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BELARUSISM IN THE GLOSSARY OF V. KALININ'S RROMANI (GYPSY)
BIBLE / БЕЛАРУСІЗМ У ГЛАСАРЫІ РОМСКАЙ (ЦЫГАНСКАЙ) БІБЛІІ
В. КАЛІНІНА

Аўтар аналізуе запазычаныя словы ў гласарыі ромскай (цыганскай) Бібліі, перакладзенай Вальдэмарам Калініным і выдадзенай у 2014 годзе ў Беларусі. У гласарыі ёсць больш за 130 слоў з перакладамі на беларускую, англійскую і рускую мову. Многія словы запазычаныя са славянскіх моў, сярод якіх ёсць і беларуская. Аналіз беларускіх слоў у мове ромаў (цыганаў), якія жывуць у Беларусі, – новы пункт гледжання ў гісторыі беларускай лінгвістыкі.

1. Rromani linguistics in Belarus.

The sociological research of Rroma¹ (Gypsy) people in Belarus was well done by the research project *Roma Integration* (v. webography) and the ethnological research by Olga Bartosh (v. bibliography), but, as far as I know, there is not enough information about the linguistic approach to the Rromani language spoken in Belarus in the present day.

The Rromani translation of the Holy Bible which we are going to mention may be one of the rare sources for studying the Rromani language in Belarus.

2. The Rromani Holy Bible.

Until now many partial translations of the Bible into the Rromani language have been made². The one we are analyzing in this short article is about the Bible entitled “Библия пэ Балтйтко Романі чиб (Романэс)³”. It is translated by Valdemar Kalinin and published by *Distribution of Christian Literature* in 2014, printed in Belarus.

It took Mr. Kalinin almost 25 years to make a complete translation of the Bible. He writes the preface in 4 languages (Rromani in Cyrillic and also in Latin transcription, in Belarusian, English and Russian). I cite his preface from it:

¹ To avoid misunderstanding with *Roma* (city), *Romanian* etc., some rromologs, as I, prefer to use double rr- to mention Rroma (Roma) people or their language Rromani (Romani, Romany).

² There is even online Bible in Rromani: Jesus Fellowship.

³ It means “Bible in the Baltic Rromani language (Rromanes)”. Rromanes is the Rromani adverb, which means “in Rromani way” or “in Rromani language”.

*“Romale!¹ Kindly accept this translation of God’s Word into the Romani language of native elderly speakers of Belarus, Lithuania, Latgalia (Eastern Latvia), and Western Russia. I have translated the Hebrew interlinear text for the Old Testament and the Greek interlinear text for the New Testament into the Romani language. You may notice that some verses do not fully correspond with the Russian Synodal Bible. This is due to the fact that there is a different sense embedded in some contemporary Romani expressions compared with the sense that was understood by those non-Romani translators of the original texts into Russian between 1830 and 1871. The order of the Psalms is in agreement with the originals and corresponds with most Western Bible translations, but also differs in some respects from the Russian Synodal Bible. <...> You might not understand all the words used, particularly those I have learned from the older generation of Romani men and women. However, explanations in brackets, in footnotes and in **the glossary** at the end will help make the meaning clear. Due to the many regional dialects I was unable to translate into a definitive version of our language. I have tried, in such circumstances, to make the most appropriate choice of words. In some places, synonyms and similar words have been put in brackets. <...>”.*

You may understand almost everything about this Bible from this preface. At the end of the book, the translator adds a supplement about the translation and Rroma: pp. 1659-65 “Glossary”, pp. 1666-96 “1. A brief history of the Roma and their language; 2. A brief chronology of Roma history; 3. An overview of religious and belief systems of the Roma; 4. Who are the Baltic Roma?; 5. A historical overview of Baltic-Romani Bible translations» in the 4 languages (Rromani in Cyrillic and Rromani in Latin transcription, Belarusian, English and Russian.), pp. 1697-8, «A comparison of the alphabet used in the Bible with other alphabets (Романэс Cyrillic, Романэс Latin, Belarusian, English, Russian, Polish Rromani, Lithuanian Romani, Latvian Rromani)”.

3. A brief overview of the Rromani dialect in the Bible.

We site the translator’s comment: *“This Romani Bible is translated <...> into the Balt-Slavonic (Belarus-Lithuanian) Romani dialect, which belongs to the Baltic Romani language group. The Baltic Roma are scattered over a huge area, ranging from the borders of Germany and Poland to the edge of Siberia near the Pacific Ocean. They make up the main Roma population in Russia, Belarus, Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, and Kazakhstan. Baltic Roma can also be found in Ukraine, Moldova, Finland and China, where they live alongside other Roma. The Baltic Roma are characterized by similar ethnic and cultural traditions. They speak similar dialects and sub-dialects, which are all mutually understandable. The Baltic Roma are divided into different ethnic sub-groups, based on their dialects and sub-dialects, their parental origin, ancestral history, and <<self-definition>>. Those sub-groups are known under different names, which derive from their respective dialect or sub-dialect, paternal family origin, family clan’s*

¹ The vocative case of R(r)oma in Rromani.

name, and domicile. Within every sub-group, different titles (nicknames based on family origin) are used to refer to the individual clans”.¹

Here is Kalinin’s list of Baltic Roma:

	Titles
Northern-Russian (Rúska, Rasiéyska, Rasiéytsy) Roma or Khaladýtka Roma	Bóbry, Veshýtka, Rasiéytsy, Siáki, Sibiriáki, Smoliáki, Toboliáki, Uráltsy, Shamkháytsy.
Polish (Rinkanytka, Feldytka / Nizinna) Roma	Varmiyáki, Véngry, Dyáki, Zavisiáki, Galitsyáki, Pahoviáki, Yageliáni.
Latvian (Lotfitka) Roma or Chuhna Romá	Vidzemiáki, Kurzemiáki.
Estonian (Laloritka) Roma or Estonytka Chuhny (Estonian Chukhny)	–
Karelian Roma	–
Baltitko-Slavianytka (Balt-Slavic), Belarusian-Lithuanian Roma or Belarusýtka-Litvitka Romá	Belaruska Roma, Berniki, Latgál’ska Roma, Lipéntsytka, Mincháni, Partizány, Pinchúki, Prakhitka Roma, Fandári, Filiánty, Xaladoré.
Polish-Lithuanian-Belarusian Roma	Bezhántsy, Baltruiki, Borisy, Kursáki, Khaladýtka Roma (from Poland and Lithuania). Polish Roma in Belarus and Russia are called Poliáki.
Litvitka Roma (Litvákire, Lithuanian)	Brázi, Buldavy, Búchki, Kalútsi, Liángi, Lótfy, Fliúki.
Belaruska-Ukrainska Roma	Gomiéltsy, Kováli, Maháry, Mukány ² , Charnobýltsy, Siniáki. Their language is similar to the Belarusian and Ukrainian (Servitko) Roma.

As the translator writes in the preface, this Bible was translated into the Balt-Slavonic (Belarus-Lithuanian) Romani dialect.

4. The glossary.

The glossary has totally 130 brackets. Each bracket usually contains synonyms used in the text and also the Latin transcription of them. The meaning of the words and expressions are explained in 3 languages: firstly in Belarusian, secondly in English and thirdly in Russian language. Here is an example:

Романэс	Romanes	Беларускі	English	Русский
кужум (м),	kužúm	страўнік/жывот	stomach	желудок

¹ Калинин, 2014, pp. 1688-9, *Who are the Baltic Roma?*

² Ibidem, p. 1689, footnote: “*Mukány* – the word is also used by Roma to describe those Roma who do not speak Romanes.”

(кужумá) ≈ жэлудко ≈ андрыпэн				
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(From p. 1659, *Glossary*.)

кужум is from *kuźnia* (Polish) ‘forge’ with the meaning of ‘bellows’¹ and (*м*) means that it is a masculine noun. *кужумá* is the plural form of *кужум*. *жэлудко* is a Russian loanword. *андрыпэн* seems to be the most Rromani word. It is from the Rromani word *andre* ‘inside’ with the suffix *-pen* adding the sense ‘state’ and ‘quality’ like *-ity* (Eng.). So *андрыпэн* can be translated ‘interiority’². The Latin transcription, translation in Belarusian, English and Russian are following them.

Not every word can be translated by old Rromani words. The concepts which their ancestors had not before³ or the new inventions (telephone, computer, hotel etc.) are generally loanwords from the nearest or second language. As in the case of ‘stomach’ mentioned above, sometimes loanwords are used more than Rromani words to clarify the meanings better.

In Belarus, Roma, when they can’t find suitable words in their Rromani vocabulary, they borrow words generally from Russian or Belarusian, or even other neighbor languages. The translator of this Bible is a Belarusian Rromani speaker and, so the influence of the Belarussian language on the vocabulary is easy to suppose.

The glossary contains also Rromani words rarely used in Bealrus nowadays, loanwords from different languages (Russian, Belarusian, Romanian, etc.). From the 130 brackets (as the translator writes, each bracket has sometimes synonyms too. So the total amount of Rromani words on the list are more than 130.), we find following words which may come from Slavic languages:

Russian loanwords (with Russian translation)	<i>тожэ</i> ‘тоже’, <i>стрела</i> ‘стрела’, <i>случаё</i> ‘случай’, <i>свэто</i> ‘свет’, <i>жэлудко</i> ‘желудок’, <i>ровнэс</i> ‘ровно’, <i>рэка</i> ‘река’, <i>малва/молва</i> ‘молва’, <i>миро</i> ‘мир’, <i>цвято</i> ‘цвет’, <i>последнё</i> ‘последний’, <i>кораблё</i> ‘корабль’, <i>помошч</i> ‘помощь’, <i>плуго</i> ‘плуг’, <i>сульба</i> ‘сульба’, <i>тэ жалинэс</i> ‘жалеть’.
non-Russian Slavic loanwords (with Belarusian translation)	<i>кара</i> ‘кара’, <i>пекла</i> ‘пекла’, <i>маёнка</i> ‘маёмасць’, <i>плошча</i> ‘плошча’, <i>рошчына</i> ‘рашчына’, <i>шошко</i> ‘шашок’.
not identifiable if it’s Russian or Belarusian, or from other	<i>мэда</i> ‘мед’, <i>грэхо</i> ‘грех’, <i>вянка</i> ‘венок’, <i>курчыма</i> ‘корчма’, <i>завесы</i> ‘завесы’, <i>лево</i> ‘левый’, <i>змириныбэн</i> .

¹ Siegmond 1960, p. 129: *kušnja* (F) f. *Blasebalg*. *kuschnja*, *kudžum*, O. – *kuźnia* (4) f. *Schmiede* (Poln. *kuźnia* f. *Schmiede*).

² An alternative suggestion by a native Belarusian speaker is *вантробы* from Pol. *wątroba* ‘liver’.

³ In Romania there are 4 dialects. For ‘yellow’, which Rroma had not before, different loanwords are used in each dialect: *zilto* (from Slavic), *galbeno* (from Romanian), *sàrga* (from Hungarian) and *sari* (from Turkish).

(Slavic) languages (with Russian translation)	‘примирение’, сэм’я ‘семья’, кошо ‘корзина’, метро ‘метро’, гнязда ‘гнездо’, свэто ‘свет’, плоть ‘плоть’, молови/моллов/вольво ‘олово’, дрого ‘дорогой’, тыло ‘тыл’, удава ‘вдова’, робо ‘раб’, плименико ‘племянник’, врата ‘ворота’, крыло ‘крыло’, пасторо ‘пресвитер’, синодально ‘синодальный’, миро ‘мир’, участко ‘участок’, свэнцыныбэн ‘освящение’, сэнко ‘сук’, стрэгари ‘стражник’, дарунко ‘дар’, тришчына ‘тростник’, тока ‘только’, характэро ‘нрав’, часо ‘время’, ўремя ‘время’, право ‘правый’, родо ‘семья’, дротико ‘протик’, ориги-нало ‘оригинал’, концо ‘конец’, ясла ‘ясли’.
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The loan-words listed in *non-Russian Slavic loanwords* seem to be from Belarussian. Many Belarussian words have common roots with Russian and there are also many words which we can identify whether they are borrowed from Russian or Belarussian.

The Rromani dialect into which Valdemar Kalinin’s Bible was translated and printed in Belarus in 2014 has many loanwords in its vocabulary. The loanwords come not only from Russian language widely spoken in Belarus, but also from other Slavic languages too. We can also observe the traces of the Belarussian language in it. However, the Belarussian-like loan-words must be carefully analyzed if they really come from the Belarussian or from other Slavic languages (for example Ukrainian or Polish). Anyway, it is a new point of view in the historical linguistics of Belarussian language to search for Belarussian words in the language of Rroma living in Belarus.