and the treatment of the palatals [chi, ghi] yield the same result, i.e. the affricates [č], [č̌], [đ], [đ̌] (SARAMANDU 1997: 109).*

Research on the Boyash suffers from the fact that scholars in Roma studies have no great interest in the Romanian language and experts in Romanian studies none in the language of the Roma. Thus, there has been almost no in-depth investigation of the Romanian elements or any intensive study of Romanian as spoken by the Boyash. Although the Boyash and their language held a fascination for individual Romanian dialectologists (CHELCEA 1934, 1940, 1944; PETROVICI 1938) in the early days of the discipline, they are now

largely neglected by the majority of scholars; CALOTĂ (1971, 1974, 1993, 1995) and SARAMANDU (1997) being the exceptions. Had we been talking about sedentary groups who could not be linked with the Gypsies at all, traditional Romanian dialectology would have taken a greater interest in the language of the Boyash; however, the leading compendium of Romanian dialectology (RUSU et al. 1984) does not even mention their dialects. Similarly, tsiganologists also show little interest in the Romanian vernacular spoken by the Boyash, probably because the population does not speak Romani and the study of their language falls into the remit of those who study Romance languages. Furthermore, many tsiganologists also appear more concerned with researching sociological aspects so that we face a lack of knowledge concerning the language spoken by the Boyash.

Two works with an anthropological focus have recently been published, BEN-GELSTORF (2009) and DONDOREL (2007); however, they do not deal with the linguistic aspect. All in all, with few exceptions, there are no exhaustive linguistic studies

about the dialect of the Boyash living in Hungary. To fill this gap, in the autumn of 2002, the Linguistic Research Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences set up a researchers' committee to carry out complex linguistic, sociolinguistic, anthropological, and ethnographic studies of the Roma and Boyash, and the vernaculars they speak (BARTHA 2007). Today, Hungarian authors are documenting the language of the Boyash (ORSÓS 1994, 1997; KOVALCSIK/ORSÓS 1994; KOVALCSIK 1996; KOVALCSIK/BOROS 2000; SZALAJ 1999 et al.), but as they focus mostly on the folklore, there is still no collection of everyday language and no linguistic analysis has been carried out. Similar parallel efforts are being made in Serbia, where researchers from the Balkanology Institute of the Serbian Academy of Sciences are studying the Rudari communities of Serbia. In recent years, SIKIMIĆ (2003, 2005, 2007, 2008), RADOSAVLJEVIĆ (2007), SIKIMIĆ/AŠIĆ (2008), SORESCU-MARINKOVIĆ (2005, 2008) and LESCHBER (2008a, b) in particular have devoted themselves to study-

ing the language and identity of the Romanian-speaking Boyash in Serbia and Croatia, while ŠERBAN (2007a, b) has focused on the identity and language of the Rudari in Bulgaria. There are only two publications on the Rudari in Greece (CHATZITHEODULU-LAIZIDU/TABAKI 2002; ΝΟΜΑΡΧΙΑΚΗ ΑΥΤΟΔΙΟΙΚΗΣΗ ΛΑΡΙΣΑΣ 2003), and even these are just brief descriptions of the Athens suburb of Zefyri and the Nea Smyrni quarter in Larisa, with no details of the language spoken. There is not much more material on their situation in the Republic of Moldova (DUMINICĂ 2007). So little was known about the Boyash in Ukraine that in late 2009 several Romanian newspapers made reference to the Transcarpathian Boyash, with reports that Romanians had been found in Ukraine, who supposedly did not even know of Romania's existence (<http://stiri.rol.ro/> on 3.10.2009; cf. КОЛОМИЕЦЬ 2015). It should therefore be noted that there are still major gaps in our knowledge with regard to the Boyash in Hungary, Serbia, Ukraine and Greece.





## 3 The field research

### 3.1 Aims and methods

The aim of this study is to provide a contrastive synchronous analysis of the linguistic particularities specific to the Argelean and Munčan vernaculars in Pécs, Gilvánfa, and Alsószentmárton in southern Hungary, with a particular emphasis on the villages of Gilvánfa and Alsószentmárton. Secondly, the study also seeks to present a number of aspects of linguistic identity and linguistic structures of these insular vernaculars in a context in which Hungarian represents the majority language. The denominations of these vernaculars do not designate the homonymous vernaculars (usually called *grai*, PL *graiuri* in Romanian) spoken on the territory of Romania. Rather, they are denominated after the Boyash groups represented here, the Arğeleni and the Munčeni. The spelling variants of the Hungarian Boyash glottonyms and endonyms are nu-

merous (e.g. *Arğelêhi*, *Munčêni*, *Arğelêh*, *Munčêh*). For the sake of simplicity we have chosen the neutral forms *Arğeleni* (abbreviated to A) and *Munčeni* (abbreviated to M) and for their dialects *Arğelean* (abbreviated to Arğ.) and *Munčan* (abbreviated to Munč.). Furthermore, we will present the current status of the Boyash language and efforts to preserve the language and identity of the Arğeleni and Munčeni Boyash, and of endeavors to create a written tradition for a dialect, which although it is spread as far south as Greece and as far north as Ukraine, has no such tradition in either country. This descriptive-comparative study explores issues that go beyond the strict interests of dialectology (sociolinguistics, history, etc.), the predominant perspective in the socio-linguistic analysis of the two vernaculars is based on field research undertaken during three distinct periods in 2010, 2011 and 2013. The inhabitants of

the communities under study, many of whom carry the generic ethnonym *Țigani* or *Romi* do not speak Romani, but an archaic variant of Romanian. At this point, it must be stated that we do not aim to explain in depth the historical circumstances that led to the total abandonment of Romani and the adoption of Romanian as their native language, nor do we present in detail the causes of their migration and the historical circumstances thereof; rather, we attempt a general placement in context, which allows a presentation of the linguistic particularities of the two varieties and the ethnolinguistic formulations regarding their group affiliation and linguistic identity.

The description of the two dialects is based on more than 25 hours of video and audio recordings, documenting a sociolinguistic interview and a questionnaire containing 800 questions based on the Romanian Linguistic Atlas by Regions (RUSU et al. 1992). Video recordings touch on subjects related to their traditions, their daily life and that of their parents and grandparents, oral tradition, transmission of cultural heritage, especially songs, and

linguistic attitudes. Furthermore, several observations regarding the competence of the interviewer in the A-language (the two Boyash varieties) resulted from the participant's observation. The material is stored on the ISLSSL server of the University of Jena, and will consequently be archived at <https://lazar.gbv.de/> and partially published online and open access on [www.oew.ac.at/vlach](http://www.oew.ac.at/vlach).

In the three places in which research was conducted on 23-24 September 2010, 23-24 March 2011, 3-10 June 2011 and in February 2013, Pécs, Gilvánfa and Alsószentmárton, we selected interlocutors ranging in age from 4 to 80, gender and occupation in order to better reflect the possible diasystematic variations within the same variety (e.g. different levels of competence) and the differences between the two vernaculars.

Equivalents in standard Romanian are provided only when forms of the Boyash language differ considerably thereof.

### 3.2 Places of research

**Alsószentmárton** (Croat./Serb. Semartin, Boyash: Sînmárta) is a village in southern Hungary, 34 km from Pécs, with 1,156 inhabitants according to the 2011 census ([www.ksh.hu](http://www.ksh.hu)). During the communist period, the inhabitants of Alsószentmárton worked as harvesters; today, a high percentage of the inhabitants are unemployed and lives on social welfare provided by the state. A few work as seasonal labourers, picking fruit or tilling fields. A small number of better-off individuals weave baskets; one who plies this trade is a *cușar*. Due to rising levels of unemployment, the Swabians and Croats who lived in the village and the region left for cities such as Siklós and Pécs around 1972. The inhabitants of the village of Alsószentmárton identify themselves as Munțeni, not Boyash, and their language as *țigăнів* or *țigăniu*. In their view, only the Arğeleni, who speak “a different language” (*o altă limbă, cu alte orbe* – Persa), are Boyash. Alsószentmárton is an isolated village, an enclave inhabited almost entirely by Boyash and only one

Hungarian, the priest, who describes himself as *a Gypsy among priests and a priest among Gypsies* (JAKOBI 1997), and a few other people who settled there through marriage. The inhabitants of the community are bilingual, starting with the youngest, whose native language has remained the Munțan vernacular. Unlike the Munțeni Boyash community in Croatia, whose faith is Orthodox (SORESCU-MARINKOVIĆ 2008: 192), the entire community of Alsószentmárton is Catholic, and actively participates in church life and all church activities initiated by the priest.



In the center of Alsószentmárton

## THE BOYASH IN HUNGARY



Scenes in Alsószentmárton



**Gilvánfa** (Croat./Serb. Gilvanfa, Boyash Gílvánfă) is a village in southern Hungary, in the district of Magyarmecske, 45 km from Alsószentmárton, with 381 inhabitants according to the 2010 census. Many Boyash inhabitants live in small houses or huts. Unlike those of Alsószentmárton, the inhabitants of Gilvánfa are less isolated from the Hungarian community, and have much more daily contact with them. They identify themselves as *Boyash*, and their language as *l'imbă dă băiăș*. The variety is highly endangered since the population, including the elderly, speaks mostly Hungarian. According to our interlocutor, about 90% of the children between the ages of three and seven no longer have even passive knowledge of the Argelean dialect. Those between the ages of seven and sixteen have limited passive knowledge of the language. Active knowledge of the language can be found only among those over 30, who, although Hungarian-speaking in the family, are able to converse in the Argelean dialect (based on the participant observations made during field research).

**Pécs** (Germ. Fünfkirchen, Croat. Pečuh, Serb. Pečuj, Boyash Arġ. Pișiu, Boyash Munĉ. Piĉúiu) is one of the five biggest cities in Hungary and the county town of Baranya, in the south-west of the country. Pécs is the administrative and economic centre of Baranya county and one of the 23 cities with county status in the country. According to the 2011 census, Pécs has 156,049 inhabitants. Pécs University, founded by King Louis the Great in 1367, is the oldest university in Hungary. The Boyash community in Pécs is more scattered, because its members live among Hungarians, *lăcătări* (Munĉ., exonym used by Boyash for Romani-speaking Roma), or other minorities. The stage of their language is similar to that of the Boyash of Gilvánfa.

The aforementioned Boyash toponyms are still in use, even if the great majority of toponyms are Hungarian. Boyash variants for settlements can be found also for cities with small Boyash populations, e.g. *Pésta* (Arġ. and Munĉ. for Budapest) and *Mêșca* (Arġ. for Magyarmecske).



## THE BOYASH IN HUNGARY



Baking bread in Gilvánfa



### 3.3 Interviewed persons

During field research two categories of family names were identified, a phenomenon similar to that seen in Serbia and Croatia. In the community of Arĝeleni Boyash, Hungarian names such as *Orsós*, *Kolónos* are to be found, whereas in the community of Munĉeni Boyash there are Serbian names such as *Petrovics*, *Gyorgyovics* (written here with Hungarian orthography) etc.

**BOGDÁN JÁSZMINKA**, 1978, born in Mohács, moved with her family to the former Yugoslavia. In 1991, at the beginning of the Yugoslav wars, when she was 12, Jasminka was placed in the care of a relative in Alsószentmárton. She completed four grades of primary school, speaks Croatian/Serbian, Hungarian, the Arĝelean vernacular, and the Munĉan one.

**BOGDÁN JOLI**, 1956, born in the woods near the village of Gilvánfa, completed for school and learning, insisting that her daughter, Mónika Bogdán, should go to high school. Joli is one of the interlocutors with a vast knowledge of the Arĝelean vernacular.

**BOGDÁN MÓNIKA**, 1973, completed 10 grades of school in Pécs, works in the social sector, looking after the elderly and children, speaks Hungarian as her native language and a fluent Arĝelean vernacular, which she learned on her own initiative when she was 12. Together with her mother, Joli Bogdán, she answered a large proportion of the questions on the questionnaire.

**BALOGNÉ RENÁTA**, 1984, a teacher at the elementary school in Alsószentmárton, where she teaches the Munĉan vernacular, shows great interest in the language and culture of the Boyash in Hungary.

**GYORGYOVICS KLAUDIA**, 1992, is pursuing post-secondary courses in Siklós to become an educator at the bilingual kindergarten in Alsószentmárton.

**KALÁNYOS GYÖNGYI** was born in Pécs, speaks the Arĝelean vernacular fluently, and has a large repertoire of traditional Boyash songs that she sings with her children. Gyöngyi has great oratorical talent and shows a special interest in preserving the Boyash language and culture. Her five children have little passive knowledge of the Arĝelean vernacular, because they



The primary school in Gilvánfa



Boyash in Pécs after the interview





resisted learning it, however, they know various songs in Boyash.

**KOSZTICS DÁJÁNA**, 1998, goes to school in Siklós, speaks the Munčan vernacular and Hungarian in the family, and has a basic knowledge of English.

**LANKÓ JÓZSEF**, 1954, a Hungarian, has been a priest in Alsószentmárton for 20 years, speaks Hungarian, fluent German and the Munčan vernacular. József Lankó has initiated several programmes, including the Caritas-Sankt Martin e.V. association, with various contacts in Germany and other countries. He is involved in the education of children of various ages and has initiated the construction of a bilingual church kindergarten in the village. He also participates in the organization of after-school activities for young people (among them the *Kászádásztíszá* programme in Gilvánfa). The Catholic Church gives the *young people and ghetto kids*, as Father Lankó calls them, the possibility to leave the village every day and go to town, where they come into contact with Hungarians, enriching their social milieu. All these programmes support the learning of both languages; Hungarian

and the Munčan vernacular, both in kindergarten and at school.

**ORSÓS ANNA**, 1963, a linguist and assistant professor at the Department of Romology at Pécs University. Her native language is the Argelean vernacular and she was on the team that laid the didactic foundations of the Gandhi High School in Pécs. She has devoted her life to the study of the Boyash language and culture.

**ORSÓS ÉDIT**, 1977, born in Séylle, lives in Gilvánfa, has completed seven grades of school in Hungarian, is a collaborator in the *Kászádásztíszá* project in Gilvánfa and a fluent Argelean speaker, the language she employs at the aforementioned youth centre and with her relatives and the elderly in the village. Within her immediate family she only speaks Hungarian, and her three children have little passive knowledge of the Boyash language.

**ORSÓS JÁNOS**, 1952, born in the woods near the village of Gilvánfa, completed eight grades of school in Hungarian and is bilingual in Hungarian and the Argelean vernacular. He worked as a driver and

was the mayor of Gilvánfa, and travelled several times to France, where he delivered a speech on the Argelean vernacular. He is actively committed to the protection of the Boyash language, and is an excellent storyteller, known in his village for his oratorical gift.

**ORSÓS PÉTER**, also called Pera or Perics, 1974, born in Alsószentmárton, completed eight grades of school, speaks Hungarian, the Munčan vernacular, has some basic knowledge of Croatian, and is a basket weaver.

**PALKÓ LÁSZLÓ**, 1964, deputy-mayor of Gilvánfa, ex-mayor, has completed eight grades of school, is half Lacatar (Rom. *rom*), half Boyash, speaks fluent Boyash, Romani, and Hungarian; at home with his wife and children, he speaks Boyash and Romani.

**PETROVICS ERZSÉBET**, also known as Pérsa, 1947, born near the village of Alsószentmárton, speaks Hungarian, Croatian/Serbian and the Argelean vernacular. She made a substantial contribution to the recorded material with her stories and songs.



Anna Orsós and colleagues with Thede Kahl (right) at Pécs university



János Orsós



János Orsós with Ioana Nechiti (right) and relatives in Gilvánfa, telling a fairy tale

**PETROVICS MÁRTIN**, 1951, born near Alsószentmárton, owns a horse farm, is bilingual in Hungarian and the Munêan vernacular, and speaks fluent Croatian.

**VÁS PÉTER**, 1956, the mayor of the village of Alsószentmárton, speaks the Munêan vernacular and Hungarian fluently, keeps contact with friends in Romania, and shows a keen interest in the conservation of the Munêan vernacular.

The list of informants is not complete, as some interlocutors preferred to remain anonymous. In those cases, only the name of the place is mentioned in brackets.

### 3.4 Transcription

The phonetic transcription used in this book is a simplified version of the IPA international system complemented with specific signs from works dealing with standard Romanian (RUSU 1992) and with Romanian vernaculars in Hungary (MARIN/MĂRGĂRIT 2005: CLXXXI-CLXXXIV). Those signs were chosen which were considered to be representative of the dialectal variations compared in this study.

In addition to the phonetic transcription signs, alternative symbols were used in order to better render the quality of the chosen transcription. Regarding the order of the phonetic representation, we followed wherever possible the established tradition in Romanian dialectology, as the vernaculars compared in this book fall within Romanian dialectology (RUSU 1992: 9-14; CARAGIU MARIOȚEANU 1975: 43-47). The graphemes in the transcription table appear in alphabetical order.

Orsós Péter, basket weaver in Alsószentmárton







Gyöngyi Kalányos singing



Ewer (Hung. *ceglédi kanna*) used as instruments



Gyöngyi Kalányos



Part of Gyöngyi Kalányos collection of instruments

Graphem	IPA	Description	Example
<b>a</b>			
a	ɑ	open central unrounded	<i>ahásta</i> (this)
ă	ə	mid central unrounded	<i>băiășu</i> (Boyash)
<b>b</b>			
b	b	plosive bilabial	<i>bărbă</i> (beard)
<b>c</b>			
c	k	plosive velar voiceless	<i>cásă</i> (home)
ć	ɬɕ	affricate postalveolar voiceless	<i>fraće</i> (brother)
ĉ	tʃ	africate palatal voiceless	<i>ĉăptăn</i> (comb)
<b>d</b>			
d	d	plosive dental voiced	<i>dínte</i> (tooth)
dʳ	dʲ	plosive dental voiced, lightly palatal	<i>húndʳe</i> (where)
ḑ	dʒ	affricate dental voiced	<i>ḑîc</i> (I say)
<b>e</b>			
e	e	close-mid front unrounded	<i>merží</i> (you go)
ɛ	ɛ	open-mid front unrounded	<i>l'ɛmn</i> (wood)
je	jɛ	close-mid front unrounded preceded by a short [j]	<i>jeşt</i> (you are)

<b>f</b>			
f	f	fricative labiodental voiceless	<i>făină</i> (flour)
<b>g</b>			
g	g	plosive velar voiced	<i>slúgă</i> (slave)
ǵ	ʝ	plosive dental slightly palatal voiced	<i>ǵéřă</i> (ice)
ǧ	dʒ	affricate postalveolar voiced	<i>şîǧé</i> (he/she sat)
<b>h</b>			
h	h	fricative glottal voiceless	<i>hăină</i> (p. of cloth)
<b>i</b>			
i	i	vowel close front unrounded	<i>lîmbă</i> (tongue)
ĩ	ĩ	approximant close front unrounded	<i>vîřăřă</i> (life)
ᵹi	ᵹi	close front unrounded preceded by a short [j]	<i>ʹi</i> (they)
î	ɨ	close central unrounded	<i>řîu</i> (river)
ɪ	ɪ	open close front unrounded, between i and e, but more towards i	<i>védɪ</i> (he/she sees)
<b>k</b>			
k	k	plosive velar voiceless, before e and i	<i>kip</i> (face)
ќ	kʲ	palatal plosive	<i>ќiméřă</i> (shirt)
<b>l</b>			
l	l	lateral alveolar	<i>lótru</i> (proud)

l̥	l̥ʲ	lateral alveolar palatal	<i>l̥ɛmn</i> (wood)
l̥ʷ	ɬ	lateral palatal	<i>cu l̥ʷibă</i> (hut)
<b>m</b>			
m	m	nasal bilabial	<i>mărmînce</i> (cemetery)
<b>n</b>			
n	n	nasal alveolar	<i>búnă</i> (good)
ɲ	ɲ or nʲ	nasal palatal	<i>báɲi</i> (money)
ŋ	ŋ	nasal velar	<i>îŋca</i> (still)
ɳ̠	ɳ̠	nasal alveolar with incomplete closure	<i>cîɳ̠</i> (when)
<b>o</b>			
o	o	close-mid back rounded	<i>fost</i> (was)
ɔ	ɔ	open-mid back rounded	<i>să plôve</i> (to rain)
<b>p</b>			
p	p	plosive bilabial voiceless	<i>păpúșă</i> (doll)
<b>r</b>			
r	r	vibrant alveolar voiced	<i>muîere</i> (women)
ɾ	rʲ	vibrant alveolar, slightly palatal before e and i	<i>rînduɾ</i> (rows)
<b>s</b>			
s	s	fricative alveolar voiceless	<i>drăcôsă</i> (impish)



ś	ɕ	fricative postalveolar voiceless articulated, slightly anterior to ʃ	<i>fáše</i> (do)
ş	ʃ	fricative postalveolar voiceless	<i>băiáš</i> (Boyash)
<b>t</b>			
t	t	plosive alveolar voiceless	<i>lăută</i> (violin, lute)
tʰ	tʰ	plosive postalveolar voiceless	<i>sfăţîn</i> (we speak)
ţ	ts	affricate alveolar voiceless	<i>oţîră</i> (little)
<b>u</b>			
u	u	close back rounded	<i>cum</i> (like)
ũ	w	approximant labiovelar voiced	<i>dóuă</i> (two)
<b>v</b>			
v	v	fricative labiodental voiced	<i>văzît</i> (seen)
<b>z</b>			
z	z	fricative alveolar voiced	<i>zbéra</i> (shouted)
ż	ʒ	fricative postalveolar voiced	<i>ţos</i> (down)
ž	ʒ	fricative retroflex voiced	<i>riţă</i> (> orez) (rice)

**Alternative signs:**

- [◌̣]      under vowels indicates closing
- [◌̄]      over vowels indicates length
- [◌ˈ]      main accentuation
- [◌ˈˈ]    secondary accentuation on words with three or more syllables
- [◌ˈˈˈ]   on vowels with special emphasis
- [◌\_]      under consonants, indicates incomplete closure
- under letters indicates that the investigator notes that the form registered seems unusual
- < >    marks direct speech
- [?]      the word could not be deciphered during transcription
- [...]    omission of segments which are not relevant for illustrating a certain aspect
- ‘ ’      translation in standard Romanian (only those words and sentences have been translated which differ considerably from standard Romanian and which were considered key for understanding the text)

Further punctuation marks such as commas, semi-colons, exclamation marks and question marks, when outside the square brackets, are used as in standard punctuation.



Erzsebet Petrovics and her helpers basket weaving in Alsószentmárton



## THE BOYASH IN HUNGARY



Traditional basket (Boyash: *coş*)



Mărtin Petrovics in Alsószentmárton



Wooden trough (Boyash: *albie* or *trócă*)





Márton Petrovics in Alsószentmárton



Erzsebet Petrovics and her visitors in Alsószentmárton



## 4 Corpus: Text examples from the field recording

### 4.1 About origins and history

#### Noi din Țindio a vinit – We came from India

[TK] *Asta, dacă știi cum era înainte și de unde fugea moșii, de unde-au venit. Ce știi?*

[GK] *Îo ăia șcu, ăia a-nvățat, și ăia mărzi is la ișculă, în rumulôgiu tónsec<sup>1</sup> merzi, ișculă háie, ăia a-nvățat, noi din Țindio an vinit, din Țindio, d-ăpăie toț din hăla, toț din Țindio, și lăcătări și băiași. Numa, n-o apucat pă noi în Rômîniî, pă băiași, n-o apucat și în Rômîniî, acoló slugán, slúgă sîncéh și acoló în bănărie sîncéh, lucrà, în bănărie și d-ăia an căpătât noi nume ahăsta, băiaș. Voî nu șciet d-ahăsta? Nu șciăt.*

Do you know how it used to be before and where your forefathers came from? What do you know?

This is what I know, this is what I learned, and this is what they tell us in school, in Romani studies. This is what I learned: we came from India, and both the Lacatari and the Boyash come from India. Only that we, the Boyash, were enslaved in Romania, we were slaves and we used to work in mines and that's why we were given this name, Boyash. Did you know this? You did not know.

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<sup>1</sup> Hung. *tanszék* 'department'

[TK] *E, așa spun romologii. Voi ce spuneți?*

This is what scholars say. What do you think?

[GK] *Áia zíše, rumulógia. Noĩ [...]. Íేశē ĩȋc-ahásta šévà pĩnt-aháite cǎ ĩȋ vórba nóstă še noĩ acú vurbín, ĩȋc-ahásta vórbă íేశē dĩȋ lóvări šéva, nu mult, uťírǎ íేశē, da ań muĩtát.*

This is what scholars say. There is some truth in it, as we have some remnants in the language we now speak, not much, but there are some elements, but we forgot.

*Cǎ cĩnva nu irá slóbud sǎ vurbín, cǎ cǎri vurbé, ĩȋ táíē ĩimba źos, ĩȋ táíē. Nu irá slóbud sǎ sfátascǎ ungurేశē ĩȋ ĩș-, ĩȋ Mód'orurság<sup>2</sup>.*

Long ago we were not allowed to speak our language otherwise our tongue would be cut out. We were not allowed to speak Hungarian in scho-, in Hungary.

*Íȋca cĩnd aháia dóbǎ o mers, pućé sǎ sfátascǎ, núma ĩimba nóstrǎ, ma nu aháia irá, núma ő rómán ĩimbǎ áĩrá še ańhála še vurbín noĩ acú, cĩnva cĩnd erá ĩȋ Rómĩńĩĩ ó román, acoló aháia sfáté, aháia sfátén acú.*

Not so long ago, many people could only speak our language, but it was different. There used to be only one Romanian language and we are speaking it now, and when we were in Romania, we were speaking the Romanian language, what we are speaking now.

*Cĩn víne dĩȋ Rómĩńĩĩ şĩnevá, ĩe prişép, prişepేశē še hála vurbín, da nu aşá róu bíne, cǎ ma áltcũmva sfátేశē íeĩ, ma nǎ*

When somebody comes from Romania, they understand what we say, but not very well, because they speak differently;

<sup>2</sup> Hung. *Magyarország* 'Hungary'



*aşá sfătేశce, no aşá vorbేశce ca cum noi. Înca noi ahásta n-a huzít, ahásta řciřén, d-aháie ma nú-ĩ mulť înř cári la hála vorbేశce íimba hásta. Áltcúmva sfătేశce, ma uňgurేశce sfătేశce.*

they don't speak like us. We did not hear Romanian, we knew our variety, that's why, and there are not many people that speak this language. They speak differently, they speak Hungarian.

*Ma a nóřtri copí ma nu vorbేశce nimica, nu řcie nimica să sfătáscă, să vorbáscă.*

But our children don't speak anything, they cannot speak anything in Boyash.

[TK] *Dar voi aři spus din hasta limbă aveři ři lovará?*

You said there are some Romani influences in your language?

[GK] *Íేశce lovără, da. Dîň hásta un pic utánă, uříră cână íేశce dîň íimba hásta, uříră, říră ór să řeva íేశce, dîň hála, róu říră.*

Yes, there are some, there are some few elements from Romani, but just a few.

[TK] *Lovarii sunt lăcătari?*

Are the Lovari the same people as the Lacatari?

[GK] *Lăcătári ís. ř-ahéia-s řígán, řígà-ńoc<sup>3</sup>, núma nu aşá sfă---, nu aşá vorbేశce ca cum noi vurbiń. Áltcúmva verbేశce, lăcătărăేశce.*

They are indeed Lacatari. They are also Gypsy; however, they don't speak like us. They speak differently, Lacatari language.

[TK] *Lăcătărăేశce nu grăiేశce?*

Do you speak the Lacatari Language?

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3 Hung. *cigányok* 'Gypsies'

[GK] *Nu, nu, nu.*

No, no, no.

[IN] *Nu-nțăléghe?*

You don't understand it?

[GK] *Nu.*

No.

[IN] *Nu prișépe?*

You don't understand?

[GK] *Nu, nu șcu!*

No, I do not understand.

[A] *Noi băiași a lor ȳmba nu șcim.*

We, the Boyash do not speak their language.

[TK] *Știu, știu, acuma sînt doi, trei băiași care au învățat.*

I know there are some people who have learned it.

[GK] *Îșće căre ȳ ȳșculă ȳnvăță, o dăcă ȳșće căre ȳnvăță pă máma, táta, pă cupȳi să vurbáscă, d-așá nu ȳe căre ar sfătȳ. ȳi rușȳni, vǒg<sup>4</sup> n-áre dă gȳnd să șcȳe să sfátá-scă. Acó ȳe áre dă gȳnd să vurbáscă, că áre dă gȳnd díplomă să áȳvȳ.*

There are some who learn it at school. Or some that are taught by their mothers, their fathers, but generally they do not speak it. People are ashamed to speak this language. My daughter intends to learn it and to get a certificate.

Gyöngyi Kalányos (2010\_09\_23j)

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4 Hung. *vagy* 'but'

**Nu să póce şci dă únd'-ań vińít – Nobody knows where we came from**

[IN] *De únd'-o vińít părinţi, nu şti, n-o zîs, n-o povestít? Şe ştii tu aşá, dă únd'-or vińít băăşî?*

Where did your parents come from, do you know, did they ever mention? What do you know about where the Boyash came from?

[JO] *Hód', dă únd'-or vińít mulţ zîşe, că dîŋ Kónoda, da noĩ nu d'îŋcólo-ań vińít, nu, nu dîŋ Kónoda [?] îŋcólo dă húnd'eva d'îŋ Rùmînie, da dă şîni şcie a lu móşu-mńo moş, a lúŋa moş dă pă únd'-or vińít. Nu? Nu să póce şci ásta.*

Where did they come from, many say they came from Canada, but we did not come from there, not from there, from somewhere from Romania, but who knows where the great-grandfather of my grandfather came from. Right? One cannot know that.

[IN] *Da ei nu zíc, móşî tăĩ, n-o ştiút d'í und'-o vińít aşá?*

But did they never mention, your grandfathers, did they not know where they come from?

[JO] *Móşu-mńò, a mńeu moş, ála n-o îm-blát îŋ işcúlă. Ála n-o rîmbát îŋ işcúlă. Ála m-atít m-o pîrít că ū cînd áiş şîd'áu, pă áiş [Hung.] sátul, maĩ pă dăpárce, maĩ şe şcu ūo pă únd'e nu şîd'áu, că núma, d'áŋa päre ór cúm, cúmă, cum umbló sat dăpă sat. Avé uŋ cal, uŋ car, îş băgá cămăşîŋe, édińurîŋe îŋ car ş-ápo tu să ló dîŋtr-un sat îŋ àlalált mirzé să lúcri, ŋeĩ troş făşó, lín-*

My grandfather did not go to school. He did not go to school. He just told me that they used to live outside the village, they lived everywhere for a bit, going from village to village. He had a carriage and a horse, he put his belongings in it and went from village to village to work, making kneading-troughs, spoons, paddles. They could make everything out of wood.

*guř, mǎire, atúnș, îi dîn iēmne iș cùtǎ pîna, i cu tótu șcîe fáșe cînva. Nu irǎ ca acú edíñuř<sup>5</sup>, pòrțelánuř, nu irǎ núǵhǵg<sup>6</sup>, nu irǎ hásta, háie, dîñ iēmñ trǎbuié sǎ aîñtascǎ, dǎ la trócǎ kéd've bîș dǎ la d'igǎnóu, trócǎ cu tótu, da noî eșcê, băiǎșu, tátǎ-mño șî pǎrîñt-alóra, áșcǎ toț cu iēmne, mészcer iró, ie ásta fǎșó. Dîn-tásta custǎ. Vinzé, îñșcimbǎ pîn sat pǎ fǎinǎ, pǎ mázǎre, pǎ cǎrbóie. Ápo-așǎ șcimbǎ cǎ dǎcǎ fǎșe o trócǎ, fǎșe o trócǎ, ápo îñ dóǎ rînduř oř îñ tri rînduř o umpié dǎ fǎinǎ, áșa sǎ tucmé úna pǎ áltǎ.*

János Orsós (2011\_03\_21)

### Cumpánii – The rudimentary settlements

[GK] *În cumpáni ǎirǎ --- cum îț zîșe, țiganǎ élnöc<sup>7</sup> --- îel iéra hǎl, cǎre vóiduierǎ, voivód, móșu-mño, în [Hung.], îñ Kumló. Da, da, da. Acoló sus ierǎ, în [Hung.], îñ*

It was not like today, where we have so many tools, porcelains, there was no plastic, and they could do everything. My father and other people's fathers all used to work with wood. They made a living from it. They used to exchange their handicrafts for groceries such as flour, green peas, and potatoes. If they exchanged a trough, they had it filled with flour two or three times. This is how they managed to survive.

In Kumlo, in the Gypsy settlement, my grandfather was the so-called *voivod* [a kind of rule-maker]. Yes, yes, yes, up there, in the settlement. When the police-

5 Hung. *edény* 'tools, vessels'

6 Hung. *műanyag* 'plastic'

7 Hung. *cigány elnök* 'Gypsy leader'

*cumpáni. Cîș viné acoló cu rindíri cáre-î [Hung.], zîndári, cînd ásrá, viné sã cóce pã ómiñ sã îe dúcã în cêmișã, la mósu-mño merzê. Acoló îe cutá pã cári cutá. Șî mirzê aculó, î-apucá pã băiáš, îi băgá în cêmișã, îi băgá, îi cutá. Da îerá cînd mósu-mño nu spúné șîne-î, úng-î, î-às-cungé pã eî, da. Atúnș îerá la fel cã acoló róu mulț sîncén, fãmília-î îera acoló și la mósu-mñò, la mósî-me, aculó mîncán, acoló bién, acoló șîgén dă la gîmiñátă pîn la nópce la uvíc la mósî-me, mósî-mño șîgé. Mámî-mé, și háia acoló șîgé, nu îerá acásă tohátă zîua. Afăr sîncéni, acoló mîncán afără, afăr fășén fôcu, acoló fășén píné, dögosténi, fășén cum [...].*

[GK] *Cîndva, cînd mulț înș în cumpáni șîgén, lîngă foc fășé máre grópă, încã-n grópă háie puñén róu mulț iémne. Maî hăl maî bătîrnu fășé fôcu, încã-acólo șîgé, încã puñé povástă. Încă ál bătîrnu cînd povástă spuñé, vurbé, tőt acoló stăcê, încã acoló pòvòșcê, bătîrnu cu tótu. Șe erá cînva, i spuñé lu copîlu îî vorbê. Șe îî acoló, șe îîrá cu îeî, cum îî bęcé únguri, cum îî ---, șe fășé únguri, cu îeî. Mirzê ínncpsám, cum îî --- lucrá, a la fel sfáté*

men were coming to bring the people to jail, he would not give them up to officials, he would hide them. Yes, there were times when my grandfather would not tell them who is who, where they were, he hid them, yes. There used to be a lot of us – my family used to live with my grandfather, all my family did. They used to eat there, to drink there, from morning to dusk. Even my mother was there all the time. And they carried out all their activities outside: eating, making fire, baking bread, cooking, etc.

There was a time when many Boyash gathered around a fire in the [rudimentary] settlements; they dig a big pit in the ground and put a lot of wood. The eldest made the fire, everyone sat around it and he would tell stories. And when the eldest would tell the stories, all sat there, and he would not stop from telling. He told the younger ones what had happened in the past, how they were beaten by the Hungarians. By the end

*dă năhă cînva, cîș mi sîncéh. Încă dăp-  
ăie cîntă, bîe ---*

of the evening, they were all singing and drinking.

Gyöngyi Kalányos (2010\_09\_23m+n)

### **Nói mai întîi aî viîit – It was us who came first**

[AO] *Noî mai întîi aî viîit șî ma nu sfătîî  
așă bîne ca munčéhî, așă bîne, așă mult.  
Noî mai mûlce vôrbe aî lot dîș imba  
dă ûșgur. La noî începût nu-î, noî kiz-  
diliî, acoló încă îșșce îșșepût. Noî zîșéh  
miržéh, îeî zîșe, miržém. Noî zîșéh cînd,  
cînd o țîgarétă bágă-n gûră, îo trag, îeî  
zîșe, munčéhî zîșe, îo trag, biô o țîgarétă,  
da.*

We were the first to come to these lands and that's why we do not speak the language as well as the Munčeni. We borrowed more words from Hungarian. We don't have *începût* [beginning], we *kizdiliî*, there they have *începût*. We say *miržéh* [we go], they say *miržém*. We say, when we smoke a cigarette, *îo trag* [I drag]; the Munčeni say *biô* [I drink] a cigarette, yes.

[AO] *Îh, da, îh --- îeî áflă, îeî áre mai  
mûlce vôrbe, ûnd'e noî vôrbe dă ûșgur  
avéh, nu șciéhî ò zîșe, mulțumesc, noî nu  
zîșéh mulțumesc.*

Yes, they have more words where we use Hungarian words; they say *mulțumesc* [thank you]. We don't say *mulțumesc*.

[TK] *A, zîșe?*

What do you say?

[AO] *Ei zîșe, noî nu zîșéh, n-áveî p-ás-  
ta vôrba, fi sănătósă, să fi sănătós, fir-aî  
sănătós.*

They say, we don't say, we don't have that expression, we say instead *fi sănătósă, să fi sănătós, fir-aî sănătós* [be healthy].

[TK] *Și asta, doamna unde eram ieri e Ardeleancă?*

And the lady where we were today is from the Ardeleni group?

[AO] *Ardelencă-î, da. Când odată atîns aț viîni, cîn nu viîri ar fi, că viîiri ma nu-s stud'ent, căre, căre dă zîua umblă aiș, că îe ma lucră, d-ăia viîe viîiri, că viîiri zîua lor îi căre ma lucră. Da zîl'ile lûn, marț, m'ercuri, zoi, cări aiș în tótă zî umblă îeî-s aiș și îer' îeră o fătă, o --- dă la munčén, munčancă, cum să zîc, și îe rêu bîne urbêșce. Țîgăni, îeî zîșe, țîgăni. Îeî să țîne dă țîgaî, noi nis țîgaî zîșe. Și țîgaî urbêșce, noi mága băeșășce.*

Yes, she is from the Ardeleni group. You should come one time, but it should not be on Friday, as on Fridays there are no students walking around here, but she works. That's why she comes on Fridays. But Mondays, Tuesdays, Wednesdays, Thursdays, that is when she is here all the time. And there is this Munčani girl studying in Pécs, and she speaks the Munčeni vernacular very well, Gypsy, they say Gypsy language. They consider themselves as Gypsy; <we are Gypsy,> they say. And they say they talk Gypsy, but we talk Boyash.

[TK] *Urbêșce?*

*Urbêșce?* [She speaks?]

[AO] *Urbêșce, urbêșce, îi urbêșce, noi sfătîn și nu țîgăni nu țîgăneșce, noi zîșen băeșășce. D-ăi, cîn lăcătari zîșe, pă noi că noi nu ni-s țîgaî, zîșe, că noi nis rumîn, lăcătari zîșe, pă noi că noi nis rumîn, di șe nu mirzén acăsă, în Rumînie, anume, niș no dătă și nu îe țîne pă noi dă țîgaî. Și atînși aiși îs munčénî căre și îeî*

*Urbêșce, urbêșce, they say urbêșce, we say sfătîn and we don't say Gypsy, we say Boyash. That's why, when the Romani-speaking Lacatari say that we are not Gypsy, they say that we are Romanians. They say we are Romanians and ask us why we don't go back home to Romania. And then again, the Munčeni also say*



## THE BOYASH IN HUNGARY



Every day live in Alsószentmárton



Every day live in Gilvánfa





*îs băiáš tot, da îi să ține dă țigan șî zîșe,  
noî urbîn țigăniv, îi zîc. Atúnși îi șîni-s?*

they are Boyash, but they say they speak  
Gypsy. So who are they?

Anna Orsós (2010\_09\_24a)

### **Cînd iré rátu – During the war**

[IN] *Șî ăa zî, cum aî venit tu din Hîrvațca.  
Că ăo asta ---*

Tell me now, how did you come from  
Croatia. As I did not ---

[BJ] *Cum am vinît? Cînd a fost rátu.*

How I came? I came during the war.

[IN] *Rátu, în cîte?*

The war – when, exactly?

[BJ] *Nòvǎžďile. Dóbile ále atúnĉ cînd iré  
rátu. Ásta, țigánca ásta ĉi vre íc să vînă.  
Că noî cînva cu-a me mǎmǎ ań umblát íĉ  
Ungurémı, că a me mǎmǎ dîn Kurkét<sup>8</sup> ıı,  
Moác<sup>9</sup>. Șî cînva bábı-me, cînd iré rátu  
bábı-me a fugıt dîn Kurkét ın Hîrvațca,  
İugoslávıa s-a zıs atúnĉa. Ș-atúnĉ ăo  
acólo m-am vut, acólo-am rămás.*

In the 1990s. In those times when the  
war was going on. This, this Gypsy that  
wants to come here. I had been before in  
Hungary with my mother before that; my  
mother is from Kurket, Mohács. And  
when my grandmother, when the war  
broke out, my grandmother ran away  
from Kurket to Croatia, Yugoslavia, as it  
was then called.

8 Hung. *Kölked* (Croat. Kulket, Germ. Kulken)

9 Hung. *Mohács* (Croat. Mohač, Germ. Mohatsch)

[IN] *Ș-aî știut să vorbêști hîrvățki?*

And you could talk Croatian?

[BJ] *Hîrvățki, da. Ș-atînc în nòvžăčile, cînd iré rátu, tunê a vinît țîgânca ásta pitága dăpă míne, cî cunoscut ań fost, a cunoscut pă máma, a mblat la ăa.*

Croatian, yes. And I was born there, I remained there. And in the 90s, when the war broke out, this Gypsy came to bring me here, as she knew me, she knew my mother, she visited us.

[IN] *Și ăa dăpă tîni ca să tă ăeĩ cu băă-tĩ-so?*

And she brought you here to marry her son?

[BJ] *A venît dăpă míni sî nu mor înculó, sî nu mor, a venît m-a dus ăc, am stat la ăa, atîncă m-am măritát, ráno m-am măritát.*

She came after me so that I wouldn't die there, not to die there, she came and brought me here, then I got married, I got married very early.

[IN] *Cîť ań aĩ avút?*

How old where you?

[BJ] *Fű, foárti tînră irám.*

Pff, I was very young.

[IN] *Páışpe, pátusprăžăce?*

Fourteen?

[BJ] *Așá cumvá. Trisprăžăce žumătáte, foárti ráno. Ráno, da. Atînc m-am măritát.*

Something like thirteen and a half, very early. Then it was when I got married.

[IN] *Și gréu o fost cîn aĩ vińít? Nu știăĩ ungurív?*

And was it difficult for you when you came here? You didn't speak Hungarian, did you?

[BJ] *Ungurív nu. Îc m-am vățát. Ungurív și țigăнів unguriv. Tot s-a misticát cum îc sfîțéști ieî țigăнів. Da, și atúnê bărbátu m-a fost catálă, catánă. Da, a fost cînd a stat cu îl veê pátru cînc áî, așá cumvâ a fost catánă.*

No, no Hungarian, I learned it here. I learned Hungarian and Hungarian Gypsy. Everything got mixed with the Gypsy variety spoken here. Yes, and then my husband enlisted in the army. He stayed in the army four, five years. That was the army.

[IN] *Pátru cînc aí cătánă atúnê?*

Back then, did he have to serve four, five years?

[BJ] *Nu, cînd a stat voî în úna, dăpă áia a fost el catánă și îl așteptát, îl așteptát. Dăpă áia a venit fáta.*

No, after had lived together four, five years, afterwards he enlisted and I waited for him. Afterwards the girl came, yes, I was pregnant.

[IN] *Cu ie aí fost grósă?*

Were you pregnant with her?

[BJ] *Da, grósă, dăpă áia a vénit ălălálát copil, grósă, dăpă áia a venit ásta copil, grósă.*

Yes, pregnant, and then the other boy came, then the other, yes, pregnant.

*Ásta nu-î bun copiláš [...] așá că pă sărăcie îc iștém.*

He [pointing to her child jokingly] is not a good boy. So yes, this is why we live in poverty.

[IN] *Tu acoló n-aî măi fost?*

Have you never returned there?

[BJ] *Am fost, cîn și cîn mă duc.*

I have, from time to time I go there.

[IN] *Acoló bába ta ȩ, móşu táu ȩ, nu mai ȩs?*

Your grandmother, your grandfather, are they still there?

[BJ] *Nu, doi fraţ, vunić fraţ şi a lora cupi. Cupi, unuc, aşá acoló-s. Când şi când li ved, mă duc incoló, ȩi ȩa ȩşte cîn vine. Acú ȩ-am kimát şi pá ȩei sí vină. [...]*

No; I have two brothers, handsome brothers, and their children. Children, nephews, they are there. From time to time I see them, I go there, and sometimes they come here. I recently invited them to come here.

[IN] *Bine istet?*

Are you in good terms?

[BJ] *Bine istem aşá. L-am timát să vină că fáta gátă cu şculili, cu opt şcule ş-o ȩră ȩném, ȩră firbém şi s-fim toţ una, fámilia máre.*

Yes, we are in good terms. My niece has completed the 8<sup>th</sup> grade and we are going to celebrate a bit, cook something, and all be together, the whole family.

[IN] *Familie máre aí avút aculó?*

Do you have many relatives there?

[BJ] *ȩa mai máre mi fámilia. [...]*

I have more relatives here.

[IN] *Bine istet cu fámilia?*

Do you get along with the family?

[BJ] *ȩo aşá o ȩn pá titága ca când a me máma, máma ȩe m-a criscút, fetiţa şi úvic mánváţă ȩevá: <ášta aşá fá, ásta aşá fá, búnă póslă să aí, curátă, samá cupi>, ş-aşá.*

I respect my mother-in-law very much because she practically raised me; she always teaches me how to work, how to clean, how to raise my children, and so on.

Jászminka Bogdán [2011\_06\_05 (17)]

## 4.2 Customs and Rituals

### Núntă – Wedding

[M.] *Núntă fășe băiașu, iǎ mirzê sǎ-nșêrșe. Mirzê cu ȕgañi, mirzê, cîn i s-o vǎzút pǎ copil dǎ fǎta hǎie, o mers copilu acǎ la tǎti-so. <Mǎmǎ>, zîșe: <mi s-o vǎzút d-o fișór d-o fǎtǎ mîndrǎ.> <Haĩ copili-mńo, zîșe, sǎ-nșercǎm la ie.> Or mers cu ȕest caĩ bǎtîrń la ie, or dus o litǎrǎ dǎ rǎcie ș-aĩ dat mie sǎ béu ástǎz, șci, or dus așǎ o litǎrǎ dǎ rǎcie, o pús-o pǎ mǎsǎ, o-nșircát dǎ: <N-o fǎtǎ, ȕi vóie dǎ fișóru ásta?> Táșe fǎta nu sfǎtésce, iేశce o iǎgǎ, pínǎ iేశce noĩ, táșe fǎta. <No dǎ, spuńe fǎtǎ, cǎ tréșe rǎcia hǎie.> Táșe, incǎ nu spuńe. Așcǎptǎ s-adúicǎ hǎilaltǎ rǎcie, la bǎiașǎ, c-așǎ-ia. <No, úte bǎiașǎ, zîșe, dǎ-mi puńe maĩ o litrǎ dǎ rǎcie, ȕ-o spuńe fǎta, i vóie dǎ fișór, i vóie dǎ nu.> <Da, ádǎ rǎcia áia,> zîșe. O pús-o pǎ mǎsǎ, [...] <bǎiașu, no sǎ șcú zîșe cǎ muș ma tunéric iĩ, ma trébe mǎ duc acásǎ, ma sǎ șcú pǎ șe mi-s áișa. > <Ápo lásǎ, dǎ, zîșe, mi-ĩ vóie,> zîșe. Ohóo, núma cîn s-onvoit úna cǎ i vóie, atúnșa sǎ-nvoi ȕei cît or da hósta, cît or da a fêci pǎrínȕ*

When the Boyash wanted to marry, they would ask the girl's parents to agree. They went with their fellow Gypsies. When a young boy would like a girl, he would go home to his father. <Mother>, he says, <I like a beautiful girl>. <Come, my child, to ask for her hand.> They took their old horses to the girl, they took a liter of schnapps, the one you gave me today to drink, you remember, yes, a liter of schnapps, they would put it on the table and ask for the girl's hand. <What do you say, girl, do you like this boy?> The girl is quiet, does not speak. Until there is still some schnapps left, she is quiet. <Now, tell us girl, because that schnapps is going to be finished soon.> She is silent, does not say anything. She waits until they bring the other schnapps, like the other one. <Now, look Boyash lady, give us, put another litre of schnapps, but will your daughter tell you if she likes the boy or not?> <Yes, bring that schnapps,> she says. They put it on the

*ș-a copilului. Atunșa cîn ș-o fi nunta, tu atîta vîi da, ȳo atîta oî da, atunșa o mers mîndru acăsă. Atunș s-or spus cînd o fi nunta. Așá șcû.*

Mira (2010\_09\_23n)

[GK] *La mîne áșa ȳerá cînvà, umblám la ișculă, încă vîné bășîȳa, bătîrna háie, cári avé dă gînd să stóu cu copî-luî, áia avé dă gînd să fîu a ȳi nívástă. Vîné la ișculă, m-așteptá pã mîne cîn oî méri-acăsă dîn ișculă. Ș-acoló stăcé. ȳo ȳarã n-avém dă gînd să mă mărít. Șe să fac, trăbuîe cu bătîrna áia să mă duc acăsă. Mă prictișám să mă duc ácá. M-a apucát am mers acăsă, dîp-áie am așcêptát o lúnă, ȳe, or așcêptát o lúnă șî vîné la mîne să-nșérșî [...]. Încă cînd a veñít la mîne să-nșérșî, acolo erá, car tri inș isrá. M-o apucát, trisóbă avén. Erá*

table, <Boyash, I need to know now as it is getting dark, I need to go home, I need to know what I am here for.> <Now, leave it, yes, I like him.> Oh, when they have agreed that she likes him, then they talk about how much the dowry will be, how much the girl's parents give and the boy's parents. And then they will decide when the wedding will be, and how much they will give. And then the boy went home very proud. They decided when the wedding will take place. This is how I know.

I experienced it once this way: When I was still at school, an old Boyash lady who wanted me to marry her son, who wanted me to be her daughter-in-law, used to come to my school. She used to wait for me just when I was wanted to go home. And she was standing there. I did not want to get married. What to do, I had to go home with that old lady. I did not want to go home with her. We headed home. Afterwards I waited one month. One month passed and she came to ask me for marriage. However, when she came to ask for my hand, there were three

*cuñhába<sup>10</sup> o sóbă, maĩ o sóbă și maĩ. Úna la ha-, dínaince sóbă misráam, acoló auzám că da di și-or viñít ieĩ. Or viñít la noĩ să hălă hînșérși. Ș-a avút că mă zîșe, mámî-me pă míne. <Adú, cămă pă Góngi<sup>11</sup> să vie àfără>. Eu ș-am făcút? Am àpucát am scăpát àfără dă pă bloc, am scăpát. Viñe sórî-me să mă cóce. Mérze-napóĩ sórî-me la mámî-me: <Nu-ĩ aișé, únge-ăĩ?> <Ío nu șcú, nu șcú.> Íacă, fáșe mámî-me: <Eĩ că m-aĩ lăsát în rușínă m-aĩ lăsát. Íși m-aĩ făcút rușíne, că m-am rușínát dă hălă țí-gaň iěșťa, dă țígánca hásta că aĩ scăpát àfără și n-aĩ rămás aișa.> <Aĩ dúce tu, mărítă-će tu, că ío n-am dă gînd să mă mărít.> Dăp-ăie iără avé dă gînd să mă măríce. Viñe hălă, róu mulț inș viñé, ġi-miňăță, era nóuă șásuri ásta, atúnșa, or viñít róu mu, o cumpáne máre, róu mulț inș isrá, m-am spăriétu-mă. Atú mă cúlca. Mă scol sus în mári hălă zóĩ șe ierà, sfátu mári șe vorbé ieĩ toț acoló, înt-ăie mă scol sus. Fáșe mámî-me: <Aíó Góngi, ácu să nu-mi făș rușíne máre, că m-o fi rușíne*

people. They brought me home. We had three rooms. The living room, a room and another room and another. I was in the front room from where I heard what they came for. They came to ask for my hand. And my mother said: <Call Gyöngyi to come out here.> And what did I do? I left the block, I escaped. My sister came after me to search for me. She goes back to my mum: <She is not here, where could she be? I don't know, I don't know.> My mother said: <Oh, you shamed me. You shamed me here, I was so ashamed in front of the Gypsy people, that Gypsy woman for your running away and not staying here.> <Go and get married yourself, as I don't want to get married.> Later, she wanted to give me up for marriage again. They came, many people came, early morning, at nine o'clock, in a big group, many people came then. I got scared. I was sleeping. I get up, it was on a Thursday, they were seriously discussing there, in a matter of seconds I woke up. My mother said, <Gyöngyi, please don't shame me again because I will feel very ashamed if you escape again.> <No, I won't.> And they wanted

10 Hung. *konyha* 'kitchen'

11 Hung. *Gyöngyi*



*dăcă tu vi scăpă ilară.> <A, nu scăp, nu scăp.> Și nunta-atunș avé dă gînd să făcă și atun m-o șerút pă mihe-afără. O, fac io, no téi núma. Acoló bié toț, mîncă, bié toț acoló și m-am apucátu-mă că m-am dúsu-mă álta gal, áltă cumpáne m-or dúsu-mă. M-am apucat, fac io pă sórí-mé: <Fă, am dă gînd să mă duc acásă, haî mirzén acá. > <Ai dă gînd să skep’?> Da, am dă gînd să scăp. Háida am scăpát afără. Am mers, pă pădúri am mers, asá am azúns acásă. Ioî cíte-o căpátát dă la mámî-me. A, háite da. Fáșe sórí-me: <No ácu ș-oî zîșe?> <Nu șcu.> Víne sórí-me acásă, mă níș máma nu maî víne-acásă, zbéra cu mihe: <Ș-aî făcút dă mihe, vez că ș-aî făcút?> M-aî făcút rușíne ilară! Dîp-áa ma nu mă da, nu mă mărítá pă mihe. Așá am păřít ieu.*

Gyöngyi Kalányos (2010\_09\_23n)

### Dóctoř, vrăžítóre – Doctors, witches

[TK] Nu zîc un lúcu? Cînd lúmea, înainte ierá biteágă, și nu aveá dóctoř, șe a făcút, șe fășá?

to have the wedding immediately, and then they asked for my hand. I was thinking, wait and see. They were all drinking, eating there, all drinking there and I crossed a hill in another village. they brought me in another settlement I decided and told my sister: <I want to get back home, come, let’s go home.> <You want to escape?> <Yes, I want to escape.> <And we went out>. We crossed the forests and this is how we got back home. Let’s not even mention how hard my mum beat me. That was real. My sister told me: <What do you say now?> <I don’t know.> My sister gets back home, and not even my mum would go back home. She was shouting to me: <What did you do to me, do you see what you have done? You made a fool of myself again! <That’s why you shouldn’t try to marry me off again.> This is what I went through.

[JO]: *Nu șcu da, da, ástáz o sfătám d'ástă cu ținánca ásta, ıo rıu bıcág cá ırám cıt cupıl mic áırám.*

[NB] Tu?

[JO] *İo. Șı nu la fêlă cá ă atíta șcîe lúme pă lúme pă țără nu șra dóctoř, doctoř, dóctoř, șci șe-ı ála doctoř? No, nu sra, șı, te rou buń, rou buń, șcîe sá vındeșe pă óm. ırá ca rou buń ıerá. Rıu bun și ne vındică pă ómıń. Dar acú, dar acú maı múlț móre dăkıť ă atúnșe, dăkıť atúnșe. Acú lásă ıeı lásă ıeı rıngııe, lásă ıeı fırficu cınd î--- cu tótu lásă ıeı șı d-áıe móre ómıńı.*

[TK]: *Náınce cum făca? Cá aveá vrăzıtóre, nu?*

[JO]: *Vrăzıtóre ıo, ıırá șă vrăjıtóre cá d-áıa spuném ıo și dă vrăzıtóre ı buburém ıo dă vrăzıtóř cá cınva vrăzıtóre sra, nu ra--- Da. să-ț spuı ıo țină d-áıa șıva. U vrăzıtóre d'-șeıa cın cınva, rıu rıu dă-múlť ıycă tátă-mńo-m păré [...], tátă-mńo-m păré,*

I don't know; we were talking about this with this Gypsy lady today. I often used to be sick when I was little.

You?

Me. And it was not like today when people know other people, there were no doctors, doctors, doctors. You know what that is, a doctor? No, there were not, but there were some that were good. They knew how to heal people. There were some were good ones. They were very good and they would heal people. But now, now much more people die than used to die back then. Now they leave their instruments, their scissors, everything inside and that's why people are dying.

How did they do it before? Did you have witches before?

Yes, there used to be witches, that's why I was telling you about witches. Once upon a time there were witches, were there not? But I would like to tell you something. That kind of witch, long ago, long time ago, in my father's time. It seems, back

*că atú n-âpucá cum sã zíc, póganî<sup>12</sup> ira núme, şî, na numé, sã ţîne un dă drágum domn ólem, unгурéşce póyan, póyan, póya ş-aşá, póyañi, poyánă írá lume da unгурéşce póyan no ni vidéu, şî, anúme anúme în vrăzîtór írá şivá, írá şivá, írá u, u muîere bătîrnă. U bíne pǎre tátîmno d-ásta, a po róu máre vrăzîtore írá. Róu. Íncă da nu rindíri [Hung.], şándár. Şci şe-î áia şándári? At ca rindír, da şci rindír şe-î?*

*Poliţái, poliţái. Şîndáru maî róu róu dîmúlt núme avé şîndár dî cu péne îy cap şî cu mînac, şî péne avé îy cap. Şîndár, la núî áia srá, d-ásta urság, cum sí spuî, sáră, şî, íncă o măs la bătîrnă ásta. Ş-o lot dă la îe cu tótu ş-avé, ş-avé la vrăzîtór şî fǎşé vrăzîtreîeîe şi lucrú, cu tótu lot dă la îe íncă, íncă o trăiît maî sã plăcâscă nu şcu kíti bán că or, că or, cum sã spuî o binti-tít-o şci bintitálă íncă, o lot cu tótu dă la îe şî nu írá slóbod sã fǎcă afél vrăzîtór l'-o vrăzîtór lucrú. Îe tu sáma, cum trişe dóba, avé rindíru ásta u" fişór, rindíru.*

then, pogan was their name. And the name comes from a man. In Hungarian their name was pogan, pogan, something like this. And there was something about witches, there was something, it was an old lady. My father recalls it well, she was a very powerful witch. Very. Even the gendarme ---. Do you know what is gendarme? Well, they are like rindiri, but do you know what are the rindiri?

Policeman, policeman. They used to be called gendarme before, with feathers on their heads and a stick in their hands, even feathers they used to have on their heads. In our country, we used to have this kind of policeman and, as I told you, they went to this old lady. And they took everything from her, what she possessed, all her witchery and things and she still had to pay I don't know how much money, as, how should I say, they searched her and took everything as it was forbidden to do this kind of witchcraft. And, pay attention, as time was passing by, this gendarme had a son.

12 Hung. *boszorkány* 'witch'

*Și rǒu bićág irá fișóru-ĩ. Ș-astá-ĩ c-o pu-  
vástá mică. O u<sup>m</sup>blá dá nu șci pá únge pá  
un l-o purtát pá la órvușur. L-or purtát  
să il vîngeșe pá cupíl la órboș, la órvoș,  
l-o<sup>r</sup> putát pá la órvoșur, să-l vîngeșe pá  
copil, nu-l pućé vîngécá. Íntr-o zî, fáșe  
fáșe șándáru ásta: <ouž> fáșe <řigáncu,  
gátăće, bágî o zîșe, o sûtă dá pind'ěĩ în  
žáp>. Rǒu már bán isrá iŋcă pind'ěĩ ásrá  
la noĩ în-tástă țáră, pind'ěĩ rǒu már bán  
srá, și méďe zîșe, la cutáre zîșe, <vrăžítóre  
dádá zîșe, io ș-ázutát dá copiluluĩ îi dăm  
bái>. <No dá!>.*

*Or gátátu-să o lot pe cu tótu, péșe. Vez tu?  
Afěl dá máre vrăžítóre ierá bătírna, dá ie  
ma și ie d-acásă pá șe să gátă șá rándáru  
că méže la <sup>ie</sup> cu muĩere dá tu? Și ie șcie kiři  
báni or băgat în žáp să-ĩ ie cît să-ĩ azúće  
copiluluĩ dăm bái.*

*Pă cí ieĩ or azúns acoló ȳa liscái cu afél  
lânțur. Lánț. Șci ș-eĩ lánțu? Nu șci ș-eĩ  
lánțu? Fúnie d-áia dá lánț, cu lăcáće o pus  
pá ȳa dómne o încis că ála căpútu, firitișu.  
O čís ublőșile și dímblăĩ, noĩ așá zîșem  
ș-o legát-or. Dómne, când azúnž acoló  
méže la ie, îi zbără ínlonu kisăláșu lor ---*

After a while, the policeman's son fell very ill. This is like a little story. He went to many places, in cities, hospitals, they went to heal him in hospitals, in hospitals, they took him to hospitals but nobody could heal him. One day, this gendarme said to himself: <Listen, wife, prepare yourself, stick 100 coins in your pocket.> Back then it was a lot of money in our country, and <go,> he said, <to the witch and see if she is able to help our child, recover from his illness.> <Let's do that!>

They prepared everything. You see? That witch was that powerful that even the gendarme was going to her with his wife. And only they know how much money they took in order to help their son recover.

And by the time they arrived there, she was in chains. You know what are those, chains? Those ropes of chains, with lock and key they put on her. They closed the windows and they bound her. God, when they got there, they call her in a loud voice. They call her, and call her, but she

[shouts at the dog]. *O zbară afără, zbară afără, nu și nu. Înto ba bine, bine când o muțeu afără, <auz> zîșe, <dúce acásă> zîșe, <i și tu> zîșe, <șe-ai făcút?> zîșe. <M-ai lot> zîșe, <cu tótu bán o tăbúit să-m plăcéciz> zîșe <tótu bán> zîșe, <șe tu> zîșe, <și măi măi măi măi li ti tu> zîșe. <Nu ț-ažút dăm bai ș-ăia să-ț spu> zîșe, <hía bōi umblă> zîșe, <pășci tot, copilului> zîșe, <nímen nu i-o žutát dăm bai> Afěl máre vrăžîtór ísrá nímen nu i-o žutát dăm bai ia și șca ažutá, zîșe. <Da,> zîșe, <tu, pă min nu cu sutá dă pind'ei ș-a odú> zîșe, <dómna> zîșe, <óre măi în zășe, o sută dă rînduri la tis bán să-m dai și nu i-aș ažutá, nu ț-aș ažutá> zîșe, <dă-m bai>. <Dúce acás> zîșe, <pă și ț-o muri> zîșe, copilul. Așá ș-o fost, afěl máre vrăžîtór ísrá, afěl máre vrăžîtór ísrá.*

does not answer. And when they were calling her, she said: <Listen> she said, <go home> she said, <do you remember> she said <what you had done>? <You took everything from me, all my money> she said, <all money>, she said <and all what I possessed.> <I won't help you, I'm telling you> she said <wherever you will go> she said <nobody will help your child> she said <nobody will help him recover.> Such a great witch she was, she would not let anybody help him. <Yes> she said, <you came with more than hundred policemen> she said. <And even if you gave me one hundred times more money, and I won't help him, I won't help you from this distress.> <Go home> she said <your child will die>. And everything happened as she said. She was such a powerful witch.

János Orsós (2013\_02\_14 (25, 26))

## Țígań, băiáš, lăcătár, tícań, lovár – Gypsies, Boyash, Lacatari, Tiszani, Lovara

[AO] *Zișén că-n Unguréme șád'e, nu șcú, o jumătățe dă milíon dă țígań, da d-ăia, nu șcién încă șine-î țígańi. Șî díntr-ేశca, dín țígań ేశca zíșe, că șapcêzăș șî únu proțánt, cum să zíc, [...] ásta nu-î úmbă dă băiáš, ásta nu pot să zíc băieșășcê, núma așá, ca proțánt. Íe ás rom-ungró zíșén noí, a fel țígań, cári cínva dín lucálă custá, pučén să zíșén, cári láuucé [...], da muzícant, poț să zíș așá, șî íeí or vińít maí íntíť la noí, ú ma nu sfátేశcê băieșășcê, ๑๑ băieșășcê, ímba dă țígań nu sfátేశcê [...], órecít ieszcê da, ímba dă lăcătár. Íేశcê, cum să zíc, fel lócuri, húnd'e órecít íncă cústă cáre d-ăie ne-arátă cínva și-or vurbít. Íe ís nu dăpárce d-aiși, ín Vérșent ieszcê órecít șî íe ís lutáš, zíșén noí, da íncă sfátేశcê o l'íbă dă lăcătári, la noí zíșe, ásta libă dă lăcătári, cárbatu-țígań, dín Carpát, póce că tu aí prișepe. Da, șî nu dăpárce dă la cápítal, dă la Búdapeșt, ieszcê up loc Cóbancó. Acoló cínva a fel lăcătári șídé o a fel țígań cári cuí fășé, dín putkéve, da, dín putkéve. Da, acoló ieszcê maí a fel, cum să zíc, óstrov, un a fel loc, <sup>h</sup>únd'e, <sup>h</sup>únd'e íncă sfátేశcê lăcătărășcê.*

Let's say that half a million Gypsies live in Hungary. However, the problem is that we don't really know who a Gypsy is. It is said that 71% of them are Gypsies, how to say right, we don't have this in our language, I cannot say this in Boyash language, only like this, as a percentage. We call them Rom-Ungro, those kind of Gypsies who used to earn their living by playing music, we can say who played music. Yes, musicians, you can say like this, and they arrived before us here, but they do not speak Boyash they speak neither Boyash nor Romani. There are some that do, the Lacatari language. There are still some people in some places who show us how they had spoken before. They don't live far here from here, in Versend, and there are some musicians, we say, that still speak the Lacatari language. Yes, we say that this is a Lacatari language. Here it is called Carpathian-Gypsy, from the Carpathians, you must know better. And, not far from the capital, from Budapest, there is a place, Csobánka. There was a village where some Gypsies earned their

*Da pă ție zîșeñ că ma ș-or pîerdút lîmba, nu măi sfătêșce, da. Da, ție-s măi mulț înș, dîn suta, șapcêzăși și únu. Atúnș pă hêșca dă cemán [Hung.] kètnévéc, da zîșeñ așá în lingvístică, áre dóuă o măi múce l'im-be. Únu, o grúpă, d'e cămă la noi vláhì, da nu, ólah țigánì, ție is lăcătár, pă ție ție cemám noi lăcătár, ție sfătêșce rómani și cáre cu cai tîrgulêșce.*

living by making nails from horseshoes. Yes, there is such kind of place, like an island, such kind of place where they still speak Lacatari language. But we say that they have lost their language. They don't speak it anymore, yes. There are more people, 171. So, this that we call Ketnevec, yes, we call them like this in linguistics. They have two or more languages. One group called Vlach, no, Olah Gypsy. They are Lacatari, them we are calling Lacatari, speak the Romani language and earn their living by trading horses.

[IN] *Zîșe, ġambáš aîșa, cu cái?*

Do you also call those who trade horses Ġambaș here?

[AO] *Îe lovár, lovár le zîșe, și ție sfătêșce lovărêșce.*

No, they are called Lovari and they speak Lovari.

[TK] *În maghiară calul e lo?*

In Hungarian you say ló?

[AO] *Da, da nu dîn vórba ásta. Dîñ lóve, dîn bañ, dîn vorba dă bání. Că-n l'imba lor grast ție lo, o cal. Și vórbile țieșce șe în lîmba dă únguřîêșce [Hung.] vórbile êșca tóce dîn l'imba lor o viñit în lîmba dă únguř, în sleng, zîșeñ noi. La noi ție*

Yes, but it is not derived from this word. From lóve, which means money, from this word. As in their language lo means horse. And their language has infiltrated Hungarian. All these words in Hungarian come from their language. We call it slang.



*să ținē anume dă ținān. Iei zîșe, că ieī is cācorom pā l'imba lor. Toț heialălț nu, nūma ieī car ieī Iei șade păște hūnd'e în țara asta, da mai bine în vāroșuri, nu șcū cum să zic.*

*Nu în sat, în vāroș, da. Și d-acolō umblă dăcā tîrgul eșce cu șinevā într-un sat. Ii încă bine sfătîeșce rōmōni și cupli, da ha mai mică grupă cāre nūma opt proțānt dîņ sūtā, da, ieī is băiāș. Și băiāș car aiș în zos, în [Hung.]. [...] Și băiāși șade în sat, nu în vāroș, în sat. Da dăcā într-un sat șade și băiāși lăcātari, atūnși iēșce o uliță und'e băiāși șade, iēșce o uliță und'e lăcātari. Și hūnd'e băiāși șade, nu nūma în pārcā lu Dūnāre și avēn mai un pārou, pārou zîșēn noi, iso, si lîngă Tiso și hūnd'e Kōrōs și mai ore kice, da, da. Acolō șade o, nu țināncă-ī, o muīere, zîșe, cāre cu cîn-ciși lucrā, cîn-ciși dă ținān lucrā, ie zîșe, c-acolō șade, la noi nu Crișān zîșe, pā ieī, Tičan, că lîngă Tisā șade și pā ieī zîșe, tičan. Cum ieī vurbēșce o cum ieī sfătîeșce și cum muncēni sfătîeșce, rōu arūncā. Că cūmva într-o dōbā or viñit aiș, da n-or ajūns pîn-aiș. Acolō or rāmās. Nu-s*

They consider themselves to be real Gypsies. In their language they call themselves Chachorom. The others don't. Only they call themselves this. They are to be found everywhere in Hungary; they tend to live in cities, I don't know how to say. Not in the village, in cities, yes. And, if there are markets, from there they go to villages with somebody. And they speak Romani well. Even their children speak; however, they are the smallest group, only eight percent. Yes, they are Boyash. And Boyash right here in [Hung.]. [...] And the Boyash live in in the village, not in the city, in the village. And if Boyash and Lacatari do live in the village, then there is a street where only Boyash live and one where only Lacatari. The Boyash not only live on the shores of the Danube. We have another river, we say, Tisza, and nearby Tisza and Kōrōs and in some other places, yes, yes. There is a woman, not a Gypsy woman, who works with songs, Gypsy songs, and she says that they live there. We don't call them Crișan but Tiszani. Because they live on the Tisza, they are named Tiszani. Their language is very similar to that of the Munčeni.

*mulț înș, zîșe.*

Anna Orsós (2010\_09\_24b)

Somehow they arrived on Hungarian soil at the same time; however, they did not make it up here. They stayed there. She says that there are not many people.

### 4.3 Fairy tales

#### Munâș ș-Munceșîță – Munâș and Munceșîță

*O dat ánu, ê-o dat, dómne, pă lúme pă táră, o dat un muncâș ș-o muncêșîță [...]. Îe tu sáma, îe, Îi áre o drágă dă fátă. Avé frumósă fátă áre, dă húnd'e răsáre pîn-apúne, ca îe'le frumósă fátă nu îe.*

Once upon a time, there was a Munâș and a Munceșîță. [...] Listen closely to what I say. He has a dear girl. Such a beautiful girl he had, that from east to west, she was the most beautiful daughter ever to have lived.

*Cîndă dómne fáta m-áră, opt, zășe, aí dă zî'le, múmă-sa cád'e în pat, o murít, múmă-sa fêci. Dómne, dúșe búie muncâșu, ê-o fi ráno, cum o nivíli pă fátă sus, cum o creșce fátă. No nu-î báí, n-áre șe să fâcă, or apucát, or îngropát-o pă muncêșîță, tréșe dómne, zîi'le, săptámîni'e, lúnil'e. <Ma fátă, da îe tu sáma că mí gribăsc.>*

When the girl was only eight years old, her mother fell ill and died, the girl's mother. The Munâș was very concerned about how he would now raise his daughter. No problem, there is not much left to do, they started, they buried his wife and then days, weeks, months go by. [Addressing the interviewee] <Girl, pay attention, I am hurrying up!>

*Mínd'e n-o murít múmă-sa, o cámă pă fátă-î la pátu-î: <Aúz fátă me> zîșe, <oi*

Before her mother died, she asked her daughter to come to her bed: <Listen, my

*murí, tátî-to,> fáşe <o murí váca, ma dúpă pumánă, tu să duş,> fáşe <másăie să cîstăléşt la pîrou. În pótă v'ei află tri fire dă núş. Vi acás, tri fire dă núş să l'e îngrópi la cónu dă cásă. Drága me, fáta me,> fáşe, <o crêşce un nuc dîñ îe, máre. Alt nu trébe să faş, fáta me. [?] Cîndă vîi avé dă gînd să ce bréş să ce dezbréş, nú-ma-tî zîş: căp núcu mîo, să mă gat, vói căp núcu mió, să mă dăzbrăc.> [...] Cîñ muîerea s-o lovít în pat, o murít. Cînd o murít, víñe [?] muncăşu, o murít váca, o murít.*

*O márs, o spălăt cum îo zîs múmă-sa, o flat tri fil'é dă núş, în pótă vâşi. O apucát núşîie, îo băgát în zîb, o spălăt máţîie, o mers acásă, or făcút dă mult dă mîncát, or făcút grupimîncê, or făcút. Îe tu sáma, dîpă grupămîncê, dîpă ş-or mîncát, or but, lész tri firé dă nuş, l'e-o-ngropát. Îe tu sáma, şe áltu îemn îñ zăşe aí dă zîie crêşce, ála, núcu, ínt-u zî crişcă atîta. Pășce dóă, tri zîie, îel afělă nuc dómñe, tără biéş mări, dă nu să póce*

girl> she said, <I am going to die, your dad,> she said, <will slaughter the cow, but after the alms, go to the stream and clean the guts in the stream. There you will find three walnut branches. Come home and bury the three branches in the corner of our house. My dear, my girl,> he said, <a walnut tree will grow on that spot, a big one. This is the only thing you have to do, my girl. Whenever you will want to dress, to undress, say this: My walnut tree, I want to dress, my dear walnut tree, I want to undress [...].> When the woman put her head on the pillow, she died. When she died, her husband slaughtered the cow, killed her.

She went, she washed the guts as her mother had told her. She found in them three branches of walnut tree. She took them in her pocket. She washed the guts and went home, prepared lots of food, they dig the grave. Listen, after the burial, after they had eaten and drunk, she planted three branches of walnut. The walnut tree would grow as tall in a single day, as others in ten years. After two, three days, God, such a walnut tree

*vid'ê în tótu hotáru.*

<No nu-î bai,> fáşe. <E tu sáma, în cutá-re sat şîgê o mûncêşîţă şî ála úge áċe, avé o fátă. Cînd o vinît ála dóbă [?] ş-o muítát dómna, muncăşu: <Aúz fáta me>, zîşe, <îş ma pátruspăzăşe aí dă zîċe,> zîşe, <níme, la níme nu póţá spúne> váşe <báiu, rúcu. Biń-a fi cînd aş méďe şî m-aş cutá,> zîşe, ráşe, <o dómna.> <O tátă,> zîşe, <duċe.> S-o àpucátu-să, muncăşu, s-o gătátu-să, ş-o băgát báni în ţăp, méze, méze lúme şî pămínt.

Cînd azunze-n-sat afără, mágă órecċe sáturi afără, să áfle c-o mûncêşîţă. <Bună zîua,> zîşe, <mûncêşîţo!> <Hă fi sínătós,> zîşe, <muncăşă!> [...] <Ápo íaca-acúm şî áca-acúm ma doċ aí dă zîċe, c-o murít> zîşe, <dómna-m, mă duc> zîşe, <să-m cot> zîşe, <dómna.> <No, muncăşe,> fáşe, <şî mie dă doċ aí dă zîċe m-o murít> zîşe, <dómnu, şî ģo> zîşe, <mă duc să-m cot,> zîşe, <pă şínva să am> zîşe, <cu şínċi să-m împărţăsc> zîşe, <cústu.>

grew that one could not see in that whole area.

<No problem,> she said. In a particular village there was a Munċeşîţă and she had a daughter. When the time came, the Munċaş forgot about his wife. <Listen, my daughter,> he said, <I am fourty,> he said. > <I cannot confess my trouble to anyone, my deeds. It would be good if I went and searched for a wife.> <Father,> she said, <go.> The Munċaş prepared, dressed, put money in his pocket and set off as far as his eyes could see.

After crossing his village, some other villages he met a Munċeşîţă. <Good afternoon,> he said, <Munċeşîţă!> <Be healthy, Munċaş,> she replied. [...] <Look, two years have already passed since my wife died, now I go> he said, <to search> he said, <for a wife.> <Munċaş,> she said, <I lost my husband two years ago> she said, <and me too I set off to search somebody,> she said, <with whom I can live together.>

<Da,> zîşe, <cum îl scol> zîşe, <în <sup>b</sup>ór-be, aí o fătă, da şi io am> zîşe, <úna. <Aúz muncâs,> zîşe, <aşá víu> zîşe, <la cîni, că> zîşe, <on fâşe,> zîşe, <un<sub>x</sub> igişúg: mi-î i-î pă négă áia că ê-o curá dîñ sîtä o mîncá fâta-ť, ş-o rămîñe îñ sîtä o mîncá fâta-m.> <Nc,> fâşe muncâşu, <fie aşá.> zîşe. S-apúcă dómñe, o' mers acá, o' řínút lúna săptămîna núnata, or řínút dómñe [?] pă fâta muncâşî ca pă cîñe o říné mîşcôî-sa. Ba mñe zbără, mužêşce, o báçe, o îñşáie dă cap, dă păr, îñcô, îñculó. <Nc,> fâşe, <az aşá fâşe, n-o fi bíñe, fâta-m o gábo.> <Nc fâto,> zîşe, <dumínică mézeñ la bisérică.> <On méze> zîşe.

O mes la bóltă, o lot un kiló dă rižă. Rižă o răsăpít-o îñ, în gunóie, o răsăpít-o. <Pă cîn îñ viñí ácà,> fâşe, <dîñ riža ásta să fâş> fâşe, <áşe ş-aí pă tăt cápu storşî curéc, cárñe,> şcî? <mumbóťă, să faş,> fâşe, <mîncăre şi zámă, că dácă nu,> fâşe, <tăî-stúî-tiştara êe-oî řiupiri şi êe-oî legá êe-n horn.> Dómñe, fâta, dómñe, cîñ víñe dumínica, o' adús rižă, o răsăpít-o în gunóie, plîñze dómñe fâta róu

<Yes,> he said, <you have a daughter and I have one too.> <Listen, Munčas,> she said, <I only come with you,> she said <if we have a deal: that your daughter would only get what had been sieved. That my daughter would be allowed to eat from the sieve.> <So shall it be,> said the Munčas. They set off to return home. After months and weeks, they had a wedding. And the stepmother treated the Munčas's daughter like a dog. She was shouting at her, beating her, pulled her by the hair in all directions. <Girl,> she said, <you will do today like this, otherwise you will be in trouble.> <Girl,> she said, <on Sunday we will go to church.> <We will go,> she said.

She went to the shop, bought a kilogram of rice. And she scattered it in the trash, she scattered it. <By the time I get back here,> she said, <from this rice you should make,> she said <cabbage, [?] and meat,> you know?, food and soup, because if you don't,> she said, <I will tie you to the chimney.>. God, good god, when the Sunday arrived, she brought the rice, scattered it in the trash, the girl was crying

*plínze. <Ah, las vină,> zîşe, făşe <má-ma-s măşcôie, şe mai fêlă-o lot mie. Ácu cum oî [...] briža afără dîn gunóie.> Mérze dómhe afără, şád'e pã búşum, plínze, plínze, plínze.*

*Cum îe plínze, şe-s méze la îe, doî porumbáşc. <Bună zîua,> <zîşe, fătă frumósă!> <Să fiţ sănătôş porúmbilor!> zîşe. <O, dáră, fătă frumósă,> zîşe, <di şe plínzi áşa táre?> <Óu, pòrumbáşkilor, ázuće-vă drágu-m domn, iáca-acúm şi iáca-acúm şe măşcôia me şe-o zîs. O lot un kiló dă rîză, o răsăpít-o colé-n gunóie, ş-o zîs, pã cîn oî viñ acás, or viñ acás dîñ bisérică, să fie tît cît cápu ásta,> zîşe, <dîñ iéie. Dápo cum oî făşe atîta rîză,> făşe, <cum oî va agutío îo afără?> zîşe, <dîñ gunóie.> <O, o, fătă frumósă,> zîşe, <dod' cá şi zîşe nu dubúie> zîşe. <Dut dă spálă-će, gátă-će, dúce-ñ bisérică, pã cîñ vi-î viñí, áca o fi mîncárea> făşe. <O, da, porúmbilor, drázilor porúmbilor, cápu-n par îñ fîpă.> <Ba nu, fătă, púcăće şi dúce, spálă-će, gátă-će şi dúce la şeva bisérică.>*

very hard. <Ah, come,> she said, <my stepmother, what did she do to me? Now how should I [?] the rice from the trash?> She went outside. She sat and cried and cried and cried.

As she was crying, two little doves came to her. <Good afternoon, beautiful girl!> <Be well, dear doves!> she said. <Dear girl, why are you crying so hard?> <Oh, my dear doves, may god help you, but look what my stepmother has told me just now. She took a kilogram of rice and scattered it in the trash and told me that before they get back home from the church, I should prepare as much food. But how should I make as much rice, how will I be able to pick it out from the trash?> she said. <Oh, beautiful girl, don't doubt,> they said. <Go and wash yourself, prepare yourself, go to the church, and by the time you will have returned, the food will be ready,> they said. <Dear doves, my dear doves, she will put my head on a stake> <No, girl, set off now, wash, prepare yourself and go to the church.>

*O mes fâta la vilou, să spălătu-să, ȝe-î dîn  
tălp pînă-n crêștî, bufla nuc. <Hăp, nucu  
mîno, să m-ămbrăc câr în cusătôr. Cap dă  
cusătôr, țîpirîș dă cusătôr, kimêș dă cu-  
sătôr, curônă-n cap,> zîșe, <dă cusătôr,  
dă kirâl mări dă țără.> Ôre c-o zîs afără  
dômne, țar îñ cusătôr îñ îmbrăcătă, tal dă  
cusătôr, dômne, a fel dă frumôsă ira fâta,  
dă ca îe nu mai ira pă lûme, pă țără. <No,  
dăga mé,> zîșe, călu-mîno <ȝe țî-î purîn-  
că?> <O,> zîșe, <călu-mîno, oî méze la  
cutăre pilăt, îñ sat, îñ vâroș> zîșe, <la  
biserică> zîșe. Dômne s-o urcăt cal în  
călăric, s-o urcăt, ma cînd or vâzút-o dă  
dăpărce rêu ma mûltă cum mižé, năno,  
pă călea sfîntă, toț dômne, pă dōŭă părț  
în zînûț să pûne, dômne, îñ dă căle kit să  
mărgă.*

*Cînd o vâzút-o fișoru dă kirâl mări dă  
țără, [...] o fost dîpă îe, o mes pîn la urtăr,  
o kirlît urtăru, o kirlît, o mes o surutăt  
urtăru, s-o urcăt cal în călăric înapoi,  
pçișé biserișe, odătă o "mblăt-o cîrbe cu  
călu, négură dînapoi, lumînă naince,  
lûme și pămînt, nu-î nîkér. O me's acasă,  
o măs la nuc, <căp nucu mîno, să mă dăz-*

The girl went to the stream, washed from  
toe to head and went to the walnut tree.  
<My walnut tree, I want to dress in clo-  
thes of pewter. Hat of pewter, shoes of  
pewter, dress of copper, crown of pewter,  
> they said, <like a great queen.>She  
had hardly specified this and she was  
dressed in pewter, such a copper, dear  
god, a woman more beautiful than her  
did not exist in the whole world. <My  
dear,> her horse said, <tell me your  
wish!> <Oh,> she said, <my horse, I  
want to go to that village, in the city,>  
she said, <to the church,> she said. Dear  
god, she mounted the horse, she mounted,  
and when one saw her from afar, as she  
was riding, on that sacred path, all would  
kneel down in from of her on both sides,  
dear god, to make her way.

When the young man, son of the king, saw  
her, he went after her, went to the altar,  
made rounds around it, kissed it. He  
mounted the horse and rode back, made  
rounds with the horse, searched for her  
everywhere, but did not find her. She went  
home, straight to the walnut tree. <My  
walnut tree, I want to undress,> she said.



*brăc> zîşe. S-o dăzbrăcātu-să. Ma vād că  
 ȋ-o tînă-nlôntru în sóbă, dómne, pòrum-  
 băşci, dómne, mîncărea, ma, ma gizîlé,  
 ma să răşé, pă másă, cu tótu, mîncăre  
 gáta-ȋ.*

*Vîne múmă-sa şî mişcióŷi-sa, sórî-sa  
 mişcióŷi-sa şî tátî-so. <A,> fáşe sórî-sa  
 mişcióŷe dă dîpárt'e. <Aúz> zîşe, <sórî-  
 me, o ȋŷi, n-ai vâzút da şe ȋo am vâzút!>  
 <Şe-ai vâzút, sorî-me?> <Ȯ ȋŷi,> fáşe,  
 <sórî-me, o zîs máma să nu ȋă spuȋ.> <Da  
 şî ȋo am vâzút, sórî-me.> <A tu ş-ai vâzút,  
 sórî-me?> <Şe zîşi, o fátă dă királ máre  
 dă ȋáră, êar ȋn arzînt irá, ȋn cusătór irá  
 dă ȋmbrăcătă, ȋpîrişi dă cusătór, cal dă  
 cusătór,> zîşe, <o mes,> zîşe, <la urtár,  
 umblát urtáru cîr' in zínúȋ, o surutát  
 urtáru, s-o urcát în cál călăre şî túrnu  
 dă bisérică o ȋmblát odátă cîrîş şî> fáşe,  
 <n-o mai vid'ê níme.> <C-anúme,> zîşe  
 <sórî-me, óre únd'e-ai vâzút?> <O, sórî-  
 me, óre únd'e-am vâzút?> zîşe. <Da pă  
 êicîia dă còşină.> <Aúz munêşă!> <Óză,  
 nŷ să stînzi êicîia dă còşină zos!> <Aúz că  
 şî ȋe o vâzút!> O stricát êicîia dă còşină.*

She undressed. I see her going in, god, the  
 doves, god, the food, they had prepared  
 it and now it was becoming cold, on the  
 table, everything was ready.

Her mother, her stepmother, her step-  
 sister, and her father came back home.  
 <Oh,> said her step-sister from the dis-  
 tance. <Listen,> said she, <my sister, oh,  
 you did not see what I saw!> <What did  
 you see, my sister?> <Oh, my sister,> she  
 said, <mother said not to tell you.> <But  
 I have also seen, my sister.> <What did  
 you see, my sister?> <What do you say,  
 the daughter of a great king, in silver  
 clothes, in pewter was she dressed, shoes  
 of pewter, horse of pewter. She went to  
 the altar, she kneeled down there, kissed  
 the altar, mounted the horse and rode  
 around the church and then left,> she said,  
 <and nobody saw here thereafter.> <Exact-  
 ly how it was, my sister, where could you  
 see that?> <My sister, from where?> she  
 said. <From a spot on the roof.> <Listen,  
 Munêş!> <Today you should break that  
 spot!> <Have you heard, she also has  
 seen!> <And he broke that spot.>

*Tréșe-o zî, tréșe două, tri patru zîle tréșe, iară vine duminică, buf muncășîta la bôltă, o lot [...] un kilô dă mac, o lot. O vinîit acă, asta duminică d'iminăță clăsă mac, l-o rîșăpîtu-l în șinîșă. <Aúz, fâta me, o veni be, no fi> fâșe, <mîncări, culác cu mac fâșe pă măsă, pă cîn oî 'inî dă la bisérică, coló ci-î l'iga fără-n horn.> Cînd o vinîit dóba, éi s-or gătátu-să cîcîștréi, mérze la bisérică, mérze. [?] Îe mérze afără dă plînze pă búșum. Plînze dómne, plînze, dă kit nu să rûpe locu dă sub îe.*

*Îa s-apucă dómne doî pòrumbăscă: <Bună zîua, fătă frumósă! Fátó,> zîșe, <șe-î cu cîine, [?] a plînzi? Da șe nu éștî cu kétve búnă, cîntă, zócă, nu dubúie,> fâșe. <Aî tu, dă șe să aî búie? Dă șe trábe să êe gîndêșc, aî tu gîndú?><O pòrumbășcălor, azúce-vă drágu-m domn. Îaca-acúm și îaca-acúm,> zîșe, <máma-m> zîșe, <șé fel purúncă m-o dat.> <Nó șé fel?> <Îácită, o răsturnát mácu-n șinîșă! Ș-o zis că dă n-o fi culác cu mac pă l'amnáză, pă măsă, m-o l'igá-ŋ horn.> <Îe-o l'igá-n horn, nó nu-î bai fátă,>*

A day, two days, three, four days go by and it was Sunday again. Munceșîta busted in the shop again and she bought a kilogram of poppy seeds, she bought. She returned home, and Sunday morning, she mixed poppy seeds with ash. <Listen, my girl>, she said, <if there is be no food, poppyseed cake on the table when I return home, I will tie you to the chimney.> When the time came, all three prepared, went to the church. She went outside the house and started crying. She was crying and crying bitterly that the ground under her was almost cracking.

The two doves showed up again: <Good afternoon, beautiful girl! Girl,> they said, <what has happened to you [?] that you are crying? Why are you not in a good mood, singing, dancing, not mourning?> they said. <Do you have any reason to mourn? Why do you have to think, do you have any worries?> <Oh, dear doves, may god help you. Just now, look,> she said, <what an order my mother has just given me.> <What kind of order?> <Look how she scattered the poppy seeds in ash! And she said that if there is no poppyseed

*zîşe. <No,> zîşe, <spălă şi du-te şi tu la biserică.>*

*O măs fâta la vilou, s-o spălât  e din t lp p n -n cre  cit, buf la nuc af r . <H p, n cu m no, s  m- mbr c,  ar  n  r int,  i  o  i c lu-m,  ar  n  r int s  fin, p  t ta, p  m ma p  z m t ce c le s -i  z n  n> z  e. N ma c-o z s af r ,  e  i  e ma- mbr c t , c lu-   ar  n  r int,  e cu cur n  d   r int  n cap, d m e, d  kirli  m re d    r , p  t t -so, p  m m -sa  - z n ze p  z m t ce c le. M  kin o v de p  kirli  m re d    r , d  d p r e,  n z n   p n- e  i c lului cup   e d  cal  i le s rut u. Pi    e, m n  e, p   nd - zun  . <Da kirli  m ri d    r , da sp ne d  h nge  e  tu?> T  e, nu sf t   e. O mes  ar la ut r,  n d   r nduri  n z n   o  mbl t ut ru c r , o surut t ut ru, o s r t p  cal  n c l ric,  n d   r nduri o  mbl t bis rica, t rnu d  bis ric , lume  i p m nt alt nt, lumin  n in e n gur  nap i.*

cake at noon, on the table, she would tie me to the chimney.> <She shall tie you to the chimney, no problem, girl,> they said. <Now go and wash and go to the church.>

The girl went to the stream, washed up from toes to head and went to the walnut tree again. <My walnut tree, I want to dress in silver, me and my horse, to be in silver, to catch up with mom and dad halfway,> she said. Hardly had she pronounced the words before she and her horse were dressed in silver, with a silver crown on her head, god, like a queen, and she caught up with her parents halfway. When they saw the queen, from afar, they kneeled, and they even kissed the horse's hooves. Her feet, her hands, where they could reach. <Dear queen, tell us where you come from?> She was silent, did not talk. She went again to the altar, two times did she bow before the altar. She kissed the altar and she jumped on the horse, she surrounded the church two times, the church's tower, light in front, darkness behind.

*N-o mai véde níme. O mes acasă. Bă cîș  
o azuns acá, dómñe mîncárea cu tótu pã  
måsă, cum o zîs, o porunșit mășcôî-sa  
așá o aflát cu tótu tiritít, o mes la nuc:  
<Hăp núcu mño, să mă dăzbrăc.> S-o  
dăzbrăcát, méze sóri-sa ma dă dăparče.  
<Hă hă, sóri-mē, da tu n-aî vâzút șe îo  
am vâzút!> <Dóc că n-am vâzút, sóri-  
mē.> Să úită sóri-sa mășcôîe pã îe. <A,  
spúñe-m șe-aî vâzút?> <Ah, șe-am vâzút  
șî șe-am vâzút. Am vâzút pã kirlîța mări  
dă țără,> zîșe, <Car îñ arzînt ira șî îe  
șî calu-î. Da șî îe a fel dă frumósă iră,  
d-afel pã lúme pã țără iar nu mai vez [...],  
cunúnă dă arzînt îñ cap,> zîșe, <toț iră  
ca șî cupîcîîle dă cal îñ surutá [Hung.]  
múmă-sa mășcôîe, sóri-sa mășcôîe șî  
tátî-so. Șî cupîcîîle dă cal îñ surutá,  
lúme!> <Să nu mai zîș sóri-mē, a dă únd'-  
aî vâzút, sóri-mē.> <O dă únd'-am vâzút,  
sóri-mē, dîpă cîncîrîgu dă fîntîná> fáșe.  
<Muncășe, îñ múmă-ta áîe!> fáșe. <Ózo  
no, vi-î stricá cîncărîgu dă fîntîná zos!>  
O mes muncășu, o avút dă gînd ór nu,  
o strícát cîncărîgu dă fîntîná [...]. No,  
a trîîe zî, a pátrîîe, a șînșîîe da dîpă cîn  
iar viñé, acú tótă săptămîna mižé lúmea  
la bisérică. <A, acu șe fel lěțcă să-î dáu*

Nobody could see her again. She went home. And when she arrived home, dear god, the food was on the table, as her step-mother ordered, she found everything just like that. She went to the walnut tree: <My walnut tree, I want to undress.> She undressed, and her sister from afar <Ha, ha, my sister, you have not seen what I have seen!> <You wish I had not seen, my sister.> Her step sister looks at her strangely. <Tell me then, what have you seen?> <Ah, what I have seen and what I have not seen. I saw the great queen,> she said. <She and her horse were dressed in silver. And she was more beautiful than anyone in this country [...], she had a silver crown on her head,> she said, <everyone was kissing even her horse's hooves [Hung.], her step-mother, her stepsister and her father. Even the hooves of her horse they were kissing!> <Don't even say, my sister, where from could you see all that, my sister.> <Oh, from where, my sister, from the fountain's hook,> she said. <Muncaș, may you go to hell!> she said. <Today you shall pull the fountain's hook to pieces!> The Muncaș went, if he wanted

*maî fêci, şcie acu tótu fáşe,> zíşe. <Róu  
ĩ áşa fátă, da aşá t-oĩ púno, dípă găşc,>  
zíşe, în gîndur múmă-sa măşcôie. <Şe să  
áflu afără, şe să áflu afără?> [Hung.]*

or not, he dismantled the fountain's hook [...]. And the third day, the fourth, the fifth, when the new week arrived again, all people went to church again. <What can I now give to the girl, she can do everything,> she said. <Very bad girl this one, now I will send her to take care of the goose,> the step-mother was saying to herself. <What could I think of, what could I think of?>

*O mes o lot un kiló dă nuş, le-o dărlăitu-le,  
le-o băgát în aşcîi [?]. <Aúz fátă,> zíşe,  
<[...] dă no fi culác cu nuş pă la amházá,  
în horn êe-oĩ iéga fáşe.> [4 Sek.?] Când  
o viñit duminica, ş-or gátátu-să cîcêştri,  
or purñit la biserică, núma c-or purñit, ĩe  
méze pă búşum, ma acoló pă búşum zós,  
ma doĩ porumbáš acoló-s. <Bună zîua,  
fátă frumósă!> <Să fiţ sínătóş pòrum-  
bášilor!> zíşe. <No, fátă frumósă, ásta,>  
zíşe, <trêbe> zíşe, <să spuĩ, să scri sus>  
zíşe, <că nu plínz> zíşe. <N-avém dóbă,  
pòrumbáškilor, róu rép-aţ viñit.> <No  
şe-ĩ báũu?>*

She went and bought a kilogram of walnuts, she chopped them, put in slivers. <Listen, my daughter!> she said, <if there is not walnut cake at noon, I'll tie you to the chimney [4 Sec.].> When Sunday arrived, they all three prepared and went to church. They had hardly set off, she goes to the horn and there, down on the horn, she sees the two doves. <Good afternoon, beautiful girl!> <Be well, dear doves!> she said. <Now, beautiful girl,> they say, <you need to say, to write down that you are not crying,> they say. <I had no time, dear doves, you came so quickly.> <Tell us what happened?> She tells the doves what her mother-in-law did, that she put the walnuts in the

*Spúne porúmbilor hot şi-o făcút múmă-sa  
măşcôie, hot c-o băgát núşia ĩn áşci şi ĩ-o*

*porunșit că dă n-o fi culăc cu nuș, o lăgă  
în horn, or l'egá-o.*

*<Ba bine, du dă ce gătă,> zîșe, <și ducē  
și tu la biserică.> Îe tu sáma, királu cînd  
amú și a dōia rîndu cînd o vâzút, ș-atú  
dă frîguí irá. Șe-o aflát afără inc-o uns  
cu vúlřă ultáru că cîndu, că dă mǎi dátă  
o mérze fáta frumósă o călcá aculó [?] el  
o apucáo. Așá o făcút dă niș nu sǎ vidē  
vúrřa, șcēi, șeva róu subřiri irá. El o apucáo  
și mǎi mult el n-o mǎi slóbóde pînșe-a  
luí dómน์ n-o fi [?]. Nō, o mes múmă-sa,  
tátí-so, o mes iárá pǎ nūc. <Hǎp, núcu  
mño, sǎ mǎ gat, și řo și cálu-m čar în ɔr  
și aržint,> zîșe, <curúnă-ř cap dǎ ɔr,>  
zîșe, <cálu-m dǎ ɔr, kiméșřile-m dǎ ɔr. Pǎ  
máma, pǎ táta,> zîșe, <în cápu sátului ma  
sǎ-ř azúnž,> zîșe. Núma c-o zís, dómñe,  
[?]. Čar în ɔr și-n aržint. Dómñe frumósă  
irá. Mǎi dǎ dǎ n-aínče, da-dípǎ ářa da  
și mǎi frumósă irá. Așá róu frumósă irá  
fáta, róu frumósă irá.*

slivers, and told her that if there will be  
no walnut cake by noon, she will tie her,  
they will tie her.

<Now good, go and make yourself ready,>  
they say, <and go to the church.> Imagine  
that when the king saw her for a second  
time, he was trembling. He came up with  
the idea to smear the altar with grease and  
when the girl came back again, she would  
fall there and he would catch her. He  
did it in such a way that the girl would  
not notice, you know, it was a very thin  
layer. He planned to catch her and not let  
her go until she will become her wife. Her  
mother, her father left. She went again to  
the walnut tree. <My walnut tree, I want  
to dress, me and my horse, in gold and  
silver,> she said, <with a golden crown  
on my head,> she said, <my horse in gold,  
golden dress>. <My mother and father,>  
she said, <I want to overtake them at  
the village exit,> she said. Hardly had  
she uttered the words, dear god, she had  
already been dressed in gold, in silver.  
God, she was so beautiful, more beautiful  
than before. She was so beautiful, very  
beautiful.

*Dómne să púne, cândă o vède în capu  
sátuluí d-azúnze pă tátî-so, pă múmă-sa,  
pîñşe şi úrma dă cal ũ surutá, toţ, tótă  
lúme, a fel n-or măi vázút în cústu-íe. O  
mărs acoló, o sărít fáta dă pă cal zós, s-o  
scoborít, o mes la ultár dómne [?], căr  
cîn să jěşă-afără şi cálcă cu ţipiîgu în  
búrţă. Íaca o rămás ţipiîgu acoló s-o  
rîgîl'it, íaca ş-o scos pişóru, o sărít pă cal,  
niş n-o măi umblát ultáru, kírlí dómne,  
lúme şi pámínt, lumínă náinće, négură  
dînpói. N-o măi vède níme.*

*Méz-acásă, o žuns, mîncárea gáta irá, s-o  
dăzbrăcát. Íe tu sáma, fişóru dă királ cu  
hăl măi buń hústăluń o lot mîndru ţipiîgu  
zós dă pă vúrţă, l-or cîstăl'it róu mîndru pă  
ţipiîg. L-o pus királu-nculó. [?] Tátî-so,  
múmă-sa, sórí-sa măşcôíe mérze-acá. Ma  
dă dăpárce, dómne, aí, sórí-sa măşcôíe:  
<Íoí, sóra me, vázút-am [?] vázút-am  
a dóă sáră, da acú şe-am vázút!> <Ho  
ho, sórí-me, şi ío am vázút.> <No să nu  
măi zíš!> zíše, <Ba nu,> zíše, <că şi ío  
am vázút.> <A şe-aí vázút,> zíše, <sórí-  
me?> <Şe-am vázút, áă-m vázút, o drágă*

God, she set off, and when at the end of  
the village she overtakes her father, her  
mother, they kissed even the traces of the  
horse, everyone, all people, they have not  
seen such beauty in their life. She went  
there, she dismounted the horse, she went  
to the altar and when she was about to go  
out, she steps in the grease with her shoe.  
Her shoe got stuck, she took out her foot,  
mounted the horse, she did not even con-  
jure the altar, she rode away as far as she  
could see, light ahead, darkness behind.  
Nobody could not see any trace of her  
anymore.

She rode home, the food was ready and  
undressed. Imagine, the king's son with  
the best [?] took the shoe from the grease  
and cleaned it very nicely. The king put  
it in a safe place. Her father, her step-  
mother and stepsister went home. From  
afar, god, the stepsister said: <Oh, my  
sister, I had seen two times before, but  
now, what I have seen!> <Ho, ho, my  
sister, I have also seen.> <Really?>, she  
said <What have you seen, my sister?>  
<What have I seen, this I have seen, a  
dear beautiful girl,> she said. <Dressed in



*dă frumósă fătă> zîşe. <Car dă ɔr şi dă arzînt ieră gătătă,> curună în cap dă ɔr, calu-î dă ɔr, dat cu tótu dă ɔr iră. Îŋ ţîpil'îş dă ɔr, şi îe aşă-m vâzút cînd am îeşît dă la urtár afără> zîşe. <Să s-o rîgăd'it ţîpil'îgu şi dăscúlťă> fâşe <cu-n pişór dăscúlť> fâşe <lúme şi pămînt o fuзіt.> <Să nu mai zîşi sórî-me, dă únd'-aî vâzút?> <Dá dă pă córnu dă cásă,> zîşe. <Múncăşe, óză nɔ vîi stricá la córnu dă cásă.> <Da múnceşîto,> fâşe <[...] o picá înlóntru.> <Nu-î báî, da l'i sticálă.>*

*O mes o sticát córnu dă cásă, o sticát. Nɔ [...] fişóru al dă királ, c-o îmblá lúme, ţára curşîş curmezîş. Pîn-atúnş n-o méze-acásă pînşe n-o aflá gázda ţîpil'îguluí. Ş-o făcút bótă dă fer, upînş dă uţál, a, s-o lótu-să, lúme şi pămînt. Dómne, úmblă urságu curşîş, curmezîş.*

*N-áflă úni irá mic, lu car ira máre. Irá cáre múmă-sa pişóru-î şuplé cît să-î fie bun ţîpil'îgu fěcî. Da n-o aflát, nu irá bun ţîpil'îgu lu nîme. <Acú,> fâşe királu, m-a cîn s-o urít királu umblát lúme, ţára, da nu, s-o lot înapói. Să gînd'ěşte királu*

gold and silver indeed, golden crown on her head, golden horse, all of gold. Shoes of gold and she herself, this is what I have seen when I came back from the altar,> she said. <And she lost her shoe and walked barefoot,> she said, <barefoot of one foot,> she said, <she ran as fast as she could.> <Don't mention, my sister, where did you see?> <From the roof top,> she said. <Múncăşe, today you will break the roof top!> <But, Munceşîta,> he said <it will fall inside.> <No problem, but you will break it!>

He went and broke the rooftop. Now, the king's son went around the whole country. And he would not go home until he found the owner of the shoe. He made himself an iron stick, steel sandals, and set off into the wide world. God, he walked far and wide.

To some, the shoe was too small, to some it was too big. In some other places, mothers would try to fit their daughter's foot in it by force. However, he did not find somebody to fit in it. <Now,> said the king, when the king's son got tired of

*pă căle, să gînd'êște: <Da [?] hînd'e n-am mai fost? Ohó,> fâșe, <la cutăre muncăș!> fâșe. Cînd azúnze la muncăș: <Bună zîua, muncășă!> <Să fi sănătós,> fâșe, <királ máre dă țără!>*

*<No, muncășă,> zîșe, <kiče fêče ái?> Fâșe muncêșîța: <Úna.> <Úna?> <Áúz muncășă, iáca-acúm și iáca-acúm,> zîșe, <să-m ierț> zîșe, <da ásta și ásta gîndur am, iácă-tă țîpiîgu ásta,> zîșe, <lu car țîpiîgu ásta i-o fi [?] bun pă pișór, áta m-o fi> zîșe, <dómna.> Eh, cînd o auzît muncêșîța că, iest fátă-î, buf inlóntru, dăi șub dă pișóriie, să-î fie bun țîpiîgu, avé pișóre, avé ia dă máre. Car că nu. <No,> fâșe muncánu: <muncêșîto> zîșe, <áta-î mai,> zîșe, <fátă.> Fásé muncá <am> zîșe, [?] <mai o fátă,> zîșe. Coló mășină fáina,> zîșe, <pă șinúșa [?]> <No nu-î báî, áca-azúnze, áca șe fel îi adú éră.> <No, fátă me, háî,> zîșe, că iácă ișe királu máre dă țără, trébe să-nșérș țîpiîgu.> <Ío nu mă duc,> zîșe, <tátă, ío nu mă duc.> fâșe. <Haî fátă mé, încă királ*

rambling through the country, he decided to return. On his way, he was thinking and thinking: <Where have I not been already? Oh,> he said to himself, <I have not yet been at the Muncaș's house,> he said. When he arrived at the Muncaș, he said: <Good afternoon, Muncaș!> <Be well,> he replied, <great king!>

<So, Muncaș,> he said, <how many daughters do you have?> Munceșîța said: <One.> <One?> <Listen, Munceșîța, look now,> he said <please forgive me, but look what intentions I have, look at this shoe,> he said, <whoever fits this shoe, that girl is going to be my wife.> When Munceșîța heard, she went to her daughter and tried to fit her foot into the shoe, tried to make it fit, but she had a big foot. Really not fitting. <So,> the Muncaș said: <Munceșîța, we have another daughter. <I have another girl,>, he said. She is grinding flour over there, on the ash,> he said. <No problem, she will arrive in no time.> <My girl, come,> he said, <look, the king's son is here, he must try and see if the shoe fits you.> <I am not going,> she said, <father, I am not going.> <Come,

*máre ı-o ıo cápu.> <İo nu m-ămbănù, da ıo nu mă duc.> Méze-napôı tătı-so. <Nı, ıe-o zıs,> zııe.*

*<[?] ım zııe, cá ni ıo cápu, nıı atú nu vıne> fáıe. <Nı, dúce măı o dátă, nı, ıı-ı zııe, cu curınd să vie.> Méze:<făta mé, o zıs királu máre dă țără cı curınd să vi [?], <că máre ıı ıı bulınd ıı,> fáıe. <Dacă ăre dă gınd, fáıe, mo dí vıni ıel.> Méze ınapôı királ la múncăıă. <Nı, ı-o zıs múncăıă?> <Ăpo,> zııe, <királ máre dă țără [?] păcı róu pă drăgu-m domn. Slóbod ıı cu cústu-m> zııe, <Nı ıăca-acú ıı ıăca-acú ı-o zıs fáta-m> <Nı ı-o zıs, múncăıă?> <Királ máre dă țără [...] slóbod ıı cu cústu-m,> zııe, <da o zıs > zııe, <că róu máre ıı bulınd ıı,> zııe, <Dacă vi avé dă gınd ıéva> zııe, <voı mı méze tu dípă ıe.>*

*<Múncăıă,> zııe, <Nı, zıs cu ásta đırıptăce árı.> <Hăı nu ıe mă cămă pă mıne, hăı ıo o cem pă ıe. Hăı acú, ıntás-ta ıăs, nıı ıo nu mı-s ma máre királ dăcıt ıe,> zııe. <Mága,> zııe, <dacă ıe -ı áıa pă ıe ıo cot, cu-atıt-o fı ma máre királ ın*

*my daughter, he might cut off our heads.> <I don't doubt that, but I am not going.> Her father goes back. <So, what did she say?> he asked.*

*<She told me that even if you cut off her head, she would still not come.> <Go again and asked her to come quickly.> He goes: <My daughter, the king's son said you should come quickly, as he is great and mad,> he said. <If he wants, he can come himself.> The Muncaș goes back. <So, what did she say, Muncaș?> <Great king,> he said, <be kind with me, have mercy on my life,> he said, <but look what my daughter said.> <What did she say?> <Great king, have mercy on me, but she said that <he is great and mad,> she said. <If you have any intentions, you should be the one to come after her,> she said.*

*<Muncaș,> he said <She is right in saying this.> <It is not her who calls me, but I call her. In this, I am not greater than her,> he said. <And,> he said, <if she is the one I am searching for, she will be greater in my kingdom, I will not eat until she eats,>*

*kirášágu-m, dör kit-odată oî băgá cu l'ingura maî tîi îñ gură,> zîşe. S-o scuburít dă pă cal zós királu, méze la ie. <Bună zîúa,> zîşe, <fáto!> <Să fi sănătós, királ máre dă ţará!> <No, fátă,> zîşe, <[?] dint-atîta d'iriptáçe-ţ dáu,> zîşe, <anumé, şi béne-aî zís,> zîşe, <că nu tu mă coţ pă míne ha nu io pă cîne,> zîşe. <Aî d'iriptáçe ái, zîşe,> <Da íaca-acú şi íaca-acú în şe íár [...] mi zîşe. Ástáz,> zîşe, <dör o săptámíñă, dör o lună, dör tri o ímblát la mín o drágă dă fátă,> zîşe, <în biserică> să pûie dîn cáp pînă-ñ, pînă-ñ créşcit îñ spúne şe cum o păţít îñ tri ríndur, şi zîşe: <îpíiîgu ásta m-o rămás zîşe, ía.> <Da,> zîşe, <lu car ípíiîgu ásta i bun,> zîşe, <áia m-o fi> zîşe, <dómna.> <Áia ţ-o fi> zîşe, <dómna? Şi dácă nu êe plăşe?> fáşe. <No,> zîşe, <a fel nu-î dáu>. Şi pişóru róu frumós irá. <Ha nu maî zî a fel, fáto!> zîşe. Dá ie pl'ínă irá dă şínúşă, n-o cunoşté. <No, íñşárcă> zîşe, <îpíiîgu.> <Íoî, királ dă ţará, a fel míndru ípíiîg, dă or, cum să nu mă poţ dúşe a fêlá-n-míñă?> <Ba nu că trébe-l íñsérş tu.>*

he said. He dismounted the horse and went to her. <Good afternoon, girl!> <Be well, great king!> <Look, girl,> he said, <you are right, you said well,> he said, <it is not you who is searching for me, I am searching for you>, he said. <You are right.> <Look why I came here. Today is only a week, only a month, only two three months since I met a dear girl,> he said, <in the church.> He begins telling her how everything happened, three times, and he said: <I have this shoe from her,> he said. <And, whoever this shoe will fit,> he said, <that girl is going to be my wife.> <This would be your wife? And if she does not like you?> she said. <Well, I would not give it to her, otherwise. She had such a beautiful foot. Girl, don't talk like this!>, he said. She was full of ashes, he did not recognize her. <Now try this shoe,> he said. <Great king, such a beautiful gold shoe, how can I even take it into my hand?> <No, you should try this.>

*O apucát fáta țipiľgu-n mînă, m-a cîñ l-o milințát la pișór, țipiľgu acoló o sǎrít, în pișór<sup>á</sup>. Áșa imósă, plină dă șinușă, o apucát-o dă pă mízoc, da d-o sǎrutá, dă mult țucá fișóru al dă királ. <Drága me, dómna me,> zîșe, <tu ișa> zîșe, <îábăș îm sfătేశc<sup>í</sup>,> zîșe, <da> zîșe, <un kivașág am> zîșe, <dă la cîñe. [...] așa pă cum êe-am vǎzút în tri rînduř.> <Drágu mño, dómnu mño,> zîșe, <ásta mu oñ fáșe, hai afără!> O mes la hulóu, s-o spǎlátu-să, buř la córnu dă cásă. <Hǎp núcu mño,> zîșe, <să mă gař> zîșe, <căr în cusătór.> <Dómnu mño> zîșe, <așá m-aĩ vǎzút?> <Așá ê-am vǎzút.> <Hǎp núcu mño, să mă dǎzbrăc!> S-o dǎzbrăcát. <Hǎp núcu mño, să m-îmbrăc, căr în arzînt! Șî ió șî cálu-m, curúnă dă arzînt în cap.> <Nó, dómnu mño,> zîșe, <așá m-aĩ vǎzút?> <Așá ê-am vǎzút, dómna me.> <Hǎp núcu mño, să mă dǎzbrăc!> <Hǎp núcu mño, să m-îmbrăc, căr în őr șî în arzînt,> zîșe, <șî ió șî cálu-m, curúnă dă őr șî arzînt> zîșe, <în cap.> <Nó, dómnu mño,> zîșe, <așá m-aĩ vǎzút?> Șî-ș ie țipiľgu dîn pișór afără. <Ásta-ĩ țipiľgu ș-aĩ áduș tu, hásta-ĩ> zîșe, <pǎrécá-ĩ.>*

The girl took the shoe in her hand and when she put it closer to her foot, the shoe jumped to fit in. Dirty and full of ashes as she was, he took her by her waist and kissed her many times, the king's son. <My darling, my lady,> he said, <this speaks for itself,> he said, but I have a favor to ask you: Dress like I have seen you three times.> <My darling, my lord,> she said, <I would do this on the spot, come outside with me!> She went to the stream, she washed, then she went to the corner of the house. <My walnut tree,>, she said, <dress me in pewter!> <My lord, is like this you saw me?> <Yes, I saw you like this.> <My walnut tree, undress me.> And she was undressed. <My walnut tree, dress me in silver, me and my horse, silver crown on my head.> <So, my lord, is like this you saw me?> <I saw you like this.> <My walnut tree, undress me.> <My walnut tree, dress me in gold and silver,> she said. <me and my horse, golden and silver crown on my head>, she said. <So, my lord, is like this you saw me?> And she took the shoe off. <This is the shoe you brought and here is its mate.>

<Drága me, dómna me,> fáše, <àúz, dă kin cust pă lúmea álbă, ȳo ínca fel n-am măi vâzút, da fără cîni, niş n-oĩ măi viġé kit ȳo oĩ custă. ȳo niş cu l'ingura măi tîngură n-oĩ băga. Niş cu-atît noi fi măi mări királ. Tu m-ĩ fi dómna.> O apucat dómne, o mînat cîtána ş-acásă, curînd [?] dă or să vie dîpă dómnă-ĩ. Hinčo car dă or şĩ arzînt. Cu furş dă or or băgát-o în hinčo. <No, dómna me,> zîşe, <cu múmă-ta, cu tátĩ-to şe să fie?> <Pă tátĩ mño băgăţĩ-l lîngă míne în hinčo. ȳeie dă> zîşe, <mîninşe-să aiş cózĩie kit or custă, da cu míne înt-un loc nu póce vińĩ,> fáše [?]. Dómne l-or dus pă tátĩ-so, l-or ras, l-or scăldát în lăpce, or fínút lúna, săptămína lúnta, dómne. Dáci n-or murít, ş-acú cústă.

János Orsós (2011\_03\_24)

<My dear, my lady,> he said, <listen, since I was born, I have never seen such a beauty, and without you, I will never be able to see again as long as I live. I will not eat a spoon more than you, and I shall be no greater king than you. You will be my lady.> The prince sent his people so that they shall come after his lady soon. Golden and silver carriage. <My lady,> he said, <what should now happen with your father and mother?> <Take my father with me in the carriage. And the two of them should eat husks as long as they live, but they cannot come with me to the same place,> she said. God, they brought her father, they shaved him, they bathed him in milk and they celebrated their wedding for months and weeks. And they lived happily ever after.

#### 4.4 Linguistic identity

##### Limba noastră – Our language

[AO] Cînd vińe şíńeva dă dăpărce şĩ n-aveń alt lĩmbă núma lĩmba nństră, atúnş sĩmţ ȳo că şe măi bai mări-ĩ că aşá

When foreigners come to us from afar, I realize that we have no other language of our own and then I feel pity that we

*rápe muítán, uítán l'imba ásta, ar fi bíne dácă toț ar șci-o, și copii noastră că, dácă niș ásta n-ar șci, atúnș cum ai sfăti. Da nu?*

[IN] *Módor<sup>13</sup> núma, da ți táre, táre rușíne și păcát.*

[AO] *Da, da io așa gînd'esc că nu núma băiași is dă vină că or azúns aiș, da ți și țara se unde o făcut kiț múlce, kiț să nu să s-ndúre. Că io cínva, cîn în ișcúlă am începút, am kizdilit să úmbly, atúnș încă ími vín îñ fíre cîn tot ím<sup>i</sup> zîșe: <Nu sfăti băieșășce că nu prișepén se zîș și dor dă noi sfătేశci. Și mai rușíne máre-í ásta că tu nu șci ungurేశce.> Ș-atúnș n-o zís máma, táta, mai bíne haí să sfătín ungurేశce că dácă copii stă la noi o fi bíne, or fi în lucrú dácă n-or șci bíne ungurేశce, atúnș haí să sfătín ungurేశce. Noi tot prișepén l'imba ásta, da ma ș-acásă tot [...] d'epărém că máma tot zîșe: <Am făcut ástáz o fíră lèveș<sup>14</sup>.>*

13 Hung. *Magyar* 'Hungarian'

14 Hung. *leves* 'soup'

quickly forget, we forget this language. It would be good if everyone could speak it, and our children too. If we didn't know this one, how would we speak then? Am I right?

Hungarian... isn't it a shame, a pity?

I think it is not only the Boyash themselves who are to be blamed for this situation but also the country they live in for making them go through so many things. When I once began school, when I began to go to school, I remember being told again and again, <Don't speak Boyash because we don't understand what you are saying; what if you talk about us. And it's an even bigger shame that you don't speak Hungarian.> And then our mother and father told us that we had better talk Hungarian, and if our children will be with us it would be good, they would find employment, and if they did not know Hungarian well they would suffer, so let's talk Hungarian. We all understand this language, however, even at home I hear my mother saying: <I prepared today a bit of *leves*



*da zíc <și-aî făcút, máma me? Da vórba ásta zámă n-o cunóșci mă?> <Aî uî, că nu m-o vihít în fire.> Că tot úvic ungurêșce sfătêșce pă lîngă îe și ásta aúde dîñ téve dîñ rádio și îe tot așá zîșe. Da cînd îî zíc zámă, tunș șcîe di șe sfătêsc. Îî zíc: <șe maî ungurôică ț-aî făcút, ê-aî făcút ma híși nu șcîi vórba ásta!>*

Anna Orsós (2010\_24\_09b)

[soup], today,> and I say: <What did you do mother? Have you not heard about the word *zamă*?> <Oh, oh, it did not come to my mind.> She speaks Hungarian all the time and surrounded by Hungarian, from the TV, radio, and she keeps saying like this. But when I tell her *zamă*, she knows what I am talking about. And I tell her, <What a good Hungarian have you become; you don't even know this word!>

### Limbă dă lăcătári, limbă dă băiáși – The Lacatari and Boyash languages

[AO] *Da cînva, híș nu șcú, cînd cu Gón-di încă lucrán și în ánurile cînd íncă nu s-o kizdilít lucrú, atúnșa am fost ío, ín, ín, atúnș Sérbíô íerá, Sérbíô-Móntenègro, nu șcú cum o cemá, ín Óromhèd'es<sup>15</sup>, acoló, ásta-î un sat dă únguri, maî bíhe únguri șád'e, da róu mulț ínș ís acoló băiáš. Da erá acoló, un, uñ dă úngur cáre erá cuñhaba îñ porlamént lucrá, da nu șcú šíne, și el zîșé c-acoló róu mulț țígañ ís,*

I don't even remember well, when I started working at Gandhi, and when they had not started the work yet, I was in Serbia, in Serbia-Montenegro back then. I don't exactly know the name, in Oromhegyes (Hung. for Trešnjevac), there is a Hungarian village, where many Hungarians live, that had many Boyash living there. There was a Hungarian, deputy in the parliament, but I don't know who, and he says that there are many Gypsies there, but he does not know if they are Boyash or Lacatari. It would be the best if you would come once and see for yourself. And I was there

15 Name of the village Oromhegyes (Hung.),  
Трешњевац (Serb.)

*da nu șcîe, băiăș îs lăcătări --- Șe mai  
bîn-ar fi dăcă odătă aț viîi și l'-aț vidé. Și  
n-o așă am kirlît îo, așă am mers îo acoló  
odătă și am văzút acoló, în Óromhèdeș  
șád'e băiăș, sfătêșc'e așă ca îo, arúncă,  
nu tot, da baș șeva fel dealéct, da așă  
custă ca lăcătări, adună fer, uîezi și tîr-  
guîêșc'e cu șe póce. Da într-a fel märe  
căș șád'e, da băiășî pă la noî înca fel niș  
n-or văzút. Și niș acoló, niș scriitúră, niș  
nimíc, niș dă îei, niș dă l'imba lor nu-î.  
Pășc'e tot tot așă le fîîe că îei îs a fel o  
grúpă cáre hómogèn, nu cum șc'u cum să  
zíc, că nu-s mulț înș și șe îmbă sfătêșc'e,  
áîa-î úna [...]. Și gînd'êște-te că únu prișé-  
pe pă hălalált. Îo așă gînd'esc că ásta o  
cunoșcén, da nu? Ásta-î l'imba, o l'émnu  
zîșén noî, l'émnu l'imbilor indoeuropái. Și  
aîși îî l'imba nóstră, lîngă l'imba dă romîî  
ș-aîși îî l'imba dă lăcătări. Așă aprópe-î  
dăkít l'imba dă ónguri pă la l'imba dă  
hindí. Așă. Și cîn lu cíîeva î-arát și zíc,  
atúnș rîd'e pă míîe și nu-m créde că anú-  
me ásta așă mágă gînd'ê că i să prișépe.*

in Oromhegyes once and saw that there are Boyash there and their language is very similar to mine. A kind of dialect similar to ours, not identical. The difference is that they live like Lacatari; they gather iron, sell what they can. They live in such big houses, bigger than anything that our Boyash have ever seen in their lives. They don't write in their language and there is nothing written about them or their language. However, they are a group that is more homogenous, I don't know how to say, they are not many and they all speak the same language. And imagine that one understands the other. I thought you knew this, no? This is the language, we say, the Indo-European 'wood.' And here is our language, next to the Romanian language and there is also the Lacatari language. It's very close to the Hungarian language and the Hindi language. Yes. So, and when I show this to anyone, they laugh at me and don't believe me and they think they know better.

Anna Orsós (2010\_24\_09b)

## La noi încă băieșășce sfătē – They used to speak Boyash before

[IN] *Și-n, în ișkulă ai știút, înainte de ișkulă ai știút ungurēște sau nu ai știút?*

And in school, before school, could you speak Hungarian?

[JO] *Haaa, mai dă-múlt nu bási șciē ungurēșce. La noi încă, încă, încă băieșășce sfătē, da gróu mi-ra mi, că io úmbra, gróu mi-ra mi să sfătāsc ungurēșce. Nu sa nu la ásta-nvāțat și róu mǔltă dóbă, róu mǔltă dóbă, cupii, álfi cupi, și nu șciē ungurēșce. Acumare iāră, car ungurēșce sfătēșce, car băieșășce nu șciē, cupii d-ácú. Róu mǔlt nu șciē. Niș a mǔneu cupil. Iēșce că prișepe da nu șciē cum trēbe să-m spuie-napói. Nu șciē, da mǔlce vórbe dă miñ-ntrábă șei áie, vāt ș-am zís?*

Long ago the the Boyash could not speak Hungarian. We only spoke Boyash. It was difficult for me as I was going, difficult to speak Hungarian. I did not learn it. For a long time, for a very long time, the children, other children could not speak Hungarian and now, they only speak Hungarian and cannot speak Boyash. So many cannot. Not even my child can. There are things he understands, but he cannot reply. He does not know, but keeps asking, what is this, what have I said?

Janós Orsós [2011\_03\_24 (20)]

## 4.5 Language Standardization

### Șe a meī sfătēșce, io áia scriu žos – What my people speaks, I put down in writing

*Óreciēe ai dă zil'e m-am aflát [?] aiș la universitát, c-aiș iēșce și cātādra l'imba dă franžúz, nu șcu cum să zíc, și iel tot o*

I have been employed at the university for several years, and we have the French department here. I don't know how to say

*suctulít aís sǎ vie în goşc, ş-odátă-o vińít  
şî la noĩ cǎ po cǎridor, cum sǎ zícǎ, p-o  
loc, în háilaltǎ párce şî îel tot îm zísse, cǎ se  
îo fac ásta nu-î bíne, cǎ mie nu ásta m-ar  
trǎbuĩ sǎ-m fac, dǎ se nu guşesc îo şevá şî  
dǎ se nu ı-adún pǎ toţ úna cáre băieşáşte  
sfátésce ş-ar trǎbuĩ un fel scriitúrǎ sǎ fac  
îo se toţ ar prişépe. Îo zíc, îo la ásta nu mă  
prişép. Îo mi-s băieşířǎ aís dín Unguré-  
me, se a méĩ sfátésce, îo áia scriu zós. Îo  
nu fac l'imbǎ, îo nu fac nóu cǎ nu şcu, îo  
áia scriú se noĩ avén, acú şî cín maĩ şcuř  
oh fi, maĩ mult oh şî, atúnş pućen l'imba  
dǎ nu şcu, dǎ toţ băiásî dín lúmea tárǎ.  
Da îo núma la ásta mă prişép. Şî acúma  
táie lucrú kit cu cuplí méĩ, cum sǎ-ř zíc,  
sǎ-ntórşeh, ih, nu şcu cum sǎ-ř zíc, cu po-  
véşci, da nu núma povéşci, poĩet, vérşuri,  
şe trébe la işcúle ca lúme şer cáre l'imba  
ásta áre dǎ gınd sǎ aréce lu cupí, cáre ma  
nu sfátésce. Şî îo cu cuplí méĩ tot întóc  
şî lor róu bíne le cáde, da nu, cǎ am zís  
cǎ dín se or lucrát, acó oh fáşe şeva. Şî  
am făcút şî řede l'ingǎ ıe şî póce s-ahúdǎ  
anúme cáre nu sfátésce, póce s-ahúdǎ  
şe cum sǎ zícǎ afǎrǎ şî toţ ıs, şî cuplí-s  
mǎrét şî toţ fǎlós ıs cǎ ış áflǎ şeva. Şî fáta  
ásta o făcút fórmile. Jé, mága aísǎ ınvǎř*

it; and he insisted to pay us a visit and he once came on our corridor how to say – on the other side. And he kept telling me that what I am trying to do is not good and I should not indulge in that, he asked why I don't try to do something and gather all Boyash-speaking people and develop a writing system for all Boyash, so that all would understand. I told him I don't know how to do that. I am Boyash from here, from Hungary; I can put down in writing what my people speak. I am not inventing a language; I don't invent something new, as I don't know how. I write what we have now and when we have more experience, when we will have more people, we could develop our language further, I don't know, for all the Boyash in the world. But for now, I only know to do this. And now, we already have so much work to do, with my students. I don't know how to say this, with the translation I don't know how to say with the stories, but not only stories, also poetry, verses, what we need for the school people ask, those who want to show this language to their children that don't speak this language anymore. And we keep translating with my

*língă noî, cu noî băieşêşce acú învăţă, nu mult sfătêşce, da îe tot, cum să zíc, n-áveñ p-ásta vórbă, îi fôntoş, vázna, cum aí zîşe, băieşáşce? Şî acú am făcút şî cu iêşce-s cáre dă zîua învăţă la noî, ánu şi-o trecút an făcút-o, în ánu ásta mága, în vára ásta an făcut-ó cu cáre-s mészcer, că iei tot úvic să rugá la míne şéva s-ntorşén cáre pă Crăşún póce să, în işcúle să zícă. Şî îi aşá bine s-or învăţát băieşáşce. Tri inş, io mi-s a pátrilè dă aşá an întórs, dă un verş, un nu şcu şe, în pátru rîndur an întórs [?], şî póce toţ să vádă că şéva cáre ungurêşce-î, in kíce rîndur, in kíce fórme pučén da înapói. Ácu ásta an făcút. Ş-ás-ta róu important-i. Că aşá gînd'esc, şî iei véde că anúme bine-î dácă lucră şî aşá să símă că nu în bóbuçe învăţă băieşáşce că toţ ís fálóş.*

Anna Orsós (2010\_09\_24c)

students and they are very happy about that because they see that their work has a concrete use. We also made some CDs so that those who don't know the language could hear the right pronunciation. And they are all very proud that they are learning something. And this girl did the formalities. She is learning Boyash here with us. She is learning Boyash with us. She does not speak much, but she, how should I say that, we don't have a word for fontos, how would you say that in Boyash? And we did this and there are those who are learning in a complete program. And last year to this year, this summer, we worked with specialists. They kept asking me to translate something for Christmas, to present it in the school. And they learned Boyash so well. Three other people and myself and we translated verses, whatever, four times we translated [?], and everyone can see that whatever we have in Hungarian; we can render in many different forms. We have been doing this now. And it is very important. I think it is good for them and they see, that it is so good to be working and to feel that they aren't studying Boyash for nothing. And they are all very proud.

## 4.6 Everyday life

### Cîntec Șándor, pogâca – Song for Shandor and how to make ‘pogacha’

[Agrîna]: *C-ósta cînt nu?*

Are you singing with him?

[Doda Persa]: *Da cu cári? No tá ș-ála  
vréi șócți, vař pă ăń lîmba nóstă.*

With whom? Do you want me to sing in  
Croatian or in our language?

[TK]: *Cum vreș. Și și: și un șócți și un  
lîmba nóstră.*

As you like: One in Croatian and one in  
our language.

[Doda Persa]: *No, úna lîmba nóstă.*

Then, one in our language.

[TK]: *Să vedém, șe știi mař bíne.*

Let's see, what you know better.

[Doda Persa] *Ala-ř mi ře pámi,  
Nítko ne zna što mi ře,  
Nítko ne zna što mi boli.  
Sámo óna koj mi vóli.  
Ála-ř mi e téško.  
Téško i čemérno.  
Alř-a zásto, mřla mařko,  
što ja vólim zláto,  
m-am dus să mă scáldu,  
Șándor s-a nicátu,  
păńtru tíne méře cápu ři muř pérde.*

It is difficult,  
nobody knows what happens to me.  
Nobody knows what hurts me.  
Only she who loves me.  
That's difficult for me,  
what a pain.  
But my dear mother,  
what for should I want gold,  
I went for swimming,  
and Shandor drowned,  
because of you I am losing my mind.

[Doda Persa]: <i>Îoș?</i>	More?
[Agrîna]: <i>Așá-î așá-î așá-î.</i>	It is, it is.
[Doda Persa]: <i>N-ácu, ê-aî ê-aî priçipút?</i> <i>Aî priçipút?</i>	Tell me now, what have you understood. Have you understood?
[TK]: <i>Téșco.</i>	Difficult.
[Doda Persa]: <i>Téșco i êmérno?</i>	Difficult and sorrowful?
[Agrîna]: <i>Téșco méne.</i>	Yes, quite difficult.
[Doda Persa]: <i>A, álaî mie, téșco, téșco,</i> <i>ma míla maîko? Álaî mie, nu-î? C-așá-î</i> <i>cîț îéșt' cu i êmérno?</i>	Ah, it was difficult for me, my mother. That's it, no? When you are full of pain.
[Agrîna]: <i>Bărbátu-ș cîntic a cîntát ásta de</i> <i>vez?</i>	She sang a song for her husband, you see?
[Doda Persa]: <i>Îo îo îo. Șî dă plîns trébu</i> <i>nu?</i>	Yes, yes, yes. And we also must cry, no?
[Agrîna]: <i>Bîrbátu-ș u vuîé sã nu pázá sîn.</i>	Her husband always took care of her.
[TK]: <i>Șandu.</i>	Shandor.
[Agrîna]: <i>Șándor, Șándor. Îl cunós pă Șán-</i>	Shandor, Shandor, do you know Shandor?



<i>dor? Nu cunós tu pă Șándor? O păză.</i>	You don't know Shandor? He looked after her.
[TK]: <i>De la cîntec îl cunosc.</i>	I know him from the song.
[Doda Persa]: <i>De la cîntic, de la cîntic.</i>	From the song, from the song.
[TK]: <i>Am auzít cîntecul de la ---</i>	I heard the song from ---
[Agrîna]: <i>Áta dă cînticéere să părăndesă cu pandáși.</i>	These songs are beautiful when sung with instruments [bandași].
[TK]: <i>Pandáși?</i>	Bandași?
[Doda Persa]: <i>Sfiráci, sfiráci ála-í bandași.</i>	Players of instruments, wind instruments.
[TK]: <i>Da ásta-í cîntec și sîrbéște.</i>	But you sing this in Serbian, too.
[Doda Persa]: <i>No, únu sîrbéște am făcút, únu țigănéște.</i>	I sang one in Serbian, one in Gypsy language.
[Agrîna]: <i>No, nu vézi? Će bine.</i>	You do not see? How good.
[Doda Persa]: <i>Maí ĉe vréi?</i>	What else do you want?
[Agrîna]: <i>Nesúdu mi m-a zís cî nu mi slo-bonó sí béu ásta.</i>	My doctor told me that I should not smoke this.

[Doda Persa]: *Și tu da béi.*

But you smoke.

[Agrína]: *Zíce mie: nu be Iovánovič. Ke  
io Ióvanov, că móre. A đí móra să beáu đí  
móra. Ímfünzia m-a dat în dóă míni nu mă  
pot dúce. A đí dótoru, a sín muț, c-ás be  
o fígarétă.*

He tells me: Do not smoke, Jovanovitch,  
it you will kill you. Even if I die, I'll  
still smoke! They gave me an injection  
in both hands. I could not walk. The doc-  
tor warned me, but I would still like to  
smoke.

[Doda Persa]: *Vež încólo-ĩ ce tína-ĩ, úi-  
te-te în dvor?*

Do you see that mud, there in the court?

[TK]: A.

Yeah.

[Doda Persa]: *Vež ce sîrác?*

See, how poor they are?

[TK]: *Așá așá.*

Indeed.

[Doda Persa]: *Vež ce-ĩ tína? La míne vež  
---*

You see how muddy it is? And at my  
place, you see ---

[TK]: *Casele sunt făcute de unguri?*

The houses were made by the Hungarians?

[Doda Persa]: *Ee íncló, dă íncló stăt ígáh.*

Yes, but there are Gypsies living there.

[TK]: *Țígáni?*

Gypsies?

[Doda Persa]: *Țo áia n-am vež în dvor,*

I have never had this in my court, I have

- îo nu încă, na, acu o fôrmă țîgân țîgân  
îștem.* not yet – yes, and we different kind of  
Gypsies.
- [TK]: *Ásta cîț de vék'e e căsa aîș?* How old is this house?
- [Doda Persa]: *Ásta căsî véce dî val da iăș-  
ti lu ati iăsti u sûtî d-aî ásta căsă.* This house is very old, is about one hun-  
dred years old.
- [TK]: *Áre o sûtă?* It is one hundred years old?
- [Doda Persa]: *Ári o sûtî.* It is one hundred.  
*Áia c-oî făcút sámu-î sărác, vež tu êe* This was made by the poorest. You see the  
*tîna? Vež la min áia nu-î tînă.* mud? Look, I do not have this mud.
- [TK]: *Nu, la tîne nu.* No, you do not have it.
- [Doda Persa]: *Nu. îo atît-am.* No, I only have this.
- [Pera]: *Nîc lemń n-am. Nîc lémnî n-am.* I do not even have firewood, not even fire-  
*Áia ---* wood. It's like this ---
- [Doda Persa]: *<sup>M</sup>no atîta-m lucrát cîț îo* I have worked so hard and managed to do  
*m-am făcút áia mi, îo îo. Că nu-î o fôrmă.* that. Look, I did it. It does not have the  
*O forméșt<sup>e</sup> ---* same shape. You make it yourself.
- [TK]: *A, tu le-ai făcú.* Ah, you made them.
- [Doda Persa]: *Da, bărbátu-m șî îo. Îo, îo, îo.* Yes, my husband and me. Yes, yes, yes.

[TK]: *A ișșit?*

Is it ready?

[Doda Persa]: *Agrîno? Dúci pînea ăa  
câre ---*

Agrina, bring that bread that ---

[Pera]: *Da ăe ț-o zîs, sî niĉ lémni<sup>i</sup> n-ar<sup>i</sup>.  
Da, ce ț-am zîș, ști ăe zîș?*

What did she say? She does not even have wood. What did I tell you? Do you understand me?

[TK]: *Da, da, da, da. E, n-ai de unde.*

Yeah, of course. Where should they have it from?

[Pera]: *Niĉ lémni<sup>i</sup> nu-î, ști ăe ț-o zîs, niĉ  
lémni<sup>i</sup> n-a, lémni<sup>i</sup> n-a! Nu-î lémni<sup>i</sup>, nu-î.*

Not even wood, not even wood. You understand what she told you? There is no wood, there is simply not.

[Doda Persa]: *Nu-î.*

There is not.

[Pera]: *Îi băgă pă mine-n șpor.*

You will burn me instead.

[Agrîna]: *Sóra-me vînă să videt ci căldă-î.*

My sister, come and see that it is still warm.

[Doda Persa]: *Me sî iei ma pîne veț mu tu  
uiț la pugăc?*

Take some bread, look at the *pogacha*?

[Pera]: *Nu vrêi să mă lovêșt?*

Don't you want to film?

- [Doda Persa]: *Îo nu mu réză cí... stai stai co dúci ia încóce pínea stai, stai, stai, stai.* Wait, wait. I will bring the bread. Wait, wait, wait, wait.
- [TK]: *Și mai bine.* That's even better.
- [Doda Persa]: *Nó că dríza ásta poá să fie bine mno.* Well, this cloth can be really good.
- [Agrína]: *Ca să fie că mă lovéște și urít.* Let it be. Otherwise you will hit me.
- [TK]: *Și cum spúneț asta, pugáca?* And what do you call this, *pogacha*?
- [Doda Persa]: *Ásta-î pugáce.* This is *pogacha*.
- [TK]: *Álte șe fașéț? Ásta dlínă, lúngă, máre. Êe e maî mică. Nu o făcéț aíșa?* What else do you prepare? The long ones, big ones. You did not prepare the small ones?
- [Doda Persa]: *A a. Da cutía ásta cu la Gílvonfo ásta-î, nú-î pugáce.* No. That one from Gilvánfa is not *pogacha*.
- [TK]: *Cum zíc?* What do you call it?
- [Doda Persa]: *Ázîmă, Ázîmă.* *Azyma*.
- [TK]: *A, bravo. și acolo în Croația unde am fost în Beli Manastir.* Ah. In Croatia, in Beli Manastir, we heard it also.

[Doda Persa]: *Ș-înclo zîce azîmă.*

They call it an *azyme* there, too.

[TK]: *Azîmă.*

*Azyme.*

[Doda Persa]: *Ázîmă, da. Da noi zîcém pugáca.*

Yeah, *azyme*. But we call it *pogacha*.

[TK]: *Dar azîmă e mai mică așa.*

But isn't an *azyme* somewhat smaller?

[Doda Persa]: *Nu, mi, tótă u sfednu. Véz a slăbít. Slábă-î. A slăbít sáraca. Če vrėj maî s-ăntrebi? Îț spuném maî če vrėj, maî să fîcém cu voi.*

No, they are all the same. Have a look; it got smaller. It's quite thin. She has also lost weight, the poor dear. What else do you want to ask me? We will tell you all that you want to know. What should we do with you?

[TK]: *Să maî urbím așá o íră, če álta facéți așá? Cáre súntu spéțialiteti de mîncare așá?*

Let's talk a bit more what other specialties you make. What kind of food do you cook?

[Agrîna]: *Mîncáre? Fîcém, acúma bági sáma, am, am da ieri cárne, am saláme, saláme, salámeșă cí cí me șî áăa afără, c-óia bočíra. Ști ș-ásta mînc ---*

Food? We make, now pay attention, I have some meat from yesterday. I have salami, salami, salami and that thing outside. And we also eat that.

[TK]: *Și unde o bagi? Unde o pui? Intr-o ---*

And where do you put it? Where? In a ---

[Doda Persa]: *Tigái, ș-a pun pă spor.*

In a pan, I put it on the stove.

[TK]: <i>Pă supra.</i>	On the stove.
[Agrîna]: <i>E, e.</i>	Yes, yes.
[Doda Persa]: <i>Pî supra nu lăm ale žos caré-î cîlé.</i>	On it, we do not take those down.
[Agrîna]: <i>Aaa, ăa că ş<sup>i</sup> gaz am. ş<sup>i</sup> gaz am.</i>	Ah, I also have gas, I also have gas.
[Doda Persa]: <i>Êe fêrb<sup>i</sup>.</i>	For cooking.
[Agrîna]: <i>Şî gáz am ş<sup>i</sup> cuptór am. Vára fac incló. Na to s-am pă gaz ferb.</i>	Gas and oven. In the summer I cook there. Everything I cook, I cook with gas.
[TK]: <i>Ce carne aveţi aşa cea mai bună?</i>	What kind of meat is the best here?
[Agrîna]: <i>Ba ta ê-am la': cárne dă porc am la', péne, péne, că-s scúmpe. Şásă súde, şásă, şápte.</i>	That one I took. I took pork meat. Feathers, feathers.
[Doda Persa]: <i>Dă găîínă, dă găîínă.</i>	And yes, chicken, chicken.
[Agrîna]: <i>Că scúmpe-î. Şásă súde. Şásă, şópte.</i>	That is expensive, about six hundred, six or seven hundred.
[TK]: <i>Cel mai bun ce aveţi? Una aşa, de sărbătoare ce faceţi?</i>	What is the best meal when you celebrate something?



[Doda Persa]: *Sárme.*

*Sarma.*

[TK]: *Corône, cum spuneți?*

How do you say *Karácsony* [Christmas]?

[Doda Persa]: *Córacon, cor.*

*Karácsony?*

[TK]: *Băieșește?*

But in Boyash?

[Doda Persa]: *Băieșásce nu, crîcîn. Crîciún, Daa.*

In Boyash we say *Crîciún*, yes.

[Agrîna]: *Dapă făcém pipii, sárme, kiránt orcúm. Kirántos d-ăia.*

Later we prepare *pipii, sarme* [cabbage rolls], and *kirant. Kirantos.*

[TK]: *Cum faci sarme?*

How do you make *sarma*?

[Agrîna]: *Așá. Fáci doárá dála litrí cárne, báğ ---*

Look, you make it from a kilogram of meat, you put...

[Pera]: *Misticátí cárne.*

Mixed meat.

[Agrîna]: *Báğ biviř, perinți, ob, pân-a țăptălît-o, n-a țătpălît? N-o țírî fîinî bağ, arděi pisát bağ, ș-améstić. Bîne-m pus, bîne-am spus?*

You put pepper, rice, until it is fried, it did not fry yet? Well, then put some wheat, sliced peppers, then mix it all. Did I say it right?

[Doda Persa]: *Bîne-ř spus, ámî de făină n-ař spus.*

That was right, but you did not mention the wheat.

[Agrína]: *Și méstic, sî méstic, da am spus și făinu ți l-am spus și cêpă, cêpă ce bag în prugunélă ști, că nu-mbuițesc așa.*

And then you mix and mix. I talked about wheat. You add onion, but before you fry the onion in fat, you know, it is not as simple as that.

[Doda Persa]: *Usturói, ști ce-î usturóu?*

*Usturoi* [garlic]. Do you know what *usturoi* is?

[TK]: *Cum nu? Ce árde. Áiü.*

Of course. It is spicy. You mean *aiü* [another term for garlic].

[Doda Persa]: *Áiü, áiü.*

Yes, *aiü*.

[TK]: *Aici spuneți și „áiü” și „usturoi”?*

Do you usually say *usturoi* and *aiü* here?

[Doda Persa]: *Noi zîcém usturóu, da voi zîcêț áiü? [...]*

We say *usturoi*, but you say *aiü*?

[Agrína]: *Cum u taĩ cárni în daralíta áia, pó murúnt taĩ usturóu íla și m'és-ti-ci. Po murúnt taĩ cêápa, m'ési-ci, da tu trébu pruguleálă să fa. Voi nu fîcêț așa pruguléla?*

After you cut the meat in small pieces, you cut the garlic in small pieces and mix it. Then you cut the onion in small pieces, mix it, but you do not need the pryguleala [roux-based sauce]. You do not prepare it like this?

[TK]: *Nu.*

No.

[Agrína]: *Da cum? Țam de pîerbi ȓarmili?*

How then? You boil the *sarma*? Hm, how?

*A? Cum?*

[Doda Persa]: *Rámta și prîgulelá? Ștî cê-  
iá prîguleála? [...]*

*Ramta* [onion based sauce] and *prygule-  
ala* [onion based sauce]. Do you know  
what *pryguleala* is?

[TK]: *E, poáte năinte făcêá, acú nu.*

Maybe. They did before, but now they do  
not.

[Doda Persa]: *Cîn făcê muîárea ta áã tu,  
vež, nu iěștî acás.*

When your wife does that, look, you are  
not at home.

[TK]: *Sunt acasă, facem și noi doi. Și cum  
pui sarme? Nu le pui în varză?*

When I am home, we cook together. But  
what do you do with the *sarma*? You do  
not put them into cabbage?

[Agrîna]: *Vérzî ácre. Pínă le mutuléșt'. No  
că ásta-î vérza.*

Yes, in pickled cabbage. Until they be-  
come soft. Well, that is cabbage.

[Doda]: *Ásta-î vérza, nu? No că ía că tu  
á\*ta vérza, nu? Ícá cárne făc ș-așá paté.*

That is sour, isn't it? Well, you see that  
this is cabbage. I make meat and paté.

*Ș-așá e.*

That's it.

[Doda Persa]: *E ș-așá li púnem în tigáíe.*

And that's the way we put them into the  
pan.

[Agrîna]: *E, e, și făc așa și pínă púne-n*

Yes, that's what you do until you put it

*tigăie.*

into the pan.

[TK]: *Și cum se mănâncă după aceea? Cu altceva? Cu pâine?*

And how you will eat it then, together with something else? With bread?

[Agrîna]: *Cu pîne vine cu pugăc. Cu pîne căldă.*

Yes, with bread, with *pogacha*. With warm bread.

[TK]: *Pilaf cum faceți aici?*

How do you prepare pilaf?

[Doda Persa]: *O ce bunî pînea ásta. N-ai țe rup oțără? Dăcî, vrêi o țără? Dă o țără, dă dă dă.*

How good the bread is! Do you want a piece? Just take a little, come on.

[TK]: *Avem voie așa o țîră?*

May we take a small piece?

[Doda Persa]: *Așá o țîră.*

Take some.

[TK]: *Mult ai rupt.*

You cut a lot.

[Doda Persa]: *Mult ai rupt. Pu iei doi.*

I cut a lot, for both of you.

[TK]: *Asta e pentru toți.*

That is enough for all of us.

[Doda Persa]: *Păntu toț. Păntu iei, i-s famîlîa nóstă. Păntu Ióhana nóstă.*

For all of us, for them, they are our families, too. And for our Ioana!

[Agrîna]: *Na v-aduc untúrá să vă dau?*

You do not want some butter?

[TK]: *Nu nu, e bun. Și brînză facéț aișa?*

No, it is good like this. Do you also prepare cheese here?

[Doda Persa]: *Da, făcém plăcînt-ăia, uuu númaî búñă. N-ăuz?*

Yes, we prepare *placinta* [cheese pie] here, that's really good. You hear?

*Cînd vine Ióhana, om fáce plăcîntă, bine? Îo așá oî fáç-o. Bine? Bine, bine. Și voi iără-ț mîncá.*

When Ioana comes, we will prepare a *placinta* for her. I will do that, do you agree? And you will eat again, too.

[TK]: *Cum faceți plăcinta?*

How do you make this *placinta*?

[Doda Persa]: *Așá, ázîma, așá.*

Like this, *azyma*, that way.

[TK]: *A, nu cu sir.*

A, not with cheese?

[Doda Persa]: *Cum aí zís?*

What did you say?

[TK]: *Cu brînza, caș.*

With cheese.

[Doda Persa]: *Cu brînza, no. E ș-așá o mîîm, așá trăgém șî púnem pă măsă, ș-atún púnem brînza așá în--- untúră, brînza, în brînză púnem vónilî, șikéru, ov.*

With cheese, yes. We stretch it like that, we pull it and put it on the table, and after this we put the cheese, like this in--- butter and cheese. We also put vanilla, sugar, and eggs in the cheese.

[TK]: *A, dulce.*

Ah, you make it sweet.

[Doda Persa]: *Dúlĉe să fie e áia-ĩ búnă.*

Yes, it should be sweet, that's the good one.

Doda Persa; Agrína [2013\_02\_14 (6)]

### Şĕherĕzád – Sheherazade<sup>16</sup>

[IN] *Şĩ aíşa şĩne-ĩ ma máre-n film?*

And who has the main role in the film?

[MB] *Şĩne-ĩ mai máre? Ásta cári acú mĕrzi ínlontru, ásta ári un ĩh--- gyál cég<sup>17</sup> şĩ ásta-ĩ ca dirĕctóru aculó. Şĩ ásta ar ló-o dă řígáncă pă hásta, pă Şĕherázad. Hásta-ĩ<sup>18</sup>, hásta-ĩ dirĕctóru.* [Hung.].

Who has the main role? This one that is getting in. He has a company and he is a kind of director there. And he would like to marry this woman, Sheherazade. This is she, this is the director.

[IN] *Da ĩe sĭrácă-i, Şeherezád?*

Is she poor, Sheherezade?

[MB] *Ĭe sĭrácă irá. Ĭo murĭt bărbátu, áre unĭ cupiláš dă mic. Şĩ ĩo murĭt bărbátu şĩ ĩe n-áre mămă şĩ tátă, ĩe sĭrácă-ĩ. Şĩ róu cu fire-ĩ. Şĩ cupĭlu róu biĉág ĩřrá. Rácoş ĩřrá.*

She was poor. Her husband had died and she has a little child. Her husband died and has no mother and father. She is poor. And she is very wise. And her child was very sick. He had leukemia.

16 The recording was made while the Turkish soap opera was running on the television. The interviewee provides a summary in Boyash.

17 Hung. *cég* 'company'

18 The *h* is aspired sometimes but sometimes it is not

[IN] *Racóş, áia şe-î?*

[MB] *Ca a fel biçişúg cári-î pă sínziie. Îl móră. Şi o mers să lucrî la hásta şi o şirút ie bán dă la iăl. Şi iăl ă-o zís aşá, că car atúns îi dă bán dácă să púne cu iel zos uş sáră. Kin téle u fost să fácă, píntru cupílu-î, să nu móre cupílu-î să il dúcă în kórház<sup>19</sup>, că or aflát dunór să-î d'e sínze lu cùpiluluî. Şi díp-áie, iel cîñ s-o pus cu ie zos, o plícút-o pă ie. S-o vid'ě pă ie. Hód'i<sup>20</sup> mîndră-î. Náp-oî o cîzdilit sǎ-î udvǎrlá-scă<sup>21</sup> da ie n-ar dă gînd [Hung.] să fie cu iel. Nu ira drag dă iel, da acúma róu il pláşe şi ie. Şi cupiláşcul mic aşá-î zîşe, hód'i <tátă>. Ásta a fel dă film îi še [Hung.] în lúme-î. Níşi pîn-atúnş nu mi-s p-afără. Mă út în téve. [...] Cînd s-o kizd'ilít arătá hód'i şine-î, cum îi [Hung.], şi atúnş, ma dă-múlt mérze filmu ásta şi prişepén hód'i şine, cum îi, la sín să ortuzǎşce. Sî áşca sámîná ca băláşi, Törökország<sup>22</sup>.*

19 Hung. *kórház* 'hospital'

20 Hung. *hogy* 'that'

21 Started to court her

22 Turkey

What does that mean?

That blood sickness. It kills him. And she went to work for this one and she asked him for money. And he told her that he would only give her money if she sleeps with him one night. And she was about to do it, for her child, so that he would not die and to be able to bring him to the hospital. Because they had found a donor to give her child blood. And afterwards, when he slept with her, he liked her. And he only saw her. She is beautiful. He then started to court her but she was not planning to be with him. She did not like him, but now she likes him very much. And the child is little and he calls him <Dad>. This is this kind of movie, an international one. I don't even go outside; I am watching it on television. When it started they showed who is who, how everything is. It already started long ago and now we understand how everyone is, who likes who. And they are very similar to the Boyash. Turkey.



[IN] *Aiș amú şe-ĩ spúne?*

[MB] *Îe o gînd'it hód'i, húnd'e o lot îel pîmînt. Îsrá acoló sîrás om. N-ápo îel o lot pîmînt-úla şî cu maşina or făcút-o pã casa êos, cu pîmînt úna or făcút-o. Şî îe o mers cu sócri-so sã sã sfăd'ascã hód'icum o kibzîlît ásta hód' îel sã făcã pã om sãráşi aşá. Da îel ácu îĩ spúne, hód' îel, i-o dat bán, lúĩ, hód' sã-ş îe casã, àlthúnd'eva. Şî îe o gînd'it hód'i, ma êar aşá l-o cùl-tupít-o afără dîñ casã<sup>23</sup>, mága [Hung]. Mériol o dat bán pa îe lu êoláduluĩ, hód' sã márgã pã háltund'eva sã-îe casã. [?]*

[IN] *Şî ásta om bun îĩ?*

[MB] *Nu nu-ĩ aşá bun cã avé şî el un plicătóre. Da d-áia o fîné p-áia, dăcã-s pã îe. Îel pã Şeărezád o îira, o plîsé. P-aîe núma tot álon, dúon, făşé maşcúrá dîñ îe. Şî îe s-o pucát, u mers, lu lăsát pã îel. Şî acú sã gînd'êşêe, hód'i, ê-o făcúc îel cã Şeherezád pã îel nu-l pláşè, núma pã hál*

What are they talking about here?

She was thinking about the place where he bought land. There were poor people living there. He bought that land and destroyed the old houses with the cars. Made them one with the land. And she went and had an argument with her father-in-law, reproaching him that he took advantage of the poor people. And he tells her there that he gave them money to buy houses somewhere else. She was thinking that they were thrown out of their houses. Meriol gave money to them to buy houses somewhere else.

Is this a good man?

Not so good, because he had an affair. And he just keeps her like that. However, he only loved Sheherezade. He had only been using the other woman; he did not love her. And she left him. And now he thinks about what he has done, why Sheherezade does not like him, and only likes the other one. He now doubts himself, even the other one left him. This is the woman he had an affair with. She has

23 She told him to go away

*alàlt îl plásè, da acú să bănîîşê hód'i şi  
háïalàltă l-o lăsát pă îel. Hásta-î, hásta-î  
plicătóre şe irá, hásta- î háïe. Da [?] ş-o  
aflát áltu îe. Da núma êar urtáš îs încă.  
Róu mult o plîns hásta şî s-àmurê dípă el.*

found a new boyfriend. But they are just friends at the moment. This one cried so much because of him and wanted him very much.

Mónika (2011\_06\_09e)

## 5 Culture, language, identity

### 5.1 The Boyash settlements

Until after World War II, the Boyash in the villages under study lived an almost nomadic life. Both communities lived in isolation, in the woods or outside the villages where the majority of the population was Hungarian (Gilvánfa) or Šokci (Alsószentmárton). The Boyash used to live in huts, which enabled them to move more easily from place to place when conditions became harsh. Isolation from the Hungarian community allowed the language to remain unchanged for many decades. The deputy-mayor of the village of Gilvánfa speaks about the history of the village as a Boyash settlement during his childhood:

*Ásta sat aişe băiăş nu şîgê, aişi nu irá băiăş, aişi úngur sta. Úngur în sat înlóntru, îŋ cumpáni, zos, dă păşce pod, acolo lăcătári istá. Da băiăş nu noĩ.*

[...] *Băiăşu în pădure şîgê, în pădure şi pă l'id'iló" únd'e umblá vácile. Acoló şîgê băiăşi, zumătăe, zumătăce în pădure, înlóntru, lucră la ăi pîŋ sat, zumătăce făşé tróşi, ingură făşé.* (Palko László, Gilvánfa)

(There were only Hungarians inhabiting this village, no Boyash, the Boyash used to live over the bridge, in the forests. Half of them worked for the villagers, the other half made wood, spoons, troughs.)

The steps taken by the Communist regime to integrate the Boyash and the Lacatari communities into settlements on the outskirts of villages (Boyash *cumpáni*) led to the intensification of social, and hence linguistic, contact. A gradual exodus of the Hungarian population from villages to cities or to “Roma”-free regions occurred. This enabled the better-off Boyash to buy houses from the Hungarians and settle in the village.

*D'icuiescu, ăl-apucă, pîn ște dă bání, puńé  
înculó, kit pućé, șî cîñ avé oțîră maĩ mulț  
bání, ála-ĩ a cu fîre, ĩa o căsă dă vîndútă,  
în sat înlóntru, el mînd'ē mirzē, scućē  
afără, la căsa.* (Palko László, Gilvánfa)

(The *Dicuiescu*<sup>24</sup> he would always save money, as much as he could and when he had saved enough, he would buy a house in the village and he would move into that house.)

Those in a more precarious financial situation have remained in *cumpání* to this day. It can be observed that those who live in *cumpání* are more conservative as regards their native language because, being unemployed and living on welfare, they do not come into contact very often with the Hungarian language.

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24 *Dicuiescu* refers to the Boyash sub-group who processed wood, as opposed to the other group, the *unturoși* (the greasy), who earned their living with music.

## 5.2 Boyash: ethnonyms and exonyms

In most languages, no clear distinction is made between Romani-speaking and Romanian-speaking Gypsies, all the more so as many non-Gypsies do not recognize the language of the Boyash as Romanian. The term *Boyash* (Germ. *Bajeschi*, Hung. *beas*, Rom. *băiași*, Croat./Serb. *Banjaši*) is more frequent than *Rudari* (Germ. *Rudari*, Rom. *rudari*, Croat./Serb. *Rudari*). The clearest distinctions are to be found in Croatian/Serbian and Ukrainian, which differentiate between black (e.g. Croat./Serb. *Crni Cigani*) and white (*Beli Cigani*) Gypsies, the former being the Romani-speaking Roma and the latter the Boyash. In Serbia, the Boyash are also known as *Karavlas*, *Cigani Rumuni* and *rumunski Cigani* (ŠIKIMIĆ 2005), in scholarly literature usually as *Banjaši* (e.g. SORESCU-MARINKOVIĆ 2005), in Croatian also as *Bejaši*. In Bulgarian secondary sources the term *rudari* is used, while in Romanian both *rudari* and *băieși* are used. In Hungary, the most frequently used term is *boyas*, in historical documents also *oláh cigányok* and *aranyoso*

*cigányok*, in Slovakia they are known as *valašski Cigáni*.

The use of the word *Vlach* is potentially confusing, because the *Boyash* are definitely no *Vlach Roma*, since they do not speak Romani. *Vlach Roma* (also *Vlax Roma*, *Olah Roma*) are speakers of those variants of Romani, which are characterized by a slight Romanian (= *Wallachian*) influence. The heterogeneity of the Vlach Roma is reflected in their ethnonyms and exonyms. The division into a northern (North Vlach or *kalderaša* group) and southern group (South Vlach or *gurbet* group) is based on linguistic criteria (e.g. BORETZKY 2003). Most of the ethnonyms are derived from traditional occupations, hence *kalderaša* for cauldron makers, *kazandži* for copper smiths, *čurara* for sieve makers, *lovári* for horse dealers, *lăutari* for musicians, *džambaza* for horsemen and horse dealers, *gurbet* as the general term for itinerant labourers. Many of the Vlach Roma have preserved a memory of their migration from the Danube Principalities and Transylvania yet without retaining any knowledge of the Romanian language, history or topography.

The Boyash refer to the Roma (who do not speak Romanian) in the southern Balkans as *gurbéti* and *fiťiri*, in Ukraine as *gol'éti*, and in Hungary as *lăcătári*.

The Boyash are called by neighbouring majority populations, and also by some scholars, as Gypsies or Roma. As a result, researchers who study groups who do not self-denominate as such and who reject the idea that they are part of the Roma population must take both terms into account. It only becomes easier to differentiate between the groups if one classifies them by language and denomination. The only people who should be described as Roma are those who also speak Romani and self-identify as Roma. We therefore recommend avoiding the term Roma in connection with the Boyash who should instead be referred to as Boyash and Rudari, as Munčeni and Arğeleni.

In German, the use of the word *Zigeuner* (Gypsy) has fallen out of favour since it was banned by Emperor Joseph II (WINDISCH 2010: 102), but at the very latest since the persecution of the Roma during World War II. However, in other languages the use of the corresponding

terms (Alb. *ciganët*, Croat./Serb. *Cigani*, Bulg., Mac. *cigani*, Greek *τσιγγάνοι*, Rom. *țigani*, Slovak *cigáni*, Turk. *çingeneler*, Ukrain. *цигани*, Hung. *cigányok*) is criticized but not so vehemently rejected. Nor does the more politically correct term *Roma* enjoy greater acceptance among those to whom it refers. *Gypsy* is the only term available that blurs the differences between the groups of the Roma, Sinti, Manuš, Xoraxan, Boyash and Rudari etc. letting them appear as a single population. In Southeast Europe in particular, the term *Gypsy* cannot therefore be replaced by the more politically correct term *Roma* let alone by *Sinti and Roma*, as the term *Roma* cannot be used for the *lom* (Gypsies of Armenia) and the *dom* (Gypsies of the Middle East). Deconstructing this ethnonym weakens it as a self-appellation and hence as an identifying attribute (IGLA 1993: 325-332).

Ethnographically speaking, the Boyash und Rudari are one and the same group or at least a very similar one; even the meaning of their ethnonyms appears to be identical. Both terms can be traced back to their earlier occupations as mine-workers and gold panners. The deriva-

tion of the ethnonym *Rudari* from the Slavic word *rud* (mine, ore pit) can be easily explained, given the fact that this word is very widespread in the Slavic languages. As early as 1844, POTT (1844, 1964: 62) declared that it was *incontestable* that the word *Rudari* was derived from the Croatian or Serbian word *rud* (metal). It is somewhat harder to see how the term could be derived from the Slavic word *baja* (ore pit, mine), as this word is almost never used today. SULZER (1781: 140-141) associates the term with the word *mine* when talking about the river Baia in Moldova, which is supposed to have had a mine with ore pits nearby. He also sees a link to the words Baia in Wallachian (Romanian), Banya in Hungarian and Banje in Slavonic and sees a connection with the Romanian word for money (*bani*), as coins are cast from metal.

Depending on their own sympathies and linguistic abilities, authors sometimes emphasize the Romanian language spoken by the Boyash, sometimes their un-Romanian physiognomy. FILIPESCU (1906: 199-200) encountered *Koritari* (trough makers) in Pakrac in Slavonia and said they

were *Romanians*, while *Gypsy* was written in their passports. PETROVICI (1938: 224-225), who carried out field research in the Yugoslavian Banat and eastern Serbia in 1937 for the Romanian Linguistic Atlas (ALR = Atlasul Lingvistic Român), visited the village of Čokešina and others, because the Yugoslav census had recorded people there whose mother tongue was Romanian. He was quickly confronted with their flexible identity. Although he states that his interlocutors referred to themselves as *Rumîn* (M) and *Rumîncă* (F), he immediately adds that when asked if they were perhaps *Gypsies*, they answered *Țîgan au [sic] Rumîn, cum vrei* (Gypsy or Romanian, whichever you prefer; PETROVICI 1938: 225). Similar dialogues take place today too. Most Boyash do not understand the denomination *țîgân* (Gypsy) to mean an ethnic group, but use the word in the sense of spouse: *țîgân* means husband, *țîgâncă* means wife. Moreover, older people call themselves *unkîășu* (husband) and *mătîșă* (wife), which in standard Romanian mean uncle/old man and aunt/old woman. Gustav WEIGAND (1908: 173) protested against the idea,

widespread at the time, that they were Romanians, however, based on the pronunciation of the word *t'êpt'ine* (comb), he assumed (1908: 175) that the Rudari originated from the mountains of western Transylvania (Munții Apuseni). Vasile RUSU argued in his article (in CALOTĂ 1971: 349) that the Rudari should not be called *Gypsies* as they do not self-identify as such and, since Romanian is their sole language, referring to them as *Gypsies* would moreover be inconsistent with their linguistic awareness. On the one hand, there are authors who try to avoid this terminological difficulty: SIKIMIĆ (2008: 227) writes that they were *sometimes considered Gypsies by locals*, BENGELSDORF (2009) calls them *the other Gypsies* and ASCHAUER (2006: 65) introduces for them the category of *Fast-schon-nicht-mehr-Roma* (already-almost-no-longer Roma). On the other hand, other authors refer to them naturally as *Roma* (e.g. HOFMAN & TARABIĆ 2006: 305), as *Romanian-speaking Gypsies* (WEIGAND 1908: 174, SARAMANDU 1997: 109), as *Romanian-speaking Roma* (MARUSHIAKOVA 1997: 99) or, like SORESCU-MARINKOVIĆ in her short defini-



tion (2008: 174), as *Roma-like: The Boyash are small Roma-like communities speaking different vernaculars of the Romanian language and dispersed throughout Serbia, Croatia, Hungary, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Bulgaria, with smaller numbers in Macedonia, Greece, Ukraine, Slovakia and Slovenia.*

The Boyash communities are to some extent (especially the elders) bilingual, speaking both archaic Romanian and the language of the country they live in. However, this did not prevent pioneers of Boyash and Rudari studies from believing that these Gypsy groups spoke a Romanian dialect (HRVATÍĆ 2004: 370). Both the Munčeni and the Arġeleni call themselves *ġígán* (Arġ.)/*ġígáni* (Munč.), a man or a woman from their group *ġígán* and *ġígancă* respectively, yet both groups reject being labelled as *Roma*. During our field research, we noticed that each Boyash group has its own story about their origins. Neither the date of their arrival, nor their place of origin have been preserved in their collective memory, which underscores even more the fact that, for these communities, revealing their real group

identity has always been a disadvantage. Their ethnonym *ġígán*, derived from the Greek *αθίγγανος*, PL *αθίγγανοι* (people who cannot be touched), also shows that this group has always carried the *Pariah* stigma, partly due to the colour of their skin and their nomadic lifestyle.

There is a confusing number of exonyms, as many of the terms used are merely professionyms which can take on and lose the function of group names depending on the particular historic and social context. VOSSEN (1983: 286) emphasizes how inventive this Roma subgroup was and describes a traditional lathe used to make spindles, spoons and shafts. During our research, we also saw a number of original woodworking tools. However, it can also be observed that competition from mass-produced goods is leading many Boyash today to work as casual labourers, sell antiques or help out harvesting corn, tobacco or oranges (for information on the employment situation of the Rudari see ŞERBAN 1959: 131-147). They only rarely work in arable farming or animal husbandry. The Gypsies who had to pay taxes to the

Austro-Hungarian Crown (Rom. *țigani domnești*) are furthermore divided into *lingurari* (woodworkers), *ursari* (keepers of dancing bears), *rudari* (miners), *aurari* (gold washers) and *lăeși* (fortune tellers, beggars, casual labourers, metalworkers etc.; categories according to FRASER 1998: 228). Alongside those names that can be traced back to their former occupation as miners and gold washers, newer names for the Boyash have established themselves that are derived from professions learnt at a later date. In addition to the Romanian professionyms there are Slavic, Hungarian and in some cases even German dialectical equivalents. Thus the *albieri* (trough-makers) are known in the South Slavic territories as *koritari*; the *lingurari* (spoon-makers, Hung. *teknovájocigányok*) as *kašikari*; the *fusari* (spindle-makers) as *vretenari*, and the *ursari* (dancing-bear keepers) as *mițcări* or *meccări* (from Bulg. *мечкапу*). One interlocutor jokingly commented on their propensity for wood work by saying: *Făcém lîunguŕ, făcém gaváni, făcém dîn lemn tot, putém să făcém și om. Om, muîere putém să făcém* (We make spoons and bowls,

we make everything out of wood, we can even make people out of wood – we can make a man, a woman; Zlatarica).

In addition to the professionyms, regional designations such as Munčeni and Arğeleni have been preserved in regions where Hungarian and Croatian/Serbian predominate. Both these terms refer to their assumed origins in Greater Wallachia (Rom. Muntenia) and Transylvania (Rom. Ardeal). Besides the clear dialectical differences between these two groups, as noted above, among the Munčeni there are also some Orthodox, whereas the Arğeleni are Roman Catholic; for this reason, the Munčeni refer to the latter as *turșiț* (literally: Turkicized, meaning converted). One less widespread regional group among the Hungarian Boyash are the *Tiszani*, who take their name from the Tisza River (Hung. Tisza; Rom., Serb. Tisa).

### 5.3 Language and identity of the Boyash in Hungary

The identity of many Boyash in Hungary reflects the fact that to some extent they hold a position between that of the

Gypsies (physiognomy, origins/history, lifestyle) and that of the Romanians (language, individual cultural elements). A certain Romanian identity can also be observed among the Boyash outside Romania. Even if almost no one calls himself/herself Romanian, there is considerable evidence of identification with Romanians and their culture as well as a certain awareness of the linguistic similarities between the two.

*Înca cînd aháia dóbă o mers, pućé să sfătăscă, núma îimba năstră, ma nu aháia irá, ma ă róman îimbă áiră še anhála še vurbín noĩ acú, cínva cînd erá în Ròmîniie o román, acoló aháia sfáté, aháia sfátén acú. Cîn víne dîn Ròmîniie šihevá, he prişép, prişepéşće še hála vurbín, da nu aşá róu bíne, că ma áltcúmva sfátéşće ei, ma nă aşá sfátéşće, no aşá vorbésće ca cum noĩ.*

(Gyöngyi Kalányos, 2010\_09\_23j)

(In those times, we could only speak our language, but the language spoken back then was much closer to Romanian than what we speak today. When somebody

from Romania comes here, they understand us; they understand what we say, however, not everything as they speak differently to us.)



The Jakovali Hassan Mosque (16th. c.) in Pécs

Within one and the same sentence, the participant corrects herself offering the standard Romanian Verb *vorbește* as an alternative for the vernacular verb *sfătește*

(speaks). In most observed cases, they identify more strongly with the Romanians than with the Roma. NIKŠIĆ (2004: 392) has also observed that in Hungary



The Sts. Peter and Paul's Cathedral (9th. c., rebuilt end of 19th. c.) in Pécs





The Szcényi square in the historical centre of Pécs

many Boyash do not identify themselves with either Roma or Gypsy. However, there is a greater willingness among the Boyash in Hungary to feel that they belong to the Roma community than is the case among groups in other countries (cf. SZALAI 1999: 298, 308). In Pécs this is perhaps partly attributable to the Gandhi High School (Hung. *Gandhi Gimnázium*, *Romani Mashkarutni Shkola ando Pech*), which was opened in 1994, as it seeks to promote education for all Roma and in particular targets the Boyash (DEZSŐ 2009: 85-100). While visiting the school we met students from Boyash families, whose parents declared they had chosen this school so that their children would learn Romani. Even among individuals who refused to classify themselves as Roma or Gypsy, it repeatedly became apparent as the interviews progressed that they nevertheless associated themselves indirectly with Gypsies or Roma; e.g. *Lăcătări îs. Ş-ahéĩa-s řígáh [...]* (Lacatari, they are also Gypsies; Gyöngyi Kalányos, 2010\_09\_23j).

This flexible identity, this readiness to pass themselves off as Roma or Gyp-

sies on some occasions and not on others becomes even more flexible when opportunistic motives come into play. Just how changeable identity is and how widely the conclusions of field researchers can differ becomes apparent when we compare statements by SARAMANDU (1997: 99), who describes the identity of the Boyash in Međimurje as Romanian, and SORESCU-MARINKOVIĆ (2008: 189), who was unable to detect any Romanian identity whatsoever, at least among the school children.

Although many Boyash state that they get along better with the majority population than with the Lacatari/Roma (*lăcătăr*), their marriage patterns, at least according to the oral testimony of our interlocutors, show that they intermarry with the Lacatari. There is also a definite willingness in all countries to act jointly with the other Roma when it comes to setting up associations. In terms of their settlement patterns, it is conspicuous that the Boyash almost everywhere live in very close proximity to Roma settlements and thus move physically close to the (other) Roma, which results in their voluntary and involuntary

segregation from the majority population. It is equally characteristic that in many places their homes are more sturdily built and designed to last longer than those of the Roma. Individuals who do not speak Romani like to emphasize that they speak a different language in order to distance themselves from the Roma.

*Lăcătari* *îs. Ș-ahéia-s fîgáh, cigányok núma nu așá vorbêșce ca cum noi vurbîi. Âltcúmva vurbêșce, lăcătărêșce.* (Gyöngyi Kalányos, 2010\_09\_23j)

(The Lacatari are also Gypsy, but they do not speak the way we do. They speak Lacatari language.)

The Boyash do not hold their own language in high regard. Many of them describe their language as mangled or inadequate, calling it *șîșcávă* (cf. standard Rom. *șîștav*, mangled) or *sărácă* (poor). The Boyash dialects are so close to standard Romanian that they should be largely comprehensible to anyone with a fluent knowledge of Romanian, especially if they are familiar with the dialects

of Romanian spoken in Transylvania and Wallachia. In terms of the lexis, the strong influence of the official languages in the various countries makes comprehension more difficult. Most speakers of Boyash do not write their language. The only exception to this is Hungary, where as a result of the language courses offered at the University of Pécs and the Gandhi High School, large numbers of people have learned to read and write Boyash using the rules of Hungarian orthography.

In both researched communities, we were warned by some of the interlocutors to avoid contact with the Lacatari (*lăcătari*), their exonym for Romani-speaking Roma, and any identification with this group was vehemently rejected: *Lăcătaru be, fûră, bâce, mișiuñêșce [...], mi úră dă ieî. Bălășu nu-î a fêlă*” – (A Lacatar drinks, steals, lies [...], I don’t like them at all. The Boyash is not like this) (Pécs), thus emphasizing the fact that the Boyash are different from the Lacatari in every respect. Despite that, there have been cases of Boyash and Lacatari living together in the same village, and even in the same family: *Maî nánce, în sat șî bălăș*

*șî lăcătări custă* (In the past, both Lacatari and Boyash used to live in this village) (Palko László, Gilvánfa). In recent years, due to the efforts of the European Union and various international organizations to solve problems like unemployment, lack of education, criminality, and alcoholism among the Roma, and also due to the many Roma associations in Hungary, their prestige has risen, and many Boyash have joined forces with the Lacatari to represent both groups at the local, regional, and even national level. However, this has not brought about an end to “identity conflicts” and prestige-related conflicts between various Roma subgroups.

*Urbéșce, urbéșce, îi urbéșce, noi sfătîn  
șî nu țigăniv nu țigăneșce, noi zîșen  
băieșășce. D-aî, cîn lăcătări zîșe pă noi  
că noi nu ni-s țigăn, zîșe că noi nis rumîn,  
lăcătări zîșe pă noi că noi nis, di șe nu  
mirzén acasă, în Rumînie, anume, niș  
no dată șî nu ne țîne pă noi dă țigán.  
Șî atúnș aîș is muncénî cáre șî iei is băiăș,  
da îi să țîne dă țigán șî zîșe, noi urbîn  
țigăniv îi zíc. Atúnș îi șîni-s?”*

(2010\_09\_24a Anna Orsós, Pécs)

(We call our language the Boyash language, not the Gypsy language. The Roma-speaking Lacatari don’t recognize us as Gypsy and ask us why we don’t go back home to Romania. And there are also the Munčeni who say they are Boyash, but they say they speak the Gypsy language. Who are they after all?)

In the absence of a written tradition, the history that documents the evolution of a people and its origin is almost non-existent; therefore identity-building myths are also scarce. Among the Roma, the most important aspect of identity formation and group belonging is, as can be noticed above, the language. It is around this issue that most controversies occur too. What does the Boyash language, or, as the Munčeni call it, *țigăniv*, mean to the Boyash? *Noi nu sfătîn romîneșce, noi sfătîn țigăneșce... îmbă dă băiăș, dă țigán* (We do not speak Romanian, we speak a Gypsy language, the language of the Boyash, of the Gypsies) (Jóli, Gilvánfa), replied a participant when we asked about the language they speak. Noticing that we were speaking *áltă feálă* (differ-



ently) to them, another participant, from Alsósztmárton, made the following remark: *Tu [interviewer] nu ca noi urbéšť', tu rumîniú urbéšť', noi aici țigăniú urbîm. Tu din Rumînie urbéšť'* (You do not speak like us, you speak Romanian, we here speak Gypsy. Your language is spoken in Romania; Persa, Alsósztmárton). Asked if he spoke Boyash, another interlocutor from Gilvánfa replied: *Noi țigănéșce sfătîn dăcă cǎ sfătîin, da unguréșce măi mîndru sfătîin* (Of course we can speak the Gypsy language but we speak Hungarian even better). Although both the Munčeni and the Arğeleni claim that they speak *țigăniú* (Munč.) and *țigănéșce* / *țigănéșce* (Arğ.), they do not usually identify themselves with the other Roma groups, but regard themselves as a distinct community. This seems even more paradoxical when the Boyash themselves claim that they speak *țigăniú* (Munč.), an adjective used to denominate their archaic Romanian vernacular or when they use the noun *țigán*, and *țigăncă* in the generic sense of man and woman.

This particularity, which is present both in the Arğeleian and in the Munčan

vernaculars, seems to indirectly point to the Roma origin of the Boyash and to the fact that they once used to speak Romani, a language they have lost forever and which has been superseded by the Romanian language. In Romani, the words *rom/romni* designate both ethnicity, man (spouse) and woman (spouse) respectively. The Romani words *rom/romni/roman*es have been replaced by the Romanian equivalents *țigán/țigăncă/țigănește*, a fact that gives us further clues in understanding the following utterance: *Dăcǎ-î ungur, atúnca-î om, dacă-î țigán, ă țigán* (If he is Hungarian, then he is a man, if he is a Gypsy, then he is a Gypsy; Pera, Alsósztmárton), meaning that the word *țigán* is synonymous with a *human being* from a specific group of Gypsy. They differentiate between a Hungarian and a Boyash by consequently stressing that human (*om/femeie* man/woman) means from the Hungarian ethnic group, not Gypsy. *Acoló șáde o, nu țigăncă-î, o muîere, zîșe, căre cu cînciș lucră, cînciș dǎ țigán lucră* (There is a woman, not a Gypsy woman, she said who writes about songs, about Gypsy songs) (Anna Orsós, Pécs).

However, it must be stressed that they do not use gender related denominations which can be found in Romani such as *muř* (man) and *džuvli* (woman).

The examples above reflect very well the “realities” in relation to the identity paradigms of the Munčeni and Arğeleni Boyash. On the one hand, they claim that they are *řigáni*, while at the same time identifying themselves with an individual group that is distinct from the Romani-speaking Roma. On the other hand, they claim to speak *řigăńěšte*, but their language is not Romani. On the basis of the examined vernaculars, a distinct identity is being built: dissociation between the Boyash and the Roma groups on the one hand and between Munčeni and Arğeleni on the other. SORESCU-MARINKOVIĆ (2008: 189) describes a similar situation in Croatia: [...] *within this macrogroup, the distinction between the two dialect groups Munčeni and Arğeleni is there and forms the basis for identification*. Nevertheless, some “uncertainty” can be observed in the arguments for an identity outside the group, which is the reason why the younger generations no longer want to learn

their parents’ language, regarding it as an element that amplifies the hybrid condition, of being an organism that cannot be subsumed into any of the Roma, Hungarian, or Romanian groups. A parallel can be drawn here with MIHAIL KOGĂLNICEANU’S (1837: 26) remark in 1837 on the Romani language: *Monsieur Graffunder nous a montré le premier, que c’est leur langue qui separe les Cigains des autres nations, qui leur fait mépriser tous les peuples, qui les tient enchainés dans leur caste [...]*. It is precisely this cause – separation, segregation – that impelled the shift from the Romani language to Romanian, the same cause that lies today behind the process of shifting from the now archaic Romanian language to Hungarian.

#### 5.4 From a spoken to a written language

In 1967, CALOTĂ (1971: 343) analyzed a Rudari family on the island of Ada Kaleh, who lived in makeshift huts and whose members earned their living as *albieri* (woodworkers). They had come from Băbeni, in the district of Vâlcea. In their

new settlement area, they began producing *albii* (troughs), *lingu'* (spoons), *fiúse* (spindles) and *furê* (forks). Calotă's paper shows that in many cases the Rudari had settled there shortly before he conducted his investigation. Therefore, it is not surprising that the language of the Rudari in Ada Kaleh was still very close to the language of the area where they had previously been settled. Due to the fact that the Rudari of Ada Kaleh lived on Romanian territory in the sphere of influence of the Romanian standard language, Calotă observed local elements mixed with standard Romanian in their language. The answers to his questionnaire based on the Noul Atlas Lingvistic Român showed a very strong variation not only within the dialectal group but also in the way language was used by each individual speaker. Very similar observations can also be made today within the Boyash communities in Hungary. Their Boyash language varies according to where they live in their extensive distribution area, which extends from Slovakia to Central Greece. Considerable variations and inconsistencies can also be noted in the

way the language is used by individuals, which would justify the use of the term *idiolects*.

Most elder Boyash (>40) in Alsószentmárton and Gilvánfa have fluent language skills. In contrast to Gilvánfa, in Alsószentmárton even children speak Boyash. One important factor for the maintenance of the Boyash language to today, is closely related to the group's history of settlement. Until recently they lived in monolingual, closed societies and so in a context where the learning of another language brought no significant benefit to the community, Boyash continued to be the main language for a long time. Today, all Boyash speak the language of the majority population, Hungarian, fluently. Another characteristic of the Boyash outside Romania is that they have no contact with Romania and the Romanian standard language – apart from the Rudari in the Serbian Banat, where standard Romanian is taught at school. So their language has remained completely unaffected by the language policy and the language reforms passed during the second half of the 19th and 20th cen-

turies. In almost all Boyash communities outside Hungary, Boyash does not enjoy the status of language of instruction, being neither written nor read by its speakers. Hungary represents an exception in this respect. The establishment of the Gandhi High School in Pécs necessitated the writing and publication of educational material in the Boyash language (e.g. KOVALCSIK/ORSÓS 1994; ORSÓS 1994, 1997; VARGA 1997). Since 1996, it has even been possible for students to take their final exams when they complete their secondary education in Boyash (SZALAI 1999: 310). This was made possible by a number of developments and initiatives within the Boyash community.

Up until 1998, more than 800 independent groups were established in Hungary to defend and support minority rights. They also organized a host of cultural events with support from the government or from NGOs. It was in this context that plans were made to establish the Gandhi High School, the first one of its kind for the Roma (Lacatari and Boyash) in Hungary and Europe. It was also the first

time that the term *positive discrimination* appeared in connection with the Roma minority, as the Gandhi High school only admits Roma. Education is seen as the only possibility for Roma to integrate into wider society and as a unique opportunity to actively participate in the country's economic life (KOVATS 2001: 341-343). The first blueprints for the Gandhi High School in 1994 coincided with the first controversies regarding the schoolbooks for the future high-school students. Anna Orsós, who led the team that laid the foundations for the school, began field research among both the Munčeni and the Arğeleni with the aim of gathering material for textbooks. The first book, a collection of stories, came out in 1994 (KOVALCSIK 1994), followed in 1997 by a grammar book for Boyash (ORSÓS 1997). In 2002 (ORSÓS 2002) and 2004 (ORSÓS 2004) a Boyash-Hungarian dictionary was published, and in subsequent years three small song and folk poetry collections were issued. These are the textbooks that have been used at the Gandhi High School so far. Textbooks in the Boyash vernacular are much better represented at the Gandhi

High School than are Romani ones. It should also be mentioned that the Munčeni and Arğeleni Boyash outnumber the Lacatari, and that they enjoy greater prestige than the latter, according to the deputy head Mária Farkas. The books in the Boyash language use the Magyar alphabet, which made it easier for high school students, who had previously learned to read and write in Hungarian, to write in this vernacular. Below is an excerpt from the first texts, published in 1994.

*Jépurilye, Damnyé, o kăpătát doj sirsjéj. Kînd ly-or doj sjirsjéj în uretyé, sză punyé jépurilye dă pă fug-âisje, dă pă fug-ákulo, dă pă fugá álingyire* (KOV-ALCSIK 1994: 15; given in the author's orthography)

(Rom. Iepurele, Doamne, a primit doi cercei. Când au băgat cerceii în ureche, iepurele o ia la fugă, aici, acolo, peste tot)

(The hare, Lord, received two earrings. When they put the earrings in its ears, the hare bolted off, this way, that way, every way)

As we can see, a compromise was reached, with the Magyar alphabet being supplemented with graphemes from the Romanian alphabet ([ă], [î]) to enable the representation of the entire range of sounds specific to the Boyash language. The book *Lă sză szfătászka dăp-ásztá sî péstyî* (Rom. Lasă să vorbească și peștii despre astă, Eng. Let the fish talk about it too) offers a useful illustration of this compromise. During a Boyash class in Pécs the word *on kînye*, the graphematic representation of the standard Romanian ‘un câine’ (a dog) was written on the blackboard – or the sentence *Kăcălu nosztru-j dă 7 luny*, in standard Romanian ‘Cățelul nostru e de 7 luni’ (Our dog is seven months old).

There are many efforts in Hungary among the different Boyash communities to have this vernacular recognized as a separate language. This recognition would upgrade the status of Boyash as a language of instruction in the schools of the Boyashi communities (SZALAI 1999: 307).

Alongside efforts to standardize the Boyash vernacular parallel endeavours can be observed in Croatia to publish the



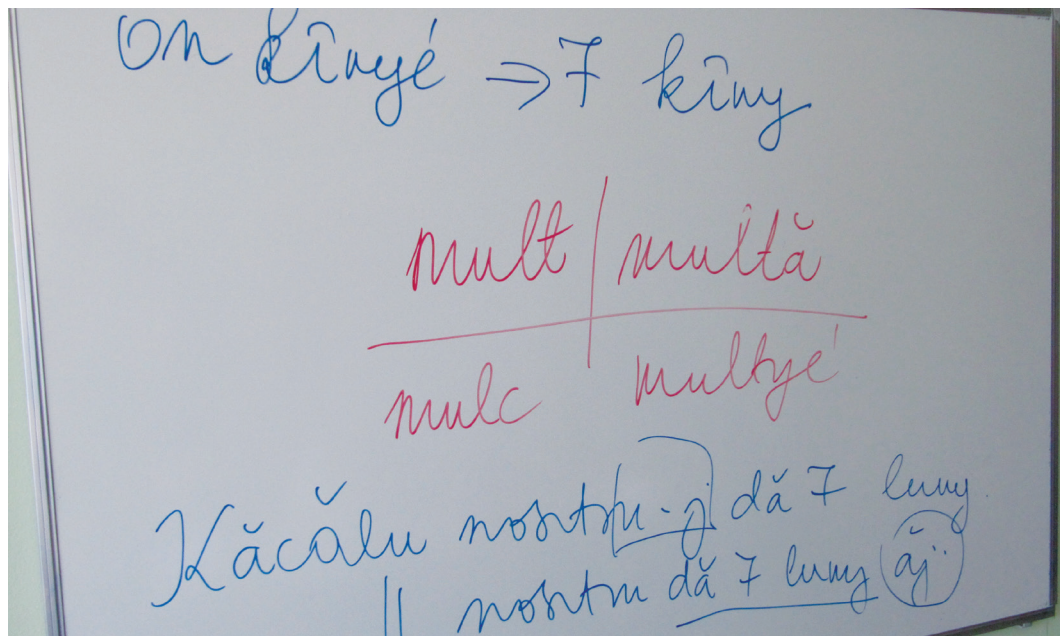
Gandhi High School in Pécs





Catholic catechism in one of the archaic Romanian dialects with a Croatian alphabet (SORESCU-MARINKOVIĆ 2008: 177). The same question arises here: Which alphabet should be employed for the Boyash vernacular? The Boyash alphabet employed in the Ghandi High School is the alphabet of a non-standard, shifting

small minority language in Hungary. An exclusively Romanian orthography for all Boyash minorities in the different European countries would not have been a solution either; because these communities do not always live in countries bordering Romania, the speakers of Boyash are often completely unaware of the existence



School blackboard during language class

of a standardized language, of which they speak a variety. Furthermore, such an undertaking would require concerted efforts, as well as support from the states in which the Boyash live and recognition of the Boyash language as a minority language. In view of education policies in respect of minorities both in Hungary and in neighbouring countries where Boyash live, we consider such an undertaking to be rather utopian from today's perspective.

The greatest obstacle to attempts to write these vernaculars is the opposition of the speakers themselves, who are still marked out as a suppressed culture and tradition, and who "denounce themselves" speaking a language that is neither Romanian, nor Hungarian. There is a further aspect, related to the separate and uncoordinated efforts of the Arġeleni and Munċeni from Baranya. Although sustained efforts were made to find practical options to produce textbooks for students from the Boyash communities that would include both the Munċeni and the Arġeleni vernaculars, these textbooks are not accepted in all the Hungarian schools in which Boyash is taught. This is the sit-

uation in Alsószentmárton. The village priest, who is actively involved with the kindergarten and schools as well as in the education of children and young people in general, explains why the books edited for the Gandhi High School are not used in Alsószentmárton:

*We use few of these books because they [the Arġeleni] speak a different dialect. They aren't quite willing to accept our dialect either. They believe that the only good dialect is Arġelean, and the Munċan one is not so important (József Lankó; translated from German).*

### ***Băieșășce versus Țigăniu***

The difference between the Munċeni in Alsószentmárton and the Arġeleni in Gilvánfa is chiefly linguistic. The fact that the two groups have different occupations is of rather marginal importance. They report that the Munċeni were never woodworkers like the Arġeleni and the Boyash and Rudari from other countries or regions, a profession they still pursue even today. The Munċeni were and have remained basket weavers (*cușără*) or till





Map of Hungary with the communities under study

Draft: Kahl/Nechiti; Illustration: Merridee Stein

the soil for Hungarian or Šokci landlords. Both the Munčan and the Argelean vernaculars in Hungary have elements specific to certain dialects spoken on the territory of Romania as a result of recurrent migration from southern Transylvania to Lesser Wallachia (Oltenia)

and Greater Wallachia (Muntenia), i.e. because of linguistic contact with the specific local dialect in each region. Asked about the differences between Munčeni and Arğeleni, Anna Orsós (Arğeleni), from the Romology Institute at Pécs University, answers:

*Noi mai întîi aî viîit şî ma nu sfătîî aşâ  
bîîe ca munčēîî, aşâ bîîe, aşâ mult.  
Noi mai mûlce vôrbe aî lot dîî imba dă  
ûnguî. La noi încēpût nu-î, noi kizdilîî,  
acolô incă îēşce îîşepût. Noi zîşēîî  
mirzēîî, îēî zîşe mirzēm. Noi zîşēîî cîîd,  
cîîd o űgarētă bāgă-n gûră, îo trag, îēî  
zîşe, munčēîî zîşe, io bîo, bîo o űgarētă,  
da. (2010\_09\_24a Anna Orsós, Pécs)*

We were the first to come to these lands and that's why we do not speak the language as well as the Munčeni. We borrowed more words from Hungarian. We don't have *încēpût* [beginning], we *kizdilîî*, there they have *încēpût*. We say *mirzēîî* [we go], they say *mirzēm*. We say, when we smoke a cigarette, *îo trag* [I drag]; the Munčeni say *bîo* [I drink] a cigarette, yes.

Péter, a basket weaver (*cuşâr*, *coşâr*) from Alsószentmárton, says emphatically:

*Băîaşu şî muntēnu, āîa-î dōvă. Şî a lûra  
lîmbă tot dōvă-î. Ālta fēlă-î, da răzumîî,  
dōc că răzumîî. Īē zîşe prişepēîî, noi  
zîşēîî răzumîî. Īē āstă orbă n-āu.*

(The Boyash and the Munčan are different from one another. Even their language differs. It is different, however, we understand one another, of course we understand. We [Arĝeleni and Munčeni] have, for example, two different words for the verb 'to understand', they say *prişepēîî*, we say *răzumîî*).

All participants seemed to have a high awareness of the reported *major differences* between the two varieties. Each participant in the study was able to give examples of the perceived differences between the two varieties which imply that the interaction between the two groups is much higher than admitted.

## 5.5 Vernaculars in decline

Considered in terms of the three-stage process of language extinction described by SASSE (1992: 19), this archaic variety of the Romanian language may be regarded as endangered, with the spoken vernaculars, Arĝeleian and Munčan, suffering different degrees of loss. The Munčan vernacular investigated in the village

of Alsószentmárton is most probably in the second stage of shift, during which the language of the majority increasingly spreads into the language of the minority, while the latter is used mostly within the family by the elderly. Hungarian is beginning to replace the Boyash language even in everyday life. The Argelean dialect spoken in the village of Gilvánfa and in Pécs is in the third stage, which is characterized by the loss of vocabulary and the inability to create new words, as the majority language has definitively replaced the minority language. Factors such as way of life, social structures, the intensity of contact with the majority population, religion, the prestige of the language, the code function of minority languages, and economic dependency have played a decisive role in the progressive replacement of the Boyash language by the majority language Hungarian, a process that dramatically accelerated in the second half of the 20th century and especially after Hungary's accession to the EU. In the last three decades, however, the Argelean vernacular has enjoyed greater prestige than the Munčan and if one of the varieties should

reverse language shift, most probably that would be the Argelean vernacular. This is due to the fact that the Argelean vernacular is the only one that is in use at the Ghandi High School and for which standardization efforts have been made. The school has enhanced the possibilities for preserving the Boyash language and had a positive impact on the prestige and emancipation of the language. The next decade will show us if these endeavours have managed to reverse language shift among Boyash.

In the center of Gilvánfa







Church in Gilvánfa



Kászádásztíszá (youth after-school club), Gilvánfa



Visit at the Kászádásztíszá



Improvizing musician in the Kászádásztíszá

## 5.6 Language prestige

One of the main reasons why Boyash lacks prestige within the speech community is the fact that, with few exceptions discussed above, it exists only as a spoken language. According to KLOSS (1966: 143-144), a language that enjoys prestige has a *rich literary heritage, high degree of language modernization, considerable international standing, or the prestige of its speakers*. In other words, in respect of the two vernaculars, all factors that contribute to a lack of prestige exist simultaneously. The vernaculars spoken by Mun-čenii and Arġeleni Boyash are archaic variants of the Romanian language or, in Isidor Ieșan's opinion (1906), *o romînă stricată* – broken Romanian, that no longer entirely meets the expressive language needs of the modern speaker, in the best case scenario, on a path towards creolization.

As they are not perceived as a distinct minority, but as part of the (Romani-speaking) Roma population, the Boyash vernaculars do not even share the prestige enjoyed by the Romani language in recent

years. In Kahane's (KAHANE 1986: 495) words, *language is intertwined with culture*, more specifically there is a very strong connection between the prestige of a group or people and the language they speak. Quite often, not only are the two vernaculars not accorded prestige, they are looked upon as a cause of shame, ostracism, and the impossibility of integration into the majority population:

*Hət<sup>25</sup>, cum să-ț zîc. [...] Mîe mi rîu cî lîmba nîstă să pîrġe, da iġġe lu cîri nu-î rîu cî imba asta să pîrġe. Iġġe cîri-î fîlîs cî asta s-o pîrdût imbă. Șî mi drăġă dă imba mî. Iġġe lu cîri nu-î drag dă imba asta. Pîrse<sup>26</sup>, cî i rușîne dă îe. Mî bîne tîșe, nu sfîțîġġe*". (Joli, Gilvánfa)

(How can I put it. [...] I feel very bad about us losing our mother tongue, but there are some people who don't care at

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25 Hung. *hát* 'back, again'

26 Hung. *persze* 'of course'

all. There are some who rather happy that they don't speak it anymore. And I like this language. There are some who don't like it. Because they are ashamed of it. They would rather be silent than speak it.)

For many decades, the two languages, Hungarian and Boyash, have coexisted peacefully, a situation which usually occurs when one language has high prestige and the other low prestige, and which leads to diglossia, i.e. language functionality and usage differ according to different domains. This is the “standard” evolution of languages considered “beset”. Aware of this fact, most interlocutors express regret and frustration about losing their mother tongue:

*Béne, sārácă-î, da băieșășce ar pučê sã sfătăscă, numa șî îo, da îo șî ȱgânca-m șî noî ma ńe glăbîn<sup>27</sup>, căctăl'ín<sup>28</sup>, n-aveń răgáz sã sfăt'ín. Aldătă ma álfel irá.*

27 Standard Rom. *grăbim* ‘we hurry’

28 Standard Rom. *lucrăm mereu* ‘we work all the time’

*M-adúc în firę cîn irám dòuăžăși dă áĩ. [...] Băiăși sfăté căr băieșășce.* (Palko László, Gilvánfa)

(I admit, they are poor, but even so, they could speak Boyash, even I could speak it. My wife and I are always in a hurry, always working, we don't have time to speak Boyash. Times used to be different. I remember when I was twenty years old. The Boyash used to speak only Boyash.)

In recent years, with the propagation of Romanian music across borders (especially the musical genre *manea*, PL *manele*), and easier access to Romanian TV channels (almost every house in the communities studied has at least one dish aerial), many people from the generation under 35, as well as many others, have become aware of the similarities between the language they speak and standard Romanian. This awareness was not always universally present in the collective memory between the time Petrovici discovered Romanian speakers in Croatia and the last decade of the 20th century. Thus, it can be observed that at *Kászádásztizsá*



Satellite dishes in Gilvánfa

(see photograph on p. 135) in Gilvánfa, young people are familiar with the repertoire of Nicolae Guță, one of the famous Romanian *manele* singers, an ethnic Roma. We can also hear the mayor of the village of Alsószentmárton declare his Romanian ethnic and linguistic background and categorically oppose the settlement of Lacatari in his village: *Noi românii urbini*.[...] *Și noi iștēm rumîni* [...]. *Îci nu pôte vinî lăcătări. Hot cum oi sfătî Țo cu el* (We are also Romanian [...]. No Lacatari should come here. How, for instance, would I be able to speak with them?).



Bilingual board of Mayor's building in Alsószentmárton

Another example for the Romanian affiliation is the board in both Hungarian and standard Romanian on the mayor's office building. The mayor explains how he came up with this idea after having seen a similar one in a friend's village in Romania, adding that *after all, the Romanian language is also my language*.

*Kászádásztzisză* is the name of a specially created place for the young people



of Gilvánfa where, under the supervision of several educators, out-of-school and extra-curricular activities are organized, such as a musical programme in Hungarian, Boyash and Romani, and also stage performances in various nearby localities. This programme is one of several of its kind initiated by the priest József Lankó from the village of Alsószentmárton.

In the north of Croatia, the situation is different, as contact with the Romanian

language or Romania is almost non-existent. After on-site investigations, SORESCU-MARINKOVIĆ (2008: 189) came to the following conclusion: [...] *the younger population in the Boyash settlement of Kursanec showed no awareness of the local vernacular as a clearly Romanian language, nor had they any clear idea of Romania as their country of origin.* If in Croatia Boyash communities have lost the awareness of their Romanian ethnic

Alsószentmárton, Mayor's building





identity, in Hungary it is still alive, perhaps due to the fact that Romania is across the border. One participant from Gilvánfa passionately explains:

*Noi băăş dă rumîn istén. Numa rău multă dóbă d-atîuş o tricút. (János, Gilvánfa)*

(We are Romanian Boyash. But it has been a very long time since then.)

### 5.7 Phenomena of bilingualism and plurilingualism

Having arrived in the Romanian territories, the Boyash and Rudari adopted Romanian as their *bread-and-butter language* to such an extent that, in less than two centuries, it became their mother tongue. Towards the end of the 18th century, as shown by Calotă, the Boyash moved from south-western Transylvania to Wallachia, where they were exposed to a new linguistic contact and to Wallachian (Rom. *graiul muntean*) influence. Thus, the Boyash and the Rudari were faced with a new process of bilingualism. Later on, the contact between the Romanian dialects and those from the countries to

which the Boyash emigrated, on the one hand, and other languages spoken in areas of confluence where peoples had coexisted for longer periods of time (southern Hungary, northern Serbia) on the other, constituted the fourth stage of linguistic contact. This was also influenced by the Croatian/Serbian language, and through it, by the German language. The most obvious example is the Boyash community of Alsósztémárton. Before the arrival of the Boyash, Alsósztémárton was inhabited by Šokci. Due to the emigration of many Šokci, the contact with them was broken, and influences, noticeable chiefly in their vocabulary, persist in the language of the Munčan Boyash as a distinctive element of the Munčan vernacular compared to the Argelean one. The oldest Munčeni of Alsósztémárton still speak fluent Croatian/Serbian, just as the Boyash of northern Serbia, Nadrijan, and Bački Monoštur speak Hungarian. During our research, we also recorded songs with lyrics in both the Munčan vernacular and Croatian. *Şi asta îă îmbă dă suflit* (This is also a language of the soul, Persa, Alsósztémárton), one of the participant says in tears,

while singing a song in Croatian/Serbian.

Among the lexical borrowings from Croatian/Serbian we recorded among the Munčeni (here just a few examples): *prává* (< Croat./Serb. *prava* ‘justice’); *Ái tu prává, bíní zíc tu* ‘you’re right, what you say is correct’; *sam<sup>o</sup>* (< Croat./Serb. *samo* ‘only’); *ístină* (< Croat./Serb. *istina* ‘truth’); *nicad, nicada* und *nicáda* (< Croat./Serb. *nikada* ‘never’; *Víntu și plóia să stă, io nicad să stáv* ‘Let the wind and the rain stop, but I’ll never stay’); *mríkve* (< Croat./Serb. *mrkve* ‘carrots’); *glidálă* (Munč). (< Croat./Serb. *ogledalo* ‘mirror’, cf. Rum. *oglinďă*); *prívu* < Croat./Serb. *prvi* ‘first’; *bubríci* (< Croat./Serb. *bubrezi* ‘kidneys’); *partím* (< Croat./Serb. *pratiti* ‘accompany’; *háí să te partím* ‘let us come with you’); *ráno* (< Croat./Serb. *rano* ‘early’; *fórté ráno* ‘very quickly/early’); *jivótu* (< Croat./Serb. *život* ‘living, life’; *jivótu-í grév* ‘life is hard’); *curác* (< Croat./Serb. *korak* ‘step’); *móra* (< Croat./Serb. *mora* ‘must’; *móra să fac* ‘I have to do’); *póslă* (< Croat./Serb. *posao* ‘work’; *n-am póslă* ‘I do not have work’).

German influences, in many cases probably intermediated by Croatian, are

evident among the Munčeni in examples such as *fărbă* (< Germ. *Farbe* ‘colour’); *țait* (< Germ. *Zeit* ‘time’; *n-am țait nicada* ‘I never have enough time’); *firtál* (< Croat. *firtalj* < Germ. *Viertel* ‘quarter’; *firtál dă cirêșe* ‘a quarter kilo of cherries’), but *pol kilă* ‘half a kilo’ (< Croat./Serb. *pola kile*); *músaí* (< Rum. *musai* < Germ. *muss sein* ‘must’); *flec* (< Germ. *Fleck* ‘stain’); *a ștrufít-o* (< Germ. *strafen* ‘to punish’) ‘he punished her’.

In the Argelean vernacular, lexical borrowings are almost exclusively from Hungarian, e.g. *îșcola* (< Hung. *iskola* ‘school’); *odătă umblăt-o cîrbe* ‘turned around in a circle’ (< Hung. *körbe* ‘round’); *Da še nu êșt’ cu kétvé búná?* (< Hung. *ketv* mood, ‘Why aren’t you in a good mood?’ Yula, Pécs). It has almost become the rule, even among older speakers, for a sentence to be made up of a patchwork of languages and structures brought together under the joint umbrella of the Munčan or Argelean vernaculars: *Da tu țigăniú îí tolmacéșt’?* (Are you translating to him into Boyash?) or *Păste cînc pěrțur, tri firtále pă opt* (In five minutes it will be a quarter to eight).

## 5.8 Comparative grammar

### 5.8.1 Phonology

#### Accentuation

Word stress has not undergone any major changes in the Munčan and Argelean vernaculars spoken in Hungary, with a few minor exceptions mostly concerning verbs in the imperative mood *făcét* (Munč.) ‘făceți’ (do!), present indicative (especially in third-conjugation verbs

with the infinitive in [-e] as in *prîsepén* (we understand), *noi miržén* (Arg.) ‘noi mérgem’ (we go). Whereas in standard Romanian the accent usually falls on the first or second syllable, it moves to the second and third syllable respectively in the the two vernaculars.

Argelean	Munčan	Standard Romanian	English
<i>meržén</i>	<i>meržém</i>	mérgem	we go
<i>prîsepén</i>	<i>prîsepém</i>	pricépem	we understand
<i>mága</i>	<i>mácar</i>	măcár	at least
<i>făcén</i>	<i>făcém</i>	făcem	we do
<i>rátund</i>	<i>rátund</i>	rotúnd	round
<i>cáve</i>	<i>cáve</i>	cafeá	coffee
<i>kiló</i>	<i>kiló</i>	kilogram	kilogramme
<i>ćíniva, śíniva</i>	<i>ćíniva</i>	cinevá	somebody
<i>ćéva</i>	<i>ćéva</i>	cevá	something
<i>oáreće, oáreşe</i>	<i>oáreće</i>	oarecé	something

<i>cínva</i>	<i>cínva</i>	cândvâ	sometimes
<i>acoló</i>	<i>acoló</i>	acólo	there
<i>nikeré</i>	<i>nikeré</i>	nicaiéri	nowhere

## Vowels

The vowel system of the two vernaculars is very similar in the degree of openness or velarization of vowels. It should be noted that when comparing the two vowel systems, we could not always base our analysis on the same examples, as in

many cases, the two vernaculars differ from a lexical point of view considerably. Where the same examples could not be documented in the two vernaculars, we relied on our corpus of texts.

Vowel	Phonetical phenomena	Arġeleni	Munċeni	Standard Romanian	English
<b>[a]</b>					
	[a] > [ă]	<i>dăzbrăc</i>	<i>dăzbrăc</i>	dezbrac	I undress
		<i>văś</i>	(cf. <i>vac</i> )	vaci	cows
		<i>ăsmă</i>	-	astmă	asthma
		<i>bucurăt</i>	-	bucurat	was happy
		<i>lăcrămă</i>	<i>lăcrămă</i>	lacrimă	tear
	[a] > [ɛ]	<i>pénă</i>	<i>pénă</i>	pană	feather
	[a] > [e]	<i>skep</i>	<i>skep</i>	scap	I escape

[ă]					
	[ă] > [a]	<i>țîgáns</i>	<i>țîgánc</i>	țigănci	Gypsy women
	[ă] > [e]	<i>ved</i>	<i>ved</i>	văd	I see
	[ă] > [î]	<i>pîmînt</i>	(cf. <i>pîmănt</i> )	pământ	earth
		<i>sîpádă</i>	<i>zîpádă</i>	zăpadă	snow
		(cf. <i>rădic</i> )	<i>rîdic</i>	ridic	I lift
		<i>cîlcîi</i>	<i>cîlcîi</i>	călcăi	heel
		<i>gîlnă</i>	<i>gîlnă</i>	găină	hen
		<i>îacîi</i>	<i>îacîi</i>	iacătă	there is
		<i>cî</i>	<i>cî</i>	că	that
		<i>dácî</i>	<i>dácî</i>	dacă	if
	[ă] > [i]	<i>kiméșă</i>	<i>kiméșă</i>	cămașă	shirt
	[ă] > [u]	<i>surutá</i>	<i>surutá</i>	sărută	he kisses
		<i>musórá</i>	<i>musórá</i>	măsoară	measures
[e]					
	[e] > [a]	(cf. <i>ulói</i> )	<i>ulái</i>	ulei	oil
	[e] > [ă]	<i>păréce</i>	<i>păréce</i>	pereche	pair

		<i>dăpárce</i>	(cf. <i>dupárce</i> )	departe	far away
		<i>optăś</i>	<i>optăĉ</i>	optzeci	eighty
		<i>dă</i>	<i>dă</i>	de	of
		<i>vărigă</i>	<i>vărigă</i>	verigă	ring
	[e] > [i]	<i>ġinúţ</i>	(cf. <i>ġunúĉ</i> )	genunchi	knees
		<i>śinúşă</i>	<i>ĉinúşă</i>	cenuşă	ashes
		<i>nóptîlî</i>	<i>nóptîlî</i>	noptile	nights
		<i>péstı</i>	<i>pîstı</i>	peste	over
		<i>sínzîle</i>	<i>sîngîlî</i>	sângele	blood
		<i>trî</i>	<i>tri</i>	trei	three
		<i>śiniva</i>	<i>ĉinivá</i>	cineva	someone
		<i>ligám</i>	<i>ligám</i>	legăm	we bind
		<i>nivástă</i>	<i>nivástă</i>	nevestă	wife
		<i>cîntic</i>	<i>cîntic</i>	cântec	song
In the Munĉan vernacular we can observe a general tendency toward velarization of the final [-e] in plural nouns, articulated with the definite article <i>-le</i> :					
		(cf. <i>fétile</i> )	<i>fétîlî</i>	fetele	the girls

		(cf. <i>úl'icil'e</i> )	<i>socácuril</i>	ulițele	the small streets
	[e] > [o]	<i>ulói</i>	(cf. <i>ulái</i> )	ulei	oil
		<i>povoșcê</i>	(cf. <i>puvestê</i> )	povestea	was telling
<b>[i]</b>					
	[i] > [î]	<i>subțîre, sîla, țînút, tînăreța, gășît, șî, țîgán, cuțît, sîtă, urzîcă, tînăréme, dîncoló</i>	<i>subțîre, sîla, țînút, tînăreța, gășît, șî, țîgán, cuțît, sîtă, urzîcă, tînăréme, dîncoló</i>	subțire, silă, ținut, tineret, găsit, și, țigan, cuțit, sită, urzică, tineret, dincolo	thin, violence, hold, youth, found, and, Gypsy, knife, sieve, nettle, youth, beyond
		<i>mîn'sunásă</i>	<i>mîncînósă</i>	mincinoasă	liar (F)
<b>[î]</b>					
		<i>ţînăr</i>	<i>tînăr</i>	tânăr	young
	[îi] > [î]	<i>pîne</i>	<i>pîne</i>	pâine	bread
		<i>mîne</i>	<i>mîne</i>	mâine	tomorrow
	[î] > [ă]	<i>gășc</i>	(cf. <i>gîstı</i> )	gâște	geese



[o]					
	[o] > [u]	<i>putkéve</i>	(cf. <i>pátkov</i> , <i>pătcóvǎ</i> )	potcoavă	horseshoe
		<i>purníť</i>	<i>purníť</i>	pornit	started
		<i>súbǎ</i>	<i>súbǎ</i>	sobă	stove
		<i>upátǎ</i>	<i>lupátǎ</i>	lopată	shovel
		<i>nuróc</i>	<i>nuróc</i>	noroc	luck
		<i>culáci</i>	<i>culáci</i>	colaci	cracknel
	[o] > [ă]	<i>mărmínt</i>	<i>mărmínt</i>	mormânt	tomb
[u]					
	[u]	<i>hușcuńít</i>	<i>ustinít</i>	ostenit	tired
		<i>rumín</i>	<i>rumín</i>	român	Romanian
	[u] > [ă]	<i>mulțăméște</i>	<i>mulțăméște</i>	mulțumește	he thanks
		(cf. <i>cuțít</i> )	<i>cățít</i>	cuțit	knife
		<i>zdrǎnșíná</i>	<i>zdrǎnșíná</i>	zdruncină	he/she shook
	[u] > [î]	(cf. <i>văzut</i> )	<i>văzít</i>	văzut	seen
		<i>dípǎ</i>	<i>dípǎ</i>	după	after

### Diphthongs

A tendency toward diphthongization can be observed in the Munțan vernacular, in contrast to the Argelean vernacular in

which there is a strong tendency toward monophthongization.

Argelean	Munțan	Standard Romanian	English
<i>fer</i>	<i>fer</i>	fier	iron
<i>ro</i>	<i>róu</i>	rău	bad
<i>să lovăscă</i>	<i>să luvească</i>	să lovească	to hit
<i>să îngrópe</i>		să îngroape	to bury
	<i>mă spáer</i>	mă sperii	I am scared
	<i>biseárică</i>	biserică	church
	<i>feátă</i>	fată	girl
	<i>știéŭ</i>	știți	you know
	<i>m-ói fălŭi</i>	mă voi fâli	I will boast
In both vernaculars, the third person verb forms in the subjunctive are monophthongized:			
<i>să márgă</i>	<i>să mégă</i>	să meargă	to go
<i>să párdă</i>	<i>să pérďă</i>	să piardă	to lose
<i>să cóce</i>	<i>să cútă</i>	să caute	to search
<i>să izbėscă</i>	<i>să izbėscă</i>	să izbească	to hit
<i>să să cócă</i>	<i>să să cócă</i>	să se coacă	to bake

Velarized articulation of various diphthongs and monophthongs particular to different dialectal variations of today's Romanian is specific to both vernaculars

in words such as *pîne* (Arġ.)/*pîne* (Munġ.) 'paine' (bread), *mîne* (Arġ.)/*mîne* (Munġ.) 'mîne' (tomorrow). Other examples are as follows:

	Arġelean	Munġan	Stand. Romanian	English
[ai] > [ā]		<i>trāstă</i>	traistă	bag
[au]/[ua] > [ā]		<i>Dă unde Ț-ai lāt āștia?</i>	De unde Ți-ai luat pe aceștia?	Where did you take those from?
[au] > [ɔ]	This phenomenon is specific to the Arġelean vernacular and in particular can be found in respect of verb endings in the past tense:			
	<i>cîntă</i>		cîntau	they were singing
	<i>zucă</i>		jucau	they were dancing
	but also in some nouns as in:			
	<i>or</i>		aur	gold
[ău] > [u]	<i>ira o fătă pă cărî o cută</i>		era o fată pe care o căuta	there was a girl he was looking for
		<i>a bût</i>	a băut	he drank
		<i>bûtura nu-î bună</i>	băutura nu-i bună	alcohol is not good
[ea] > [ɛ]	<i>lēgănă</i>		leagănă	swings
	<i>gēță</i>		gheață	ice

		<i>génă</i>	geană	eyelid
		<i>țevă</i>	țeavă	pipe
		<i>dəl</i>	deal	hill
		<i>nu cutéză</i>	nu cutează	does not dare
		<i>négră</i>	neagră	black
[ie]>[i], [e]/[ɛ]	<i>fer</i>	<i>fer</i>	fier	iron
	<i>péle</i>	<i>péle</i>	piele	skin
	<i>zber</i>	<i>zber</i>	zbier	I shout
	<i>cépt</i>	<i>pépt</i>	piept	breast
	<i>fîrăstău</i>		fierăstrău	saw
[ia] > [ɛ]/[a]	<i>căptăn</i>	<i>péptăn</i>	piaptăn	comb
	<i>cătră</i>	<i>pétră</i>	piatră	stone
	<i>améză</i>		amiază	noon
		<i>să fərbă</i>	să fiarbă	to boil
[oa] > [ɔ]	<i>póce</i>	<i>póte</i>	poate	can
		<i>scóce</i>	scoate	takes out
		<i>grópă</i>	groapă	hole
		<i>frumósă</i>	frumoasă	beautiful

In both vernaculars, there is a tendency toward diphthong reduction:

Argelean	Munčan	Stand. Romanian	English
<i>śvră</i>	<i>čvră</i>	cioară	crow

As for the series of nouns with the diphthong [wə], the Argelean vernacular keeps

the diphthongs, while in the Munčan vernacular the medial -ű- is consonantized:

<i>śűă</i>	<i>čvă</i>	ouă	eggs
<i>nśűă</i>	<i>nčvă</i>	nouă	nine
<i>vśűă</i>	<i>včvă</i>	vouă	you DAT
<i>rśűă</i>	<i>rčvă</i>	rouă	dew

Whereas in the Argelean vernacular the medial [-i-] is consonantized, it remains

non-consonantized in the Munčan vernacular.

<i>să plóve</i>	<i>să plóie</i>	să plouă	to rain
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### Consonants

The most obvious phonological difference between the varieties of language researched, consists in the palatalization

of consonants in the Argelean vernacular and the absence of this phenomenon in the Munčan one:

Argelean	Munčan	Stand. Romanian	English
strong palatalization:	no/weak palatalization:		
<i>fráče</i>	<i>fráte</i>	frate	brother
<i>čáptăn</i>	<i>péptăn</i>	pieptăn	comb
<i>uréče</i>	<i>uréke</i>	ureche	ear
<i>sprínșină dă óci</i>	<i>sprînčénă</i>	sprânceană	eyebrow
<i>pučére</i>	<i>putére</i>	putere	power
<i>șínúșă</i>	<i>činúșă</i>	cenușă	ash

Considerable inconsistencies can be observed in the use of the fricatives postalveolar/retroflex voiced [ʒ]/[ʒ̣], fricatives postalveolar voiceless [ʃ]/[ʃ̣], and the affricate postalveolar/palatal voiceless [č]/[č̣], allophones which can vary within the language as used by individual speakers. The two vernaculars will be

analyzed separately as follows:

### The Munčan vernacular

The palatal/postpalatal plosives [k], [g] become alveolar plosive/dental [t], [dʲ] when followed by central vowels [e] [i]. The palatalization can vary from one speaker to another.

Munčan	Stand. Romanian	English
<i>cum tă tāmă</i>	cum te chiamă	what is your name
<i>eu tă tām</i>	eu te chem	I call you

<i>únde med'</i>	unde mergi	where are you going
<i>el méďe la lucrú</i>	el merge la lucru	he is going to work

The voiceless bilabial plosive [p]:

<i>píntru</i>	pentru	for
<i>pă</i>	pe	on
<i>péptăn</i>	piaptăn	comb
<i>lopăť (PL)</i>	lopeți	shovels
<i>spăřet</i>	speriat	scared

The voiced bilabial plosive [b]:

<i>izbăsc</i>	lovesc	I hit
<i>bat</i>	beat	drunk

The nasal bilabial plosive [m]:

<i>améză</i>	amiază	noon
<i>m-a dat</i>	mi-a dat	gave me
<i>mércur</i>	miercuri	Wednesday
<i>mel</i>	miel	lamb



The voiceless labiodental fricative [f]:

<i>ferb</i>	fierb	I boil
<i>fer</i>	fier	iron

The voiced labiodental fricative [v]:

<i>ver</i>	vier	boar
<i>vérme</i>	vierme	worm

The dental nasal plosive [n]:

<i>ínîmă</i>	burtă [sic]	belly
<i>năcăz</i>	necaz	trouble
<i>diminătă</i>	dimineață	morning

The voiced dental plosive [d]:

<i>dîn</i>	din	from
<i>dîncoló</i>	dincolo	the other side

The voiceless dental plosive [t]:

<i>tă duc</i>	te duc	I take you
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The lateral liquid [l]:

<i>ciládă</i>	familie, neam	family, kin
<i>lítără</i>	litru	litre

The vibrant liquid lateral [r]:

<i>să izbirască</i>	să aleagă	to choose
<i>ráře</i> (F)	rea	bad

The voiceless dental fricative [s]:

<i>púne sam</i>	bagă de seamă	take care
<i>sára</i>	seara	evening
<i>să sfătăască</i>	să vorbească	to speak

The voiceless postalveolar fricative [ʃ]:

<i>și</i>	și	and
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<i>şîdê</i>	şedea	was sitting
<i>prişepeşçe</i>	se pricepe	knows

The voiced [ž] and voiceless [š] fricative postalveolar:

<i>žîvótu</i>	trai	life
<i>înş</i>	persoane	persons
<i>kiméşîlı</i>	cămăşile	the shirts

The voiceless affricate [t̪]:

<i>ţîgăńív</i>	munteneste	Munčan language
<i>cuţít</i>	cuţit	knife
<i>ţípă</i>	ţipă	shouts

However, the phenomenon described above is a mere tendency, as there are still a

number of examples in which the consonants are palatalized:

<i>léńav</i>	leneş	lazy
<i>uńávă</i>	băţ	thin rod used in basket weaving

In the Munĉan vernacular, we recorded a series of consonant groups [mrc] that do not exist in standard Romanian and which can be attributed to the influence of Croatian/Serbian: *mrcve* (<Croat./Serb. *mrkve*

‘morcovi’ (carrots). The Munĉan vernacular has furthermore preserved consonantal particularities such as the labiodental [v] in examples such as:

<i>scriv</i>	scriu	I write
<i>řtiv</i>	řtiu	I know
<i>stav</i>	stau	I stay
<i>nov/nóvř</i>	nou/nouř	new
<i>cřřřvř/cřřřve</i>	cřřea/cřřele	bitch/bitches
<i>mřřřvř</i>	mřsea	tooth
<i>zřřvř</i>	ziuř	day
<i>rřřřvř</i>	rachiu	brandy
<i>grev</i>	greu	heavy
<i>amřřřvř</i>	amřřdouř	both

### The Arĝelean vernacular

In the Arĝelean vernacular the voiceless [ř] and voiced [dř] postalveolar affricates

become the voiceless and voiced fricatives postalveolar/retroflex [ř]/[ř], [ř]/[ř]:

Arĝelean	Stand. Romanian	English
<i>ře řař?</i>	ce faci?	how are you?

<i>húnd'e merž?</i>	unde mergi?	where are you going?
<i>noi miržén</i>	noi mergem	we are going
<i>tátă dă crúse</i>	tată adoptiv	adoptive father
<i>śinúșă</i>	cenușă	ashes
<i>taś!</i>	taci!	shut up! (2.IMP)

The dental nasal plosive [n] + [e], [i] > [ń]:

<i>mńe</i>	mâine	tomorrow
<i>chişínó</i>	maramă	headscarf
<i>tri aĩ dă lúne</i>	trei ani	three years
<i>huşćiuńit</i>	ostenit	tired
<i>telefońizăsc</i>	telefonez, sun	phone (1.SG)
<i>ńivastă</i>	nevestă	wife
<i>púńe uréce</i>	asculta	listen (2.IMP)
<i>ćemńiţă</i>	închisoare	prison

The voiced dental plosives: [d] + [e], [i] > [dʳ] and [ġ]:

<i>húnd'e</i>	unde	where
<i>d'irépt</i>	drept	right

<i>gînd'êște</i>	gândește	thinks
<i>d'iréd'e</i>	drege	fixes
<i>únd'iță</i>	undiță	fishing rod
<i>gînț</i>	dinți	teeth
<i>gîminăță</i>	dimineață	morning

The voiceless dental plosive: [t] + [e], [i] > [t̪] or [č]/[č̌]:

<i>la cîte dóbe</i>	la ce oră	at what time
<i>fěciie</i>	fetele	the girls
<i>ungurêșce</i>	ungurește	Hungarian
<i>báce</i>	bate	beats
<i>fráce</i>	frate	brother
<i>n-aĩ cém</i>	nu-ți fie teamă	don't be afraid

The lateral liquid: [l] + [e], [i] > [l̪]/[l̪']:

<i>cul'ibă</i>	colibă	hut
<i>fúrcă dă l'emn</i>	furcă de lemn	wood fork
<i>mól'e</i>	moale	soft
<i>ól'e (PL)</i>	oale	pots

<i>l'igá</i>	lega	tie
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Extreme cases of palatalization can also be noticed in the following examples:

<i>îĕĭe</i> (F)	ele	they
<i>îĕmĭe</i>	lemne	wood
<i>l'ingură/îngură</i>	lingură	spoon
<i>pĕĭe</i>	piele	skin
<i>zîĭe</i>	zile	days
<i>nûmîĭe</i>	numele	the name

The vibrant lateral liquid [r] followed by [e] and [ie] is slightly palatalized:

<i>Môrie</i>	Maria	Maria
<i>ro märe păre</i>	i-a părut foarte rău	she was very sorry

The velar plosives [c] and [g] followed by the central vowels [ă] and [î] become the palatal plosives [k̟] and [g̟], a phenomenon supposedly caused by the difficulty

of bilingual Hungarian speakers to pronounce the groups [că], [gă], [cî], [gî] (MARIN 2005: LXIII):

<i>kit</i>	cît	how much
<i>kiméşă</i>	cămaşă	shirt



The palatal plosive [ɟ] and the lateral liquid [l] followed by [e] and [i] are palatalized like in the examples:

<i>d'ăță</i>	gheață	ice
<i>înd'îțăm</i> (IPFV.1.SG)	înghițeam	swallowed

The palatal plosive [k̟] followed by [e], [i] becomes the voiceless postalveolar affricate [t͡ʃ]:

<i>ocêri</i>	ochelari	glasses
<i>cum cî cãmă?</i>	cum te chiamă?	what's your name?
<i>urêci</i>	urechi	ears
<i>lápce</i>	lapte	milk
<i>cêie</i>	cheie	key
<i>cînit</i>	chinuit	tormented

The prepalatal [g̟] [ç] [ʃ] become [z], [s]/[ʃ]:

<i>mirzén în vároș</i>	mergem în oraș	we're going to the city
<i>śas</i>	ceas	clock

The voiceless bilabial plosive [p] followed by [e], [i] > [ç]:

<i>căptăn</i>	pieptăn	comb
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<i>čept</i>	piept	chest
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The nasal bilabial plosive [m] followed by [i] and [e] > [mń]:

<i>mńez</i>	miez	kernel
<i>mńo</i>	meu	my
<i>amńáză</i>	amiază	noon

Although Argelean vernacular speakers tend toward palatalization, we can still find cases of depalatalization:

<i>zbără</i>	zbiară	yells
<i>m-adúc în fîre</i>	îmi aduc de aminte	I remember
<i>péle</i>	piele	skin
<i>car</i>	care	which
<i>să márgă</i>	să meargă	to go
<i>m-o dat</i>	mi-a dat	gave me

The explanation for these occurrences must probably be sought in the contacts

that took place between the two vernaculars on Romanian territory.

## Phonological innovations and “accidents”

Apheresis: initial [a-]: *ísi* (Arĝ.) ‘aici’ (here), *să scúnde dă el* (Munĉ.) ‘se ascunde de el’ (hides from him), *am vut* (Munĉ.) ‘am avut’ (I had), *ce ai žuns* (Munĉ.) ‘ce-ai ajuns’ (what have you become), *nu méd’e să lérgă* (Munĉ.) ‘nu merge să alerge’ (cannot run) (Munĉ.), *žut* (Arĝ.) ‘ajut’ (I help), *pucat* (Arĝ.) ‘apucat’ (grabbed), *răt* (Arĝ.) ‘arăt’ (I show), *stúpă* (Arĝ. & Munĉ.) ‘astupă’ (fills).

initial [i-]: *să zbéscă* (Munĉ.) ‘să izbească’ (to hit),

initial [o-]: *íl móră* (Arĝ.) ‘íl omoară’ (kills him),

initial [în-] *nánce* (Arĝ.) ‘înainte’ (ahead),

initial [îm-] *brăcătă* (Arĝ.) ‘îmbrăcată’ (dressed),

initial [z-]: *vîrlím* (Munĉ.) ‘zvârlim’ (we throw).

Archaisms: examples of words that keep the epithetic -u in a non-articulated position: *băiu* (Arĝ.) ‘bai’ (trouble), *ómu* (Munĉ.) ‘om’ (man), *pămíntu* (Munĉ.) ‘pământ’ (earth).

Anticipation: *óic – óik’ ‘ochi’* (eye), *roik’* ‘rochii’ (dresses), *mă spáer* ‘mă sperii’ (I get scared) (Munĉ.).

Apocope: appears as a simplification process in economical speech in both vernaculars: *mága* (Arĝ.) (+ voiced medial -c-) ‘măcar’ (at least), *ucéle* (Arĝ.) ‘ochelari’ (glasses), *răpe* (Arĝ.)/*répe* (Munĉ.) ‘repede’ (quickly), *mijóe* (Arĝ.) ‘mijlocie, fată mijlocie’ (middle daughter), *atú* (Arĝ.) ‘atunci’ (then), *acá* (Munĉ.) ‘acasă’ (at home), *íncó* (Munĉ.) ‘încoace’ (hither).

Assimilation: *žéžit* (Munĉ.) ‘deget’ (finger), *šéséră* (Arĝ.) ‘seceră’ (sickle), *mumíca* (Arĝ.)/*mimíc* (Munĉ.) ‘nimic’ (nothing).

Contraction: *pínše* ‘pînă ce’ (until), *întásta* ‘într-u aceasta’ (in this), *kinélă* ‘chinuială’ (torment), *áma* ‘acuma’ (now) (Arĝ. & Munĉ.).

Dissimilation: *slóbon* (Munĉ.) ‘slóbod’ (free), *linge* (Munĉ.) ‘nínge’ (it snows).

Elision: initial [-au]: *am zít* (Munĉ.) ‘am auzit’ (I heard);

medial [-n-]: *ġenúke* (Munċ.) ‘genunche’ (knee), *zdrāvānešte* (Munċ.) (recovers after illness),

medial [-l-]: *mízucu* (middle).

Elision + epenthesis: *dimizău* (Arġ.) ‘dumnezeu’ (God).

Epenthesis: *d'irépt* (Arġ.) ‘drept’ (right), *hîrîmêştî* (Arġ.) ‘hrănești’ (you feed).

Iotacization: the phenomenon of altering the consonants *t*, *n* is specific to the Arġelean vernacular in the verbs *spun* (say), *simt* (feel): *ăpo da d-ăia-ț spuî ăo* ‘apoi de aceea îți spun’ (that’s precisely why I’m telling you); *ăo sîmț că ăși bêne n-a vi* ‘eu simt că aici nu va fi bine’ (I feel that it won’t be good here). In the Munċan vernacular we can observe the addition of the consonant *-n* to the second person singular of the verbs: *spûni* ‘tu spui’ (you say), *vîni* ‘vii’ (you come).

Lambdacism: *luntă* (Munċ.) ‘nuntă’ (wedding), *lainte* (Munċ.) ‘înainte’ (forward)

Metathesis: *grad/gărdină* (Munċ.)/*gard* (Arġ.) ‘grădină’ (garden), *fîrléstă* (Munċ.) ‘fereastră’ (window), *clipîoră* (Arġ.) ‘căprioară’ (deer), *imînă* (Munċ.) ‘inimă’ (heart), *bătîrn* (Arġ. & Munċ.) ‘bătrîn’ (old), *crúscă* (Arġ.) ‘cuscră’ (mother of son/daughter-in-law), *purómb* (Arġ.) ‘porumb’ (maize).

Homonymy: The ellipsis of initial, medial or final sounds or the replacement of sounds with other sounds creates homonyms, the meaning of which becomes clear from the context: *lume* (Munċ.) ‘lume, nume’ (world, name), *păr* (Arġ. & Munċ.) ‘par, pahar’ (pole, glass), *sat* ‘oră, saț’ (hour, village) (Munċ.), *plóie* (rain noun + verb). This homonymy, in combination with the other phonetic “accidents”, is attributed by CALOTĂ (1995: 27) to the uncertainty experienced when learning a new language, an uncertainty that indirectly points to the Romani language that the Rudari and the Boyash have lost for ever on the territory of present-day Romania. However, today this uncertainty is a stronger indication of a process of gradual language shift.

Prothesis: initial [a-]: a phenomenon specific to Transylvania, the Banat, Oltenia and the northern half of Moldova (Marin 2005: XLIX): *astêrze* (Munċ.) ‘șterge’ (he/she

wipes), *aîér* (Munê.) ‘ieri’ (yesterday), *acără* (Arê.) ‘cară’ (carries)

initial [f-]: *frîşnesc* (Munê.) ‘râşnesc’ (I crush)

initial [h-] predominant in the Argelean vernacular: *húnd’e* ‘unde’ (where),

*hàiláltă* ‘ailaltă’ (the other one)

Rhotacism: *prăsné* (Munê.) ‘plesneá’ (was snapping), *urciór* (Munê.) ‘ulciór’ (jar), *urtár* (Arê.) ‘altar’ (altar), *glăbíñ* ‘grăbim’ (we hurry) (Arê.).

Suffix changes: *minşiunéşce* (Arê.) ‘minte’ (tells lies), *vrăbure* (Arê.) ‘vrabie’ (sparrow), *şăpîrcă* (Munê.) ‘şopîrlă’ (lizard).

Voicing and devoicing:

voicing: the voiceless labiodental [f] remains voiced in the Munêan vernacular: *prav* (Munê.)/*práu* (Arê.) ‘praf’ (dust), *svînt* (Munê.) ‘sfânt’ (holy), *ruvă* (Munê.) ‘rufă’ (linen);

devoicing: more particular to the Argelean vernacular: *dăsbrăc* (Arê.) ‘dezbrac’ (I undress), *săpádă* (Arê.) ‘zăpadă’ (snow).

Other: there are also innovations not associated with any of the phenomena described above: *gíză dă nucă* (Munê.) ‘coajă de nucă’ (nutshell), *mîrtănu* (Arê.) ‘motanu’ (tomcat), *cîncărig* (Arê.) ‘cîrlig’ (hook), *mumúica* (Munê.) ‘mămuţă’ (monkey), *bălmăzăşte* (Arê.) ‘învălmăşeşte’ (jumbles), *t-a dirít* (Arê.) ‘te-a durut’ (it hurt you).

## 5.8.2 Morphosyntax

### Nouns

#### Gender

Arġeleian	Munċan	Romanian	English
In both vernaculars there is a tendency to replace the ending of the masculine (M) in the plural <i>-i</i> , with that of the neuter (N) <i>-uri</i>			
<i>un brad – doi bráduř, braž</i>	<i>un brad – doi bráz</i>	brad – brazi	fir – firs
<i>un fátă – dăă fátă</i>	<i>o vórbă – doi vórb</i>	fată – fete vorbă - vorbe	girl – girls word - words
<i>un domn – doi/dăă dómnur</i>	<i>un domn – doi/dóvă dómnur ‘man’</i>	domn – domni	man – men

Due to the influence of Hungarian, in which neither grammatical gender nor natural gender are expressed morphologically, there is some uncertainty in the use of noun gender and of agreement with

the numeral that precedes the noun. The neuter gender predominates both in words borrowed from Hungarian and Croatian/Serbian respectively, and in the two vernaculars' own production of words.

Arġeleian	Munċan	Stand. Romanian	English
<i>un urság – dăă urságuř</i>	<i>un urság – dová urságuř</i>	țară	country

<i>un fătă – două fătă</i>		fată	girl
<i>un sără – două săr</i>		seară	evening
<i>a trilea zi</i>		a treia zi	the third day
<i>un dămb – două dămbur</i>		dâmb	hill
	<i>un bic – do vă bič</i>	bou	ox
	<i>o vorbă – doi vorbe</i>	vorbă	word
	<i>o găină – doi găin</i>	găină	hen
	<i>un udvár – dovă udvárur</i>	curte	courtyard

When the noun is accompanied by a cardinal numeral, most speakers of the Argelean vernacular have a tendency to keep the noun in the singular, an obvious in-

fluence of Hungarian: *doi vorbă am mai* ‘mai am două vorbe’ (I’ve got two more words to say).

## Plural formation

Nouns ending in a consonant form the plural by adding the ending *-i*. There is a tendency to change the masculine gender to neuter, especially in the Argelean ver-

nar, or to use both forms, masculine and neuter. Differences between the two vernaculars also exist in the alteration of the final vowel in the Argelean vernacular.

Arġeleian	Munċan	Standard Romanian	English
<i>brad – bráduŕ, braž</i>	<i>brad – bráduŕ</i>	brad – brazi	fir
<i>domn – dómnur</i>	<i>domn – dómnur</i>	domn – domni	sir
<i>mînz – mînzur</i>	<i>mînz – mînzur</i>	mânz – mânji	foal
<i>fer – féruŕ</i>	<i>fiár – fiárurile</i>	fier – fiare	iron
<i>sat – sátuŕ</i>	<i>sat – sate</i>	sat – sate	village
<i>urság – urságuŕ</i>	<i>ursác – ursáce</i>	țară – țări	country
<i>maț – mátuŕ</i>	<i>maț – máță</i>	maț – mațe	gut
<i>scôn – scónur</i>	<i>klup – klúpuŕ</i>	scaun – scaune	chair
<i>l'emn – l'émne</i>	<i>lemn – lémne</i>	lemn – lemne	wood
<i>búbă – búbi</i>	<i>búbă – búbe</i>	bubă – bube	swelling
<i>gîscă – gîșc</i>	<i>gîscă – gîșc</i>	gâscă – gâște	goose

The other nouns behave as follows:

- Nouns ending in the vowel *-e*

<i>șarpe – șárp'</i>	<i>șarpe – șárp'</i>	șarpe – șerpi	snake
<i>gînċe – gînț</i>	<i>dînte – dinț</i>	dinte – dinți	tooth
<i>cál'e – cǎi</i>	<i>cale – cǎli</i>	cale – cǎi	way
<i>pișór – pișóruŕ</i>	<i>piċór – piċóre</i>	picior – picioare	leg



- Nouns ending in the vowel *-ă* in the Argelean vernacular form the plural with either *-i* or a consonant: *măsă – măș* (tables), *cósă – coș* (scythes), *sfîră – sfîrîlî* (strings),

*cîmășă – kimêș* (shirts), *muscă – mușcî* (flies), unlike the Muncean vernacular, which forms the plural with *-e*, *-i* and *-ă*: *múscă – múște* (flies) etc.

<i>ăță – aț</i>	<i>ăță – áțe</i>	<i>ață – ațe</i>	thread
<i>códă – cóz</i>	<i>códă – códe</i>	<i>coadă – cozi</i>	tail
<i>rúdă – ruz</i>	<i>rúdă – rúde</i>	<i>rudă – rude</i>	stick
<i>sóră – sór</i>	<i>sóră – surór</i>	<i>soră – surori</i>	sister
<i>masă – măș</i>	<i>măsă – mésză</i>	<i>masă – mese</i>	table

- Nouns ending in the vowel *-i* form the plural with *-e* in both vernaculars: *cúî –*

*cúîe* (nails) (Arge. & Munce.), *cîlcîî – cîlcîîe* (Arge.)/*cîlcîî – cîlcîîe* (Munce.) (heels) etc.

In the Argelean vernacular, the singular and the plural form respectively of nouns

ending in a consonant are identical: *un d'inț – doi d'inț* (tooth – teeth).

### Case

Compared to standard Romanian, the declension system is reduced morphologically. In the two vernaculars, the pairs

nominative-accusative, dative-genitive, and the vocative are marked morphologically and morphosyntactically very similarly.

Case	Argelean	Munčan
	The pairs NOM/ACC, GEN/DAT are morphosyntactically formed in the same way as in standard Romanian. The accusative is expressed in combination with the prepositions: <i>pă, la, în, din, cu</i> , etc.	
Nom./ Acc.	<i>D-aĩ, cĩn lăcătări zĩŝe pă noi cã noi nu ńi-s ŝĩgań, zĩŝe cã noi ńis rumĩń, lăcătări zĩŝe pă noi cã noi ńis, di ŝe nu mirzėń acásă, ńĩ Rumĩńie</i> (That's why, when the Lacatari say that we are not Gypsy, they say that we are Romanian and ask us why we don't go home to Romania) (Anna Orsós, 2010_09_24).	<i>Ĩl cunóŝ pă Ŝándor? Nu cunóŝ tu pă Ŝándor?</i> (Do you know Ŝandor? Don't you know Ŝandor yet?) (Persa, Alsószentmárton, 2013_01_14).
	Clitic doubling in the accusative no longer seems to be used in the two vernaculars. The accusative is also used for objects that in standard Romanian are in the dative or genitive.	
	<i>Zĩŝe ńe pă mine 'ĩmi spune' (tells me), zĩc io pă ńe 'ńi spun' (I tell her)</i> (János, Gilvánfa, 2011_06_08).	<i>Nu dúce nimílea pă tine ńĩ tĩrg 'Nimeni nu te duce ńĩ oraŝ' (Nobody takes you to the city)</i> (Pera, Alsószentmárton).

Gen./ Dat.	<p>The phenomenon of clitic doubling in the dative is typical of both vernaculars formed with the help of the preposed <i>lu</i> ‘lui’ and <i>a lu</i> ‘a lui’ (to him) and postposed <i>-i</i> (SG.F.), <i>-lui</i> (SG.M.), <i>-lor</i> (PL.M./F.) genitive article. Syntactically, the possessor precedes the possessed object, a phenomenon which can also be observed in standard Romanian in marked styles (e.g. poetry). If generalized, this phenomenon, which is also very productive in the formation of compound nouns, could also have appeared under the influence of the Hungarian language.</p>	
	<p><i>Sî lu úngurîlor mai vîie i dă băiăs dăcît dă lăcătari lăcătari</i> ‘Și ungurii agreează mai mult pe băieși decât pe lăcătari’ (The Hungarians like the Boyash more than the Roma) (Gyöngyi, Pécs, 2010_09_23).</p> <p><i>A lu țigănsî cupîl</i> ‘copilul țigăncii’ (The Gypsy woman’s child) (Joli, Gilvánfa, 2011_06_08).</p>	<p><i>Li drag a lu mulț dă el</i> ‘el place multora’ (many people like him) (Persa, Alsószentmárton, 2011_06_05).</p> <p><i>A lu búsului căsă</i> lit. ‘casa autobuzului’ (bus station) (Pera, Alsószentmárton, 2011_06_04).</p> <p><i>A lu ie moș a murît.</i> ‘bunicul ei a murit’ (Her grandfather has died) (Jasminka, Alsószentmárton, 2011_06_05).</p>
	<p>The genitive is often used to express an object or a person in the dative case. However, there are also dative forms.</p>	

	<p><i>Lu ca iră mare</i> ‘cărora le era mare’ (to whom it was large) (Monika, Gilvánfa, 2011_07_08).</p>	<p><i>Să-i d’e sînze cupîlului</i> ‘să-i dea sînge copilului’ (To give blood to the child) (Persa, Alsószentmárton, 2011_06_05).</p>
	<p>In fairy tales and songs the genitival construction is preserved in the Argelean vernacular as in standard Romanian.</p>	
	<p><i>Pîn-atînuș n-o méže-acasă pînșe n-o află gázda țipîlîgului</i> ‘Pînă atunci nu va merge acasă, pînă ce nu va găsi posesoarea pantofului’ (Will not go home before finding the owner of the shoes) János Orsós (2011_03_24).</p>	
Voc.	<p>Like in standard Romanian, the vocative is not morphologically marked in most of the registered examples, being identical with the nominative. However, there are examples of the vocative in <i>-o</i> for the feminine and in <i>-e</i> for the masculine in text styles that preserved more archaic forms (e.g. songs, fairy tales).</p>	

<i>cupîlu!</i> <i>fătă! păpúșă!</i> <i>țigăncă!</i> <i>frăților!</i> <i>fêcilor!</i> <i>muncేశițo!</i> <i>muncășe!</i>	<i>copîlule! ‘copilule!’ (child)</i> <i>făto! păpușo! ‘fato păpușo!’</i> <i>(woman, doll)</i> <i>frăților! ‘fraților!’ (brothers)</i> <i>fêtilor! ‘fetelor!’ (girls)</i> <i>țigănco! ‘femeie!’ (woman/wife)</i> <i>țigăne! ‘bărbate!’ (man/husband)</i>
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## Pronouns

### The personal pronoun

Both in the Argelean vernacular and in the Muncean vernacular there is a double use of the personal pronoun, as in *m-am sparētu-mă* (Munč.) ‘m-am speriat’ (I got scared); *m-am spălātu-mă* (Munč.) ‘m-am spălat’ (I washed myself), *l-a adūsu-lă* (Arg.) ‘l-a adus’ (he/she brought him). In the Argelean vernacular, the archaic forms of possessives have been preserved, whereas in the Muncean vernacular they have been replaced by the personal pronouns in the oblique case. The forms of

the personal pronoun have been well-preserved with a rich declension in the nominative, accusative, genitive/dative in both vernaculars with the corresponding phonetic peculiarities. Furthermore, there is a tendency among speakers, especially in the Muncean vernacular, to overlap the dative with the genitive by using the so-called “possessive-genitive” article “al” used in the formation of the genitive, followed by the declined pronominal forms e.g. *mie* in the dative.

Argelean	Munčan	Standard Romanian	English
<i>a mño</i>	<i>a mie</i>	al meu	mine
<i>a țou</i>	<i>a ție</i>	al tău	yours
<i>a lui/a l'ie</i>	<i>a lui/a ie/ieř</i>	a lui/a ei	his/hers
<i>a nōstră</i>	<i>a nōă/nōvă</i>	a noastră	our
<i>a vōstră</i>	<i>a vōă/vōvă</i>	a voastră	your
<i>a lor</i>	<i>a lor</i>	a lor	their

### The demonstrative pronoun

There are differences in the declension of the proximal and distal demonstrative pronouns and the demonstrative pro-

nouns of identity and differentiation in the two vernaculars.

Argelean	Munčan	Stand. Romanian	English
The proximal demonstrative pronoun			
<i>ahăsta</i>	<i>hăsta</i>	acesta	this (NOM/ACC.M.SG)
<i>lu ahăsta</i>	<i>lu hăsta</i>	acestua	to/of this man (GEN/DAT.M.SG)
<i>ahéstie</i>	<i>éstie</i>	aceștia	these people (NOM/ACC.M.PL)
<i>lu ahéstie</i>	<i>lu héstie</i>	acestora	to/of these people (GEN/DAT.M.PL)

<i>ahásta</i>	<i>ásta</i>	aceasta	this woman (NOM./ACC.F.SG)
<i>lu ahásta</i>	<i>lu ásta</i>	acestei	to/of this woman (GEN/DAT.F.SG)
<i>ahéstie</i>	<i>éstie</i>	acestea	these women (NOM/ACC.F.PL)
<i>lu ahéstie</i>	<i>lu éstie</i>	acestora	to/of these women (GEN/DAT.F.PL)
The distal demonstrative pronoun			
<i>ahála</i>	<i>ála</i>	acela	that man (NOM/ ACC.M.SG)
<i>lu ahál</i>	<i>lu ála</i>	aceluia	to/of that man (GEN/DAT.M.SG)
<i>ahéie</i>	<i>héie</i>	aceia	those men (NOM/ACC.M.PL)
<i>lu ahéie</i>	<i>lu héie</i>	acelora	to/of those men (GEN/DAT.M.PL)
<i>aháie</i>	<i>áie</i>	aceea	that woman (NOM/ACC.F.SG)
<i>lu aháie</i>	<i>lu áie</i>	acelei	to/of that woman (GEN/DAT.F.SG)
<i>ahéie</i>	<i>éie</i>	acele	those women (NOM/ACC.F.PL)

<i>lu ahêie</i>	<i>lu êie</i>	acelora	to/of those women (GEN/DAT.F.PL)
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The demonstrative pronoun of identity is expressed in the Argelean vernacular by a paraphrase made up of the prepositional phrase *a fel* (the same) followed by the preposition *dă* (de) and the verb *a fi* (to be) in the present indicative. In the Munčan vernacular, the demonstrative

pronoun of identity is formed from the prefix *istum-* (> Croat. *isto* ‘the same’) which precedes the demonstrative pronouns of identity. The demonstrative pronoun of differentiation is formed in the Argelean vernacular by adding a prothetic *h-*. *ahăla/ăhêie*

Argelean	Munčan	Stand. Romanian	English
The demonstrative pronoun of identity			
---	<i>istumăla</i>	același	the same (NOM/ACC.M.SG)
<i>a fel dă-î (a)</i>	<i>istumăia</i>	aceeași	the same (NOM/ACC.F.SG)
<i>a fel dă-s</i>	<i>istumăiaș</i>	aceeași	the same (NOM/ACC.M.PL)
---	<i>istumăluiaș</i>	aceluiăș	to the same (GEN/DAT.M.SG)
---	<i>istumălăiaș</i>	aceleeași	to the same (GEN/DAT.F.SG)



---	<i>istumălora</i>	aceloraș	to the same (GEN/DAT.F/M.PL)
The demonstrative pronoun of difference			
<i>hălălânt</i>	<i>ălălált</i>	celălalt	the other (NOM/ACC.M.SG)
<i>hăialántă/ hălălántă</i>	<i>ălăláltă</i>	cealaltă	the other (NOM/ACC.F.SG)
<i>hěilánt</i>	<i>ăilălált</i>	ceilalți	the others (NOM/ACC.M.PL)
<i>hěielánt'e</i>	<i>ăilălált'e</i>	celelalte	to the other (GEN/DAT.F.PL)
<i>hăiunlánt</i>	<i>ăluilălált</i>	celuilalt	to the other (GEN/DAT.M.SG)
<i>hěialánce</i>	<i>ălilălált'e</i>	celeialte	to the other (GEN/DAT.F.SG)

No forms in DAT.PL.M/PL.F were registered.

### Relative pronouns

Relative pronouns are expressed in the Argelean vernacular by means of the preposition *pe* and/or the relative pronoun *șe* (< Rom. Ard. variety form *șe* = *ce* in Standard Rom.): *Dacă ție-î ăia pă șe ăo cot...* ‘Dacă ea este cea pe care o caut...’ (If

she’s the one I’m looking for) (János, Gilvánfa). In the Munčan vernacular, we recorded the relative pronoun *care* (which): *Ăia fătă-î bună care lucrăie ă* ‘Acea fată e bună care-i harnică’ (The hardworking girl is the good one) (Persa, Alsószentmárton).

### The indefinite pronoun

The indefinite pronoun is formed in different ways in the two dialects. The Munčan vernacular expresses the indefinite pronoun with the particle *gód*, *góde* (< Croat./Serb. *god* ‘ori’ – any): *ce góde fáce* ‘orice ar face’ (anything he/she does), *unde góde-a méde*, *mimika nu áflă* ‘oriunde ar merge, nu găsește nimic’ (anywhere he goes, he finds nothing) (Jasminka, Alsósz-

entmárton). In contrast, the Argelean vernacular forms the indefinite pronoun with the particle *áca* (< Mag. *akár* ‘ori’ – any): *áca s-or zíse*, *noi băiáš, nu lăcătari is’ém* (Pécs) ‘orice ar spune, noi suntem băieși și nu lăcătari’ (whatever they say, we are Boyash, not Lacatari); *nu mi-s io áca še băiáš* ‘eu nu sunt orice fel de băiáš’ (I’m not just any kind of Boyash) (Janós, Gilvánfa).

### **Adjectives**

The Munčeni and Argeleani speakers’ inconsequent use regarding the agreement between the noun gender and number and the adjective or participle is also attributed to the influence of the Hungarian language (which lacks grammatical gender): *Širéșile au fost mîncăt dă cupii* ‘cireșele au fost mâncate de către copii’ (The cherries have been eaten by the children) (Munč.); *dóűă fătă, doi fișór* ‘două fete, doi feciori’ (two girls, two boys) (Arğ.), *are l’émhe dă-î már* ‘are lemne din acelea mari’ (he has big wood) (Arğ.), *sîrás*

*om or fost*, ‘au fost oameni săraci’ (They were very poor people) (Arğ.).

As for degrees of comparison, the Munčan vernacular uses as comparative particles the adverb *mái* (more) and the prepositions *ca* (like) and *dă* ‘de’ (than), while the Argelean vernacular uses the adverb *mái* and the adverbial phrase *dăcînd* ‘decât’ (than) (Arğ.). In both vernaculars, the pronoun as a compared element is in the nominative: *Io mái mîndră mis ca tu* ‘Eu sunt mai frumoasă decât tine’ (I am more beautiful than you).

## Degrees of comparison

Argelean	Munčan	Standard Romanian	English
The comparative of equality			
<i>Ánna aşá mîndră îi ca Édit.</i>	<i>Ánna aşá-î mîndră dă Édit.</i>	Ana e la fel de frumoasă ca Edit.	Anna is as beautiful as Edith.
The comparative of inferiority			
<i>Ánna măi puţin mîndră îi ca Édit.</i>	<i>Ánna măi slăbă-î mîndră dă Édit.</i>	Ana e mai puţin frumoasă ca Edith.	Anna is less beautiful than Edith.
<i>Nu aşá mîndră îi Ánna dăcînd Édit.</i>	<i>Ánna nu-î aşá mîndră ca/dă Édit.</i>	Ana nu-i la fel de frumoasă ca Edit.	Anna is not as beautiful as Edith.
The comparative of superiority			
<i>Ánna măi mîndră-î dăcînd Édit.</i>	<i>Ánna măi mîndră-î dă Édit.</i>	Ana e mai frumoasă decît Edit.	Anna is more beautiful than Edith.
Superlative			
<i>Ánna şî măi mîndră-î</i>	<i>Ánna măi mîndră-î</i>	Ana e cea mai frumoasă.	Anna is the most beautiful.
---	<i>Îo şî" măi t-am plăcut.</i>	Eu te-am plăcut şi mai mult.	I liked you even more.

As shown in the examples above, apart from the employment of different comparative adverbs, there are no great differences between the two vernaculars in all the degrees of comparison. The superlative is formed by accentuating the adverb *măi*. From a syntactic point of view, the verb often occupies the last position in the comparative phrases, especially in the superlative *Anna măi mîndră-î* ‘Anna este cea mai frumoasă’ (Anna is the most beautiful).

Adjectives denominating glottonyms are composed as follows: the noun *language* + prep. *dă* + ethnonym: *îmbă dă băiăş/dă rumîn, dă franţúz* ‘limbă de băiăş/român/franţuz’ (language of the Boyash/Romanian/French) (Arğ. & Munê.), but

## Numerals

Although morphologically preserved in the two vernaculars, an uncertainty in using numerals has been observed. Hungarian forms in Argelean and the Croatian/Serbian forms in Munêan concur with the preserved Romanian forms. Most of the Argelean interlocutors count and calculate in Hungarian. For the ordinal number “first”, the Arğeleni use *élşe* from

for their own language, the adjectives *îgănéşt’e* (Arğ.) and *îgăniv/îgăniú* (Munê.) are used. Similarly, *casă dă nēmţ* (German house) (Munê.)/*dă ungur* (Hungarian house) (Arğ.). Moreover, there is an uncertainty in the use of adjective suffixes: *mustucós, mustăcos, mustăţós* (mustachioed) (Munê.).

Among adjectival innovations, most of which are borrowed from Hungarian (the Argelean vernacular) or Croatian (the Munêan vernacular), and many of which are derived from nouns, we would like to mention: *ţucroş* ‘diabetic’ (diabetic) (Arğ.), *lucróř, munêós* (Munê.)/*lucrutós* (Arğ.) ‘harnic’ (hardworking), *limbós* (Munê.) ‘vorbăreţ’ (talkative).

Hungarian *első*, the Munêeni *prívu* from Croatian/Serbian *prvi* (first). The possessive-genitive article *a* is usually not inflected. Neither the Munêeni, nor the Arğeleni use the Romanian word *mie* (thousand), but *o* ‘ezeră (> Mag. ezer ‘thousand’). There is a growing tendency to replace the ordinal numerals with the cardinal numerals.

Arġelean	Munċan	Stand. Romanian	English
The ordinals			
<i>êlŝe cupîl/ûnu cûpil</i>	<i>prîvu cupîl</i>	primul copil	first child
<i>a dŝăle cupîl</i>	<i>a dŝvăle cupîl</i>	al doilea copil	second child
<i>a trîle cupîl</i>	<i>a trîle cupîl</i>	al treilea copil	third child
<i>a trîle zî, a pâtrîle zî, a ŝînŝie zî</i>	<i>a trîle zî, a pâtrîle zi a cînċile</i>	a treia zi, a patra zi, a cincea zi	the third day, the forth day, the fifth day

Fractional numerals are mostly borrowed from Hungarian and Croatian, respectively:

Arġelean	Munċan	Stand. Romanian	English
<i>néged</i>	<i>firtál</i>	sfert	Quarter
<i>font, žumătáće</i>	<i>pol</i>	jumătate	Half

Multiplicative, distributive and collective numerals are also expressed using cardinal numerals: *unu, în dovă, tri înŝ* ‘cîte unu, cîte doi, amîndoi, tustrei’ (one, in twos, in threes, both, all three) (Arġ. & Munċ.). However, we also recorded a few examples of distributive numerals in both vernaculars: *cîcîŝtri drăcŝsă iŝcém* ‘toate trei suntem drăcoase’ (all three of

us are impish) (Persa, Alsószentmárton) the distributive correspondent of the standard Romanian form *câte trei* (in threes), also registred in the Arġelean vernacular *s-or gătátu-să cîcîŝtrêi* ‘s-au îmbrăcat câte trei’ (all three of them got dressed) (János, Gilvánfa), although the latter formation, although distributive in form, has a collective meaning.

## Verbs

### Moods and tenses

In both vernaculars, the verbal system is very well preserved. As in standard Romanian, the past tense is replaced by the composite perfect. The available modes are indicative, conditional, subjunctive,

imperative, and presumptive. The infinitive occurs only sporadically. Gerundial and supine forms were not registered. Below we have provided merely an exemplary selection of verbs.

### Indicative

Arġ.	Munċ.	Arġ.	Munċ.
<i>a fi</i> ‘to be’		<i>a avea</i> ‘to have’	
<b>Indicative Present</b>			
<i>mis</i> <i>ięșċ</i> <i>ăi</i> <i>ńis/ișċén</i> <i>ișċét</i> <i>ăs</i>	<i>mesc</i> <i>eșt</i> <i>i/iĩ</i> <i>istém</i> <i>istét</i> <i>sınt/is</i>	<i>am</i> <i>aĩ</i> <i>áre</i> <i>avén</i> <i>avét</i> <i>áre</i>	<i>am</i> <i>aĩ</i> <i>áie</i> <i>aĩém</i> <i>aĩét</i> <i>áre</i>

Indicative Imperfect			
<i>ĩĩrám/isrám</i>	<i>irém</i>	<i>avém</i>	<i>aĩém</i>
<i>ĩĩráĩ/isráĩ</i>	<i>iréĩ</i>	<i>avé</i>	<i>aĩéĩ</i>
<i>ĩĩrá/isrá/isrásă</i>	<i>iré/isrásă</i>	<i>avé/avésă</i>	<i>aĩéĩ/àĩésă</i>
<i>ĩĩrah/israhĩ</i>	<i>irésăm</i>	<i>avéhĩ</i>	<i>aĩém</i>
<i>isrăt</i>	<i>irésăt</i>	<i>avéť</i>	<i>aĩéť</i>
<i>isrá</i>	<i>irésăt</i>	<i>avé</i>	<i>áié/àiésă</i>
Indicative Perfect			
<i>am fost</i>	<i>am fost</i>	<i>am avút</i>	<i>am vut</i>
<i>aĩ fost</i>	<i>aĩ fost</i>	<i>aĩ avút</i>	<i>aĩ vut</i>
<i>a/o fost</i>	<i>a fost</i>	<i>a/o avút</i>	<i>a vut</i>
<i>ah fost</i>	<i>am fost</i>	<i>ah avút</i>	<i>am vut</i>
<i>ať fost</i>	<i>ať fost</i>	<i>ať avút</i>	<i>ať vut</i>
<i>or fost</i>	<i>a fost</i>	<i>or avút</i>	<i>a vut</i>
Indicative Future			
<i>ói fi</i>	<i>voi fi</i>	<i>oi avé</i>	<i>vói ve</i>
<i>vĩ fi</i>	<i>(i)ĩ fi</i>	<i>vĩ avé</i>	<i>(i)ĩ ve</i>
<i>o fi</i>	<i>a fi</i>	<i>o avé</i>	<i>a ve</i>
<i>ón fi</i>	<i>om fi</i>	<i>ón avé</i>	<i>om ve</i>
<i>v'ĩť fi</i>	<i>véť fi</i>	<i>v'ĩť avé</i>	<i>ĩť ve</i>
<i>or fi</i>	<i>o fi</i>	<i>or avé</i>	<i>o ve</i>

### The Indicative Mood

The verbal tenses and moods are very well preserved in both dialects. We observed two verbal tenses that morphologically express the past both in the Arġeleni and the Munċeni community: the imperfect and the compound perfect. As in standard Romanian, the compound perfect is increasingly replacing the imperfect in various contexts.

*Măncă zámă, măncă cărne d'e avé.* (Arġ.) 'Mâncău supă, mâncău carne de aveau'. (They ate soup, they ate meat if they had it) (IPFV.3.PL)

*Or mîncát še-or aflát.* 'Au mâncat ce-au aflat' (They ate what they found) (PRF.3.PL)

In many cases, the morphological demarcation between the present tense and the imperfect tense consists, in both vernaculars, in the variation of one vowel:

*Voi nu șcîeț d-asta? A...nu șcîiăt.* 'Voi nu știți lucru acesta? A... nu știați.' (Don't you know about that? Oh, you didn't.) (PRS.2.PL/IPFV.2.PL)

In the Arġeleian vernacular we occasionally registered the form *sîncén* (IND. PRS.1.PL), a combination of the verb *a fi* (to be) in the present indicative, fourth person (*sîntem*), and the specific suffix of the imperfect tense: *-én* for an action in the imperfect tense.

*Núma, n-o apucát pă noi în Ròmîhîiŭ, pă băiášî, n-o apucát și în Ròmîhîiŭ, acolo slugán, slugă sîncén și acolo în bănărie sîncén, lucrà, în bănărie și d-ăia an căpătát noi nume ahášta, băiáš. Vói nu șcîeț d-ahášta? Nu șcîiăt.* (Gyöngyi Kalányos, 2010\_09\_23j)

'Numai că ne-au prins pe noi în România, pe băieși, ne-au prins în România, acolo eram sclavi în mine și acolo în mine lucram, în mine și de aceea am căpătat numele acesta de băieși.'

(We were caught in Romania and we were enslaved there, we used to work in mines, for that reason we got the name Boyash).



In both the Arġeleni and the Munċeni vernaculars, we documented irregularities in the use of the auxiliary *a avea* (to have) in the compound perfect, more precisely, the iden-

tity of the first person and the third person auxiliary. For the sixth person of the compound perfect, the Arġeleni use the auxiliary form *or*, whereas the Munċeni say *a*.

*Îo ăia șeu, ăia a-nvățăt, și ăia mērzi is la ișculă, în rumulșgiu tónsec mērzi, ișculă háie, ăia a-nvățăt, noi dîñ Índio an viñit, dîñ Índio, d-ăpă ie toț dîñ hăla, toț dîñ Índio, și lăcătări și băăși.* (Gyöngyi Kalányos, 2010\_09\_23j)

‘Eu așa știu, așa am învățat la școală, la romologie, la acea școală, așa am învățat, că noi din India am venit, din India, și toți din India au venit, și lăcătarii și băieșii.’

(This is what I know, what I learned at school, studying Romology, that we come from India, they all come from India, the Lacatari and the Boyash.)

Some interlocutors showed uncertainty in respect of participle forms in the indicative mood, compound perfect tense: *îo am scrút, tu ai scrút, el o scrit, noi an scris, voi aț scris, îei or scris* (I...they wrote) (Edit, Gilvánfa)

This predilection may also be observed for neologisms: *am telefonizît* (Arġ.)/*telefonît* (Munċ.) (I telephoned), *a bițiglît* (Arġ.) ‘a mers pe bicicletă’ (he rode a bicycle).

The particle *-să*, very productive in the Munċan vernacular, appears as a particle that marks morphologically the iterative verbal aspect. SORESCU-MARINKOVIĆ (2008:

197) believes that this particle, also common in the Boyash vernaculars in Medjimurje, Croatia, was once used on the territory of Romania, without being recorded by dialectologists, and that the Boyash adopted this forms. However, in our opinion it is rather an analogy with the forms of the past perfect *avusese* – a grammatical suffix that, in the general process of vowel velarization, became *-să*, which is also typical to several Romanian varieties. Over time, the grammatical suffix *-să* underwent a semantic slide, being used mostly, although not exclusively, with an iterative meaning.

*Aúz ásta la poștáriu lucrám afără, únd'e ái mai gázd'e irésă. Încoló lucrám noi. Táta, máma, nu ío. Áía bătrîni făcésă fel dă lucrú* (Peter, Alsószentmárton).

‘Auzi, eu lucram la poștaș, care era printre cei mai înstăriți. Acolo lucram noi. Tata, mama, eu nu. Cei bătrâni aveau diverse ocupații.’

(Listen, I used to work for the postman, for the wealthiest. My parents worked there, my mum, my dad, but not me. The elder had different occupation.)

Other examples from the Munčan vernacular are: *făcésă* ‘faceau’ (used to do) *lucrăsă* ‘lucrau’ (used to work), *cîrpésă* ‘used to patch up’, etc.

Another particularity is the velarization of [a] to [ə] of first conjugation verbs ending in -a: *mîncăț, lucrăț, stăț, curățăț, spălăț*, (you eat/work/stay/clean/wash) (IND.PRS.2.PL), a very productive para-

digm in both vernaculars, as it became obvious analyzing the data corpus. In both vernaculars, identity of the forms of the third person singular and plural appears to be regular: *îel scóte, îeî scóte* (he/they take out) (Munč.); *îel vînd'e, îeî vînd'e* (he/they sell) (Arğ.); *îel vîne, îei vîne* (he/they come) (Munč.); *îel sére, îeî sére* (he/they ask) (Arğ.) (IND.PRS.3.SG/PL) etc.

### The Conditional Mood

The conditional is used in the two vernaculars exactly as it is in standard Romanian: *Ai fi tu drácă să nu fiv însurat* (Munč.), *Ai mai fi tu drac, dacă n-aș fi însurat* (Would you not be such a devil if I wasn't married). We also recorded forms of the past conditional in both vernaculars: *Dă ai vi vihîit, ío fălósă aș vi fost* ‘Dacă ai fi venit

aș fi fost foarte mândră’ (If you had come, I would have been proud), or *Aș măi vi avút cupí, da băcágă dă-páia am fost* ‘Aș mai fi avut copii, dar am fost bolnavă după aceea’ (I could have had more children, but I fell ill then). (Arğ.) Some morphological reduced forms regarding the elision of the particle *să* have also been

recorded in the Argelean vernacular  
*Moré dă pă fōme să nu pōtă mǎrgă, șevă  
 să făcă* ‘Ar fi murit de foame dacă nu ar

fi putut munci ceva’ (Would have starved if he hadn’t found work).

The Conditional Mood for *a merge* ‘to go’

Arg.	Mun.	Standard Romanian
<b>Conditional Present</b>		aș merge ‘would go’
<i>aș mērže</i> <i>aî mērže</i> <i>ar mērže</i> <i>añ mērže</i> <i>aț mērže</i> <i>ar mērže</i>	<i>aș mēd’e</i> <i>aî mēd’e</i> <i>ar mēd’e</i> <i>am mēd’e</i> <i>aț mēd’e</i> <i>ar mēd’e</i>	<i>aș merge</i> <i>ai merge</i> <i>ar merge</i> <i>am merge</i> <i>ați merge</i> <i>ar merge</i>
<b>Conditional Past</b>		aș fi mers ‘would have gone’
<i>aș vi mers</i> <i>aî vi mers</i> <i>ar vi mers</i> <i>añ vi mers</i> <i>aț vi mers</i> <i>ar vi mers</i>	<i>aș fi mēs</i> <i>aî fi mēs</i> <i>ar fi mēs</i> <i>am fi mēs</i> <i>aț fi mēs</i> <i>ar fi mēs</i>	<i>aș fi mers</i> <i>ai fi mers</i> <i>ar fi mers</i> <i>am fi mers</i> <i>ați fi mers</i> <i>ar fi mers</i>

Besides the phenomenon of palatalization that occurs among the Arġeleni, we also noticed a difference in the use of the auxiliary in the fourth person, *ań*, a form consistently preserved both in the ending of the verb (*merźén*) and in the auxiliary (*ań*).

Specific to both vernaculars is the process of monophthongation of the verbs that contain a diphthong, and the shift of

the accent onto the first syllable of second conjugation verbs: *n-aş póte* ‘*n-aş putea*’ (I couldn’t). When used with reflexive verbs, the present conditional is conjugated in the Munċan vernacular as follows: *m-aş dúce, te-aĩ dúce, s-a dúce, ne-am dúce, v-aĩ dúce, s-ar dúce* (I – they would go). The difference to standard Romanian consists only in the use of the auxiliary in the third person singular: *ar* > *a*.

### The Imperative Mood

The imperative mood is morphologically expressed in the two vernaculars as in standard Romanian: *haidé!*, *haidé!* (come on!), *fă!*, *făcé!* (do!), *mîncă!* (eat!),

*custă!* ‘*trăi!*’ (live!))! The difference consists only in the shift of the accent, in some second and third conjugation verbs, from the first to the last syllable.

The Subjunctive Mood

Subjunctive				
Verb	Arġ.	Munċ.	Stand. Rom.	English
Present 3 <sup>rd</sup> person	<i>să mǎrgă</i> <i>să áĭve</i> <i>să plóve</i> <i>să nu să piárdă</i> <i>să făcă</i> <i>să-î vie în fire</i> <i>să-î ġéĭe</i> <i>s-o scóttă</i> <i>să ćistilěscă</i> <i>să púĭe</i> <i>să spúĭe</i> <i>să śére</i> <i>să táĭe</i> <i>să mĭnĭńśe</i> <i>să řĭĭe</i>	<i>să méġă</i> <i>să áre/áră</i> <i>să plóĭe</i> <i>să nu să pėrdă</i> <i>să făcă<sup>29</sup></i> <i>să să ġĭnděscă</i> <i>să-ř dăve/dáĭe</i> <i>să scóttă</i> <i>să cistěscă</i> <i>să púne</i> <i>să spúne</i> <i>să ćéră</i> <i>să táĭe</i> <i>să mĭńce</i> <i>să řĭnă</i>	<i>să meargă</i> <i>să aibă</i> <i>să ploaie</i> <i>să nu se piardă</i> <i>să facă</i> <i>să se gândească</i> <i>să-ți dea</i> <i>să scoată</i> <i>să curețe</i> <i>să pună</i> <i>să spună</i> <i>să ceară</i> <i>să taie</i> <i>să mănânce</i> <i>să țină</i>	to go to have to rain to not get lost to make to think to give you to pull out to clean to put to say to ask to cut to eat to hold
Past	<i>să vi mers</i> <i>să fi furát</i>	----	<i>să fi mers</i> <i>să fi furát</i>	to have gone to have stolen

29 *mĭ-a spus să fac, să făci, să făcă, să făcém, să făcéř, să făcă*

Examples in sentences:

*Ápo ie áre dă gînd să vorbăscă, că áre dă gînd dîplomă să áive* (Gyöngyi, Pécs). (She is planing to learn it [Munĉ. vernacular] because she plans to graduate in this language.)

*Cu míne nu puĉé furá. Pă şíne să le fi furat, pă ei?* (János, Gilvánfa). (She could not steal with me. And who could she have stolen from, from them?)

The subjunctive is frequently used in the two vernaculars, however, the morphemes for subjunctive are unstable and the degree of morphological variation is very high. The increasing morphologic identity of indicative and subjunc-

tive forms in the third person singular *el fáĉe* (Munĉ.)/*fáše* (Arĝ.) (IND.3.SG), *să fáĉe/fáše* (SBJV.3.PL) (he does), *mîncă* (IND.3.SG)/*să mîncă* (SBJV.3.PL) (he eats) (Munĉ.), *árĝe* (IND.3.SG)/*să árĝe* (SBJV.3.PL) (he burns) (Arĝ.) leads us to believe that in the long term the subjunctive mood will cease to be expressed morphologically. An individual case where the subjunctive substituted the indicative forms was recorded in Alsószentmárton: *Cálu páscă iárbă afără* ‘Calu paşte iar-bă afară’ (The horse is grazing outside) (IND.3.SG)/*Am lăsát cálu să páscă iárbă* (I left the horse to graze) (SUBJ.3.SG).

### The Presumptive Mood

In the Munĉan vernacular we found only one instance of the anterior future (future perfect tense) with presumptive value: *Va*

*vi fáĉút, io ásta n-am zís că nu* (Will have done it, I didn’t say they haven’t) (Persa).

### The Infinitive Mood and the Participle Mood

We recorded only two of the impersonal moods, the infinitive and the participle.

In the two vernaculars, the subjunctive seems to increasingly take the place of the

infinitive, a phenomenon that occurs in Romanian standard too: *Nu să scîie bițigli cînva țîgării* (Back then the Gypsies could not cycle) (Joli, Gilvánfa); *Nu puté mēd'e la lúcru, ma la birt puté* (He couldn't go

to work, but he could go to the pub) (Ruja, Alsószentmárton).

Speakers of both vernaculars are uncertain about the use of the participle mood. In both vernaculars we found forms such as:

Arġ.	Munċ.	Stand. Romanian	English
<i>am scrut</i>	<i>am scriát</i>	am scris	I have written
<i>am zís</i>	<i>am zît</i>	am zis	I have said
<i>am șcut</i>	<i>am știát</i>	am știut	I have known

Throughout our research work, we found no example of the gerund mood, and only one example of the supine mood in the Arġelean vernacular: *urvușág dă vinġe-cát căpu* ‘medicament împotriva durerilor

de cap’ (medicine for headaches). The supine mood is replaced by verbal structures in the indicative: *Marámă d-ăia dă puî pă cap* (Kerchief that you put on your head).

## Adverbs

Many adverbs are borrowings from Croatian/Serbian: *úvic* (< uvijek ‘always’) or Hungarian *méndig* (< mindig ‘always’). Those preserved from Romanian are

usually contracted: *íci* (Munċ.)/*íši* (Arġ.) ‘aici’ (here), *níkér<sup>i</sup>* (Arġ.) ‘nicăieri’ (nowhere). There are also older forms such as *altrimíntile* ‘altfel’ (otherwise) (Munċ.).

## Prepositions

We recorded the following prepositions: *pî/pă* ‘pe’ (on), *dîn* ‘din’ (from) (Arĝ. & Munĉ.), *pînt-ahăie* ‘pentru aceea’ (for that) (Arĝ.), *dûsu clup* ‘sub scaun’ (under the chair), *lîngî clup* ‘lîngă scaun’ (by the chair), *lainte dă clup* ‘înainte scaunului’ (in front of the chair). Here too we noticed some uncertainty in using the correct form: *scoboró zos dă pă što* ‘coboram din maşină’ (I got out of the car) (Arĝ.), *pă bolînzămuri să gînd’êşte* ‘se gîndeşte numai la nebunii’ (thinks only of foolish things) (Pera, Alsószentmárton); *mă uit*

*în TV* ‘mă uit la TV’ (I’m watching TV); *Aúz še zîşe pă míne băieşîta asta* ‘Auzi ce spune despre mine băieşîta aceasta’ (Listen to what this Boyash woman says about me) (Gyöngyi, Pécs), *Cîn i s-o vâzút pă copîl dă fâta hăia* ‘cînd tînărului i-a plăcut de acea fată’ (When the young man saw that girl) (Gyöngyi, Pécs); *nişi nu mă uit pă je* ‘nici măcar nu mă uit la ei’ (I don’t even look at them), *fuge dîn băt* ‘fuge de pericol’ (runs away from danger) (Peter, Alsószentmárton).

## Conjunctions

The conjunctions *dă* ‘de’ (that) is in the Arĝelean vernacular plurisemantic meaning *că*, *încît* as in *aşá m-ai bătút dă m-ai biĉezît* (You beat me so hard that I got sick) (Edit, Gilvánfa); *a fel dă frumósă ira fâta*, *dă ca ea nu mai ira pă lúme*, *pă ţără* (the girl was so beautiful that there was none like her in the world, in the country) (János, Gilvánfa). In Standard Romanian the conjunction *de* introduces conditional,

final and consecutive phrases *m-ai minţit de nu mai ştiu care-i adevărul* (you lied to me so much that I cannot tell the truth anymore).

The conjunction *dacă* is expressed by the Hungarian conjunction *a* (< Mag. ha ‘dacă’ – if): *A dă şe nu vi, ió m-oî culca* ‘Dacă nu vii, eu mă voi culca’ (If you don’t come I’ll go to sleep) (Mónika, Gilvánfa). The coordinating conjunction



*dar* is expressed by *ma*: *ma še zîși?* ‘dar ce zici?’ (But what do you say?) (Joli, Gilvánfa). In the Munĉan vernacular we found the conjunctions *cî*, *dăcî* used in the same way as in standard Romanian *că*, *dacă*. Coordinating conjunctions like

*ori*, *ori* (either...or) are expressed by the preposition *eli* ‘when’ from Croatian to which a prothetic *v* is added: *véli ĩo véli tu* ‘ori eu ori tu’ (either I or you) (Persa, Alsoszentmárton).

## Interjections

In both vernaculars there are interjections also specific to standard Romanian or to various parts of Transylvania: *bre!* (heigh!, *mă!*, *fă!* (hey!)), *ĩoi!*, *vă!* (oh, dear!), *ĩaca!* (look!). We recorded no instances among the speakers we interviewed of the interjections *of* or *bravo*, used by the Rudari in Greece and Ukraine. A particularity of the Munĉan vernacular is the recurrent use of the interjection *ē* for approval.

The word order in the two vernaculars has remained close to standard Romanian. Below are a few examples of altered word order: *púne pāru la clup lainte/ĭndărăt* ‘pune paharu ĭnaintea/ĭn spatele scaunului’ (put the glass in front of/behind the chair) (Pera, Alsoszentmárton). Degrees of comparison have an altered word order

in both vernaculars: *Măĭ mĭndru păr are dă tu* ‘are păr mai frumos decĭt tine’ (Has got more beautiful hair than you) (Yula, Pécs); *Măĭ rău gázdacă-ĭ ĩe dăcĭt noi* ‘Ea este mai bogată decĭt noi’ (She is richer than us); *Mĭncă mă!* ‘Mai mănĭncă!’ (Eat more!) (Pera, Alsoszentmárton); *Bătĭrnă-ĭ mă!* ‘Este mai bătrĭnă’ (She is older) (Edit, Gilvánfa). With a durative meaning, the adverb *mă!* follows the verb *A*, *ăcu še fel létcă să-ĭ dau mă!* *fěci* ‘Ce treabă să-i mai dau fetei’ (What other job shall I give the girl to do) (Joli, Gilvánfa). The negation particle *nu* (no) also often follows the copulative verb: *ĩo mis nu bolúndă* ‘Eu nu sunt nebună’ (I am not crazy) (Ruĵa, Alsoszentmárton); The indefinite pronouns *şevă*, *şinevá* (something, somebody) usually precede the verb: *Moré dă*

*pă fōme sǎ nu pōtǎ mǎrgǎ, șevǎ sǎ făcǎ* (János, Gilvánfa). ‘Ar fi murit de foame dacă nu ar fi putut munci ceva’ (Would have starved if he hadn’t found work).

The irregularities and confusions can be noticed in both vernaculars in the

agreement between the personal pronouns and the sentence’s subject and the verbs: *cușǎrile* (PL) *îi* (PRS.3.SG) *gáta* (Munĉ.) (the baskets is ready), *iei* (3.PL) *vine* (PRS.3.SG) (they comes) (Arĝ.) etc.

### 5.8.3 Lexicon

#### Vocabulary

Linguistic contact is most obvious in the vocabulary of the two vernaculars. The borrowings are mostly from Hungarian (Arĝ. and Munĉ.) or Serbian (Munĉ.), a phenomenon obviously brought about by present, respectively past, daily contact with these languages. Comparisons such as *álbǎ ca lébida* (Munĉ.) ‘albǎ ca lebdǎda’ (white as a swan) or farewell remarks such as *lumínǎ nǎinĉe, négurǎ-nápóĭ* (light ahead, darkness behind) persist only in the memory of elderly speakers, who no longer know the meaning of the words that form the phrases, such as *lébida* or *négurǎ*. As a result of increased code switching and code mixing of the two or three languages as well as of the

vital role that Hungarian attained in the Boyash communities, the Arĝelean and Munĉan vocabulary has grown poorer. Many of the interviewees know the word *dǎvréme* (early), but no longer know its antonym.

Based on our observations, the vocabulary of the Munĉan vernacular offers more cases of lexical synonymy than the Arĝelean one. This is due to the multiple linguistic contacts, both with Hungarian and Croatian/Serbian: *mǎĭ ráno* (< Croat./Serb. *rano* ‘devreme’ – early) = *mǎĭ curínd* = *maĭ korán* (< Hung. *korán* ‘devreme’) (sooner). The speakers themselves are aware that their vocabulary is much richer in Hungarian words, but

the lack of a word, phrase or verb does not hamper communication. As a result, verbal paraphrases are very common in both vernaculars. For instance, for ‘târziu’ (late) (Stand. Rom.) we recorded in the Argelean vernacular the antonym *măre dobă-î* (Arĝ.) (late). Another speaker in Gilvánfa used the pair *dobă mică* # *dobă mare* for *devreme* # *târziu* (early # late). For the pair *prost* # *deştept* (Stand. Rom.) (stupid # smart) we recorded the phrase *cu fire* # *fără fire* in both vernaculars. Many of these vocabulary items are to be found in different vernaculars on Romanian territory today or even in standard Romanian. The syntax of these expressions, shows, however, a further development of the two vernaculars, parallel to those that take place in the Daco-Romanian varieties *lumină dă ochi* ‘lumina ochilor’ (pupil). The adverbs *sus* # *jos* (up # down), *afară* # *înlontru* (out # in) prove to be very productive in both vernaculars in many contexts: *am chemat sus* (Gyöngyi, Pécs)/ *am ȋemat sus* (Pera, Gilvánfa) ‘am dat telefon’ (I called up/I telephoned); *l-am dat sus* ‘I-am denunȋat’ (I gave him up/I denounced him) (Persa, Alsósztentmár-

ton); *îl creşte sus* ‘îl educă’ (brings him up/educates him) (Renata, Alsósztentmárton); *or dat-o afară* ‘au publicat-o’ (they put her out/published her) (Anna, Pécs); *ore c-o zis afară* ‘de abia a pronunȋat, a exprimat’ (hardly spoke out/pronounced, expressed); *se să aflu afară* ‘cum să descopăr’ (how can I find out/discover) (János, Gilvánfa).

Loanwords from Hungarian are integrated into the grammatical system of the two vernaculars: *rizs* ‘orez’ > *rijă* (rice); *szín* ‘culoare’ > sam-samuri (PL) (colours), in the Argelean vernacular. *Proaspăt* (Stand. Rom.) (fresh) is expressed in both vernaculars by the loan *friş* (< Hung. *friss* or Serb. *friški*) as in *frişcă carne* ‘carne proaspătă’ (fresh meat) (Ruja, Alsósztentmárton). Modern forms of social organization are expressed in the two vernaculars by paraphrasing. Thus, for *primar* (Stand. Rom.) (mayor) we have the noun *căpu sâtuluî* (head of the village) (Alsósztentmárton) in both vernaculars, for the word *preşedinte* (Stand. Rom.) (president) we recorded *domnu mare pă urság* in the Munȋan dialect, and in Argelean *királ măre pă țară* (Janós, Gilvánfa),

phrases which, although they at first sight appear to be anachronisms, are still in use

in the everyday lives of the Argelean and Munčan Boyash.

### Word formation

Neither in the Munčan nor in the Argelean vernaculars did we find cases of derivation schemes that are still productive in forming agent nouns and place nouns. When not borrowed from Hungarian: *cúvac* (< Hung. *kovács* ‘fierar’ blacksmith), they are expressed by paraphrases such as *ȕigánu ȕe táȕe cárnel/ála ȕe táȕe cárne* (the Gypsy he/who cuts meat) (Munȕ.). Place nouns are expressed by the preposition *la* + agent nouns, which are usually words of Hungarian origin adapted to the Argelean and Munčan vernacular respectively: *Meg la pikér* (Munȕ.)/ *Mă duc la pécu* (Arȕ.) (> Mag. *pék* ‘brutar’ baker) ‘merg la brutar’ (I’m going to the baker); *Am fost la misár* (Munȕ.)/ *misárniȕă* (Arȕ.) ‘Am fost la măcelar’ (I went to the butcher); *a lu búsului căsă* (Munȕ.) ‘staȕie de autobuz’ (bus stop); *fintíniă dă bănzín* (Munȕ.) ‘benzinărie’ (filling station). Instrument nouns are formed as in standard Romanian, with the

preposition *de*: *maşínă dă cîrpít* (Arȕ.)/ *cusut* (Munȕ.) (sewing machine), *maşínă dă cáve* (Arȕ. & Munȕ.) (coffee-maker). More sporadically we find instrument nouns regressively derived from verbs: *a dîrăli* (reconstructed infinitive) < *dîrîlôu* ‘maşină de măcinat’ (grinder). Noun compounds are joined by the preposition *de*: *bóltă dă ȕipiliş* (Arȕ.)/ *dughénă dă păpúş* (Munȕ.) (shoe store) *bóltă/dughénă dă mîncăre* (Arȕ. & Munȕ.) (food store).

Both the Munčan and the Argelean vernaculars are characterized by great flexibility in derivation: noun derivation *arşău* ‘hîrleţ’ (spade) becomes *arşívăsc* *pămîntu* ‘sap pămîntu cu hîrleţul’ (dig the soil) (Munȕ.); *biȕíglă* ‘bicicletă’ (bicycle) > *a biȕíglí* ‘a merge pe bicicletă’ (to bicycle); *nu să scîȕe biȕíglí cînva ȕigáni* (back then the Gypsy could not cycle) (Joli, Gilvánfa), *trîmbiȕă* > *trumbiȕáză* ‘trâm-biȕează’ (plays the trumpet/trumpets), *kitár* > *kitarizăşȕe* ‘cîntă la chitară’ (plays

the guitar), *lăută* > *lăuțește* ‘cîntă la vioară’ (plays the violin), *hármonică* > *hòr-municăzășce* ‘cîntă la armonică’ (plays the concertina) (Gyöngy, Pécs); *cărț* > *cărtém*, ‘jucăm cărți’ (we play cards) (Jasminka, Alsószentmárton) *ișculă* > *să ișculizăscă* ‘să meargă la școală’ (to go to school) (Palko László, Gilvánfa). Verbal suffixes like *-zăscă* *să ôpărazăscă* ‘să opereze’ (to operate) (Gilvánfa) have become very productive in both vernaculars.

Noun diminutives are formed in the two vernaculars by adding the adjective

*mîcîțică/mîcîțăl* (little) to the nouns: *fătă mîcîțică* (little girl) (Arğ.), *găină mîcîțică* (little hen) (Munê.). In both vernaculars we also found older interlocutors forming diminutives ending in *-ăl* and *-uță*: *mîndrúță* (Arğ.) (little girl), *găinúță* (little hen) (Arğ.), *cucușăl* (little rooster) (Munê.), *căsúță* (little house) (Munê.).

The two vernaculars are furthermore characterized by a series of semantic slides in the case of certain nouns, a phenomenon specific to insular, non-standard vernaculars.

### Examples of lexical similarities and differences between the two vernaculars

The lexical items in the list below was compiled during the transcription of the ethnographic interviews.

Arğ.	Munê.	Stand. Romanian	English
<b>Adjectives</b>			
<i>băieșășce</i>	<i>țigăniú, țigăniú</i>	băieșeste	Boyash language
<i>bătîrănă</i>	<i>bătrîná</i>	bătrîná	old F.
<i>fălós</i>	<i>lótru</i>	mîndru	proud

<i>găzdác</i>	<i>bugát</i>	bogat	rich
<i>huşcúñít</i>	<i>ustinít</i>	obosit	tired
<i>l'imbă dă úngur sfat dă úngur/ nemţ/băiăş</i>	<i>ungurív/u/limbă dă némţ/muntán</i>	limba maghiară/ limba germană/ băieşescă	Hungarian/German/ Boyash
<i>lótru</i>	<i>mărós</i>	bucuros	happy
<i>mucós</i>	<i>puturós</i>	nespălat	dirty
<i>munčos/munčósă</i>	<i>lucrôí/lucrôe</i>	harnic/ă	hard-working
<i>puturós</i>	<i>lénhav</i>	leneş	lazy
<i>ro/róu</i>	<i>rău</i>	rău	bad
<i>slúbod</i>	<i>slóbon</i>	liber	free
<i>t'íst/ă</i>	<i>číst/ă</i>	curat/curată	clean
<i>urít</i>	<i>busórcă</i>	urât	ugly
<i>vínăt</i>	<i>vínăt</i>	vânăt	violet-blue
<b>Adverbs</b>			
<i>curínd</i>	<i>ráno/răpe</i>	repede/în curând	quickly/soon/
<i>dăpárce</i>	<i>dupárce</i>	departe	far away
<i>dăvréme</i>	<i>căznít</i>	devreme	early
<i>d'irépt</i>	<i>drept</i>	adevărat	true

<i>íši</i>	<i>aíc</i>	aici	here
<i>ma</i>	<i>núma/sam/mácar</i>	numai/măcar	only /at least
<i>ma p-atîta</i>	<i>dă dăă ori</i>	dublu	double
<i>mága</i>	<i>mága/sam/mácar</i>	măcar	even
<i>îră</i>	<i>oîră</i>	puțin	some/a little bit
<i>úngi gógì</i>	<i>úngi gógì</i>	în tot locul/ peste tot	everywhere
<i>úvic</i>	<i>miréu</i>	mereu	always
<b>Set phrases</b>			
	<i>nu te diréști?</i>	nu te deranjează?	does it not disturb you?
<i>a fel dă</i>	<i>a fel dă</i>	la fel	same
<i>am scluburîtît dîn mîná</i>	<i>am scăpat dîn mîná</i>	am scăpat din mîna	I dropped hand
<i>fir-aî sănătós/ fir-aî sănătósă</i>	<i>mulțumesc</i>	mulțumesc	thank you
<i>î-am dat sus</i>	<i>î-am dat la biruşág &lt; magh. bíróság 'justiție'</i>	i-am dat pe mîna autorităților i-am denunțat	I denounced them
<i>la cîte dóbe</i>	<i>la cîte sáte</i>	la ce oră	what time

<i>m-o čemát sus</i>	<i>m-a t'emát sus</i>	mi-a telefonat	he/she called me
<i>o viñit îndărăt/ napói</i>	<i>a venít îndărăt</i>	s-a întors	he/she returned
<i>púne uréce</i>	<i>púne sam</i>	ascultă	listen/pay attention
<i>strínze băni úna</i>	<i>púne încoló</i>	a economisi	to save money
<i>suctulín să fășéhi</i>	<i>kizdilím să făcém</i>	începem să facem	we start doing
<i>tri aí dă lúne</i>	---	trei ani de zile	three years
<b>Pronouns</b>			
<i>áca še</i>	<i>će gód'e</i>	orice	anything
<i>cártava om</i>	<i>mácar cáre om</i>	fiecare om	every human being
<i>numíca</i>	<i>mimíc</i>	nimic	nothing
<b>Nouns</b>			
---	<i>fíntîná cu gérma</i>	fîntîná cu cumpănă	well swep
---	<i>undóviță</i>	femeie nemăritată cu copil	unmarried woman with child
---	<i>mrícve</i>	morcovi	carrots
---	<i>mustácă</i>	mustață/mustăți/ mustăcios	moustache
---	<i>žíla</i>	vină	guilt



<i>ái</i>	<i>usturói</i>	usturoi	garlic
<i>bătăie</i>	<i>rat</i>	război	war
<i>bóre</i>	<i>bóre</i>	abur	steam
<i>bénziń</i>	<i>fíntína dă benzín</i>	benzinărie	petrol station
<i>bîlşio/ligăno<sup>u</sup></i>	<i>zípcă</i>	leagăn	cradle
<i>bîrcă</i>	<i>óie</i>	oaie	sheep
<i>bolînzămuri</i>	<i>bolînzémuri</i>	nebunii	jinks
<i>bóltă</i>	<i>dughénă</i>	magazin	shop
<i>bóu</i>	<i>bic</i>	bou	ox
<i>bubóie</i>	<i>búbă re</i>	cancer	cancer
<i>cal</i>	<i>olávină</i>	cal	horse
<i>cămátă</i>	<i>cămátă</i>	camătă/dobîndă	interest rate
<i>căpătîi</i>	<i>diván</i>	pat	bed
<i>cápu dă sát</i>	<i>cápu sátuluĩ</i>	primar	mayor
<i>cásă dă úngur</i>	<i>cásă dă úngur</i>	casă ungurească	Hungarian house
<i>cémnîiță</i>	<i>kisitóre</i>	închisoare	prison
<i>cîcîstóre</i>	<i>cîcîstóre</i>	toaletă	toilet

<i>ôlad/vigă</i>	<i>ôládă/făită/sói/ neám</i>	neam	lineage/relatives
<i>cîrbóe</i>	<i>curumpíri</i>	cartofi	potatoes
<i>clisă</i>	<i>slănină</i>	slănină	bacon
<i>copîrșău</i>	<i>criptă</i>	sicriu	coffin
<i>culibă/cuvérgă</i>	<i>culibă</i>	colibă	hut
<i>cupít</i>	<i>spor</i>	sobă	stove
<i>cupîl mășcôî</i>	---	copil din afara căsătoriei	bastard
<i>cust</i>	<i>trăi</i>	viață/trai/existență	life/existence
<i>cústu</i>	<i>životu/trăiu</i>	trai	life
<i>cuțít</i>	<i>cățít</i>	cuțit	knife
<i>d'iriptáce</i>	<i>dreptáte</i>	dreptate	justice
<i>domb</i>	<i>dél</i>	deal	hill
<i>domb mare</i>	<i>dél</i>	munte	mountain
<i>diculészci</i>	---	---	The <i>Diculescii</i> are a group of Boyash from Gilvánfa who prepared wood for processing

<i>dóbă</i>	<i>țăit</i>	timp/vreme	time
<i>dóbă dă sas/ex. șăpće dóbe</i>	<i>sát/ex. șăpte sate</i>	oră/ex. ora șapte	hour/seven o'clock
<i>ézără</i>	<i>ézeră</i>	o mie	thousand
<i>făită</i>	<i>rudbina</i>	rudă	relative
<i>fícicó</i>	<i>parpángel</i>	moroi/strigoi	ghost
<i>fíre</i>	<i>fíre</i>	minte/memorie	mind/memory
<i>físór</i>	<i>vunic</i>	fecior/tînăr	young man
<i>fisúí</i>	<i>mázăre</i>	fasole	beans
<i>fórmă</i>	<i>kip</i>	poză	picture
<i>fugădó</i>	<i>birt</i>	cîrciumă	tavern
<i>gard</i>	<i>grad</i>	grădină	garden
<i>gard</i>	<i>drot</i>	gard	fence
<i>gășc</i>	<i>gîst'</i>	găște	geese
<i>gɔz</i>	<i>gunói</i>	mizerie/gunói	trash
<i>ginúț</i>	<i>žunúc</i>	genunchi	knee
<i>grópă</i>	<i>dólă</i>	groapă	hole
<i>grîmádă</i>	<i>strávotă</i>	grămadă	pile

<i>hîrb</i>	<i>sticlă</i>	sticlă	bottle
<i>hudváru</i>	<i>udvár</i>	curte	yard
<i>ínimă</i>	<i>ímînă</i>	stomac	stomach
<i>inimă/búrtă</i>	<i>rínză</i>	stomac	stomach
<i>îşculă</i>	<i>şculă</i>	şcoală	school
<i>kíngió</i>	<i>pişkír</i>	ştergar	towel
<i>kişinó</i>	<i>marámă</i>	maramă	headkerchief
<i>l'emn</i>	<i>lemn</i>	copac	tree
<i>lúcru</i>	<i>póslă</i>	lucru/muncă	work
<i>maĭ sfétlu vérde</i>	<i>măĭ oġírá vérde</i>	verde deschis	light green
<i>mámă măşcôie</i>	---	mamă vitregă	step-mother
<i>mărmínce</i>	<i>mărmîn</i>	mormânt	grave
<i>maşínă dă zdrubít</i>	<i>stúpiţă</i>	maşină de măcinat	grinder
<i>mirg</i>	<i>mirg</i>	venin	venom
<i>mişunós/ mişunásă</i>	<i>mîncînós/ mîncînósă</i>	mincinos, mincinoasă	liar (M., F.)
<i>négură/biçişúg</i>	<i>bitişúg</i>	boală	disease
<i>nívástă</i>	<i>nivástă</i>	nevestă	spouse

<i>núme/lúme</i>	<i>lúme</i>	nume/lume	name/world
<i>obráz</i>	<i>fálcă</i>	obraz	cheek
<i>papír</i>	<i>pipároş</i>	hîrtie	paper
<i>păţcǎvǎ</i>	<i>pátcov</i>	potcoavă	horseshoe
<i>pázǎ</i>	<i>strájǎ</i>	priveghi	wake
<i>pipárcǎ</i>	<i>arděi</i>	ardei	pepper
<i>plicǎtór/ǎ</i>	<i>plicǎtór/ǎ</i>	admirator	admirer/pretendent
<i>pod</i>	<i>taván</i>	acoperiş	roof
<i>porodícǎ</i>	<i>şpánurişǎ</i>	roşie	tomato
<i>purúncǎ</i>	<i>zapudálǎ</i>	poruncă	command
<i>purómb/cucurúz</i>	<i>mǎlái/cucurúz</i>	porumb	maize
<i>povoşcé</i>	<i>puvéstǎ</i>	poveste	fairy tale
<i>rǎnúce</i>	<i>bubric</i>	rinichi	kidneys
<i>rindíri/jîndári</i>	<i>jîndári</i>	poliţia	police
<i>rížǎ</i>	<i>ráis</i>	orez	rice
<i>rúžǎ</i>	<i>rúžîţǎ</i>	trandafir	rose
<i>rer</i>	<i>şpor</i>	cuptor	oven
<i>sǎcúre</i>	<i>baltág</i>	secure	ax

<i>sam</i>	<i>fárbă</i>	culoare	color
<i>sămînță</i>	<i>glonț</i>	sămânță	seed
<i>sărsámuri</i>	<i>sîrsámuri</i>	unelte	tools
<i>scon</i>	<i>clup</i>	scaun	chair
<i>sfadă</i>	<i>cărtă/bătăie</i>	ceartă	fight
<i>sfără</i>	<i>unávă</i>	sfoară	string/rope
<i>sinúșă</i>	<i>ćinușă</i>	cenușă	ash
<i>śurdăș</i>	<i>ćobán</i>	cioban	shepherd
<i>sóbă</i>	<i>sóbă</i>	cameră	room
<i>súflit</i>	<i>súflet</i>	inimă	heart
<i>șvaler/că</i>	<i>șvaler/că</i>	iubit/ă	boyfriend/girlfriend
<i>táír</i>	<i>blid/táír</i>	farfurie	plate
<i>ťígán/ťígáncă</i>	<i>ťígán/ťígáncă</i>	băiaș/băiașă; soț/soție	Boyash F.+M.; husband/wife
<i>ťipíši/ťipil'isi</i>	<i>papúc</i>	sandale/papuci	shoes
<i>trupínă</i>	<i>tăplíz</i>	așchii	matchwood
<i>ublóc</i>	<i>fírléstă</i>	fereastră	window
<i>uiágă</i>	<i>pār</i>	pahar	glas

<i>úl'iṭṭă</i>	<i>sucác</i>	<i>uliṭṭă</i>	street/alley
<i>unturóş</i>	---		The <i>Unturoşii</i> are a group of Boyash from Gilvánfa, who – unlike <i>diculeşcii</i> – worked as musicians. They were known also as <i>băieşii domni</i> .
<i>upátă</i>	<i>lupátă</i>	<i>lopată</i>	shovel
<i>upínsci dă uṭăl</i>	<i>ṭîndale din fer</i>	<i>opinci de oţel</i>	steel sandals
<i>urság/ṭără</i>	<i>urság</i>	<i>ṭără</i>	country
<i>urtác</i>	<i>firtác</i>	<i>prieten</i>	boyfriend
<i>urvuşág</i>	<i>burénă</i>	<i>medicament</i>	medicine
<i>văló</i>	---	<i>pîrriu/apă curgătoare mică</i>	stream
<i>vărgánii/burét</i>	<i>burét</i>	<i>ciuperci</i>	mushrooms
<i>vărigă</i>	<i>inél</i>	<i>inel</i>	ring
<i>vároş/bulşúg</i>	<i>tîrg</i>	<i>oraş</i>	city
<i>văś</i>	<i>vac</i>	<i>vaci</i>	cows
<i>vréme dă plóie</i>	<i>vréme móle</i>	<i>vreme de ploaie</i>	rainy weather

<i>žál'e</i>	<i>žáu</i>	jale	mourning
<i>žăp</i>	<i>žîp</i>	buzunar	pocket
<i>zăpádă</i>	<i>zăpádă/săpádă</i>	zăpadă	snow
<b>Verbs</b>			
	<i>tă partîm</i> IND.PRS.1.PL	te însoțim	we accompany you
---	<i>sclipéști</i> IND.PRS.3.SG	fulgeră	it thunders
<i>am nivîlît</i> IND. PFV.1.PL	<i>am crescût sus</i>	am crescut/am educat	I raised
<i>as'êrže</i> IND.PRS.3.SG	---	șterge	to wipe
<i>bălmăzăște</i> IND.PRS.3.SG	---	învălmășește	he/she clutters
<i>birîi</i> INF	---	a putea	to be able to
<i>bițigîi</i> INF	<i>bițigîi</i>	a merge pe bicicletă	to cycle
<i>burăște</i> IND.PRS.3.SG	---	vomită	he/she vomits
<i>cîstălê</i> IND.IPFV.3.SG.	<i>cîstilê</i>	curățea/făcea curat	he/she was cleaning



<i>crăpá</i> INF	<i>cîzní</i>	a muri	to die
<i>custím</i> IND.PRS.3.SG	<i>tráím</i>	tráím	we live
<i>duburášťe</i> IND.PRS.3.SG	---	doboară	he/she takes down
<i>fěrbe</i> INF	<i>fěrbe</i>	a găti	to cook
<i>hănzășťe</i> IND.PRS.3.SG	---	cască	he/she yawns
<i>îmbănuí</i> INF	---	a-i părea rău/ a regreta	to feel sorry
<i>lumărám</i> IND.PRS.1.PL	<i>čitím</i>	citim	we read
<i>m-am născút</i> IND.PFV.1.SG. REFL	<i>m-am avút/ m-am vut</i>	m-am născut	I was born
<i>mănînc</i> IND.PRS.1.SG	<i>mînc</i>	mănînc	I eat
<i>mi-s/is/îs</i> IND.PRS.3.SG	<i>mesc/îs</i>	sunt	I am
<i>muítá</i> INF	<i>uitá</i>	a uita	to forget
<i>prîpêșťe-t'e!</i> IMP.PRS.2.SG	<i>grăbêște-te!</i>	grăbește-te!	hurry up!

<i>prîşepén</i> IND.PRS.1.PL	<i>răzumím</i>	înţelegem	we understand
<i>sîmăráǎm/ umăráǎm</i> IND.PRS.1.PL	<i>lumăráǎm</i>	număráǎm	we count
<i>slubozí</i> INF	<i>sluboní</i>	a elibera	to release
<i>telefonizăsc</i> IND.PRS.3.SG	<i>telefonésc/tem sus</i>	telefonez	I call
<i>ţem</i> IND.PRS.1.SG	<i>tem</i>	chem	I call
<i>úmără</i> IND.PRS.3.SG	<i>númără</i>	citeşte	reads
<i>zgăríi</i> INF	---	a zgâria	to scratch

## 6 The enclosed USB card

The following video material can be found on the enclosed USB card:

- Track No. 1. Noî dîŋ Îndio a vinît – We came from India
- Track No. 2. Nu sã pócë şci dă únd'-aŋ vinît – Nobody knows where we came from
- Track No. 3. Nôi maî întîi aŋ vinît – It was us who came first
- Track No. 4. Când iré rátu – During the war
- Track No. 5. Nuntă – Wedding
- Track No. 6. Dóctoŋ, vrăzîtóre – Doctors, witches
- Track No. 7. Ţîgaŋ, băiáš, lăcătár, tícaŋ, lovár – Gypsies, Boyash, Lacatari, Tiszani, Lovara
- Track No. 8. Munêaş ş-Munêşîţă – Munêaş and Munêşîţă
- Track No. 9. Límba năstră – Our language
- Track No. 10. Límbă dă lăcătári, límbă dă băiáşi – The Lacatari and Boyash languages
- Track No. 11. La noî ínca băiేశăşce sfăté – They used to speak Boyash before
- Track No. 12. Şe a meî sfătేశce, îo áia scriu zos – What my people speaks, I put down in writing
- Track No. 13. Cíntec Şándor, pogác – Song for Shandor and how to make ‘pogacha’

The video material can be found on the enclosed USB card and online at

*<https://www.oeaw.ac.at/vlach/collections/romanian-varieties/boyashrudar/language-and-identity>*



## 7 Summaries

### Romanian summary

*Băieșii* sau *rudarii* sunt vorbitorii unor dialecte arhaice ale limbii române. Majoritatea se consideră țigani, însă nefiind vorbitori de limba romani, nu au conștiința apartenenței la etnia romă. Autodenumirile băieșiiilor din Ungaria se referă la presupusa regiune de origine – *argélén* și *munčén* – cu variantele lor fonetice.

După caracteristicile regionale ale graiurilor, se pot trage concluzii despre istoria emigrării țiganilor din teritoriile de limbă română. Faptul că nu se mai găsesc astăzi urme de limbă romani în graiurile băieșiiilor ne împiedică să concluzionăm cu siguranță că predecesorii băieșiiilor au fost romi. Însă este foarte probabil că o mare parte a romilor au renunțat treptat la limba maternă în perioada de robie și în urma adaptării la un alt mod de viață ca de exemplu activitatea de exploatare a minelor de aur. Cele mai importante momente

care au determinat procesul de emigrare al băieșiiilor, au fost închiderea minelor în provinciile românești și desființarea robiei, începând cu mijlocul secolului al XVIII-lea, urmate apoi de emigrările repetate din sec. al XIX-lea. După părăsirea minelor, țiganii de limbă română au emigrat în mai multe valuri în locurile unde se găsesc și astăzi, printre altele și în zona cercetată aici, sudul Ungariei. Eterogenitatea dialectelor arată că până în sec. al XX-lea încă mai veneau valuri noi de emigranți. Nu se poate defini o *singură* patrie a băieșiiilor. Cele mai importante regiuni de origine par a fi sud-vestul Ardealului, Banatul și anumite zone în Oltenia și Muntenia.

După cum am putut observa în acest studiu, asemănările dintre cele două vernaculare ale băieșiiilor, *argelenășce* și *munčenășce*, sunt mult mai evidente decât deosebirile dintre ele. Acest fapt explică traseul lingvistic comun parcurs

de cele două grupe de băieși din Ungaria. Ambele vernaculare în discuție prezintă în structura lor mai multe straturi lingvistice. Acest fenomen se înregistrează ca urmare a influențelor suferite prin emigrarea băieșilor din sud-vestul Transilvaniei, zonă în care aceștia fuseseră românizați, către sud, în Oltenia și Muntenia unde au fost preluate particularitățile graiurilor locale, rezultând un fel de bilingvism dialectal. Faptul că vernacularul Argelean este aproape de graiul Ardelean (de ex. fenomenul palatalizării) de pe teritoriul României de azi, arată că aceștia trebuie să fi părăsit Muntenia și Oltenia mult mai devreme decât Munčenii, fără ca graiul Munčan să înlocuiască în mare parte pe cel transcarpatic. Cu excepția deosebirilor în sistemul consonantic și a celor lexicale (lexicul fiind partea cea mai permisibilă la schimbări), cele două vernaculare studiate trec prin procese asemănătoare și paralele de comutare cu limba maghiară la o distanță mică una față de cealaltă. Două vernaculare cu bagaj lingvistic comun, supuse contactului cu o nouă limbă, parcurg un traseu de schimbări fonologice și un proces de adaptare lexicală, code-switching și

code-mixing, de funcționalitate și economie a limbii asemănător, independent unul de celălalt.

Graiurile românești vorbite de băieși s-au îmbogățit în urma contactului cu limbile învecinate în zonele în care au emigrat, în cazul nostru mai de grabă cu limba maghiară, dar și cu croata/sârba și cu germana. Diferențele dintre graiurile băieșești sunt însă atât de ne semnificative încât comunicarea între vorbitorii de *argelenășce* și *munčenășce* este posibilă fără mari probleme. Vorbitorii celor două vernaculare au dificultăți de înțelegere a limbii române literare care a evaluat cu totul diferit.

Un alt aspect cercetat este acela legat de destinul vernacularelor Munčan și Argelean. În secolul al XX-lea a devenit tot mai evident faptul că plurilingvismul este din ce în ce mai restrâns. Vernacularele respective au devenit enclave lingvistice, variante arhaice care, din lipsă de sprijin guvernamental nu au putut ține pasul cu dezvoltarea societății moderne, devenind limbi anacronice, în general neacceptate de tânăra generație. Văzând schimbările din ultimii ani care au loc în

rîndul comunităților de băieși, prognozele sunt foarte tulburi și în cazul vernacularelor în chestiune. Pentru cei care doresc „maghiarizarea” minorităților de romi din Ungaria și uniformizarea societății, integrarea romilor în societatea maghiară prin suprimarea identității și a limbii lor, limba băieșilor începe să deranjeze. Pentru membrii acestor grupuri care doresc conservarea unei identități aparte a cărei singură dovadă „palpabilă” este limba, procesul va fi unul mult prea rapid. Ungaria este singura țară în care au început activități de păstrare și cultivare a limbii băieșilor. Luând în considerare nivelul redus de alfabetizare în propria lor lim-

bă și faptul că în Ungaria se folosește o ortografie greu accesibilă nevorbitorilor de limbă maghiară, în momentul de față condițiile pentru o educație în limba maternă în mai multe țări sunt foarte dificile. Inițiativele din ultimii ani cu privire la înființarea de școli și licee pentru băieși și lăcătari (romi) cu predare în limba maternă, condiție necesară pentru începutul unei tradiții scrise, sunt pași îndrăzneți care se pot lovi de procesul de „împresurare” și „suprimare” a acestor vernaculare ce reprezintă pentru aceste comunități mult mai mult decât un cod lingvistic, încă un instrument de comunicare în viața de fiecare zi.

### Hungarian summary

A beások vagy rudárok a román nyelv archaikus tájszólásainak beszélői. Nagy része magát cigánynak tartja, viszont nem beszél a romani nyelvet és nem tudatosult bennük a roma etnikai hozzátartozás. A magyarországi beások magukat a feltételezett eredetük régiójára hivatkozóan nevezik – *argélén*-nak és *muncén*-nak –, ezen elnevezések fonetikai változataival.

A nyelvjárás regionális jellegzetességei alapján, követni lehet a cigányok emigrálási történelmét a különböző román területeken. Habár az a tény, hogy a mai napon a beások nyelvjárásában már nem lehet a romani nyelv nyomait észlelni, nem akadályoz meg abban a biztos következtetésben, hogy a beások elődei romák voltak. De viszont nagyon valószínű,

hogy a romák nagy része fokozatosan lemondott anyanyelvéről rabszolgaságuk és egy más életvitelhez alkalmazkodásuk időszakában, mint például az aranybányák kitermelési tevékenységük ideje alatt. A beások legfontosabb mozzanatai, amelyek az emigrálási folyamatot kiváltották, a román tartományokban található bányák bezárása és a XVIII. század közepével kezdődően a rabszolgaság eltörlése volt, ezt pedig a XIX. század ismétlődő emigrálásai követték. A bányák elhagyása után a román nyelvű cigányok több hullámban azon helyekre emigráltak, ahol ma is élnek, többek között ide, a Délmagyarországon kutatott területekre. A tájszólások vegyes összetétele arra utal, hogy a XX.-dik században még érkeztek új emigráns hullámok. A beásoknak nincs egyetlen beazonosítható hazája. A legfontosabb származási régióknak Erdély dél-nyugati része, a Bánság, valamint Olténia és a Nagy-Havasalföld bizonyos részei tűnnek.

Amint e tanulmányból kitűnik, a beások két nyelvjárásában, az *argelenășce* és *munceňășce*, sokkal nyilvánvalóbbak a hasonlóságok, mint az ezek közötti

különbségek. Ez a tény megmagyarázza a beások két magyarországi csoportja által bejárt közös nyelvi útvonalat. Mindkét tárgyi nyelvjárás szerkezetében több nyelvészeti réteg mutatkozik meg. Ezt a jelenséget a beások Erdély dél-kelet részéről történő emigrálás által bekövetkezett kihatásnak tulajdonítják. Ezen a területen őket románosították, és kelet felé haladva átvették Olténia és a Nagy-Havasalföld helyi nyelvi sajátosságait, amely egy bizonyos kétnyelvű tájszólást eredményezett. Az a tény, hogy az *argelenășce* a mai Románia területén található erdélyi tájszóláshoz áll közel (például a palatizálás jelensége), arra utal, hogy ők sokkal hamarabb elhagyhatták a Nagy-Havasalföldet és Olténiát mint a *munceň*-nak, anélkül, hogy a *munceňășce* tájszólás nagy részben helyettesítette volna a Kárpátontúli tájszólást. A mássalhangzóbeli és lexikális rendszerbeli különbségek kivételével (a szókincs a legruganyosabb változási rész), a két tanulmányozott tájszólást rövid távon egymással összehasonlítva, hasonló folyamatokon és a magyar nyelv változásain megy keresztül. Két tájszólás közös nyelvészeti csomaggal,



alávetve egy új nyelvvel történő érintkezésnek, egymástól függetlenül egy fonológiai változás útját teszi meg és egy lexikális alkalmazkodás folyamatán, kódváltáson és nyelvkeverésen, hasonlóan a nyelv funkcionalitásán és gazdaságán megy keresztül.

A beások által beszélt román nyelvjárások meggazdagodtak azon régiók szomszédos nyelveinek befolyásából, ahova emigráltak, a mi esetünkben inkább a magyar nyelvből, de a horvát/szerb és német nyelvekből is. A beások nyelvjárásainak különbségei viszont annyira jelentéktelenek, hogy az *argelenășce* és *munčenășce* beszélők közötti kommunikáció nagyobb problémák nélkül lehetséges. Viszont a két tájszólást beszélőknek nehézségei vannak az irodalmi román nyelv megértésével, amely teljesen másképp van felértékelve.

Egy másik vizsgált szempont az *argelenășce* és *munčenășce* tájszólások sorsával kapcsolatos. A XX.-dik században egyre nyilvánvalóbbá vált az a tény, hogy a többnyelvűség egyre korlátozottabb. Az illető tájszólások nyelvi zárványok, archaikus változatok maradtak,

amelyek a kormány támogatásának hiányában nem tudtak lépést tartani a modern közösség fejlődésével, így korszerűtlen nyelvvé váltak, amelyeket a fiatal generációk nem fogadtak el. Látva a múlt évek változásait, amelyek a beások közösségeinek soraiban következnek be, az előrejelzések nagyon zavarosak a kérdéses tájszólások esetében. Azok számára, akik a magyarországi roma kisebbségek "magyarosítását" és a közösség egyformává tételét, a romák magyar közösségbe történő beilleszkedését identitásuk és nyelvük megszüntetésével kívánják megvalósítani, azok számára kezd zavaróvá válni a beások csoportjának nyelve. A csoportok azon tagjainak számára, akik egy olyan sajátos identitás megőrzését kívánják, amelynek egyetlen "kézzelfogható" bizonyítéka a nyelv, ez folyamat sokkal gyorsabb fog lenni. Magyarország az egyetlen ország, ahol elkezdődött a beások nyelvének megőrzése és művelése. Figyelembe véve saját nyelvükön történő írás-olvasás tanításának alacson fokát és azt a tényt, hogy a Magyarországon használt helyesírás a magyar nyelv nembeszélőinek nagyon nehezen megközelíthető, az

anyanyelvi nevelés jelenleg több országban nagyon nehéznek bizonyul. Az elmúlt évek kezdeményezései iskola és középiskola létesítésére a beások és a „lākātár“-ok (romák) számára, ezek anyanyelvén történő tanítására, amely egy írásos hagyomány kezdetéhez szükséges feltétele,

nagyon merész lépések, amelyek e tájszólások „bekerítési“ és „elnyomási“ folyamataiba ütközhet. Ezek a tájszólások e közösségek számára többet jelentenek mint egy nyelvészeti szabályzat, mivel a mindennapos élet kommunikációs eszköze.

### English summary

The *Boyash* (Rom. *băieși*) or *Rudari* (Rom. *rudari*) are speakers of archaic varieties of the Romanian language. Most of them identify themselves as Gypsies but as they are not speakers of the Romani language they have no consciousness of belonging to the Roma group. The self-denominations of the Boyash in Hungary make reference to their presumed region of origin – *argélén* and *muncéén* – and the phonetic variants of their language.

Conclusions about the migration history of Gypsies from the Romanian-speaking territories can be drawn from the regional characteristics of the vernaculars. The fact that today there are no traces of Romani in the Boyash varieties

hinders us from concluding with certainty that their forefathers were Roma. Nevertheless, it is very probable that many of the Roma gradually gave up their mother-tongue during their period of bondage and as a consequence of adapting to a different way of life, for example engaging in gold mining activities. The most important moments which determined the Boyash migration process were the closing of the mines in the Romanian provinces and the abolition of bondage starting in the middle of the 18th century, followed by repeated migrations in the 19th century. After leaving the mines, Romanian-speaking Gypsies migrated in several waves to the places where they may be found today,

including the area under investigation, southern Hungary. The heterogeneity of the linguistic varieties shows that new waves of migrants were still arriving up to the 20th century. It is not possible to identify a *single* Boyash homeland. The most important regions of origin seem to be south-western Transylvania, the Banat, and certain areas in Little Wallachia and Greater Wallachia.

As this study showed, the similarities between the two Boyash vernaculars, the Arġelen and the Munĉen (Rom. *arġelenăŝĉe* and *munĉenăŝĉe*), are more obvious than the differences. This explains the common linguistic trail left by the two Boyash groups in Hungary. Both vernaculars under discussion show several linguistic layers. This phenomenon is a result of the influences to which the Boyash were exposed during their southwards migration from south-western Transylvania, where they had been romanianized, to Little and Greater Wallachia where they adopted the particular features of the local languages, which resulted in a sort of dialectal bilingualism. The fact that the Arġelen variety is very close to

the Transylvanian one (e.g. the phenomenon of palatalization) on present-day Romanian territory shows that the Boyash must have left Little and Greater Wallachia much earlier than the Munĉen, without the Munĉen variety replacing the Transcarpathian one to any great extent. Except for differences in the consonant system and lexical differences (the lexis of a language being the part that is most permitting of changes) the two vernaculars under study pass through similar and parallel commutation processes with the Magyar language in close proximity to one another. Two vernaculars with a common linguistic base stock that are exposed to contact with a new language undergo phonological changes and a process of lexical adaptation, code-switching and code-mixing, of language functionality and economy in similar but independent processes.

Varieties of Romanian spoken by the Boyash were enriched by the influences of neighbouring languages in the regions they migrated to, in our case mainly by Hungarian, but also by Croatian/Serbian, and German. Differences between

Boyash vernaculars are so insignificant that communication between speakers of *argelenășce* and *munčenășce* is possible without any problems. However, speakers of the two vernaculars have difficulty in understanding standard Romanian which has had an entirely different evolution.

Another aspect that was investigated is linked to the fate of the vernaculars Munčan and Argelean. In the 20th century it became increasingly obvious that plurilingualism is being steadily eroded. The respective vernaculars became linguistic enclaves, archaic variants that were unable to keep pace with the development of modern society due to the lack of governmental support, thus becoming anachronistic languages that are generally not accepted by the young generation. In view of the changes that have taken place within Boyash communities in recent years, there is a depressing prognosis for the vernaculars under discussion as well. For those wishing for the “Magyarization” of Roma minorities in Hungary and the homogenization of society, for the integration of the Roma into Hungarian society through the suppression of their

identity and language, the language of the Boyash group is becoming bothersome. For members of these groups who wish to preserve a particular identity, the only “tangible” proof of which is the language, this process will proceed far too quickly. Hungary is the only country where activities to preserve and cultivate the language of the Boyash have been started. Taking into account their low level of literacy in their own language and the fact that the spelling used in Hungary is difficult for non-Hungarian-speakers, present-day conditions for education in the Boyash’ mother-tongue are very difficult in several countries. Recent initiatives to found schools and high-schools for Boyash and Lăcătar (Roma) with tuition in their mother-tongue, a necessary precondition for starting a written tradition, are brave steps but may run up against the process of “encircling” and “suppression” of these vernaculars, which for these communities are so much more than a linguistic code and instead constitute another instrument of communication in everyday life.

## 8 Abbreviations

The abbreviated category labels (e.g. F for feminine, IPFV for imperfective, PL for plural) are based on the conventions developed in *The Leipzig Glossing Rules* (see [www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/pdf/Glossing-Rules.pdf](http://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/pdf/Glossing-Rules.pdf)). Further abbreviations are:

Alb.	Albanian
Arg.	Argelean, i.e. belonging to the vernacular of the Argeleni, i.e. Boyash who self-denominate as Argeleni
Ard.	Ardelean (Romanian Ardelean)
cf.	compare
Croat.	Croatian
Germ.	German
Hung.	Hungarian
Mun.	Mun.
Mun.	Mun.
p.	page
resp.	respectively
Rom.	Romanian
Serb.	Serbian
Stand. Rom.	Standard Romanian
Turk.	Turkish
Ukr.	Ukrainian



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